

“There Was Somebody Always Dying and Leaving Jackson as Guardian”:

The Wards of Andrew Jackson

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in History, with Concentration in Public History

Middle Tennessee State University
May 2013

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This research is dedicated to my dad, who left me no choice but to love history. Dad, no more games of stump the chump, ok?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my parents and the rest of my family for their continued love and support throughout my education and my life. My husband Jarrod has been steadfast in his encouragement to me throughout this long process, and I could not be more grateful to him. I would also like to thank Dr. Mark Cheatham for giving me the privilege of reading his forthcoming manuscript and allowing me to incorporate it in my thesis, as well as his input. Stewart Southard and Dr. Tom Kanon were invaluable to me in freely giving their constant guidance. I would like to thank Dr. Rebecca Conard and Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle for their continued support and assistance. Finally, I would like to thank the staff of the Tennessee State Library & Archives. The benefit of their institutional knowledge was priceless for the foundation of this thesis, as there are no written histories concerning the guardianship process in early Tennessee.

ABSTRACT

Andrew Jackson has been widely studied through many lenses of history. However, the lens of kinship has not been widely incorporated. This thesis provides a study of Jackson through kinship, by exposing his many wards, and when possible, his relationship with them. Through the examination of court minutes, correspondence, court cases, and other records, it can be determined that Jackson, both legally and informally, cared for thirty-six known wards. Each ward is individually discussed, although the length of the examination varies based on available sources. Jackson's political and economic advantages to these wards are also shown. Most of Jackson's wards were kin to him through his wife's extensive family, but many were children of friends. In some cases Jackson's relationship to a ward is not clear. This study reveals a more developed paternal view of Jackson, and sets the groundwork for continued research on this aspect of Jackson's life.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Andrew Jackson is among the most controversial figures in American history. He has been and continues to be the source of heated debates among historians throughout an extensive historiography. In some works he is referred to as a war hero, a great national leader, and one of the most memorable presidents in American history. In others he is viewed as a heartless Indian killer and uncontrollable tyrant. However, many are a mix of the two. Despite the vast literature concerning Jackson, there is relatively little research concerning Jackson's family life. While most historians make note of his loving relationship with his wife, Rachel Donelson Robards, biographies of this ill-fated woman are just starting to emerge.¹ Furthermore, even less is known about their wards, who will be the focus of this thesis.

Were it possible to study the children of Jackson, this would shed additional light on his personality. The Jacksons never had biological children, but they cared for a large number of wards as well as their "adopted" sons. Jackson was appointed guardian of many children by some of his closest friends. He also often aided his wife's family, the prestigious Donelson clan of Tennessee. Rachel was the tenth of eleven children of Colonel John Donelson and Rachel Stockley Donelson, and therefore she and Jackson had numerous nieces and nephews. The often-large families of her brothers and sisters

1. Mary French Caldwell wrote the fictional biography, *General Jackson's Lady*, in 1936. In 1942, Nellie Tranor Stokes wrote the first true biography, *Rachel Jackson*, followed by a fifty-year pause before Katherine Cruse wrote *An Amiable Woman: Rachel Jackson* in 1994. Interest seems to be gaining momentum. Patricia Brady recently released *A Being So Gentle: The Frontier Love Story of Rachel and Andrew Jackson* in 2011, and another biography by Ann Toplovich is in progress.

were sometimes difficult for them to handle alone, and so they often made use of their well-connected kinship network. Jackson did his best to accommodate these young individuals, letting them stay at the Hermitage and buying them gifts. Andrew Jackson was heavily invested in the lives of his family and wards. As Pauline Burke so bluntly recalls, “there was always somebody dying and leaving Jackson as guardian.”²

Jackson was deeply invested in and proud of these children, affording them many generous benefits which often significantly stressed his own financial situation. In addition to assuming care for these children, he also provided care to families of friends he knew were struggling. This study will offer a brief biographical sketch of each ward and also examine Jackson’s specific interest in them. Finally, I will also show that he offered opportunities to several family members in order to advance their, and likely his position. He represented many in court, offered to help some move closer to the family base in the Cumberland region, and, among other things, consistently wrote his family and friends offering his advice on everything from business to marriage, which reveals an expansive, caring kinship network of which Jackson was the patriarchal head. This new perspective of Jackson will show him as an affectionate, if not controlling, concerned father figure, thus providing an improved understanding of one of the most complex, controversial men in American history.

While his wards are not completely absent from the biographies about Jackson, they have gained increased although still limited attention over time. One of the first biographies to take his wards in account was Marquis James’s *The Life of Andrew*

2. Pauline Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, ed. Jonathan M. Atkins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 35.

Jackson. Written in 1938, James's narrative does not seek to understand the children or Jackson's relationship with them. He fails to recognize the full multitude of children Jackson cared for, discussing only Andrew Jackson, Jr., Andrew Jackson Donelson, Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Edward Butler, and Lynocya (which James spells as "Lincoyer"). However, he does mention a young neighbor's child named William Smith, for whom the Jacksons briefly cared.³ James also states that Rachel and Jackson legally adopted Andrew Jackson, Jr.⁴ No adoption record has ever been found for Andrew Jackson, Jr., and James provides no source to document this claim. However, other studies make the same claim as well.⁵ Despite such shortcomings, James does follow these children closely compared to other works. He addresses the circumstances as to how each child came into the Jacksons' custody and the education afforded them. He even goes as far as to evaluate Jackson's concern for their education by examining Jackson's correspondence.

Robert V. Remini, who is widely regarded as the foremost authority on Jackson, gives the most detail of the wards in his *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American*

3. Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), 131.

4. *Ibid.*

5. A legal record of guardianship of any of these wards is almost non-existent, although in addition to a few court minutes there are documents for the Butler children in Robertson County court records and a will of John Hutchings outlining guardianship. The Davidson County Court was only in session certain times of the year and adoptions simply might not have been recorded. This is especially likely since it was only days after Christmas that the Jacksons took in Andrew Jr. This is also likely because there were no provisions for adoption in Tennessee during this time. Despite a lack of official records, Jackson still referred to Andrew Jackson, Jr. and Andrew Jackson Donelson as his sons. After a thorough examination of Davidson County's early court minutes, it seems that legal adoption was rare in the area.

Empire: 1767-1821. He recognizes that there were four Butler children – Caroline, Eliza, Edward and Anthony – and gives a small biography of each child. After the Butlers, Jackson accepted guardianship of John Samuel, Andrew Jackson, and Daniel Smith Donelson. Remini also mentions William Smith, the unfortunate neighbor child.⁶ Next came Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Mary Lewis, and Mary Eastin, although Remini does not provide any more information about them.

Remini also states that Andrew Jackson, Jr. was legally adopted in 1809 but again there has been no evidence to verify this claim. Interestingly, among this list of wards Remini does not name Lyncoya although he does speak of Lyncoya elsewhere. Remini's work is unique because he reflects on Jackson's demeanor around his children and wards. Jackson was known for his rage, but "he now displayed great tenderness and meekness bordering on shyness in the presence of his wards and his son."⁷ Furthermore when telling of Lyncoya, Remini suggests that Jackson's charity towards the child stemmed from his own experience as an orphan.⁸

Although Remini provides a relatively thorough account of Lyncoya, his main analysis made Lyncoya out to be a captive, because although Jackson wanted Lyncoya treated well, Lyncoya "remained true to his race and heritage ... he ran away from home several times," to go back to the Creek Nation.⁹ Remini also provides insight into

6. James, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 344; Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire, 1767-1821* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 160.

7. *Ibid.*, 8, 161.

8. *Ibid.*, 194

9. *Ibid.*

Jackson's view of family, stating that, "Jackson exalted family ... he believed that family constituted the bulwark of society, the moral force that perpetuated the noble principles upon which the nation was built."¹⁰ While Remini's study is so far one of the best resource for learning of all Jackson's wards, it is still quite brief. This chapter will outline the major bodies of scholarship that inform this study.

Lorman Ratner's analysis, *Andrew Jackson and His Tennessee Lieutenants: A Study in Political Culture*, takes a different perspective by looking at the role of the gentry in Tennessee during Jackson's time to provide insight into Jackson's decisions. Ratner provides short biographical sketches for Jackson and each "lieutenant" as he attempts to understand "what they had in common, what might have brought them together, and what their relationship with Jackson can teach us about him."¹¹ It is also one of few works that addresses any of the biological parents of the wards Jackson cared for. Through his examination of William B. Lewis, he reveals that Lewis's father-in-law, William T. Lewis, left his two daughters in the care of Jackson after his death.¹²

Ratner also talks briefly of Jackson's family, although he is not very specific. He tells that the Jacksons adopted a young nephew and Indian boy and cared for Andrew Donelson and Andrew Hutchings as well as the Lewis sisters.¹³ However, there are many

10. Ibid., 160. All quoted passages from letters preserve the original spellings and punctuation.

11. Lorman Ratner, *Andrew Jackson and His Tennessee Lieutenants: A Study in Political Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), x.

12. Ibid., 57.

13. Ibid., 83.

other wards Ratner does not mention.¹⁴ Ratner seems to speculate as to Jackson's reasons for taking on so many children, noting that "Andrew Jackson, the boy without a father, was also a man without children."¹⁵ A discussion providing insight into Jackson's motives for caring for these wards would also provide an invaluable understanding of his complex personality.

A more recent cultural work by Andrew Burstein, *The Passions of Andrew Jackson*, offers additional insight through his analysis of Jackson's language. Burstein attempts to show Jackson as a communicator by emphasizing his character and impulses. He recognizes the influence of Jackson's family and friends on this unyielding man, explaining that they tried to mediate feuds and calm him down when needed. In essence, it seems that these trusted guides often attempted to save him from himself. His hot temper and need to uphold his honor likely proved to be a fairly constant issue and source of worry for his loved ones.¹⁶

Burstein analyzes Jackson's correspondence with William Carroll, Thomas Hart Benton and Richard Keith Call, who all saw Jackson as their mentor. Interestingly, Burstein does not mention Andrew Jackson Donelson or other wards as being mentees of Jackson's. Burstein shows Jackson giving paternal advice in a letter to Call, but Jackson often gave such advice to many people. He shows that Jackson tried to give political

14. Ratner only mentions Andrew Jackson, Jr., Andrew Jackson Donelson, Andrew Jackson Hutchings, and the Lewis sisters as being wards of Andrew Jackson, who will from hereon be referred to as AJ.

15. Ibid.

16. Andrew Burstein, *The Passions of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), xvi, 39.

advantages to his mentees but realized heroic stature did not guarantee anything after Call did not get a promotion that Jackson recommended. Burstein suggests that this incident only furthered Jackson's distrust in the political chain of command, which seems understandable considering his belief that he was an infallible judge of others.¹⁷

Burstein does mention the Jacksons taking in nephews as wards whom they raised as their own, offering their home to a neighbor's children, and giving love and social advantage to Lyncoya. While Burstein provides an understanding of the Jacksons as guardians, like so many other historians he does not mention the many other children they took in which leaves an incomplete picture as to the extent of their goodwill and loyalty. Furthermore, as previous studies have suggested, this statement is a simplification of the Jacksons' relationship with their Indian ward.¹⁸

Harry Watson takes a different approach in his study, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*, by examining more than Jackson's relationships and controversies. While Watson does not examine Jackson's wards, his work is relevant as it essentially reviews the Market Revolution in the Age of Jackson, combining economic, social and political perspectives to provide a far-reaching analysis of the time. Watson also tries to show that Jackson was unsurpassed in his role as symbolic leader of America's political transformation, and that his administration was the catalyst for a swift revolution in American politics by introducing the ideological basis for a new kind of

17. Ibid., 147-48.

18. Ibid., 175.

republicanism. He also studies how this time of liberation for the ordinary white man also ironically influenced women, Native Americans, and blacks to petition for liberty.¹⁹

Watson's focus on national issues effectively reflects Jackson's ideologies and makes an interesting study into his personality. Watson is able to show Jackson's influence in national politics after his presidency. For instance, he shows that Martin Van Buren knew he was popular only because he had Jackson's blessing, and furthermore feared the political consequences of breaking with Jackson's anti-bank position. Watson notes that Jackson was an appealing figure to many because he "embodied all that was good and right about the American Republic. An average man by birth, he rose to lead the country ... he defeated the nation's worst enemies and upheld its highest virtues by an extraordinary combination of natural ability, divine favor, and personal determination."²⁰ In contrast, many saw him as an unqualified tyrant. However, he was skilled at conveying his thoughts with colorful determination and could "express in in his words and his life the linkages between the ideology of his age and the near-sacred precepts of the Founding Fathers."²¹ By exposing Jackson not as the restorer of an old republican ideal but as a liberator in his own right by embedding his republican ideology into society, Watson shows Jackson's far-reaching influence on American politics and values.²²

19. Harry Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 9-15.

20. *Ibid.*, 10.

21. *Ibid.*, 11.

22. *Ibid.*, 205-209.

Building upon Watson's work, Jonathan Atkins's study, *Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832-1861*, takes a relatively local approach to studying the politics of antebellum America by analyzing Tennessee in the context of the state's political culture. Atkins claims that previous studies assume the reasons for Tennessee's response to the sectional conflict was the same as other southern states, but in reality Tennessee was guided by different principles, largely due to Andrew Jackson's influence. Atkins uses the republican ideology that guided Tennessee politics, which he claims was cemented by Jackson's legacy, as a running thread through his work. He also examines the economic and political environment of the time with special attention to the emergence of the two-party system, which, in Tennessee, saw both parties closely linked. Atkins shows that the reason they had such similar policies was because both wanted to be as closely associated with Jackson's principles as possible.²³ Jackson's overwhelming popularity hit its zenith by the end of his first presidential term, and opposing him was a sure way not to win political office. However, Jackson's chosen successor, Martin Van Buren, lost the 1832 election for vice president, and by 1839 Jackson's popularity had largely waned, marked by the arrival of the Whig party. Atkins notes that Jackson attempted to use his popularity to influence Tennesseans to vote for his choice in a local election, which only made him unpopular in the state.²⁴

Perhaps one of the most relevant and useful books for the purposes of this study is Pauline Wilcox Burke's *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*. Burke is a descendent of Emily

23. Jonathan Atkins, *Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832-1861* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

24. *Ibid.*, 24-31, 45.

Donelson and, while she tried to remain objective, her bias is sometimes apparent.²⁵ However, her book incorporates an oral history passed down through her family as well as information from the Donelson family Bible that gives unique insight into the Donelson family. In addition she includes a chapter on the Jacksons that explores their many wards. Emily was a niece who would eventually marry one of Jackson's wards.²⁶ Through family history, Burke explores Rachel Jackson's perspective in regards to being childless. Burke's verbosity, and scattered writing are impediments. Regardless, her insight into the Donelson family, augmented by family legends, adds a valuable contribution to Jacksonian historiography.

Studies of individual wards have been scarce. One of the earliest studies of a specific ward was Linda Bennett Galloway's short biographical study titled *Andrew Jackson, Jr.: Son of a President*.²⁷ In noting the other wards at the Hermitage and the Jacksons' desire to have their own child, Galloway closely follows Burkes biography as she writes:

There were always many children staying at the Hermitage, among them the Butler boys, wards of Jackson, and the Donelson boys It was fortunate that the circle of Mrs. Jackson's kinsmen were so large that there were almost always some young relatives visiting them. There was, nevertheless, a lack in the

25. Burke, *Emily Donelson*. This book was originally printed in 1941 in two volumes. The edition referenced is an abridged joining of the earlier volumes; Jonathan Atkins, ed. *Emily Donelson*, xii. Atkins recognizes that Burke's adoration for her relatives weakened the study, although she tried to remain objective.

26. Burke, *Emily Donelson*, 7. Emily Tennessee Donelson married her first cousin, Andrew Jackson Donelson.

27. Linda Bennett Galloway, *Andrew Jackson, Jr.: Son of a President* (New York: Exposition Press, 1966).

pleasant atmosphere, and that was a child, to become a permanent part of the household.²⁸

While this study does not add significantly to Jacksonian historiography, it remains one of the few to specifically focus on a ward of Jackson's. Galloway's study is largely composed of secondary sources and is remarkably similar to Burke's *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*. Robert Remini has called for more focus more on secondary figures in order to provide a broader view of Jacksonian history. Andrew Burstein has already met this challenge by looking at Jackson through his relationship with his military mentees. In a scholarly vein, Mark R. Cheatham's research has been concentrated on select wards of Jackson's, primarily Andrew Jackson Donelson, Andrew Jackson, Jr. and Thomas Hutchings. Cheatham's in-depth study on Donelson, *Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson*, largely focuses on Donelson's later life and his relationship with Jackson, although he mention the other wards at The Hermitage. Cheatham gives an effective account of the importance of honor and Jackson's devotion to upholding his values. He further notes that many other family members wrote Donelson to reinforce Jackson's advice. This clearly shows Jackson's influence on the rest of his family.

Jackson expected his will to be followed, and when Donelson refused to agree with Jackson on the Eaton affair, Cheatham tells that this moment caused a break in the family.²⁹ However, perhaps this break was not too significant since only a minority of

28. Ibid., 12.

29. Mark Cheatham, "Biographies That Need Writing," *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, entry posted July 28, 2010, <http://jacksonianamerica.com/2010/07/28/biographies-that-need-writing/> [accessed

relatives supported Donelson. It would be interesting to examine which family members sided with Donelson, considering that rebelling against Jackson was akin to threatening society. Cheatham depicts Andrew Jackson Donelson as a promising figure who fell from the grace of Andrew Jackson in the epic Eaton affair. Although his work focuses on Donelson he uses this opportunity to evaluate Jackson's influence over his ward. Cheatham tells of the many times Donelson agreed with Jackson but was truly crushed in doing so, which reveals that he was willing to give up his own goals to follow Jackson's advice. After Donelson defied Jackson in the Eaton affair, Cheatham shows that Donelson knew he was on uneasy ground with the patriarch and appeased him whenever needed. Cheatham also explores Donelson's perpetual financial distress and his propensity to borrow funds and not repay in a timely manner.³⁰

Cheatham's article, "The High-Minded Honourable Man," which seems to be a condensed version of the main themes of his book, also emphasizes the weight of Jackson's expectations for Donelson as well as the nature of their relationship.³¹

January, 12, 2013]. Cheatham uses Robert Remini's 1997 essay, "American Political Biography," as the basis for a discussion of Tennesseans and Jacksonian politicians in need of new or revised study; Mark Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson* (Louisiana State University, 2007), 79. For more information on the Eaton Affair, also known as the Petticoat Affair, see John F. Marszalek's *The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny, and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House* (New York: The Free Press, 1997). Specific to Jackson, Richard Douglas Spence's article, "Samuel Donelson: Young Andrew Jackson's Best Friend" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 69, no.2 (Summer 2010): 106-23, also answers Remini's call.

30. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 78-126.

31. Mark Cheatham, "'High-Minded Honourable Man': Honor, Kinship, and Conflict in the Life of Andrew Jackson Donelson," *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no.2 (Summer 2007): 265-92, <http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=5fc3>

However, keeping in line with the evermore-trending cultural examinations, the focus is on the significance of the patron-client and father-son relationship, which at first was advantageous and later hurtful to Donelson's aspirations. Cheatham weaves themes from Southern antebellum family studies and notably points out that Jackson disagreed when Donelson chose to be a strong patriarch for his own family, showing how difficult it was for a former child to establish himself.³²

Cheatham's forthcoming monograph, a biography of Jackson, places Jackson in the context of being a Southerner and planter. He examines early influences on Jackson during his childhood in Waxhaw, South Carolina, with particular interest in his community's opinion of Native Americans and the utilization of kinship networks. Cheatham notes the state of Anglo-Native relations when Jackson was born as he discusses how the Catawbas, once a threat to the Waxhaw settlements, had been largely decimated due to a smallpox outbreak, and those who remained ceded much of their land. By the time Jackson was born, the atmosphere was tense, but generally stable.³³ Jackson's immediate family, with the exception of his father, died during the Revolutionary War. His parents and two brothers emigrated from Ireland, searching for better opportunities. Much of his mother's family had already made the journey, and the Jacksons settled near them in South Carolina, where incentives were in place to draw

0958-82fb-4d8b-bf65-eeaf1dc34396%40sessionmgr14&hid=22 [accessed October 31, 2011].

32. Ibid., 267-69.

33. Mark Cheatham, manuscript tentatively titled *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, to be published by Louisiana State University Press [c.2013], 11. Special thanks to Dr. Cheatham for allowing me to preview his manuscript for the benefit of this study.

residents. Shortly before Andrew's birth, his father died in a logging accident. Andrew Jackson was born at his aunt's house and lived there in a blended household with his mother, brothers, aunt, uncle and their eight children, though he did not become an orphan until age fourteen. His mother had died from disease while caring for sick kin, and his brothers died in the Revolutionary War.³⁴ Fourteen was not so young for the standards of the time; it was not unusual for girls to be married by age fifteen.³⁵ Cheatham argues that after his mother died "Jackson replaced the family he lost with a kinship network composed of his wife's extended family and his political allies. He valued these political and familial kin because it gave his world economic and emotional stability."³⁶

This thesis will incorporate several historiographical influences, most significantly the biographical vein of Jacksonian scholarship and family studies with particular focus on paternalism and kinship. These works complement each other in regards to familial understanding, specifically in regards to Jackson. Indeed, making every member of the extensive Donelson clan happy simply would have been impossible. However, it seems that few family members would have dared to object to the clan patriarch. Jackson is an obvious figure when studying patriarchy, but perhaps a study that compared Jackson's governance to another patriarch, elite or not, might provide more

34. Cheatham, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, 8-12.

35. Mical R. Haines, "Long Term Marriage Patterns in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present," *The History of Family: An International Quarterly* 1, no.1 (1996), under "NBER Working Paper Series on Historical Factors in Long Run Growth," <http://www.nber.org/papers/h0080.pdf> [accessed February 11, 2013].

36. Cheatham, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, 17.

insight into Jackson's sense of family. Existing studies of Jackson, with the exception of Burke, illustrate a resoundingly stubborn individual who truly followed his social obligations, even at the cost of his relationships with his protégés.

Cheatham's work provides the most insight into Jackson and his relationship with his wards to date. The limitations of primary sources and the incomplete discussion on the matter in the secondary literature makes it necessary to study this subject through different approaches. For instance, understanding the role of kinship during the first half of the nineteenth century on the Tennessee frontier is crucial to providing context for Jackson's willingness to help his family. Natalie Inman's dissertation, "Networks in Negotiation: The Role of Family and Kinship in Intercultural Diplomacy in on the Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1680-1840," highlights kinship networks and the institution of family and provides such context.³⁷ She uses three prominent families to show how familial ties were the basis for networking. Inman shows the Donelson clan's influence as she traces the family's involvement in land speculation, surveying, and various other activities that affected landholding. As she evaluates the Donelson economic and political kinship strategies, she notes that this family proves that kinship strategies were complex and used not only in "simplistic" societies.³⁸

Inman defines kinship as "a network of people related through blood, marriage and adoption extending through the branches of family trees in many directions ... that

37. Natalie Inman, "Networks In Negotiation: The Role of Family and Kinship In Intercultural Diplomacy On the Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1680-1840" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2010), 2.

38. *Ibid.*, 11.

provided a safety net or ladder for advancement.”³⁹ This view of kinship helps explain why Jackson agreed to help his family to the extent he did. Inman’s definition of kinship falls in line with Remini’s work, in which he states “the marriage [of Andrew and Rachel Jackson] automatically promoted Jackson’s social standing He was now linked to the Donelsons, and perhaps, after the Robertsons, no family held higher distinction in western Tennessee.”⁴⁰ Inman also shows how Jackson’s familial network, in addition to others, had local, regional, and national ramifications. Inman’s dissertation proves a valuable contribution to many veins of history, and her focus on kinship reflects the increasing trend of cultural history.

Carolyn Earle Billingsley’s study, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*, takes a different approach to analyzing the role of family in the South.⁴¹ She seeks to convince scholars that kinship should be a lens of study, in addition to race, gender and class. Billingsley is careful not to devalue the other modes of study, but does posit that kinship will encompass these aspects and create a more complete understanding of history, which is her most important point. Additionally, Billingsley argues that genealogical research should be incorporated into scholarly studies, noting that historians have not embraced such research because they consider genealogists “amateurs” and thus their work would not be applicable. She wants to prove

39. Ibid., 15.

40. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 68. Remini recognizes the power Jackson gained with his marriage to Rachel, but emphasizes that Jackson’s marriage was for love.

41. Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

that genealogical research can give insight into the people “lost” to history who left few if any sources. She chooses to research a branch of her own family, the Keesees, to show a kin group representative of the planter class, and attempts to tease out information and make educated assumptions based on minimal sources such as court records, wills, and birth and death records. Billingsley studies her ancestors, whom she thinks to be representative of southern white families, through the lens of kinship and with an anthropological vein to determine kinship network’s influence on the antebellum South’s migration patterns, religion, and political and economic factors.⁴²

Inman and Billingsley both see the need to understand large forces such as migration and government through a familial focus. Both also agree that individuals used kin groups for political and economic goals, although Billingsley admits she has no proof of a political advantage. However, Inman clearly states that her study shows how “kinship networks helped individuals accomplish particular political and economic goals,” and affected every level of the American government.⁴³ Billingsley posits that kin groups were not collective enterprises; the emphasis was on individual success and not the needs of the whole. This seems to contradict Inman’s assertion that everybody within the Donelson family took positions that would further cement their status as an elite frontier family and that although each individual benefited from the kinship network, family ties let the whole network prosper. While these two points sound very similar, Inman is suggesting that while individual success was important, John Donelson wanted

42. *Ibid.*, 26-30.

43. Inman, “Networks and Negotiations,” 1.

to provide an 'economic edge' for his kin, who shared a united vision of wealth. Therefore success was more for the good of the kinship group.

This thesis aligns more closely with Inman and will likewise show the economic, social and political advantages that Jackson was able to offer his wards. While often thorough, most studies of Andrew Jackson either do not take the utilization of kinship networks into account or merely skim over the topic. However, Cheatham's forthcoming study synthesizes the trending biographical vein of Jacksonian scholarship with Natalie Inman's dissertation on trans-Appalachian kinship networks to produce one of the most thorough studies of Jackson to date by using kinship as a lens of study.

Christopher J. Olsen's essay "White Families and Political Culture in the Old South" also shows how kin networks potentially provided economic and political assistance. Olsen illustrates that political and economic success often relied on kinship support, especially in rural communities.⁴⁴ This essay is important because it reveals that motives for keeping close with extended kinship networks could be mutually beneficial if a member obtained economic or political success. Joan Cashin takes a different perspective in her article, "The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: "The Ties that Bound us was Strong," asserting that the "most important function of these visits with kinfolk was broadly social, rather than practical." Olsen also examines women's eventual role in politics as well as the difficulty of young men in gaining independence while still

44. Christopher Olsen, "White Families and Political Culture in the Old South" in *Family Values in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend and Anya Jabour (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010): 215.

honoring the wishes of influential kin.⁴⁵ Indeed, there are many issues, good and bad, inherent with a reliance on kinship.

Overall, it seems to be generally agreed that the nuclear family model we so often think of was not usually applicable in the nineteenth century. Cashin tells that families were elastic; they “were intertwined with relatives from far beyond the boundaries of their own nuclear family.”⁴⁶ Kinship provided not only affectionate relationships but also economic and political assistance, as shown in Christopher J. Olsen’s essay, which illustrates that political and economic success were often reliant upon kinship support, especially in rural communities.⁴⁷

Since so many of the wards Jackson cared for were relatives, a discussion of kinship is necessary to set Jackson’s situation in context. A comparison with his sister-in-law is instructive. Mary Purnell Donelson’s daughter and the Jacksons’ niece, Rachel Donelson Eastin, died in childbirth. Mary assumed the care of her daughter’s children, who included Mary Ann, Susanna, Elizabeth and John Donelson.⁴⁸ This falls in line with the notion of strong bonds of kinship in these frontier families. Jackson cared deeply for his wards and did much to ensure that they received the best education. He put many of his wards through well-respected colleges including West Point Military Academy and

45. Joan Cashin, “The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: ‘The Ties that Bound us was Strong,’” *Journal of Southern History* 56, no.1 (Feb. 1990), 55-70, 63; Olsen, “White Families and Political Culture in the Old South,” 223.

46. Cashin, “Structure of Antebellum Planter Families,” 55.

47. Olsen, “White Families and Political Culture in the Old South,” 215.

48. Harold Moser, David R. Hoth and George H. Hoemann, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Vol. V, 1821-1824* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 229.

Yale. Further research would need to be done to determine if Mary Purnell Donelson was able to go to such lengths for her wards. It seems unlikely that she would have been able to afford the same education Jackson provided his because she had thirteen children, although only six survived her.⁴⁹ Regardless, it appears that Jackson was not unique in his agreement to care for so many of his family members. Therefore studying his relationship with his wards provides a glimpse into the strength of kinship ties.

In addition to understanding Jacksonian scholarship, it is also necessary to include a brief historiography regarding family history and orphans in the antebellum South. While white southern planters have been the emphasis of southern family studies, historians seem to have understood that these elite families, while very interesting, were not representative of southern families as a whole, although this is a major topic among new scholars. Many studies in recent years have begun examining the different classes, races and gender through the lens of family. The history of orphans in the American South has yet to accumulate a substantial historiography. Most studies of orphans are based on specific orphanages which for local researchers is helpful, but a broad, overarching history of orphans and guardianship has yet to surface. And while there are a few studies of adoption in Tennessee, they are focused on the right to access adoption records.⁵⁰ Therefore, it is extremely difficult to posit the processes endured by most orphans in the nineteenth century American South.

49. Burke, *Emily Donelson*, 39.

50. Frederick F. Greenman and Julie K. Sandine, "Tennessee's Adoption Law" *Family Court Review* 39, Issue 1 (Jan. 2001): 58. This article focuses on the legislation that lets grown adoptees increased access to their adoption records.

Peter Bardaglio's study of the nineteenth-century household analyzes how the law treated family cases. He reveals that most cases perceived to have an effect on a family's honor were handled within the private sphere. This seems like the preferred solution since antebellum courts were reluctant to intervene in family affairs, although this would change in the mid-nineteenth century. Progressive societal changes began shifting power from white men to the state as local and state government assumed more powers to regulate family affairs.⁵¹ Bardaglio asserts that mothers made gains as legal systems changed in the mid-nineteenth century, but the separate-spheres ideology restricted women to the home. However, the author does recognize that kinship networks discouraged independent women; women still were expected to rely on their husbands.

John E. Murray's article, "Fates of Orphans: Poor Children in Antebellum Charleston," tries to look at southern family history and children's history in a new way by examining the fate of the children of orphanages. Using a quantitative approach Murray reveals that most children in orphanages were not true orphans since they often had at least one parent still alive, and most parents who took children to the orphanage were widows or widowers.⁵² That widows so often relinquished their rights to their children is interesting considering how other studies such as Bardaglio's, emphasize a mother's lack of rights, and yet this study shows that women in Charleston constantly

51. Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 129.

52. John E. Murray, "Fates of Orphans: Poor Children in Antebellum Charleston," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33, no.4 (Spring 2003): 523, <http://ehis.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=94164c13-5af1-466b-83c0-c94954220f40%40sessionmgr112&hid=124> [accessed 9/18/2011].

used a right they had as mothers, and the sole surviving parent, to surrender their children to the orphanage.

The history of adoption is also a topic that has a very recent historiography. An anthology edited by E. Wayne Carp, *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, provides alternative views of adoption, law and family as well as related subjects such as adoption agencies and media influences. Carp's collection of essays covers a wide array of subfields within adoption, family and the law, with a variety of approaches. Some authors chose quantitative methods and others narrative, covering subjects from adoption in England to nineteenth-century American children's literature. Carp's introduction to this anthology suggests that this complicated subject can best be understood if historical perspective is presented. He emphasizes the importance of adoption by claiming that a huge number of American people are affected by adoption.⁵³

One particularly intriguing essay within Carp's anthology, written by Carol J. Singley, "Building a Nation, Building a Family: Adoption in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature," studies children's literature from the nineteenth century to determine societal attitudes toward adoption in that time. The progression in attitudes surrounding adoption is of note, as the author tells that in literature after the Civil War the tone went from religious and moral tales to children as commodities, adopted for the amusement of others and without voices.⁵⁴ Other essays stress many of the same points.

53. Wayne E. Carp, ed. *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 1.

54. Carol J. Singley, "Building a Nation, Building a Family: Adoption in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature" in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, 54-70.

Susan Porter's essay, "A Good Home: Indenture and Adoption in Nineteenth-Century Orphanages," proposes that poor children were removed from impoverished homes simply because they belonged to underprivileged families, since poverty was equated with defectiveness. Singley goes further by suggesting that the poor were considered immoral.⁵⁵ However, while agreeing that poverty was linked with sin, Patricia Hart's essay, "A Nation's Need for Adoption and Competing Realities: The Washington Children's Home Society," counters that it was not enough of a basis to remove a child and that child removal was a last resort. There is much to gain from these studies, especially since, as Carp muses, the subject of adoption is in a way itself an orphan in historical scholarship.⁵⁶

Lawrence Friedman's *Private Lives: Families, Individuals, and the Law*, examines adoption through the evolution of family law. Friedman believes there has been a decline of family and accompanied by a rise of the individual, wherein the family unit is now composed of collective individuals. He shows the degree in which marriage has changed since the Colonial Era, when marriage was arranged by kin because it joined two families, not two individuals. Within traditional societies Friedman recounts that quite often a senior male in a kinship group had substantial control over other family members, and accordingly few choices were made without consulting this patriarch. When patriarchal power shifted to the individual, family units consequently lost control.⁵⁷

55. Susan Porter, "A Good Home: Indenture and Adoption in Nineteenth-Century Orphanages" in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, 55.

56. Patricia Hart, "A Nation's Need for Adoption and Competing Realities: The Washington Children's Home Society" in *Adoption in America*, 145.

Lorri Glover's *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry* is an important work in family history as she is among the earliest historians to set her study in the context of kin and sibling networks. She uses sibling and other horizontal family dynamics to show utilization of informal economic networks, and addresses how patriarchal attitudes influenced family development.⁵⁸ A discussion of southern family history would not be complete without mention of Kristen E. Wood's *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. Wood shows how these widows could maintain their own in a patriarchal world by playing on men's expectations of feminine dependency and virtue. As is true with men, not all widows who managed their husband's estates were particularly adept, but Wood clearly shows most of the women she examines as capable of independence and management.⁵⁹

Vivian Bruce Conger's iconic work, *The Widows Might: Widowhood and Gender in Early British America*, uses a regional scope and a comparative approach to show that widows had more influence in their communities than was previously realized. Through activities such as being involved in benevolent associations or opening their own shops,

57. Lawrence Friedman, *Private Lives: Families, Individuals, and the Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Friedman posits that there is no overarching norm in societal standards and uses his anthology to argue his concept of plural equality.

58. Lorri Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2000).

59. Kristen E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

women shaped their own identities. Furthermore, Conger notes how women utilized networking strategies among other women to expand their power in a male-dominated time.⁶⁰

Much of the historiography concerning antebellum southern families has been confined to elite white plantation owners. Increasingly, studies are emerging which attempt to broaden historical understanding of families in the South by analyzing “the familial and personal forces that have been obscured,” which reveal new insights into important themes such as migration and politics.⁶¹ Furthermore, historians are beginning to see that the study of family and kinship provides a new lens through which to view history. This recently developed approach seems to be best implemented through family case studies. However, in the historiography of family studies few studies are generalized any more than at a regional level. It seems that by either studying a certain family, town, county, state, etc., historians are able to glean the most insight. There is no doubt that cultural history is gaining momentum, and these works are representative of the new focus on the importance of family and kinship.

Consequently, the following chapter will be based on this new methodology. As with other lenses, it is often helpful to use case studies since they allow the author to make very specific conclusions. Analyzing Andrew Jackson’s relationship with his wards not only illustrates some of the benefits of a well-connected kinship network but also reveals insights into Jackson’s character. Furthermore, it sheds light onto the wards

60. Vivian Bruce Conger, *A Widows Might: Widowhood and Gender in Early British America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), 3.

61. Inman, “Networks in Negotiation,” 1.

themselves, many of whom had notable legacies of their own. The trends in Jacksonian historiography have shed new light on Jackson's different identities, including a southerner and a patriarch. This study of Andrew Jackson's paternalism as shown through his relationships with his wards also will better illuminate a new side to Jackson as well as reveal political or economic goals reached through his vast kinship network.⁶²

62. *Ibid.*, 8.

CHAPTER II

JACKSON AND HIS WARDS

When most people think of Andrew Jackson's personality they likely regard this complicated man as either a hero or villain based on his military or political history. Those familiar with the biographic vein of Jacksonian scholarship should be aware of Jackson's tender, protective nature towards his wife Rachel. However, very little has been written of his experience as a father. Andrew and Rachel began taking in wards as early as 1798, and Jackson continued to support some of them after his death by means of his will. Indeed, during much of the Jacksons' lives they were looking after other people's children.¹ Examining his relationship with his wards will offer a new perspective to one of the most complex, controversial figures in American history. Each examination will vary in length as there are more letters regarding some wards more than others. Wards will be examined in the following categories: non-familial wards who lived with the Jacksons, the Donelson relatives, and others.

While Rachel Jackson's perspective would also prove interesting most of Rachel's letters were burned in 1834.² Therefore it is difficult to interpret her feelings regarding their many wards. Jackson, in addition to often housing and overseeing his wards, also used his experience as a lawyer to help many wards fight lawsuits. Most wards would not have lived in today's Hermitage. The Jacksons lived at their Hunter's Hill property until they bought a less valuable property neighboring theirs, originally named Rural Retreat,

1. Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, 35.

2. The Ladies' Hermitage Association, "Rachel," The Hermitage, <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/family/rachel> [accessed April 21, 2011].

in 1804. The “First Hermitage” was a two-story log cabin that was already on the property, and the Jacksons lived in that structure for seventeen years. The mansion was built in 1821, and after moving in they converted the log cabin into slave quarters.³ Therefore, most of his wards who lived with them would have lived in the log cabin.

Several laws pertained to guardianship during the long period that Andrew Jackson acted as a guardian. The age of majority was twenty-one, and if a person orphaned under that age was orphaned and unmarried, they would be transferred to the care of a guardian. The guardian was responsible for the care and education of the ward, and if they failed at this duty the courts would be responsible for any loss to the orphan’s estate. When the court appointed the orphan a guardian, the guardian took control of the orphan’s estate. Therefore the courts had good reason to want to ensure the appointment of a trustworthy guardian, and Andrew Jackson met that criterion.⁴ When Jackson was appointed guardian of Samuel Donelson’s children, he first had to collect money due the estate. When that was done he had to sell portions of his wards’ estate in Wilson and Rutherford counties at auction, which should have first been approved by the courts, to

3. The Ladies’ Hermitage Association, “Archeology,” The Hermitage, <http://www.thehermitage.com/mansion-grounds/farm/archaeology#The%20First%20Hermitage> [accessed February 12, 2013].

4. John Haywood, *Public Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina and Tennessee, Enacted From 1715 to 1813 in Force in Tennessee*, chapter V, section 5, 98 (1815). “*And be it further enacted ... that the superior courts and inferior courts of pleas and quarter sessions ... shall have full power and authority ... to take cognizance of all matters concerning orphans and their estates, and to appoint guardians in such cases where to them it shall appear necessary; and shall take good security of all guardians ... and if any court shall commit an orphan’s estate to the charge or guardianship of any person or persons without taking good and sufficient security for the same, the justice or justices appointing such guardian, shall be liable for all loss and damages sustained by the orphan.*”

pay off Samuel's debt. He would collect the money from the sale, and then pay the creditors. Still, it took years for Jackson to settle the estate.⁵ It is not included in the code that guardians received payment for their services. However, this may be because it was so ingrained in English common law, on which this code is based, that it was not mentioned. Also, if it were in the code a certain amount or percentage would have been set. Because there were no standards for payment, it was not uncommon for guardians to take advantage of their ward's inheritance or estate, whether they were children, mentally incompetent adults, or otherwise. The law in this regard remains largely unchanged, and guardians can still take advantage of their wards.⁶ The code is also rather vague as to whether an orphan was required to have an estate to be bound to a guardian. In cases where the deceased left no will, the code simply states that if a person died intestate, the

5. Richard Douglas Spence, "Samuel Donelson: Young Andrew Jackson's Best Friend" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 69, no.2 (Summer 2010): 118; Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter XXXIX, section 5, 223, "And be it further enacted, That when any guardian shall have notice of any debt or demand against the estate of his or her ward, he or she may apply to the county court wherein such guardianship of was granted, for an order to sell so much of the personal or real estate of such ward as may be sufficient to discharge such debt or demand ... the proceeds of such sales shall be considered as assets in the hands of the guardian for the benefit of the creditors."

6. Charles Nelson, interview by author, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN, February 26, 2013. The law in this regard remains largely unchanged, and guardians can still take advantage of their wards; see Walter F. Roche, "Conservatorship is Meant to Protect, but in Tennessee, it Sometimes Destroys," *The Tennessean*, April 15, 2012, <http://www.tennessean.com/article/20120415/NEWS01/304150037/Conservatorship-meant-protect-Tennessee-sometimes-destroys> [accessed February 26, 2013]; Walter F. Roche, "Davidson County Public Guardian Charges Lawyer Fees just to Run Errands," *The Tennessean*, February 17, 2013, <http://www.tennessean.com/article/20130217/NEWS01/302170081/Davidson-County-public-guardian-charges-lawyer-fees-just-run-errands> [accessed February 26, 2013].

estate would go to their closest kin.⁷ If no estate was to be had, this may have been an example of a way in which kinship networks were utilized.⁸ However, guardians were always appointed if an orphan was without one.⁹ Sometimes guardians were family members and sometimes close friends.

In addition to the duties of paying off the debts of their ward's estate, a guardian was also required to appear before the courts annually to present an account of the ward's estate, and an annual orphan's court was held at the beginning of the year for this purpose.¹⁰ Records of Jackson giving an annual account seem to be nonexistent.

7. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter V, section 17, 102, "*And be it further enacted ... that the grand jury of every county in this province, shall annually, at the orphans court to be holden for their counties, respectively, to be charged with and present to the justices thereof, in writing, the names of all orphan children within their parish that they shall know, have not guardians appointed them, and are not bound out to some trade or employment.*" The following passages do not state what happened after the unattached orphan's names were announced.

8. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter LIII, section 1, 523, "*Be it enacted ... that in all cases where any person within this state, shall die intestate, without issue, and possessed of any estate, real or personal, the real estate, and every part thereof, shall descend to such person or persons who are next of kin to said decedent.*"

9. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter XXXIX, section 4, 223, "*Provided also ... where the minor shall have no guardian, then and in that case, the court shall appoint a guardian.*"

10. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter V, section 15, 101, "*And be it further enacted ... that when a guardian shall be appointed to an orphan by an superior or inferior court, such guardian shall, at the next court after his appointment, exhibit an account, upon oath, of all the estate of such orphan which he or she shall have received ... and every guardian heretofore or hereafter to be by any such court appointed shall annually exhibit his account, and state of the profits and disbursements of the estate of such orphan.*"; section 9, 99; *And be it further enacted ... That the justices of every inferior court of pleas and quarter sessions in this province, respectively, shall on the first day of January in every year, hold an orphan's court for the purpose of aforesaid; and every person heretofore appointed, or that shall hereafter be appointed guardian to any orphan by any court, or by deed or will ... shall exhibit such account.*" Like Tennessee's parent state of North

Although technically bound by law, Jackson was well connected and could influence adherence to these laws. This is not to suggest that he was negligent; he did represent his wards in lawsuits to protect their estates. However, the lack of accounting records should not suggest that he never presented his wards' accounts. Many of the earliest records were loose records, which, as the name implies, means they were unbound. Often, clerks would transcribe the information from these records into "official" books, but sometimes not every loose record was recorded in this compilation. Furthermore, especially with Tennessee's earliest records, these documents could have been victims of disasters, especially fire. It still is not uncommon to find documents for sale on websites such as eBay, especially ones that have a signature of a prominent figure, such as Andrew Jackson.¹¹ Jackson also would have been required by law to ensure a proper education for his wards.¹² If Jackson as guardian was to spend more than allotted on a ward's education, the courts could reimburse him. If the estate of an orphan during this time was not sufficient to send the ward to school, the orphan was then bound by the court to be an apprentice, although it seems that if a guardian was willing to pay, then apprenticeship

Carolina, the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in addition to the Superior Court of Law and Equity was the original structure of the courts in Tennessee's first Constitution. The Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions was essentially a County Court with a broader jurisdiction and this was the court through which orphan and estate-related cases were handled. Tennessee followed North Carolina's legal structure while still a territory and many years after Tennessee was admitted to statehood. The Supreme Court was not technically created until the Constitutional Convention of 1834.

11. Nelson, interview.

12. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter V, section 7, 98. "And be it further enacted, that the bond to be given by any person or persons appointed guardian as aforesaid, shall be made payable to the justice or justices present in court and granting such guardianship, the survivors or survivor of them, their executors or administrators, in trust, for the benefit of the child or children committed to the tuition and care of such guardian."

was not necessary.¹³ Unfortunately, Jackson's guardian account records are unaccounted for, so it is impossible to be very specific about the financial arrangements.

Wards Who Lived with the Jacksons

Andrew Jackson, Jr.

Born in 1809, Andrew Jackson, Jr. was the son of Severn Donelson, who was one of Rachel's brothers and cousin to Jackson's other Donelson wards. The Jacksons took on the care of Andrew Jr. in October 1809 when he was only three days old. Descendants of Andrew Jr. claim that Jackson formalized the adoption although no record has been found.¹⁴ Andrew Jr. had a twin, Thomas Jefferson Donelson, who stayed with his mother Elizabeth Rucker Donelson. Accounts tell that Elizabeth barely survived the childbirth and could not physically care for her two infant sons, which offers an explanation for why the brothers were separated, although it is not certain this is the true reason.¹⁵ This is not to say that Jackson did not also look after Thomas. For instance, in 1830 Thomas asked Jackson if he could borrow a bed, and Jackson had William Donelson arrange for a

13. Haywood, *Public Acts*, chapter V, section 18-19, 102. "*And further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it Shall may be lawful for every guardian to charge in his account all reasonable disbursement and expenses; and if, upon rendering such account, it shall appear to the court that such guardian hath, really and bona fide, disbursed more in one year than the profits of the orphan's estate due amount onto, for the education and maintenance of such orphan, such guardian shall be allowed and paid for the same out of the profits of such orphan's estate in any other year. Provided always, That such disbursements be, in the opinion of such court, suitable to the degree and circumstances of the estate of such orphan; and that where such estate shall be of small value that no person will educate and maintain him or her for the profits thereof, such orphan shall, by direction of the court, be bound apprentice.*"

14. Charles F. Bryan, Jr., Harold D. Moser and Sharon MacPherson, ed. *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* [hereafter written as *PAJ*], *Vol. II, 1804-1813* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 218, editor's note.

15. Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 131.

bed to be sent to him and to buy blankets, sheets, and other accessories to go with it. Jackson recounted Thomas's unfortunate situation in a letter to William: "I well recollect when I was left an orphan, my situation was more desolate that his, but I have learned to feel for all in his situation ... I praise my god that I have the means to aid him in this little, but necessary boon."¹⁶

According to Donelson oral tradition, "General Jackson and his wife went over to the home, chose one of the boys...and named him Andrew Jackson, Jr ... they ... reared him with the tenderest care, educated him, and the devotion of this father and son is well known."¹⁷ Indeed, it seems that the Jacksons had a special relationship with Andrew Jr., whom they regarded as their own child (Figure 1). Unlike the other wards, Jackson often referred to him as his "sweet little son."¹⁸ Rachel indicated her adoration for Andrew Jr. as well in a letter to Jackson, writing to him that "our Little Andrew is well the most affectionate Little Darling on Earth often dos he ask me in bed not to cry ... you cant think how that has supported me in my trials."¹⁹ Jackson's affections for Andrew Jr. are obvious throughout his correspondence.

16. AJ to William Donelson, January 30, 1830, in *PAJ, Vol. VIII, 1830*, eds. Daniel Feller, Thomas Coens, and Laura-Eve Moss (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 59.

17. S.G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (Nashville: Ambrose Printing, 1918), 632.

18. Rachel Jackson to AJ, February 8, 1813, in *PAJ, Vol. III, 1814-1815*, ed. Harold D. Moser; David R. Hoth, Sharon C. MacPherson and John H. Reinbold (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 361-62.

19. *Ibid.*



Figure 1. Ralph E. W. Earl, *Andrew Jackson, Jr.*, 1817-1822. The Hermitage, Nashville, Tennessee. <http://tnportraits.org/jackson-andrew-jr-635.htm> [accessed April 20, 2011].

During Jackson's continued absence for his military campaigns, he wrote to Rachel inquiring about Andrew Jr. Through her, he encouraged Andrew Jr. to continue learning, and, if he did well, Jackson would bring him a "pretty" from his travels, although he did not indicate what the gift would be.²⁰ After Jackson was ordered home from New Orleans, he wrote Rachel saying, "kiss my little Andrew for me tell him his papa is coming home."²¹ Jackson had high aspirations for Andrew Jr., at one point asking Rachel to tell him that he would "make a general of him."²²

Young Andrew Jr. deeply loved Jackson as well. In a letter to her husband, Rachel commented that Andrew Jr. would sleep with the letters Jackson wrote and called out in the night for his father.²³ Jackson closely monitored Andrew Jr.'s education. Andrew Jr. studied at Davidson Academy and the University of Nashville. He revealed at one point that the schooling of Andrew Jr. as well as that of another ward, Andrew Hutchings, had been interrupted because they had been attending a dancing school in Nashville.²⁴ After a short stint in Washington following Jackson's presidential

20. AJ to Rachel Jackson, March 13, 1816, in *PAJ, Vol. IV, 1816-1820*, ed. Harold D. Moser, David R. Hoth and George H. Hoemann (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 14.

21. AJ to Rachel Jackson, March 15, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 387.

22. AJ to Rachel Jackson, March 21, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 393-94.

23. Rachel Jackson to AJ, March 11, 1814, in *PAJ Vol. III*, 44-45.

24. Ladies' Hermitage Association, "Hermitage Children," The Hermitage <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/family/children> [accessed Feb. 10, 2013]; AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, August 6, 1822, in *PAJ, Vol. V, 1821-1824*, ed. Harold D. Moser, David R. Hoth and George H. Hoemann (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 212-15.

inauguration, Andrew Jr. was sent home to Tennessee and assumed control of Jackson's estate, The Hermitage (Figure 2).

After Rachel died, Jackson revealed to Andrew Jr. that he felt happiness only when knowing that his family was prosperous and happy. When Andrew Jr. began courting Mary Florida Dickson, Jackson wrote offering advice about how to approach her about marriage.²⁵ Mary Dickson, known as Miss Flora, grew up near the Jacksons and was also a ward, although she was under the guardianship of Colonel Edward Ward.²⁶ Despite Jackson's approval of Miss Flora, he urged Andrew Jr. that if the courtship proved unsuccessful, he should not enter into another courtship until speaking with him because Andrew Jr. required more education to make a good choice for a mate.²⁷ When Jackson learned that Andrew Jr. would not marry Miss Flora, he once again instructed Andrew Jr. to talk with him if he became interested in another woman and reminded him that "my happiness depends much upon the prudence of our choice."²⁸ Jackson's relationship advice concerning Andrew Jr. and Miss Flora shows the extent of Jackson's involvement in his adopted son's life. It is also apparent from Jackson's letters regarding

25. AJ to Andrew Jackson, Jr., July 22, 1829, in *PAJ, Vol. VII, 1829*, ed. Daniel Feller; Harold D. Moser, Laura-Eve Moss and Thomas Coens. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 340. Andrew Jackson, Jr. will henceforth be referred to as AJ, Jr. Jackson gives similar advice to AJ, Jr. on July 26, 1829, (345).

26. AJ to AJ, Jr., August 20, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 386. Flora's father was a congressman and physician in Nashville. It is worth noting that most of the wards mentioned come from prestigious families. The Donelsons were one of the largest, most influential landholders on the frontier, and the Butler wards were children of a hero in the American Revolution.

27. *Ibid.*

28. AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, September 21, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 446-47.



Figure 2. Ralph E.W. Earl, *Andrew Jackson Jr.* 1829-1838. The Hermitage. <http://tnportraits.org/jackson-andrew-jr-643.htm> [accessed March 2, 2013].

Andrew Jr. as well as Andrew Hutchings that he highly valued education and was sure that in order to be successful in life, one must have this advantage. Andrew Jr. married Sarah Yorke of Philadelphia in 1831. They lived in The Hermitage and had five children, Rachel, Andrew, Samuel, Thomas and Robert, although the last two died as babies.²⁹

Although Jackson deeply cared for his adopted son, he was forced to “clean up” after him. Andrew Jr. was put in the position of manager of The Hermitage while Jackson was in Washington serving his presidential terms, but he turned out to be a poor manager of money. Jackson was forced to sell Hunter’s Hill, a tract of approximately 640 acres on which he had previously lived with Rachel. He wrote to a friend that “a little imprudence has caused this necessity, and I would always rather sacrifice property than the credit of my adopted son or myself.”³⁰ Interestingly, Jackson had trouble finding a buyer for the property and eventually sold it Elizabeth E. Donelson, the widow of Rachel’s nephew John.

Andrew Jr. continued making notes for large sums without Jackson’s approval, some of which Jackson was not able to pay. In a letter dated November 11, 1839, Jackson chided his friend William B. Lewis for not informing him of a large purchase made by Andrew Jr. before Jackson left Washington, where he could have procured additional means. Jackson informed Lewis that he had given every spare means to settle debts and

29. Ladies’ Hermitage Association, “Sage of The Hermitage,” The Hermitage <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/andrew-jackson/sage-of-the-hermitage> [accessed Feb. 10, 2013].

30. H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (New York: First Anchor Books Edition, 2006), 533-34.

simply had no more money to cover Andrew Jr.'s debt.³¹ Despite Jackson's compunctions about borrowing money, he must have felt that the crops at The Hermitage would not be sufficient to cover Andrew Jr.'s debts because Jackson took a \$3,000 line of credit from Mr. Nichol to help him cover his outstanding expenses.³² Andrew, Jr. was the only ward that he and Rachel considered to be a child of theirs. Perhaps for this reason Jackson was particularly gentle, although repetitive, when chiding him as he wrote "But I hope ... we will be able to clear ourselves of debt and be freedmen once more, when I hope you thereafter my dear son will be carefull of running in debt again."³³ Only four days later Jackson again wrote to Andrew Jr. explaining his hope that these experiences with debt "will be a shield to prevent hereafter from running into debt for things useless to your comfort or prosperity or that of your little family ... I will die contented in the

31. AJ to Major William B. Lewis, November 11, 1839, in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Vol. VI*, ed. John Spencer Bassett (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933), 40. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson will henceforth be referred to as CAJ. According to the *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, William B. Lewis had a close relationship with Jackson. Jackson appointed him quartermaster of the 1813 Creek War campaign and later Lewis had a strong influence on Jackson's successful political bids for the United States Senate and President of the United States by defending claims against Jackson's marriage. Jackson rewarded Lewis's loyalty by appointing him second auditor to the Treasury and inviting him to live at the White House. As part of Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet he held great influence until he came to a disagreement with Jackson over the spoils system and Second Bank of the United States, but retained his position although with less sway over Jackson. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=700> [accessed January 12, 2013].

32. AJ to AJ, Jr., December 24, 1839, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 44. William Nichol was a prominent Nashville businessman, according to William Speer's *Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans: Biographies and Records of Many of the Families Who Have Attained Prominence in Tennessee* (1888; repr., Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 277.

33. AJ to AJ, Jr., December 27, 1839, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 45.

hope that you will never again encumber yourself with debt, that may result in the poverty of yourself and little family of so much promise.”³⁴

Andrew Jr. greatly stressed his father with his poor money management skills as Jackson privately indicated to his confidants, often his ward Andrew Jackson Hutchings. Furthermore, either Andrew Jr. had such poor accounting skills that he truly did not know how much he owed or he concealed it from Jackson. On one occasion, while Andrew Jr. was ill, Jackson went to Nashville to pay off his debts. However, when Jackson arrived to settle these accounts he “found them to exceed, anything I had conceived of” and they cost Jackson all of his active funds for a time.³⁵ Jackson revealed that all of the money he had accumulated since returning to The Hermitage after his presidency ended had been spent helping Andrew Jr. Moreover, when the profits of the plantation came, he would let Andrew Jr. retain all earnings except enough to enable Jackson to visit his relatives.³⁶

Interestingly, when Jackson had cleared Andrew Jr.’s accounts he remarked that Andrew Jr. had been greatly swindled, thus at least partially removing blame from his ward.³⁷ By the end of the year 1840, Jackson had spent approximately \$15,000 towards Andrew Jr.’s debts, which were still not completely paid off.³⁸ Jackson later reflected on

34. AJ to AJ, Jr., December 31, 1839, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 46.

35. AJ to Andrew Jackson Hutchings, August 3, 1840, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 69. Hutchings will henceforth be referred to as AJH.

36. *Ibid.*

37. AJ to AJH, August 12, 1840, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 70-1.

38. AJ to William B. Lewis, December 26, 1840, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 86; According to www.westegg.com, in 1840 \$15,000 would be approximately \$340,000, based on current

these stressful times and explained that he had helped Andrew Jr. because “he had been adopted and raised by my dear wife and myself, was my only representative to perpetuate my name, and when I viewed the goodness and amiability of his dear wife and little children, I could not withstand from stepping forward to extricate him.”³⁹

Unfortunately Andrew, Jr. could not stay out of debt, but after Andrew Jackson died in 1845, he had to settle his own accounts. Cheatham best summarizes Andrew Jr.’s lack of financial skill as he tells that, “by 1855, he had managed to turn the \$100,000 of wealth that Andrew Jackson had left him into \$150,000 of debt.”⁴⁰ In 1856 he owed approximately \$48,000, so Andrew Jr. sold five hundred acres of The Hermitage to the State of Tennessee.⁴¹

Although Jackson did what he could for Andrew Jr., his adopted son simply lacked skill in accounting and business. Despite the expense Andrew Jr. incurred, Jackson still loved him and did what he could to ensure Andrew Jr. had a good life. Andrew Jr. died of lockjaw, the result of an infected wound, in 1865.⁴² Though Andrew

value of the dollar. The exact amount calculated by the inflation calculator was \$15,000 in 1840 equals \$339,968.84 in 2012 dollars. www.westegg.com/inflation/ [accessed November 5, 2012].

39. AJ to William B. Lewis, March 26, 1842, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 146-48.

40. Mark Cheatham, *Old Hickory’s Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson* (Louisiana State University, 2007), 300-1.

41. Ladies’ Hermitage Association, “Decline & Decay,” The Hermitage <http://www.thehermitage.com/mansion-grounds/mansion/decline-decay> [accessed December 2, 2012]. AJ, Jr. eventually sold the remaining Hermitage property and moved to a plantation in Mississippi.

42. Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2009), 352.

Jr. was the only ward Jackson ever considered to be his son, Jackson enjoyed being a paternal figure and helped many more children.

Lyncoya and Other Indian Children

Lyncoya was a Creek baby found by Jackson's translator in the arms of his dead mother, in November, 1813, after a battle of the Creek War. Jackson had asked the women of Lyncoya's clan to care for him, but they wanted to kill him since his parents were dead. Jackson took pity upon the child and fed him a mixture of water and brown sugar. He then sent Lyncoya to Huntsville to be cared for until the end of the campaign and then had him sent to The Hermitage. It is not clear how old Lyncoya was when Jackson took him in. Some historians say he was an infant and others claim he was as much as two years old.⁴³

It seems that Jackson may have intended Lyncoya to be a companion for Andrew Jr. as he states in another letter to Rachel that, "I send to my little Andrew, and I hope will adopt him as one of our family."⁴⁴ It is of note that Jackson did not consult Rachel before sending Lyncoya to The Hermitage, which is an example of Jackson exercising his power as patriarch. Jackson later wrote Rachel, asking if "his little Indian was taken to him."⁴⁵ This could mean that Jackson was concerned that Lyncoya might not be allowed

43. Meacham, *American Lion*, 34; Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire, 1767-1821*, 193-94; Ladies' Hermitage Association, "The Hermitage Children," The Hermitage <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/family/children> [accessed December 18, 2012]. Remini tells that Lyncoya was ten months old, but The Hermitage notes that he was born approximately 1811, and therefore would have been around two years old when Jackson took him in in 1813.

44. AJ to Rachel Jackson, December 19, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 495.

45. AJ to Rachel Jackson, December 29, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 515-16.

to associate with Andrew Jr. Jackson also told Rachel that since the child's family was killed, "I therefore want him well taken care of."⁴⁶ It seems that Jackson felt responsible for the boy whom he had orphaned. Jackson even compared Lyncoya's situation to his own experience as an orphan. While Lyncoya was en route to The Hermitage, Jackson wrote to Rachel that he knew she would treat him like an orphan.⁴⁷ Although Jackson and his troops orphaned many others, Lyncoya seems to be the only one he took in to his home. It has been suggested that when Jackson was feeding Lyncoya, something struck Jackson about this child who had lost his innocence on the frontier, just as Jackson had as a boy. It may have been that Jackson came to see Lyncoya as a symbol, representing all those whom he had orphaned.⁴⁸

Despite Jackson's efforts, Lyncoya's life still seemed to have been difficult, and his childhood at The Hermitage was complicated. Although Jackson considered him a ward, Lyncoya still felt like an outcast. As Jackson once told Rachel, "I have been much hurt to see him there with the negroes, like a lost sheep without a sheperd."⁴⁹ Since Jackson saw a part of himself in Lyncoya, his socialization with the slaves might have seemed unacceptable given the social standards of the time. While before Jackson may have been content for Lyncoya to be some type of companion to Andrew Jr., he now likely wanted the child to be well socialized so that he might assimilate into Tennessee

46. AJ to Rachel Jackson, December 29, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 516.

47. AJ to Rachel Jackson, February 1, 1814, in *PAJ Vol. III*, 23-4.

48. *Jacksonian and Antebellum Age: People and Perspectives*, ed. Mark R. Cheatham (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2008), 137.

49. AJ to Rachel Jackson, September 18, 1816, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 62.

society. Since Jackson wanted Lyncoya to be a saddle maker's apprentice, Jackson probably realized that Lyncoya needed to be well socialized.⁵⁰ A study of Jackson's relationship with his slaves might also help to understand what he meant about Lyncoya playing with "the negroes."⁵¹

When Lyncoya arrived, the only other ward at The Hermitage was Andrew Jr. However, another Indian child, named Charley, arrived soon after. Charley was a Creek Indian child whom Jackson received from James Fife, and gave to Andrew Jr. in 1814.⁵² Andrew Jr. seemed slightly frustrated by both of his Indian companions. In a letter to Jackson, he complained that "no one will fetch my Lyncoia ... I like Charly but he will not mind me."⁵³ It is possible that Charly stayed at The Hermitage and became Jackson's superintendent of his horses based on a letter in which Jackson discussed horses: "Under their late superintendent, my faithful Charly, they are doing well."⁵⁴

There is also evidence that another Indian child was already residing at the Hermitage when Lyncoya arrived. This child, Theodore, is briefly mentioned in a few letters. When Jackson was estimating Lyncoya's age to Rachel, he said that he was about

50. Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars* (New York: Penguin Group, 2002), 65. Cheatham notes that Jackson had also been a saddle maker's apprentice for a short time before he moved to what is now Tennessee. Cheatham, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner*, 22.

51. AJ to Rachel Jackson, September 18, 1816, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 62. The study of Jackson's relationship with the slaves has received little attention throughout Jacksonian scholarship, however, the subject is beginning to be more thoroughly studied.

52. *PAJ Vol. III*, 60, fn.2.

53. AJ, Jr. to AJ, April 8, 1814, in *PAJ Vol. III*, 60.

54. AJ to Francis P. Blair, May 23, 1842, in *PAJ Vol. VI*, 152-53.

Theodore's age.⁵⁵ It is unclear what happened to Charley and Theodore. Although a study of Lyncoya and the other Indian children would be of interest, there are few known sources to help answer questions about their place in the Jackson household and family life.

In a letter to James Gadsden, who served under Jackson in several military campaigns, Jackson tells of the hardship of sending his sons, including Lyncoya, to school because of the lack of paper money. Lyncoya attended Davidson Academy along with Andrew Jr. Jackson had hoped to send the boy to West Point Academy but was convinced a political rival would ensure that Lyncoya was not accepted. Instead, Jackson decided that he should learn a trade. Lyncoya became the apprentice to a saddle maker in Nashville. He died of tuberculosis in 1828.⁵⁶ An alternate account tells that Lyncoya ran away, back to his nation of origin, never to be seen again. This story has little evidentiary support and is widely disregarded throughout scholarship.⁵⁷

Lyncoya's gravesite remains unknown. This is of note because if Jackson had truly considered Lyncoya to be part of his family, Jackson likely would have buried him in the family cemetery. Except for one letter of unknown authorship, which Lyncoya may have written, there is no known correspondence between Lyncoya and Jackson.⁵⁸

55. AJ to Rachel Jackson, November 4, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 444.

56. AJ to James Gadsden, May 2, 1822, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 180; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 194.

57. W.E. Beard, *It Happened in Nashville, Tennessee: A Collection of Historical Incidents Which Occurred in Nashville, Are Commemorated There, or in Which Nashville People Were Actors* (Nashville: Davie Printing, 1912), 19.

Therefore, the ability to understand Lyncoya's relationship with Jackson is limited. Nonetheless, Lyncoya represents a particularly soft side of Jackson. And although Jackson was not able to get Lyncoya into West Point, it is of note that Jackson also was once a saddle maker's apprentice. In fact, Remini tells us that Jackson was strongly drawn to the craft because of his love for horses and that it helped him through one of the most trying times of his life after his mother died.⁵⁹ It has been suggested that Lyncoya's death in "white society" influenced Jackson's opinion that Native Americans could not assimilate in white culture. Considering the controversy surrounding Jackson's view of Native Americans, if records were to surface that document their relationship it could alter every history that is ever again written of Jackson.⁶⁰

The Donelson Children

Samuel Donelson and his wife Polly Smith Donelson had three sons, John Samuel, Andrew Jackson, and Daniel Smith. After Samuel died, leaving Polly a young widow with three young children, Jackson became their guardian, and they lived part-

58. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars*, 298. The letter is dated December 13, 1825 and is in the Tennessee Historical Society's Hurja Collection, housed at the Tennessee State Library & Archives. Although its authenticity is questionable because of the language in the letter, it is the only known letter that Lyncoya may have written.

59. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 27.

60. Mark R. Cheatham, ed. *Jacksonian and Antebellum Age*, 137. AJ's Indian Removal Act has been a source of controversy in Jackson scholarship. He is depicted as a villain in works focusing on the American Indian perspective such as Michael Paul Rogin's *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975) and Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993). Robert Remini's study, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) represents the other side to this debate. He insists that Jackson honestly believed he saved the Indians.

time at The Hermitage.⁶¹ There are different accounts of Samuel Donelson's death. Some historians claim that he never returned from hunting, while others insist he got caught in a snowstorm and died of pneumonia. The year of his death is unclear as well, with accounts varying from 1803 to 1805. The Donelson family's oral tradition says that on his deathbed, Samuel asked Jackson to be the guardian of his children; this account is in accordance with the belief that Samuel died of pneumonia.⁶² Jackson was executor of Samuel's estate, which was no easy task since Samuel died intestate and in debt.⁶³ Contrastingly, when Severn Donelson, one of Jackson's brothers-in-law, died in 1818 he did not make Jackson guardian of his children. He instead chose to give guardianship to William Donelson.⁶⁴ Perhaps Severn thought it best to rely on other capable kin members because Jackson was already caring for an impressive count of wards.

John Samuel Donelson

Born in 1797, John Samuel was approximately seven years old when his father, Samuel, died, although since there are varying accounts for when Samuel died it is difficult to say with accuracy. John Samuel, known as "Jacky," became a source of contention within the family. John, on at least one occasion, disobeyed his mother and

61. Ladies' Hermitage Association, "Hermitage Children," The Hermitage, <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/family/children> [accessed October 15, 2012].

62. Spence, "Samuel Donelson," 117.

63. *Ibid.*, 118.

64. Davidson County Clerk Office, *Davidson County Guardian Book, 1825-1831*, Metropolitan Government Archives, Nashville, TN. The June 29, 1825 entry shows that Alexander, Lucinda, Samuel, Thomas Jefferson, John, and James Donelson were signed over as William Donelson's wards.

charged that Jackson had told him to do so. This deepened an existing rift between Jackson and John's new stepfather, James Sanders, which quickly turned hostile. Sanders was a farmer in Sumner County, a former delegate to the North Carolina General Assembly, a member of the Tennessee legislature, and had surveyed with Daniel Smith. He had accused Jackson of treason for his association with Aaron Burr, who was famously convicted of treason for attempting to start his own empire.

Cheatham posits that John Samuel pitted Sanders and Jackson against each other on purpose to avoid punishment. When Jackson was informed that Sanders had told John that Jackson could not give him orders, he threatened to beat Sanders for challenging his authority. Sanders in return threatened Jackson, but there is no indication anything else happened.⁶⁵ However, years later Sanders would dispute a land inheritance left to the Donelson boys by their grandfather that again caused a rift. This conflict is an event that only endeared Jackson to the boys, as Jackson was protective of them. Although the Donelson boys were no longer orphans technically, they lived at least part-time at The Hermitage, likely because of their admiration of Jackson and resentment of Sanders. His mother grew disconnected from John and his brothers.⁶⁶ Jackson took in the boys and provided them his home and an education. He hired two tutors for John and his brothers and John later joined Jackson in the Creek War.⁶⁷ After the war, John became ill while

65. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 11-12.

66. *Ibid.*, 43.

67. Spence, "Samuel Donelson," 119; James Sanders to AJ, March 26, 1809, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 215; Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 11-13, 42-43.

surveying in Alabama and died in 1817 at the age of twenty.⁶⁸ He never married or had any children.

Andrew Jackson Donelson

In comparison to the other wards, much more is known of Andrew Jackson Donelson (hereafter AJD), who was born in 1799 and would have been about five years old at the time of his father's death. Throughout his letters Jackson referred to AJD as his son, but referred to himself as AJD's uncle. Thus, while Jackson was comfortable enough to call AJD his son, he apparently did not think of himself as his father.⁶⁹ Perhaps having known AJD's father, Jackson did not feel comfortable referring to himself as such, although Jackson truly acted as a parent. Moreover, since AJD's mother was still alive, referring to himself as AJD's father likely would have been awkward and socially unacceptable.

Jackson desperately sought to communicate with AJD. Their correspondence reveals that AJD rarely wrote to his uncle after he left The Hermitage to attend school. It would seem from Jackson's constant questioning that AJD either would not or could not take the time to write, although he told Jackson that acquiring papers he required for correspondence was difficult.⁷⁰ Jackson diligently tried to learn how AJD was doing in school, often inquiring about the results of exams.⁷¹ Jackson also wanted AJD to know

68. Spence, "Samuel Donelson," 117-19.

69. AJ to AJD, December 28, 1818, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 263.

70. AJ to AJD, July 14, 1818, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 222.

71. *Ibid.*

that he would be cared for, writing “as [far] as I have the means all your real wants shall be supplied.”⁷² He kept AJD informed of his correspondence with Daniel Smith Donelson and Samuel Hays, his brother and cousin, respectively.⁷³ Rachel also cared for AJD, referring to herself as his “Second Mother” and offering him advice. However, the advice she gave was religious, whereas Jackson’s advice was often more worldly and practical.⁷⁴

AJD attended Cumberland College in Nashville and graduated in 1816. He then applied and was accepted to West Point on June 20, 1817. When Jackson learned that AJD had been admitted he wrote giving him general advice such as to be slow to make friends and warning him that “many snares will be laid for the inexperienced youth to draw him into disipation, vice & folly, against these snares I wish to guard you.”⁷⁵ AJD was grateful for Jackson’s assistance, describing himself as “a nephew who is at a loss for words to express his love and Gratitude to his Uncle.”⁷⁶ AJD seemed to have an understanding of the dynamic of their relationship since he referred to himself as Jackson’s nephew.

72. Ibid., 223.

73. AJ to AJD, February 26, 1824, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 367.

74. Rachel Jackson to AJD, October 19, 1818, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 244.

75. AJ to AJD, February 24, 1817, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 91.

76. AJD to AJ, May 5 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 296-97.

By 1819 war was anticipated in Florida, and Jackson wanted to bring AJD with him if war came.⁷⁷ Jackson used his influence to achieve this end. Writing the Secretary of War John Caldwell Calhoun in 1820, he requested that AJD be allowed to take an examination before the other cadets in order to graduate from West Point early so that he could accompany Jackson in an anticipated Florida campaign. Calhoun advised him that it would be best for AJD to graduate with his classmates since he would be in the top of his class and have his pick of a placement, unless the country authorized the campaign.⁷⁸

Jackson, calling on his own experience, recommended that AJD select the engineer or artillery corps, unless the country continued in a time of peace, in which case his talents would be wasted in the military. However, if the nation were to go to war Jackson recommended that AJD join the infantry in the Southern Division, which awarded rapid promotions.⁷⁹ Donelson served as Jackson's aide-de-camp in Florida, where Jackson had the opportunity to guide and closely monitor AJD. At the end of the campaign, Jackson recommended that AJD study law (Figure 3).

77. AJ to AJD, September 17, 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 322-23.

78. John Caldwell Calhoun to AJ, January 23, 1820 in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 352-53.

79. AJ to AJD, May 6, 1820, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 367-68.



Figure 3. *Andrew Jackson Donelson, The Hermitage*. <http://tnportraits.org/donelson-andrew-jackson.htm> [accessed March 3, 2013].

AJD attended Transylvania University to become a lawyer, which, like the military, was a way to solidify class status.⁸⁰ AJD married his first cousin, Emily Tennessee Donelson, in 1824. As Cheatham notes, first cousin marriage was encouraged and was the norm in the Donelson family, intended to strengthen the kin network. However, Bardaglio notes that first cousin marriage was a somewhat unique system because of the geography of the plantation society. The deep bond of kinship also seems to have encouraged first cousin marriage to keep assets in the family. Joan Cashin also touches on this matter as she tells how visits to kin sometimes cultivated affection that often led to marriage.⁸¹ Jackson saw that they started their married life with great advantages. He gave them a nearby plantation; thus, they were “rich and [began] the world full handed.”⁸²

Emily fulfilled the role of hostess of the White House under Jackson’s presidency. She also bore AJD four children before dying of illness in 1836 at the age of twenty-eight. Donelson remarried in 1841 to another cousin, Elizabeth Martin Randolph, and they had eight more children. As with Emily, he surely understood that marrying

80. Cheatham, *Old Hickory’s Nephew*, 25-28.

81. Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South*, 43; Joan Cashin, “The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: ‘The Ties that Bound us was Strong,’” 62.

82. Cheatham, *Old Hickory’s Nephew*, 37; John Donelson to John Coffee, April 15, 1825, Dyas Collection, John Coffee Papers, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN (hereafter referred to as JCP, TSLA).

Elizabeth would strengthen the Donelson clan. Cheatham posits that the struggling AJD likely did not marry Elizabeth only for happiness, considering her wealth.⁸³

Jackson expected his will to be followed and when Donelson refused to agree with Jackson on the Eaton affair, Cheatham tells that this moment caused a break in the family.⁸⁴ Donelson had defied Jackson, but only because he was following Jackson's earlier advice to be wary of people and unsavory women.⁸⁵ This event was symbolic of AJD's relationship with Jackson. Even though AJD would follow Jackson's advice, it rarely seemed to work in AJD's favor. And even when AJD was poised for greater opportunities, Jackson sometimes suppressed them, as when he discouraged Donelson's appointment as secretary of war, convinced he was not ready for the responsibility. However, this may not have been without merit. It is true that AJD was often distracted by his financial difficulties. AJD, despite being Jackson's protégé, never fully lived up to Jackson's very high expectations. While far from Burke's assertion that AJD was perfect, especially in regards to politics, he was successful in politics despite not fully comprehending the political sphere, thanks to opportunities provided by Jackson.⁸⁶ He was "a presidential advisor, charge d'affaires, minister plenipotentiary, editor of a

83. Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845, Vol. III* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 350; Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 145. Cheatham tells that Elizabeth had been previously married to Meriwether Lewis Randolph, who was a grandson of Thomas Jefferson. Randolph had been appointed by Andrew Jackson as territorial secretary of Arkansas and died a few years later, leaving Elizabeth large land holdings in Arkansas.

84. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 79.

85. *Ibid.*, 22.

86. *Ibid.*, 331-32; Burke, *Emily Donelson*, 76.

national newspaper, and vice-presidential candidate But for all of his accomplishments, Donelson remained largely in the background, working as a minor politician.”⁸⁷ Although Galloway provided a brief examination of Andrew Jackson, Jr., AJD remains the only ward to be the subject of a major biography. This is surprising, considering the distinguished lives of many of the other wards of Jackson. Cheatham’s assessment of AJD seems appropriate. He reveals an odd man, ambitious enough to want to follow his uncle’s hope of shaping the nation, but who lacked political understanding and was distracted enough by his personal matters to lose numerous opportunities, a trait that Jackson may have recognized early on.⁸⁸ He died in 1871.

Daniel Smith Donelson

Daniel Smith Donelson was born in 1801. Most correspondence regarding Daniel focused on his military aspirations and there is little mentioned of his childhood other than his education. Daniel, like his brothers, was not fond of his new stepfather, Sanders. Daniel and AJD even accused him of marrying their widowed mother purely to increase his landholdings. Orphaned at age three, Daniel lived part-time with his grandfather and namesake, Daniel Smith. However, after Daniel Smith traveled to Washington D.C. in 1805 as a Tennessee senator, the Jacksons assumed a larger role in Daniel Smith Donelson’s life, and he came to stay at The Hermitage.⁸⁹ Daniel studied under Doctor Priestly, the former president of Cumberland College, and Jackson monitored his

87. Cheatham, *Old Hickory’s Nephew*, 331-32.

88. *Ibid.*, 332.

89. Spence, “Samuel Donelson,” 118.

educational progress. Jackson's pride in Daniel is revealed in a letter to another ward, in which he states that Daniel is "a boy of fine promise."⁹⁰ Jackson would later help Daniel apply to West Point, although changes in the admission procedure meant that Daniel would have to enter on his own merit by passing an entrance examination.⁹¹

Jackson thought Daniel would do well in the army because he was "large, portly, and a good constitution."⁹² However, Daniel soon became discontented at West Point and submitted his resignation to the school, which Jackson refused to accept. In this case, Jackson was not alone in giving advice to his ward. He also sought the counsel of Daniel's brother, mother and grandmother. Daniel thus continued and graduated from West Point in 1825.⁹³ Afterwards, he was appointed 2nd lieutenant in the 3rd U.S. Artillery, but resigned in 1826 to become a planter. Shortly afterwards, he met his future wife, Margaret Branch, daughter of the secretary of the navy.⁹⁴ They married in Washington, D.C. on October 19, 1830, and had ten children. Much like Jackson did, Daniel left his military career to become a planter and engage in politics. From 1827 to 1829 he served as brigade major in the Tennessee militia, and brigadier general from

90. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 12; AJ to AJD, May 17, 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 299.

91. AJ to AJD, March 31, 1821, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 24-5.

92. AJ to John Caldwell Calhoun, December 21, 1820, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 409.

93. AJ to AJD, December 23, 1822, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 229-31. Andrew Jackson Donelson was Daniel's brother.

94. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 57, 94. John Branch was Secretary of the Navy from 1829 to 1831, but resigned due to the effects of the Eaton Affair. He was also a former governor of North Carolina and United States Senator.

1829 to 1834. From 1834 to 1836 Daniel lived in the Florida territory as a planter, then returned to Tennessee.

Daniel was a dedicated Democrat. He ran an unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1843. He served in the Tennessee General Assembly representing Sumner County from 1842-1843 and again from 1855-1859. He was elected President of the Tennessee Democratic Convention in 1855, and Speaker of the House of Representatives for the Tennessee Legislature from 1857-1859. He was a delegate to both of the Nashville conventions of 1850, and a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1860 (Figure 4).

When the Civil War began, he left politics and was commissioned as the Adjutant General of Volunteers in the Tennessee army. He served under notable generals such as Robert E. Lee and General Bragg. He then commanded a brigade in the Battle of Stone's River, and shortly afterwards he was promoted to command the Department of East Tennessee.⁹⁵ Donelson is the namesake of Fort Donelson in Tennessee. He died of

95. Robert M. McBride and Dan M. Robison, *Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, Volume I, 1796-1861*, ed. Robert M. McBride (Nashville: Tennessee State Library & Archives, Tennessee Historical Commission), 206-7; Clement Anselm Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History: A Library of Confederate States History, Volume VIII* (Atlanta, GA: Confederate Publishing Co., 1899), 307. Their children were Lizzie, Mary, Sarah, Emily, Rebecca, James, Samuel, Martha, Susan, and Daniel Smith Donelson, Jr.



Figure 4. George Dury, *Daniel Smith Donelson*, 1850. Historic Rock Castle, Hendersonville, Tennessee, <http://tnportraits.org/donelson-daniel-smith-rc.htm> [accessed September 12, 2012].

chronic diarrhea at Montvale Springs, a famous early spa in Tennessee, on April 17, 1863.⁹⁶ Authorities in Richmond, Virginia, unaware of Donelson's death, promoted him to the rank of major general mere days after his death, a rank he would have shared with Jackson (Figure 5).⁹⁷

There is relatively little evidence of Jackson's relationship with Daniel, especially compared to his brother, who was considered Jackson's protégé.⁹⁸ This is puzzling because Daniel had considerable achievements and perhaps even did as much as his brother to fulfill Jackson's expectations. Jackson's own letters indicate that he suspected Daniel would be a great man, so it is curious that Jackson would not have felt the need to mentor him any more than surviving correspondence indicates. It may be that Daniel and Jackson did not have as close of a bond since Daniel spent much of his time with his grandfather, who may have fulfilled the role of mentor.⁹⁹ However, the bond of kinship meant that, regardless of a personal connection, Jackson still saw to it that Daniel and his other wards had opportunities and received the best education.¹⁰⁰ Jackson's foundation along with his grandfather's enabled Daniel to have a successful career.

96. Spence, "Samuel Donelson," 118; David J. Eicher, *The Longest Night: A Military History of the Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 456.

97. McBride and Robison, *Biographical Directory*, 206

98. Cheatham, *Old Hickory's Nephew*, 1.

99. Burke, *Emily Donelson*, 63. According to the *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Daniel Smith was a surveyor, treaty negotiator, Secretary of the Southwest Territory, and a United States Senator.
<http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1214> [accessed January 12, 2013].

100. Inman, "Networks in Negotiation," 16.



Figure 5. *Daniel Smith Donelson*, Trousdale Place, Gallatin, Tennessee
<http://tnportraits.org/donelson-dan-smith-trous.htm> [accessed April 20, 2011].

Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Andrew Jackson Hutchings (Figure 6) was a grandnephew of Jackson's. His father, John Hutchings, was the son of Rachel's sister, Catherine Donelson, and Thomas Hutchings. John Hutchings also was a business partner of Jackson's and a man whom Jackson greatly respected. He married Mary Smith, who died in 1813. After John Hutchings died in November 1817, Jackson assumed the role of guardian of their only child, according to the terms of Hutchings' will. Born c.1812, Andrew Jackson Hutchings was five years old when he became Jackson's ward and came to live full-time at The Hermitage. One of Jackson's best friends, John Coffee, also an executor of Hutchings' estate, was heavily involved with maintaining the Hutchings' plantation in Alabama until the child was old enough to run it on his own.¹⁰¹

Jackson's interest in Hutchings was unwavering. For instance, Hutchings was expelled from the University of Nashville for throwing a chair at a professor. John Coffee had written William Donelson, asking Donelson to have Hutchings stay with him until some arrangements could be made. However, Hutchings left Donelson's house after a few days later to go back to The Hermitage, "swearing he would stay no where else."¹⁰² When Jackson was informed of what happened, he wrote Coffee asking him in a compassionate tone to "attend to [Hutchings], he is an orphan, and altho a head strong &

101. *PAJ Vol. II*, 243, fn.8. The editors claim say AJH was born in 1811, but The Hermitage gives the year as 1812. Helen Marsh and Timothy Marsh, eds. *Davidson County Tennessee Wills & Inventories, Volume One, 1783-1816* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1990), 128; *PAJ Vol. VI*, 6, fn.4. The editors note that since Coffee lived so close to Hutchings' estate, he was the one to oversee day-to-day operations.

102. William Donelson to Andrew Jackson Donelson, March 13, 1829, JCP, TSLA.

ungovernable boy, I have his prosperity & good name much at heart.”¹⁰³ He then arranged for Hutchings to study under James Otey, the master of Harpeth Academy in Franklin, Tennessee, although Hutchings would receive little personal money.¹⁰⁴

Hutchings appears in a way to be a reflection of Jackson in his early life, which may have made Jackson more determined that he listen to his advice.

Hutchings’s failures in school, and inability to follow Jackson’s authority, hurt Jackson so much that he could not initially bear writing Hutchings directly and instead relayed his request through William Donelson.¹⁰⁵ This is particularly interesting because Jackson’s fiery personality meant that he never backed down from a fight, and yet he could not make himself write a letter to Hutchings. This incident seems to confirm Robert Remini’s claim that Jackson had two personalities and could even be shy around his wards.¹⁰⁶ When Jackson was elected president of the United States, Hutchings remained for a time at The Hermitage, and it seems that William Donelson oversaw Hutchings while Jackson was in Washington. Jackson told Donelson to convey to Hutchings that “I was not prepared . . . to hear of his disgrace, which I had taken so much pains . . . nor did I believe he would . . . inflict such a wound in my feelings.”¹⁰⁷

103. AJ to John Coffee, March 19, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 104-5.

104. AJ to John Coffee, March 22, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 108-9.

105. AJ to William Donelson, Washington, March 22, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 109-10.

106. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 161.

107. AJ to William Donelson, March 22, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 109.

Hutchings promised to work harder and do what he could to be forgiven by his family. Hutchings then told Coffee that when he and Jackson wrote back to him with their advice, he would then know what to do, appearing to submit to his uncle's authority.¹⁰⁸ He wrote to Coffee that he wished to "give to my relations and friends the pleasure they so well deserve at my hand – and particularly that satisfaction to so good fathers as you and Uncle Jackson has been to me."¹⁰⁹ However, only a month later, when William Donelson received word from Jackson to send Hutchings to study under Mr. Otey, the master of Harpeth Academy in Franklin, Tennessee, Hutchings fought the order. It took at least a week for Hutchings to agree to go to Franklin, but he defiantly stated that the effort was futile because he would not stay long.¹¹⁰

Donelson accompanied Hutchings from his home at The Hermitage, and while on the way Hutchings claimed he had brief business to attend to in Nashville and promised Donelson he would meet him at a designated place to continue to Franklin. When Hutchings did not meet him, Donelson searched all day for and found him around sunset. When questioned, Hutchings "swor he would be damd" to go to Franklin on horseback and requested to take a carriage down the next day. Donelson agreed and Hutchings, after meeting Otey, came back to The Hermitage. But, having become aware of the rules of the school, he swore he would never go back. John Donelson, Hutchings' uncle and Jackson's brother-in-law, told Jackson that he had asked Hutchings what he intended to

108. Ibid.

109. AJH to John Coffee, April 9, 1829, JCP, TSLA.

110. *PAJ Vol. VII*, 109. According to the editors, James Hervey Otey, 1800-1863, was also an Episcopal clergyman; JCP, TSLA.



Figure 6. *Andrew Jackson Hutchings*, The Hermitage, Nashville, Tennessee.
<http://tnportraits.org/hutchings-andrew-jackson.htm> [accessed April 20, 2011].

do with himself. Hutchings replied that he wanted to be “a D[amn] rich old farmer like the rest of his kin Folks.”¹¹¹

Jackson wrote to Hutchings reprimanding him for his behavior and ordered him to go back to the school. Donelson told Hutchings, after receiving this letter, that “it would never do to disobey Gen [Jackson] and C [John Coffee] as he done, that you both spoke the same language, that he (H) must leave the Hermitage and go to shool”¹¹² It does seem that despite being aware of Hutchings’ apparent wish to be a farmer and therefore his lack of interest in school, Jackson was determined that he finish college. If Hutchings refused to comply, Jackson threatened to withdraw support to the point where he would only live a “decent” life.¹¹³

Hutchings likely was so difficult because he wanted to be a farmer and did not see the need for school.¹¹⁴ He did, however, return to school, although he studied at William L. Williford’s academy in Columbia, Tennessee, instead of Otey’s. Jackson begged him to take his education seriously, telling Hutchings that,

When I review the great expence I have been at to give you an education ... & now find you approaching to manhood without an education, having spent your time in idleness & folly, the tear trickles down my cheek ... that my advice be followed by you for the future- if it is, I freely pardon what is past, & will foster, & cherish for you in my boosom, those parental feelings ... that I have always had.¹¹⁵

111. John Donelson to AJ, May 19, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 229-31. Donelson tells Jackson that he thinks Hutchings will never go to school, and suggests Jackson not force Hutchings to go again because he will run away again.

112. William Donelson to John Coffee, May 27, 1829, JCP, TSLA.

113. AJ to John Donelson, June 7, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 268-70.

114. John Donelson to AJ, May 19, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 229.

Although Jackson was sincerely upset over his young ward's actions, he still felt he had to exhaust every option to provide the unwilling Hutchings an education. In addition to what he felt he owed Hutchings as his ward, Jackson felt that he owed Hutchings father this much as well. Jackson reflected that when Hutching's father was dying, he was very anxious about his son, and though Hutchings greatly distressed Jackson, he was determined to guide him through his trials.¹¹⁶ When it was clear that Hutchings would not comply with the school in Columbia, Jackson resolved to send him to the College of George Town and had Andrew Jackson, Jr. send the necessary travel and expense funds.¹¹⁷ Andrew Jackson's relationship with Hutchings demonstrates a concerned guardian who was unwilling to give up on his ward, despite great expense. This unparalleled loyalty reveals a patient father figure who was invested in his wards to a fault.

Hutchings eventually became a farmer, tending to his inherited plantation in Alabama. Jackson also helped him in this endeavor by sending him a pony and requesting that Coffee assist him.¹¹⁸ Hutchings maintained a strong, if not strained relationship with Jackson as he grew. Hutchings often proved unreliable and ungovernable and yet Jackson

115. AJ to Andrew Jackson Hutchings, June 13, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 279.

116. AJ to John Coffee, July 21, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 337.

117. *Ibid.*

118. AJ to John Coffee, January 4, 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 266.

remained steadfast.¹¹⁹ Interestingly, Hutchings married John Coffee's daughter, Mary, in August 1833, just over a month after John Coffee's death.

Considering the great burden Hutchings was to Coffee and Jackson, it is striking that Coffee would approve of this match for his daughter. However, it seems that Coffee always believed the best of Hutchings as he conveyed to his wife his hopes that "[Hutchings] will deceive the opinion at present entertained of him by most people" and Hutchings would turn out to be a good man.¹²⁰ Moreover, by marrying into Andrew Jackson's family, Coffee had made his family part of the Jackson-Donelson kinship network. Coffee therefore may have decided that the benefits of this union outweighed the disadvantages. As Billingsley notes, the benefits involved in being a part of this kinship network were lucrative, since family groups served individuals instead of public institutions.¹²¹

Like Andrew Jr., Hutchings ran into debt but did not tell Jackson. In fact, Jackson only found out about this debt after Hutchings died in 1841. Knowing that Jackson had relieved many of his relatives financially, it is interesting that Hutchings did not go to Jackson for help. When Jackson found out he wrote Hutchings' mother-in-law, Mary Coffee, asking her to have her son Alexander inform him of the true state of affairs, including the status of that branch of the family.¹²² It is possible that Hutchings was

119. AJ to AJH, March 18, 1839, in *CAP Vol. VI*, 7.

120. John Coffee to Mary Coffee, October 8, 1831, JCP, TSLA.

121. Billingsley, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*, 15.

aware of the great stress that Andrew Jr.'s debts were inflicting on Jackson and did not want to add to this, or simply did not want to admit his own failure. In any case, Jackson remained solicitous after Hutchings was married and on his own. For instance, when Hutchings' wife, Mary, was suffering after a difficult childbirth, Jackson wrote often offering comfort as well as suggestions to relieve the pain she was suffering.¹²³

Mary Ann Eastin

Mary Eastin was the daughter of William and Rachel Donelson Eastin. She was Rachel Jackson's grandniece. Mary Eastin was close to her cousin, Emily, who was Andrew Jackson Donelson's wife. She and Emily, along with other family members, went with Jackson to the White House when he was elected president in 1828. During the Eaton Affair, Mary along with Emily left and went back to Tennessee. Jackson wrote to Mary gently scolding her and Emily for not taking Jackson's advice concerning Peggy Eaton and kindly asked that they not return to the White House until they were ready to settle with Peggy. He furthermore remarked that she and the rest of the family must obey the "head," and that because they and other family members had not taken his advice as to how to handle the Eaton situation the family was divided. However, in the same letter he said that despite his disappointment he was sending her a present since she had no

122. AJ to Mary Coffee, February 10, 1843, JCP, TSLA.

123. AJ to AJH, December 19, 1839, in *CAP Vol. VI*, 40-1. Jackson often suggested the use of what he called the Matchless Senative, referenced in AJ to AJH, December 30, 1840, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 87-8, and AJ to AJH, January 14, 1841, in *CAJ Vol. VI*, 91. For further discussion on the paternal role in administering health care in patriarchal families, see Sally G. McMillen's article "Antebellum Southern Fathers and the Health Care of Children," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 3 (August 1994): 513-33.

parents to provide for her.¹²⁴ While the gift may have been out of his generosity, more likely he was being manipulative. Mary Eastin married Lucius J. Polk, a relative of future president James K. Polk, on April 10, 1832, at the White House. Lucius J. Polk represented Maury County in Tennessee's Nineteenth General Assembly from 1831-1833 and was Adjutant General of Tennessee from 1851-1853.¹²⁵ Mary and Lucius also ran a plantation named Hamilton Place in Maury County, Tennessee, where she died in 1847.

William Hunter Smith

William, born in approximately 1797, was a son of Bennett Smith. Bennett's daughter, Mary Smith, married Jackson's nephew John Hutchings, and so was a member of an extended branch of the Jackson-Donelson kin network. However, it is unclear how Jackson befriended Smith. Some records say that Jackson attended school with Bennett's brother, but he may also have known Bennett from his time in North Carolina. There are few mentions of William Hunter Smith. Marquis James states that Jackson briefly cared for Smith, and Robert Remini refers to him as a neighbor's unwanted problem.¹²⁶ However, this assumption may be harsh, as William's father once wrote Jackson thanking him for caring for his son. Bennett Smith, a lawyer, also came from a well-connected kin network. He was son-in-law of Joseph Dickson, a former North Carolina congressman,

124. AJ to Mary Ann Eastin, October 24, 1830, in *PAJ Vol. VIII*, 578-81. The present, a dress, was sent to Mary via her cousin, Daniel Smith Donelson.

125. McBride and Robison, *Biographical Directory*, 589-90.

126. *PAJ Vol. II*, 243, fn.3, fn.4, fn.6, fn.8. Bennett also had a daughter, Isabella Matilda Smith, born circa 1787, who married Dr. John Robertson Bedford in 1809; another son, Thomas, who married Temperance W. Bass in 1810; and daughter Mary, or "Polly", who married John Hutchings in 1810; Marquis, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 131; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 160.

and the brother of William Smith, a future South Carolina senator.¹²⁷ Bennett Smith was also the grandfather of Andrew Jackson Hutchings.¹²⁸ No known correspondence exists between Jackson and William Hunter Smith. He became a planter and was one of the wealthiest residents of Rutherford County. He married United America Carter on April 4, 1816, and died in 1871.¹²⁹

Milberry M. Donelson

Milberry (also spelled Milbery) was another niece of Rachel Jackson's through her brother William Donelson and Charity Dickinson Donelson. Milberry was born in 1806 and died in 1836. Very few records mention Milberry, although an 1824 letter written by John Donelson mentions Milberry as being ill and staying at his house then accompanying Donelson to The Hermitage to have dinner with Jackson.¹³⁰ Milberry was Rachel Jackson's companion in the early 1820s, and when Jackson wrote to Rachel he was thankful that Milberry was staying with her.¹³¹ She declined to marry a Mr. Whorton,

127. Bennett Smith to AJ, May 1, 1810, in *PAJ Vol.II*, 240-42; *PAJ Vol.II*, 243, editor's note.

128. *PAJ Vol. V*, 15, fn.1. The editors tell that Bennett brought suit against Andrew Jackson Hutchings' estate in 1819 for repayment of debt from the sale of slaves. Andrew Jackson represented AJH, as he was both his guardian and co-executor of the Hutchings' estate.

129. Rutherford County Archives, "Marriages 1804-1850," Rutherford County Archives, <http://rutherfordcountyttn.gov/apps/archivesmarriageindex/marriage1804-1850.aspx> [accessed February 11, 2013].

130. John Donelson to John Coffee, June 29, 1824, JCP, TSLA.

131. Ladies' Hermitage Association, "The Hermitage Children," The Hermitage, Nashville, TN, 5/11/2012; AJ to Rachel Jackson, December 31, 1823, in *PAJ Vol.V*, 330-

who proposed to her, and married John McGreagor.¹³² Milberry and John had six children – Martha, Mary, Flowers, Donelson, Andrew, and Milberry.¹³³

Andrew, Campbell, Charles, and Hugh Hays

As early as 1795, Jacksons served as guardian for Andrew, Campbell, Charles, and Hugh Hays. They were the sons of Samuel Hays, a signer of the Cumberland Compact, who was killed outside John Donelson's house by Indians in 1793. Jackson was appointed special guardian of the children.¹³⁴ When guardians were listed in the early court records the entries often were not specific as to which type of guardian was being appointed.¹³⁵ In this case, it was noted that Jackson was a special guardian, which meant he had special or limited powers over the ward's estate. For instance, as it appears in this case, Jackson had custody of Hays' estate but not his children.¹³⁶ There is no indication

32. Jackson expresses gratitude towards Milberry for keeping Rachel company in his absence.

132. *PAJ Vol. V*, 332, fn.8; William Donelson to John Coffee, October 28, 1822, JCP, TSLA; *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Volume I, 1770-1803*, ed. Sam B. Smith, Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 420. The genealogical chart in PAJ shows Milberry married McGreagor, and spells her name Milbery.

133. Zella Armstrong, comp. *Notable Southern Families, Vol.2* (Chattanooga: The Lookout Publishing Company, 1922), 101-2. Donelson McGreger, as this source spells it, was a colonel in the Confederacy and died at the Battle of Murfreesboro, also known as The Battle of Stone's River, in 1862. Andrew was a captain in the Confederate cavalry.

134. John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from Its Earliest Settlement Up to the Year 1796; Including the Boundaries of the State* (1823; repr., New York: Arno Press Inc., 1971), 366; RG 107, Sumner County Court Minutes, Vol. II, microfilm, reel 81, page 20, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN.

135. Nelson, interview.

that these children ever lived with Jackson, so most likely they lived with their surviving mother, Elizabeth Hays. Jackson represented the Hayses in court on at least one occasion, in *Andrew Jackson, guardian for the heirs of Samuel Hays v. George Augustus Sugg*. The case against Suggs was over a land dispute, which Jackson won in 1805.¹³⁷

Samuel Jackson, Rachel and Narcissa Hays

Samuel Jackson Hays, born in 1800, was the son of Rachel Jackson's sister Jane and her husband Robert Hays. The elder Hays was an early friend of Jackson's. While it is uncertain precisely when and how they met, when Jackson moved to the area, taking residence in the widow Donelson's home, he likely met Robert soon afterwards since Jane was the widow's daughter as well as Rachel's sister. Robert served as a justice of the peace in Davidson County and married Andrew and Rachel in 1794.¹³⁸ He later served as muster master for the Tennessee Volunteers in the War of 1812, during which time he and Jackson frequently wrote each other.¹³⁹ After Hays died in 1819, Jackson was appointed guardian of their five children, of whom Samuel, then nineteen years old, was

136. For a more thorough understanding of different types of guardians, see Black's Law Dictionary, 7th ed., ed. Bryan A. Garner (Saint Paul: West Group, 1999), 712-14.

137. *AJ, guardian for the heirs of Samuel Hays v. George Augustus Sugg*, Mero District Superior Court Equity Minute Book, 1803-1806, RG 107, 15:343-47.

138. Dan M. Robinson, "Robert Hays, Unsung Pioneer of the Cumberland Country," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* XXVI, no.3 (Fall 1967): 273; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 63. Samuel Hays and Robert Hays were likely brothers.

139. *PAJ Vol. II*, 7-8, fn.2. The editors note that Robert Hays was a Revolutionary War veteran and was married to Rachel's sister Jane. He served from 1797 to 1803 as a marshal of the U.S. District Court of West Tennessee. Due to financial issues he moved to Rutherford County, Tennessee in 1807.

the second youngest.¹⁴⁰ Samuel was already an adult when his father died, which explains why mention of him is not evident in Jackson's correspondence. After Robert died, Jane Donelson Hays moved to Madison County, Tennessee.¹⁴¹ She died in 1834.

Despite Samuel's age, Jackson still cared for him, along with his sisters, Narcissa and Rachel. Long before Robert Hays died in 1819, Jackson was financially supporting this branch of his family. In 1808 Samuel's brother, Stockley Donelson Hays, wrote a touching letter to Jackson thanking him for clearing his father's debts. Stockley told Jackson how he had learned of this through his uncle John Caffery, who,

mentioned the settlement of my fathers most unwise most distressing debts, which would in my fathers unhappy situations, have been inevitable destruction, had it not have been for your most friendly nay parental aid, which is ever ready in impending danger to ward off the theatning blow, from the innocent and ungarded; and for what you deservedly merit the esteem of every good citizen; (and as a party relieved permit me Sir to offer you my unfeigned thanks, and every gratefull services, too inconsiderable).¹⁴²

Hays was one of several family members, including Andrew Jr. and Andrew Jackson Donelson, whom Jackson brought to the White House after his presidential inauguration on March 4, 1829. However, Jackson soon regretted his decision, as revealed in a letter to his friend General John Coffee: "I must send Saml Hays from here, and when I can find a good place, my son also – They must be separated or both ruined –

140. *PAJ Vol. I*, 419. The genealogical chart shows the youngest sibling was Elizabeth Hays, born in 1805. Robinson, "Robert Hays, Unsung Pioneer," 265. Robinson tells that out of ten children of Jane and Robert, six reached adulthood. The other surviving children were Martha, Elizabeth, and Stockley Donelson Hays.

141. *PAJ Vol. VI*, 368, fn.2.

142. Stockley Donelson Hays to AJ, April 20, 1807, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 160-61.

by idleness.”¹⁴³ In a letter to Andrew Jr., Jackson later wrote, “I find [Samuel’s] mind too unstable to profit here by reading ... his mind wandering on other & trivial subjects ... He will permit the year to pass without benefit to his mind, & with an exhausted [sic] purse.”¹⁴⁴

Hays’ idleness must have compounded the frustrations he faced from Andrew Jackson Hutchings. Jackson was involved in most aspects of his family’s life, including the love lives of his ward. In August 1829 he provided a note to James Hamilton, Jr. to vouch for Hays, who intended to marry Hamilton’s ward, Frances Pinckney Middleton. Frances was the daughter of John Middleton of South Carolina, and was transferred to Hamilton’s guardianship after her father died in 1826.¹⁴⁵ Samuel and Frances married in Charleston, South Carolina on November 24, 1829. Hays went on to become a wealthy planter, reportedly owned a thousand slaves, and served as a general in the Mexican War.¹⁴⁶ Samuel Jackson Hays died in 1866. Hays, like Andrew Jackson Hutchings, was at times difficult for Jackson to manage. However, as with his other wards, Jackson remained patient and loyal.

Rachel was born approximately 1786. She and her sister Narcissa often traveled with the Jacksons. Many letters in Jackson’s correspondence reveal the girls’ presence in such places as New Orleans. Narcissa never married, and Rachel married Robert Butler

143. AJ to John Coffee, March 19, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 104-5.

144. AJ to Andrew Jackson Jr., August 18, 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 374.

145. AJ to James Hamilton, Jr., August 1829, in *PAJ Vol. VII*, 398-99.

146. *Correspondence of James K. Polk, Vol. II, 1833-1834*, ed. Herbert Weaver and Paul Bergeron (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 486, fn.1.

in 1809. Butler was adjutant general of the 8th Military District, but when Jackson took command of the 7th Military District he requested Butler's transfer, where Butler served in the same capacity. He and his wife settled in Florida in 1824.¹⁴⁷

Other Family: Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson

Jackson was fiercely loyal to his friends and family and helped them at his own expense. However, not all to whom he offered help accepted. In an effort to ensure security for, and also perhaps to bring the Donelson clan closer together, he offered a tract of his own land to Stockley Donelson, Rachel's brother, and his wife Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson. After the exposure of the Glasgow Land Frauds, in which Stockley was deeply involved, Jackson's offer would have allowed them to settle with her children in the Cumberland region free of charge until they found a permanent place.¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth wrote Jackson declining the offer, suggesting that it was her fear of being dependent or burdensome on family, as she states, "I knew or had every reason to expect that it would be said you had me to support ... if I must be dependent let it be on strangers."¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, she made it clear that she would want to wait until a house had been built on the offered piece of land because she did not think the Donelson family would extend an invitation for her to stay with them in the meantime.

147. *PAJ Vol. III*, 45, fn.7.

148. AJ to Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson, June 28, 1801, in *PAJ Vol. I*, 247-48. Jackson was still living at Hunter's Hill at the time of this offer. Stockley Donelson to AJ, December 22, 1801, in *PAJ Vol. I*, 264-65. Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson was the wife of Rachel's brother, Stockley. It is not clear where Elizabeth's family was living at the time. Letters from her husband to Jackson indicate they stayed at an inn outside of Knoxville.

149. Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson to AJ, January 26, 1802, in *PAJ Vol. I*, 275.

She believed that the Donelsons did not like her because she had heard that the family had been saying horrible things about her. She notes that it was reasonable for Jackson to assume that she would rather be closer to the family and that she would not have minded moving closer, but tells that Stockley was trying to procure a job in the area where they were currently living. She added that Stockley would prefer staying where they were if he got the position; and she asked Jackson not to blame her for that.¹⁵⁰ This situation is reminiscent of Andrew Jackson Donelson's struggle to define himself as the leader of his family by breaking from Jackson's authority. Moreover, it is notable that she would be refusing Jackson, considering women's place in society at the time, while her husband conveyed his willingness to move. Bardaglio tells that kinship networks discouraged independent women, and women were expected to rely on their husbands.¹⁵¹ While no correspondence exists that suggests Jackson challenged her decision, she and Stockley did eventually move to Davidson County. Stockley died in 1805, deeply in debt from suits brought against him for his involvement in the Glasgow Land Frauds.¹⁵² Elizabeth remarried in 1808 to John Anderson, the cashier of the Nashville Bank.¹⁵³

Summary

Andrew Jackson had his negative traits. He could be easily angered, he was stubborn to a fault, and, among other flaws, convinced of his ultimate authority.

150. Ibid.

151. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 84.

152. *PAJ Vol. I*, 37, fn.1.

153. *PAJ Vol. II*, 373, fn.4.

However, Jackson was not without his redeeming qualities, such as loyalty and devotion to his family. Nonetheless, his help often came with a price. The father-son and patron-client relationships utilized by Jackson, like so many patriarchs of his time, were restrictive. Jason Edward Black explains the complexities of these relationships in his article, "Authoritarian Fatherhood: Andrew Jackson's Early Familial Lectures to America's 'Red Children,'" telling that fatherhood was controlling and authoritative and not prone to helping children become what they wanted to be if it conflicted with the values of the patriarch. When a father spoke, the children were expected to listen because his word was law, and if they did not, they were punished.¹⁵⁴

Over the course of his life, Jackson supported at least fifteen family members who were wards, both legally and informally. Nearly half were of an informal status; the wards who went through the courts were Andrew Jackson Hutchings; John Samuel, Daniel Smith and Andrew Jackson Donelson; and Rachel, Narcissa, and Samuel Jackson Hays. The Hays siblings and Andrew Jackson Hutchings's parents had named Jackson guardian in their wills, but since the Donelson boys' father died intestate, Jackson was likely appointed guardian through the courts.

The constant influx and mix of family members residing with Jackson is somewhat reminiscent of Jackson's own childhood growing up in a blended household. But again, as Cashin states, the nuclear model of family thought of today was not

154. Jason Edward Black, "Authoritarian Fatherhood: Andrew Jackson's Early Familial Lectures to America's 'Red Children,'" *Journal of Family History* 30, no.3 (July 2005): 247-264.

prominent in the antebellum South; families were elastic.¹⁵⁵ Jackson also cared for his three Native American wards, Lyncoya, Charley and Theodore. He additionally offered his support throughout the Donelson kin network, as shown by his offer to Stockley and Elizabeth Donelson. But such offers were often not without some form of sacrifice. If what Elizabeth wrote was true, it appears that they moved to the Cumberland region despite wanting to stay where they were, perhaps because they thought appeasing Jackson was a better course than following their own plans.

Likewise, Jackson, along with the occasional help of other family members, steered the course of his wards' lives, even if it was not a life the ward wished for. Jackson pushed for Andrew Jackson Hutchings to attend school, though Hutchings fought back under the pretense that he wanted to be a farmer, like many of his other family members. He kept Daniel Smith Donelson from resigning from West Point when he wanted to. However, Jackson made clear to these wards the value and necessity of a good education. Meachem accurately summarizes the paradox that was Andrew Jackson as he tells,

He was the most contradictory of men. A champion of extending freedom and democracy to even the poorest of whites, Jackson was an unrepentant slaveholder. A sentimental man who rescued an Indian orphan on a battlefield to raise in his home, Jackson was responsible for the removal of Indian tribes from their ancestral lands.¹⁵⁶

155. Cashin, "The Structure of Antebellum Families," 55.

156. Meachem, *American Lion*, xix.

CHAPTER III

NON-RELATED WARDS

Not all of Andrew Jackson's wards were his relations. However, Jackson had a strong sense of loyalty and would do what he could to help friends in need. Many of these wards would eventually become successful individuals, and even end up marrying into Jackson's kin network. It should not be assumed, though, that because records of Jackson's relationship with some wards are abundant, that Jackson did not care for the others for whom no records exist. Jackson extended his advice to most people, and many of these wards, despite a lack of evidence, were likely no exception. Indeed, as Cheatham points out, "Jackson was not shy about telling people what to do."¹

The Butler Children

Edward Butler (Figure 7) was one of the Five Fighting Butlers of Revolutionary War fame, who lived in Robertson County, Tennessee, near his friend, Andrew Jackson.² Shortly after his death in 1803, Isabella Fowler Butler, his wife, wrote Jackson asking for his assistance. Isabella and Edward had four children: Anthony Wayne, Caroline, Eliza, and Edward George Washington Butler. Isabella approached Jackson with humility when she wrote, "I must beg your assistance, my Dear Children, wants a guardian, & you are their, Choice, & my own, I feel a confidence, you will comply with our wishes, if it is

1. Mark Cheatham, "Patriarchy and Masculinity in Antebellum America: Andrew Jackson and His Male Wards," paper presented at the conference for the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, Philadelphia, PA, July 14-17, 2011, 1-2.

2. *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Volume I, 1770-1803*, ed. Sam B. Smith, Harriet Chappell Owsley (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 351, fn.1. The Five Fighting Butlers were Edward, Percival (also referred to as Pierce), William, Thomas, and Richard.

consistant with your Other dutys.”³ Jackson respected Edward Butler, describing him as “a meritorious officer & good man,” and agreed to care for his children.⁴ Interestingly, Isabella included her daughters’ names, and not her sons’, when extending best wishes to Jackson. This was likely because her daughters were older and would continue to live with her, although it is certain that Jackson served as the girls’ guardian.⁵ Although Isabella was a surviving parent, an orphan according to early Tennessee law was any fatherless child.⁶ Due to the lack of correspondence between Jackson and the Butler sisters, this study will focus primarily on the brothers.

Jackson also had been a friend of Edward Butler’s brother, Thomas Butler, who fought in the Revolutionary War and came to Tennessee in 1797 as commander of the United States army at Fort Southwest Point. Jackson came to his aid at least once, after Thomas refused an order from his superior, General James Wilkinson, to cut his queue (long hair braid), which he had worn with pride from his time fighting in the Revolutionary War. When Thomas was found guilty, Jackson, outraged at this injustice, wrote to President Thomas Jefferson.⁷

3. Isabella Fowler Butler to AJ, August 3, 1803, in *PAJ Vol. I*, 350-1.

4. AJ to Joseph Gardner Swift, January 12, 1817, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Vol. IV, 1816-1820*, ed. Harold D. Moser, David R. Hoth and George H. Hoemann (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 83-4.

5. Patricia Brady, *A Being So Gentle: The Frontier Love Story of Rachel and Andrew Jackson* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 89; *Tennessee Records of Robertson County, Minute Book I, 1796-1807* (N.p.: Works Progress Administration, 1938), 273.

6. Alan Miller, *Middle Tennessee’s Forgotten Children: Apprentices from 1784-1902* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, Inc., 2004), ix.

7. Harold D. Moser and Sharon MacPherson, ed. *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Vol. II, 1804-1813*. ed. Charles F. Bryan, Jr. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984),



Figure 7. "Lt. Edward Butler," BFP, 8:1606.

32-3, editor's note; AJ to Thomas Jefferson, August 3, 1804, 33-5; To Thomas Jefferson from AJ et al., December, 1804, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 45-6. Thomas Butler was charged on two counts-failure to report as ordered and refusal to obey an order. The former charge was the result of an extended furlough, and the latter was for refusing to cut his queue. Jackson was convinced the attacks upon Butler were personal, that Wilkinson was harassing Butler. Jackson, along with others wrote a petition to Thomas Jefferson pleading his case, and at least drafted another letter to Jefferson explaining the situation.

After Thomas's death in 1805, Jackson became guardian of his children, too: Thomas, Robert, Lydia and William Butler.⁸ Thomas Jr. was twenty and practicing law in Louisiana when his father died. Robert became a close aide to Jackson and served as his adjutant general during the War of 1812 and the Seminole campaigns.⁹ However, Tennessee code declared that all people under the age of twenty-one needed supervision, and so he was technically still a ward. These Butler siblings were the first cousins of Edward George Washington, Anthony, Eliza and Caroline Butler. Three of Thomas Butler's children married into the family of Robert and Jane Donelson Hays. Thomas Jr. married Rachel Hays; Lydia married Stockley Donelson Hays; and William, who became a doctor, married Martha Hays. All of the spouses were siblings of Jackson's ward Samuel Jackson Hays.¹⁰ The Hays family had lived in Davidson, and later in Rutherford County, Tennessee, and the Butler's had land in Robertson County. It may have been that the two families grew up knowing each other, but the connection with Jackson may have further influenced these marriages.¹¹

Anthony Wayne Butler

Anthony Wayne Butler (Figure 8) was born in 1803, the same year his father died. His mother Isabella died in 1821 when Anthony was eighteen years old. Anthony had a

8. Lyle Emerson Nelson, *American Presidents: Year by Year, Vol. I, 1732-1860* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2004), 114; *PAJ Vol. I*, 186, fn.2. Thomas Butler bought land in Robertson County, TN where he moved his family before joining the war.

9. *PAJ Vol. II*, 53, fn.5.

10. Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire, 1767-1821*, 160; Ladies' Hermitage Association, "The Hermitage Children," The Hermitage, Nashville, TN.

11. *PAJ Vol. II*, 8, fn.2; *PAJ Vol. I*, 186, fn.2.

difficult time coping with his mother's death. He wrote to his brother that he blamed himself for her demise since it was his ambition to live in Louisiana, and the climate proved deadly to her. He further notes that he had anxiously awaited "the afflicting intelligence that I am an orphan."¹²

Jackson's correspondence does not mention Anthony's or his brother Edward's childhood since they were older when under Jackson's care; however, they are mentioned later with regard to their college years. Correspondence between the Butler siblings reveals what they thought of their time and relationship with the Jacksons. The Butlers overall did not seem satisfied with Jackson's management of their estate. Anthony wrote his brother Edward that "great neglect has been [?] on his part."¹³ Caroline wrote to one of her brothers reminding him to be cautious when he saw Andrew Jackson again and that they did not owe him greatly. She felt that Jackson had not adequately helped the Butlers resolve an issue of their father's estate regarding property in Robertson County, Tennessee.¹⁴ Edward soon afterwards wrote to Jackson that he was sorry the Robertson land was burdensome to him and that he had written another friend requesting him to adequately attend to it.¹⁵

12. [Anthony Wayne Butler?] to [Edward George Washington Butler?], September 1822, Butler Family Papers, microfilm, reel 1, folder 69, Historic New Orleans Collection and Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN. Several clues in this letter denote that it was most likely Anthony writing Edward, although neither of their names appear. Butler Family Papers and accompanying reel and folder number will henceforth be in the form BFP, 1:111, TSLA.

13. Anthony Wayne Butler to Edward George Washington Butler, August 12, 1821, in BFP, 1:27, TSLA.

14. Caroline Butler Bell to [her brother], February 3, 1822, BFP, 1:42, TSLA.

Caroline seems to have doubted Jackson's commitment to their well being when she wrote, in 1822, "Much he was our Father's friend, and the world believes that, he has patronized not only you, but the whole family. So we should be considered by the world to be void of gratitude, as I dare say there is not one amongst us who would wish to appear in the [?] of General Jackson- to feud and prove anything."¹⁶ Caroline seems to have overcome any ill feelings about Jackson as she later referred to him as "our dear old guardian and Father."¹⁷ During the 1828 presidential campaign, Caroline also conveyed her affection for Rachel Jackson as she spoke out against the accusations being made by Jackson's opponents regarding Rachel's character.¹⁸

In addition to managing their estate, Jackson oversaw other facets of their lives. He was very involved with the boys' education and closely followed their plans and progress. Anthony wanted to attend Princeton, but Jackson wanted him to go to Yale. Eventually Anthony did decide to attend Yale, and, although his reasons are not clearly stated, presumably he was influenced by his guardian. Anthony was entitled to draw from Jackson's personal funds, but he betrayed Jackson's trust. Jackson indicated that Anthony requested an excessive amount of money from his funds when Jackson knew that he was already receiving \$750 per year from the estate of Anthony's deceased cousin, Colonel Richard Butler. He also had given Edward permission to withdraw from his funds, but

15. Edward George Washington Butler to AJ, January 22, 1822, BFP, 1:38, TSLA. Butler wrote to General Thomas Johnson regarding the Robertson property.

16. Ibid.

17. Caroline Butler Bell to Edward George Washington Butler, September 19, 1825, in BFP, 2:253, TSLA.

18. Caroline Butler Bell to Edward George Washington Butler, August 3, 1827, in BFP, 2:380, TSLA.

there is no evidence that he abused this privilege.¹⁹ It had been agreed that Colonel Butler would furnish the remaining funds for Anthony's education while Jackson paid for Anthony's brother Edward's schooling. Anthony's dishonesty upset Jackson and he refused his request for funds.²⁰ When he again requested funds, Jackson told Anthony that his resources were exhausted caring for his family and other wards, and reminded him that the money he was already receiving from his cousin's estate would end when he graduated.²¹

Anthony seems to have taken some of Jackson's advice to heart. Though he does not say what the advice was, he wrote that he had "ne'er ... seen its like before." He told his brother he copied Jackson's advice from his letter in a readable form and would have it framed, and intended to "[adopt] it [his] guide in life."²² Edward told his brother that was relieved to hear he had reconciled with Jackson and was glad he could finally appreciate Jackson as a good father figure.²³

19. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, June 2, 1823, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Vol. V, 1821-1824*, ed. Harold D. Moser, David R. Hoth and George H. Hoemann (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 279-81; AJ to Joseph Gardner Swift, January 12, 1817, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 83-4.

20. AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, May 17, 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 299.

21. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, June 2, 1823, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 279-81, fn.3. The editors note that Jackson's funds were exhausted because he was helping Butler, outfitting Samuel Jackson Hays, Daniel Smith Donelson's education at West Point, and AJD's legal education. He had also contributed to Edward George Washington Butler and AJD's education at West Point.

22. Anthony Wayne Butler to Edward George Washington Butler, June 25, 1823, in BFP, 1:105, TSLA.

23. Edward George Washington Butler to Anthony Butler, July 6, 1823, in BFP, 1:108, TSLA.



Figure 8. "Anthony Wayne Butler." BFP, 8:1601.

However, only months later Jackson would have to chide Anthony again for his mismanagement of money because Anthony withdrew a larger sum from Jackson's account than had been approved, which suggests that Anthony was deceitful in his reconciliation.²⁴ Anthony noted his regrettable actions and reassured Jackson he wanted to be honorable and live up to Jackson's standards.²⁵ Jackson would consistently remind his wards that being honorable was most important and that one should die before being dishonorable.²⁶

Jackson did hope that Anthony would redeem himself and do well at Yale. He indicated that, in 1819, he spent \$1,400 for the two brothers' education, the equivalent of about \$20,000 in 2010.²⁷ This is especially noteworthy considering the financial situation in the United States at this time. Western banks suspended the use of specie, and it was difficult to obtain eastern paper money. Even Jackson, despite his great influence as a war hero, had great difficulty in acquiring funds.²⁸

Despite Jackson's frustration with Anthony, he continued to be involved with Anthony's studies at Yale, just as he was with his other wards. When Anthony was not doing well in his studies, Jackson wrote to one of his professors and asked that Anthony be expelled. Jackson hoped that the expulsion would help Anthony regain perspective,

24. Andrew Jackson to Anthony Wayne Butler, November [10?] 1823, in BFP, 1:120, TSLA.

25. Anthony Wayne Butler to Andrew Jackson. March [23?] 1824, in BFP, 1:140, TSLA.

26. AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, December 28, 1818, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 262-63.

27. AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, July 23, 1819, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 303-5.

28. Ibid.

but also requested that he be able to return with no mark on his record.²⁹ Jackson also had a clear idea of what subjects needed to be studied to be successful and was displeased when Anthony told Jackson that he cared more for the classics than mathematics. Jackson responded with a gentle yet firm tone, advising him that without a proper knowledge of the sciences he would not be able to think broadly. He also bluntly told Anthony to “never think of leaving Yale College until you are a thorough scholar.”³⁰

While this statement sounds harsh, Jackson explained that since the death of Anthony’s cousin, Col. Richard Butler, his education was now being paid for through his family’s estate, but the funding would cease when he left Yale. Therefore, Jackson pressed him to stay until he was sure he could make it in the world on his own.³¹ Jackson also explained how difficult it was to assist Anthony financially as he had three other wards in school at the same time, and reiterated the need to be respectful of the money from his cousin’s estate and to live within his means.³² Anthony graduated from Yale in 1823, and died the following year while traveling from New Orleans to Connecticut to study law.³³

29. AJ to Benjamin Silliman, July 14, 1821, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 71.

30. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, January 13, 1823, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 239-41.

31. *Ibid.*

32. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, June 2, 1823 in *PAJ Vol. V*, 279-81. Jackson was also funding the education of Daniel Smith Donelson, Samuel Hays, and Andrew Jackson Donelson.

33. *PAJ Vol. VI*, 121, fn.3.

Edward George Washington Butler

Edward George Washington Butler, (Figures 9, 10) born in 1800, was only three years old when his father died. Jackson used his influence as the hero of New Orleans to ensure that Edward entered West Point in 1816, and he covered his expenses. In a note sent to Joseph Swift, the chief engineer of the army who supervised the military academy, Jackson indicated his faith in Edward as he stated, “The virtues of the father creates in me, a great solicitude for the respectability of his son.”³⁴ Edward seemed to prove himself as Jackson bragged to Edward’s mother that his “teacher, gives me a very flattering account of Edwards’ application & propriety of conduct.”³⁵

Jackson was very involved in Edward’s education, requesting frequent reports about his progress at West Point.³⁶ Unlike his brother Anthony, Edward deeply regretted, or at least acted so, having to ask Jackson for funds. In a letter to Jackson he apologetically explained, “I am reduced to the disagreeable necessity of requesting that you will, (if not attended with too much inconvenience) remit me to sum which I required.”³⁷ Edward also let Jackson know his appreciation, telling him, “I am unable to express the gratitude which I feel for your continued acts of kindness to me, both in an official and private capacity.”³⁸

34. AJ to Joseph Gardner Swift, January 12, 1817, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 83.

35. AJ to Isabella Butler Vinson, May 9, 1817, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 114.

36. AJ to Andrew Jackson Donelson, July 14, 1818, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 222.

37. Edward Butler to AJ, June 5, 1820, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 369-70.

38. *Ibid.*

Jackson replied shortly afterwards happily informing Edward that he was delighted to be able to give him advice. However, within this same letter Jackson also responded to Edward's desire to join the Russian army because service in the United States army "offers no inducements." Jackson politely, yet firmly, explained to Edward how important it was to be loyal to America.³⁹ Why Edward wanted to join the Russian army in particular is still unclear. If Edward had joined the Russian army it would likely have been fodder for Jackson's political enemies. Indeed, the ward of the great "Hero of New Orleans" abandoning his country would not have been favorable. Still, Jackson thought highly of Edward, telling Anthony Butler that Edward "is a model for you & all youths ... he is Just such a man as I wish you to be; still I anticipate more brilliancy of talents from you ... and become as good a mathematician as he is."⁴⁰

Edward graduated from West Point in 1820. On April 4, 1826 he married Frances Parke Lewis, whose father was a nephew of George Washington and mother a granddaughter of Martha Washington.⁴¹ Interestingly, Edward once wrote his future wife that he did not feel that she was addressing him in a loving manner in her letters, and in an almost jealous way noted how admirably she wrote about Jackson.

39. AJ to Edward Butler, January 8, 1822, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 132-34.

40. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, January 13, 1823, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 239-41.

41. Thomas Marshall Green, *Historic Families of Kentucky: With Special Reference to Stocks Immediately Derived From the Valley of Virginia; Tracing in Detail Their Various Genealogical Connexions and Illustrating From Historical Sources Their Influence Upon the Political and Social Development of Kentucky and the States of the South and West* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1889), 263.



Figure 9. G.B. Almaine, "Edward George Washington Butler." BFP, 8: 1597.

Edward went on to serve a successful military and political career and died in 1888.⁴² He kept in touch with Jackson, and often acted as an intermediary between his siblings and Jackson in regards to their estate. He maintained a trusting opinion of Jackson and once wrote that Jackson was “his country’s beacon ... for the cloud of political infamy that cowers upon our Capitol, but makes him shine with [increased?] brilliancy.”⁴³ Caroline, who married Robert Bell and lived on a successful plantation in Louisiana, once asked Edward of news from his visits with Jackson.⁴⁴ She wrote to Edward about her concern for “the dear old General” after Rachel died.⁴⁵



Figure 10. “Edward George Washington Butler.” BFP, 8:1605.

42. Edward George Washington Butler to Miss Frances Parke Lewis, February 14, 1825, in BFP, 2:214, TSLA. Merrow Egerton Sorley, *Lewis of Warner Hall: The History of a Family, Including the Genealogy of Decedents in Both the Male and Female Lines, Biographical Sketches of Its Members, and the Decent From Other Virginia Families* (1935; repr., E.W. Stephens Company, 1964), 210-12.

43. Edward George Washington Butler to Frances Parke Lewis, February 14, 1825, in BFP, 2:214, TSLA.

44. Caroline to Edward Butler, April 6, 1829, in Butler Family Papers; Caroline to Edward Butler, September 28, 1822, in BFP, 3:459, TSLA.

45. Caroline to Edward Butler, April 6, 1829, in BFP, 3:459, TSLA.

Jackson's devotion to the Butler brothers shows him to have been patient and forgiving. However, it seems that his patience had its limits. In a letter to Jackson in April 1817, Isabella asked for help in restoring land that belonged to the Butler family. Jackson agreed to try to help her, but apologetically told her he had little money due to the expenses of his wards and recent unproductivity of crops at his farm. He even conveyed a sense of irritation about her request when he wrote that, "It was well understood, when I was appointed guardian of your children that I could not undertake the superintendence of their property."⁴⁶ This may have been partly because Isabella had remarried.⁴⁷

Other Wards

While many Jackson wards lived at The Hermitage, many were his wards in a legal sense only, and if they ever stayed at The Hermitage it was for a very brief period of time. Proof that the persons listed below were his wards is indicated through legal records such as court cases and wills. Due to a lack of correspondence, only the most basic information can be conveyed for the wards listed below. However, just because there is a lack of comprehensive extant material that could reveal the ward/guardian relationship, it should not be assumed that these wards were unimportant.

Samuel Moore

Sumner County, Tennessee, court minutes show Andrew Jackson as guardian to Samuel Moore, who may have been Jackson's earliest ward.⁴⁸ Samuel's father, Robert

46. AJ to Isabella Butler Vinson, May 9, 1817, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 114.

47. *PAJ Vol. II*, 218, fn.1.

48. *Tennessee, Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes, Volume 1, 1787-1790* (N.p.: Works Progress Administration, 1936), 126-27.

Moore, died in 1795. In 1795 Jackson had just recently moved to what is today referred to as Middle Tennessee. Jackson's relationship with Robert Moore is unclear.

Interestingly, Samuel's two siblings, Francis and Robert Jr., are recorded as being under the guardianship of John Moore, who was likely an uncle. While it is unclear why Samuel was not put under the guardianship of John Moore along his siblings, the situation may have been influenced by a guardian's responsibility to post a bond for the ward. However, this separation was likely just in a legal sense.

There is no indication that Samuel ever stayed at The Hermitage. A guardian could not take on more wards than he or she could afford. Additionally, a guardian had to have at least one person act as a security, which was similar to a bail bondsman. If the guardian defaulted on a bond, the security was required to cover the costs. When Jackson was named guardian for Samuel he entered a bond for three hundred and fifty dollars, which was a considerable sum in that time, with Edward Douglass as his security. John Moore's bond was seven hundred and fifty dollars, and he had Isaac Walton and Jonathan Pearce as his securities.⁴⁹ It is unclear when Jackson ceased serving as Samuel's guardian.

Elizabeth Wilkinson

The first record of Elizabeth Wilkinson as Jackson's ward is dated 1808.⁵⁰ She had two brothers, Kinchen and Jesse B., and a sister, Lucy. Her father, Jesse Wilkinson,

49. Ibid.

50. April 28, 1808, Copy, Wills and Inventories, 1805-11, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group, microfilm, 16:224, TSLA. Hereafter this source will be referred to as RG 107.

died in approximately 1801. Jesse bequeathed three properties to his sons, and his widow, Lucy, inherited his life estate. Jesse left Kinchen a large tract of land in Sumner County, Tennessee, and left his other son, Jesse B., the “Mannor” plantation as well as another small property. Wilkinson’s will provides insight into inheritance practices. It stipulated that if one of his sons died before age twenty-one, his land would be transferred to the surviving brother, and the slaves would be divided among his daughters. He gave his wife, whom he named as his executrix, sole control of the children’s tuition and gave her permission to sell any property in order to pay for the tuition and his debts.⁵¹ The widowed Lucy married Col. Thomas Butler on January 4, 1806. Thomas Butler relinquished any and all claim the estate Lucy had inherited from her deceased husband.⁵² The first record of the Wilkinson children as wards appears in January 1806.⁵³ Interestingly, records show that Elizabeth’s siblings, Kinchen, Jesse and Lucy were also wards but Jackson was not their guardian.⁵⁴

What we know of this guardianship comes from an exchange of letters in 1816. Kinchen wrote Jackson telling him that that he was in debt to the Wilkinson estate. A balance was due to the estate of Elizabeth, who likely died between 1810 and 1811.

Account of AJ, guardian of Elizabeth Wilkinson, with the estate of Jesse Wilkinson. Original reference found in the calendar in *PAJ Vol. II*, 552.

51. Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943, Record Group 107, microfilm, roll 16, page 226, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN. Hereafter cited RG 107.

52. Helen C. Marsh and Timothy R. Marsh, *Davidson County Wills & Inventories Volume 1, 1783-1816* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1990), 133.

53. *Ibid.*, 136.

54. RG 107, 16:224.

When Kinchen came of age in 1811 he assumed guardianship of Jesse and Lucy.⁵⁵ Although the records are incomplete, it appears that when Jackson turned in his final accounting of Elizabeth's estate to the court, a balance was owed to the estate. Kinchen, who had taken over as administrator of her estate, wrote Jackson asking for reimbursement. As administrator, he had to ensure that the balance due the estate was paid, and so he paid from his own funds, although Jackson was the one who truly owed the debt. Kinchen told Jackson that his brother, who was to receive the estate, was about to be of age, which meant there was a reason for haste in acquiring these funds. Although Jackson was rarely home during the years encompassing the War of 1812, the Creek War, and the first Seminole campaign in Florida, shortly after receiving Kinchen's letter, he wrote a check for seventy-two dollars, which nearly covered the total requested.⁵⁶

The Lewis Sisters

Jackson took in several children of William Terrell Lewis, a former legislator in North Carolina and vast landowner in the Tennessee territory. When he died in 1813, he left his two daughters, Margaret and Myra, under Jackson's care. Both sisters married in 1813. Margaret married her cousin William Berkley Lewis and Myra married John H. Eaton.⁵⁷ Jackson maintained a close relationship with William B. Lewis. Lewis was appointed to the quartermaster's department by Jackson in the War of 1812, and he

55. Kinchen T. Wilkinson to AJ, July 24, 1816, in Papers of Andrew Jackson, Library of Congress, microfilm, 21:5596, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN; RG 107, 16:135.

56. AJ to Kinchen Wilkinson August 12, 1816, in Papers of Andrew Jackson, Library of Congress, microfilm, 21:5718, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN.

57. Jon Meachem, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2009), 66

helped provide supplies to the Tennessee army. Lewis, along with Jackson, essentially served as a backer to creditors in order to ensure necessary supplies to the troops because the government was unorganized and did not have adequate funds. Doing so was risky for them because the government did not always repay backers and some went bankrupt or were jailed for debt. While Lewis may not have been a member of Jackson's kin network, he was certainly important for such financial reasons. Lewis also refuted the vicious claims made against Jackson as he was running for president in the 1828 election. He served as an influential aide to Jackson in the White House and tried to negotiate a compromise between Jackson and Nicolas Biddle over the recharter of the Bank of the United States.⁵⁸

Mary Anne Lewis, daughter of William B. and Margaret Lewis, came to stay at The Hermitage and became a "special pet" of Rachel Jackson's. She was never a ward of the Jacksons, however, as her father was still alive. She married Joseph Pageot, a French diplomat and Secretary of the French Legation, in 1832 at the White House, an event made possible by President Andrew Jackson.⁵⁹ It has been suggested that Mary Anne Pageot, since Jackson favored her, served an influential diplomatic role when France failed to repay debts in a timely manner, although there is no direct evidence.⁶⁰

58. Lorman Ratner, *Andrew Jackson and His Tennessee Lieutenants: A Study in Political Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 58-60.

59. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 161.

60. Dr. Richard Aubrey McLemore, *Franco-American Diplomatic Relations, 1816-1836*, referenced in "Catholic Ceremonies in the White House, 1832-33: Andrew Jackson's Forgotten Ward, Mary Lewis" *The Catholic Historical Review* 51, no.2, (July 1965): 192-98.

William Ferdinand and Micajah Lewis Claibourne

Dr. Thomas Augustine Claiborne migrated from Virginia and met his wife Sarah Lewis after settling in Nashville, Tennessee. Sarah was the oldest daughter of Jackson's friend, William Terrell Lewis. Thomas was a surgeon in the United States Navy from 1812 to 1815, being stationed at Lake Pontchartrain, and a civic leader in Nashville. He was the brother of General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne and Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne, the latter being a nemesis of Jackson's during the War of 1812.⁶¹ Thomas and Sarah Lewis Claiborne had three children. William Ferdinand was born in 1804. His sister Mary was born in 1806, and brother Micajah was born in 1808. After Sarah Claiborne died of consumption at age twenty-four in 1809, Micajah was left in the care of his grandparents. Thomas died in 1816. In 1820 Micajah was left in the charge of an uncle, who sent him to school in Connecticut. However, Micajah soon returned to Tennessee and studied at Cumberland College.⁶² Micajah served as a lieutenant in the United States Navy and was involved in the opium wars as well as the Mexican War.

61. John R. Bedford, "A Tour in 1807 Down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers from Nashville to New Orleans," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* V, no.1 (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society, 1919), 65. Thomas served as a commission to build a new jail and organized one of Nashville's first literary clubs. Governor William C.C. Claiborne was the first governor of the Territory of Orleans and married Sarah's sister Eliza.

62. William Terrell Lewis, *Genealogy of the Lewis Family in America, From the Middle of the Seventeenth Century Down to the Present Time* (Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1893), 81, 87, http://books.google.com/books/about/Genealogy_of_the_Lewis_family_in_America.html?id=fu4wAAAAMAAJ [accessed February 2, 2013].

While no official records exists to confirm Jackson's guardianship of Micajah, one source states that he was also a ward of Andrew Jackson.⁶³

The guardianship record for William Claiborne, dated June 25, 1825, is the earliest "official" record, meaning the first ward listed in the county clerk's guardian book, showing Andrew Jackson as a guardian.⁶⁴ This confirmation was recorded the same year as the earliest Davidson County Guardian Book whereas the other wards taken in by Jackson before this time are indicated in a will, court record, or other written document. Prior to Jackson taking William as a ward, a Superior Court case over a land inheritance dispute had been filed by Claiborne's executors against William B. Lewis and Mary Ann Lewis, although there is no indication that Jackson was involved in the suit.⁶⁵ William never married and died in 1831 or 1832.⁶⁶

Margaret and Jane Watkins

Jacob and Sally Williams Lloyd Watkins moved from Virginia to Tennessee in 1806 and were neighbors of the Jacksons. They died soon after arriving, and their six children were raised by various neighbors. Margaret and Jane came to live at The

63. "Thomas Augustine Claiborne," in Rossiter Johnson, ed., *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans, Vol.II* (Boston: The Biographical Society, 1904), <http://books.google.com/books?id=WRoVAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed January 21, 2013].

64. Davidson County Clerk, *Davidson County Guardian Book, 1825-1831*, Nashville Metropolitan Government Archives, Nashville, TN.

65. Mary Ann Lewis v. William Ferdinand Claibourne, Mary Claiborne, and Micajah Claibourne, TSLA, Middle Tennessee Supreme Court Records, Box 36 (TN Sup. Ct. March 7, 1821). Originally referenced in *PAJ Vol.V*, 475.

66. Lewis, *Genealogy of the Lewis Family*, 81.

Hermitage for part of that time. Margaret lived at The Hermitage in 1814, where she entertained visitors and helped with chores. Rachel Jackson also oversaw the courtship of Margaret's future husband.⁶⁷ Little correspondence exists mentioning the girls. While they might not have been legal wards, the Jacksons, along with other neighbors, extended their home to them. Margaret, also called Peggy, married John Allen, a merchant, in December 1814, and when they wed Rachel gave the couple a "heifer and a bedstead, a very expensive gift, typical of her generosity."⁶⁸

Jane Gillespie Hays

Jane was born in 1798, the daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Hays, who sold the property The Hermitage sits on to Jackson in 1804. The Hayses and the Jacksons were close neighbors and friends. Nathaniel Hays wanted to move to Bedford County, Tennessee, but Jane often visited The Hermitage. Hays' land was much less valuable than Hunter's Hill, the neighboring property the Jacksons sold. However, Jackson used the profits from selling his farm to pay debts and he and Rachel lived in a rustic log cabin, the original Hermitage, built by Nathaniel.⁶⁹ After her parents died, the Jacksons offered to care for her.⁷⁰

67. Patricia Brady, *A Being So Gentle: The Frontier Love Story of Rachel and Andrew Jackson* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2011), 126; *PAJ Vol. III*, 115, fn.4.

68. *PAJ Vol. V*, 218, fn.6; Brady, *A Being So Gentle*, 126. The editors list her as a former ward, and mention that John Allen kept a dry goods store near Stones River.

69. H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (New York: First Anchor Books Edition, 2006), 148-49.

70. Ladies' Hermitage Association, "The Hermitage Children," The Hermitage, Nashville, TN.

Examples of Economic and Political Familial Support in Jackson's Kin Network

While Jackson had Hunter's Hill on the market, a nephew, John Donelson, son of John Donelson and Mary Purnell, died in Alabama. John left behind his young widow, Eliza Butler, also Jackson's former ward. After John's death, Eliza was eager to return to the Nashville area. The idea for Eliza to buy the land was presented to Jackson by Stockley and Andrew Jackson Donelson. A sympathetic Jackson wrote to Andrew Jackson Hutchings that, "I would like much for it to fall into the hands and benefit some of the connection, than strangers."⁷¹ However, since Jackson had a great liability on his own line of credit by covering Andrew Jr.'s debts, he had a difficult choice to make between selling the valuable land to a relative for a lower price or selling to a stranger with the possibility of getting his full asking price. Jackson told Hutchings that "I would like that Eli[z]a would make her conclusions soon before the land is engaged to others."⁷² It is yet unclear if Eliza accepted Jackson's offer.

In another instance, Jackson attempted to help Rachel's brother-in-law, John Caffery, who was taken to court by John McNairy for failure to repay his loan. Caffery had borrowed money in 1805 using his farm as collateral, although he already had a lien on the property from a previous debt. Jackson was assisted in this matter by Colonel Robert Hays, the father of Samuel Jackson, Rachel and Narcissa Hays, and also Jackson's brother-in-law. Jackson attempted to settle the matter out of court, but he and McNairy could not reach a settlement. When Caffery could not repay the loan, the property was

71. AJ to AJH, May 25, 1840, in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Vol. VI*, ed. John Spencer Bassett. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933), 62.

72. Ibid.

auctioned off at a sheriff's sale, and Andrew Jackson bought it for an unknown sum. McNairy then charged that Caffery, Jackson, and the Donelsons were conspirators attempting to take his property. Not only did Jackson buy Caffery's property, but Hays helped pay Caffery's debts by giving McNairy the profits of his (Hays's) cotton crop. The court case, *John McNairy v. John Caffery and Andrew Jackson*, was concluded over a year later in 1809 when the Superior Court ordered Jackson and Caffery to pay McNairy \$999 to cover the rest of the debt.⁷³ This instance in particular provides an excellent example of the economic and political advantages of being a part of a well-connected kinship network.

Summary

Jackson's marriage into the Donelson family undoubtedly helped his career.⁷⁴ One of the most influential families in Tennessee, the Donelsons held many political positions and "the interlocking families owned large tracts of land ... Jackson and the Donelsons moved with the mightiest men in Tennessee – Generals, governors, and planters. They may have been cash-poor but they were property rich (in acres and slaves)."⁷⁵ Already a lawyer in the Mero District, Jackson was soon promoted to attorney

73. Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 145-46; *PAJ Vol. II*, 181-82, editor's note. John McNairy was a Tennessee politician who had helped Jackson get his start in the Tennessee territory. He was a superior court judge in the Mero District, a judge for the Territory South of the River Ohio, and the federal district judge for Tennessee. McNairy had accused Caffery of having made no payments on the loan, however, paperwork exists where McNairy acknowledged payment through the profits of Hays' cotton. McNairy later disputed this.

74. Natalie Inman, "Networks In Negotiation: The Role of Family and Kinship In Intercultural Diplomacy On the Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1680-1840" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2010), 27.

general after his “first” marriage to Rachel. After Rachel’s divorce from Lewis Robards cleared the Kentucky legislature, resolving the confusion of her legal status, she and Jackson remarried. Shortly thereafter, in 1796 Jackson was elected to the United States House of Representatives, then to the United States Senate in 1797, and was elected to the judgeship in the Tennessee Superior Court in 1798.⁷⁶

Jackson also made a name for himself as the “Hero of New Orleans” in the War of 1812, and he changed the course of American history when he was elected to two terms as president of the United States.⁷⁷ His military and political influence enabled him to extend help to those in need. Jackson received many letters from men seeking his assistance in obtaining a position in the government or military. Likewise, Jackson’s influence enabled him to help those he cared for. However, as in the case of Lyncoya not being accepted into West Point, Jackson was not always able to extend privilege as he intended. Nonetheless, he helped so many at his own expense that he often had little money.⁷⁸ Why would Jackson put himself in such a position? Joan E. Cashin observes that families “were intertwined with relatives from far beyond the boundaries of their own nuclear family,” so he might simply have been acting in accordance with prevailing societal attitudes towards ensuring the well-being of family networks.⁷⁹ However, Jackson’s willingness to help others, and especially children, could have been more

75. Meachem, *American Lion*, 35.

76. Ladies’ Hermitage Association, “Timeline,” The Hermitage <http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/timeline> [accessed November 17, 2012].

77. Ratner, *Andrew Jackson*, viiii.

78. *Ibid.*, 19.

79. Cashin, “Antebellum Planter Families,” 55.

personal. His father died before he was born. His brothers Hugh and Robert, both died in the Revolutionary War. His mother succumbed to disease. Being an orphan at the age of fourteen may explain his willingness to help children to such an extent. Furthermore, Jackson was a very unruly child who made many mistakes, some of which might have been avoided if he had had a proper role model or father.⁸⁰ Jackson indicated in his letters that he did not want his wards to make similar mistakes, thus his often heavy and repetitive advice.⁸¹

Additionally, since he and Rachel did not have biological children, he may have also felt the need to have children around his home. According to the Donelson oral tradition told by Burke, while consoling Rachel at her grief of not having any children, Jackson told her “God denies us offspring that we may help those who have large families and no means to support them.”⁸² It may be that Jackson’s situation was not uncommon. After all, the Jackson and Donelson “familial network was similar to others built out of frontier needs and opportunities.”⁸³ However, the level of support he was able to offer his family was extraordinary.

Though the strong bond of kinship within the Donelson clan was a factor, many of the children the Jacksons took in were not family. Jackson’s motives with respect to

80. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 7.

81. AJ to Anthony Butler, January 13, 1823, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 239-41.

82. Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox, “Andrew Jackson: His Life, Times and Compatriots. Ninth Paper–Rachel Donelson Jackson, Part 1,” *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly* 46 (July 1898): 24-32, and “Tenth Paper– Rachel Donelson Jackson, Part 2,” *ibid.* 46 (August 1898): 141-49, quoted in Wilcox Burke, *Emily Donelson of Tennessee*, 36. Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox was Pauline Wilcox Burke’s grandmother.

83. Natalie Inman, “Networks In Negotiation,” 29.

Lyncoya are especially puzzling. Likely in the same spirit as helping other children who were not blood kin, Jackson took him in because it was the charitable thing to do.⁸⁴ While it is difficult to determine what motivated Jackson the most, it was likely a combination of his experience as an orphan, the desire for children, and his code of honor, which was a commitment to his “reputation for honesty, bravery and defense of the honor and reputation of women and other dependent people.”⁸⁵

Andrew Jackson was heavily invested in the lives of his family and wards. As this study has shown, Jackson diligently embraced his role in these children’s lives and cared deeply for them. In a letter written to Rachel in regards to Andrew Jackson, Jr., Jackson reveals some insight as to why he gave as much as he did. He states, “tell [Andrew Jr.] his sweet papa labours hard to get money to educate him, but when he learns & becomes a great man, his sweet papa will be amply rewarded for all his care, expence & pains.”⁸⁶ In an 1823 letter to Anthony Butler, Jackson also explained that the reason he gave his wards so much advice in all aspects of their lives was so that they would not repeat his mistakes.⁸⁷ Jackson was not well educated, and he had trouble conforming to “proper society” in his youth, so his intentions are understandable.⁸⁸

For as much relationship advice as Jackson gave, many of his wards and relatives indeed married well, helping to carry on the Donelson family’s prominence both socially

84. AJ to Rachel Jackson, December 19, 1813, in *PAJ Vol. II*, 494-95.

85. Ratner, “Andrew Jackson,” 3.

86. AJ to Rachel Jackson, September 18, 1816, in *PAJ Vol. IV*, 62.

87. AJ to Anthony Wayne Butler, January 13, 1823, in *PAJ Vol. V*, 239-41.

88. Ratner, *Andrew Jackson*, 21.

and economically. For instance, Rachel Donelson, the daughter of Rachel Jackson's brother John and his wife Mary Purnell, married William Eastin, a merchant who became one of the first directors of the Bank of Nashville.⁸⁹ As previously mentioned, Jackson's ward Edward George Washington Butler married into the family of Martha Washington. After Emily Tennessee Donelson died, Andrew Jackson Donelson married another cousin, Elizabeth Martin, who was the widow of Meriwether Lewis Randolph, Thomas Jefferson's grandson. Tabitha Donelson, Jackson's niece, married George Smith, who was the son of the prominent Daniel Smith of Sumner County, Tennessee. George also was successful in his own right; he was a planter, a state senator, and was part of John Coffee's cavalry in the War of 1812.⁹⁰

Andrew Jackson served as executor of many estates and wills, guardian and legal representative of many, and a far-reaching paternal figure to most. Jackson watched over the interests of his wards both politically and economically as well as he could. He even insisted that most of his male wards to go to the prestigious West Point, which Jackson regarded as "the best school in the world."⁹¹ By insisting, he attempted to assure their success as individuals and also to strengthen the Donelson clan's influence. Perhaps James A. Hamilton best summarized why Jackson had so many wards when he wrote,

I believe he is a just and upright man, and so uniformly correct in all his dealings with his fellow-men, as to induce them to select him more than any other man in

89. *PAJ Vol. II*, 26, fn.4.

90. *Ibid.*, 127.

91. AJ to AJD, March 5, 1823, as found in Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of the American Empire*, 5.

all that part of the country as the arbiter of their differences, the executors of their estates and the guardian of their children.⁹²

As the editors of Jackson's papers have noted, "confusion about Jackson's ancestry and family relationships has plagued genealogists, historians, and editors alike."⁹³ Understanding his devotion to his family and wards can illuminate his family relationships and perhaps other aspects of his life. For instance, the death of Anthony Wayne Butler in 1824 likely heightened his sense of loss when he lost the presidential campaign of 1824. His beloved wife Rachel died in 1828, as did Lyncoya, shortly before he moved to Washington, which affected his emotional state as he entered the White House. However, once elected to the presidency, Jackson continued to help orphans in Washington, DC. The local orphanage, which he visited several times, was one of his favorite charities. He even took several of his nieces on a Christmas visit to the orphanage, where he spoke to each child and distributed presents.⁹⁴ The documentary record reveals more about some wards than others, but gathering together information about all known wards not only shows the extremely large number of children, at least thirty-six so far, whom the Jacksons cared for, but also sets the stage for researchers to further explore these "children of Jackson." More research remains to be done on this

92. James Alexander Hamilton, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton: or, Men and Events, at Home or Abroad, During Three Quarters of a Century* (New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1869), 76.

93. *PAJ Vol. V*, 105. The editors explore the controversy surrounding AJ's ancestry, and mention how people would claim to be a relative of his despite sufficient proof.

94. Meachem, *American Lion*, 319. For more information on the political advantages of kinship ties, see Mark Cheatham's paper presented at the 2011 Southern Historical Association Conference, "Slavery, Kinship, and Andrew Jackson's Political Campaign of 1828."

complex subject, but knowing the extent to which Jackson cared for the children of family and friends reveals a side of Andrew Jackson that is little known.

CHAPTER IV

EXHIBIT PROPOSAL FOR THE HERMITAGE

The Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, was sold by Andrew Jackson, Jr. in 1855 and today operates as one of the most visited historic homes in the United States. The interpretation of the family and grounds is thorough, but as always there are areas of focus that could be expanded upon, such as the many wards of Jackson. An improved explanation of the importance of kinship networks in relation to Jackson's wards would help visitors gain a more complete understanding not only of Jackson but also of community development and antebellum society.

Outside of "The Children of The Hermitage" panel, located in the museum, the Hermitage offers more comprehensive explanations of the more well-known wards such as Andrew Jr. and Andrew Jackson Donelson. The mansion tour interprets Andrew Jackson, Jr. as an adult and manager of The Hermitage as the visitors pass Andrew Jr.'s office. Also, as the tour proceeds upstairs, the docent provides a brief account of the Jacksons' grandchild, Rachel. Tulip Grove, another historic house located within a mile of The Hermitage, provides a good understanding of Andrew Jackson Donelson, especially in his adulthood.

Exhibition Description

While The Hermitage has interpreted Andrew Jackson's family life to some degree, the interpretation regarding extended family and his wards has been light. I propose a temporary exhibit to expose the many connections of Jackson's kinship web and how the Jacksons worked to maintain and strengthen their kin network. The focus on kinship would aim to inform and actively engage visitors, especially families, in

understanding society and culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. The format would be an exhibit panel and the use of the interactive touch screen exhibit.

What is to be experienced and learned from this exhibit?

It is important to show the public diverse topics to encourage a more informed audience. I want people to understand that although Andrew Jackson maintained The Hermitage and was influential, he struggled to provide assistance to many who needed help, both children in his kin network and of close friends. After John Donelson died, Andrew Jackson became the patriarch of the vast Donelson clan and so took on a great responsibility to ensure not only the survival, but also the success, of his kinship network. This was a burden that often weighed on him, especially in times when actual money (specie) was in short supply. Many of Jackson's letters indicate his stress over finding specie to cover his wards' debts, and in some cases, even this former president could not cover all expenses incurred, both necessary and frivolous.

Although the nature of patriarchy and kinship networks have shifted significantly since the first half of the nineteenth century, audiences should still be able to connect to Andrew and Rachel Jackson as well as their wards on a personal level through this proposed exhibit. The emphasis on human relationships would be a subject most patrons would identify with. Indeed, "familiarity with an image or situation evokes memories. This leads to recognition, interest, curiosity, and subsequently, learning."¹

1. David Dean, *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 28.

Key Themes to Convey to Public

There are multiple matters this proposed exhibit would convey; however, there are two overarching themes. The first overall theme is Andrew and Rachel Jackson's devotion to the perpetuation of their kin networks by their willingness to serve as guardians for a multitude of wards throughout their lives. To shed further light upon this neglected topic much time would be spent analyzing the wards who were under the Jacksons' care and reveal the extent to which they were cared for and the inherent advantages they enjoyed in having Andrew Jackson as their guardian.

The second theme is the synthesis of paternalism, patronage and kinship in elite white families in the South during the first half of the nineteenth century. The goal with this theme is to encourage the audience to consider the social differences regarding kinship, paternalism and patronage in the early nineteenth century by using Andrew Jackson as a case study. Secondary themes include the process, or lack thereof, of adoption, history of family roles, and education. A brief history of adoption in Tennessee would provide better context.

A challenge inherent with this interpretative theme is that it could easily be seen as depressing, especially to the main target audience: children and families. The addition of the ward/guardian dialogue at The Hermitage will give visitors not only a better sense of the Jacksons' loyalty and devotion by agreeing to take in numerous children, administer their estates and offer parental advice, but will also provide a more comprehensive, view of the social history of the era.

Exhibition Content

Panel One

The panel will introduce the concepts of kinship, patronage and paternalism, both general and in relation to Jackson. It will explain that Andrew and Rachel could not have children, and that this was likely a motivating factor for taking on so many wards. A brief summary explaining the role of kinship as a political and economic factor, perhaps best explained in Dr. Natalie Inman's dissertation since she specifically studies Jackson and John Donelson, would help explain other reasons involved in Jackson's decision to be a guardian. An explanation of how many wards the Jacksons cared for will be included, as well as a note that some were family and some were not. The panel also will explain that many children were under Jackson's guardianship but did not live with him. It will provide necessary context for the interactive exhibit, which provides a more in-depth look into certain wards. It may also be effective to include one or more quotes regarding Jackson's wards. Suggested quotes include:

Isabella Butler (mother of Edward George Washington Butler) to Andrew Jackson:

“I must beg your assistance, my Dear Children, wants a guardian, & you are their, Choice, & my own, I feel a confidence, you will comply with our wishes, if it is consistant with your Other dutys.”²

James A. Hamilton to Matthew Warner:

“I believe [Jackson] is a just and upright man, and so uniformly correct in all his dealings with his fellow-men, as to induce them to select him more than any other man in

2. Isabella Fowler Butler to AJ, August 3, 1803, in *PAJ Vol. I*, 350-1.

all that part of the country as the arbiter of their differences, the executors of their estates and the guardian of their children.”³

Ask the audience to imagine themselves in Jackson’s situation. You married into a large family and feel the need to ensure the family’s success. Could you handle a constant rotation of children in your home in addition to generally overseeing the entire family? Emphasizing the lack of a social safety net will help the adult audience appreciate the difficulty endured by families during the early nineteenth century. A good way to stress the significance of the kinship network is to say that it was the modern-day equivalent to Social Security. With few exceptions, orphan asylums did not open until the late 1800s, so children who had lost their parents had nowhere else to turn if they did not have family or close friends.

Children visiting the exhibit might be given the option of pretending to be a certain ward, keeping in mind that there would need to be a careful selection for both boys and girls. Suggestions for wards to present are Andrew Jackson, Jr., Edward George Washington Butler, Caroline Butler, and Samuel Jackson Hays. Engaging children by asking if they have brothers and sisters will help them to better comprehend the topic. An interpreter might ask them to imagine having to share their house with other children. These children stayed for various amounts of time; some were relatives and some not, and ranged in age from newborn to the twenties. A brief explanation of the relative newness of the nuclear family might also be reiterated here.

3. James Alexander Hamilton, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, 76.

Interactive Exhibit

Figure 11 provides a sample sequence of the wards for use in the interactive touch screen exhibit. Given the concept-heavy nature of the topic, this tool will help keep audiences engaged. The suggested wards in this sample sequence are Samuel Jackson Hays, and Daniel Smith Donelson, and Edward George Washington Butler. Compared to other of Jackson's wards, there is relatively abundant information for them. All three attended the prestigious United States Military Academy at West Point, largely because of Jackson. All three, like Jackson, became planters and high-ranking military leaders.

A suggested home screen would display the two-story log cabin the Jacksons lived in before the mansion was built since this was the home most of Jackson's wards lived in if they stayed at The Hermitage. An overlay image of the web of wards Jackson cared for would visually draw the attention of the visitors, immediately communicating that the wards were associated with the First Hermitage instead of the mansion. The next screen would display each ward's portrait identified simply by his or her name. However, since no known portrait of Samuel Jackson Hays exists, an alternate image would need to be used.⁴

Visitors would click on which ward they would like to learn more about and follow the sequence, which would explain how he or she came to be a ward of Jackson's, provide information about his or her life, and describe how Jackson helped them as

4. After a thorough image search at the Tennessee State Library & Archives, inquiry at the Tennessee State Museum, National Society of Colonial Dames of America in Tennessee Portrait Project, Internet searches, and inquiry to Historic Jackson's Facebook page, no image for Samuel Jackson Hays was found.

guardian. Figure 11, depicts the intended layout of the interactive exhibit. Below the illustration is the suggested text for each ward.⁵

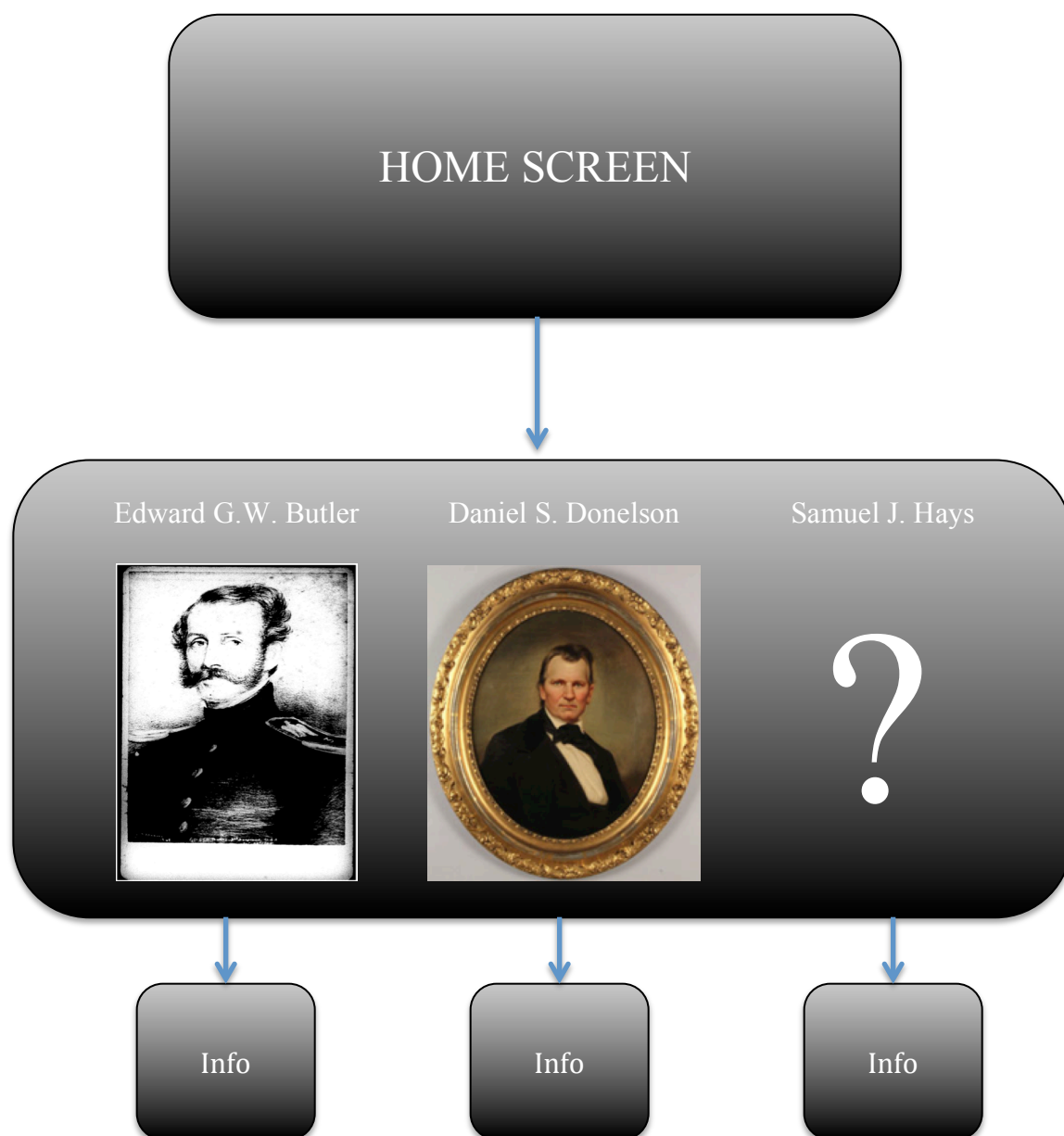


Figure 11. Sample Sequence for Interactive Exhibit.

5. The paintings used in Figure 11 above are respectively: George Dury, *Daniel Smith Donelson*, 1850, Historic Rock Castle, Hendersonville, TN, <http://tnportraits.org/donelson-daniel-smith-rc.htm> [accessed September 12, 2012]; Edward George Washington Butler, Butler Family Papers, MSS 102, 8:1597. Historic New Orleans Collection and Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, TN.

Edward George Washington Butler (1800-1888)

- Edward George Washington Butler was a son of Edward Butler, who was one of the Five Fighting Butlers of Revolutionary War fame. Edward's father died in 1803, when Edward was three years old. His mother wrote Jackson, asking if he would be guardian of her children, and he agreed. In addition to taking the boys into his home, Jackson helped handle their estate.
- Jackson helped pay for Edward's expenses at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Shortly after graduating from West Point, Edward served in the artillery corps of the army, and then left to become major general of the Louisiana militia in 1845. He left the militia for the regular army, reentering with the rank of colonel of the United States Third Dragoons. Edward then on to serve in the Mexican War.
- For the rest of his life, Jackson kept in contact with Edward, corresponding often. Edward married Frances Parke, whose father was a nephew of George Washington and mother was Martha Washington's granddaughter.
- Jackson took Edward into his home as a child, helped settle his father's estate, helped send him to West Point, and looked over his interests, much like a father would have. Jackson helped and guided Edward throughout his life, and Edward made Jackson proud by doing well in school, having a successful career.

Daniel Smith Donelson (1801-1863)

- Daniel Smith Donelson was a nephew of Rachel Jackson's. Daniel's father, Samuel, died when Daniel was a boy. Donelson family oral tradition tells that on Samuel's deathbed, he made Jackson promise to look after his boys. So Daniel and his brothers were taken in by Andrew and Rachel Jackson.
- Jackson helped Daniel get into the United States Military Academy at West Point. Shortly after graduating from West Point in 1825, Daniel was appointed 2nd lieutenant in the 3rd US Artillery. He soon resigned to become a planter. He married Margaret Branch in 1830. Margaret was the daughter of the Secretary of the Navy, John Branch.
- Daniel was an avid Democrat, like Jackson. He ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1843. He served in the Tennessee General Assembly from 1842-1843 and 1855-1859. He was elected President of the Tennessee Democratic Convention in 1855, and Speaker of the House of Representatives for the Tennessee Legislature from 1857-1859. When the Civil War began, he left politics and was commissioned as the Adjutant General of Volunteers in the Army of the Tennessee. He then commanded a brigade in the Battle of Stone's River, and afterwards he was

promoted to command the Department of East Tennessee. He died of illness in 1863.

- Jackson wrote many times that he thought Daniel would be a great man. Although Daniel did not achieve the same level of political recognition as his brother, he was nonetheless an important figure in Tennessee political and military history. Fort Donelson is named in his honor.

Samuel Jackson Hays (1800-1866)

- Samuel was a son of Robert Hays and Jane Donelson Hays, and thus Rachel Jackson's nephew. Samuel was already nineteen years old when his father died in 1819. Although an adult, since he was under the age of majority he still legally needed a guardian.
- Samuel attended United States Military Academy at West Point. When Jackson was elected President of the United States, Samuel was one of the family members he took with him to Washington in 1829. However, Jackson felt that Samuel was becoming idle and was wasting Jackson's money.
- Samuel married Frances Pinckney Middleton on April 4, 1826. To help Samuel gain the approval of Frances's father, who did not know the man his daughter wanted to marry, Jackson wrote a letter to her guardian, James Hamilton, Jr., vouching for Samuel.
- While Jackson did not help raise Samuel from childhood, as he did many of his other wards, he helped him become a successful man. Samuel became a planter in Rutherford County, Tennessee, and may have owned up to a thousand slaves. He also served as a U.S. army general in the Mexican War.

Result

The intended outcome of the proposed exhibit is to leave the audience with a sense of Andrew and Rachel Jackson as parental figures and more knowledgeable about the social and legal history of antebellum Tennessee. Given the exhibit's proposed location adjacent to the museum, the audience would see it before starting the tour of the grounds. Thus, visitors would start the tour with a broader understanding of the Jacksons and The Hermitage in relation to Tennessee and American history. Furthermore, interpreting Jackson's wards may inspire further research into these individuals, many of

whom are fascinating in their own right.

The mission statement of the Ladies' Hermitage Association which has managed the site since it was founded in 1889, is:

to serve as a learning resource for a diverse public. The Ladies' Hermitage Association will engage the public through preservation, interpretation, exhibition, education, research and publications to increase understanding of the complex issues of Andrew Jackson and his times, and to discuss their relationship to issues and events of today, and to inspire citizenship. Functioning as a national history museum, the Ladies' Hermitage Association serves visiting and non-visiting audiences including students, scholars, historians, and the general public – in the Nashville area, the nation and world.⁶

The proposed exhibit proposed falls within the framework of this mission statement. This concept could also be incorporated into scheduled events such as the living history series or Sunday LIVE, which already integrates the women at The Hermitage as well as Jackson's friends. It could also be the focus of special events. A guest lecturer well versed in Jackson's kinship ties might be of interest to visitors. Dr. Natalie Inman and Dr. Mark Cheatham have both thoroughly researched the Jackson/Donelson network and could tell more about political and economic privileges the family members had. The living history program at The Hermitage could be expanded to include Jackson's wards, which would give younger children opportunities for participatory learning. For instance, a group of children could be assigned a ward and gather near the mansion to play period games. A docent could stand nearby, minding the children. When visitors approach the docent could interpret "the wards" by briefly explaining who they are and why they are at The Hermitage. The docent could go on to give various statistics, such as the number of known wards, the number of girls versus number of boys, those who were legal and informal wards, and which wards were family

6. "About Us" <http://www.thehermitage.com/about/> [accessed Dec.2, 2012].

members. This would help the visitors visually and emotionally connect with the guardian/ward relationship. Other possibilities include featuring a “ward of the month” on The Hermitage’s website, developing a lesson plan that could be integrated into the school programs offered by The Hermitage, and creating a podcast episode to provide a more in-depth understanding of the topic. Regardless of which interpretive concepts are chosen, telling a fuller story of Jackson’s wards will enhance the fascinating story of The Hermitage.

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