MANY THINGS HONOROABLE AND COMMENDABLE BELONGING TO THE NAME: ANN COCHRAN DIXON, 1763-1857, AND HER KIN

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the importance that kinship network analysis lends to the study of women's history, with a particular focus on women who did not leave behind personal writings. To colonial, national, and antebellum era women, "family" not only included the nuclear family, but also their effective kinship groups. To demonstrate the utility of kinship analysis, I have chosen Ann Cochran Dixon (1763-1857), a Scots-Irish frontierswoman, in relation to her Cochran kinship network. Ann and her kin are an ideal case study; she left no personal writings in which she specifically detailed life events, but the availability of sources documenting her family group makes it possible to reconstruct certain areas of her life through her connections with extended family members. Tracing and comparing the different actions of Ann Cochran Dixon and her kin spanning several generations will demonstrate that kinship can be used as a legitimate category of historical analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

On April 12, 1857, ninety-four year old Ann Cochran Dixon died at her home in Winchester, Tennessee. Upon her death, Ann's granddaughter, Elizabeth Sturtevant, wrote and submitted her grandmother's lengthy obituary to the *Banner of Peace*, a publication of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The obituary featured important milestones in Ann's life and most significantly, the connections shared between Ann and her Scots-Irish kin, as well as the impressions, beliefs, and traditions they imparted to her. This obituary represents both the importance of Ann's kin in her personal history as well as the impression she made on her descendants. In the early twentieth century, another of Ann's granddaughters, and Elizabeth Sturtevant's sister, Belle Robinson, donated to the Tennessee Historical Society the original handwritten copy of the obituary along with several other small mementos that belonged to Ann. Clearly, both Elizabeth and Belle believed their grandmother worthy of remembrance. The items included a silhouette, a letter, and a catechism, but the collection does not contain anything written by Ann.[1] Their work to preserve Ann's memory embodied an initiative to maintain kinship connections, which in turn is the key to breathing new life into Ann's story. Kinship analysis, or studying relationships between family members, is the most effective methodological tool to reconstruct the life of an ordinary woman like Ann Cochran Dixon, who participated in dynamic eras of American history but left no personal writings to narrate her experiences.

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[1] Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection. Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Scots-Irish women like Ann Cochran Dixon led diverse and, at times, dangerous lives, yet little scholarship has focused on the importance of them as individuals. Most frontier women's personal letters and diaries, contingent on the fact that the documents existed at one point, had only a small chance of surviving time, frontier pressures, and disinterested descendants. The absence of tangible evidence inhibits the study of Scots-Irish women as historical people. Consequently, Ann and other women of her heritage are overshadowed by more easily researched aristocratic women or women who left personal writings. Kinship network analysis works to rectify this situation by bringing historical, anthropological, and genealogical methods together to analyze women's lives.

To colonial, national, and antebellum era women, "family" not only included the nuclear family (father, mother, and children) but also their kinship group, which included grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and in-laws. Kinship groups often used similar naming patterns, migrated together, and supported each other economically, religiously, and politically.[2] Kinship networks are porous, constantly expanding through marriage and only physically ending with death, meaning they are constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed with arriving and departing family group members. By treating Ann as the nexus of different kinship circles that span multiple generations, it becomes apparent how these ties inform Ann's actions, and demonstrates that this methodology can be applied to other ordinary women in similar circumstances. Therefore, historians who analyze only conjugal household patterns without taking siblings and other kin into consideration give their audiences a narrow view of their female subjects' lives. A more accurate picture of

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[2] Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 18.

women's experiences can only be obtained by examining the kin who touched their lives in some manner, in conjunction with pertinent contemporary sources.

The academic study of kinship has traditionally been confined to the realm of anthropology and frequently deemed useful or practical in that field only when studying small, non-Western cultures.[3] While Western societies might be too large to study as a whole through the lens of kinship, it can instead inspire useful and insightful conclusions about specific heritage subgroups through family networks and their specific members. In recent years both women's and family historians have gradually embraced the study of kinship and the use of kinship terminology. This methodology particularly lends itself to scholarly biography, evident in several works by women's historians including Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Annette Gordon-Reed, and Marla Miller.[4] They and others utilize kinship analysis to write about women from different cultural backgrounds and who exhibited varying degrees of either fame or obscurity.[5]

Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale* shows that women's writings, even mundane entries in daybooks, reveal dynamic aspects of women's everyday lives and that historians had undervalued both women's work and community interactions. Ulrich not only relies on Martha Ballard's diary entries for analysis, but also on Ballard's understanding of her kin

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[3] Robert Parkin, *Kinship: An Introduction to the Basic Concepts* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 135-136.

[4] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Annette Gordon-Reed, *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008); Marla R. Miller, *Betsy Ross and the Making of America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2010).

[5] For more examples of biographies on women and the importance of kinship, see Ava Chamberlain, *The Notorious Elizabeth Tuttle: Marriage, Murder, and Madness in the Family of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Michelle Marchetti Coughlin, *One Colonial Woman's World: The Life and Writings of Mehetabel Chandler Coit* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).

in order to make sense of her writings.[6] Ulrich had the advantage of access to Ballard's diary, unlike Annette Gordon-Reed's experience in writing about the Hemings family. Although Gordon-Reed's primary subject is Sally Hemings and her relationship with Thomas Jefferson, the book is entitled *The Hemingses of Monticello*, signifying the emphasis on the family group. She recounts the history of one of the most recognizable enslaved families and confronts various controversies by drawing upon their kinship connections to each other as well as their white masters.[7] Like Gordon-Reed's approach to Sally Hemings and the Hemings family group, Miller also endeavors to tell the true story of Betsy Ross while grappling with her mythic status. To accomplish this, Miller analyzes Ross as the center of a vast network of kin, many of them with artisanal occupations. Miller examines how Betsy Ross' ancestors, in-laws, and descendants influenced her life and contributed to her image in American history.[8]

Ann Cochran Dixon's story bears some similarities as well as important differences from the women and the families examined by Ulrich, Gordon-Reed, and Miller. First, Ann was a contemporary of Ballard, the Hemingses, and Ross. Like Betsy Ross, she was born and raised in Pennsylvania and was greatly affected by the American Revolution. The descendants of both women were interested in preserving what they knew of their involvement in the war. Unlike Martha Ballard, Ann's personal feelings about her everyday life, national events, and family members were not preserved in letters or diaries. While both Ballard and Ann were recognizable and active members of

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[6] Ulrich, 8, 17-19.

[7] Gordon-Reed, 37-56.

[8] Miller, 19-35.

their families and communities, neither was a national figure. However, that changed after Ulrich's examination of her life, as Martha Ballard has now become a familiar name to historians.

Others who argue for historians to embrace kinship analysis and the accompanying genealogical methodology in their historical pursuits include Lorri Glover and Carolyn Earle Billingsley.[9] Glover uses different wealthy families in South Carolina's lowcountry to prove that kinship connections reinforced their power and influence in politics and economics. Billingsley explicitly argues that historians should value kinship analysis as a historical lens, equal in utility to race and gender.[10] Her case study of the Keese kinship group traces how kinship affected the migration, religion, and politics of its members. She finds that for southern kinship groups, family was the most important aspect of their lives, and that individuals cannot be studied apart from their kinship groups.[11]

Billingsley also encourages historians to adopt the terminology favored by anthropologists to describe certain features of kinship. A vocabulary accessible to both anthropologists and historians is preferable, and several terms including descent group, kinship, and effective kin will be used throughout this paper. Ann Cochran Dixon's descent group includes her relatives that descended from a common ancestor. The

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[9] Other works that focus on the relationship between kinship and ordinary men and women include Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Joan E. Cashin, "The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: 'The Ties That Bound Us Was Strong,'" *Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 1 (February 1990): 55-70; Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[10] Billingsley, 1.

[11] Ibid., 20.

common ancestor can change generation to generation, as he (or sometimes she) has to be remembered in the collective consciousness of the group.[12] Kinship, as defined by anthropologists and in many cases assumed by historians, is the relationship between members of a particular descent group. In Ann's case, her kin primarily consisted of relatives by blood (consanguinity) or by marriage (affinity), but kinship can also apply to socially constructed relationships.[13] Effective kin refers to close family members who influenced each other in meaningful ways and with whom they had continual interaction.[14]

In *Communities of Kinship*, Billingsley also posits a more radical approach to the historical inquiry of family relationships by utilizing genealogical principles and adopting a genealogical mindset. Applying kinship and genealogy to historical research is a natural process because genealogy is an important aspect of human culture. Historian of American genealogy Francois Weil suggests that Europeans' interest in their own descent stemmed from the Bible's emphasis on genealogy and consanguinity, or blood relationships between family members.[15] Genealogy became a necessity for aristocratic or wealthy families to prove legitimacy of heirs in order to control and pass on wealth, land, and influence. The practice also reinforced a kinship group's status within their society. British colonists, both those descended from nobility and those who were not, also became interested in constructing family trees. They wrote to family members in

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12 Billingsley, 17; Parkin, 15.

13 Parkin, 35, 40.

14 Billingsley, 20.

15 Francois Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 11-12.

Europe for information about their ancestors, recorded names and vital statistics in Bibles, account books, or as in the case of the Cochran family, in separate manuscripts designed specifically for the purpose of drawing up a pedigree. Genealogical consciousness provided British colonists with ties to their kin still living in Europe and, as in the Cochrans' case, strengthened family traditions like naming patterns and religious affiliation.[16] The centrality of family connections and genealogy in Ann's consanguineal family, the Cochrans, and in her affinal family, the Dixons, provides a firm basis for kinship analysis.

Genealogy encourages historians to look beyond comparing different nuclear families to one another for answers concerning inheritance practices, religion, and other social trends. Individual families can inform historians to an extent, but tracing the kin surrounding each family and the development of their kinship over time helps to illuminate the "why" behind choices made by nuclear families. It is in this area where scholarly biographers have an advantage over historians writing about more general social topics. Historians writing biographies rely on genealogy in conjunction with historical research to provide a background for their subjects, some more than others. The amount of emphasis historians place on family history differs based on the influence the kinship group exerted over his or her subject.

These methodologies and approaches to studying families lend themselves particularly well to researching and writing about underrepresented women, yet few books on genealogical methodology have been published on this subject. However, at

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[16] Weil, 15, 31; Robert Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family in Ireland and America; Part I Written by Robert Cochran, May 3, 1730; Part II Written Later, Gives Data Concerning the American Family*, MS C64rg, Presbyterian Historical Society.

least two authors promote kinship analysis and creative reading of sources to reveal information about women's lives.[17] To research Ann Cochran Dixon, a woman who left few records that she created herself, it was vital to determine the members of her descent group and learn how they, both individually and collectively, conducted their lives. After establishing her effective kin and broader kinship group, I undertook a close examination of contemporary sources. The amount of information available on a woman and her kinship group often depends on the makeup, collecting policies, and geographical locations of archives pertinent to her family.

Archives, historical societies, and other collecting institutions feature prominently in the development of kinship as a lens for interpreting underrepresented women. Similarly to genealogy, archives have traditionally been associated with representing the construction of identity; typically, the records collected reflected the founders of the institutions or the upper class who had the education and leisure to create written documents.[18] In short, materials collected by archives determined who was important and who was not. Before the social history movement of the 1960s and 1970s, most historians did not recognize women's history as a legitimate and worthy field of study. Women's family members often believed this as well, and they often destroyed women's writings because they were not thought worthy of preservation, thus effectively silencing their

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[17] The two most useful, general research guides for researching ancestresses are Christina Kassabian Schaefer, *The Hidden Half of the Family: A Sourcebook for Women's Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1999); Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, *A Genealogist's Guide to Discovering Your Female Ancestors: Special Strategies for Uncovering Hard-to-Find Information about Your Female Lineage* (Cincinnati: Betterway Books, 1998).

[18] Francis X Blouin, Jr., "Archivists, Mediation, and Constructs of Social Memory," *Archival Issues: Journal of the Midwest Archives Conference* 24, no. 2 (1999): 101-112.

voices and reflections.[19] That Ann Cochran Dixon's granddaughters had the foresight to record and preserve memories of their grandmother in an archive is rather extraordinary, especially as Ann was neither famous nor wealthy. The comparative paucity of manuscript sources authored by women creates a challenge for historians who write about ordinary women's lives. To offset the lack of manuscript material, a greater emphasis has to be placed on official records.

For women like Ann and her kinship group, the majority of sources are documents maintained in archives on the national, state, and county levels. The nature of eighteenth and nineteenth century records requires that they be read creatively and examined with changing property laws and rights for women in mind. Due to strict British colonial and early American laws, women had few legal rights, and, as a result, their names are more difficult to locate in public records. As laws gradually became more liberal, more women began to appear alongside their husbands in deeds or as grantors or grantees in their own right. However, if a woman's name is not mentioned in deeds or court cases, it does not imply that she was unaffected by the transactions or conflicts within. Thus, public records that involve Ann's father, husband, and other close relatives were read with Ann in mind to determine how her relatives' actions affected her life. The same strategy was applied to collections in historical societies, churches, and other local history repositories.

While kinship groups related by consanguinity or affinity are the primary focus by which to analyze Ann's life, members of the various communities in which she lived

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[19] For more information on women's voices in the archives, see Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2010).

provided additional information. Two men in particular, William Henry Egle and William Darby, weave in and out of the narrative. Egle and Darby were connected with Ann in a non-kin manner, yet influenced her story, Darby during her life, and Egle after her death. Both men were concerned with the history of her affinal family, the Dixons. William Darby was born in a house rented to his family by Ann's in-laws, John and Arabella Dixon, in what was Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Darby later became a well-known geographer and historian, and in the 1830s his relationship with the Dixon family was reestablished through correspondence with Ann and her son, Matthew Lyle Dixon. The family information contained in two of Darby's letters to Matthew will be referenced frequently in Chapters 2 and 4. The reason the transcriptions of these two letters exist is due to the work of nineteenth century Pennsylvania historian, William Henry Egle.[20] Egle's interest in genealogies and history of the Scots-Irish and German families from central Pennsylvania derived from his own family connections. He collected valuable family keepsakes including letters and journals, transcribed the information within, and then returned the items to their owners. He published his findings in a series of books known as the *Notes and Queries* as well as other similar publications.[21] Members of the Cochran and Dixon families submitted papers to Egle, and in most cases, Egle's transcripts are the only extant copies.

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[20] William Henry Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford with "The Soldier's Tale" A Story of the People of Derry in 1776* (Harrisburg, PA: Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878); J. Gerald Kennedy, *The Astonished Traveler: William Darby, Frontier Geographer and Man of Letters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 11.

[21] William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886); William Henry Egle, *Some Pennsylvania Women During the War of the Revolution* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1898).

Kinship analysis utilizes a powerful combination of historical inquiry, genealogical methods, and kinship terminology to study women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Each chapter demonstrates how kinship connections and other factors including heritage, religion, and migration reinforced, altered, or changed Ann’s conception of family in different stages of her life. Chapter 1 establishes the origins and development of Ann Cochran Dixon's kinship group as family members migrated from Scotland to Northern Ireland, and finally to Pennsylvania. Chapter 2 examines the Cochran kinship group's participation in the Revolutionary War. The war represents the height of the kinship group's interconnectedness and cooperativeness. The majority of both Ann's relatives (men and women) as well as her future affinal relatives (men and women) exhibited their kinship bonds by throwing themselves into the conflict in different capacities. Chapter 3 traces the catalysts that altered Ann's kinship network: the end of the Revolutionary War, marriage, and migration. Chapter 4 examines Ann's reconstruction of her effective kinship group and her position of control within the family.

Ann's relationships with her Scots-Irish kin and the evolution of those relationships over time will show how much historians can learn about individual women through archival records related to a woman's kinship network. Tracing and comparing the different actions of Ann Cochran Dixon and her kin spanning several generations will exemplify that kinship can be used effectively as a category of historical analysis as it has the ability to reconstruct the lives of ordinary women without extant personal writings.

CHAPTER I

"MY DAUGHTER ANN"[1]

On land in Chester County, west of Philadelphia, the crooked Susquehanna, Octorara, and Swatara rivers and the rolling hills of the backcountry beckoned only the most adventurous immigrants to the Penn family's as-yet-unclaimed acreage, still traversed by shrinking populations of Conewago, Nanticoke, and other Native American tribes.[2] In the decades before the American Revolution, industrious Scots-Irish, German, and English peoples primarily populated western Pennsylvania as the religious and economic problems in Europe outweighed the hardships of frontier living. The Scots-Irish in particular desired a stable residence to establish their family networks after over a century of relocation and violence in the counties of Northern Ireland, and Ann Cochran Dixon's kinship group numbered among those immigrants. The Cochran kinship group's desire to maintain family ties stretching from Scotland to Ireland to Pennsylvania provides a wealth of primary sources which enable one to reconstruct both Ann's early life as well as track the origins and development of kinship traditions brought from Northern Ireland that governed her family's social, economic, and political aspirations in the British colonies.

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[1] George Cochran, Will and Administration, 1786, File 3774, Chester County Archives.

[2] Hubertis M. Cummings, *Scots Breed and Susquehanna* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 1.

"The First of Our Family"[3]

Despite the risks of an Atlantic crossing, beginning a new life in an unfamiliar environment, and confrontations with Native Americans angered by dishonest land takings, Ann's Cochran ancestors found the Pennsylvania Colony more amenable to their presence than either Scotland or Ireland. The Cochrans originally hailed from Fernois, near the Scottish Lowland weaving town Paisley, situated in the border county of Renfrewshire.[4] John Cochran, the patriarch of the Ulster branch, and his sons left behind the politically unstable Scotland in the mid sixteenth century for a safer haven around Lough Foyle, the estuary of River Foyle, in present day County Londonderry, Northern Ireland.[5] It is significant that in the earliest known migration of Ann's Cochran ancestors, they travelled in a family group rather than on an individual basis, as this pattern would be repeated in later journeys, lending credence to the importance of Scots-Irish family migration. The Cochrans immigrated to the region around Lough Foyle many years before the larger immigration of lowland Scots who responded to King James I's plantation system, and they would continue their residence there for the next 150 years.

In 1609, James I officially implemented the plantation system in the province of Ireland known as Ulster, which included the counties of Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone, to control the native Irish by granting land to English

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[3] Robert Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family in Ireland and America; Part I Written by Robert Cochran, May 3, 1730; Part II Written Later, Gives Data Concerning the American Family,* MS C64rg, Presbyterian Historical Society.

[4] Morris H. Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochran 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 3.

[5] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

and Scottish subjects who in turn would bring tenants to Ulster.[6] Hundreds of Lowland Scots left behind infertile land and destitute conditions in Scotland for the promise of prosperity in the plantation counties of Ireland. The burgeoning Scottish population in Ulster, including the growing Cochran family network, immediately began planting farms and working at other trades such as fishing and weaving. As their presence in Ulster transitioned from temporary enterprises to permanent settlements, the relocated Scots reestablished their clannish kinship networks, which were important aspects of their cultural structure in the Lowlands.

The Cochrans demonstrate through both oral and written tradition that religion and kinship networks were central to their collective identity, and that identity gave them a certain status within Ulster society. The Ulster Scots devoted themselves to Presbyterianism, which they fiercely defended against all naysayers. The Scottish Reformation led by John Knox instilled a strict form of Calvinism on its followers, and its tenets included belief in predestination, original sin, scripture infallibility, personal relationships with God, and the governmental power of church elders.[7] In 1730, Ann's great-grandfather, "Deaf" Robert Cochran, recorded the members of his descent group including names and anecdotes of his Cochran relatives in Scotland, Ireland, and the British colonies beginning with John Cochran of Fernois in the mid sixteenth century,

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[6] Carlton Jackson, *A Social History of the Scotch-Irish* (1993; rpt., Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1999), 17.

[7] Ibid., 7.

and covering a total of seven generations.[8] The anecdotes "Deaf" Robert recorded provide clues about how Ulster Scots viewed the intertwined family and religious life. One story "Deaf" Robert documented about his great-grandfather, James Cochran, demonstrates the Cochrans' and other Ulster Presbyterians' belief that spiritual connections with God could occur on individual bases without church officials as the intermediaries. According to the tale, James Cochran sat "in trance for three quarters of an hour, in which he had some discovery of Heaven and Hell and some visible sight of two persons of the Glorious Trinity the Father and the Son…."[9] "Deaf" Robert proudly named all Cochran males who served as Presbyterian elders, including his father Stephen Cochran, as they were the leaders of the Ulster Scots communities. The eldership and ministerial tradition would continue to be passed down from these Ulster Cochrans to their descendants in the British colonies.

"Deaf" Robert Cochran not only recorded the accomplishments of his kin, but he also exhibited a distinct Presbyterian distaste for family members who demonstrated sexual impropriety; for example, he censured both an unnamed wife and her Cochran husband who was so "provoked by his wife's doubling language that he got a child with another woman."[10] At the end of his remembrances, "Deaf" Robert relayed a few more stories of "despicable diminutive":

> Andrew that left his wife had a fine family of children, he got a child by adultery also John Bakah got a child with his servant maid, and his wife dying

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[8] Robert Cochran was one of three cousins who bore the same first name. To distinguish the three, "Deaf" Robert or other family members gave them nicknames: "Deaf" Robert, "Honest" Robert, and "Gentle" Robert.

[9] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

[10] Ibid.

> soon after, married her. These are the only two scabby sheep that have been in ye flock. There was but five bastards in ye name though three were more excusable, and gave penitent satisfaction therefore I omit naming them, there was not one laid to the charge of the female sex, that was of the line of James that was ye father of ye six brothers.[11]

Much like the Quakers, Ulster Presbyterians were brought in front of the church for punishment for immoral acts and were expected to show penitence; apparently, the family members' state of penitence within the church dictated who "Deaf" Robert would and would not expose in his manuscript.[12]

"Deaf" Robert's manuscript also shows the importance Ulster Scots placed on naming patterns within their kinship groups. Bestowing a forename on a child held particular meanings and performed certain functions within the family, including strengthening ties between members, reinforcing identity, and honoring respected relatives. Most importantly, naming practices were a crucial stabilizing force within the Cochran kinship group in a contingent world where religious and governmental conflicts could disturb family patterns at any moment. Thus, studying Ulster Scots family groups can be complicated by the fact that the same names were often recycled every generation in the horizontal family (cousins). It was not unusual for multiple cousins to share the same first name, and this occurred more frequently as the family networks expanded over time. As reflected in the Cochran's naming patterns while in Ulster, they tended to favor a combination of names attributed to Biblical characters (David, James, John, Elizabeth, Mary), monarchs (Robert, Margaret, William), and saints (Andrew, Ninian, Stephen). In the Cochran kinship network, the most popular names for boys were James, John,

[11] Ibid.

[12] Jackson, 32-33.

George, Richard, Robert, Thomas, and William, and the most popular girls names were Agnes, Elizabeth, Janet/Jane/Jean, Margaret, Mary, and Sarah. Ulster Scots' naming practices often followed this pattern: first son named for the father's father, second son named for the mother's father, third son for the father, first daughter named for the mother's mother, second daughter named for the father's mother, and third daughter for the mother. Subsequent children were named for the parents' siblings or other family relatives.[13]

To obtain any conclusions from the naming patterns in "Deaf" Robert's manuscript, understanding its organization is particularly essential. He primarily focused on the patrilineal descent from his great-grandfather, James Cochran, and the descendants of James' six sons. He listed all children in birth order, first listing the sons and then the daughters, which meant that even if the eldest child was a daughter, she would be listed after the youngest son. While "Deaf" Robert included many female relatives, and in most cases every woman's forename and surname who married into the family, he unfortunately rarely gave the wife's father's name, making reconstructing a complete picture of the Ulster Cochran's naming practices impossible. However, a distinct pattern of naming first sons for their grandfathers arose with descendants from four of the six sons of James Cochran. First sons were sometimes named for their fathers, but the majority adhered to the grandfather-grandson pattern.[14] This attention to the grandfather's significance supports the idea that the Ulster Scots, unlike other groups from the British

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[13] David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 81. "Deaf" Robert Cochran's manuscript provides an example of favored Scots-Irish names and naming patterns.

[14] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

Isles such as the Puritans, placed importance on extended family members in their definition of family or kinship group rather than on the nuclear family alone.[15] At this time, however, patterns for second sons and first and second daughters in the Cochran kinship group cannot be determined because of lack of evidence. Overall, the kinship content of this manuscript provides an intimate glimpse into the personal lives of Ulster Scots that would be much more difficult to reconstruct with traditional sources.

During the lenient rule of James I, the Ulster Scots' kinship networks, religious practices, and local economy flourished; however, the monarchs who followed over the next century vacillated between policies of toleration and punition, and the residents of the plantation counties remained wary of any change in royal policy. When the Ulster Scots' successful linen and exportable goods trade began to compete with English products in the mid seventeenth century, Parliament passed mercantile acts that severely restricted the markets where Ulster residents could sell their products. These acts crippled the Ulster economy, disproportionately reliant on the prosperity of the linen trade. Severe famines from 1717 through 1719 and excessive rents proved too costly and left the once prosperous counties of Northern Ireland impoverished.[16]

On top of dire economic conditions, Parliament began to beleaguer the Ulster Presbyterians' religion. Families like the Cochrans who adhered to the beliefs of Scottish Presbyterians became targets of Charles I's attempted Anglicization of Northern Ireland. Wary of any opposition to the Anglican Church, the Lord Deputy of Ireland forced

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[15] Daniel Scott Smith, "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitude in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641-1880," *Journal of Social History* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1985): 548.

[16] Patrick Griffin, *The People With No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 67-69.

Scottish inhabitants to swear an oath of loyalty to the Anglican Church and the crown. The legitimacy of sacraments performed in Presbyterian congregations came under fire with the passage of the Test Act in 1703. It denied dissenters the rights to vote or bear arms, and only Anglican ministers could perform marriages and baptisms. If Ulster Presbyterians refused to give tithes to the established church, these religious ceremonies were not recognized.[17] Just as economic and religious tensions forced the Cochrans and other Scottish families to settle in Ireland, similar situations encouraged the Ulster Presbyterians to desert Ireland for the colonies.

Bestowing a name on these colonial immigrants presents a challenge, as they constantly reestablished themselves in foreign lands and remade their collective identities. People of Scottish heritage, such as the Cochrans who established themselves in Northern Ireland, slowly abandoned their affiliation with the Scots, yet they abhorred being identified as "Irish" by British colonials because "Irish" insinuated "Catholic." Some entertained the term "northern dissenters," and while this was applicable in Northern Ireland, it held no meaning in Pennsylvania.[18] After immigrating to the American colonies, these people formed amalgamated societies that also included immigrants of either Scottish or Irish heritage, further complicating their distinct identities.[19] The term Scots-Irish, a nineteenth century construct, therefore refers to the Ulster Presbyterians of Scottish extraction who immigrated to the colonies.

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[17] Ibid., 23.

[18] Ibid., 2.

[19] Ibid., 5.

From Scotland to Ireland, and from Ireland to Pennsylvania, the Cochrans and other Ulster Scots brought their families, their religion, and their traditions to pursue dreams of prosperity on fertile land. "Deaf" Robert Cochran numbered among the wave of immigrants who arrived in Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It is probable that "Deaf" Robert authored his manuscript after he arrived in Pennsylvania; the religious and familial aspects of this manuscript can be fleshed out and interpreted, but larger questions still remain: why did "Deaf" Robert create this manuscript? Why was maintaining the genealogy of his family important to him? Undoubtedly, without the creation of his Cochran manuscript, much knowledge of the family on both sides of the Atlantic would have been forgotten. "Deaf" Robert possibly created this lineage manuscript to ensure the integrity of his family's descent despite severing geographical ties with his ancestors. The existence of such a manuscript could easily be interpreted as a tangible way for Cochran men to demonstrate the importance of patrilineal descent, supported by the fact that even though many female relatives are listed in the manuscript, in most cases female descendant lines are incomplete.[20] However, as "Deaf" Robert went to such measures to include women, he clearly believed that his ancestresses played an important part in male-centered descent. "Deaf" Robert also possibly created this manuscript to preserve the kinship ties that he believed were important to remember. He not only wanted his family history to be reflected in the names and the physical beings of his children, but he also wanted a document that placed him and his immediate family securely within a web of people who behaved and thought

[20] Susan E. Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 63.

as he did. Therefore, this manuscript provided the American branch of the family with a tangible representation of their kinship ties that could not be destroyed by migration. To ensure his kinship traditions, he passed the manuscript on to his son-in-law, James Cochran, and it stayed in the family for several more generations. When each new owner added family information for the current generation or made copies, the kinship network was reinforced and perpetuated. "Deaf" Robert astutely ensured that his family's legacy in Scotland and Ireland would flourish in their new Pennsylvanian home.

When Ann's great-grandfather, "Deaf" Robert Cochran, and his kin migrated to Pennsylvania, they preserved the kinship networks and identity fundamental to their society, which in turn furnished Ann with an upbringing steeped in the economic practices, religion, and traditions developed by the Ulster Scots. The exact dates of departure and arrival of Ann's ancestors in the colonies remain unknown; however, clues from "Deaf" Robert's manuscript and tax records from Chester County, Pennsylvania, provide a rough timeline of Cochran immigration. Of "Deaf" Robert and his wife Jean's seven children, at least five of them and their spouses immigrated to Pennsylvania: Stephen (Prudence Boggs), David, Isabella (James Cochran), Mary (John Robb), and Jean (Robert Smith). In 1723, Isabella married her third cousin, James Cochran, son of "Deaf" Robert's second cousin "Honest" Robert Cochran, possibly while they still resided in Ireland.[21] The earliest record of "Deaf" Robert and his new son-in-law James Cochran in Chester County is on the 1724/25 tax records for Sadsbury and Fallowfield

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[21] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

Townships.[22] Between James' and Isabella's marriage date and the tax records showing "Deaf" Robert and James in Chester County for the first time in the same year, the evidence indicates that at least "Deaf" Robert and his wife Jean and their daughter Isabella and son-in-law James immigrated to the colonies together as a family group. Migrating as a family in the early eighteenth century replicated how the Scottish Cochrans immigration to Ireland in the mid sixteenth century.

But what of "Deaf" Robert's other children? Jean's marriage date to Robert Smith is unknown, but he was listed in New Garden Township as early as 1721.[23] John Robb appeared on the tax records in Sadsbury and Fallowfield Townships in 1725, and he and Mary married in 1726.[24] The Stephen and David Cochran who paid taxes in in the mid-1730s are most likely "Deaf" Robert's two sons; Stephen paid as a freeman in 1735/1736, and both he and David paid as landholders in 1740.[25] From the tax lists, another possible migration pattern can be discerned. Kin often migrated together, but in many cases a nuclear family, such as Robert and Jean Smith, immigrated first, and the rest of the kinship group, such as "Deaf" Robert, his wife, children, and son-in-laws, followed. Although many immigrants made the Atlantic voyage alone, the migration pattern in the

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[22] Robert Cochran, County Tax, 1724/25, p. 37, Chester County Archives; James Cochran, County Tax, 1724/1725, p. 37, Chester County Archives.

[23] Robert Smith, County Tax, 1721, p. 9, Chester County Archives.

[24] John Robb, County Tax, 1725, p. 22, Chester County Archives; Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

[25] Stephen Cochran, County Tax, 1735/1736, p. 32, Chester County Archives; Stephen Cochren [sic], County Tax, 1740, p. 42, Chester County Archives; David Cochren [sic], County Tax, 1740, p. 42, Chester County Archives.

Cochran family supports the observation that a significant number left the Old World in tight-knit kinship groups.

Now in Pennsylvania, Ann's paternal grandparents, James and Isabella Cochran, exhibited economic, kinship, and religious traditions that had been developed during the Cochran kinship group's residence in Ireland. As it had been British policy in Ireland to confiscate land from the native Irish in favor of Scottish and English residents, the Scots-Irish who later immigrated to the colonies adopted this mindset. They therefore had little problem with commandeering valuable pieces of land from unsuspecting owners, and in James' case, even from his own kin. In 1725, James served as the estate executor of a wealthy neighbor, Cornelius Rowan, because of family connections. Rowan bequeathed his possessions in Chester County to his son-in-law George Cochran and his daughter Anne Rowan Cochran.[26] As the inheritors resided in Ireland, James occupied their land and refused to give it to the rightful heirs. He retained their land until in 1742 when his exasperated relatives finally relinquished legal claim and sold him the land.[27] As he had no qualms about taking land from his kinsmen, he saw no issue in relieving the Penn family of property destined for a Nanticoke reservation. He encroached on this land for almost fifteen years until the Penns relented, and he obtained legal rights to it in 1739. Eventually, through both legitimate and surreptitious dealings, James came to own 430 acres in Chester County.[28]

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[26] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*. The Cochran manuscript indicates that George and Anne Rowan Cochran were James Cochran's maternal aunt and uncle.

[27] James Cochran, Deed, 1742, Book F, p. 628, Chester County Archives.

[28] Saffron, 5.

Pennsylvania provided its residents with economic advancement that British mercantilist policy had devastated in Ulster, which benefited James's entrepreneurial spirit. His property was situated where three important roads merged in Chester County: Gap and Newport Turnpike, Limestone Road, and a Shawnee trail. To properly take advantage of this valuable property, James obtained a license for a tavern. On the frontier, the Scots-Irish valued good food and drink. His tavern housed travelers between the Pennsylvania frontier to the west and Philadelphia to the east, as well as entertained the locals. He submitted a new tavern petition every year to the Quarter Sessions Court so he could sell "rum, wine, brandy, cider and other strong liquors," and the abundance of signatures on these petitions from prominent male residents attested to its popularity.[29] In the eighteenth century, tavern keeping was also a family venture. Wives often helped their husbands keep accounts, minded the business while their husbands traveled, and served the patrons.[30] Isabella's role as a tavern keeper's wife possibly encompassed these tasks.

As James and Isabella were cousins, they consolidated, rather than expanded, the Cochran kinship networks brought from Ireland through their marriage and the births of their children. Isabella bore seven children – Anne, Robert, George, John, Stephen, Jane, and James – in regular intervals, about every two years. Isabella gave birth to George,

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[29] James Cochran, Tavern Petition, 1753, Vol. 10, p. 9-10, Chester County Archives; James Cochran, Tavern Petitions, 1756, Vol. 11, p. 89-90, Chester County Archives.

[30] Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 40.

Ann Cochran's father, on March 30, 1728.[31] The daughters were most likely educated at home, both in practical duties like dairying, cooking, light gardening, and spinning, as well as in the useful skills of reading and writing. By providing their daughters with a well-rounded education, James and Isabella probably entertained hopes of estimable marriage partners. Most Scots-Irish frontiersmen did not attend college, as that privilege was reserved for their Presbyterian ministers. Both Anne and Jane managed to marry prominent, college-educated Presbyterian ministers: Anne married Reverend John Roan after the death of her first husband, Alexander Lecky, and Jane married Reverend Alexander Mitchell.[32] In contrast, James's and Isabella's sons were outfitted for varying professions. James likely sent all of his boys to school under the tutelage of one of the area's well-respected minister and schoolmaster, Reverend Francis Allison.[33] James's sons, Robert and Stephen, most likely farmed as their primary occupation, and he sent John to school in Lancaster to study the physician's trade under Dr. Robert Thompson.[34] George and James the younger learned the trades of blacksmithing and saddling, respectively.[35]

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[31] James Cochran, Will and Administration, 1766, File 2305, Chester County Archives; Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

[32] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*. For evidence of Anne and Jane's education, see Rev. Alexander Mitchell to Jane Cochran, October 7, 1760, Samuel R. Slaymaker, II, White Chimneys Collection, Series 4, Box 1, folder 4, Lancaster County's Historical Society; Anne Roan, Will and Administration, 1788, File 3974, Chester County Archives.

[33] Saffron, 7.

[34] Ibid., 8.

[35] George Cochran, Provincial Tax, 1765, p. 456, Chester County Archives; George Cochran, Will and Administration.

The Scots-Irish frontiersmen adhered to Presbyterianism as faithfully in Pennsylvania as they did in Ireland. Removed from the colonial Assembly in Philadelphia, the Scots-Irish looked to ministers and elders for spiritual and governmental authority. The Ulster Cochrans boasted a distinguished lineage of Presbyterian elders: James's father, grandfather, and Isabella's grandfather all served in that capacity. James continued the Cochran family's involvement in Presbyterian churches by joining Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church shortly after settling in Chester County, and, in 1730, he and other Scots-Irish neighbors founded Fagg's Manor Presbyterian Church. He supported this church until his death, serving as a ruling elder for several years.[36] The Cochran family's strong ties to Presbyterianism in Ireland, combined with James's connections with local Presbyterian congregations and evangelistic preachers in Pennsylvania, influenced his children to embrace this Protestant sect. All of his children and many grandchildren remained affiliated with a Presbyterian church throughout their lives, and none more passionately than his granddaughter Ann.

James's involvement in the newly organized Fagg's Manor also affected his family life in more than just religion. James and the other elders invited Reverend Samuel Blair to visit the Fagg's Manor congregation, and in 1740 he formally accepted the ministerial position. Reverend Blair soon opened a theological school at Fagg's Manor for boys aspiring to become Presbyterian ministers.[37] His school attracted many young men who would grow to be distinguished preachers themselves, among them Hugh

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[36] Saffron, 6.

[37] Ibid., 7.

Henry from Maryland.[38] After preparing with Reverend Blair at Fagg's Manor, Hugh attended the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, and preached in Maryland and Virginia.[39] Hugh's sister Nancy most likely caught the attention of young George Cochran during Hugh's schooling at Fagg's Manor. James would have looked favorably on George's choice of bride, as Nancy was the sister of a newly ordained Presbyterian minister. George and nineteen-year-old Nancy married on March 4, 1751, Old Style, most likely in either Chester County or Maryland.[40]

George and Nancy settled in Maryland early in their married life. She immediately began bearing children, and of seven, five reached adulthood.[41] The Scots-Irish in Pennsylvania considered naming their children as serious an undertaking as their ancestors in Ireland. Now in the colonies, the Cochrans used naming patterns to reinforce kinship bonds with their Ulster heritage by continuing to use traditional family forenames and employing the grandfather-grandson pattern. George, himself the oldest son to produce a male child, named his first-born son James in honor of his father. Unfortunately, the naming patterns of George and Nancy's other children cannot be precisely evaluated as Nancy's parentage remains unknown and only three of her siblings have been identified. Despite this, some conclusions can still be made. The names of

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[38] D. K. Turner, *History of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church of Warwick, Hartsville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Culbertson and Bache, 1876), 35.

[39] Alfred Nevin, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publishing Company, 1884), 320.

[40] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*. Old Style refers to the date as it appeared in the Julian calendar, which began with the civil year (March 25). In 1752, England and the colonies changed to the Gregorian calendar, which began with the historical year (January 1).

[41] Ibid.

George's and Nancy's children – Isabel, James, Sarah, Jean, John, Hugh Henry, and Ann – seem to pay tribute to both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. Isabel was possibly named for George's mother, but she also shared this name with Nancy's sister, Isabel Henry Miller. James, who was almost certainly named for George's father, was the name of Nancy's brother, James Henry. Sarah and Hugh were names that appeared throughout "Deaf" Robert's record of the Cochran kinship group, but none of George's effective kin possessed those forenames. Instead, George's and Nancy's two children were most likely named in honor of Nancy's brother Reverend Hugh Henry and his wife Sarah.[42] The other three children – Jean, John, and Ann – reflect George's siblings, Jean named for Jane "Jean" Mitchell, John for Dr. John Cochran, and Ann for Anne Roan.[43] Even though a definitive conclusion of how these names reflect or diverge from traditional Scots-Irish naming patterns cannot be determined without knowledge of Nancy's parents, George's and Nancy's choices demonstrate the perpetuation of the grandfather-grandson pattern as well as the close ties between family members on both paternal and maternal sides.

Nancy gave birth to her youngest child, Ann, in the turbulent year of 1763. Ann's older brother John noted many years later in his Revolutionary War pension application that his parents left Maryland and returned to Chester County when he was about three years old, in time for Ann's birth in 1763.[44] If a complete list of birthdates for George and

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42 Hugh Henry, Will, 1762, Book 31, Folder 940, Somerset County, Maryland State Archives.

43 Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*; William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1895; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 2, 95.

44 John Cochran, Pension, R2083, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

Nancy's children existed in the eighteenth century, it has been lost or destroyed. As a result, the knowledge of Ann's true birthdate has been confused, and two dates have surfaced as possibilities: April 9, 1763 and August 16, 1763. Her death notice in *The Home Journal* of Winchester, Tennessee, stated her birth as April 1763 and her age "near 94 years."[45] Her tombstone further specified April 9, 1763. Family members, most likely her son-in-law, presumably paid for both the death notice and the tombstone.[46] However, Ann's obituary, authored by her granddaughter, Elizabeth Sturtevant, presented her birthdate as August 16, 1763, which the nineteenth century Scots-Irish historian and genealogist Dr. William Henry Egle reprinted in his *Pennsylvania Genealogies*.[47] Ann herself stated her age at four different times, but only one time does her age coincide with her correct birth year, and none with either of her possible birth dates. In court applying for a Revolutionary War pension, she gave these ages: seventy-two years in 1839, seventy-six years in 1843, eighty-four years in 1848, and ninety-one years in 1855. In both 1839 and 1843, she stated she was four years younger than she actually was. In September 1848, no matter if her birthdate was April 9 or August 16, she should have been eighty-five years old instead of eighty-four. Only in March 1855 did she give her age correctly as ninety-one years, although March was earlier than either one of her

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45 "Died," *Home Journal,* 18 April 1857.

46 Franklin County Historical Society, *Cemetery Records of Franklin County Tennessee* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), 101. Ann was living with her son-in-law, M.W. Robinson, when she died.

47 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives; William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886), 128.

possible birthdates.[48] Despite the various ages she gave during her pension application process, the information provided by her descendants establishes 1763 as the year of her birth, although the day still remains a mystery. Additionally, the place of Ann's birth has also not been firmly established. The Elizabeth Sturtevant obituary stated that she was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, but this contradicts her brother John's testimony that the family lived in Chester County at the time of Ann's birth, and no evidence exists to support the claim that her parents lived in Lancaster County. This was probably an error on Elizabeth's part, presenting Ann's birthplace as the same county where she spent much of her childhood.[49]

In both Chester and Lancaster Counties, Ann's birth year of 1763 was particularly eventful as every month new tales of lawlessness and violence terrified locals and assembly members in Philadelphia. On February 10, 1763, the Treaty of Paris was signed between Great Britain and France ending the Seven Years War, known as the French and Indian War to the American colonists. The fighting on the Pennsylvanian frontier, particularly in Lancaster and Cumberland Counties, had been bloody. Enraged over furtive land transactions with the Penn family, the Delaware Indians had sought revenge by killing entire families of Scots-Irish settlers and squatters who had a history of encroaching on Indian land.[50] The settlers, for their part, firmly believed they had a natural right to land not properly cultivated by "idle" Indians, so residents of Lancaster

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48 Ann Dixon, Pension, W784, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

49 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; John Cochran, Pension.

50 Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 49.

County petitioned the Pennsylvania Assembly for military protection against Indian raids.[51] After General Braddock's defeat in the summer of 1755, the frontier settlements were left completely unprotected, forcing the Quaker-dominated assembly to create a militia at the end of the year and formally declaring war in the spring of 1756.[52] The fighting on the Pennsylvania frontier subsided by the end of the decade, but in 1763 Indian tribes who were displeased with the British ending traditional gift giving initiated Pontiac's War by attacking forts and settlements in Ohio territory and on the Pennsylvania frontier. Terrified settlers felt that the Pennsylvania Assembly had little interest in their fate. The Assembly squabbled over money and delayed military protection as it had during the French and Indian War. The Scots-Irish likened their vulnerability in Pennsylvania to their buffer status in Scotland between the English and the Highland Scots and in Ireland between the English and the Irish. The Pennsylvania Assembly finally instructed Colonel John Anderson of Cumberland County and the Reverend John Elder of Paxton in Lancaster County to raise two companies of men to protect the back settlements. Reverend Elder's company became infamously known as the Paxton Boys.[53]

The Paxton Boys were blinded by their frustration at the provincial government and angered about the Indian attacks on their homes and families. Their own sense of entitlement to land that either did not belong to them or was purchased by the Penns from the Indians with fraudulent documents caused many of their problems and ultimately led

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[51] Ibid., 53.

[52] Ibid., 81.

[53] Ibid., 119.

to one of the eighteenth century's brutal massacres. By 1763, the Paxton Boys no longer distinguished friendly Indians from enemies, and they believed that a small community of Conestoga Indians living south of Lancaster town had been passing information to Indians attacking the settlements.[54] On December 14, 1763, a group of fifty Paxton Boys killed six Indians at Conestoga. Fourteen Indians were placed in protective custody in the Lancaster workhouse, but on December 27 the Paxton boys broke into the workhouse and finished their original plan.[55] The Paxton Boys' actions terrified Lancaster County residents, and when proprietary governor John Penn issued arrest warrants for the men involved, no one identified the perpetrators. Penn questioned Reverend John Elder, who responded in defense of the men's actions and denied his own involvement, but the fighting parson almost certainly had prior knowledge of their plans.[56] As further proof of their anger, some of the Paxton Boys marched on Philadelphia to make their grievances known to the Pennsylvania Assembly. They produced a *Declaration* and *Remonstrance* to justify the massacre and outline their criticisms of the colonial government, which they felt was poorly managed. A pamphlet war began in Philadelphia between the pro- and anti-Presbyterians, ending with the pro-Presbyterian faction overtaking the Quaker majority in the Assembly.[57] This created a favorable atmosphere for the American Revolution, but John Penn's failure to vigorously pursue two of the men known to have been involved in the massacre, Lazarus Stewart and Matthew Smith, set a dangerous

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[54] Ibid., 134.

[55] Ibid., 140.

[56] Ibid., 138.

[57] Ibid., 202.

precedent on the frontier. Violence between Indians and Scots-Irish settlers continued until the outbreak of war with Great Britain in the mid 1770s.[58]

Ann entered the world in 1763 geographically amidst the violence of Pontiac's War, the Paxton Boys' massacre, and political turmoil in Philadelphia. During her early years, she lived in relative safety from Indian raids in Chester County and in a secure web of family relations, but as she matured, circumstances brought her closer to Lancaster County violence. The tax lists for New London Township in Chester County in 1765 recorded that George had finally established himself as a blacksmith of modest means; fourteen years after his marriage to Nancy, he owned one house, a lot, a cow, and a horse.[59] Only a year later, however, George seemed to be struggling to maintain his immediate family, as he was unable to pay his taxes because he was "poor."[60]

George's financial issues, combined with two significant events that occurred in the 1760s, altered the course of Ann's childhood: the deaths of Ann's grandfather James in 1766 and her mother Nancy in 1769.[61] James left vastly unequal portions of his estate to his children. James bequeathed the majority of his property to his youngest children, sons Stephen and James and daughter Jane. He conveyed one hundred acres and one fourth of the sale of his estate to his son, James the younger; the tavern passed to Stephen who had already received one hundred acres and one shilling in sterling; some furniture

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[58] Ibid., 205.

[59] George Cochran, Provincial Tax, 1765.

[60] George Cochran, Tax Discounts, 1766, Book 1740-1780, p. 131, Chester County Archives. County Commissioners granted tax discounts to residents for various reasons, including poverty and insolvency.

[61] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

and one half of the profits of the estate sale went to Jane. James's older children, Anne and John, as well as his granddaughter Isabella, received only one shilling in sterling from the estate. George fared better in comparison to the inheritance of his siblings Anne and John. He received "one full and equal fourth part" of the earnings that should arise from the sale of the remainder of James's personal and real estate not otherwise devised following his decease.[62] James's death, and Isabella's six years earlier, began severing the colonial Cochrans' connections to the extended Cochran kinship network in Ireland. Their descendants slowly replaced their identity formed in Ireland with a new colonial identity, which they expressed through Revolutionary War participation years later.

Just as James's death changed kinship patterns through inheritance, when George's wife Nancy died three years later, her death affected the nuclear family's domestic patterns. George lost the comfort of his wife's company, and he now had the sole responsibility to raise their children. Six-year-old Ann would have keenly felt the pain and confusion that followed the loss of her mother. Her death forced George to reevaluate the welfare of his family because he did not remarry, received only a small inheritance from his father, and his youngest child Ann needed a mother's care and attention. He now faced a predicament: should he attempt to raise Ann by himself with limited resources or relinquish her care to relatives? Relying upon kinship networks within his family, George believed his most sensible option rested with his capable sister Anne Roan.

George knew that Anne Roan and her husband Reverend John Roan could provide Ann with a proper upbringing, as they possessed the financial means to raise

[62] James Cochran, Will and Administration.

their niece. In the eighteenth century, the namesake often took charge of the younger relative in the event that her parents were unable to provide certain necessities. Aunt Anne Roan, therefore, was the natural choice.[63] Anne Cochran Lecky Roan, George's oldest sibling, was educated and clever. Alexander Lecky, Anne's first husband, died within the first few years of their marriage, leaving her to care for their young daughter Margaret and sizable property in Chester County.[64] The newly widowed Anne quickly captured the attention of the fiery Lancaster County Presbyterian minister, Reverend John Roan. The two married and set up housekeeping in Londonderry, Lancaster County. The couple was soon blessed with three daughters, Jean, Elizabeth, and Mary, and a son Flavel. Their youngest daughter Mary was one year younger than her cousin Ann. George possibly realized that his sister would be caring for her own daughter of similar age and assumed that the two girls would become companions. Anne and her husband were also devoted, evangelical Presbyterians. George would have approved of this environment because it cultivated Ann's own dedication to Presbyterianism. George thus surrendered the care of his daughter to his sister and brother-in-law, under whose presence and guidance Ann spent the next five or six formative years of her life.[65]

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63 C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 62.

64 J. Smith Futhey, *Historical Discourse Delivered on the Occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church, Chester County, Pennsylvania September 14, 1870* (Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1870), 171; Alexander Lackey, Will and Administration, 1747, File 1030, Chester County Archives.

65 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; John Roan, Will, 1776, Book C, Vol. 1, Page 375, Lancaster County Archives.

"An Able, Faithful and Courageous Minister"[66]

The Scots-Irish Presbyterians emigrating from Ireland believed only formally educated ministers should serve individual congregations. Some Presbyterian ministers traveled with their displaced countrymen, but large numbers of laymen greatly exceeded the ministers. To resolve this problem, the College of New Jersey trained Presbyterian ministers, and other theological schools sprang up in the colonies. The newly established Presbytery of New Castle sent ordained ministers under its jurisdiction to the frontier settlements that were lacking ministerial guidance. One of these enthusiastic men was Reverend John Roan. Born in Ireland, he immigrated to Pennsylvania and entered into the lucrative profession of ministering. John studied under Reverend William Tennent at the Log College in Neshimany, Pennsylvania, and received his license to preach in 1744.[67] The Presbytery of New Castle sent John to Virginia. It was said, he "was bold, energetic, earnest, but less of caution and prudence than the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed required."[68] He favored revivalist or New Side preaching, characterized by energetic speeches that offended Old Side, or emotionally controlled Presbyterians. While in Virginia, John frequently charged from the pulpit that Anglican ministers were being neither dedicated nor pious, and "his offensive statements and seething satire" angered neighboring parishioners and ministers.[69] Finding like-minded

66 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

67 Nevin, 769.

68 William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit: Presbyterian* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1859), 129.

69 Edward L. Bond, *Spreading the Gospel in Colonial Virginia: Preaching Religion and Community* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 37.

Scots-Irish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, more responsive to his style, he became the minister of the New Side members of the recently divided congregations of Derry, Paxton, and Mount Joy.[70] John enthusiastically preached to the New Side followers for the next thirty years, while his rival, Reverend John Elder of the infamous Paxton Boys, ministered to the Old Side followers of the same congregations.[71] Ann formally joined the Derry Presbyterian Church (New Side) when she was ten years old.[72] As Ann matured in her uncle's house, the passionate preaching of the New Side theology influenced her, and she continued to attend evangelical Presbyterian churches for at least the next fifty years of her life.

For the Cochrans and other Scots-Irish families, kinship networks were displayed by taking in children of relatives; accordingly, Ann was not the only young relative to benefit from the protection of her aunt and uncle Roan. Several of John's siblings made the journey from Ireland to Pennsylvania, including his brother Andrew. Andrew died in 1768, leaving behind minor children, and John was appointed the guardian of Andrew's son Archibald.[73] With the addition of their nephew and the marriage and departure of Aunt Anne's daughter Margaret, the Roans were now responsible for the education, religious instruction, and general welfare of six children. Archibald's education fell under his uncle's jurisdiction, and John knew what career best suited both his son Flavel and

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[70] Ibid., 129.

[71] Richard K. MacMaster, *Donegal Presbyterians: A Scots-Irish Congregation in Pennsylvania* (Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1995), 37.

[72] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[73] Archibald Rowan, Orphans Court, Miscellaneous Book, 1772-1776, Page 313, Lancaster County's Historical Society; Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies,* 540.

ward Archibald: Presbyterian ministry. Both boys endured rigorous training with John, learning the Bible, languages, and piety. Unfortunately for their enthusiastic father and guardian, neither Flavel nor Archibald found the ministry appealing; both boys chose different paths for their lives after John died.[74]

Similar to the Ulster Scots tradition in Ireland, Scots-Irish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania fused religious training with education, which presented Ann with unique exposure to a wide variety of texts under the supervision of her aunt and uncle Roan. Presbyterians, followers of both John Calvin and John Knox, believed that both men and women should learn to read and write so that they could in turn read and interpret the Bible for themselves without relying on church officials as intermediaries.[75] Both Calvin and Knox supported uninhibited, liberal education, and wherever Scots-Irish settled, a church and church school soon followed. Often the local minister conducted primary schools where the Bible and catechism were at the forefront, and if the students were fortunate, the minister would also teach from other religious and secular books to provide a more well-rounded education. John Roan conducted his own theological school for boys, most likely from the Derry Presbyterian Church session house, while his daughters

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[74] John Roan, Will; John Roan, Estate Inventories Collection, Inv 1776 F002 R, Lancaster County's Historical Society.

[75] James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 150.

and niece received more attention at home from Anne.[76] Anne most likely taught her niece Ann penmanship, as their signatures look almost identical.[77]

Books were expensive and difficult to obtain on the frontier, but many Scots-Irish settlers still purchased religious and secular texts. Ann's grandfather, James Cochran, served as an example of frontier Presbyterians promoting education in the community and at home, as he actively supported the Fagg's Manor Academy, and several religious works and Bibles were listed among his possessions.[78] Anne also exhibited an enthusiasm for education, as demonstrated by her collection of books, which she willed to her daughters after her death.[79] None of the Cochran kinship members, however, rivaled John's pedagogical spirit. He read voraciously, and by the end of his life his library amounted to 101 books. The transaction he recorded on April 17, 1760, illustrates the expense and effort the frontiersmen put into purchasing books:

> I sent by Saml Cunningham twenty five pounds curr[y] to James Bickam in Lancaster which money Mr. Bickam is to send to Europe to purchase for me the Following Books Henry on the New & Old Testaments 6 volRidgely on the Larger Catechism 2 vol Howe's works. They are to be 2[d] hand books if they can be got in good case. 2 Quarts Bibles and what remains of the money is to bring small pocket Bibles. Mr. Bickam has engaged to let me have y[e] books at the first cost.[80]

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76 George Black Stewart, ed., *Centennial Memorial, English Presbyterian Congregation, Harrisburg, PA* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1894), 430.

77 John Roan, Estate Inventories; Ann Dixon, Pension.

78 James Cochran, Will and Administration.

79 Anne Roan, Will and Administration.

80 John Roan Account Book, Derry Presbyterian Church Collection, MG 114, Historical Society of Dauphin County.

This particular order was composed of religious commentaries, but his books ranged from memoirs like that of the pious Scot, Elizabeth West, to works by Virgil and Horace. John was well versed in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, so his books included works in their original languages as well as English translations.[81]

John's will held clues to the extent his daughters and Ann were educated compared to his son Flavel and nephew Archibald. He bequeathed his books in this manner:

> That my books…be kept unsold…in case my son Flavel appear to the Reverend George Duffield and my Executors to be religiously disposed I bequeath to him my Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Books, together with Henry, Flavel, Burket, Howe, Ridgely, Keach, Cruden, and Charnock.[82]

Flavel, three years older than his cousin Ann, apparently could read all three languages. John stipulated that if Flavel was not "so promising" and did not pursue a profession in the Presbyterian Church, his Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts should be sold. The books written in English, however, he wished to be evenly divided among his wife, his daughters Jean, Elizabeth, and Mary, and Flavel. In addition, he left a small Bible to Mary and gave Flavel all of the works written by his eminent namesake, the English Presbyterian minister Reverend John Flavel.[83] These bequests are evidence that his wife and daughters received an education that enabled them to read the Bible as well as other religious and secular texts in English. Although Ann did not inherit any books from her

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81 John Roan, Estate Inventories.

82 John Roan, Will.

83 Ibid.

uncle, it is reasonable to assume that Ann received the same level of education as her female cousins, as she spent approximately six years in his home.

Besides learning to appreciate the Presbyterian faith of her ancestors, though with a revivalist touch, and the importance of educational training, Ann's experiences were defined by the social status she enjoyed within her kinship group and the larger community. These come to light from an examination of both John's account book, which concerns local frontier labor, and the inventory of his possessions taken upon his death. Although his account book encompasses the 1750s and 1760s, the earlier patterns of Londonderry life probably continued in a similar manner throughout the end of the 1760s and the early 1770s. The goods and services he procured from Lancaster, Philadelphia, and Europe demonstrated the strong commercial ties within the British Empire even in seemingly remote areas of the colonies; the central part women like Ann, her cousins, and her aunt played in the economy; and the day-to-day roles they occupied within the household.

Scots-Irish frontiersmen constantly labored to sustain their families through a mixture of trades. In Londonderry alone, shoemakers, blacksmiths, tailors, seamstresses, weavers, peddlers, farmers, seasonal laborers, female apprentices, and ministers made, bartered, bought, and sold their wares and services. As one of Pennsylvania's celebrated ministers, John Roan occupied high social standing, both professionally and monetarily. He divided his time between his three congregations, theological school, personal study, and his farm, which produced crops, cows, sheep, hogs, and horses. The men and women of John's congregations paid an annual subscription, which constituted his yearly salary, sometimes as low as two shillings six pence to more than two pounds a year depending on the wealth of the family. Most were able to pay in currency, but others such as William Blackburn paid in farm produce and animals, including Indian corn, wheat, rye, barley, flax, butter, pork, beef, and sheep, as well as artisanal products and services, including tallow, linen, clothes, liquor, nails, shoes, a plow, and general labor. John also oversaw his farm, although his account book indicates he did not devote much of his personal time to planting and harvesting. Instead, he paid his farm manager, James Hunter, on a yearly basis for different tasks, including grubbing out the meadows, hauling rails, harvesting crops, ranging the animals, and collecting church subscriptions.[84]

In pockets of Lancaster County, labor also appeared in the form of slavery, which Ann would have confronted daily in her uncle's house. John Roan's nemesis, Reverend John Elder, served the Old Side congregations, largely comprised of Scots-Irish who had resided in Pennsylvania for many years. Those settlers tended to own more acreage as well as multiple slaves. Elder gave one particular sermon that set the tone for his congregations about African slaves and the institution, loudly declaring, "Negroes the progeny of Ham are the servants of servants and their country the market of slaves."[85] In contrast, the Scots-Irish attending John's New Side congregations were primarily recent immigrants who on average owned one hundred acres or less and in most cases did not own slaves.[86] But John's finances extended further than those of his average attendees. At some point, he purchased a male slave named Pero, who possibly handled some of the

[84] John Roan Account Book, Derry Presbyterian Church Collection.

[85] Griffin, 155.

[86] Ibid.

farm work including crop and stock care. In 1773, Pero escaped and John placed this advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on April 28:

> THREE DOLLARS Reward
> RUN away from the subscriber, in Londonderry township, Lancaster county, a Negroe Man, called PERO, about 23 years old, the insides of both his wrists are remarkably white, though one is whiter than the other; one knee is bent in towards the other, is a great talker and liar; had on a good lappelled jacket, and half-worn breeches, both of a light colour, the button holes wrought with red, two shirts, one fine, the other coarse, half-worn stockings, and bad shoes; he had an iron collar about his neck, but it is supposed the collar is taken off by some ill-disposed neighbour. Whoever takes up said Negroe, and secures him in any goal, so that his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, paid by JOHN ROAN. N.B. All masters of vessels are forbid to harbor or carry him off at their peril.[87]

After John's death, Anne placed her own advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on August 28, 1776, to find a buyer for a young male slave. The advertisement read:

> July 17, 1776. TO BE SOLD. A likely young negroe man; any person inclining to purchase him, may be informed, by applying to Anne Roan, or Joseph Boyd, in Londonderry township, Lancaster county, executors of the estate of the Rev. John Roan, deceased, or to the goal-keeper in Lancaster.[88]

It is not clear if the young slave described in Anne's advertisement was Pero, or if Pero escaped and the Roans acquired another male slave who was sold during John's estate settlement.[89] Either way, this early encounter with Pero exposed Ann to slavery, which she experienced on a more extensive scale later in life.

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[87] Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 114.

[88] Walter F. Ayars, III, ed., *Lancaster Diary 1776: Excerpts from Diaries, Day-Books, Journals, Newspapers and Court Records of the Daily Life of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in the Year 1776* (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press, 1975), 44-45.

[89] John Roan, Estate Inventories; Anne Roan, Will and Administration.

Male labor in the Roan household and on the farm was important to the maintenance of the Roans' livelihood and demonstrated the family's social standing, but John's account book also provides a window into female labor he employed, thus giving some insight into the world in which Ann matured. In remote locations like Londonderry, women's work experiences can be difficult to uncover because of the paucity of sources. There are few references to women in male-created records, John's account book being an example to the contrary.[90] The nineteenth century Pennsylvania historian, William Henry Egle, found the marriage record as well as the cost of women's clothing in the account book to be particularly valuable, but he gave no attention to the intricate networks of Londonderry women who produced these items. John's account book shows how vital the female textile economy was to a Scots-Irish community and how textiles connected them to the larger Atlantic world through merchants and peddlers.

In his account book, John recorded many textile transactions between himself or Anne and neighbors, all tantalizing hints concerning Anne's role in the textile economy of the township. The Roans grew flax for linen and raised sheep for wool, and Anne spun the raw flax and wool into thread on her wheel. Anne would have instructed her daughters and Ann how to drag the flax through a rippling comb to remove the seeds, separate the fibers in a retting tub, break apart the wooden stalks on a brake, remove broken stalk pieces and chaff, and finally to spin the flax fibers into thread as well as to dye it with indigo or vermillion. Most women mastered spinning, but Anne's skills

[90] Marla R. Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of the Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 11.

possibly stretched beyond to other areas of textile creation. In 1750, Reverend Roan solidified the apprenticeship of his thirteen-year-old niece Margaret Roan:

> Agreed to Marg^{t} Roan March 1 1750/1 She shall give me 5£ per year for boarding and she shall give me 5£ for her learning y^{e} trade be she long or short at it as She sees meet and she shall help to wash & assist when there's need in regard of strangers or in case of sickness.[91]

This is a particularly rare find, as female apprenticeships typically were not recorded as binding legal contracts.[92]

To what trade was Roan alluding? He could have been referring to any "trade" that counted as a specialized skill, from dressmaking to midwifery, or he could have meant household-specific skills that included spinning, cooking, gardening, and other general tasks all young women were required to master. Two types of transactions in his account book suggest the "trade" was possibly dressmaking, general skills, or a mixture of the two: weaving payments and female employee compensations. Andrew Roan, Margaret Roan's father and John's brother, was one of the Londonderry weavers. Weaving was a specialized profession primarily undertaken by men, artisanal descendants of the once thriving linen trade of Northern Ireland. Andrew filled his home, or possibly a small workshop with his loom, spinning wheel, spool wheel, hand cards, and piles of coarse cloth and coarse linsey ready to be sold as well as wool, flax, and hemp yarn waiting to be spun.[93] The Roans sent their flax, wool, and hemp thread to both Andrew Roan and weaver John McCord to be woven into cloth. John Roan also recorded

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91 John Roan Account Book, Derry Presbyterian Church Collection.

92 Miller, *The Needle's Eye*, 72.

93 Andrew Roan, Estate Inventories Collection, Inv 1773 F004 R, Lancaster County's Historical Society.

when Anne purchased more expensive fabrics, which would have defined her social status, from peddler James Elliott. These included calico, muslin, shalloon, taffeta, lawn, and calamanco, fabric that only a skilled hand could convert into fashionable dresses. John also recorded the orders he placed with the local tailor, the production of coarse cloth by weavers, and the purchase of fabric from peddlers, but he never identified a skilled dressmaker.[94] This supports the theory that Anne possibly had the skill to spin thread and create garments for her family.

Another clue as to the "trade" that John referred to revolves around the employment records of local Londonderry women who "entered" into service for the Roan family. Some, such as Jean Johnston, worked as temporary spinners and were compensated with clothes and specie. Others, like Margaret Cochran, Rebekah Boggs, Molly and Peggy Wiley, Elizabeth Ewing, Mary Devet, Joanna White, and Susan McBride, worked for the Roans for longer periods of time. John sometimes specified that the women provided a little needlework for the Roans, and other entries were more ambiguous, insinuating that they probably served as household workers to help Anne. The amount of clothes the women produced for the Roan household, however, was not near enough to clothe the whole family. This suggests that these women were either apprenticed as seamstresses to Anne who also performed chores, or they already had some garment-making experience and could create a few simple pieces for the Roans even though they were primarily employed as household workers. Thus, it is possible that Anne was instructing her niece Margaret Roan and female apprentices, as well as her own daughters and Ann, in dressmaking or that she was teaching her female relatives and

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[94] John Roan Account Book, Derry Presbyterian Church Collection.

other local women basic household management. Unfortunately, without more evidence as to the exact nature of the labor assigned to the women who lived and worked in the household, it is impossible to accurately delineate their roles. However, some basic conclusions about Ann's labor experiences can be made: Ann and her cousins learned how to spin, and with the constant stream of female employees, she and her other female relatives would have experienced a softer side of frontier living, which most of her female neighbors would not have enjoyed.

The account book and the inventory of John's household items taken upon his death reveal the material and physical surroundings that defined the Roan's social standing, and Ann's by extension. John's income from the ministry and the farm allowed Ann to live comfortably with her relatives. The Roan's house sheltered two adults, six children, one or two slaves, and possibly their male and female employees. John's account book and inventory taken upon his death show that the house was simply but nicely furnished, and the firelight and candlelight refracted by the looking glass would have given the home a warm atmosphere.[95] Anne could watch her children, niece, and nephew through any one of the house's six glass windows as they helped her and John with house or farm work.[96] John kept at least some of his books easily accessible in his bookpress for home study. At meals, each family member sat in a chair, as opposed to stools used by poorer families, around the table as they enjoyed their meals served on pewter dishes. Before the family retired to bed, Anne carefully placed all of their outer garments in either the clothespress or chest. The Roans owned four beds with bedsteads,

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[95] Ibid.; John Roan, Estate Inventories.

[96] Ibid.

but only their bed, the grandest in the house, had bed curtains for warmth and privacy.[97] The three other beds, dressed with pillow cases, sheets, and blankets, were probably shared by the six cousins, with Flavel and Archibald in one and Elizabeth, Jean, Mary, and Ann occupying the other two.[98] In every sense, uncle and aunt Roan nurtured and protected Ann through the tight bonds of kinship.

"Ann Cochran That Now Lives With Me"[99]

Death within Ann's kinship group affected the trajectory of her childhood, and as she moved between households she not only learned how her relatives viewed religion, education, and labor, but the amount of power that each family member could exert within the household. This lesson about power and images of the family's personal life was most apparent in the phrasing and instructions that John left for his estate in his will. After residing with her uncle and aunt for approximately six years, Ann experienced another life-altering death in her family when on October 3, 1775, death claimed John around three in the morning. He left behind Anne, now twice widowed, his four children, his nephew Archibald, and his niece Ann.[100] He was interred at the Derry Presbyterian

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97 Marla R. Miller. *Betsy Ross and the Making of America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2010), 28.

98 John Roan, Estate Inventories.

99 John Roan, Will.

100 *Genealogical and Biographical Annals of Northumberland County Pennsylvania Containing A Genealogical Record of Representative Families Including Many of the Early Settlers, and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Citizens, Prepared From Data Obtained From Original Sources and Information* (Chicago: J. L. Floyd, 1911), 654.

Churchyard, and when Anne died thirteen years later, her will stipulated that his grave was to be sealed with a stone.[101]

With the death of Ann's guardian and protector came the reading of the will and estate settlement. John created a document that specified the rights Anne had to his estate, his children's inheritance, and his bequests for his wards, Ann and Archibald. He understood that widowhood could be a difficult time for women, so he made ample provisions for his wife to ensure an easy transition into her second widowhood. Ann learned from her uncle the importance of leaving a detailed will that protected female relatives, as evidenced in her own will made eighty years later.[102]

Women in eighteenth century Pennsylvania found little refuge in the law. Pennsylvanian legislators believed that once men and women were married, they became one entity under the law, or "unity of person."[103] Lawmakers assumed that husbands would care for their wives during their life, and after their death, sons would care for their widowed mothers. Men expected their wives to submit completely to their wishes in regards to property they owned as well as any property that wives brought to their marriage. A husband could sell, mortgage, or alter all real or personal property without his wife's consent. In other colonies, the law required the wife to undergo a private examination to ensure that she agreed to sell any property that once belonged to her. In Pennsylvania, a woman's consent was not necessary, so women's names rarely appeared

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[101] Anne Roan, Will and Administration.

[102] Ann Dixon, Will, 1857, p. 353-354, Franklin County Courthouse.

[103] Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 40.

on deeds of sale until around 1770, when lawmakers began to alter property laws.[104] Under English Common Law, which Pennsylvania adopted, a widow received rights to one third of her husband's property upon his death, but only after the executors paid any debts because Pennsylvania legislators placed the rights of debtees above the rights of widows.[105] Such laws rendered many Pennsylvanian women invisible in public records unless their husbands preceded them in death. However, even though laws concerning women's property rights were stringent, many men including Reverend Roan did not want to leave their widow dependent on their sons. Colonial men and women, especially those in the middling class, often viewed their marriages and businesses as partnerships, and husbands expected their widows to continue running the farm and family upon their deaths. John trusted Anne's common sense and ability to manage family affairs, and upon her widowhood, she was prepared to control all aspects of her life.[106]

John's will and estate settlement not only reflected the regulation of *femes coverts* in eighteenth century Pennsylvania, but the amount of power Anne wielded in her relationship with her second husband.[107] His will also exposes the dynamics of the marriage that would have most affected Ann, which might have in turn influenced her own choice of marriage partner. By naming Anne as one of the executors, John's will indicates that he acknowledged his wife's capability to manage his estate and suggests

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[104] Ibid., 22.

[105] Ibid., 93.

[106] Lisa Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business:' The Widow of Means in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 44, no. 1 (January 1987), 42.

[107] Salmon, xv. *Feme covert* or *femes coverts* is a legal term applied to married women, as opposed to *feme sole* or *femes soles*, which was applied to unmarried women.

that their marriage was more partner-based.[108] However, John did not leave all the family decisions entirely to his wife. Instead, any major decisions such as moving to a new home or selling his books and stock had to be approved by two of his three executors: Anne Roan, Joseph Boyd, and Robert Robinson.

Like other colonial husbands, John ensured that Anne's power over certain aspects of her late husband's estate hinged on her remaining a widow. He intended for his entire family to live together at his home as long as Anne remained a widow or until his children married. As the "widow Roan," she received an annuity from the "Poor and Distressed Presbyterian Ministers Corporation" as well as £20 a year dating from Flavel's twenty-first birthday until she died, if she chose not to remarry. If Anne took a third husband, she forfeited the money from the corporation and the £20 annually. Instead, she would receive £140 in the first year of her marriage, which still exemplified John's regard for Anne as the law did not require him to bequeath any part of his estate to a remarried spouse. After collecting her inheritance, Anne would cease to be one of his executors, and she would have no further claims to his estate, whether real or personal. His immediate bequests that did not depend on her marital status included giving Anne her choice of any one of his horses that she liked, along with "Her best saddle and bridle with her bed and bed clothes."[109]

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[108] John Roan, Will.

[109] Ibid.

Legacies from fathers to daughters in the late colonial period tended to be movable property as opposed to real property, which almost always transferred to sons.[110] In keeping with that custom, John left his three daughters a generous monetary inheritance and provided them with shelter on his "plantation" until they married, but he did not give his daughters their full inheritance upon his death. [111] To his oldest daughter Jean, he left £70 for her use a year after his death and £50 eight years later. Elizabeth and Mary received £13 one year after his death, £60 when they turned twenty-one, and £50 when they turned twenty-nine. John may have wanted to ensure that his daughters did not squander their money at an early age or to provide them with financial help later. At the end of his will, John decided to leave them an additional £10 each.[112]

The Roans' only son, Flavel, had already indicated to his father that he was not interested in the Presbyterian ministry, but John remained hopeful that Flavel might change his mind. He left one piece of advice to his wayward son: "It is better to be a poor despised faithful minister of Christ than to possess the whole earth and better to be a slave during any finite period than be a graceless minister."[113] Despite the profession Flavel chose, he would receive all of his father's personal and real estate that had not otherwise been bequeathed to his mother and his sisters. John placed one final stipulation on both his son and his three daughters. If they did not marry someone who met Anne's

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110 Vivian Bruce Conger, *The Widow's Might: Widowhood and Gender in Early British America* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 104.

111 Joan R. Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790* (1996; rpt. Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 2006), 27.

112 John Roan, Will.

113 Ibid.

approval, £20 would be removed from their inheritance and Anne would divide the £20 between the other children as she deemed appropriate.[114] Although John still practiced a form of primogeniture by leaving the property to Flavel, he did attempt to give all four of his children a substantial share of his estate.

In colonial family hierarchy, wards and other dependent children occupied the bottom tier. John's inclusion of both his nephew Archibald and his niece Ann in his will indicates the strong bonds of Scots-Irish kinship. He laid strict stipulations as to how Archibald and Ann would receive their inheritance. John devised £20 to Archibald for his college education, but only if he became a minister. At the settling of John's estate, Archibald did not receive his £20 because, like his cousin Flavel, he had no interest in the ministry and instead studied law. To Ann, he gave £10 "To be paid when she comes to the age of eighteen years of age if her father remove her not from my family before that time."[115] The £10 did not grant Ann a semblance of autonomy, but instead this stipend would defray any expenses Ann incurred if her father George wished her to continue living with her aunt. John also made a similar stipulation on Ann's marital prospects as he did with his own daughters. However, rather than deducting from her inheritance if she chose an undesirable suitor, John allowed his niece an additional £5 if she agreed to marry someone Anne thought worthy.[116] Once again, John gave Anne considerable clout in a dependent's choice of marriage partner. Overall, John provided well for all of his dependent family members and gave Anne the freedom to make her own choices about

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

her lifestyle during her widowhood. The evidence demonstrates that John and Anne's marriage was treated as a partnership between capable adults, and although Pennsylvania's inheritance laws were not particularly favorable to women, John devised his estate in a forward-thinking manner. When it came time for Anne to construct her own will, she made even more liberal bequests.

After his brother-in-law's death, Ann's father George had yet another decision to make about his twelve-year-old daughter's future. John's executors set no money aside for Ann, and they never recorded her as receiving her legacy. This confirms that George retrieved Ann from her aunt and brought her back to his farm in Chester County within the first year after her uncle's death.[117] Ann's return to her father initiated the vastly different life she experienced during the Revolutionary War years. From Scotland to Ireland, and from Ireland to Pennsylvania, the Cochran kinship group used naming patterns, migration, and religion to create familial stability and to develop their interpretation of family life. These interpretations appeared strongest during Ann Cochran's childhood when she was thoroughly immersed in a tight web of effective kin. But the Cochran kinship groups' most significant and united examples of familial bonds were expressed over the next eight years during the conflict with the empire they had been a part of for centuries.

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[117] John Roan, Estate Inventories.

CHAPTER II

"TRUEST KIND OF WHIGS AND PATRIOTS"[1]

The American Revolution was a family affair for Ann and her extended Cochran relatives. It was both a fight for liberation from the British Empire and an expression of kinship loyalty and familial bonds. It was also a gamble for social advancement within the colonial-turned-national American scene. Cochran family connections, maintained and strengthened through the war, set the family's professional and social future in motion. The war not only provided the Cochran men new opportunities to solidify their growing influence in Pennsylvania and within the revolutionary government, but it also presented Cochran women with chances to take control of their lives in conjunction with showing patriotism.

As Ann, her siblings, and her cousins matured through the war years, affinal kinship groups became as important as their birth families to constructing their sense of identity and influencing how their lives would continue after the war. For Ann, this was the Dixon family, whose youngest son she later married. In contrast to the Cochrans, the Dixon kin were not united in their struggle against the British; but rather, their family members represented the extreme ends of the conflict as many were ardent patriots and others were devoted loyalists.

Throughout her life, Ann told many stories to her children and grandchildren about her Revolutionary War experiences. When her granddaughter Elizabeth Sturtevant

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[1] William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Chiefly Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886), 127.

wrote Ann's obituary many years later, she wove several of Ann's war recollections into the narrative.[2] The prominent position that these stories, as well as those of her husband, Sankey Dixon, hold in her obituary attests to the importance they had for Ann, reflecting the pride she harbored for her family's involvement in the conflict. Ann recounted four particular personal experiences of family life during the Revolutionary War. First, her father George resumed his guardianship of her around the time when he relocated to New Jersey early in the war. Second, the excitement the news of the Declaration of Independence caused amongst her patriot family members impressed her. Third, she recollected the encampment of General Washington's army at Valley Forge. Fourth, she especially remembered the position her uncle, Dr. John Cochran, held within the Continental Army, his close friendship with General Washington, and her own socialization with Martha Washington during the encampment. As insinuated through her stories, Ann led an active life during the war, participating in the social mobility that the war opened up as well as encountering the kinds of hardships faced by both men and women throughout the colonies. Although Ann's movements following the death of Reverend Roan and through the end of the American Revolution prove challenging to determine, when the clues she left in her stories are combined with evidence from diaries, military records, and pension applications belonging to her and her relatives, her life from 1775 to 1783 begins to come into focus.

[2] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

"Devotion to the Cause of Liberty"[3]

Ann's father, George, steadily improved his finances and consistently purchased land during the years Ann lived with her aunt and uncle Roan. In spite of being recorded as "poor" in the 1766 tax discounts, nine years later George had expanded his property from a house and lot to owning approximately one hundred acres in West Fallowfield.[4] George finally had better resources to support Ann after the death of Reverend John Roan. In his will, John clearly assigned to George the decision either to allow Ann to remain in her aunt's care or to return to her father in Chester County.[5] George ultimately chose to bring Ann back to Chester County to live with her birth family even though he forfeited her £15 inheritance from her uncle.[6] By relinquishing her inheritance, George proved that he had confidence in his improved situation and that he also wanted his daughter home. This was compounded by his sister's reduced circumstances. Without her husband's steady income, Anne Roan was forced to downsize her living arrangements. It would have been difficult for Anne to provide for dependent nieces and nephews when she had her own daughters and a wayward son who required attention and resources.[7] Ann's cousin by marriage, Archibald Roan, selected a new guardian on December 5,

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3 Ibid.

4 George Cochran, Tax Discounts, Book 1740-1780, p. 131, Chester County Archives; George Cochran, Provincial Tax, 1775, p. 225, Chester County Archives.

5 John Roan, Will, 1776, Book C, Vol. 1, p. 375, Lancaster County Archives.

6 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; John Roan, Estate Inventories Collection, Inv 1776 F002 R, Lancaster County's Historical Society.

7 Anne Roan, Will and Administration, 1788, File 3974, Chester County Archives.

1775, thus releasing Anne from her late husband's duty to provide for him.[8] George, keenly aware of the strain the death of a husband created for the surviving widow, probably wished to unburden his sister and so retrieved Ann. Ann's personal feelings on leaving the comfort and familiarity of her aunt's home cannot be established, but she probably had mixed emotions. She had spent half of her life with the Roans and looked upon her cousins as additional brothers and sisters.[9] However, despite the upheaval in her residence situation, Ann had little or no time to adjust to living with her birth family as the rumblings of war throughout the colonies interrupted the recently reunited family.

Pennsylvania's initial founding and political development influenced the colony's involvement in the Revolutionary War. Pennsylvania was an ethnically and religiously diverse colony. Early settlers included Swedes, who imported slaves from Africa and New Netherland to work on their farms, as well as English Quakers, who began settling in the early 1680s.[10] The Quakers slowly overtook Native American tribes like the Susquehannock, though William Penn facilitated mostly peaceful relations between the groups. Within the next twenty years, Germans and Presbyterian Scots-Irish joined the Quakers in the colony. The English and Scots-Irish in particular did not support each other's religions, while dress and language caused further divides. Because Quakers originally settled Pennsylvania, filling the highest positions in the colony, and took pains

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8 Archibald Rowan, Orphans Court, Miscellaneous Book, 1772-1776, Page 313, Lancaster County's Historical Society.

9 Ann named one of her own daughters, Mary Roan Dixon, in honor of Mary Roan, which demonstrates Ann's close relationship with her cousin.

10 Joe William Trotter, Jr. and Eric Ledell Smith, eds., *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1997), 41.

to make peace with the Native Americans, the Pennsylvania Assembly did not see a need to form a militia, unlike other colonies.[11]

However, by the 1740s, Scots-Irish on the frontier, who clashed with local Native Americans, challenged this strategy. The Scots-Irish found the Quakers' indifference to their situation without colonial military protection to be intolerable. On December 7, 1747, groups of Scots-Irish and other pro-military colonists officially organized the Associators, which were militia units made up of volunteers, to defend Pennsylvania from enemies including the French and hostile Native American tribes.[12] The Associators existed informally until the beginning of the war with Great Britain. When violence broke out between the colonists and British soldiers in 1775, the Provincial Assembly recognized the Associators as military units.[13] Still under the influence of the Quakers, the Assembly opposed forcing mandatory military service on its citizens; however, the leaders felt pressure to demonstrate support for the war. As the Scots-Irish was the only group in Pennsylvania united in favor of war, the Assembly decided that using them in combat fulfilled the Pennsylvania's responsibility to give aid while staying true to Quaker religious principles.[14] Each company of Associators consisted of men from one township,

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[11] Joseph Seymour, *The Pennsylvania Associators, 1747-1777* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2012), 28.

[12] Ibid., 48.

[13] Ibid., 129.

[14] Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (1944; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2002), 156.

and several companies together formed battalions. These associations saw action early in the war in New Jersey at the battles of Trenton and Princeton.[15]

The Scots-Irish in Chester County were keen to fight for General George Washington, and Ann's return to Chester County coincided with her father's, brother's, uncle's, and cousin's initial involvement in the Revolutionary War. A feasible time frame of Ann's arrival home surfaces from both her relatives' military pensions and her obituary. Ann's brother John submitted a pension application to the United States War Department in the 1830s, in which he detailed all of his movements between 1776 and 1781. Boys who were at least sixteen years old could enlist in the militia, which enabled sixteen-year-old John to sign up in June 1776 for two, two-month tours in a company of Associators from Chester County captained by his uncle, Stephen Cochran. The company joined the regiment commanded by Colonel William Montgomery and Lieutenant Colonel Evan Evans.[16] The militia's first tour lasted from mid June to mid August, and the second lasted from December to mid February, 1777, both of them to fight in New Jersey.[17] Stephen's own sixteen-year-old son, Samuel, also joined the company as the drummer.[18]

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[15] Seymour, 165.

[16] John Cochran, Pension Application, R2083, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration; Caroline Cox, "Boy Soldiers of the American Revolution: The Effects of War on Society," in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 17.

[17] John Cochran, Pension; Hannah Cochran, Pension Application, R2080, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

[18] Hannah Cochran, Pension.

Records for the whereabouts of Ann's brother John during 1776 survive through his pension records, but what about their father's movements? How did George's participation in the Revolutionary War affect Ann's return now that he once again stood as her guardian? Considering his age and the actions of his brothers, son, and nephew, it is reasonable to suspect that George enlisted in Stephen's company as well. However, the original muster rolls for that company are no longer extant, so it is not clear whether or not George officially enlisted at the same time as his son. According to Ann's obituary, her father was in the Colony of New Jersey around the time she returned home, and as his blacksmithing trade probably did not take him on business to that colony, it insinuates that George had joined the militia for one or both of the company's tours in New Jersey.[19] Another clue as to George's military service is contained in a letter Stephen wrote to his wife, Jenny. He wrote the first part of the letter in July and the second on August 1, 1776, when he reassured Jenny that "The boys are all well." In the August section of the letter, Stephen also informed Jenny that he had sent their son Samuel back home. Thus, the tantalizing reference to "the boys" might refer to Ann's other Chester County relatives who qualified for military service: her father George, brother John, and uncle John.[20]

So where does this information leave Ann and her arrival in Chester County? In Ann's obituary, Elizabeth Sturtevant recorded another snippet of Ann's war memories, "She well remembered the thrill of excitement among her relatives given by the

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[19] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[20] Hannah Cochran, Pension.

Declaration of Independence and they makes of age, went to the field."[21] Many of her "of age" Cochran relations went to war in the summer of 1776. In contrast, her male relatives from Lancaster County, Flavel and Archibald Roan, entered the service as late as 1779.[22] If she clearly remembered that the Cochran men left for war, her father had relocated to New Jersey, and her family members' exuberance over the Declaration of Independence, she probably had returned home to Chester County by July 1776.[23]

While her relatives assimilated into military life, Ann spent the early war years adjusting to new domestic patterns. Her style of living on her father's farm in West Fallowfield differed from the one she experienced with her uncle and aunt Roan. The differences between Reverend Roan's and her father's professions, their use of hired or enslaved labor, and their domestic furnishings demonstrate Ann's altered social status. Both ministers and blacksmiths were essential to any community, especially the more outlying towns on the edges of the frontier. Presbyterian ministers provided spiritual guidance to the Scots-Irish, while the blacksmiths created the tools necessary for them to maintain their farms and homes. Although both were important professions, the Scots-Irish held their ministers in the greatest esteem. They were often the most literate men in the communities, and their profession automatically garnered respect. Even Ann's grandfather had actively sought to bring Presbyterian ministers to Chester County so that

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[21] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[22] Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser. (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1906), Vol. 7, 552, 912.

[23] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

the eastern Pennsylvanians would consider the Scots-Irish similarly refined.[24] But George did not choose large-scale farming like his brother Stephen, establish a medical practice like his brother John, or attend a college for ministerial work like his brothers-in-law Hugh Henry, Alexander Mitchell, and John Roan.[25] All of George's immediate male family members became prominent men on county, state, and national levels, yet he never achieved such social standing.

The domestic dynamic within her father's home was also a different experience for Ann. While Ann lived with her aunt and uncle, Anne was head of the domestic affairs as well as the education of her daughters and niece. Back home in Chester County, Ann did not live in a house with a mother's influence. As George never remarried, Ann and her sisters – Isabel, Jean, and Sarah – assumed more responsibility for household management.[26] In addition, unlike John Roan, no evidence suggests that George employed servants or used slave labor. George and his son John likely spent most of their time in the blacksmith shop, turning only some attention to their crops and animals.[27] Ann and her sisters, therefore, likely had full responsibility for tending the gardens and livestock, mending clothes, preparing meals, and cleaning. The war added pressure to

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[24] Morris H. Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochran 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 6.

[25] Stephen Cochran, Provincial Tax, 1774, p. 128, Chester County Archives; Saffron, 14; Alfred Nevin, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publishing Company, 1884), 320; Robert Cochran manuscript. *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family in Ireland and America; Part I Written by Robert Cochran, May 3, 1730; Part II Written Later, Gives Data Concerning the American Family*. MS C64rg. Presbyterian Historical Society; John Roan Account Book, Derry Presbyterian Church Collection, MG 114, Historical Society of Dauphin County.

[26] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

[27] George Cochran to William Pinkerton, Deed, 1783, Book X, Vol. 22, p. 274-276, Chester County Archives; George Cochran, Will and Administration, 1786, File 3774, Chester County Archives.

Ann and her sisters, as while George and John served in the militia, the girls managed of all his property just as their aunt Jenny Cochran did while Stephen was away.

The possessions recorded in John Roan's and George's inventories within their probate files provide tangible evidence of the material change in situation for Ann. The contrast in the standard of living for minister and blacksmiths is demonstrated by the differences in household belongings and professional tools. George did not have the means to furnish his home as grandly as John and Anne Roan did theirs in Londonderry. He owned essential possessions such as plates, serving dishes, a tea kettle and coffee mill, tables, cabinetry, and at least four beds and bedsteads.[28] Reverend Roan also possessed pewter dishes, cabinetry, beds, tables, and chests, but, in addition, he owned luxuries such as mirrors, books, and expensive bedstead curtains, tablecloths, and pillow cases.[29] In the colonial and revolutionary eras, the wealth and standing of a family could be measured in the number and quality of chairs they owned. George owned five chairs, one armed and the others without, enough to seat himself and his children. He also owned six stools that his children probably used when guests visited.[30] In terms of chairs, George's family would have been considered prosperous, but not in the same manner as his brother-in-law who owned ten chairs and no stools.[31] When Ann returned to her father's house, her social position altered from being the niece of a wealthy community leader to the youngest daughter of the West Fallowfield blacksmith.

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[28] George Cochran, Will and Administration.

[29] John Roan, Estate Inventories.

[30] George Cochran, Will and Administration; James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*, Rev. ed. (New York: Random House, 1996), 166.

[31] John Roan, Estate Inventories.

As Ann grew accustomed to her new living arrangements, her brother, father, and Cochran uncles and cousins embraced their new roles as defenders of their homes and the Colony of Pennsylvania. The regiment from Chester County, which included her uncle Stephen's company, consisted of approximately five hundred men. The regiment marched from Chester County to New Jersey, where it was placed under the command of General Thomas Mifflin. During June and July of 1776, the regiment traveled between the cities of Trenton, Princeton, and New Brunswick.[32] While the regiment reposed in New Brunswick in July, Stephen was reunited with his and George's brother, Dr. John Cochran. Stephen related his visit with John and his family in the July section of the letter he wrote to his wife, Jenny, stating, "Monday came to Brunswick, I met brother John he was very kind. I lodged with him that night which is all the nights I have been in bed since we left you…Brothers family is all well."[33] As Stephen found refuge at John's home, it is likely the rest of the extended Cochran family, including George, John, and Samuel, lodged there as well.

Ann's uncle, Dr. John Cochran, had a flourishing medical practice and became a leading member of New Brunswick society. In 1760, he made a politically, socially, and materially advantageous marriage to Gertrude Schuyler of the prominent New York Schuyler family.[34] This gave him the opportunity to network with the most powerful families in the Colony of New York, including the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, and Livingstons. Gertrude's brother, Philip Schuyler, served in the Continental Congress,

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[32] John Cochran, Pension.

[33] Hannah Cochran, Pension.

[34] Saffron, 12.

received a commission of Major General in the Continental Army, and was a close friend of George Washington.[35] John's marriage to "Gitty" thus initiated his introduction into genteel society on a grander scale, and the rest of his Cochran relatives came to benefit from his connections.[36] Like his fiery Scots-Irish kinsmen and his prestigious Dutch in-laws, John supported the revolution from the beginning, at once offering his home in New Brunswick as a drop point for linens donated by citizens for the wounded soldiers.[37] When the opportunity came to house his patriot brothers and nephews, John and Gertrude graciously opened their home.[38]

After the Chester County militia's first tour ended, Ann's brother and most likely her father returned home to West Fallowfield. The war had not yet physically confronted Ann; her involvement thus far had been limited to watching her male relatives march to battlefields and encampments in New York and New Jersey. However, the war came closer to her as the British slowly pushed the Continental Army into Pennsylvania. British pressure first affected her uncle John, his wife Gertrude, and their children by driving them out of New Brunswick. John knew the British were advancing toward the city, so he made early preparations to evacuate his young family. John sent Gertrude and their sons, along with his library, to live with his brother-in-law and sister, Alexander and

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[35] Ibid., 28, 43.

[36] Ibid., 212. In a letter from John Cochran to Philip Schuyler, he calls Gertrude by this nickname.

[37] George Athan Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals and Opponents: Their Exploits and Leadership* (1964; rpt., Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1994), 57; Saffron, 23-24.

[38] Hannah Cochran, Pension.

Jane Cochran Mitchell, at their home in Tinicum, Pennsylvania.[39] On December 1, the British entered New Brunswick, forcing John to abandon his home and join General Washington's army as it evacuated. John suitably impressed Dr. William Shippen, Jr., Chief Physician & Director General of the Hospital of the Continental Army in New Jersey, who promptly sent him to General Washington with this recommendation:

> I have thought it necessary that some gentleman of eminence should be near your Excellency and the army, in case of extraordinary accidents, for which purpose I know of no one more proper than the bearer Dr. Cochran, who will wait your Excellency's commands in this department.[40]

John quickly became one of Washington's most trusted medical advisers, and on April 26, 1777, John wrote from headquarters at Morristown to Alexander Mitchell thanking him on his and Gertrude's behalf for his "great attention to her and family" while also taking the opportunity to announce his appointment as the "Physician and Surgeon General to the Army in the Middle Department."[41] Washington heavily relied on John's medical knowledge, particularly of hospital organization and small pox inoculation, and they remained close friends throughout the rest of their lives.[42] Ann's consanguineous relationship to Dr. John Cochran brought her into contact with one of the most well-known episodes in the war during the spring and summer of 1778.

Meanwhile in Chester County, Stephen's company received a second call to fight, and Ann's brother, John, reenlisted for the second tour in December 1776. It is possible

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39 Saffron, 25.

40 Ibid., 26.

41 Ibid., 217.

42 Ibid., 44.

that their father George did so as well. The company once again marched to New Jersey, this time to Burlington to escort army baggage and supplies to General Washington's winter encampment at Morristown. John completed his second two-month tour around February when fresh militia replaced Stephen's company, and he and his relatives returned to West Fallowfield.[43]

In April of 1777, Ann watched her brother John and almost certainly her father George enlist, this time as blacksmiths in Captain David Pancoast's company, in a regiment of artillery artificers commanded by Colonel Benjamin Flower.[44] As the Commissary General of Military Stores, Colonel Flower set up furnace operations throughout Pennsylvania to produce ordnance for the army, and he allowed the shops established by the Pennsylvania Council of Safety in Philadelphia to continue producing supplies. Pennsylvania's natural resources, including dense forests, iron deposits, and rivers enabled the founding and growth of some of the largest and most successful ironworks in the colonies, making that colony the ideal place for manufacturing supplies for the army.[45] Colonel Flower required blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, and other skilled craftsmen to produce canons, wagons, harnesses, axes, nails, horseshoes, and other military implements. Ann's brother John may have thought his skills as a

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[43] John Cochran, Pension.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Leah Glaser, "Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site Administrative History," Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, http://www.nps.gov/hofu/parkmgmt/administrative-history.htm (accessed June 7, 2012).

blacksmith were of more use to the Continental Army than service in the militia.[46] While John and the other artificers worked in Philadelphia, the British continued to advance with the intent of taking the city and defeating the Continental Army. The Battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, proved to be a terrible blow for the Continentals, which forced the army to abandon Philadelphia. The artificers stationed in Philadelphia, including John, worked the night after the battle to relocate operations to small towns in Pennsylvania, including Easton, Bethlehem, and Allentown, where they spent the winter of 1777-1778 continuing to produce supplies.[47] In the spring of 1778, John was ordered to the town of Lebanon to continue blacksmithing, and according to his pension application, his father George accepted orders to oversee the blacksmiths stationed there.[48]

Meanwhile, General Washington set up camp at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, for six weeks before selecting Valley Forge in Chester County as the winter encampment. Dr. John Cochran, Ann's uncle, used nearby Hope Lodge as his headquarters and as a hospital. John spent October and November at the mansion, and over the subsequent months, he traveled between Whitemarsh headquarters, Valley Forge, and other nearby hospital units.[49] The presence of the army stationed in Chester County along with John's friendship with General Washington brought about Ann's two most memorable

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46 Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1981), 315.

47 John Cochran, Pension.

48 Ibid.

49 Saffron, 42, 44.

encounters during the Revolutionary War: experiencing the encampment and meeting Martha Washington.[50]

Valley Forge was situated about thirty-five miles from Ann's father's farm in West Fallowfield. Such close proximity to General Washington's encampment provided Ann with the unique opportunity to see the army with her own eyes. The roads into Valley Forge were in terrible condition, which discouraged suppliers from traveling to the encampment in the winter months. Neither the road conditions nor the camp miseries prevented high-ranking officers' female relations from visiting Valley Forge. According to her stories, Ann traveled to visit her Uncle John while he was stationed in the valley. Unfortunately, in Ann's obituary, her granddaughter did not elaborate on precisely why, with whom, or when Ann visited the encampment. Moreover, contemporary records of the women who stayed at the encampment are scarce, leaving answers to these questions as mere speculation. Of all the reasons Ann could have visited her uncle in the spring of 1778, it is almost certain that she was not a companion to her Aunt Gertrude. Other military officers' and medical staff members' wives, such as Alice Shippen, Lucy Knox, Catharine Greene, Rebekah Biddle, and Lady Stirling, joined their husbands at Valley Forge, but Gertrude remained at Livingston Manor in New York, bereaved by the death of her and John's son. John left Valley Forge for Livingston Manor in mid-January for a respite of a few weeks, and then he returned presumably without Gertrude.[51] There is no evidence that Gertrude ever visited Valley Forge even though she did live with John at

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[50] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[51] Saffron, 48-49, 222.

Morristown a couple of years later. The most probable scenario is that Ann accompanied her father to the encampment, possibly with one or more of her sisters. Maybe George wanted to take the opportunity to see his brother, John, and the spectacle of thousands of troops camped in a makeshift town might have been too interesting to miss.[52] Perhaps, like other local Chester County families, they brought supplies to make John's stay a little more comfortable.[53] This trip to the encampment would have to have been made before George reported to Lebanon to oversee the blacksmithing units stationed there, or while he was on leave. But as John did not specifically state in his pension application the duration or the level of George's involvement at Lebanon, pinpointing his exact whereabouts during the spring is impossible.

A loose timeline for Ann's visit to Valley Forge can be deduced based on when John Cochran's and Martha Washington's residences overlapped. Martha Washington arrived at the encampment in early February of 1778 and remained until June 8.[54] John returned to camp from Livingston Manor as late as March 22, and left with the army as it filed out of the valley to engage the British at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28.[55] Ann, therefore, most likely arrived at Valley Forge in April or May, when the weather was more favorable. Sometime during her stay in the encampment, Ann, then fourteen or fifteen years old, was presented to Martha Washington. "Though never seeing the 'Father

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52 Wayne Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War* (2002; rpt., University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2009), 5-6.

53 Nancy K. Loane, *Following the Drum: Women at the Valley Forge Encampment* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2009), 10.

54 Ibid., 10, 22.

55 Saffron, 53.

of our country,'" she often saw the general's wife when accompanying her uncle during that spring.[56] It is possible that Ann met Martha Washington when she hosted army officers, their wives, and local Chester County women from her and General Washington's quarters at the Potts House.[57] Ann also might have been present for the celebration on May 6, which marked the declaration of France's alliance with the rebellious colonists. As the niece of General Washington's and the Marquis de Lafayette's close friend, Ann interacted with the highest of American society. She never forgot her encounters with Martha Washington or the Valley Forge encampment, as she told these stories to her children and grandchildren on many occasions.[58]

Although Ann's uncle John spent the majority of his time inoculating the soldiers for smallpox and attending to other hospital needs during the encampment, he also found time for some amusements. His light-heartedness and optimism helped relieve some of the tension and anxiety around camp, which endeared him to George Washington and the young Lafayette. He enjoyed dancing and singing songs of his own composition, particularly one song where the line "Bones, bones, bones" repeated. Inspired by the lyrics, Lafayette affectionately nicknamed John the "good doctor Bones."[59] Perhaps Ann heard her uncle sing the "Bones" song and watched him dance, providing her with as much merriment as it gave to John's fellow officers. Besides providing some of the

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[56] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[57] Loane, 16.

[58] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[59] Saffron, 263. While visiting France, Lafayette wrote to John Cochran informing him of his new nickname on June 10, 1779.

entertainment at the small revelries at Valley Forge, John commissioned the well-known painter, Charles Willson Peale, to paint his miniature during his stay at Valley Forge. Peale painted around fifty miniatures of high-ranking military officials during the encampment, including General Washington and General Nathaniel Greene.[60] Peale noted in his diary on April 26, 1778, that he had almost finished a miniature of John, and on May 7, he "received the pay of … Dr. Cockran."[61] During the mid nineteenth century, an unknown artist painted a watercolor copy of the portrait. The copy of the miniature shows John dressed in a blue overcoat and a pink vest, with kindly bright blue eyes. (Figure 2). The Peale miniature has since disappeared, thus the copy is an important surviving artifact documenting the appearance of one of Ann's close family members. As no portrait or photograph of Ann survives, the portrait of her uncle brings up questions about Ann's own appearance. Did she also have a heart-shaped face and blue eyes? Was Ann present during the weeks the portrait was painted, and if she was, what was her opinion of the likeness? Even in the midst of a winter encampment, John's personality and evidence concerning his leisure time suggests that Ann probably enjoyed her stay, making that time one of the most memorable experiences of her life.

Ann was not the only woman in the Cochran family who showed her support of the Revolutionary War. In the midst of war, life continued, and Ann's older cousins were falling in love and celebrating marriages. Her first cousin and childhood friend, Jane Roan, serves as an example of young women demonstrating political awareness. Jane fell

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60 Lillian B. Miller, ed., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), Vol. 1, 272.

61 Ibid., 272-273

in love with Lieutenant William Clingan, and they chose June 11, 1778, for the wedding and celebration.[62] William was the nephew of William Clingan, Sr., a prominent man from Chester County who served in the Continental Congress and signed the Articles of Confederation.[63] Predictably, both William and Jane fervently supported the revolution. Jane even turned their marriage into a public statement about her political loyalties, which resulted in a unique pact made by the female attendees. It was so widely spoken of that the local newspaper recorded the incident:

> This was truly a Whig wedding, as there were present many young men and ladies, and not one of the gentlemen but had been out when called on in the service of his country, and it was well known that the groom in particular had proven his heroism, as well as Whigism, in several battles and skirmishes. After the marriage was ended, a motion was made, and heartily agreed to by all present, that the young unmarried ladies should form themselves into an association by the name of the 'Whig Association of the Unmarried Ladies of America,' in which they should pledge their honor that they would never give their hand in marriage to any gentleman until he had first proven himself a patriot, in readily turning out when called to defend his country from slavery, by a spiritual and brave conduct, as they would not wish to be the mothers of a race of slaves and cowards.[64]

Their wedding was publicized not just as a wedding, but as a way in which rural women demonstrated their patriotism by using their marital status as a way to show their support for the Continental Army. The Whig Association of the Unmarried Ladies of America is reminiscent of other pacts made by colonial women before and during the war, including the women of Boston and of Edenton, North Carolina, who pledged not to drink tea, and

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62 William Henry Egle, *Some Pennsylvania Women During the War of the Revolution* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1898), 45.

63 William Clingan, Will and Administration, 1790, File 4094, Chester County Archives; William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886), 542.

64 Egle, *Some Pennsylvania Women*, 45.

the Ladies' Association of Philadelphia who raised money and supplies for the army.[65] It is not known whether Ann was present for her cousin's wedding and observed this incident firsthand. She apparently shared Jane's sentiments, as Ann would likewise marry a "sincere Whig" who demonstrated great courage and patriotism throughout the war.

"A Person of Good Morals, and as Brave As Caesar"[66]

Also stationed at Valley Forge during the winter and spring encampment of 1777-1778 was Ann's future husband, Sankey Dixon. During the encampment, Sankey served as a sergeant-major on the regimental staff of the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Colonel Robert Magaw.[67] Although only about twenty years old, Sankey had already experienced the consequences of war, both in the army and in the revolutionary atmosphere in his native Lancaster County.

Like Ann, Sankey grew up in a Scots-Irish community saturated with a heritage of resistance to overlords. Arabella Murray Dixon gave birth to her son, Sankey, in 1758 in Lancaster County.[68] Sankey's father, John, was a prosperous Scots-Irish farmer from Hanover Township, just thirty-five miles from Reverend John Roan's property in

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65 T. H. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Even of the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (July 1993): 490; Cokie Roberts, *Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 124-126.

66 Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives,* 5th ser. (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1906), Vol. 3, 102.

67 F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783* (Washington, DC: W. H. Lowdermilk, 1893), 155; John B. B. Trussell, *The Pennsylvania Line: Regimental Organization and Operations, 1775-1783*, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 90.

68 Ann Dixon, Pension, W784, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

Londonderry Township.[69] Sankey received his unusual first name in honor of the former minister of Hanover Presbyterian Church, Reverend Richard Sankey. He and his brothers – Robert, Richard, James, and John – were active boys; they grew up learning to hunt and farm. All the boys received a good education, but Sankey and his brothers preferred physically active lives to ones dedicated to education.[70]

When the war began, the revolutionary spirit was strong on the Pennsylvania frontier. This communal Scots-Irish opposition toward any type of oppression and their traditional anti-British sentiment produced willing and enthusiastic supporters of General George Washington and the Revolutionary War. Sankey and his brothers embodied this mentality as at least four of John and Arabella Dixon's sons wholeheartedly embraced the Whig cause. Robert, Richard, and John eagerly enlisted in Captain Matthew Smith's company in June 1775, followed by Sankey who joined the Pennsylvania Line a year or two later.[71] A Hanover neighbor, Robert Strain, made a shot pouch for Richard with "Liberty or Death" inscribed on the front. The brothers' passion and courage so impressed Strain that he recalled "the whole of the four brothers of the Dixon family were in the service until the war was ended, and were the truest kind of Whigs and Patriots."[72] Although four of the Dixon brothers were well known for their service, it was

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69 John Dixon, Tax, 1778, Lancaster County's Historical Society.

70 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

71 Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser. (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1906), 2:44.

72 Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 127. Robert Strain was mistaken that four of the Dixon brothers served until the end of the war. As John and Robert both lost their lives during the conflict, only Sankey and Richard remained within the Pennsylvania Line and Lancaster County militia respectively until

Sankey's oldest brother, Robert, who acquired early fame as the "first martyr of the Revolution," as result of his participation in the Quebec Campaign.[73]

The Quebec Campaign in 1775 was particularly disastrous for the patriots. During the Battle of Quebec, a thirty-six pound cannonball ricocheted off a wagon and blasted away Robert's leg from the knee down. According to his friend John Joseph Henry, who recorded the story, Robert cried out in pain and fellow soldiers carried him to a nearby windmill, where they waited out the battle attending to their friend. Once firing ceased, they carried Robert to an Englishman's house, where doctors attempted to amputate what was left of his mangled leg. The Englishman's wife offered the young man tea to ease his pain. He reportedly refused, saying he would not drink the beverage that was the ruin of his country. Robert died from his wounds on November 17, 1775, and as he was one of the first casualties of the war, he was buried with full military honors.[74] According to the tale told by one of the Dixons' former tenants, William Darby, an express rider delivered a letter to his father, John, informing him of Robert's death. John was inconsolable.[75]

John, another of Sankey's brothers, also died young, presumably fighting the British. The circumstances of his death were not as dramatically recorded as Robert's, and no clues remain as to where John died. However, by November 1780, shortly before

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the war officially ended in 1783. From the extant records, the fifth Dixon brother, James, never enlisted in either the militia or the Continental Army.

73 Ibid., 126; J. Gerald Kennedy, *The Astonished Traveler: William Darby, Frontier Geographer and Man of Letters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 12.

74 John Joseph Henry, *An Accurate and Interesting Account of the Harships and Sufferings of that Band of Heroes Who Traversed the Wilderness, by the Route of the Kennebec, and Chaudiere River, to Quebec, in the Year 1775*, Rev. ed. (Watertown, NY: Knowlton and Rice, 1844), 96-98.

75 William Henry Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford with "The Soldier's Tale" A Story of the People of Derry in 1776* (Harrisburg, PA: Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878), 12-13.

John Dixon, Sr., died, he had removed his namesake from his will, indicating that he had been informed of his son's death. According to Darby, John Dixon was devastated by the loss of two of his sons, and he did not live to see the end of the war.[76]

Unlike the Cochrans, not all of Sankey's relatives were willing to march with General Washington. Although Sankey, his parents, and his siblings were Presbyterians, his uncle Robert Murray had married Mary Lindley, the daughter of a politically and commercially well-connected Quaker, Thomas Lindley. Robert abandoned Presbyterianism for the Quaker faith, and together he and Mary taught their large family to strictly adhere to its teachings. Robert Murray built a successful business shipping flour to the West Indies, and he quickly became one of the richest men in New York.[77] The intimidating combination of his immense wealth and his wife's social connections placed the Murrays in the highest tier of New York society. The Murrays spent time in both London and the colonies, but it was in New York City where Robert Murray built his mansion called Inclenberg, which was the scene of a remarkable war-time incident.[78]

After the British defeat of the Continental Army at the Battle of Long Island, Washington evacuated his troops from the area and stationed the army across York Island

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76 John Dixon, Will, 1781, Book D, Vol. 1, p. 16, Lancaster County Archives; Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford*, 12-13.

77 Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 89; James F. Shepherd and Gary Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 45.

78 William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1894; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 1, 28-29. The Quakers' aversion to conflict, the Murrays' experiences in London, and Robert's business most likely persuaded their son, Lindley Murray, to avoid the war in the colonies. Lindley became the founder of systematic English grammar, but throughout his life and even after his death, American society and scholars would find it hard to forgive Lindley's indifference to the war.

as an anticipatory defense of New York City.[79] As the British army steadily advanced toward the city, Washington and his generals decided they could not risk another defeat that would only destroy the soldiers' morale. Washington pulled the Continental Army out of the city, but he left a third of his forces, commanded by General Israel Putnam, to defend the city as the main army marched toward Harlem Heights.[80] On September 15, 1776, British General William Howe's fleet of war ships arrived at Kip's Bay intending to both take New York City and defeat the Continental Army.[81] However, instead of aggressively attacking Putnam's troops, General Howe ordered that the forces already on the ground to wait until all of his troops disembarked from the ships.[82] In the meantime, Howe and his officers accepted Mary Murray's hospitality at Inclenberg, and a young surgeon's mate in the Continental Army, James Thacher, documented the ensuing results:

> Most fortunately, the British generals...repaired to the house of a Mr. Robert Murray, a quaker [sic] and friend of our cause; Mrs. Murray treated them with cake and wine, and they were induced to tarry two hours or more, Governor Tryon frequently joking her about her American friends. By this happy incident General Putnam, by continuing his march, escaped ... It has since become almost a common saying among our officers, that Mrs. Murray saved this part of the American army.[83]

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79 David McCullough, *1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005), 188-191.

80 Ibid., 206-208.

81 Ibid., 211.

82 Ibid., 213.

83 James Thacher, *A Military Journal During the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, Describing Interesting Events and Transactions of this Period, with Numerous Historical Facts and Anecdotes, From the Original Manuscript* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1823), 70-71.

The officers were so distracted by Sankey's Aunt Mary that it gave Putnam and his troops enough time to escape.[84] As a result, contemporaries like James Thacher credited Mary with being an ardent patriot by saving a large portion of the Continental Army despite her husband's British sympathies, and the Daughters of the American Revolution have even honored her with a plaque commemorating her act of bravery. In reality, Mary Murray's true loyalties could have leaned in either direction. Perhaps she supported the patriots and actively tried to aid their escape. When the war concluded, neither Mary nor her husband Robert were exiled from the United States, which lends weight to this interpretation. Or, perhaps she was a loyalist like her husband and simply wanted to boost the Murrays' social position by hosting British officers at her home. [85] After all, one of her daughters did marry a British officer, and the Murrays' home was one of the few in New York to be protected by the British during the war.[86] Although Mary's true motives cannot be accurately ascertained, ultimately her actions provided the rebellious colonists with needed inspiration and confidence.

Between the deaths of his brothers in service to the Continentals and his Aunt Mary's famous actions, Sankey must have felt pressure to live up to his family's and community's expectations. Extant records show that Sankey served in the Pennsylvania Line of the Continental Army for the majority of the war, which was so predominantly

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[84] McCullough, 216.

[85] Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution with an Historical Essay* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1864), Vol. 2, 112-115, 560.

[86] Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850), Vol. 3, 376.

Scots-Irish that General "Lighthorse Harry" Lee called it "the Line of Ireland."[87] The accounts of neighbors, friends, and his future wife Ann agree that Sankey served throughout the entire war. Both Ann and the historian William Henry Egle report Sankey enlisting as early as 1776.[88] Although there is no military record to verify Sankey's service in 1776, he was serving in the Pennsylvania Line by early 1777, as in March he received his commission of seargent-major in the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment.[89] Sankey spent the next six years in the army and participated in some of the most famous battles of the Revolutionary War.

Sankey spent the winter and spring of 1777-1778 in Valley Forge with the rest of the Continental Army as a part of the 6th Pennsylvania regimental staff, which tested the fortitude, health, and loyalty of General Washington's troops.[90] Through the difficulties of Valley Forge and subsequent battles and winter quarters, Sankey continued to make a good impression on his commanding officers. On August 25, 1779, Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar wrote this letter from Camp West Point:

> Sir: By the resolve of Congress, 28 June last, I observe that whenever vacancies happen in a regiment, the commanding officer is to notify the President of the State that proper persons may be appointed, I must, therefore, beg leave to inform your Excellency, of two vacancies in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and at the same time to recommend Mr. Dixon and Mr. Humphries to be appointed as ensigns. The former is my sergeant-major, a person of good morals, and as brave as Caesar. The latter has been a volunteer in Major Lee's

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87 Dunaway, 157.

88 Ann Dixon, Pension; Egle, *Notes and* Queries, 1st and 2nd ser., Vol. 1, 34.

89 Heitman, 155.

90 Bodle, 71, 113.

> corps. The major has strongly recommended him to me as a person of unblemished character.[91]

Both Sankey and his fellow soldier were granted their promotions, and Sankey received his commission as an ensign on September 1, 1779.[92] Throughout the next year, Sankey continued to serve in the capacity of ensign in the 6th Regiment, Captain Walter Finney's 3rd Company, participating in battles in New Jersey.[93]

In early 1781, Sankey witnessed the most significant mutiny of Continental soldiers during the Revolutionary War. On January 1, the enlisted men of the Pennsylvania Line rebelled against their officers.[94] Many were under the impression that their enlistments were up, and that over the years, their officers had unfairly coerced the troops to remain in the service. The soldiers' despair had increased because the small bounties they received upon enlistment, twenty dollars for those who joined in 1776 and 1777, had depreciated in value. The board of sergeants, a representative group of soldiers for the Pennsylvania Line, proposed to their commanding officer, General Anthony Wayne, that discharges be given to men who enlisted in 1776 and 1777 and all soldiers involved in the mutiny would not be punished.[95] Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council sent President Joseph Reed to Princeton, New Jersey, to help General Wayne come to a peaceful conclusion to the mutiny. In the end, Reed allowed soldiers who had

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91 Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser., Vol. 3, 102.

92 Ibid., 103.

93 Heitman, 155.

94 John A. Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks: Mutinies of the American Revolution* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2007), 78.

95 Ibid., 93-94.

enlisted in 1776 or 1777 to leave the army with pay and clothing; those who could not provide enlistment papers were only required to swear an oath that they had served past the length of their original enlistment.[96]

By the end of January 1781, more than half of the Pennsylvania Line returned home.[97] As Sankey himself was an officer, albeit a low ranking one, he probably did not participate as a mutineer. This is further corroborated by the fact that Sankey neither deserted nor refused to reenlist after the 6th Pennsylvania was furloughed at Trenton on January 17. He instead continued his service in that regiment commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton and was listed as an officer in the Pennsylvania Line on January 20.[98] The Pennsylvania Line mutiny was unique in that it was the only successful mutiny of enlisted men during the war. General Wayne and Joseph Reed came to a bloodless compromise with the mutineers, the soldiers were satisfied, and newly discharged soldiers did not defect to the British as some of the officers had feared. At the end of January, the New Jersey Line attempted to imitate the actions of the Pennsylvania line, and hoped for similar results. However, General Washington was in no mood to be sympathetic toward that rebellion. Instead the ringleaders were executed and their grievances were not addressed.[99]

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96 Ibid., 164.

97 Trussell, 91.

98 Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Conformably to Acts of the General Assembly, February 15, 1851, & March 1, 1852*, 1st ser. (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns, 1854), Vol. 10, 727-728.

99 Nagy, 180.

Within four months of the mutiny, Sankey was again rewarded with a new commission as a lieutenant. Soon after, he, and what was left of the 6th Pennsylvania, marched with the 2nd and 5th Pennsylvania Regiments south under the leadership of "Mad" Anthony Wayne to fight in Virginia and the Carolinas. Elizabeth Sturtevant stated in Ann's obituary that Sankey was wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, which occurred on September 8 in South Carolina.[100] When applying for a widow's pension, Ann herself told the court in Franklin County, Tennessee, that Sankey suffered a wound to his shoulder during the war, but at that time she could not remember where or when it happened.[101]

While Sankey continued to engage the British on the front lines, Ann, John, and their father George settled into less dangerous routines. When the army closed winter quarters in Valley Forge, Ann returned from her exciting experience among the officers' wives and continued to live on her father's farm until the end of the war. John continued to work for the artificers as a blacksmith in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, where he remained until he was released in 1781.[102] George had returned to Chester County by late December 1780, when William McCleery accused him, along with twenty-five other local men including George's brother Stephen, nephew Samuel, relatives Robert and James Cochran, and future son-in-law William Thompson, of rioting and threatening McCleery's life. Stephen was the ringleader in this particular incident, though the reasons

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100 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

101 Ann Dixon, Pension.

102 John Cochran, Pension.

for the assault and the outcome of the case were not recorded.[103] George was also listed as serving in the Chester County militia in 1780, the first year of extant militia records for Chester County.[104] After leaving Lebanon, John returned to his father's farm, where he was conscripted in his uncle Stephen's company in the Chester County militia in the fall of 1781. But after two weeks, word reached them of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and the militia was disbanded.[105] For the Ann, John, and George, the war was over.

This would not be the case for Lieutenant Sankey Dixon, as he not only witnessed the surrender of the British Army at Yorktown, but he also continued to serve close to the official end of the war. His wounded shoulder healed, he continued with the 6th Regiment, and left Williamsburg for Yorktown on September 28, 1781.[106] One of Sankey's fellow lieutenants in the Pennsylvania Line was William Feltman of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment. Feltman kept a journal from 1781 to 1782, in which he described the siege, battle, and surrender of Yorktown in detail.[107] His journal and letters give an insight into Sankey's experiences in the last years of the war. On October 10, 1781, Feltman wrote this letter to a fellow officer:

> Dear Sir: We have been here now four weeks. The British are hemmed in and they cannot get out. They made a sortie a few nights ago but quickly retired

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103 George Cochran, Quarter Sessions Indictments, 1781, Docket C, p. 16, Chester County Archives.

104 Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser. (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1906), Vol. 5, 831.

105 Ibid., Vol. 5, 834, 838.

106 William Feltman, *The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781-82: Including the March into Virginia and the Siege of Yorktown* (Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1853), 15.

107 Ibid., 15-23.

> without effecting anything. Yesterday our field pieces opened fire, the General aiming the first gun. I have bet a pair of silk stockings with Captain Davis that Cornwallis and his army would be prisoners of war before two weeks … Lieutenant Dixon and self had a fine view of the shells our battery threw into York.[108]

Sankey watched as the men he had served with for several years finally achieved the anticipated victory over Lord Cornwallis. Feltman wrote that on October 17,

> Flags passing and repassing. Lord Cornwallis proposed deputies from each army to meet at Moore's House to agree on terms for the surrender of the garrison at York and Gloster, and hostilities to cease for twenty-four hours. His Excellency Genl. Washington allowed my Lord but two hours.[109]

The officers enjoyed celebrating their victory at Yorktown, even while on duty. Drinking and billiards were the most popular entertainments among the officers, often leaving the participants ill the following day. Any venue satisfied the officers, from tents to taverns. Sankey enthusiastically joined his friends in these activities. On October 27, Sankey, Feltman, and Captain Irwin were on picket duty, but spent the night "very agreeably, drinking wine…." Unfortunately for Feltman, the next morning he felt the effects of their revelry, and quite possibly so did Sankey.[110]

Although Lord Cornwallis had surrendered, the war had not completely ended. Sankey remained in the Continental Army for the next eighteen months. Part of the Pennsylvania Line marched south through Virginia, North Carolina, and finally to South Carolina. While in South Carolina, Sankey and ten other officers left the army on March

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108 William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1895; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 2, 231.

109 Feltman, 21.

110 Ibid., 25.

13, 1782, probably on leave, and traveled back to Pennsylvania. Feltman entrusted Sankey with several letters to his family in Lancaster County.[111] Sankey delivered the letters, and soon he made his way back to the army. On January 1, 1783, Sankey transferred to the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment, but he only remained in the army another six months before being discharged in Philadelphia on June 3, 1783.[112] The American Revolution had finally come to a close for Sankey when he was around twenty-five years old, having served continually for over six years in the Continental Army.

"Best Blood of the Revolution"[113]

The Cochrans collectively supported the war to their mutual benefit. All of Ann's male relatives who served in the conflict in some capacity, with the exception of her father, benefited from their service. Ann's uncle, Dr. John Cochran, remained close friends with George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette, and when Washington became president, he appointed John as the Commissioner of Loans.[114] Ann's other uncle, Stephen Cochran, was elected to the Pennsylvania General Assembly as a Constitutionalist; he served from 1777 through 1779.[115] Her cousin Samuel was elected as a county commissioner for the Federalist Party in 1793, served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1816 through 1818, in the Pennsylvania Senate from 1818

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[111] Ibid., 41.

[112] Heitman, 155.

[113] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 126.

[114] Saffron, 83.

[115] J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (1881; rpt. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1995), Vol. 1, 380.

through 1821, and was the Surveyor General of Pennsylvania from 1800 through 1809 and again from 1821 through 1824.[116] Ann's brother John served as a deputy surveyor of Erie County and later as the Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania.[117]

Ann's other paternal and maternal male cousins translated valuable experience in the Revolutionary War into their professional lives. Her cousins Flavel and Archibald Roan served in the Lancaster County militia respectively from 1779 through 1782 and from 1780 through 1782.[118] Not only did Flavel and Archibald have the advantage of their kinship connections, but they also gained their communities' confidence by committing themselves to the fight against British rule, which in turn facilitated their election to public office. Flavel was elected sheriff then county commissioner. He served as a Democratic-Republican representative from Northumberland County to the Pennsylvania House from 1794 through 1796. Archibald Roan, her cousin by marriage, became the second Governor of Tennessee.[119] Ann's maternal cousin, William Miller, fought in the Pennsylvania Line beginning as an ensign in 1776 and rising to a captain by the time he left the army in early 1781.[120] As a member of one of the earliest and most

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116 Ibid., 501; Harold Cox, "Legislative Directories," Wilkes University Election Statistics Project. http://staffweb.wilkes.edu/harold.cox/legis/indexlegis.html (accessed July 23, 2012).

117 John Cochran to Ann Dixon, 1816, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Journal of Flavel Roan, From His Diary 1803-1807, 1813. Gen GE74, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Harold Cox, "Legislative Directories."

118 Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser., Vol. 7, 552, 726, 760, 911-912, 937, 957.

119 Charles McCool Snyder, John M. Downie, and Lois S. Kalp, *Union County Pennsylvania: A Celebration of History* (Lewisburg, PA: Union County Historical Society, 2000), 246-247; Journal of Flavel Roan; Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 543; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st and 2nd ser., Vol. 2, 93.

120 Margaret Miller, Pension, W3282, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; Heitman, 294.

successful families in present day Adams County, William's war record augmented his social position, which led to his stints in the Pennsylvania General Assembly. He served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1795 through 1797, 1802 through 1805, 1813 through 1816, and during the 1819 through 1820 term. He also served in the Pennsylvania Senate from 1805 through 1809.[121] The Cochrans' fortunes were on the rise, and Ann would feel the benefits from her family's augmented social position.

Ann's frequent referral to her Revolutionary War years implies that she was proud of both her and her family's involvement in the conflict. In the years following, she would bury her children, watch a son enter military service, cope with widowhood, and perhaps most importantly, realize that she had the power to dictate the course of her life. Her war experiences, both her own as well as those of her family members, prepared Ann to deal with the hardships and victories to come.

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121 John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; Harold Cox, "Legislative Directories."

CHAPTER III

"WHETHER YOU WERE YET ALIVE"[1]

When the Revolutionary War officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Ann's extended family reaped the benefits, both professionally and socially, of supporting the victorious colonists. Just as the United States adapted to new and changing circumstances, Ann transitioned from a child to an adult. The new-nation years brought Ann marriage, children, two new wildernesses, and heartbreaking loss. Ann met all of life's changes with bravery and, more importantly, resourcefulness. The death of Ann's father served as the pivotal event that launched her into forming new kinship patterns, forced by circumstance to choose either to remain with relatives in Chester County or embrace a new life with relatives in unfamiliar Northumberland County. Her eventual choice set in motion an unprecedented break in kinship bonds with her paternal family, which had been crucial to preserving family identity for hundreds of years.

This stage of Ann's life also represents the instability that mobility created in her and her relatives' lives during the new-nation years. In the 1780s, Ann's siblings and cousins began to migrate to fresh lands in western Pennsylvania. They moved for personal, economic, and professional reasons that included marriage, cheaper land, and occupational improvements and promotions. Ann moved more frequently and farther than any other member of her consanguineous Cochran and affinal Dixon kin, traveling

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[1] John Cochran to Ann Dixon, 1816, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

south into Virginia and Tennessee. The geographical distance Ann and her husband placed between themselves and their kinship networks helped to sever family ties that had been so essential in their early development, and initiated the emphasis on their immediate family.

"George Cochran the Testator"[2]

At the war's end, Ann and her relatives enjoyed some well-deserved peace after the continual upheaval that had plagued Pennsylvania and the other colonies for eight years. Chester County emerged from the Revolutionary War with little economic scarring; tax lists indicate that residents either saw little change or experienced improved circumstances when the war ended.[3] The latter occurred in the Cochran household as George's fortunes had steadily risen in the late 1770s and early 1780s; by 1783, he paid taxes on 186 acres, two horses, two cows, and five sheep.[4] The most significant change in the county was the political climate. The Scots-Irish settlers who supported the Whigs gained the majority in the Pennsylvania Assembly and pushed the Quakers out. In general, assembly seats were more evenly spread across not only the original three Pennsylvania counties, but also in the newer western counties as well.[5] After living in Pennsylvania for over sixty years, the Cochrans found themselves and their Scots-Irish kinsmen as a powerful force in state politics.

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[2] George Cochran, Will and Administration, 1786, File 3774, Chester County Archives.

[3] John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds, *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 21.

[4] George Cochran, State Tax, 1783, p. 89, Chester County Archives.

[5] Frantz and Pencak, 22.

Ann turned twenty years old in 1783, which proved to be a particularly eventful and happy year as her aunt, Anne Roan, and her cousin Mary returned to Chester County. The tax records list Anne in Lancaster County in 1781, but in 1783, she paid taxes in Chester County on her dower land in Sadsbury Township, which she received after the death of her first husband, Alexander Lecky.[6] Mary, nineteen years old and unmarried, most likely accompanied her mother to Chester County, where Mary eventually married a local man, Nathan Stockman. Ann would have been overjoyed to have her aunt as well as her favorite female cousin living approximately seven miles away.

Anne and Mary probably arrived in time to help Ann and the rest of the Cochran family celebrate the marriage of her older sister, Jean, to her suitor, William Thompson. Ann and her older sisters Isabel, Jean, and Sarah were now all of an age where they were expected to marry and begin families of their own. Young women in the eighteenth century often deferred to their mother, sisters, and female friends for advice on suitors.[7] Without their mother, Ann and her sisters would have instead relied on each other for consultation, and possibly their aunts Anne Roan and Jenny Cochran. Reverend John E. Finley of Fagg's Manor Presbyterian Church, where James Cochran had served as a ruling elder many years earlier and where the Cochrans continued to have a strong presence, married Jean and William on April 3, 1783. Marriages in the late eighteenth century often took place at the bride's parents' or guardians' home rather than at the

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[6] Widow Rowan, Tax, 1781, Lancaster County's Historical Society; Ann Rowan, State Tax, 1783, p. 152, Chester County Archives.

[7] Joan R. Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790* (1996; rpt., Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 2006), 48-50.

church, so it is likely that Jean was married at her father's house.[8] Chester County tax records indicate that Jane's husband William was also a member of West Fallowfield Township. In 1781 a William Thompson was taxed there as a freeman, which meant he was a single man at least 21 years old.[9] Over the next two years, the same William Thompson was taxed in West Fallowfield, but by 1785 his name had disappeared from the tax lists.[10] The Thompsons eventually left Chester County, probably before George Cochran's death, so Jean's husband William and the William Thompson who appeared on West Fallowfield tax lists in 1781 and 1783 were very likely one and the same.

Although the marriage record for Ann's oldest sister, Isabel, has not survived, according to her father's will, she was married by March of 1786.[11] Isabel also married a West Fallowfield neighbor, Eliezer Hamill, with whom she had at least two children, Jean and George Cochran Hamill.[12] Unlike Jean and William Thompson, who did not live in Chester County for long as a married couple, Eliezer and Isabel set up housekeeping on Eliezer's land in Sadsbury Township. While Ann's older sisters were leaving home to

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[8] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Hannah Cochran, Pension Application, R2080, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration; John Cochran, Pension Application, R2083, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

[9] William Thompson, State Tax, 1781, p. 553, Chester County Archives.

[10] William Thompson, State Tax, 1782, p. 93, Chester County Archives; William Thompson, State Tax, 1783, p. 93, Chester County Archives.

[11] George Cochran, Will and Administration.

[12] Ibid.; Robert Hamill, Will and Administration, 1803, File 5041, Chester County Archives; John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; Fagg's Manor Presbyterian Church, Session Minutes and Records, Vol. 1, 1740-1803, Presbyterian Historical Society. In letters, deeds, tax, and church records, Eliezer Hamill's surname was recorded as Hamill, Hamble, and Hamilton. In the wills of his father, Robert Hamill, and his father-in-law, George Cochran, his surname was spelled "Hamill."

begin families of their own, Ann's brother John was also absent from West Fallowfield for much of the 1780s. He was not taxed as living in Chester County until 1787, and though tax collectors periodically overlooked single men if they were residing with their parents, George indicated in his will that John was living elsewhere.[13] By 1786, the only siblings left at home were Ann and her older sister Sarah.[14]

The death of George Cochran in 1786 created another important transitional period in Ann's life by initiating a change in her kinship patterns. Records such as taxes, deeds, and wills at their most basic function trace the actions of Ann's close male relatives in Chester County during the latter half of the 1780s, but they can be interpreted to expose how Ann reacted to this significant change in her life. On March 23, 1786, George died at the age of fifty-eight, depriving Ann and her siblings of their remaining parent.[15] The loss of her father was the first in a series of deaths within George's generation that loosened the strong kinship bonds between Ann and her siblings and cousins. George, probably in ill health and aware that he might die, wrote his will a mere eight days before his death. The contents determined the future of his two unmarried daughters, Sarah and Ann, as well as the inheritance his five children would receive. To Sarah and Ann, he left equal amounts of animals and furniture. Ann's inheritance included a "Young colt and the colt the bay mare is with one bed and furniture, likewise a cow and calf." George left his grey mare to his daughter Jean Thompson. He desired the

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[13] John Cochran, State Tax, 1787, p. 195, Chester County Archives.

[14] George Cochran, Will and Administration.

[15] Fagg's Manor Presbyterian Church, Session Minutes and Records, Presbyterian Historical Society; Robert Cochran manuscript. *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family in Ireland and America; Part I Written by Robert Cochran, May 3, 1730; Part II Written Later, Gives Data Concerning the American Family*. MS C64rg. Presbyterian Historical Society.

rest of his personal and real estate to be sold, and after his executors paid his funeral expenses and debts, the profit should be divided among his five children, with his four daughters receiving equal shares, and John receiving double the amount of each sister. Interestingly, George stipulated that if John did not return home to collect his inheritance, his sisters would equally share his portion.[16]

George displayed his concern about the welfare of his two unmarried daughters by presenting one possible option in his will for Sarah's and Ann's residence. He encouraged his son-in-law, Eliezer Hamill, to live on the estate for several years, thus providing a home for Sarah and Ann. George perhaps understood that his daughters would not necessarily desire to live with the Hamills, so he only instructed Sarah and Ann to live there if "they could agree." If they chose not to live with their sister Isabel and brother-in-law, Eliezer would pay five pounds each in rent to his wife, Sarah, and Ann every year he lived on the property.[17] George gave Ann the power to determine her future: either to remain on her father's former property with the Hamills or to move in with other relatives.

The way in which Eliezer Hamill, Ann's brother John, and George's executors handled her father's estate reveals how Ann, a single female whose name was only mentioned one time in Chester County public records, would act and who she would depend on during this period of change. Eliezer and Isabel had moved to Sadsbury Township by 1785, but in May 1786, Eliezer was listed in tax discounts as being "gone" from Sadsbury, indicating that shortly after his father-in-law's death, he did as George

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[16] George Cochran, Will and Administration.

[17] Ibid.

had wished and returned to West Fallowfield to take up residence on George's land.[18] In 1787, Eliezer paid taxes on the entirety of George's former property, and he was again listed as "gone" from his Sadsbury property in 1788.[19] George stipulated in his will that he only wanted Eliezer taking care of the property for two or three years or until any reasonable purchase offers arose. Ann's brother John returned to West Fallowfield by 1787 as a freeman, and the tax records for 1789 indicate that John and Eliezer agreed to split the property. Each purchased half of the original tract from George's executors, William Heslet and Joseph Luckey, although the deed was not drawn up until 1791.[20] When John signed off on the value of his father's settled estate in November 1792, the estate owed fifty-four pounds and sixteen shillings for three and a half year's rent.[21] The rent due to the estate proves that after the death of their father, Sarah and twenty-three-year-old Ann declined to live with Isabel and Eliezer. Sometime after George's death, Sarah married William Robertson and moved away from Chester County.[22] Whether Sarah married immediately or moved in with other relatives before her marriage is not known. Ann, however, either chose or was invited to live with her sister Jean and her

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18 Eliezer Hambel, Tax, 1785, Chester County Archives; Chester County Tax Discounts, Eleazer Hammell, Tax Discounts, 1786, Book 1785-1789, p. 51, Chester County Archives.

19 Eliezer Hamble, State Tax, 1787, p. 192, Chester County Archives; Eleazer Hamble, Tax Discounts, 1788, Book 1785-1789, p. 23, Chester County Archives.

20 John Cochran, State Tax, 1789, p. 197, Chester County Archives; Eliezar Hamble, State Tax, 1789, p. 198, Chester County Archives; William Heslet to John Cochran, Deed, 1791, Book H-2, Vol. 32, p. 411-413, Chester County Archives; Eliezer Hamill to Jonathan Thomas, Deed, 1794, Book I-2, Vol. 33, p. 386-388, Chester County Archives.

21 George Cochran, Will and Administration.

22 John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

brother-in-law William Thompson.[23] Moving away from Chester County would have been more inconvenient for Ann than staying, so she must have had one or more reasons for the move. It is possible that Ann had a closer relationship with Jean than she had with Isabel. Or maybe she disliked her brother-in-law Eliezer Hamill. She simply could have thought that a change in location and society would be beneficial after such a devastating loss. Whatever her reasons, she once again left her native county and relied upon her kinship bonds when she needed refuge, although this time she never returned to permanently live in West Fallowfield.

Elizabeth Sturtevant wrote a short statement in Ann's obituary about the years between George's death and Ann's marriage: "She went with a married sister, to Harrisburg, where she met her future husband, Capt. Sankey Dixon and was married to him at her sister's – Mrs. Jean Thompson in Northumberland Co. Penn. in 1787."[24] Though Ann's granddaughter captured the important aspects of this time, that Ann lived with her sister Jean and later married Sankey Dixon, it seems that she did not remember all of the details with accuracy. Dauphin County was created from Lancaster County in 1785, and on the tax lists for 1786 in a town called Louisburg, which in 1791 became Harrisburg, a William Thompson paid taxes as an inmate.[25] Inmate status encompassed both married and widowed men who owned no land of their own, so this

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23 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

24 Ibid. Elizabeth Sturtevant refers to her grandfather, Sankey, as "Captain," as according to Ann's deposition in court, he was appointed captain by brevet before he was discharged. The term *brevet* means that Sankey's official rank was lieutenant, which was the qualifier for his donation lands, but that he sometimes acted in the capacity as a captain. However, other than Ann's testimony, no other evidence exists to support that he received this distinction.

25 Luther Reily Kelker, *History of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania: With Genealogical Memoirs* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), Vol. 2, 498.

William Thompson is a possible candidate for Ann's brother-in-law as it is consistent with Elizabeth's statement that Ann first went to Harrisburg with Jean and William. However, by 1787 William Thompson was living in White Deer Township in Northumberland County, and he continued to live in the same township and county until his death in 1807.[26] The William Thompson taxed in White Deer in 1787 is undoubtedly Ann's brother-in-law, as three important sources survive to prove his residence as well as his relationship to Ann: William Thompson's will, Flavel Roan's journal, and a letter written by John Cochran to his sister, Ann. William Thompson of White Deer wrote his will on November 26, 1807, witnessed by William Clingan, the husband of Ann's cousin Jane Roan Clingan.[27] Ann's cousin Flavel Roan, who lived nearby, noted in his journal that on December 12, 1807 "Billy Thompson died," and in late April 1808, William's will was probated.[28]

The William Thompson whose will was recorded in Northumberland County and the Billy Thompson mentioned by Flavel are the same person. The keys to prove that the White Deer resident William Thompson is Ann's brother-in-law are the references made to William and Jean Thompson's children in a letter written to Ann from her brother John on August 25, 1816, cross-referenced with those named in the 1807 will. John's letter provided Ann with news of their relatives, among whom were the Thompsons, their children, and their situations: "William Thompson is also dead as well as his oldest

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[26] William Thompson, Tax, 1787, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

[27] William Thompson, Will, 1808, Book 1805-1827, Vol. 2, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

[28] Journal of Flavel Roan. From His Diary 1803-1807-1813, Gen GE74, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; William Thompson, Will.

daughter Nancy. Our sister Jean and her son James and Daughter Ruth still lives in Buffalo Valley. James is now studying divinity."[29] William Thompson's will corroborates the information within John's letter, as he named his wife Jean, their children Ruth and James, and their granddaughter Nancy Reznor, the child of their deceased daughter, Nancy.[30] Therefore, Ann resided with the Thompsons in White Deer, Northumberland County in 1787 and 1788, with a slight possibly that they lived in Louisburg in 1786.

The information gleaned from Chester County in the late 1780s concerning George's estate, combined with the tax records and wills of Northumberland County, Flavel's journal, and John's letter, provide a glimpse into how Ann conducted her life after the death of her father until her marriage. As a guest in her sister's and brother-in-law's home, Ann would have helped with the housework, gardening, and caring for Jean's oldest daughter, Nancy. She also most likely tended to Jean through her pregnancy and delivery of Ruth, born on February 19, 1787.[31] But Ann did not have to depend on her relatives' good will for much longer because her growing relationship with Lieutenant Sankey Dixon threw her into another defining stage of her life.

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[29] John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[30] William Thompson, Will.

[31] Ruth Thompson, Lewisburg Cemetery, Union County, Pennsylvania; Ruth Thompson, The United States Census, 1850-1880. Ruth Thompson remained single throughout her life and lived in Lewisburg, Union County, until her death on September 25, 1882 when she was ninety-five years old.

"Lawfully Married to the Said Sankey Dixon"[32]

Sankey Dixon left the army in June 1783, possibly with the rank of brevet captain, when he was about twenty-five years old.[33] He returned to what was his father's farm in Hanover Township, Lancaster County, which now belonged to him. John Dixon, remembered as a kind man by William Darby, died sometime between writing his will on November 13, 1780, and the will being proved in court on January 4, 1781.[34] John had a considerable estate to divide among his children, and he left much of the responsibility for its settlement with his sons Richard and Sankey. He named Richard as one of his executors and placed Sankey in charge of distributing the monetary legacies to his children and grandchildren. John instructed Sankey, who was still serving in the Pennsylvania Line at the time, to deliver the legacies in specific time increments. The first two legacies of £100 each were not to be given until a year to a year and a half after his decease, depending on when Sankey's brother-in-law James Breden vacated the property. Sankey's fellow lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Line, William Feltman, wrote in his journal that on March 13, 1782, "This day Col. Craig, Capts. Wilkin and Claypoole, Major Alexander, Lieuts. Ball, Thornbury, Peeble, Dixon, Stricker, Gilchrist and Dr.

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32 Ann Dixon, Pension, W784, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

33 F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783* (Washington, DC: W. H. Lowdermilk, 1893), 155; Ann Dixon, Pension; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

34 William Henry Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford with "The Soldier's Tale" A Story of the People of Derry in 1776* (Harrisburg, PA: Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878), 3; John Dixon, Will, 1781, Book D, Vol. 1, p. 16, Lancaster County Archives.

Magee set off for Penn'a."[35] If John Dixon died in late 1780 or early 1781, Sankey traveled to Lancaster on leave about a year and three months after his father's death, in time to distribute the first two legacies to his sister Mary Breden and brother Richard before returning to his regiment.

For the most part, John Dixon made sure to leave each of his children, both male and female, equal shares of his estate. He left £100 each to his four daughters, Mary, Ann, Arabella, and Isabella, and two of his sons, Richard and James. The two inconsistencies in the will revolved around sons John and Sankey. John initially left £20 to his namesake, but then amended his will probably after being notified of his son's death to state that the £20 be equally split between two of his daughters. Sankey did not receive money; instead John left his "beloved son Sankey" all of his real estate, buildings, and "one feather bed & cloths." Sankey was not able to take possession of his inheritance immediately, and rather than allowing the farm and buildings to go unused or uninhabited, John desired that Sankey's brother Richard, widowed sister Ann Carson, and her son Robert Carson should have "sufficient Victuals and Drink & lodging" for three years in what was now Sankey's house.[36]

When Sankey came home from the war, he began to build his life in the new nation as a single, independent man with property. His father's original grant dated July 6, 1738, from Pennsylvania contained 400 acres in Hanover Township. From that

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[35] William Feltman, *The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781-82: Including the March into Virginia and the Siege of Yorktown* (Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1853), 41.

[36] John Dixon, Will.

original tract, John conveyed 133 acres to his oldest son Robert in the spring of 1774.[37] Sankey inherited the remaining 267 acres, and he first appeared on the tax lists as a landholder in 1781 along with his brothers Richard and James.[38] In 1785, Dauphin County was created from Lancaster County, and Hanover Township was split into East and West Hanover; Sankey's land now fell within the boundaries of West Hanover in Dauphin County. He did not live on his property for long; in November 1785 he sold 188¾ acres to John Snodgrass for the enormous sum of £960.[39] He then sold the remaining 77 acres for £244 17s. to John Robinson, another West Hanover neighbor and a witness on his father's will, in the summer of 1786.[40] Sankey's motivations for selling off his property might have been multi-layered. John Dixon's estate settlement papers were not preserved, so it is unknown from where Sankey was drawing the money to pay out legacies to his relatives. It is possible that he was forced to sell the land in part to carry out his father's wishes. At the same time, he was busy pursuing opportunities to purchase lots in the newly surveyed Lewisburg in Northumberland County, for which he also needed money.

His chosen partner in this venture in Northumberland County was his good friend as well as Ann's first cousin, Flavel Roan. Flavel and Sankey were the same age, and, as

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37 John Dixon to Robert Dixon, Deed, 1774, Book 000S, p. 432-433, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

38 Luther Reily Kelker, *History of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania: With Genealogical Memoirs* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), Vol. 1, 423.

39 Sankey Dixon to John Snodgrass, Deed, 1785, Vol. 1A, p. 235-237, Dauphin County Courthouse.

40 Sankey Dixon to John Robinson, Deed, 1786, Vol. 1B, p. 335a-339, Dauphin County Courthouse.

they grew up fairly close to one another, it was likely that they knew each other prior to the Revolutionary War. Undoubtedly Sankey would have heard of Flavel's father, Reverend John Roan, as he was quite well known to the people of Lancaster County. As a youth, Flavel refused to follow his father into the ministry, and as an adult he did not act as though he regretted his decision. Flavel cultivated a reputation as an intensely social man whose professions included politics, business, and teaching and whose favorite past-times included dancing, drinking, and any social occasion that combined the two.[41] Though his lifestyle might have disappointed Reverend Roan, had he lived, Flavel was nevertheless beloved by his sisters, his friends, and his community. Flavel's vibrant personality and Sankey's loyalty and sense of adventure must have contributed to their strong friendship, which lasted throughout much of their lives. Together, Sankey and Flavel purchased a lot in Lewisburg between St. John and St. Anthony Streets in September 1786, and by 1787 both were taxed as permanent residents.[42]

During the 1780s and early 1790s, Sankey was not only selling inherited land and buying town property, but he was also managed land he received from both the federal and state governments based on his service in the war. In 1776, the First Continental Congress began drafting the Articles of Confederation as the basic framework for a national government that bound the individual colonies together, and finally all thirteen

[41] Journal of Flavel Roan; Charles McCool Snyder, John M. Downie, and Lois S. Kalp, *Union County Pennsylvania: A Celebration of History* (Lewisburg, PA: Union County Historical Society, 2000), 247.

[42] George Derr to Flavel Roan and Sankey Dixon, 1786, Vol. C, p. 487, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives; Sankey Dixon, Tax, 1787, Vol. 1, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives; Flavel Roan, Tax, 1787, Vol. 1, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

colonies ratified the document in 1781.[43] The Articles proved mostly ineffective; however, one important accomplishment of the Second Continental Congress was the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, which organized the Northwest Territory, consisting of present day Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. In order to do this, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia agreed to cede all of their western land to the government. This measure was taken by the Confederation Congress, and later the Congress under the new Constitution, to control migration, introduce order among the Native American, French, British, and squatter populations in the west, and establish the U.S. Military Land District of Ohio (USMD).[44] The USMD was created specifically to fulfill promises made by the Continental Congress during the war to award men who fought until the end with a certain amount of acreage based on their rank, with the hope that it would appease soldiers and encourage new enlistees.[45] The land was divided into ranges, townships, sections, and lots.[46] As a lieutenant, Sankey received a 200-acre tract in the USMD, located in the 14th range, 4th township, and 4th lot, now part of Licking County, Ohio.[47]

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43 Francis D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Political History* (2000; rpt., New York: Routledge, 2009), 146-147.

44 James P. Horn, Jan Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, ed., *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 367-368.

45 William Edwards Peters, *Ohio Lands and Their Subdivision*, 2nd ed. (Athens, OH: Messenger Printery, 1918), 132.

46 Clifford Neal Smith, *Federal Land Series: A Calendar of Archival Materials on the Land Patents Issued by the United States Government, With Subject, Tract, and Name Indexes* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1972), xv.

47 Ibid., 175.

Sankey did not move to this property; instead, like many other patentees, he sold the land, most likely to land speculators.[48]

Individual states also took measures to compensate their soldiers. In 1787, the Supreme Executive Council notified Sankey that he had been granted land in the first and eighth districts of donation lands in what became Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. He qualified for two separate tracts of 200 acres each "in consideration of the Services Rendered by Sankey Dixon Lieutenant in the late army of the United States."[49] However, Sankey was not interested in moving to either of these grants, and he quickly sold both about two weeks later. Unlike his property in Hanover, the donation lands were worth relatively little; he sold the 200 acres in District 8 to Philip Boehm for £25 and the 200 acres in District 8 to William Peltz for £37.[50]

In 1787, Ann lived with her sister and brother-in-law just one township north of where Sankey and Flavel were living in Lewisburg. The close proximity and kinship with Flavel naturally led to either Ann and Sankey's introduction to one another or a reunion. Elizabeth Sturtevant's tone in regards to their relationship suggests that they did not know one another previously, but it is possible that they were slightly acquainted from Ann's time in her uncle John Roan's home. Who did Ann confide in about her courtship

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48 R. Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 167.

49 Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Sankey Dixon, Deed, 1789, Vol. 1, p. 322, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania State Archives; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Sankey Dixon, Deed, 1789, Vol. 1, p. 356, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

50 Sankey Dixon to Philip Boehm, Deed, 1789, Vol. 1, p. 323, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania State Archives; Sankey Dixon to William Peltz, Deed, 1789, Vol. 1, p. 357, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

with Sankey? Did she talk over her feelings with her sister Jean, or did she, as her Reverend Roan hoped, seek her aunt Anne's counsel before consenting to marry him? Ann unfortunately did not have much time to consult Anne, who died a little over a month before Ann's nuptials.[51] Whether or not her aunt approved of the match, Ann and Sankey were married on June 7, 1788, by "Fighting Parson" John Elder, Reverend Roan's former Old Side nemesis, minister of the Paxton Presbyterian Church just outside of Harrisburg.[52] Ann was about twenty-five years old, and Sankey about thirty.

As with Ann's birthdate, the date and place of her marriage to Sankey has been confused over time, but this time Ann herself was actually responsible. Paxton Presbyterian Church kept a record of the marriages performed by Elder, and either Ann or Sankey recorded the original date in their "family Record." She admitted that it had been "destroyed or lost by time and accident" when she gave her first deposition to the Franklin County Court for her widow's pension in 1839. Instead, she gave her marriage date as April 10, 1787, in Harrisburg.[53] The date April 10 is suspiciously close to one of her possible birthdates, April 9, therefore it is possible that Ann was thinking of her birthdate rather than her marriage date when in court. Elizabeth Sturtevant omitted the day and month but used the year 1787 when writing Ann's obituary, which in turn was submitted to William Henry Egle during the period when he was collecting family

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[51] Anne Roan, Will and Administration, 1788, File 3974, Chester County Archives.

[52] Mathias Wilson McAlarney, *History of the Sesqui-Centennial of Paxtang Church, September 18, 1890* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1890), 260-261.

[53] Ann Dixon, Pension.

histories for his book on central Pennsylvania families.[54] Interestingly, the fact that Ann reported the incorrect marriage date lends some weight to a greater possibility of her birth occurring in April rather than August. Likewise, Elizabeth described her grandparents' marriage as taking place in Northumberland County, but both the marriage record and Ann's testimony reveal the place as just outside Harrisburg.

Marriage is an essential component of evolving kinship bonds within family groups. Ann did not abandon her kinship networks in favor of her husband's, but rather expanded them to include Sankey's family. Adding a new family group can reinforce or redefine traits peculiar to either one or both families, including naming patterns, religious practices, and migration.[55] In Ann's case, melding her own family life with Sankey's strengthened her faith in Presbyterianism and the importance of, as historian and genealogist Billingsley stated, her "sacred" family as well as her "secular" one.[56] In other areas, specifically names they chose for their children as well as their migratory patterns, they broke away from prevailing family traditions and as they did so, separated themselves from their extended families to the point of being almost irreparable. Had Ann's father not died when he did, and she not chosen to live in Northumberland County, Ann might never have met Sankey; she might have lived in Pennsylvania for the rest of her life like her siblings and many of her cousins, comfortable within her vast kinship

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54 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886), 128.

55 Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 59.

56 Ibid., 78.

network. Instead, circumstances encouraged her to choose more interesting paths, which shifted her away from her extended family and eventually to her nuclear family.

Tax records for 1788 indicate that Sankey and Ann made their first home as a married couple in East Hanover Township in Dauphin County, although Sankey continued to jointly own with Flavel the property in adjoining Lewisburg in Buffalo Township.[57] The same year, Sankey and his brother James were both listed as heads of families at Hanover Presbyterian Church.[58] Ann's first year of marriage was probably quite an adjustment. She was now running her own home, and her days were filled with tending the garden, preparing meals, making butter and other commodities, and sewing and mending clothing. Soon, her family began to grow as she became not only a wife, but also a mother. She became pregnant with her first child several months into her marriage, and by August of 1789, she was ready to give birth. According to historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, for eighteenth century pregnant women and their anxious husbands, a midwife was the most comforting and competent presence during the birth. Ulrich's examination of Martha Ballard's diary demonstrates the extent to which parents relied on the skill and fortitude of the midwife. Depending on how far away the closest midwife lived, Sankey might have called for her a day or two in advance, just to soothe Ann and to ensure that she was present when Ann went into labor.[59] The midwife would have called female neighbors to Sankey and Ann's home to assist when Ann was ready to give

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[57] Sinky Dixon, Tax, 1788, Roll 2, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

[58] Thomas H. Robinson, *Historical Sketch of Old Hanover Church* (Harrisburg, PA: Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878), 23.

[59] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 183.

birth. Ulrich emphasizes the importance of female community in the birthing process, and although the women who attended Ann are unknown, they were probably close neighbors, fellow Hanover church members, or perhaps one of Sankey's sisters or sisters-in-law.[60] Ann safely delivered her first child, a son, on August 14, 1789. Sankey would have paid the midwife, possibly with specie or in commodities, and superfluous neighbors or family members would vacate the house. Women like Ann who had a house to run did not spend a long time convalescing from the delivery unless it was a particularly difficult one. If Ann's recovery period was anything like many of the women Martha Ballard attended in the 1780s and 1790s in Maine, Ann would have rested for a day or two before resuming her housework.[61]

Martha Ballard, like other late eighteenth century midwives, began to see male physicians slowly encroach on a skill that was traditionally seen as a woman's occupation. Ann herself had a remote connection with the professionalism of both medicine and obstetrics. Her uncle, Dr. John Cochran, had worked closely with Dr. William Shippen, Jr. during the Revolutionary War, and he personally recommended John to General George Washington as a worthy addition to the medical staff.[62] In the 1760s, Shippen appropriately taught anatomy, surgery, and midwifery to both men and women at the School of Medicine in Philadelphia, though he endured criticism for instructing men. He continued to teach midwifery when the University of Pennsylvania

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[60] Ibid., 184.

[61] Ibid., 189.

[62] Morris H. Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochran 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 25-26.

was chartered in 1792.[63] Ann could have been attended by a male physician who had experience in midwifery, possibly by someone who studied under Shippen. But whether Sankey called for a midwife or a male physician, Ann and her son came through the process healthy and alive. Ann and Sankey named the little boy John, and just over a month later, Reverend John Snodgrass of the Hanover church baptized John on September 25.[64]

During the eighteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Scots-Irish migrated from southeast Pennsylvania to western Pennsylvania counties like Cumberland and Allegheny, and then moved south towards Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many of these migrants consisted of new immigrants from Ulster as well as families who had resided in Pennsylvania or Virginia for many years. Both the Dixon and Cochran kinship groups took part in these migrations, though Sankey and Ann made the most drastic change in residence. The most important difference between Sankey and Ann's migration and that of her extended Cochrna family, was that, for the most part, the Cochran family migrated together, whereas Sankey and Ann migrated without a family group. An important catalyst that contributed to the Cochran family exodus from Chester County in the early 1790s was the death of Anne Cochran Lecky Roan on April 22, 1788.[65] Years

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63 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 38-40.

64 Robinson, 28; Ann Dixon, Pension.

65 Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 540.

later, in a letter written by Ann, which is no longer extant but was alluded to by her correspondent, William Darby, she discussed the details of her aunt's death.[66]

Undoubtedly, it was heartbreaking for Ann to lose the woman who had raised her. Anne Roan was a well-respected member of the Sadsbury and West Fallowfield neighborhoods, as the wording of her death notice attests:

> This amiable person, without flattery, filled all the various stations in life which she passed through with dignity and reputation and adorned the whole with that of a sincere Christian. During a long and tedious sickness she was remarkably patient and resigned to the divine will, and as death approached her prospects of a glorious immortality opened and she changed a world of sin and suffering for the full fruit of God in Christ, eternal life and an immortal crown of glory.[67]

Ann likely traveled to Chester County for her funeral as her aunt had been suffering from an illness for some time. Two days after her death, "her remains, attended by a numerous concourse of relatives, friends, and neighbors, were interred in the Presbyterian burying ground of Upper Octoraro."[68] Anne Roan's surviving siblings, Stephen Cochran and Jane Mitchell, her brother-in-law Reverend Alexander Mitchell, her children and their spouses, and her nieces and nephews would have been among the mourners. Funerals also served as social gatherings, and for Ann, this may have been one of the last times she was able to be with the majority of her Cochran extended family. With a death came the responsibility of entertaining the attendees, most importantly in the form of strong

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[66] Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford*, 5.

[67] *Genealogical and Biographical Annals of Northumberland County Pennsylvania Containing A Genealogical Record of Representative Families Including Many of the Early Settlers, and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Citizens, Prepared From Data Obtained From Original Sources and Information* (Chicago: J. L. Floyd, 1911), 654.

[68] Ibid.

beverages. Accordingly, Anne's estate paid for 14s. 6d. worth of wine and rum to serve at the funeral.[69]

Anne left a detailed will in which she bequeathed the majority of her estate to her daughters Jane, Elizabeth, and Mary, including a tract of land she owned in Northumberland County. To Flavel she was less generous and left him fifteen shillings; perhaps she felt that he had the means to take care of himself or that his inheritance from his father was adequate enough. She was noticeably concerned for the welfare of her unmarried daughter, Mary, to whom she left thirty acres in Sadsbury Township and all of her household possessions.[70] This action was reminiscent of Anne's brother George's attempt to provide for the residence and protection of his unmarried daughters, Ann and Sarah, five years earlier.

Of the Cochran relations living in Chester County in the late 1780s and early 1790s, it was the children of Reverend John and Anne Roan and the children of George and Nancy Cochran who quitted their birth county in favor of Northumberland County. Ann's cousin Mary Roan married Nathan Stockman and Ann's brother John married Sarah Lattimore within several years after Anne Roan's decease.[71] In 1791 both John and Nathan Stockman paid taxes on their land, but disappear by the next tax collection year.[72] John more specifically mentioned his departure from Chester County in his 1816 letter to

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69 Anne Roan, Will and Administration.

70 Ibid.

71 Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 544; John Cochran, Pension.

72 John Cochran, State Tax, 1791, p. 119, Chester County Archives; Nathan Stockman, State Tax, 1791, p. 320, 370, Chester County Archives.

Ann, stating that he moved to Northumberland County in the spring of 1792. [73] It is likely that Nathan and Mary Stockman left at the same time. They joined the other members of the Cochran kinship group who had already made the move to the White Deer-Buffalo Township area of Northumberland County: Jean and William Thompson, Elizabeth and William Clark, Jane and William Clingan, and Flavel Roan.[74] Eliezer and Isabel Hamill did not move with the rest of the group, but when Isabel died a few years later, Eliezer left for Ohio and placed their only surviving daughter, Jean, into the care of John and Sarah Cochran.[75]

Sankey and Ann, on the other hand, did not participate in this migration pattern so common among kinship groups. Even though they led a comfortable life in East Hanover, Sankey, Ann, or both must have possessed a somewhat restless nature. Perhaps the years Sankey spent in the army encouraged an unsettled life. Ann herself spent many years of her life moving from one set of relatives to another, the majority of which revolved around the death of a guardian. She left home at six for Lancaster County, returned to Chester County when she was twelve, travelled to White Deer at twenty-three, and moved to East Hanover at twenty-five. She had experienced the loss of her parents, her uncle and aunt Roan, and the scattering of her nuclear family. Now it was her turn to initiate a break with her kinship group, with which she struggled to maintain a connection for the rest of her life.

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[73] John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[74] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 542-544.

[75] John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

"Children Born of the Marriage"[76]

It is possible that Sankey and Ann were contemplating a move even before their son John was born because in June, 1789, Sankey and Ann sold their interest in the property that Sankey and Flavel held together in Northumberland County.[77] Seventeen ninety was the last year that Sankey paid taxes in East Hanover, and the Hanover church records show that it was also the last year they attended.[78] Family memory recalled by Ann's granddaughter Elizabeth Sturtevant indicates that sometime before taxes were collected for 1791, Sankey and Ann followed the migration path of so many other Scots-Irish south down the Great Valley Road into Virginia. Such a long journey would seem to be a difficult feat with a small child in tow, but Ann and Sankey's first child did not live to see his second birthday. Little John died in April of 1791, possibly before they left, while traveling, or after Ann and Sankey reached their destination, Rockbridge County.[79]

The most important thoroughfare connecting the western areas of northern states to the western areas of the southern states was the Great Valley Road, also known as the Warrior's Path, Great Wagon Road, or the Philadelphia Wagon Road.[80] It began in Philadelphia, ran west to the town of Lancaster, then turned south, meandered past York, and entered Virginia through Winchester. From there, the road ran through what was

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76 Ann Dixon, Pension.

77 Sankey Dixon to Flavel Roan, Deed, 1789, Book E, p. 182, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania State Archives.

78 Sinkey Dixon, Tax, 1790, Roll 2, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania State Archives; Robinson, 31.

79 Ann Dixon, Pension.

80 Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, eds., *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 79.

known as the "Irish Tract" in the Shenendoah Valley, named for the large number of Scots-Irish families, many of whom had settled there in the 1760s.[81] The two most important towns in the Irish Tract were Staunton in Augusta County and Lexington in Rockbridge County. This was the road that Ann and Sankey traveled in the early 1790s. If they did not already have a wagon to haul their belongings, they probably purchased one in Lancaster or nearby Conestoga, from which that type of covered wagon takes its name.[82] Even though Ann and Sankey did not travel with their family group, they would have traveled in a larger train with other families who also wanted to try their fortunes in western Virginia.

The scarcity of clear documentation of the Dixons' years in the Shenandoah Valley makes it difficult to precisely determine where they lived and what they were doing between 1790 and 1806. For this part of Ann's life, methods other than examining traditional records like taxes and deeds can be used to place the family in Rockbridge County and possibly further down in Montgomery County, Virginia. This is where the Dixons' naming patterns and childbearing practices become the most important piece of evidence of their residence in Virginia, supported by Ann's *The Mother's Catechism*, one of her few possessions that has been preserved.

Fertility rates and childbearing practices during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have long been a source of fascination for demographers and historians alike. Recent studies tend to agree that during the eighteenth century until the

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81 Warren R. Hofstra, ed., *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 124; Hofstra and Raitz, 110.

82 Parke Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South: How Scotch-Irish and Germanics Settled the Uplands* (1973; rpt., Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 2008), 27.

American Revolution, fertility rates were high in the thirteen colonies, and then they took a noticeable plunge in the 1780s for the majority of the white population.[83] However, birth rates in the eighteenth century are particularly difficult to determine because of incomplete church records, loss of family Bibles, and inadequate census records. Baptismal records, especially in frontier areas, were often destroyed in church fires or misplaced. Families often recorded the births of their children in family Bibles, which have a greater tendency to disappear when the generations become more remote from the original recorders. The first national census was not taken until 1790; during the colonial period, census taking was a scattered, unreliable affair because many colonists distrusted the intended purposes of British officials asking specific questions about families. When colonists did comply with census takers, they often undercounted young children, especially girls. In many cases, census takers merely counted all females in a household together, dividing only the men into separate categories.[84] Censuses often did not accurately reflect the ratio of children to their birth mother as many families apprenticed children out or, as in Ann's case, sent them to relatives to raise. For example, if a census had been taken of Reverend Roan's household in 1770, and if this particular census taker divided the household into useful categories, he would have recorded six children in a household with an adult male and female. To a demographer, this would appear as though the Roans had six living children; however, in reality only four children were the result of

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[83] Susan E. Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 18-19, 106.

[84] Ibid., 32.

their union and two were wards. The possibility of such an error has to be worked into the demographer's calculations, especially in regards to the crude birth ratio.

Because many of the births, deaths, and marriages of Ann's family members have been preserved over several generations, family patterns can more easily be compared to studies of demographers and other historians. Historian Susan E. Klepp, in *Revolutionary Conceptions*, a study of the change in birth rates and the rise in family planning from 1760 to 1820, maintains that during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, male and female colonists' ideas about childbearing were similar. Men saw the presence of many children as a sign of their virility and wealth, while women equated large families with their femininity.[85] Klepp argues that women helped maintain the patriarchal system by viewing childbearing as a life-long endeavor rather than actively planning birthing schedules.[86] Women married in their late teens or early twenties, immediately began families, leaving eighteen months to two years in between births, and continued having children until they reached menopause or died. By 1763, the year of Ann's birth, the birth rate in the colonies had begun to decline, and the eight or more children common in the early eighteenth century was reduced to an average of seven by 1800, five by 1850.[87] However, birth rates on the frontier remained statistically higher than those in longer-settled areas.

How did Ann's childbearing practices compare to her family members and the results of recent demographic studies, and how can they reinforce the idea that she and

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[85] Ibid., 61.

[86] Ibid., 67.

[87] Ibid., 8.

Sankey were living in what was still considered a frontier area in Virginia? In the first half of the eighteenth century when Ann's grandmother and mother were having children, the western section of Chester County was still considered frontier and the edge of civilization in Pennsylvania. Ann's paternal grandparents, James and Isabella Cochran, were born in 1698 and 1699 respectively, and married in 1723 when they were about twenty-three and twenty-five years old. Isabella immediately began bearing children; her oldest child, Anne, was born on March 25, 1724, when she was twenty-four years old. The amount of time between Isabella's early births coincided with colonial childbearing trends, as she left just over two years and under three between the births of her six oldest children. She only deviated from the pattern by leaving over three years between the birth of her sixth child, Jane, and her last child, James. Isabella was thirty-eight years old when her seventh child was born in 1738.[88] If Isabella bore any children who died young or were born after James, they were not memorialized in writing. All seven of Isabella's children reached maturity, all but James married, and of the married siblings, only Jane remained childless.

George and Nancy Cochran's childbearing practices are not as easily tracked as his mother's. Of their children, only the oldest, Isabella, has a definitive birthdate. Ann's birthdate is contested although the year is certain; John could only give an approximate date, and only the ages at death of two others were recorded. George and Nancy were younger when they married than were his parents, about twenty-two and eighteen respectively, and Nancy gave birth to her oldest child, Isabel, within the first year of

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[88] Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

marriage. Nancy bore seven children from December 1751 until either April or August 1763, about a thirteen-year period, almost identical to the fourteen reproductive years endured by her mother-in-law. If Nancy bore her seven children at the same rate as her mother-in-law, children would have been born in two-year increments: Isabel in 1751, James in 1753, Jane in 1755, Sarah in 1757, John in 1759, Hugh Henry in 1761, and Ann in 1763.[89] This matches Ann's birth year, as well as one of the years John gave as his birth year in his Revolutionary War pension application.[90] Both James and Hugh Henry died as young children, and Nancy passed away only six years after Ann's birth. No subsequent births were recorded, suggesting that Nancy, like her mother-in-law, ended her childbearing practices in her thirties.[91]

Ann's paternal aunts and uncles exhibited different childbearing practices: Anne Roan gave birth to eight children, Stephen's wife Jenny bore nine children, John's wife Gertrude bore at least three children with him and at least two from a previous marriage, Robert's wife Janet had one child before her death, and Jane and Reverend Alexander Mitchel had no children.[92] Ann's relations had children prior to the American Revolution, but her own post-war childbearing practices more closely resembled those of her mother, grandmother, and aunts Anne Roan and Jenny Cochran than they did those of her East Coast aunt Gertrude. Ann and Sankey married when they were about twenty-five and

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[89] Ibid.

[90] Franklin County Historical Society, *Cemetery Records of Franklin County Tennessee*, (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), 101; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers; John Cochran, Pension.

[91] Gunderson, 63.

[92] Saffron, 15, 43; Cochran, *A Genealogical Account of the Cochran Family*.

thirty, respectively, much older than the earlier two generations of Cochrans. A birth record of their children written by Sankey and preserved by Ann showed that like her mother and grandmother, Ann gave birth to seven children, John, Matthew Lyle, Robert, Nancy Henry, Isabella, Mary Roan, and Margaret Ingles, from 1789 to 1807, which was the average number for women around 1800.[93] Unlike them, she placed more time between births and drew out her childbearing years until she was forty-four. According to Klepp, Ann deviated from late eighteenth century national trends as many women of her social class stopped having children in their mid-thirties. A possible reason is that she continued to migrate to frontier areas during her childbearing years.[94] Just over a year after her marriage to Sankey, Ann gave birth to her first child, and when he died, Ann immediately became pregnant with her second child, Matthew. Ann placed just over two years in between the births of Matthew, Robert, and Nancy.

The pattern changed with her last three children. She gave birth to her fifth child, Isabella, around five and a half years after her fourth child, Nancy. Mary followed Isabella over three years later, and finally Margaret two and a half years later.[95] There are several explanations for the change in pattern. It might be related to family-limiting principles that became common by 1790. By spacing births farther apart, Ann gave herself more time to physically recover from giving birth and nursing while still performing household duties. Or, it could be related to Ann and Sankey's migratory patterns. After giving birth to John, the young family moved to Virginia, and she did not

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[93] Ann Dixon, Pension.

[94] Klepp, 117, 259.

[95] Ann Dixon, Pension.

have her second child until 1792. Around 1800, the family moved once again, this time to Knoxville, which might explain the large gap between Nancy's and Isabella's births. Even though the spacing between births and number of childbearing years increased for Ann, compared to her mother and grandmother, the number of children born remained the same. Ann's experience bolsters Klepp's estimation that frontier settlements lagged behind the East Coast in lowering the number of children, though her spacing between births mimicked that of more populated areas.[96]

Ann's childbearing practices are consistent with living in a more remote, frontier area, but it is her and Sankey's naming patterns that support Elizabeth Sturtevant's assertion that the family lived in Rockbridge County.[97] Ann and Sankey seemed to have shared the naming of their children; it appears that Sankey had more influence over the boys' names, and Ann the girls'. The oldest son was most likely named after Sankey's father, John Dixon, a nod to the traditional patrilineal naming system. Conveniently, the name also could have also honored Reverend John Roan.[98] It is the name bestowed upon their second son that places Ann and Sankey in or near Rockbridge County in 1792. Matthew Lyle was born on January 24, 1792, and was named after a local Presbyterian revivalist minister, Reverend Matthew Lyle, who received his license in April of the same year in Lexington, the seat of Rockbridge County.[99] This indicates that Ann and

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[96] Klepp, 54.

[97] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[98] Klepp, 63.

[99] William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical*, 2nd ser. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1855), 403-404.

Sankey were either living in Rockbridge County when they first moved to Virginia or in a surrounding county and most likely knew Reverend Matthew Lyle personally. Robert undoubtedly received his name in memory of Sankey's brother who perished in Quebec during the Revolutionary War.[100]

On the other hand, the daughters' names reflected women with whom Ann shared a close relationship. Nancy Henry's namesake was Ann's mother, Nancy Henry Cochran, and Mary Roan was named for Ann's closest female cousin, Mary Roan Stockman. Isabella is a bit more challenging; she could have been named for Ann's sister, Ann's grandmother, or Sankey's sister. Their youngest child, Margaret Ingles, was probably named after a woman named Margaret Ingles whose family lived in Montgomery and Wythe Counties, farther south on the Great Wagon Road.[101] This indicates that Sankey and Ann probably left Rockbridge County and possibly lived near Margaret Ingles and her husband John in Montgomery County before reaching their next destination. Without tax records or land deeds to pinpoint Ann and Sankey's residence from 1791-1806, the names they gave to Matthew Lyle and Margaret Ingles trace the family's journey from the northern Shenandoah Valley as far south as Montgomery County near the New River.

In addition to providing an interesting way to identify possible residences for Ann and Sankey in the 1790s, their naming patterns suggest other changes in Ann and Sankey's mentality concerning family bonds. It is possible that they wanted to break the

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100 Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford*, 5.

101 John Vogt and T. Williams Kethley, Jr., *Wythe County Marriages, 1790-1850* (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1984), 64; John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers (West Virginia and Ohio): Historical Sketches of the First White Settlers West of the Alleghenies 1748 and After* (1886; rpt., Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 144-147.

tradition of recycling family names in specific patterns, thus symbolically severing ties with their extended families in Pennsylvania. Ann and Sankey chose names that meant something special to them on both a familial and friendship basis. Naming children after people they were especially fond of might also indicate the importance of sentimentality now being associated with both marriage and children. Their children were not merely free laborers or patrilineal line perpetuators, as many historians believe children were viewed in the colonial era, but as little "pledges" upon whom their parents bestowed sentimental names.[102] Perhaps the colonial notion of children as essential to fulfilling generations and passing on the paternal surname encouraged Ann's great-grandfather, "Deaf" Robert Cochran, to record the family's descent in the Cochran manuscript. He wanted to ensure that even though they were geographically removed from their relatives in Ulster, their descent was still intact. Ann and Sankey performed a similar split in geographical lineage, separating themselves from their family in Pennsylvania and moving to new territory; however, they were less concerned with using family names to remember their heritage and more interested in memorializing relationships with specific friends and family members.

Another convincing piece of evidence that Ann and Sankey spent some years along the Great Wagon Road in Virginia is Ann's *The Mother's Catechism*. This small pamphlet is one of the few possessions of Ann's that has been preserved, and its worn pages indicate that it was a much-used and well-loved item. John Wise printed the pamphlet in Staunton in the late eighteenth century. Wise printed newspapers and

[102] Klepp, 109, 111.

pamphlets for both the English- and German-speaking inhabitants of the Shenandoah Valley.[103] Interestingly, on the reverse side of the title page, either Ann or Sankey recorded Matthew Lyle's birthdate, and under that notation is written "Decem^{r} the 21st 1805." This date is possibly the date of purchase or the date it was made a present to Ann as it does not correspond with any of the other children's birth or death dates. This indicates that the Dixons might have been still living in Virginia in 1805, but without any other context, it could represent another significant event entirely. Several other sections contain little bits of writing, some in differing hands. Some of the more interesting pieces include "Sankey Dixon" scrawled multiple times on the title page, the names "Joseph Munroe Thomas Munroe" drawn on page eighteen, the phrase "Do as you would be done by" written on page nineteen, and "Ann Dix-- han--" possibly written by Ann herself on page twenty-seven.[104] Unfortunately, as few examples of either Ann's or Sankey's handwriting exists, it is hard to determine who wrote the other notes in the catechism.

This catechism would have been very important to Ann as a Presbyterian because the information within embodied the basic principles of Calvinism. During the English Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century, members of the Kirk of Scotland and Church of England gathered at Westminster Abbey in order to bring the two churches closer together in their beliefs, the ultimate goal being to remove Episcopalianism from the Church of England and replace it with Calvinism. The meeting resulted in the creation of

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103 *The Mother's Catechism*, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Kenneth W. Keller, "The Outlook of Rhinelanders on the Virginia Frontier," in *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier*, ed. Michael J. Puglisi (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 113.

104 *The Mother's Catechism*, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

the Westminster Confession of Faith as well as the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the former intended for more spiritually mature adherents, the latter for beginners.[105] The Kirk of Scotland accepted the Catechisms, and they became a valuable teaching tool, second only to the Bible. Ann's catechism was specifically designed for children as an introduction to the Shorter Catechism and as a tool for mothers, or parents, to teach their children to fear and love God.[106] It begins with an open letter to "Parents and Heads of Families," instructing parents in the importance of spiritually educating their children at a young age. Parents had an obligation to their children:

> A careful, early, pious education has often been blessed by God, to the temporal and eternal benefit of many, who have had the happiness to enjoy it; and that the pernicious life and miserable end of many others might be traced back to a criminal neglect of their education; it is therefore a great trust which is committed to you, and much, under God, depends on the part you act therein.[107]

It also advised parents to be patient and give "affectionate instruction" when discouraging bad behavior, rather than "chastising in passion and wrath."[108] Ann probably agreed with these sentiments more than most, as growing up with her uncle John and aunt Anne, she was constantly taught the importance of both her spiritual and secular education. The majority of the catechism contained a series of questions and answers that were meant to be spoken aloud by Ann and repeated by her children in a repetitive manner, a form of spiritual teaching known as catechesis. They covered issues including a belief in Jesus' resurrection and the Trinity, the importance of the covenant and commandments, and an

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105 John L. Carlson and David W. Hall, eds., *To Glorify and Enjoy God: A Commemoration of the 350th Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 107.

106 Ibid., 111.

107 *The Mother's Catechism*, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

108 Ibid.

examination of The Lord's Prayer. The ultimate hope was that her children would be able to answer each question correctly in one sitting. From the amount of wear and tear on the catechism, it is apparent that Ann took her children's religious training seriously, and its preservation signifies its personal value to Ann as well as what her descendants believed to be a central part of her life.

Although traditional sources do not shed any light on Ann's immediate family's residence in Virginia in the 1790s and early 1800s, information can be gleaned from nontraditional sources and methodologies. Together, Elizabeth Sturtevant's statement that her grandparents lived in Rockbridge County, the names Ann and Sankey chose for their children, Matthew Lyle and Margaret Ingles, and the publication place of Ann's catechism adds up to fairly reliable proof that the Dixons lived in and south of the Shenandoah Valley for part of their married life. Public records pertaining to the Dixons once again surfaced during their residence in Sankey's next destination: Knox County, Tennessee.

"In the County of Knox and State of Tennessee"[109]

Sankey, apparently looking for a new place to settle, moved his family to Knox County in the new state of Tennessee. James White founded White's Fort, which later became the city of Knoxville; both the city and the county were named for Secretary of War Henry Knox.[110] Ann herself had a personal connection with Knox County and Tennessee through Archibald Roane, the same cousin by marriage who had also

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[109] Ann Dixon, Pension.

[110] Lucile Deaderick, ed. *Heart of the Valley: A History of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1976), 3.

benefited from Reverend John Roan's generosity many years earlier. He instilled in Archibald a love of classic literature as well as Latin and Greek. Archibald, now a distinguished lawyer, combined his intellectual skills with those of Reverend Samuel Carrick, and the two men served as the first educators in the vicinity of Knoxville. Both men were dedicated to establishing a respectable system of higher education on the frontier, and in 1794 their dream was realized as they along with other prominent Knoxville men were named as trustees of Blount College, now the University of Tennessee.[111]

Archibald, as described by Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, was a very tall man, ambitionless, and humble, and gaining the admiration of his fellow East Tennesseans, was elected the second governor of the State of Tennessee.[112] He only served one term, from 1801-1803. Archibald was defeated in two successive gubernatorial elections by John Sevier, possibly because he had angered Sevier by passing him over as the militia district general in favor of Andrew Jackson.[113] When Ann and Sankey reached Knoxville, Ann had the distinction of being a cousin of the cultured second governor of the state. Although she was living several states away from the majority of her blood kin, it was a member of her kinship network related by marriage who placed Ann and her family at the

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[111] William Rule, ed., *Standard History of Knoxville, Tennessee: With Full Outline of the Natural Advantages, Early Settlement, Territorial Government, Indian Troubles, and General and Particular History of the City Down to the Present Time* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1900), 80-81.

[112] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 541.

[113] Robert M. McBride and Dan M. Robison, *Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1861* (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1975), Vol. 1, 621-623.

top of East Tennessee society and whose connections would come to her rescue years later.

Sankey was taxed as living in Captain Scott's district of Knox County in both 1807 and 1808. In neither year did he own land, and he was taxed rather unremarkably for one poll.[114] Tax records earlier than 1806 have not survived in Knox County, so it is impossible to determine if Sankey and Ann were in the county earlier. These two tax records give more information about Ann and Sankey's life than is noticeable at first glance. First, as Sankey was taxed as a resident in 1807, the birth of their youngest child, Margaret Ingles, born on April 21, 1807, most likely occurred in Tennessee, even though she was named for a woman her parents were acquainted with in Virginia.[115] Second, Sankey's disappearance from the tax lists helps to establish his age. The Pennsylvania historian William Henry Egle gave his birth year as 1759, which would have been supplied by family members such as Elizabeth Sturtevant.[116] Without a Bible or church record to confirm this information, this date is just a plausible guess. However, Tennessee tax records provide a better candidate than 1759. After Tennessee became a state in 1796, one of the earliest acts detailed that "all free males and male servants between the age of twenty-one and fifty years" were to be taxed.[117] Sankey paid taxes in Knox County in 1807 and 1808, but he did not continue to do so in the years following, which indicates

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114 Sinkey Dixon, Tax, 1807, County Tax Book, Vol. 1, p. 52, Knox County Archives; Sinkey Dixon, Tax, 1808, County Tax Book, Vol. 1, p. 87, Knox County Archives.

115 Ann Dixon, Pension.

116 Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 128.

117 Pollyanna Creekmore, "Early East Tennessee Taxpayers," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publication* 26 (1954): 68.

that he turned fifty-one in 1809.[118] This indicates that his birth year was most likely 1758 rather than 1759.

Even though Sankey was probably relieved that he no longer had to pay taxes, he had other monetary obligations to fulfill in 1809. He did some sort of business with partners of the trading firm Smith, King, and Nelson, for which he signed a note promising to pay $52 the next day. Sankey did not pay his debt, and in due course, he was summoned to appear before the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.[119] He attended court during the January sessions of 1810, and in July the judgment was settled in the favor of the plaintiffs. After all the additional fees were applied to his original debt, Sankey owed, and finally paid, a total of $65.28.[120] It was not uncommon for debt cases to be brought before the local court in Knox County; nonetheless, Ann was probably embarrassed that her husband found himself in that predicament.

By 1814, Sankey and Ann's children were growing up. Matthew, the oldest, was now twenty-two years old and studying to become a doctor like Ann's uncle, Dr. John Cochran. Twenty-year-old Robert was apprenticed to a local cabinetmaker, learning to make tables and other furniture.[121] Ann's fifth child, Isabella, died in 1801 when she was a little over a month old, leaving Ann and Sankey at home with their three remaining

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118 Sinkey Dixon, Tax, 1808.

119 William J. Smith and William D. Nelson vs. Sankey Dixon, Knox County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Vol. 4, Docket 2780, case file, Knox County Archives.

120 Smith & Nelson, surviving partners vs. Sankey Dixon, Knox County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Vol. 4, p. 333-334, Knox County Archives.

121 William Henry Egle, ed. *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1895; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 2, 94.

daughters, eighteen-year-old Nancy, ten-year-old Mary, and seven-year-old Margaret, or Peggy as she was affectionately known.[122] That year proved to be a stressful and heartbreaking for Ann and her children. On November 5, Sankey suddenly became ill with an unknown ailment, and though the family was concerned, the symptoms were not alarming until the last day of his life. Matthew reached his father's bedside only three hours before Sankey's death on November 11. Although Ann's personal feelings about his death were not recorded, if they were anything like her son Matthew's, she would have been devastated. Matthew revealed his sadness in a letter written on November 25 to his mother's cousin and father's close friend, Flavel Roan, which also detailed the extent that Ann, Sankey, and Flavel had allowed their correspondance to dwindle and finally stop for a period of six years. This letter was preserved by Scott Clingan of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, a descendant of Jane Roan Clignan, Ann's first cousin and Flavel's sister.[123] Matthew first reccommends himself to Flavel, hoping that his letter was not impertinent because of the great friendship that existed between Flavel and his father. Of his father's death, he wrote:

> The tale is doleful and casts a gloom on my mind that renders my mental faculties almost useless. Yet I must announce to you that he [Sankey Dixon] who was your intimate friend and companion, and my father, is no more a beholder of temporal things, but his soul has fled in quest of more propitious climes. His constitution was strong and unimpaired, but his soul obeyed the summons of the king of terrors on Friday night, the 11th of this month, after delaying till the agony of his mortal part forced it to retreat.[124]

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[122] Ann Dixon, Pension.

[123] Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st and 2nd ser., Vol. 2, 93. When Egle published the letter, the year of the letter incorrectly transcribed as 1812 instead of the correct 1814. Matthew's service record, Ann's pension, and a calendar for 1814 prove the mistake.

[124] Ibid., 2:95.

Matthew also informed Flavel that Sankey's death occurred at a particularly difficult time for his immediate family because he had to leave immediately for six-month campaign in the War of 1812. Just as his great-uncle, Dr. John Cochran, used the French and Indian War to gain real experience as a doctor, Matthew accepted a similar opportunity to serve as a surgeon's mate in the Tennessee militia.[125] He felt that he could not relinquish such a career move, but though his "mother and three sisters will be desolate for some time," he informed Flavel that he had "one brother...He is living about three miles from mother and can give her some attention."[126]

Other sections of Matthew's letter to Flavel not only demonstrate how estranged Ann and Sankey had become from their relatives in Pennsylvania, but how much Matthew desired to reconnect with his kin that he had most likely never met in person. In 1808, Flavel had written to Sankey to give him the addresses of the Cochran-Dixon kinship network, possibly including people like Ann's brother John and sister Jean Thompson. The 1808 letter from Flavel was, according to Matthew, the "last information we have had from any of our relatives," and he asked Flavel to write to him, Ann, or his brother Robert concerning the family.[127] Flavel undoubtedly received the letter; and based on the information contained in a letter addressed to Ann from John in 1816, it seems that Flavel and Matthew began corresponding.[128]

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125 Matthew L. Dixon, War of 1812 Muster Rolls – Tennessee Militia and Volunteers, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Saffron, 9.

126 Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st and 2nd ser., Vol. 2, 95.

127 Ibid., Vol. 2, 95-96.

128 John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

Ann found herself in a predicament. With both of her sons away from home and her husband dead, she was forced to find a way to maintain herself and her daughters. Once again, Ann's living arrangements were threatened at the death of a loved one, this time her husband. However, unlike the earlier pattern of relying on the hospitality of her blood relatives, Ann instead took advantage of neighborly connections forged through her relationship with a cousin through marriage. The answer to her problems materialized in the form of her good friends, Hugh Lawson White and his wife Elizabeth. Elizabeth Sturtevant wrote years later that Ann considered White "among her ideals of perfect men," and that he acted as "more than a brother to her" during her time of crisis. Hugh and Elizabeth White allowed Ann, Nancy, Mary, and Margaret to live on their farm until Robert came of age.[129] Hugh Lawson White was the son of Knoxville's founder, General James White. He studied law and languages under Ann's cousin Archibald Roane and Reverend Samuel Carrick in the 1780s, and eventually married Carrick's daughter, Elizabeth.[130] Archibald possibly made their introduction when Ann and Sankey first arrived in Knoxville, and their relationship grew over the years as both neighbors attended the First Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, led by Reverend Carrick.[131] White became a prominent politician, and while Ann was living with him, he was serving on the

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[129] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[130] McBride, 622.

[131] Ann Dixon, Pension; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

Tennessee's Court of Errors and Appeals and as the president of the Bank of Tennessee.[132]

Ann and her daughters probably lived with the Whites for about a year. Robert turned twenty-one in April of 1815, and in late December of 1815, he purchased one-fourth of an acre near Knoxville from Hugh Lawson White.[133] It was probably at this time that Ann and her daughters left the White's farm to settle on Robert's land. In 1817, Robert purchased an adjoining lot from Rufus Morgan.[134]

At some point after receiving Matthew's letter, Flavel disseminated its contents to various family members in Pennsylvania, and of those relations, at least one person wrote to Ann. A letter addressed to her from Harrisburg on August 25, 1816, from her brother John reached her in Knoxville. Similarly to Matthew's letter, John's missive to his sister reveals how disconnected from her family Ann had really become. The kinship bonds that had once been so strong had been reduced to her brother musing in the letter whether she was even alive. The letter has a list-like feeling, most of the information concerning which of their "friends" were alive and which were dead.[135] But even such seemingly mundane facts were more news concerning her family than Ann had received in a long time.

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132 Larry Schweikart, "Tennessee Banks in the Antebellum Period, Part 1," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 120-121.

133 Hugh L. White to Robert Dixon, Deed, 1817, Vol. P-1, p. 357-358, Knox County Archives.

134 Rufus Morgan to Robert Dixon, Deed, 1817, Vol. Q-1, p. 129-131, Knox County Archives.

135 John Cochran to Ann Dixon, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

This letter also serves as an interpretation of what kinship and family meant to the sender, John, and the receiver, Ann. John only relates information about family who would be of interest to Ann, thus defining which family members constituted Ann's kinship network by 1816. Ann's siblings and their spouses were the people mentioned first. John told Ann that he was currently working as the Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania and residing in Harrisburg with his wife Sarah and sons George and Robert. Both of Ann's sisters, Isabel Hamill and Sarah Robertson, had died, along with Sarah's husband William, but her sister Jean Thompson was still living in Buffalo Valley.[136]

The next category of important kin encompassed their paternal first cousins, children of Reverend John and Anne Roan. Ann grew up with her Roan cousins and would have been chiefly interested in their condition, especially Mary Roan Stockman. Mary's husband had died, and she was living with her children near Pittsburg. John made particular mention of Flavel Roan, who "remains unmarried and has so far spent his life pretty much in the same manner he did in the times when you were acquainted with him." Flavel remained a confirmed bachelor until he died in 1817. Two other cousins, Samuel Cochran and William Miller, required special attention as well. Samuel had previously served as the Surveyor General for Pennsylvania, but had now taken up residence at the old Cochran tavern in Chester County, which he continued to run after the death of his father, Stephen. John remembered some of Samuel's siblings in a short postscript at the end of the letter, and rather than addressing them as "our friends" or "our cousins," John placed them into kinship context by introducing them as either "Samuel's brother" or Samuel's sister." This simple phrase distinguishes those cousins as after thoughts, not as

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[136] Ibid.

significant members of either John's or Ann's close kin. William Miller was Ann's maternal first cousin, son of her mother's sister, Isabella Henry Miller. John often had the pleasure of seeing him in town while William served in the legislature. He also reported the relatives of which he had no news of, including their mother's family living in Maryland and their father's family living in "York state," presumably the family of Dr. John Cochran and Gertrude Schuyler Cochran who died in 1807 and 1813, respectively. The remaining family members discussed in the letter were, for the most part, children of Ann's siblings and cousins, and he omitted others of whom she "had no personal knowledge therefore not necessary to enumerate."[137]

John concluded his letter with rather pragmatic words concerning his and Ann's future:

> I would be glad to have a letter from you as it appears likely that we shall never have an opportunity of seeing one another in this world, and this is the only method by which we can converse together. You and I must both soon expect to leave this world and if we are prepared, we ought not to regret the leaving it for there is certainly very little in it worth desiring to live for.[138]

Contrary to John's dour sentiments about the longevity of their lives, he lived to see the 1830s and Ann herself lived well into the 1850s. No other letters between John and Ann, if any were written, survive. Perhaps Ann took the opportunity to write to her brother and reestablished contact with some members of her kinship network in Pennsylvania. But for the moment, Ann was content to concern herself mainly with the comings and goings of her immediate family.

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[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

During Ann's years as a married woman, she and her husband gradually distanced themselves both geographically and emotionally from their kinship networks. They migrated to Virginia and then to Tennessee without the comfort of their close relations and chose to focus their energies on their immediate family. In Ann's time of need following Sankey's death, she placed her trust in family friends rather than her blood kin as she had done in previous years. In the final chapter of her life, Ann first turned to her adult children for her security, and then took steps to become financially independent. As the head of her branch of the extended Cochran-Dixon kinship group, Ann deeply involved herself in the lives of her children and grandchildren. Therefore, Ann's influence can be easily seen in the ways her descendants conducted themselves, particularly her daughter Margaret and her children.

After the second war with the British ended, Ann's oldest son Matthew left Knoxville and moved to Winchester, the seat of Franklin County, to begin his career and in search of other opportunities. In 1822, Ann made one last major journey and followed her son to Winchester. During the next thirty-five years of her life, Ann dominated the family in Winchester, took her financial situation into her own hands, and appeared in more public records in those years than she had in her first fifty-nine.

CHAPTER IV

"LAST SURVIVING MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DIXON FAMILY"[1]

Ann made her home in Winchester, Tennessee, for her last thirty-five years; in fact, this was the longest period of time Ann spent in one place in her life. As Ann grew older, she did not gradually recede from family life in favor of the younger generations that surrounded her. Instead her personality, needs, and overall influence within her family increased due to both her "public" life and her involvement in the private lives of her children and grandchildren. Public records document this final period of her life more thoroughly than the previous fifty-nine years, in part due to her situation as a *feme sole* and in part to the evolution of and creation of records that made women more visible. As a single, educated woman not afraid to exert herself in public or in private, Ann wielded considerable influence over her descendants.

Kinship connections were important to maintaining influence, but at this time in her life, Ann was more concerned with maintaining good relationships with her children. Consequently, she emphasized the multi-generational household and diminished her effective kin to a smaller number of members, with her as the guiding matriarch. However, this does not imply that Ann rejected the foundations of her upbringing in a Scots-Irish family group, including education, religion, and involvement in the community. Instead, during these years she encouraged her children and grandchildren to

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[1] William Henry Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford with "The Soldier's Tale" A Story of the People of Derry in 1776* (Harrisburg, PA: Dauphin County Historical Society, 1878), 5.

perpetuate the family's social prominence that had existed since the early eighteenth century.

Ann's son Matthew, however, continued the traditional approach to maintaining his family's reputation even though removed from extended family in Pennsylvania. He understood that to ensure their social standing in Winchester, he had to marry into a well-established family group who would support him because of their affinal connections.[2] Matthew found the perfect woman to share his life and whose family members shared his ambitions. By living with Matthew when she moved to Winchester, Ann benefited materially and socially from her association with Matthew's new kinship group. Ann, however, had no intention of being overshadowed by Matthew or his wife's relations, nor did she slip into old age and rely completely on her children to care for her. Instead, Ann became more visibly and vocally involved in the lives of her children, particularly Matthew and Margaret, as well as in the lives of her grandchildren by Margaret.

"Doctor M. L. Dixon of Winchester, Tennessee"[3]

During the 1810s and 1820s, Ann watched and consulted her children on their various life choices, from moving to new areas of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi to marrying their spouses. Robert moved to Selma, Alabama, where he was engaged as a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, and Matthew established himself as a physician in Winchester, Tennessee. Mary and Nancy both married respectably, Mary to James Martin and Nancy to Charles Gaines Nimmo. Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Nimmo made their homes in

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[2] Lorri Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 98.

[3] Lunsford P. Landell, ed., *The Transylvania Journal of Medicine, and the Associate Sciences* (Lexington, KY: J. Clarke, 1833), Vol. 6, 157.

Shelbyville, Tennessee, and Louisville, Mississippi, respectively.[4] Ann probably witnessed the dispersal of her children with mixed emotions. Though she missed their company, she was undoubtedly pleased that her daughters ran their own homes and that her sons had entered worthy professions. Of all her children, Matthew and Margaret received the majority of Ann's attention because they spent more of their adult life with her.

Matthew moved to Winchester, Franklin County, between the end of his military service in mid 1815 and his first land purchase in early 1816.[5] Franklin County was established in 1807, and the town of Winchester was chosen as the county seat in 1809.[6] Winchester sat on a prime location on the stagecoach road running from Blountville in East Tennessee to Huntsville, Alabama, as well as on the Old Kentucky Road leading from Danville, Kentucky to Huntsville. As a result of the many travelers and immigrants passing through town, several hotels, a branch of the state bank, and other businesses sprang up.[7] A newly settled area with continual traffic was an ideal place for Matthew to establish a medical practice.

After living in Franklin County for a short period of time, Matthew married twenty-seven-year-old Elizabeth Henderson, daughter of a Revolutionary War veteran,

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[4] William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies; Scotch-Irish and German* (Harrisburg, PA: Lane S. Hart, 1886), 128; James Martin, Bedford County, Tennessee, 1830, The United States Census; C. G. Nimmo, Winston County, Mississippi, 1850, The United States Census, Slave Schedule.

[5] Matthew L. Dixon, War of 1812 Muster Rolls – Tennessee Militia and Volunteers, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Thomas E. Partlow, *Franklin County, Tennessee Wills, 1808-1876 & Deeds, 1801-1840* (1991; rpt., Greenville, SC: Sothern Historical Press, 2001), 70.

[6] *The Goodspeed Histories of Giles, Lincoln, Franklin, & Moore Counties of Tennessee* (1886; rpt., Columbia, TN: Woodward & Stinson Printing Company, 1972), 789-790.

[7] Ibid., 797.

Colonel Samuel Henderson, and his wife, Elizabeth Calloway Henderson. Colonel Henderson was well acquainted with Daniel Boone, and his brother, Richard Henderson, founded the Transylvania Land Company. Samuel Henderson and his wife figured prominently in a famous captivity story, in which Elizabeth, her sister, and Daniel Boone's daughter were abducted from Boonesborough, Kentucky, by a Shawnee raiding party during the summer of 1776. The Shawnees held the three girls captive for three days until they were rescued by Daniel Boone, Samuel Henderson, and other friends and relatives. Elizabeth and Samuel were married a month after the incident. Matthew married their daughter in 1816, the year of Colonel Henderson's death.[8] Matthew immediately purchased land to provide a place for him and his bride to live, and the two land purchases he made in and around Winchester in 1816 only foreshadowed what was to come in the next decade.[9]

The 1820s saw both the rise and fall of Matthew's fortunes in Middle Tennessee. Though he and Elizabeth resided on a town lot in Winchester, he saw the prestige and wealth that a plantation could bring in addition to his medical practice. In 1820, he made two sizeable land purchases in Franklin County; he bought a 150-acre tract for $1,500 and a 135-acre tract for $3,300.[10] The next year, he purchased 100 more acres for another

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8 William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), Vol. 3, 105-106.

9 Partlow, 83.

10 Leonard Tarrent to Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1821, Book H, p. 442-443, Franklin County Courthouse; Thomas Gardner to Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1820, Book H, p. 439, Franklin County Courthouse.

large sum of $2,650.[11] These 385 acres were purchased from other landowners who resided in Franklin County, but that was not the only way to accumulate land in Tennessee. Many Revolutionary War soldiers who fought for North Carolina were issued grants in reward for their service. Most soldiers or their descendants sold to speculators or others who were willing to move to the property. His father, Sankey, had done so a generation earlier. Matthew fell into the latter category of purchasers and was listed as the assignee for soldiers or heirs on the warrants. The majority of the grant land that Matthew obtained was located in Marion County, the county directly east of Franklin. By the late 1820s, he held warrants for over 1,400 acres.[12]

When in 1822 Matthew enlarged his household to include Ann and his sister Margaret, who had left Knoxville for Winchester, they understood that they would be living in his domain.[13] Matthew, with his wealth and consequence in Franklin County on the rise, provided Ann and Margaret with a degree of luxury. Ann was surrounded by material wealth that exceeded what her uncle John Roan and her father provided for her as a child. The house was decorated with several mirrors and brass candlesticks, and

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[11] George Russell to Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1821, Book H, p. 471-472, Franklin County Courthouse; George Russell to Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1821, Book H, p. 473-474, Franklin County Courthouse; Samuel Todd and George W. Higgins to Daniel Evans and Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1821, Book M, p. 35, Franklin County Courthouse; James Montgomery to Matthew L. Dixon, Deed, 1821, Book J, p. 488-489, Franklin County Courthouse.

[12] Barbara Sistler, Byron Sistler, and Samuel Sistler, *Tennessee Land Grants: Surnames A-K* (Nashville, TN: Byron Sistler & Associates, 1998), Vol. 1, 255.

[13] Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.

filled by a fine collection of furniture. She could travel about the county in the gig, or she could read the books in Matthew's library, which contained between 250-300 volumes.[14]

The life Ann enjoyed in the 1820s was forged and maintained by kinship connections that were essential in the southern plantation culture, though these connections were not due to Ann's direct involvement.[15] Instead, they were a consequence of Matthew's marriage to Elizabeth, whose family firmly established the Dixons as part of the county gentry. Elizabeth Dixon had many siblings, and all of them married into the most prominent families of Franklin County, including the Deckards, Estills, Spykers, Gillespies, and Quesenburys. In the absence of the extended Cochran-Dixon family ties, Matthew instead relied on his brothers-in-law Benjamin Deckard and Jonathan Spyker for mutual financial support and as business partners. They often had financial interests in the same tracts of land, served as each other's securities on payments, and founded and funded educational, spiritual, and social institutions in Winchester. Matthew's advantageous marriage connected his consanguineous relations to this large familial infrastructure, which provided the entire family group, including Ann, with resources and security necessary to flourish in that area of Tennessee.

Many of Winchester's leading families earned their wealth as physicians, lawyers, and merchants in combination with large farming operations. Matthew and Elizabeth ran a large enterprise that supported thirty-one people at its height, both free and enslaved.[16]

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14 Matthew L. Dixon to Benjamin Deckard, Deed, 1825, Book J, p. 536-537, Franklin County Courthouse.

15 Carolyn Earle Billingsley, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 43.

16 Matthew L. Dixon, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1830, The United States Census.

Though no evidence survives concerning the crops grown on the plantation, based on the region's profitable crops, it was likely a combination of cotton, wheat, and corn. Franklin County farmers sent thousands of bales of cotton yearly on flatboats to New Orleans where it was sold.[17] In addition, Matthew owned livestock, including five horses, thirty head of cattle, 130 hogs, and a large flock of sheep.[18]

But with plantations came the expectation of using slave labor to realize the land's potential, and the money resulting from such enterprises paid for the comfortable living arrangements Ann enjoyed in Matthew's home. Slavery was a harsh reality of large-scale farming in Middle Tennessee, and Matthew participated in this institution as fully as his other wealthy neighbors and his brothers-in-law. Ann was familiar with slavery; her uncle John Roan owned at least one slave, as did Ann's grandfather, James Cochran, before slavery was outlawed in Pennsylvania.[19] However, living with slavery on a comparatively larger scale in Winchester would have been a culture shock for her. This did not imply that Ann opposed the institution; she owned a man named Andrew at some point while living in Winchester. Although she referred to him as being "old" in her will, written in 1845, she may have purchased him when he was a younger man, possibly to work as a house slave.[20] Unless Ann sold Andrew, he most likely died between 1845 and her own death thirteen years later because there is no mention of him in her estate

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17 *The Goodspeed Histories*, 788, 789.

18 Matthew L. Dixon to Benjamin Deckard, 1825, p. 536-537.

19 James Cochran, Provincial Tax, 1765, p. 147, Chester County Archives.

20 Ann Dixon, Will, 1857, p. 353-354, Franklin County Courthouse.

settlement.[21] Ann interacted with Andrew as well as Matthew's slaves on a daily basis, and she was aware that enslaved people within the household outnumbered her own family members.

Ann's slave, Andrew, and the enslaved people owned by Matthew unwillingly participated in the larger industry of the interregional slave trade in the Upper South. In the eighteenth century colonies, the majority of slaves were purchased directly from slavers arriving from Africa.[22] Though some interregional trade occurred before the American Revolution, it increased in the South during the post-war republic. The catalysts for this included revolutionary ideals and the abolition of the slave trade by Congress. The rhetoric of equality and freedom stressed during the war made it difficult for many people to reconcile slavery with newly gained independence.[23] Members of the General Assembly in Ann's native Pennsylvania took the earliest initiative within the original colonies to end slavery by passing An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in 1780.[24] Gradual abolition dictated that any child born to an enslaved woman was born as an indentured servant rather than a slave, no additional slaves could be imported into the state, and no resident could participate in any aspect of the slave trade.[25] Unlike the

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21 Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, Book 1857-1861, p. 21, 499-500.

22 Steven Deyle, "The Irony of Liberty: Origins of the Domestic Slave Trade," *Journal of the Early Republic* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 38.

23 Ibid., 40.

24 Kali N. Gross, *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880-1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 25. The Vermont Republic included a clause in the constitution that made slavery illegal in 1777, though they did not officially become a state until 1791.

25 Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom By Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 103.

New England states that opted for instant abolition following the Revolutionary War, slavery was not officially abolished in Pennsylvania until 1847.[26]

Gradual and instant emancipation in the northern states, agricultural change in the Chesapeake, and expansion and migration into western regions led to the rise of the domestic slave trade. Many Chesapeake farmers began to grow less labor-intensive grain rather than tobacco, creating an excess of slaves, yet slave traders continued to bring new slaves from Africa into the states.[27] The oversaturation of slaves on the market also undercut their value. As a result, Congress did not face much opposition to abolishing the Atlantic slave trade in 1808.[28] With competition between newly arriving Africans removed, planters in Maryland and Virginia sold slaves to traders who in turn sold them to settlers in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.[29] Matthew, Ann, and their kinship group in Tennessee were part of the population who purchased slaves through interregional trade to manage grain crops and livestock, which did not require the number of slaves needed on tobacco or sugar cane plantations. The number of times an enslaved person was sold also increased during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Slaves were often sold multiple times, especially when they were used as securities against loans, and Matthew's pattern of frequently buying and selling slaves

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[26] Ibid., 111.

[27] Deyle, "Irony," 43.

[28] Ibid., 40.

[29] Ibid., 45.

corresponded with contemporary trends.[30] By the late antebellum years, Tennessee had evolved into an exporter of slaves to the Deep South and Texas.[31]

Records of slaves and slave life tend to be scarce unless particular measures were taken by their owners to ensure that operation records were preserved. Luckily, Matthew's financial woes in the 1820s and 1830s resulted in deeds in which many of his slaves' names, ages, monetary value, and physical descriptions were documented. These deeds, combined with the 1820 and 1830 censuses, provide some insight into the plantation environment that greeted Ann upon her arrival in Winchester. In 1820, Matthew, his wife Elizabeth, and their toddler Samuel, constituted the white members of the household, and the other seven members were their enslaved workers. The descriptions of the seven slaves – one male 26-44, one female 14-25, three males under 14, and two females under 14 – suggest that they could have been a family group.[32]

By 1825, Matthew found himself in an embarrassed situation; his frequent spending with borrowed money had caught up with him, and he was indebted to the Nashville Bank for $4,659. Benjamin Deckard and two others signed as securities on the notes to the Nashville Bank, which stipulated that if Matthew did not repay the loans, the possessions enumerated in the deed of mortgage would be sold to satisfy the debt. The most valuable pieces of movable property in his estate were his fifteen slaves:

> One negro woman named Harriet dark complexion with her two children Dolly & Jane…one negro woman named Becky with yellow complexion with her white child James…one negro woman named Marie dark complexion with her two

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[30] Ibid., 53-54, 57.

[31] Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 45.

[32] Matthew L. Dixon, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1820, The United States Census.

> children Washington & Mary…one negro girl named Juda dark complexion…one negro man name [sic] Ben dark complexion one negro man named Allen yellow complexion one negro man name Tony yellow complexion one negro boy named Ben dark yellow complexion one negro boy named Jo dark yellow one negro boy named Simon dark complexion ….[33]

From later deeds, the ages of some of the enslaved can be determined. Harriett was 30 years old in 1825, and her daughters Dolly and Jane were 7 and 5, respectively, thus making her and her two daughters possible candidates for the female between 14 and 35 and two females under 14 listed in the 1820 census. The older Ben is most likely the male between 26 and 44 in 1820 as he was 40 years old in 1825 and was the only man old enough to satisfy that category. Likewise, three of the boys, younger Ben at 16, Joe at 13, and Simon at 9, are potentially the three boys who were under 14 in 1820. Matthew purchased the other slaves in the five years between the census and his deed of mortgage in 1825. Sadly, though some of the slaves lived with the Dixons for years, they were still the victims of Matthew's financial mismanagement and were separated from their loved ones. He sold older and younger Ben, Allen, and Joe to Benjamin Deckard for $2,000 in 1825 to alleviate his debt.[34]

Matthew's deed carefully described the skin color of the majority of the slaves to further distinguish between them. Of all the slaves whose skin color was recorded, Becky's son, James, is of the most interest. James is the only slave who is referred to as "white."[35] Becky's child might have been the product of a union between her and another light-skinned slave. However, it was a common practice among some slave owners to

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[33] Matthew L. Dixon to Benjamin Deckard, Deed, p. 536.

[34] M. L. Dixon to Benjamin Deckard, Deed, 1825, Book J, p. 583, Franklin County Courthouse.

[35] Matthew L. Dixon to Benjamin Deckard, p. 536.

have sexual relations with their female slaves, which brings forth the possibility that Matthew was the father of James.[36] However, no hard evidence exists to support his paternity. Becky gave birth to another son, Peter, whose father is also unknown. Whether or not he had a relationship with Becky, in April 1826, Matthew sold her and her two sons to James Campbell.[37] Nine years later, Matthew was still struggling with debt, this time not only to the Nashville Bank, but also to the Planter's Bank, the Bank of the State of Tennessee, and to Benjamin Deckard. This time, Harriet, her six children, and one grandchild were to be auctioned from the courthouse steps if he failed to repay his loans.[38] Although the outcome is unknown, hopefully Harriet did not have to suffer through the sale and ensuing separation of her children.

Despite his problems with debt, owning a productive farm and conducting a thriving medical practice enabled him to provide well for his immediate family, and another integral part of Matthew's success in Winchester involved his active social life. He focused most of his attention on Freemasonry, Presbyterianism, and other associated social activities. Freemasonry became popular in the colonies during the early eighteenth century, and Pennsylvania boasted the earliest masonic gatherings. Freemasons quickly established lodges and built halls in new Tennessee counties, though they were subsumed

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[36] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 236-240.

[37] Matthew L. Dixon to James Campbell, Deed, 1826, Book J, p. 640, Franklin County Courthouse.

[38] Matthew L. Dixon to John Goodwin, Deed, 1835, Book O, p. 114-116, Franklin County Courthouse.

under the North Carolina Grand Lodge until Tennessee's was established in 1813.[39] On September 30, 1819, twelve years after Freemasons established a lodge in Winchester, Matthew penned a petition to the legislature, stating that:

> The undersigned respectfully showeth that whereas they are members of Winchester Lodge No. 26 of free and accepted masons and are subject to great inconvenience from the want of a suitable place to assemble, as they are unable to remedy the evil without assistance, they humbly pray that your honorable body would grant us the benefit of an act authorizing us to institute a lottery of Respectable capital, and the proceeds to go to the erection of a "Masonic hall."[40]

Two months later, the Tennessee Legislature granted the Freemasons' request, with Matthew and seven other members appointed trustees and responsible for "the scheme of a lottery and superintend the drawing of the same."[41] Unfortunately, the Winchester lodge's records have been lost or destroyed, so the extent of Matthew's involvement in the years following cannot be fully determined.[42] However, an obituary of written about Matthew's grandson, Joseph Dixon, stated that Matthew was an "eminent Mason and was engaged in writing a history of Masonry…at the time of his death."[43] Joining fraternal organizations was a sign of prestige and served to reinforce his and, by extension, Ann's place in society in Franklin County.

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39 Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in North Carolina and Tennessee* (Raleigh: Weaver and Lynch, 1906), 24, 28.

40 Legislative Petitions, 1819-123, RG 60, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

41 *Acts of a Local or Private Nature Passed at the First Session of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee: Begun and Held at Murfreesborough, on Monday, the Twentieth Day of September, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nineteen* (Nashville, TN: George Wilson, 1819), 131.

42 Walter E. Seifert, Jr., Grand Historian of Grand Lodge F. & A. M. of Tennessee to Rebecca Robinson, February 4, 2014.

43 "Joseph T. Dixon, Civil War Veteran and Dean of Florida Press, Dies in Ark.," *Gadsden County Times*, week of July 18, 1929.

Matthew was proud of his affiliation with the Masons, though by the 1830s, Freemasonry was on the decline due to the William Morgan scandal in 1826. Morgan, an ex-Mason, was living in New York State when his plans to divulge masonic secrets by publishing his *Illustrations of Masonry* became known.[44] Angered by his treachery, some local Masons kidnapped him and most likely were his murderers.[45] This damaged the Masons' image and forever linked the group with conspiracy theories and suspicion of nefarious activities.

It was the religious aspect of Matthew's social aspirations, however, that caused anxiety for Ann. She remained a devout Presbyterian throughout her life. In Winchester, she joined the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which differed slightly from the main strain of Presbyterianism. The Cumberland Presbyterians broke from the Presbyterian Church over the controversy of congregational needs versus quality of the ministers. A religious revival in Kentucky and Tennessee in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought many new members into the Presbyterian fold, resulting in a shortage of ministers. Many congregations also encountered problems inducing well-educated and cultured ministers to leave the eastern states to preach on the frontier. To remedy this, congregations engaged ministers who did not meet the educational standards of the Presbyterian Church.[46] The Cumberland Presbytery in Kentucky in particular received

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[44] Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 277.

[45] Ibid., 278.

[46] Ben M. Barrus, Milton L. Baughn, and Thomas H. Campbell, *A People Called Cumberland Presbyterians* (Memphis, TN: Frontier Press, 1972), 49, 89.

harsh chastisement from the Kentucky Synod over the issue, and eventually the Synod disbanded the Presbytery.[47]

Scots-Irish members of the old Presbytery in Dickson County, Tennessee, formed the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and it became a recognized as a separate denomination in 1829.[48] Cumberland Presbyterians tended to be New Side adherents, whose beliefs stretched back to the First Great Awakening in the eighteenth century. They believed in emotionality in worship, conversion, and ministry, and practiced a relaxed Calvinism that rejected predestination.[49] It is unsurprising, therefore, that Ann felt comfortable in this denomination as she grew up in the household of New Side minister, John Roan, and had attended various Scots-Irish revivalist churches in her adulthood. Although she might not have approved of the lack of education of the ministers, her choice was based on what was available at the time. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Winchester was her only Presbyterian option.[50]

Elizabeth Sturtevant believed that Ann's "distinguishing trait was faith," and she recalled her grandmother often citing her faith in Matthew's devotion to Presbyterianism, despite his reputation as a skeptic, as her most rewarding example.[51] His wife, Elizabeth, joined the Methodist Church in Winchester in 1825, but he remained affiliated with

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[47] Ibid., 60.

[48] Ibid., 76, 105.

[49] Ibid., 89.

[50] *The Goodspeed Histories*, 803.

[51] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Cumberland Presbyterianism.[52] He served as both a trustee of the Cumberland Presbyterian institution, Carrick Academy, and as president of the Franklin County Temperance Society.[53] A portion of his passionate address delivered to the society on the Fourth of July, 1830, was submitted to *The Religious and Literary Intelligencer*, a Cumberland Presbyterian publication. He strongly advocated to "destroy intemperance, and many hours, now wasted by thousands of our race in idleness and debauchery, would be spent in searching the Scriptures in the hope of eternal life, and aiding in sending them to the uttermost corners of the earth."[54] Despite his involvement in the Temperance Society and the church, his professional affiliation with medicine possibly gained him a local reputation as being skeptical of Cumberland Presbyterian doctrines.

Leaders in the Presbyterian Church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries took on the challenge of defending spirituality against intellectuals of the day, particularly against Scottish philosopher, David Hume. Like John Locke, Hume believed that people attained true knowledge through experience, and any knowledge not based on human experience was merely speculation. He took this empirical principle a step further by embracing skepticism towards causality, which theory purported that the relationship between cause and effect was dependent on the imagination and routine rather than reason. If two events happened sequentially many times, this still did not prove that the

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[52] Jonathan Kennon Thompson Smith, *Genealogical Abstracts from Reported Deaths, The Nashville Christian Advocate, 1861; 1872-1873* (TN: J. K. T. Smith, 1997), 43.

[53] *Acts Passed at the Stated Session of the Seventeenth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee 1827* (Nashville, TN: Hall and Fitzgerald and Heiskell and Brown, 1827), 215; M. B. DeWitt, ed., *The Theological Medium: A Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly*, n.s. 6 (Nashville, TN: Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1875), 390-391.

[54] Ibid.

cause always brought about the same effect as the mind could imagine different outcomes. Hume used empiricism and skepticism to attack miracles and other aspects of basic Christian beliefs. A cause and its effect needed to be somewhat similar in order for people to make sense of what they experienced. Therefore, an anomalous cause and effect in nature, like miracles, should discourage belief rather than affirm it because such anomalies went against the laws of nature.[55] These conclusions drawn about human experience and religion by a former Presbyterian led to reactions by Presbyterian theologians like Thomas Reid.[56]

Hume had a tremendous effect on Enlightenment thinking regarding religion and science. As a doctor, Matthew had scientific leanings, and although the contents of his large library are unknown, his tastes probably wandered to secular as well as sacred texts, much like his uncle Roan's. Perhaps as a man of science, Matthew was skeptical of miracles or other aspects of Christianity that could not be proven through scientific inquiry. Ann told her granddaughter that she constantly defended Matthew against his critics by insisting, "'he was a fatalist' who maintained his Presbyterian beliefs and 'no skeptic.'"[57] In 1835, Matthew moved his immediate family to Talladega, Alabama. There he joined the Presbyterian Church, but when he died a year later, Ann heard that his life

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[55] Randall Herbert Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 36.

[56] Ibid., 213.

[57] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

ended "without a hope."[58] The minister, Reverend Richard Cater, aware of Ann's concern for Matthew, wrote her a letter after his death, stating:

> With Abraham of old, you have constantly desired that he might live before God. Let me assure you my dear madam your Faith has not been in vain and your prayers have finally been answered in mercy. Dr. Dixon died in his senses, an humble believer penitent and a hopeful believer in the efficacy of the blood of Christ.[59]

These simple statements proved to Ann what she knew in her heart to be true, that Matthew retained his faith.

The life that Ann and Matthew shared in Winchester mirrored that of their Pennsylvania relatives, particularly Matthew's great-grandfather, James Cochran. Both James and Matthew began their adult lives in frontier areas, cultivated large farms, balanced two professions, supported boys' education, participated in local Presbyterian churches, and formed large, important kinship groups to sustain their overall influence in their respective counties. Yet the eras and locations created distinct cultural differences between James's and Matthew's life experiences. Whereas James was rough and shrewd, Matthew was genteel and academic. James owned one slave towards the end of his life, but his great-grandson relied heavily on enslaved labor. While both men were important in their own right, their roles in their kinship groups differed. James was the leader of his extended family, but Matthew was merely an important member of the Decherd-Henderson kinship group. The connecting figure between James and Matthew was Ann, who lived during both of their lifetimes and in both settings. She was undoubtedly proud

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[58] Smith, *Genealogical Abstracts*, 43; Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 128; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[59] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

of her oldest son obtaining distinction in public life, much like her uncles Stephen and Dr. John Cochran, her brother John, and her cousins Samuel Cochran, Flavel Roan, and William Miller. As Matthew's mother and an extended member of one of the most influential kinship groups in Franklin County, Ann would have been held in high esteem.

Her life with Matthew had been comfortable, but when he moved his family to Alabama, it forced Ann to reconsider her living arrangements. Now in her mid-seventies, Ann's age might have played a part in her desire to remain in Winchester, and uprooting herself probably seemed daunting. Her most convenient and reasonable option was to join the household of her youngest daughter, Margaret, who continued to reside in Winchester after her marriage in 1830.

"At the Residence of Her Son-in-Law Mr. M. W. Robinson"[60]

As the 1820s gave way to the 1830s, Ann could both see and feel the differences in the makeup of her immediate and extended families. This was an emotional time, filled with the significant life events of deaths, marriages, and births, all which brought along the appropriate emotions of grief, happiness, concern, and relief. Ann's sister Jean Thompson passed away in the 1820s, and her only other living sibling, John Cochran, died in 1836, having lived to the ripe age of seventy-six despite his pessimistic outlook on the longevity of his life as expressed in his 1816 letter to Ann.[61] Many of her Roan cousins, including Flavel, also died during these years, while her paternal cousin, Samuel

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[60] Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

[61] John Cochran to Ann Dixon, 1816, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives; John Cochran, Pension Application, R2083, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

Cochran, died insolvent in 1829, leaving his widow, Hannah, to sort out his messy finances.[62] Their deaths left Ann as one of the few living family members who remembered the late colonial and Revolutionary years.

Ann was consoled through an interesting and lengthy correspondence with William Darby, one of old John Dixon's tenants, who had raised his circumstances from a son of impoverished immigrants to that of a educated man with many talents. In Darby, Ann found a kindred spirit with whom she could reminisce about her youth and people long dead. Although Ann and Darby never met, their correspondence shows that her regard for Darby was returned. Their acquaintance began when Matthew read a story entitled "The Soldier's Tale" concerning life in Lancaster County during the American Revolution, published in the Philadelphia-based publication, *Atkinson's Casket*.[63] "The Soldier's Tale" featured a love triangle between Emily Raymond, Ellery Truman, and Wilson Bertram, purported members of the Derry community. More pertinent to Matthew was the section of the tale that illustrated how the death of Robert Dixon was reported to his father, this being Matthew's uncle Robert the older brother of Sankey, Matthew's father. In this dramatic scene, John Dixon was hosting a party at his home, during which he told of his oldest son's exploits in the army. An unexpected express arrived, and the letter conveyed the terrible news that Robert had died and was buried in Quebec.[64] Though this is probably a fictionalized version of true events, Matthew recognized the

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62 Samuel Cochran, Tombstone, Upper Octorara Presbyterian Churchyard, Parkesburg, Pennsylvania; Samuel Cochran, Will and Administration, 1829, File 8382, Chester County Archives.

63 Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford*, 3.

64 Ibid., 12-13.

names of his relatives, and he wrote the editor to inquire after the author of the story. The author was Darby, who had been writing for the *Casket* under the pseudonym Mark Bancroft, and for whom the story of Robert Dixon the martyr still resonated.[65] Darby was born on the Dixon farm, and most of his siblings were named for Sankey's brothers and sisters. He was now a highly respected geographer, cartographer, and historian who worked for the United States General Land Office.[66] Matthew apparently expressed interest in learning information about his father's family, and Darby proved to be forthcoming in his letters dated February 20 and April 18, 1834. In the missives traded between Darby and Matthew, Darby conveyed plenty of complimentary opinions of the Dixon family, although he did not personally know Sankey, who was in the army during Darby's residence in Hanover.[67]

Darby expressed interest in communicating with Ann as well. "What would I give," he wrote to Matthew, "to have only one day's conversation with your mother and yourself. Give your mother my sincere respects, and tell her that though to me a stranger, personally she seems of my own and kindred."[68] At some point, either he or Ann wrote the first introductory letter. In their letters, Ann and Darby exchanged information about some of her closest family members, including news concerning her childhood cousin

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[65] Ibid., 5.

[66] Ibid., 5; William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*. 1st and 2nd ser. (1894; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 1, 38-39; J. Gerald Kennedy, *The Astonished Traveler: William Darby, Frontier Geographer and Man of Letters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 34.

[67] Egle, *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 1, 34.

[68] Egle, *Dixons of Dixon's Ford*, 4.

and friend, Mary Roan Stockman, the death of her aunt Anne Roan, and the fates of Sankey's brothers and sisters. Although the current whereabouts of the letters is unknown, and they may no longer be extant, in the late nineteenth century a Robinson family member sent Darby's letters written to Ann to the historian William Henry Egle. He published only the two letters written by Darby to Matthew, but he alluded to and quoted several sentences from four letters between Ann and Darby.[69] Ann's epistolary relationship with Darby ceased with the geographer's death in 1854.[70]

All the reminiscing with Darby about her younger days could not cure her of the grief she experienced at the deaths of her children. Her distress must have been great when she realized again and again that she was outliving her children. In the space of three years, three of her children died. She lost Robert in 1834; Matthew followed in 1836, leaving behind Elizabeth and their five children.[71] Mary Dixon Martin died in Bedford County soon after Matthew.[72] Sadly, Robert, Matthew, and Mary were all young at their deaths, being forty, forty-four, and thirty-three years old respectively.

Through the sadness naturally felt by loss, Ann was comforted by the growth of her children's families, particularly that of her youngest daughter Margaret. In 1830, Margaret married when she was twenty-four years old, the same age at which Ann had married. Her choice was one of Winchester's cabinetmakers, McCama W. Robinson,

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[69] Ibid., 5-6.

[70] Ibid., 5.

[71] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 128; Ann Dixon, Pension, W784, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration.

[72] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 128; Ann Dixon, Pension.

originally from North Carolina. Sometime after Margaret married McCama, Ann joined their household; certainly she had moved in with them by the time Matthew relocated to Talladega in 1835.

Most family historians argue that elderly parents and their adult children typically lived separately, and two generations only combined households out of necessity. When parents became ailing or poor, they either moved in with one of their children or one of their children moved into their home; historians consider these circumstances anomalies.[73] More recent scholarship by Steven Ruggles suggests that the high fertility rate in the nineteenth century merely gives the appearance of few multigenerational households, as a widow typically lived with one child at a time when she might have an average of six or seven from which to choose.[74] Ruggles also found that male children often lived in their parents' house, dependent on them until they inherited land or money that enabled their to marry and begin their own families.[75] Contrary to the accepted theory, grown children were more often dependent on older members of the family, and, in most cases, it was the poorest of the elderly population who lived alone, in almshouses or other charitable institutions.[76]

Varying interpretations of multigenerational households identify a different generation as the dependent group, but Ann fit into both at different stages of her life.

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[73] Steven Ruggles, "Multigenerational Families in Nineteenth-Century America," in *American Families Past and Present: Social Perspectives on Transformations*, ed. Susan M. Ross (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 106.

[74] Ibid., 107-108.

[75] Steven Ruggles, "Multigenerational Families in Nineteenth-Century America," *Continuity and Change* 18, no. 1 (May 2003): 149.

[76] Ibid., 160.

Ann moved in with her sons Robert and Matthew as well as with her daughter Margaret, and none of her children expected a large inheritance from their mother. No public or private records indicate that Ann funded Robert's or Matthew's lifestyles, so it is probable that Ann needed their financial support. It was not until Ann began to bring in an independent income that dependency switched to her daughter Margaret and son-in-law McCama. Ann's habitation pattern demonstrates that family situations cannot easily be fitted into blanket interpretations, but they instead illustrate the unpredictable nature of wealth and control within a kinship group. Interdependency in multigenerational families was essential to stabilize changing circumstances.

By the 1830s, Winchester had blossomed into a bustling town of about 700 permanent residents who could take advantage of the food and drink at any of the four taverns, spiritual regeneration at the Cumberland Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist churches, or varying merchandise in the eleven stores throughout town. Household furniture could be purchased from cabinetmakers like McCama. Residents filled their bureaus and presses with clothes sewn by local tailors, and impressed their guests with luxuries like silver spoons worked by silversmiths or a carriage built by one of the three carriage makers.[77] Winchester, surrounded by small farms and large plantations, boasted a flourishing hospitality, mercantile, and artisanal culture that would have felt familiar to Ann. Her kin had all channeled their talents into various occupations, from medicine to agriculture, and from politics to ministry. Perhaps she identified with Margaret's choice to marry a man who labored to create necessary items for their neighbors, just as her own

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[77] Robert M. McBride and Owen Meredith, eds., *Eastin Morris' Tennessee Gazetteer 1834 and Matthew Rhea's Map of the State of Tennessee 1832* (1834; rpt., Nashville, TN: The Gazetteer Press, 1971), 281.

father did at his forge in Chester County when she was a young girl. Though her father's trade differed from McCama's in their processes, materials, and products, both required physical strength and attention to detail, while success depended on their skill and reputation for quality items. McCama competed for clients with several other cabinetmakers in Winchester; therefore, each piece of furniture he made was vital to induce customers to return and to maintain his reputation as a craftsman.

By 1834, McCama had the means to purchase a house and lot in Winchester, which he previously had been renting from Joseph Bradford.[78] It was in this house that he and Margaret spent their early married years, and most likely where Margaret gave birth to their first four children.[79] During the 1830s, Margaret had her hands full with five young children – Rachel Ann, Samuel D., Elizabeth White, William Darby, and Isabel W. – and was probably grateful that her mother was in residence to help with their care. Ann loved her grandchildren, a love that was reciprocated, and she devoted her time, energy, and eventually her finances to their happiness and well-being. Margaret was destined to have a large family just like her mother, and in the 1840s, three more children – Sarah Sloan, Henry Clay, and Mary D. – joined the family.[80]

With the births of children came the tradition of choosing names, an important practice in Ann's kinship group. As evidenced by the names of her children, Ann had as much influence in the given and middle names of her Robinson grandchildren as she did

78 Joseph H. Bradford to M. W. Robinson, 1834, Book N, p. 438-439, Franklin County Courthouse.

79 Franklin County Historical Society, *Cemetery Records of Franklin County Tennessee* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), 101, 122; Samuel Robinson, Interment Records, Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Nashville, Tennessee; Elizabeth White Sturtevant, Tombstone, Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Nashville, Tennessee.

80 McCama W. Robinson, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1850, The United States Census.

with her own children. The naming patterns not only demonstrate the amount of sway Ann held in the family, but also how the names chosen had expanded from remembering family members and close family friends to include well-known national figures. Ann no longer felt the need to adhere to naming patterns that favored her patrilineal line, as, most noticeably, traditional Cochran and Dixon male names like George, James, John, and Robert were not chosen for McCama and Margaret's three sons. Though only a small part of the personal lives of Ann and her family, this gradual shift in naming patterns over three generations represents an important break in a family tradition that had existed for hundreds of years.

The oldest children, Rachel Ann and Samuel D., were most likely named for both their Robinson and Dixon grandparents. The name Rachel was not common in the Cochran or Dixon families, and though Samuel was the name of Ann's first cousin, it is not likely that the name was chosen to honor him. Therefore, it is possible that Rachel and Samuel were their paternal grandparent's names. Rachel Ann's family members called her Ann, which was no doubt a testament to her grandmother.[81] Samuel's middle name remains a mystery; the "D" could stand for Dixon, but no evidence has been found to support this. Other grandchildren's names reflected people that Ann particularly admired or family members who held special meaning to her. McCama and Margaret's third child, Elizabeth White, received her name in honor of Elizabeth White, the wife of Hugh Lawson White, who sheltered Ann and her children after Sankey's death. Isabel W., affectionately known as Belle, was probably named for Ann's daughter who died, or

[81] H. C. Robinson to James and Ann Mankin, September 5, 1861, Henry Clay Robinson Letters, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Aunt Anne Mankin, photograph, in possession of Rodney and Emily Robinson.

any of the many Isabels in the extended Cochran-Dixon family.[82] Sarah Sloan was Sankey's niece by his sister Isabella and her husband, James McCormick. Isabella McCormick died in 1824 and had been living with Sarah Sloan in Harrisburg for many years.[83] Sarah Sloan Robinson was born in 1842, and her namesake died the next year.[84] Naming one of Margaret's daughters for Sankey's niece indicates that Ann was probably in contact with the older Sarah Sloan around this time. The youngest, Mary D., may have been named after her aunt, Mary Dixon Martin.

The two younger sons received names that more radically deviated from the naming patterns so common in the Cochran-Dixon families of earlier generations. Both names of Margaret's second and third sons embodied the fashion of naming boys after well-known figures and national leaders.[85] William Darby Robinson received his name in honor of Ann's friendship with William Darby; this shows the importance of their correspondence and the high esteem in which she held him. The name Henry Clay, given to Margaret's youngest son, was a political statement, as it declared that their household supported the Whig platform. Economics and even revivalist Presbyterianism played into Ann's and the Robinsons' attachment to the Whigs. The party attracted the professional

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[82] H. C. Robinson to James and Ann Mankin, September 5, 1861, Henry Clay Robinson Letters; County Court Minutes, January 1858-April 1862, p. 647, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, p. 499; *1912 City Directory of Chattanooga and Suburbs* (Chattanooga, TN: G. M. Connelly, 1912), Vol. 32, 640.

[83] Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, 395.

[84] Sarah Sloan Robinson, Death Certificate, 1924, Vol. 24, p. 268, Tennessee State Library and Archives; William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1895; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 2, 175.

[85] Billingsley, 24.

classes, including lawyers, doctors, and preachers, as well as skilled artisans, manufacturers, and large plantation owners, which characterized the men in Ann's family. This group of workers generally favored Clay's American System, which emphasized the national bank, tariffs, and infrastructure improvements.[86] The Whigs also found partners in religious revivalists as both groups sought to improve society through public health, education, and temperance, causes favored by Ann and her family.[87] The Kentucky senator Henry Clay ran as the Whig candidate for president in 1844 against the Tennessee Democrat James K. Polk; Henry Clay Robinson was born in that same year.[88] Disappointingly for Ann and the Robinsons, Henry Clay lost the election to Polk, but their political ideologies would be preserved in the name of little Henry Clay Robinson. Although we cannot know for sure who chose this name, it is possible that it was Ann as most of the other children's names reflect some aspect of their grandmother's life and personality.

Although Ann enjoyed her little grandchildren, the domestic scene within the household seems to have been a complicated one. Public records exhibit conflicting images of McCama's personality. On the one hand, Ann's son-in-law was hardworking and provided well for his family. He was an active community member, frequently serving as a juryman from the 1830s through the 1850s and as a road overseer in the

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[86] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 582.

[87] Ibid., 580.

[88] Jonathan M. Atkins, *Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832-1861* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 137-138; McCama W. Robinson, 1850 Census; County Court Minutes, p. 647.

1840s.[89] On the other hand, his frequent outbursts of passion led to involvement with the Franklin County court. McCama appeared before the Circuit Court several times during the 1830s, both bringing charges as the plaintiff, and more commonly, being accused of various offenses as the defendant. Franklin County's court records prior to 1832 were destroyed, so only McCama's legal problems from that year forward survive. McCama was first levied with three bills of indictment for assault and battery in the November 1836 term.[90] In July 1837, after engaging in an affray, or a public brawl that disturbed the peace, with Powhatan Statum, McCama pled guilty for the fight and paid the fine and prosecution costs.[91] The Circuit Court jury also found him guilty of the assault and battery charges, and as with the affray, he was responsible for the fine as well as the cost of the suit.[92]

McCama's own cases did not prevent him from attending court in November 1836 to give evidence against Joseph Lockhart for "keeping a disorderly house."[93] Despite his lengthy and costly court proceedings, McCama was determined to pursue his case against Lockhart in 1838. Lockhart instead counter charged McCama with trespassing with force and arms, for which McCama was convicted and paid yet another

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89 Circuit Court Minutes, January 1832-November 1837, Vol. 2, p. 72, 245, 580, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; M. W. Robinson, Tax, January 1852-December 1878, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; County Court Minutes, May 1837-April 1845, p. 110, 114, 457, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; County Court Minutes, May 1837-April 1845, p. 457, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

90 Circuit Court Minutes, Vol. 2, p. 413, 417, 434-435.

91 Ibid., 497, 509-510.

92 Ibid., 518.

93 Ibid., 427.

fine.[94] Including two additional suits he brought against William A. Caldwell and Henry Hamblin, McCama was involved in four cases in the Circuit Court in the 1830s.[95] The court records indicate that McCama might have been difficult to live with, or, at the very least, had a tendency to bring unnecessary attention to his wife, children, and mother-in-law. Of Ann's personal opinions of McCama's behavior there is no record, but any disapproval that she harbored towards his actions did not result in her leaving McCama's household. To his credit, as the years passed his legal troubles lessened and he mainly appeared in court records being paid to build coffins for various paupers in the community.[96]

Education was perhaps the most significant and pervading aspect of Ann's kinship group that she passed on to her descendants. She reinforced its necessity particularly with her grandchildren, just as her aunt and uncle Roan had in her youth. Ann was clearly invested in her grandchildren's intellectual life, and it is possible that she helped to fund their instruction. In her will, written in 1845, Ann desired that her Robinson grandchildren should receive the "balance of my estate not herein specifically disposed of principal be laid out at Interest & the profits alone appropriated to the education of the children until the youngest arrives at the age of twenty one years or

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94 Circuit Court Minutes, March 1838-July 1841, Vol. 3, p. 165, 168, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

95 Circuit Court Minutes, January 1832-November 1837, Vol. 2, p. 348, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; Circuit Court Minutes, March 1838-July 1841, Vol. 3, p. 149, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

96 County Court Minutes, May 1837-April 1845, p. 178, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; County Court Minutes, November 1849-December 1857, p. 111, 122, 234, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives; County Court Minutes, January 1858-April 1862, p. 7, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

marries."[97] She phrased her wishes in such a way that assumed both her male and female grandchildren were to be educated.

Early in Tennessee's statehood, the legislature passed acts that provided the foundation for educational institutions for the state's young men. Tennessee boasted two colleges, Blount in East Tennessee and Cumberland in Middle Tennessee, as well as academies for male students in each county. The legislature appropriated large tracts of land to the colleges and academies to serve as a form of income for their upkeep.[98] Franklin County's academy was chartered in 1809 as Carrick Academy, most likely in honor of the recently deceased Reverend Samuel Carrick, Ann's former minister in Knoxville.[99] Carrick Academy experienced periodic slumps and "incurred a considerable debt in making certain repairs on the building, and employing a Teacher."[100] Ann's son Matthew was one of three commissioners chosen by the legislature to assist the Carrick Academy trustees in determining the extent of the debt and submitting a certificate to the Treasurer of West Tennessee for the appropriate funds. The Tennessee Legislature and the trustees of the academy must have been satisfied with Matthew's ability; when in 1827 the legislature formed a new board of trustees, Matthew was one of the twelve men

97 Ann Dixon, Will.

98 James Waring McCrady, "From Carrick Academy to the Winchester Normal: 1809-1878," *The Franklin County Historical Review* 16, no. 1 (1985): 3.

99 Legislative Petitions, Doc. 1809-008-00108, Folder 48, Box 16, RG 60, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

100 Early Legislative Records, Folder 12, Box 57, RG 60, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

appointed.[101] Matthew wrote the bylaws for the academy and was "requested to deliver an address on the opening of the school," but for an unknown reason he declined the honor.[102] Matthew's interest in education undoubtedly stemmed from Ann, and his involvement with Carrick Academy is a testament to her pervading influence. Matthew relinquished his trusteeship when he left Winchester, but Ann and the Robinsons' association with the academy increased.

It is obvious from Samuel's essays written in the 1870s and 1880s for military publications and Henry Clay's letters written during the Civil War that Ann's grandsons, including William Darby, were well educated.[103] One short entry in the Carrick Academy Trustees minute book proves that Samuel, and probably his brothers, attended the school. McCama's and Margaret's oldest son, Samuel, was almost nine years old when in 1841 the trustees recorded that "the petition of M. W. Robinson for relinquishment of $5 which his son was absent was permitted by Judge Green...."[104] Much was expected of Samuel's conduct while at school, and any infraction could be punished by suspension. He was required to "conduct himself with propriety and decorum," and he could not "get drunk or use vulgar or indelicate conversation." If Samuel and other students had free time in

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[101] *Acts Passed at the Stated Session of the Seventeenth General Assembly*, 215. The board of trustees also included Matthew's brothers-in-law Benjamin Deckerd and Jonathan Spyker.

[102] Carrick Academy, Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1828-1854, Doc. # 1009, I-A-4, Box 1, Mss. Files (M-Z), Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

[103] Samuel Robinson, "Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," in *The Annals of the Army of Tennessee and Early Western History, Including a Chronological Summary of Battles and Engagements in the Western Armies of the Confederacy*, ed. Edwin L. Drake (Nashville, TN: A. D. Haynes, 1878), Vol. 1, 109-117; Samuel Robinson, "First Tennessee Infantry," in *The Military Annals of Tennessee. Confederate*, ed. John Berrien Lindsley, 1st ser. (1886; rpt., Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1995), Vol. 1, 155-166; Henry Clay Robinson Letters.

[104] Carrick Academy Minutes.

the evening, they were not allowed to walk "over the town after night whooping and halooing and disturbing the Public peace," and were forbidden to "attend Balls or Parties of pleasure without permission."[105] Hopefully Samuel did not cause his grandmother much grief by disobeying these rules too often.

Ann did not intend for her granddaughters to be any less educated than their brothers. The oldest girls, Ann and Elizabeth, demonstrated by their professions as teachers that they received a thorough education.[106] Petitioning the legislature was an effective method of gaining support for building institutions in the early nineteenth century, and the petition for a female academy greatly resembled the petition for the Masonic Hall. In November 1831, sixty-three Franklin County residents signed a petition and asked that the "honorable body will grant them the privilege of raising $5,000 by lottery to purchase a site & erect the buildings."[107] McCama signed the petition, perhaps with his five-month-old daughter, Ann, in mind. At the very least, this shows that McCama was interested in furthering the education of girls in Franklin County. It is probable that McCama's daughters received their educations at the Winchester Female Institute, which opened in 1835.[108] Winchester was celebrated in the first half of the nineteenth century for its quality female educational institutions, not only for the

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105 Ibid.

106 McCama W. Robinson, 1850 Census; E. W. Sturtevant, Davidson County, Tennessee, 1860, The United States Census; Anna Mankin, Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1880, The United States Census; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

107 Legislative Petitions, 40-1831, RG 60, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

108 Beatrice Alexander Collins, "Winchester Female Academy," *The Franklin County Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (July 1978): 73.

Winchester Female Institute, but also Mary Sharp College, named for the abolitionist. Established in 1850, Mary Sharp College had the distinction of being the only female college in the country that supported a curriculum based on that of male universities such as Brown University, and whose teachers believed women as intellectually capable as men.[109] Although it was a Baptist college, Ann must have been pleased to live in a town where women's education was valued. Ann understood that educating women was useful beyond reading the Bible or instilling an appreciation for knowledge for their children's sake. Education was a powerful tool that often determined whether a woman would be either comfortable or miserable in the later years of her life. Essentially, education gave a woman means to ensure that no one could take advantage of her because of her inability to read, ignorance of the law, or lack of awareness of national legislation. Ann demonstrated in her pension application, a court case, and her will how her education enabled her to overcome any disadvantage she might have had in regards to age or sex.

"Anne Dixon, Widow & Relict"[110]

Ann's Revolutionary War pension application is the lengthiest collection of documents that she helped create. Before the American Revolution, the British government awarded pensions to soldiers who had served in the Americas as well as Europe. In the earliest years of the war in the colonies, the Continental Congress passed several pieces of legislation that mimicked the British-inspired pension system. The Continental Congress, and then the United States government, offered both service and

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[109] Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 5, 1893; Contributions to American Educational History No. 16 Higher Education in Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 247.

[110] Ann Dixon, Pension.

widows' pensions at different periods. To receive service pensions, veterans qualified based on their rank and service, the length of which Congress continually amended. Widows could receive a pension if their late husbands met the requirements of service pensions. [111]

Revolutionary War pensions granted to widows either by the Continental Congress or the United States government fall into two distinct eras: 1780-1794 and 1836-1878. Early widows-pension legislation typically followed legislation granting pensions to the soldiers. During the war, the Continental Congress passed several pieces of legislation that served as inducements for officers to remain in the army. The resolution of May 15, 1778, rewarded officers with half pay for seven years and enlisted men and non-commissioned officers a one-time payment of $80 if they served until the conclusion of the war.[112] On August 24, 1780, the first piece of legislation drafted for widows of Revolutionary War soldiers mimicked the officers' pension, allowing their widows half pay for seven years. However, the eligibility period for widows to claim pensions under the 1780 legislation expired in 1794, and no other measure for the benefit of widows was passed until 1836.[113]

The success of soldiers' pension legislation in 1818 led to more liberal qualifications for Revolutionary War veterans and later to the revival of widows'

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111 Trevor K. Plante, "An Overview of Records at the National Archives Relating to Military Service," *Prologue Magazine* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 1-2.

112 Laura Jensen, *Patriots, Settlers, and the Origins of American Social Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 59.

113 Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845), Vol. 1, 243.

pensions. The 1818 legislation opened the pension application process to more soldiers, as both officers and enlisted men were eligible for a life pension if they had served a minimum of nine months.[114] In 1832, the pension requirements applied to even more veterans as any man, officer or enlisted, who served in the Continental Army, Continental Navy and Marines, or state militia units for two years received pay for life; if he served more than six months and less than two years, he received half pay for life.[115] Ann's older brother John, who at the time lived in Erie County, Pennsylvania, took advantage of the 1832 legislation, the first that allowed him a pension. John's service under his uncle Stephen Cochran during 1776 and his work as an artificer more than satisfied the two-year minimum for full pay. John gave his declaration in court on December 27, 1832; his account filled three pages, and of all his pensioning family members, he gave the fullest account of service. The United States government awarded John $100 annually, which he collected until his death in 1836.[116]

In 1836 and 1838, for the first time since 1794, Revolutionary War widows were able to petition the government for a pension without submitting a private bill to Congress. Widows' Revolutionary War pension applications serve as valuable and often overlooked sources for antebellum women's lives. First, widows' pension applications served as the earliest way a substantial number of women from a broad range of locations and circumstances could petition the government for relief on the basis of a national

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[114] Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), Vol. 3, 410-411.

[115] Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), Vol. 4, 529.

[116] John Cochran, Pension.

event that encroached on both men's and women's lives. Each widow's economic and social circumstances can be ascertained through her ability to hire a lawyer, the neighbors and friends she asked to write letters on her behalf, and whether or not she could sign her own name. Second, these records contain the voices of many women who would not have otherwise left behind written documentation of their experiences during the war or their personal lives. Women were as specific as possible about their husbands' service, their marriage, and their heirs in order to improve their chances of receiving the pension. These documents are especially important for women who, besides submitting their applications, might never appear again in public records. Third, pension applications demonstrate the ability and willingness women possessed to appear in a public forum to petition for money. Each time Congress amended pension legislation, women had to return to court to give their deposition even if they already received money from previous legislation. In Ann's case, her pension file provides insight into her circumstances and personality over a long period of time and is the only collection of documents that contains her original signatures.

Although many women took the opportunity to apply for pensions, they were often rejected if proof of their marriage was lacking. Unlike soldiers' pensions, widows' pensions were not only contingent on their husbands' service, but also on their marriage date. The 1836 legislation allowed widows to apply for pensions if their marriages took place before their husbands left military service.[117] In 1838, the legislation was amended so that widows who could prove their marriage to a Revolutionary War veteran took

[117] Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1856), Vol. 5, 127.

place before January 1, 1794, could apply for a five-year pension; in 1848, Congress changed the marriage requirement to the more liberal date of January 2, 1800. Only in 1853 did Congress completely remove the marriage date stipulation from widows' applications.[118] Ann did not qualify for the 1836 pension because her marriage to Sankey occurred several years after the war ended. However, she did meet the requirements for the 1838 pension because their marriage date fell before the January 1, 1794, restriction.

Ann hired a lawyer to ensure that she had the best chance of receiving her pension quickly. Fortunately for her, two of Tennessee's most experienced and respected lawyers, Micah Taul and Hopkins L. Turney, lived in Winchester. Micah Taul had represented Kentucky as a Democratic-Republican in the United States House of Representatives before moving to Winchester; Turney was elected from Tennessee to both the United States House of Representatives and Senate.[119] In 1829, they found themselves on opposite sides of one of Winchester's most infamous murders when Rufus Anderson shot his brother-in-law and Micah Taul's son, Thomas, in the back in Winchester's public square.[120] Immediately, Micah Taul and Rufus Anderson hired some of the most distinguished lawyers in Tennessee; Samuel Laughlin helped Micah Taul represent the prosecution, while both Felix Grundy and Hopkins L. Turney defended Rufus

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118 George Minot, ed., *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1855), Vol. 10, 154, 616; Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds., *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives of the United States*, 3rd ed. (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2000), 169.

119 Timothy R. Brock, "The Killing of Thomas P. Taul: Its Legal and Political Impact of Franklin County and the State of Tennessee," *The Franklin County Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (1984): 4-5.

120 Ibid., 8.

Anderson.[121] This case greatly divided Winchester; when it went to court in 1830, the jury pronounced Rufus Anderson not guilty.[122] Nine years later, Ann chose Micah Taul as her pension lawyer instead of Turney, though Turney signed her first court declaration.[123]

Finally, when she was seventy-six years old, Ann appeared before the judge of the Franklin County Chancery Court on February 17, 1839, to give her declaration.[124] As Sankey was an officer in the Pennsylvania Line, served through most of the war, and was discharged honorably, many records document his service, including muster rolls, promotion notices, letters, and a journal. This gave Ann an advantage when she applied for a pension. In her declaration, she stated Sankey's rank, date he entered service, his father's name, his relation to Robert Dixon who died in Quebec, his wound, and his death in 1814 in Knox County. To prove his service, Ann simply informed the court that his records were in the War Department in Washington, D.C., and the information within should be sufficient. To add additional weight to her declaration, Ann's daughter, Margaret, signed an affidavit stating when her father died and that her mother had remained a widow since his death. Ann and Taul believed that her statement, along with a copy of Sankey receiving commutation pay was sufficient.[125]

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121 Ibid., 13.

122 Ibid., 14; *The Goodspeed Histories*, 792-793.

123 Ann Dixon, Pension.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

But Ann was not finished; the other requirement of the 1838 act was proof of marriage. Ann enlisted the aid of her old friend, Hugh Lawson White, to vouch for her marriage. White was not only a close family friend, but he was also possibly the most politically influential person she knew, though by the late 1830s White's political career had soured. White's introduction to the federal government began in 1825 as a senator from Tennessee, in which capacity he served until early 1840. At first a Jacksonian Democrat, he opposed strong government initiatives including the national bank and the tariff.[126] However, White became increasingly concerned about the amount of power Andrew Jackson wielded and the money he spent. During Jackson's second term, White refused the appointment of Secretary of State and aligned himself with the newly organized Whig Party.[127] The feud between White and Jackson escalated after White's failed run for the presidency in 1836, and while both parties hurled insults and accusations, other politicians from Tennessee, including James K. Polk and Felix Grundy, abandoned White in favor of Jackson.[128] White nevertheless found time during his political struggles to send two letters in support of Ann's pension to the Commissioner of Pensions, James L. Edwards. On March 1, 1839, White wrote:

> In the lifetime of Mr. Dixon he and his family were my near neighbors for many years. They had a family of children which they raised and I never heard a doubt suggested but that the applicant and her husband had been legally married, and I firmly believe they were.[129]

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[126] Atkins, 33, 37.

[127] Ibid., 38, 44.

[128] Ibid., 52; Howe, 590.

[129] Ann Dixon, Pension.

Not only did White write to the Commissioner upon Ann's behalf, but he also was instrumental in delivering her papers to the pension department in Washington. In a second letter dated April 10, 1839, White informed Edwards that he returned Ann's papers to her so she and Taul could rectify a lack of proof. White's second letter did not specify the proof lacking from Ann's application, but her next court appearance demonstrated that she needed additional proof of her marriage. On May 17, Ann attended Circuit Court with a leaflet from a small family Bible printed in 1759; on the reverse side Sankey had recorded the births and deaths of their children. To further prove her marriage, Reverend James Snodgrass of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, attested to baptizing Ann and Sankey's first child in 1789. Taul mailed his client's new information including the original birth record of her children to the pension department; satisfied, Edwards issued Ann's pension of $320 per year on August 7, 1839.[130] This substantial sum provided Ann, Margaret, and Margaret's children with financial security independent of McCama's wages.

Ann wasted no time applying and gathering pertinent information for the pension; she began working on her pension as late as January 1839 and received her first payment in August of the same year.[131] Ann's pension file makes it appear as though the process was relatively simple and straightforward; however, other family members did not have the same experience. They all worked hard for the same outcome, but their applications lacked substantial, irrefutable proof. Her maternal cousin, William Miller, and her paternal cousin, Samuel Cochran, both fought in the war, and both men died before they

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130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

could claim their pensions, Samuel in 1829 and William in 1831. Curiously, both William's heirs and Samuel's widow, Hannah Slaymaker Cochran, waited until the mid 1840s before submitting pension applications to Commissioner Edwards. William's son James H. Miller was the primary applicant as he was in constant communication with the pension department. As early as 1844, he attempted to secure the pension that was due to his deceased mother as a Revolutionary War widow for himself, his brother, and two sisters. Just like Sankey, William had served until the end of the war, and the record of his commutation pay was in the War Department. Like Ann, James found that proving his parents' marriage would be the issue that delayed the process for the next six years. James also attempted to hurry the procedure by referring to his parents' friendship with future president James Buchanan, who was at the time Secretary of State. Buchanan wrote to Edwards positively testifying to William Miller's marital status. Finally, after six years, James Miller and his brother and sisters received their share of what would have been their deceased mother's pension.[132]

The only other female family member who applied for a widow's pension was Hannah Cochran, the widow of Ann's cousin Samuel. During the war, Samuel joined the Chester County militia company captained by his father, Stephen Cochran. Hannah could not attend court herself due to illness, so an associate judge of the court went to her home for her declaration in January 1846. Hannah had even less hard evidence of her late husband's service or their marriage than did either Ann or James Miller. As substitutes for proof, Hannah encouraged two of her sisters, brother-in-law Robert Cochran, and

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[132] Margaret Miller, Pension, W3282, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

sister-in-law Ann Slaymaker to testify to Samuel's service. Unfortunately, the muster rolls for early Chester County militia units were not preserved even in the 1840s, so convincing the commissioner of Samuel's service lay primarily with Robert as well as a letter in the possession of Ann Slaymaker. The letter, written by Stephen Cochran and dated July 1776, provided evidence that what Hannah and Ann's brother John said in his testimony about his own service was true. Stephen kept the letter until his death in 1790, after which his daughter Ann Slaymaker became the new owner. Ann Slaymaker relinquished this family heirloom for the benefit of her sister-in-law, Hannah. Both Ann and Ann Slaymaker sacrificed family mementos in order to obtain pensions; these acts testify to their commitment and belief that they and their relatives deserved to be compensated by the government they helped establish. Unfortunately for Hannah, her sister-in-law's help failed as the letter did not sufficiently prove the duration of Samuel's service. Due to a lack of proof of service and little evidence of her marriage to Samuel, the "imperfect state" of Hannah's application prevented her from receiving a pension. She died an impoverished woman seven months later.[133]

Ann had a more successful experience obtaining her pension than did her relatives because of the availability of Pennsylvania Line records, her extant marriage record, and the birth record of her children. She supported her evidence with White's two letters and three small personal references given by Margaret, McCama, and James Snodgrass. Her brother John, cousin-in-law Hannah Cochran, and cousin James Miller had to rely more on the testimony of others. In James's case it worked; in Hannah's it failed. Ann returned

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[133] Hannah Cochran, Pension, R2080, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

to court three more times – in 1843, 1848, and 1855 – to reapply for her pension as the legislation changed. As a result of her hard work, Ann collected a pension until her death in 1857, and over the course of nineteen years she received more than $6,000.[134]

"Lord Now Lettest Thy Servant Depart in Peace"[135]

Many southern women could not imagine being independent from men in their lives, whether they were husbands, sons, or sons-in-laws. A widow had more legal rights than a *feme covert*, but if the widow lacked the finances or the health to live in her own establishment, she often found herself dependent on male relatives.[136] For years, Ann lived in these circumstances, moving as a dependent widow after the death of her husband to Hugh Lawson White's farm, to her son Robert's home in Knoxville, to her son Matthew's household in Winchester, and finally to her son-in-law's home in Winchester. She relied heavily on her kinship connections for support, as she did not have the resources to provide independence for herself. However, with the approval of her pension application in 1839, the 1840s brought Ann a time of financial stability and security. As Ann built up her finances, McCama seemed to struggle with his. In 1838, McCama sold his property, and with his help, Ann began negotiations to purchase a house and one and a half acres from Thomas Wilson. After he received the $450 purchase price from Ann, Wilson officially conveyed the property to her on March 6, 1844.[137]

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134 Ann Dixon, Pension.

135 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

136 McCurry, 90.

137 M. W. Robinson to Wm. H. & E. Street, Deed, 1838, Book Q, p. 153-154, Franklin County Courthouse; Thomas Wilson to Ann Dixon, Deed, 1844, Book T, p. 165-166, Franklin County Courthouse.

Owning real estate in her own name signified her independence, but this did not lead to the breakup of her household, as McCama, Margaret, and their children moved in with her. Such an accomplishment for Ann might have been seen as a societal failure for McCama. Men coveted independence in order to satisfy their social expectations as patriarchs and successful providers for their dependents. Between his court drama and his inability to hold onto his real property, McCama instead had to yield authority to his mother-in-law.[138]

Ann proudly filled her home with her possessions, including her frame and bedstead, clothes press, breakfast table, six chairs, and clock, many of which were probably made by her son-in-law. She also contributed a stove, oven and lid, pot, and a sugar chest to the kitchen.[139] Sugar was expensive, so sugar chests were locked to prevent members of the household from siphoning off little pieces. As both the house and the sugar chest belonged to Ann, she probably kept the keys to the chest and only opened it when the contents were needed.[140] Everywhere she looked, Ann saw both the people and objects that reflected this stage of her life. She was not a dependent widow relying on the whims of her daughter and son-in-law, but she was a valuable member of the family who contributed all the resources at her disposal for the good of her family.

Ann was especially protective of Margaret, her grandchildren, and her property, and she did not allow her status as a woman to discourage her from taking full advantage

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138 McCurry, 85-86.

139 Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, 21.

140 Derita Coleman Williams and Nathan Harsh, *The Art and Mystery of Tennessee Furniture and Its Makers Through 1850* (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Historical Society, 1988), 137.

of the law when she thought it necessary. Ann valued her new independence, so she kept records of the debts owing to her because she had no intention of allowing people to borrow large sums without repaying her.[141] In the July Term of 1842 in the Circuit Court, Ann brought a suit against McCama for debt. He told the court that "he can not gainsay the plaintiffs action against him and confesses Judgment for the sum of seven hundred and eighteen dollars and seventy eight cents."[142] The court determined that McCama had to repay the full sum as well as court costs. The court minutes neither specifies the reason why Ann loaned such a large amount of money to McCama, nor how she originally distributed it. Possibly she gave it to him as a lump sum, but she also might have loaned smaller amounts over the years, which gradually added up to over $700. In November, McCama registered a deed of trust between himself and Burr H. Emerson for Ann's use, in which he conveyed some of his most valuable possessions. Many of the items pertained to his cabinetmaking business such as his tools of the trade – lumber, bed screws, varnish, and turning lathe – while others were products of his labor – dining room tables, bureaus, and sugar chests. As McCama was "desirous to Secure and make certain the payment," he agreed that if he did not repay Ann by May 12, 1844, Emerson "may expose the said property to public Sale, and sell it to the highest bidder for cash."[143] No records remain to tell the outcome, but as Ann did not haul McCama back into court, she must have received her money one way or another.

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141 Ann Dixon, Will; Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, p. 499.

142 Circuit Court Minutes, November 1841-July 1849, Vol. 4-5, p. 131, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

143 M. W. Robinson to Burr H. Emerson use of Ann Dixon, Deed, 1842, Book S, p. 354-356, Franklin County Courthouse.

Ann was desirous to protect her money during her lifetime, but she also understood the importance of responsibly devising her money and property upon her death. With an independent income and property in her name, she had the power to provide Margaret and her grandchildren with financial resources upon her death. Her last will and testament, like her pension, not only expressed her personality and wishes, but it also demonstrated how her life experiences dictated both its construction and its execution. Dying intestate was a common occurrence during the nineteenth century. Ann's husband Sankey had died years earlier in that circumstance, but he was the exception as Ann's extended family was particularly mindful to leave wills. Perhaps she learned by example and experience that making a will that clearly expressed the distribution of her estate was the most expedient way to head off any family arguments, lawsuits, and other problems settling the estate after her demise.

Ann's improved circumstances as well as her age of eighty-one years must have prompted her to contemplate the future of her real and personal property. But possibly the most pressing issue was the failing health of both her son-in-law McCama and her daughter Margaret, who were "encumbered by a large family," making procrastination impossible.[144] On December 15, 1845, Ann authored her will. The language of wills had changed since the eighteenth century, sounding more secular and less spiritual in the opening portion. Both her grandfather's and father's wills elaborately described how the

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[144] Ann Dixon, Will.

burial of their earthly bodies should be arranged; Ann's bypassed this archaic introduction and immediately addressed the division of her estate.[145]

Ann demonstrated exactly who she considered her effective kin in her will. She left everything she owned to her daughter Margaret "in sole and separate use from the control and debts of her husband." She bequeathed to Margaret the house and lot purchased from Thomas Wilson, her "old negro man Andrew," and her household and kitchen furniture. If Margaret died first, everything would be split among Margaret's children. Nothing was left to McCama, not even a life interest in the house. She likewise left no provision for her only other living child, Nancy Nimmo, or any of her other grandchildren, citing her "pittance of property" as the reason. Her estate was comfortable for a single woman, but it was not large enough to be split among too many heirs. Though she did not have the resources to leave her other descendants real or personal property, she gave them "a mother's blessing."[146] Ann made every effort to protect the interests of her daughter and grandchildren in her estate, and no matter which family member died first, her property would descend to her rightful heirs.

Ann was wise to anticipate an imminent death in the family that could alter everyone's future; however, it was not hers. Although Ann stopped regularly attending church in the late 1840s due to deafness, it was her daughter Margaret who finally succumbed to her ill health at the age of 43.[147] Margaret died on June 3, 1850, and was

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145 James Cochran, Will and Administration, 1766, File 2305, Chester County Archives; George Cochran, Will and Administration, 1786, File 3774, Chester County Archives.

146 Ann Dixon, Will.

147 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

buried in the Winchester City Cemetery.[148] Her death must have been a devastating event for Ann. Margaret was Ann's last child to die, as Nancy had died two years earlier in Mississippi. Ann now faced the reality that she had outlived all of her children.

Ann turned eighty-seven years old in 1850, and it was the first and only time when Ann's name was recorded by the national census. The first census was taken in 1790, though Ann and Sankey did not appear in the records most likely because they were moving from Pennsylvania to Virginia at the time. The 1790 through 1840 censuses only provide the names of the heads of household, which in most cases were men. Therefore, Ann only appears as a tick mark in the appropriate sex and age columns until 1850, when free men's, women's, and children's names were recorded as well as sex, age, race, occupation, birthplace, and other basic personal information.[149] The census taker recorded McCama as the head of the household despite the fact that the house and lot legally belonged to Ann. Similarly, her property in Winchester was often referred to as McCama's residence, both in an Act of Tennessee to have the city limits extended and by Elizabeth Sturtevant in Ann's obituary.[150] This was possibly the case because McCama was paying the property taxes rather than Ann.[151]

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148 *Cemetery Records*, 101.

149 Matthew L. Dixon, 1830 Census; M. W. Robinson, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1840, The United States Census; Ann Dixon, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1850, The United States Census.

150 *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly for the Year 1847-8* (Jackson, TN: Gates & Parker, 1848), 168-169; Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

151 M. W. Robinson, Tax, 1852-1860, Franklin County, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Despite McCama's earlier problems, his cabinetmaking business flourished by the 1850s, allowing him to engage a partner, Henry Hall. After the initial investment of $500 in the company, three men labored for "average monthly wages of $75, [and] produced furniture worth $1,500 from 5,000 feet of lumber...."[152] McCama earned at least $900 per year, almost three times the amount Ann received as her pension. McCama placed an advertisement for the firm of Robinson and Hall in the first edition of *The Winchester Appeal* on February 16, 1856. It announced to "their friends and the public generally" that their new shop was now located on the square, and they sold "furniture constantly on hand, or made to order."[153] Notwithstandig McCama's delicate health and Ann's advanced age, both had the financial means to care for the children still living at home.

During the 1850s, several of Ann's grandchildren came into their majority and left home to build their own lives. The two oldest granddaughters expanded the kinship network through their marriages. The oldest, Ann, married James R. Mankin in 1854, a member of a large family from Rutherford County.[154] Her sister Elizabeth married her suitor, John M. Sturtevant, a year later.[155] John was a native of Massachusetts who lost his sight after a childhood accident. He attended the Perkins Institute for the Blind in

152 Williams, 312.

153 "Robinson & Hall, Cabinet Makers," *Winchester Appeal,* February 16, 1856.

154 Rachel A. Robinson to James R. Mankin, Marriage, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1854, Reel 60, p. 169, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

155 Elizabeth W. Robinson to J. M. Sturdevant, Marriage, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1855, Reel 60, p. 184, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Boston and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1846.[156] Four years before his marriage to Elizabeth, he accepted the superintendency of the Tennessee School for the Blind in Nashville, a post he held until 1882.[157] Perhaps their marriages made Ann feel her own age, as about a century earlier, her own parents were celebrating their marriage. Her grandson, Samuel, did not settle down; instead, he moved to Nashville at least by early 1861 to pursue a career in newspapers. Ann was probably thankful that she lived to see her grandchildren participate in these natural changes. But death, another natural event that affected all kinship groups, was not welcome when it carried away two of Ann's grandchildren. Seven-year-old Mary died four months after her sister Ann's marriage to James, and in February 1857, a small death notice appeared in *The Home Journal* on the morning of William's death.[158] Both children were likely laid in caskets made by McCama and were buried next to their mother in the city cemetery.[159] Only three of Ann's minor grandchildren, Belle, Sarah, and Henry, remained at home with Ann and McCama.

Ann retained her spirits and her health until March of 1857. Her granddaughter, Elizabeth Sturtevant, reported that Ann "was not confined to her bed however, till the last week of her life."[160] At the age of ninety-three or ninety-four, and on April 12, she

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156 J. V. Armstrong, *History and Prospectus Tennessee School for the Blind* (Nashville, TN: 1898), 51.

157 Ibid., 52, 59.

158 *Cemetery Records*, 101; "Died," *Home Journal*, February 13, 1857.

159 *Cemetery Records*, 101.

160 Obituary, Anna Cochran Dixon Papers.

"expired with the Sabbath that she loved so well."[161] Soon after her death, her family had her buried next to Margaret and her two grandchildren in the Winchester City Cemetery.[162] Ann's death was undoubtedly difficult for her grandchildren, as she had been a constant presence during their entire lives and all of them were old enough to remember her clearly.

After Ann's death, the will she wrote in 1845 was proved in court during the May term of 1857. Her executor, Charles C. Garner, was promptly qualified to take out letters of administration on Ann's estate and took charge of inventorying her possessions, settling debts, and devising the money to the proper heirs. In August, Garner placed this notice of Ann's estate sale in *The Home Journal*:

> On Monday the 5th of October next, at the residence of M. W. Robinson, by virtue of the power in me vested by the Will of Ann Dixon, dec'd, I will sell to the highest bidder, on a credit of one, two and three years, a House and Lot in the town of Winchester, Tenn., containing about one acre and a half….[163]

On the day appointed, McCama and the children watched neighbors and family members bid on Ann's possessions and the house they shared. Ann Mankin's husband, James, bought all but two pieces of movable property, and Elizabeth's husband, John Sturtevant, purchased her house.[164] Garner calculated the total value of Ann's estate as $1,425.27,

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161 Ibid.

162 *Cemetery Records*, 101.

163 "Notice," *Home Journal,* August 29, 1857.

164 Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, p. 21; J. M. Sturtevant to J.R. Mankin, Deed, 1861, Book I, p. 57, Franklin County Courthouse.

and after settlement fees were deducted, the six heirs each received a small inheritance of $179.15.[165]

Over the next few years, one tragedy after another struck the family that Ann had loved so much. Perhaps McCama's bad health finally caught up to him; he and Henry Hall placed a short notice in the newspaper announcing that "The firm of Robinson & Hall was dissolved January 1st 1859, by mutual consent."[166] In the 1860 census, McCama was still listed as a cabinetmaker. This indicates that despite his health, he still produced some furniture on his own.[167] However, his circumstances proved insufficient to properly care for his three youngest children, Belle, Sarah, and Henry. On March 6, 1860, the County Court appointed G. A. Shook "guardian of the person and property of Bell W., Sarah S., & Henry C. Robertson [sic] minor children of M W Robertson [sic].[168] Seven months later, McCama petitioned the court to remove Shook as guardian because the children were "residents of Rutherford County Tennessee & that Jas. R. Mankin is their legal guardian in said county."[169] The siblings depended on each other for emotional support, and it is likely that they asked their father to alter their guardianship to continue living with their sister and brother-in-law, even if that meant residing permanently in

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165 Ann Dixon, Settlements and Inventories, p. 500.

166 "Disolution" [sic], *Home Journal*, February 10, 1859.

167 McCamie Robertson, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1860 The United States Census.

168 County Court Minutes, p. 647.

169 County Court Minutes, January 1858-April 1862, p. 218, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Rutherford County. Three years after Ann's death, only McCama remained in Winchester.

Ann's small family group continued to fracture during the Civil War years with more separation and loss. It is no surprise that both twenty-nine year old Samuel and seventeen-year-old Henry joined the Confederate Army after growing up listening to Ann tell about their grandfather Sankey's exemplary service record in the Revolutionary Army. Samuel, who was living in Nashville, enlisted on May 24, 1861, in the Rock City Guards.[170] Despite sustaining two wounds, he served throughout the duration of the war from his initial enlistment until the surrender of the Confederate Army near Greensboro, North Carolina in 1865.[171] Henry enlisted in the First Confederate Regiment at Winchester in April 1861. His sister Belle saved three letters he wrote home, including one addressed to McCama, dated July 8, 1861.[172] Although the letter indicates McCama was still alive in mid-1861, he most likely died during the Civil War, as he completely disappears from public records. Henry possibly used one of two furloughs he was granted to travel to Winchester when his father died. In any case, Henry did not long outlive his father; he was killed on the first day of fighting in the Battle of the Wilderness in May 1864.[173] When the Civil War concluded in 1865, only five grandchildren, Ann, Samuel,

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170 United Confederate Veterans, Tennessee Division, Bivouac Records, 1896-1941, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

171 Ibid.

172 H. C. Robinson to Father [McCama W. Robinson], July 8, 1861, Henry Clay Robinson Letters, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

173 Henry C. Robertson, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 109, M268, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Elizabeth, Belle, and Sarah, remained of Ann's household kin. Through death, separation, and time, these five grandchildren worked not only to preserve Ann's memory, but incorporated specific aspects of kinship imparted by their grandmother in their own lives.

CONCLUSION

Six days after Ann's death, *The Home Journal* reported that "Died in this place, on Sunday, 12th inst., Mrs. Ann Dixon, aged near 94 years. She was born April 1763."[1] This short death notice gave no indication of Ann's eventful life, nor does it allude to her essential place in her kinship group. A person's personality, influence, and overall importance cannot necessarily be measured by accomplishments that affected strangers or the nation on a grand scale. Instead, these are reflected in people closest to them, in Ann's case, her grandchildren. Ann's legacy survived in the hearts of her grandchildren who worked diligently to preserve the memory of the grandmother they so obviously loved and respected. Just as it was necessary to begin by examining Ann's ancestors for their influence on her life, it is equally necessary to follow Ann's grandchildren into their adult lives.

In discussing the usefulness of interpreting societies through kinship analysis, anthropologist Robert Parkin states that this approach only works if kinship and genealogy were central parts of that society's culture.[2] In regards to specific kinship networks, this principle greatly depends on genealogical memory. Both memory and the preservation of those memories vary between the different branches of the family. Some members may only have a limited knowledge of one or two previous generations while others preserve genealogical connections spanning many generations. Ann held the

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1 "Died," *Home Journal,* April 18, 1857.

2 Robert Parkin, *Kinship: An Introduction to the Basic Concepts* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 26-27.

pivotal position in her family as the link between her great-grandfather "Deaf" Robert Cochran and her grandfather James Cochran in the early eighteenth century and her Robinson grandchildren in the mid nineteenth century. She had to facilitate the connections between her ancestors and descendants in order to keep family history alive. Ann accomplished this through naming patterns, encouraging education, communicating with William Darby, and telling stories of her and Sankey's life experiences. But one member of the kinship group cannot undertake maintaining family history and memory; the source as well as the intended audience shares this task. Ann could have told her grandchildren the significance of their names, supported their education, and told them every anecdote she could think of, but if they were not receptive, her intention to perpetuate traditions and memory would have died with her. Fortunately, Ann's grandchildren recognized the importance of their family history and their place within their kinship group.

The Robinson grandchildren's place in relation to their kin was subtly expressed through the meaning and thought behind their names. The Cochran family's naming patterns represented evolving family bonds over many generations, resulting from migration, deeper involvement in public affairs, and changing perceptions of family life, including childbearing practices and blood versus non-blood members. While living in Scotland and Ireland, the Cochrans developed naming patterns that reinforced both their lineal descent and their place within a large extended family. When Ann's great-grandfather, "Deaf" Robert Cochran and his family immigrated to Pennsylvania, they continued to employ the same pattern of recycling forenames to maintain their transplanted Scots-Irish heritage within a larger society that encompassed other immigrant groups from Europe. But the American Revolution and the years following ushered in a new view on naming patterns within Ann's family group. The Cochran's involvement in the war bolstered their political influence and provided them with stability in the new nation, which had eluded them in the century prior. Therefore, the need to adhere to old naming practices diminished.

As Ann and Sankey migrated further from Pennsylvania and their kinship group, they gave their children names that honored important family members – John, Robert, Isabel, Mary Roan, and Nancy Henry – as well as non-blood relationships – Matthew Lyle and Margaret Ingles. In 1822, Ann and her daughter Margaret settled in Winchester, Tennessee, where they would both live until their deaths. Ann assisted Margaret in raising her family, who would not experience migration or struggle to find their place in society. As a result, the names Margaret and her husband McCama bestowed upon their children, undoubtedly with Ann's influence, reflected a wide range of inspiration, including family members, friends, and national figures. Loosened ties with extended family in Pennsylvania combined with stability in Ann and her immediate family's lives were reflected in changing naming patterns. The names given to Ann's children represented kinship traditions associated with her childhood and adulthood, while the Robinson grandchildren's names also represented important events and changes in the latter half of Ann's life.

More obvious than evolving naming patterns, Ann instilled knowledge of their family by regaling her grandchildren with tales of her interesting life. This is apparent from both the stories recorded in her obituary and from the information her grandchildren sent to William Henry Egle. Ann told of her parents, living with her aunt and uncle Roan as a young girl, visiting Valley Forge, and marrying Sankey, among other stories. She shared with them the information in William Darby's letters and recounted to them the family connections in *The Soldier's Tale*. Ann's willingness to share episodes of her life was equally matched by her grandchildren's interest in her stories. Elizabeth Sturtevant listened to and remembered Ann's stories, from which she composed a detailed obituary after her grandmother's death. Besides the obituary, multiple Robinson grandchildren read Egle's publications and sent him family information about the Cochrans, Dixons, and Robinsons, which they had learned from Ann.[3] When writing to Egle, the grandchildren revealed the source of their information by stating that "my grandmother often told us" or "I have heard my grandmother Dixon say this often."[4]

Ann's grandson Samuel did not listen quite as attentively to Ann's stories as his sister Elizabeth. This is apparent from the confused letter that he sent to Egle in 1879 concerning his connections to the Dixon, Murray, and Henry families. Samuel mused,

> Now the impression in my mind is that …Robert Murray married a Henry, that John Dixon married a Henry and that John Roan married a Henry. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that is the way it has been handed down to me from our parents and grand-parents.[5]

Of course none of this is correct except the basic fact that an ancestor's surname was Henry. However, his sister Elizabeth knew precisely which ancestor (Nancy Henry

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[3] Egle only named Ann Mankin and Samuel Robinson as correspondents in his publications; however, it is very likely that Elizabeth Sturtevant, Belle Robinson, or Sarah Robinson also contributed names, dates, and other small details of family members.

[4] William Henry Egle, ed., *Historical*, *Biographical, and Genealogical: Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 3rd ser. (Harrisburg, PA: The Daily Telegraph Print, 1887), Vol. 1, 485-486; William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1st and 2nd ser. (1894; rpt., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), Vol. 1, 397.

[5] Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st and 2nd ser., Vol. 1, 51.

Cochran), and that she married into the Cochran family rather than the Dixons or Murrays. The varying amount of interest Ann's grandchildren had in Ann's stories determined what aspects of Ann's personal and broader descent group history were preserved.

Compiling genealogies in published forms like Egle's became a trend in the nineteenth century. The first half of the century saw a rise in what Francis Weil calls democratized genealogy, which differed from interest in the status-oriented genealogy that prevailed in the eighteenth century. Popular opinion slowly turned from viewing genealogy as merely a way to venerate wealthy, noble, or impressive ancestors, which in its nature was undemocratic.[6] Democratized genealogy focused on families of ordinary men and women, and often had a lesson in morality attached to the pedigree. However, in the latter half of the century, the practice of researching and writing about ancestors adopted new characteristics, including exclusionary racial pride, fueled by the effects of the Civil War, Darwinian theory, and an influx of immigrants.[7] These feelings were often encouraged because the first genealogical society in America, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, was based in Boston, Massachusetts. Therefore, Puritans were celebrated as the quintessential Americans, and genealogists paid more attention to those early settlers and their descendants, to the chagrin of Americans of non-English heritages.[8] Those of Scots-Irish descent, much like those of Dutch, Huguenot, and Jewish

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[6] Francois Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 76-79.

[7] Ibid., 121-122, 127.

[8] Ibid., 128-129, 91-94.

descent, had a more difficult journey justifying their ancestors' merit against the prevailing image of the "true" American ancestor of Puritan stock.[9]

William Henry Egle, one of Pennsylvania's well-known collectors of historical and genealogical information, was unique among other professional genealogists of the nineteenth century as he focused his research on the Scots-Irish and German families of central Pennsylvania. Being himself descended from Pennsylvania Scots-Irish frontiersmen, he had a particular regard for families like Ann's. Egle knew that people of Scot-Irish descent had much to be proud of in regards to their ancestors, even if they did not arrive as early as the Puritans. He, along with his correspondents such as the Robinson siblings, emphasized their forebears' participation in the Revolutionary War more than any other aspect of their lives, perhaps to show that they were just as integral, if not more so, to the country's founding as the New England Puritans or the Virginia Cavaliers.

But it was not only Scots-Irish men's involvement in the war that was of interest to Egle and his correspondents. Women living on the Pennsylvania frontier had equally interesting stories to tell and performed similar acts of bravery as their male counterparts. An earlier compilation of Revolutionary heroines had been published in 1849 by Elizabeth Fries Ellet, though her work focused on city women with grand connections. The biographies included that of Catherine Schuyler, wife of Philip Schuyler, the brother-in-law of Ann's uncle, Dr. John Cochran.[10] Egle believed that ordinary frontierswomen

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[9] Ibid., 134-136.

[10] Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850), Vol. 3, 57.

deserved to be remembered as much as the more refined women in Ellet's work, resulting in his work, *Some Pennsylvania Women During the War of the Revolution*. He was of the opinion that the Pennsylvania frontierswomen's "patriotism, sufferings, and self-denials" made a formidable contrast to "the frivolity and disloyalty of those women of the metropolis."[11] Egle recognized Ann's cousin, Jane Roan Clingan, for her spirit by initiating a pact among her friends to only marry patriots.[12] This publication was probably gratifying to the surviving Robinson grandchildren; forty years earlier than Egle's publication, Elizabeth Sturtevant included in Ann's obituary several of her grandmother's most vivid recollections of her and Sankey's involvement in the war. Ann's grandchildren clearly agreed with Egle that their Scots-Irish grandmother's experiences, both during the war and after, made her and her kinship group true American patriots, comparable to any New Englander.

The interest that Ann's five remaining Robinson grandchildren – Ann Mankin, Samuel Robinson, Elizabeth Sturtevant, Belle Robinson, and Sarah Robinson – showed in preserving family history not only manifested in their correspondence with Egle, but also in the choices made during their lives. All five grandchildren eagerly used their individual talents and personalities to memorialize both Ann's and their kinship group's memory in different forms. Ann Mankin learned from her grandmother's past that when relatives needed aid, other members of the kinship group had a responsibility to assist. Just as Ann Cochran Dixon's aunt and uncle, Reverend John and Anne Roan, took her in

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11 William Henry Egle, *Some Pennsylvania Women During the War of the Revolution* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1898), 3.

12 Ibid., 45-46.

as a child, Ann's granddaughter Ann Mankin and her husband James extended the same care to their young relatives. Childless themselves, Ann and James supported not only her siblings Belle, Sarah, and Henry Robinson, but also James's five orphaned nieces and nephews.[13] Later in life, Ann Mankin also used her education, so important to her grandmother, to teach school in Rutherford County.[14] She died in 1899 and was buried in the Winchester City Cemetery, not far from her grandmother, mother, and siblings William and Mary Robinson.[15]

After the Civil War, Ann's grandson Samuel continued to live in Nashville and work as a printer, first for the *Republican Banner* from 1869 to 1874 and then *The American* from 1876 to his death in 1891.[16] Reminiscent of his grandparents, Samuel's "war record was his greatest pride and the chief topic of his thoughts and conversation."[17] An energetic writer, Samuel submitted his first essay, entitled "Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," to the editor of *The Annals of the Army of Tennessee*, published in 1878.[18] In

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13 Ann R. Mankin, Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1870, The United States Census.

14 Anna Mankin, Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1880, The United States Census.

15 Franklin County Historical Society, *Cemetery Records of Franklin County Tennessee* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986), 121.

16 *King's Nashville City Directory* (Nashville, TN: 1869), Vol. 5, 204; *The Nashville City Directory* (Nashville, TN: Wheeler, Marshall & Bruce, 1874), Vol. 11, 220; *Nashville & Edgefield Directory* (Nashville, TN: Wheeler, Marshall & Bruce, 1876), Vol. 12, 242; *Nashville City Directory* (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce, 1891), Vol. 27, 748.

17 "Death of Samuel Robinson. An Old Typo and Ex-Confederate Soldier Dies of Pneumonia," *The Daily American*, December 16, 1891.

18 Samuel Robinson, "Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," in *The Annals of the Army of Tennessee and Early Western History, Including a Chronological Summary of Battles and Engagements in the Western Armies of the Confederacy*, ed. Edwin L. Drake (Nashville, TN: A. D. Haynes, 1878), Vol. 1, 109-117.

1883, the First Tennessee Infantry veterans appointed Samuel to a committee in charge of compiling information about the regiment for Dr. John Berrien Lindsley's *The Military Annals of Tennessee: Confederate*.[19] This resulted in the completion of Samuel's second essay, "The First Tennessee." Samuel also followed the lead of his uncle, Matthew Lyle Dixon, by becoming an enthusiastic and active member of various societies, including the Temple Division Sons of Temperance, Vanderbilt Lodge Knights of Honor, Nashville Typographical Union No. 20, Frank Cheatham Bivouac, and the Tennessee Historical Society.[20] Although he did not preserve his family history to the same extent as did his sisters Elizabeth and Belle, he did donate to the Tennessee Historical Society two original deeds to his uncle Robert Dixon's property in Knoxville.[21] In 1869, he married Sallie Cassetty, also of Nashville, and four years later, she gave birth to their only child, Thomas Henry Robinson.[22] Samuel succumbed to pneumonia in December 1891 and the "genial, sunny and kindly soul" was interred next to his wife in Mt. Olivet Cemetery.[23]

Ann's influence can also be seen in the professional life of her granddaughter, Elizabeth Sturtevant. Elizabeth and her husband John were well-respected educators in Nashville for many years, and they combined their talents in order to serve young men

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[19] "The First Tennessee. A Meeting of Survivors for the Purpose of Collecting War History," *The Daily American*, January 14, 1883.

[20] "Election of Temperance Officers," *Republican Banner*, September 25, 1868; "Death of Samuel Robinson," *Daily American*, December 16, 1891; "Installation of Officers," *The Daily American*, January 4, 1886; "Samuel Robinson at Rest. He is Laid Tenderly Away by His Comrades in Beautiful Mt. Olivet," *The Daily American*, December 17, 1891; "Tennessee Historical Society. Election of New Members – Antique Relics Presented to the Association. Jewelry Worn by a Distinguished Family Over a Century Ago," *Republican Banner*, January 6, 1875.

[21] "Tennessee Historical Society," *Republican Banner*, January 6, 1875.

[22] Sallie C. Robinson Bible, in possession of Rodney and Emily Robinson.

[23] "Death of Samuel Robinson," *The Daily American*, December 16, 1891.

and women in Tennessee who had lost their sight. John and Elizabeth transformed the reputation of the Tennessee School for the Blind and changed the futures of students who might otherwise have received little or no education. Despite these accomplishments, Elizabeth's career and life ended tragically when she was only thirty-six years old. On Christmas Eve 1871, she overturned an oil lamp with the skirts of her dress, which immediately caught fire. She ran screaming into the street where the flames were extinguished. Painful burns covered over two-thirds of her body, and she died six hours later at the school.[24] The trustees of the school recorded in the minutes that she "for years, in modest Christian retirement, with unabating [sic] zeal, devoted herself with motherly tenderness to the service of instructing and caring for the blind in her charge."[25] Her obituary in the *Nashville Union and American* echoed these sentiments and further elaborated that,

> Most of her life has been devoted to school-teaching, with the earnestness and success denoting natural qualifications of the highest order for the profession of her choice, and the acquirements and accomplishments in an eminent degree necessary to satisfactory performance of its duties. As a teacher she was zealous and industrious in the pursuit of knowledge, and accurate and pains-taking in imparting instruction to others.[26]

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[24] "Heart Rending Accident. Upsetting of a Coal Oil Lamp, and the Death of an Estimable Lady," *Nashville Union and American*, December 27, 1871.

[25] J. V. Armstrong, *History and Prospectus Tennessee School for the Blind* (Nashville, TN: 1898), 57.

[26] "Heart Rending Accident," *Nashville Union and American*, December 27, 1871.

John continued his superintendency until his death in 1882. Like his wife, his obituary was complimentary of his abilities as "one of the best known educators [of the blind] in the world."[27]

Ann's youngest Robinson granddaughters, Belle and Sarah, never married, and chose instead to live either together or with their sister and brother-in-law, Ann and James Mankin.[28] While Belle guarded some of their grandmother's possessions, Sarah was more interested in retaining Ann's real property in Winchester. In 1866, Sarah purchased Ann's lot and house from her brother-in-law, John Sturtevant, but the next year she sold it to John Slatter.[29] More than twenty years later, Sarah returned to Winchester and purchased several pieces of property, including her grandmother's house and lot.[30] She and Belle lived in their childhood home until in 1904 when Sarah sold the property and purchased a smaller house.[31] After the death of their sister, Ann, James came to live with them until his death in 1909.[32] That year, Belle entered the newly

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[27] "Death of J. M. Sturdevant," *The Daily American*, December 27, 1882.

[28] Anna Mankin, 1880 Census; Belle Robinson, Franklin County, Tennessee, 1900, The United States Census; "Miss Isabella W. Robinson," *Daily Times: Chattanooga, Tenn.*, April 11, 1916.

[29] Sarah S. Robinson to John T. Slatter, Deed, 1867, Book 2, p. 328-329, Franklin County Courthouse.

[30] David Taylor and wife to Sarah S. Robinson, Deed, 1889, Book 14, p. 354, Franklin County Courthouse; David Taylor and wife to Sarah S. Robinson, Deed, 1890, Book 15, p. 236-237, Franklin County Courthouse; Martha A. Parmalee to Sarah S. Robinson, Deed, 1895, Book 18, p. 531, Franklin County Courthouse; Sarah S. Robinson to J. A. Woodard, Deed, 1901, Book 24, p. 509, Franklin County Courthouse.

[31] S. S. Robinson to T. M. Grizzard, Deed, 1904, Book 27, p. 430, Franklin County Courthouse; John Scheidegger to Sarah S. Robinson, Deed, 1905, Book 28, p. 92-93, Franklin County Courthouse.

[32] Bell Robinson, 1900 Census; *Cemetery Records*, 122.

established Old Ladies Home in Chattanooga.[33] Elderly women could enter the home and reside there until death upon the favorable recommendation of a local minister and a $100 fee paid by the church or relatives.[34] Several years later, Sarah also found herself either unwilling or incapable of living on her own and joined her sister at the home by 1915.[35] Before her death in the spring of 1916 and with the help of the honorary board president of the home, Emma Wells, Belle donated a small collection of papers that meant so much to her to the Tennessee Historical Society. They included Ann's obituary, catechism, a letter to Ann from her brother John, the silhouette of Sankey's brother Robert Dixon, and a few other items. Sarah, the last of Ann's Robinson grandchildren, died in 1924 and was buried near her sister in the Forest Hill cemetery in Chattanooga.[36]

Sarah's death signaled the end of the generation of Ann's five descendants who were most familiar with her life. Of Ann's eight Robinson grandchildren, only Samuel had a child, making Thomas Henry Robinson her only great-grandchild by her daughter Margaret. Passing on genealogical and kinship memory to future descendants rested on the shoulders of this one little boy born sixteen years after Ann's death. Unfortunately, both Samuel and Sallie died while Thomas was still a teenager. Upon his father's death, he lived with his maternal relatives, thus removing him from the influence of his paternal

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33 "Miss Isabella W. Robinson," *Daily Times: Chattanooga, Tenn.*, April 11, 1916.

34 "A Home for Aged Women," *Daily Times: Chattanooga, Tenn.*, February 27, 1904.

35 *1915 City Directory of Chattanooga and Suburbs* (Chattanooga, TN: G. M. Connelly, 1915), Vol. 35, 640.

36 "Mrs. Sarah S. Robinson," *Daily Times: Chattanooga, Tenn.*, July 8, 1924.

kinship group and pushing him further from Ann and her memory.[37] Like his parents, Thomas and his wife only had one child, Tom, who ushered in an unforeseen number of problems that subsequently monopolized his entire family's time and attention.[38] As a result, knowledge of any of Samuel's siblings, parents, and grandparents disappeared, and any memory of Ann was completely forgotten despite the best efforts of her grandchildren. Even her name was unknown to present-day descendants until 2010. This demonstrates how quickly one or two generations of descendants too involved in their own affairs can remove family history, memories, and kinship connections, once so important to generations of kinship group members, from the collective family consciousness.

Applying kinship analysis, historical scholarship, and genealogical methodologies to public and private records, saved through the efforts of two forward-thinking granddaughters, demonstrate that Ann's importance to this family group was only buried rather than destroyed. Examining Ann as the nexus of her large kinship group illuminates the nuances of her childhood, young adulthood, adulthood, and the transitions between these life stages. Ann's relationships with her effective kin, both consanguineous and affinal, helped form her opinions on religion, education, naming patterns, and other traditions, which in turn influenced her to impart them to her own descendants. Kinship connections were one of the most defining aspects of Ann's life. This is evidenced by the actions of her grandchildren, Elizabeth Sturtevant and Belle Robinson in particular, whose great affection and respect for their grandmother led them to believe that Ann's

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[37] *Nashville City Directory* (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, 1893), 29:206, 778.

[38] Sallie C. Robinson Bible.

memory and the life experiences of an ordinary Scots-Irish woman were significant and worth preserving.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: COCHRAN/DIXON FAMILY CHART

James Cochran = Isabella Cochran

Anne	Robert	GEORGE	John	Stephen	Jane	James
=	=	=	=	=	=	
(1)Alexander Lecky (2) John Roan	Janet Boyd	NANCY HENRY	Gertrude Schuyler	Jenny Young	Alexander Mitchell	

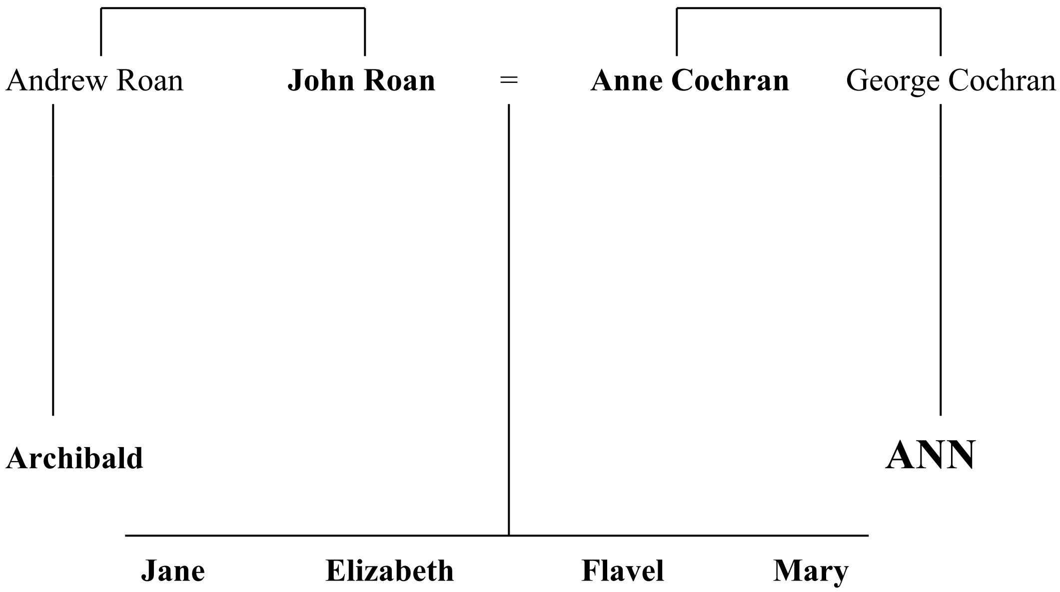
John Dixon = Arabella Murray

Isabel	James	Jean	Sarah	John	Hugh Henry	**ANN**
=		=	=	=		=
Eliezer Hamill		William Thompson	William Robertson	Sarah Lattimore		SANKEY DIXON

John	Matthew	Robert	Nancy	Isabella	Mary	MARGARET
	=		=		=	=
	Elizabeth Henderson		Charles G. Nimmo		James Martin	MCCAMA W. ROBINSON

Rachel Ann	Samuel	Elizabeth	William	Isabella	Sarah	Henry	Mary
=	=	=					
James R. Mankin	Sallie Cassetty	John M. Sturtevant					

APPENDIX B: ROAN HOUSEHOLD CHART



APPENDIX C: FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Silhouette of Robert Dixon
Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, The Tennessee Historical Society

FIGURE 2: Dr. John Cochran
National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution: Gift of Henry Stephen Magraw Uhl

FIGURE 3: Samuel Cochran
Courtesy of Mrs. Samuel R. Slaymaker, II

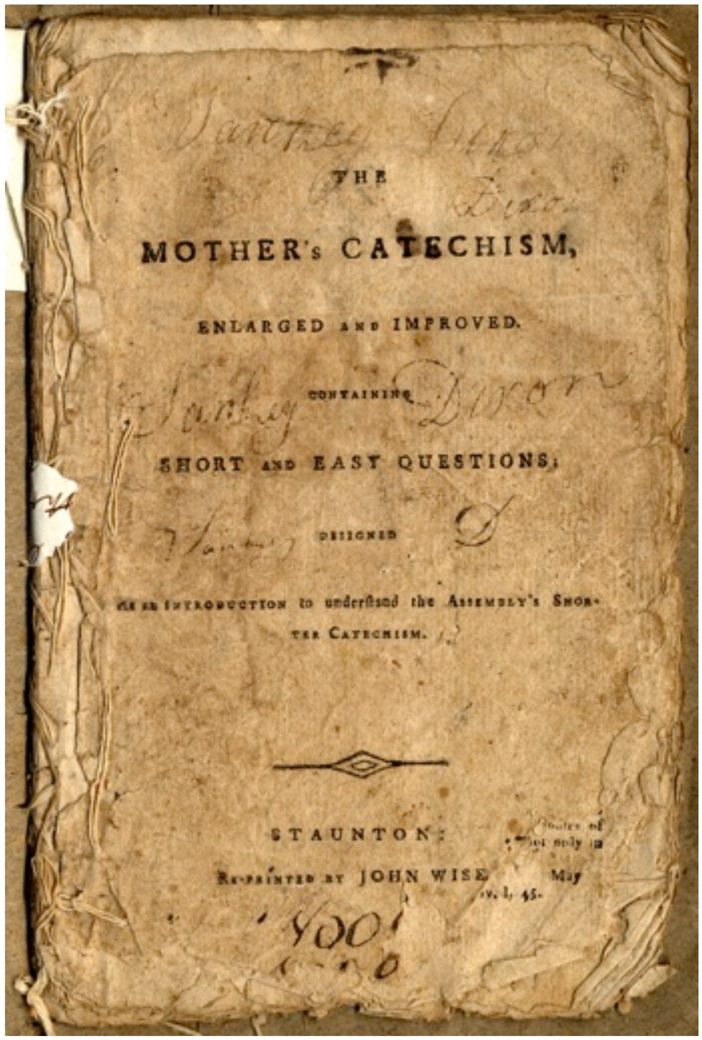


FIGURE 4: *The Mother's Catechism*
Anna Cochran Dixon Papers, The Tennessee Historical Society

FIGURE 5: Archibald Roane
Tennessee State Museum

FIGURE 6: Hugh Lawson White
Tennessee State Museum

FIGURE 7: Rachel Ann Robinson Mankin
Courtesy of Rodney and Emily Robinson

FIGURE 8: Samuel D. Robinson
Courtesy of Rodney and Emily Robinson

FIGURE 9: Ann Cochran Dixon Tombstone
Courtesy of the Author