Rachel Jackson and the Search for Zion, 1760s-1830s

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Virginia
August, 2017

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O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed
Happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us
Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones

Psalm 137

Introduction

Every day, Rachel Jackson prayed for the coming of Zion. Like many evangelicals, she believed that God had ordained the triumph of His people. Rachel read about the promises of Zion in her Bible, as well as religious periodicals and pamphlets. Such texts taught her that after enduring torment from God's enemies, His children would finally triumph over earthly suffering. During this "jubilant period," Christians like Rachel would bask in the eternal glory of "Christ's Millennial reign."[1]

Rachel, however, feared the forces of heathenism that stood in the way of Christ's triumph on earth. Rachel read that Zion would come only after a period of violent cleansing and unrestrained holy warfare against the enemies of the true faith. Evangelicals believed that God had ordained His eventual triumph but believers could accelerate that victory through their own exertions. Dutiful wives could encourage and support their husbands' campaigns against heathens, and women could promote religiosity at home. [2]

Ultimately, in the final chapter of this "battle of the great day of God Almighty," the Lord would unleash his fury against the heathens of the world. Rachel read that in this battle "the slain of the Lord will be many." The Kingdom of Heaven would emerge from this slaughter and God's children would finally live at peace.[3]

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[1] See "Zion" in *The Philadelphian*, May 30, 1828 and June 13, 1828, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, (hereafter LCP), Philadelphia, PA. From 1819 onwards, Rachel subscribed to the *Philadelphian*, a religious periodical edited by one of her favorite pastors, Ezra Stiles Ely. Millennialism was popular both during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. See Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756-1800* (New York, 1988); Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York, 2007), 285-314; Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (New York, 2009), 616-619.

[2] For violence in millennial thinking, see Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases* (Syracuse, 2000.)

[3] "Zion" in *The Philadelphian*, May 30, 1828 and June 13, 1828, LCP, Philadelphia, PA.

As a Presbyterian woman who lived on the Tennessee frontier, Rachel inhabited a world that most evangelicals deemed irreligious. Eastern leaders warned that spiritual darkness lurked in the new western settlements of Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama. They pointed to the absence of educated ministers and the proliferation of "ignorant pretenders."[4]

Frontier conditions circumscribed Rachel's access to religious instruction for most of her adult life. In 1779, she relocated with her family from southwestern Virginia to the area around Nashville, often referred to as middle Tennessee. In 1797, Baptists established the region's first church, a small structure, south of Nashville. Almost fifteen years later, locals organized Nashville's First Presbyterian Church. But both churches were far from Rachel's home and difficult to get to over bad roads. As a result, Rachel relied on traveling, itinerant ministers.[5]

During the mid eighteenth-century, spiritual revival movements spread through many Indigenous nations, including the Lenni Lenape, Shawnee, Muscogee (Creek), Cherokee, Miami, and Ottawa, who inhabited lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. By the early nineteenth-century, the revivalist movement flourished among Native peoples, who sought to resist the harmful effects of contact with Euro-Americans. Settlers feared the movement's potential to unify Native resistance to settler colonialism and Christianity. If irreligion opened "the gates of hell," as one Congregationalist magazine warned, Rachel feared that she teetered on the edge.[6]

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[4] Quoted in Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, 211-212.

[5] Wilbur F. Creighton Jr. and Leland R. Johnson, eds. *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History* (Nashville, 1988). Also see Herman Albert Norton, *Religion in Tennessee, 1777-1945* (Knoxville, 1981); Walter Brownlow Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838*, (Richmond, 1952).

[6] Quoted in Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, 212. For Native American revivalism, see, for instance, Alfred A. Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America*, (Nebraska, 2006); Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*, (Baltimore, 1992); Joel Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muscogee's Struggle for a New World*, (Boston, 1991).

Like most Americans, Rachel believed that the Bible could help make sense of the world and provide guidance on how to serve God, even in trying circumstances. By the early nineteenth-century, some northeastern people gravitated towards a more liberal theology that depicted God as a benevolent and loving force. Stressing Christian charity, liberal women campaigned on behalf of society's most "vulnerable," including the poor, enslaved African-Americans, and Native Americans.[7]

Rachel, however, believed in an angry God, who triumphed over His children's tormentors. She favored Psalm 137. "There is not a day or night that I do not repeat it," she told a friend. Psalm 137 laments the Israelites' suffering following their exile from Babylon. It ends with the lines, "happy is the one who repays you/according to what you have done to us./ Happy is the one who seizes your infants/and dashes them against the rocks." The psalm's story of sacred suffering and a vengeful God resonated with Rachel, who felt attacked by Native warriors, religious infidels, and by the 1820s, political partisans. She prayed for the day when God would avenge her suffering and defeat her enemies.[8]

Rachel's experiences invading and colonizing Indigenous territory shaped this outlook. Most women saw faith as a defining facet of their lives. Only settler women coupled Christian

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[7] For northeastern white women's religiosity, see, for instance, Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (June 1999), 15-40; Alisse Portnoy, *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates* (Cambridge, MA, 2005); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, 2nd edition, (New Haven, 1997); *idem*., "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1975), 15-29; Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion," in Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York, 1974), 137-157.

[8] Rachel Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821 published in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. 2, (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1860), 597-8. For sacred violence in the psalms, including psalm 137, see Erich Zenger, translated by Linda M. Maloney, *A God of Vengeance?: Understanding of the Psalms of Divine Wrath* (Louisville, 1996.)

faith with the experience of Native American warfare. In October 1828, Rachel reflected on the experiences of her family, who settled Nashville, Tennessee, during the 1780s. With "vivid resolution," she remembered two defining experiences: "the yelling of the ruthless Indian" and the joy she felt when Christian religiosity spread through new settlements.[9]

Old Testament stories helped Americans justify the creation of the United States as a divinely chosen "new Israel." They also sought confirmation in the Old Testament's explicit violence that God sanctioned American campaigns against British, Spanish, and French troops, Loyalist forces, and Native American warriors.[10]

The Old Testament also appealed to Rachel because it reflected the violent turmoil of the rapidly changing world that she lived in. When she was born in 1767, most Americans lived east of the Appalachian Mountains, in Native land conquered by colonial subjects of the British Empire. By the time Rachel died in 1828, over ten million settlers had crossed the Appalachian Mountains to dispossess western Indigenous peoples through destructive wars. Americans had also defeated the British in a war for independence and formed a new national union, while Protestant religious revival spread throughout the country. Finally, voters elected Rachel's

[9] Rachel Jackson to Anna Stith, Oct. 29, 1828, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Microfilm Supplement*, Harold Moser, et. al., eds. (Delaware, 1986), reel 12. Scholars have noted that violence informs individual and national identities. See, for instance, Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); John Smolenski and Thomas J. Humphrey, "Introduction," in *New World Orders: Violence, Sanction, and Authority in the Colonial Americas* (Philadelphia, 2005). In her ethnography of eighteenth-century Kentucky settlers, Elizabeth Perkins notes that when interviewed about their experiences, most women "structured their narratives around encounters with Native Americans and founding local institutions," especially churches. See Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill, 1998), 195. For the importance of religion and revival in women's lives, see Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England."

[10] Eran Shalev, *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New Haven, 2013); *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny*, ed. Conrad Cherry, revised (Chapel Hill, 1998); Sue Juster, *Sacred Violence in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2016); James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York, 2013); Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, 202.

second husband, Andrew Jackson, to the presidency in a triumph of a popular politics that deemphasized deference in favor of white, male equality.[11]

Rachel endured additional upheavals in her personal life. On several occasions, members of her family, the Donelsons, were attacked by Indigenous warriors; several succumbed to their injuries. She married twice and divorced once, and suffered what Rachel identified as spiritual exiles in New Orleans and Pensacola. Rachel's morality and sexuality also became a major issue in the 1828 presidential election, often considered one of the dirtiest campaigns in U.S. history.[12]

Rachel was an anxious woman, which amplified the stress that she felt from real-life adversities. Her anxiety fed a deepening piety which led Rachel to obsess over the triumph of heathenism and the spread of religious infidelity. This anxiety prevented Rachel from enjoying her many privileges as an elite white woman married to a powerful man who loved her and honored her beliefs. Instead, Rachel suffered from an acute sense of vulnerability and victimization. In July 1827 she bemoaned to a friend, "For who has been so cruelly tryed as I have."[13]

Rooted in Calvinist theology, Rachel's variety of evangelicalism regarded God as almighty, angry, and vengeful, as opposed to kind, benevolent, and forgiving. Violence could avenge injustices committed against God's defenseless and victimized children, with whom

[11] For useful surveys of the changes throughout Rachel's lifetime, see Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York, 2007); Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (New York, 2016.)

[12] See, for instance, Lynn Hudson Parsons, *The Birth of Modern Politics: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and the Election of 1828* (New York, 2009).

[13] Rachel Jackson to Elizabeth Courts Watson, July 18, 1827, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Digital Edition, Vol. 6*, (hereafter *PAJDE*), ed. Daniel Feller, (Charlottesville, 2014).

Rachel identified. Such violence vanquished the enemies of true religion and prepared for the promises of Zion on earth. Rachel's religiosity was an "avenging evangelism."

This dissertation provides a scholarly analysis of Rachel Jackson and her partnership with her husband, Andrew. In tracing Rachel's life and character, it focuses on her religiosity and its implications for Jackson and his settler war on Native Americans. Rachel aligned Jackson's military and political career with her "avenging evangelism," which proved a crucial tool of Jackson's empire-building.[14]

Rachel believed that revivalist Native Americans who worshipped "false prophets" needed to be punished. She reminded Jackson of her "hatred" of Indigenous peoples for waging war on her family, her ministers, and her God. Since God guided Jackson, as he had Moses through the wilderness, Rachel maintained that Jackson should help administer the punishment. She saw warfare against Indigenous peoples and the conquest of their land as part of a holy war to purge the United States of sin and thereby create Zion on earth. Rachel also advanced Protestant reforms including Sabbatarianism to redeem New Orleans and Pensacola—targets of Jackson's expansion—from a racial fluidity that she considered ungodly.[15]

As Jackson's beloved and trusted wife, Rachel held considerable power and influence at a time when women could not vote, hold office, or own property. As a Christian woman, Rachel believed that she was powerless but she accrued influence through her piety. Rachel supported

[14] Recently, Candice Shy Hooper has chronicled how the wives of four Civil War generals influenced their husband's military careers. Along with Hooper, this dissertation stresses the role that powerful military wives had in shaping history. See Hooper, *Lincoln's Generals' Wives: Four Women Who Influenced the Civil War--for Better and for Worse* (Kent, OH, 2016.) As historian Drew Gilpin Faust has noted, nineteenth-century women were conscripted into supporting war by understanding violence on their own terms. See Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of American History*, (March 1990), Vol. 76, Issue 4, 1200-1228.
[15] For Rachel's "hatred" of Indigenous peoples, see Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

and promoted Jackson's violence against Native peoples during the Creek War (1813-1814) and First Seminole War (1817-1819). She also understood Jackson's Indian Removal as necessary to prepare for the coming of Zion. Her "avenging evangelism" justified unrestrained warfare against Native peoples who rejected Christian missionaries. It also offered a religious rationale for replacing Indigenous peoples with allegedly God-fearing white settlers.[16]

White women made up the majority of religious believers and their experiences as settlers shaped their outlook. Pious women in places such as Florida, western Georgia, and Alabama supported Jackson's military campaigns against the Muscogee and Seminole. They also applauded his 1830 Indian Removal Act, which forced eastern Indigenous nations to move to reservations west of the Mississippi River. Like Rachel, these women believed that as settlers, they suffered for a God who would avenge their injustices and destroy their tormentors. This message echoed in religious periodicals and popular depictions of nineteenth-century warfare, especially in Florida during the Second Seminole War.[17]

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[16] Most scholars adopt a strict understanding of Jackson's Indian Removal, rooted in the 1830 Indian Removal Act. Throughout the dissertation, however, I adopt a more fluid understanding. As several scholars have noted, settler colonialism is a "process" that plays out over and over again, as settlers make consistent claims on Indigenous land. I consider Jackson's 1810s campaigns against the Muscogee and Seminole peoples, as well as his land cession treaties, as part of removal. This is because Jackson's 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson, in particular, ceded twenty-two million acres of Indigenous land for white, slave-owning settlers. Such actions contributed to a longer process of removing Indigenous peoples from their land through violence, forced removal, and coerced treaties.

[17] For women as particularly devout, see, for instance, Ann Braude, *Sisters and Saints: Women and American Religion*, (New York, 2008), 2, 35-36; Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status*, (Westport, CT., 1983), 5; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, (New York, 1977); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York, 1981.) For Florida, see Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia, 2015).

This dissertation weaves together four prominent themes in early American history: religious revival, the rise of Andrew Jackson, settler colonialism and warfare, and the role of women and gender in shaping American imperialism.[18]

Typically, historians depict late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century evangelicalism as a belief set that privileged human agency, the goodness of man, and a benevolent and forgiving God. Rooted in the New Testament, this "liberal" evangelicalism gave rise to benevolent reform societies that campaigned against the ills of religious infidelity, alcohol, poverty, violence, slavery, and Indian Removal.[19]

By the 1830s, many Americans heard "liberal" messages in Baptist, Unitarian, Methodist, and Cumberland Presbyterian churches. Yet other, more "conservative" evangelicals, challenged these teachings as irreligious. "Conservative" evangelicalism maintained the traditional Protestant emphases on original sin, the threat of damnation, vengeance, and the sovereignty of

[18] Recently, historians have considered the role of women and gender in U.S. settler colonialism before the Civil War. This dissertation is inspired by such studies. See, for instance, Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Materialism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, 2009); Honor Sachs, *Home Rule: Households and National Expansion on the Eighteenth-Century Kentucky Frontier*, (New Haven, 2015); Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia, 2015); *idem.*, "Turning Sufferers into Settlers: Gender, Welfare, and National Expansion in Frontier Florida," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 33, No. 3, (Fall 2013); Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature*, Vol. 70, No. 3, (Sept. 1998); Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, (New York, 2005); June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, 1993); Dolores E. Janiewski, "Gendered Colonialism: The "Woman Question" in Settler Society," in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaundhuri, eds., *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington, 1998). Despite these innovative and important studies, most scholars continue to ignore women and gender when writing about settler colonialism, or what early American historians often refer to as "westward expansion." See, for instance, Andrew Shankman, ed., *The World of the Revolutionary American Republic: Land, Labor, and the Conflict for a Continent* (New York, 2014). For a call to incorporate gender into the history of the U.S. West, see Margaret D. Jacobs, "Western History: What's Gender Got To Do With It?" *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn 2011), 297-304.

[19] See, for instance, Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, 1989); Thomas Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven, 2009); Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborne's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven, 2013); Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*; *idem., The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago,1984.)

God. In 1800, almost half of all white Americans heard this message in Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and some Baptist churches. Many more understood their own reading of the Bible through this lens.[20]

Although historians recognize the religiosity of Americans during the early republican era, they have overlooked how it informed the many wars that white Americans fought. For the ten million settlers who migrated west during and after the American Revolution, the goal of these wars was to invade and conquer Native land. Historian François Furstenberg has suggested that control of the trans-Appalachian West linked the Seven Years War, the U.S. War for Independence, the Northwest Indian War, the Creek War, the War of 1812, and the many frontier wars that occurred from the 1750s through the 1810s. He has suggested that we see these campaigns as one "Long War for the West."[21]

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[20] Mark A. Noll recognizes the persistence of traditional Calvinist theology on American Protestantism, despite the rise of a more liberal evangelicalism. See Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 2002.) While Congregationalist and Presbyterian membership declined in the nineteenth-century, Baptist membership grew, especially in the South. See Bloch, *Visionary Republic*, xii; Christine L. Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York, 1997); Philip N. Mulder, *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South* (Chapel Hill, 2001.)

[21] François Furstenberg, "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 3, (June 2008), 647-677. In 2009, Harry Stout lamented the lack of scholarly interest in American religion and warfare, including Andrew Jackson's campaigns, and suggested that religion and warfare might prove one way to write a consensus history of American history. "Put bluntly," he wrote, "the American consensus consists in America's faith in the institution of war as a divine instrument and sacred mandate to be exercised around the world." See Stout, "Review Essay: Religion, War, and the Meaning of America," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* No. 19 (2009) 275-89. Insights from the theologian, Ted A. Smith, might explain part of this absence. In his analysis of John Brown's religiosity, Smith notes that nation-states, which included the U.S. by 1800, "in the process of excluding any talk of divine violence, have tended to occlude their own mythologies and so legitimate their own brands of sacred violence." Looking back, we often think of Jackson's violence, as a U.S. general and president, as "state violence," which helps mask the role of religion within it. See Smith, *Weird John Brown: Divine Violence and the Limits of Ethics* (Palo Alto, 2015), 42. For American religiosity, see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA, 1990.) Historians often segregate the role of religion in warfare to the colonial era or occasionally, the American Revolution, even though Butler asserts that American after 1800 proved more religious than Puritan New England. For the colonial era, see Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, 1998); Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia, 2007); Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence;* Juster, *Sacred Violence in Early America.* Sue Juster notes continuities between the colonial and revolutionary era. In particular, she points to discussions, on both sides of the Atlantic, about the Revolution as a "holy war." She also notes the religious rhetoric of Scots-Irish settlers,

Andrew Jackson led or participated in these conflicts, including the 1790s Chickamauga War, the Creek War, the War of 1812, and the First Seminole War. For his violence and coercive treaty negotiations, scholars properly see him as the single greatest agent of U.S. settler colonialism. Many historians remember Jackson, a military general and president from 1829 to 1837, for his unrestrained campaigns against the Muscogee, Seminole, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw peoples. With adjacent removal policies, this warfare seized over one hundred and forty million acres for white settlers, many of whom reshaped Indigenous land into the cotton-growing Slave South. Richard White notes, Jackson "probably inflicted more pain, suffering, loss and death upon Indian peoples than any American of the nineteenth-century."[22]

Historians highlight the spiritual underpinnings of Indigenous warfare and how conflict with white settlers informed revivalist spiritualties. Scholars emphasize the prominence of

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who massacred Native peoples on the mid-Atlantic frontier during the mid to late eighteenth century. Juster writes, "holy war ideology still resonated at least for some on the margins of empire." See Juster, *Sacred Violence*, 249. For the American Revolution and religion, see Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War*; Thomas S. Kidd, *God of Liberty: A Religious History of the American Revolution* (New York, 2010); Mark A. Noll, *Christians in the American Revolution* (Grand Rapids, 1977). For the Civil War, see, for instance Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the American Civil War* (New York, 2006); Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 2006)*;* George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 2010.) For one recent exception that considers the role of religion in frontier warfare, see Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier*, (New York, 2012).

[22] Richard White, "How Andrew Jackson Saved the Cherokees," *Green Bag*, 2nd Series 5 (Summer 2002), 443-444. For analyses of Jackson that emphasize his violence, see Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York, 1993); Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the National Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge, MA, 2017); Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York, 1976). For two recent considerations of Jackson that consider the role of religion in his violence against Native peoples, see J.M. Opal, *Avenging the People: Andrew Jackson, the Rule of Law, and the American Nation* (New York, 2017); Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (New York, 2015). For the making of the Slave South, see Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); John Craig Hammond, *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion in the Early American West* (Charlottesville, 2007). I calculated the total number of acres by adding twenty-two million (the amount of acres Jackson obtained from the Muscogee in the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson) with the number of total acreages obtained by the U.S. from Indigenous peoples between 1829 and 1840 (118,294,472), calculated by historian Claudio Saunt. See Saunt's interactive map, *The Invasion of America: How the United States Took Over an Eighth of the World*, http://invasionofamerica.ehistory.org/

prophets Neolin and Tenskatawa. These prophets maintained that the Great Spirit demanded violent resistance and a purging of Euro-American influences.[23]

Rachel Jackson reminds us that conflict with Indigenous peoples also influenced white American religiosity. Growing up during spiritually-infused Native American warfare, Rachel felt surrounded by an aggressive heathenism. Like many Tennesseans, she sought divine retribution against the Muscogee, Cherokee, and Seminole, in particular, for unleashing what she believed to be waves of violence against God's innocent children.[24]

Because women made up the majority of believers, settler men who led campaigns against Native peoples absorbed religiosity through female kin, especially wives and mothers. Jackson did not join the Presbyterian church until 1838, after his presidency. But because of his wife and mother, he attended Presbyterian church services. Rachel also imparted her religiosity onto him daily. Sometimes, she exerted this influence explicitly. For instance, during the Jacksons' stay in Pensacola in 1821, Rachel urged Jackson to pass and enforce laws protecting the Sabbath. Before her death, one observer noted this influence. He commented that Rachel possessed a "controlling influence" over Jackson.[25]

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[23] Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance;* Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit;* Martin, *Sacred Revolt.*

[24] For some time, missionary historians have noted that the impact of cross-cultural encounter went both ways. See, for instance, Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, eds., *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples, and Cultural Exchange* (Toronto, 2010); Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York, 2005). Peter Silver has argued that the fear of Native American attack informed notions of whiteness on the mid Atlantic frontier in the eighteenth-century. See Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2008.)

[25] Since men often absorbed religiosity through their wives, who made up the majority of believers, a comprehensive understanding of religion in nineteenth-century settler warfare must include women. Rachel's "influence" quoted in Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832,* (New York, 1981), 9-10. Remini also emphasizes this influence. He claims that Rachel exercised her influence over Jackson without "seeming" to dictate his behavior.

Rachel usually exerted her influence subtly, which allowed her to follow the stringent gender code that privileged women's passivity and gentility. As many nineteenth-century writers maintained, women's influence had to prove so subtle that one could barely detect it. Rachel knew that Jackson depended on her for approval and fashioned himself as her protector. She played into these roles and accrued influence through Jackson's dependence. She encouraged him to see his actions and behavior through her religious lens by referencing scripture and religion in every letter that she wrote. Jackson responded in kind. Together, the two imagined his warfare in holy terms and comforted each other with the hope that one day, a higher power would ease their suffering.[26]

Rachel's piety and relationship with prominent pastors also connected Jackson to evangelical allies and Sabbatarian reformers. They included northeastern Presbyterian pastors such as Ezra Stiles Ely and Lyman Beecher. As Jackson sought national office, Rachel's evangelicalism helped him broaden his support and craft a coalition that stretched well beyond his southwestern base. For Rachel, it offered the promise that Jackson might use his military and political power to serve her God.

Historians have failed to connect Rachel to Jackson's warfare or Indian Removal policies because they have misunderstood her character and piety. Scholarly and popular writers alike depict Rachel in relation to her romance with Jackson. Their depiction emphasizes Rachel's 1789 elopement with Andrew Jackson and 1794 divorce from her first husband, Lewis Robards. Yet Rachel defined her life by the religious—rather than romantic—fervor that fueled her. She loved

[26] Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence,* 16. This emphasis on "subtle" or "invisible" influence has shielded them from historians who often look for more explicit forms of women's political action and leadership in petition campaigns, organizations, and churches.

her husband but loved her God more. Her marriage to Jackson became a vehicle to demonstrate that religious devotion.[27]

Biographers assume that Rachel adhered to a distinctly "feminine" evangelicalism that stressed kindness, compassion, and benevolence. They depict her as a calm, peaceful, maternal, and charitable woman. But intense religious zeal can often engender a sense of urgency, anger, and agitation. Indeed, Jackson often had to calm Rachel, not vice-versa. While Rachel found some solace in the promise of salvation, as a Calvinist she knew it was never guaranteed. This dissertation privileges Rachel's evangelical passion to make sense of her world—as she did.[28]

This dissertation is divided into five chapters and one epilogue. Chapter One, "The Most Extreme Frontier Family," traces Rachel and her family's settlement of middle Tennessee during the late eighteenth-century. This invasion into Cherokee territory resulted in warfare between white settler militias and Cherokee, Muscogee, and Shawnee warriors. The chapter argues that the violence of settlement challenged gender codes, which left Rachel and other settler women searching, in vain, for temporal patriarchal protection.

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[27]The only two biographies of Rachel concern her romance with Jackson. See Patricia Brady, *A Being So Gentle: The Frontier Love Story of Rachel and Andrew Jackson* (New York, 2011); Mary French Caldwell, *General Jackson's Lady: A Story of the Life and Times of Rachel Donelson Jackson, Beloved Wife of General Andrew Jackson, Seventh President of the United States* (Nashville, 1936). For focuses on Rachel's marriages, see Norma Basch, "Marriages, Morals, and Politics in the Election of 1828," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (Dec. 1993) 890-918; Ann Toplovich, "Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics: The Robards-Jackson Backcountry Scandal," *Ohio Valley History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 2005), 3-22.

[28] Robert Remini, in particular, notes that by 1822, Rachel had "become almost saint like in her patience, devotion, understanding, and good works." See Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (Baltimore, 1981) 6; Brady, *A Being So Gentle*; Caldwell, *General Jackson's Lady;* Pauline Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, Vol. 1 (Richmond, 1941). For aggressive religious zeal, see for instance, Lepore, *The Name of War*; Smith, *Weird John Brown*.

By the 1810s, Rachel looked towards spiritual protection. Chapter Two explores the experiences and teachings of Rachel's self-described “father in the gospel,” Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian pastor. Blackburn met Rachel following a failed mission to the Cherokee. Starting in 1811, he urged his Tennessee congregants to brace themselves for the “battle of the great gods," in which they would prove critical players.

Chapter Three analyzes how Rachel used this evangelicalism to understand the Creek War (1813-1814), which many Tennesseans referred to as the “time of retribution.” Rachel and Jackson imagined his intervention in the Creek War as part of a broader holy war. They depicted Jackson as a virulent Christian avenger and Rachel as a passive, sacred sufferer. Fashioning Jackson’s warfare in these terms allowed Rachel to buttress it. She provided Jackson with critical support and assurance that he was acting on behalf of God. This helped accelerate the pace and zeal of Jackson’s destructive campaign against the Muscogee.

Although Rachel could support Jackson’s military career, she had trouble accepting his efforts to capitalize on his victories in the Muscogee conflict by posing as a benevolent statesman. To do so, Jackson relied on his adoption of Lyncoya, a Muscogee boy whose parents Jackson’s troops had killed. Rachel resented his apparent eagerness to abandon his proper role as a Christian avenger, and she took little interest in Lyncoya. Chapter Four traces Lyncoya’s 1814 arrival and how it altered the dynamic of Rachel and Jackson's partnership.

Chapter Five charts Rachel’s 1821 relocation to Pensacola, following Jackson’s appointment as Florida's first territorial governor. Rachel despised her sojourn in Pensacola, which she and Jackson referred to as the “Babylon of the South.” She described her time in the former Spanish colony as a spiritual exile, akin to that experienced by the Israelites in Psalm 137.

Still, inspired by her Presbyterian pastor, Ezra Stiles Ely, Rachel used Jackson's political power to pass and enforce ordinances protecting the Sabbath. She hoped that Jackson could at least use his political power to serve God.

During Jackson's rise to the presidency throughout the 1820s, Rachel hoped that religion might undergird his politics. Chapter Six, "A Christian Party in Politics," examines how Rachel and Ezra Stiles Ely expected Jackson to become an explicitly Christian political president, committed to defeating religious infidelity. But political expediency required that Jackson adhere to a more genteel and superficial Christianity, popular with many eastern politicians. At the same time, Jackson's 1828 presidential campaign had to react to criticism of Rachel and Jackson's adulterous marriage. In response, Jackson's managers downplayed Rachel's religious zeal and helped construct a lasting image of her as a meek and gentle woman, remembered for her romance, rather than her fierce religiosity.

The Epilogue, "What Can a Woman Do", considers Rachel's influence after her December 1828 death and Jackson's election to the presidency. It explores how Ezra Stiles Ely and Jackson broke over Rachel's "true religion" during the Peggy Eaton Affair (1829-1831), in which charges of sexual impropriety forced the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet. This bitter controversy compromised Ely (and Rachel's) dream that Jackson might serve as a distinctly Christian president. Although Ely lost Jackson's support, Jackson maintained many southern and western evangelical allies. These evangelicals promoted his Indian Removal policies, which they understood within Rachel's framework of "avenging evangelism."

A Note on Terms

Throughout this dissertation, I use several terms that necessitate explanation. First, I refer to Rachel Jackson as "Rachel" and to Andrew Jackson as "Jackson." Despite the gender bias implicit in this, I have chosen to do so for two reasons. First, it prevents confusion. In many paragraphs, I refer to both Rachel and Andrew Jackson. While Rachel is the only "Rachel" I discuss in depth, there were three Andrews: Rachel's husband, Andrew Jackson, her son, Andrew Jackson Jr., and her nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson. Second, Rachel had three different last names throughout her life: Donelson, Robards, and Jackson. Rachel proved the only name that remained constant.[1]

Second, I use the term "evangelical" to refer to Rachel. To be an "evangelical," one had to respect biblical authority, accept their depravity, and zealously seek redemption and rebirth in Christ, while accepting that God granted such salvation through divine grace. Occasionally, I refer to Rachel's evangelicalism as "conservative" or "Calvinist." These are terms employed by religious historians, not Rachel or her contemporaries, who used broad terms such as "Christian." "Conservative" evangelicals like Rachel maintained the traditional Calvinist emphasis on original sin, divine will, and the threat of damnation.[2]

Third, I employ the term "settler colonialism" to refer to the process of white Anglo-Americans claiming, invading, settling, and reshaping Indigenous lands. As a result, I also refer to Rachel and Anglo-Americans who settled Indigenous territory as "settlers." To define "settler

[1] For discussions of using women's first names over surnames, see Brekus, *Sarah Osborne's World*, xiii; Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, 2006), 14.
[2] The definition of "evangelicalism" originates from the British historian David W. Bebbington and is used by Mark Noll. See Noll, *America's God*, 5. For additional definitions, see Berkus, *Sarah Osborne's World*, 11-12. For "conservative" evangelicalism, see Berkus, *Sarah Osborne's World*, 8.

colonialism," scholars stress how "settlers sought to construct communities bounded by ties of ethnicity and faith in what they persistently defined as virgin or empty land." If settlers had an approach to Indigenous peoples, "it was a logic of elimination." Settlers wished to seize Indigenous land, not labor, and push Native peoples "beyond an ever-expanding frontier of settlement." Scholars note that settler colonialism is not "the past—a violent but thankfully brief period of conquest and domination." Rather, it is a constant process and characteristic of nations like the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In these countries, settlers tried (and continue trying) to make Indigenous inhabitants "disappear" through death, disease, removal, starvation, interracial marriage, or cultural assimilation.[3]

Although historians of settler colonialism include the U.S. in their analyses, early American historians have shied away from the concept. Typically, they favor more benign terms such as "westward expansion" or "frontier migration." Yet these terms perpetuate the idea that Anglo-Americans' conquest of North America was predetermined, heroic, natural, and complete. The terms also downplay the fact that settlers "migrated" or "expanded" into lands claimed by sovereign Native nations. In reality, Anglo-Americans "invaded" Indigenous peoples' lands in a long and contested process of violence, segregation, and exploitation. As a result, this dissertation follows historians of the British Empire and a new generation of American historians in conceptualizing white Americans' settlement of the U.S. as "settler colonialism."[4]

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[3] For definitions, see Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York, 2005), 2-3; Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 2-4. Also see James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (New York, 2009); Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA, 2010.)

[4] For critiques of the heroism of frontier settlers and a U.S. history that, in the words of Ned Blackhawk, "has failed to gauge the violence that remade much of the continent," see Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA, 2006); Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987.) Laurel Clark Shire employs the term "invasion" to describe

Finally, whenever possible, I use the name of specific Indigenous nations. When I cannot offer such specificity, I employ the terms "Indigenous peoples," "Native peoples," or occasionally "Native Americans." In particular, I also refer to the Indigenous inhabitants of modern-day Georgia and Alabama as Muscogee, rather than "Creek." In this, I follow the Muscogee Nation and historian Joel W. Martin. Martin notes that the British first applied the term "Creek" to diverse southeastern Indigenous peoples living along the Chattahoochee River. Soon, the name was applied to Native peoples living in central and western Georgia and most of Alabama. It represented, as Martin notes, colonial situations where "it is precisely the power to name that the colonizing group attempts to monopolize for itself and deny the colonized." Anglo-Americans "insisted on renaming native peoples even though they already had names." As a result, I follow Indigenous nations in referring to them and their people as they choose.[5]

white Americans' settlement and conquest of Florida in the antebellum era. See Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny*. For the use of the term, "settler colonialism" by historians of the U.S., see Emily L. Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca, 2015); Janiewski, "Gendered Colonialism: The "Woman Question" in Settler Society," in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*; Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny*; Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race;* Mikal Brotnov Eckstrom and Margaret D. Jacobs, "Teaching American History as Settler Colonialism," in *Why You Can't Teach United States History Without American Indians,* eds. Susan Sleeper-Smith, Juliana Barr, Jean M. O'Brien, Nancy Shoemaker (Chapel Hill, 2015.)

[5] Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 7. Also see, Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* xvii, xviii; Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny,* ix.

Chapter 1: "The Most Extreme Frontier Family"

In December 1779, twelve-year-old Rachel and her family descended the Holston River in southwest Virginia. They traveled towards their new home, the Cumberland settlement, now known as Nashville, Tennessee. Often, Rachel's father, John Donelson, wondered if the party would survive. During the next five months, the party endured attacks by Native American warriors, near-starvation, and the deaths of fellow travelers. In April 1780, Donelson taught his children that "the hand of Providence" had delivered them to their "promised land," on the banks of the Cumberland River.[1]

The challenge of invading and settling Indigenous land left a lasting impression on Rachel. Even for a prosperous slave-holding family like the Donelsons, frontier life was dangerous, unpredictable, and scary. Some settlers, including John Donelson and Andrew Jackson, migrated in search of such volatility. They hoped that it would help them accrue quick capital and social and political influence.

Women often feared western settlements where patriarchal protection regularly broke down under the strain of warfare. Law and culture positioned women as the weakest, most vulnerable members of society, who depended on men for protection. In exchange, women submitted to men's authority, and provided them with domestic and reproductive labor. But on the frontier, husbands and fathers were often away from home, traveling for business, to

[1]John Donelson, *Journal of a Voyage, intended by God's Permission, in the good Boat Adventure, from Fort Patrick Henry on Holston river to the French Salt Springs on Cumberland River, kept by John Donaldson,* 1779, in Tennessee's Founding and Landmark Documents, digitized by Tennessee Virtual Archive, TSLA, Nashville, TN., http://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tfd/id/41/show/26. Donelson's partner, James Robertson, referred to the region as a "promised land," while his wife, Charlotte, the daughter of North Carolina minister George Reeves, hoped that the region would become Zion on earth. Quoted in Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 77, 106.

purchase provisions, or serve in the militia. Along the way, they risked death or injury at the hands of Indigenous warriors, who tried to repel the encroachment of white settlers. Usually, churches and congregations helped bolster patriarchal rule. But settlers did not establish middle Tennessee's first church until 1797. As a result, there was no ecclesiastical enforcement of men's patriarchal obligations to women.[2]

Throughout the turbulence, violence, and novelty of settlement, Rachel regarded patriarchy as a source of comfort and often lamented its weakness. She also bemoaned the instability of migration, settlement, warfare, and divorce.

Rachel's parents, John Donelson and Rachel Stockley, came from east of the mountains. John Donelson was in born in 1718 in Somerset County, Maryland to a middling family. Descended from Scottish Presbyterian migrants, Rachel's paternal grandfather, also named John Donelson, inherited little property from his own father, except for a "Large Bible and Silver Signett." Without an adequate inheritance, John Donelson had little to leave his children, John Jr. and Mary. As a result, when Rachel's father turned eighteen, he migrated to Accomack County, Virginia, where he met and married Rachel Stockley. Her father bequeathed his property to his

[2] Scholars are accustomed to seeing (or finding) women in opposition to patriarchy, but this assumes that all women understood how patriarchy acts as a form of oppression. Indeed, many women, then and now, clung to patriarchal power structures because they maintained that it promised women greater protection. Historian Drew Gilpin Faust notes that the promises of patriarchal protection for white women helps explain why many elite southern white women supported slavery and patriarchy. While an earlier generation of historians tried to suggest that white women found solidarity with enslaved and black women, recent scholarship has shown how white women clung to the benefits of their privileged class and race, even if it meant bolstering patriarchy. See Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War.* (Chapel Hill, 1997); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household,* (New York, 2008.) Angela Pulley Hudson notes that Muscogee warriors targeted settlers on pathways, which held spiritual significance in Muscogee spirituality. See Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill, 2010), 98, 104. For churches bolstering patriarchal rule, see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865,* (New York, 1981), chapter 1.

eldest son, which left nothing for Rachel and her new husband. Landless, John Donelson moved in with Rachel's family and took a job at her father's wheat mill.[3]

Anxious to own land, Donelson considered moving his new wife west, a change that many women dreaded. Women knew that settlement required the arduous labor of felling trees, clearing land, planting crops, and building houses. Even worse, it separated them from kinship and church ties and exposed them to Native American attack. Women felt frontier separation and isolation more acutely than men.[4]

Landless men saw western land as "unimproved" and, thus, theirs for the taking. They claimed that Native peoples had not "improved" the land by ploughing it and introducing domesticated livestock. Although Indigenous women planted crops such as beans and squash, settlers expected men to do this work. Inspired by the teachings of Genesis 1:28, they also expected Native men to tame the land by building houses and enclosing individual, privately-owned plots with fences.[5]

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[3]*Maryland, Wills and Probate Records, 1604-1878,* Somerset County, digital database (Provo, UT, 2015), 455; Pauline Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, Vol. 1 (Richmond, 1941), 3-5; Stratton Nottingham, ed., *Wills and Administrations, Accomack County, Virginia, 1663-1800* (Baltimore, 1999), 219; Ralph T. Whitelaw and George Carrington Mason, *Virginia's Eastern Shore: A History of Northampton and Accomack Counties,* Vol. 2 (Gloucester, MA, 1968), 1229.

[4] See, for instance, Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York, 1991); Anya Jabour, "The Privations & Hardships of a New Country": Southern Women and Southern Hospitality on the Florida Frontier," *The Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 75, No. 3 (Winter 1997), 259-275; *idem*., "It Will Never Do for Me to Be Married": The Life of Laura Wirt Randall, 1803-1833, *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 1997) 193-236; John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, 1979); "Introduction" in *A Sweet, Separate Intimacy: Women Writers of the American Frontier, 1800-1922,* ed. Susan Cummins Miller (Salt Lake City, 2000.) For homesickness among nineteenth-century women moving into Cherokee land, see Susan J. Matt, *Homesickness: An American History* (New York, 2011), 41-42.

[5] For the logic of Anglo-American settler colonization, and how it reshaped the landscape, see, for instance, Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, 1989); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983). For a new take that highlights the importance of both "enclosures" and "commons" in colonial contexts, see Allan Greer, "Commons and Enclosure in the Colonization of North America," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 117, No. 2 365-386.

With funds generated from his work at the mill, John Donelson purchased 200 acres on Sandy Creek in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, in 1744. He kept some family ties intact by encouraging his sister and her husband, Hugh Henry, to join this migration. The two couples constructed and shared a log cabin on the banks of the Banister River. At this spot, Rachel Stockley gave birth to nine of her eleven children: Alexander, Mary, Catherine, Stockley, Jane, John, William, Samuel, and in June 1767, Rachel.[6]

In western Virginia, Donelson accumulated more property and with it, prestige. In 1768, he purchased an iron-works to exploit the Shenandoah Valley's rich veins of ore to produce dishes, weapons, and bullets. Donelson also obtained an education in surveying and the law. With this training, he worked for the county as a tax collector and surveyor. In 1767, Donelson owned 660 acres and five enslaved people: Peter, Caneen, Tober, Hannah, and Sall. Only fourteen-percent of white adult men owned enslaved people in Pittsylvania County. As a result, slave ownership helped identify Donelson as part of the local elite. By 1769, this status helped him win election to the Virginia legislature.[7]

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[6] White settlers began trickling into the region around after 1716. Four years later, the Virginia government organized the region into counties and established a court system in 1732. See Maud Carter Clement, *The History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia* (Baltimore, 1976), 31-38. For Donelson's land purchase, see page 42. Clement, *History of Pittsylvania County*, 42. Joan Cashin has shown how nineteenth-century migrants also traveled in nuclear family units but most eighteenth-century settlers preferred traveling with larger groups of family. See Cashin, *A Family Venture*, 80.

[7]For the iron-works, see John S. Salmon, *The Washington Iron Works of Franklin County, Virginia, 1773-1850* (Richmond, 1986); Natalie Inman, "Networks in Negotiation: The Role of Family and Kinship in Intercultural Diplomacy on the Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1680-1840," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2010), 48. For iron goods in backcountry Virginia, see Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore, 2008) 60-66. By 1767, Donelson owned 660 acres, three times the amount owned in 1744. See Clement, *History of Pittsylvania County*, 94-97; "First List of Tithables of Pittsylvania County, 1767" in Gary Parks, ed., *Virginia Tax Records, From the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, William and Mary Quarterly, and Tyler's Quarterly* (Baltimore, 1983), pages 299-330 for Pittsylvania County. By 1774, Donelson owned 1,019 acres and 18 slaves. See Inman, "Networks of Negotiation," 36-37. According to the 1767 tax list, 938 white citizens and 316 slaves lived in the county. The largest slave owner in the region was Thomas Merriwether, who owned seventeen slaves. 46 of the 99 slave owners owned only one slave, while 14 owned two. See "First List of Tithables of Pittsylvania County, 1767" in Parks, *Virginia Tax Records.* By 1779, Donelson owned 30 enslaved peoples. As the owner of five enslaved people, Donelson further identified himself as a large-

The next year, the Virginia colonial government appointed Donelson to oversee treaty negotiations with the Cherokee and survey a line demarcating the border between Virginia and Cherokee territory. Donelson seized the opportunity to add several thousand additional acres for white settlement by violating the border that Cherokee elders had agreed upon. Rather than running the line north, along the Kentucky River, Donelson ran it across the Cumberland Mountains. For this deviation, he promised some of the Cherokee chiefs £500 in gifts, which the Virginia government never supplied.[8]

Donelson's line also violated the 1763 Proclamation Line and contributed to renewed resistance from Native leaders. After the Seven Years War, the British government enacted the Proclamation Line to halt speculation and settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. However, it antagonized speculators and failed to stem the flood of settlers. As a result, the Cherokee, Shawnee, and Mingo protested with targeted attacks on white settlements. In 1775, Donelson joined militia efforts against a segment of the Cherokee in modern-day middle Tennessee.[9]

In 1779, Donelson joined fellow Virginian James Robertson to establish the "Cumberland settlement," on a 27,000 square mile plot in middle Tennessee and southern Kentucky. Richard Henderson, a North Carolina judge, had purchased the plot from some Cherokee elders four

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scale slave owner among Pittsylvania County residents, where the majority (60 percent) owned one or two. For the importance of male "mastery" in slave-owning cultures, see Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995.)

[8] Inman, "Networks of Negotiation," 53-54.

[9] For role of the Proclamation Line in inciting independence among Virginians, see Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.) Ann Leslie Owens, "John Donelson," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=390, 2010.

years earlier. Yet the plot held significant spiritual, economic, and cultural value for Cherokee men as a prime hunting territory. As a result, many Cherokee contested the legality and boundaries of the purchase. Still, Donelson and Robertson proceeded with the settlement and solicited families to join them. These included some kin, such as Donelson's youngest daughter, Rachel, the families of his two older daughters, his son, John Donelson Jr., and Mary and Hugh Henry.[10]

Donelson and Robertson knew that a viable settlement needed women and children. Although popular myth envisions the West as a world made and populated by men, settlement required women to sustain. In fact, in 1796, half of all settlers in the Cumberland settlement were women. Men depended on the manual labor of women, as well as children, indentured servants, and enslaved peoples, to help clear land, plant crops, and build fences and structures—as well as to keep house, tend gardens, supervise children, cook meals, wash laundry, and milk cows.[11]

Free and enslaved women also provided critical reproductive labor. By having children and rearing families, white women followed Biblical teachings to "be fruitful and increase in

[10] By 1785, Old Tassel, a Cherokee chief, affirmed that Henderson had forged names on the deeds. Henderson purchased the plot after the 1775 Treaty of Sycamore Shoals with the Cherokee. Until 1786, Anglo-Americans considered the land that Donelson and Robertson settled to be North Carolina's western lands. However, in 1789, North Carolina ceded the territory to the Continental Congress, in exchange for assumption of their state debts. The region then became a federal territory, known as the Southwest territory, until it entered the union as the state of Tennessee in 1796. See Kristofer Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier* (Knoxville, 2007) 3-4; Inman, "Networks in Negotiation," 92-95. For Cherokee rejection of the purchase, see Cynthia Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier* (Chapel Hill, 2007), 102-114. These families are listed in Donelson's journal. However, due to difficult conditions on one part of the journey, Catherine Hutchings and her family ended up rerouting to Illinois. Donelson lamented "we now part, perhaps to meet no more" because he proved "determined to pursue my course, happen what will." See Donelson, *Journal of a Voyage.*

[11] "Census of the Territory" in J.G.M Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee to the end of the eighteenth century,* (Charleston, 1853), 648. For a critique of the West as a world inhabited by men, see Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York, 2001); Margaret Jacobs, "What's Gender Got to Do With It?" *Western Historical Qua*rterly Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn 2011), 297-304. For the notion of interdependence rather than independence, see Kathleen DuVal, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution*, (New York, 2016).

number." Their reproduction contributed to a "demographic war" against Indigenous peoples for control of the continental interior. A booming print culture encouraged women to reproduce settler societies by having as many children as possible. This literature juxtaposed images of fertile white women with infertile Native American women, who adopted, rather than birthed, children. Enslaved women's reproductive labor proved even more valuable. Their children provided owners with labor and lucrative capital, for slave-owners sold children for profit or traded them for land.[12]

While James Robertson led a small group of men overland, John Donelson guided a flotilla of families, crewmembers, and enslaved African-Americans along southern river ways to the Cumberland settlement. Although longer in duration, travel along rivers proved a safer and easier route than overland pathways, which brought greater exposure to the elements and the threat of Native American attack.[13]

As a seasoned traveler and surveyor, Donelson anticipated that his party risked resistance from Native warriors. Keeping a short journal of the voyage, he reported that after a hard frost disrupted travel, the party gained momentum by February 1780. That month, Donelson recorded

[12] For notions of a demographic war, see Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia, 2012),167. For white women's contributions to settler colonialism more generally, see Dolores E. Janiewski, "Gendered Colonialism: The "Woman Question" in Settler Society," in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaundhuri, eds., *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington, 1998); Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia, 2016.) For the historical importance of reproductive labor as an underappreciated concept, especially among enslaved women, see Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia, 2004.)

[13]Starting on the Holston River, the party traveled southwest, past Knoxville, where they caught the Tennessee River. They then took the Tennessee River southwest, down through Muscle Shoals, Alabama, before proceeding north up the Tennessee River to catch the mouth of the Ohio River. After a brief journey on the Ohio, they finished by catching the Cumberland River to float east towards.

spending his nights "in much distress" on account of overflowing rivers and striking shoals. As a result, the parties often had to abandon goods to lighten their load.[14]

Other challenges dogged the travelers. An enslaved man died from frostbite, while the Ohio River's strong current battered their boats. "Our situation here is truly disagreeable," Donelson noted, "our boats not constructed for the purpose of stemming a rapid stream. Our provision exhausted." To survive, the party relied on small quantities of bread and meat, obtained by hunting.[15]

Before leaving Virginia, the party learned that some people on the boat guided by a man known as "Stuart" had contracted smallpox. To prevent cross-infection, the party quarantined Stuart's boat by having it sail well behind the others. In April, warriors ambushed the boat, killed Stuart, and took the rest of the travelers captive. As the rest of the flotilla sailed away, Rachel heard the "cries" of the passengers left behind.[16]

Soon after, the boat occupied by the families and enslaved peoples of Jonathan Jennings and Eph Peyton went missing after it hit a large rock. The next morning, Rachel and her family woke to the "cries of 'help poor Jennings,'" who appeared "in the most wretched condition." Jennings recounted how warriors fired at his beached boat from the shoreline. To lighten the load and escape, Jennings ordered the women, his son, and their enslaved laborers to throw goods overboard. Amid the chaos, Peyton's wife threw her newborn baby overboard. [17]

On April 24, the party arrived at their "promised land" on the western banks of the Cumberland River. The settlement was just a few log cabins, which James Robertson and his

[14] Donelson, *Journal of a Voyage.*
[15] Donleson, *Journal of a Voyage*.
[16] Donleson, *Journal of a Voyage*.
[17] Donleson, *Journal of a Voyage*.

fellow travelers had constructed a few weeks earlier. In his private journal, Donelson confided, "our prospects at present are dreary." The settlement suffered from a shortage of provisions. Even worse, a coalition of Cherokee, Shawnee, and Muscogee warriors had started launching attacks.[18]

During the violence, Donelson saw an opportunity to move his family again, check on his Kentucky landholdings, and accrue more acreage. In 1780 or 1781, the family moved to Harrodsburg, Kentucky. From there, Donelson surveyed and speculated in land, while thirteen-year-old Rachel helped her mother and their enslaved women try to develop a home.

In 1784, Rachel met twenty-seven year old Lewis Robards, who had migrated to Kentucky from Virginia with his recently-widowed mother, Elizabeth, and his younger brothers. Their migration fulfilled the dying wish of Lewis's father, William, who wanted his family to relocate to Kentucky. Born into a Welsh-planter family, William enjoyed some prominence in Virginia as a militia lieutenant during the Seven Years War and a member of the Goochland County Committee of Public Safety. Upon his death, he owned 11,000 acres in Kentucky and twenty-nine enslaved people.[19]

In the spring of 1785, Rachel married Lewis and moved into his family's home but within a year, childlessness, family separation, and Lewis's financial ineptitude strained the marriage. Early American culture taught women that they had a sacred duty to reproduce and spread white

[18] Donleson, *Journal of a Voyage*.
[19] Like John Donelson, William recognized the profits his children could obtain by selling enslaved children in the growing southwestern market for slave labor. As a result, he bequeathed every one of his children at least one male and one female enslaved person to all his children. See "William Robards Will," *Virginia Magazine of History*, Vol. 9, (July 1901), 195-198.

settlements into Indigenous land. Women's fertility also affected men, who measured their masculinity in relation to their paternity. Rachel's failure to conceive damaged Lewis's self-esteem and compromised her sense of worth as a woman. In addition, she probably suffered from a sense of isolation and vulnerability, particularly after her family moved back to the Cumberland settlement during the summer of 1785. [20]

Lewis's financial difficulties likely concerned Rachel and her family, too. The Donelsons hoped that Lewis would provide lucrative kinship links and help develop the family's prestige in the southwest. Instead, Lewis showed little promise. Recognizing his eldest son's financial ineptitude, William Robards violated tradition and appointed his younger sons as executors of his will. Lewis also faced lawsuits for his many unpaid debts. In the fall of 1786, an apothecary owner named Andrew McCalla took Lewis to court. In November 1791, the same court charged

[20] We do not have any letters written in the 1780s from Rachel or Lewis that discuss their marriage. Indeed, only a few letters from Lewis have turned up, and are included in the Andrew Jackson Papers, while the first surviving letter from Rachel is dated 1813. Biographers usually blame Robards's foul temper and jealousy for the separation, which supposedly clashed with Rachel's vivacious teenage demeanor. See Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821,* (New York, 1977), 57-69. Bertram Wyatt-Brown refers to Robards as "despicable." See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Andrew Jackson's Honor," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 17, (Spring 1997), 30; Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, 21-22. By 1783, Rachel's older sisters had already given birth to several children by 1788. See "Genealogical Charts," *PAJDE,* Vol. I, 413-22. In the late 1780s, prescriptive literature and political pamphlets emphasized women's patriotic duty to produce and rear sons for the new republic. Historians refer to this ideology as "republican motherhood." See Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America,* (Chapel Hill, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women,* (Boston, 1980). Increased celebration of motherhood empowered some women but chastised those who could not conceive. Indeed, laws made female infertility grounds for husbands to divorce wives, as the North West Territory did in 1795. See Norma Basch, *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians* (Berkeley, 1999), 23. Earlier, in December 1791, the wealthy Virginian planter Robert Turnbull told the state legislature that upon marriage to his wife, Sarah, he found her "unable, incompetent and incapable to consummate Marriage." According to Turnbull, Sarah's inability to consummate their marriage violated his "tranquility." Virginia law did not recognize the inability to have sexual relations as grounds for divorce until 1827. Still, Turnbull's friends—the men who made Virginia's laws—considered him single and sanctioned his second marriage in 1796. See Thomas E. Buckley, *The Great Catastrophe of my Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion,* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 18-22. For husband's concerns about wives' fertility, see Gail S. "Family Empires: A Frontier Elite in Virginia and Kentucky, 1740-1815," (Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1992), 63. For more in infertility, see Elaine Tyler May, *Barren in the Promised Land: Childless Americans and the Pursuit of Happiness* (Cambridge, 1997).

Lewis with breaching the peace. Rachel and her family may have feared that Lewis would never fulfill his role as a proper patriarch.[21]

In April 1786, Shawnee warriors killed John Donelson while on a surveying expedition, which enhanced Rachel's sense of insecurity and vulnerability. Writing to Virginia's governor, Indian agent Samuel McDowell reported that Native warriors committed "depredations" every day in Kentucky and "have killed Colo. Donelson on his way to Cumberland from this country."[22]

Miserable in her new marriage, Rachel resented being apart from her family as they endured warfare and the loss of her father. In 1788, she risked her life when her brother, Samuel, arrived to escort her back to the Cumberland settlement along the very pathways where warriors killed their father.[23]

Rachel depicted herself as a vulnerable and weak woman, in constant need of male protection, preferably from a husband. Overwhelmed by the tumult of frontier settlement and violence, Rachel probably fled in search of, rather than away from, patriarchal authority. Reeling from the loss of her father and worried about Lewis's ability to provide for her, Rachel sought out the protection of her trusted family. When Lewis arrived in the Cumberland settlement to

[21] "William Robards Will," *Virginia Magazine of History,* Vol. 9, (July 1901), 195-198; Ann Toplovich, "Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics: The Robards-Jackson Backcountry Scandal," *Ohio Valley History,* Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 2005), 6. The judge later dismissed Lewis Robards's case and the specifics of his breach were never identified. See Michael L. *Mercer County Kentucky Records,* Vol. 1, (Evansville, Ind., 1987), 31, 34, 47, 62, 77.
[22] Samuel McDowell to Patrick Henry, April 18, 1768, and John May to Patrick Henry, April 19, 1786, Folder 414, *Bullitt Family Papers*, FHS, Louisville, KY.
[23] Toplovich, "Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics," 7.

reclaim Rachel, she proposed an ultimatum: live as a married couple near her family or separate.[24]

In an attempt to save his marriage, Lewis conceded to Rachel's demands and purchased a 640-acre tract near her mother's home on the Cumberland River. Yet Lewis's stay proved short, as he felt threatened by the budding friendship between Rachel and Andrew Jackson, a young lawyer boarding with Rachel's mother. By the fall of 1788, Lewis returned to Kentucky. Meanwhile, Rachel journeyed to Spanish Natchez with a group led by Jackson.[25]

Located on the lower Mississippi River, Natchez, which Jackson knew well, served as a trading outpost for new settlements. At 2,449 inhabitants, its population included Spanish subjects, enslaved Africans and African-Americans, diverse Indigenous peoples, French traders, and Anglo-American settlers. In July 1789, Jackson signed an oath of allegiance to the Spanish King, Charles III. The oath granted him the right to own property in Natchez and conduct trade on the Spanish-controlled Mississippi River. He set up a business importing goods to sell to the Cumberland settlers.[26]

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[24] Historians have only recently recognized that Rachel left Lewis Robards. They refer to her abandonment of him as a "self-divorce" that did not follow legal channels. As J.M. Opal states, Rachel's departure marked a "de-facto claim to divorce *a mensa et thoro*, from bed and board," see Opal, *Avenging the People: Andrew Jackson, the Southern Borderlands, and the Ordeal of American Nationhood* (New York, 2017), 11. Also quotations from Opal are from an earlier, unpublished draft of the manuscript. Also see Andrew Burstein, *The Passions of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 2003), 29.

[25] As a member of the Donelson family, Lewis Robards received insider knowledge on the value and condition of the land, which his father-in-law had surveyed in 1784. See Toplovich, "Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics," 7; *Davidson County, Tennessee Land Deeds*, Vol. 4, (Melba, KY., 1998) 19.

[26] For the text of the oath, entitled "Juramento de Fidelidad, 15 July 1789," see Robert Remini, "Andrew Jackson Takes an Oath of Allegiance," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, No. 54 (Spring 1995), 9. Also see Burstein, *Passions of Andrew Jackson*, 242. For a discussion on what an oath could offer a potential settler and Spanish immigration policy, see Remini, "Oath of Allegiance", 5-7; Gilbert C. Din, "Spain's Immigration Policy in Louisiana and the American Penetration, 1792-1803," *SHQ*, 76 (Jan. 1973), 255-76; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992) 112-115.

Rachel used the legal fluidity of the borderland to flee an unsatisfying marriage and form a new one and in late 1789, she and Jackson eloped in Natchez. Since the Spanish government recognized Catholicism as the only religion for public worship, legal marriage would have been impossible for two Protestants. Although pious, Rachel was young and in love with Andrew Jackson. He offered her the physical and emotional support that she wanted, and he was willing to incorporate into her family. Rachel accepted as legal their informal marriage ceremony.[27]

Lewis responded to the news by initiating divorce proceedings with the Virginia legislature in hopes of safeguarding his claim to Rachel's inheritance. In March 1790, he warned Rachel's brother-in-law, Robert Hays, "You may Relye on it that I will have the Property that is a Coming to Rachel and neither Will I gave up one Shilling as long as there any law." If George and Moll, the enslaved people possessed by Rachel, are "not willing to come to me," Lewis instructed Hays to "please to make sale of them." Less than a year later, Lewis wrote again, hoping that "theire is no advantage taken of me in My absence at Cumberland." He remained eager to know how John Donelson's estate was divided and "how to proseed to get my Rite."[28]

[27] Gilbert C. Din, "The Immigration Policy of Governor Esteban Miró in Spanish Louisiana," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* 73, (Oct. 1969), 161. Later, Jackson-defenders claimed that Rachel and Jackson were married legally by a Protestant preacher. But there is no evidence to this effect and despite years of searching, historians have not turned up a marriage record. I follow Ann Toplovich's chronology, which builds off of Robert Remini's findings. Toplovich, in particular, notes that the Jacksons later manipulated the dates to line up with Robards's divorce petition. See Toplovich, "Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics," 9; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire,* 57-69. For Jackson's links to the Donelson family, see, for instance, "Power of Attorney from Thomas Green," August 26, 1789; "Deed from William Donelson to Andrew Jackson" "Bond Acknowledged, Andrew Jackson and Robert Hays," "Bond acknowledged, Andrew Jackson, surety for William, guardian of Samuel, Leven, and Severn," in "Appendix III Calendar of Transactions and Agreements, 1770–1803," and Andrew Jackson to Daniel Smith, January 20, 1791, in *PAJDE*, I.

[28] Lewis Robards to Robert Hays, March 4, 1790, *Andrew Jackson Papers, Microfilm Supplement*, Reel 1. On the side of the letter, someone also made some rough calculations, as if to deduce the financial value of Rachel's marriage to Robards. Also see "Lewis Robards to Robert Hays," *PAJDE*, 1, 424-425.

The fluid nature of frontier law blocked Lewis from pursuing his claims, a delay which worked to Rachel and Jackson's advantage. Lewis knew about Rachel's trip and informal marriage, which threatened his control of her property. By late January 1791, executors for John Donelson's estate recognized Rachel as "Rachel Jackson." But Lewis had a legal right to Rachel's inheritance under North Carolina and Virginia jurisdiction, which acknowledged a husband's right to his wife's property, even if he divorced her. The job of enforcing the law belonged to the region's Attorney General: Andrew Jackson. Robards never pursued his claims. Instead, he connected with another prominent family and married Hannah Winn in December 1792. [29]

However, Lewis remained legally married to Rachel when he remarried. Although the Virginia legislature accepted Lewis's petition for a divorce hearing in December 1790, this only promised that legislators would hear his case. The next step was for Rachel to answer Lewis's charges in court. Following Kentucky's statehood in 1792, officials published advertisements in the *Kentucky Gazette* asking Rachel to answer the charges. Because she refused, the court ruled that Rachel "hath deserted the Plaintiff Lewis Robards and doth Still live in adultery with

[29] For Rachel in her father's estate, see "Inventory, Appraisal, and Division of John Donelson's Estate," in *PAJDE*, I. Modern-day Tennessee was under North Carolina jurisdiction until the formation of the South West Territory in May 1790. Even then, most lawyers and judges enforced North Carolina laws. See "Act for Government of the Southwest Territory," Clarence Edward Carter, ed. *The Territorial Papers of the United States: South West Territory*, Vol. IV, (Washington, D.C.,1934),18. Historians have identified some legal changes in the post-revolutionary period which benefitted women's ability to control their property. Yet, in 1790, these options would not have been available to Rachel on the southeastern frontier. See Norma Basch, "Equity vs. Equality: Emerging Concepts of Women's Political Status in the Age of Jackson," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 3, (Autumn, 1983), 297-318. Also see Opal, *Avenging the People*, 14. For Robards and Hannah Winn, see *Jefferson County, VA-KY Early Marriages*, Book I, 1781-July 1826 (Owensboro, KY, 1980) 17. Hannah's father, James, served as a militia captain in Fauquier County, Virginia during the Revolution. James's own father, Minor Winn, amassed a small fortune speculating in Kentucky lands. See J.L.M. Curry, "The Wynne or Winn Family," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Oct., 1898) 203-205; T. Triplett Russell, John K. Gott, *Fauquier County in the Revolution*, (Westminster, MD., 2007) 349-350.

another man." The court did not grant Lewis his divorce until late September 1793. By November, he remarried Winn to make their relationship legal.[30]

Although Rachel and Jackson had flaunted legal conventions, they needed a state-sanctioned marriage to protect their property rights. Without a legal marriage, Rachel remained a *feme sole.* But as a married woman, she became Jackson's *feme covert.* This meant that Jackson gained the right to serve as her legal and political representative in exchange for "covering" Rachel and guaranteeing the protection that she sought so badly. On January 17, 1794, Jackson went to the Davidson County courthouse and posted a one hundred pound bond to marry "Rachel Donelson, alias Roberts." The next day, officials made Rachel Mrs. Andrew Jackson.[31]

Many states, including North and South Carolina, did not permit divorce until the mid nineteenth-century. In Virginia, divorce via petition to the General Assembly was rare. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, Virginia legislators approved only one-third of all divorces requested by petitioners. Upon statehood, western territories like Tennessee and Kentucky were more lenient. In 1797, the Tennessee legislature granted David Caldwell an absolute divorce from his wife, Elizabeth.[32]

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[30] "An Act Concerning the Marriage of Lewis Roberts, Passed The 20th of December, 1790," in *The Statutes at Large, Laws of Virginia,* Vol. XII, ed. William Waller Hening (Philadelphia, 1823), 227; "Permission for Robards to Sue for Divorce," *PAJDE*, 1; *Kentucky Gazette*, February 4, 11, 18, 25, March 3, 10, 17, 24, 1792; "Divorce Decree," *PAJDE,* 1; Alma Ray Sanders Ison and Rebecca Wilson Conover, eds., *Marriage Bonds and Consents, 1786-1810, Mercer County, Kentucky,* (Harrodsburg KY, 1970) 95.

[31] "Marriage Bond—Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson Robards," *PAJDE,* 1; *Marriage Record Book I, January 2, 1798-December 13, 1837, Davidson County, Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1952), 2. For women's relationship to the law and property, see Marilynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill, 1986).

[32] Absolute divorce differed from divorce from bed and board, which allowed separation but not remarriage. For Virginia divorces, see Buckley, *The Great Catastrophe of my Life,* 1. For Tennessee, see James W. Ely Jr., Theodore

Securing a divorce from the Tennessee legislature included at least six steps. First, one had to get family, friends, or neighbors to sponsor their petition and affirm that the accused spouse had committed adultery, desertion, or excessive maltreatment. Then she or he had to present their petition to the legislature. If approved, the legislators would summon witnesses to corroborate the petition's claims before deciding the marriage's fate. In 1799, Tennessee relaxed the requirements by approving the first divorce law in the South. "An Act for the Relief of Females" granted courts the power to decree absolute divorce or "divorce from bed and board," which allowed for separation but not remarriage. Tennessee's approach positioned marriage as a contractual agreement which two parties could break. Citizens could now obtain a divorce either through petition to the state legislature or the courts.[33]

Still, most Tennesseans sought a divorce via petition. From 1796 through 1828, 332 Tennesseans submitted divorce petitions. Of those, women presented 197 petitions, while men presented 136. Petitioners needed family, friends or neighbors to sign their petition to verify the information it contained. This requirement made it more accessible for women, who especially

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Brown, Jr., eds., *Legal Papers of Andrew Jackson* (Knoxville, 1987), 256-25; Basch, *Framing American Divorce*, 23; Goodheart, 320. Also see Loren Schweninger, *Families in Crisis in the Old South: Divorce, Slavery, and the Law* (Chapel Hill, 2012); Jane Turner Censer, "Smiling Through Her Tears": Ante-Bellum Southern Women and Divorce," *The American Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jan. 1981), 24-47. Historians have offered several explanations for Tennessee's relatively "liberal" approach to divorce, including settlers' "restlessness" and the general "egalitarianism" of the post-revolutionary period. I suspect that Tennessee's approach to divorce stemmed from its frontier setting, where it was safer to seek divorce in a local court than to travel to the state legislature in Knoxville. See Basch, *Framing American Divorce*, 23; Ely and Brown, *Legal Papers of Andrew Jackson*, 256; Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*,168-9, 289 n.44; Lawrence B. Goodheart, Neil Hanks, and Elizabeth Johnson, "An Act for the Relief of Females...": Divorce and the Changing Legal Status of Women in Tennessee, 1796-1860," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* Vol. 44, No. 3 (Fall 1985), 320-321.

[33] Schweninger, *Families in Crisis*, 6; Goodheart, Hanks, Johnson, "An Act for the Relief of Females…" Also see *Nashville Clarion*, October 6, 1809; *Journal of the House of Representatives at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1809)155-156, TSLA, Nashville, TN; "An Act to Revive an Act, Entitled "An Act Concerning Divorces," Passed October 26th 1799," in *Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, Begun and Held at Knoxville, on Monday, the Eighteenth Day of September, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nine,* (Knoxville, 1809), TSLA, Nashville, TN., 216-217; Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land,* 168.

depended on the support of family or friends. Most female petitioners cited desertion as the reason why they required a divorce, followed by adultery. Conversely, most male petitioners cited adultery as the primary reason for divorce, which suggests that Lewis's charge against Rachel was not uncommon.[34]

Many more settlers separated from their spouse informally by placing an advertisement in local or state newspapers. From 1787 to 1800, husbands filed 89 notices in the *Kentucky Gazette* to announce their separations.[35] Nashville did not have a newspaper until 1801. Prior to that, Tennesseans read the *Knoxville Gazette,* for which some copies exist from 1792 to 1800. In surviving issues, eight notices appeared, but a woman filed only one of them. Desertion advertisements increased after 1801, when the *Nashville Clarion* started printing newspapers. Through 1810, 55 husbands advertised estrangement from their wives.[36]

Divorce petitions, desertion advertisements, and informal separation reveal that the complexities of Rachel's marital situation were unusual, but not unprecedented. Many settler men and women sought separation from their spouses but gender and region restricted the

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[34] I compiled these findings—as well as those in the following paragraphs—from the following: Goodheart, Hanks, and Johnson, "An Act for the Relief of Females," 327; *Tennessee Legislative Petitions*, Microfilm rolls 1-7, Tennessee State Library and Archives, (Nashville, TN.); Gale Williams Bamman, *Tennessee Divorces, 1797-1858: Taken from 750 Legislative Petitions and Acts,* (Nashville, 1985). From a sample of 197 petitions filed by women, most (91) cited desertion as the reason they required a divorce, followed by adultery (27).
Adultery was cited in 55 of the 135 petitions sampled. A sample of 135 petitions filed by men found that 44 husbands cited desertion. Men cited adultery as the primary reason for divorce, suggesting that Lewis's charge against Rachel was not uncommon.

[35] Honor Sachs, "The Myth of the Abandoned Wife: Married Women's Agency and the Legal Narrative of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Kentucky," *OVH,* 3, (Winter 2003), 15.

[36] For Kentucky advertisements, see Honor Sachs, "The Myth of the Abandoned Wife: Married Women's Agency and the Legal Narrative of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Kentucky," *Ohio Valley History*, 3, (Winter 2003), 15. For Tennessee, see *Knoxville Gazette,* March 10, Aug. 11, 1792, Dec. 7, 1793, Nov. 29, 1794, Aug. (date illegible), Nov. 14, 1796, March 11, May 6, 1801. *Knoxville Gazette,* March 10, Aug. 11, 1792, Dec. 7, 1793, Nov. 29, 1794, Aug. (date illegible), Nov. 14, 1796, March 11, May 6, 1801, and Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land,* 167. Milliner Anderson informed the public that her husband, George, had raped Catharine Walker and fled to the Mississippi territory, where he married another woman. See *Knoxville Gazette,* Dec. 7, 1793.

options available to them. As an elite woman from an influential family, Rachel benefitted from the protection of family and kin. Yet unlike those women who petitioned for divorce, Rachel could not charge Lewis with adultery, abandonment, or abuse. Informal separation and elopement proved one of few available options.

Rachel's elopement also fit into a larger pattern of informal marriage among the region's elite settler families. Prominent men in the region had one white family and one Indigenous family. From 1777 to 1786, Rachel's father worked with Joseph Martin as Virginia's agent to the Cherokee. During that time, Martin maintained a Cherokee family with Betsy Ward, the daughter of the prominent Cherokee leader, Nancy Ward. He also maintained a white family with a Virginian woman named Sarah Lucas. Lucas knew about her husband's relationship with Ward. However, according to her son, it did not bother her provided that Martin kept his main address in Virginia. Understanding the importance that Cherokee diplomacy placed on kinship links, Lucas believed that Martin's Indigenous family helped keep him safe in the Cherokee nation.[37]

It was difficult to enforce marital norms on the frontier. Typically, courts and churches monitored marriage, sexuality, and family formation. Local courts could protect a woman from an abusive husband, for instance, while churches expelled congregants for indecent behavior, including adultery. In some frontier regions, such as western New York, church enforcement

[37] See Col. Wm Martin to Lyman Draper, letter undated, William Provine Papers, Box 4, Folder 2, TSLA. Martin's second white wife was Susannah Graves, a descendent of Captain Thomas Graves, a founder of Jamestown. For Martin's "legal" marriages, see Maud Carter Clement, *History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia,* 143. Such marriages helped them secure kinship links to the native nations that they worked with. These marriages offered native women's families influence with colonial and government officials. See Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties;* Michelle Lemaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast* (Charlottesville, 2012).

helped patriarchal power extend westward. But in middle Tennessee, law enforcement proved weak and distant, and there were no churches.[38]

In the early 1780s, nineteen men established a fund to bring a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Thomas B. Craighead, to Nashville. The men contributed 86 pounds and 10 shillings for a 640-acre tract of land and $125 salary. Craighead established close relationships with prominent families, including the Jacksons and Robertsons. Still, because Craighead preached from his front lawn, his reach proved limited. Settlers did not establish the region's first church until 1797 and it served only a small Baptist congregation. George M. Martin remembered the simple log-cabin as more of a meeting-place than a house of worship. "It was common for the young men to jump & pitch Quoites," a game similar to horseshoes, "in the Yard untill the preacher entered the house," Martin recalled. After service, congregants seized the audience's attention to "proclame that he had Corn or Potatoes, or some other article for sale."[39]

Without legal or ecclesiastical enforcement, Tennessee settlers relied on the threat of social ostracism to enforce moral norms but the strength of this enforcement differed depending

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[38] For western New York, see See Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class,* chapter 1. For Tennessee legal culture, see Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land.*

[39]Craighead, see John M. Bass, "Rev. Thomas Craighead," *The American Historical Magazine,* 7 (January, 1902), 88-96; Edward Albright, *Early History of Middle Tennessee*, (Nashville, 1908), 117-118; Anita Goodstein, *Nashville, 1780-1860: From Frontier to City,* (Tallahassee, 1986), 16; Walter Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838,* (Richmond, 1952), 19. For Craighead's funding, see "Extract from the Deposition of Samuel Barton," in *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History,* 3-5. From 1791 to 1805, Andrew Jackson, John McNairy, and Thomas Craighead sat on the Board of Trustees for Nashville's first school, Davidson Academy, which later became Cumberland College. In 1795, Craighead also purchased coffee, paper, bridle bitts, ink, and a comb from the Jacksons' store. See Thomas B. Craighead to A. Jackson, Jan. 14, 1803 and "Appendix IV, Account Book, Jackson's Nashville Store, 1795," in *PAJDE*, 1; *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, 8. Martin quoted in "Nashville Presbyterianism in 1799," in Wilbur F. Creighton Jr. and Leland R. Johnson, eds. *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History* (Nashville: First Presbyterian Church, 1988), 6-7.

on class, race, and gender. Early Americans granted white men much more leniency in terms of interracial sex and informal marriage than white women. Men like Joseph Martin could maintain a white and Cherokee family, while white women could not. Rachel enjoyed the protection of her family's status and extended social network. Her high status protected her from social ostracism.

Upon their return to Tennessee, Rachel and Jackson resided with Rachel's mother until the early 1790s, when they set up their own home on a 330-acre plot, across the Cumberland River. In 1792, Tennessee's territorial governor William Blount appointed Jackson as Judge Advocate. While the post gave Jackson local prestige, it required spending extended periods in Knoxville, the territory's capital, 180 miles from Nashville. Remembering her father's death, Rachel knew how dangerous travel could be, particularly in times of war.[40]

Jackson's absences violated his marital pledge to protect Rachel and reminded her of the vulnerability of her earlier life with Lewis Robards. As the *Westminster Confession* taught Presbyterian families like the Donelsons, marriage privileged "mutual help." Women needed to obey their husbands, but, in exchange, they could expect economic subsistence, physical protection, and emotional support. Jackson improved on Lewis by fostering connections with Rachel's family. Although his finances ebbed and flowed throughout the 1790s, Jackson could

[40] See "Commission as Judge Advocate," Sept. 10, 1792, *PAJDE,* 1; Opal, *Avenging the People*, 108.

provide for Rachel, or solicit the help of her family. His letters also indicated regret for the couple's separations and offered Rachel emotional support.[41]

Still, Rachel and other settler women measured a husband's protection in terms of proximity. Like Rachel, Anne Henry Christian grew up in Virginia to a Presbyterian family. In the early 1780s, Anne and her husband, William, migrated to Kentucky and operated a salt works, where Rachel or Lewis's mother purchased salt. Ann saw the establishment of white settlements as "providence" but described frontier violence as pitting "our Christian armies" against "Savages," in "fields of blood." In September 1786, Shawnee warriors killed William. As a widow, Ann felt abandoned and vulnerable. She struggled to describe "the distress & affliction it has pleased the God of Heaven to lay upon me" and wondered how she could survive with "no protector, no refuge to fly to in this world."[42]

Escalating violence made women desire male protection more than ever. From 1780 through 1794, Nashville became a major theatre of warfare between settlers and Native warriors, during the "Chickamauga War." Native peoples fought to resist settler encroachment, while

[41]A. Jackson to R. Jackson, May 9, 1796, *PAJDE*, 1. Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Nation*, 172; Andrew R. Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 212.

[42] Anne Henry Christian to Anne Fleming, Oct. 7, 1782, and Ann Henry Christian to Patrick Henry, September 1786, written from Mercer County, Kentucky, where Rachel lived with Lewis Robards. See *Bullitt Family Papers*, Folder 397 and 133, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY. For salt, see "Orders drawn by Mrs. Annie Christian," May 29, 1787, Folder 397, *Bullitt Family Papers*, Folder 133. There was a split in the Henry family among Presbyterians. But Ann's mother, Sarah, took them to evangelical meetings conducted by the Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies in Hanover County. See Thomas S. Kidd, "The Great Awakening in Virginia," Encyclopedia of Virginia, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/great_awakening_in_virginia_the.

settler sought to entrench their settlements as God's will in the region, referring to middle Tennessee as "the promised land."[43]

Cherokee peoples saw the region as a sacred space for hunting. They believed that hunting by men promoted peace by fostering balance with women's farming. White settlement compromised young Cherokee men's ability to hunt. This disrupted spiritual balance, and as a result, threatened all aspects of Cherokee society, from gender relations to diplomacy.[44]

Tennessee settlers understood Indigenous warriors and British forces who tried to expel them from the region as God's enemies. In 1780, settler militiamen confronted British and Loyalist forces at the Battle of King's Mountain. Prior to the battle, General John Sevier asked Reverend Samuel Doak, a Presbyterian pastor from Virginia, to deliver a sermon. Doak assured the men that God guided their violence, just as he had guided Gideon's defeat of the Midian army in the Old Testament.[45]

In the "Chickamauga War," settlers fought against Lower Cherokee and some Muscogee and Shawnee warriors, referred to as the Chickamauga. Led by Dragging Canoe, the

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[43] Quoted in Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 106. Charlotte Reeves Robertson was the daughter of George Reeves, a North Carolina minister. See Carole Stanford Bucy, "Charlotte Reeves Robertson," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/index.php, 2011.

[44] See Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, 1998), 13; Nathaniel Shieldley, "Hunting and the Politics of Masculinity in Cherokee Treaty-Making, 1763-75," eds. Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850* (Philadelphia, 1999) 167-85; idem., "Unruly Men: Indians, Settlers, and the Ethos of Frontier Patriarchy in the Upper Tennessee Watershed, 1763-1815," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1999. Similar shifts in perceptions of gender occurred among the Muscogee. See Claudio Saunt, "Domestick...Quiet Being Broke": Gender Conflict among Creek Indians in the Eighteenth Century," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, eds. Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill, 1998.)

[45] Sermon recounted by J.G.M. Ramsey and quoted in Gordon T. Belt, *John Sevier: Tennessee's First Hero*, (Charleston, 2014), 60-61. Doak's reference to Gideon echoes a broader employment of Old Testament stories and Scripture by revolutionary-era Americans. They transformed Gideon into a classical republican and compared George Washington to him. See Eran Shalev, *American Zion, The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New Haven, 2013), 15-16.

Chickamauga had split from traditional Cherokee leadership, situated around the Overhill towns. They believed that Cherokee elders had proven complacent to white settler encroachment. They also opposed elders' willingness to cooperate and work with the new U.S. federal government towards achieving peace in the region. Instead, their warriors vowed to resist the extension of white settlements.[46]

By refusing to provide significant military aid, President George Washington's administration contributed to settlers' sense of persecution. When the violence began, the Cumberland settlement fell under North Carolina jurisdiction. In February 1790, North Carolina ceded the region to the federal government, which organized the area into the federal Territory South of the River Ohio, or the Southwest Territory. As inhabitants of a federal territory, settlers had no congressional representation. William Blount, a ruthless North Carolinian speculator, headed the limited territorial government as the federally-appointed governor.[47]

Elite Tennesseans like Blount, the Donelsons, and the Jacksons allied with common settlers to seek federal military intervention against the Cherokee. From July 1791 to 1794, Blount wrote to Secretary of War Henry Knox requesting military aid and protection. Tennesseans also wanted Congress to declare war on the Cherokee, which would legitimate offensive attacks into Cherokee territory. [48]

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[46]Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land;* James Pate, "The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1969.)

[47] "North Carolina: Deed of Cession," Feb. 25, 1790 in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1949), 4:9.

[48] Knox to Blount, Aug 18 1791 in *Territorial Papers*, 4:76. Knox notes "I have received your several favors by Major Montflorence of the 21st 26th and 28th July" although none of these letters have been found. For class divisions in this era, see Ray, *Middle Tennessee*.

Although the federal government sent some troops in 1792, Congress refused to declare the violence an official war and maintained that settlers could act only in self-defense and only in U.S. territory. Knox urged Blount to quell settler attacks on Native Americans and stop further land encroachment. With limited resources, the federal government had committed to fighting Native American resistance efforts in modern-day Ohio and Michigan, where it owned large portions of land. Under direct orders from Congress and President George Washington, Knox prohibited Blount from authorizing or directing any "offensive operations."[49]

The government's refusal to declare war angered Tennessean men, who felt unable to protect their dependents and victimized twice—first, at the hands of Native warriors, and then by their own government. In August 1794, the *Knoxville Gazette* reported on the status of a petition sent to Congress from the Cumberland settlement. Petitioners repeated their request for military protection and claimed that their settlement remained "more liable to the inroads and depredations of a number of the tribes than perhaps any other people." Congress debated the petition but ultimately dismissed it. According to the *Knoxville Gazette,* Congressmen ignored the right of "the most extreme frontier family" to government protection. Writing to an associate, Andrew Jackson asserted that the government foolishly had extended all its "humanity" to Native Americans. He wondered why representatives did not "Extend an Equal share of humanity to her own Citizens."[50]

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[49] Knox to Blount, July 26 1794, *American State Papers*, 634; Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 66-68. For federal ownership of northwestern lands, see Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (New York, 2009) 132-133.

[50] The petition followed others, including one from 1791 written by the district's civil and military officers to Pres. Washington. Clarence Carter notes that a memorial was submitted to Congress from the Territorial House of Representative on Apr. 4, 1794, which was likely the petition referred to by the *Knoxville Gazette*. However, the bill has not been found. It should be in the House or Senate files but Carter writes that in this file, the Feb. 1794 sections

Prohibited from launching offensive attacks or electing representatives who might authorize them to do so, Tennessee writers turned to print. In describing the violence, writers sympathized with the settlers' plight. Yet Tennesseans seldom couched their descriptions of the violence in terms of threatened femininity and instead maintained that men were as vulnerable as women. Writers described victims in non-gender specific terms, such as "settlers" and "families." They referred to settlers as "defenseless" and suggested that only the federal government—not virulent men—could offer protection. Recounting a 1792 attack east of Nashville, Captain John Rogers saw no distinction between the "man that had been killed in the field" or "the girl that had been tomahawked." All remained "in a deplorable situation."[51]

Men considered themselves vulnerable because gender-based rules of warfare meant that Cherokee and Muscogee warriors killed more men than women. Like Anglo-Americans, Cherokee and Muscogee people understood warfare to be the domain of men. Warriors competed with settler men, whom they killed or tortured to illustrate martial valor. From the spring of 1792 through October, warriors killed 44 settlers, of whom 31 were men. In 1794, Blount sent Knox the names of people killed, wounded, or captured from February to October. Blount counted 71

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are missing. In the wake of the 1794 violence, Congress passed "An act for the more effectual protection of the Southwestern frontier settlers" but the House did not accept the Senate's amendments and so the bill failed. See "Report of Committee of Congress: Territorial Defense," April 8, 1794, *Territorial Papers,* 4: 335, n.58. For the petition's dismissal, see "Memorial from the Civil and Military Officers of Mero District," Aug. 1, 1794, *Territorial Papers*, 4: 72-73. This came on the heels of the House defeating the Senate's amendments to a bill that promised to provide protection for the Southwest territory. See "A Bill for the Protection of the Territory," May 29, 1794, *Territorial Papers*, 4:342-434. *Knoxville Gazette*, Dec. 13 1794. A. Jackson to John McKee, May 16, 1794, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 1:113.

[51] See *Knoxville Gazette*, September 24, 1792*;* "A List of Victims, August 5, 1792," in Paul Clements, ed., *Chronicles of the Cumberland Settlement, 1779-1796* (Nashville, 2012), 355. Farther north, writers deployed a similar tactic when describing Native American attacks in western Pennsylvania. They depicted Native American warfare as a threat to femininity and familial stability and lingered on images of warriors ripping infants out of pregnant women's wombs before scalping the would-be child's mother. See Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2008); June Namais, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, 1993.)

people killed, 12 wounded, and 26 captured. Of the 83 wounded or killed, the majority (54) were men.[52]

Cherokee and Muscogee warriors saw women and children as valuable captives, whom they could ransom or adopt as kin. The *Knoxville Gazette* confirmed that warriors took more women than men captive. In 1792, the *Gazette* reported that 81 per cent of the captives taken from spring through October were women.[53]

Even female captives failed to solicit sentimental descriptions of women's suffering. In February 1792 Muscogee warriors captured Nancy Caffrey, Elsey Thompson, and their children. When writing about these women, Tennesseans accused the Muscogee of treating settlers like enslaved Africans and African-Americans. The *Knoxville Gazette* included Thompson and Caffrey in a list of people treated by the Muscogee "as slaves and sold from master to master, at as high a price, and in the same manner as negroes are sold." Settlers considered frontier warfare dangerous not because it threatened women and children, but because it collapsed racial distinctions and turned white settlers into white slaves.[54]

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[52] By "persons" the paper included the 25 slaves whom Native Americans had captured during the fighting. Native warriors did not kill any slaves. Rather, recognizing their rising value in the Deep South, Muscogee and Cherokee warriors captured slaves and either sold them or used their labor for their own clan as a part of their changing approach to captivity. See "A list of the names, persons killed, murdered, and captured since the 26th of February, 1794" *Knoxville Gazette,* Oct. 11, 1794. For spring through October 1792 killings, see Opal, *Avenging the People,* 110.

[53] See Perdue, *Cherokee Women*; Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*, (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 80-100. Eighteen (out of twenty-one) captives were women. See Opal, *Avenging the People,* 110-112.

[54] *Knoxville Gazette,* December 19, 1793, republished in *Columbian Gazetteer,* January 16, 1794. For changing Indigenous captivity practices, see Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*, (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 182-212.

In August 1793, an anonymous writer in the *Knoxville Gazette* offered a rare example of how Indigenous warfare targeted white femininity and fertility. The author maintained that federal peace treaties with the Cherokee did not obliterate the "natural right" of a man to defend his family. The writer stressed the recent murder of a pregnant woman by Indigenous warriors, who supposedly left the woman's corpse "in a most indecent posture—thus insulting the sex, thus insulting human nature." Still, Congress favored "their savage, adopted, and illegitimate, than to us their legitimate children." Only "the blood of the whole Cherokee nation" would wash out "the blood of this innocent babe" and its "murdered mother."[55]

As historian J.M. Opal notes, Andrew Jackson probably wrote the piece. It reflected Jackson's specific interpretation of Swiss theorist Emer de Vattel's *The Law of Nations* and echoed Jackson's pronouncements about the federal government's failure to defend its citizens. The author's emphasis on threatened femininity also mirrored future attempts by Jackson to justify violence against the Muscogee. [56]

By the nineteenth-century, Rachel and Jackson exploited this trope of men's strength to protect vulnerable women. Until then, their experience during the Chickamauga War united them in a shared sense of victimization that proved highly potent as their marriage developed.

In 1794, the final, and deadliest, year of the conflict, Rachel experienced Native American attack firsthand. In September, warriors set fire to the home of her brother, John, and

[55] *Knoxville Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1793.
[56] Opal, *Avenging the People*, 120-121.

fired shots in Rachel's own backyard. At the time of the attack, John Donelson, and possibly Jackson, were away participating in the surprise attack on Nickajack and Running Water, which helped end the conflict.[57]

James Robertson led 550 to 700 militiamen from Tennessee, Kentucky, and western Virginia in the destruction of Nickajack and Running Water, two major Cherokee towns. Writing to Blount, who condoned the violence, Kentucky militia leader James Ore reported that "the slaughter was great." For Robertson, the violence avenged the deaths of settlers, including John Donelson Sr. and Robertson's own son. Robertson reported that watching warriors kill his son in a 1792 ambush had "unmanned" him. He believed that unleashing even greater violence proved the only way to regain his manhood. [58]

Although the number of Chickamauga casualties remains unknown, recent estimates suggest that Indigenous warriors killed 200 settlers from 1780 to 1790. Another 200 died between 1792 and 1794. Warriors took even more settlers captive. In November 1792, Blount sent Knox "a return of the persons killed, wounded or carried into captivity" since January 1791,

[57] *Knoxville Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1794. For John Donelson, see "Attack on Hays Station," in Clement, *Chronicles of the Cumberland*, 447. John Donelson certainly participated, as reported in 1848 by his son, Stockley. See "Attack on Hays Station," in Clement, *Chronicles of the Cumberland*, 447. Records cannot confirm Jackson's participation. However, some maintained that he was there. See Opal, *Avenging the People*, 123. Rachel's brother-in-law, Robert Hays, also helped plan the attack. See Dan M. Robinson, "Robert Hays, Unsung Pioneer of the Cumberland, Country," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 1967), 269

[58] James Ore to William Blount, September 24, 1794, *Papers of the War Department*. Robertson quoted in Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 163; Opal, *Avenging the People*, 112, footnote 37 chapter 3. For Blount's knowledge, see Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 66. The militiamen were from Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. Cynthia Cumfer suggests that 550 militiamen participated, while Susan M. Abram puts the number at 700. See Cynthia Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 11, 66-68 and Susan M. Abram, *Forging a Cherokee-American Alliance in the Creek War*, (Tuscaloosa, 2015), 23.

which totaled 119. Less than three months later, Blount sent another list that counted fifteen settlers killed, wounded, or taken captive between January 10 and 26.[59]

The violence destabilized both settler and Native American society. If settlers or Native peoples did not lose a family member in an attack, they witnessed or heard stories about the violence. Most settlers experienced days inside a cramped fortification, waiting for warriors to launch an attack. In April 1793, Blount visited one of these encampments. He counted 280 men, women, and children "living in a miserable manner in small huts." These experiences triggered trauma in many frontier inhabitants. James Robertson noted that Cumberland residents suffered unimaginable "distress." Such distress also plagued Cherokee peoples and the violence unleashed waves of paralyzing mourning throughout many communities. [60]

Most settler women emerged from the conflict widowed. By 1795, two-thirds of the wives of the original Cumberland settlement were widows, including Rachel's mother. Sparse marriage records makes it difficult to know how many remarried but Rachel Stockley and Ann Henry Christian remained widowed. Rather than seeing the loss of a husband as liberating, both lamented the absence of male protection and sought it from sons and neighbors.[61]

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[59] William Blount to Henry Knox, Nov. 8, 1792, *American State Papers*, 325-331; Opal, *Avenging the People*, 24, 118.

[60] Blount quoted in Opal, *Avenging the People*, 115. For settlers distress, see Lieut. Colonel White to William Blount, Feb. 12, 1793, *American State Papers*, 435-6; William Blount to Henry Knox, Feb. 12, 1793, *Territorial Papers*, 4:239. Mary Beth Norton notes that seventeenth-century New England settlers suffered similar trauma from Indian violence. See Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York, 2002), intro and page 307. In Cherokee society, the tradition of "crying blood," wherein Cherokee men and especially women mourned deceased kin could paralyze the community. See Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 80-100.

[61] For the number of widows, see Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 161. Often, women chose not to remarry if they held enough property to provide for themselves. See Suzanne Lebscock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1980), 24.

By threatening her male protectors, Native American warriors damaged Rachel's sense of security, which familial and marital turbulence had already upended. Although Rachel did not lose her husband in the conflict, Jackson spent extended periods in Knoxville as Judge Advocate. After Tennessee became a state in 1796, he lived part-time in Philadelphia, where he served two terms as Senator. Jackson offered Rachel hollow promises that he would retire soon. In the meantime, he lamented that Rachel did not write more often. Rachel probably proved reluctant to do so because of the "distress of mind" that engulfed her.[62]

Rachel turned to the spiritual world for protection. The Gospel never alleviated the sense of abandonment and vulnerability that she felt after the 1790s, nor did it replace the physical presence of a husband. But when Rachel and other women heard the word of God imparted by one of his messengers, it lifted their spirits. Yet preachers were rare in the region. Even if a missionary rode through the settlement, or Thomas Craighead delivered a sermon, the lack of a male escort kept Rachel at home.[63]

In these times, Rachel probably read her Bible and sang hymns with her mother. Like most newlyweds, she wondered how her life would unfold now that she had made (and remade) the most important decision in a woman's life: who she would marry. After a failed first start, Rachel probably prayed that her second marriage would provide the protection that she sought so badly. Often unsatisfied with whatever she had, Rachel was skeptical. From the 1790s onwards,

[62] A Jackson to R. Jackson, May 9, 1796, *PAJDE*, 1; A Jackson to R. Jackson, March 22, 1803, and A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 6, 1804, *PAJMS*, reel 1.
[63]As in most places, women in Tennessee proved more pious than male settlers. See Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*, 171.

she started to see herself as one of God's children, constantly tormented by enemies who, in offending her, offended God.[64]

[64]For the importance of marriage for women, see Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women,* (Boston, 1980), 40-41.

Chapter 2: "My Father in the Gospel"

When Rachel looked up at the sky in 1811, she saw something strange. In September, a solar eclipse occurred, followed by a comet that illuminated the night sky for much of the fall and winter. Rather than seeing the comet as a thing of beauty, Rachel and many Tennesseans found it foreboding. One Tennessean remembered that the comet engendered "a deep sensation" among residents. As the *Nashville Clarion* reported on Christmas Eve, "the comet has been universally acknowledged by all nations as the harbinger of evil."[1]

By December, the comet had disappeared but a series of earthquakes replaced it. The quakes shook the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys until February 1812 and centered around the town of New Madrid on the Mississippi River. The New Madrid earthquakes caused widespread destruction and disrupted travel along waterways. The quakes also solicited fear. After the final earthquake on February 7, Andrew Jackson reported to Rachel's sister, Mary Caffrey, that the earthquakes "have been so severe as to throw down chimneys, and to crack brick walls." Rachel was "well, but verry much alarmed."[2]

Eclipses and comets engendered similar responses from Indigenous peoples. In 1806, Native Americans told stories about how the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa generated a solar eclipse. For many in the northern Ohio River Valley, this proved that Tenskwatawa spoke the word of the Great Spirit. Tenskwatawa and his brother, Tecumseh, urged Indigenous peoples to

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[1] See "A Retrospect of the Year 1811," in *The Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 1 (May 1812) 29-33 and (June 1812): 71-77; *Nashville Clarion*, Dec. 24, 1811. Also see Tom Kanon, "Scared from Their Sins for a Season": The Religious Ramifications of the New Madrid Earthquakes," *Filson Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 2005), 36, n.4; James Ross, *Life and Times of Elder Reuben Ross*, (Philadelphia, 1882), 201.

[2] Andrew Jackson to Mary Caffrey, Feb. 8, 1812, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson Digital Edition,* (hereafter *PAJDE*), 2, Daniel Feller, ed. (Charlottesville, 2015.) For the New Madrid earthquakes, see Jonathan Hancock, "A World Convulsed: Earthquakes, Authority, and the Making of Nations in the War of 1812 Era," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2013); Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty*: *A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815,* (New York, 2011), 576.

reject Anglo-American culture and form a union to resist American expansion. In 1811, their message received further godly confirmation when Tecumseh predicted the comet's arrival.[3]

Rachel and her Presbyterian pastor, the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, had detected evil prior to the comet's appearance. Blackburn suspected it when he abandoned his failed mission to the Cherokee the year before. In 1811, he carried this suspicion to middle Tennessee, where he met Rachel and became her self-described "father in the gospel." Writing to Elizabeth Kingsley in 1821, Rachel maintained that she would always love Blackburn. "Often I have blessed the Lord that I was permitted to be called under his ministry," she wrote.[4]

Blackburn's teachings appealed to Rachel, who took comfort in the promise of heavenly retribution, protection, and divine will. Infused with the lessons he learned as a failed missionary to the Cherokee, Blackburn lamented the rise of "false prophets" on the frontier. He cautioned Rachel and the prominent families who attended his sermons about the "battle of the great God" taking place around them. Recalling her family's suffering in the Chickamauga War, Rachel proved ready and willing to do her part.[5]

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[3] Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier,* (New York, 2012), 3-4; R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet,* (Lincoln, NE, 1985), 48-49. Also see R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership,* (Boston, 1984). For a cross-cultural analysis of Moravian and Cherokee reactions to the New Madrid earthquakes, see Jonathan Hancock, "Shaken Spirits: Cherokees, Moravian Missionaries, and the New Madrid Earthquakes," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 33, No. 4, (Winter 2013), 643-673. Hancock emphasizes that Cherokee responded to the earthquakes in many different ways. Some saw the quakes as evidence that the Great Spirit was angry at the Cherokee people for adopting Euro-American culture. But Hancock notes that this interpretation, and adjacent calls to resist interaction with Euro-Americans, proved less absolute than that of the Shawnee and Muscogee.

[4] Rachel Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821, newspaper clipping in Bettie M. Donelson Papers, Box 5, Tennessee State Library and Archives, (hereafter TSLA), Nashville, TN.

[5] *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 23.

In 1796, the Jacksons had moved to Hunter's Hill, a 640-acre plot on the Cumberland River, near Rachel's mother. Jackson overstretched the family's finances in land speculating, slave-trading, and importing ventures. By the summer of 1804, they were nearly bankrupt. To appease his Philadelphia creditors, Jackson sold Hunter's Hill, including livestock and furniture. He and Rachel downsized to a modest log cabin on an adjacent 425-acre property.[6]

Society expected Rachel to fill this new home with children. White women on the frontier maintained higher fertility levels than women on the eastern seaboard. Rachel's mother, for instance, had eleven children. Of those eleven, seven married and had nine children on average. Conversely, eastern women birthed between five to seven children. Several factors explain this difference. Settler families had greater access to land, which they transferred to children upon adulthood. Children also provided desperately-needed labor to clear plots and cultivate crops. Finally, Americans emphasized the need to populate the West with white settler families. Thirty-years old and childless after two marriages, Rachel realized that she would never have children of her own.[7]

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[6] Nathaniel Hays was Robert Hays's brother, who was married to Rachel's sister, Jane. See "To Boggs & Davidson from Jackson & Hutchings," July 31, 1804; "Registration of Stock Mark," July 23, 1804; Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, June 21, 1804; Deed, August 23, 1804, in "Calendar, 1804-1813," all in *PAJDE*, 2.

[7] The importance of biological reproduction led some states to permit divorce in the case of impotency or infertility. See Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., *The Great Catastrophe of my Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion,* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 39, 131; Mary Beth Sievens, *Stray Wives: Marital Conflict in Early National New England,* (New York, 2005), 24; Norma Basch, *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians,* (Berkeley, 1999), 66. National fertility averages do not exist for the period before the 1830s but Susan Klepp has tried to make national averages based on available evidence. See Susan Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820,* (Chapel Hill, 2009), 43, 267. For infertile women in America, see Elaine Tyler May, *Barren in the Promised Land: Childless Americans and the Pursuit of Happiness,* (New York, 1995.) For Rachel's family tree, see "Appendix I: Genealogical Charts," *PAJDE,* Vol. 1. For the differences between eastern versus settler women's fertility, see Nicole Eustace, *1812*: *War and the Passions of Patriotism,* (Philadelphia, 2012), 167; Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions*, 124, n.60; Morton Owen Schapiro, "Land Availability and Fertility in the United States, 1760-1870," *Journal of Economic History,* XLII (1982), 577-600. Klepp and Schapiro cite land availability as a reason for higher fertility rates.

Nevertheless, children populated Rachel's home. Tennessee law mandated that if a father died before his children turned twenty-one, the courts had to place them under a guardian's care. Because society expected widowed women to remarry, only men could act as guardians. If a woman's husband died, her children became "orphaned" and required the legal guardianship of another man. When Isabella Fowler's husband, General Edward Butler, died in the summer of 1803, she turned to Jackson. "My Dear Children, wants a guardian, & you are their Choice, & my own," Fowler wrote. Jackson accepted and became guardian of Fowler's four children. During Rachel's lifetime, Jackson acted as a ward for thirty children. Thirteen were related to Rachel and many of these children lived with the Jacksons. Her nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, moved in after the death of his father, Samuel, in 1804. Rachel saw herself as Andrew Donelson's "second mother."[8]

Five years later, the Jacksons adopted Rachel's brother's son, Andrew Jackson Jr. Andrew Jr. was one of twin boys born to Severn and Elizabeth Donelson. Adoptions between family members or close kin often occurred outside of the court system and happened frequently.

[8] Isabella Fowler Butler to A. Jackson, Aug. 3, 1803, *PAJDE*, 1; Rachel Jackson to Andrew Jackson Donelson, Oct. 19, 1818, *PAJDE*, 4. Guardians also managed the child's estate, should they have one. See John Haywood, *Public Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina and Tennessee, Enacted from 1715 to 1813 in Force in Tennessee*, (1815), Chapter 5, Section 5, 98. Also see Rachel Meredith, "There Was Somebody Always Dying and Leaving Jackson as Guardian": The Wards of Andrew Jackson," (M.A. Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 2013), 28; Holly White, "Forget what age and law have entitled me": Guardians, Wards, and Chronological Age in the Early Republican Period," Paper presented, *Virginia Consortium of Early Americanists*, January 2016, Richmond, VA. Jackson's first ward was actually a boy named Samuel Moore. In 1795, Sumner County court records show Jackson entering a bond to guarantee guardianship for Moore. Little is known of their relationship and in this case, Jackson's guardianship seemed to have only been a legal proceeding. See *Tennessee, Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes, Volume 1, 1787-1790)*, (WPA Administration, 1936), 126-27; Meredith, "The Wards of Andrew Jackson," 93-94. Isabella remarried in 1809 to a native of Pennsylvania named Will Vinson. See "Agreement of Thomas Claiborne et. al re Cocking Main," June 1809, *PAJDE*, 2. For Andrew Jackson Donelson, see Mark Cheathem, *Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson*, (Baton Rouge, 2007); *idem.*, "The High Minded Honourable Man": Honor, Kinship, and Conflict in the Life of Andrew Jackson Donelson," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 27 (Summer 2007), 265-293; *idem.*, "Slavery, Plantation Life, and Debt in Tennessee and Mississippi: The Example of Andrew Jackson Donelson," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, 61 (2007), 32-61.

When families had difficulty caring for children, especially in the case of a mother's illness, they often gave a child to family or close friends. This allowed them to continue seeing their child, and possibly play a role in their upbringing. Most families gave up daughters, assuming they drained the family's finances, rather than adding to them, as a son would. Family folklore maintains that Samuel and Elizabeth gave Andrew Jr. to the Jacksons because Rachel could not have children of her own. But Elizabeth's poor health, and difficulty caring for Andrew Jr.'s twin, Thomas Jefferson, probably helped their decision.[9]

In the fall and winter of 1809 and 1810, Rachel spent much of her time caring for Andrew Jr. but she dedicated equal energy to caring for souls. Historians often characterize spiritual revivals as engendering a spiritual "awakening." These terms suggest that revivals resuscitated deadened religiosity and led someone's life to start anew as a Christian. Rachel and Blackburn did not see their religiosity in these terms. Raised Presbyterian, they had always believed in the word of God and the need for spiritual guidance. [10]

Instead, they experienced what Blackburn referred to as a spiritual "refresher." The term implied an existing religiosity and maintained that revivals should serve as a reminder of one's wickedness and dedication to God. Unlike a revival, a refreshment did not demand an overhaul

[9] There is no record of a petition to adopt Andrew Jr. in Tennessee's Legislative Proceedings. See "Tennessee Petitions Index, 1799-1812," TSLA, Nashville, TN. Daniel Feller, editor of the Andrew Jackson Papers, states that over the years, no record has turned up that shows any official or legal adoption. See "Account with John Robertson Bedford," *PAJDE*, Vol. 2. To date, there is no historical study of adoption in this period. There are some essays that touch on adoption in early America in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, ed. E. Wayne Carp, (Ann Arbor, 2002.) For Andrew Jr., see Linda Bennett Galloway, "Andrew Jackson, Junior," (M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1949); *idem.*, "Andrew Jackson, Junior," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Sept. 1950), 195-216. For the greater adoption of girls, rather than boys, see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*, (New York, 1982), chapter 3. For family folklore, see Pauline Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, Vol. 1, (Richmond, 1941), 34; Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, (New York, 1977), 161; Galloway, "Andrew Jackson, Junior," (M.A. Thesis), 9.

[10] See, for instance, Thomas Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*, (New Haven, 2007); Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, 164-202; Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New York, 1989.)

of religious practice and teaching. It refreshed, rather than reshaped, one's commitment to Protestant doctrine and practice. Blackburn experienced his refreshment in 1788, while Rachel's spirit was refreshed in 1811, after she met Blackburn. A recent arrival from Cherokee country, Blackburn spoke from experience about the urgent need to renounce false prophets and cultivate Zion in Tennessee. He instilled in Rachel the need to live every day of her life by God's commands and encouraged her to implore Jackson and Andrew Jr. to do the same.[11]

Gideon Blackburn was born in 1772 in Augusta County, Virginia, to a Scot-Irish Presbyterian family. In 1689, the British Parliament passed the Act of Toleration, which allowed Protestant dissenters' freedom of worship. In Virginia, the Church of England remained the only church supported by taxes that the government charged to all inhabitants, regardless of denomination. During the late seventeenth and early nineteenth-centuries, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists argued that the Act of Toleration should apply to the colonies. In the 1740s, their efforts led the Virginia government to relax some of its restrictions, including a reluctance to charge dissenters. This occurred alongside a spiritual revival known as the "Great Awakening." Presbyterian preachers from New Jersey and New York descended on the Virginia Piedmont to evangelize. In 1746, the Hebron Presbyterian Church began holding services in Augusta County, which Blackburn's family attended.[12]

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[11] *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee*, (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 4.

[12]His father, Robert Blackburn, does not appear on Augusta County property or tax lists but his brother, Gen. Samuel Blackburn, accumulated some wealth as a lawyer, schoolteacher, and Virginia legislator. See V.M. Queener, "Gideon Blackburn, "Gideon Blackburn," *East Tennessee Historical Society*, No. 6, (1934), 12. For the Act of Toleration, see Alan Taylor, *American Colonies*, (New York, 2001), 140-1, 339-340. For Presbyterian migration into Augusta County, the "southern frontier," see S. Scott Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migrations in America, 1630-1865*, (Chapel Hill, 2010), 76, 92-95. Also see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 151-3; Thomas Cary Johnson, *Virginia*

In 1787, Blackburn left Virginia after the death of his parents and relocated to eastern Tennessee to live with his grandfather and uncles, Gideon Ritchey and John Blackburn. The next year, a group of unspecified Indigenous warriors killed and scalped a man named John Blackburn. They left his body standing upright with a spear sticking through it. This victim was probably Gideon Blackburn's uncle or younger brother. Around the time of John Blackburn's death, Gideon experienced what he called a "Renewing Grace," which he understood as divine intervention in his soul.[13]

Blackburn's renewal led him to Martin's Academy, east of Knoxville, where he studied for the ministry under the tutelage of the Reverend Samuel Doak. He obtained his license to preach in 1792, just as the Hebron Presbyterian Church's minister sought to establish a new church in eastern Tennessee. Blackburn took the job as minister. With a way to provide for a family, Blackburn married his cousin, Grizzy, the next year. Accompanied by militiamen, the

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Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, (Richmond, 1907); WH.T. Squires, *The Presbyterian Church in the Colony of Virginia, 1562-1788,* (Richmond, 1938). Persecution was lax and most residents in the region were Presbyterian. Indeed, in her study of Virginia parishes and public health care, Alyssa Penick has found that most people who sought case from Augusta County's parish were Presbyterian. See Penick, "To Attend the Sick and Belonging to the Parish": Established Religion and Public Healthcare in Colonial Virginia," Virginia Consortium of Early Americanists, Jan. 2017, Richmond, VA.

[13] Blackburn quoted in Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 13, and William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit: Presbyterian,* (New York, 1858), 43. The circumstances surrounding his parents' deaths remain unknown. See Queener, "Gideon Blackburn,"12-14. For Augusta County history, see J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia,* (Staunton, 1882). For Blackburn's murder, see J.G.M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century,* (1853), 485, and "The Killing of John Blackburn," in Paul Clements, ed., *Chronicles of the Cumberland Settlement, 1779-1796* (Nashville, 2012) 287. Gideon had a younger brother named John but it remains impossible to know which John Blackburn died in 1788. See Lester Lamon, "Gideon Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," *Journal of Presbyterian History,* Vol. 62, No 4 (Winter 1984), 364, n.15. Isaac Anderson wrote in a letter in 1854 that he moved to Tennessee in 1801 and knew Blackburn's uncle, John, who was also the father of Gideon Blackburn's wife and first cousin, Grizzy. See Rev. Isaac Anderson to Rev. William H. Parks, April 21, 1854, *Shane Collection*, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, republished in full in Lamon, "Gideon Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," 357-8.

Blackburns marched to Fort Craig, at modern-day Maryville, and organized the New Providence Church. At just twenty-years-old, Blackburn was developing the "peculiar *solemnity* and power" that people later observed in him. Over six-feet tall, with long, wiry, black hair, Blackburn had a commanding physical presence, which his congregants noticed when he took to the pulpit.[14]

During the early 1790s, life on the frontier meant long spells of isolation, followed by short, sudden bursts of violence. This meant that few preachers competed for the region's souls. But Blackburn expected, and even felt invigorated, by what he referred to as Tennessee's "bloody and destructive" frontier warfare. His nineteenth-century biographers noted Blackburn's "strong *penchant* for arms." Blackburn joined militia expeditions into the Cherokee nation in 1794, at the peak of the Chickamauga War. Feeling no contradiction about his religious calling, he aided the militiamen in their attacks and assured them that they were assisting the Lord in spreading "his kingdom from the rising to the setting sun."[15]

Blackburn maintained that the warfare had opened his eyes to the dire spiritual situation of the Cherokee, who possessed the "savagery and wretchedness" that evangelicals sought to

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[14] Description quoted in Rev. James Gallagher, "Anecdote of Gideon Blackburn," in *The New York Evangelist*, No. 23, 18, April 29, 1852. Doak also hailed from Augusta County. He founded St. Martin's Academy, where Henderson taught. But because Doak traveled as an itinerant preacher during Blackburn's youth, Blackburn did not form a close relationship with him until he moved to Tennessee. See Rev. Isaac Anderson to Rev. William H. Parks, April 21, 1854, *Shane Collection*, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, republished in Lamon, "Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," 357-8; E. Alvin Gerhardt Jr., "Samuel Doak," in the *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=385, January 2010. For the church, see Harold M. Parker, Jr., "A School of the Prophets at Maryville," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV, (Spring 1975), 72-90. For Blackburn's marriage, see *Tennessee State Marriages, 1780-2002*, database on-line, *Ancestry.com*, (Provo, UT, 2008.) Also see Lamon, "Gideon Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," 354; Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 14.

[15] G. Blackburn to Jedidiah Morse, 1807, in *The Panoplist, or Missionary Herald*, (1807-8), 39, quoted in Dorothy C. Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission to the Cherokees: Christianization and Civilization," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Fall, 1974), 204. For Blackburn's reference to "the setting sun" and his penchant for arms, see Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission," 205-206. Archibald Scott used the Hebron church's meetinghouse to organize a Patriot militia during the Revolutionary war. His dedication to faith and warfare served as an example to Blackburn during the Chickamauga War. See John R. Rosebro, *History of the Hebron Church, Augusta County, Virginia*, (Staunton, Va., 1922); *Hebron Presbyterian Church*, (Staunton, 1946); William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*, (New Haven, 1984), 54.

cleanse from the region. In 1803, he resolved to bring "the truth" to the Cherokee by opening that nation's first missionary school. Blackburn's school became a model for subsequent missions to Indigenous peoples undertaken by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[16]

In 1798, Moravian ministers introduced a mission plan to the governing Cherokee Council, promising to teach Cherokee children to read, write, and farm. In exchange, the Moravians wanted military protection, a prohibition on "interruptions" during sermons, and a permanent reserve of land to settle on. Angered by these demands, the Council rejected the plan. But James Vann, a prominent and wealthy Cherokee leader, offered the Moravians a portion of his private land in exchange for provisions and supplies for his community and education for his family. Vann's patronage left Doublehead, who spoke on behalf of the Council, little choice but to accept the mission on a trial basis.[17]

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[16] Blackburn quoted in Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission," 206. Tennessee tax lists place Blackburn in Blount County in 1800. He paid only a twelve-dollar poll tax for himself. See *Tennessee, Early Tax List Records, 1783-1895,* database on-line, Ancestry.com, (Provo, UT, 2013.) For Blackburn's goals, see Gideon Blackburn to unknown, in the following periodicals: *Herald of Gospel Liberty,* Feb. 2, 1809; *Evangelical Intelligencer*, Nov. 1808. Also see G. Blackburn to Rev. Dr. Morse, 1807, in *The Panoplist,* July 3, 1808. There was no precedent for a missionary school among the Cherokee that Blackburn could build on. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, Protestant ministers had established missions among northern tribes in New England and Pennsylvania. See, for instance, Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Home: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast,* (Ithaca, 2008); Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility,* (Philadelphia, 2004); David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871,* (New York, Cambridge, 2005.) Historian Emily Conroy-Katz highlights Blackburn's influence on the Board. In particular, she points to his development of a model of "missions as settler colonies," wherein the mission included settlement of a sizable group of evangelicals to provide "examples" for Native Americans. See Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic,* (Ithaca, 2015), 104-111. Also see Tracy A. Birdwell, "Cherokee Reckonings: Native Preachers, Protestant Missionaries, and the Shaping of an American Indian Religious Culture, 1801-1838," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Delaware, 2012), 7-15; Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravians Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem, 1923). The *Raleigh Register* and *Nashville Whig* noted that Blackburn proved a "pioneer" in "this business" of evangelizing Native Americans. See *Nashville Whig and Tennessee Advertiser,* Oct. 3, 1818.

[17] Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions,* 35-54; McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 35-43. For a documentary record of the mission, see Rowena McClinton, ed., *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Vols. I, II* (Lincoln, 2007). This split between Doublehead and Vann, who already had a fraught history,

The Moravians arrived in 1801 but they quickly ran into problems as starving Cherokees descended on the mission in search of food. One missionary grumbled that they were "surrounded by Indians the entire day, so that from early in the day until on into the night we had to cook for them." The little time that Moravians had for teaching went to Vann's daughter and young cousin. Until Vann's death in 1809, the missionaries acted as private tutors for the family and made little progress converting Cherokee youth.[18]

Blackburn believed that, by the grace of God, his mission would be different. First, he needed permission and funding from the Presbyterian General Assembly, the U.S. federal government, and the Cherokee Council. In 1800, the Presbyterian General Assembly had ruled that the church make "the gospelizing of the Indians on the frontiers of our country, connected with a plan for their civilization" its top priority. Capitalizing on this ruling, Blackburn obtained the Assembly's support, including $200 to fund the school and a monthly salary of $33.[19]

During the 1790s, the Federalist governments of George Washington and John Adams had worked to establish "civilization" programs among Native Americans. These programs included the appointment of federal Indian agents. Agents worked to assimilate Indigenous peoples by encouraging them to abandon their traditional practice whereby women farmed and men hunted. Instead, they urged men to farm and women to engage in domestic labor, like sewing, weaving, and cooking. Farming kept Native peoples contained to small plots of land,

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furthered the tension and grievance between the two leaders. For more on the mission through 1810, see Hancock, "Shaken Spirits."

[18] See McClinton, *Moravian Springfield Mission*, Dec. 26, 1808; Birdwell, "Cherokee Reckoning," 26, 30, 31.

[19] General Assembly quoted in Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission," 203. For funds, see McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 56. Elsewhere, McLoughlin referred to Blackburn as an "ecclesiastical entrepreneur." See McLoughlin, "The Mystery Behind Parson Blackburn's Whiskey, 1809-1810," in William G. McLoughlin, Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians 1789-1861*, (Macon, GA., 1982), 365.

from which agents could easily monitor their progress. Discouraging hunting also freed up land for white settlement.[20]

By 1801, President Thomas Jefferson, a Republican, maintained the Federalists' goals of civilization but with a greater emphasis on speed. Federalists accepted that pacifying and assimilating Native Americans, and obtaining their lands, would take time, possibly several generations. Conversely, Republicans appealed to their base of western settlers and eastern land speculators and emphasized swift pacification and assimilation. They wanted Blackburn's schools to serve as evidence that Jefferson had civilized Native Americans and conveyed their land to a more "deserving" population. In 1803, Jefferson authorized his newly-appointed Cherokee agent, Return J. Meigs, to allocate $200 to $300 for Blackburn's school.[21]

With this support, Blackburn presented his plan to the Cherokee. Although Meigs suspected that the Council would reject Blackburn's plan, Doublehead saw Blackburn's mission as a way to counteract the Vanns' Moravian mission. After a day's deliberation, the Council approved the mission and hoped that "much good will [be] done by it to our people."[22]

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[20] For Federalist-era Indian policy, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (Norman, OK 1976); Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812,* (East Lansing, Mich., 1967); Daniel H. Usner, "A Savage Feast They Made of It: John Adams and the Paradoxical Origins of Federal Indian Policy," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 33, No. 4 (Winter 2013); David Andrew Nichols, *Red Gentlemen and White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier,* (Charlottesville, 2008); Frederick Hoxie, Peter J. Albert, and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic,* (Charlottesville, 1999); Kevin Kokomoor, "Creeks, Federalists, and the Idea of Coexistence in the Early Republic," *Journal of Southern History*, 81 (Nov. 2015) 803-42.

[21] Historians have paid far more attention to Jeffersonian-Republicans' Indian policy than that of their Federalist predecessors. See, for instance, Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans,* (Cambridge, MA, 1999); Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood,* (Charlottesville, 2001); Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown.* Mary Young has also written a historiographical review on the topic. See Mary Young, "Indian Policy in the Age of Jefferson," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer 2000), 297-307. For reference to a "deserving" population, see Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians,* ix. For Jefferson's authorization, see McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 54-6.

[22] Chief Glass to R.J. Meigs, Oct. 21, 1803, quoted in McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 55.

In late February 1804, the first school opened on the Hiwassee River. It consisted of a dormitory, dining hall, and a house, where the schoolmaster, Jonathan Blacke, his wife, and young daughter lived. In 1805, eleven students, aged eight to twelve, attended the Hiwassee school. The school later averaged twenty-five students a year, one-third of whom were girls. Two years later, Blackburn opened a second school at Sale Creek, south of the Hiwassee school.[23]

The families who patronized the school controlled substantial wealth and influence within the Cherokee nation. They included the Fields, McIntosh, Ross, Hicks, and Adair families. Many comprised a white father who had married into the Cherokee nation. The families hoped that by becoming fully literate in English and learning Anglo-American culture, their children could become diplomatic and economic leaders.[24]

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[23] A Moravian missionary who visited the school described Blacke as a "kind man who really loves Jesus and who makes it his business with his whole heart to have the Indian children come to know the Savior." See McLoughlin, *Cherokee Missionaries*, 56-58. Queener claims that the amateur historian, Zella Armstrong, told him that Blackburn also established a private school to tutor Chief John Ross's son, Daniel. But there's no direct evidence of this. See Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 21, n. 33. Tracy Birdwell also claims that Blackburn's Sale Creek school operated under the patronage of a wealthy Cherokee man, similar to Vann's control over the Moravian mission. But there is no reference to any individual and there is little evidence to suggest that that was indeed the case. See Birdwell, "Cherokee Reckoning", 34, n. 47. Also see McLoughlin, *Cherokee Missionaries*, 56; Walter H. Conser Jr. and Robert J. Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina: Race, Politics, and Religious Identity in Historical Perspective*, (Knoxville, 2012), 86.

[24] For instance, the father of one student, James, was John McIntosh, a white trader, also known as Quotaqueskey, while Richard Fields, a white man married to a Cherokee woman, sent five of his children to the Sale Creek school, including Nancy and George. For McIntosh and white ancestry among Cherokee elites, see McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic,* 111. For Fields, see, *Handbook of Texas Online*, Dianna Everett, "Fields, Richard," accessed March 30, 2016, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffi05; McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 57. One of Fields's daughters, Nancy, who attended the school, ended up marrying a half-white leader, William Blythe. Blythe operated a ferry on the Tennessee River. See Sarah Jackson Martin, "Blythe Ferry," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture,* https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1562, 2009. For more on white ancestry among indigenous leaders, see Thomas N. Ingersoll, *To Intermix with Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removal,* (Albuquerque, 2005.) Also see McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 58; William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*, (Princeton, NJ, 1992), 77. For Cherokee recognition of literacy education, see Hancock, "Shaken Spirits," 650.

Students at the Hiwassee school reported the activities of a typical day. After waking up in separate dormitories, the boys and girls "all go to our knees, and say our prayers, one after the other." The students proceeded to their classroom for spelling lessons before receiving their breakfast, "meat, bread and sour hominy," which they also ate for lunch and dinner. Students ended their morning by reading the Bible "and other history." In the afternoon, they returned to their spelling. After dinner, the children sang hymns in a public prayer service and prayed beside their beds before going to sleep.[25]

Some events broke up the monotony. On the Sabbath, children got more time alone, although Blackburn expected them to read pious works. On more special occasions, parents visited. Blackburn welcomed the visits as an opportunity to teach Cherokee elders and chiefs about the progress of their children out of their "wretchedness." He hoped that his students would provide examples of how "civilized" Cherokees could behave. On these days, Blackburn had the children parade around their parents, singing hymns, and wearing pristine white clothing. Some parents seemed interested, others were perplexed. After delivering a sermon on man's fall from grace, one Cherokee mother reputedly remarked to Blackburn, "What a pity that all men were not made good from the beginning."[26]

Blackburn wanted to bring the children to "entire submission." To do so, he ensured that every child answer to a Christian name. He also emphasized God's power to consign sinners to eternal damnation, unless they accepted God's grace and "natural law," the Ten Commandments. Children spent half of their day in prayer. They read key texts, including the Shorter Catechism,

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[25] See Nancy Fields et. al to Gideon Blackburn, Oct. 30, 1807, in *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, Jan 1808.
[26] Nancy Fields et. al to Gideon Blackburn, Oct. 30, 1807, in *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, Jan 1808. Woman quoted in Gottlieb Byhan to Benzien, April 7, 1805, in McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 60.

which taught the principles of Presbyterian theology through a set of questions and answers. Students learned that "Man's chief end is to glorify God," God "fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass," and that Sin is "any transgression of the law of God." Blackburn included a hymn in every prayer service. Writing to the Reverend Dr. Ashbel Green in Philadelphia, Blackburn maintained that music alone could not "*transform.*" But, "it has a remarkable tendency to *soften*, the savage mind."[27]

By spring 1805, Blackburn hoped to prove that his missionary efforts were thriving. Writing to the Committee of Presbyterian Missions, Blackburn reported that two, male Hiwassee students "were bathed in tears under a sense of their sin; the same emotion has been observed at other times, during morning and evening service." Two years later, eighteen Sale Creek students allegedly reported that upon opening their eyes every morning, "we bless and thank God, we did not open them in that hell which we now read of in the Bible." By January 1808, Blackburn urged Green that redemption was both possible and imminent. Just four years after the Hiwassee school opened, Blackburn hazarded, "Is not the time of their [the Cherokee] salvation near at hand?"[28]

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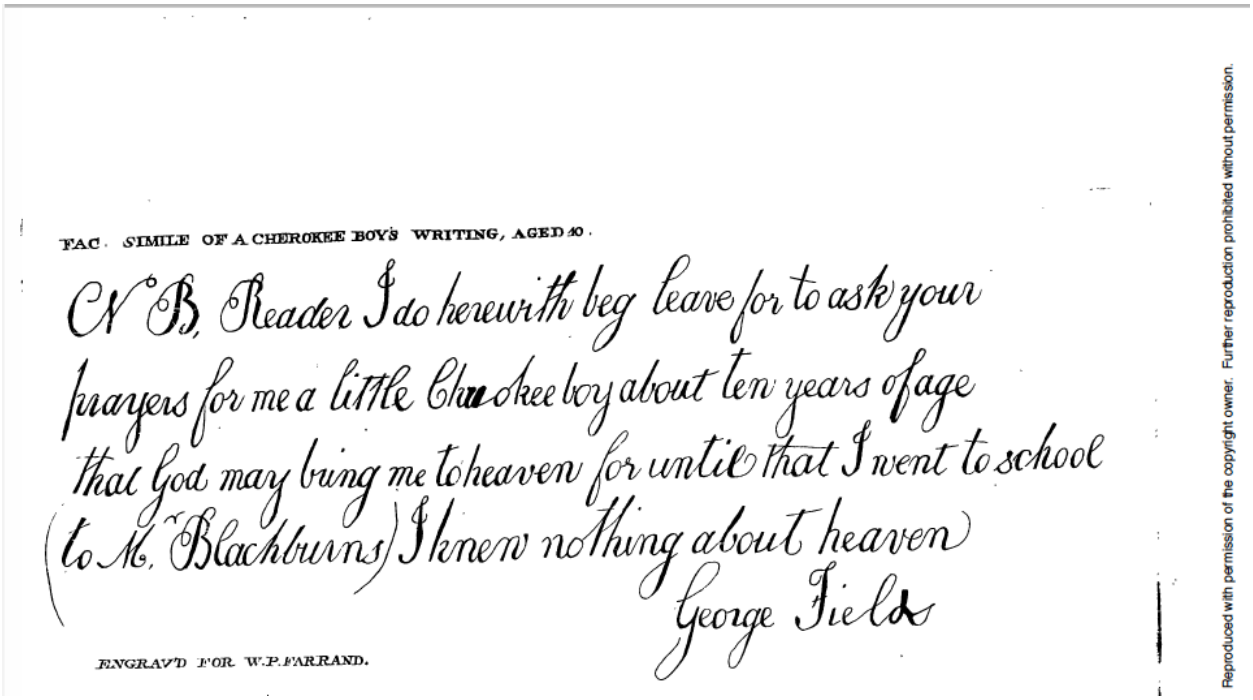
[27] For reference to "submission," see G. Blackburn to Rev. Morse, undated, 1807, in *The Panoplist*, July 3, 1808. G. Blackburn to Rev. Morse, undated, 1807, in *The Panoplist*, July 3, 1808. Also see G. Blackburn to Chairman of Committee of Missions, April 24, 1805, in *The General Assembly's Magazine*, 316. Referring to students only by their Christian name proved constant among Catholic and Protestant missionaries. See, for instance, Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism*, 112; Greer, *Mohawk Saint.* For emphasis on the Ten Commandments, see G. Blackburn to Rev. Dr. Green, Jan 2, 1808, in *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, Feb 2 1808, 92. Similarly, the Sale Creek schoolteacher instructed students that the only way they could "lay hold to the offers of Salvation" was to follow the "terms of the gospel," as they learned in school. See Nancy Fields to G. Blackburn, August 21, 1806, in *Virginia Religious Magazine*, March 1, 1807, 112. For "softening" the mind and hymns, see G. Blackburn to Rev. Morse, undated, 1807, *The Panoplist*, July 3, 1808. For the use of these hymns in Presbyterian worship, see Julius Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787*, (Richmond, 1967),11-12.

[28] G. Blackburn to Chairman of the Committee of Missions, April 24, 1805, in *The General Assembly's Magazine*, 316; G. Blackburn to Rev. Dr. Green, Jan 2, 1808, in *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, Feb 2, 1808, 92; Nancy Fields et. al to Gideon Blackburn, Oct. 30, 1807, *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, (Jan 1808), 43.

Blackburn's letters and those from his students appeared in periodicals such as the *Evangelical Intelligencer* and the *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine* to solicit funds and support for the schools. In one case, a teacher at Sale Creek dictated the content of the letter to the students, who copied it for submission. Sometimes illustrating a student's handwriting skills sufficed to make Blackburn's point. In October 1806, Blackburn included a facsimile of a letter written by ten-year-old George Fields in his published report in the *General Assembly Missionary Magazine*. Fields begged readers to send their prayers "for me a little Cherokee boy." (See Figure 1.)[29]


FAC. SIMILE OF A CHEROKEE BOY'S WRITING, AGED 10.

N B, Reader I do herewith beg leave for to ask your prayers for me a little Cherokee boy about ten years of age that God may bring me to heaven for until that I went to school (to M. Blackburns) I knew nothing about heaven

George Fields

ENGRAVD FOR W.P.FARRAND.

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(Figure 1: Facsimile from George Fields, a student at Sale Creek school, in *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine*, Oct. 1806, 494.)

[29] Nancy Fields et. al to Gideon Blackburn, Oct. 30, 1807, *The Evangelical Intelligencer*, (Jan 1808), 43.

Aside from these letters, students left behind no accounts of their experience. Some probably resented the schools' rigid structure that left little time for play. Blackburn's students missed out on participating in community events that held spiritual and cultural significance. Some students ran away from the schools, although they risked a whipping if caught. For the few children who came from poorer families, the schools provided clothing and food, while elite students like James McIntosh used Blackburn's language instruction to profit their families' business ventures.[30]

Like many missionaries before him, Blackburn used Native peoples' concept of a Great Spirit to teach them about the Christian God. He told his students and their parents that the Great Spirit wanted the Cherokee to realize their "wickedness" and repent by following "the nature of the moral law--the ten commandments." Blackburn made no effort to learn Cherokee and never employed an instructor who spoke the language. Instead, Blackburn relied on the few students who spoke some English to translate.[31]

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[30] Native peoples especially enjoyed stickball. Eastern Cherokee developed their own version, known as *anesto*, but missionaries attempted to prohibit the game. Michael J. Zogry, *Anetso, the Cherokee Ball Game: At the Center of Ceremony and Identity*, (Chapel Hill, 2010); Christina Snyder, "Review: *Anetso, the Cherokee Ball Game*," *Southern Cultures*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Winter 2012), 116-119. For the threat of whipping, see McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 60. For James McIntosh, see "Religious Intelligence," *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine,* March 1806, 137. Most scholarship on Native American schools focuses on the period after the 1820s. Even then, few children left behind records that recount their experience. See Christina Snyder, *Great Crossings: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in the Age of Jackson,* (New York, forthcoming); Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940,* (Lincoln, NE, 2009); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1990-1940,* (Lincoln, 1998); For two recent exceptions, see John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic,* (New York, 2014); Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism,* 102-120. After three years, John McIntosh relied on James's language skills of his son, James, while on a trading trip to Charleston, South Carolina. See Gideon Blackburn in "Religious Intelligence," *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine,* March 1806, 137.

[31] G. Blackburn to Green, Jan 2, 1808, *Evangelical Intelligencer,* Feb. 2, 1808, 92. For language at the school, see McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 63. For other examples of native peoples as interpreters in missionary efforts, see Steven W. Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., (Apr. 1997), 347-76 and Jill Lepore's discussion of John Sassamon in *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York), 21-47.

Blackburn's students struggled to master this demanding and often strange faith. Like many Indigenous peoples before them, a spirituality that blended Native American and European beliefs would have made sense to some of Blackburn's students. Perhaps it offered one way to chart the turbulence of cross-cultural contact.[32]

Funding proved a chronic problem for the schools. Blackburn received $200 to $300 annually from the Cherokee Indian agency and $500 from the Presbyterian General Assembly, for a total of $700 to $800. But operating two schools for fifty students cost $3,300 a year. Some years proved costlier than others. In early 1806, James McIntosh returned from a business trip with his father to Charleston, where he contracted smallpox. Upon his return, the disease spread among the students and nearby Cherokee communities. Blackburn wrote to Green to solicit money for vaccines, and Green placed the letter in the *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine*. Blackburn reminded readers that his request for funds came from the Lord, who had "loudly called on us to give of his own to save his savage offspring." James survived but the fate of the others depended on Blackburn's ability to purchase, obtain, distribute, and administer vaccines.[33]

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[32]This response echoes how many native peoples responded to missionary activities throughout North America. See, for instance, Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, (New York, 2005); Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope;* Steven W. Hackel, "The Staff of Leadership,"; David J. Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 62 (2005), 141-174. Historian Michelene Peasantubbee has allegorized the Native American mission experience as having to "stand with each foot in a different canoe, one representing white ways, the other Native American ways." Sometimes, Native peoples threw their weight into one canoe and lost the other. In other moments, currents led the two canoes to collide. See Peasantubee, "Foreword," in *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape,* eds. Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nichols, (Chapel Hill, 2010), xii.

[33]Calculation made from "Extract of a Report." For Blackburn's plea, see "Religious Intelligence," *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine,* March 1806, 137. In 1819, James claimed land based on an 1817 treaty between the Cherokee nation and the U.S. government. See McLoughlin, "Register of Persons Who Wish Reservations Under the Treaty of July 8, 1817," in McLoughlin, Conser, and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin, eds., *The Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 186. For smallpox and the Cherokee population, see Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement:*

By December, the schools owed $1,390. To pay the debt, Blackburn traveled to New York, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia to visit potential donors. In each city, Blackburn met clergy members, preached a "Charity Sermon," and sought collections. In Philadelphia, he visited the First Baptist Church and the First Presbyterian Church, where he collected $540. Newspapers covered Blackburn's trip. They applauded his efforts and claimed that in just "a few years," Blackburn's missionary work would make the Cherokee into "a civilized and Christian Nation." The trip solved the school's financial dilemma and generated valuable publicity. When Blackburn submitted his accounts to the Presbyterian General Assembly, they found that he had taken in $5,347. This meant that Blackburn raised between $4,450 to $4,550 from private donations in 1807. After paying off debts, the schools had a surplus of $646.[34]

Still, the schools struggled with enrollment and obtaining provisions for students. In 1808, a severe drought hit the region. The Hiwassee River provided the only way to access the schools and supplies, especially wheat. The drought made it almost impossible to replenish the school's provisions, let alone travel for fundraising. By 1809, a census-taker reported that of a potential 3,000 to 3,500 school-aged children in the Cherokee nation, only 60 attended the schools.[35]

Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715, (Lincoln, NE, 2007); *idem., Cherokee Medicine, Colonial Germs: An Indigenous Nation's Fight against Smallpox, 1518-1824*, (Norman, OK, 2015.)

[34] "Extract from the Report of the Committee of Missions to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church," in *The Evangelical Intelligencer,* June 1808, 287. Salem, Massachusetts newspapers advertised Blackburn's preaching at the "Tabernacle in this town, on Wednesday Evening next." See *Salem Register*, June 29, 1807; *Salem Gazette*, June 30, 1807. Also see *Albany Gazette*, June 4, 1807; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), August 22, 1807; *Republican Watch-Tower* (New York) April 10, 1807; *Mercantile Advertiser* (New York) April 23, 1807; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1807; *New York Evening Post*, April 24, 1807; *New York Spectator*, April 25, 1807; *Eastern Argus* (Maine), May 14, 1807; *Newburyport Gazette*, May 1, 1807; *New Hampshire Gazette*, May 5, 1807.

[35] G. Blackburn to Rev. Green, Dec. 7, 1807, *The Evangelical Intelligence,* Jan. 1808, 40. The census-taker was George Barber Davis. See McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*, 173. For the census, see "The Cherokee Censuses of 1809, 1825, and 1835," in McLoughlin, Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 225.

Bitter divisions among the Cherokee weakened the school's standing, as it became tainted by association with the faction that collaborated with the United States. Doublehead was Blackburn's staunchest supporter partly because he opposed Vann and his Moravian mission. In 1806, the simmering conflict between Vann, Doublehead, and their supporters escalated upon news that Doublehead held secret meetings with the U.S. government. Doublehead planned to cede 10 million acres in Tennessee in exchange for western Arkansas land and a $10,000 payout. The proposed cession added to another 2.5 million acres Doublehead had already conveyed in exchange for $1,000.[36]

In August 1807, a group of warriors targeted Doublehead at a tavern and shot him in the jaw. Doublehead survived and took refuge in the attic of Jonathan Blacke's home at the Hiwassee School. But The Ridge, John Rogers, and another young chief learned of Doublehead's whereabouts. They stormed the school, and assassinated Doublehead. By 1811, Doublehead's 1,500 followers had resettled in Arkansas on land promised to them by the federal government. Blackburn had lost his only ally in the Cherokee Council.[37]

Cherokee oral tradition blamed Blackburn for destroying his own reputation with whiskey and greed. In March 1809, the Muscogee caught James McIntosh and Samuel Blackburn, Gideon's brother, smuggling 2, 226 gallons of whiskey through Muscogee and Cherokee territory. Muscogee chief Big Warrior claimed that they had sold some en route, in violation of the 1790 U.S. Trade and Intercourse Act. Federal law also required any person

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[36] See Thomas Jefferson to the Cherokee Delegates, January 10, 1806, M-15, reel 2, 169, quoted in McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*, 106; *idem., Cherokees and Missionaries*, 72-75. For more on Doublehead, see Rickey Butch Walker, *Doublehead: Last Chickamauga Cherokee Chief,* (St. Augustine, FL, 2012.)
[37] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*, 120-121; *idem. Cherokee Ghost Dance,* 3-38; *idem., Cherokees and Missionaries*, 75; Cosner and Caine, *Presbyterians in North Carolina,* 86. Their arrival caused problems with native peoples who had inhabited the region for several hundred years. See Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground*: *Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent,* (Philadelphia, 2007), 196-226.

traveling through Native American territory to carry a passport signed by a federal Indian agent. Samuel Blackburn and McIntosh had presented fake passports and forged the signature of Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins. The whiskey originated from a distillery that Samuel and Gideon operated in Maryville, and someone had spotted Gideon Blackburn in Turkey Town, on the border of the Cherokee and Muscogee nations, when the Muscogee detected the whisky. Hawkins and Big Warrior identified Gideon Blackburn as the mastermind of the scheme.[38]

Blackburn never commented on the controversy, leaving Cherokee agent Return J. Meigs and Tennessee Governor Willie Blount to speak on his behalf. Blount and Meigs maintained that Hawkins and Big Warrior had no proof that the Blackburns had sold any whiskey. They demanded that the Muscogee return the whiskey and, as Blount added, "be made to suffer punishment for their outrage."[39]

Under Meigs's urging, the federal government and Presbyterian Church attributed the whiskey-smuggling to Big Warrior. Although they conceded that the Blackburn brothers should not have forged a passport, the authorities considered the matter closed. The Presbyterian General Assembly disapproved of the prevalence of alcohol among its frontier congregants and tried to get its preachers to instill temperance in the region. But they probably did not want to punish Blackburn because he was quickly becoming a key player in the campaign against Presbyterian factionalism in the region. Blackburn also escaped any charges, thanks to a close

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[38] William McLoughlin, "Parson Blackburn's Whiskey," *Journal of Presbyterian History,* 4 (Winter 1979); *idem.*, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 78-79; Walter Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838,* (Richmond, 1952), 96.

[39]Blount also dismissed the idea that American citizens needed passports to travel through Native territory. All citizens, he maintained, had a "natural right" to navigate any and all waterways in the region. See Willie Blount quoted in McLoughlin, "Parson Blackburn's Whisky," 373-4. For more on passports on the early American frontier, including an altercations between Andrew Jackson and Indian agent Silas Dinsmoor, see J.M. Opal, "General Jackson's Passports: Natural Rights and Sovereign Citizens in the Political Thought of Andrew Jackson, 1780s-1820s," *Studies in American Political Development*, (Oct. 2013), Vol. 27, 69-85.

relationship with Meigs. As early as February 1807, Blackburn received payouts from the Cherokee Indian agency in exchange for reports on the development of anti-American sentiment. As Meigs suggested to Blackburn, missions were important because they could "keep the Indians quiet" amid growing unease over American colonialism.[40]

In late 1809, the new Cherokee leadership consisted of James Vann's son, Joseph, The Ridge, and Charles Hicks, who denounced Blackburn as a friend of Doublehead and spy for the federal government. His illicit whiskey trade and dealings with the government confirmed their belief that Blackburn wanted to enrich himself, rather than benefit the Cherokee people. In the wake of Doublehead's assassination, Blackburn lost the support of the Cherokee leadership and feared for his life. By January 1810, Moravian observers reported that the Hiwassee River school had "gone to pieces." The Sale Creek school followed that August.[41]

Blackburn attributed the mission's failure to his declining health and a lack of sufficient land. "I am not discouraged for want of success, but of means," he wrote in late 1810. Blackburn feared that growing provisions, like lumber and wheat, had exhausted the fertility of the schools' few acres. Like most settlers, Blackburn wanted more land. He claimed that he could not ask

[40] For the church's response, see McLoughlin, "The Mystery Behind Parson Blackburn's Whisky," 368. James Vann also reported that like Doublehead, Blackburn was "secretly" speculating in Cherokee land, although Vann never proved this. See R. J. Meigs to G. Blackburn, Feb. 25, 1807 and John Gambold to Reichel, July 23, 1809, quoted in McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 74, 79. The whole ordeal turned Blackburn off whisky. By the 1830s, he emerged as an advocate of temperance. One Tennessean remembered hearing Blackburn preach a temperance sermon in Mississippi. "If any man ought to preach of temperance, it ought to be Gideon Blackburn," he reported. Quoted in Lamon, "Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," 367, n.29. For Blackburn's work in the Kentucky State Temperance Society, see John Edminston Alexander, *A Brief History of the Synod of Tennessee from 1817 to 1887,* (Philadelphia, 1899), 88.

[41] Based on available evidence, it appears that none of these leaders' children attended Blackburn's schools. Most Cherokee affiliated with the Vanns probably sought some sort of education for their children at the Moravian mission, which continued through 1810. By the time that it closed, the Hiwassee School had relocated to the Tellico Blockhouse following Blackburn's concern that the school would be subject to attack after Doublehead's assassination. See John Gambold to Christian Benzien, January 8, 1810, quoted in McLoughlin, "The Mystery of Gideon Blackburn's Whiskey," 371, and Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission," 80.

"owing to the constant request" that the government made on the Cherokee to give up their land. In reality, Blackburn knew that the new Cherokee leadership would say no. More than anything else, Blackburn claimed that his "declining constitution conspire to say withdraw from the scene. Thus within grasp of my wishes, I shall be obliged to yield the pursuit."[42]

Blackburn could not accept the mission's closure as his own failure and his claim of declining health proved a flimsy excuse. Blackburn's contemporaries noted that he did not take criticism or failure well. He held the Cherokee and Muscogee leadership responsible for denying him the opportunity to do God's work. In the process, they had disobeyed God.[43]

In 1811, Blackburn abandoned his Maryville congregations and relocated to Franklin County, south of Nashville. At first, preaching to white settlers proved little easier than teaching Cherokee children. Writing to Reverend John Anderson, Blackburn described middle Tennessee as a place where "a worldly spirit and an awful spiritual death reigns." "We can hardly hope for much," he added.[44]

But in Rachel Jackson Blackburn found an ideal supporter with a lot of influence. Rachel came from a Presbyterian family. The Reverend Hugh McAlden provided Rachel with her earliest instruction when he visited Pittsylvania County in the 1760s. Yet the county lacked a permanent Presbyterian Church until 1785, six years after the Donelsons left for Nashville. Like

[42] G. Blackburn to Unknown, Maryville, TN, Dec. 12, 1809, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT. My thanks to David Gray for helping me track this down.
[43] Lamon, "Gideon Blackburn, Contemporary's Perspective," 367, n.29.
[44] G. Blackburn to the Rev. John Anderson, Editor of the Weekly Recorder, September 20, 1817, in *The Religious Remembrancer,* Nov. 8, 1817, 44.

most settlers, the Donelsons preferred some Protestant guidance to none at all, so Rachel grew up attending the local Anglican Church, where her father acted as a vestryman.[45]

Most of the leading families who migrated to middle Tennessee were Presbyterian and found the lack of spiritual guidance on the frontier troubling. The Reverend Thomas B. Craighead spent most of his time preaching from his home in Haysborough and never organized a Presbyterian church. His preaching appeased the region's Presbyterians until 1800. Along with 5,000 other Tennesseans and Kentuckians, Craighead felt a spiritual awakening that swept the region in the late eighteenth-century. In October 1800, Craighead participated in a camp meeting with Methodists and Baptists at Drake's Creek, northeast of Nashville. Francis Asbury, a Methodist bishop, also attended the meeting. He rejoiced in hearing "the shouts of the redeemed captives" and celebrated Craighead's participation in the revival. Asbury took it as a sign that God had finally visited the Presbyterians.[46]

The revivals peaked at the 1801 camp meetings in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, where 15,000 men, women, and children felt an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Some convulsed, while others broke out into song. Revivalists privileged individual relationships with God and physical manifestations of conversions, which did not require the guidance of an educated minister. Most who attended camp meetings saw human agency as a means to salvation. They maintained that

[45] Settlers petitioned the county in 1755 requesting "a meeting House on the lands of William Russell, on the Drafts of Difficult Creek." Quoted in Maud Carter Clement, *The History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia,* (Baltimore, 2001), 123. For Donelson as a vestryman, see Clement, *The History of Pittsylvania County,* 123-155.
[46] "Bishop Asbury Journal," reprinted in Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, TN, 1928) 309-10, and "1800: Bishop Ashbury and the Camp Meetings," in *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, 12-13.

people could achieve spiritual enlightenment of their own accord. In the process, revivalists rejected the Calvinist doctrine of fatality, or predetermination of every soul to eternal fate.[47]

At first, Blackburn felt inspired by the revivals. In 1800, he wrote that he had heard, seen, and even felt "the bodily exercises" of the Holy Spirit within him and others. However, by 1811, Blackburn saw the revivals not as a rebirth but a "refreshment" of Christian spirits that required careful supervision by the clergy. Writing on behalf of the West Tennessee Presbytery, Blackburn wondered how one could consider themselves to be Presbyterian if they rejected the doctrine of fatality. Craighead had taken the revival too far by embracing free will, a Methodist doctrine. In 1811, Craighead's synod suspended his ministry. At the same time, Blackburn arrived in Nashville to fill the vacuum left by Craighead's fall.[48]

In 1814, Blackburn met with eight Nashville residents (seven women and one man) to organize a Presbyterian Church. These supporters included women of the McNairy, Nichols, and Ewing families but not Rachel Jackson. The organizers hoped that, under Blackburn's leadership, an official Presbyterian Church could provide a stable and stationary religious community.[49]

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[47] For more on the revivals, see Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 596-7; Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity;* Howe, *What Hath God Wrought,* 164-202.

[48] For Blackburn's initial response to the revivals, see G. Blackburn to Unknown, Sept. 29, 1800, *New York Missionary Magazine*, II, (1801) in William W. Woodward, *Surprising Accounts of the Revival of Religion in the United States*, (Philadelphia, 1802), 160. For his transition, see *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee*, (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 4; Lamon, "Blackburn, A Contemporary Perspective," 362. For emphasis on the doctrine of fatality and interdenominational strife, see Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest*, 32-6. Wilma Dunaway notes prevalent antagonism among Protestant sects in eastern Tennessee as well. See Dunaway, *Women, Work, and Family in the Antebellum Mountain South*, (New York, 2008), 25-27. For Craighead and Methodism, see Goodstein, *Nashville, 1780-1860,* 58. For the suspension of Craighead's ministry, see George Martin maintained that Craighead continued to preach on occasion. See, "Nashville Presbyterianism in 1799," *First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, 7. For a good, brief and general, account of the impact of the revivals on Tennessee Presbyterianism, see Herman A. Norton, *Religion in Tennessee, 1777-1945*, (Knoxville, 1981), 35-37.

[49] The founders were as follows: Sarah (Susanna) Hill Ewing, Mary McNairy, Eleanor Ryburn Nichol, Ruth Greer Talbot, Sophia Hall, Margaret L. Anderson, Robert Smiley. Most had some connection to Rachel or Andrew

Given her admiration of Blackburn and acquaintanceship with almost every organizer, Rachel's absence from the list is surprising. Blackburn's contemporaries maintained that the Jacksons attended his services. One resident cited "Mrs. Genl. Jackson" as a church member who consistently went to hear Blackburn's sermons. From 1811 through 1819, Blackburn travelled between Nashville, Franklin, Ebenezer, Columbia, and Salem to preach. Since Rachel often complained of poor health, Blackburn probably visited Rachel at her home, as the Reverend Samuel Hodge did. But Rachel also stayed home because of a marital controversy that made participating in Nashville society awkward.[50]

On June 8, 1814, Rachel and Jackson attended the marriage of their friends' daughter, Margaret Nichols, to a "Captain Armstrong." Eleanor and Josiah Nichols disapproved of their daughter's marriage, possibly because they did not think Armstrong could provide for their daughter. The Nichols refused to attend the wedding, and expected their friends to do the same. The day after the wedding, Jackson wrote Josiah to explain why he and Rachel had attended. He

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Jackson. Complete membership lists for the Presbyterian Church do not start until the 1830s. By Dec. 1828, pews cost $100. See *Nashville Whig*, July 18, 1818; "The Trustees and Pew Rent," in *First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, 22-23. Historian Ann Douglas noted the alliance of preachers and elite and middle-class women in the nineteenth-century, as both became "disestablished," or marginalized from positions of political and economic influence. Instead, they turned towards culture and literature, as spheres in which they could garner influence. While Blackburn certainly had close relationships with many women, the process of "disestablishment" which Douglass describes for New England did not occur in Nashville in the 1810s, where women's economic activity was still highly visible. See Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, (New York, 1977.)

[50] For reference to Rachel at Blackburn's sermons, see Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 24-25; George Martin to Reverend R. F. Bunting, July 15, 1866, letter in possession of Nashville Presbyterian Church but published in full in *Documentary History of the First Presbyterian Church*, 7. For Blackburn's circuit, see "Annals of the West Presbytery of West Tennessee, March 1811," in *West Tennessee Presbytery Minutes, 1810-1836*, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. Hodge visited Rachel in March 1814. He was a Presbyterian preacher, who was later ordained by the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. This resulted in his dismissal from the Presbyterian church in 1805. However, the Presbyterian Church readmitted Hodge in 1809. He preached as Presbyterian, not Cumberland Presbyterian, minister when he visited Rachel. See R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 11, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

proclaimed that the "merits" of Armstrong and Margaret's character "entitled" them to the Jacksons' attention and respect. [51]

By 1806, Jackson's rivals had learned to use his own marriage to arouse ire. A drunken Charles Dickinson supposedly told Rachel at a horse race that his horse would leave Jackson's horse "about as far out of sight as Mrs. Jackson left her first husband when she ran away with the General." A duel followed in which Jackson shot Dickinson dead. Sensitive to the criticism of others, Jackson and Rachel showed their support for a marriage that they believed reflected "a pure and sincere affection."[52]

The incident affected Rachel and Eleanor's relationship more than it did Jackson and Nichols. Nichols and Jackson maintained a business relationship and Nichols provided Jackson with credit to purchase store goods, including alcohol and clothing. As Nashville developed during the early nineteenth-century, some elite women tried to enforce a strict moral code, as a way to cultivate gentility. In the summer of 1814, Eleanor worked with Blackburn to organize the First Presbyterian Church. For Eleanor, Rachel's offer of refuge for Margaret, and her promise to stand-in as a mother, smacked of betrayal. It created a tense situation that kept Rachel away from Nashville social events. Rachel's steadfast sense of right and wrong left little doubt in her mind that she had acted with moral conviction. As Jackson had reminded Nichols, "the paths

[51] See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2.
[52] A. Jackson to Josiah Nichol, June 9, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Dickinson quoted in John C. Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee, with Historical, Personal, and Political Scraps and Sketches,* (Nashville, 1878), 218, and Paul Clements, "The Jackson-Dickinson Duel," *The Nashville Retrospect,* September, 2009. My thanks to Allen Forkum of the *Retrospect* for passing the article on to me. For more on the duel, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Andrew Jackson's Honor," Journal of the Early Republic, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1997), 10. A controversy surrounding a cancelled horse race also fueled the duel. See Robert V. Remini, *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* (New York, 2001), 53-54.

of life are rugged at best," something Rachel knew all too well and wished that Eleanor would recognize.[53]

Blackburn taught his congregants to maintain hope that Native Americans and African-Americans could realize their wretchedness and achieve Salvation through submission. He insisted that he had seen Cherokee salvation at hand. In 1806, Blackburn petitioned the Tennessee State Legislature to emancipate his slave, Jack. Blackburn argued that a "tolerably good education" had made Jack "qualified in moralizing and Christianizing his unfortunate black brethren." As a freeman, Jack took the name John Gloucester and preached to the enslaved throughout middle Tennessee.[54]

Yet Blackburn matched his views on emancipation to those of his slave-owning congregants, including the Seviers, Jacksons, and Overtons. By 1810, 35,000 enslaved people, or 79 percent of the state's slave population, lived in the area of middle Tennessee, around Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Franklin. By 1820, that number rose to 67,000, or 84 percent. While petitioning for Jack's freedom, Blackburn kept four other African-Americans enslaved. He freed two sometime after he left Tennessee in 1820 but sold the others, deeming them "very unruly" and unworthy of freedom. While Blackburn could free some enslaved people, he never preached emancipation to his middle Tennessee congregants.[55]

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[53] A. Jackson to Josiah Nichol, June 9, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. For reference to Tennessee women enforcing a strict moral code, see Cynthia Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier,* (Chapel Hill, 2007), 168.

[54] G. Blackburn to The State of Tennessee, Aug. 1, 1806, Petitions to the Legislature, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN, reel 3, and online on *Race and Slavery Petitions Project*, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, https://library.uncg.edu/slavery/petitions/details.aspx?pid=1671, last updated on Nov. 18, 2008; "Reminiscences of the Rev. Gideon Blackburn," *New York Evangelist,* March 28, 1872, 6.

[55] For slave demographics, see Kristofer Ray, *Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier,* (Knoxville, 2007), 69, 86-91. For Blackburn's Tennessee slaveholding, see 1820 U.S.

Behavior, more than race, defined holiness for Blackburn. The white ancestry of many of Blackburn's Cherokee students did not make them any more "civilized." Rather, their "savagery" originated from their upbringing in Cherokee culture. In Blackburn's teachings, Native Americans and African-Americans could become Christian citizens. But to do so, they had to submit to the rigid physical, behavioral, and emotional guidelines that elite whites like Blackburn and Rachel and Andrew Jackson enforced on them.

In addition to the Nichols and Jacksons, the families of former Tennessee governor John Sevier, Nashville-founder James Robertson, Senator Felix Gundy, and Jackson's close friend, Judge John Overton, attended Blackburn's sermons, which often lasted over three hours. Grundy's wife, Ann Philips Rodgers, helped found the church's "Sunday-School Union" in 1822, while Overton became church president in 1823. The Seviers had a close relationship with the Rev. Samuel Doak, and they supported his former pupil, Blackburn. John Sevier visited a July 4th celebration at the Hiwassee School and heard the children sing hymns. Blackburn referred to Sevier as "a hardy veteran" but the children's singing had engendered an effeminate sentimentality in Sevier. "I have often stood unmoved amidst showers of bullets from the Indian reifles," Sevier reportedly remarked, "but this effectually unmans me. I see civilization taking the ground of barbarism, and the praises of Jesus succeeding to the war whoop of the savage." "All this time," Blackburn added, "tears were stealing down his manly cheek."[56]

Census, *Franklin, Williamson, Tennessee*; Page: *119*; NARA Roll: *M33_125*; Image: *133*. Once Blackburn moved to Illinois he freed all his slaves except two who were "very unruly." He sold these slaves, rather than freeing them, although Blackburn still joined the ardent abolitionist and newspaper editor, Elijah P. Lovejoy in founding the anti-slavery society of Illinois. See Lamon, "Blackburn: A Contemporary's Perspective," 362, n.8. For Blackburn's limited abolitionist teachings in middle Tennessee, see Bass, "Gideon Blackburn's Mission," 219. For a limited anti-slavery climate in middle Tennessee, see Lester C. Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee, 1791-1970*, (Knoxville, 1981), 7.

[56] For the length of Blackburn's sermons, see Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest*, 47; *Nashville Banner*, June 18, 1874; *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, 21. For the Overtons see, Frances Clifton, "The Life and Activities of John Overton" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1948); Henry L.

Blackburn infused the lessons that he learned from his mission into an 1812 pamphlet that he drafted with the Reverend Samuel Donnell. The pamphlet responded to the rise of revivalist preachers in the wake of spiritual awakenings throughout the region. Blackburn and Donnell warned readers that they lived in "dark days," when truth competed with "infidelity." The infidels were non-believers but people might also be lead astray by "false prophets" who "committed their instruction to the devices of Satan." Blackburn and Donnell warned readers that such infidels proved "enemies to your souls, and unfriendly to the interests of Zion." The worst infidels, Blackburn and Donnell maintained, prohibited children from education, which they defined as "that formation of habit, which arises from religious instruction and example." Keeping children from their Bible and Catechisms meant that "infidelity has exerted its utmost" in middle Tennessee.[57]

Blackburn considered both non-educated white preachers and Native American prophets, including Tenskwatawa and Muscogee shamans as a menace to the faith. Blackburn remembered how the Cherokee and Muscogee leadership discredited his reputation with the whiskey scandal,

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Swint, "Travellers' Rest: Home of Judge John Overton," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 26 (1967): 119-36. For the Grundys, see J. Roderick Heller III, *Democracy's Lawyer: Felix Grundy of the Old Southwest,* (Baton Rouge, 2012). Blackburn's preaching appealed to the Grundys, who had memories of their own experiences with frontier violence. For instance, Senator Felix Grundy noted that the scalping of his brother proved his first childhood memory. See Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian,* (New York: 1975), 119. Rachel was not the kind of socially-active women who promulgated the idea of "evangelical womanhood" in the nineteenth-century. She was certainly religious but sought to exercise her religious influence in more intimate circles, outside of the public sphere. See Anne M. Boylan, "Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth-Century: The Role of Women in Sunday Schools," *Feminist Studies,* (Oct. 1978), 62-80. Sevier had invited Doak to deliver a sermon in anticipation of a battle against the British at King's Mountain. See Introduction; Gordon Belt, *John Sevier: Tennessee's Hero*, 60-61. For Blackburn's quote, see G. Blackburn to A. Morse, Nov. 10, 1807, quoted in Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 20-21.

[57] Part of this "infidelity" included referring to the revivals as "a kind of universal Catholicism" which "threw together a heterogeneous mass" and administered "free communion without order, or examination, giving evident advantage to those designing to proselyte, over the modest and unassuming." See *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 5, 23.

and ultimately, rejected his schools. When the Muscogee welcomed Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh to their nation in 1811, he concluded that Native peoples were rejecting Christian salvation.[58]

Rachel internalized Blackburn's religious instruction. "Let family religion be carefully practiced," he urged, "that your own souls may enjoy the lip of piety, and that you may train up plants for the kingdom of Christ." Rachel denounced false prophets who engendered "spiritual decay" in the region. She maintained the Sabbath and provided Christian education for the children in her care. "Pure and undefiled religion is the greatest treasure on earth," she advised Andrew Jackson Donelson. Fly to God's "expanded arms, imbibe His spirit, emulate His example," and, most importantly, "obey his commands."[59]

Rachel took comfort in the doctrine of divine will as an antidote to her suffering. As a Calvinist, Blackburn emphasized that mankind remained "narrow minded mortals." Only "the 'Lord ruleth,' both in heaven and on earth, and that it is our duty, to submit to the dispensations of his wise providence." Rachel concluded that her struggles and suffering had a higher purpose by proving her dedication to God. "Though we are sensible," Rachel read in Presbyterian publications, "it is our duty to lose the recollection of the past, in acquiescence with the divine will." Rachel reminded her friend, Sophia Thorpe Reid, after the death of her son, that "ther is none Exempt from trouble." She urged Reid to resign to God's will. For Rachel, each challenge

[58] For more on these prophets, see Alfred A. Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America,* (Nebraska, 2006); *idem.*, "The Shawnee Prophet, Tecumseh, and Tippecanoe: A Case Study of Historical Myth-Making," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter 2002), 637-73; Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815,* (Baltimore, 1992); *idem., War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, the British Empire* (Baltimore, 2002); Joel W. Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World,* (Boston, 1991.) For the rise of Cherokee prophecy, see McLoughlin, "The Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement of 1811-1813," in *The Cherokee Ghost Dance Movement,* 111-51; Michelene E. Peasantubbee, "When the Earth Shakes: The Cherokee Prophecies of 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly,* 17, no. 3 (1993), 301-17.

[59] R. Jackson to A.J. Donelson, Oct. 19, 1818, *PAJDE,* 4.

offered a chance to demonstrate faith in God's will and bring souls one step closer to Salvation in the afterlife.[60]

Blackburn's teachings also offered Rachel protection. Since God ruled over mankind, Blackburn taught Rachel that she could find no greater protection, in both the temporal and spiritual world, than accepting God's supreme rule. Jackson assured Rachel "that the god of Isaac & of Jacob will protect you, & give you health in my absence." In trying times, Rachel took comfort in this absolute truth. "I know that my Redeemer liveth," she wrote in 1821, "He is my shield. I shall not want. He will not leave me nor forsake me in all my trials through this wilderness." Rachel might lose her father, brothers, husband, nephews, or sons to Native American violence but she found ultimate protection in God.[61]

Rachel believed that God protected his children by leading them to Zion. As Blackburn urged his readers, the last stage of God's plan included "rescuing this country from the hands of savage cruelty" and giving it to "those who by their industry, have not only redeemed it from the beasts of prey; but are disposed to erect in it the temple of the Lord." He promised that "God shall come to build Zion" and in her letters, Rachel often cried out, "Oh, for Zion!"[62]

But Rachel hated waiting and the collapse of Blackburn's schools had exiled God's children from the land that "Providence" had given to them. As Psalm 137 taught Rachel, God would come and destroy those who had exiled his children. In his pamphlet, Blackburn prayed,

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[60] "Rev. Gideon Blackburn," in *Western Luminary,* Dec. 29, 1830, 307; "Sources of Grief on the Decease of an Infant," *The Evangelical Intelligencer,* January 1808, 2, 1; R. Jackson to Sophia Thorpe Reid, April 27, 1816, *PAJDE,* 4.

[61] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 21, 1823, *PAJDE,* 5. Also see Jan 8, Dec. 14, Dec. 29, 1813, *PAJDE,* 2; Feb. 15, Feb. 21, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. For Rachel's reference to the "wilderness," see R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5.

[62] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, R. Jackson to John Donelson, Aug. 25, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5; *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 3.

"Lord Jesus, come quickly," while Rachel silently pleaded that the day of God's reckoning would draw near.[63]

[63] *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 24.

Chapter 3: "The Time of Retribution"

In early 1813, winter weather weighed heavily on the well-being of frontier inhabitants. For settlers and Indigenous peoples, chunks of ice caused delays on North America's vital river ways, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. These delays hindered the movement of goods and people throughout the continental interior. Unpredictable weather, short days, and long nights also restricted travel, while bitter winds made life miserable. Writing to Rachel, Jackson claimed that he had experienced "all the inclemency of the coldest weather ever felt." Rachel concurred, noting that Andrew Jr. sought extra warmth on "One of them Extreem Cold nights."[1]

For a woman isolated at home, winter weather interrupted the sending and receiving of letters, which many saw as an antidote to loneliness. During this particular winter, connections to family and friends mattered more than ever to Rachel. Jackson was en route to fight the British and their Native American allies after the U.S. government declared war in June 1812. Tennesseans, in particular, maintained that the British aided attacks by the Muscogee on Tennessee's western and southern borders.

These attacks spilled out of a larger conflict between Muscogee leadership and a faction of warriors known as the Redsticks because of the red war clubs (or *atassa*) they carried into war. In 1811, many of these warriors had listened in earnest as Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa urged Native peoples to follow the teachings of the Great Spirit by reviving Indigenous culture and resisting Anglo-American settlement. Given widespread hunger, economic decline, and

[1] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, February 15, 1813, R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1813, in Daniel Feller, *Papers of Andrew Jackson Digital Edition* (Charlottesville, 2015) Vol. 3, hereafter *PAJDE*.

dependence on foreign imports, the message resonated with many Muscogee, who sought to protect their land, culture, and identity.[2]

By renouncing trade and resisting land cessions, Muscogee Redsticks opposed elite elders who led the Muscogee National Council. The Council proposed to protect the Muscogee nation by working with—rather than against—the federal government. They maintained diplomatic channels with federal agents and sold land to the U.S. to retire the debts of Muscogees who procured cattle and firearms from government stores on credit. Under the direction of Muscogee agent Benjamin Hawkins, the National Council also apprehended and executed several warriors, whom Americans claimed had attacked settlers.

Rachel awaited any news of Jackson's campaign against the British or the Muscogee, which weighed heavily on her own well-being. When Rachel received a letter from Jackson in late January 1813, she rejoiced. The letter "was Every thing to me," she replied, "to heare you war in health it was my nightly prayers to the Almighty God." But Rachel's elation, like

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[2] For redsticks, see Gregory A. Waskelov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814,* (Tuscaloosa, 2006), 86-88 and Kathryn Holland Braund, "Red Sticks" in Kathryn Holland Braund, ed., *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War and the War of 1812,* (Tuscaloosa, 2012) 84-104. For the Creek War generally, see Frank Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815,* (Tuscaloosa, 1981); Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit*; Braund, ed., *Rethinking the Creek War;* Karl Davies, "Remember Fort Mims:" Reinterpreting the Origins of Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter, 2002) 611-36. For Jackson in the Creek War, see Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian,* (New York, 1975), 145-160. For the role of prophets, see Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York, 2012); Alfred A. Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America,* (Nebraska, 2006); Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815,* (Baltimore, 1992); *idem., War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, the British Empire* (Baltimore, 2002). For the Muscogee in particular, see Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York, 1999); Joel Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muscogee's Struggle for a New World,* (Boston, 1991); Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World,* (Chapel Hill, 2003); Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Roads and Federal Paths: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South.* For the Muscogee in the eighteenth-century, see Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee*: *A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America,* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); Kathryn E. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815,* (Lincoln, 1996).

Jackson's time at home, was short-lived. "Whar er I go whar er I turn my thoughts my fears my doubts Distress me," she continued. Rachel's situation only improved when she received reports on Jackson's condition and progress. Without such news, "I must sink I should Die in my present situation." Rachel knew that Jackson loved her but she never failed to remind him of her suffering. Jackson, she pointed out, could alleviate it by coming home. Rachel looked forward to "after this frail life Ends" when she could "Experience no more painfull seporation and then I'll be at rest."[3]

Rachel's statements were embedded in a broader print culture wherein women acted as victims and men the avengers of sacred violence. During the late eighteenth-century, Tennesseans had depicted men and women as victims. But when they described violence during the Creek War (1813-1814), writers rendered victims female. They also shifted the obligation of protection from the federal government to local elites like Andrew Jackson.[4]

The image of women as suffering victims adhered to Rachel's sensibilities because it reflected Biblical depictions of God's chosen people as virtuous martyrs, tormented by their enemies and powerless outside of His grace. Rachel's position as a wife enhanced her sense of powerlessness, as God told Eve, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." Rachel used this image of passivity to influence her powerful husband. She reminded Jackson of

[3] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2.

[4] For other examples of women's suffering, see for instance, Anya Jabour, "It Will Never Do for Me to Be Married": The Life of Laura Wirt Randall, 1803-1833," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer, 1997) 193-236; Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South,* (New York, 1982), chapter 1, 8, 9. For women and wartime suffering see, for instance, Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean To Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*, (Chapel Hill, 1998), 137-168; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*, (Chapel Hill, 1996), 234-247; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800,* (Boston, 1980), 14-15, 44-45.

his divine duty as a male protector to shelter her, a powerless female. Rachel's deployment of this image accelerated the pace and enhanced the zeal of Jackson's warfare, at the cost of the health of Jackson and his troops, and the near-destruction of the Muscogee nation.[5]

Following the Chickamauga War, the region around Nashville, known as Davidson County, developed substantially. In 1795, the county contained 3,613 people, 992 of whom were enslaved. John Bishop remembered Nashville as "a place then scarcely deserving the title of a village, for it consisted of a few little log-cabins, built on the shanty order." By 1812, the county's population had shot up to 15,608. Bishop noted, "a great change had taken place in the country. The population had increased, fields were opened and fences erected, and there were actually several neighborhood roads." Middle Tennessee became less isolated and less vulnerable to attack. Instead, Native American warriors, frustrated with continual settler encroachment, targeted the state's new frontiers, south and west of Nashville.[6]

[5] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has suggested that New England frontier women saw themselves in relation to the Biblical figure of Jael, who can assert aggression and agency only in so far as it goes towards the preservation of their settlement (a kind of American Zion). There is limited evidence that Rachel saw herself in these terms. Rather, she lamented on her supposed powerlessness and especially her delicacy, and seemed to envision herself more in terms of the exiled Israelites in Psalm 137, who ask God to seek vengeance against their enemies. For American "Jaels" see Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*, (New York, 1991), 165-236. For Ulrich and scripture related to Eve, see *Good Wives*, 6. For the importance of gender codes and narratives on how early Americans fashioned themselves in their writing, see Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities,* (New York, 1992), 289, 309; Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*, (New York, 1995), 303-304; Cathy Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America,* (New York, 1985), 52-53.

[6] John W. Gray, *The Life of John Bishop, the celebrated old pioneer in the first settlements of Middle Tennessee…interspersed with racy anecdotes of those early times*, (Nashville, 1858), 61, 141. The population breakdown was as follows: 9,173 whites, 6, 305 slaves and 130 free African-Americans. "Census of the Territory" in J.G.M Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee to the end of the eighteenth century*, (Charleston, SC, 1853), 648; John R. Finger, *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition*, (Bloomington, 2001), 227-228. For a history of Nashville, see Anita Shafer Goodstein, *Nashville, 1780-1860: From Frontier to City*, (Gainesville, 1989.)

In these regions, white settlements remained sparse, isolated, and susceptible to attack. Blount County, twenty miles south of Knoxville, bordered Cherokee territory, while Humphreys County, seventy miles west of Nashville, bordered land inhabited by the Chickasaw. Beyond Nashville's immediate vicinity, middle Tennessee remained a small white settlement, with thousands of Native Americans inhabiting its borders. The *Nashville Clarion* reminded its readers of this. Although "all nations of Indians have been rapidly declining since the discovery of the Americas," the Muscogee nation included 17, 289 people and between 2, 500 to 5,860 "fighting men."[7]

In May 1812 five to eight of these men approached a small settlement in Humphreys County, inhabited by John Crawley, Jesse Manley, and their families. The warriors were returning home from the Ohio Valley, where they had visited the Shawnee brothers and heard their message of war. At the time, Crawley and Manley had traveled east to purchase corn. They solicited a man only referred to as "Colonel Hays" to protect their families during their absence.[8]

John Crawley's wife, Martha, detected the warriors after she heard a noise coming from outside the family's cabin. Martha nudged the front door open to peer outside, just as Muscogee men descended from the woods. As Crawley later reported, she "immediately shut the door & placed herself against it, and resisted their attempt to force it open as long as she was able." Despite their best efforts to keep the door shut, Crawley, Manley, and Hays proved no match for

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[7] *Nashville Clarion,* June 16, 1813.

[8] For the attack, see Benjamin W. Griffith Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders,* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 81, 84-85; Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South,* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 124-125. William Henry Mobile reported in The *Nashville Clarion* that Crawley told him there were eleven warriors. But subsequent accounts place the number between five and eight. See *Nashville Clarion,* July 21, 1812. For Crawley's deposition, see August 11, 1812, in John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Volume 1,* (Washington, D.C., 1926), 225-226n.1, hereafter known as *CAJ*; *Nashville Clarion,* July 21, 1812.

the warriors, who soon pushed in. Crawley hid behind the door and watched warriors kill two of her children, Hays, Manley, and three of Manley's children. The warriors then turned their attentions towards Crawley, who "sprang forward and caught hold of one of the Indians and begged her life of him." The warriors spared Crawley's life as their captive.[9]

By the nineteenth-century, many southern Indigenous nations, including the Muscogee and Cherokee, treated captives as a source of labor or profit. They paid special attention to the increasing value of African-American captives, as their white neighbors did. While elite Muscogee leaders like Alexander McGillivray often purchased slaves, many others kept enslaved the black captives taken from raids on white settlements. The Redsticks rejected this commercial turn towards enslaved labor because it relied on coercion, rather than traditional values of consensus. The Redsticks also limited captive adoption as they sought to purify Native society to counteract settler colonialism. Crawley's captors apparently intended to ransom her to obtain much-needed supplies, like gunpowder and rifles, as proved the fate of many white women taken by the Muscogee.[10]

First, however, Crawley's captors had to get her back to Tuscaloosa, their village on the Black Warrior River. Crawley stated that her captors carried her across the Tennessee River in

[9] Narration of events as told by Martha Crawley to William Henry Mobile and recorded in the *Nashville Clarion,* July 21, 1812.

[10] For the Muscogees shift in captivity practices and the development of slave-holdings among some elite leaders, see Saunt, *A New Order of Things,* 50-60; Ethridge, *Creek Country,* 116-117. Alexander McGillivray enslaved sixty African-Americans at his plantation near Tensaw, north of Mobile. See Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 79. For McGillivray generally, see John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks,* (Norman, OK., 1938); Michael D. Green, "Alexander McGillivray" in *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity*, edited by R. David Edmunds, (Lincoln, 1980) 41-63. Although Redsticks rejected the commercial turn towards captives, they still kept African-Americans enslaved. See Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 92. For adoption practices among southeastern native nations generally, including the Muscogee, see Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*: *The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America,* (Cambridge, MA, 2010). For white women in the Muscogee nation, see Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 115-116.

canoes and sometimes "tied her by the arms and neck to a tree." She never referenced torture or sexual assault, contrary to what others later claimed. As the group approached Tuscaloosa, a woman informed Crawley that her captors intended to kill her. As the eve of her execution approached, Crawley "picked up a tin cup under the pretence of going to the spring for water." Once at the spring, she slipped away from the group and hid inside a hollow log for the night.[11]

As Crawley's third night in the woods approached, she stumbled upon a village where she hoped to find some food and shelter. Soon, two unidentified Native Americans approached Crawley and told her "that there was a person in town that could speak English, and that they would take her to him." The English-speaker was Tandy Walker, a white trader, who was visiting to purchase beef. Walker identified Crawley as the woman whose captivity (and twenty-five dollar reward) he had heard about in Tennessee. With the help of a local chief, he secured her freedom. By August, Crawley was back with her husband.[12]

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[11] "Mary Crawley's Deposition," *CAJ*, Vol. 1, 225-226n.1; *Nashville Clarion*, July 21, 1812. For the absence of rape and sexual assault among white female captives in Native American nations, see Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, (Chapel Hill, 2006), 221-230. Once women were adopted into a Native American community, many preferred to stay there, especially after they had children. See, for instance, John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*, (New York, 1994); James E. Seaver, *Life of Mary Jemison: De-he-wä-mis*, (New York, 1856).

[12] For Walker, see George Strother Gaines, *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines: Pioneer and Statesman of Early Alabama and Mississippi, 1805-1843*, ed. James P. Pate, (Tuscaloosa, 1998), 53-54; Robert V. Haynes, *The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier, 1795-1817*, (Lexington, 2010) 297. Written in 1871, Gaines' memoir claims that Walker intentionally rescued Crawley, under the urging of Gaines' wife. But the deposition provides no such evidence and maintains that Walker was a trader who happened to be in the town to purchase beef. For rescuing Crawley, Walker received aid and "the reward of a meritorious conduct" from the Tennessee General Assembly in its fall 1815 sitting. For the Tennessee Act, see Edward Scott, *Laws of the State of Tennessee, Including Those of North Carolina now in Force in this State from the Year 1715 to the Year 1820, Inclusive*, Vol. II, (Knoxville, 1821) 224. The award for Walker's conduct arose in 1815 when a group of men from Washington County, Mississippi Territory, petitioned the Tennessee General Assembly to offer Walker "the reward of a meritorious conduct." They claimed that to "rescue" Crawley, Walker, "owing to the peculiarly hostile attitude which the Savages had very generally assumed, and the depredations they had previously and after her recovery committed on the lives of the citizens, irked his existence in an eminent degree to effect her recovery,------that he was also at a very considerable expence in employing and supporting twenty odd Indians for a considerable time in aiding and assisting her escape, and in quartering and protecting her to the settlement, for which she frequently express'd her gratitude." See Petitions to the Tennessee General Assembly, 1813-1817, TSLA, Nashville, TN. The

Tennesseans used Martha Crawley's image as a suffering victim to justify attacking the Muscogee, making her the most famous Tennessee woman during Rachel's lifetime. Within two weeks of her capture, the *Nashville Clarion* published reports that the attackers scalped Mrs. Manley and killed a young infant by throwing it against the wall. Dogs overtook one of Crawley's children, whom warriors danced around before killing. Alongside this lurid account, the *Clarion* published another report that confirmed Mrs. Manley's scalping. It maintained that warriors had "committed on her other acts of barbarity that never was before known amongst the barbarians."[13]

By June the *Tennessee Herald* reprinted the story and soon readers across the U.S. learned about Crawley's captivity and the Duck River attack. The *Herald* proclaimed that "Language cannot portray nor imagination scarcely conceive this unequalled scene of hellish barbarity." Ignoring its own disclaimer, the newspaper described how dogs tore one of Crawley's children "to pieces" and warriors "committed unheard of cruelties" on Manley. Hezekiah Niles, editor of the widely-read *Niles Weekly Register,* picked up the *Herald*'s story and gave it a national audience. The attack "is but a *type* of what is transacting on many parts of our frontier," Niles added. Readers in New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Virginia also read about the "MOST HORRID!!!" incident. The accounts demanded revenge since, as one author in

federal government introduced cattle and ranching to the Creek nation as a part of their "civilization process." While some Creek embraced livestock cultivation, Claudio Saunt notes that agriculture and husbandry had a divisive effect as ranching reordered traditional gender roles. Male ranchers established "patriarchal settlements away from the town households controlled by women." See Saunt, *A New Order of Things,* 159-161.

[13] *Nashville Clarion*, May 26, 1812.

the *Alexandria Gazette* put it, "nine tenths of the Creek nation are heartily willing to cut our throats if they could."[14]

Tennessee leaders used Crawley's captivity and the Duck River attack as a reason to intervene in the conflict between the Redsticks and the Muscogee National Council. In June 1812, the *Nashville Clarion* summed up the justification for war. The *Clarion* stressed that the Muscogee had demonstrated “determined hostility” towards the U.S. when they allowed the Shawnee brothers to visit the nation. The *Clarion* also claimed that Muscogee warriors had joined Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa, and their confederacy to fight U.S. forces at the Battle of Tippecanoe in November 1811. As part of this violence, the Muscogee orchestrated the "single calamity" that justified war: "the massacre at the mouth of Duck River." The *Clarion* reminded readers that the Muscogee had claimed for its "trophies" a "white woman prisoner, seventeen scalps (for that is the number carried home by the different parties) some hundreds of stolen horses, and whole settlements depopulated through the terror which pervades them." "Thus war is waged, against the United States by the Creek nation," the *Clarion* proclaimed. And what, many asked, could Tennessee do but wage a war of conquest?[15]

Tennesseans also sought more Native American land for white settlement by conquering, expelling, and destroying the Muscogee. Referring to the Cherokee, Muscogee, and Choctaw, the

[14] *Nashville Clarion*, May 26, 1812. As Tom Kanon has pointed out, original copies of the *Tennessee Herald* do not exist. See Kanon, "The Kidnapping of Martha Crawley and Settler-Indian Relations Prior to the War of 1812," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Spring 2005) 19, n.3. This is the story, as it was reprinted in the *Niles Weekly Register*, June 13, 1812, Vol. 2, 256. *Alexandria Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1812.
[15] *Nashville Clarion*, June 30, 1812; Tom Kanon, *Tennesseans at War: Andrew Jackson, the Creek War, and the Battle of New Orleans*, (Tuscaloosa, 2014), 61-62. Adam Jortner cites no reference to Muscogee warriors fighting at the battle. See Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier*, (New York, 2012), 191-95.

Nashville Clarion argued that “it certainly would not be a work of two months for the Tennesseans to sweep all these tribes from the face of this earth.” Echoing these sentiments, Jackson assured Tennessee Governor Willie Blount, "now is the time to give the creek the fatal blow.”[16]

Tennessee leaders recalled the 1780s and 1790s, when almost every settler had experienced Native American attack. The *Clarion* stressed that every Native nation except for the Chickasaw “were confederated against the whites at the time of the infant settlement of this country.” Remembering this violence encouraged Tennesseans to imagine how Native warriors would attack their homes again.[17]

As a result, many identified 1812 as a writer in the *Nashville Clarion* christened it: “the year of retribution." Tennesseans hoped that such divine retribution would devastate Muscogee society and "be handed down by tradition to their descendants, who will ever consider this war, as an epoch to the annals of justice, then the vengeance of heaven fell heavy on them." "The god of battle cries aloud for vengeance," Jackson wrote in January 1813 to Rachel, "we are the means in His hands to punish." Jackson promised to lead this retribution, with or without federal government approval and vowed to fund the expedition from his personal resources if need be.[18]

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[16] *Nashville Clarion*, June 10, 1812 ; A. Jackson to Blount, June 4, 1812; A. Jackson to George Colbert, June 5, 1812, both in *CAJ*, Vol. 1, 225-227.

[17] *Nashville Clarion*, June 10, 1812. Six days later a “Soldier of the Wabash” guided his readers through a history of Native American attack. He described how in 1781 the Cherokees “made an incursion” into western South Carolina “and massacred several families” and “a large party of Creeks and tories, commenced a very unexpected and violent attack” in 1782. See *Nashville Clarion*, June 16, 1812.

[18] *Nashville Clarion*, June 16, 1812; Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, January 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. The *Clarion* also reported that, "The day of retribution is at hand," and what "a dreadful day it will be for the Creek.” See *Nashville Clarion*, July 21, 1812.

Although middle and western Tennesseans had appealed to the state and federal governments to launch an expedition into the Muscogee nation, they remembered that the government had refused military aid during the 1790s. As a result, Jackson proclaimed that Tennesseans could not "rely with an implicit confidence on the disposition of the general government." But militiamen could invade Native American territory unilaterally, as they had in their 1794 destruction of Nickajack and Running Water. Since the "blood hounds of the prophet are traversing the Indians territory," Jackson avowed, "what then can we do, but to imitate the conduct of those who marched to Nick-a-Jack and terminated by one blow the war which so long depopulated the infant settlements of Tennessee?"[19]

Despite his bravado, Jackson recognized that a successful expedition to defeat the Muscogee nation would require a steady stream of pay, provisions, and ammunitions that he could never fund alone. Jackson watched in frustration while the Tennessee General Assembly wavered in the summer of 1813 as to whether or not they should declare war without federal leadership. While most of middle and west Tennessee wanted war, some leaders in eastern Tennessee's older settlements favored restraint. War was expensive and Tennessee had already committed troops to help U.S. forces fight the British in East Florida. But then, in the dead heat of late August, Muscogee warriors struck again.[20]

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[19] *Nashville Clarion*, July 8, 1812. Daniel Feller and the editors of the *PAJDE* state that Jackson wrote this article. Also see "Attack at Duck River," *PAJDE*, 2.
[20] Kanon, *Tennesseans at War*, 64-65.

In 1813, 400 people including white and half-Muscogee soldiers, their wives, children, and enslaved Africans and African-Americans had taken refuge at Fort Mims, on the eastern shore of the Alabama River. From August 21 to 29, Major David Beasley, who headed the Mississippi Territorial militia unit at Fort Mims, received reports that a Redstick attack was imminent. Beasley ignored these warnings because they came from enslaved African-Americans and Choctaw Indians. He maintained that a British attack from Mobile posed a greater threat than the Redsticks.[21]

Beasley realized the gravity of his mistake around noon on August 30. Taking advantage of the open gates, 700 warriors led by William Weatherford, or Hoponika Fulsahi (Truth Maker), descended on Fort Mims. As Beasley scrambled from his cabin to close the gate, warriors killed him. With half of the 100 Mississippi Territorial militiamen dead, the fighting intensified that afternoon, as the Redsticks set the fort ablaze. One enslaved African-American later reported that a warrior told him, "the Master of Breath has ordered us not to kill any but white people and half breeds." According to this man, his African ancestry saved him.[22]

The sister of Dixon Bailey, a half-Muscogee leader at Fort Mims, was not so lucky. A warrior “asked what family she was of.” She answered by pointing to her brother, James, "upon

[21] See David Beasley to Gen. Claiborne, Aug. 30, 1813, letter printed in Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 124-6. Also see pages 111-112, 126-128, for reports from slaves. For living conditions in frontier forts, see Ethridge, *Creek Country,* 133; Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 105-8.

[22]Quoted in Charles L. Grant, ed., *Letters, Journals and Writing of Benjamin Hawkins,* Vol. 2, (Savannah, GA, 1980) 667. Despite this warrior's claim to spare the lives of African slaves, scholars have identified that 30 people of African ancestry died at Fort Mims, or 46.2%. Conversely, 74.7 % whites were killed and 56.5% were half-Creek. See Waselkov, "Table 1. Summary of documented participants in the battle at Fort Mims," and "Appendix I: Participants in the Battle at Fort Mims, August 30, 1813," Table 3, in Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 191-2, 229-257. Weatherford is often referred to as "Red Eagle" but this name originated from A.B. Meek's 1855 poem about him. Weatherford also went by another Muscogee name, Billy Larney, which translates as Yellow Billy. See Kathryn Braund, "William Weatherford," *Encyclopedia of Alabama,* http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2593, (2014.)

which they knocked her down, cut her open, strewed her entrails around," while other warriors "threw several dead bodies into the fire." When the fighting ceased, the Redsticks lost 100 men but succeeded in killing 250 Fort Mims inhabitants. As war trophies, the warriors took 100 captives and over 200 scalps on their 150 mile journey home.[23]

The attack came in the wake of three months of conflict between Redstick Muscogee and white settlers and their Muscogee allies. In July 1813 Redstick warriors ransacked the homes of settlers and kidnapped the wife of James Cornell. In retaliation, militias attacked the warriors on their return home at the Battle of Burnt Corn Creek, perpetuating the cycle of violence that resulted in the Fort Mims attack. Of those identifiable Fort Mims participants, 100 were of half-Muscogee ancestry, 200 white civilians, and 100 of African ancestry. Stressing the number of half-Muscogee victims, historians note that the Fort Mims attack proved part of a larger civil war among the Muscogee, rather than simply an attack on Anglo-American settlements. Still, this did not stop Americans from understanding the Fort Mims "massacre" as a direct attack on their white settlements.[24]

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[23] Muscogee warriors traditionally cut up one single scalp into multiple portions so the 200 scalps do not necessarily correspond with 200 casualties. See Davis, "Remember Fort Mims," 631-632 and Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 137-8, 191-2. In his journal, Richard Keith Call referred to 283 killed. See "Richard Keith Call Journal", in *Richard Keith Call Papers,* Florida State Library and Archives, (hereafter FSLA), digitized by the Florida Memory Project, Tallahassee, FL., 10 (page numbers correspond to the transcription copy not the scanned images of the original journal.) Also see Waselkov, "Table 1. Summary of documented participants in the battle at Fort Mims," and "Appendix I: Participants in the Battle at Fort Mims, August 30, 1813," Table 3, in Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 191-2, 229-257.

[24]For the lead-up to and the attack at Fort Mims, see Saunt, *A New Order of Things,* 259-262; James P. Kaetz, "Battle of Burnt Corn Creek," *Encyclopedia of Alabama;* Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 79, 100-108; Opal, *Avenging the People*, 191; Karl Davis, "Remember Fort Mims;' Reinterpreting the Origins of the Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter, 2002) 611-636. Gregory Waselkov, James Parker, and Sue Moore have done a magnificent job piecing together information to paint a portrait of many Fort Mims participants. I compiled these numbers from his list. However, even those whom we might classify as "white" were not simply English or American. Some Fort Mims inhabitants had French, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish and German ancestry. Similarly, one inhabitant with African ancestry, was also European. Thomas Holmes Golphin was half-African and half-Irish, and worked as an Assistant Surgeon and Private in the Mississippi Territorial Volunteers. See Waselkov,

Ten days after the attack, General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, commander of Mississippi's Territorial militia, sent men to survey the fort's remains. Major Joseph P. Kennedy and Captain Uriah Blue dispatched a report back to Claiborne, describing how "the hand of Desolation" had passed over the region. They described the bodies of forty-five naked men, women, and children. "All were scalped," but according to Kennedy and Blue, the warriors reserved a special barbarity for their white, female victims. "The females of every age were most barbarously and Savage like butchered, in a manner which neither decency nor language can convey," they wrote, "Women pregnant were cut open and their childrens heads Tomahawked." "With one voice," Blue and Kennedy called "on Divine Providence to revenge the death of our murdered friends."[25]

By mid-September, news of the attack reached Nashville. Readers of the *Nashville Whig,* including Rachel and Jackson, opened up their newspapers to learn about the "dreadful slaughter of our fellow citizens by the Creek Indians." A letter from Jackson followed the report, vowing to defeat the "hell-hounds" who had committed such "barbarities." Weeks later, coverage of the attack spread throughout the U.S., from Baltimore to Charleston. Reporters inflated the original (and accurate) number of victims killed at Fort Mims from 250 to upwards of 600.[26]

"Appendix I: Participants in the Battle at Fort Mims, August 30, 1813," Table 3, in Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 229-257. For the Fort Mims attack as an example of violence among Muscogees, see Davis, "Remember Fort Mims;" Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "Reflections on "Shee Coocys" and the Motherless Child: Creek Women in a Time of War," *Alabama Review,* Vol. 64, No. 4 (Oct. 2011), 269-270; Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 132.

[25]"Major Joseph Kennedy and Captain Uriah Blue to General Claiborne," Mount Vernon, September 9, 1813, in *Interesting Papers...by Col. John F.H. Claiborne,* published in its entirety in Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit,* 149-50.

[26] *Nashville Whig,* Sept. 14, 1813. In a March 1814 letter, Rachel told Jackson that she had read about something "in the whig." See R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *Andrew Jackson Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm, Library of Congress,* Reel 9. For national coverage, see, for instance, *Baltimore Patriot,* Oct. 13 1813; *Niles Weekly Register,* Oct. 16, 1813, No. 7, Vol. 7, 105-107; *Charleston City Gazette,* Oct. 1, 1813; *Daily National Intelligencer,* (Washington D.C.), Oct. 4, 1813. Also see, Karl, "Remember Fort Mims," 633-634.

Images of mutilated, female bodies described in reports about Fort Mims and the Duck River Attack became synonymous with the Muscogee's "savagery" and proof that they deserved divine retribution. In particular, Fort Mims provided the provocation that Jackson and other Tennesseans needed to impel the U.S. and Tennessee governments to declare war. When the Tennessee General Assembly convened in September, it passed "an act to repel the invasion of the state of Tennessee by the Creek Indians, and to afford relief to the citizens of the Mississippi Territory." The act authorized the governor to assume $300,000 in debt to organize and supply 3,500 men for war.[27]

As Major General for the West Tennessee militia, Jackson commanded the state's war effort with the help of other militia leaders including Rachel's brother-in-law, John Coffee, and John Cocke. Their war effort received substantial aid from the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw, who hoped to highlight the importance of their alliance to their powerful American allies. Jackson's forces also benefited from the help of Lower Muscogees, who allied with the U.S. and Tennessee against the Redstick and Upper Muscogee factions. Indigenous allies proved critical for Tennessee's war effort. The nations contributed 600 warriors, who knew the language, landscape, and methods of warfare far better than white militiamen did. With this strong contingent, Tennessee attacked the Muscogee in early November 1813.[28]

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[27] *Nashville Clarion*, Oct. 12, 1812; George Washington Campbell to James Monroe, Nov. 12, 1813, *James Monroe Papers* (microfilm edition), Library of Congress, 1st series, reel 5; Kanon, *Tennesseans at War*, 69-70. For the text of the act, see the *Niles Weekly Register*, Oct. 16, 1813, No. 7, Vol. 7, 105. Unfortunately, the House and Senate Journals for the 1813 legislative sitting burned in a fire so we cannot know how assemblymen voted on the bill. Likewise, a search of Tennessee newspapers for that period returned no information on how it was voted. It seems, then, that the act was not controversial. My thanks to TSLA researchers for helping me with this.

[28]The number of 600 warriors only includes the Cherokee. If we were able to include the Choctaw and Chickasaw, the number would likely be much greater. See Susan M. Abram, *Forging a Cherokee-American Alliance in the Creek War: From Creation to Betrayal*, (Tuscaloosa, 2015), 1, 59, 113-170 Also see Susan Abram, "Cherokees in the Creek War: A Band of Brothers," in Braund, *Tohopeka*, 122-145. Edmund Bryan, who served in the war

Two weeks later, Gideon Blackburn wrote Jackson to offer his support. "I know my efforts are not very important but if I knew you needed assistance, I would myself commence the office of recruiting officers and march for your encampment," Blackburn proposed. Understanding the conflict in divine terms, Blackburn anticipated that the Muscogee would defend Ocheobofau, or Hickory Ground, a region that centered Muscogee spiritual life. "I know that your army will do all that valor can affect but if those wretched savages should get one advantage your case would be serious," he cautioned.[29]

Jackson accepted Blackburn's offer. "You have said, if I needed your assistance it would be cheerfully afforded. I do need it, in a high degree," he wrote on Dec. 3, "The influence you possess over the minds of men is great and well founded; and can never be better applied than in summoning volunteers to the defence of their Country—its liberty and its religion." He reminded Blackburn that the "savage" they would fight "makes war only to gather scalps and who feels malignity only because he delights in blood."[30]

After recruiting volunteers and soliciting his ministerial students, Blackburn accompanied Colonel William Carroll to join Jackson in Huntsville, where he served as military chaplain and offered inspiration when morale was low. While encamped at Huntsville, Blackburn tried unsuccessfully to prevent some men from deserting by appealing to the defense of their Christian nation. Blackburn's sermons inspired Jackson and his troops to shout that "the Scriptures was

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reported that at one point he "had now to depend solely on my Guides; as all traces of even an Indian path began to vanish." Bryan also depended on an "Indian runner" who ran letters back and forth. The runner had surrendered, and Bryan reported finding him or her "very useful." See Edmund Bryan to unknown, June 1, 1814, Bryan and Leventhorpe Family Papers, Folder 2, Southern Historical Collection, (hereafter SHC), UNC, Chapel Hill.

[29] Gideon Blackburn to Andrew Jackson, Nov. 20, 1813, *CAJ*, Vol. 1, 357. For the sanctity of such sites, see Martin, *Sacred Revolt*, 11, 31-45.

[30] A. Jackson to Gideon Blackburn, Dec. 3, 1813, *CAJ*, Vol. I, 365-6.

fulfilling" as they went into their most destructive battles. According to Davy Crockett, they also cited scripture describing "when the Lord shall have washed the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, by the spirit of burning."[31]

During the 1780s and 1790s, Tennessee writers had sought to illustrate the region's dependency on the federal government for military aid and protection. They presented women and men as suffering victims who needed government assistance. Furthermore, because the warfare had struck middle Tennessee, where roughly 11, 900 of Tennessee's 77, 000 settlers lived, community leaders did not have to encourage men to fight at a distance. Most felt they had no choice.[32]

In 1812, by contrast, middle Tennessee leaders had to encourage men to travel 250 miles to defend the state's southern and western borders, as well as far-flung settlements in the Mississippi Territory. Recruiting men to fight proved only half the battle; commanders also had to encourage them to stay. Militiamen in one unit explained that they had signed up to avenge the

[31] William Carroll to A. Jackson, Dec. 15, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. For Blackburn's speech, see note 1 in Gideon Blackburn to Andrew Jackson, Nov. 20, 1813, *CAJ*, Vol. 1, 357. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what Blackburn said but one record notes that he addressed the troops "in a very patriotic manner." Davy Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett*, 88, quoted in Braund, "Shee Cocoys," 277.

[32] I used the 1795 census to make these calculations since it remains the most complete and comprehensive. In 1795, middle Tennessee consisted of Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee Counties. The populations stood at the following: Davidson County, 3,613; Sumner County, 6, 370; Tennessee, 1, 941. I rounded down as there remained population growth despite the war, although it was minimal. See "Census of the Territory" in J.G.M Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee to the end of the eighteenth century*, (Charleston, SC, 1853), 648.

attack at Duck River. After killing 480 Muscogees in early November 1813 alone, they wanted to return home.[33]

To encourage men to fight, Tennesseans fashioned women as victims and positioned men as their virulent avengers. The *Nashville Clarion's* descriptions of the Duck River attack did not stress Col. Hays's death but positioned the "unfortunate" Mrs. Manley and Martha Crawley as the sole victims. Mrs. Manley had suffered her "sweet little babe" taken from her arms and "thrown against the wall, in sport." "From the horrid sight of her mangled baby," Mrs. Manley "was soon roused by the screams of another of her children—but this was but the beginning of her sufferings as before. Never was there such wantonness manifested."[34]

Jackson lamented the war's victims in a similar fashion. Just as the *Nashville Clarion* reminded readers that the Duck Creek attack remained "unavenged," Jackson affirmed that the Muscogee sought to destroy white American men's most prized possessions. "Your frontier is threatened with invasion with the savage foe" who advanced "with their scalping knives unsheathed to butcher your wives, your children, and your helpless babes." How, Jackson dared, could a man not step up and act? What encouraged Tennessee militiamen to fight remained less the idea of defending "fellow-citizens" and more the threat that Native American violence posed to their patriarchal family structures.[35]

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[33] Opal, *Avenging the People*, 194. For casualties at the Battles of Tallushatchee and Talladega, see Halbert and Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814*, (Tuscaloosa, 1995), 269-70; Herbert J. "Jim" Lewis, "Battle of Talladega" and "Battle of Tallushatchee," in *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, (July, 2010), http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2620. For provision problems, see Kanon, *Tennesseans at War*, 96.
[34] *Nashville Clarion*, May 26, 1812. For references to Crawley or other women as "unfortunate" see, *Nashville Clarion*, July 8, 1812; July 21, 1812; July 23, 1812. Jackson also referred to Crawley as "unfortunate" in his Orders to the 2nd Division. See Andrew Jackson to the 2nd Division, July 9, 1812, *PAJDE*, 2.
[35] General Orders, September 24, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2; *Nashville Clarion*, May 26, 1812.

Positioning women as victims affirmed men's allegedly natural role as their patriarchal protectors. Although Tennessee hoped to obtain federal approval to declare war on the Muscogee, newspaper editorials and letter-writers rarely relied on that distant government for protection as they had in the past. Instead, they galvanized militiamen with an appeal to protect their manhood by protecting their wives. In his General Orders, Jackson painted a picture of grisly Native American violence and the effeminate man who refused to avenge it:

> He that can see the infant babe of nine days old torn from the arms of its mother and beat to pieces upon the walls of the house...he that can view in the midst of this scene a distracted mother crying in vain for pity, and receiving from the hands of savage monsters stab after stab, and arrow after arrow, into her body...The wretch who can view the massacre at the mouth of Duck river, and feel not his spirit kindle within him and burn for revenge, deserves not the name of a *man*; and the mother who bore him should point with the finger of scorn, and say "*He is not my son.*"[36]

Others advocated a similar message. Militia commander and future-governor William Carroll reminded his troops that “helpless women and innocent babes will be the victims of their war club and scalping knife.” “Whoamong you can sit quietly at home and hear the story of savage butchery?” he challenged. An editorial addressed to "Americans" in the *Nashville Clarion* asked them to "act as becomes men." Do not negotiate—rather, "command the submission of the petty savages on your frontier. The softer emotions of humanity are out of the question, it is folly to spare the viper that he may poison your family."[37]

In addition to recruitment, Tennessee’s recent statehood in 1796 explained the willingness to position Native American violence in these terms. Statehood allowed for congressional representation and the creation of an elected, rather than appointed, state

[36] "To the 2nd Division," July 9, 1812, *PAJDE*, 2.
[37] *Nashville Clarion*, May 26, 1812; *Nashville Whig*, December 4, 1813.

government. Under the leadership of Governor John Sevier, a notorious frontier fighter, Tennessee strayed from federal policies which favored peace with Native Americans, so as to further the government's "civilization" program. Instead, Tennessee privileged self-defense, the right to declare war, and the protection of private property. Acting as a sovereign leader, Sevier maintained diplomatic correspondence with Cherokee chiefs and threatened war in an effort to recover enslaved Africans and African-Americans taken from Tennessee's frontiers. Rather than emphasizing their dependence on the federal government, Tennesseans conveyed a message of political independence.[38]

Tennesseans saw the 1810s as a struggle against Indigenous warriors and their British allies, which harkened back to the U.S. War for Independence. Writing to Blount in the summer of 1812, Jackson alleged that the Muscogee "are urged on by British agents and tools." While Tennesseans fought the Muscogee to acquire land and avenge murders, they joined other Americans in proclaiming that they fought the British to protect their independence. If Americans presented male property-owning settlers as vulnerable to Native American attack and dependent on federal power, they ran the risk of infantilizing male settlers. Instead, they reverted to depictions of women as suffering victims and men who possessed enough vigor to defeat Indigenous and British aggression and protect America, "the new Israel."[39]

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[38] For Sevier, see Gordon Belt, *John Sevier: Tennessee's First Hero,* (Charleston, 2015.) For Tennessee's Native American policy, see Cynthia Cumfer, "Local Origins of National Indian Policy: Cherokee and Tennessean Ideas about Sovereignty and Nationhood, 1790-1811," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring, 2003), 41-2. This emphasis on western political independence had deep roots in the region, which regularly saw separatist factions spring up, most notably, the Franklin state. See Kevin T. Barksdale, *The Lost State of Franklin: America's First Secession,* (Lexington, 2009); Honor Sachs, *Home Rule: Households, Manhood, and National Expansion on the Eighteenth-Century Kentucky Frontier,* (New Haven, 2015).

[39] A. Jackson to Blount, June 4, 1812, *CAJ,* 1:225-6. Jackson similarly maintained, "The British were "exciting these very indians to commit these shocking and barbarous outrages." See A. Jackson to William Blount, July 10, 1812,

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For Rachel, the Muscogee conflict generated daily reminders of the horrors of Native American warfare and resurrected memories of the 1790s conflict. Every morning, Rachel woke up in their home, the Hermitage, knowing that her husband was in danger. In her newspapers, she read accounts of Muscogee and Cherokee warriors cutting up the naked bodies of Tennessee women "in a most shocking manner." On the rare occasion when Rachel ventured into town, she saw Muscogee prisoners on Nashville's few streets. Some women might have even encouraged her to join them in helping clothe and feed the prisoners.[40]

Such charity, however, was difficult for Rachel to offer. As God's chosen people for the "promised land," Rachel saw her enemies as God's enemies. In 1813, these enemies were Native Americans, whom Rachel believed targeted her family and repelled the settlements of God-fearing white pilgrims. The attacks on Tennessee's frontiers that dominated the headlines reminded Rachel that God's enemies went unpunished.

Rachel had these difficulties in mind in early October 1813 when she witnessed Jackson assume command of his troops. Future Florida governor, Richard Keith Call, remembered seeing the couple that day. In Call's telling, Rachel and Jackson were serious and somber figures. He

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CAJ, 1: 225-226, 231-232. For concerns about masculinity, see Thomas Foster, ed., *New Men: Manliness in Early America*, (New York, 2011.)

[40]*Nashville Clarion,* Nov. 9, 1813. In November newspapers reported the arrival of 35 prisoners and claimed that Nashville residents, "especially the ladies," were furnishing the prisoners with clothing. See the *Nashville Clarion,* Nov. 16, 1813. Historian Mary Beth Norton has highlighted how experiencing seventeenth-century Native American warfare on the Maine frontier haunted refugees who fled south to Salem, Massachusetts. For some women and girls, this trauma resulted in "afflictions" that morphed into the notorious 1692 Salem Witch Crisis. The impact of frontier warfare on Rachel never broached accusations of bewitchment. But "fears of Indian attack were ever-present" for Rachel as they were for Salem's refugees. Both held "terrifying memories of sudden raids that had killed relatives and friends and obliterated prosperous settlements. Norton even suggests that the accusers suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder because of the violence. See Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692,* (New York, 2002), 12, 307.

described Rachel as a woman who exhibited "the bland kindness of manner so peculiarly her own." Call conversed with Rachel until Jackson, "pale and emaciated," approached him. He observed that Jackson's "manly form, usually erect, was now bent with pain." Jackson's "countenance was grave and thoughtful and his paled cheek gave evidence of present suffering." Call's snapshot testified to the couple's graveness as both struggled to play their part in avenging the Muscogee.[41]

Jackson's wartime absences tormented Rachel. From May 1812 to summer 1814, the Jacksons wrote each other often and in almost every letter that Rachel wrote, she alluded to her physical and spiritual suffering. Rachel maintained that her woe weakened her mind and spirit. "A Vacoum is in my soul when you are absent," she told Jackson in February 1813. Rachel sought solace in the comfort of Andrew Jr. and related that he supported her in her many trials. He urged his mother not to cry and pointed out that Jackson would return soon. Still, Rachel wept constantly, telling Jackson that she would "write more to your satisfaction Could I refrain from tears."[42]

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[41] "Richard Keith Call Journal", in *Richard Keith Call Papers*, FSLA, 12-13. The exact date of the event is unknown but Rachel wrote Jackson on Oct. 8, 1813, so the parting likely took place several days before then. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Oct. 11, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2, in which Jackson notes, "I recd your kind an affectionate letter of the 8th. instant, last night."

[42] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 28, 1813, in *CAJ*, 1:283; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. This correspondence differed, for instance, from that of Gen. John Coffee and his wife, Mary. Coffee begged Mary (who was also Rachel's niece) to write him. He claimed that Mary sent him only one letter during the entire conflict. See John Coffee to Mary Coffee, April 1, 1814, *Dyas Collection of John Coffee Papers*, TSLA, Nashville, TN. Rachel penned more letters to Jackson than those that exist today. Many of Jackson's letters refer to notes he received from Rachel which have not been recovered. Jackson's response indicates that Rachel dwelled on her suffering in these lost letters too. For instance, in January 1813, Jackson reported that he "received your affectionate letter" and asked Rachel "to bear our separation with fortitude." A month and a half later, Jackson responded to Rachel's "letter of the 8th. February" and concurred with her that "my presence at home would be agreable to all." But he asked Rachel to "calm your mind" so that he could "return and find you in health." See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 18, 1813 and A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 1, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2.

The mental stress weakened Rachel's body. Throughout the winter of 1813 she suffered from poor health and a terrible cold. Rachel described her separation from Jackson as "painfull." A year later, she claimed that Jackson's absence threw her "Into feavours." She described a tremor in her hand and a fever in her head before exclaiming, "I am not well oh when will you returne or when shall I heare from you."[43]

The domestic responsibilities that Rachel assumed in Jackson's absence further distressed her. Since one of the Jacksons' overseers was, in Rachel's words, "not an industerous man," she had to ensure that the Jacksons' plantation and twenty enslaved laborers remained in working condition. In one instance, Rachel had to decide on the fate of an enslaved man named Sandy, who, "has turned out such a rascal." Rachel reported that their overseer had already whipped Sandy, but Jackson urged Rachel to supervise the lashings to make sure that "the overseer has done his duty and amply punished him." Although the Jacksons never alluded to the specifics of Sandy's supposed misbehavior, he troubled them enough to consider selling him. Jackson left the decision to Rachel, who took Jackson's advice and sold Sandy for $500 in cash.[44]

Many women resented having to manage slave-holdings in a husband's absence, but Rachel went so far as to suggest that the effects might kill her. She affirmed that the Jacksons' enslaved African-Americans "vex me often and in my situation it is hurteful." Should she live, Rachel begged Jackson to promise her they would own fewer slaves. Rachel valued the domestic work and companionship of her house slaves, Hannah and Betty. But in addition to Sandy,

[43]R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 28, 1813, *CAJ*, 1:283; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, April 7, 1814, *PAJDE*, 2.
[44] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 28, 1813, in *CAJ*, 1:283; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 1, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. Rachel didn't reference Sandy's fate. But Jackson advised her to sell him if the $500 would be paid in cash and she likely would have taken his advice on the matter.

another "Four or Five" of the Jacksons' slaves gave her "a greate Deal of trouble," which Rachel claimed worsened her condition and made life even more unbearable.[45]

Rachel adhered to the Tennessee culture that cast women as victims and men as protectors because it reflected her religious worldview. She understood that God's enemies constantly attacked his children. Psalm 137 spoke to this theme by addressing how the Babylonians had taken the Israelites captive, exiled them from Zion, and "plundered us." Just as the Israelites recognized that only God could destroy the Babylonians, Rachel believed that she could do nothing to alleviate her victimization without God's help. This positioning, and constant reminders to Jackson of her misery, became Rachel's way of contributing to what she perceived to be Tennessee's holy war against the Muscogee.[46]

Rachel also perceived her powerlessness in relation to her gender and attributed action to men and passivity to women. In her reading of the Bible, Rachel learned that wives obeyed husbands. As in the Book of Ephesians, "Wives, submit yourself unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord." Since God had designated men as women's protector on Earth, only men could avenge evil. They had a sacred duty to do so when that evil befell their own wives. Failing to

[45] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 28, 1813, in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 1:283, R. Jackson to A. Jackson, April 7, 1813, *PAJDE,* 2. For white women's resentment of overseeing slave labor, see, for instance, Gilpin-Faust, *Mothers of Invention*; Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household,* (New York, 2008); Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South,* (New York, 1982).

[46] For scholarly interpretations of this psalm, see Erich Zenger, *A God of Vengeance? Understanding the Psalms of Divine Wrath,* transl. Linda M. Maloney, (Louisville, 1996), 8-9. One scholar notes that the supplicants in Psalm 137 "are almost always on the brink of despair. These are not authority figures flexing their muscle against the weak but rather the vulnerable and powerless exercising the only agency left to them, namely their imaginations." This psalm never "imagine the supplicant taking the matter of justice (or vengeance) into his or her own hands. It is always left to the deity (or fate) to extract retribution." See Carleen Mandolfo, "Language of Lament in the Psalms," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms,* ed. William P. Brown, (New York, 2014), 123.

protect a wife bordered on heresy. Jackson, she believed, had an obligation to protect her. In turn, she had an obligation to confirm that she needed his protection.[47]

Early American law and culture limited what women could do but as an elite white woman, Rachel possessed some power. As the daughter of John Donelson, Rachel influenced the politically powerful circles in which her family moved. She held tremendous control over the lives of the enslaved people that the Jacksons owned. Certainly, Sandy, whose fate lay in Rachel's hand, would have considered her formidable.[48]

On a more intimate level, Jackson valued Rachel as his confidante and a source of moral authority. She assured him that "no man is or Can be more praised and applauded then you are." In December 1813, Jackson took comfort in the fact that Rachel supported his violence against the Muscogee. You know "my motto," he told her, "I know you approve of it—that is death before dishonor."[49]

Rachel advanced two seemingly paradoxical goals. On the one hand, Rachel fashioned herself a suffering victim to persuade Jackson to come home. She claimed that his absences weighed on her physical and mental condition and appealed to his obligation to protect her by alleviating misery. If Crawley, Mrs. Manley, and other frontierswomen's suffering deserved Jackson's vengeance, surely, Rachel thought, hers deserved it too.

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[47]Regarding heresy, see, for instance, "Anyone who does not provide for their relatives, and especially for their own household, has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever" (1 Timothy 5:8).

[48] For women's influence as wives and daughters, see, for instance, Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 44, No. 4 (Oct. 1987), 689-721; Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government,* (Charlottesville, 2000); Norton, *Liberty's Daughters;* Amy Greenberg, *Lady First: Sarah Childress Polk and the Wages of Womanhood,* (New York, forthcoming.) Thavolia Glymph reminds us that plantation mistresses wielded enormous power and that female—rather than male—dominance was "the controlling force within the plantation household." See Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage,* 3.

[49] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, December 14, 1813, *PAJDE,* 2; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 11, 1814, *PAJDE,* 3.

Rachel also saw her suffering in terms of a more important goal that transcended her time on Earth and promised her a better life in Heaven. By encouraging her husband to do God's work and fight his enemies, Rachel hoped that they could vanquish the Muscogee and secure the "promised land that flows with milk and honey" for God's children.[50]

Many other nineteenth-century women emphasized their wartime suffering. Scholars of the Civil War have shown how Confederate women saw their suffering as a form of patriotism. Still, there was a thin line between sacrificing for a cause and suffering from one. Indeed, men started deserting the Confederate army once their wives complained about how much they grieved in their absence. In other cases, women's suffering helped delegitimize the idea that the Confederacy protected white women and children.[51]

Rachel's suffering fed the ferocity with which Jackson and his troops fought the Muscogee. Jackson and Rachel possessed a strict sense of what they deemed to be good and evil. Jackson saw himself as upholding justice on the frontier, which often meant that no slight could go unpunished. Rachel was the most important person in Jackson's life and the suffering that others had caused her weighed on him. Jackson knew that Native Americans had killed Rachel's

[50] "Promised land" quoted in A. Jackson to John Coffee, Dec. 22, 1813, *PAJDE,* 2; Rogin, *Fathers & Children*, 77, 106.
[51] Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *The Journal of American History,* (March 1990), Vol. 76, No. 4, 1200-26; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention,* 234-247; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*, (Cambridge, 2010) 164, also see chapter 1 and introduction, more broadly. Also see Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted.*

relatives and he targeted his violence against rebellious factions like the Redsticks with this fact in mind.[52]

Since Tennesseans understood their participation in the Creek War as defensive, Rachel blamed the Redsticks for Jackson's absences from home. The Redsticks, she believed, rejected God's will by attacking his people. She found calls to avenge God's enemies throughout the Bible, where Rachel read how "the indignation of the LORD" shall be "upon all nations, and *his* fury upon all their armies: he hath utterly destroyed them, he hath delivered them to the slaughter." Like other Tennesseans Rachel saw the conflict as Isaiah had prophesized: "the day of the LORD's vengeance, *and* the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion."

Jackson lived up to his promise to Rachel that he would deliver this retribution at the campaign's culmination, the Battle of Tohopeka (or Horseshoe Bend) on March 27, 1814. In a resounding victory, in which Jackson determined "to exterminate" the Muscogee, his forces killed or wounded 1,000 men, women, and children. Five days after the battle, Jackson reported on the violence for Rachel and affirmed that he had completed the job at hand. "I have the pleasure to state to you," he began "that on the 27th. march that I attacked & have destroyed the whole combined force of the Newyokas, oakfuskes Hillabays, Fishponds, ocaias, and ufalee, Tribes." Jackson wanted Rachel to believe that he had destroyed the Redsticks almost single-

[52] For Andrew Jackson's vengeance, see James C. Curtis, *Andrew Jackson and the Search for Vindication*, (Boston, 1976); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Andrew Jackson's Honor," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1997), 1-36; Opal, *Avenging the People.*

handedly. He knew that she would approve of the destruction and that, as Jackson continued, "The *carnage* was *dreadfull*."[53]

The business of "killing them" went long into the night. "It was dark before we finished," Jackson added, before noting that his troops only stopped once they had slaughtered every Muscogee left standing. Jackson's forces rose the next morning to count the bodies. Jackson tallied "five hundred and fifty seven" Muscogee corpses on the battlefield, while John Coffee estimated that three hundred died in the river. In addition to the 850 Muscogee slain, they "took about three hundred and fifty prisoners, weomen & children and three warriors."[54]

Because Rachel saw the conflict as a holy war, Jackson stressed to Rachel—but none of his other correspondents—the spiritual damage that he had inflicted on her enemies at Tohopeka. Prophetic leaders of the Redsticks, including Hillis Hadjo (or Crazy Medicine), had organized Tohopeka as a place to revive Muscogee culture. "Having destroyed at To'hope'ka, three of their principl prophets leaving but two in their nation—having tread their holy ground as the[y] termed it, and destroyed all their chiefs & warriors on the Tallapoosee river above the big bend," Jackson recounted, "it is probable they may now sue for peace." But since this was God's war, Jackson promised Rachel that he would deliver "the final stroke at the hickory ground in a few days" only after he had obtained "the permission of heaven."[55]

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[53] A. Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, March 28, 1814; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 1, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. For the battle specifically, see James W. Holland, *Victory at the Horseshoe: Andrew Jackson and the Creek War*, (Tuscaloosa, 2004); Thomas Kanon, "'A Slow, Laborious Slaughter': The Battle of Horseshoe Bend." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1999): 2-15.

[54] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 1, 1814, *PAJDE*, 2.

[55] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 1, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. For comparisons, see A. Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, March 28, 1814, and A. Jackson to Willie Blount, April 18, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. While Jackson outlined the body count and the details of the attack, he did not stress the destruction of prophets. To Blount, Jackson notes that one prophet, Hillis Hadjo, remains unvanquished, but promises to get him soon. Jackson did not tell Rachel that he had not been

Other participants described the violence in letters to their wives, although most men did not frame the campaign with such dramatic religious dimensions. After the Battle of Tallushatchee in November 1813, John Reid, Jackson's aide and military secretary, provided his wife, Betsy, with body counts. A week later, Reid described how he followed the Muscogee's retreat and left the route to safety "traced with their blood." Meanwhile, Rachel's niece, Mary, received a letter from her husband, John Coffee, that "the Slaughter was great" at the Battle of Tohopeka. Coffee recounted to Mary the 850 to 900 Muscogees killed.[56]

Believing that Native Americans besieged their society, frontier women welcomed reports of their husband's violent victories over the Redsticks. Many women in middle and western Tennessee had witnessed or experienced Native American violence firsthand. Most knew someone whom warriors had killed or wounded in an attack. All Tennesseans read reports of Native American violence in newspapers or heard stories from their friends, family members, and neighbors.[57]

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able to kill Hadjo yet, although he confirmed in a July 1814 letter that the prophet had gone to Pensacola. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, July 16, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. To Blount, Jackson confirmed that Hillis Jadjo, "their great prophet, has absconded, but he will be found." See Jackson to Blount, April 18, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

[56] John Reid to Betsy Reid, Nov. 4, 1813, and John Reid to Betsy Reid, Nov. 11, 1813, printed in Samuel Gordon Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, 67. Heiskell dates these letters 1814 but this is an error. The letter for Nov. 4 explicitly refers to the Battle of Tallushatchee, which happened Nov. 3, 1813. Moreover, there were no battles in November 1814 as the Treaty of Fort Jackson was signed in August 1814. John Coffee to Mary Coffee, April 1, 1814, *Dyas Collection of John Coffee Papers*, TSLA, Nashville, TN. We don't know how Mary replied. Only a couple of her letters exist but they are not included in the incoming letters received by John Coffee in the *Dyas John Coffee Papers*. See "Finding Aid: Dyas Collection--John Coffee Papers, 1770-1917," processed by Harriet Chappell Owsley, TSLA, Nashville, TN., 1974. Also see John H. DeWitt, "Letters of General John Coffee to his Wife, 1813-1815," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, 2, (Dec. 1916), 264-295.

[57] Because historians root their analyses of gender conventions in eastern regions, we assume that all Americans cultivated a sense of womanhood as gentle, delicate, and benevolent. Yet this genteel notion of womanhood did not fit frontier conditions. See, for instance, Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Summer 1976) 187-205; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*; Cynthia Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835*, (Ithaca, 1998); Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, (New Haven, 1977). With regards to Tennessee, I differ from Cynthia Cumfer, who believes that republican motherhood was upheld on the

Describing the violence to Rachel confirmed that Jackson did his duty on the battlefields, just as Rachel kept the faith on the home front. As a woman, Rachel suffered and conveyed these feelings to Jackson, who, as a man, acted on Rachel's feelings to inflict punishment on their enemies.

Jackson also described the violence to Rachel to fulfill her providential vision of the war. When Jackson thrust his sword into the heart of a Muscogee, God guided his hand. Rachel approved of the violence but believing in the "Almighty Power" exonerated Jackson from any criticisms regarding his violence on Earth. Humankind, Rachel believed, was "sinful" and "unworthy." But Jackson was a man acting on behalf of God, whose wisdom Rachel never doubted.[58]

Once Jackson defeated the Muscogee, Rachel wanted him to come home victorious. Despite her constant complaints, Rachel never encouraged Jackson to abandon the campaign before he had achieved victory. Instead, she calculated how quickly he could defeat the Muscogee. After the Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek in late January 1814, Rachel

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Tennessee frontier as a goal with which Tennesseans could cultivate respectability in the late eighteenth-century. I see no evidence of such in Rachel or her sisters at the time. See Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*: *The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier,* (Chapel Hill, 2007.) For the cultural impact of stories about Native American attack in print culture, see Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America,* (New York, 2008) and Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity,* (New York, 1998.) For the development of an American gothic in print culture that focused on violence in the nineteenth-century, see Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the Gothic Imagination,* (Cambridge, 1999). Halttunen also notes that reading stories about violence generated sympathy for the victim among its readers. This worked to the advantage of abolitionists but it also applied to victims of violence. See Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 100, No. 2 (Apr. 1995), 303-34.

[58]*Calvinistic Magazine,* Jan 1827, Vol. 1, No. 1, cover page.

estimated that "the troops that is now on their way will be sufficient to End the ware in the Creek Country."[59]

Jackson conducted his war against the Muscogee at a dizzying pace. By the end of October 1813, Jackson and his troops attacked Redstick camps inhabited by men, women, children, and their captives. On November 3, John Coffee defeated Redstick warriors at the Battle of Tallushatchee and a week later, Jackson commanded the U.S. victory at the Battle of Talladega. As fall turned to winter, most military commanders rested their men for the cold months ahead. Jackson gave his men a brief respite in December and early January, but they did not retire for the winter. Instead, Jackson executed another offensive attack at the January 1814 Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo. Two months later, he oversaw a crippling blow to the Redsticks at the Battle of Tohopeka. By April he assured Rachel that he would be home soon.[60]

The consequences for defeating the Redstick Muscogees quickly and aggressively proved high for all involved. As Richard Keith Call remembered, Jackson was in terrible shape when the war began and he pushed his forty-six-year old body beyond its limits. Weakened by years of physical exertion, Jackson was prone to colds and bouts of influenza. Yet, Jackson expected to lead the Tennessee militia on a grueling 300-mile journey to the Alabama frontier, and then proceed into battle. Jackson hoped to do all of this with his arm in a sling from a duel. These difficulties led Jackson to describe the conflict as the most challenging phase of his long life.

[59] In the wake of the Battles of Emuckfaw and Enotachopo Creek, Jackson assured Rachel that "when I move again I shall soon put an end to the creek war, carry into effect the ulterior objects of my goverment and then return to your arms." See Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, Feb. 1, 1814; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.
[60] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 14, 1814, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Microfilm Supplement,* reel 3. For a brief chronology of the war, see Davis, "Remember Fort Mims," 634.

"Never had any man more difficulties to struggle with than I had to encounter in the creek war," he recalled in 1844.[61]

Jackson also pushed his men beyond their limits. In early 1814, Thomas Crawford, a North Carolinian officer, reported that troops were "very sickly" and scared. "We have slept for three nights with our arms in hands" because "the whole of the indian force" remained twenty-miles away. The demands that Jackson placed on his ill-supplied troops threatened to descend into mutiny in the winter of 1813 and 1814. "Home mania," as Jackson called the threat, swept his camp. Citizens on the home-front in Franklin County, along Tennessee's frontiers, maintained that their militiamen had done enough for the war effort and should come home. Only the execution of a militiaman named John Woods and a fresh infusion of federal troops quelled the discontent. Jackson claimed that the execution horrified him. But Rachel assured him that God would condemn the souls of those who questioned his wisdom. "Etarnaly theay ar Dead no theay dont raise ther Eyes or heads in the world," she promised.[62]

The Muscogee suffered the most from Jackson's pace and zeal and saw a large segment of their nation destroyed in just four short months. Jackson fed his troops by raiding the Muscogee villages that he destroyed and during the destruction, Muscogee men and women tried to fight back. Davy Crockett remembered seeing a Muscogee woman place "her feet against the

[61] A. Jackson to Amos Kendall, Oct. 7, 1844, in *Amos Kendall Papers*, David Rubenstein Special Collections, Duke University Library, Durham, NC.

[62] Throughout the war, militiamen and troops reported traveling an average of twenty-two miles a day, as reported by Edmund Bryan. See "Journal of Edmund Bryan," Folder 2, Bryan and Leventhorpe Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, UNC, Chapel Hill; Thomas Crawford to Eleanor Crawford, March 24, 1814, and April 14, 1814. For "home mania," see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 19, 1813, in *CAJ:* I, 400. For complaints from citizens, see Willie Blount to Capt. James Cowan, January 25, 1814, U.S. War Department Records, 1814-1865, David Rubenstein Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC. For new troops, see Kanon, *Tennesseans at War*, 97-8. R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 11, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

bow she had in her hand, and then took an arrow, and, raising her feet, she drew with all her might, and let fly at us, and she killed a man." But the man's death "so enraged us all, that she was fired on, and had at least twenty balls blown through her." In less than a year, Tennessee and American forces had killed 1,600 Muscogee warriors. In some battles, ten Muscogee died for every one American soldier. The destruction of 60 Muscogee towns also rendered 8,000 people homeless.[63]

Their losses at the Battle of Topoheka weakened the Redstick Muscogees to the point of no return. Jackson and his troops routed the few warriors who remained after the conflict. To rally his troops in one final push, Jackson reminded them that they still had to show the entire nation that "their prophets are impostors, & that our strength is mighty & will prevail." To do so, Jackson would have to travel to Florida, where thousands of Muscogee had fled. From the Spanish colony, these Redsticks joined the Seminole to continue resisting white Anglo-American settlements. American military commanders captured those who remained in Muscogee country, including over 660 women and children. An additional 2,220 Muscogees had no choice but to seek refuge at U.S. military camps stationed along the Alabama River. Muscogee Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins saw a people in ruins. “Look to the towns, not a living thing in them,” he recounted, “the inhabitants scattered through the woods, dying with hunger or fed by

[63] See A. Jackson to Thomas Flournoy, Oct. 24, 1813, *PAJDE,* 2*;* Crockett, *Narrative of David Crockett,* 88, quoted in Braund, "Reflections on Shee Coocys," 275. For total numbers of casualties, see Bettina Drew, "Master Andrew Jackson," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University), 151; Waslekov, *A Conquering Spirit*, 171, and especially, "Figure 19: Creek settlements destroyed or abandoned in the Redstick War, 1813-1814," 172-3.

Americans." The Muscogee, Hawkins knew, would have difficulty piecing their communities back together.[64]

In August 1814, Jackson made that job more difficult when he took over the proceedings at the Treaty of Fort Jackson. As the only U.S. commissioner, Jackson dictated the treaty's terms and threatened to renew the war if the Muscogee did not accept. Although Hawkins was present at the proceedings, Jackson banned him from participating. Punishing the Muscogee for what he referred to as an "unprovoked, inhuman, and sanguinary" war, Jackson forced the Muscogee to cede two-thirds, or twenty-two million acres, of their land. Muscogee and Cherokee Indians who had allied with the U.S. inhabited some of this land. Their protestations went unheard until an 1816 treaty resolved the boundary issues. In the meantime, former allies dubbed Jackson "Sharp Knife" for this betrayal.[65]

The Treaty of Fort Jackson opened up modern-day Alabama and large portions of Tennessee and Georgia for settlement by white, slave-owning settlers and marked the first stage of Indian Removal orchestrated under Jackson's watch. By beginning to cleanse the "promised

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[64] A. Jackson to Tennessee Troops in Mississippi Territory, April 2, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3; Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters, Journals, and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C.L. Grant, (Savannah, 1980), 2: 647, quoted in Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 240-1. This number of captured Muscogee only counts those taken from the town of Hillabee, at the Battle of Tohopeka, and the Battle of Tullushatchee. John Coffee reported to his wife, Mary, that they'd taken 500 at the Battle of Tohopeka but a later congressional report referred to 350 women and children captured. See John Coffee to Mary Coffee, April 1, 1814, John H. DeWitt, "Letters of General John Coffee to his Wife, 1813-1815," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, 2, (Dec. 1916) 283; Braund, "Reflections on Shee Coocys," 276, 281. For the number of refugees, see Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit*, 171.

[65] Ethridge, *Creek Country*, 241. Treaty quoted in Kathryn Braund, "Summer 1814: The Treaty of Fort Jackson Ends the Creek War," National Park Services, http://www.nps.gov/articles/treaty-of-fort-jackson.htm, 2016. The Cherokee claimed at least four million acres of the land ceded to the U.S., which was not restored to them until an 1816 treaty. See "Treaty with the Cherokee, 1816," in Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, (Washington, D.C., 1904), digitized by Oklahoma State University Library. Jackson also met with the Chickasaw to discuss boundaries with the U.S. in the wake of the land cessions. See A. Jackson to Big Warrior, Aug. 30, 1816, Jesse Franklin Indian Treaty Papers, 1816, SHC, UNC, Chapel Hill, NC.

land" of heathen Native Americans, Jackson's treaty came one step closer towards fulfilling Rachel's goal of doing God's work. Emboldened, he returned home.

Chapter 4: A "Benevolent Object"

In April 1814, Rachel hoped that God might grant her some happiness now that Jackson had defeated the Muscogee and was coming home. For Rachel, reading Jackson's grisly description of his victory at the Battle of Tohopeka brought her "so much pleasure." She assured Jackson that he had emerged from "one of the most Daingerous interprizes of aney History ever recorded" thanks to a "murcifull" God, who "Smileed on us." Rachel knew that the Lord would continue to guide Jackson in his final confrontation at the Muscogee nation's sacred Hickory Ground. Then, Jackson could return victorious to Rachel.[1]

By June, Jackson had returned home with a two-year-old Muscogee boy named Lyncoya. According to Jackson, his troops killed Lyncoya's kin on October 27, 1813. One of his men found Lyncoya amidst the bodies of dead Muscogee and brought him to Jackson. Jackson decided to take Lyncoya home as a "pett" for Andrew Jr., whom he hoped would make Lyncoya "one of our family." As a "pett," Jackson understood Lyncoya to be a subordinate companion to Andrew Jr. He expected that Lyncoya would live inside their home, where he could best serve Andrew Jr.[2]

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[1] Rachel Jackson to Andrew Jackson, April 12, 1814, in John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Volume 1,* (Washington, D.C., 1926-1935), 499, hereafter known as *CAJ*.

[2] Other spellings include Lincoya and Lincoyer. Popular myth maintains that Jackson found Lyncoya, then ten to twelve months-old, in the arms of his dead mother at the Battle of Tallushatchee. At least, this was the story that Jackson and his supporters told after 1820, and historians subsequently followed. See, for instance, the *Nashville Republican*, July 31, 1828; Andrew Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya," Undated, in Charles Carter Lee Papers, Box 2, Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA; Mark Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, (Baton Rouge, 2013), 80. For Lyncoya as Andrew Jr.'s "pet," see Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya"; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Oct. 31, 1813, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, Microfilm Supplement, (hereafter *PAJMS*), reel 3; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 19, 1813, in Vol. 2, Daniel Feller, *Papers of Andrew Jackson Digital Edition* (Charlottesville, 2015) hereafter *PAJDE;* A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 21, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. For more on the term, "pett," including its racial implications, see Dawn Peterson, "Unusual Sympathies: Adoption and Empire in Andrew Jackson's Household," (Unpublished essay in author's possession), 32; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 19, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. Jackson did not refer to his enslaved workers as family members. But his insistence that Lyncoya belonged within the "family" shows a preoccupation with acquiring dependents to confer Jackson's mastery as a white male. For more on this notion of white mastery, see Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of*

Andrew Jr. was used to receiving his father's attention and adoration. From the battlefield, Jackson closed most letters to Rachel by asking her to "kiss my little Andrew for me." Rachel confirmed that Andrew Jr. missed and loved Jackson equally.[3]

Rachel also adored her son but her crippling sense of vulnerability meant that she often turned to Andrew Jr. for emotional caretaking. Five-year-old Andrew Jr. was faced with the impossible task of trying to console his bereaved mother. In one instance, Andrew Jr. had to remind Rachel that Jackson would return home soon; in the meantime, she had his support. This caretaking left Andrew Jr. few opportunities to express his own fears and concerns. In the spring of 1814, Andrew Jr. insulted his mother unintentionally by asking for his father after he had been

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Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country, (New York, 1997.) Historians have differed in how they explain what Lyncoya meant to Jackson and why Jackson "adopted" him. Some claim that Lyncoya was Jackson's "son" and point to Lyncoya's adoption as an example of how, on an intimate level, Jackson did not "hate" Native Americans. See, for instance, Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long and Bitter Trail*: *Andrew Jackson and the American Indians*, (New York, 1993), 54-55; Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, (Lincoln, 1975), 9. Robert Remini has defended Jackson most forcefully. In 1980, he wrote that contrary to the idea that Jackson hated Indians, "Nothing could be further from the truth." For evidence of this, Remini pointed to his adoption of Lyncoya, whom he "raised as a son." See Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, *1767-1821*, (New York, 1977), 193-194, 336-337. In 2001, Remini quoted a newspaper article as evidence that "Jackson truly loved the boy," and takes Jackson's word that Lyncoya "was raised as Jackson's son." See Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*, (New York, 2001), 214-215. Others have maintained that Lyncoya reflected Jackson's general shift from seeing Native Americans as enemies to victims and the development of a more paternalist attitude towards Native Americans, which retained white mastery and the right to violence, if necessary. See Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*, (New York, 1975), 188-189; Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the National Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion*, (Cambridge, MA, forthcoming); J.M. Opal, *Avenging the People: Andrew Jackson, the Rule of Law, and the Ordeal of American Nationhood*, (New York, 2017.) Mark Cheathem maintains that Jackson sent Lyncoya to the Hermitage to ease Rachel and Andrew Jr.'s loneliness in his absence and stresses how Jackson's own childhood engendered a "sympathy" for Lyncoya as an orphan. See Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, 79-80. No historian has considered Rachel's relationship to Lyncoya, although she spent considerably more time with Lyncoya than Jackson ever did, given his constant absences.

[3] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 3; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 13, 1814, *PAJMS*, Roll 3. R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 11, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *Andrew Jackson Papers*, Presidential Papers Microfilm, Library of Congress, (hereafter *PAJPP*), reel 9. Historians have shown how this outpouring of emotion reflected a recent, post-revolutionary development among American elites, particularly in Virginia. See Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*, (Ithaca, 1983); Lorri Glover, *Founders as Fathers: The Private Lives and Politics of The American Revolutionaries*, (New Haven, 2014); *idem., Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation*, (Baltimore, 2010.) Glover notes that elite southern children, including Andrew Jackson Jr., grew up in "emotionally expressive households." See Glover, *Southern Sons*, 12. In Andrew Jr.'s case, and because of his mother, this emotion could also prove potentially explosive.

taken ill. "Our son Andrew the Dear Little fellow hurt my feelings a Little time since he was attact with this feaver he Calld for you saide he pappa must be sent for," Rachel wrote Jackson. Andrew Jr.'s request resulted in him having to turn his attention to his mother and beg her, "Sweet mother dont you Cry."[4]

Andrew Jr. realized that as the object of Jackson's devotion and Rachel's dependence, he held a privileged and entitled position in the family, and at the Hermitage more broadly. As Jackson's only son, Andrew Jr. expected his father's favor over other children in the Jacksons' care. He expected Native American "petts," assumed command of them, and refused to share their companionship with Jackson's other white wards. Andrew Jr.'s entitlement also bred a sense of competition. He knew that if he did not command Jackson's attention, others in the family would. In addition to Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Andrew Jackson Donelson, and now Lyncoya, Rachel also competed with her son as to who needed Jackson more.[5]

A month later, Jackson dampened Rachel and Andrew Jr.'s spirits as he packed up to leave, yet again. In Jackson's absence, Lyncoya became Rachel's responsibility. Throughout 1814, Rachel often complained of her "delicate" physical condition. She probably resented the extra work that it would take her, as well as her enslaved domestic workers, Hannah and Betty, to care for Lyncoya, who was often sick. Still, under Jackson's orders, she kept Lyncoya in the

[4] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, April 7, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Taking care of his mother proved young Andrew Jr.'s way of providing familial service during his father's absences, which was an important value instilled in elite southern boys. See Glover, *Southern Sons*, 15.

[5] For instance, Jackson intended one "pett" named Charley to be belong to Andrew Jackson Donelson. But according to Rachel, Andrew Jr. did not like sharing the Indian boys with his cousin. Without Jackson at home to enforce his decision, Andrew Jr. took ownership of Charley, as well as Lyncoya. See R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *PAJMS*, reel 9. For below for a discussion of Charley.

house, with the family. Jackson also asked her to make sure that Lyncoya was well-clothed and that Andrew Jr. treated "him well."[6]

After his near-destruction of the Red Stick Muscogee, Jackson suggested to Rachel that they see their former enemies as Rachel saw herself: as helpless victims. Writing home from the Treaty of Fort Jackson in August 1814, Jackson observed that "it is anough to make Humanity shuddar to see the distressed situation of the Indian." He described starving Muscogees, searching for food, as "the most distressed wretches you ever saw." If Rachel could only see the Muscogee people's suffering, Jackson hoped that her "humanity would feel for them, notwithstanding all the causes you have to feel hatred and revenge against."[7]

Despite leading the campaign against the Muscogee, Jackson did not see himself as responsible for their misery. He grieved for the Muscogees although he believed that they had brought their misery upon themselves. By launching an offensive war on white Christian settlements, Jackson and many Tennesseans maintained that the Muscogee had created their own "distressed situation."[8]

Jackson's victories skyrocketed him to national fame. In an era of increasing commitment to humanitarian causes and benevolent reform, this fame also brought scrutiny of Jackson's conduct and character. Jackson and his supporters hoped to dispel criticism by presenting him as a benevolent statesman, as well as a victorious general. They did both, maintaining that Jackson delivered retributive justice to his enemies but then treated them humanely in defeat. In

[6] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 29, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2.
[7] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, July 16, 1814; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.
[8] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

newspapers, political biographies, and correspondence with Congressmen, Jackson and his supporters introduced the American public to Lyncoya, cast as Jackson's "benevolent object."[9]

As Jackson used Lyncoya to shift his public persona, the nature of Rachel's partnership in his career changed, too. For Jackson to become a national statesman, Rachel had to become a genteel wife, akin to the ladies in Washington City. This new role included giving up her overt "hatred" of the Muscogee and desire for "revenge," both of which were unbecoming of a lady. Jackson called on Rachel to parent a Muscogee boy to demonstrate the couple's benevolence. Although Rachel wanted to help Jackson advance his career, her care for Lyncoya remained grudging. Raising another of Jackson's wards brought more domestic chores, which Rachel found taxing. Moreover, Rachel found the fact that this child was a Red Stick Muscogee, whose kin had waged war on her God and her family particularly painful.

After his victory in the Creek War, Rachel had expected Jackson to return home and stay. Instead, Jackson sought to build on his national fame and power that his campaign against the

[9] This shift in Jackson's rhetoric did not result in substantial behavioral or policy changes. As historian Nancy Shoemaker points out, "language tells us what people thought, not what they did." See Shoemaker, "An Alliance Between Men: Gender Metaphors in Eighteenth-Century American Indian Diplomacy East of the Mississippi," *Ethnohistory,* Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1999), 240. This benevolence presaged Jackson's claims to humanitarianism in the wake of his Indian Removal policy as president. See, for instance, "First Inaugural Address of Andrew Jackson," Wed. March 4, 1829, *The Avalon Project*, Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jackson1.asp. Also see discussions of Jackson's rhetoric in Gordon M. Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh,* (Chapel Hill, 2005). For benevolent reform and humanitarianism see, for instance, Karen Haltunnen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (Apr. 1996) 303-334; *idem., Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination*, (Cambridge, MA., 1998); Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (June 1999), 15-40; Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Middletown, 1981.)

Muscogee reaped. Looking to exercise even more political influence over American territorial expansion, Jackson spent more time away from home.

Aggravated at Jackson's absences and the stress of caring for a new child, Rachel wrote Jackson less frequently than she had during the Creek War. In July 1814, Jackson wrote Rachel frequently but noted that she had written him only once. Finally, Rachel wrote Jackson on July 22, but Jackson pointed out that it "was the first I had heard from you since I left you." By October, Jackson complained that he was still awaiting letters from Rachel, but none had come "for several mails."[10]

The decrease in Rachel's correspondence, as well as Jackson's letters to her, hint at her frustration. Writing to a friend in April 1816, Rachel lamented Jackson's absences. She did not expect him to visit until later that May. By 1817, Jackson urged Rachel to practice what she preached and take comfort in knowing that his battles were God's battles. He reminded her that when God "commands, to yield up our existance, the summons must be obayed." "I therefore beg of you," Jackson concluded, "on the present absence, exercise your philosophy."[11]

In addition to her support, Jackson also expected Rachel to change her public image to reflect that of a genteel lady. In April 1814, Secretary of War James Monroe promoted Jackson from Major General in the West Tennessee militia to the position of Major General within the U.S. Army. The promotion signaled the beginning of Jackson's rise as national leader but it brought unwelcome changes for Rachel. He instructed her to take her carriage in for repairs, or to purchase a new one. Rachel had to "recollect that you are now a Major Generals lady—in the

[10] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, July 31, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. July 22 letter does not exist. A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Oct. 7, 1814, Papers of Andrew Jackson, sent by editor, Laura-Eve Moss.
[11] R. Jackson to Sophia Thorpe Reid, April 27, 1816, A. Jackson to R. Jackson, May 29, 1817, *PAJDE*, 4.

service of the U.S. and as such you must appear, elegant and plain, not extravagant--but in such stile as strangers expect to see you."[12]

Dutifully, Rachel increased her purchases with local merchants as she struggled to look like the kind of refined woman Jackson wanted her to become. Before 1814, Rachel had made few purchases. From 1804 through 1807, she maintained an account with Edward Roberts, from whom she purchased muslin cloth and bed quilts. In 1811, she also purchased butter. After Jackson's appointment and a brief 1815 trip to New Orleans, Rachel opened several new accounts with dressmakers. In 1814 and 1815, she purchased dresses from four dressmakers, as well as jewelry. Four years later, Rachel purchased a gold watch, which she later complemented with several charms.[13]

Refined "ladies" also sat for portraits. In 1817, the Jacksons' commissioned the celebrated New England portraitist, Ralph E.W. Earl, to paint Rachel. Earl painted Andrew Jackson dozens of times, and completed portraits of Andrew Jr. in 1820 and 1830. He also painted Rachel's brother John Donelson, and sister, Mary Caffrey, as well as family friends such as John Coffee and fellow church-members including Ann Philips Grundy.[14]

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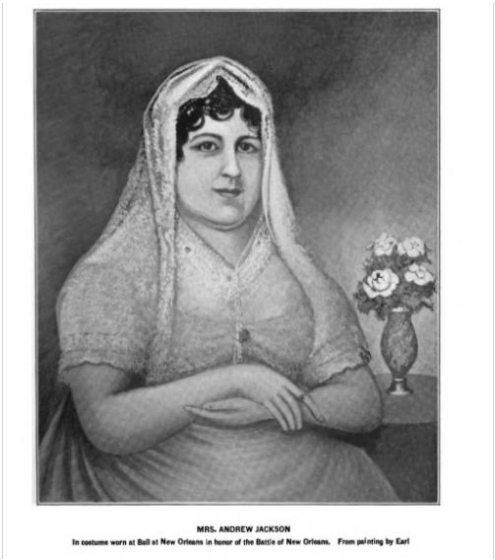
[12] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821* (New York, 1977), 119, 170-171.

[13] For Edward Roberts, see R. Jackson to Edward Roberts, 1804-1807, R. Jackson to Edward Roberts, Oct. 21, 1806 in "Calendar, 1804-1813," in *PAJDE*, 2. For Thomas Childress, see Sept. 12, 1811, *PAJPP*, reel 5 Sept 12, 1811. I compiled a table Rachel's accounts for 1804-1820 from the *PAJDE* and the Papers of Andrew Jackson, Presidential Papers, Library of Congress.

[14] For Rachel and Earle, see R. Jackson to Ralph E.W. Earl, Feb. 23, 1819 and July 3, 1819, Ladies Hermitage Association, TSLA. For Earle's connections to the Jackson, Caffrey, and Donelson family, see Rachel Elizabeth Stephens, "America's Portraitist: Ralph E.W. Earl and the Imaging of the Jacksonian Era," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2010), 88-135. A New Englander, Earl trained in Paris before moving to Nashville in 1816 to paint the region's emerging elite. Earl marked one of many "entrepreneurs" who capitalized on westerners' desire to adhere to eastern gentility standards. For the efforts of westerners, including in Tennessee, to refashion themselves into "genteel, refined" middle-class Americans through consumer goods and art, see Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities,* (New York, 1991), 387-390.

Earl's portrait tried to make Rachel look like a sophisticated "Major Generals lady." Posing in the Jacksons' log cabin, Rachel donned the white satin dress that she wore to an 1815 New Orleans ball celebrating Jackson's victory over the British. She also wore a lace veil and topaz jewelry given to her in New Orleans. With a single vase of flowers in the background, Rachel tried to appear as Jackson instructed: "elegant and plain--but not extravagant."[15]

Although the portrait cost $50, Rachel came across as a coarse woman, who was new to such refinements. Compared with Earl's other paintings, his 1817 portrait made Rachel look absurd. (See: Figures 1, 2, 3.) In 1821, a visitor to the Hermitage summed up the portrait as depicting Rachel, "fat, forty, but not fair."[16]



(Figure 1: Ralph E.W. Earl, *Mrs. Rachel Jackson,* 1817. No longer extant. Reproduced from S.G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History,* Vol. III, (Nashville, 1918), 440.

[15] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.
[16] Quoted in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1860), Vol. 2, 650; Stephens, "America's Portraitist," 145. Also see Stephens, "America's Portraitist," 142,144.

(Figure 2: Ralph E.W. Earl, *Mrs. Rachel Jackson*, 1827. The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, Hermitage, Tennessee. Reproduced from *Tennessee Portrait Project*, www.tnportraits.org. Thanks to Marsha Mullin at the Hermitage for taking me through the history of Rachel's portraits.)

(Figure 3: Ralph E.W. Earl, *Ann Phillips Rodgers Grundy*. c.1820.
Downtown Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tennessee.
Reproduced from Tennessee Portrait Project, www.tnportraits.org. Ann Grundy was the wife of Tennessee Senator, Felix Grundy, and a founding member of the Presbyterian Church, whom Rachel knew well.)

Rachel's refashioning also included caring for three Native American children whom Jackson brought home. The first, Theodore, had arrived shortly before Tennessee declared war on the Muscogee in the fall of 1813. We do not know the nation of his origins, for Jackson simply and always referred to Theodore as an "Indian." Occasionally, southern Indigenous leaders used cross-cultural adoption to cement military and political alliances, especially in preparation for war. Adoption created kinship links between nations as they fought a common enemy. Elite chiefs also hoped that, by attending American schools, their children would master literacy in English, which could benefit the family and nation.[17]

During the winter of 1813 and 1814, Theodore died from unknown causes. "I am sorry, that little theodore is no more," Jackson wrote to Rachel, "I regret it on Andrews account, I expect, he lamented his loss." Although Theodore was Andrew Jr.'s "pett," Rachel mourned his

[17] Bettina Drew refers to a fourth, named Lemuel, but there is no further evidence of him. See Drew, "Master Andrew Jackson: Indian Removal and the Culture of Slavery," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 2001), 161. A month after Tennessee declared war on the Muscogee in November 1813, Jackson told Rachel that he had another Indigenous boy for her. The boy, Jackson wrote, "is about the age of *Theodore*." This statement proves that Theodore lived at the Hermitage prior to the declaration of war. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Nov. 4, 1813, *PAJDE*, 3. Just as they arranged marriages between native women and white traders to establish kinship links, chiefs hoped that the awarding of boys to elite Anglo-American men could serve similar purposes. For the use of marriage to create kinship links, see Anne Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1850* (Lincoln, 2011); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman OK, 1983); Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, (Norman, OK, 1996); Michelle Lemaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast*, (Charlottesville, 2012). Scholars disagree over whether such gifting constituted "slavery" but for cross-cultural adoption and the gifting of children for alliances, see Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*, (Chapel Hill, 2012); *idem.*, "A Little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 60, Issue 4, 777-808; Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*, (Cambridge, MA, 2010); Peterson, *Indians in the National Family;* Brandon Layton, "Children of Two Fires: Childhood, Change, and Diplomacy among the Choctaws and Chickasaws," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Davis, in progress.) Because Theodore lived with the Jacksons prior to the Creek War, a Muscogee, Cherokee, or Choctaw chief probably gave him to Jackson in early to mid-1813. Jackson referred to Theodore as "Indian" but he could have belonged to any nation. Some historians have posited that Theodore was an enslaved African-American. See Peterson, "Unusual Sympathies," 32; Rogin, *Fathers and Children,* 189. Since chiefs often gave children whom they had obtained from raids, or through captive-raiding and adoption practices, Theodore could have belonged to any nearby native nation and may have had some white or African-American ancestry.

death more than did Andrew Jr. "You mentiond andrew Lamenting the Loss of Theadoure," Rachel wrote, but Andrew Jr., "Sercly [scarcely] Ever name him [Theodore]." Instead, "he saw me sheding tears said he sweet Mother what are you crying for." Rachel told him but Andrew Jr. responded by asking his mother, "Does it take you all to Cry for one Little thing"?[18]

American culture expected sentimentality from genteel white women, who were to cry, mourn, and "feel" for society's most vulnerable, especially children. When Jackson asked Rachel to empathize with his Muscogee victims, he appealed to these notions of humanity and sentimentality. Where Rachel cultivated little humanity for Native Americans collectively, she shed tears for Theodore as an individual infant, who had died young. Theodore's early death meant that he had not been able to "grow into" his "Indianness," as other adopted Native American boys supposedly did.[19]

Andrew Jr. hoped that Jackson would replace Theodore by sending him a new "pett." In February, he received one when James Fife, a Muscogee ally, gave Jackson a boy named Charley. Rachel noted that Andrew Jr. liked Charley but writing to his father, Andrew Jr. felt frustrated that Charley "will not mind me." Charley disappears from the family's correspondence after this letter. Andrew Jr.'s claim that Charley disobeyed suggests that he may have run away, as did most Indigenous boys who lived with white families.[20]

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[18] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 4, 1814, *Bulletin of the Huntington Library*, (1933) 115-116; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *PAJPP*, reel 9.

[19] For nineteenth-century women's sentimentality in American culture and literature, see Ann Douglass, *The Feminization of American Culture*, (New York, 1977); Mary Louise Kete, *Sentimental Collaboration: Mourning and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Durham, 2000); Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence.*

[20] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 21, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 12, 1814, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. John Spencer Bassett, (Washington, D.C., 1935), Vol. 1, 478, (hereafter *CAJ*.) Fife provided Jackson with intelligence throughout the war and led 150 warriors in support of U.S. troops at the Battle of Emuckfau. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, January 28, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. This alliance paid off for Fife. In February 1834, during Jackson's presidency, the Senate passed an "Act for the Relief of James Fife, a Creek Indian" that

Only Lyncoya stayed with the Jacksons for long. Reporting home on October 31, 1813, Jackson told Rachel to tell "my little Andrew I have got a little Indian for him—which I will bring him when I return." He noted that Lyncoya "is about the size age of theodore and much like him," before confirming that Lyncoya's entire "family is destroyed." Jackson, however, failed to identify his own troops as the ones who had killed Lyncoya's family. [21]

Jackson encouraged Rachel to act as a dutiful Christian and accept Lyncoya, since "charity and christianity says he ought to be taken care of." As if responding to Rachel, Jackson confessed that he knew that Lyncoya "is a Savage." But he asked her to remember that Lyncoya was not just any "savage." Rather, "fortune" had "thrown" Lyncoya "in my h[ands when] his own female matrons wanted to k[ill him]." God had guided Lyncoya to Jackson. Acting upon God's wishes, Jackson guided him to Rachel. [22]

Jackson's version of Lyncoya's adoption transferred the blame for the destruction of Indigenous families from Jackson to Muscogee women. Murderous women violated early American gender norms, which expected women to act to as dutiful and compassionate mothers.

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promised to compensate Fife for six horses that white settlers had stolen from him. See *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774- 1875*, Bills and Resolutions, Senate, 23rd Congress, 1st Session. Also see R. Jackson to A. Jackson, April 7, 1814, *CAJ*: 1, 498-9; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *PAJPP*, reel 9; A. Jackson Jr. to A. Jackson, April 8, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. In 1830, Jacksons' close friend, John Henry Eaton, adopted a seven-year-old Cherokee boy, who was given to him by a delegation of Indian chiefs. According to Eaton's wife, Margaret, or "Peggy," the boy, also named John, was given to the family by John Ross, an elite Cherokee chief. In her autobiography, Peggy Eaton recounted how during an 1831 riverboat journey, the Eatons heard a splash. They turned around in time to watch "John struck for the shore." The Eatons never saw John again. See Margaret Eaton, *The Autobiography of Peggy Eaton*, ed. Charles F. Deems, (New York, 1932), 168-9. For other examples, see Peterson, *Indians in the National Family.*

[21] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Nov. 4, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 4, 1814, *Bulletin of Huntington Library*, (1933) 115-116. There is a possibility that this child was Charley. But Lyncoya was intended specifically for Andrew Jr. in addition to Theodore, while Jackson intended to give Charley to Andrew Jackson Donelson. As a result, if this child was for Donelson, Jackson would have likely indicated that. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, October 31, 1812, *PAJMS*, reel 3.

[22]A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 19, 1813, Dec. 29, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 4, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

In Jackson's telling, Lyncoya's female kin wanted to kill him. Jackson presented his adoption of Lyncoya as a fantastical rescue, whereby he was Lyncoya's savior and Muscogee women were savage mothers and heartless killers.[23]

After the battle, Charles, one of Jackson's enslaved African-Americans, sustained the boy on crumbs of biscuit and brown sugar. Sometime in late 1813, Jackson sent Lyncoya to Colonel Leroy Pope, in Huntsville, Alabama. A prominent merchant, Pope managed the Muscogee prisoners whom the general sent to Huntsville. Jackson specified that Lyncoya was a different kind of prisoner. He wanted Pope to "take care of him untill he is sent on" to Nashville. Pope followed Jackson's orders and kept Lyncoya at his plantation, where his daughter, Maria, took a particular liking to the boy. According to Jackson, she gave Lyncoya his name and dressed him up "more like a poppet, than any thing else."[24]

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[23] For motherhood in the era, see Katy Simpson Smith, *We Have Raised All of You: Motherhood in the South, 1750-1835* (Baton Rouge, 2013.) If there is any truth to his claim, these women may have recognized the difficulties of acquiring enough nutrients and resources to care for another infant, in addition to their own children. In such instances, white and Muscogee women occasionally committed infanticide, although Jackson would not have understood their rationale. For Indigenous women's infanticide, see for instance, Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World* (Chapel Hill, 2003), n.88, 275; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, 1998) 33. For white women and infanticide, see Janet Farrell Brodie, *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America,* (Ithaca, 1996), 38-39. Early American writers used accusations of infanticide to separate "savagery" and "civility" along racial lines. For instance, in 1813, readers of the *Nashville Whig*, which included Rachel, learned about how an Indian woman "inhumanly strangled to death her infant child," so as "to facilitate her [own] escape" from Tennessee militiamen. See Account of John Williams to Willie Blount, March 25, 1813, published in *The Nashville Whig,* July 20, 1813. For common images of Indian mothers lacking maternal care and killing their children in the era's print culture, see Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia, 2012), 158-159. For infanticide as a way to differentiate along racial line between "savagery" and "civility," see Anna Mae Duane, *Suffering Childhood in Early America: Violence, Race, and the Making of the Child Victim,* (Athens, 2010), 59-81, 136.

[24] Charles may have been a slave but the Hermitage does not record the Jacksons' as ever owning an enslaved African-American named Charles. See, "Hermitage Slave Families," *The Hermitage,* http://thehermitage.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Hermitage_Slave_Families.pdf; Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya." For Jackson and slavery more broadly, see Mark Cheathem, "Andrew Jackson, Slavery, and Historians," *History Compass,* (2011), 326-338. A. Jackson to R. Jackson, May 8, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Also see the Huntsville *Madison Gazette,* May 10, 1814. For Pope, see A. Jackson to Leroy Pope, Oct. 31, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2; A. Jackson to Leroy Pope, *CAJ*: 1, 340. For Maria and Lyncoya, see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Nov. 4, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2.

Back at the Hermitage, Andrew Jr. insisted that Lyncoya belonged to him. According to Rachel, he talked "very much of his Little Lyncaia" and anticipated his arrival. To appease their son, the Jacksons appealed to Rachel's brother-in-laws, including John Coffee and Robert Hays, to deliver Lyncoya from Alabama. In March 1814, Rachel reported that an "old jentleman has promised to bring him to me I Expect him a Day or two." But after ten days he still had not arrived. Rachel became "vexed that none of our friends will Fetch him."[25]

Impatient, Andrew Jr. resolved to take matters into his own hands. Writing to his father in mid-April, he protested that "No one will fetch my Lyncoia" and proposed "going my self for him." Andrew Jr. had gotten used to having a Native American boy to play with and to command. The Jacksons held enslaved African-Americans boys, but did not want them to play with their son. By referring to Lyncoya, Theodore, and Charley as "petts," Jackson designated Native American boys as proper companions for his son and white wards. [26]

Jackson taught Andrew Jr. to attribute a noble virility to Native American youths. In April 1814, he asked Rachel to tell Andrew Jr. that he would soon receive an authentic Muscogee bow and arrow. A "Mr Lewis" had "taken" the weapon from a dead Muscogee after the Battle of Tohopeka as a war trophy. "Tell him it is to make him a warrior," Jackson instructed Rachel. With his bow-and-arrow and Native American pet, Andrew Jr. could pretend to be a noble warrior, while maintaining his privileged treatment as the Jacksons' white son.[27]

As soon as the Creek War concluded in April 1814, Jackson traveled to Alabama to collect Lyncoya. After a short stay with the Popes, the two arrived at the Hermitage in early June

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[25] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21 1814, *PAJMS*, reel 9; R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 11, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.
[26] A. Jackson Jr. to A. Jackson, April 8, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.
[27] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 6, 1814, *PAJMS*, reel 3. For the privileged position white men were in and their ability to "play Indian," see Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven, 1998.)

but Jackson spent just one month helping Rachel get acquainted with Lyncoya. By July, he traveled back to Alabama to oversee negotiations with the Muscogee at the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Jackson also had plans to invade Spanish Florida to track down refugee Muscogee. Jackson told Rachel that followers of the Muscogee prophet, Hillis Harjo (or Josiah Francis), had gathered at Pensacola to renew their war against white settlements. In July, Jackson wrote Rachel and inquired if "little Lyncoya has recovered his health." Rachel replied that his condition had indeed improved. Jackson also continued to instruct Rachel on how to care for Lyncoya. By the fall of 1814, this included leaving Lyncoya with Rachel's sister, Mary Caffrey, while Rachel and Andrew Jr. traveled to meet Jackson in New Orleans.[28]

Equally pious, Mary shared her sister's hatred of Native Americans. During the Creek War, Jackson told Mary that her son Jack had fought bravely in Jackson's expedition and, most importantly, "killed an indian." Mary recalled the Native American attacks on the Donelsons during their 1779 migration to Tennessee and the 1786 murder of their father. Like Rachel, Mary resisted the idea of having a Muscogee boy inside her home. She kept four-year-old Lyncoya poorly-clothed in the slave quarters during his four-month stay.[29]

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[28]A. Jackson to R. Jackson, July 31, 1814, Aug. 5, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Rachel's July 22, 1814 has not been found. A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Nov. 17, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Mary Caffrey may have been living with the Jacksons at the Hermitage at the time, but Lyncoya's care still fell to her. After a few false starts, Rachel and Andrew Jr. managed to join Jackson in New Orleans in February 1815. It took time to secure a military escort for Rachel, and in the meantime, Jackson agonized over the whereabouts of Rachel and Andrew Jr. See, for instance, A. Jackson to Robert Hays, Dec. 23, and A. Jackson to Robert Hays, Dec. 26, 1814, and Robert Hays to Andrew Jackson, Dec. 20, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3. Rachel left Nashville for New Orleans on Jan. 25. See A. Jackson to Robert Hays, Jan. 26, 1815, *PAJDE*, 4.

[29] A. Jackson to Mary Caffrey, Feb. 8, 1812, *PAJDE*, 2 Mary and her husband, John, were present on the 1779 migration as referenced in John Donelson's journal. See John Donelson, *Journal of a Voyage, intended by God's Permission, in the good Boat Adventure, from Fort Patrick Henry on Holston river to the French Salt Springs on Cumberland River, kept by John Donaldson,* 1779, in Tennessee's Founding and Landmark Documents, digitized by Tennessee Virtual Archive, TSLA, Nashville, TN., http://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tfd/id/41/show/26.

This treatment did not bother Rachel, but it dismayed Jackson. After Rachel returned to Tennessee in the spring of 1815, Jackson pleaded with her to rescue Lyncoya from living outside "with the negroes." A couple months later, Rachel wrote Jackson to confirm that Lyncoya was no longer in her sister's care. "How thankfull I am to you, for taking poor little Lyncoya home & cloathing him," Jackson wrote from Chickasaw territory, "I have been much hurt to see him there with the negroes, like a lost sheep without a sheperd."[30]

Jackson favored Lyncoya over his enslaved African-American boys. Many elite Americans, especially military figures, admired the martial valor and resistance of Native American leaders including Tecumseh, even as they tried to defeat them. In particular, American men admired chiefs' willingness to die fighting, rather than surrender to their white enemies. This romanticized stoicism resonated with Jackson, whose own motto, as he told Rachel, was "death before dishonor." He encouraged Andrew Jr. to become a "little warrior" and favor Lyncoya as a peer.[31]

Never one to disobey her husband openly, Rachel respected Jackson's wishes and moved Lyncoya inside the house. As Lyncoya grew up, Jackson asked Rachel to "tell Lyncoya to read his books and to be a good boy and to obey you in all things." This request proved especially difficult. Jackson later explained that Lyncoya disliked reading and it "was a long time before he

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[30] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Sept. 18, 1816, *PAJDE*, 4.

[31] A Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 14, 1813, *PAJDE*, 2. Francois Furstenberg, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History,* Vol. 89, No. 4 (Mar., 2003). For instance, the Civil War General William Tecumseh Sherman was named after Tecumseh by his father, who fought in the War of 1812, during which U.S. troops Tecumseh at the 1813 Battle of the Thames. See Candice Shy Hooper, *Lincoln's Generals' Wives: Four Women Who Influenced the Civil War--for Better and for Worse* (Kent, 2016), 158-159. Not all Redstick leaders fought to the death. A notable exception remains William Weatherford, the most well-known of all the leaders. Weatherford surrendered to Jackson in 1814 and his prominent family, including the Moniacs, tried to rehabilitate him as a misguided leader, who had tried to simply curb the excesses of the Redstick campaign. For the trope of the "tragic" hero, because of this presumed extinction, see Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero.*

learnt his letters." Still, Rachel supervised Lyncoya's schooling and paid his tutors, William McKnight and William Chandler, during Jackson's many absences. Reluctantly, she helped Jackson remake Lyncoya into his Native American "son."[32]

As Lyncoya grew older, the realities of having a Muscogee boy in her home weighed on Rachel, who tended to ignore, exclude, and neglect him. While Jackson had wanted Lyncoya to serve as Andrew Jr.'s "pett," he reported that Lyncoya spent most of his time playing outside, alone. Rachel probably proved more than willing to leave Lyncoya to his own devices. Rachel's neglect also extended to Lyncoya's education, as well as Andrew Jr.'s. Jackson complained to a friend that the education of his sons, including Lyncoya, "has been greatly neglected in my absence."[33]

Rachel probably neglected the boys' education because she saw it as the domain of men. From Rachel's perspective, Lyncoya and Andrew Jr. worked with male tutors, just as Gideon Blackburn had hired male teachers to teach Cherokee boys at his school. When she did attend to the boys' education, she probably targeted her greatest efforts towards her own son, Andrew Jr., whose neglected education did not prevent him from attending the University of Nashville. Only by November 1824 did Jackson thank Rachel for finally attending to the boys' education. "I shall expect them both to have improved much, and also Lyncoya," Jackson added.[34]

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[32] Jackson's quote regarding Lyncoya' books quoted in Linda Bennett Galloway, "Andrew Jackson, Junior," (M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1949), 24. Also see Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya," Lee Papers, Alderman Library, Special Collections. "Account with William McKnight," Feb. 5, 1821, *PAJMS*, reel 29 and "Account with William Chandler," Jan. 24, 1822, *PAJMS*, reel 31; "Receipt of William Chandler," July 5, 1824, *PAJMS*, reel 33. These transactions are also cited in "Calendar," *PAJDE*, 5.

[33] A. Jackson to Dr. James Gadsden, May 2, 1822, *PAJDE*, 5.

[34] Rachel's November 23, 1823 letter updated Jackson on their progress but it does not survive. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 11, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5.

Rachel also excluded Lyncoya from family meals. Writing to Jackson on the subject of Lyncoya and Charley, Rachel reported that Andrew Jr. "saide theay Cold waite and he wold Eate with them." The comment suggests that Rachel made Lyncoya and Charley wait until the Jacksons finished their meals before they could eat.[35]

In this, Rachel's actions echoed those of a woman whom Muscogee Indian Agent Thomas McKenney and his Native American sons came across. From 1806 through 1830, McKenney, a Maryland Quaker, worked in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He cared for three Native American boys, including William Barnard, a Muscogee, and Lee Compere, a Yuchi. McKenney maintained that the boys' parents wanted him to educate them in Washington. After leaving the Indian agency, McKenney took the boys to Augusta, Georgia, where he tried to transform them with hair cuts, "a thorough cleansing," and "a very handsome suit of clothes." That night, McKenney, William, and Lee stayed at a boarding house, where they hoped to take breakfast. The next morning, McKenney claimed that the wife of the owner refused to have Native Americans at her table. After confronting the woman, McKenney alleged that with "a wild and vengeful expression, her lips compressed, she looks at me, saying, "*Sir, I will not allow Indians to come to my table.*" Unsuccessful in their appeal, McKenney, Lee, and William, left hungry.[36]

Margaret "Peggy" Eaton, the wife of Jackson's close friend, John Henry Eaton, also rejected the arrival of a Cherokee boy to her home. After Jackson became president in 1829, he

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[35] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *PAJPP*, reel 9. Also see Bettina Drew, "Master Andrew Jackson," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University,) 162.

[36]Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, official and personal: with sketches of travels among the northern and southern Indians; embracing a war excursion, and descriptions of scenes along the western borders*, Vol. 2 (New York: Paine & Burgess, 1846), 188-189. The third boy was James Lawrence McDonald, a Choctaw. He became a lawyer in Ohio but maintained contact with his family and visited his mother in Choctaw territory. He eventually opened a law office in Jackson, Mississippi. See Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 342.

appointed Eaton as Secretary of War. Peggy recalled that during the summer of 1830, a group of Native Americans wanted to thank Eaton for establishing a treaty between their nation and the U.S. The chiefs brought a seven-year-old Cherokee boy named John "to live with us and make him a present." Although Eaton felt "compelled to accept" the boy to avoid offending the delegation, Peggy resisted. "I had enough white children of my own," she told her husband. Still, with little choice in the matter, Peggy relented. To her surprise, however, John allegedly took to his new family. The Eatons sent him to school but Peggy claimed to notice "traces" of John's "savage birth and early forest training," such as sticking feathers in his hair. Peggy maintained that he "always showed the savage." When John ran away three years later, Eaton felt disgusted. "Whether Indian or white man," Peggy recounted, "ingratitude would soon cut any person from my husband." Yet Peggy welcomed John's escape as evidence that he had "found his own people." By disappearing back into Cherokee society where he belonged, Peggy considered John "a perfect Indian."[37]

Rachel resisted the introduction of Indigenous boys into her home because of her religiosity and experiences with frontier violence. In a rare moment of assertiveness, she told Andrew Jr. and Jackson that they "Could not Keepe so Maney." Rachel's experiences with frontier warfare and her "avenging evangelism" also added a personal component to her hatred and suspicion of Native Americans. Despite the urgings of her husband to treat Lyncoya and the Muscogee with empathy, Rachel could only see savages who had inflicted suffering on God's children, and now invaded her home.[38]

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[37] Peggy probably referred to either the Chickasaw or Choctaw, both of whom signed treaties with Eaton that summer. Eaton, *The Autobiography of Peggy Eaton*, 167-169. Peggy Eaton had two children from her first marriage to John Timberlake.

[38] R. Jackson to A. Jackson, March 21, 1814, *CAJ*: 1, 482-483.

To Rachel, Jackson explained Lyncoya's adoption as providential, that the boy "may have been given to me for some Valuable purpose." Two years later, that "purpose" became clear as newspapers spread the story of Jackson's benevolence toward Lyncoya throughout the country. Jackson's supporters, led by John Henry Eaton, deployed Lyncoya's story to present Jackson as a "Christian."[39]

In 1816, Jackson invited George Washington Campbell, a Tennessee Senator and former Secretary of the Treasury, to the Hermitage, in the hopes that Campbell could secure a spot at West Point for Lyncoya. Jackson requested Campbell's help because he was already working to secure admission for Andrew Jackson Donelson, who enrolled in the college in June 1817. To obtain a cadetship, a student had to be nominated by a government official, and then appointed by the president. In late December, Campbell assured Jackson that "the subject of the little Creek Indian boy you presented to me at your table, and noticed in your note to me, previous to leaving Nashville, shall not be forgotten." Campbell "frequently reflected on" Lyncoya, Jackson's "benevolent object," and discussed Lyncoya with "some members of both houses." Still, Campbell doubted the success of Jackson's request, due to a lack of interest from Congress. Campbell promised that if "there appears the smallest prospect of a favorable result, the effort shall be made."[40]

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[39] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 29, 1813, *PAJDE*, 3.
[40] George W. Campbell to A. Jackson, Dec 27, 1816, *CAJ*: II, 271. For Campbell and Andrew Donelson, see J.H. Eaton to A. Jackson, Feb. 4, 1817, March 20, 1817, *PAJDE*, 4. For the history of West Point, see Robert M.S. McDonald, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point,* (Charlottesville, 2004); Theodore J. Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History,* (Lawrence, 2002); *idem., Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801-1809,* (New York, 1987).

Jackson knew that admitting an Indigenous boy to West Point proved rare but not unprecedented. West Point's first non-white graduate was Louis Lorimier Jr., the son of a French trader and a Shawnee woman from Missouri territory. During their 1804 expedition through the Louisiana Territory, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark struck up a friendship with the Lorimier family. A veteran trader, Louis Lorimier Sr. provided Lewis and Clark with advice, supplies, and support for their expedition. In exchange, he asked them to nominate his sons, Louis Jr. and Augustus, for cadetships at West Point, which had opened the previous year.[41]

Lewis passed the request to Amos Stoddard, the Louisiana Territory's military commander but Stoddard doubted the brothers' suitability because of their race. Writing to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, Stoddard maintained that Louis Jr. "exhibited too much of the Indian in his color. This circumstance may make his situation among the cadets at the school rather disagreeable." After meeting the brothers in July 1804, Dearborn disagreed and listed them among his cadet appointments. Although Augustus dropped out, Louis Jr. graduated in 1806.[42]

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[41] In the late eighteenth-century, Lorimier had encouraged thousands of Shawnee and Delaware to settle away from the Americans in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, which fell under Spanish jurisdiction at the time. See Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families,* 235. Because the region switched hands so often, many in the region did not identify with nations but kin. Traders like Lorimier proved adept at finding opportunities in whatever new government sought to exert jurisdiction over the region. Although Lorimier was French, he sought influence among the Shawnee, as a Spanish land commissioner, and an aide to Meriwether Lewis and his American expedition. Lewis recommended cadet appointments for the sons of three of his aides on the frontier: "Peter" Chouteau, Charles Gratiot and "V.B." Lorimier, although all were younger than Louis Lorimier Jr. For the prominent role of St. Louis traders in the establishing the first class of West Point, see Christine Coalwell McDonald and Robert M.S. McDonald, "West from West Point: Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy and the "Empire of Liberty," in *Light and Liberty: Thomas Jefferson and the Power of Knowledge,* Robert M.S. McDonald, ed., (Charlottesville, 2012), 125, for the Lorimier brother specifically, 135, n.34. Also see, Theodore Crackel, *Mr. Jefferson's Army,* 109-110; Donald Chaput, "The Early Missouri Graduates of West Point: Officers or Merchants?" *Missouri Historical Review* 72 (1978), 265, 270.

[42] Amos Stoddard quoted in Thomas Crackel, *Mr. Jefferson's Army*, 110. Stoddard reflected what Thomas Ingersoll has identified as an increasing emphasis on Indian "race" as a way to justify removal rather than assimilation. See Ingersoll, *To Intermix with Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals,* (Albuquerque, N.M., 2005), 165-7.

Jackson knew of one other Native American student at the academy. Born in 1802, David Moniac was the son of Sam Moniac and Elizabeth Weatherford. He grew up in Muscogee country, following Muscogee customs, and speaking the Muskogee language. Most of his elite family allied with white traders in the region. In 1790, Sam Moniac traveled with Elizabeth's uncle, Alexander McGillivray, to sign the Treaty of New York, which established peace between the Muscogee and the federal government. Weatherford family alliances proved more complicated. One of Elizabeth's brothers, William, led the Red Sticks in the Creek War, while another, David Tate, lived around Fort Mims when warriors attacked it.[43]

In 1817, David Tate, Sam Moniac, and their white allies appealed to Secretary of War William Crawford to admit David to West Point. Before the Creek War, the family had owned 180 cattle, as well as several enslaved African-Americans. Sam Moniac also operated a tavern on the Federal Road through Muscogee country, near Tohopeka. Although the family allied with the U.S. forces, the war destroyed their property, crops, and tavern.[44]

Pinning their hopes of recovery on twelve-year-old David, they appealed to Crawford, who had presented a proposal to Congress for Native American assimilation through marriage between Indigenous women and white men. Seeing David's attendance as a way to bolster a prominent Muscogee family's links to the U.S., Crawford admitted him in September 1817. In

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[43] Hauptman and Dixon, "Cadet David Moniac," 328, 344. For the Moniacs and Tates in the Fort Mims attack, see Karl Davis, "Remember Fort Mims: Reinterpreting the Origins of the Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter, 2002), 618-19. A second Indigenous student, William Wells, graduated in 1822. A United States Military Academy record identified him as Native American, but this is all historians know about Wells. Laurence M. Hauptman and Heriberto Dixon, "Cadet David Moniac: A Creek Indian's Schooling at West Point, 1817-1822," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 152, No. 3, (Sep. 2008), 322, n.1. Hauptman and Dixon, "Cadet David Moniac," 328.

[44] In particular, they looked to a secret section of Alexander McGillivray's 1790 treaty, which stipulated that the U.S. "educate and clothe such of the Creek youth as shall be agreed upon, not exceeding four in number at any one time." See Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, (Washington, D.C., 1931), Vol. 2, 344; Hauptman and Dixon, "Cadet David Moniac," 328.

1822, David graduated and returned home to recoup his family's finances in the wake of his father's escalating alcoholism. David served in the U.S. army during the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), during which he died fighting warriors led by his wife's cousin.[45]

Jackson and the Moniacs hoped that sending their boys to West Point would strengthen the American alliance with the Muscogee and other Indigenous peoples. The Muscogee conflict had pitted the Moniac/Weatherford family against one another and the Moniacs hoped that David's attendance would affirm their commitment to the Americans. The Moniacs wanted to prove that they were, as Colonel Gilbert Russell noted, "the friendly Creeks."[46]

For Jackson, sending Lyncoya to West Point served his effort to soften his reputation for unrestrained violence against Indigenous peoples, which many Americans applauded but some condemned. Upon learning of a scalped body floating down the Missouri River, a St. Louis newspapers reported, "The general cry is let the north as well as the south be JACKSONIZED!!!" Some Federalist New England newspapers, however, pointed to Jackson's slaughter as a mockery of Jeffersonian-Republicans' claims of "civilizing" Indigenous peoples. In December 1813, the *Connecticut Mirror* and *Providence Gazette* reported that where Thomas Jefferson had tried "to prate," "civilize, and *philosophize*" to Native Americans, Jackson was "endeavouring to extirpate. This is a pretty fair exposition of modern philanthropy--One moment it will whine and palaver about benevolence and virtue, and the next, will cut your throat."[47]

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[45] Hauptman and Dixon, "Cadet David Moniac," 331, 342. For Crawford's plan, see James Henry Rigali, "Restoring the Republic of Virtue: The Presidential Election of 1824," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2004), 120-174; Ingersoll, *To Intermix with Our White Brothers,* 215.
[46] Gilbert Russell quoted in Hauptman and Nixon, "David Moniac," 330.
[47] St. Louis newspaper quoted in Tom Kanon, *Tennesseans at War*, 106. "The Message," in *Connecticut Mirror,* Dec. 20, 1813, and the *Providence Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1813.

To counteract these claims, Jackson and his supporters used Lyncoya's adoption to suggest that Jackson could protect, as well as punish, Native Americans. In 1817, John Henry Eaton wrote and published the first rendition of Lyncoya's story in *The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major General.* After noting that Jackson "meets and repels his country's foes," Eaton assured readers that "amidst the general carnage, he is seen acting as a Christian, and sympathizing in others' woes." For instance, "at the battle of Tohopeka, an infant was found, pressed to the bosom of its lifeless mother." After unsuccessfully prevailing on some women to take infant, Jackson resolved to "become himself the protector and guardian of the child." He "adopted it into his family" and "has ever since manifested the liveliest zeal towards it, prompted by benevolence."[48]

From 1817 to 1818, newspapers in ten states published the story of Lyncoya, as told by Eaton. In 1817, the *Nashville Whig* and Vermont-based *American Yeomen* included the story when they published an extract of Eaton's book. Other newspapers in Maryland, New York, Washington D.C., Virginia, and Massachusetts published the anecdote. By 1818, additional newspapers in South Carolina, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New Jersey also published the story. The next year, the *Nashville Whig* pointed to Lyncoya's adoption "as illustrative of a trait in our warrior's character not so generally known as his military talents" but nevertheless, "worthy of insertion."[49]

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[48] John Henry Eaton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major-General in the Service of the United States,* (Nashville, 1817), 395-6. The story appeared in Eaton's subsequent 1824 and 1828 versions of his Jackson biography. For 1824, see page 438. For 1828, see page 273. In this way, the story Jackson and his supporters told about Lyncoya proved representative of a general shift in the Jacksonian era, whereby Jackson began to claim that he used white land cession and Native American removal as a way to protect savage and infantile Native Americans from the forces of progressive, civilized change. As Roy Harvey Pearce noted, Jackson and others presented Native Americans "only as charity cases, victims inevitably of the law of civilized progress." See Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind.* (Baltimore, 1967) 57.

[49] *Nashville Whig,* Sept. 1, 1817; *American Yeomen,* Oct. 28, 1817; *Vermont Intelligence,* April 15, 1817, republished from the *Baltimore Federal Republican; Vermont Intelligencer and Bellow's Falls Advocate,* December 15, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer,* (Washington D.C.), Sept. 19 1817; *American Beacon and Commercial*

In the lead-up to the 1824 presidential election, the *Charleston Mercury* and *Haverhill Gazette* included Lyncoya's adoption in a fawning piece on Jackson's domestic life. The author praised Jackson as a man "who has extended the protection of a father to the parentless, administered to the affliction of the savage, the benevolence of civilization, and set the gem of humanity in the laurel of victory." The author concluded that "this Indian youth is receiving from General Jackson, the devoted and affectionate, attention of an adopted son."[50]

In 1823, Tennessee appointed Jackson to the Senate and, much to Rachel's dismay, relocated to Washington, D.C., leaving her behind. Now, Jackson had an opportunity to encourage his fellow Senators, as well as President James Monroe and Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, to admit Lyncoya to West Point. Until 1824, Jackson exploited this opportunity and renewed his efforts to secure a cadetship for Lyncoya.

In early December 1823, Jackson asked Rachel to have Lyncoya, then approximately twelve-years-old, compose a letter to him. Jackson planned to use the letter to advertise Lyncoya's eligibility for West Point. Rachel probably passed the request on to Lyncoya's tutor, William Chandler. Together, the two sat down after Christmas to draft the letter.[51]

Dairy, (Norfolk), Sept. 25 1817; *Essex Register*, (Salem, MA), Oct. 11 1817; *Farmer's Repository* (Charles Town, VA), Oct. 15 1817; *Franklin Herald* (Greenfield MA), Dec. 30, 1817. *Hampden Federalist* (Springfield, MA), Feb. 12, 1818; *Northern Whig*, (Hudson, NY), Feb. 10, 1818; *American Mercury* (Hartford, CT), Feb. 10, 1818; *New York Evening-Post*, Feb. 2, 1818; *New Hampshire Patriot State Gazette*, March 3 1818; *Camden South Carolina Gazette*, March 7 1818; *Vermont Republican*, March 16 1818; *Washington Whig* (NJ), March 16 1818; *New York Spectator*, Feb. 13 1818; *Christian Messenger*, (Middlebury, VT), Feb. 18 1818; *Essex Patriot* (Haverhill, MA), Feb. 21 1818. I also checked the *Niles Weekly Register* for 1817 and 1818 but the story did not appear in that publication. *Nashville Whig*, Oct. 27, 1819.

[50] *Haverhill Gazette & Patriot*, republished from the *Charleston Mercury*, July 31, 1824.

[51] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 7, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5. In doing so, Jackson was attempting to send an Indian to West Point from what scholar Philip Deloria has called an "unexpected" place: a southern plantation. Conversely, the Lorimier brothers and David Moniac were Indians from "expected places," meaning Indian country. As a result, their kinship, upbringing, and links to the U.S. did not require as much explanation as Lyncoya. See Philip J.

Lyncoya's letter affirmed Jackson's adoptive paternity, while seeking confirmation of affection from his distant patriarch. Lyncoya specified that Jackson was his "Father" and described how "as an infant you placed me on your knee, Learned me the talk of your Andrews," and "made me their companion at Home, fellow in school, and their rival in [their] duty to you." Yet, Lyncoya noted that when two chiefs visited the Hermitage, they also called Jackson "father." Why, Lyncoya asked, did these chiefs call "thee Father," when Jackson had not sent them to school, "as you have me" or allowed them to gather "[stren]gth from your table, nor rest under [your] roof"? If these chiefs could call Jackson father, "may [not] Lincoyer, & be justified?"[52]

By raising him, Lyncoya claimed that Jackson had made a "good" Indian out of him and saved him from a life in the woods. Lyncoya noted that Jackson had never told him that to be "a big man, he must have the white mans [sk]in, but to be just," to avoid "evil actions, to do good, is to be the *bigerest* of men." Addressing Jackson, but directing the message to the Washington

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Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* (Lawrence, 2004.) Chandler acted as Lyncoya's tutor that year. See "Calendar, 1823" in *PAJDE,* 5.

[52]Lyncoya to A. Jackson, Dec. 29, 1823, Sir Emil Hurja Collection, 1793-1953, Box 6, Folder 28, TSLA, Nashville, TN. The letter exists only as a copy and is identified as, "A True coppy from the one received by Gen. Jackson at this house," meaning, the Hermitage, and titled it, "Lincoyer's Letter." Although they do not know who made the copy, archivists and historians have determined that it is contemporary to the period. I thank Tom Kanon at the Tennessee State Library and Archives for conversing with me on the nature of the letter. Similarly, Robert Remini notes that he examined the letter and determined that it was written in the 1820s or 1830s. See Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom,* 395-6, n.12; *idem, Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars,* 298, n.20. Still, biographer Robert Remini has questioned the authenticity of the letter's content. Remini points to its "fake-sounding "Indian talk." Other historians have avoided it altogether. See Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832,* (New York, 1981), 395-6, n.12. The published and digital editions of the *Papers of Andrew Jackson* did not include the letter and only refer to it in an appendix. See "Calendar, 1821-1823," *PAJDE*. The chiefs were Ya-ha Hadjo (or Mad Wolf) and "Ogilvie." For Mad Wolf, see Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy,* (Tuscaloosa, 2006), 60-61. Lyncoya acknowledged the diplomatic relationship that Euro-Americans had developed with various native nations, whereby Native Americans understood "fathers" as generous gift-givers, who united native nations and cultivated peace. For discussion of this kinship language throughout North America, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, 1991); Rogin, *Fathers and Children*; Peter Cook, "How the French in Canada Became Fathers to Their Indigenous Allies, 1645-73," *Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. 96, No. 2, (June 2015), 165-193.

politicians who would look at the letter, Lyncoya closed by advising Jackson, "Not to feel a blush, when he is told hereafter, *this is the Indian boy I once raised.*"[53]

The letter captures more about Jackson's agenda for Lyncoya than the boy's own thoughts or feelings. If Lyncoya drafted the original letter that Jackson received, he probably did so under the direction of his tutor. In this way, Lyncoya's letter likely reflected those written by Gideon Blackburn's students, who copied material dictated to them by their teacher. Like Blackburn, Jackson planned to use this letter to advertise Lyncoya's education. As a result, the letter derived not from Lyncoya to Jackson, but from Jackson, via Lyncoya, to Washington's political elite.

Jackson claimed that he had solicited President James Monroe to aid him in securing a spot for Lyncoya at West Point, once he got a bit older. Yet a couple weeks after Jackson received Lyncoya's letter, Walter Lowrie, a Pennsylvania Senator, ruptured relations with the president by threatening to publish letters between Jackson and Monroe. The letters, Jackson's political opponents maintained, exposed Jackson's political apostasy, for he had recommended in 1816 that Monroe appoint a South Carolina Federalist as Secretary of War. Known as "the Lowrie Affair," the incident induced Eaton to release Jackson's correspondence with Monroe to the press. By 1828, pro-Jackson newspapers accused Jackson's political rivals, John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, of blocking Lyncoya's admission.[54]

While Andrew Jackson Jr. and Andrew Jackson Hutchings went on to the University of Nashville, Lyncoya dropped out of school in 1824. Instead, he ran messages for Jackson

[53] Lyncoya to A. Jackson, Dec. 29, 1823, Sir Emil Hurja Collection, TSLA.
[54] Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya." *U.S. Telegraph*, July 2, 1828; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars*, 215. For the Lowrie affair, see Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (New York, 1981), 71-73.

throughout Nashville and started learning how to be a saddler. By 1827, Lyncoya lived with his apprentice, a Mr. Hoover. Jackson maintained that the boy visited the Hermitage once a month.[55]

During the early spring of 1828, Lyncoya rode through what Jackson described as "a severe rain, got very wet" and "was taken with chills." Jackson sent for Samuel Hogg, a surgeon who served with him during the Creek War and often tended to Rachel. Hogg concluded that Lyncoya "must die that he was far gone in a consumption." Eight weeks later, Lyncoya died on the morning of June 1. "We performed the last act of friendship to him," Jackson recounted, "by giving him a decent burial."[56]

The author of Lyncoya's newspaper obituary, "Porus," told a more sentimental story. He or she noted that, during the winter of 1827, Lyncoya contracted a cold, received a leave of absence from his employer, and went "as he said, "*home*," to the Hermitage." The author saw Lyncoya "accompanying Mrs Jackson in short excursions taken for his benefit; and that amiable and benevolent lady, learning that *Liverwort* was esteemed salutary in consumptive cases, procured it and administered it to the Indian orphan." As his health declined, he bore this pain "with the uncomplaining fortitude of his race." Imagining Lyncoya as the noble but "vanishing Indian," "Porus" regretted the death of such a resilient Muscogee boy.[57]

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[55] For Lyncoya as a courier, see note in A. Jackson to Felix Grundy, May 30, 1826, *PAJDE,* 6. Both Andrew Jackson Hutchings and Andrew Jr. attended the university. See A. Jackson to A. Jackson Jr., Nov. 27, 1828, *PAJDE*, 6 and Nov. 12, 1827, receipt to Jackson from Henry Ewing for $37 for Andrew Jackson Hutchings's winter semester in "Calendar, 1825-1828," Appendix, *PAJDE,* 6. Jackson may have wanted Lyncoya to work as a saddler because he had done so when he was a youth. See Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars,* (New York, 2001), 215. Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya." Donelson family folklore maintained that he ran away from the Hermitage, rather than leaving to fulfill his apprenticeship but I have never seen any other reference to this. This statement is attributed to is Bettie M. Donelson. See Pauline Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, Vol. 1 (Richmond, 1941), 318, n.12

[56] Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya."

[57] *U.S. Telegraph* (Washington, D.C.), July 3, 1828, republished from the *Nashville Republican*. Literary scholar Gordon Sayre notes that the trope of the "vanishing Indian" was "so commonplace, such a hackneyed trope of public discourse, that it is impossible to quote a single canonical statement of it." See Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero,* 4-5. Due to the distinct similarities in Jackson's narrative and "Porus"'s obituary, "Porus" was likely a close

Lyncoya's obituary appeared in newspapers throughout the country. Jackson's supporters seized on Lyncoya's death to remind readers of the general's supposed humanitarianism. While earlier coverage depicted Jackson as Lyncoya's sole caretaker, the 1828 obituary credited Rachel with acting as his benevolent mother. By 1828, reimaging Rachel in this way had become especially important.[58]

In response, a critic submitted a piece to the anti-Jackson newspaper, the *Daily National Journal*. To emphasize Jackson's hypocrisy, the author adopted the persona of Logan, a deceased Mingo leader, whom Thomas Jefferson had praised as an example of the noble but vanishing Indian. "Logan" chastised Jackson's supporters for using Lyncoya's story to offset Jackson's violence. The author reminded readers of Jackson's "DETERMINATION TO EXTERMINATION" of the Muscogee at the Battle of Tohopeka. "By way of offset, I suppose, to this inhuman transaction," Jackson's supporters, "have lately published, with great joy a *single* act of humanity in the life of the Hero, a story of an Indian youth who lately died at the Hermitage." The author added that "Mrs. Jackson, of course, behaved like an angel." He or she concluded that "the story of Lyncoya, be it true or false, is but an impotent apology for the Hero's bloody life."[59]

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friend of Jackson, such as Eaton, or may have even been Jackson himself. While the liverwort would have been made at the Hermitage, Rachel's 1828 account with John Williams & Co. is for a lace cap, fabric, ribbon, and cologne. There is no mention of any other items Rachel might have purchased for Lyncoya, as she did for Andrew Jr. during his bouts of illness in 1804. See May 24 and June 20, 1828, account with John Williams & Co. in "Calendar, 1825-1828," Appendix, *PAJDE*, 6, and May 24, 1828 Account in *PAJPP*, reel 35, 36.

[58] *U.S. Telegraph* (Washington, D.C.), July 3, 1828. Story also appeared in *Louisville Public Advertiser*, June 25, 1828; *Newburyport Herald*, July 8, 1828; *The Pittsfield Sun*, July 17, 1828; *New Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette*, July 21, 1828; *New Hampshire Gazette*, July 22, 1828; *American Sentinel* (Middletown, CT), July 23, 1828, just cited his death but did not reprint the whole obituary. I checked the *Niles Weekly Register*, the foremost publication of the era, but the story did not appear in it. The obituary got less coverage than Jackson's adoption of Lyncoya in the late 1810s.

[59] *Daily National Journal*, July 15, 1828. For other references to the *Daily National Journal* publishing criticisms of Jackson, see Mark Cheathem, "Frontiersman or Southern Gentleman? Newspaper Coverage of Andrew Jackson during the 1828 Presidential Campaign," *The Readex Report*, Vol. 9, Issue 3.

Lyncoya's death apparently barely troubled Rachel or Jackson, for neither mentioned it in their correspondence. Instead, the day Lyncoya died, Jackson calculated his account with Hogg and proposed to settle his outstanding debts. In exchange for borrowing $1,500 from Andrew Jackson Hutchings's estate, Hogg credited $83.75 to Jackson's medical bills, which included treating Lyncoya.[60]

After the boy's death, Jackson and other writers assigned an instinctual "Indianness" to him. Sometime after 1830, Jackson sat down to write what he called a "Short Narrative of Lyncoya for Major Lee," a Virginian writing a biography of Jackson. In addition to seeking a lock of Jackson's hair, which Rachel had forwarded, Major Henry Lee wanted information about Lyncoya.[61]

On a single sheet of foolscap paper, Jackson recounted Lyncoya's adoption, brief life, and early death. Structured as a "short narrative," the piece offered little insight into Jackson or Rachel's relationship with Lyncoya. Jackson stressed Lyncoya's "Indian habits" and noted that he made "a bow, the first I ever saw on my plantation." "Whether from instinct or seeing the chiefs who paid but little attention him," Lyncoya "had all the habits of an Indian, by dressing his head with all kind of feathers he could pick up, & amusing himself with his little bow."[62]

"Porus" had also maintained that Lyncoya behaved like an Indian. The obituary stressed how from instinct or predisposition, Lyncoya "was in the habit of dressing his head with all the feathers he could pick up in the yard." While white children "changed their amusements and toys

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[60] A. Jackson to Samuel Hogg, June 1, 1828, *PAJPP*, reel 72; A. Jackson to John Coffee, June 20, 1828, *PAJDE*, 6.
[61] R. Jackson to Henry Lee, Undated, Charles Carter Lee Papers, Box 2, Folder 2, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA; Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya."
[62] Jackson, "Narrative of Lyncoya."

with a sort of capricious variety," Lyncoya amused "himself *constantly* with his little bow." "Logan" took issue with this representation. He wondered how Lyncoya, who had little interaction with Native Americans, could display "an instinctive and persevering fondness for Indian manners and amusements."[63]

During his short life, Lyncoya had to adapt to Rachel and Jackson, as well deal with the shifting identities that people assigned to him. On a daily basis, Rachel's coldness reminded Lyncoya of his "Indianness." Watching Rachel dote on Andrew Jr. and ignore him, Lyncoya must have known that she saw him differently. Lyncoya apparently clung to his identity as a Muscogee on a plantation defined by race. As one of the boys who lived with Thomas McKenney learned, Native American boys who grew up in white Anglo-American culture had two options. They could "throw away all that belonged to the white race, and turn Indian; or quit being Indian, and turn white man. *The first you can do, the last, it is not in your power to do so.* The white man hates the Indian, and will never permit him to come into close fellowship with him, or to be a participator in any of high prerogatives or distinguished advantages." By sticking feathers in his hair, Lyncoya might have tried to emulate the stereotype of a defiant Native American who rejected the patronizing attentions of the Jacksons.[64]

For Jackson and his supporters, however, Lyncoya remained Jackson's "benevolent object." By telling the story of Lyncoya's adoption, they tried to craft Jackson into more than a military general who had slaughtered Indigenous peoples. This story required Rachel's participation as a devoted mother. Jackson depended on her to oversee Lyncoya's upbringing and

[63] For "Porous" see *U.S. Telegraph* (Washington, D.C.), July 3, 1828, republished from the *Nashville Republican.* For "Logan," see *Daily National Journal*, July 15, 1828.
[64] McKenney, *Memoir*, Vol. 2. 113.

prepare him for his exhibition to the nation's elite. Rachel did as best she could but considered Lyncoya a nuisance, imposed by Jackson to serve a national ambition, which she did not share. His arrival signaled a growing division between the pious and local life Rachel wanted and the national stage that Jackson had begun to thrust upon her.

Rachel's neglect of Lyncoya also reflected her frustration and disappointment with Jackson. By bringing Lyncoya home, Jackson had brought the holy war against the Muscogee to Rachel's "Zion" in middle Tennessee. As she read in the Bible, Rachel knew that retribution had to be "purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission." Jackson had delivered retribution to the Muscogee only to compromise it by adopting Lyncoya. Rather than purging the Muscogee entirely from the "promised land," Jackson asked Rachel to offer sympathy to them. She resented Jackson for forcing a "savage" child on her and became even more disillusioned when, in 1821, he whisked her away to what Rachel referred to as a "heathen land." Rachel's time there would test both her spiritual strength and distaste of politics.[65]

[65] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5.

Chapter 5: “The Babylon of the South”

In July 1821, Rachel Jackson wrote her friend and fellow evangelical, Elizabeth Kingsley, from her new home in Florida. "Pensacola is a perfect plain," Rachel noted, "the land nearly as white as flour, yet productive of fine peach trees, oranges in abundance, grapes, figs, poemgranates." She described "fine flowers growing spontaneously," and stone houses, crumbling after years of neglect by the Spanish empire that had claimed Florida. Located on Mobile Bay, Pensacola had "the most beautiful water prospect" Rachel had ever seen. An "exhilarating" sea breeze blew through her open bedroom window and made Florida's "oppressive" heat more tolerable.[1]

Still, Rachel pleaded with Kingsley to pray for her. "Oh, for Zion!" Rachel cried, "I am not at rest, nor can I be, in a heathen land." Although she considered Pensacola's Catholic priest, James Coleman, a "divine looking man," Rachel lamented the ungodliness that she detected in Pensacola. She described her time there as an exile akin to that experienced by the Israelites in Psalm 137. "Often I think of the Babylonish captivity," Rachel wrote, "when they tauntingly called on them to sing the song of Zion." "Pray for your sister in a heathen land, far from my people and church," Rachel begged.[2]

In 1817 and 1818, Jackson had invaded the colony to attack the Seminoles and refugee Muscogee. Writing to Rachel, he described Pensacola as "the hot bed of the Indian war & depredations on our frontier." By invading Florida, Jackson hoped to finish his war on the Muscogee, as well as their Seminole and British allies. The war pushed the Seminole out of

[1] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Digital Edition, Vol. 4,* (hereafter *PAJDE*), ed. Daniel Feller, (Charlottesville, 2014), Vol. 5, hereafter *PAJDE*.
[2] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821 and June 21, 1821, published in full in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, (New York, 1860), 597-8.

northern Florida and led to the 1819 Adam-Onís Treaty, in which Spain ceded Florida to the U.S. Many Americans applauded Jackson for annexing a region for American jurisdiction. Still, Jackson's extralegal invasion prompted a political firestorm as some political leaders questioned the legality of invading foreign-held territory.[3]

In 1821, President James Monroe appointed Jackson Governor of Florida, which the general reluctantly accepted. Jackson knew that Rachel did not want to leave their Tennessee home. But he accepted the position based on the understanding that the appointment would prove temporary.

Rachel's religious fervor intensified in anticipation of the move to Florida. She increased her preoccupation with the idea of "Zion" and God's impending judgment on sinful humanity. After meeting the prominent Presbyterian pastor, Ezra Stiles Ely, she grew more apprehensive of her own physical and spiritual death. Traveling from Nashville to New Orleans, then east, through Alabama to Pensacola, Rachel considered the regions "heathen." Deep in "nature's wilderness," Rachel feared that prolonged exposure to “ungodliness” threatened her own

[3] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 20, 1818, *PAJDE*, 4. As during the Creek War, Jackson equated his time in the Florida "wilderness" with the Israelites' captivity in Babylon, and assured Rachel that "god favored my exertions." See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 26, 1818, and April 10, 1818, *PAJDE*, 4. For the links between the Muscogee and Seminole, see J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks & Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People,* (Lincoln, 1986.) Wright notes the complexity of various ethnicities within the term "Seminole." For simplicity's sake, I refer to them here as early American historians typically do, and in relation to geography. The "Creek" in Florida were the Red Stick Muscogee who fled south after the 1814 conflict to join the Seminole, who inhabited parts of western Georgia and the Florida interior. For the First Seminole War, see John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict,* (Gainesville, 2004); Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858,* (Charleston, SC, 2003); John K. Mahon, "The First Seminole War, November 21, 1817-May 24, 1818," in *The Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 77, No. 1 (Summer 1998), 62-67. For the treaty, see "Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits Between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty, 1819," *The Avalon Project,* Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1819.asp; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848,* (New York, 2007), 108-110. For the settlement of Florida after Jackson’s governorship, see Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida,* (Philadelphia, 2016.)

spiritual purity. She abhorred her time in Florida and considered Jackson's appointment another indication that his new political career would sacrifice his and her souls.[4]

Although Rachel resented Jackson's appointment, she exploited his gubernatorial power to enact laws protecting the Sabbath. By pushing this reform, Rachel joined thousands of other nineteenth-century evangelicals who saw Sabbath observance as the great "moral question" of their age. Rachel also understood Sabbatarianism as a way to redeem a conquered territory from a racial fluidity that she considered ungodly. She hoped that a Presbyterian minister would come to Florida and "impart the word of life" to its Catholic residents. In the meantime, she thanked God for sending his servant, Andrew Jackson, to redeem the territory.[5]

In late 1817, two attacks marked the start of the First Seminole, or First Florida, War. General Edmund Gaines and Georgia militiamen attacked Fowltown, a Muscogee and Seminole village, in southwestern Georgia. In retaliation, warriors raided a small white settlement on the Apalachicola River. In response, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun demanded that the Seminole turn the warriors over to U.S. authorities and pay reparations. Calhoun also ordered Gaines to attack Seminole villages throughout Florida but avoiding assaulting Spanish forts. Calhoun called upon Jackson to oversee the operations in western Florida.[6]

By January 1818, Jackson had urged President Monroe to seize Florida from the Spanish. He proposed that Florida could become an "indemnity" for the Seminole and Muscogee attacks on American property, which Jackson believed Spain had facilitated. After volunteering to oversee

[4] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.
[5] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.
[6] Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 99; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, 345-6.

the invasion, Jackson suggested that Monroe send his reply via John Rhea, a trusted Tennessee congressman, for confidentiality. This letter, if it existed, has never turned up. The recent discovery of a letter from Jackson to Rachel has led some historians to speculate that a Rhea letter might indeed have existed. On February 19, 1819, Jackson added a postscript to his letter home, instructing Rachel to "preserve with care the letter of Mr John Rhea which I enclose." But the contents of that letter still remain unknown.[7]

Instead, Jackson referred back to a December 1817 letter from Monroe as approval. "Great interests are at issue," Monroe had written Jackson, "and until our course is carried through triumphantly & every species of danger to which it is exposed is settled on the most solid foundation, you ought not to withdraw your active support from it." Monroe did not clarify what "it" was. Nevertheless, Jackson believed that he could invade Florida and Monroe did not suggest otherwise.[8]

In February 1818, Jackson led three thousand troops, as well as two thousand Muscogee allies, into Florida. Traveling east, Jackson and his men attacked villages inhabited by the Miccauskee Seminole. By April, Jackson and his troops had seized the Spanish fort at St. Mark's and destroyed Seminole villages on the Suwannee River. At St. Marks, Jackson's troops seized some cattle and corn. Writing to Rachel, Jackson likened his troops to being "fed like the Iseralites

[7]A. Jackson to James Monroe, Jan. 6, 1818, *PAJDE*, 4. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, February 19, 1819, recently acquired by the Papers of Andrew Jackson, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN. Thanks to Laura-Eve Moss for passing this along. As historian Daniel Feller notes, in 1831, Jackson claimed that he had indeed received the letter, giving him the approval to invade Florida but had destroyed it. Feller also refers to this 1819 letter. See Feller, "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1818 Campaign," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 3 (Winter, 2010) 316. Also see Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*, 200-201.

[8] Feller, "The Seminole Controversy Revisited," 318-319. Monroe's letter is quoted in Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 100 and Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, 347-49.

of old in the wilderness." Jackson hoped that "with the smiles of heaven," he could now "put an end to the war."[9]

Jackson apprehended two British traders, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, whom he accused of aiding the Seminole in their war on American settlements. Arbuthnot and Ambrister had traded with the Seminole, and Ambrister had helped them plan for war--but against the Spanish, not the U.S. This fact escaped Jackson, who convened a court-martial, which sentenced Ambrister to flogging and a year of hard labor, and Arbuthnot to death. Determined to see both Brits killed, Jackson overruled Ambrister's sentence and changed it to death. To prevent any appeal, Jackson had Ambrister and Arbuthnot executed the very next day. Jackson also oversaw the execution of the Red Stick Muscogee leader, Himomathle Mico, and the prophet Hillis Hadjo without trial. By May 1818, Jackson and his troops reached Pensacola, where the Spanish Governor, José Masot, quickly surrendered.[10]

When Congress convened in December 1818, Jackson's executions and the legality of his invasion dominated proceedings. Led by Henry Clay, Jackson's critics argued that Congress should censure him for invading Spanish Florida and executing foreign citizens with no legal mandate. Jackson's supporters included representatives from Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky, and Mississippi. They maintained that Jackson had acted in retaliation for injustices done to American settlers and sovereignty. Benjamin Tallmadge of New York proclaimed that Americans should applaud Jackson for defeating Native Americans, and especially the prophet Hillis Hadjo, "whose

[9] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 8 and April 20, 1818, *CAJ*: II, 357-8, 360.
[10] Frank Owsley Jr., "Ambrister and Arthbunot: Adventurers or Martyrs for British Honor?" *Journal of the Early Republic*, 3 (autumn, 1985), 289-308; Deborah Rosen "Wartime Prisoners and the Rule of Law: Andrew Jackson's Military Tribunals during the First Seminole War," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 2008), 559-595; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 102-103; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 205-7.

religion is *the tomahawk and the scalping knife*, the libations to whose worship is the blood of the white man."[11]

After three weeks of debate, Congressmen in the House of Representatives defeated motions to censure Jackson. In the Treaty of Adams-Onís, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams persuaded Spain to cede Florida to the U.S. in return for $5 million in damages and Spanish sovereignty over Texas. By 1821, both countries had ratified the treaty and Florida became American territory.[12]

Rachel and Jackson imagined his victory against the Seminole and occupation of Florida as retribution to God's enemies. In St. Marks, Jackson equated Seminole towns with two sinful cities which God destroyed with fire and brimstone as retribution in the Book of Genesis. "I may fairly say that the modern Sodom and Gomorrow are destroyed," Jackson assured Rachel. Knowing how important it was to Rachel, Jackson also updated her twice on his capture and execution of Hillis Hadjo.[13]

Rachel and Jackson also imagined that God had guided Jackson's violence. From St. Marks, he described to Rachel how "the hand of offended daiety is stretched forth against the exc[i]ters of this cruel war." In Pensacola, Jackson praised "the Just Vengeance of heaven--having vissitted and

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[11] *Debate, in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Seminole War, In January and February, 1819* (Washington, 1819), 262. Also see Opal, *Avenging the People*, 217; Deborah Rosen, *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, (Cambridge, MA, 2015); Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 105-7; "Speech on the Seminole War," (Jan. 20, 1819), *The Papers of Henry Clay*, ed. James Hopkins (Lexington, 1961) II, 636-62; David S. Heidler, "The Politics of National Aggression: Congress and the First Seminole War," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 1993) 501-530.

[12] The votes regarding censures were as follows: for Jackson's seizure of West Florida, the motion was defeated 70-100; for Jackson's execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, the motion was defeated 50-94; for Jackson's seizure of Spanish forts, including Pensacola, the motion failed 65-91. See Opal, Avenging the People, n.94, 405; Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821 (New York, 1977), 374-75.

[13] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 8, 1818, *CAJ*, II, 357; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 10, 1818, *PAJDE*, 6.

punished with death, the exciters of the Indian war, and horrid massacre of our innocent weomen & children on the Southern frontier." As God's "servant" in the region, Rachel applauded Jackson's role in "purging" the "Babylon of the South."[14]

During the spring of 1819, the Reverend Ezra Stiles Ely, a prominent Presbyterian pastor from Philadelphia, his wife, Mary Ann, her parents, Samuel and Margaret Carswell, and sister, Margaretta, arrived at the Hermitage for a short stay. Born in 1786 in Lebanon, Connecticut, Ely was the son of the Rev. Zebulon Ely and Sarah Apame Mills. A disciple of Yale-president, Ezra Stiles, Zebulon Ely trained his son and proved a prolific theologian in his own right. Zebulon Ely published several sermons, including *Revelation Necessary to Salvation,* delivered at the meeting of the Foreign Mission Society. Like Blackburn, Zebulon Ely maintained that "heathens" who rejected God deserved his wrath. "He that believeth not shall be damned," Zebulon preached, and "he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him."[15]

Following in his father's footsteps, Ely graduated from Yale in 1804. At the time, Timothy Dwight was the president. Dwight denounced ungodly revolutions in France and St. Domingue, Thomas Paine's opposition to organized religion in *The Age of Reason,* and the 1800 election of

[14] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, April 10, 1818, June 2, 1818, *PAJDE*, 4.

[15] For Jackson's friendship with Samuel Carswell, see A. Jackson to Andrew Jackson Donelson, Feb. 24, 1817; A. Jackson to Samuel Carswell, Jan. 12, 1817, *PAJDE*, Vol. 4; A. Jackson to Samuel Carswell, Jan. 13, 1817, *Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, New York, New York, abstract online, http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collections/19bd5a9f-62bd-4de9-a83e-575035445442?back=/mweb/search%3Fneedle%3DGLC03243%2A%2526fields%3D_t301001010. In 1825, Ezra Stiles Ely published his father's memoirs and included letters that his father wrote to Ezra Stiles. See Ezra Stiles Ely, *Memoirs of the Rev. Zebulon Ely, of Lebanon, Connecticut; Compiled From His Own Writings,* (Philadelphia, 1825), 20-21. Also see Alfred Nevin, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, including the Northern and Southern Assemblies,* (Philadelphia, 1884), 216. Zebulon Ely, *Revelation necessary to Salvation, A Sermon, Delivered in Thompson, At a Meeting of the Foreign Mission Society, of Windham County,* (Hartford, 1815), 7-8. In 1806, Zebulon also delivered the sermon at his son's ordination. See Zebulon Ely, *A Gospel Minister, Though Young, Should Be Respectable By His Example, A Sermon, Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely,* (Hartford, 1806).

Thomas Jefferson—a deist—to the presidency. Ely found Dwight's preaching captivating. He referred to Dwight as "the modern Apostle Paul of Connecticut."[16]

After his ordination in 1806, Ezra Stiles Ely began his career as chaplain to the New York City hospital and almshouse. In 1813, he relocated to Philadelphia to serve as pastor of the Presbyterian Pine Street Church, where he met Mary Ann Carswell. The two married the next year and by 1820, Ely had published several sermons and a quarterly theological review.[17]

During their stay at the Hermitage, the Elys and Carswells befriended Rachel and many of the Jacksons' close friends, including Ralph E.W. Earl, John Coffee, and Richard Keith Call. "I have never met with aney people I Loved so much," Rachel wrote about the family. In particular, Ezra Stiles Ely made a profound impression on the Nashville residents. Writing to Margaret, Rachel reported that, "the Cittizens of Nashville speake of trying to git Dr Ely to remove to that place." Rachel knew, however, "he cant be prevailed on to Leave Philadelphia a people so much attached to Him." Still, she praised Ely for the comfort that he gave Rachel's dying brother-in-law,

[16] For Ely's graduation, see B.B. Edwards, *The American Quarterly Register*, Vol. 4, (Boston, 1932), 313. For Dwight and the fear of infidelity, see Eric R. Schlereth, *An Age of Infidels: The Politics of Religious Controversy in the Early United States,* (Philadelphia, 2013); Harry Stout, "Rhetoric and Reality in the Early Republic: The Case of the Federalist Clergy," in *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Era to the Present,* eds. Mark A. Noll and Luke E. Harlow, (New York, 2007). For comments about Dwight, see Ezra Stiles Ely to Jedidiah D. Morse, Oct. 23, 1806, Simon Gratz Collection, Box 96, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[17] Ely has received little to no biographical treatment, despite his prominence among nineteenth-century evangelicals. See "Notes: The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely," *Journal of Presbyterian History,* Vol. II (1903-1904), 321-324; Nevin, *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church,* 216. For Ely's role in the Peggy Eaton Affair, which offers some history of his connection to the Jacksons, see Curtis Dahl, "The Clergyman, the Hussy, and Old History: Ezra Stiles Ely and the Peggy Eaton Affair," *Journal of Presbyterian History,* Vol. 52, No. 2 (Summer 1974), 137-155. For Ely's marriage to Mary Ann Carswell, see *First Church, Baptisms, Marriages, Members, 1809-1930,* The Archives of the Reformed Church in America, New Brunswick, New Jersey, database available online. Also see Ezra Stiles Ely, *A Contrast Between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism,* (New York, 1811), *idem., Ten Sermons on Faith,* (Philadelphia, 1816); *idem., The Quarterly Theological Review,* Vol. I, (Philadelphia, 1818.)

Col. Robert Hays. Although Rachel believed in God's divine will, she attributed some of Hays' ability to live an extra day to Ely.[18]

Ely sought to strengthen a broader alliance between northeastern Congregationalists and Presbyterians and western frontier regions promoted by the 1801 Plan of Union. Galvanized by the growth of competing faiths including Methodism, Unitarianism, deism, and radical revolutionary thought, Presbyterians and Congregationalists rallied around the common goal of spreading the gospel to Americans on the frontier. Presbyterians and Congregationalists shared a similar commitment to Calvinist principles of an all-mighty and fearful God, the depravity of mankind, and the importance of having educated preachers. This commitment manifested in the 1801 Plan of Union, which recruited northeastern Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries to sojourn in western regions, like Tennessee. [19]

Ely's Presbyterianism echoed some of what Rachel had learned from Blackburn, including the promise of God's spiritual protection and the importance of vengeance against heathens. Ely

[18] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, Oct. 20, 1820, R. Jackson to Margaret Carswell, Nov. 29, 1819, *William J. Clements Library*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Many thanks to Laura-Eve Moss at the Jackson Papers for helping me acquire this.

[19] The union persisted through the 1830s, when it began to collapse under the weight of some New England Congregationalists' attempts to bring their anti-slavery message south. See Bradley J. Longfield, *Presbyterians in American Culture: A History*, (Louisville, 2013), 57-59; Herman Albert Norton, *Religion in Tennessee, 1777-1945*, (Knoxville, 1981), 59-60; Walter Brownlow Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838*, (Richmond, 1952), 111. This union established critical links between the two regions, which should caution historians against drawing clear distinctions between New England and southern religious cultures. Moreover, Tennessee occupied a hybrid space, both south and west, where slavery proliferated by 1812 in middle Tennessee, but not the East. The absence of any prior organized and state-sanctioned religion, as in New England or Virginia, did not create a distinct "southern" religious climate, as historians have identified. For key studies of religious culture that focus on either the North or the South, see, for instance, Douglass, *The Feminization of American Culture*; Daniel Walker Howe, "The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture in the North During the Second Party System," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (March 1991) 1216-1239; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*,(New York, 1981); Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837*, (New York, 1978); Christine Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt,* (New York, 1997); Thomas J. Little, *The Origins of Southern Evangelicalism: Religious Revivalism in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1670-1760*, (Columbia, S.C., 2013); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill, 1982).

dismissed the idea of an all-loving God, who pardoned all past sins. Rather, sins had to be punished and then pardoned to rescue men "from everlasting burnings."[20]

While God loved his children, Ely also preached that God remained vengeful. In his review of a religious pamphlet on "true godliness," Ely emphasized an "animating passage" on blood and redemption. "If there be any one principle more clearly revealed, more important and more frequently inculcated than another," Rachel read in Ely's review, "it is this; *without shedding of blood there is no remission.*" "There is no venial sin," and "every sin deserves the wrath of God."[21]

Ely differed from Blackburn over the controversial theology of Samuel Hopkins. Heir to the teachings of Puritan minister Jonathan Edwards, Hopkins maintained that humanity was morally depraved. Yet from his pulpits in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, Hopkins rejected the notion of original sin. Rather, all sin, Hopkins asserted, is actual, meaning something an individual did, thought, or said, as opposed to inherited from the fall of man. Responding to what he saw as an increasingly individualistic society, Hopkins urged a greater "social ethic" among Christians. He associated sin with selfishness, and holiness with reform towards a greater, common good.[22]

In 1816, some members of the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia hoped to condemn such "Hopkinsian heresies." Ely attended the subsequent Presbyterian General Assembly meeting, where opponents presented a resolution to censure Hopkinsian teachings. They also proclaimed "that all the ministers belonging to the Synod who had embraced any of the Hopkinsian sentiments

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[20] Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Quarterly Theological Review: Conducted by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely,* Vol. 1, (Philadelphia, 1818), 22.
[21] Ely, *The Quarterly Theological Review,* 36.
[22] For Samuel Hopkins generally, see Longfield, *Presbyterians and American Culture: A History,* 60-61; Joseph A. Conforti, "Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity: Theology, Ethics, and Social Reform in Eighteenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 34, No. 4 (Oct. 1977), 572-589; Oliver Wendell Elsbree, "Samuel Hopkins and His Doctrine of Benevolence," *New England Quarterly,* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Dec. 1935) 534-550. For Hopkins's influence among Tennessee Presbyterians, see Ronald Russell Ragon, "Frontier Hopkinsians: New School Theology in East Tennessee, 1797-1861," (M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2002.)

should be called to account." Yet, to maintain church membership and avoid conflict, the Assembly determined that the church could ordain Hopkinsian pastors, provided they accept the foundational Westminster Confession of Faith.[23]

Ely rejected Hopkinsian teachings and wondered, "who are these Hopkinsians" within the Presbytery? He identified "our brother, the Rev. John Gloucester, a gentleman of colour," and Gideon Blackburn's freed slave, as one. Blackburn, Ely noted, had instilled as much "Hopkinsianism" in Gloucester as possible. Still, Ely did not consider Gloucester, or Blackburn, much of a threat. "He is much too modest and sensible," Ely wrote about Gloucester, while he did not find Blackburn worth mentioning at all.[24]

Blackburn and Ely agreed on the need to promote benevolent reform to foster a Christian society. By 1820, Blackburn had tried to "civilize" Cherokee children and teach the gospel to his recently-freed slave. In 1818, Ely emphasized the need for "all our public characters" to "believe in, profess, and obey, the religion of Jesus." "We should then be, that happy people whose God is the Lord," he promised.[25]

Ely hoped that Rachel could help him convince Jackson, a very "public character," to profess the word of God. In October 1819, he wrote Rachel to thank her for making his stay at the Hermitage the best part of their 2,000 mile journey. Then, Ely exhorted Rachel on the need to

[23]Ely, *The Quarterly Theological Review,* 155. Longfield, *Presbyterians in American Culture: A History*, 60. Also see Ezra Stiles Ely, *A Contrast Between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism,* (New York, 1811); James Wilson, *Letters to the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, A.M., author of A Contrast Between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism,* (Boston, 1814.)
[24] Ely, *Quarterly Review,* 155-6. New England Presbyterian minister Charles Coffin also noted that Blackburn had taken great pains to teach Glouchester Hopkinsian theory. After Glouchester visited him in November 1807 in Tennessee, Coffin noted that Glouchester satisfied me much as to his religion and call to be a preacher of the Gospel among the blacks. Mr. Blackburn has been blessed to him and has taken great pains to instruct him so that he understands the Hopkinsian theory well." See Journal of Charles Coffin, 5 November 1807, McClung Library, quoted in Ragon, "Frontier Hopkinsians 78.
[25] Ely, *Quarterly Review,* 28.

make Jackson into a Christian. Ely wanted to see Jackson use his military and political fame to serve God, not just country. "He is just such a man as I want to see made into an active Christian," Ely observed. Hoping to put Jackson's notorious passion to good use, Ely predicted that Jackson "would be no hypocrite, no formalist, no fanatic, no lukewarm professor, no babe in religion. but as good a soldier of his Divine Master." "Tell him," Ely urged Rachel, "to fight manfully the good fight of faith."[26]

To aid Rachel in these efforts, Ely sent some of his pamphlets, including his *Theological Review*, which comprised a collection of Ely's musings on recent religious publications. He planned to send Jackson a copy of his *Conversations on the Science of the Human Mind* soon, since Jackson "is a man of mind, as well as of arms."[27]

Rachel read the *Theological Review,* and felt captivated by Ely's thoughts on the rise of Methodism, communication with the holy spirit, and pardoning past sins. After finishing the review, she read as many of Ely's pamphlets as she could obtain. Ely's "Indefatiguable Exertions in the vineyard of His Lord and Master is sercely Equaled," Rachel wrote. She trusted that Ely knew about her own spiritual efforts. "I think," Rachel hoped, "He will or Can say with the greate Apostle I have faught the good fight I Have kept the faith."[28]

Unable to vote, become a minister or missionary, or proselytize in public settings, Rachel saw consistent declarations of her suffering as a way to serve to God. As Rachel read in Ely's review, "the highest attainment in the spiritual life on earth" was "*willingness to suffer for the cause of God.*" Finding pleasure in material things revealed a willingness to be tempted by "earthly

[26] Ezra Stiles Ely to R. Jackson, Oct. 22, 1819, *PAJ-LOC*, reel 28.
[27] Ezra Stiles Ely to R. Jackson, Oct. 22, 1819, *PAJ-LOC*, reel 28.
[28] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, March 13, 1820, William J. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

comforts," rather than "heavenly things." For Rachel, sacrificing male family members to fight God's enemies, and suffering in their absence, showed a willingness to give up her happiness in the temporal world for the promise of an eternal afterlife.[29]

In almost every letter that she wrote during the late 1810s, Rachel bemoaned her suffering and rebuffed friends' attempts to console her. Writing to Margaretta Carswell, Rachel maintained that she remained deprived of "almost Every Earthly Comfort." Regarding Rachel's "lowly situation," Jackson's ward, Catherine Butler Bell, urged Rachel to remember, that "you have many things to console you," including family, friends, and "every comfort this world affords." Bell begged Rachel to look around her plantation and focus on the many blessings that she had, including the company of nieces, nephews, her son, and the guidance of spiritual mentors, including Ely, Blackburn, and the Rev. Samuel Hodge. Hodge assured her that although "we are poor & weak & needy," God "has promised to Perfect Strength in our weakness," so that "we are strong in him." Then, "he will open you the windows of heaven."[30]

Rachel could not envision her world as Bell portrayed it but she appreciated Hodge's guidance, for it implied that God would eventually reward her for her suffering in His cause. Rachel became fixated on death, which, God-willing, would release her into a blissful afterlife. She longed "for the prosperity of zion," and according to Richard Keith Call began muttering "Jerusalem" and "Babylon" under her breath. Rachel relied on "that promis that ther is a rest for the people of God" but watched, in disgust, while others, including her husband, occupied

[29] Ely, *Quarterly Review*, 40; R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, March 13, 1820, William J. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
[30] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, March 13, 1820, William J. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Caroline Butler Bell to R. Jackson, April 20, 1818, *PAJ-LOC*, reel 24; Samuel Hodge to R. Jackson, May 30, 1820, *PAJ-LOC*, reel 29. Rachel's letter to Hodge does not survive.

themselves with "this world principally and its Erthly injoyments." After sacrificing her father, nephews, and the company of her husband for years at a time, Rachel maintained that she was ready to die for God. At "a good old age," Rachel wrote Margaretta Carswell, "I am ready to Be ofered up, Glorory to god, in the Highest for a Life so well spent."[31]

After 1820, Rachel hoped that the days of Jackson's public service were over. She prayed that Jackson would return to the Hermitage to enjoy his victories over God's enemies while awaiting the day of His judgment. Instead, Jackson's 1821 appointment as Florida governor marked an expansion of his public career, which demanded new sacrifices from Rachel. [32]

On the evening of April 14, 1821, Rachel, Jackson, and their son, Andrew Jackson Jr., boarded the *Cumberland* steamboat to New Orleans, before proceeding onto Pensacola. They traveled with 100 white and 100 enslaved African-American passengers. The crowding and enslaved peoples unnerved Rachel, as did the possibility that the *Cumberland* would explode. Just before she left Nashville, Rachel learned that a friend's daughter had perished in a steamboat explosion. Anticipating that she might die on the journey, Rachel spent much of her time praying. She breathed a sigh of relief when the *Cumberland* arrived in New Orleans on April 21.[33]

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[31] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, Oct. 20, 1820, R. Jackson to Margaret Carswell, Nov. 29, 1819, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. For Call's comment on Rachel, see Herbert J. Doherty, *Richard Keith Call, Southern Unionist*, (Gainesville, 1961), 19; Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, (New York, 1977), 478, n. 48.

[32] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, Oct. 20, 1829, *William L. Clements Library*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[33] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. 2, 597-8. Newspapers throughout the U.S. reported on steamboat explosions. For the Robertson steamboat explosion that killed Sally McConnell, see, *Providence Patriot*, (Rhode Island), May 16, 1821, republished from the *New York Commercial Advertiser; New Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette*, (Concord, N.H.), June 4, 1821; *Newport Mercury*, (Rhode Island), May 19, 1821; *Pittsfield Sun* (M.A.), May 16, 1821; *Washington Gazette*, May 11, 1821; *New York Spectator*, May 11, 1821. For arrival, see editor's note, A. Jackson to John Quincy Adams, April 24, 1821, *PAJDE*, Vol. 5. For steamboat explosions, see Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*: *Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*, (Cambridge, MA., 2013), 73-96. For more on the culture of steamboats, that included gambling and fears

Rachel had not visited New Orleans since she went in March 1815 to celebrate Jackson's victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans. On that trip, the city's grandeur had left her speechless. "To give you a disscription is beyond the power of my pen," Rachel wrote Robert Hays, "the splendor the brillient assembleage the magnificenc of the supper and orniments of the room." Rachel concluded that New Orleans "is the finest country for the Eye of a strainger," but admitted that "a little while he tirs of the disipation of this place."[34]

Six years later, Rachel saw little to praise. She remembered the taunting and disapproving glances of elite white women, who failed to recast Rachel in their genteel image. Writing home to Elizabeth Kingsley, Rachel noted that New Orleans "reminds me of those words in Revelations: 'Great Babylon is come up before me.'" "Oh, the wickedness," Rachel bemoaned, "the idolatry of this place!" “Pray for your sister in a heathen land," she pleaded.[35]

Kingsley prayed for Rachel and assured her that she had the strength to endure this spiritual torment. "Although you are surrounded with circumstances which are calculated to fix our attention on earth; and in too many instances, to draw our affection from God you are firm and steadfast and have a view to the hills from whence all our comforts flow," Kingsley advised.[36]

After leaving New Orleans, the Jacksons traveled east through Alabama. They visited Fort Mims, the site of the 1813 Red Stick Muscogee attack that left 200 white, Muscogee, and enslaved African-Americans dead, including Samuel Mims. The Jacksons spent two nights with

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of confidence men and tricksters, see Joshua D. Rothman, *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson*, (Athens, GA, 2012); Robert H. Gudmestad, *Steamboats and the Rise of the Cotton Kingdom,* (Baton Rouge, 2011.)

[34] R. Jackson to Robert Hays, March 5, 1815, *PAJDE*, 5.

[35] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8.

[36] Elizabeth Kingsley to R. Jackson, May 15, 1821, *The Presidential Papers of Andrew Jackson*, Library of Congress, microfilm reel 30.

Mims's widow, Hannah Rains, whom Rachel described as "an intelligent woman in worldly affairs." Hannah's suffering at the hands of warriors resonated with the Jacksons, and she probably relayed tales of the slaughter during their stay. After five weeks tarried in the Mobile Bay, the Jacksons arrived in Pensacola in June 1821.[37]

Rachel regarded Pensacola as "beautiful" but ungodly. "Oh, how shall I make you sensible of what a heathen land I am in?" she asked Kingsley, "Never but once have I heard a Gospel sermon, nor the song of Zion sounded in my ear." Rachel wondered how she would survive "in a vast howling wilderness, far from my friends in the Lord, my home and country." Plagued with homesickness, Rachel appreciated the devout religious community that she had left behind in Tennessee. She urged Kingsley to never take Tennessee, "a land of gospel light and liberty," for granted.[38]

Rachel attributed Pensacola's ungodliness to the doing of its multiracial population, rather than innocent ignorance. Situated in a porous borderlands region, Pensacola's population was a mixture of escaped and enslaved African-Americans, Seminole, Muscogee, Spanish, British, and American residents. "There are fewer white people far than any other," Rachel observed. In 1820, the Pensacola census recorded 713 residents living within the city. Half were black or of mixed-race ancestry. "I think, the Lord had a controversy with them," Rachel maintained. "If

[37] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, June 21, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8. Hannah and Samuel Mims were Americans who converted to Catholicism. To own land, property, and marry in Spanish America, officials mandated that American settlers became Catholic. See Gregory Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War, 1813-1814*, (Tuscaloosa, 2006), 20, 186; Gilbert C. Din, "Spain's Immigration Policy in Louisiana and the American Penetration, 1792-1803," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 76 (Jan. 1973), 255-76.

[38] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821 and June 21, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.

they would have the gospel of Jesus and his apostles, it would have been otherwise," Rachel assured Kingsley, "but they would not." Floridians had supposedly rejected gospel missionaries. As a result, these peoples lived "far from God," in "nature's darkness."[39]

Rachel hoped to convert Pensacola's Catholics, who knew something of a Christian God. "The field is white for harvest," she observed, "but where are the laborers?" Pensacola needed "faithful ministers to come and impart the world of life to them." In the mean time, Pensacola had Jackson, in whom God "has put grace," and whom Rachel could influence.[40]

Recalling the teachings of Gideon Blackburn and Ezra Stiles Ely, Rachel knew that the Lord would forsake those who defiled the Sabbath. "Sanctify the sabbath of the Lord," Blackburn instructed, for "there can be but little religion where the sabbath is neglected." As a result, Christians had to promote the Sabbath and spend Sundays in "the business of

[39] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 21, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5. As in most western territories, inhabitants formed multi-racial and multi-cultural families. The literature on marriage between native peoples and African-Americans and Euro-American settlers and traders is vast. For Florida, New Orleans, and the Deep South, see Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida,* (Urbana, 2005); Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783,* (Chapel Hill, 1992); Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana,* (Philadelphia, 2014); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America,* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 213-243; Kathleen DuVal, "Indian Intermarriage and Métissage in Colonial Louisiana," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 65, No. 2 (Apr. 2008), 267-304; Karl Davis, "Remember Fort Mims": Reinterpreting the Origins of the Creek War," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter, 2002), 611-636; Michelle LeMaster, *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast,* (Charlottesville, 2012); Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans,* (Baltimore, 2009). For the west generally, see Anne F. Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860,* (Lincoln, 2011); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870,* (Norman, OK, 1983); Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country,* (Vancouver, 2007); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes,* (Amherst, 2001). For suspicion of "mixed-bloods" in the Jacksonian era, see Thomas N. Ingersoll, *To Intermix With Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removals,* (Albuquerque, 2005). For Pensacola population figures, see See n.6 in R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 21, 1821, *PAJDE,* Vol. 5; William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola,* (Pensacola, 1980.)

[40] She quoted from John 4:35. See R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5.

catechizing." Blackburn also expected them to form "well-conducted societies" to enjoy and promote "the public means of grace."[41]

From 1809 through 1850, American Protestants participated in reform movements dedicated to protecting the Sabbath as a sacred day. For many, observing the Sabbath preserved the notion of an American Christian identity amid territorial expansion into Indigenous lands and Catholic regions. Sabbatarians also believed that closing shops and ceasing all commercial activity on Sunday displayed a public commitment to God. In 1810, a federal law mandating postal service on Sunday emboldened the movement. Leaders denounced the law as akin to the "floods of worldliness and pleasure" rolling over God's sacred day. By 1817, Presbyterians formed the General Union for Promoting Observance of the Sabbath, calling for a ban on all postal and commercial activity on Sundays.[42]

In 1817, Presbyterian preacher Elias Cornelius denounced violation of the Sabbath in New Orleans. The French, Cornelius maintained, "have no idea whatever of the sanctity of this

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[41] *A Pastoral Letter: Address to the Churches Under the Care of the Presbytery of West Tennessee,* (Nashville, 1812), Alderman Library, Special Collections, University of Virginia, 24. For similar concerns about Sabbath-breaking among prominent ministers that Rachel knew of, or would have read about, see Gideon Blackburn, "Resolutions on the Observance of the Sabbath," in *The Philadelphian,* March 9, 1827, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA; Ezra Stiles Ely, *Tracts on Regeneration and Preparation for Death,* (Philadelphia, n.d.), *idem., Narrative on the State of Religion,* (Philadelphia, 1826); Samuel Doak, *A Sermon Delivered on the 13th of April, 1815. It Being the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Recommended by the President of the United States of America,* (Philadelphia, 1815); Arthur J. Stansbury, *God Pleading with America, A Sermon, Delivered on the Late Fast Day, Recommended by the Churches and the President of the United States,* (New York, 1813), all at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

[42] For Sabbatarianism as a part of Christian American identity, see John Paul Rossing, "A Cultural History of Nineteenth-Century American Sabbath Reform Movements," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, 1994); Kyle Volk, *Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy,* (New York, 2014). Also see, Richard R. John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter, 1990), 517-567; Tim Verhoeven, "The Case for Sunday Mails: Sabbath laws and the Separation of Church and State in Jacksonian America," *Journal of Church & State,* (March 2013), 71-91; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System," *Journal of American History,* Vol. 58, (September 1971, 316-41; Wayne E. Fuller, *Morality and the Mail in Nineteenth-Century America,* (Urbana, 2003); Alexis McCrossen, *Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday,* (Ithaca, 2000).

day." He equated them with Native American savages, who had "so little moral sense of right and wrong" and a willingness to violate "the most explicit commands of God." "How must the heart of Christianity bleed!" he bemoaned.[43]

Cornelius rejoiced in finding a group of white women who shared his concerns and had formed a prayer meeting. Like Rachel, they hoped to bring God to New Orleans "by the "Kingdom of heaven by violence." Cornelius might have compelled these women to join him in making Sabbatarianism an immediate goal in the former French-city. As Anglo-Americans continued settling the Louisiana territory, Cornelius hoped that the region would "adopt such municipal regulations as will restore at least an observance of the Sabbath day." Still, by 1850, one resident mourned that New Orleans hosted military parades, bull fights, horse races, and balls on the holy day.[44]

Rachel lamented how the Sabbath was defiled in Pensacola and New Orleans. She described "a great deal of noise and swearing in the streets" of Pensacola for three consecutive Sundays. She recounted how "shops kept open; trade going on, I think, more than on any other day. They were so boisterous." The "cast-out Americans," who had started settling Florida, and the "negroes" proved "the worst people here." The Hispanics were, at least, baptized and married in a Christian manner.[45]

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[43] New Orleans Journal, 1817-1818, *Elias Cornelius Papers, 1816-1832*, David Rubenstein Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, NC.
[44] New Orleans Journal, 1817-1818, *Elias Cornelius Papers, 1816-1832*, David Rubenstein Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, NC. *New Orleans As It Is: Its Manners and Customs--Morals--Fashionable Life--Profanation of the Sabbath--Prostitution--Licentiousness--Slave Markets and Slavery*, (New Orleans, 1850), 33-34, 44-47.
[45] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, June 21, 1821, Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.

As territorial governor, Jackson held the authority that five men acting as governors, captain generals, and intendants had possessed under Spanish rule. On July 18, Jackson used this power to enact legislation. His *Ordinances of the Provinces of the Floridas* protected the Sabbath. Section III stipulated that "As the Christian Sabbath is observed throughout the civilized world, *It is Ordained.*" Jackson authorized the mayor and city council, whom he appointed, "to make any regulations on the due observance thereof which they may deem proper." In September, Florida's first territorial newspaper, *The Floridian,* advertised the new law and advised readers to "Make the Sabbath the market day for thy soul." "If you forget God when you are young," it warned, "God may forget you when you are old."[46]

To promote a solemn citizenry throughout the week, Jackson's ordinance also restricted gambling and drinking. Section V "interdicted and prohibited" all "public Gaming houses," and charged $200 for each conviction. Section VIII outlawed the sale or provision of alcohol to any U.S. servicemen and subjected violators to a $19 fine. In late July, Pensacola's new mayor, George Bowie, banned the sale of alcohol to Native Americans, as well as enslaved peoples without their owners' consent. He also prohibited the sale of alcohol to any resident, regardless of race, after nine o'clock at night.[47]

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[46] The only things Jackson could not do on his own accord was levy taxes and grant land, which surely frustrated Jackson and his land-speculating friends. See Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "The Governorship of Andrew Jackson," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 33, (July, 1954), 6; Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, (Baltimore, 1998), 407. *Ordinances of the Provinces of the Floridas, but relating specifically to East Florida, proclaimed by Major General Andrew Jackson, and printed in pamphlet form at St. Augustine in 1821*, ed. Douglas C. McMurtie, (Chicago, 1941), at the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, reproduced from the original in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. *The Floridian,* (Pensacola) Sept. 1, 1821, Sept. 22, 1821. The *Floridian* was Florida's first territorial newspaper and was followed in late August by the *Florida Gazette,* which was printed in St. Augustine, East Florida.

[47] *Ordinances of the Provinces of the Floridas,* Newberry Library, Chicago, IL. For Bowie's extension of the law, see *The Floridian,* (Pensacola), Sept. 1, 1821.

The Florida ordinances marked the only time in his long public career that Jackson passed legislation promoting moral behavior. Rachel and Jackson were together from June through September of 1821. As a result, there is no correspondence between them from that period that might reveal Rachel's influence in passing the moral code. While Jackson had never exhibited any prior concern for the Sabbath or temperance, Rachel stressed these concerns in her letters. She compelled Jackson to pass the sections of the Florida ordinances regulating alcohol and gambling and enforcing observance of the Sabbath.[48]

Rachel also ensured that officials enforced the Sabbatarian ordinance. After watching the Sabbath violated for three weeks in a row, Rachel resolved that she would not stand as "an idle spectator." Instead, she called upon Major Henry Stanton, who oversaw the Quartermaster's Department in Pensacola, to inform all residents "that the approaching Sunday would be differently kept." To Kingsley, Rachel reported that she "had the happiness of witnessing the truth of what I had said. Great order was observed; the doors kept shut; the gambling houses demolished; fiddling and dancing not heard any more on the Lord's day; cursing not to be heard. What, what has been done in one week!" Rachel rejoiced.[49]

Since Rachel believed that men, not women, acted on behalf of God in the public domain, she attributed this success to Jackson. "You can't conceive," she wrote, "what an important, arduous, laborious work it has been and is" to enforce moral laws in Florida. The difficulties Jackson encountered "Exceeded Every Calculation" and proved "Equel to the Simenole

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[48] Historians have always assumed that Rachel influenced Jackson's law, but never probed the issue further. See Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, 407; *idem*., *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom*, 9-10. Historian Mark Cheathem and others see Jackson's laws simply as an attempt to make Rachel happy. See Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, (Baton Rogue, 2014), 78; Doherty, "The Governorship of Andrew Jackson," 11-12.

[49] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5. For Stanton, see A. Jackson to José Maria Callava, June 29, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.

Campaine." "I am convinced," Rachel maintained, that because of these difficulties, "no mortal man could do this and suffer so many privations, unless the God of our salvation was his help in every time in trouble."[50]

A month later, however, Rachel saw little evidence that Jackson's ordinance had changed anything. In August, she complained that she mourned "for zion my tears has ran down in the night." In an 1827 memoir, John Lee Williams, an American commissioner, maintained that "the only religion professed" in Pensacola "is the Roman Catholic. The Americans are so divided in their religious creeds, or so lack religion altogether, that no form of worship is kept up among them." Feeling spiritually defeated and weak, Rachel wanted to go home.[51]

By influencing Sabbath reform in Pensacola, Rachel joined thousands of other white women who organized, led, and participated in reform movements. In addition to Sabbatarianism, these women campaigned for a variety of causes including education, abolitionism, African-American colonization, temperance, and against Indian Removal. By the 1830s, such public, political activism had inspired the boldest white women to seek equality on

[50] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, R. Jackson to John Donelson, Aug, 25, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5. Some of these difficulties included Anglo-American Floridian residents believing that Jackson had not gone far enough in abolishing Spanish law and enforcing American law. In September, the *Florida Gazette* issued a call from a St. Augustine resident who wanted to hold a meeting protesting Jackson's willingness to uphold some Spanish laws. The resident argued that, "in any portion of territory over which the flag of the United States waves, the government can only be administered according to the principles of the American constitution, or by martial law." See *The Floridian*, Sept. 1, 1821. One of these laws might have been Spain's married women's property act. See Laurel A. Clark, "The Rights of a Florida Wife: Slavery, U.S. Expansion, and Married Women's Property Paw," *Journal of Women's History,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (Winter 2010) 39-63. For women's experiences once U.S. settlement escalated, see Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny;* Anya Jabour, "The Privations & Hardships of a New Country": Southern Women and Southern Hospitality on the Florida Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (Winter 1997), 259-275; Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*, (New York, 1991), 55-59.

[51] R. Jackson to John Donelson, Aug. 25, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5; John Lee Williams, *View of West Florida*, (Philadelphia, 1827), extract published in *Andrew Jackson and Pensacola*, 37.

their own behalf. Many prominent abolitionists, including Susan B. Anthony, organized the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention for women's suffrage.[52]

Most of these women joined reform movements through their churches. They followed calls from prominent preachers including Lyman Beecher, Ezra Stiles, and Zebulon Ely to do "good" for God. As early as 1811, the Presbyterian General Assembly in Philadelphia acknowledged the work of "pious females" in reform movements and their promotion of "evangelical and benevolent objects." Back in Nashville, elite white women promoted reform through the founding of the First Presbyterian Church. Ann Grundy, the wife of Tennessee Senator Felix Grundy, led efforts to establish the city's first Sunday school. In 1818, Rachel also read that Methodist women had formed the region's first "Female Bible and Charitable Society."[53]

Women's participation in benevolent reform movements challenged nineteenth-century conventions of how women should behave. The women who organized a national petition drive to protest Indian Removal policies garnered criticism. Opponents charged that these women wasted Congress's time with their silly petitions. They violated the doctrine of separate spheres,

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[52] The literature on white women's reform is vast. But see, for instance, Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman*, (Norman, 1991); Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 5 (Winter 1978) 624-638; Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Elizabeth Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*, (Chapel Hill, 1998); Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (June 1999), 15-40; Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition*, (Chapel Hill, 2004).

[53] For calls to do "good work," see Zebulon Ely, *Revelation necessary to Salvation, A Sermon, Delivered in Thompson, At a Meeting of the Foreign Mission Society, of Windham County*, (Hartford, 1815), 10. For Presbyterian recognition of the work of "pious females," see Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status*, (New York, 1983), 3, 10, 11. For Tennessee's First Bible Society, see Wilbur F. Creighton and Leland R. Johnson, *The First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, A Documentary History*, (Nashville, 1986); *Nashville Whig and Tennessee Advertiser*, March 28, 1818.

which reserved politics and government as the domain of men, by thrusting themselves into public political discussions. Even worse, the men who supported these female reformers had failed to keep "their" women from undermining political order. As a result, these men threatened their own masculinity.[54]

Instead of challenging gender conventions, Rachel's Sabbatarianism followed the Presbyterian General Assembly's conservative prescription for women's reform: "Let man, then, exercise power; woman exert influence." Rachel could adopt this limited strategy for reform because of her privileged position as the wife of a powerful political figure. She did not have to organize or engage in a petition campaign to promote the Sabbath because James Monroe had empowered Jackson to act as Florida's sole governor. As Jackson's beloved wife, Rachel could "exert influence" over him.[55]

Still, Rachel's Sabbatarianism shared some similarities with other women's benevolent reform, especially the notion that elite women possessed an innate sentimentality. In her promotion of the Sabbath, Rachel stressed her sympathy for Pensacola's Catholics. Watching the flag of their "Catholic majesty" lower, Rachel noted, "Never did my heart feel for any people." Rachel "entered immediately into their feelings." Like a benevolent mother, she assumed that she

[54] Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition," 29. This is partly why and how the women's rights movement emerged from benevolent reform movements. See, for instance, Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina*; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence;* Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood,* (New Haven, 1977.)

[55] Presbyterian General Assembly's prescription quoted in Boyd and Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America*, 10-11. For Rachel "exerting influence," see R. Jackson to David Cowan, June 29, 1821 in New York Signature Historical Manuscripts Auction Catalog, #6054, available online at http://historical.ha.com/itm/autographs/u.s.-presidents/rachel-jackson-letter-signed-one-page-775-x-10-pensacola-florida-june-29-1821-to-david-cowan-of-pensacola-likel/a/6054-34049.s

knew what was best for Floridians. "Their manners, laws, and customs, all changed," Rachel wrote to Kingsley, "and really a change was necessary."[56]

Back home in Nashville, travel and commercial activity regularly violated the Sabbath. Occasionally, pastors voiced their objection to the practice. In 1815, Gideon Blackburn's mentor Samuel Doak urged Tennesseans to regard the carnage wrought by the War of 1812 and Creek War as an opportunity to repent for their many sins against God, chief among them, "sabbath breaking." "We needed his chastising rod, to drive vanity and folly out of our hearts," Doak preached. Little came from his warning. In 1855, the Synod of Tennessee continued to deplore Sabbath-breaking among Tennesseans, as well as its own church members.[57]

Sabbatarianism gave Rachel an opportunity to test and protect her own faith in what she deemed a "foreign" and "heathen land." There is no evidence that Rachel ever joined the national Sabbatarian movement or petitioned the federal government to cease the Sunday mails. Rachel embraced Sabbath reform only when she was away from Nashville and felt spiritually vulnerable. In her letters, Rachel sought constant assurance that exposure to "heathenness" in Florida or New Orleans would not corrupt her. She maintained that she "never was so tried before, tempted, proved in all things." She bemoaned never hearing the Gospel, nor finding "one in all my travels to help me on to God."[58]

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[56] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.

[57] Samuel Doak, *A Sermon Delivered on the 13th of April, 1815, It Being the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Recommended by the President of the United States of America,* (Philadelphia, 1815), 7-10, in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. Doak originally preached the sermon to his congregations at Providence and Mount Bethel in eastern Tennessee. My thanks to Tom Kanon at the Tennessee State Library and Archives for providing insight into Sabbatarianism in Tennessee from his own research. For the 1850s, see J.E. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Synod of Tennessee, From 1807 to 1887,* (Philadelphia,1890), 59-60; Norton, *Religion in Tennessee, 1777-1945,* 86-87.

[58] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27 and June 21, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8.

Rachel hoped that her promotion of the Sabbath would help her emerge from the region unscathed. As Zebulon Ely urged evangelicals, "when an opportunity presents, will you not shew that the grace of God hath not been bestowed upon you in vain? Will you not prove your faith to be genuine, consequently, practical?" Rachel took the Sabbatarian campaign as an opportunity to prove her faith and hoped to emerge emboldened. "I shall not want," she wrote, defiantly, in July 1821. She knew that God "will not leave me nor forsake me in all my trials through this wilderness." Still, she could not help but ask Kingsley, "Oh, pray for me; I have need of that aid from my dear Christian friends."[59]

In early fall of 1821, Jackson relinquished his position as governor so that the family could go home. Writing to President Monroe, Jackson cited Rachel's health as the reason why they had to return to Nashville. However, in June, Rachel had noted, "The General, I believe, wants to get home again as much as I do." Finally, at the beginning of October, the Jacksons set out for Tennessee.[60]

Rachel rejoiced upon her return home. On November 11, Richard Keith Call wrote Rachel, asking how it felt to be back in Tennessee. "As I drew nearer Every Day," Rachel replied, "I felt more happy." Her sister, Jane Hays, welcomed Rachel, and finally, her "anxiety to returne to my Home" was assuaged. In response to Call's own gloominess that hung over him, Rachel assured him that there was a higher purpose to his suffering. She urged him to remember

[59] Z. Ely, *Revelation necessary to Salvation, A Sermon,* 10; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE,* 5.
[60] A. Jackson to James Monroe, Oct. 5, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, June 21, 1821, in Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, 597-8.

how even when "The greate apostle" was "in Chaines & imprisonments," he still maintained "that all things are intended for our good."[61]

Rachel's happiness proved fleeting. Soon after returning home, she realized "that joy was not to be in this world. no honney without a Sting no rose without thorns." The health problems that had plagued Rachel and Jackson persisted. Jackson "is not well he has a bad Cough," Rachel reported to Call. But instead of resting up at home, Jackson left again to travel to Florence, Alabama to oversee landholdings. For company, Rachel had her nieces, Narcissa and Elizabeth Hays, with her for the winter, as well as Andrew Jr. and Lyncoya. Still, Rachel lamented what she did not have. She had gone to Pensacola to avoid a separation from Jackson. But once there, Rachel mourned for her friends, family, and religious community in Nashville. Now that she was home, all Rachel could think about was how much Jackson's absences made her suffer.[62]

Rachel interpreted her life as a series of trials that tested her commitment to God. From Jackson's absences and his burgeoning political career, to Rachel's time in Pensacola and her overseeing of the family's eighty enslaved workers, every experience engendered suffering. But Rachel also felt that she had to suffer to illustrate her sacrifices for, and faith in God. She also suffered to show Jackson how badly she needed him to stay home in a thriving religious community.

Rachel appreciated returning to her evangelical community and their goal of building Zion among white, slave-owning settlers in middle Tennessee. In December, she attended a "fine meeting" and reveled in a spiritual resurgence that Rachel believed she had earned after months

[61] R. Jackson to Richard Keith Call, Dec. 15, 1821, Andrew Jackson Papers, New Acquisitions. Thanks to Laura-Eve Moss for passing this letter along.
[62] R. Jackson to Richard Keith Call, Dec. 15, 1821, Andrew Jackson Papers, New Acquisitions.

in the "wilderness." "O how I was renewed in my stren[g]th," she wrote Call, "I feasted at the Sable Jesus spread for his followers. will you beleive me it Is true there was joy without alloy." Emboldened by her time in Pensacola, Rachel proved more committed than ever to seeing God's will fulfilled.[63]

[63] R. Jackson to Richard Keith Call, Dec. 15, 1821, Andrew Jackson Papers, New Acquisitions.

Chapter 6: "A Christian Party in Politics"

In the summer of 1827, after a lifetime of trials, Rachel identified a newfound spiritual strength. "I can do all things in Christ who strentheneth me," she wrote to Elizabeth Courts Love Watson. "I Can say my soule Can be a testimony to the truth of that Gospel for who has been so cruelly tryed as I have," Rachel continued, "my mind my trials have been severe." Rachel referred to her separations from Jackson, exile in Florida, managing Lyncoya and the Jacksons' eighty enslaved laborers, enduring frontier settlement, waging war against Native peoples, and most recently, suffering the tumult of presidential politics.[1]

From her suffering, Rachel derived spiritual empowerment that confirmed her commitment to Calvinist doctrine. By submitting to the suffering God thrust upon her, Rachel felt released from temporal concerns and emboldened by her belief in God's absolute sovereignty. This experience brought Rachel as close to spiritual calm as she could ever be. Her anxiety and stress, which contributed to her poor health, never dissipated. But looking back on a lifetime of suffering, Rachel felt connected to God and as a result, righteous. If suffering was sacred, Rachel started to believe that God had blessed her. [2]

More secure in her spiritual strength, Rachel wanted to engender greater religiosity in Jackson. During the 1820s, she redoubled her efforts to make Jackson a Christian who realized

[1] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Courts Watson, July 18, 1827, *PAJDE*, 6. For Jackson's slave-holdings in 1825, see "Jackson's "Black Polls" in John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Volume 3*, (Washington D.C., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926-1935), 271-2.

[2] Erskine Clark, *Our Southern Zion: A History of Calvinism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1690-1990* (Tuscaloosa, 1996), 16. Rachel's age proved significant in engendering this confidence since, as Nancy Cott notes, young women during the Second Great Awakening maintained self-doubt about their piety. See Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1975), 16. A good evangelical always remained vigilant when it came to their faith. But after enduring many "trials" Rachel felt more righteous than she had as a young woman.

his past wickedness, joined the church, and submitted to God's rule. Jackson's correspondence reveals her attempts to influence him.

But Jackson's genteel and public brand of piety, which he adopted upon entering national politics, distanced him from Rachel's evangelicalism. Beginning in 1823, Jackson embraced a refined Christianity, of the sort popular with northeastern elites usually affiliated with John Quincy Adams and future Whigs. This piety privileged outward displays of contained devotion, rather than submission to God to seek an impassioned spiritual rebirth. Genteel men posed as enlightened Christians who followed proper decorum, such as attending church. Yet, they did so without advancing Christian political platforms, for fear of abandoning the revolutionary commitment to separating church and state. They fashioned themselves as self-disciplined, benevolent, and rational leaders, rather than vengeful Old Testament patriarchs or emotional devotees of the evangelical New Birth.[3]

Jackson wanted to become president, which demanded that he uphold the laws of a Federal Constitution formed, as Yale-president Timothy Dwight lamented, "without any acknowledgement of God." It also demanded that he maneuver a world of eastern elites where deism and cosmopolitanism was fashionable.[4]

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[3]Jackson served one term as a Tennessee Senator in 1796. For public pieties, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*, (Chicago, 1984); *idem*., "The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture in the North During the Second Party System," *The Journal of American History*, (March 1991), Vol. 77, No. 4, 1216-1239; Richard J. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven, 1993); Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*, (Chapel Hill, 1998), 71-103; Norma Basch, "Marriages, Morals, and Politics in the Election of 1828," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (Dec. 1993), 895-6, 906.

[4] Timothy Dwight quoted in Harry S. Stout, "Rhetoric and Reality in the Early Republic: The Case of the Federalist Clergy," in Mark Noll and Luke E. Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the President* (New York, 2007), 29-30. Also see Jonathan D. Sassi, *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolution New England Clergy* (New York, 2001), 103.

Worse for Rachel, Jackson's ability to compete within this external world of national politics depended on her cooperation. Starting in 1823, Jackson's campaigns constructed a persona for Rachel meant to broaden his appeal beyond Tennessee and thereby make Jackson and his family look presidential. These publications domesticated Rachel to resemble the genteel women of Washington City who made her so uncomfortable. Such portrayals downplayed Rachel's common manners and passionate religiosity.

In 1827, Ezra Stiles Ely tried to forge a bond between Rachel's evangelicalism and Jackson's focus on the presidency by proposing a "Christian political party." Ely maintained that faith had to undergird politics for Americans to save their new nation from spiritual destruction. He urged evangelical support for Jackson for many of them distrusted John Quincy Adams, a Unitarian. Ely presented this idea most forcefully in a July 4 sermon at the Pine Street Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. The sermon quickly appeared as a pamphlet and Ely reprinted it several times in his newspaper, *The Philadelphian*.

Many Americans identified as "evangelicals," a term that denoted acceptance of Biblical authority, the emotional pursuit of salvation through the new birth, and proselytizing to others. Some evangelicals had embraced the doctrine of every soul having a free will who could seek and achieve salvation. Most Presbyterians and Congregationalists saw themselves as "evangelicals," but they committed to the Calvinist doctrine of human depravity and God's absolute sovereignty, which limited salvation to a special few chosen by God.

Presbyterians like Rachel and Ely clung to Calvinism but wove in newer emphases on individual salvation as within the reach of all. Yet, they maintained a fearful suspicion of

theological liberalism and clung to the concept of redemptive violence, which had become controversial in genteel circles.[5]

Ely's support bolstered the image of Jackson as a benevolent statesman. The endorsement of a prominent Yale-trained pastor from Philadelphia helped Jackson appeal to northern evangelicals. Meanwhile, Rachel continued to recruit Jackson as a submissive servant in God's spiritual army and nudge him towards emotional piety. However, her efforts remained hidden within their household. In campaign literature, Rachel appeared as an "innocent" and passive woman, too gentle to participate in politics or pressure her husband.[6]

Exile in ungodly Pensacola had tested Rachel's commitment to remaining a passive wife. Her society deemed submission necessary to cultivate what Rachel referred to as "spiritual obedience" to the Lord. But with submission, came weakness and vulnerability, particularly to the corrupting influences that Rachel felt in Pensacola and New Orleans. "Far from God," Rachel feared that she might not prove strong enough to resist the prevailing savagery.[7]

By surviving her exile, Rachel believed that she had strengthened her spirit. Although social and cultural norms expected passivity, pious women could endure great suffering to

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[5] Ruth H. Bloch, "Religion and Ideological Change in the American Revolution," in Noll and Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics.*

[6] Historians have simply noted that conservative Presbyterians typically supported Jackson as the Second Party System got underway. But they have never explored why, especially since these figures also supported moral reform movements embraced by evangelicals who supported the Whigs. See Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*, 166; Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*, 112.

[7] R. Jackson to M.M. Carswell, Nov. 29, 1819, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, July 23, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5. For feminine submission, see Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion," in Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York, 1974), 137-157; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, Second Edition (New Haven, 1997), 139-141; *idem.*, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," 20; Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics & Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England*, (Ithaca, 1994), 46-74, 108-144; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1978.)

demonstrate their commitment to God. Women might grieve in the present but "the result is for our good," Rachel maintained. It brought her closer to "the prosperity of zion."[8]

Rachel and other women learned that lesson from the 1682 captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson, which remained popular throughout the early nineteenth-century. Rowlandson had endured captivity among Native Americans during King Philip's War (1675-1676). Because she had suffered, Rowlandson obtained a small space within Puritan New England's rigid gender code, which ordinarily discouraged women from speaking in public, to publish her experiences. In *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God,* Rowlandson offered her story "to all that desires to know the Lord's doings to, and dealings." Confident in His absolute rule, Rowlandson identified God as the real actor in her narrative. He had guided her during her captivity, but for the first time, she could relay "the Lord's doings" herself.[9]

Rowlandson remained a model of female Christian piety into the early nineteenth century. Exploring the question of American identity, many looked to the colonial victory in King Philip's War. As a result, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* maintained a dominant place in eighteenth and nineteenth-century American culture. Whether or not Rachel read Rowlandson's narrative, her lessons of female fragility, suffering, and vulnerability featured prominently in Rachel's letters. Like Rowlandson, Rachel used these tropes to cloak her own influence as submission to God's will.[10]

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[8] R. Jackson to M.M. Carswell, Nov. 29, 1819, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
[9] Neal Salisbury, editor, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed,* by Mary Rowlandson, (Boston, 1997), 50, 37-38; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, 1998), 125-149.
[10]The story was also so popular that most Americans, and even many British readers, knew it. For Rowlandson's narrative in nineteenth-century America, see Barbara Cutter, "The Female Indian Killer Memorialized: Hannah Duston and the Nineteenth-Century Feminization of American Violence," *Journal of Women's History,* Vol. 20, No. 2, (Summer 2008), 27, n.1; Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York, 1985), 63. For a broader interest in King Philip's War in the early

Traditional Christian doctrine discouraged women from speaking with authority, and especially in public, about spiritual matters. Bans on women's preaching continued in most denominations. But the nineteenth-century also produced the "feminization of American religion," which included identifying women as superior to men in their religious virtue--a claim alien to Rowlandson's Puritanism. Whereas Rowlandson's seventeenth-century society saw husbands and wives as spiritual equals, by the nineteenth-century, wives and mothers—more than husbands and fathers—became responsible for the family's spiritual well-being.[11]

Some Presbyterians even promoted women as active missionaries. Most scholarship on women in the missionary movement maintains that before 1861, women participated only as wives. But in 1827, *The Philadelphian,* which Rachel subscribed to, published a sermon

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republican era, see Jill Lepore, "Remembering American Frontiers: King Philip's War and the American Imagination," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830,* eds. Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika Teute, (Chapel Hill, 1998); Daniel R. Mandell, *King Philip's War: Colonial Expansion, Native Resistance, and the End of Indian Sovereignty,* (Baltimore, 2010), 139-141. Historian Lewis O. Saum has identified the period from 1800-1860 more broadly as influenced by "vestigial Puritanism," which helps explain the renaissance of literature and stories from King Philip's War. See Saum, *The Popular Mood in Pre-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn., 1980.) For Rowlandson's narrative in Britain and the wider British Empire, see Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (New York, 2004), 137-67. After Martha Crawley's captivity, and the distribution of an 1815 captivity narrative touting Jackson as the savior of Mary Smith, a woman taken captive by the Kickpaoo, Rachel was probably similarly aware of Rowlandson's original captivity story. For Martha Crawley's captivity, see Chapter 3. Also see *An affecting narrative of the captivity and sufferings of Mrs. Mary Smith: who with her husband and three daughters, were taken prisoners by the Indians, in August last (1814) and after enduring the most cruel hardships and torture of mind for sixty days (in which time she witnessed the tragical death of her husband and helpless children) was fortunately rescued from the merciless hands of the savages by a detached party from the army of the brave General Jackson: now commanding at New-Orleans,* (Providence, 1815), at Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[11] For women's public speech in Puritan society as an act of subversion. See Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue*: *The Politics of Speech in Early New England* (New York, 1997); Carol F. Klassen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1987.) For the "feminization of American religion," see Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion," 137-142. This was part of the broader feminization of religious virtue in the Revolutionary era. See Ruth Bloch, "The Gendered Meaning of Virtue in Revolutionary America," *Signs,* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1987), 37-58. Yet, even in colonial New England, women still made up the majority of church-goers. See Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives*: *Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York, 1991), 215. Writing about the "feminization" of American religion, Welter also emphasizes a greater emphasis on the feminine trait of submissive. But historian Sue Juster notes that feminine submission to God was a major feature in colonial-era Baptism and Methodism. She also notes that among Methodists, women were seen as corrupting influences in the post-revolutionary era. See Juster, *Disorderly Women,* 46-74, 108-144.

preached by a Delaware pastor to the "New Castle Women's Missionary School." He urged devout women to disregard opposition from impious men and join the foreign mission movement as teachers and domestic workers.[12]

In 1820, Laura Weld described how Brainerd, the Presbyterian mission to the Cherokee, employed single or unescorted women as teachers without marital or familial ties to the mission. As the wife of William Potter, a missionary there, Weld taught domestic skills to Cherokee girls. She also hoped to help them reach salvation. Weld noted the presence of a "Mrs. Paine" from New York, who was "very wealthy" and frequently left her husband to travel with her four sons to work at Brainerd. Weld also reported that another woman used the mission as a refuge to flee from an abusive husband. While recognizing white women's contributions to the mission, Weld downplayed her own influence. She confided to a cousin, "I am sensible that I do not possess the requisite qualifications for so important a station."[13]

Weld knew that the Presbyterian Church would never provide women with ministerial training. "In carrying on the work of meditation, Jesus Christ has committed the office of the ministry to *men*," Gideon Blackburn preached. Men "feel all the common interests of the family" but can nevertheless "mingle their feelings and sympathies; and especially in the great work of

[12] For women in the missionary movement, see Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could": Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 5 (Winter 1978), 626. For women in late nineteenth-century missionary organizations to native peoples, see Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, 2011.) Recently, Emily Conroy-Katz has incorporated more women into the history of early republican era missions. See Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca, 2015.) For the women's missionary school, see "What Can a Woman Do?" in *The Philadelphian*, Jan. 26, 1827, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, hereafter LOC.

[13] Weld did not say explicitly what Paine did there. Most likely, she undertook a combination of teaching and domestic work, as most women there did. See Laura Weld Potter to Olive Nichols, Sept. 10, 1820, in William Potter Papers, 1885, Presbyterian Historical Society, (hereafter PHS), Philadelphia, PA. Also see Conroy-Katz, *Christian Imperialism.*

redemption." Ely assured Philadelphian women, "The providence of God has not called you to the public ministration of the word."[14]

While women could not lead congregations as ministers, they could inspire individuals, especially their own family, to heed ministerial teachings. Ely promised that women could preserve their "delicacy and character" to serve God and bear children as their primary duty. Once a woman had children, she needed to guide the spirits of her family and occasionally, extend her religious influence beyond "her hearth."[15]

As Christian mothers and wives, women had an important role to play in spreading the gospel before the Day of Judgment, which nineteenth-century evangelicals believed was close at hand. Ely implored women to teach Christianity to their children and "make successful appeals to your brothers, fathers, and husbands" to promote piety and support women's Bible and missionary societies. Only then could women rest assured that God would "say in commendation of each of you, "*she hath done what she could."*[16]

For devout women, these teachings produced a tension between active and passive participation in the missionary movement. Leaders told women that God had not "made" them for the public ministry. Nevertheless, they should act as missionaries within the family and their community. To evangelize, even to one's own family, women had to possess faith in their

[14] Gideon Blackburn, *A Sermon on the Duty of the Church, To Prepare In Her Bosom, Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry,* (Louisville, 1825), 4, PHS, Philadelphia, PA.; Ezra Stiles Ely, *Circular to the Ladies of the Presbyterian Congregation*, (Philadelphia, 1820) PHS, Philadelphia, PA.
[15] Ely, *Circular to the Ladies,* PHS, Philadelphia, PA; "What can a woman do?" in *The Philadelphian,* Jan. 26, 1827, LOC, Philadelphia, PA.
[16] Ezra Stiles Ely to R. Jackson, Oct. 22, 1819, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Presidential Papers Series*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., reel 28; Ely, *Circular to the Ladies of the Presbyterian Congregation.* Also see Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could," 638. For millennialism, see Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756-1800* (New York, 1988. Ely, *Circular to the Ladies of the Presbyterian Congregation;* Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could," 638.

knowledge of, and commitment to, the gospel. By exercising her influence in private, Rachel's missionary work followed, rather than challenged, gender conventions. She felt righteous enough to lead others to Christ only because her suffering had evoked complete submission to, and belief in, God's will. Rachel never violated bans against evangelizing in public or claimed official leadership. She maintained proper decorum by exerting influence through the conventional roles ascribed to wives and mothers. After she had "fought the good fight" in her own soul, Rachel felt certain of her ability to exhort Jackson to advance Christianity through his public duties.[17]

After returning to Nashville from Pensacola, Rachel increased her efforts to exert religious influence over Jackson, as Ely had urged. However, Jackson's 1823 appointment to the Senate meant that she had to do so from afar. Sometime in late October, Jackson left the Hermitage and, like most Congressmen, left his wife behind. Jackson pressed Rachel to remain cheerful in his absence and muster the peaceful disposition expected of genteel women. Yet, Jackson anticipated that any attempt to get Rachel to "dispel all gloomy thoughts" would prove "useless."[18]

From Rachel's perspective, Jackson's appointment to the Senate separated them during what she believed were their final years on earth. At fifty-six years old, both Rachel and Jackson

[17] R. Jackson to Margaretta Carswell, March 13, 1820, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. As Daniel Walker Howe notes, "the essence of evangelical commitment to Christ is that is undertaken voluntarily, consciously, and responsibly, by the individual for himself or herself." See Howe, "The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture," 1220.

[18] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, [Nov. 1823], in "Letters of Andrew Jackson," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 3, Feb. 1933, 119-120; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, May 25, 1824, from *Gallery of History*, via Laura-Eve Moss of the Jackson Papers. Women stayed behind for a host of reasons including personal preference, to tend to family and business affairs, and because of a notion that 1820s Washington City was a city too unsavory for genteel ladies. See Rosemarie Zagarri, "The Family Factor: Congressmen, Turnover, and the Burden of Public Service in the Early American Republic," *Journal of the Early American Republic* Vol 33, No. 2 (Summer 2013) 283-316.

suffered from many ailments. In Jackson's case, the strain of his demanding campaigns against the Muscogee and Seminole produced chronic pain and diarrhea. In addition, his 1806 duel with Charles Dickinson had left a bullet lodged in his chest and too dangerously near his spine for removal. Jackson's ailments concerned Rachel, as she bemoaned her own weakening physical condition. Most Christian women believed that a weakening body necessitated a bolstering of the soul. For instance, while in Pensacola, crying nightly "for zion," Rachel wrote to her brother, "no wonder my health is Delicate."[19]

By the 1840s, male commentators maintained that poor health had become "fashionable" among white women. They charged that women manipulated illness to illustrate gentility and absolve themselves from housework. Yet, some women, such as Catharine Beecher, connected sickness to femininity. Beecher noted that women's symptoms remained "female complaints" of nervousness and headaches, which physicians linked to female sexual organs.[20]

Frail health, combined with the arduous journey between Nashville and Washington City, meant that whenever Jackson left home, he and Rachel feared that they might never see each other again. In December 1823, Jackson arrived in Washington during cold weather and falling snow. After struggling with a bad cough, Jackson confessed to her, "This separation has been more severe to me than any other." By February, Jackson could only "trust in god we will be permitted once more to meet, as long as life lasts." Deeming another separation unendurable, he

[19] For Jackson's health, see A. Jackson to Dr. James Gadsen, May 2, 1822, *PAJDE*, 5; Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (Baltimore, 1981), 1-3. For Rachel's health, see R. Jackson to John Donelson, August 25, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5. After learning about Rachel's latest "indisposition" in 1823, Jackson reminded her, "your health much depend upon your keeping your mind calm & at ease, & I pray you do so." See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 21, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5. Also see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, March 27, 1824, in Bassett, *CAJ:* 3, 241. For women's piety and health, see Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, 88-93.
[20] Ann Douglas Wood, "The Fashionable Diseases: Women's Complaints and their Treatment in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised,* eds. Hartman and Banner, 1-3.

made plans to bring Rachel to Washington. "At my time of life it is disagreeable," Rachel confided to a friend. Still, "if the Almighty wills it, with humble submission I can say Amen to the decree."[21]

Despite their distance, Jackson depended on Rachel's support, although she disapproved of his political career. Rachel had supported Jackson's military campaigns, for he had served God by delivering swift defeats to the heathen Muscogee and Seminole. Thereafter, however, Rachel expected Jackson to stay home, where he could develop his personal piety in preparation for eternity. Entering the ungodly world of national politics and Washington society contradicted Rachel's goals for Jackson.

Feeling guilty over his absence, Jackson tried to assure Rachel that he was developing his piety. In 1823, he began attending church services, which he dutifully reported to Rachel. He also assured her that he shared her disgust with the immoral spectacle of Washington society.

Following James Madison's 1808 election to the presidency, his sociable wife, Dolley Payne Todd, established what one historian has referred to as a form of "parlor politics." The term describes how elite Washington women used their domestic sphere of parties, galas, and informal social visits to politick on their husband's behalf. Men found "parlor politics" useful because the era's political culture mandated that politicians never engage directly in lobbying. Dolley and John Quincy Adams's wife, Louisa Catharine, proved particularly adept at deploying their skills as hostesses to promote their husbands' political goals.[22]

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[21] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 11, 1823, *Huntington Library Bulletin*, 121-122; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 7, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 12, 1824, owned by the Hermitage, Nashville, TN. In file of recent acquisitions by the *Papers of Andrew Jackson* at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Thanks to Tom Coens for passing the letter along to me. R. Jackson to Laitia Chambers, Aug. 12, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.

[22]Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville, 2000); *idem., A Perfect Union: Dolley Madison and the Creation of the American Nation,* (New

The culture of "parlor politics" placed a premium on the very social engagements that Rachel and Jackson disliked and distrusted. A stern outsider, Jackson posed as the independent republican who would never adapt to the wheeling and dealing mores of Washington society. "There is nothing done here but Vissitting," Jackson complained to Rachel. "You know how much I was disgusted with those scenes when you & I were here," he added, referring to an earlier trip to the city. "It has increased instead of diminishing."[23]

Yet in December, John Henry Eaton presented Jackson as an active partygoer in a letter to Rachel. After updating her on Jackson's health, Eaton cited Jackson's "many visits" to "the Ladies as the gentlemen." "He is constantly in motion to some Dinner party or other," Eaton continued, "and to night stands engaged at a large Dancing party at Genl Browns." In a hastily-added postscript, Jackson assured Rachel that Washington's culture of drinking and dancing had not seduced him: "the enclosed information is all true but highly coloured as it respects the dining & visits."[24]

As a new, ambitious Congressman, "dining & vissits" proved necessary to gain allies. Writing to Rachel, Jackson justified his occasional appearances at parties as unavoidable for "as yet I cannot free myself from them." On December 28, he reported that Louisa Adams had invited him to an extravagant party she was hosting in his honor. "To this party I will have to go," Jackson admitted. But he promised Rachel, "it will be the only party I mean to attend this winter."[25]

York, 2007); Margery M. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine: The Other Mrs. Adams* (New Haven, 2014); Louisa Thomas, *Louisa: The Extraordinary Life of Mrs. Adams* (New York, 2016.)

[23] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 7, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5.

[24] John Henry Eaton to R. Jackson, Dec. 18, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5.

[25] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 28, 1823, Bassett, *CAJ:* 3, 219-220. According to Louisa Adams, Jackson left the party early. See Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 175-182.

By the New Year, Jackson refused most invitations that he received. Writing to Rachel, Eaton conceded that Jackson had attended another party, hosted by Floride, the wife of Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. Still, Jackson "has declined altogether going out of evenings; and will only go out once again to Mrs. Monroe's drawing room." Meanwhile, Jackson attended church services in Washington. After arriving in December 1823, he recounted weekly trips to Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist services to Rachel. Older, pious women, including Elizabeth Courts Love Watson and the wife of Jackson's boarder, William O'Neale, accompanied him. "So my dear...I spend my Sundays & leisure hours agreeably, & I hope profitably," Jackson wrote.[26]

Rachel arrived in Washington in December 1824 after a tiring twenty-seven day journey. She relayed her impressions of the city and Jackson's famous friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, to Elizabeth Kingsley. Because Lafayette ensured that "all the parties he goes to, never appear to have any effect on him," Rachel found him "an extraordinary man." As to the city, Rachel lamented that as in New Orleans, "the extravagance is in dressing and running to parties." Fortunately, however, Rachel noted that residents "regard the Sabbath." She also found a Presbyterian church to attend, run by Daniel Baker, "a fine man, a plain, good preacher."[27]

Rachel regarded the impious city as a test of her faith. She assured Kingsley, "Don't be afraid of my giving way to those vain things," referring to the plays, balls, and parties that she received invitations to. "I can do all things in Christ, who strengtheneth me," Rachel asserted,

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[26] John Henry Eaton to R. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5. Also see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 6, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5, where Jackson emphasizes that he was "obliged" to go to these parties, and A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 28, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3, where Jackson assures Rachel that rumors of his intoxication are false. A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 7, 1823, Dec. 11, 1823, and Dec. 21, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 28, 1823, Bassett, *CAJ:* 3, 219-220. For Jackson's church attendance in 1824, see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Jan. 5. 1824, April 5, 1824, Bassett, *CAJ:* 3, 222, 244; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec, 21, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5.

[27] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, Dec. 23, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.

"The play-actors sent me a letter, requesting my countenance to them. No. A ticket to balls and parties. No. not one." As a savvy political strategist, Eaton probably worried that Rachel's refusals reflected poorly on Jackson among the Washington elite, whose support the general sought in the coming presidential election. But, according to Rachel, Jackson "encourages me in my course." She spent her days at church. "Glory to God for the privilege. Not a day or night but there is the church opened for prayer," she rejoiced.[28]

For Rachel and most evangelicals, the elite men and women who ran Washington approached infidelity. Trying to fashion themselves as cosmopolitan, many adopted Enlightenment-era ideas about the innate goodness of man and scientific reason as superior to scriptural revelation or emotional religious experience. Most attended church services as a social duty rather than as a pious imperative. As Eaton confided to Rachel, politicians in Washington "are so depraved as scarcely even to go to church, unless to the Capitol where visits are made rather for the purpose of shewing ones self, than that any pious feeling prompts." Eaton added, "it has such an air of fashion, and shew to go there; more like going into a theatre than to the house of worship."[29]

Rachel and other evangelicals wondered how Washingtonians could privilege political parties over piety. For some, including Gideon Blackburn, refusal to abide by God's commands had "sunk" the U.S. "into rebellion." He sought "a change of the heart from the common feelings of hostility exercised towards God" in their nation's capital.[30]

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[28] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, Dec. 23, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.
[29] John Henry Eaton to R. Jackson, Feb. 8, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5. Sometimes, Washington men even privileged social visits over church. Evangelicals like Rachel would have been aghast to learn that John Quincy Adams tried to visit New York representative Thomas Hubbard on the Sabbath, only to find that Hubbard was where he was supposed to be: at church. See Allgor, *Parlor Politics*, 123
[30] Gideon Blackburn, *A Sermon on the Duty of the Church, to Prepare in Her Bosom, Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry*, (Louisville, 1820), 5, PHS, Philadelphia, PA.

Although biographers have noted a "mounting religious conviction" in Jackson after 1822, this religiosity proved more emotionally restrained than his wartime correspondence. As a soldier, Jackson had performed the masculine piety of an angry Christian avenger. His frequent references to the Old Testament, Biblical warfare, and the destruction of the Red Stick Muscogees as God's will treated violence as redemptive for Christians. In that role, Jackson aligned with Rachel's own evangelicalism.[31]

As a politician during the 1820s, however, Jackson tempered his pose as an avenging Old Testament patriarch. Instead, he displayed a genteel piety that emphasized benevolence, regular church attendance, and moral restraint. Alongside depictions of Jackson's "benevolent" adoption of Lyncoya, this new public piety helped refine Jackson's image by reimagining him as a virtuous and self-disciplined man. This new public style responded to critics who stressed Jackson's unpredictability, fiery temper, and unrestrained violence. Abstaining from parties further decreased the chance that Jackson would lose his temper and get into trouble. By mid-1824, Jackson's supporters in Harrisburg promoted his newly refined image in their Committee Address to the Republican Party. They noted Jackson's regular church attendance and maintained that in peacetime, General Jackson proved a statesman with a "mild and engaging deportment."[32]

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[31] Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 9-10, 55; Mark Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), 12, 149. Barbara Cutter notes that this emphasis on redemption eventually led to the feminization of U.S. violence by the mid and late nineteenth-century. In this "feminized" violence, women could engage in violence insofar as it followed similar patterns of redemption and adhered to strict notions of what Cutter refers to as "redemptive womanhood." See Cutter, "The Female Indian Killer"; *idem*., *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood, 1830-1865*, (DeKalb, 2003), 7-16.

[32] See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 21, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5 *Address of the Committee of the Harrisburg Convention*, (Philadelphia, 1824), LOC, Philadelphia, PA.

In sum, Jackson and his managers cultivated for him a genteel Christian style that increasingly contrasted with the more traditional and evangelical approach favored by Rachel. An evangelical convert was supposed to commit for life to follow gospel teachings and implore others to do the same, and thereby foster a Christian society on earth before the approaching Day of Last Judgment. Although Jackson attended church services, he had yet to join a church or experience a spiritual rebirth. Rachel also saw no evidence that Jackson used his political influence to protect the Sabbath. On the contrary, she learned that he had traveled on a Sunday, a behavior which also troubled Ezra Stiles Ely and the celebrated preacher, Lyman Beecher. For Rachel, confining one's views "to this world principally and its E[a]rthly injoyments" would never "satisfy it Leaves an empty void" and most importantly, an empty soul.[33]

Jackson's political career relied on Rachel playing the part of the General lady's, a role that Rachel felt compromised her evangelical priorities. At an 1815 New Orleans gala celebrating Jackson's defeat of the British in the War of 1812, Rachel danced awkwardly in clothing picked out for her by the city's cosmopolitan ladies. Astonished that this "dumpling" was the General's wife, these women tried to make over Rachel. Jackson followed in their footsteps by reminding Rachel that she was "a General's lady" and should look the part. Rachel resented having to participate in such "idolatry," as she described it in 1821.[34]

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[33] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Nov. 28, 1823, *PAJDE,* 5; Ezra Stiles Ely to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 28, 1829, *PAJDE,* 7; R. Jackson to M.M. Carswell, Nov. 29, 1819, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Jackson joined the Ephesus church in 1837. See "Membership List," image from Ephesus Presbyterian Church Microfilm, in Andrew Jackson Vertical File, PHS, Philadelphia, PA. Also see Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," 116-117.

[34] This references to Rachel's reception in New Orleans comes from republication of letters in the controversial portrayal of Rachel in Meade Minnigeorde's "Rachel Jackson, an Informal Biography." See "Scrapbook" in Bettie M. Donelson Papers, 1787-1938, Box 5, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN (hereafter TSLA); Minnigerode, "Rachel Jackson, an Informal Biography," in *The Saturday Evening Post,* May 16, 1925, 106. For Jackson's request that Rachel refashion herself, see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Aug. 10, 1814, *PAJDE,* 3. For Rachel's views on New Orleans, see R. Jackson to Elizabeth Kingsley, April 27, 1821, in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. 2, (New York, 1860), 597-8.

That same year, Jackson received a letter from Samuel Ragland Overton, the nephew of his close friend, John Overton, confirming that Pennsylvanians wanted to nominate Jackson for the presidency. Although he had promised Rachel “peacefull domestick retirement,” Jackson accepted the nomination.[35]

During the 1820s, northern voters favored the protective tariff meant to nurture domestic manufacturing. To appeal to northeastern voters, Jackson's supporters constructed the story of Rachel's "Jackson flat." The term referred to a straw bonnet made by two orphan girls in New York City named "Miss Pike" and "Miss Andrews." In March 1823, Robert Patterson, a Pittsburgh businessman who supported Jackson for the presidency, gave the hat to Rachel. Stressing that it was made by "*American* hands" from "*American* materials," Patterson hoped that Rachel would wear it "as an encouragement to *domestic manufactures.*" During the spring and summer of 1823, the story of Rachel's bonnet appeared in newspapers throughout the northern U.S. Editors in ten states, from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire, cited Rachel’s hat as evidence that Jackson was not just a "fighting" candidate but a "*manufacturing*" one, too.[36]

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[35] Samuel Ragland Overton to A. Jackson, Aug. 1, 1821, *PAJDE*, Vol. 5. If Jackson replied, his letter does not survive. A Jackson to R. Jackson, April 6, 1804, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Microfilm Supplement*, eds. Harold Moser et. al., reel 1; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 21, 1814, *PAJDE*, 3.

[36] Robert Patterson to R. Jackson, March 20, 1823, and Robert Patterson to A. Jackson, March 20, 1823, in *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot,* August 23, 1823. *Philadelphia Franklin Gazette,* July 30, 1823; *New York Evening Post,* July 30, 1823; *Baltimore Patriot,* August 2, 1823; *American Mercury* (Hartford), August 5, 1823; *Essex Register* (Salem) August 7, 1823; *Charleston City Gazette,* August 9, 1823; *The Watch-Tower* (Cooperstown) August 11, 1823; *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford) August 12, 1823; *Pittsfield Sun* (Massachusetts) August 14, 1823; *Pittsburgh Gazette,* August 15, 1823; *Cincinnati Advertiser,* August 16, 1823; *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette,* August 18, 1823; *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot,* August 23, 1823; *Niles Weekly Register,* Aug. 2, 1823; *Kentucky Gazette,* August 21, 1823; *Knoxville Register,* August 15, 1823; *New York Spectator,* republished in *Connecticut Courant,* August 12, 1823. In March, the *Richmond Enquirer* noted that Patterson had forwarded a domestically-manufactured hat “to Tennessee, as a present to the lady of General Andrew Jackson.” But the *Enquirer* did not publish the supporting letters, which cast the hat as an emblem of protected American manufacturing. See *Richmond Enquirer,* March 25, 1823.

The newspapers published accompanying letters, allegedly written by Jackson, Rachel, and Patterson. Jackson's letter confirmed his commitment to domestic manufacturing and the protective tariff as a means of preserving American economic independence from Europe. Rachel's letter praised the importance of women's labor and consumption of American manufactures. "I accept the bonnet as an embelm of the sphere in which our sex should move," her letter read. As prolific consumers and producers of American wares, women could prove themselves "useful to our country." The original letters between Rachel, Andrew, and Patterson do not survive but Eaton, William B. Lewis, John Coffee, and John Overton probably helped draft them as part of their efforts to craft Andrew Jackson into a presidential candidate.[37]

For the first time in her life, Rachel appeared as a character in national newspapers with a public stance on political economy and gender roles. None of her surviving letters refer to the hat or how she felt about women's manufacturing and consumption. Given her pious priorities, Rachel probably found the whole affair trifling and uncomfortable. As in New Orleans, Rachel felt uneasy when she had to appear in the public spotlight. She also did not share the patriotism articulated in "her" letter. Rather, Rachel believed that patriotism favored country over God, and thus broached idolatry. Writing to Rachel about his excitement over receiving George

[37]A. Jackson to Roberton Patterson, May 17, 1823, and R. Jackson to Robert Patterson, May 18, 1823, in *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot,* August 23, 1823.The letters in the complete *Andrew Jackson Papers* are copies as they appeared in newspapers. See A. Jackson to Robert Patterson, May 17 and R. Jackson to Robert Patterson, May 18, 1823, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 1770-1845: A Microfilm Supplement,* eds. Harold D. Moser, et. al. (Wilmington, DE, 1986), reel 9. The letters are also not in the *PAJDE,* nor the *CAJ*. I searched for information on the letters in manuscript collections, including the *John Overton Papers*, 1827-1833, and the *John Overton Papers, 1790-1840* in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC; *Dyas Collection of John Coffee Papers, 1770-1917* and the *Murdock Collection of John Overton Papers,* at the TSLA, Nashville, TN. For the political maneuvering of Lewis, Eaton and Overton, see Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Jackson Men with Feet of Clay," *American Historical Review,* 62 (April 1957), 537-551; Gabriel L. Lowe, Jr., "John H. Eaton, Jackson's Campaign Manager," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* 11 (June 1952), 99-147; Frances Clifton, "John Overton as Andrew Jackson's Friend," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* 11 (March 1952), 23-40; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom,* 48-50.

Washington's pistols, Jackson conceded, "I know you will think me Vain." Jackson and Eaton accepted that Rachel wanted a limited role in the election, so they constructed a public image for her. Rachel probably found it disheartening that they had elevated the approval of mortal men over that of her Almighty God.[38]

In the 1824 presidential election, Andrew Jackson competed with John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and William Crawford. In the electoral returns that November, no one candidate obtained a majority in the electoral college returns. This cast the decision to the House of Representatives, where Clay's prominence helped him persuade his fellow members to elect Adams, despite Jackson's plurality of the popular vote. Jackson's supporters charged that Adams and Clay stole the election from Jackson, "the people's choice," in a "corrupt bargain." His supporters insisted that elites deprived Jackson of the presidency because he defended the interests of the "common" white man.[39]

Writing to his friend, John Overton, Jackson believed that the "corrupt bargain" proved another instance in which the federal government betrayed the interests of westerners. "Thus you see here, the voice of the people of the west have been disregarded, and demagogues barter them as sheep in the shambles, for their own views, and personal agrandisement," Jackson alleged. He dubbed Clay, a Kentuckian, "Judas of the West," for supposedly betraying the interests of

[38] A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 6, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.
[39] For Jackson as a man of "the people," see, for instance, *Argus of Western America*, April 18, 1827; "Declaration of Support for General Andrew Jackson Philadelphia, October, 1823," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*, eds. Arthur M. Schelsinger, Jr. and Fred L. Israel (New York, 1971), Vol. 1, 399-400. For the "corrupt bargain," see Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York, 2006), 73-95; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom*, 74-99; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 203-211. For an alternative take, see Donald Ratcliffe, "Popular Preferences in the Presidential Election of 1824," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 34 (Spring 2014), 45-77.

westerners by securing congressional support for Adams from Kentucky, as well as Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and Louisiana. [40]

Rachel was privately relieved at the outcome of the 1824 election. Before the final results were announced, she confessed to her sister that she resented Jackson's candidacy because it took an emotional toll on her and his physical and mental wellbeing. A "Continual uneasy mind keeps him unwell," Rachel wrote of Jackson, "but I saw from the first it was wrong for him to fatigue Himself with Such an important office, Even if He obtains it, in the End it will profit him [n]othing." In May 1825, after Adams secured the election, Rachel admitted to an acquaintance that she would have disliked her duties as First Lady and found little spiritual gratification in such "presidential charms."[41]

After Jackson lost the presidency, Rachel hoped that he might finally retire and seek satisfaction in attending church at home. In 1819, Jackson had purchased the land on which enslaved workers built their home, the Hermitage, located fifteen miles from Nashville. This distance prevented Rachel from participating regularly in the city's religious services. Instead, she relied on sporadic visits from pastors. Occasionally, Gideon Blackburn and Samuel Hodge, a Methodist minister, visited Rachel, while Andrew Hodge, a Presbyterian missionary, included her region in his circuit.[42]

In 1819, the schoolhouse where Andrew Hodge preached burned to the ground. Upon his return from Pensacola, Jackson joined some neighbors, including Lyncoya's tutor, William

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[40] A. Jackson to John Overton, Feb. 10, 1825, *PAJDE*, 6.
[41] R. Jackson to Mary Caffrey, Jan. 27, 1825, and R. Jackson to Katherine Duane Morgan, May 18, 1825, *PAJDE*, 6.
[42] For more on the home, see Mary French Caldwell, *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage: The Story of a Home in the Tennessee Blue-Grass Region, Which, from Pioneer to Log Cabin to Ante-bellum Mansion, Furnished the Background of "Old's Hickory's" Dramatic and Colorful Career,* (Nashville, 1933).
For the church, see Andrew Jackson Vertical File, Church History, PHS, Philadelphia, PA; James E. Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 28, No. 2 (Summer 1969), 113-125.

McKnight, and Col. Edward Ward, to raise funds to construct a new church. After public donations raised $120 of the $800 needed, Jackson, Ward, and five other donors provided the balance. Jackson also allocated three acres of land for the site.[43]

The founding congregation, who included Ward, McKnight, their wives, Rachel, and her sister Mary, named it Ephesus, after the ancient Asian Minor city and church cited in the Book of Revelation. For Rachel, nineteenth-century struggles against "heathen" Native Americans resembled the efforts by the Ephesians to reject "false prophets" and "infidels." In Revelation 2, the Lord praises the Ephesians for sharing His "hatred" of heretics. The scripture also warns Christians to stay vigilant and fear God's rule in the pending Day of Judgment, a warning which resonated strongly with nineteenth-century evangelicals.

The rectangular, brick church measured 50 feet by 30 feet. Wood benches encircled the pulpit and two fireplaces, positioned at either end, provided warmth. While popular myth maintains that Jackson built the church for Rachel, it proved a community endeavor, funded by several donors, who employed the labor of enslaved peoples. As Jackson noted to Rachel, he hoped that the church would "be a means of uniting the neighbourhood in the bonds of christian benevolence, and friendship."[44]

The church's initial emphasis on ecumenicalism reflected frontier conditions and attitudes towards religion. In middle Tennessee, settlements remained scattered and trained pastors proved rare. As a result, settlers often deemphasized denominations in favor of hearing impassioned sermons by diverse preachers who commanded popularity. Interdenominational

[43] The names of these five donors remains unknown. See A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Dec. 21, 1823, *PAJDE*, 5; Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," 114; Caldwell, *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage,* 60-61.
[44] Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," 114. A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 6, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5. Rachel's January 19, 1824 letter to Jackson does not survive.

churches also reflected a growing awareness that sectarian differences mattered less than the common battle against infidelity and theological liberalism.[45]

Still, by 1825, the Ephesus congregation had joined the Presbytery of Shiloh. Under the Jacksons' guidance, the members recruited classically-trained Presbyterian pastors. Ward and McKnight, ordained as the church's first elders, chose William Hume for the dedication. The Scottish Presbyterian Church had sent Hume, originally from Edinburgh, to evangelize in Tennessee, where he developed a close relationship with the Jacksons.[46]

The church also recruited Andrew Hodge to serve as its pastor but it took some time to get Hodge to commit to the role. Meanwhile, Rachel worried. "As when you left us we have no minnister to take charge of this little flock it grieves me from day to day," Rachel wrote to a friend in August 1824. Yet, committed to God's will, she maintained that, "the Lord knows what we are & what is best for us." Once Hodge accepted, Jackson hoped that he, Rachel, and their neighbors would "freely yield" to his teachings.[47]

However, Andrew Jackson's name was conspicuously absent from the church's 1824 membership list. A local resident later recalled that Jackson refused to join the church while he ran for the presidency, lest he appear to violate the Constitutional commitment to the separation

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[45] The 1801 Plan of Union between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches embodied this awareness. See Mark Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 2002)129; Herman Albert Norton, *Religion in Tennessee*, 1777-1945 (Knoxville, 1981), 59-60; Walter Brownlow Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838* (Richmond, 1952), 111; Bradley J. Longfield, *Presbyterians and American Culture: A History* (Louisville, 2013), 57-59. Lyman Beecher also emphasized ecumenical evangelism to bring about the millennium, noting "no *one* denomination can do it." Quoted in Howe, *The Political Culture of the Whigs*, 157.

[46] "History of the Church" written by Rev. Charles Wilson, in Andrew Jackson Vertical File, PHS, Philadelphia, PA; Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," 115. Jackson considered Hume a "pious good man" and affirmed to Rachel, "If such a man's prayers cannot obtain a blessing upon the neighbourhood, I would despair of the efficacy of prayer from any other." A. Jackson to R. Jackson, January 29, 1824, quoted in "The Hermitage Church," 115. Also see A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 6, 1824 and Feb. 20, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.

[47] R. Jackson to Laitia Chambers, Aug. 12, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5; A. Jackson to R. Jackson, Feb. 6, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5.

of church and state. Always willing to challenge legal restrictions that he disagreed with, Jackson was probably more concerned with committing to a particular denomination and alienating other potential supporters.[48]

Rachel strengthened her own engagement with evangelicals at camp meetings and through print. During the mid-1820s, evangelical revivals swept through middle and western Tennessee. In the summer of 1823, Rachel attended a camp meeting with Laitia Chambers and reported on another meeting the following year.[49]

Rachel also subscribed to Ely's *The Philadelphian*, which connected her to international communities of evangelical Presbyterians. The newspaper reported on missionary work in distant places such as Labrador, Hawai'i, and India. It also claimed that unlike Gideon Blackburn's failed mission to the Cherokee, some missionaries were making progress among other Indigenous peoples. Reading vicariously connected early Americans, and especially women isolated at home, to distant communities of fellow believers. The imagined networks facilitated by reading could engender feelings of belonging, connectedness, and even empowerment. Such reading reinvigorated Rachel's evangelicalism with examples of how other white women served God.[50]

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[48] The list included Andrew Hodge's wife, Edward Ward and his wife, William McKnight and his wife, Edward Washington Butler, a former ward of Jackson, and his wife, Rachel, and her sister, Mary Donelson. See Church Membership List from 1839, in Andrew Jackson Vertical File, PHS, Philadelphia, PA. I have not been able to determine the first names of Mrs. Edward Ward or Mrs. William McKnight. Jackson also expressed difficulty at the notion that to become would have to forgive all his enemies, mainly those who challenged him on the battlefield. See James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* (New York, 1860), Vol. 3, 646-47; Arnold, "The Hermitage Church," 116-117. For Jackson and the law, see J.M. Opal, *Avenging the People: Andrew Jackson, the Rule of Law, and American Nationhood* (New York, 2017.)

[49] *The Philadelphian*, Jan. 5, 1827, LCP, Philadelphia, PA. R. Jackson to Laitia Chambers, Aug. 12, 1824, *PAJDE*, 5. Laitia Chambers was from Ireland and likely a relative of Andrew Jackson's family. See William McCully to A. Jackson, Sept. 29, 1821, *PAJDE*, 5.

[50] For reading and refinement, see Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992.) For women's reading as a way to participation in late 19th century U.S. imperialism, see Kristin Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920*, (Chapel Hill,

Meanwhile, Ely warned that in much of the West, "the enemy is overrunning the land and fortifying himself against any future attack." *The Philadelphian* especially feared competition from Unitarianism, a rationalist faith that emphasized the human capacity of reason and the goodness of man. While diminishing Christ's divinity, Unitarianism recast him as a divinely inspired teacher. For evangelicals, and especially Calvinists, this emphasis on human reason rejected God's sovereignty and human depravity, both prerequisites for embracing divine salvation. Now was the time, Ely maintained "to take and keep possession of this field."[51]

In 1828, Jackson and his supporters prepared for a rematch with John Quincy Adams. Although Jackson's campaign organizers again downplayed Rachel's religious fervor, this time Jackson appeared more sympathetic to evangelicals, whom he had mostly ignored in the 1824 election. Supporters promoted him as more theologically reasonable than Adams, a Unitarian.

At the same time, Jackson's opponents resurfaced Rachel's adultery as a contradiction to Jackson's carefully cultivated Christian image. In February 1827, Thomas Arnold, one of Jackson's many critics, published a pamphlet alleging that Jackson "tore from a husband, the wife of his bosom, to whom he had for some years been united in the holy estate of matrimony." Charles Hammond, editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, followed with an equally critical *View of General Jackson's Domestic Relations.* Hammond affirmed that Jackson "seduced" Rachel, who had "fallen from the virtue of chastity." For Hammond, the Jacksons' behavior threatened to

2007), 153-208. Also see Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York, 1985.)

[51] Ezra Stiles Ely, *Narrative on the State of Religion*, (1826), PHS, Philadelphia, PA; *The Philadelphian*, Feb. 22, 1828 and March 28, 1828, LCP, Philadelphia, PA; Ryan McNally, "A Christian Party in Politics: The Reverend Ezra Stiles Ely, Calvinist Theology, and Electoral Politics in Early America," M.A. Thesis, University of West Georgia, 2015, 34-35.

corrupt public morality. “The wife of a distinguished public man, should not only be pure, but unsuspected,” he affirmed, “If her character be stained with suspicion, it affects all around her, the whole community of which she is the head.” Pro-Adams newspapers repeated the charges. The *American Advocate* insisted that Jackson had “prevailed” upon Rachel, “to desert her husband and live with himself in the character of a wife.”[52]

In reply, Jackson's friends accused Adams-supporters of violating domestic privacy with their unseemly and inaccurate discussion of the Jacksons’ marriage. They also crafted a more genteel image of Rachel in *A Letter from the Jackson Committee*. Compiled by John Overton, *A Letter* presented Rachel as a "virtuous," "injured," and "innocent" woman. Rachel's defenders maintained that Robards had “abandoned” her, which made Robards a cruel “enemy of love.” In sharp contrast, Overton presented Jackson as a chivalrous protector, who had saved Rachel from the predatory Robards by marrying her. *A Letter* also manipulated the chronology of the Jacksons’ elopement and pushed it closer to the date of Robards’s 1791 divorce petition submission.[53]

While Adams-supporters tried to cast the Jacksons as immoral, Jackson’s supporters dwelled on the outcome of the 1824 election as corrupt. Adams-supporters sought to discredit

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[52] Thomas Arnold, *Thomas D. Arnold to the Freemen of the Counties of Cocke, Sevier, Blount, Jefferson, Grainger, Claiborne, and Knox* (Knoxville, TN, 1827.) The pamphlet went through at least two editions. See Norma Basch, “Marriages, Morals, and Politics in the Election of 1828,” *Journal of American History,* Vol. 80, No. 3 (Dec. 1993) 897. Hammond, *View of General Jackson’s Domestic Relations, In Reference to his Fitness for the Presidency,* (Cincinnati, 1828), 2, 12. *American Advocate*, May 9, 1827.

[53] See *A Letter From the Jackson Committee of Nashville in Answer to One Similar Committee at Cincinnati, Upon the Subject of Gen. Jackson’s Marriage: Accompanied by Documents in an Appendix, Thereto Annexed* (Nashville, 1827). Conversely, the Adams camp maintained that by violating norms for female sexuality, Rachel had, according to Norma Basch, "forfeited the respect for privacy accorded virtuous women." See, for instance, Ruth H. Bloch, "The American Revolution, Wife Beating, and the Emergent Value of Privacy," *Early American Studies,* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 2007), 223-251; Basch, "Marriage and Morals," 898, 903. For manipulation of the dates, see Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire*, 57-69; Ann Toplovich, “Marriage, Mayhem, and Presidential Politics: The Robards-Jackson Backcountry Scandal,” *Ohio Valley History,* Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 2005), 9.

Jackson by stressing his irregular marriage and excessive violence, expressed in duels, brawls, and unrestrained warfare against Indigenous peoples. In response, Jackson's supporters cast Adams and his allies, especially Henry Clay, as crooked elites who had stolen the 1824 election. By emphasizing privacy and romantic marriage, Jackson-supporters also embraced "separate spheres" ideology, which purported to protect women from the "corrupting" influence of politics by relegating them to the domestic, or private, sphere.[54]

Jackson and Rachel interpreted the attacks as another injustice committed against them, which proved the depravity of their enemies. "All the slander that wickedness can sugest, & falshood invent, has been levelled against me, & my family," Jackson wrote to Ely in May 1827. While Jackson felt victimized, he remained confident that "Truth is mighty & will ultimately prevail." Playing the part of the "innocent" and "injured" woman, Rachel asked Elizabeth Watson, "who has been more cruelly tryed as I have." "My trials hav been severe—the Enemyes of the Genis hav Dipt their arrows in wormwood & gall & sped them at me," she wrote.[55]

While Jackson expressed faith in voters and their ability to discern truth, Rachel saw the attacks as another opportunity to submit to divine will as one who did God's bidding. Privileging spiritual over temporal concerns, she maintained that her "soule Can be a testimony to the truth of that Gospel." By accepting her own innate wickedness without an infusion of divine, saving grace, Rachel welcomed salvation and knew "jesus says in me you shall have peace."[56]

This self-righteousness enabled Rachel to cast her critics as satanic and deserving an eternity in Hell. As with the Indigenous peoples who had attacked her family and rejected

[54] Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 278; Remini, *The Election of 1828*; Basch, "Marriage and Morals."
[55] A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, May 19, 1827, Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, NY; R. Jackson to Elizabeth Courts Watson, July 18, 1827, *PAJDE*, 6
[56] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Courts Watson, July 18, 1827, *PAJDE*, 6.

Blackburn's Christian mission, those who denigrated the pious and unoffending earned God's wrath. "Wo unto them," Rachel wrote about her critics, "theay have Disquietd one that theay had no rite to do theay have offended God and man." Although the slander stung, Rachel maintained that God alone could "Kill the Body & Cast the Soule into Hell fire." Quoting scripture, Rachel believed that each of her enemies inevitably would suffer God's wrath and wish "that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."[57]

The mudslinging of the 1828 campaign enhanced evangelicals' fears that America needed divine redemption. In Tennessee, the Presbyterian minister Samuel Witherspoon Doak interpreted American suffering in the recent War of 1812 as divine punishment for collective sin. "We became too forgetful of our God," Doak asserted. "Sabbath breaking, profane swearing, intoxication, infidelity, the neglect of God's worship, the invention and propagation of new systems of faith, and practice" had become widespread. Evangelicals sought a leader who could inspire Americans to submit to God and renew His sacred covenant with "this Christian nation."[58]

Because of an emphasis on ministerial neutrality, most religious leaders distanced themselves from partisan politics. They encouraged their congregations to promote religiosity in

[57] R. Jackson to Elizabeth Courts Watson, July 18, 1827, *PAJDE*, 6. Rachel quoted Matthew 18:6.
[58] Samuel Witherspoon Doak, *A Sermon Delivered on the 13th of April, 1815. It Being the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Recommended by the President of the United States of America,* (Philadelphia: Joseph Sanderson, 1815.) Doak's sermon was delivered at the Churches of Providence and Mount Bethel in Eastern Tennessee. Also see Arthur J. Stansbury, *God Pleading with America, A Sermon, Delivered on the Late Fast Day, Recommended by the Churches and the President of the United States,* (Goshen, N.Y.: T.B. Cromwell, 1813), both at PHS, Philadelphia, PA; For "this Christian nation," see Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Duty of Christian freemen to elect Christian rulers: a discourse delivered on the fourth of July, 1827, in the Seventh Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1828) 4.

daily life, not just at election time, through the Sabbatarian or missionary movement. Few commented on the 1824 election.[59]

Yet in 1827, Ezra Stiles Ely took the unprecedented step of preaching on the issue in his July 4 sermon at Philadelphia's Pine Street Presbyterian Church. Through newspapers and pamphlets, Ely's sermon, "The Duty of Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers," reached a national audience.[60]

Ely reminded his audience and readers that everyone—including "all leaders"—must serve a God awesome in his total power over their lives. Any attempt to defy God proved futile. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: The Lord shall have them in derision," fix them in "his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure," Ely asserted.[61]

Ely held political leaders to the highest standard. "They are like a city set on a hill which cannot be hid," he explained, "and it is a fact indisputable, that wickedness in high places does more harm than in obscurity." Rejecting any established church, Ely stressed that forced piety compromised "true religion" and violated the separation of church and state. Ely urged that leaders should "search the scriptures, assent to the truth, profess faith in Christ, keep the Sabbath

[59]As Richard Carwardine notes, the Presbyterian Church in the early Second Party System was explicitly wary of pastors affiliating with a single political party. See Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*, 25-7, 122. Donald Ratcliffe has studied the 1824 election extensively. My thanks to him for confirming with me that he had found no evidence of open religious participation or promotion of a particular candidate throughout the 1824 election, except for some references by Quaker and Methodist anti-slavery groups. Religion also does not feature in his book on the subject. See Ratcliffe, *The One-Party Presidential Contest.*

[60] The sermon was republished in *The Philadelphian* on July 7, 1827, July 20, 1827, and later, on Nov. 18, 1831. People quickly wrote in to applaud Ely's message. See for instance, letter from A.D. Montgomery in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, March 25, 1829, and from Abner Hazeltine in Jamestown, New York, Dec. 8, 1829, printed in *The Philadelphian*, May 21, 1829, LOC, Philadelphia, PA.The pamphlet usually receives only a passing mention in histories of evangelicals and politics or Andrew Jackson. See, for instance, Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America,* 112; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 278; Kyle G. Volk, *Moral Majorities and the Making of American Democracy,* (New York, 2014), 28; Sassi, *A Republic of Rightenousness,* 178. For an exception, see Ryan Mcanally, "A Christian Party in Politics" and Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York, 2008), 55.

[61] Ely, *Duty of Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers*, 3.

holy to God, pray in private and in the domestic circle, attend on the public ministry of the word, be baptized, and celebrate the Lord's Supper." To achieve this, he promoted "*a Christian party in politics.*"[62]

In a "Christian party," Ely hoped to unite religion and politics. By 1831, he reported receiving letters from "some prominent men" in New York, asking him to help them form a "Christian party in politics." Ely clarified, "It never was my wish to have formal associations organize." Rather, Ely sought a commitment among national leaders and voters to adopt, avow, and act upon "truly religious principles in all civil matters." In other words, he hoped that men would "be religious in their exercise of civil privileges, and the performance of political duties." Ely argued that his ecumenical Christian party adhered to democratic principles of majority rule. Voting as a Christian could ensure that the U.S. "would never be dishonoured with an avowed infidel in her national cabinet or capitol." Here he referred to the Unitarian John Quincy Adams.[63]

Evangelicals denounced John Quincy Adams as an "infidel" who favored human reason over divine scriptures. While Unitarianism shared the Calvinist emphasis on social order, it diverged from traditional Protestantism in many respects. In particular, Unitarians promoted human reason and moral improvement as the path to salvation from a benevolent, loving, and unified, rather than Trinitarian, God. Unitarianism thrived in the more cosmopolitan cities and towns of New England, which maintained public schools and higher literacy levels. It made little

[62] Ely, *Duty of Christian Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers,* 4-6. This reflected a transition in ministerial teachings as preachers struggled with disestablishment. Ely's father, Zebulon, maintained that civil government ought to act as "an handmaid to religion." Quoted in Sassi, *Republic of Righteousness,* 98-99.
[63] *The Philadelphian*, Nov. 18, 1831, LOC, Philadelphia, PA; Ely, *Duty of Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers*, 32

progress among western settlers, for whom the upheaval and violence of settler colonialism made Calvinism's emphasis on sacrifice, vengeance, and divine will more appealing.[64]

The rise of Unitarianism alarmed evangelicals. In 1828, they feared that reelecting a Unitarian president would spread infidelity throughout the nation. Some voters, such as John Kane, favored the reliably Presbyterian Andrew Jackson, who had rejected "the errors of the Unitarian church," unlike Adams.[65]

Critics charged that Ely preached his sermon in support of Jackson. In response, Ely added an appendix to the 1828 revision of his sermon to discuss his politics. He referred to Rachel, reminding readers that "the politics of the day, include her." Ely affirmed that for twenty-five years, Rachel had proven an "eminently pious woman." Defending her lack of gentility as evidence of her faith, Ely added that Rachel did prefer "a *prayer-meeting to a palace*." Her pious priorities should not "s*ink* her in the estimation of any who do not forget their religion in their politics."[66]

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[64] Noll, *America's God*, 284; Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*, 57-59. Also see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (Cambridge, MA, 1970). *The Philadelphian* reported some spread of Unitarianism into Ohio in the late 1820s and early 1830s but this likely proved alarmist since Unitarianism generally remained segregated to New England. Also see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 221; Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (New York, 2009) 605-606, which notes the slow growth of religion in slave-holding regions and where many migrated westward.

[65] John K. Kane, *A Candid View of the Presidential Question, by a Pennsylvanian,* (Philadelphia, 1828), 5, LOC, Philadelphia, PA. For fears of Unitarianism, see *The Philadelphian*, March 28, 1828, LOC, Philadelphia, PA. Also see Feb. 22, 1828 for successful accounts of leading Christians away from Unitarianism. Noll, *America's God*, 286; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 278; Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*, 112. Schlereth, *An Age of Infidels,* 45-76; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith,* 219-221; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 602-604. Amanda Porterfield highlights how dire many evangelicals considered the threat of religious doubt. See Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (Chicago, 2012). She notes a backlash whereby early religious skepticism gave way by the nineteenth-century to increasing linkages between religion and politics.

[66] *A Letter from the Jackson Committee*, 15; Ely, *Duty of Freemen to Elect Christian Rulers*, 31.

Ely also refuted the charge that John Harris, one of six men Jackson executed in 1815 for desertion, had been a Baptist preacher. Ely assured readers that "no man treats those who may lawfully claim to be ministers of Christ with more respect" than Jackson. Stressing "lawfulness," Ely dismissed Harris as a "*pretended* ambassador of Christ," who had committed crimes "that the Divine Lawgiver of Israel punished with death." As a result, "who can blame him," Ely asked, in reference to Jackson's decision to kill Harris. [67]

In 1828, George Evans published an anonymous pamphlet that refuted Ely's characterization of Jackson as an "avowed" Christian. The author insisted sarcastically that Ely "must have been wrapped in astonishment, when he first heard of the unexpected and amazing piety" of Jackson, "a ferocious warrior." As to Rachel's piety, the author pointed out that Harris was also pious "but that did not save him from the vengeance of general Jackson." The author concluded by reminding readers that with "cold blood and merciless cruelty," Jackson had murdered 1,000 Muscogee men, women, and children at the Battle of Tohopeka.[68]

Such criticism failed to diminish Jackson's popularity among evangelicals who feared Native American prophets, Unitarianism, deism, and liberal theology. Pro-Jackson publications, such as the *U.S. Telegraph* and Eaton's campaign biographies, added to Ely's portrayal by claiming that Jackson entertained ministers at his home, distributed religious tracts, and asked

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[67] July 7, 1827, The *Philadelphian*; Ely, *Duty of Freemen to Elect Christian Leaders*, 17. To prove Jackson's "Christianity," Ely also quoted from letters that Jackson had sent him, urging Ely to help reinstate Thomas Craighead, an old friend and former Presbyterian pastor, to the church.

[68] *Gen. Jackson and the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely* (New York, 1828), 2-3, 8. An "impartial" history of Jackson similarly concluded that regarding the Battle of Tohopeka, "it must be confessed, that General Jackson sullied the American military character, on this occasion, by the cruelty of his massacre of unresisting fugitives, and helpless Indians, who were in the condition of prisoners." Similarly, the author noted that in the First Seminole War, Jackson was justified in killing Arbuthnot and Ambrister, but not Seminole prophets. "The poor confiding Indians" who allied with the two Brits "would have been spared if they had thus fallen into the power of any other American officer." See *An Impartial and True History of the Life and Services of Major General Andrew Jackson,* (n.p., 1828), 7, 22. The pamphlet made no mention of Rachel or Lyncoya.

chaplains "to pray every minute" during the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. Indeed, he "*always says grace at meals,*" a Virginia newspaper added. Pastors from Tennessee to New York proclaimed their faith that Jackson "will come out more decidedly in favour of religion than any other of the candidates." Deploying the story of Lyncoya's adoption, Eaton reassured voters that although Jackson avenged injustice, "amidst the general carnage" of warfare, he "is seen acting as a Christian, and sympathizing in others' woes." [69]

Some northeastern pastors, including Lyman Beecher and Jeremiah Evarts, saw Jackson's victory in the 1828 election as "a great blessing." Most historians remember Beecher and Evarts for their future affiliation with the Whig party, which some evangelicals came to regard as the party of moral rectitude during the 1830s. In particular, Evarts led evangelical opposition to Indian Removal. But in 1828, many of them had considered infidelity the primary threat to evangelical Christianity and so they had then regarded Jackson as a truer Christian than Adams.[70]

In 1828, most evangelicals saw Jackson as the best bulwark against infidelity. Beecher affirmed that the general could become "a great blessing to the civil & religious interests of the

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[69] *An Impartial and True History of the Life and Services of Major General Andrew Jackson,* 1; *Presidential Election, No. XIV-XVI* (Richmond, 1828), 23; *U.S. Telegraph,* Sept. 17, 1828; Sept. 19, 1828; *Literary Cadet*, Dec. 8, 1827; "General Jackson and the Presbyterians," in the *Reformer* Jan. 1, 1825, pg. 12. *An Impartial History* noted that Jackson, as a Tennessee Congressman, voted against religious oath-taking for office-holders, see page 3. Akin to Ely and other evangelicals' emphasis on the separation of church and state as a way to foster "true religion," this point did not detract from depictions of Jackson as a "Christian." The *Richmond Enquirer* also reported that Jackson supporters claimed to have "produced a certificate (ostensibly proceeding from a Presbyterian clergyman,) that General Jackson "*is not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.*" I've found no evidence of this certificate, however. See *Presidential Election, No. XIV, XVI.* John Henry Eaton, *The life of Major General Andrew Jackson: Comprising a History of the War in the South: from the Commencement of the Creek campaign to the Termination of Hostilities Before New Orleans,* (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, 1828), 272.

[70] Lyman Beecher to Ezra Stiles Ely, Jan. 20, 1829, in Ezra Stiles Ely to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 28, 1829, *PAJDE,* 7; Howe, "The Evangelical Movement in Political Culture"; *idem., The Political Culture of the American Whigs;* Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era,* (New York, 1986), 10, 47. For Evarts, see John A. Andrew III, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens, 1992.)

nation." Evarts posited that Jackson would become the first president since George Washington with a good chance of ascending to Heaven. Ely wrote to congratulate Jackson and confirmed "the earnest desire of my heart that you may prove the best President who ever acted as Chief Magistrate of our nation."[71]

Although she relished Jackson's 1824 loss, Rachel welcomed his 1828 victory because it promoted Ely's "Christian Party," vindicated her name, and confirmed God's victory over her enemies. She attributed the victory to "Providence," and noted that "it has pleased heaven to fix our destiny" in Washington and the presidential mansion.[72]

Still, Rachel kept Washington society in suspense as to whether she would relocate there to fulfill her new role as First Lady. On December 7, Eaton wrote from Washington to urge Rachel to embrace that role. He assured her that the storm of slander had subsided. Her absence from Washington would cause considerable disappointment and more importantly, "Your persecutors then may chuckle, & say that they have driven you from the field of your husbands honors…By all means then come on, & as you have had to bear with him the reproaches of foes, participate with him in the greetings of his friends."[73]

In fact, Rachel sought vengeance as the First Lady. Writing to a "Mrs. Douglas" on December 3, Rachel insisted, "were it not for the many base attempts that have been made to

[71] Lyman Beecher to Ezra Stiles Ely, Jan. 20, 1829, in Ezra Stiles Ely to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 28, 1829, *PAJDE,* 7. Evarts quoted in Richard R. John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture," *Journal of the Early Republic,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990), 565. In his study of Beecher, Daniel Walker Howe notes that in the late 1820s and early 1830s, Beecher hoped to make inroads with Old School Calvinists to create an "evangelical united front." See Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs, 161-162. Also see Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America,* 67, 122-3; Volk, *Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy,* 3, 17-18; Noll, *America's God*, 312.
[72] R. Jackson to Louise Moreau Davezac de Lassy Lingston, Dec. 1, 1828, *PAJDE,* 6.
[73] John Henry Eaton to R. Jackson, Dec. 7, 1828, *PAJDE,* 6.

defame the characters of my husband and myself, and the ungrateful exertions that were used to prevent his election, [I c]ould harldy be induced to leave this peaceful & delightful [spo]t." [74]

The 1820s had proven a triumph for Rachel over her many enemies—from ungodly Floridians to Washington partisans. Yet Jackson's victory in the 1828 election had thrust Rachel into another world that she considered ungodly. Although Rachel felt emboldened in her faith, she feared what Washington politics and the presidency would bring next.

[74] R. Jackson to Mrs. L.A.W. Douglas, Dec. 8, 1828, *PAJDE*, 6.

Epilogue: "What can a woman do"?

On December 17, 1828, Rachel fell ill. Writing to Richard Keith Call, Jackson reported that Rachel had suffered an attack that sent pain searing through her chest, contracted her heart, and almost suffocated her. Jackson solicited the services of Dr. Samuel Hogg, who bled and medicated Rachel. The treatment did not work. Rachel's situation worsened, although Jackson proved reluctant to admit it. He asserted that "providence" would restore her health in time for their mid-January departure to Washington. Four days later, Rachel died.[1]

On December 23, Reverend William Hume delivered Rachel's funeral oration at the Ephesus church. His sermon reflected the romanticization of death as something pious women should welcome, not fear. Such sermons often ended by rejoicing that women's spiritual "perfection" earned them an eternity in the Kingdom of Heaven.[2]

Hume acknowledged that Jackson's loss necessitated "sympathy," but he cautioned listeners against mourning Rachel's death. Hume affirmed that a person's moral discipline suggested that God had touched him or her with His grace. Confident in Rachel's spiritual

[1] Andrew Jackson to Francis Preston, Dec. 18, 1828, in Andrew Jackson Papers, Presidential Series, Library of Congress (hereafter *PAJPP*), reel 36; A. Jackson to Richard Keith Call, Dec. 22, 1828, *PAJDE*, 6.

[2] The day was supposed to be one of celebration for Jackson's election to the presidency and Jackson and Andrew Jackson Donelson had already prepared speeches for celebrations in Nashville. See "Address and Speech" in "Calendar, 1828" *PAJDE*, 6. Rachel's death fell at the cusp of a transition towards the nineteenth-century cult of sentimental death, which privileged notions of how one's death affected the living. Hume's sermon did not reflect this trend but by romanticizing death, it did build on earlier sermons, which understood evangelical women's death as a moment of sweet deliverance. See Desiree Henderson, "The Imperfect Dead: Mourning Women in Eighteenth-Century Oration and Fiction," *Early American Literature*, Vol. 39, No. 3, (2004) 487-509; David Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 167-173.

"virtues," Hume envisaged that she "now dwells in the mansions of glory" with "that Savior whom she loved and served while she was a pilgrim on earth."[3]

Hume presented her as an evangelical woman who privileged spiritual eternity over temporal concerns. Rachel, Hume insisted, accepted "the depravity of human nature" and "relied on the spirit of God alone." She knew that "God will not acquit the sinner from condemnation," a necessary realization for salvation. Accepting her wickedness, Rachel spent her life "meek and lowly of heart" and exhibited an "unusual obedience to His commands and by an humble submission to His providence." As a result, Rachel often shed "tears of penitence" when she feared that she had sinned. More often, she cried for "the dangerous condition of those around her, who seemed to be entirely careless about a future state."[4]

Rachel had spent her life battling against temptation and ungodliness but in Hume's telling, she triumphed over her many trials and tribulations. As the wife of a national celebrity, Rachel had experienced challenging "temptations," usually endured by public men. These temptations included "honor," "power," "elation of mind," "haughtiness," and "overbearing conduct." Reinforcing Rachel's femininity, Hume affirmed that she had always remained a true Christian woman with a "meek and quiet spirit."[5]

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[3] "Funeral Oration Delivered by Rev. Dr. William Hume Upon the Occasion of the Death of Mrs. Andrew Jackson Wife of President Andrew Jackson, on December 23, 1828," in Bettie M. Donelson Papers, Box 1, Tennessee State Library and Archives (hereafter TSLA) Nashville, TN. This did not necessarily clash with predetermination. See Erskine Clarke, *Our Southern Zion: A History of Calvinism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1690-1990* (Tuscaloosa, 1996), 18.

[4] "Funeral Oration," Bettie Donelson Papers, TSLA. The reference to meekness is a quotation from Matthew 11:29. It reads: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

[5] "Funeral Oration," Bettie Donelson Papers, TSLA. Robert Elder notes how most historiography on the concept of "honor" sees it as a distinctly male concern. See Robert Elder, "A Twice Sacred Circles: Women, Evangelicalism, and Honor in the Deep South, 1784-1860," *Journal of Southern History* (August 2012), Vol. 78, No. 3, 579-615. But Hume's sermon shows how some nineteenth-century Americans also saw it as something that could afflict women.

Hume's emphasis on Rachel's "quiet spirit" corresponded with Jackson-supporters' image of her in the 1828 election as a passively pious woman. He concurred that "the busy tongue of slander" had wounded Rachel. Yet she never violated passive Christian femininity by letting Jackson's opponents succeed in their quest to "provoke and exasperate her." Rather, Rachel waited for honorable men to avenge her wounded honor. By casting votes for Andrew Jackson, "unbiased" white men vindicated Rachel and proved her innocence.[6]

Hume's depiction of Rachel as a submissive Christian woman reflected her belief that she possessed little power. But because of her intimate and interdependent relationship with Jackson, Rachel influenced his values, behavior, politics, and violence. Still, she never understood herself as a woman who wielded power. Rachel cloaked her influence under submission to God's will. She believed that she had served her creator by loyal devotion to his earthly hierarchy: worshipping God first, his representatives in the ministry second, and her husband, third. Yet throughout her life, Rachel's active devotion to strengthening this hierarchy caused her to subtly but surely violate society's model of the passive woman, exerting more worldly influence than she cared to admit.

After her death, Rachel's legacy echoed in the Peggy Eaton Affair (1829-1831) and the long, violent process of Indian Removal. The Eaton affair erupted after President Andrew Jackson made John Henry Eaton his Secretary of War. On January 1, 1829, Eaton had married Margaret (Peggy) O'Neale Timberlake, the daughter of the family whom Jackson and Eaton had

[6] "Funeral Oration," Bettie Donelson Papers, TSLA. This followed proper decorum whereby men avenged women's honor. See, for instance, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Andrew Jackson's Honor," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring 1997); Nicole Eustace, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia, 2012), conclusion.

boarded with during Jackson's time as a senator. At that time, Peggy was married to John Timberlake. As a naval purser, Timberlake spent long periods away from home and in late 1828, he died at sea. Washington gossip suggested that Timberlake had killed himself after learning that Peggy had committed adultery with Eaton.[7]

Women disliked Peggy for her allegedly flirtatious demeanor and uncouth manners. Her humble upbringing as a tavern-keeper's daughter and naval serviceman's wife compromised her ability to fit into elite society. To show their disapproval, Washington women such as Floride Calhoun, the wife of Jackson's vice-president, John C. Calhoun, and Emily Donelson, Rachel's niece, excluded Peggy from social events. They also ignored her customary visits. Their snubs created a split within Jackson's cabinet. The Calhouns and Donelsons opposed the Eatons as an inappropriate couple for Washington society, while Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and the Postmaster General, William Barry, defended them as innocent victims of frivolous slander.[8]

Echoing his former descriptions of Rachel, Jackson affirmed that Peggy Eaton remained "a virtuous and much injured female." He reminded Peggy's critics that in the recent election, the Jacksons had also suffered "torrents of abuse, with the vilest slanders." As with the Eaton Affair, the "tools of corruption" in the 1828 election "could not spare female character, and my dear wife was made the victam of these fiends, & demons of slander and her life shortened, by

[7] On the day of the Eatons' marriage, Washington socialite and commentator, Margaret Bayard Smith, wrote, John Henry Eaton, the "almost adopted son of General Jackson, is to be married to a lady whose reputation, her previous connection with him both before and after her husband's death, has [been] totally destroyed." See *The First Forty Years of Washington Society, Portrayed by the Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard) From the Collection of her Grandson J. Henley Smith,* ed. Galliard Hunt (New York, 1906), 252.

[8] For the general history of the Eaton Affair, see Kirsten E. Wood, "'One Woman So Dangerous to Public Morals': Gender and Power in the Eaton Affair," *Journal of the Early Republic,* 17 (Summer 1997), 237-275; John F. Marszalek, *The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House* (New York, 1997); Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (Baltimore, 1981).

the unjust attacks upon her." Now, the Eatons endured "every abominable slander, that wickedness & falshood could invent."[9]

Exasperated, Jackson dissolved his cabinet and replaced Eaton with Lewis Cass, former territorial governor of Michigan and an ardent supporter of Indian Removal. Jackson tried to secure Eaton's reelection as a Tennessee Senator. When that failed, he appointed Eaton to serve as Florida's territorial governor. Yet Jackson's efforts to rehabilitate Eaton's career did not save their strained friendship. Eaton decamped to the opposing Whig party and the two did not reconnect until just before Jackson's death in 1845.[10]

Historians see the Peggy Eaton Affair as a battle between elite women and male politicians over the policing of public morals. This battle continued the public dispute of morality and women's sexuality that Adams-supporters initiated in the 1828 presidential election. Because social gatherings and gossip fell within women's "private" domain, the affair proved a rare instance when women exercised a considerable degree of political power. Yet, noting the subsequent backlash, historians also position the Peggy Eaton Affair as the zenith of elite women's influence in Washington's political culture—an influence that then declined.[11]

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[9] Andrew Jackson to John Christmas McLemore, April 26, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7, and Dec. 25, 1830, *PAJDE*, 8.
[10] John F. Marszalek, "John Henry Eaton," in The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=422; Ada S. Walker, "John Henry Eaton, Apostate," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, No. 24 (1952), 26-43. For Cass, see, most recently, John T. Fierst, "Rationalizing Removal: Anti-Indianism in Lewis Cass's *North American Review Essays*," *Michigan Historical Review* Vol. 36, No. 2 (Fall 2010) 1-35.
[11] Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government*, (Charlottesville, 2000), 190-238; Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 2007); Kirsten E. Wood, "'One Woman So Dangerous to Public Morals': Gender and Power in the Eaton Affair," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 17 (Summer 1997), 237-275. Wood notes that an earlier generation of historians dismissed the Affair as not worthy of study. Referring to it as the "Petticoat War" helped trivialize it. See page 239.

Pastors and religious leaders, including Ezra Stiles Ely, also played a key role in the affair. In March 1829, Ely wrote Jackson to express concerns about the Eatons' morality and his fear that Jackson's support for them tarnished Rachel's legacy. According to Ely, Reverend James Campbell, the pastor of Washington's Presbyterian church, had warned him about a host of concerns regarding Peggy Eaton. Her worst indiscretions included registering in a hotel as Eaton's wife prior to their marriage and suffering a miscarriage during one of Timberlake's year-long absences.[12]

Ely urged Jackson to honor Rachel's legacy by dismissing Eaton. Rachel, he claimed, had proven "too pure" to condone the Eatons' conduct. Rachel "did not return the call of Mrs. Timberlake; and she did not fear to put the seal of her reprobation on such characters." As "a minister of God, a man, and a christian," Ely could forgive the Eatons—but only if they repented. During the early 1810s, Ely had worked with female prostitutes in New York City. He believed that women who violated sexual mores could achieve salvation by enduring a long process of repentance that proved their "reformation." He proposed that the Eatons chart a similar path by leaving Washington and relocating to Europe. After they had admitted their wickedness and committed to a life of moral purity, John and Peggy Eaton could reenter Washington society. [13]

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[12] Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, March 18, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7; Curtis Dahl, "The Clergyman, the Hussy, and Old Hickory: Ezra Stiles Ely and the Peggy Eaton Affair," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Summer 1974), 137-155.

[13] Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, March 18, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. For Ely and his work with New York's prostitutes, see Ezra Stiles Ely, *Visits of Mercy, or, The Journals of the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, D.D.: Written While He was Stated Preacher to the Hospital and Alms-House in the City of New York*, 2 Vols. (Philadelphia, 1829); Larry Whiteaker, *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830-1860* (New York, 1997), 9-18. Ely still maintained an emphasis on the concept of Hell if sinners did not repent. He also explicitly blamed those who claimed to want to spread Christianity among "heathens" but didn't do anything to achieve that. See Kathryn Gin Lum, *Damned Nation: Hell in America from the Revolution to Reconstruction* (New York, 2014), 72-73.

Jackson replied by challenging Ely's understanding of Rachel, her piety, and Christianity more generally. Although he fundamentally blamed Henry Clay for the controversy, Jackson demanded to know who had "dared to throw an imputation on the memory of my departed wife." As to Ely's claims about Rachel, Ely proved "badly advised." Until her dying breath, Rachel considered Peggy Eaton "an innocent and much injured woman." Like a good Christian, Rachel "loved truth while living." Jackson reminded Ely of Scripture describing God's hatred of "the liar's tongue" and questioned the judgment of a pastor who spoke ill of a woman without evidence.[14]

For Jackson, the affair reaffirmed the duty of honorable Christian men—rather than women—to cultivate, protect, and sometimes police, women's morality. He agreed with Ely on the need to "shun base women as a pestilence of the worst and most dangerous kind to society." Yet Christian men had an equally important duty to "guard virtuous female character with vestal vigilance" until facts, not rumors, confirmed her guilt. By shunning Eaton without proper evidence, Jackson considered Ely and Campbell foolish. In January 1830, Jackson suggested that Campbell's criticism of the Eatons threatened the reputation of the Presbyterian Church, "as well as the cause of religion generally."[15]

The Eaton Affair marked the beginning of the end of Jackson and Ely's alliance. They exchanged a few more letters on the topic, in which Ely repeated his hope that the Eatons repent.

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[14] A Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, March 23, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. For suspicions of Clay, see A. Jackson to John Christmas McLemore, April 26, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. For the southern evangelical prohibition on gossip and slander, see Elder, "A Twice Sacred Circle," 599-600.

[15]A Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, March 23, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7; A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, January 12, 1830, *PAJDE*, 8. On the links between honor among white southern men and women and evangelicalism, see Elder, "A Twice Sacred Circle; *idem.*, *The Sacred Mirror: Evangelicalism, Honor, and Identity in the Deep South, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill, 2016.)

Frustrated, Jackson reminded him that "*repentance* presupposes the existance of *crime*." Slowly, Ely conceded, in the hopes of repairing what had quickly become a strained relationship.[16]

To bolster this concession, Ely sent Jackson a lithograph of himself. His wife, Mary Ann, urged Ely to explain the significance of such a strange gift. "I must honestly say, that I sent it to your Excellency from what some would call a *romantic*, but what I trust is *a truly christian attachment* to you," Ely wrote. He believed that the lithograph embodied Rachel's hopes for Jackson's presidency. Ely asked Jackson to put it in his bedroom, where his shadow could remind Jackson to "consider the practical and evangelical faith of your dear, departed companion; serve the Saviour that she loved, and be prepared to meet her in everlasting blessedness." Jackson never responded.[17]

Had she been alive, Rachel's religiosity and experiences with gossip, extra-legal marriage, and adultery would have complicated her response to the Peggy Eaton Affair. Rachel could accept unorthodox marriages that violated some norms, especially parental consent. In addition to the Nichols marriage, Rachel supported her brother's 1796 elopement with fifteen-year-old Mary Smith, despite opposition from Mary's influential father. Rachel's resentment of elite Washington women might have also lead her to sympathize with the Eatons.[18]

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[16] Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, April 4, 1829, A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, April 10, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. For future letters, see Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, May 2, 1829, May 30, 1829, July 3, 1829, A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, June 29, 1829, September 3, 1829, in *PAJDE*, 7; Dahl, "The Clergyman, the Hussy, and Old Hickory."

[17] Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, May 2, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. For Jackson's next letter to Ely, see A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, June 29, 1829, *PAJDE*, 7. This letter did not refer to the lithograph.

[18] For the Nichols, see Chapter 2. Just fifteen-years-old, Smith was the daughter of General Daniel Smith, who served as Federal Secretary of the Southwest Territory. Although a Donelson family acquaintance, Smith disapproved of his daughter's interest in Samuel. Jackson and Rachel's brother-in-law, John Caffrey, joined Samuel in helping Mary abscond from her house to elope, even though she was too young. See Walter T. Durham, *Daniel Smith, Frontier Statesman*, (Gallatin, TN, 1976) 66, 95, 197; AJ to Daniel Smith, Feb. 13, 1789, Jan. 20, 1791, Oct. 29, 1795, *PAJDE*, 1; Pauline Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, Vol. 1 (Richmond, VA, 1941) 24-6; *Marriages of Davidson Co, TN, 1780-1847*, 9. For age and consent, see Holly Brewer, *By Birth of Consent: Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority*, (Chapel Hill, 2005), 291; Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Late Eighteenth-Century*, (New York, 2008), 169.

However, Rachel's evangelicalism may have led her to support Ely's stance. She cherished his opinions, as a man of God, and she had grown resentful of John Henry Eaton for prioritizing politics over religion. Rachel's understanding of moral discretions also differed from women like Floride Calhoun. Rachel dismissed elite Washington women as obsessed with parties and gaieties rather than true morality and religion.

Jackson and Ely presented competing understandings of Rachel's piety for their own ends. Ely justified his opposition of the Eatons by claiming to protect Rachel's virtue and religious ideals. Jackson, however, affirmed that Rachel's Christian kindness and love of "the truth" led her to support the Eatons in life, and most likely, death. Jackson urged Ely to adopt behavior befitting a Christian man and defend the Eatons until proven guilty. This presents a new understanding of the Peggy Eaton Affair as a debate over competing claims of who represented "true religion" in the early years of the Second Party System. The debate over protecting Rachel's legacy destroyed a promising alliance between Jackson and some northern evangelical leaders, which Rachel had favored.

After 1830, Ezra Stiles Ely and Jackson exchanged few letters. Busy with the presidency, Jackson severed ties with a man whom he believed had sullied an innocent woman's reputation and did so sacrilegiously in Rachel's holy name. This positioned Jackson in a rare moment of agreement with John Quincy Adams, who considered Ely "the principal mischief-maker" of the Peggy Eaton Affair. By 1835, Ely left to evangelize on the Missouri frontier, where the Panic of

1837 ruined his small fortune. Ely's participation in the Peggy Eaton Affair ruined his chances of creating a "Christian party in politics" through Jackson.[19]

Although Jackson believed that he always honored Rachel's legacy, his Democratic party opposed the Sabbatarian movement, which became a key cause of his political opponents who formed the Whig party. Jackson's support of Richard M. Johnson, a Kentucky Congressman, troubled Sabbatarians. In 1829 and 1830, Johnson published two reports that opposed legal restrictions on Sunday mail service and commercial activity. Johnson even accused Sabbatarians of "religious despotism," which incensed them. As a result, many joined the Whigs. They hoped that the Whig party's emphasis on a more interventionist federal government would promote moral reform policies, including temperance, African colonization, and later, abolition.[20]

Jackson lost the support of many northern evangelicals, but he maintained southern and western evangelical allies. They shared Rachel's hope that Jackson would cleanse "savagery" from western territory, a necessary step for the coming of Zion. Consequently, they supported Jackson's policy of Indian Removal.

While historians stress opposition to Indian Removal, that opposition was based in the northeast and not shared by southern and western evangelicals. Evangelical responses to Indian Removal proved similar to debates about slavery, where congregations in different regions developed competing understandings.[21]

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[19] A. Jackson to Ezra Stiles Ely, January 12, 1830, Ezra Stiles Ely to A. Jackson, Jan. 15, 1830, Feb. 10, 1830, in *PAJDE*, Vol. 8. On July 18, 1831, Ely wrote Jackson, recommending S.A. Wickes for assistant Army Surgeon. See "Calendar, 1831," *PAJDE*, Vol. 9. Adams quoted in Dahl, "The Clergyman, the Hussy, and Old Hickory," 137.
[20] Richard R. John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990), 558, 566.
[21] For regional approaches to Indian Removal, see Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 2002), 194. For evangelicals and anti-Indian removal petitions, see Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (June 1999), 15-40; Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the*

Ezra Stiles Ely and the western Baptist missionary, Isaac McCoy, supported removal as the best means to protect Indigenous peoples and assimilate them into patriarchal Christian culture. Ely saw Indigenous peoples as their own worst enemy. “If our government “let them alone,” as many philanthropists desire they should, they will unquestionably pass away from the earth,” he argued in February 1830. On western reservations, “honest and capable” Indigenous men could oversee households of dependent wives, children, and enslaved laborers.[22]

Ely sought a swift assimilation of Native peoples into Christian capitalist culture. He identified an economic communality in Indigenous cultures, which he claimed devalued industry and encouraged “idle vagabonds” to prey on the material successes of “industrious Indians.” Communality also halted efforts to “civilize” Indigenous peoples by discouraging the

American Whigs, (Chicago, 1984) 40-41; Alisse Portnoy, *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates* (Cambridge, MA, 2005.) For the split among missionaries for and against removal, see William G. McLoughin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, 1984), 239-99. By the 1830s, the debate over slavery broke the alliance between southern Presbyterians and northern Congregationalists embodied by the 1801 Plan of Union. See Noll, *America’s God*, 310-311. For Biblical justification of slavery and denominational approaches to it, see Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (New York, 2007)*;* Mark A. Noll, "The Bible and Slavery," in *Religion in the American Civil War,* ed. Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York, 1998), 43-73; Charles F. Irons, *The Origins of Proslavery Christianity: White and Black Evangelicals in Colonial and Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2008.)

[22] I have been unable to determine if Blackburn, who by the late 1820s resided in Illinois, supported, opposed, or remained neutral on the issue. Other missionaries who joined McCoy in his efforts to survey and organize western territory for the forcible relocation of native peoples included Jotham Meeker, Johnston Lykins, Robert Simerwell and their wives. See “Isaac McCoy Papers,” Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, KS. For Ely’s support, see "Preservation and Improvement of the Indians," in *The Philadelphian,* Feb. 12, 1830. Ely signaled out Cherokee Chief John Ross. First, he was the most prominent Cherokee at the time and seen by many as an example of a “civilized” Indian who could read, write, and speak English, wore European fashions, had become Christian, and owned slaves. Second, as a leader in Cherokee government, Ross’s support for removal was key. He later led the charge opposing it and wrote an impassioned letter to Congress protesting it. On the Trail of Tears, Ross suffered personal tragedy when his wife, Quatie, died. See Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross, Cherokee Chief* (Athens: 2004); ““Our Hearts are Sickened”: Letter from Chief John Ross of the Cherokee, Georgia, 1836,” in John Ross, *The Papers of Chief John Ross, Vol. 1, 1807–1839,* Norman OK, Gary E. Moulton, ed. University of Oklahoma Press, 1985, p. 458–461 and available online via History Matters, George Mason University, http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6598/.

accumulation of personal property. Ely linked industry and property-holding as Christian duties to God and saw idleness and communality as a rebuke of His divine teachings.[23]

Ely's emphasis on "communality" homogenized diverse and evolving Indigenous cultures. Cherokee missionary Samuel Worcester refuted Ely's argument in *The Philadelphian.* "Any theory in regard to their removal from this place, which is built upon the supposition of the impossibility of their rising where they are, is opposed to fact," Worcester alleged. Ely also failed to explain why removing Native peoples would lead them to commit to private property and nuclear family models. Like Jackson and Lewis Cass, Ely cloaked the selfishness of whites in removing Native Americans to obtain their land as a supposed benefit for Indigenous peoples.[24]

Isaac McCoy also claimed that removal proved the best way to "save" the Miami, Ottawa, Delaware, and Potawatomi peoples whom he preached to. Like Ely, McCoy's theology adhered to traditional Calvinism and feared Arminian liberalism. Where Ely blamed "vagabond" Indigenous peoples for degrading the potentially virtuous among them, McCoy maintained that "corrupting" and sinful whites hindered Native peoples' reception of Christian culture.[25]

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[23] "Preservation and Improvement of the Indians," in The *Philadelphian*, Feb. 12, 1830. Also see John A. Andrew III, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens, 1992), 213. For Christian industry in Presbyterianism, see Clarke, *Our Southern Zion*, 23.

[24] For Worcester, see *The Philadelphian*, April 2, 1830; Ely "Preservation and Improvement of the Indians," *The Philadelphian*, Feb. 12, 1830. For Cass, see John P. Bowes, *Land Too Good For Indians: Northern Indian Removal* (Norman, 2007), 61.

[25] For McCoy's conservative religious beliefs, see George A. Schultz, *An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the Vision of an Indian State* (Norman, 1972), 5, 10. *The Philadelphian* covered the 1828 publication of McCoy's pamphlet, *The Practicability of Indian Reform, Embracing their Colonization.* See *The Philadelphian*, Oct. 10, 1828. Also see Schultz, *An Indian Canaan*, 122-123. Such "extreme paternalism" informed both sides of the missionary debate over removal and Isaac McCoy accused anti-removal advocates, such as Jeremiah Evarts, of opposing removal "chiefly for the purpose of attaining other ends than the welfare of the Indians." Everyone claimed to know what was best for Native peoples, except Native peoples themselves. For the best account of McCoy's sentiments, see Andrew, *From Revivals to Removal*, 242-244, quote on page 218. By 1833, McCoy's support for removal led Leopold Pokagon, a Potawatomi leader, to expel McCoy's missionary efforts and convert to Catholicism. See Bowes, *Land Too Good For Indians*, 177-78. In his denunciation of white Americans, McCoy

McCoy wanted to segregate Native peoples from "sinful" whites but integrate them with true Christians. These select people included McCoy, his wife, Christiana Polke, and fellow missionaries, including Robert Simerwell and his wife, Frances Barker. In McCoy's vision of Indian Removal, he would create and manage "educational families" of white teachers and ministers who would instruct Indigenous peoples on how to act like them.[26]

By 1830, McCoy allied with pro-removal southern Congressmen, including Georgia Governor William Lumpkin, to promote Indian Removal. He and Christiana Polke helped draft and distribute petitions and tracts in favor of removal. They also played a critical role in designing western reservations. After the 1830 passage of the Indian Removal Act, Secretary of War John Henry Eaton appointed McCoy to survey locations for relocated Native peoples. In the summer of 1831, McCoy, Christina Polke, and John Donelson Jr., McCoy's assistant and Rachel's nephew, traveled to Arkansas to conduct the survey.[27]

Born and raised on the southwestern frontier, Christiana and her family had experienced the violence that accompanied settler colonization. According to family lore, during the War of the American Revolution, a group of Native warriors, probably Shawnee, held her brother, William, their mother, and two other children captive, until released for a ransom paid by sympathetic British officers. As an adult, William assisted Isaac McCoy in promoting Indian removal. In August 1838, he directed the forcible relocation of 107 Potawatomi from Indiana to

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echoed British evangelicals, who referred to the "sin" of Australian settlers, which threatened to corrupt Indigenous peoples. See Elizabeth Elbourne, "The Sin of the Settler: The 1835-1836 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates Over Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Winter 2003).

[26] See Schultz, *Indian Canaan*, esp. 61-62.

[27] Schultz, *Indian Canaan*, 98. These regions were simultaneously claimed and inhabited by the Osage. See Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground*: *Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia, 2007) 227-244.

a reservation on the Osage River in Kansas. In his journal, William recorded trudging through snow, sleet, and rain, and the death of twenty-nine children.[28]

John Donelson Jr. saw similarities between the mannerisms and piety of his family and the McCoys, and especially between Rachel Jackson and Christiana Polke McCoy. "Mrs. McCoy, in her general deportment & kindness—reminds me very much of my dear & departed Aunt," he wrote to Jackson in 1831. In this pious couple, Donelson affirmed that Jackson "may put every confidence" in their ability to complete the surveys. By 1832, the McCoys submitted their surveys to Lewis Cass, who presented them to Congress. Despite protest from Indigenous peoples, and some white allies, Jackson, Ely, the McCoys and other removal advocates succeeded in dispossessing 92,000 Indigenous peoples and obtaining 118 million acres of fertile land for white settlers. In the process of forced Indian Removal, thousands of Indigenous men, women, and children died.[29]

John Donelson recognized how settler women and pro-removal evangelicals like Christiana McCoy shared Rachel's religiosity. Like Rachel, Christiana grew up Presbyterian and believed in a vengeful God, who punished his dissenters. Outside of Rachel's network of friends

[28] Christiana was born in 1776, ten years after Rachel, in Nelson County, KY. See Schultz, *Indian Canaan,* 8-9; "Journal of an Emigrating Party of Pottawattomie Indians, 1838" *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 21, Issue 4, 315-336. Also see Bowes, *Land Too Good For Indians,* 170-173; Journal; Schultz, *Indian Canaan*, 184.

[29] John Donelson Jr. to Andrew Jackson, Aug. 9, 1831, *PAJDE,* 9. For their surveys, see n. 1 in John Donelson Jr. to Andrew Jackson, Oct. 31, 1831, *PAJDE*, 9. By the end of Jackson's term, 46,000 Native Americans had been dispossessed but he planned for an additional 46,000 under the presidency of his successor, Martin Van Buren. See Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York, 2007) 420. There is no comprehensive number for how many Indigenous people died as a result of removal. An estimated 4,000 to 8,000 Cherokee died on the Trail of Tears. This was between, 20 to 25% of all Eastern Cherokee. See Howe, *What Hath God Wrought,* 417 and n.11; Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long and Bitter Trail*: *Andrew Jackson and the American Indians,* (New York, 1994), 94. Although there are limited numbers on Muscogee demographics, estimates suggest that deaths due to Muscogee deportation resulted in the death of 50% of the Muscogee population. See *What Hath God Wrought*, 417.

and family, many other white women sacrificed time, property, and kin to settle the frontier. Many understood the violence that vindicated them and protected their settlements as sacred.[30]

Florida settlers, in particular, understood the violence of Seminole removal as a way to avenge the suffering of God-fearing Christians, especially women. In February 1839, Daniel Wiggins, a Methodist, witnessed Seminole warriors attack a white woman in middle Florida. The warriors responded to an attack by white militias on Seminole women and children just one month earlier. At that time, Wiggins had expressed some sympathy for the plight of Indigenous women and children. However, now that warriors had targeted white women, he prayed "to the Lord to give succor to our army that this otherwise delightful land may no longer be cursed with these hoards of bloodthirsty monsters."[31]

Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton depicted the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) in Biblical tones. He urged Congressmen to support a bill that offered a land bounty to any settler who migrated to Florida and defended settlement against the Seminole. "The children of Israel entered the promised land, with the implements of husbandry in one hand, and the weapons of war in the other," he reminded Congressmen. Many believed that white, slave-owning settlers should prove no different.[32]

Stories of pious women suffering at the hands of Seminole warriors bolstered support for Indian Removal. In October 1836, Americans read about an attack on Jane Johns, a pregnant

[30] For the role of white women as agents and promoters of southern U.S. continental imperialism, not victims, see Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia, 2016.) Amy Greenberg notes the role played by Sarah Polk in partnering up with her husband, President James Polk, during the U.S.-Mexican War. See Greenberg, *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico* (New York, 2012.)
[31] Daniel Wiggins Diary, March 24, 1839, quoted in Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny*, 69.
[32] Thomas Hart Benton quoted in Michael Rogin, *Fathers and Children*: *Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York, 1976), 129.

woman living in East Florida. After killing Johns's husband, Seminole warriors scalped her and set fire to her dress. Johns prayed to God for salvation and managed to stay alive until her father-in-law discovered and rescued her several hours later. Johns survived the attack but her baby did not.[33]

Published by Andrew Welch, the doctor who treated her, Johns's story appeared in national newspapers. In Welch's telling, ungodly Seminole enemies waged war on pious white females. He stressed how "pious and contented Christian" parents had raised Johns, and noted that she cited Psalm 143 during the attack. For Johns, her Seminole enemies "persecuted my soul" and "made me to dwell in darkness." She hoped that God's love would protect her and that His wrath would destroy her enemies.[34]

To raise money for Johns's recovery, Welch took her on a speaking tour in Charleston and Savannah during the spring of 1837. For one dollar, attendees heard Welch lecture and got to see a scalping victim. "Ladies are particularly requested to attend," the *Charleston Mercury* noted. Ministers, including the rector of the Trinity Church, David Brown, encouraged their congregations to attend the lecture or donate money. Brown preached that Johns had endured "the most ferocious barbarism." By supporting her cause, his mostly-female congregants could

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[33] Laurel A. Clark, "Taming the Territory: Women and Gender on the Florida Frontier," (Ph.D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 2008), 77-78. The story appeared in pamphlet form, as well as in the Niles Weekly Register, and a variety of other papers.

[34] Welch, *A Narrative of the Life*, 7, 15. For more on psalm 143, see Oxford Handbook of the Psalms; John Eaton, *The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation,* (New York, 2003), 469. For violence and obsession with enemies in the psalms, see Erich Zenger, translated by Linda M. Maloney, *A God of Vengeance?: Understanding of the Psalms of Divine Wrath* (Louisville, 1996), 9-13. Like Jackson, Welch also adopted an Indigenous boy. He later published a narrative about his Seminole son. See Shire, "Taming the Territory," 114; Andrew Welch, *A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, a Young Seminole Indian; Son of Econchatti-Mico, King of the Red Hills, in Florida: With a Brief History of His Nation, and His Renowned Uncle, Oceola, and His Parents: And Amusing Tales, Illustrative of Indian Life in Florida,* (London, 1841), xii-xlvii.

become a “co-worker of God” in helping to heal her. Attendees sympathized with Johns as a fellow mother, wife, and Christian.[35]

As told by Welch, Johns's sentimental story also promoted defeating the Seminole as essential to protect Christian women from savagery. Most southerners supported Indian Removal because it opened up land for slave-owning settlements. Georgians, in particular, led the campaign in Congress to overrule Indigenous sovereignty in the southeast.[36]

For Andrew Jackson, western and southern evangelical support incorporated but reoriented the lessons of Ezra Stiles Ely’s “Christian party.” Jackson and Ely's argument about "true religion" during the Eaton Affair severed their relationship and quashed Ely’s hopes that he might influence Jackson’s policies. Yet Jackson still imbibed his politics with sacred meaning, as he co-opted the message of Ely’s “Christian party.” Where Ely positioned the focus of his “Christian nation” in Washington City, Jackson looked to the southwest. He maintained links to southern and western evangelicals, who imagined Indian Removal as the protection of pious women, the punishing of God’s enemies, and the creation of a continental Christian nation.

While stressing their passivity and victimhood, evangelical women like Rachel played a leading role in this narrative. When Presbyterian leaders asked “what can a woman do,” Rachel responded by developing and promoting a religious and gendered justification for the violent dispossession of Native peoples. This justification relied on women’s assumed vulnerability, suffering, and commitment to God. For Rachel, it also relied on a powerful but doting husband, who depended upon her approval. Rooted in settler colonialism, evangelicalism, feminine

[35] Welch, *A Narrative of the Life,* 23; Shire, “Taming the Territory.”
[36] Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny*, 94. For Georgia, see Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA, 2010.)

submission, and the rise of the U.S. as an ordained continental empire, Rachel Jackson's life and "avenging evangelism" helps explain how white Americans rationalized the violence of colonizing Indigenous territory as compatible with widespread religious revival.

Acknowledgements

So far, this project has traveled three institutions and two countries. As a result, there are a lot of people to thank.

The project started at McGill University, where Jason Opal fostered my interest in early America and Elizabeth Elbourne helped me to think about the concept of settler colonialism. I also benefitted immeasurably from the mentorship of Len Moore and the kindness of Tom Jundt.

The project took root at the University of California, Davis, where I found incredible support from incredible people. Thank you to Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, Andrés Reséndez, Sally McKee, and John Smolenski. And thanks, in particular, to Ari Kelman for saving the day on many occasions.

Faculty and staff in the University of Virginia's History department graciously helped me transition to a new institution. In particular, Elizabeth Varon, Max Edelson, Grace Hale, Robert Stolz, Jenni Via, Kathleen Miller, and Whitney Yancey helped me maneuver the change and find funding. Thank you, as well, to Nicole Ruzek, whose group gave me something to look forward to every Friday.

At the University of Virginia, I benefitted from Charlottesville's many academic communities. Thanks to members of the Early American Seminar at the International Center for Jefferson Studies for commenting on portions of this dissertation. And thanks to the Civil War Seminar for adopting me as my interests went into the nineteenth-century.

A project depends on the help and support of archivists, librarians, and documentary editors. I was particularly fortunate to benefit from the hard work of librarians and archivists at the Tennessee State Library and Archives. Thanks to Trent Hanner, Darla Brock, Gibb Baxter,

and especially Tom Kanon for his support and willingness to help me track down sources. At the Andrew Jackson Papers, Tom Coen and Laura Eve Moss graciously shared recently discovered letters that were pivotal for this project.

This dissertation also benefitted immeasurably from the help of scholars who provided critical feedback, shared their own research, and offered support and encouragement. Thanks, in particular, to Dawn Peterson, Edward Ayers, Peter Onuf, Brian Balogh, Max Edelson, Katherine H. Braund, Rachel Monroy, Carolyn Eastman, Greg O'Malley, Laura Clark Shire, Natalie Inman, Mark Cheathem, Dan Usner, Ann Toplovich, Gordon Belt, Donald Ratcliffe, and most especially Mike McDonnell.

Along the way, colleagues offered their friendship and support. Thanks, in particular, to Andrew Parsons and Jamal Miller, without whom I'd still be listening to Nina Simone and Oscar Peterson on repeat. I was most fortunate to meet Diana Williams, a friend and advocate. Thank you as well to Holly Shulman, whose passion for women's history is infectious.

Writing a dissertation is impossible without the support of fellow graduate students. Thanks to McGill friends including Angela Tozer and Tess Lanzarotta. At UC Davis, Jessica Blake, Brandon Layton, Lindsay Chervinsky, Mary Mendoza, Jessica Ordaz, Annie Perez, Fiona Viney, and Nathalie Collin were wonderful friends and colleagues. At UVA, Shira Lurie, Jack Furniss, Mary Barton, Jesse George-Nichol, Jim Ambuske, Lauren Turek, Alexi Garrett, Lauren Haumesser, Mary Draper, and Cecilia Márquez helped me more than I could ever say.

Extra thanks go to Jack and Shira for forming a writing group with me. As a result, they had to read every part of this dissertation—and a lot more. Jack and Shira made our writing

group everything I ever hoped it could be. They also made the final stretch of writing infinitely more enjoyable.

Writing a dissertation is also impossible without the financial support of institutions that value the humanities. I was fortunate enough to receive funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Tennessee Historical Society, the Kentucky Historical Society, the Filson Historical Society, and the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies. On a daily basis, these institutions and the work that they sponsor change lives. They foster greater compassion and encourage new ways of looking at the world. For this and many other reasons, they deserve our protection.

Thanks to friends and family who helped me throughout the journey. Early on, Ray and Garry Leonard and Deirdre Flynn provided much-needed encouragement and support. Jane Montague took an early interest in the project, Maggie Little offered constant encouragement, and Dawn Little read every chapter. Thanks also to Sarah Collins and Trish Tervit, the fellow writer in the family, and to Chris and Margaret Maternowski (and Bea!) for giving me a wonderful place to stay while I researched in Chapel Hill and Durham.

I also benefitted from a supportive committee and the guidance of outstanding mentors. Thanks to Cori Field for her astute insight and to Justene Hill for graciously joining the committee at a later date. Amy Greenberg proved an early and constant supporter of the project and her enthusiasm helped me slog through many difficulties. I've been very fortunate to have had the chance to learn how to write history with Alan Taylor. With his notorious edits and precision, Alan taught me how to write and introduced me to new ways of thinking. At a critical

juncture, he also helped me figure out what I wanted to say, and even provided me with a Rachel Jackson magnet for enduring inspiration.

Jason Opal and Elizabeth Varon were (and remain) inimitable mentors. Both provide the perfect blend of encouragement, inspiration, generosity, compassion, and constructive criticism, each in their own unique way. And they were always willing to provide much-needed pep talks, whenever necessary. Thanks, in particular, to Jason, for providing constant encouragement, generosity, and compassion for over seven years.

My family helped me through this entire process. Christopher proved an unfailing partner. With whimsy and humor, he encouraged me to stay true to my values and visions. In addition to reading parts of the dissertation, my brother, Chris, inspired me to do better not for myself, but for the world. This is an important message to hear when you're writing a dissertation. The biggest thanks go to my parents who never let me doubt for a second that I could do this, or any other thing that I set my mind on. Their kindness and compassion is legendary and I'm very lucky to be their daughter.