

“LET US GIVE THEM SOMETHING TO PLAY WITH”:  
THE PRESERVATION OF THE HERMITAGE BY  
THE LADIES’ HERMITAGE ASSOCIATION

by

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## ABSTRACT

Since 1889, Andrew Jackson's Hermitage has been open to the public as a museum thanks to the work of the Ladies' Hermitage Association. However, the story of the Hermitage's preservation is more complicated than just a simple deed of trust given to a group of women who historians have long left standing in Andrew Jackson's historical shadow. The state of Tennessee owned the property for over thirty years, but during that time struggled to define what it meant to preserve the property. Ultimately, it was the support of local women and men that made the difference between the success or failure of preservation work at the Hermitage. These early LHA members did more than preserve an important historical site, they also led the way for women's organizations in the city of Nashville, proving that women had the ability to do much more than just "play" house.

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## INTRODUCTION

Just a short car ride from downtown Nashville's honkytonks and country music lies the home of the seventh President of the United States. Almost two centuries have come and gone but little has happened to change Andrew Jackson's Hermitage – or so it would seem. Jackson's fingerprint is everywhere. Cedars still line the driveway. Slave cabins still stand in the backyard. His library is still full of the books he collected throughout his life. From the Bank War and the nullification crisis, to his roles in the battle of Horseshoe Bend and the Trail of Tears, Jackson's legacy casts a lengthy shadow across nineteenth-century American history and the Hermitage property. Therefore, it is not hard to imagine that for a historic site like Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, the memory of this larger-than-life president also sometimes obscures the history of those who worked so hard to preserve his home in the first place. In fact, when asked how most of the furnishings could possibly be original, one of the simplest answers the historical interpreters give is that it became a museum in 1889. If only the process had been that simple!

In truth, the preservation of the Hermitage spanned the latter half of the nineteenth-century. From its purchase by the state of Tennessee in 1856 (making it one of the earliest historic homes preserved by a state), to the Ladies' Hermitage Association's (LHA) campaign to save it in 1889, the story of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage is long and winding. It takes us from plantations and slavery through civil war to the rebuilding of the South by men and women who were adapting to a new way of life. One of these women was Sally McGavock Lindsley. According to one apocryphal account, Tennessee

Representative Col. John H. Savage opposed a bill giving the LHA a deed of trust for the Hermitage property and was blocking passage of the bill. Sally, a prominent Nashville woman, stormed into Savage's office, determined to change his mind. Perhaps her step into politics annoyed Col. Savage, but he gave in. However, according to Sally's daughter Louise Grundy Lindsley, when explaining his change of heart to his male colleagues, Savage reportedly said, "Let us give the ladies what they ask for. Let us give them something to play with, Andrew Jackson's house and garden."<sup>1</sup>

Political men failed. Domestic women succeeded. At least that is what Louise Lindsley appeared to want the moral of her story to be. Given Louise's position as a future LHA regent and suffragist, the credibility of the account is debatable. Perhaps she simplified the story. Perhaps it was even part of her suffragist rhetoric. Even so, Col. Savage's words still accurately reflected the attitudes women faced during this period. After all, if women's place was at home, what were Sally or the other LHA members doing by entering the political sphere? Ultimately, the story of the preservation of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage is a study in both nineteenth-century historic preservation work and women's political activism. Understanding this story, then, helps historians better appreciate how difficult preservation in the nineteenth-century was, how important local support was to such a movement, and how such preservation organizations like the LHA were not just about preservation. The LHA itself was one of the first social activist organizations women could join in Nashville and it gave women the opportunity to prove

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<sup>1</sup> Louise Grundy Lindsley, unpublished manuscript, Lindsley Family Papers, Box 2, Folder 40: Miscellaneous Photocopies, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

that they could create by-laws and run an organization just as well (and perhaps even better) than men.

The first chapter of this thesis will explore the historiography related to the Hermitage's preservation, as well as women's charitable and political work during the period in which the LHA formed. The second chapter will explain the Hermitage's transition from private hands to state ownership and then to the Ladies' Hermitage Association. The final chapter will consider how Tennessee's enthusiasm for the history of one of its most prominent citizens and how the powerful connections of the first LHA board members ensured the preservation of the Hermitage.



## CHAPTER ONE

### HISTORIOGRAPHY

From its inception, the Ladies' Hermitage Association (LHA) and its members have been the caretakers of an important piece of American history while they themselves have remained behind the scenes. Because the LHA's history includes both nineteenth-century preservation work and women's political activism, it is important to examine both of these topics historiographically. This thesis, then, will add to the historiography not only by examining the history of the LHA, which has been largely neglected, but also by showing how women's preservation organizations played an important role in women's political activism in the late nineteenth-century.

#### *Preservation of the Hermitage*

"I remembered the lovely garden with its odor of lilac and hyacinth, its graveled walks, and the air of mystery. For was this not the home of General Jackson?" wrote Mary Clementia Currey Dorris in the first chapter of her book, *Preservation of the Hermitage 1889-1915*.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-six years had passed since the founding of the Ladies' Hermitage Association (LHA). Mary Dorris was a former regent, the current secretary for the organization, and by her own admission one of the four main founding members of the LHA. Although she modestly expressed a desire for someone else to write this book

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<sup>1</sup> Mary C. Currey Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage 1890-1915* (1915), 15-16.

(apparently considering herself inadequate), her close ties to the LHA throughout the years put her in the perfect position to create it.<sup>2</sup> Mary considered the LHA her life's work, and it is because of this book that so much information is available about the preservation of the Hermitage today.

Unfortunately, Mary's narrative contains some problems for the modern historian researching the early LHA to overcome. Mary was not a trained historian or a professional writer (though her husband, Duncan, was a newspaper editor). Her sources were decent – interviews with former LHA members, letters, and period newspaper articles – but she appeared to be selective in what she included. There is little information on the opposition to the LHA, except for the admission that opposition existed. Yet archived newspapers of the period provide ample evidence that many Tennesseans' were simply more interested in supporting their disabled Confederate veterans by building a soldiers' home than in the LHA's plan to preserve it. Dorris also provides little information on the thirty years of neglect the Hermitage received at the hands of the state of Tennessee, besides the fact that it happened. Yet understanding how the state dealt with the Hermitage during this time is important to comprehending the context in which the LHA formed. In turn, this raises another question: why after all this time was someone finally interested in doing something with Jackson's former home?

One other issue historians face when reading Mary Dorris's book is the fact that she took it for granted that her readers would know many of the important white middle and upper class supporters about whom she wrote. Certainly, she knew them well and

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 10.

understood how and why they got involved in this preservation attempt, but today most of their names have faded into the pages of time. Therefore, figuring out who these men and women were is vitally important because this information can answer the questions of how and why the LHA preserved the Hermitage in 1889. The social networks that linked these men and women are also key to this investigation because they reveal the connections to wealth and political power that some early LHA members possessed and used for the benefit of the association.

Another important book about the Hermitage was published by Mary French Caldwell in 1933. Caldwell, a writer, editor, and suffragist, wrote *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage* in order to document the history of the Hermitage – at least while Andrew Jackson owned it.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of a dedication to “the patriotic women whose untiring labors made possible the preservation, in its entirety, of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage,” and a list of current and past board members, the history of the LHA lies buried under Andrew Jackson's legacy.<sup>4</sup> The same is true of Stanley Horn's *The Hermitage: Home of Old Hickory*, which was published in 1950. Horn was a historian who would become president of the Tennessee Historical Society and who would also be involved in the preservation of the old City Cemetery and the Carter House at Franklin.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> “Caldwell, Mary French (1896-1982),” finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Mar. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/92-120.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Mary French Caldwell, *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage* (Nashville, TN: Ladies' Hermitage Association, 1949), dedication page.

<sup>5</sup> Harris D. Riley, Jr, “Stanley F. Horn,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Mar. 14, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=652>.

His interest in Andrew Jackson is not surprising considering Jackson's connections to Tennessee's history, but his book ends with Jackson's death, which is where the story of the Hermitage's preservation should begin.

Besides books printed by authors associated closely with the Hermitage or Tennessee history, Charles B. Hosmer, author of *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg*, is one of the first historians to take a critical look at the history of historic preservation, and one of the few to mention the preservation of the Hermitage. His analysis, however, focuses mainly on comparing the Ladies' Hermitage Association with the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. While the comparison is useful, and will be used to some extent in this thesis, Hosmer's text fails to go as deeply into the story of the LHA as he does the MVLA. The sources he uses are also problematic. Except for some government records used to explain how the Hermitage received federal funding in 1907, the rest of the section on the Hermitage relies almost exclusively on Mary Dorris's account of the LHA's preservation work, which as noted earlier lacks a balanced, scholarly view.

Over the years, other authors have addressed the history of preservation, but like Hosmer, their works have often left the LHA under the shadow of Mount Vernon. Diane Barthel, in her book *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity*, includes the Hermitage in a list of other sites like Mount Vernon that were preserved for their "patriotic symbolism."<sup>6</sup> Patricia West, in her book *Domesticating History*, spends an

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<sup>6</sup> Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 20.

entire chapter on the preservation of four different historic sites, including Mount Vernon, Louisa May Alcott's Orchard House, Monticello, and Booker T. Washington's home. She mentions the Hermitage in this book as well, but only as one example in a list of many preserved sites considered "second only to Mount Vernon."<sup>7</sup> Considering just how early the Hermitage was preserved, it seems strange that so little has been published about the preservation of the property by the Ladies' Hermitage Association. Andrew Jackson has always been a powerful figure in American history though, and it is only when we step beyond his death and consider the preservation of the Hermitage that we can understand why so much of his belongings and history are still accessible today.

#### *Nineteenth-Century Women's Political Activism*

Women's political activism might not seem like a surprising subject today, but early histories written about the late nineteenth-century South make little if any mention of this topic. In fact, prior to the women's movement of the 1960s women were secondary characters in the story of history. According to most historians, they did not make history happen – rather history happened to them. They were the wives of generals or mothers of presidents, and their place was in the home. Historians themselves often fell for the gospel truth of republican motherhood or the cult of domesticity.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 36.

<sup>8</sup> According to historian Linda Kerber, republican motherhood meant that women were not citizens, yet still had political roles by raising the next generation of male citizens. Historian Barbara Welter writes about a similar concept, which she calls the cult of true womanhood. She defines the cult as ideal women who are pure, pious, submissive, and domestic. However, both these historians were using terms which, like the idea of

Consequently, when historians researched or wrote history, they failed to recognize that nineteenth-century southern women were not merely housekeepers, babysitters, southern belles, or slave mammies. The historiography of nineteenth-century women's political activism in the South is long and winding. It begins with historians breaking down traditional or stereotypical roles for women in the South (both white and black and rich and poor) before culminating in the history of the suffrage movement in the 1890s through 1920s. However, by understanding the historiography of this subject, it is also possible for us to grasp why the Ladies' Hermitage Association has been quietly ignored by historians for so many years.

One of the first major works published in a new wave of study on American women's history was a biographical dictionary published in 1971. The dictionary, titled *Notable American Women*, comprises entries for over 1,359 women, including forty-one blacks and fifteen Native Americans. These women were lighthouse keepers, suffragists, authors, and even murderers. In a review of the dictionary, Ann Firor Scott relates the story of how the dictionary developed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. had the idea for it after he reviewed "the *Dictionary of American Biography* [and] was shocked to discover that

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separate spheres for women, impose order and generalize about a very complex and anarchical reality. Nevertheless, their work is still valuable according to Nancy Hewitt because it helps "refocus on the contradictions inherent in dominant ideals that create the possibility for their overthrow." Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment, an American Perspective," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1976): 204-05; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966), 152; Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 39; Nancy Hewitt, "Taking the True Woman Hostage," *Journal of Women's History* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 161.

fewer than one-half of one percent of the characters therein were women.”<sup>9</sup> Scott, who would become one of the seminal figures in the study of women in politics, writes that this dictionary helped make “the Invisible Woman Visible.” This description is fitting, considering how historians had previously ignored women’s contributions to American history.

Just one year before *Notable American Women* was released, Scott published her own book about the history of women, politics, and activism in the nineteenth-century South. Although some of her male colleagues criticized her work as “simply a form of female chauvinism,” Scott replied that she was more interested in adding “to our understanding of what has been social reality.”<sup>10</sup> In her book *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930*, Scott examines how women tried to navigate the gap between cultural standards that placed them on a moral pedestal and the harsh realities of the post-Civil War South. Such hardships forced women to step down from that pedestal into the public realm of politics. While *The Southern Lady* focuses largely on middle and upper class women (due to the availability of sources written by them, like diaries or letters), it does highlight the changes taking place to the image of southern womanhood in the nineteenth-century. Scott details how plantation mistresses often managed the business side of the plantation, including the slaughtering of hogs along with completing

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<sup>9</sup> Anne Firor Scott, “Making the Invisible Woman Visible: An Essay Review,” *Journal of Southern History* 38, no. 4 (November, 1972): 629.

<sup>10</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xii.

their traditional domestic duties.<sup>11</sup> During the war, these same women ran soldiers' relief societies or worked in hospitals. After the war, women used activism in organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy or the Women's Christian Temperance Union to push quietly at the cultural boundaries of domesticity that fenced them in.<sup>12</sup>

*The Southern Lady* may have been a groundbreaking work, revealing women's agency in history; however, not all academics were thrilled with Scott's interpretation. John Carl Ruoff, in his 1976 dissertation titled "Southern Womanhood 1865-1920: An Intellectual and Cultural Study" argues that Scott, and other historians like her, were "embracing" an image of the new southern women that did not represent the masses.<sup>13</sup> He bases his argument on what he sees as the dominant cultural image of southern womanhood revealed in nineteenth-century media, advertisements, entertainment, and published diaries. Because of these sources, Ruoff does a good job of defining the characteristics of this dominant and traditional image for middle and upper class women, including sexual purity, submissiveness to husbands, and domesticity.<sup>14</sup> While these sources do support his argument that "traditional female roles confirmed the family's stability" during a period of instability, his analysis still falls back on the belief that all women were a perfect reflection of this image.<sup>15</sup> However, a close reading of Scott's

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>13</sup> John Carl Ruoff, "Southern Womanhood 1865-1920: an Intellectual and Cultural Study" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 184-85.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 188.



work reveals that even she does not believe these women were radicals or a representative sample of all southern women, but rather that they were adapting traditional female roles to a changing world while trying to maintain an air of respectability.

It would not be long before the historiography of women's political activism would take on a new dimension. Scott and Ruoff, while both making good arguments, failed to cross class lines in order to show how non-elites fit into this idea of southern womanhood, particularly when they stepped out of the shadows of domesticity to do wage work. Ruoff claims in his dissertation that southern women (at least the upper class ones) restricted "themselves to employments like sewing and teaching" to conform with the period's image of womanhood, since these were tasks traditionally done by women.<sup>16</sup> However, historian Mari Jo Buhle comes to a very different conclusion while analyzing period fiction, sources that Ruoff also studied. Although her article, "Needlewomen and the Vicissitudes of Modern Life," is about the construction of class in the Northeast, it is still important because it reveals that the dominant image of womanhood was not restricted to the South and that it had a profound effect upon the lower classes even during the antebellum period.

Buhle begins her article with the story of a young mother from Georgia reduced to sewing and begging in New York City after her husband makes poor investments and then dies, leaving her alone to support their children. It is only when a rich elderly gentleman who knew the woman's mother takes her under his wing that her suffering

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 144-45.

ends.<sup>17</sup> This story was just one of many written about the fall of well-to-do women from wealth to poverty. Although the books discussed class differences, Buhle explains that the real reason for such stories was to highlight “gender inequalities” between working class men and working class women.<sup>18</sup> While nineteenth-century authors hoped to evoke sympathy from wealthy women for the poor (by making them feel as if poverty could happen to them), these stories also carried the subtle message that women needed to be able to take care of themselves, which was something for which ideal images of womanhood did not allow. Needlewomen, then, did not choose sewing because it was traditional, as Ruoff supposed, but rather as a last resort. Sewing was the only skill they had ever learned which had monetary worth in the public sphere. Therefore, women needed better educations to prepare themselves for life, not just marriage and domesticity.

Like Buhle, Laura F. Edwards, in her article “Down from the Pedestal: The Influence of Anne Scott’s Southern Ladies,” also considers the ways in which women acted in public roles during the antebellum era. However, she takes Buhle’s focus on the fictional fall of well-to-do women one step further by examining those women who could fall no farther, or as she put it, who “never made it up on the pedestal in the first place.”<sup>19</sup> Edwards uses her understanding of local government during the nineteenth-century to

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<sup>17</sup> Mary Jo Buhle, “Needlewomen and the Vicissitudes of Modern Life,” in *Visible Women: New Essays in American Activism*, ed. Nancy A Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 146.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>19</sup> Laura F. Edwards, “Down from the Pedestal: The Influence of Anne Scott’s Southern Ladies,” in *Writing Women’s History*, ed. Elizabeth Ann Payne (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 30.

reveal how the lines between private and public spaces blurred, particularly when women went to court. Women could use laws concerning public order, peace, or vagrancy to help protect themselves from abuse or neglect, and to defend their right to own family property. When courts ruled in the women's favor, they undermined paternalistic power without ever giving women further rights.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, Edwards argues that these women expected to have some "say in community governance, particularly at a local level," and therefore were related to the post-war women in Scott's *The Southern Lady*, who took the "leap" to fight for suffrage.<sup>21</sup>

In 1992, Anne Firor Scott revisited the idea of women in public. However, rather than study court records or period fiction, Scott examines women's involvement in charity work and voluntary associations. Although her book, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*, is not as specifically focused on the South as *The Southern Lady* is, it still traces the history of women's activism all the way back to the Revolutionary War. Scott reveals in her introduction that had she known the "magnitude of the task" of researching such associations she might not have taken on the challenge. In the beginning, her goal was to write a book about "organized womanhood" in the nineteenth-century, a topic she felt other historians often ignored.<sup>22</sup>

Of course, some of these organizations did write histories of themselves before Scott wrote *Natural Allies*. However, because they were written by the organization for

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>22</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 1.

the organization, these histories were biased in content and lacked scholarly analysis. One such book, published in 1962 and written by Mattie Duncan Beard, was *The W. C. T. U. in the Volunteer State*. Despite Beard's status as a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), she was still recording that history which had been neglected by scholars. The most important goal Beard had for her book was to showcase the significant accomplishments of the WCTU in Tennessee. She details specific projects they took on, including lobbying for laws that would promote temperance and raise the age of consent, and projects to help women find jobs.<sup>23</sup>

As Scott began her research for *Natural Allies* by focusing on organizations like the WCTU, she was overwhelmed by the number of organizations that existed "literally everywhere: known or unknown, famous or obscure."<sup>24</sup> These organizations served all sorts of purposes including dealing with poverty, disease, religion, and education. Scott argues that these organizations, whether before, during, or after the Civil War, slowly but steadily prepared women for the long hard push for suffrage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Another historian, Sara M. Evans, in her article "Women's History and Political Theory: Toward a Feminist Approach to Public Life," attempts to create an even broader understanding of how these organizations fit into women's lives by coining the term "domestic politics." Domestic politics served as a bridge between the

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<sup>23</sup> Mattie Duncan Beard, *The W.C.T.U. in the Volunteer State* (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1962), 11-12, 29.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

two separate social spheres of private and public life, and operated based on “influence rather than direct participation.”<sup>25</sup>

However, Scott’s “organized womanhood” and Evans “domestic politics” were not the only activities preparing women to step out into public roles. A natural place for research to branch out from such public associations was another type of institution, often founded by women for women – colleges. Scott’s research in *Natural Allies* inspired historian Mary Kelley to write “Equally Their Due: Women Education and Public Life in Post-Revolutionary and Antebellum America.” In this article, Kelley details the creation of institutions of higher education for women before the Civil War. Although the women able to attend these schools were from the upper classes, Kelley explains that the number of men and women enrolled in liberal arts colleges at the time was almost the same.<sup>26</sup> Not only that, but these women had similar curricula which included subjects like mathematics or science. Such colleges also spawned lyceums or literature societies for the educational growth of these women. As one student wrote, “Were the ladies of our country to make appropriate efforts [with their educations] the whole might be elevated.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Sara M. Evans, “Women’s History and Political Theory: Toward a Feminist Approach to Public Life,” in *Visible Women: New Essays in American Activism*, ed. Nancy A Hewitt and Suzanne Leacock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 128.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Kelley, “Equally Their Due: Women, Education, and Public Life in Post-Revolutionary and Antebellum America,” in *Writing Women’s History*, ed. Elizabeth Ann Payne (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Besides attending college, women also played a role in the creation of educational materials. Julie Des Jardins, in her book *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and Politics of Memory, 1880-1945*, explores the contributions women made to the field of history as early as the Revolutionary War. Although the cult of republican motherhood involved women raising their children at home so they would become good citizens, this also meant that women made good teachers outside of the home as well. Des Jardins explains that between 1790 and 1860 over twenty women not only published textbooks, but also “established national reputations not as ‘historians’ per se but as dutiful educators of children.”<sup>28</sup>

However, as the historiography swung backward to consider women’s long involvement in public matters during the antebellum era, a new development was also emerging – women of other races were now being included in the study of women’s activism. In writing *Women and Historical Enterprise*, Des Jardins also includes African American women who, although poorer than their white counterparts, would begin to use oral and cultural history sources in order to help write histories to uplift their own race long before other people in the history field began to use such sources.<sup>29</sup> However, Des Jardins was not the first person to begin to analyze the activism of women of other races. For the longest time, stereotypes of both white and black women ruled over southern history, particularly when southerners wrote fiction. And while writers like Ruoff and

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<sup>28</sup> Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003), 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 8-9.

Buhle both used fiction sources in their works, there was a problem with these sources. Fiction might reflect the ideal image of culture or womanhood, but it might also be written as propaganda in defense of that culture against changing standards. Ruoff, although he understands this issue, uses it to strengthen the grasp of the image of southern womanhood on women, which leaves women with little agency in choosing to step out beyond the bounds of that image.

Catherine Clinton, in her book *Tara Revisited*, takes Ruoff and Buhle's analysis of the image of southern womanhood to a whole new level. Like Scott, Clinton is focused on comparing culture to the reality of life in the South. Unlike Scott, however, Clinton focuses on depictions of women in fiction and art, especially in the nineteenth-century. She argues that stereotypes like the gentle southern belle or the black mammy came to be a part of the romanticized Lost Cause narrative that blossomed in the South after the Civil War. By comparing these stereotypes to primary sources, Clinton reveals that some southern white women ran hospitals while others acted as spies or even saboteurs. Such roles were very public, and very much outside of the bounds set by Ruoff's ideal image of a southern woman. African American women also participated as spies (Harriet Tubman) or as nurses, but for the vast majority, who were still enslaved, Clinton explains that their biggest goal was to use the war as an opportunity to find freedom. Although *Tara Revisited* is not an exhaustive look at this topic, the book does set the stage for further research and analysis, which other historians would take up after Clinton.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 69-70, 88-92, 100-05, 213. One of Clinton's earlier books, *The Plantation Mistress*, also dealt with this topic but focused more on the

Historian Joan Marie Johnson takes the analysis of this issue further. In her book *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930*, Johnson considers how both black and white women formed clubs in the South with all sorts of social reform and self-help goals. However, no matter their race, women used their clubs to create an identity for themselves. For white women, this was an identity closely tied to their Confederate past. However, their rhetoric carried racial undertones. They ignored any needs blacks might have had in order to embrace “a Lost Cause that justified and strengthened segregation.”<sup>31</sup> Johnson argues that it is difficult to see this racial side of such clubs without examining the black clubwomen as well. These African American women used their clubs to counteract white culture by teaching their own histories, reading their own literature, and caring for their own community’s needs in order to lift up their race.<sup>32</sup>

Deborah Gray White, in her article “The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism” takes this examination of black clubwomen another step further by considering how these black women also struggled to deal with the complicated issues of

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experience of women on the plantation and how that related to slavery and sex. Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), xi-xii.

<sup>31</sup> Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 205.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-16, 22. Another historian, Francesca Morgan, makes a similar argument in her book *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America*. Although she is focused on nationalism in both white and black women’s organizations, she explains that black middle class women in the National Association for Colored Women struggled to define the relationship between the “American and ‘Negro’ nations.” Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 4-8.



race, class, and gender. White explains that unlike their white counterparts, black women were at a triple disadvantage because of their race, class, and gender. In their work to uplift their race, they also created divisions between themselves, middle class black men, and lower-class black women and men. Men felt alienated by them because of women's criticism of their voting record as well as their lack of defense for women who had been raped. Lower-class blacks felt belittled by the clubwomen who by trying to help them sometimes seemed to be implying that their problems (like rape) were their fault. However, White also describes how these black clubwomen were fighting a war on three fronts and "that they could not juggle all three variables and be perfect is not surprising."<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Johnson argues in *Southern Ladies* that, whatever their faults, these black clubwomen's work set the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement much the same way the white clubwomen's work pushed them toward suffrage.<sup>34</sup>

Despite the advances in analyzing class and race in the historiography of southern women's political activism, the question remained of how these women went from Ruoff's image of the ideal woman to using some of their organizations to fight for women's suffrage. Obviously historians like Johnson, White, Clinton, and Scott briefly explored how early women's organizations played a role in pushing women into the public, but other historians would go even further. These historians would examine the

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<sup>33</sup> Deborah Gray White, "The Cost of Club Work, The Price of Black Feminism," in *Visible Women: New Essays in American Activism*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 264.

<sup>34</sup> Johnson, 206.

contributions of specific organizations to the movement toward suffrage and how in the South this movement was often tied to racist ideals as well as the Lost Cause narrative.

Historian Caroline E. Janney argues in her book *Burying the Dead, But Not the Past*, that one of the places where Lost Cause rhetoric was born was in ladies' memorial associations formed during and after the Civil War to bury and honor deceased Confederate soldiers. Janney explains how death and mourning were normally private domestic duties assigned to women. When a family member died, they organized funerals and mourned. However, when the Civil War came, so many soldiers died on such a massive scale that keeping such work private was almost impossible.<sup>35</sup> Thus, ladies' memorial associations became a form of Evans's "domestic politics" by blending private and public life together. Because women ran these memorial associations, however, occupying Union forces tolerated their public mourning for the dead and attempts to memorialize the fallen soldiers as heroes.

*Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* extends the work of these women beyond honoring the dead soldiers. In this book, historian Karen Cox argues that women took up the Lost Cause in order to help rehabilitate the image of southern men and the Old South despite the changes taking place there.<sup>36</sup> Her claim partially agrees with Ruoff's argument that

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<sup>35</sup> Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 30-33.

<sup>36</sup> Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), 9-10.

women were trying to use their newfound public roles to shore up traditional values. However, Cox argues that the founding of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) gave these women the ability to act publicly without fear of being called “unfeminine” and that they also “offered women a social and cultural outlet and the opportunity to engage in progressive reform.” Although the UDC did provide women with a more public position than what they had before, Cox explains that not all UDC members were for suffrage. Some thought that supporting women’s rights was an attack on traditional gender roles as well as states’ rights (by having a federal constitutional amendment mandate it).<sup>37</sup>

Historian Victoria Ott also adds a significant understanding to the creation of the Lost Cause and the increase in women’s political activism following the war. Unlike Clinton, who emphasizes socio-economic changes and the “cult of sacrifice”<sup>38</sup> that pushed women into public roles, or unlike Cox, who emphasizes how working for the Lost Cause made women more politically active, Ott focuses her book *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age During the Civil War* on the generation of women who grew up during the Civil War. She argues that these young and impressionable women were trained for success in a South that the war had destroyed. Therefore, these women were firm supporters of the Confederacy and then the Lost Cause, not only to restore honor to

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 26, 29, 40.

<sup>38</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 139-59.

their men, but to also reestablish idyllic versions of women's traditional roles that had existed in the Old South.<sup>39</sup>

As Karen Cox pointed out earlier, these women involved in the Lost Cause rarely were interested in suffrage, at least initially. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, in her book *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* examines the southern suffrage movement and the problems it encountered on the way to the Nineteenth Amendment. Prior to 1890, the suffrage movement failed to gain traction in the South because it clashed with the Lost Cause and traditional roles of southern women. In the 1890s though, some women began to turn to the movement because they realized it would help them fulfill their role as the moral leader of their home by giving them the power to pass temperance, age of consent, and working women's and children's rights laws. Despite supporting suffrage, these women still tried to fit suffrage into the idea of southern womanhood. For example, unlike their suffragist sisters in the North, they were much more in favor of state action to enfranchise women, rather than having the federal government "force" it on the states, which all fit into the Lost Cause ideology of the era.<sup>40</sup> They also used suffrage as an answer to "the Negro problem" by arguing that white women's votes would cancel out those of black men.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Victoria E. Ott, *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age During the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>40</sup> Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women in the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 134-35. One of the people Wheeler thanks in her acknowledgements is Anne Firor Scott, whose contributions to southern women's history paved the way for Wheeler's own work.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

However, using suffrage as an answer to “the Negro problem” was not the only way race became entangled in the suffrage movement. Dolores Janiewski, in her article “Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the ‘Woman Question,’ and ‘Indian Reform,’” explains how Alice Fletcher came to Nebraska to do an ethnographic study of Native American life. Fletcher then used the information she gathered about Native women to prove that women in the past had played an important role in public life and to support the idea that one day women would again be able to have that same kind of “supremacy.” However, Janiewski states that there was a problem with Fletcher’s rationale for civilizing Native Americans. As she helped them do so, Fletcher also unwittingly helped marginalize Native women to the very same roles from which Fletcher, as a feminist, was trying to help white women escape.<sup>42</sup> And while Janiewski’s research does reveal the inconsistency between Fletcher’s stance on feminism and her efforts to civilize Native Americans, it is very similar to the contradictions Karen Cox reveals in the UDC women who are pushing the boundaries of the public sphere for their organization while also fighting against suffrage. In the end, though, Wheeler explains that these southern women were proud to be paradoxes, “both ‘Southern Ladies’ and ‘New Women.’”<sup>43</sup>

As this discussion of the historiography demonstrates, Anne Firor Scott’s *The Southern Lady* was a groundbreaking work in many ways. For the first time, a historian was breaking through the limitations placed on women’s agency in southern history.

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<sup>42</sup> Dolores Janiewski, “Giving Women a Future: Alice Fletcher, the ‘Woman Question,’ and ‘Indian Reform,’” in *Visible Women*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Leacock, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 329-30.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii.

Since Scott published her book in 1970, it has served as a starting point for historians researching and writing the history of women's activism and suffrage. In fact, six of the articles included in this historiography are from two different collections of essays written specifically in honor of Scott's initial work: *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* and *Writing Women's History: A Tribute to Anne Firor Scott*. As the historiography moved from a focus on white upper-class women to include lower-class whites, and African-American women, our understanding of women's roles in public has broadened far beyond the stereotypical images that were so prevalent in early fiction as well as non-fiction.

Ultimately, by comparing the historiography of the preservation of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage and women's political activism, it is easy to understand that history itself has for the longest time relegated women, like those involved in the LHA, to secondary positions. Although this thesis will help make these 'invisible women visible,' it will also help put the LHA into perspective with many other women's activist organizations. In this way, this thesis will show that the LHA was not only similar to these other organizations, but it served as a stepping stone for women moving toward the suffrage movement who could prove, by their work at the Hermitage, that they could be good leaders, managers, and voters.

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE PRESERVATION OF THE HERMITAGE 1856-1889

It took eleven short years following Andrew Jackson's death in 1845 for Andrew Jr.'s poor spending habits and bad investments in Kentucky ironworks and lead mines to catch up with his inheritance of the Hermitage, the president's home. Desperate to resolve his financial difficulties, Jr. decided to sell the property, offering it first to the federal government and then to the state of Tennessee.<sup>1</sup> After considerable debate about the merits of the proposal, Tennessee agreed to purchase five hundred acres (including the mansion and tomb) for \$48,000.<sup>2</sup> The remaining acres, described in a newspaper advertisement as "one of the richest and most superior Farms in the State," became available for public purchase.<sup>3</sup> When these acres were gone, so was Gen. Andrew Jackson's beloved Rural Retreat.<sup>4</sup> Of this sale, Andrew Jr.'s wife Sarah Jackson wrote,

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<sup>1</sup> Mark R. Cheatham, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: G. C. Torbett and Co., 1856), 108-09.

<sup>3</sup> "Magnificent Farm for Sale," *Nashville Union and American*, June 17, 1856, LHA Collections, Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Hermitage, TN. (Hereafter cited as LHA Collections.)

<sup>4</sup> President Jackson's original name for the property, which he quickly changed to the French word *hermitage*, which meant a place of solitude. "Hermitage Interpretive Manual," 2014 edition, in the Interpretation Department of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Hermitage, TN.

“We are now living on rented property, our beautiful and dearly loved home is no longer ours it has passed into other hands, and we have to look for another.”<sup>5</sup>

Tennessee’s 1856 purchase made the Hermitage one of the first government-owned historic sites in the nation. However, it would not be the first example of historic preservation in America. As early as 1813, the citizens of Philadelphia were fighting to save Independence Hall from destruction, and they eventually persuaded the city government to purchase the building in 1816. Although time, neglect, and mismanagement had damaged that structure, two different architects, William Strickland and John Haviland, played critical roles in various restoration projects between 1828 and 1831. According to Charles Hosmer in *Presence of the Past*, the first successful preservation campaign involved the Hasbrouck house in Newburgh, New York. George Washington had used this building as a headquarters during the Revolutionary War. The state of New York acquired the home in 1850 after the owner defaulted on his mortgage and the home was placed on the auction block.<sup>6</sup>

Even the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association (MVLA) did not receive approval for its charter until March 17, 1856, only weeks after Tennessee received General Jackson’s property. Just like the Hermitage, the federal government refused to purchase George Washington’s former home (although an Army board did ask John Washington to

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<sup>5</sup> Sarah Jackson to Andrew Jackson III, Feb. 11, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

<sup>6</sup> Charles B. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1965), 29-31, 34-36.



sell the property for use as a home for disabled soldiers in 1851).<sup>7</sup> However, while the MVLA, under the leadership of Ann Pamela Cunningham, began to make repairs after gaining possession of Mount Vernon in 1860, the Hermitage would spend the next thirty-three years at the mercy of legislative debates while its roof continued leaking and its plaster continued cracking. Eventually, the Ladies' Hermitage Association (LHA) formed in 1889, modeled on the MVLA, to save Jackson's beloved home from ruin.

It is easy to look at the history of the Hermitage's preservation and see Tennessee's neglect of the property as an utter failure. However, the state did manage to save the home from the nineteenth-century equivalent of a wrecking ball, which was more than many early preservation campaigns were able to accomplish.<sup>8</sup> Preservation was an almost unheard of field at the time, and Tennessee was one of the first states to delve into it. Consequently, it had no precedents to follow, no money allocated for mounting expenses, and no idea that the looming shadow of civil war would affect its ability to care for the property. Despite all these problems, when the state stumbled in its preservation duties, its citizens stepped up to ensure that Old Hickory's memory was not

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 41-43.

<sup>8</sup> One example of such a failed campaign involved the Hancock mansion in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1859, a house John Hancock had lived in was offered to the state legislature. The legislature considered using the house as a governor's mansion, but nothing happened (much like the Hermitage). The family finally sold the house in 1863 to the city of Boston. Although city leaders planned on preserving the structure, they quickly discovered it would cost much more than they expected, so the home was demolished later that same year. Michael Holleran, "Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004), 103-6.

desecrated. Therefore, the Hermitage's preservation is the story of the combined efforts of both state government and local citizens working together to preserve this important historic landmark.

### *The Antebellum Years*

“Although separated from our dear and venerated home... we will feel free, and enjoy the thought that Father is free and unencumbered with debt,” Andrew Jackson III wrote to his mother after learning of the impending sale of his “old home.”<sup>9</sup> During this period, Jackson's grandson was away studying at West Point United States Military Academy in New York. In his letters, he made excuses for getting lower marks than he should have, promised to correct those marks by the end of the year, and struggled to obtain leave to return home to visit his family.<sup>10</sup> Andrew III was just one of many young men facing similar experiences at West Point. Many people living in southern and western states at the time wanted to make such a military education easier for their young men to receive. According to historian Rod Andrew, military education was very important in the South. Unlike the North, southerners often associated militarism with

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<sup>9</sup> Andrew III was born April 4, 1834 to Andrew Jr. and Sarah Jackson. Andrew III would serve in the US Army until 1861 when he joined the Confederate Army and attained the rank of Colonel. He and his wife Amy Jackson would live at the Hermitage until 1893 before moving away. "Hermitage Interpretive Manual," 2014 edition; Andrew Jackson III to Sarah Jackson, Jan. 25, 1856, and Andrew Jackson III to Sarah Jackson, Mar. 24, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

<sup>10</sup> In order to get this leave, Jr. actually enlisted the help of Jefferson Davis, an acquaintance of the family. Andrew Jackson Jr. to Jefferson Davis, June 20, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

republicanism. Although this might seem like a contradiction, Andrew explains that southerners tied republican values of equality to a concept of manhood in which a man fights for or defends his rights and community. Therefore, a good military education could benefit young citizens by training them to have “manly bearing, courage, loyalty, patriotism, and morally correct behavior.” However, these military schools also were democratic in that they admitted boys from many different social and economic classes. This meant that rich and poor students wore uniforms as equals and their rank was based on their skills.<sup>11</sup>

Of course, parents could send their sons to one of the ninety-six colleges and universities that offered military training programs in the South.<sup>12</sup> Samuel Jackson (Andrew III’s younger brother) attended two of these schools, one in Kentucky, the other in Tennessee. However, these state run schools did not have the same prestige as a branch of West Point would. The country’s borders had expanded. The population had increased. So, why not open a second federally owned, national military school to keep up with the country’s growth?

As early as 1854, Andrew Jr. himself offered the Hermitage to the federal government for this purpose. Rep. Felix Zollicoffer of Tennessee introduced a proposal to the House of Representatives requesting that the Committee on Military Affairs “inquire

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<sup>11</sup> Rod Andrew, *Long Gray Lines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 2-4.

<sup>12</sup> Another fifteen schools in the North had similar programs. Bruce Allardice, “West Points of the Confederacy: Southern Military Schools and the Confederate Army,” *Civil War History*, 43.4 (Dec. 1997): 330.

into the expediency and practicability of establishing a branch of the Military Academy of the United States at the Hermitage.”<sup>13</sup> But the House refused to look into the matter. During the mid-nineteenth century, the federal government was selling off much of the land it already owned in order to reduce its debts and encourage westward expansion. Such a purchase was not only expensive, but it was also unnecessary. If the federal government wanted to create another military school, they already owned land they could use for any purpose they desired, including a military school.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the rejection of Andrew Jr.’s initial offer, Tennessee purchased the property in 1856, still giving the federal government two years in which to accept the property as a gift.<sup>15</sup> The state hoped that if it footed the bill for the purchase, then the federal government would be more willing and able to open a military school at the Hermitage “for the accommodation of southern & western boys.”<sup>16</sup> However, this plan was not just about a school, it was also about improving, protecting, and preserving Jackson’s memory. As the *Memphis Daily Appeal* put it:

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<sup>13</sup> “United States Military Academy @ The Hermitage – Congressional Records, 1854-1861,” LHA Collections.

<sup>14</sup> The nation’s first national park, Yellowstone, did not form until 1872, almost twenty years after Andrew Jr. first offered the Hermitage to the federal government. Ross W. Gorte, Carl Hardy Vincent, Laura A. Hanson, and Marc R. Rosenblum, “Federal Land Ownership: Overview and Data,” Congressional Research Service, Feb. 8, 2012, accessed May 3, 2014, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42346.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Part of this plan included a stipulation that if the federal government did not take the property within two years, then the state had the right to sell all the acres with the exception of the mansion, garden, and tomb.

<sup>16</sup> Sarah Jackson to Andrew Jackson III, Feb. 11, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

The State of Tennessee, filled with admiration of and veneration for the character of the hero who rendered such important services to his country in the time of danger as did the immortal Jackson, desire to perpetuate his name upon the spot where he lived, and where his remains now rest, by erecting over the ashes of that wonderful man a monument of which not only Tennessee may be justly proud, but which the world may admire.<sup>17</sup>

Many in the country, particularly in the South, favored using the Hermitage for a military school. The board at West Point apparently approved of the plan, and some were even beginning to consider the possibility that each school could have a particular specialty. For example, the school in New York could focus on infantry and artillery officers while the Hermitage focused on dragoon service.<sup>18</sup> Rep. Zollicoffer again introduced the bill in 1856, this time with the backing of Kentucky representatives. Zollicoffer argued that the two schools could also be used to improve cultural relations between North and South. By requiring students to do two years of study at each school, northerners would have the opportunity to understand southern culture just as those from the South and West did when they came to New York because “the Army of the United States, should not be entirely sectional in its education.”<sup>19</sup> Beside ease of access, young southern men would have teachers who understood their culture and would have a more temperate climate like the one to which they were accustomed. Should we send them to “Russia to be educated?” cried one overzealous Tennessean in reference to New York’s

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<sup>17</sup> “The Hermitage as a Government Military School,” *Memphis (TN) Daily Appeal*, Feb. 25, 1857, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. (Hereafter, all newspaper citations refer to this database unless otherwise cited in footnotes.)

<sup>18</sup> “The Hermitage,” *Home Journal* (Winchester, TN), Feb. 27, 1857.

<sup>19</sup> “The Proposed Branch of the West Point Academy,” *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), Jan. 20, 1858.

weather.<sup>20</sup> Ironically, while Andrew III wrote home in 1856 describing the frozen Hudson River as solid enough to drive a carriage over, his mother's reply reveals that the weather was just as terrible at the Hermitage, where they harvested more ice over five inches thick for their icehouse than they ever had before.<sup>21</sup>

In March 1857, a version of the bill to establish a military school at the Hermitage passed the House of Representatives by two votes only to fail when it reached the Senate. The reasons for this failure are many. Some legislators were worried about the expense. Other legislators from the North appeared to regard this as an attempt to divide the country further with sectional military schools. Interestingly, many in Congress appeared to wonder whether the Hermitage really deserved such an honor. Mount Vernon, too, was in dilapidated condition. Was Washington, the first US president, less deserving and important than Andrew Jackson?<sup>22</sup> Apparently the federal government could not come up with an answer. This was not the first time Congress would consider using the Hermitage as a military school, however, and it would not be the last.

The clock was ticking, and the federal government's two-year window to accept the Hermitage was slowly closing. As before, there was no sign that the US government was going to welcome the state's donation, so Tennessee began to consider alternative uses of the property. Governor Andrew Johnson suggested turning the Hermitage into a

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<sup>20</sup> "Hermitage," *Nashville Union and American*, Feb. 6, 1856.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Jackson III to Andrew Jackson Jr., Jan. 10, 1856, and Sarah Jackson to Andrew Jackson III, Feb. 11, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

<sup>22</sup> Robbie D. Jones, "George Washington Versus Andrew Jackson: America's First Presidential Shrine & Tennessee's Effort to Preserve the Hermitage, 1854-1865," November 2002, LHA Collections.

governor's mansion. Such a move, he argued, would allow those of "limited private fortune" to bring their family with them when they became governor. Also, the mansion would be relatively close to Nashville and cost effective since the state already owned it. As one newspaper editorial declared, "No Chief Magistrate of Tennessee residing at the Hermitage could ever prove unfaithful to the high trust reposed in him. The glorious traditions around him would make him true to himself and the country."<sup>23</sup> But nothing happened. Two years later, in 1859, Tennessee's new governor, Isham Green Harris, suggested turning the Hermitage over to the State Agriculture Bureau to "preserve the harmony and beauty of the property" through the careful farming of its land.<sup>24</sup> Some even took this a step further, calling for a state agricultural college.<sup>25</sup> As before, though, this plan for the Hermitage went no further.<sup>26</sup>

In February of 1858, the Tennessee legislature amended the original act of purchase to give the federal government another two years to debate the merits of a southern military school. Rep. Zollicoffer introduced a new bill to Congress later that year, which was sent immediately to the House Committee on Military Affairs for

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<sup>23</sup> "The Hermitage, the Old Residence of Gen. Andrew Jackson," *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, Nov. 26, 1857.

<sup>24</sup> "Governor's Message," *Fayetteville (TN) Observer*, Oct. 29, 1859.

<sup>25</sup> *The Sun* (New York, N.Y.), Dec. 10, 1859.

<sup>26</sup> Unlike the plans for a military school or a governor's mansion, which would be recommended repeatedly before and after the Civil War, the idea of an agricultural school does not appear to come up again. This is probably because Congress passed the Morrill Act in 1862, which offered public lands to states for "Colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts." In 1865, Tennessee passed an act accepting public land for this purpose. *Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: C. Mercer, 1865), 42.

review.<sup>27</sup> After some consideration, the committee reported that the Hermitage would not be the most suitable place for a military school. Committee chair Rep. Charles J.

Faulkner from Virginia explained that dividing studies between two locations would not give officers enough training or flexibility to deal with problems they might face on the battlefield. The committee instead recommended that the Hermitage might be better suited as a branch of West Point for specialized training:

Situated near the Tennessee river, communicating by steam with the most extended limits of river navigation and railroad transport, in a highly fertile and productive country, with a climate peculiarly suited for outdoor exercises about ten months of the year, abounding with good horses, the Hermitage can probably be well adapted for a cavalry school of practice, for which the sabre, carbine, pistol, and lance are the requisite arms and where there is probably ample space for manoeuvres and use of cavalry weapons.<sup>28</sup>

Despite these recommended changes, in 1860 the bill was reintroduced without them and the Committee on Military Affairs advised against the bill.<sup>29</sup>

Realizing the federal government was probably not going to accept the property, the Tennessee General Assembly began to consider selling the property, prompting fears

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<sup>27</sup> Zollicoffer would not be involved in any later projects to support the Hermitage. Although a strong supporter of states' rights, Zollicoffer urged Tennesseans to stay with the Union, at least until the state made the decision to secede. For his loyalty, Governor Harris gave Zollicoffer a position in the Confederate Army. Unfortunately, on Jan. 19, 1862, Zollicoffer died at the battle of Mill Springs in Kentucky while fighting against troops led by General George Thomas. Larry Whiteaker, "Felix Kirk Zollicoffer," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 3, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1552>.

<sup>28</sup> US Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Military Affairs, 1859, 35<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess, "Report No. 153 – Military Academy at the Hermitage (To accompany Bill H. R. No. 40), 3.

<sup>29</sup> "United States Military Academy @ The Hermitage – Congressional Records, 1854-1861," LHA Collections.



that Andrew and Rachel Jackson's tomb might be desecrated. Andrew Jr. wrote a letter to the legislature recalling his father's last wishes: "I beg of you to let my remains and those of my dear wife remain together at the Hermitage – a sacred spot to me."<sup>30</sup> Not long after receiving Andrew Jr.'s letter, Tennessee rejected a measure to sell all but fifty acres of the property where the Hermitage and tomb stood.<sup>31</sup> However, the state did manage to pass two other valuable pieces of legislation during this time. In the first, it deeded one acre of land over to the Hermitage church which Jackson had built for his wife Rachel and which he attended from 1837 until his death in 1845.<sup>32</sup> In the second, the state passed an act on March 24, 1860, authorizing the Governor and Secretary of State to do what was necessary to maintain the property. This included funding for repairs or improvements, as well as for employing "a laboring force as will keep the houses, yards, gardens, tomb and surrounding grounds in a neat and perfect state of repair."<sup>33</sup>

In March 1861, the federal government refused Tennessee's offer of the Hermitage for a military school for the last time. By this point, the push for a military school at the Hermitage was a lost cause.<sup>34</sup> One month earlier, Tennessee voters had rejected a proposal to hold a secession convention. In May, Governor Isham Harris and

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<sup>30</sup> *American Lancaster (OH) Gazette*, Mar. 15, 1860.

<sup>31</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Mar. 18, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: E. G. Eastman and Co., 1860), 588-89.

<sup>34</sup> "United States Military Academy @ The Hermitage – Congressional Records, 1854-1861," LHA Collections.

state legislators responding to Abraham Lincoln's call for militiamen declared Tennessee free from the Union and joined the Confederacy. Voters endorsed the state's actions in a second referendum on June 8<sup>th</sup> with only East Tennessee voters offering significant opposition.<sup>35</sup> Although southerners did not get their military school at the Hermitage, the education their young men like Andrew III received at West Point was about to prove its worth.

### *The Civil War Years*

Preservation was not the first issue on many Tennesseans' minds during the Civil War. This did not mean that Andrew Jackson or the Hermitage were forgotten. In fact, the memory of Jackson was fuel for the fires of war burning on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. "The ghost of Andrew Jackson evidently troubled the secessionists [sic] in Tennessee at the late election," wrote one New Jersey newspaper, the *Trenton State Gazette*, after the first referendum on secession failed in February of 1861. According to the newspaper, those from "the old Hermitage district" had only cast four votes for disunion.<sup>36</sup> Once the state did secede a few months later, the Confederates were just as quick to tie themselves to Jackson's political legacy:

Thus have the Tennesseans of the present generation proved themselves worthy of the high renown of their patriotic and heroic sires. The Hermitage District, the home of ANDREW JACKSON, where his remains repose to guard the soil from

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<sup>35</sup> Larry H. Whiteaker, "Civil War," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 3, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=265>.

<sup>36</sup> *Trenton (NJ) State Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1861, LHA Collections.

desecration, has given a unanimous vote for separating from the despotism of the Black Republicans.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the war, Americans on both sides continued to use Jackson in support of their causes. Those in Union states considered the general's call for the preservation of the federal union during the 1832 nullification crisis as proof that Jackson, had he been alive during the Civil War, "would wipe out rebellion in 1862."<sup>38</sup> However, in an editorial written to the *Abingdon Virginian*, one Confederate thought that, whatever his words about union, Jackson still helped their cause by destroying the national bank. Had the national bank survived, the writer thought it would have "perpetuated even an Abolition Union" because then southerners would have been monetarily invested in preserving it. Therefore, Gen. Jackson prevented "Lincoln's madness" and "abolition despotism" from forcing the southern states to change by destroying "the source of moral strength, based upon, human weakness, which Henry Clay discovered in a National Bank."<sup>39</sup>

Unfortunately, because of the value both the Union and the Confederacy put on Jackson, the Hermitage was in a very delicate position. Geographically and politically, it was in the proverbial no-man's-land between the North and South. Mount Vernon was in a similar position as well, but it had one major advantage in its fight for survival. Sarah Tracy and Upton Herbert, who stayed on the property during the war to protect the home, tried to remain neutral in the conflict raging around them (despite the fact that Upton's

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<sup>37</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, June 11, 1861.

<sup>38</sup> *Columbia Democrat and Bloomsburg (PA) General Advertiser*, Mar. 29, 1862.

<sup>39</sup> *Abingdon Virginian*, Apr. 10, 1863.

brother was fighting for the Confederacy). The same could not be said of the Jackson family.<sup>40</sup> Two of Gen. Jackson's grandsons, Andrew III and Samuel, would fight in the war for the Confederacy. Andrew Jr. and his wife Sarah, who were living at the Hermitage as tenants on a new lease, did little to hide their support of the Confederate cause.<sup>41</sup> When a correspondent for the *New York World* visited in 1862, he drew his readers' attention to the framed copy of Jackson's speech against nullification hanging on the wall above Jackson's favorite chair. Of the document, Andrew Jr. apparently remarked that Jackson's opposition to nullification "Twouldn't do now-a-days," which set the correspondent's blood boiling.<sup>42</sup> "I could have made the very cedar trees clap their hands at the utterance of the Old Hickory and Hemp patriotism that was boiling within

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<sup>40</sup> "Protecting Mount Vernon During the Civil War," George Washington's Mount Vernon, updated 2006, accessed May 3, 2014, <http://www.mountvernon.org/content/protecting-mount-vernon-during-civil-war/>.

<sup>41</sup> Two years after the state took ownership, Andrew Jr. and Sarah left the Hermitage for a plantation they owned in Mississippi. The poor climate, bad crops, and impending Civil War made Sarah homesick for her sister Marion, whom she had left behind in Nashville, so they returned in 1860 and acquired a new lease for the Hermitage from the state. "Hermitage Interpretive Manual," 2014 edition.

<sup>42</sup> According to historian Jon Meacham, the nullification crisis was an important part of Jackson's presidency. The citizens of South Carolina, upset over two different tariffs that were hurting southerners while benefiting northern manufacturers, claimed that states had the right to nullify federal acts they thought were unconstitutional. South Carolina refused to implement the tariff. President Jackson, in turn, went to Congress, asking for federal troops to enforce the tariff. As tensions mounted, it appeared several states might be willing to secede and go to war over this issue. However, the crisis ended when Henry Clay pushed a compromise bill through Congress, which reduced the tariff. "The South Carolina Nullification Controversy," U.S. History, accessed Feb. 7, 2015, <http://www.ushistory.org/us/24c.asp>; Jon Meacham, *American Lion* (New York: Random House, 2008), 56-57, 223.

me,” wrote the correspondent. “This Andrew Jackson. . . . He is not a relative of the dead Andrew Jackson.”<sup>43</sup>

However, the Civil War did provide the state of Tennessee with one important opportunity – a new entity to offer ownership of the Hermitage. In November 1861, the House was working on a resolution to offer the Hermitage (minus ten acres around Jackson’s tomb) to the Confederate States of America for use as a military academy. Jackson’s beloved home was not the only item Tennessee was willing to give the new Confederate nation, though.<sup>44</sup> Besides “tendering the Hermitage to the Confederate States,” the state also offered the use of their capitol “in the event the seat of Government shall be removed from Richmond to Nashville.”<sup>45</sup> Days later, though, they had a change of heart and “indefinitely postponed” the bill.<sup>46</sup> Even if the Confederate States had received the Hermitage, it is hard to say how the property might have functioned, since there were several other military schools in the South. That the Hermitage did not become a military academy was probably fortunate because the Georgia Military Institute near Savannah was razed to the ground in 1864 after Union troops took over the school to use it temporarily as their headquarters. The destruction happened despite direct orders

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<sup>43</sup> Since this article is clearly political, it is hard to be sure whether or not the correspondent actually visited the Hermitage. In any case, the author’s point was that Andrew Jackson Jr., by supporting the Confederacy, was going against everything for which his adopted father stood. *Gallipolis (OH) Journal*, April 17, 1862.

<sup>44</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Nov. 19, 1861.

<sup>45</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Nov. 29, 1861.

<sup>46</sup> *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee 1857-1869*, ed. Robert H. White, vol. 5 (Nashville: Benson Printing Co., 1959), 360-61.

from their commander, Major General George Thomas,<sup>47</sup> who wanted his troops to leave everything as they found it.<sup>48</sup> The burning of this institute makes one wonder if even Jackson's "ghost" could have saved the property if it had been transferred to the Confederacy.<sup>49</sup>

In retrospect, Tennessee's offer of Nashville as a Confederate capital in the event that Richmond fell is almost laughable. After a Union victory at Fort Donelson early in 1862, the Confederate army began to retreat, leaving Nashville, which was downriver from the fort, vulnerable. Historian Walter Durham explains that the state's leaders were not prepared for a Union attack on the city. Governor Harris fled to Memphis, ordering the legislature to reconvene there, leaving Nashville's panicked citizens to fend for themselves. The Union army arrived on Feb. 25, 1862, less than a year after Tennessee joined the Confederacy.<sup>50</sup> Not long after this, northern newspapers reported:

Hanover, the birth place of Henry Clay, and Ashland, near which he was buried; Mount Vernon, the abode and tomb of George Washington; and the Hermitage,

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<sup>47</sup> This is the same Major General George Thomas who fought against Felix Zollicoffer at Mill Spring in Kentucky. According to Mary Dorris, Thomas stationed troops at the Hermitage during the Civil War to protect it from being pillaged or burned. Assuming this information is correct, the Hermitage still would have been vulnerable throughout most of the war since Thomas did not even arrive in Nashville until 1864. After the war, the state of Tennessee commissioned him to do a survey of the Hermitage property in 1865. According to Governor Brownlow, he also "generously had the tomb repaired, and otherwise materially benefitted the property for which he has the thanks of all good men." *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee 1857-1869*, 470-72.

<sup>48</sup> Lynwood M. Holland, "Georgia Military Institute, The West Point of Georgia: 1851-1864," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (September 1959): 246.

<sup>49</sup> Robbie D. Jones, "George Washington Versus Andrew Jackson."

<sup>50</sup> The Union army would occupy the city until the end of the war. Walter T. Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City, 1862-1863* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 1, 7, 12.

the lovely residence and final resting place of the lion-hearted Andrew Jackson, are now all within the lines of Union army, and guarded by the Federal flag to whose glory their honored and useful lives were given. The dust of every President of the United States is enclosed by the national lines.<sup>51</sup>

Although the property was now within the Union lines, this did not necessarily mean the Hermitage was any safer. As soldiers from both sides moved through the area, they stopped to visit Jackson's grave. For example, in March 1862 General William "Bull" Nelson ordered his troops out on a reconnaissance mission, although it soon became clear they were simply heading out to visit Jackson's tomb, as Gen. Nelson was an ardent admirer of the former President. A US army correspondent who went with them recorded that as they "approached the sacred spot the band of the 36<sup>th</sup> Indiana played a national [sic] air." The general stopped, had "the stars and stripes" hung over the tomb of Jackson, and ordered one of the batteries to give a sixteen-gun salute.<sup>52</sup> Sarah Jackson, however, described these soldiers as "invaders" and although relieved that they only came to visit the tomb and "were respectful and quiet" she still told her son that she lived in "constant fear" of raids and "degradations [sic]," since "we are entirely unprotected."<sup>53</sup> According to historian Walter Durham, though, visiting the Hermitage and the state capitol were among the few activities soldiers had when stationed in Nashville, which

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<sup>51</sup> *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, July 3, 1862.

<sup>52</sup> This would have been an exhausting twenty-three mile trip for the Indiana Infantry. *The Story of the Marches, Battles and Incidents of the 36<sup>th</sup> Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry* (New Castle, IN: Courier Company Press, 1891), 98-99; *Holmes County (OH) Republican*, April 3, 1862.

<sup>53</sup> Sarah York Jackson to Andrew Jackson III, Mar. 22, 1862 and Sarah York Jackson to Andrew Jackson III, June 11, 1862, quoted in Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City*, 66, 170.

meant Sarah probably had to put up with such “invaders” on a regular basis, particularly near the end of the war.<sup>54</sup>

Less than four months after the 36<sup>th</sup> Indiana visited, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest and his troops stopped at the Hermitage while chasing some Union soldiers toward Nashville. They found several women gathered at the Hermitage to celebrate the first anniversary of the Battle of Manassas. These women let the men rest and refresh themselves at the Hermitage before traveling onward. Sarah Jackson expressed to them her hope that the war would not be long in coming to an end. When Forrest and his men left, “the ladies filled the corridors, porch, and balconies, and waved their handkerchiefs amid a perfect storm of joy and excitement, crying, ‘God bless Forrest and his men.’”<sup>55</sup> What might have happened to the Hermitage had Forrest and the 36<sup>th</sup> Indiana or others like them met here at the same time is left to the imagination, but the results of such a confrontation could have been disastrous.

Although the war itself did not leave physical scars on the Hermitage mansion, the property was nevertheless changed. Time itself continued to leave its mark on the decaying former president’s home because the financial situation of the occupied state, the Jackson family, and most Middle Tennesseans was dire. Stephen V. Ash, in his book *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, wrote that most Tennesseans were afraid of what the future might bring. Few dared to plant crops because they might be stolen or

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<sup>54</sup> Walter T. Durham, *Reluctant Partners: Nashville and the Union 1863-1865* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 108.

<sup>55</sup> *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), Aug. 8, 1862.



destroyed by Union and Confederate forces. Horses and slaves were also fair game for the Union army to take. In one case, Ash described the story of a soldier who wrote home to his wife recounting how he was “degenerating from a conservative young Democrat to a horse stealer and ‘nigger thief,’ and practicing his nefarious occupation almost within gunshot of the sacred ‘Hermitage’ and tomb of Andrew Jackson.”<sup>56</sup> At such an unstable economic and political time, it is not surprising then, that some of the enslaved people at the Hermitage, like Hannah or her daughter Martha, escaped to the Union occupied city of Nashville in search of freedom. Others, like Alfred Jackson and his wife Gracey, remained at the Hermitage working for the Jackson family.<sup>57</sup>

For the Jacksons, the war years also significantly changed their family. Samuel, the youngest of the president’s grandsons, died in Marietta, Georgia on September 27, 1863, after being wounded in the Battle of Chickamauga. Andrew Jr., who had tried to preserve the home his parents had so dearly loved, was injured while hunting when his gun misfired. The bullet only grazed his palm. However, he developed lockjaw and died less than two weeks after Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, leaving his poor widow in a desperate situation and the question of what the state would do with the Hermitage unanswered.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 113.

<sup>57</sup> Hermitage Interpretive Manual,” 2014 edition.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

*The Postwar Years*

Sarah Jackson's future in the years following the Civil War was uncertain. Her husband had died leaving her almost destitute; the house she was living in did not belong to her; and the \$48,000 in state bonds that Tennessee had used to pay the family for the property were practically worthless. Less than two months after burying her husband, Sarah, afraid that she and her sister Marion might be turned out of the Hermitage, petitioned President Andrew Johnson for a permanent home on the property.<sup>59</sup> Johnson passed her concerns on to Tennessee's governor, William G. Brownlow.<sup>60</sup> What Brownlow thought of her petition is unclear, but by November the state started to move forward with a plan to sell off all but ten acres of the property. The citizens of Davidson County came to Sarah's defense, "praying that some arrangement be made in the disposition of the Hermitage property, so as to have some reasonable provision made for Mrs. Jackson, who is represented without means."<sup>61</sup>

The question of what to do with the Hermitage was only a small part of the growing debt crisis Governor Brownlow inherited in 1865. Bonds issued for improvements and additions to critical infrastructure such as railroads in the early nineteenth century made up the bulk of the state's debt. Despite the challenge of raising taxes in post-war Tennessee, Governor Brownlow hoped the state would be fiscally

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<sup>59</sup> Marion had been living at the Hermitage since the death of her husband in 1837. Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> *The Jeffersonian* (Stroudsburg, PA), June 29, 1865.

<sup>61</sup> *Nashville Daily Union and American*, Jan. 31, 1866.

secure before the end of his administration.<sup>62</sup> Because of the war, the state's economy was still debilitated. Tennessee's agriculture and industries were impaired and many of its railroads were destroyed.<sup>63</sup> Now that the war was over, the state was able to collect taxes again, but this was little help since most citizens were unable to pay taxes anyway. Those who owned property that had been damaged by battles or scavenging soldiers found their land values decreased. For several years following the war, farmers faced floods, storms, and disease, which wiped out their crops. For workers, the job market was also poor. Few jobs were available and there was much more competition from formerly enslaved people.<sup>64</sup> Governor Brownlow's solution for the state debt (particularly the bonded debt from railroads and turnpikes) was to issue more bonds.<sup>65</sup>

Governor Brownlow estimated that the Hermitage's part of this debt totaled around \$70,000. This number included the initial cost of the property (Sarah's \$48,000 in bonds) as well as deferred maintenance as prescribed in the 1860 bill that had gone undone during the Civil War. Although this amounts to just over a million dollars in

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<sup>62</sup> In order to accomplish this, Brownlow hoped to attract immigrants to the state and diversify the economy "through the development of mining and manufacturing enterprises." Robert B. Jones, *Tennessee at the Crossroads: The State Debt Controversy 1870-1883* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 1-8.

<sup>63</sup> *Congressional Record containing the Proceedings and Debates of the Special Sessions of the Senate of the Forty-Seventh Congress*, Vol. XII (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881), 309.

<sup>64</sup> Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed*, 180-81, 185, 197-98.

<sup>65</sup> Robert B. Jones, *Tennessee at the Crossroads*, 10.

current monetary value, it was a drop in the proverbial bucket.<sup>66</sup> In order to deal with the Hermitage's part in the state's debt, Brownlow wanted to find a way to make use of Jackson's former home. Describing the Hermitage in 1865, Governor Brownlow wrote:

The mansion is much damaged from leaks in the roof and deficiency in the guttering. The ceiling and plaster are badly cracked, and in many places the plastering is falling off. Some of the joists have rotted from the same cause; the foundation has been undermined, and the brick walls cracked open in consequence. Should this condition of things continue another year, it will become necessary to partially tear down and rebuild the mansion.<sup>67</sup>

Given this description, it is obvious Brownlow was not thrilled with those who wanted to turn the Hermitage into a governor's mansion. Instead, he wrote, why not sell four hundred acres and use the proceeds to pay off the debt to fix the Hermitage and to buy a new governor's mansion. Then, when the repairs were completed, Brownlow suggested Tennessee could offer the remaining hundred acres to the federal government yet again. Only this time Brownlow had a different idea—why not use the Hermitage as an “asylum for invalid soldiers, similar to the one founded in Paris by the Emperor Napoleon.”<sup>68</sup> However, Brownlow overestimated his ability to deal with Tennessee's debt in two terms. Some of the new bonds issued by the state went to fraudulent companies that never built so much as a foot of railroad, which only compounded the debt crisis. And so, between the state's worsening debt and Brownlow's unpopular Reconstruction policies (including enfranchising African Americans while

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<sup>66</sup> “Consumer Price Index Estimate,” The Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, accessed May 3, 2014, [http://www.minneapolisfed.org/community\\_education/teacher/calc/hist1800.cfm](http://www.minneapolisfed.org/community_education/teacher/calc/hist1800.cfm).

<sup>67</sup> *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee 1857-1869*, 470-72.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

disenfranchising ex-Confederates) the Hermitage question would go unanswered. As discussion about the state debt continued, however, so too did discussion on what to do with the Hermitage.<sup>69</sup>

One of the easiest ways to solve the state's financial crisis was to sell the property. In 1866, the state Senate revised Governor Brownlow's original plan for the Hermitage. Now, Tennessee planned to sell three hundred acres of the property to help offset the debt still owed to the Jackson family after its initial purchase. The remaining two hundred acres, including the mansion, would be offered to the federal government for use as a military school "or some other public institution," which made the state seem desperate to dispose of the property.<sup>70</sup> As before the Civil War, though, this plan fell through.

In 1867, state Senator William Jay Smith suggested using the Hermitage for the Tennessee Orphan's Home, which, like the move to turn the mansion into the governor's house, would have saved the state from purchasing other property. But other state senators thought the Hermitage would not be "sufficiently accessible" for this purpose.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, Tennessee turned its thoughts back to the idea of selling the property – all five hundred acres including the mansion and tomb. One citizen, however, was so outraged at this idea that he wrote in the *Bolivar Bulletin*:

What! sell the tomb of Andrew Jackson for the sake of getting a few dollars that would be squandered by hands as treacherous as their hearts are black! If any member of the Tennessee Legislature should vote for the *Honorable* Mr. Waters'

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<sup>69</sup> Robert B. Jones, *Tennessee at the Crossroads*, 12, 17.

<sup>70</sup> *Daily Ohio Statesman* (Columbus, OH), Apr. 25, 1866.

<sup>71</sup> *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 2, 1867.

proposition – to sell the bones of the hero of New Orleans – may he rot, die by piece-meal, and his dishonored skull be as tombless as his flesh. As for the author of the infamous proposition, he should live eternally, be made to occupy a niche in the State House, seated on thorns, covered with biles, and be made to feed off the leprous scabs picked from his never-healing sores!<sup>72</sup>

Whatever some citizens might have thought, the Hermitage itself was becoming an eyesore and a financial strain on the state of Tennessee. Debate about the property continued into 1869. Some wanted to sell it. Others wanted to rent it out. However, many did seem to agree that Sarah should be taken care of, perhaps by allowing her to remain on fifty acres of the property. One member of the Tennessee General Assembly, John Aldridge, noted that Sarah was not the only person living at the Hermitage: “The servants who served Gen. Jackson during his life are living on that farm, and should be thought of once in a while.”<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, little more was said about their welfare, although during a trip to the property two years earlier legislators did meet Betty and Ned, who were living in a dilapidated brick cabin in the back yard, renting a few acres from the Jacksons for four dollars and selling canes to tourists. This was one day Betty and Ned sold their entire inventory.<sup>74</sup>

Unable to agree on whether or not the property should be sold or rented, Tennessee legislators continued to put forward or refuse different ideas for its use. In March 1873, a Senate bill to turn all but two hundred acres of the property over to the city of Nashville for use as a hospital, with the remainder to serve as a governor’s

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<sup>72</sup> *The Bolivar (TN) Bulletin*, Nov. 9, 1867.

<sup>73</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Feb. 27, 1869.

<sup>74</sup> *Louisiana Democrat* (Alexandria, LA), Dec. 11, 1867.

mansion, failed to pass.<sup>75</sup> Another attempt to move Jackson's tomb was made in September 1874 and was just as vehemently shot down when Andrew Jr.'s story about his father's last wishes appeared in print again.<sup>76</sup> By 1875, Tennessee was even considering using the property for a state run institution called the "Jackson State Hospital," but detractors argued this would place the Hermitage in the hands of selfish and ambitious trustees from the University School of Nashville when the Hermitage really "belongs to the state at large and not to Nashville or Middle Tennessee."<sup>77</sup> One reporter, after a visit to the Hermitage to educate his fellow Nashvillians, whom he assumed were ignorant of the Hermitage and its importance, wrote that "Tennessee is too heavy indebted to run a show house, and it ought to be bought by Uncle Sam as a national place."<sup>78</sup> If only he had researched the efforts Tennessee had already made to give the property to Uncle Sam!

In 1879, Sarah finally received permission from the state to live on the property until her death, along with her sister Marion and her son Andrew III and his family. However, by that time the Hermitage was, in one sense, already well on its way to becoming a "national place." Despite Tennessee's indecision, debt, and lack of care for the Hermitage, visitors continued to stream there from across the country. For example, the Grand National Division of the Sons of Temperance had an outing there in May 1868.

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<sup>75</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Mar. 2, 1873.

<sup>76</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, Sept. 9, 1874.

<sup>77</sup> *Memphis (TN) Daily Appeal*, Feb. 23, 1875.

<sup>78</sup> *Troy (MO) Herald*, June 30, 1875.

Over eight hundred members of their order attended.<sup>79</sup> Their trip probably commemorated the temperance pledge Jackson signed during his presidency—never mind the fact that the General also owned a whiskey distillery! However, this is just one example. Accounts of such visits appear in many newspapers during these years. They describe in detail the interior and exterior of the Hermitage. In one account, the writer argues that the reason the family was poor was because “the exactions of hospitality keep them poor, for no one visits Nashville who does not drive to the Hermitage.”<sup>80</sup> Sarah often appears in these accounts, along with formerly enslaved members of the Jackson household like Alfred, Gracey, Betty, or Ned.

*“Not a Nobler Cause” – The Hermitage as a Soldiers’ Home*

It would not be until 1883 that the legislature would finally pass a compromise bill to deal with the state debt crisis.<sup>81</sup> This meant that legislators could again turn their attention more fully to the Hermitage. In March, members of two separate committees requested money for trips to see how the property was faring. The cost totaled \$16.00 and \$22.50 respectively for carriage rentals. The goal of one of these trips was to figure out who was living on the property and what sort of rent they were paying, which suggests that while Tennessee owned the property, government officials did not know what was actually happening there. The following month, perhaps in response to these committees’

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<sup>79</sup> *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 23, 1868.

<sup>80</sup> *Somerset (PA) Herald*, July 19, 1882.

<sup>81</sup> Robert B. Jones, *Tennessee at the Crossroads*, 144-45.



visits, the General Assembly approved a bill to repair Jackson's tomb and put a fence around it for the sum of \$350.00. Apparently, tourists were writing their names on the limestone obelisk at the center of the tomb.<sup>82</sup> Two years after these repairs, yet another bill was pending in the state legislature to give the Hermitage to the United States government "as a home for disabled Mexican [War] veterans and soldiers of the war of 1812."<sup>83</sup> However, little more was said on the subject of a soldiers' home until after Sarah's death in August 1887.

As Governor Brownlow's suggestion of an indigent soldiers' home in 1865 reveals, the idea of veterans' homes was not a new idea in the United States. In fact, there were already similar national soldiers' homes in the North. Many veterans from North and South came home with serious injuries that impaired their ability to take care of themselves or their families for the rest of their lives.<sup>84</sup> This may be why, in January 1888, Tennessean Benjamin Enloe introduced a bill in the US House of Representatives for the creation of a national soldiers' home on the Hermitage property. However, this home would be different from those already open in the North, because this home would allow ex-Confederates through its doors.<sup>85</sup> Just the idea of caring for Confederate veterans had specific political overtones because it meant giving honor and respect to

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<sup>82</sup>*Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: F. M. Paul, 1883), 361, 388, 416.

<sup>83</sup> *Louisiana Democrat* (Alexandria, LA), June 13, 1885. One wonders how many soldiers were left from the War of 1812 some seventy years before.

<sup>84</sup> R. B. Rosenberg, *Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 81-82, 91-92.

<sup>85</sup> *The Comet* (Johnson City, TN), Feb. 2, 1888.

these defeated soldiers whom many wanted to see as ‘living monuments’ of heroism, valor, and masculinity.<sup>86</sup> Although the notion of putting ex-Union and ex-Confederate soldiers together in the same home may seem strange, Tennessee was so divided throughout the war that it had significant numbers of citizens who had fought on both sides and who needed assistance. Enloe may have also hoped that by putting the two together, it would act as a symbolic reconciliation between the North and South, which was an attitude that was becoming very popular at the time. However, Enloe failed to realize just how deep some of the wounds left by the recent war were.

“Mr. Enloe may see his bill passed at ‘some other session,’” wrote one newspaper “but he certainly will not see it at this.”<sup>87</sup> The *Somerset Herald* in Pennsylvania did not hide its disdain for the bill, saying that it was “only the first step in a continuous policy to wipe out the records of the war and extend the same benefits to those who fought against the flag as to those who fought for it.”<sup>88</sup> In the South, support may have been little better. For example, when a Confederate-only veterans home in Texas sent out a nationwide appeal for donations, a reply from “Tennessee Confederates” appeared in newspapers calling the appeal a “begging expedition” and demanding that the South make the “decent care of their veterans their ‘Lost Cause.’”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Rosenberg, xii-xiii, 3-4.

<sup>87</sup> *National Tribune* (Washington, DC), Feb. 9, 1888.

<sup>88</sup> *Somerset (PA) Herald*, Jan. 25, 1888.

<sup>89</sup> *Morning Oregonian*, Apr. 27, 1889,

Perhaps these attitudes are the reason why, on February 2, 1889, state Senator J. M. Crews, with the support of the Frank Cheatham Bivouac of Confederate veterans, introduced a new bill before the state legislature which stated:

The property described in the foregoing section [the Hermitage] shall be devoted for the time specified [twenty-five years] solely to the purpose of providing homes for indigent and disabled soldiers who volunteered in the service of the state or confederate states, their widows and their orphan children, the farm to be so managed as to make the charity thus instituted as nearly self-sustaining as possible by proper cultivation and by the establishment of such industries as may be adapted to the capabilities of the beneficiaries.<sup>90</sup>

Reactions to this initial bill were supportive. Most Confederate veterans figured the plan was “in keeping with the spirit of ‘Old Hickory’ himself.”<sup>91</sup> However, some did not like the idea, no matter how good Crews’ intentions. The *Nashville Daily American* reported the views of one man who thought “all indigent persons should be taken care of by private philanthropy.”<sup>92</sup> Another man, who called himself an ex-Confederate, wrote an editorial wondering what criteria would be used to determine who entered the home. Would they have to be paupers? What about all those who lost arms or legs and who simply needed help getting artificial limbs? Instead of wasting the money on a home, he argued that the state should improve its pension system to help such veterans.<sup>93</sup> Finally, Andrew III, himself a Confederate veteran, worried about what this might mean for his father’s home. “These prominent citizens,” he wrote, “like the legislature itself, desires

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<sup>90</sup> *Nashville Banner*, Feb. 2, 1889, Nashville Public Library, Nashville, TN. (Hereafter cited as NPL.)

<sup>91</sup> *Nashville Banner*, Feb. 7, 1889, NPL.

<sup>92</sup> *Daily American*, Feb. 9, 1889, NPL.

<sup>93</sup> *Nashville Banner*, Feb. 19, 1889, NPL.

[sic] to see the Hermitage property question settled, but they do not know all it means when they take the home of the grand ‘Old Hickory’ and convert it into anything that would detract or overshadow his memory.”<sup>94</sup>

Andrew III’s worry also concerned his wife, Amy. According to Mary Dorris, a founding member and chronicler of the LHA, Amy suddenly had an epiphany while doing housework one day: “Why not have a memorial like Mount Vernon established here?”<sup>95</sup> After all, Mount Vernon had survived the Civil War and the worst of Reconstruction. Thirty years had passed and the MVLA was still going strong. In that same amount of time, the Hermitage had languished in the state’s hands. If Mount Vernon could survive under private management, why not the Hermitage?

After making inquiries about the MVLA with the association’s Tennessee vice-regent, Cynthia Pillow Saunders Brown,<sup>96</sup> Col. and Mrs. Jackson begin to seek supporters for a similar organization.<sup>97</sup> On Feb. 11, 1889, an editorial appeared in the *Daily American* asking ladies and gentlemen in support of forming such an organization to

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<sup>94</sup> *Nashville Banner*, Feb. 8 1889, NPL.

<sup>95</sup> Mary C. Currey Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage* (1915), 14.

<sup>96</sup> Cynthia was the second wife of former Tennessee Governor Aaron V. Brown who was later appointed Postmaster General by President James Buchanan. Her brother was Confederate General Gideon J. Pillow, who fought at Fort Donelson and Stones River. Connie L. Lester, “Aaron V. Brown (1795-1859),” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 11, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=141>; Ed Frank, “Gideon Johnson Pillow,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 11, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1060>.

<sup>97</sup> Dorris, 14.

come to a meeting at the Maxwell House hotel.<sup>98</sup> Although most of these early supporters were southerners (with the exception of Amy Jackson, who was from Ohio) they also felt that Jackson's memory ought to be preserved. But they knew what they were up against. "The average citizen is coldly indifferent to the building of monuments, and it is 'everything for charity and nothing for monuments,'" wrote Mary Dorris.<sup>99</sup>

Many prominent members of the community attended the Maxwell House meeting, some supporting the Hermitage, others supporting the soldiers' home. Although many speakers argued about the "national character of his home" and the damage said character might receive (albeit unintentionally) while in the hands of the soldiers' home for twenty-five years, the Hermitage supporters had to tread carefully. Soldiers' home supporters knew that the women's request for over half the property made the self-sustaining nature of the soldiers' home impossible, and so they appealed once more to the sympathy of those at the meeting for "the suffering and poverty of the uncared for and impoverished soldiers." Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, a prominent Nashville doctor, said:

It is a shame – a damnable shame – that the Confederate soldiers have not been taken care of.... But twenty-five years after the war Tennessee is just now beginning to think of Confederate veterans. It has simply been idle and done nothing for them. They should have taken care of the veterans long before they paid the funded debt, but the Hermitage should be preserved forever.<sup>100</sup>

The meeting ended with a resolution to form a conference to discuss these issues further. Supporters of the Hermitage included Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, Rev. Jerry Witherspoon,

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<sup>98</sup> *Daily American* (Nashville, TN), Feb 11, 1889, NPL.

<sup>99</sup> Dorris, 33.

<sup>100</sup> According to family tradition, Dr. Lindsley was at Andrew Jackson's bedside when he died. *Daily American* (Nashville, TN), Feb 12, 1889, NPL.

Mr. William Alexander Donelson and his wife Mrs. Bettie Mizell Donelson, Mrs. Addie Cole Benson, Mrs. Harriet Stow Hough Marshall, Mrs. Amy Jackson, and Mrs. Mary Dorris. Unfortunately, this follow-up meeting had little more results than the previous meeting. The soldiers' home supporters offered to grant the Jackson family twenty-five acres including the mansion and the tomb, but the Jackson family and their supporters refused.<sup>101</sup>

In modeling themselves after the MVLA, the Hermitage supporters hoped to become a national organization, yet they admitted they would look rather pitiful attempting to drum up support for themselves when they held "only a paltry twenty-five or fifty acres."<sup>102</sup> The Ladies' Hermitage Association finally received its charter on February 20, 1889, but debate about the bill continued. Forgotten in that debate were the Mexican War veterans who had also hoped to benefit from the building of a more inclusive soldiers' home. An association of Mexican War veterans held a meeting and asked that, should the home be built, legislators "consider the propriety of including in

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<sup>101</sup> *Nashville Banner*, Feb. 12, 1889, NPL; Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage*, 31. The listing here includes names mentioned in the previous two sources. For unknown reasons, Dorris does not include two names listed in the 1889 newspaper account, Amy Jackson and Harriet Marshall.

<sup>102</sup> Mary Dorris records that one early idea was for the LHA to purchase three hundred acres from Tennessee, after which the state could build the Soldiers' home at a more suitable location. For some reason, this plan was never acted upon, perhaps due to difficulties in fundraising or, more likely, the fact that the state already thought the property suitable for the veterans' home and therefore moved forward with the offer of twenty-five acres to the LHA. Dorris, 27; *Daily American* (Nashville, TN), Feb 16, 1889, NPL.

the act for admission to such an institution destitute veterans of the Mexican war who enlisted in our State.”<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, for them, no one listened.

Support for the Confederate Soldiers’ Home continued to grow as the McEwen Bivouac of Franklin threw its backing to the project. On April 5, 1889, Senator Crews’ revised bill passed giving the LHA a deed of trust for twenty-five acres of the Hermitage property, including the mansion and the tomb.<sup>104</sup> As the LHA began to manage its twenty-five acre plot, construction also began on the Confederate Soldier’s Home. Initially, trustees of the home wanted to build small cottages for each veteran but they soon realized this would not be an efficient use of funds. Instead, they received an appropriation from the state for \$25,000 to build a two story brick structure capable of housing 125 veterans and “equipped with all modern conveniences” including “steam heating, gas, and water pipes.”<sup>105</sup> The home would operate until November 22, 1933, serving over 700 veterans, 487 of whom are buried in a cemetery on the Hermitage property.<sup>106</sup>

While the LHA had hoped for more than twenty-five acres, this small victory would ensure the Hermitage’s survival. Now it was up to the newly elected Board of Directors and Board of Trustees to begin fundraising to help restore the Hermitage, its

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<sup>103</sup> *Daily American* (Nashville, TN), Feb 21, 1889, NPL.

<sup>104</sup> *Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce, 1889), 463-64.

<sup>105</sup> *Nashville Banner*, May 13, 1892, LHA Collections.

<sup>106</sup> “Hermitage Interpretive Manual,” 2014 edition. Historian R. B. Rosenberg estimates that over 20,000 Confederate veterans stayed in similar soldiers’ homes throughout the South during this period. Rosenberg, *Living Monuments*, 151.

outbuildings, and grounds, as described in the next chapter. Mary Dorris wrote that at the time of the LHA takeover, “the fences were down, and the lawn had grown up in sprouts as high as a man’s head. The house was in bad shape. The roof leaked, shutters were off, glass panes were out of the windows, and the old historic cabin was a tumbling ruin.”<sup>107</sup> Despite all the hard campaigning they did to save the Hermitage, the LHA’s real work had only just begun.

### *Tennessee’s Legacy in Preservation*

Only two years after the state of Tennessee managed to put the issue of the Hermitage property to rest, it found itself yet again in a pickle about another historic property. Polk Place, the former Nashville residence of James K. Polk, came on the market after Sarah Childress Polk died. Although Polk died before her, he stipulated in his will that “I do hereby, with a view to prevent such a contingency, devise, bequeath, and give said house, lot and all appurtenances thereto, after the death of my wife, to the state of Tennessee.” Not surprisingly, Polk’s heirs were unhappy with the situation and sued. The Chancellor on the case overthrew the will because it created “a perpetuity and a house of nobility which are not allowed in Tennessee.”<sup>108</sup> Although the state had the opportunity to buy the home outright, it did not.<sup>109</sup> However, one must wonder if the

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<sup>107</sup> Dorris, 55.

<sup>108</sup> “Passing of the Polk Place,” *Bolivar (TN) Bulletin*, Nov. 30, 1900.

<sup>109</sup> The will specified that the state would select worthy Polk descendants to live in the house. Following the court ruling, Judge J. M. Dickinson, husband of the first LHA Vice-Regent Martha Overton Dickinson, sold Polk Place to a developer. However, at the last minute J. Craig McLenahan purchased the property, stating publicly that he would



memory of the state's struggle to care for the Hermitage played a role in Tennessee's reluctance to take on another historic site.

When Tennessee initially bought the Hermitage property, legislators probably had no idea what they had gotten themselves into. They may not have even realized how long-term of a commitment the preservation of a historic building was. Fundraising to buy a property is one thing, but the money needed to maintain or repair a property could also be considerable. For example, it cost the MVLA \$200,000 to acquire Mount Vernon from John Washington, but the MVLA also knew there was a need for "an endowment of \$150,000 in order to insure the estate for the future."<sup>110</sup> The issue of ongoing maintenance was one reason the Ladies' Hermitage Association fought so hard for more than twenty-five acres of land. More land meant they could use that land to earn money to restore and maintain Andrew Jackson's house, outbuildings, and gardens. Acquiring that land also meant that they would be able to preserve the integrity of the Hermitage landscape as well.<sup>111</sup>

The second lesson visible from early preservation work at the Hermitage confirms Charles Hosmer's statement in his book *Presence of the Past*:

Almost every historic building, no matter what hopes its would-be preservers

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give "the State or any patriotic society" a reasonable amount of time to buy the property from him. The state did nothing to acquire the building even after it came up for sale. In 1893, Polk's tomb was transferred to the capitol grounds. Not long after, Polk Place was demolished to make way for an apartment building. "Passing of the Polk Place."

<sup>110</sup> Hosmer, 50-53.

<sup>111</sup> Dorris, 32.

might have cherished, turned out to be a local museum. Even houses connected with nationally important figures were finally rescued by people who lived near the buildings themselves.<sup>112</sup>

Although the state did save the Hermitage from demolition, the building was really not secure until the LHA began to care for and restore it. After all, Tennessee's purchase of the property was for practical reasons (the opportunity of the state to benefit from a branch of West Point) as well as patriotic. However, during the nineteenth century both government intervention and national support for a preservation movement were rare. Valley Forge, for example, was initially preserved by a group of local women moved by patriotic fervor following the country's centennial.<sup>113</sup> Even national organizations like the Daughters of the American Revolution did most of their early preservation work through local chapters.<sup>114</sup>

The final lesson we can learn from the Hermitage's preservation is that timing is everything. Many of the problems Tennessee ran into while trying to preserve the Hermitage were not entirely its fault. War and economic hardship following the Hermitage's acquisition by the state made securing money for repairs to the home and property almost impossible. However, it took more than money for preservation to be successful. A building needed a reason to be saved. Patriotic causes were very popular in the nineteenth century, none more so than the preservation of Mount Vernon, which some

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<sup>112</sup> Hosmer, 152.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-83.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

advocates hoped would help heal the nation's sectionalism in the 1850s.<sup>115</sup> In the wake of the Civil War, the same was true for other preservation projects that demonstrated national unity, like the Chickamauga battlefield. And, of course there was a practical level to preservation, as in saving the Hermitage from possible destruction by the Confederate Soldier's Home. Thus, in the final analysis, a historic site really needed the right people to unite for the right reasons at the right time. Mount Vernon had Ann Pamela Cunningham and Edward Everett. Valley Forge had Mrs. Holstein. And the Hermitage had the support of Jackson relatives as well as important Nashvillians who, as the following chapter details, had money, social prominence, and political connections.

Given Tennessee's faltering efforts with the Hermitage (which one preservationist might have described as preservation by neglect<sup>116</sup>) and its failure with Polk Place, it is easy to think there is little worth studying in Tennessee's example of preservation work. However, the state was blazing a trail into uncharted territory and consequently ran into problems preservationists might face even today. Because of this, we are able to see how preservation efforts are never easy, and we are able to appreciate how even the smallest steps toward preservation can make the difference between the protection or destruction of a historic site like the Hermitage.

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<sup>115</sup> Elswyth Thane, *Mount Vernon is Ours: The Story of its Preservation* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1966), 82.

<sup>116</sup> William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997), 28.

## CHAPTER THREE

## THE PRESERVATION OF THE HERMITAGE 1889-1897

An announcement in the newspaper today about an event garnering 20,000 spectators might sound like a sold out concert at Bridgestone Arena in downtown Nashville. However, the date was May 20, 1880, and the event was not a concert, but the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson at the Tennessee Capitol building.<sup>1</sup> This unveiling was the climax of more than a month of celebrations marking the centennial of the city of Nashville, including an exposition, parades, and competitive military drills. Such a large crowd is impressive, considering that Nashville's population at the time was about 43,000 (of course this is assuming the newspaper is not exaggerating the crowd's size). A photo taken during the unveiling shows people everywhere on Capitol Hill, including sitting on the Capitol roof with their legs hanging over the edge.<sup>2</sup>

The Centennial organizers did not include this event in the celebration by chance. Ever since Andrew Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans and his rise to the presidency, Jackson – and by extension the Hermitage – have held a significant place in the history and landscape of Nashville, Tennessee. As we have seen in the previous chapter, when visitors came to Nashville and wrote about their visit, the Hermitage was

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<sup>1</sup> "Nashville Centennial," *The Eaton Democrat* (Eaton, Ohio), May 27, 1880, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. (Hereafter, all newspaper citations refer to this database unless otherwise cited in footnotes.)

<sup>2</sup> John Egerton, *Nashville: The Faces of Two Centuries 1780-1980* (Nashville: PlusMedia Incorporated, 1979), 140-41.

often one of their destinations. For example, in 1854 while visiting the city of Nashville, ex-President Millard Fillmore and Hon. J. P. Kennedy (a former secretary of the Navy) made a visit to the Hermitage after a grand reception in Nashville and meeting with friends at the Capitol.<sup>3</sup> From time to time, various organizations chose Nashville as the host city for their national conventions. During their meetings, many groups organized trips to the Hermitage, including the Methodist Convention (1858),<sup>4</sup> the International Order of Odd Fellows (1860),<sup>5</sup> the Grand National Division of the Sons of Temperance (1868), and the National Education Association (1889)<sup>6</sup> among others.

Following the meeting of the National Education Association, “which lent new interest to this city of refinement and culture,” Hon. Arthur S. Colyar, a prominent Nashville lawyer and journalist, published a history of Nashville in the *New England Magazine* for those who might be curious to find out more information about the city. While the article covers everything from the city’s founding to the present day, a sketch of the Hermitage is included along with sketches of the Capitol (including the Jackson Statue), Polk Place, Fort Negley, and the National Cemetery along with a notation that all of these were places visitors might find interesting.<sup>7</sup> Of course, Colyar was hardly an

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<sup>3</sup> “Reception of Ex-President Fillmore and Mr. Kennedy,” *Nashville Union and American*, May 5, 1853.

<sup>4</sup> “A Visit to the Hermitage,” *The Daily Exchange* (Baltimore, MD), July 24, 1858.

<sup>5</sup> “Meeting of the Grand Lodge, I. O. O. F, in Nashville,” *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), September 25, 1860.

<sup>6</sup> Mary C. Currey Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage* (1915), 63-64.

<sup>7</sup> A. S. Colyar, “Nashville,” *New England Magazine* (Jan 1, 1890), 130-44.

unbiased writer since his wife, Mary McGuire Colyar, was the vice-regent of the Ladies' Hermitage Association (LHA) at the time of the article's publication.<sup>8</sup> However, Colyar was not the only one who revered the Hermitage. In 1927, Rogers Caldwell built a mansion for \$350,000 called Brentwood Hall using Andrew Jackson's Hermitage as his inspiration.<sup>9</sup> In 1936, the Garden Club of Nashville published a book titled *History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee*, which included a section on the Hermitage.<sup>10</sup> Histories of Nashville like Louise Littleton Davis's *Nashville Tales* or John Egerton's *Nashville: The Faces of Two Centuries*, which was published for the state bicentennial, also included significant sections on Andrew Jackson's contributions to state and local history.

Considering Jackson's popularity in the state of Tennessee, it is easy to understand why the Hermitage's preservation as a historic site would begin as a project run by prominent Nashville women. Although the Ladies' Hermitage Association, like the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association (MVLA), would strive for national recognition, less than ten years after becoming trustees of the Hermitage, the LHA's efforts to become a national organization had ceased. Despite failing to follow the MVLA's example by

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<sup>8</sup> Colyar also later published a biography about the seventh President. Arthur St. Clair Colyar, *The Life and Times of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. I (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1904).

<sup>9</sup> Caldwell forfeited his home to the state of Tennessee in 1957 and today it is known as the Ellington Agricultural Center. "History of Ellington Agricultural Center," Tennessee Department of Agriculture, accessed Jan. 31, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/agriculture/general/eachistory.shtml>; Don Doyle, *Nashville in the New South 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 229.

<sup>10</sup> *History of Homes and Gardens in Tennessee*, ed. Roberta Seawell Brandau (Nashville, TN: Parthenon Press, 1936), 169-77.

attracting members from across the country, the LHA was still successful and later gained national recognition from President Theodore Roosevelt for their preservation efforts. And in the end, it was wealthy and powerful Tennesseans, not national vice-regents, whose love of their native son made the Hermitage thrive as a historic site, tourist destination, and important part of the Nashville and Tennessee landscape.

### *Local Support*

For many preservation projects, the work often starts locally. Take, for example, the attempt to preserve the “Old Indian House” in Deerfield, Massachusetts. The house was the only one in the town that had survived an attack by the French and Indians in 1704. The townspeople formed a committee to save the landmark in 1847, but were unable to raise the amount necessary to buy the home from its owner. A member of the family who owned the house did salvage the front door, which still had “grim hatchet marks” from the attack, and sold the door to a Boston doctor, who would eventually sell the door back to pleading Deerfield citizens two decades later in 1867.<sup>11</sup>

Although some preservation projects, like that in Deerfield, show the difficulty of local preservation movements, other projects were successful. In 1859, the city of Philadelphia took interest in a building where the First Continental Congress met for the first time in 1774. However, the building’s current owners, an organization called the Carpenters’ Company, had only recently renovated it, “taking care ‘to preserve, as much

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<sup>11</sup> Charles B. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1965), 33-34.

as possible, every feature in said Hall as it now exists indicative of its original finish.”<sup>12</sup> Although asked to name their price, the Carpenters’ Company respectfully refused to relinquish the “sacred trust committed to us by our predecessors, which nothing shall ever induce us to part with.” However, the organization did agree to allow the room in which the Congress met to be open for any visitors who wished to see it.<sup>13</sup> After all, they had worked hard to preserve the building up until that time, and had every right to take pride in the success of their work.

For Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage, it is hard to get any more local than by starting with someone who had made the Hermitage her home. As previously noted, Mary Dorris gave credit to Amy Jackson, Andrew Jackson III’s wife, for the idea of creating a memorial association in 1889. Originally from Ohio, Amy met Col. Andrew Jackson III after she moved to Tennessee to teach at the school held in the Hermitage church. The couple married in 1885 and came to live with Sarah Jackson, Andrew III’s mother, at the Hermitage.<sup>14</sup> Amy’s idea to preserve the Hermitage was good one, but there was just one problem with it. Execution. After all, how did one go about creating a memorial association?

The easiest thing to do was to follow Mount Vernon’s example. Amy and her husband went to visit Cynthia Pillow Saunders Brown (wife of the former Tennessee

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>14</sup> S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, Vol. 2 (Nashville: Ambrose Printing Company, 1920), 408, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015.



governor) who was the Tennessee Vice Regent of the MVLA.<sup>15</sup> Reminiscing about the trip, Amy describes a “long, bitter-cold ride... eighteen miles or more in a driving wind-and-dust storm” which took over fourteen hours. That is quite an impressive journey for a woman who was probably around three-months pregnant with her second child.<sup>16</sup>

However, in a second unpublished manuscript, Amy appears to tell the dramatic story of her epiphany and subsequent labors in her own words.

I was a stranger in the Southland, especially so in Nashville, having lived here but three years... and being prevented from visiting freely here since my marriage, but I determined to see what I could do .... I called upon Mrs. Nat Baxter Sr and other ladies, I believe I walked five hundred miles; I out-talked any phonograph or talking machine ever invented, and finally succeeded in winning... five ladies and gentlemen to intrust [sic] themselves in obtaining control of twenty five acres with the house and tomb.<sup>17</sup>

Despite all the emphasis put on how hard she worked to help save the Hermitage, it is also just as clear that Amy knew she could not get the association up and running all by herself. Following the Mount Vernon model involved gathering supporters from across the country, and Amy would not be doing any major travelling anytime soon since her

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<sup>15</sup> Dorris, 14. Cynthia’s daughter promised to mail the Jackson’s a copy of the MVLA’s by-laws. Later on, Mary Dorris also records that the early LHA supporters received a letter from Philodea Eve, MVLA vice-regent of Georgia, explaining how the MVLA formed. It is unclear if Cynthia ever sent the by-laws herself. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. According to Mary Dorris, Albert Marble Jackson was born in July, only an hour before the National Education Association visited. The educators made sure not to leave before giving the family an up-to-date primer for their newest edition.

<sup>17</sup> Unpublished manuscript, LHA Records 1889-1969, MF 646, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN. The document appears to be part of a larger manuscript since it has what appears to be a page number on one sheet.

husband was financially strapped.<sup>18</sup> Also, Amy's status as a "Yankee" from Ohio made it difficult for her to stand up against an organization for Confederate veterans and win.

Only a few weeks before her MVLA epiphany, Amy talked with Mary Dorris about the fact that the Jacksons were considering selling the family relics in New York with the help of Mary's husband Duncan, who from time to time wrote articles for a New York paper and could write some advertisements for the sale.<sup>19</sup> The sale of family relics, particularly Confederate heirlooms, was a common step taken by poor southerners following the Civil War. The Confederate Memorial Literary Society founded the Confederate Museum in the 1890s specifically to help keep these relics in the South.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, for the Jacksons, their financial situation was not very stable and allowing the state to purchase the relics was hardly an option considering Tennessee's own debt problems.

However, there was a big difference between these relics held by the Jacksons and those held by former Confederates. Civil War relics were popular almost immediately following the end of the War, whereas Jackson had died forty-four years earlier and yet even the fate of his former home was still unresolved. So why would anyone want to preserve Jackson's house or relics now? Why did anyone even care? There were two reasons. One, because of the Jackson family's financial difficulties, the Hermitage and its

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<sup>18</sup> "Hermitage Interpretive Manual," 2014 edition, in the Interpretation Department of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Hermitage, TN.

<sup>19</sup> Dorris, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Reiko Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South," *The Public Historian* 33, no. 4 (November 2011): 35.

relics were relatively intact – a historian’s dream. Second, Amy and her husband were determined to preserve the memory of their famous presidential ancestor, even if that meant turning to their extended family for help.

This was probably not an easy move for her to make. First, the Jackson family was not large. Andrew Jackson’s brothers died during the Revolutionary War and, although his wife Rachel had many siblings, nieces, and nephews, she never bore any children. Consequently, the couple adopted a nephew, Andrew Jr., who would go on to have five children. Of those five children, two died in infancy and a third, Samuel, died during the battle of Chickamauga fighting for the Confederacy. Of all the Jackson grandchildren, only Andrew III and Rachel, whom her parents named after her grandmother, remained. Rachel married Dr. John Lawrence on January 25, 1853, and moved to a plantation near the Hermitage named Sea Song where she raised nine children.<sup>21</sup>

While this limited number of Jackson descendants was problematic, Amy knew there were plenty of Donelson descendants living in the Nashville area. However, turning to some of the Donelsons was probably not easy. According to historian Mark Cheatham, part of the reason relations were strained between Andrew Jackson Jr. and his cousin Andrew Donelson was because Donelson did not like Andrew Junior’s decision to sell the Hermitage to the state because of his debts.<sup>22</sup> However, Donelson’s vice-presidential

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<sup>21</sup> “Hermitage Interpretation Manual,” 2014 edition.

<sup>22</sup> Mark Cheatham, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 202.

campaign in 1856 did not help matters either. Andrew III wrote home from West Point about how he thought his cousin and ‘Know-Nothing’ vice-presidential candidate Andrew Jackson Donelson was putting on airs by calling himself Jackson’s son in order to gain political support.<sup>23</sup> Never mind that neither Donelson nor Jr. were blood relations to Jackson! Andrew Jr. himself wrote that he was “delighted” to learn many of his friends and relatives in Memphis were not supporting Millard Fillmore (the presidential candidate) or Donelson.<sup>24</sup> Despite these disagreements, the third-generation Jacksons were apparently able to set them aside in order to work together to preserve President Jackson’s “rural retreat.”

Besides her husband, Amy confided in two other family members – Mary C. C. Dorris and William A. Donelson. This completed the inner circle of the LHA founders, whom Dorris referred to as “the four founders.”<sup>25</sup> Mary Dorris herself was an important asset for the LHA. A descendent of one of Rachel’s sisters, Mary spent a lot of her childhood at the Hermitage and grew to love the property.<sup>26</sup> Besides a familial connection to the Hermitage, Mary was well educated (she graduated from Ward Seminary for Young Ladies in 1867) and was apparently good at managing organizations. Besides the LHA, she also took on leading roles in the Daughters of 1812 and the Daughters of the

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<sup>23</sup> Andrew Jackson III to Sarah Jackson, Mar. 24, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections, The Hermitage, Home of President Andrew Jackson, Hermitage, TN. (Hereafter cited as LHA Collections.)

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Jackson Jr. to Sarah Jackson, May 16, 1856, *Jackson Family Letters 1856-1859*, LHA Collections.

<sup>25</sup> Dorris, 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

American Revolution.<sup>27</sup> Her husband Duncan was also an asset. He wrote articles for newspapers in New York and was an editor for the *Nashville Banner*. With Duncan's ability to get the word out about the movement to preserve the Hermitage and Mary Dorris' ability to organize, the LHA was off to a very good start.

Another relative involved in the planning of the LHA was William Alex Donelson. Dorris wrote that William "was much interested and soon joined in the councils and helped form plans for the great memorial association that was to be."<sup>28</sup> He was born in Germany to Andrew Jackson Donelson while his father was serving as minister to Prussia. William eventually married Bettie Mizell in 1882. Besides assisting with early strategizing efforts, he also went with Mary Dorris to "procure a charter."<sup>29</sup> His wife Bettie eventually became a regent of the LHA.<sup>30</sup> Although William was murdered in 1900, Bettie continued her activism. She became a member of the

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<sup>27</sup> Susan M. Goodsell, "Mary Clementia Currey Dorris," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed April 29, 2014, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=393>.

<sup>28</sup> Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage*, 17-18.

<sup>29</sup> "A Guide to the William A. Donelson Family Papers, 1883-1937," Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin; Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage*, 215. Curiously, Mary Dorris records earlier in her book that she "went alone to the County Court Clerk's office to take out the charter." It is unclear, then, what William actually did to assist with getting the charter. Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage*, 37.

<sup>30</sup> "Donelson, Bettie Mizell (1862-1939) Papers 1787-1938," finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, [www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/309.pdf](http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/309.pdf).

Women's Christian Temperance Movement and was involved in the women's suffrage movement in Tennessee.<sup>31</sup>

However, this was still well before women had many legal rights. Because the LHA was an all-female organization, Col. Colyar advised the women that only "*femme soles* [sic] were eligible to sign the charter."<sup>32</sup> The legal construct of the *feme sole* had its roots in the patriarchal British common law from the eighteenth century, which gave men dominance over women. The idea was that only unmarried or widowed women had property rights, as compared to married women (*femes covert*) who were considered to have surrendered their rights to their husbands upon marriage.<sup>33</sup> Since the LHA hoped to be a female organization dealing with property, Colyar assumed (incorrectly as it turned out) that only single or widowed women could sign the charter, which meant most of the women involved in the planning at that point (such as Mary Dorris, Amy Jackson, and Sally Lindsley) were ineligible.

Following Colyar's bad advice, Mary Dorris and the other Hermitage supporters turned to the most obvious *feme sole* to act as a charter signer, Andrew Jackson's widowed granddaughter, Rachel Jackson Lawrence. Although Rachel supported this preservation endeavor and therefore signed the charter, she never took on a leading role in the organization. From the minutes, though, it is clear she still helps the LHA arrange

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<sup>31</sup> "Guide to the William A. Donelson Family Papers, 1883-1937."

<sup>32</sup> Dorris, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 232, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015.

the library and even represents them at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. Given that she is selling some of her Jackson relics for financial reasons it is possible that her lack of funds contributed to her lack of a leadership role. She may also have preferred to keep the organization at arm's length so as not to be involved in decisions that might adversely affect Andrew III and Amy, who were still living in the mansion at the time.<sup>34</sup>

In order to get other female soles to sign the charter, Mary Dorris also called upon one of her close friends, Mary Lusk Heiss. Mary Heiss was the daughter of prominent Nashville banker Robert Lusk and the widow of Henry Heiss, who had been a journalist and Confederate soldier.<sup>35</sup> Another charter signer, Mary Hadley Clare, was also a widow of a Confederate veteran. She had been engaged to Major William Clare, who was from Huntsville, Alabama. When he came north with General Hood's troops, Mary met him at John Overton's home, Travellers Rest, and the couple married at the Brentwood Church December 14, 1864, the day before the battle of Nashville began.<sup>36</sup> Another charter signer

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<sup>34</sup>“Hermitage Interpretive Manual,” 2014 edition. In 1890, Rachel offered to sell a pier table, silk curtains, and six parlor chairs to the LHA for \$200 because she needed the money. However, the minutes also record that the LHA made her the guest of honor for their dinner at the Woman's Building during the Tennessee Centennial. Dec. 10, 1890; June 4, 1898; April 6, 1904, LHA Minutes.

<sup>35</sup>W. Woodford Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1880), 409, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015; “Heiss, John P. Family Papers 1835-1872,” finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/th31.pdf>. For a time Henry Heiss owned the *Nashville American*, which he later sold to Col. A. S. Colyar, the husband of director Mary Colyar. *Public Ledger* (Memphis, TN), Mar. 13, 1882.

<sup>36</sup>Fletch Coke, Eleanor Graham, and Attie Gene Shriver, “First Ladies of Travellers' Rest,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (Fall 1978): 327, Jstor.org, accessed Feb. 19, 2015. According to a memorial in the *Confederate Veteran*, a friend described “the rattle of musketry and the roar of artillery [supplying] music as the

who probably knew Mary Clare was Mary White May. Just before the battle of Nashville, Mary May and two other women at Travellers Rest supposedly went into Nashville and purchased two grey suits and two pairs of cavalry boots. The women wore the clothing under their skirt hoops and Mary May tied one of the pair of boots around her waist. To head back through the lines out of Nashville, Mary then had to procure a pass from a Union officer, who was apparently too busy trying to charm Mary to notice anything suspicious.<sup>37</sup> She, like several other early LHA members, also belonged to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>38</sup>

Mary Dorris also enlisted the help of neighbors, including Louise Grundy Lindsley, daughter of John and Sally Lindsley, who at this point was only beginning what would become a lifetime relationship with the LHA, and Mrs. Electa L. Nicholson.<sup>39</sup>

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wedding march.” Mary Clare was also one of the women who went to visit the Hermitage to celebrate the battle of Manassas when Forrest’s cavalry also showed up to pay their respects to Jackson. “Amiable and Beloved Mary Hadley Clare,” *Confederate Veteran* XIX, no. 1 (Jan. 1911): 347, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Mollie Maxwell Claiborne, “Traveller’s [sic] Rest and Its Owners During the War Between the States,” *“Our Women in the War” Supplement*, Civil War Collection: Confederate and Federal 1861, 1865, Confederate Collection, Box 1, Folder 12, Clippings – Women in War, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>38</sup> *Index Confederate Veteran*, Vol. VI, ed. S. A. Cunningham (Nashville, TN: 1898), 459, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015. This was not the first time Mary White May stood up for the Confederate cause. In another account, Mary also defied Union authorities by leaving Nashville to nurse relatives who had been wounded at Shiloh, despite the fact that she had been denied a pass to leave the city. She died in 1898. Walter Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City 1862-1863* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 73.

<sup>39</sup> Louise Grundy Lindsley would become regent of the LHA in 1912. She was also involved in other major organizations including being the national president of the Women’s Auxiliary to the Southern Commercial Congress, a leader in the Nashville Housewives League (a division of a national organization created during WWI to support the war effort), and she was made an honorary vice-regent of the Monticello Association.



Electa Nicholson was a native of Massachusetts who, after the death of her husband Isaac C. Nicholson, took ownership of the hotel they had operated in Nashville on the corner of Church and Spruce streets. As described in a newspaper advertisement:

the house is first class in every department and moderate in charge. Fare good and servants polite and attentive. Mrs. E. L. Nicholson, proprietress, and Messrs. Humphrey and Ragsdale, clerks, take special care to make their guests comfortable and feel at home.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1890s, Nicholson would host LHA fundraisers at her hotel. She also opened a hotel called Nicholson Springs at a mineral springs site near McMinnville, Tennessee.<sup>41</sup> She died in 1907 at the age of eighty after “she ‘made over’ to Vanderbilt University her house and fifteen adjoining acres near Nashville.”<sup>42</sup>

These *feme soles* and family members were in on the ground floor of the preservation of the Hermitage. Family members had the passion to spark the organization

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This Association is not to be confused with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, which owns Monticello today. This Association was an earlier attempt led by Maude Littleton, which ran into problems because it was just a little anti-Semitic, particularly against the owner of Monticello at the time, who happened to be Jewish. Anna Berkes, Research Librarian at Monticello, email message to author, Mar. 28, 2014; Carole Stanford Bucy, “Louise Grundy Lindsley,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, version 2.0, updated Jan. 1, 2010, accessed May 3, 2014, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=794>.

<sup>40</sup> *Southern Standard* (McMinnville, TN), Sept. 22, 1883.

<sup>41</sup> The spring was located on the Barren Fork River. Originally called the Crisp Springs Hotel, Electa changed its name when she purchased it. The spring operated until just before WWI. C. Brenden Martin, “Historic Resorts,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1120>.

<sup>42</sup> Jonathan Kennon Thompson Smith, “Genealogical Abstracts from Reported Deaths The Nashville Christian Advocate 1905-1907,” TNgenweb.org, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, <http://www.tngenweb.org/records/davidson/obits/nca/nca05-08.htm>.

into being. Their friends and relatives had the skills to turn those flames into a fire. With a journalist who could market their cause, and several prominent Nashville women and men, each with their own set of contacts from both the Old and New South, the LHA laid a strong foundation for growth into an important organization in both Nashville and the state of Tennessee.

### *State Support*

It should not come as a surprise that many preservation organizations also have a presence throughout their state. Take, for example, the Association for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA). As the LHA was just beginning its fight to acquire the Hermitage from the state of Tennessee, the APVA was holding its first meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia. The statewide organization operated through local chapters with the goal of preserving important historic sites and relics as meccas that would provide “moral, spiritual, and social” values to the people who visited them. Many of the women and men who worked for the APVA were interested in preserving not only historic sites but traditional values and ways of life in a quickly changing world. Their work, therefore, paralleled the work of more national organizations like the United Confederate Veterans or the United Daughters of the Confederacy, specifically through the Lost Cause movement. The irony this held for women involved in the movement, then, was that while preservation pushed against the barriers of the women’s domestic sphere, its underlying call to more traditional ways of life also reinforced those same barriers. As

historian James Lindgren put it, such preservationists “had their hearts in the Old South and their pocketbooks in the New.”<sup>43</sup>

The LHA also straddled this line between the Old and the New South. The legislative bill which created the association required the formation of two distinct governing bodies. The first was the Board of Directors, an all-female team of managers who would oversee day-to-day management of the Hermitage. The second was the Board of Trustees, a body of men who would “make and enforce by-laws” since, as Mary Dorris put it, “women had not demonstrated their ability to do things as at present, and the wise solons no doubt thought that women” could not.<sup>44</sup> These by-laws instructed the Board of Directors on everything from how to elect directors to when to hold their annual meeting.<sup>45</sup>

The Board of Trustees was the first governing board organized by the LHA. Mary Dorris and her husband created a list of names based on contacts Duncan Dorris had gained throughout the state with important men because of his work as a journalist. After consulting with Dr. John Berrien Lindsley, a prominent Nashville doctor, and Lafayette F. Benson, a Nashville banker, they narrowed the list down and submitted it to Governor Robert Love Taylor. While at first glance the final trustees might appear to have had little

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<sup>43</sup> James. M. Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 46-47, 136, 172.

<sup>44</sup> Dorris, 48.

<sup>45</sup> In 1897, a member of the Board of Trustee members, Dr. Thomas Atchison, told the directors at a meeting that he thought the women perfectly capable of handling such matters themselves. Mar. 15, 1897, LHA Minutes.

in common besides their appointment to the LHA Board, that was not the case. Three of them were involved in state politics, including two former governors, John Brown and James Porter, as well as Tennessee State Supreme Court Justice H. H. Ingersoll. Several of them also had fought in the Civil War, including Edmund S. Mallory, General William H. Jackson, Lafayette F. Benson, the two former governors, and H. H. Ingersoll (who was the only trustee to fight for the Union). Dr. Lindsley and Lafayette Benson, who helped organize the trustees, also served on the board alongside an acquaintance of Governor Taylor, Adolph S. Ochs.<sup>46</sup> As prominent businessmen, lawyers, soldiers, and politicians, they gave the association their endorsement and support by attaching their names to the LHA.

After completing the by-laws, women (and men) interested in helping the association held a meeting at the Nicholson house to select their Board of Directors. This board included many familiar faces, including Mary Dorris as secretary, Mary McGuire Colyar as first vice-regent, and Bettie Donelson. New to the association were four more women from prominent Nashville families. Mary L. Baxter was chosen to serve as regent. Her husband was prominent Nashville judge Nathaniel Baxter. Martha Overton Dickinson was chosen to be second vice-regent. Her husband, Jacob McGavock Dickinson would later serve on the Tennessee Supreme Court. The final two women were Elizabeth Saunders Morrow, wife of prominent Nashville doctor and businessman Dr. William H. Morrow, and Frances Gregory Ruhm, whose husband John Ruhm served as

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<sup>46</sup> Dorris, 47. For more information on these Board of Trustee members, see Appendix II.

First Lieutenant and Quartermaster for the 15<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops. In a note about this board, Dorris wrote that originally there were nine women, of whom two dropped out almost immediately due to a lack of interest. Notice, however, that her original list only includes seven women. Perhaps she thought these two women did not deserve mention for failing to do their duties, or perhaps she did not want to embarrass them.<sup>47</sup> In any case, the LHA minutes record that the final two members were Mary Polk Jones Cooper, a relative of the Donelson family, and Mary Demoville, the wife of a Nashville druggist. Lafayette F. Benson was also listed among the Board of Directors, which might seem strange since he was also a trustee. However, he worked for the American National Bank, which opened in 1883 in Nashville, which meant he was ideally suited to be the LHA's treasurer.<sup>48</sup>

Among the first tasks the new Board of Directors would take on was the preservation of the First Hermitage cabins, which took place only months after the board members became managers of the property in September of 1889. Originally, these two cabins made up a single two-story log structure built for the property's previous owner, Nathaniel Hays. Jackson and his wife Rachel lived in the cabin for almost twenty-years before having the brick mansion built.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, just before the work began on these structures, tragedy struck. John C. Brown, who had been elected to the Board of

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>48</sup> For more information on Board of Directors' members, see Appendix I.

<sup>49</sup> These cabins are referred to as the Old Cabins in the original board minutes. Once the Jacksons moved into the Hermitage mansion, the cabins were turned into slave quarters. "First Hermitage," *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage*, accessed Feb. 22, 2015, <http://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/garden-grounds/first-hermitage/>.

Trustees, died on August 17<sup>th</sup> at Red Boiling Springs. Just one week later, Lafayette Benson went riding in a buggy with his son, was thrown out of the vehicle, and died of his injuries just a few hours later. In response, the LHA sent wreaths to both of the men's families "praying that the balm of Gilead will be poured out by a Divine hand upon their bruised and broken spirits." The directors also declared that "these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Association as a record forever of their great losses." The vacant positions among the trustees were filled by Lafayette Benson's business associate Dr. Thomas A. Atchison and by a Mr. Thomas. T. Wright, while Elizabeth Morrow's husband, Dr. William Morrow, was elected treasurer.<sup>50</sup>

As the restoration began on the old cabins, the LHA quickly realized they had a lot of work ahead of them. A note in the minutes describing the cabins records that "the chimney had fallen, the sills on one side rotted away and its downfall seemed imminent." In order to ensure the work was done properly LHA members visited the worksite regularly to ensure that their "historic character might not be lost."<sup>51</sup> In the following year, the LHA also replaced the mansion's leaky tin roof. They even kept pieces of the original roof for resale as souvenirs.<sup>52</sup> Repairs to the cabins cost \$223. Replacing the roof cost \$687. Overall, by the end of 1891, the association had raised and spent over \$3,500 on these and other preservation projects, including repointing the smokehouse and

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<sup>50</sup> Sept. 3, 1889, and Sept. 17, 1889, LHA Minutes.

<sup>51</sup> Sept. 3, 1889, LHA Minutes

<sup>52</sup> April 23, 1890, LHA Minutes.

kitchen as well as adding gutters to these two buildings to direct water away from their foundations. The question remains, how did they raise this money in the first place?<sup>53</sup>

Mary Dorris's records indicate that many of the LHA's most popular early fundraisers were shows hosted for the association's benefit. Their first major fundraiser was a play organized and produced by Nashville women called "The Birds of Tennessee," which had several performances and raised \$125. The Association also held several concerts, but these were not always successful. For example, the Theodore Thomas Orchestra performed four times for the LHA, but the concerts cost more money than the LHA raised by hosting them, something Mary Dorris (who organized the event) would never live down.<sup>54</sup> One performer who did bring in a decent amount of money was Blind Tom, a blind African American man and former slave who was incredibly talented on the piano and raised \$275 for the LHA.<sup>55</sup> However, for some LHA supporters, just

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<sup>53</sup> May 20, 1891, LHA Minutes.

<sup>54</sup> Each concert cost \$1,500 dollars. These concerts were held in 1892. Five years later though, Mary Dorris submitted a letter, which was recorded in the minutes. Originally, the by-laws called for the secretary to receive a salary of \$25, something Mary never received. However, because Mary managed these concerts the Association, after paying the deficit, counted it as her salary. The whole thing appears to have been a very sore spot for Mary since she petitioned that whoever is secretary should not be paid (since she never was). Other members, however, disagreed. Mary even went so far as to reprint the same letter in her book published in 1915, possibly because she still felt she had reason to vindicate herself over the matter. Mar. 15, 1897 and Mar. 24, 1897, LHA Minutes. Dorris, 57, 60-61.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 57. Thomas Wiggins was born a slave and blind. When his master found out, he refused to feed the boy, but Thomas's mother saved him. When he and his mother were sold, their new master discovered his talent for the piano. By the age of ten, he was being hired out to play for social occasions. During the Civil War, he was forced to perform to raise money for the Confederate cause. After the war, Wiggins's master became his 'agent' who made his living off of Wiggins, prompting some to call Thomas "the last slave." "Thomas 'Blind Tom' Wiggins 1894-1908," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*,

fixing up the Hermitage was not enough. Bettie Donelson organized an Old Folk's Concert to help repair the Hermitage church that Jackson had built for his wife. The concert was very popular, due in part to a prize offered to the highest ticket seller, which was a watch charm supposedly made of Andrew and Rachel Jackson's hair. Because of the concert's success, a newspaper reported that "a large number of people are anxious to have the concert repeated for the benefit of the Hermitage Association."<sup>56</sup>

This list of society events reveals that the early LHA was not only a preservation group but also an elite women's organization designed in the style of the women's clubs and literary societies that were becoming popular in the 1880s in the South. According to historian John Simpson, the LHA opened the door for such organizations in Nashville, and it was quickly followed by groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (1893) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1894).<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, many early LHA members like Bettie Donelson or Louise Lindsley were also members of the UDC Nashville No. 1, the first UDC chapter in the state of Tennessee. Simpson also notes that

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updated November 14, 2014, accessed May 3, 2014,  
<http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/thomas-blind-tom-wiggins-1849-1908>.

<sup>56</sup> "The Old Folk's Concert," *The Daily American* (Nashville, TN), Mar. 16, 1889, NPL. Dorris, 190. Out of all these events, Mary Dorris recorded that the most successful fundraiser for the association was a ten-cent mirror show. Unfortunately there is no mention of these shows in the LHA minutes and it is unclear what exactly these shows entailed. Dorris, 57.

<sup>57</sup> John A. Simpson, *Edith Pope and Her Nashville Friends: Guardians of the Lost Cause in the Confederate Veteran* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 75, 125.



the members of the LHA, like the “Nashville Daughters remained important fixtures in the city’s high society well into the 1930s.”<sup>58</sup>

One of the most popular society events held by the LHA was the January 8<sup>th</sup> ball in Nashville. The date commemorated Jackson’s victory against the British in the Battle of New Orleans. The first ball was held in 1890 and included “the Jackson Historic Costume Reception,” which took place at the Maxwell House Hotel. Mary Baxter, one of the directors, dressed up as the President’s wife Rachel. Marion Lawrence (daughter of Rachel Jackson Lawrence) dressed up as her mother. The association even proudly displayed one of Jackson’s relics, a candle supposedly taken from Lord Cornwallis’s tent at Yorktown. Overall, the ball was a smashing success and earned the association \$480.<sup>59</sup> A similar event hosted in Memphis netted the association another \$280.<sup>60</sup> These would be just the first of many such parties to come.<sup>61</sup> Such society events were not unique to the

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>59</sup> Jan. 6, 1890, and Jan. 13, 1890, LHA Minutes.

<sup>60</sup> Feb. 3, 1890, LHA Minutes.

<sup>61</sup> Apparently, not everyone was enthused at the idea of holding balls in celebration of Jackson’s victory at New Orleans. Just before the January 8<sup>th</sup> ball in 1897, “a preacher” wrote a letter to the editor explaining that he thought it unfair many patriotic people were excluded from the event because “of conscientious convictions and church relations,” which made them think all the dancing was inappropriate. So, he argued that “propriety and justice... both clamor for the immediate and permanent abandonment of the practice of giving a great ball on our revered and hallowed Jackson Day.” “Jackson’s Day: A Protest Against the Ball Feature of the Celebration,” Dec. 30, 1897, LHA Records 1889-1969, Manuscript Division, MF 646, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

LHA, though. Many women's organizations of the time, like the United Daughters of the Confederacy, used concerts, dances, and other events to raise money.<sup>62</sup>

Throughout all these balls and celebrations, a romantic picture of the Hermitage as a true southern home and Jackson as a true southern hero began to emerge. Mary Dorris's book is littered with flowery phrases and idyllic views of the past (including slavery) that are reminiscent of the reconciliation of old and new with which the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities was also dealing. According to James Lindgren, this blending of the old with the new was made stronger through preservation of southern colonial sites like the Powder Horn at Williamsburg or Jamestown because it tied colonial and Confederate causes together, reminding northerners that the South shared the same colonial history as they did.<sup>63</sup> Although none of the early LHA records specifically allude to reconciliation with the North as a part of the reason for founding the association, it was probably something not far from anyone's mind since they were preserving a site of national significance which existed before the Civil War. Even for the MVLA, which the LHA sought to emulate, union in the midst of political upheaval was a driving force that supported their preservation work up until the Civil War.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), 56.

<sup>63</sup> Lindgren, 56, 80, 94 136.

<sup>64</sup> Ann Pamela Cunningham, the founder of the MVLA believed her organization could unite women across the union and sooth sectional strife and differences, which caused many to view Mount Vernon as a "vehicle for National Unity." West, 15, 17.

Trustee Dr. J. Lindsey clearly played to these reconciliation sentiments in a speech in support of the LHA: “The whole American people have an interest in the Association without regard to any section whatever,” he said. “It was not Grant at the head of his enormous columns, nor Lincoln in his chair at Washington; it was the soul of Jackson who said, ‘The Federal Union must and shall be preserved,’ that defeated us in the War of the States.”<sup>65</sup> What is also interesting is that both the Board of Directors and the Board of Trustees had members who had once supported both the Union and the Confederacy.<sup>66</sup> But then, perhaps this is just as reflective of Tennessee’s internal divisions during the Civil War as it is of the reconciliation finally beginning to happen after the war.

According to historian Nina Silber, northerners in the 1870s through 1880s were increasingly looking to the South for unique and authentic tourism experiences, and found romance in the ruins of plantations or slave cabins much as they might have expected to from the ruins of castles in Europe. Such tourism in turn spread idyllic views of the Old South to northern audiences.<sup>67</sup> Travel literature of the time also portrayed the

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<sup>65</sup> Dorris, 30.

<sup>66</sup> Former Confederates include Gen. William H. Jackson, Jacob M. Dickinson (whose wife Martha Overton Dickinson was a director), Edmund S. Mallory (who served under John C. Breckinridge). Former Union soldiers include H. H. Ingersoll and John Ruhm (his wife Frances Gregory Ruhm was a director) who was originally from Prussia, enlisted with the Union and eventually became the First Lieutenant and Quartermaster for the 15<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops. For more information about these people, see Appendices I and II.

<sup>67</sup> Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 3-4.

South as a “refuge from the hectic pace of modern life.” Such images, then, made northerners feel superior while also appealing to southerners who saw the South as unique, yet still American. This “otherness” sentiment was something not found in antebellum travel literature.<sup>68</sup>

Part of this increased interest from the North in southern tourism included a renewed interest in old plantations and life before the war. And one important feature of this restored landscape was the formerly enslaved African Americans. Reunion and Lost Cause voices often emphasized the love and loyalty of these former slaves for their masters, and nowhere in the LHA’s history is this more obvious than in Mary Dorris’s chapter about ‘Uncle’ Alfred Jackson.<sup>69</sup> She records that when visitors came to the Hermitage, they enjoyed talking to Alfred and hearing his stories about the good old days. In April 1889, the General Assembly even added a resolution to the original bill of trust requesting that the Ladies’ Hermitage Association, along with the association operating the Confederate Soldier’s Home “not... disturb this old and good negro [Alfred], but allow him to live in his cabin until he is called to meet his master on the other side of the river.”<sup>70</sup> As a result, the Association maintained his cabin, adding a ceiling on one occasion, and a floor on another. More than once, the minutes also

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<sup>68</sup> Rebecca McIntyre, *Souvenirs of the Old South: Northern Tourism and Southern Mythology* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 6-8.

<sup>69</sup> Silber, 78.

<sup>70</sup> *Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the Forty-Sixth General Assembly 1889*, (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce, 1889), 515.

recorded that the LHA purchased clothing for him as well so he could look respectable in photographs.<sup>71</sup>

Although Mary Dorris praised Alfred for his assistance with setting up the mansion the way it was in Jackson's time, it is still hard to peel back the layers of history to get at Alfred's real opinion of his old master. Certainly, Alfred's position as a waggoneer gave him further liberties than some of the other enslaved people, not to mention the attention he received as a slave of the great Andrew Jackson. But it is also hard to believe he agreed with his wife Gracey when she supposedly told a newspaper that "it was Christmas all de year roun'."<sup>72</sup> Visitors, LHA members, newspapermen, and even Alfred himself all may have had their own reasons for stretching the truth to create a rosier past than whatever actually existed. Will we ever know Alfred's true feelings about his enslavement? Probably not. But one quote Mary Dorris recorded is telling. A visitor asked Alfred his opinion of another 'distinguished' guest. Alfred's reply? "Folks has got a right to think what dey please, but when dey tells what dey think dey gets 'emselves in trouble."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> May 23, 1895, and Nov. 10, 1896, LHA Minutes.

<sup>72</sup> "Jackson's Old Servants," *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture*, (Oct. 21, 1882), Proquest Art and Architecture Archive, accessed Feb. 22, 2015.

<sup>73</sup> Dorris, 145.

### *National Support*

Besides sending out newspaper ads requesting donations around the country, the first hint that the Ladies' Hermitage Association hoped to draw national attention to itself came during the January 8<sup>th</sup> celebration in 1890. This may seem rather strange, but the event was not as local as it first appears. Behind the historic costumes and dancing, this event reveals the groundwork the LHA was laying for a national campaign. Seven of the wreaths laid beside Jackson's equestrian statue at the capitol were from across the country, including one from "President Harrison, and from the Governors of Conn., New Jersey, Maryland, Arkansas, Florida, and Wisconsin."<sup>74</sup> These wreaths provided evidence that Andrew Jackson was a popular figure even outside of the state of Tennessee.

Secondly, the idea for the ball itself came not from a Tennessean, but from a woman from Florida named Ellen Call Young. Claiming that January 8<sup>th</sup> was "not known as it should be," Ellen suggested that LHA vice-regents could each organize celebrations of the day in their own cities. The minutes identify Ellen as the vice-regent for the state of Florida.<sup>75</sup> The term vice-regent might seem strange, considering what we already know about the structure of the LHA. However, in these early years the LHA was trying to follow in the MVLA's footsteps. The MVLA created a national organization to help preserve Mount Vernon. They elected vice-regents in each state to be in charge of their activities and fundraising for that state. Cynthia Brown and Philodea Eve, who had both been in contact with Amy and Andrew Jackson III in 1889 were such vice-regents for the

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>75</sup> Sept. 17, 1889, LHA Minutes.

respective states of Tennessee and Georgia. In a letter, Philodea told Andrew III “I rather think that our organization will not suit the case of the Hermitage,” since she assumed the state was prepared to help with the LHA’s endeavors.<sup>76</sup> Despite her words, the Board of Directors still decided to try the vice-regents concept.

According to Mary Dorris, the association had vice-regents in thirteen states, including Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Washington D. C. Prominent women like former First Lady Frances Folsom Cleveland, and Cora Gratz McClure, wife of Colonel Alexander K. McClure, a prominent Philadelphia journalist, lawyer, and politician who served in the Union army enforcing the draft in Pennsylvania. It was no easy matter to become a vice-regent either. Another woman, Mrs. C. P. Wood, volunteered to be a vice-regent for the state of Indiana, but after a considering her proposition, the Board of Directors denied her request for reasons unknown.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps she just was not the right class of woman, unlike Ellen Call Young, whose father Richard Keith Call had been a protégé of Andrew Jackson in Florida, and who herself was a respectable wife, mother, and author. Or perhaps she was simply passed over for Amanda Davis Mack, also from Indiana, who was related through marriage to LHA Regent Mary Baxter.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Dorris, 26.

<sup>77</sup> May 20, 1891, and Mar. 16, 1892, LHA Minutes.

<sup>78</sup> For more information on Ellen Call Young, Amanda Davis Mack, and the other women selected as vice-Regents, see Appendix III.

Despite the success of Ellen Young's 1890 ball, the following year's event did not go so well. The LHA minutes recorded that the Maxwell House refused to host the party free of charge, as they had the year before. Although the association tried to find an alternative site, their search was fruitless and everyone they had asked to speak turned them down. The secretary at the time recorded that it was "a chapter of disasters to be sure and there was nothing for the assembled members to do but bow to the inevitable and abandon all idea of a celebration of Jan 8<sup>th</sup> 1891."<sup>79</sup> The lack of revenue from the ball meant that by February, the LHA did not even have enough money to pay Amy and Andrew III (who were still living in the house) their "quarterly allowance of \$131.25."<sup>80</sup> Perhaps it was the memory of this failure that made the LHA want to make their next celebration one to remember. Only this time, they would not host a local affair in Tennessee.

On February 4<sup>th</sup> 1892, the LHA held a grand costume ball at the Ponce de Leon hotel in St. Augustine, Florida. The owner of the hotel, Henry Flagler, a millionaire capitalist from New York, sponsored the event. He loaned the hotel to the ball organizers

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<sup>79</sup> Dec. 31, 1890, LHA Minutes.

<sup>80</sup> Feb. 4, 1891, LHA Minutes. Initially the LHA considered a plan to purchase the relics still owned by the family for a lump sum of \$15,000 (for some reason Mary Dorris uses the number \$17,500) to be paid over four years. It is not clear if the LHA hoped to raise this money through fundraising, but the plan fell through. In 1890, the association reached an agreement with Col. Jackson to pay three percent (\$525) of the worth of the relics annually in the form of a quarterly salary until the LHA would eventually own the relics. 1889, LHA Minutes (this section of the minutes does not include a date, just the year; it falls between the Minutes of June 18<sup>th</sup> and July 9<sup>th</sup>); Dec. 3, 1890, and Dec. 10, 1890, LHA Minutes; Dorris, 66.



and paid for the event's music and banquet.<sup>81</sup> Henry Flagler was one of the men building up tourism in the South, particularly in Florida where he built a string of hotels along the coast.<sup>82</sup> The guest list included the wives of numerous politicians, business leaders, newspaper editors, and society leaders, including Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, Mrs. Levi Morton, and Mrs. George Pullman (whose husband manufactured the Pullman sleeper car and thus provided some railroad transportation to the event).<sup>83</sup> Newspaper articles included descriptions of what the attendees were planning to wear, which was typical of society pages at the time. For example, "Mrs. Annie E. W. Meyrs [sic]... will wear a gown of her great-grandmother's, white satin, short waist, big sleeves. Mrs. Judge Barker... will wear a rich heliotrope silk en traine, with trimmings of heliotrope, velvet, diamond jewels."<sup>84</sup> These articles also include a list of vice-regents from various states in the Union.

Despite the success of the costume ball, which raised just over \$2,000 for the association, this event would be the first and last LHA fundraiser held outside of the state of Tennessee. This also may have been the only major event in which most of the vice-regents participated. Between Mary Dorris's list, LHA minutes, and newspaper articles about the 1892 ball, over twenty women bore the title of vice-regent for the LHA. The

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<sup>81</sup> "The Old Hermitage," *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 23, 1892.

<sup>82</sup> Silber, 72.

<sup>83</sup> "The Old Hermitage;" Jan. 20, 1892, LHA Minutes. It is clear from the LHA Minutes that Mrs. Harrison did not plan on attending the festivities, although she did allow the association to use her name and sent a proxy in her stead. It is unclear if that is the case for the other women in this list as well.

<sup>84</sup> "The Old Hermitage."

last election of a vice-regent appearing in the minutes occurred in 1896 and was for Miss Grace Norris from Washington D. C. Over the years, the minutes also recorded the deaths of several of the others, including Grace's mother, Annie Norris, who was deemed the association's "most active regent."<sup>85</sup>

For those vice-regents who remained active with the association, their participation varied from gathering donations, to holding fundraising events, to finding members for the association. In September of 1891 the "Memphis auxiliary" sent the association \$293, although it is unclear if this organization was actually a branch of the LHA or another association which wanted to assist the LHA in its preservation efforts. A few years later, in June of 1894, Annie Norris sent \$101.00 she had collected in new memberships to the association. That same month, Mary Jane Carlisle, wife of a US Senator, sent \$600 she had collected from a special event she held in Washington D. C.<sup>86</sup> Two years later, in 1896, Mary Baxter sent a letter to Ellen Call Long thanking her for Florida's contribution. In the letter, Baxter also mentions donations the LHA had received from Memphis, Tennessee, and Columbus, Ohio, and a contribution they hoped to receive shortly from Chicago, Illinois.<sup>87</sup>

However, Mary Dorris still made it clear that such participation was the exception, rather than the rule, noting that most of the first vice-regents neither "took up

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<sup>85</sup> Jan. 14, 1895, and Nov. 10, 1896, LHA Minutes.

<sup>86</sup> June 6, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>87</sup> Mary Baxter to Ellen Call Long, Feb. 6, 1896, The Call Family Papers, *Florida Memory: Division of Library & Information Services*, accessed Feb. 23, 2015, <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/180991?id=3>.

the work nor did anything.”<sup>88</sup> By 1897, some LHA members appeared to question how active these women were. The minutes record that directors instructed Mary Dorris to write letters to “such Vice Regents of States as were known, asking the condition of State Associations, if there were any, names of officers, meetings held, and any other information concerning work.”<sup>89</sup> In subsequent meetings, no mention is made again to these letters or to any replies they may have received. In fact, November 3, 1897, would be the last time the LHA minutes referred to vice-regents.<sup>90</sup>

At the same time the LHA was beginning its work, a second nationwide organization was also created called the National Jackson Club. This Club was more political in nature than the LHA, and its goal was to support patriotism and bipartisanship. Members came from across the country, including many LHA supporters or their spouses such as the Hon. Roswell Flower (husband of vice-regent Sarah Woodruff Flower), Henry Flagler, Col. Alexander K. McClure, and Col. Arthur Colyar, which suggests that the organizations were tied together in some way.<sup>91</sup> The announcement of the club’s creation coincided with the wreath laying at the Jackson

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<sup>88</sup> Dorris, 62, 63.

<sup>89</sup> Nov. 3, 1897, LHA Minutes.

<sup>90</sup> The author did not find any further mention of vice-regents in LHA minutes through 1905.

<sup>91</sup> “The National Jackson Club Issues a Patriotic Address,” *The Atlanta (GA) Constitution*, (Nov. 20, 1889), Proquest.com, accessed Feb. 23, 2015.

statue in 1890.<sup>92</sup> However, this organization would not even last as long as the vice-regents. After 1890, the National Jackson Club seems to have simply dissolved.<sup>93</sup>

During this time it was not uncommon for clubs to use Andrew Jackson's name. In March of 1890 the LHA minutes record that the Jackson League of Chicago donated \$260 from an event they held.<sup>94</sup> A branch of the Daughters of the War of 1812 as well as a chapter of the DAR also bear the name of Andrew Jackson.<sup>95</sup> In the early twentieth-century, a second organization called the Andrew Jackson Society appeared.<sup>96</sup> Members of this association included Bettie Donelson, who would head the society throughout most of the 1920s. This society, like the UDC or DAR, gave schools portraits of Andrew Jackson, sponsored an essay contest about Jackson and the Battle of New Orleans, and

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<sup>92</sup> "A Jackson Club Organized for the Preservation of Liberty," *Roanoke (VA) Daily Times*, November 29, 1889; Jan. 13, 1890, LHA Minutes.

<sup>93</sup> A search of newspapers from the Library of Congress's Chronicling America database did not produce any further references. It is possible that there are other sources of information about the National Jackson Club of which the author is unaware. In 1894 the LHA Minutes do record that the women were seeing renewed interest in the Jackson Club, at least locally, although this appears to be different from the initial club as women are more involved and it was literary in nature. Jan. 20, 1894 and Feb. 28, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>94</sup> Mar. 23, 1890, LHA Minutes.

<sup>95</sup> "Alabama – State and Chapter Websites," *Daughters of the American Revolution*, accessed Mar. 14, 2015, <http://www.dar.org/national-society/become-member/chapters-by-state/AL>; "Chapters and State Societies," *National Society United States Daughters of 1812*, accessed Mar. 14, 2015, <http://www.usdaughters1812.org/chapters.html>.

<sup>96</sup> "Jackson Day – January 8<sup>th</sup>," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 8, no. 4 (January 1925), 308, Jstor.org, accessed Feb. 23, 2015. It is unclear if there is any connection between these two organizations. But the first was clearly more for men and more political, whereas the second is focused much more on the history of Andrew Jackson.

tried to ensure that January 8<sup>th</sup> was celebrated with all the pomp and circumstance to which they thought it was due. Whether this society was intended to be a national organization or not is yet unknown. Overall, the society was probably most successful in Middle Tennessee. As late as 1914, Regent Louise Lindsley requested the *Jackson Sun* to run an ad seeking members for a branch of the society there. After running the ad for a week, *The Jackson Sun* replied that only one man expressed any interest in the society. The newspaper blamed a lack of patriotism “or failure to sufficiently impress the people with the importance of it.”<sup>97</sup>

In 1893, the city of Chicago hosted the World’s Columbian Exposition in honor of Columbus’ coming to the New World. The exposition was designed to showcase modern industry and included buildings from many states, including Tennessee.<sup>98</sup> The LHA also hoped to have an exhibit during these festivities. A reporter inquiring about the possibility of such an exhibit wrote that Amy Jackson was “indignant at the state of Tennessee for neglecting to purchase and preserve the Hermitage and its relics . . . . Rather than have these treasures revert to the state she would make a bonfire of them.” She was also apparently disgruntled enough to demand that the exhibit be located “as far as possible from the Tennessee exhibit.”<sup>99</sup> According to the association’s minutes, the LHA designated a committee of women with the task of creating an exhibit for the

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<sup>97</sup> *The Jackson (TN) Sun* to Louise Lindsley, 1914, Scrapbook 12.11-13.7, LHA Collections.

<sup>98</sup> “World’s Columbian Exposition,” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed Feb. 22, 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1386.html>.

<sup>99</sup> “Relics of Old Hickory,” *The Wichita Daily Eagle*, (Wichita, Kan.), Mar. 13, 1891.

exposition.<sup>100</sup> Mary Dorris wrote a few paragraphs about the LHA to be included in an encyclopedia on women's work available at the fair.<sup>101</sup> The association also ordered one thousand membership certificates for distribution there.<sup>102</sup> Additionally, Rachel Jackson Lawrence contributed one of President Jackson's silver spoons. The LHA planned to send part of the spoon to be melted down and used in the casting of the Columbian Liberty Bell.<sup>103</sup>

The LHA selected Amelia Hollenberg as their representative at the exposition, giving her the title of Director General. Amelia Hollenberg was originally from Alabama and probably met her husband H. G. Hollenberg after he opened a piano store in Huntsville. One of the most renowned piano makers in the South at the time, H. G. Hollenberg eventually moved to and opened stores in Memphis, Tennessee, and finally Little Rock, Arkansas. The LHA choose Amelia Hollenberg because she was a well-known figure throughout the region. Like Ellen Call Long, Amelia Hollenberg would be one of the few major players for the association from outside the state of Tennessee.

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<sup>100</sup> Mar. 16, 1893, LHA Minutes.

<sup>101</sup> September 1892, LHA Minutes.

<sup>102</sup> June 7, 1893, LHA Minutes.

<sup>103</sup> April 19, 1893, LHA Minutes. Apparently, this Columbian liberty bell was supposed to be made entirely of historic items like Jackson's spoon. Once cast, the bell was set up at the Exposition and then supposed to go on tour throughout the country. The LHA arranged to be a part of that schedule and the bell was supposed to visit Nashville for the January 8<sup>th</sup> celebration in 1894. However, four days before the big event, they received a telegram that an elevator carrying the bell had fallen, that the bell was damaged, and that it would not make it in time for the event. However, the LHA decided to let the events go on without the bell, including a parade of young ladies representing each state in the Union. The event was, by all accounts a success despite disappointment that the bell did not make it. Jan. 4, 1894, and Jan 11, 1894, LHA Minutes.

During her year as the Director General, Amelia helped gain the association 325 new members from across the country.<sup>104</sup>

However, Amelia Hollenberg did not always seem to have the best working relationship with LHA members. After the end of the Columbian Exposition in January of 1894, the LHA decided to discontinue the position of Director General due to the expense of supporting it.<sup>105</sup> Amelia, however, continued to represent herself as the Director General of the LHA and later claimed never to have received the letter the LHA sent explaining their decision. So, the LHA sent a second letter in January 15, 1896. One of the reasons they chose to dismiss her apparently had to do with the fact that they did not want to look for donations outside the state:

Since these events the State of Tennessee has given the Association an appropriation of \$50 per month and at the meeting of the Trustees when the matter was put before the State Legislature, the Board of Trustees for the State, then requested the Ladies [sic] Hermitage Association to employ no more agents outside of the State, as it was not considered consonant with the dignity of the state, or advisable from any standpoint.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Jan 11, 1894, LHA Minutes. Most of these new members were probably from out of state and were gained directly at the Exposition. Although the early minutes do not record membership totals except in passing (there were 54 in December of 1896 and 75 in July of 1897) later on the secretary began to note the number of members present at meetings or the number of members eligible to vote for Board of Directors. For example, in 1905, the minutes record that there were 77 eligible voting members, but only 37 of them were present to vote. December 2, 1896, July 21, 1897, and May 17, 1905, LHA Minutes.

<sup>105</sup> Jan. 20, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>106</sup> Jan. 15, 1896, LHA Minutes. While this information does make sense, these minutes also explain that her report of her activities at the end of the fair was so “unsatisfactory and unbusiness like that the Association decided to cancel all contracts or arrangements” with her. So, perhaps the LHA members were using the appropriation as an excuse for their decision.

In response, Amelia fired back with a “spicy communication,” probably in relation to this decision. Unfortunately, the letter was never printed in the minutes or saved.<sup>107</sup> On another occasion, Amelia commissioned and purchased a bust of Mary Baxter, much to the association’s annoyance. Most active LHA members felt it was their duty to honor Jackson, not themselves. Apparently, the conversation got so heated that Amelia later requested some of the minutes be erased because they made her look bad.<sup>108</sup> Despite the LHA’s claim that Tennessee did not want them employing agents outside the state, in 1897 the association did give Amelia permission to canvass for donations in Arkansas, perhaps to keep her out of trouble, but even this did little good. Two months later a newspaper printed an article recording Hollenberg’s exploits as current Director General for the LHA, which the paper later retracted after the LHA explained that it misrepresented her relationship with the association.<sup>109</sup>

An appropriation of \$50 a month might seem like a small amount to prompt the LHA to stop seeking funds from outside the state of Tennessee, but the approval for this money was a major victory for the LHA.<sup>110</sup> Although the association initially had hoped to get enough funding to purchase relics from Amy and Andrew Jackson III for a lump sum of \$15,000, it quickly realized that the state would be more likely to help if the

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<sup>107</sup> Feb. 5, 1896, LHA Minutes.

<sup>108</sup> August 18, 1897, and Nov. 19, 1897, LHA Minutes.

<sup>109</sup> “Mrs. H. G. Hollenberg,” unidentified newspaper clipping, Nov. 27, 1897, LHA Records 1889-1969, Manuscript Division, MF 646, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; Sept. 15, 1897, LHA Minutes.

<sup>110</sup> *Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: Franc M. Paul, 1895), 496.



money was spent on restoration instead of relics.<sup>111</sup> One of the LHA trustees, Adolph Ochs, believed that the LHA should not have to go out begging across the country “when the State ought to do the work.”<sup>112</sup> Originally nominated to the LHA Board of Trustees by Governor Robert Love Taylor, Ochs was one of the most influential people on this Board. The owner of the *Chattanooga Times*, Ochs was an important part of the Jewish community in Chattanooga and also helped preserve much of Lookout Mountain for the Chickamauga-Chattanooga Military Park. Described in the LHA minutes as “one of the Association’s most wide awake trustees,” he was always interested in the work they were doing, but in 1894 admitted that “he was ashamed that he had not done more” sooner.<sup>113</sup> His assistance with obtaining this appropriation would be one of his last contributions to the LHA, though. Less than a year later, Ochs resigned from the Board of Trustees. Financially strapped after the Panic of 1893, he had purchased an ailing newspaper in

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<sup>111</sup> In 1892, due in part, perhaps, to lack of available funds, the LHA began to consider petitioning the state for an appropriation with which to purchase the relics. In 1893, the association tried and failed again to get funding. Later that year, Amy and Andrew Jackson III were given notice to vacate the mansion by July 1<sup>st</sup>. Unsure what to do with the relics, Andrew III stayed on until September. Only after being asked to leave all the relics and offered \$1,000 for whatever he was willing to sell did he leave, “removing everything from the Hermitage, even the doorscraper.” It would not be until 1897 that Amy and Andrew became more willing to work with the LHA, perhaps because they needed the money. The first thing they sold back was Jackson’s bedroom furniture for \$1,000. A few months later they sold the hallway furniture for \$500. Feb. 17, 1892; Mar. 29, 1893; June 7, 1893; Sept. 20, 1893; Sept. 1, 1897; and Oct. 23, 1897, LHA Minutes.

<sup>112</sup> Nov. 21, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>113</sup> Nov. 21, 1894, LHA Minutes.

another state to try and improve his fortunes. He succeeded in reviving the paper, which would grow to become a household name, the *New York Times*.<sup>114</sup>

It is probably no coincidence, then, that around the same time the association received an appropriation from Tennessee that it began to consider in earnest the possibility of charging a small fee for visitors to see the house. However, the directors' motives were probably not entirely financial. As early as 1894, a gardener had suggested charging a small fee for the grounds because he observed that most visitors "paid nothing whatever in the contribution box."<sup>115</sup> Although the association made the decision to stick with the voluntary contribution box, the other issues discussed at the same meeting shed further light on the reason he made this request. The directors ordered four different signs for the garden reading "Please don't pluck the flowers," "Don't break the shrubbery," and "No Depredations."<sup>116</sup> While at the meeting, Sally Lindsley, Bettie Donelson, and Jeannette Acklen,<sup>117</sup> also discussed creating some house rules forbidding visitors to touch the furnishings. They also considered instructions for the matron who was in the house

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<sup>114</sup> Oct 3, 1896, LHA Minutes; Timothy P. Ezzell, "Adolph Simon Ochs (1858-1935)," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 22, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1014>

<sup>115</sup> Apr. 4, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>116</sup> Apr. 4, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>117</sup> Second wife of Col. Joseph H. Acklen, the son of Adelecia Acklen and Joseph Acklen whose summer home was Belmont Mansion. Jeannette's father Richard Montgomery Tillotson was from New York. However, the couple married at her parent's home in Kansas City, Missouri, on January 30, 1890. Donna R. Causey, "Biography: Col Joseph Hayes Acklen born 1850," *Alabama Pioneers*, <http://alabamapioneers.com/biography-col-joseph-hayes-acklen-born-1850/#sthash.dshLmT0M.3ezKTWH7.dpbs>.

during visiting hours for dealing with guests who display “any spirit of levity or unseemly conduct not in the keeping with the dignity of the place.”<sup>118</sup> Translation – we only want a certain type of guest, and that type of guest is one who can probably afford to pay a small entrance fee.

The subject would come up again at meetings later that year, but not without controversy. As Bettie Donelson pointed out, part of the legislative act conveying the Hermitage to the LHA was explicit that no fee could be charged “to the grounds.” So Bettie argued that technically “the Association was at liberty to charge a fee to the house itself.”<sup>119</sup> After some deliberation about the amount, which ranged between ten and twenty-five cents, the directors agreed that the lower price was better since either way “it would not be much as a source of revenue, [but] it would serve as a restraint to large visiting bodies. As the drive is long and the expense of getting to the Hermitage not small.”<sup>120</sup>

Despite this expense, visitors from across the country continued to arrive at the Hermitage. Early on Captain Ryman would ferry some of them out by river, and others probably rode the train to the Hermitage station where the LHA planned to have wagons waiting to receive them. Eventually, with the advent of the automobile, even more people would drive themselves to the Hermitage.<sup>121</sup> As tourism to Nashville increased, the

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<sup>118</sup> Apr. 4, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>119</sup> Oct. 3, 1894, LHA Minutes.

<sup>120</sup> Mar. 27, 1895, LHA minutes.

<sup>121</sup> July 23, 1889 and Nov. 20, 1895, LHA Minutes; Dorris, 64. Early on, the LHA hoped to have a rail line run to the Hermitage. The owner of the Louisville and Nashville railroad “promised the Association to run a spur track over to the Hermitage,” as long as

LHA's national presence decreased. For a brief moment during the 1892 ball held in St. Augustine, Florida, the association shone brightly on the national stage. But, like the burning Cornwallis candle held aloft for one minute in the dim hotel ballroom, the LHA's national light would quietly be extinguished.<sup>122</sup>

### *The Tennessee Centennial in 1897*

In the same spirit as the Columbian Exposition of 1893, Nashville had its own opportunity to host a 100<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary bash for the state of Tennessee in 1897. Southern cities like Atlanta and New Orleans hosted similar expositions, which historian Don Doyle explains took on added significance in the South because they were spectacles designed to prove that a “‘New South’ had been born.”<sup>123</sup> Nashville was anxious show itself off to visitors from across the nation and the world. One of the biggest features of the Centennial was a replica of the Parthenon built in honor of Nashville's nickname as the “Athens of the South.”

Women were involved in the planning of the exposition early on, including many LHA members since the association was “the most socially prominent among several

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the LHA could get \$5,000 and “right of way.” Clearly the cost was an issue. Each time the subject came up again, the price increased, until finally, in 1895 with the cost at \$35,000 the LHA decided to look into other ways of getting visitors to the Hermitage, namely wagons. Oct. 14, 1890; Mar. 24, 1892; and Nov. 20, 1895, LHA Minutes.

<sup>122</sup> “Jackson Hermitage Ball,” *The Indianapolis (IL) Journal*, Feb. 5, 1892.

<sup>123</sup> Doyle, *Nashville in the New South*, 144.

recently organized patriotic and social clubs.”<sup>124</sup> And so, not to be outdone by the full scale Parthenon next door, the women’s committee selected a design for their building that not only looked like a replica of the Hermitage, but that was topped with a miniature version of the Parthenon.<sup>125</sup> One entire room in the building was dedicated specifically to the Hermitage, along with domestic displays that stood in sharp contrast to the more feminist suffrage events that were also among the special events hosted by the exhibition.<sup>126</sup> Through their early preservation work with the Hermitage, LHA members led the way for women’s organizations in the city of Nashville, proving that women had the ability to do much more than just “play” house.

Despite the hard work put into making the LHA a national organization, it is not surprising that Philodea Eve was proven right when she said the MVLA model would not suit the Hermitage. Unlike Mount Vernon, the Hermitage had no national speaker who traveled the country to raise funds for the association. Also, there was no national urgency behind the LHA’s work. The preservation of Mount Vernon served as a way to stave off sectional strife and consequently the shadow of war, whereas the Hermitage was just one of many historic sites Northern tourists visited as they became enamored with

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 146. These members included Bettie Donelson, who was the Chairman of the Executive Committee, along with Mary Dorris, Mary White May, and Frances Ruhm. *The Centennial Club of Nashville 1905-1977* (Nashville: The Centennial Club, 1978), 4-5.

<sup>125</sup> *Centennial Club of Nashville*, 3. A woman named Sara Ward Conley designed the building.

<sup>126</sup> This would not be the last exposition to feature the Hermitage. At the Louisiana Purchase Fair (or the St. Louis World’s Fair) in 1904, the Hermitage had an exhibit that included an artist’s rendering of the Telemachus paper and Rachel Jackson Lawrence as the exhibit’s host. Dorris, 91; Apr. 6, 1904, LHA Minutes.

visions of the Old South and the Lost Cause. Ultimately, support from within the state of Tennessee kept the Ladies' Hermitage Association going. Old families of the Old South, like the Acklens, Hardings, Overtons, Hollenbergs or Calls, used their social and political connections to help the LHA preserve the past they wanted to remember, while new money, made by the Bensons and Baxters of the time, kept the association afloat during difficult times. This is almost identical to how James Lindgren portrayed the work of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

Of course, not being a national organization did not mean the LHA did not receive national recognition for their work. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt visited the Hermitage and said he could not “imagine any American President failing to visit the tomb of Andrew Jackson if the opportunity comes.”<sup>127</sup> Roosevelt's interest in the Hermitage should not be surprising considering his support of the 1906 American Antiquities Act to help protect American historical sites, as well as his work to reserve 230 million acres as public land.<sup>128</sup> After his visit to Nashville, several newspapers latched onto comments he made to the effect that “the Hermitage should be under the care of the National Government.”<sup>129</sup> The newspapers ran with the story that Roosevelt wanted to preserve the Hermitage as a “Great Federal Park” when really he told the

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<sup>127</sup> *New-York Tribune*, Oct. 23, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. (Hereafter, all newspaper citations refer to this database unless otherwise cited in footnotes.)

<sup>128</sup> “Theodore Roosevelt and Conservation,” *National Park Service*, accessed Feb. 27, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/thro/historyculture/theodore-roosevelt-and-conservation.htm>. “Antiquities Act 1906-2006,” *National Park Service*, accessed Feb. 27, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/archeology/sites/Antiquities/about.htm>.

<sup>129</sup> *The Havre (MT) Herald*, Oct. 25, 1907.

Ladies' Hermitage Association that he did not think "it just or fair that the burden which should be supported by the nation should be a drain upon private purses. It is greatly to your credit that you have done this work, but I shall do all that I can to see that the nation relieves you, not of the management, but of the expense."<sup>130</sup> In 1908, Congress approved an appropriation of \$5,000 to help support the Hermitage.<sup>131</sup> It was less than Roosevelt's original request for \$25,000, but just receiving that money from Congress made the LHA the first "private preservation organization to receive financial aid from the United States Government."<sup>132</sup>

The one-dollar membership fees the LHA began seeking in 1889 were a pittance compared to this appropriation. However, as donations to the Hermitage increased, so too did the amount of land they managed. In February of 1923, the state of Tennessee added most of the Confederate Soldiers Home's land to the original twenty-five acres under the LHA's Deed of Trust. In 1959 and 1964, the LHA acquired more property that included

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<sup>130</sup> "President's Idea as to Hermitage," unidentified newspaper clipping, LHA Records 1889-1969, Manuscript Division, MF 646, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN; *New-York Tribune*, Oct. 23, 1907; Theodore Roosevelt, "At the Hermitage Near Nashville, Tennessee, October, 22, 1907," in *Presidential Addresses And State Papers: January 16, 1907, to October 25, 1907* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1910), 1458, Google Books, accessed Mar. 11, 2015.

<sup>131</sup> A writer for the *Nashville Globe*, an African American newspaper, complained that there was another site in Nashville that was "one of the most famous points" in the area which was "never mentioned to visitors," namely Fort Negley. The writer goes on to argue that a Congressman should submit a request for funding for this battlefield alongside the one for the Hermitage. "Fort Negley and the Hermitage," *Nashville Globe*, Oct. 25, 1907.

<sup>132</sup> Charles B. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 72.

the Tulip Grove Mansion, which was owned by Andrew Jackson Donelson. However, it would not be until December of 1990 that Tennessee would revoke the original Deed of Trust and hand over complete ownership of the property to the Ladies' Hermitage Association so long as they continued to take good care of the property. This includes not mortgaging or selling the property, maintaining good financial records, not modifying the Hermitage without state approval, and complying with all "applicable state law and regulations in the use of funds appropriated by the General Assembly."<sup>133</sup>

Over the years, the Ladies' Hermitage Association would survive a national economic depression, a project to turn what was a single airstrip on the property into an airport (which instead was moved to another location and today is known as the Nashville International Airport), and two world wars.<sup>134</sup> In the 1980s, the LHA finally opened its membership from an exclusive association women could join by invitation only to an inclusive association open to anyone in the community.<sup>135</sup> Although the LHA's initial move to go national failed in the 1890s, in 2014 the Board of Directors made the decision to once more pursue national recognition for Andrew Jackson and his home the Hermitage. Part of this decision included changing the name of the property and the association, which according to Hermitage CEO Howard Kittell, was to "reflect our

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<sup>133</sup> "Senate Bill, No. 2430 – 1990," LHA Collections, Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Nashville, Tennessee.

<sup>134</sup> During WWII, Davidson County school children maintained a thirty-acre Victory Garden on the property. "Preservation," *Andrew Jackson's Hermitage*, accessed Feb. 27, 2015, <http://thehermitage.com/preservation/>.

<sup>135</sup> "Preservation," Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, accessed Mar. 5, 2015. <http://thehermitage.com/preservation/>.



renewed focus on Andrew Jackson.”<sup>136</sup> And so, after 125 years of successful management, the Ladies’ Hermitage Association transferred its long and faithful legacy to the Andrew Jackson Foundation.

Today, the Foundation cares for 1,120 acres of land and educates over 170,000 visitors from across the globe annually. But the foundation cannot, and will not, forget that its roots lie in a group of women who wanted a house, not “to play with,” but to preserve for future generations. Thus history of the LHA has been and always will be, a part of the history of Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage. And as former regent Bettie Donelson once wrote, “A people who have not the pride to preserve history will not long have the virtue to create history worth preserving.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Howard Kittell, “Jackson’s Story Deserves Greater Reach,” *Tennessean*, November 9, 2014.

<sup>137</sup> Reau E. Folk to Bettie Donelson, Mar. 4, 1935, Bettie Mizell Donelson Papers, Box 1, Tennessee State Library and Archives. Although this letter was not written by Bettie, Reau refers to Bettie’s words, saying he would “frequently quote this, giving credit of course.” This was also used as the motto for the Andrew Jackson Society in 1925. “Jackson Day – January 8<sup>th</sup>,” *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 8, no. 4 (January 1925): 308, Jstor.org, accessed Mar. 5, 2015.

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APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

LADIES' HERMITAGE ASSOCIATION  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS - 1889

- Mary Louise Jones Baxter     Regent. She was the wife of Nathaniel Baxter and mother of Nathaniel Baxter Jr. and Jere Baxter. Her husband was a prominent judge in Nashville. Nathaniel Jr. served as a Confederate soldier and made his fortune in the iron industry. Jere was part proprietor of the *Nashville Union*. He also helped organize the Tennessee Central railroad company in 1893 and was married to Mattie Mack Baxter, who was the step-daughter of National Vice-Regent Amanda Davis Mack.<sup>1</sup>
- Mary McGuire Colyar         Vice Regent. She was the second wife of Col. Arthur Colyar, who published a book about Andrew Jackson in 1904. Arthur was a Confederate congressman, lawyer, and editor of the *Nashville Union*. He ran the Tennessee Coal and Railroad Company, which used convict leasing, a practice that he supported.<sup>2</sup> Arthur was also a member of the Tennessee Scotch Irish Society and the Tennessee Historical Society.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Jere Baxter," *Tennessee, Deaths and Burials Index, 1874-1955* [database online], Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2015; Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Memorial and Genealogical Record of Representative Citizens of Indiana* (Indiana: B. F. Bowen, 1912), 584-86, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015; *History of Nashville Tennessee* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1890), 372, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015; Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990), 105.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanette Keith, "Jere Baxter (1852-1904)," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 11, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=65>; *History of Nashville Tennessee* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1890), 372, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015; Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Charter and By-Laws of the Tennessee Historical Society: Revised October, 1878, With a List of Members*, (Nashville: 1880), 18-24, Google Books, accessed Mar. 4, 2015; *The Scotch Irish of America: Proceedings and Addresses of the Seventh Congress at Lexington, VA., June 20-23, 1895* (Nashville, TN: Barbee & Smith, 1895), 384-86, Google Books, accessed Mar. 4, 2015. All other entries which list someone as belonging to the Tennessee Historical Society or the Tennessee Scotch Irish Society refer back to these sources.



- Martha Overton Dickinson     Second Vice-Regent. She married Jacob McGavock Dickinson (a nephew of Sallie Lindsley) on April 20, 1876. Dickenson served in the Confederate Cavalry during the Civil War. He also served on the Supreme Court of Tennessee, as an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and as Secretary of War in President William Howard Taft's Cabinet. Martha herself was the granddaughter of Andrew Jackson's friend John Overton, who owned Travellers Rest in Nashville.<sup>4</sup>
- Mary C. Dorris                     Secretary. She was the wife of Duncan Dorris, a newspaperman, and a descendant of one of Rachel Jackson's sisters. Two of the couple's children, Duncan and Preston, went into the automotive industry. Preston created a gasoline-powered car the brothers called a Dorris. They manufactured the car in St. Louis and sold it at the Nashville Motor Car Company for twenty-one years.<sup>5</sup>
- Elizabeth Saunders  
Luttrell Morrow                 She was the wife of Dr. William H. Morrow, who was one of Nashville's richest "new men." Originally trained in medicine, he "served in Confederate hospitals during the Civil War," and eventually made his money from a company called Cherry, O'Conner, and Company, which leased convict labor. He was also a member of the Tennessee Historical Society. One of the couple's grandsons was Dr. Thomas A. Atchison, who was also a supporter of the Ladies' Hermitage Association (LHA).<sup>6</sup>
- Frances Gregory Ruhm             She was the wife of John Ruhm and the 1880 census listed her occupation as "keeping house." Her husband was

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<sup>4</sup> Her parents were John Overton, Jr. and Harriet Maxwell Overton. *Tennessee, Deaths and Burials Index, 1874-1955*, Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2015; "Jacob McGavock Dickinson (1851-1928) Papers," Finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/1.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage* (1915), 15, 16; George Zepp, *Hidden History of Nashville* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), 146-7, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 109; Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families* (Chattanooga, TN: Lookout Publishing, Co., 1918), 129, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015.

originally from Germany and served with the Union during the Civil War, eventually being assigned as First Lieutenant and Quartermaster for the 15<sup>th</sup> US Colored Troops. John was also a part of the Tennessee Historical Society and later served on the Board of the “National Chickamauga Park.”<sup>7</sup>

- Bettie M. Donelson Bettie was the wife of William Alexander Donelson, who was born in Prussia to Andrew Jackson Donelson, the owner of Tulip Grove. William was murdered in 1900. Bettie would remain active in the LHA, eventually becoming regent. She was also chairwoman of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in Davidson County and played an instrumental role in the Women’s Building at the Tennessee Centennial.<sup>8</sup>
- Mary Demoville She was the wife of J. Felix Demoville, who helped run the Berry, Demoville & Co. Drug Store, which was known for their “Fine Aromatic Orange Stomach Bitters.”<sup>9</sup> Mary Dorris does not mention her in *Preservation of the Hermitage*, so she may not have been involved in the LHA for very long.
- Mary Polk Jones Cooper Mary was the daughter of Rachel Jackson Donelson (who married William Eastin) and the great-granddaughter of John Donelson (father of Rachel, Andrew Jackson’s wife). Mary Dorris does not mention her in *Preservation of the Hermitage*, so she may not have been involved in the LHA for very long. She was also the second wife of Duncan B.

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<sup>7</sup> Nashville, Davidson County, 1850 U.S. Census, population schedule, digital images, Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2015; *Register of the Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania*, April 15, 1865 – September 1, 1902, Part 1 (Philadelphia: 1902), 138, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015; *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Bar Association of Tennessee Held at Nashville, Tenn. May 24, 25, 26, 1911*, 285.

<sup>8</sup> “Donelson, Bettie Mizell (1862-1939) Papers 1787-1938,” Finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/309.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> Davidson County, 1880 U.S. Census, population schedule, digital images, Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2015; Charles Edwin Robert, *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870* (Nashville: Roberts & Purvis, 1870), 178; *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Bar Association of Tennessee Held At Nashville, Tenn. May 24, 25, 26, 1911* (Knoxville Ptg & Box Co., 1911), 285.

Cooper, the publisher of the *Nashville American*, who had fought for the Confederacy at Fort Donelson. He is best known for his role in the death of Edward Carmack, a former friend and colleague. After a major political dispute, Carmack ran into Cooper and his son Robin in Nashville. Afraid they might attack him for some libelous material he printed in his paper, Carmack shot at them, wounding Robin, who in turn shot and killed Carmack.<sup>10</sup>

L. H. Benson

- Treasurer. See Appendix II – Board of Trustees.

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Mitchell, “Mitchell/Simmons Family Tree,” Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2015, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/15596170/person/20386923663>; Timothy Ezzell, “Duncan Brown Cooper,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 11, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=310>; “Cooper, Duncan Brown (1844-1922) Papers,” Finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/72-153.pdf>.

## APPENDIX B

LADIES' HERMITAGE ASSOCIATION  
BOARD OF TRUSTEES - 1889

- Lafayette F. Benson      He was a director of the American National Bank with another supporter of the Ladies' Hermitage Association, Dr. Thomas A. Atchison. During the Civil War he served the Confederacy in the 44<sup>th</sup> Consolidated Tennessee Infantry. In August of 1889, he died after a carriage accident. The LHA sent an hourglass shaped floral arrangement to his funeral.<sup>1</sup>
- John C. Brown              A lawyer by profession, John was a fervent supporter of the Union, at least until Tennessee chose to secede, when he joined the Confederate Army. He became governor in 1871, inheriting Tennessee's debt crisis from his predecessors. After a failed attempt to run for the US Senate against Andrew Johnson, John also served as president the Texas Pacific Railway Company and the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company.<sup>2</sup> He was also a member of the Tennessee Historical Society.
- W. R. French                Unlike most of the other LHA Board members, W. R. French's history is somewhat unclear. Mary Dorris states that he was from Tullahoma, and there is a listing in a business directory for a W. R. French who was the secretary and treasurer of the Tennessee Woolen Mills. An 1887 newspaper article refers to the creation of the Caney

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<sup>1</sup> "Lafayette Benson," *Find A Grave*, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=58267669>; *History of Nashville, Tenn., with Full Outline of the Natural Advantages, Accounts of the Mound Builders, Indian Tribes, Early Settlement, Organization of the Mero District, and General and Particular History of the City Down to the Present Time* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1890), 294-295, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Ann-Leslie Owens, "John Calvin Brown," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=145>.

Fork Coal & Iron Company in Tullahoma with W. R. French as vice-president.<sup>3</sup>

- H. H. Ingersoll Originally from Ohio, H. H. Ingersoll enrolled in the Union army around the age of sixteen. After finishing his service, he received an education at Yale and became a lawyer. He practiced law in Tennessee and became a state supreme court justice in Knoxville. Despite serving in the Union army, Ingersoll did not like Brownlow's policy of disenfranchising ex-Confederate soldiers and tried to reverse this policy.<sup>4</sup>
- General W. H. Jackson A Confederate general, William married Selene Harding and eventually ran Belle Meade Plantation after the death of Selene's father William Harding. He died there in 1903.<sup>5</sup>
- Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley A prominent doctor and citizen of Nashville, John Berrien Lindsley, husband of Sarah "Sallie" Lindsley, was an advocate for public education and public health. He was also one of the founding members of the Tennessee Historical Society and a member of the Tennessee Scotch Irish Society.<sup>6</sup>
- E. S. Mallory Originally from Virginia, Edmund Skinner Mallory studied to be a lawyer and fought for the Confederacy under General John C. Breckenridge (cousin of W. C. P. Breckenridge, whose wife was a National Vice-Regent for

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<sup>3</sup> *Southern Standard* (McMinnville, TN), Jan. 1, 1887, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress; *Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 61, Google Books, accessed Mar. 3, 2015; *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1876—7* (Nashville: R. L. Polk & Co., 1876), 25, Google Books, accessed Mar. 5, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> William S. Speer, *Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans* (Nashville: N.A., 1888), 572-75, Google Books, accessed Mar. 5, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> "The Hardings and Jacksons," *Belle Meade Plantation*, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://bellemeadeplantation.com/harding-jackson/>; "Jackson, William Hicks (1835-1903) Papers," Finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/manuscripts/findingaids/79-059.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Sara Harwell, "John Berrien Lindsley," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=793>.

- the LHA). Edmund moved to Tennessee to practice law in 1868.<sup>7</sup>
- Adolph S. Ochs According to historian Timothy P. Ezzell, Ochs “helped lay the foundation of modern American journalism.” His parents were both immigrants from Bavaria and he had his first newspaper job at the age of eleven. For more information see page 96-97.<sup>8</sup>
- James D. Porter Born in Paris, Tennessee, James Porter became a lawyer. During the Civil War he was part of Confederate General Benjamin F. Cheatham’s staff. He was elected governor of Tennessee in 1875 and again in 1877. He also served President Grover Cleveland as First Assistant Secretary of State and as Minister to Chile.<sup>9</sup>
- Dr. Thomas A. Atchison A supporter of the LHA from its inception, Thomas was originally from Kentucky. After studying medicine, he practiced in Bowling Green before moving to Nashville. He was connected to the medical departments at both the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt. He was also a director of the American National Bank and a member of the Tennessee Scotch Irish Society.<sup>10</sup>
- Col. Thomas. T. Wright A founder of the Scotch Irish Society (which he believed would help unite northerners and southerners with Scotch Irish blood in the wake of the Civil War), Thomas was also

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<sup>7</sup> Jonathan K. T. Smith, “My Riverside Cemetery Tombstone Inscriptions,” Tngenweb.org, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tngenweb.org/records/madison/cemeteries/riverside/mrc6-05.htm>; William Meacham, “Reflections of a Kentucky Confederate,” Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://freepages.military.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wmeacham/kyconfed.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> Timothy P. Ezzell, “Adolph Simon Ochs (1858-1935),” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1014>.

<sup>9</sup> “Governor James D. Porter (1828-1912) Papers,” Finding aid for the Tennessee State Library and Archives, accessed Feb. 14, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/history/govpapers/findingaids/gp24.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 88 (July-Dec. 1900), 188-90, Google Books, accessed Mar. 4, 2015; *History of Nashville, Tenn., with Full Outline of the Natural Advantages*.

a good friend of Col. Arthur K. McClure who later would be associated with the LHA in Pennsylvania.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1915* (Philadelphia: Press of Allen, Lane & Scott, 1915), 37-39, Google Books, accessed Mar. 4, 2015.

## APPENDIX C

## NATIONAL VICE-REGENTS

This list of national vice-regents comes from three different sources, Mary Dorris's *Preservation of the Hermitage*, the LHA minutes, and a newspaper article from the *Daily Inter Ocean* in Chicago published Jan. 23, 1892 about the ball in Florida. According to Mary Dorris, many of those initially appointed were "notified by the Secretary, but none of them took up the work nor did anything with the exception of Mrs. Ellen Call Long.... Later others were selected." It is unclear how the appointment process worked. However, this list of biographies is important because it shows the high standards the Board of Directors had for vice-regents, and how personal ties to Andrew Jackson, LHA board members, or Tennessee played a role in the selection process.<sup>1</sup>

Arkansas

Sally Phillips Keller

Listed on the 1880 census as keeping house alongside her physician husband, Dr. James Keller, during the Civil War she worked at the Confederate Overton Hotel hospital in Memphis. The family later moved to Hot Springs, Arkansas. Sally was active in the Daughters of the Confederacy and helped found chapters of it throughout the South.<sup>2</sup>

Connecticut

Mrs. William E. Eakin, possibly Mary P. Eakin

There is an obituary for a William Eakin in Groton, Connecticut. He died in 1880 before the LHA formed, but had been born in Tennessee. He was a merchant in Nashville but moved to Connecticut due to "his sympathy

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Dorris, *Preservation of the Hermitage* (1915), 62-63; *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL), January 23, 1892, *Chronicling America*, Library of Congress; LHA Minutes, LHA Collections, Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Hermitage, TN. Those named by Mary Dorris are noted hereafter as MD. Those named in the *Daily Inter Ocean* are noted hereafter as NEWS. Those named in the LHA minutes are cited hereafter by the date they appear in the minutes.

<sup>2</sup> NEWS; *Confederate Women of Arkansas in the Civil War 1861-'65: Memorial Reminiscences* (Little Rock: H. G. Pugh Ptg. Co., Nov. 1907), 112-14, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015; Hot Springs, Arkansas, 1880 US Census, population schedule, digital images, Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 17, 2015. Although the newspaper article which mentions her spells their last name "Kellar" this may be either a mistake or a variation, since the census lists them differently. Similarly, sources spell her first name variously as "Sally" and "Sallie."



with the union during the Civil War.” After his first wife died, he remarried Mary P. Eakin, who lived until 1903.<sup>3</sup>

Florida

Ellen Call Long

Ellen was the daughter of Richard Keith Call, a future territorial governor of Florida and wife of lawyer, Medicus A. Long, who left Ellen and her children in the 1850s. Ellen started a benevolent association during the Civil War. After the war she worked as an author, publishing a fictional memoir called *Florida Breezes: or, Florida, New and Old*. She died in 1905.<sup>4</sup>

Georgia

Julia King Grady

She was the wife of journalist and orator, Henry W. Grady. Henry’s father had died from wounds he received during the Civil War, fighting for the Confederacy. He was most well known for trying to help the city of Atlanta develop economically. Julia died in 1901, twelve years after her husband.<sup>5</sup>

Georgia

Mrs. Marsh Johnson

She is listed in the minutes as becoming a vice regent in 1892. It is possible that this is the same as the Mrs. J. Marsh Johnson who hosted Jefferson Davis at her Macon, Georgia, home so he could attend the Georgia State Fair in 1887.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> MD; "Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College, Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June, 1880," quoted in "Borne-Eakin Family Tree," Ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> MD; NEWS; Sept. 17, 1889, LHA Minutes; *Women in the American Civil War*, ed. Lisa Tendrich Frank (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008), 381, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> MD; "Henry W. Grady (1850-1889)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/henry-w-grady-1850-1889>; "Julia King Grady," *Find a Grave.com*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=108391693>.

<sup>6</sup> Nov. 1, 1892, LHA Minutes; Vickie Leach Prater, *Macon in Vintage Postcards* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 23, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

- Illinois Bertha M. Honore Palmer  
The wife of Potter Palmer, a merchant whose Lake Street Chicago store later became known as Marshall Field & Co. Bertha was a leader in various charities in the city. However, she was best known for being President of the Board of Lady Mangers of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.<sup>7</sup>
- Indiana Amanda Davis Mack  
She was the wife of Judge William Mack, a lawyer, state representative, and county court circuit judge. Amanda herself was involved in the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Young Women's Christian Association. She was also the step-mother of Mary Baxter's daughter-in-law.<sup>8</sup>
- Iowa Elizabeth Brown Leonard Grant  
Elizabeth was the third wife of Judge James Grant III. Originally from North Carolina (which he supposedly left because he disliked slavery), he moved to Chicago, then Iowa, where he became a representative in the state House, and later a district judge. The couple eventually helped seventeen of their nephews get an education in Davenport, Iowa.<sup>9</sup>
- Kentucky Issa Desha Breckenridge  
The second wife of Col. William C. P. Breckenridge. Few sources document her life. Her husband was a Confederate soldier and a US Representative from Kentucky. Most biographies of her husband do not mention his personal life because of scandal. Issa died in 1892, but before her death, William began an affair with a seventeen year old student

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<sup>7</sup> MD; Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Biographical and Memorial Edition of the Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1915), 626-629, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015; *New Enlarged Edition of Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume VIII, ed. James E. Homans (New York: Press Association Compilers, Inc.), 136-38, Openlibrary.org, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

<sup>8</sup> MD; Dunn, *Memorial and Genealogical Record*, 577-589, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

<sup>9</sup> MD; Newell M. Grant, "Grant, James, III," *NCPedia.org*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://ncpedia.org/biography/grant-james-iii>.

attending Wesleyan College in Ohio. He promised to marry her when Issa died, only to turn around and marry a cousin. The student sued him for breach of promise and was awarded \$15,000.<sup>10</sup>

Kentucky	Mary Jane Gooson Carlisle The wife of United States Senator John. G. Carlisle. John was in the Senate and then Secretary of Treasury during the years his wife was involved in the LHA, which explains why Mrs. Carlisle sent money to the LHA from Washington not Kentucky. <sup>11</sup>
Louisiana	Mrs. Merrick <sup>12</sup>
Louisiana	Mrs. Judge Kenner Possibly the wife of Duncan Farrar Kenner. He was a Confederate States Representative for Louisiana who “became convinced that the Confederacy could not succeed if it adhered to its slave policy and thereby failed to secure the assistance of France and England.” Therefore he pushed for a proposal to end slavery but most Confederate leaders did not like the idea. <sup>13</sup>
Tennessee	Vice-Regent at Large in Memphis, Mrs. S. J. Latham <sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> MD; Fayette Lexington, *The Celebrated Case of Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge and Madeline Pollard* (Chicago: Current Events Publishing Company, 1894), 194-200, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015; “Issa Desha Breckinridge,” *Find a Grave.com*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=8884841>; “Breckenridge, William Campbell Preston, (1837-1904),” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: 1774-Present*, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B000790>.

<sup>11</sup> Nov. 1, 1892 and June 6, 1894, LHA Minutes; “Carlisle, John Griffin,” *Kenton County Public Library*, accessed Mar. 4, 2015, <http://www.kentonlibrary.org/2013/carlisle-john-griffin>.

<sup>12</sup> MD.

<sup>13</sup> Nov. 1, 1892, LHA Minutes; Craig A. Bauer, “The Last Effort: The Secret Mission of the Confederate Diplomat, Duncan F. Kenner,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 22, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 71.

<sup>14</sup> NEWS.

New York	Frances Folsom Cleveland Preston Frances was the wife of President Grover Cleveland (although he was probably not president at the time that she was appointed vice-regent). She remains the youngest first lady in history and the only one to marry in the White House. She was well educated, active in charities, and very popular. Many companies used her image for advertising without her permission. <sup>15</sup>
New York	Sarah Woodruff Flower Sarah was the wife of Roswell Flower, a US Congressman, Senator, and finally Governor of New York state. <sup>16</sup>
North Carolina	Mrs. Gaston Means. Possibly Corallie Bulloch, wife of William Gaston Means, a prominent lawyer in the state who once practiced law in Memphis, Tennessee. If correct, then they are also the parents of Gaston Bulloch Means, a notorious swindler most well-known for extorting money from a friend of the Lindbergh family with promises that he would be able to find the missing child. <sup>17</sup>
Pennsylvania	Cora M. Gratz Cora was the wife of Col. Alexander K. McClure, the lawyer and journalist who was put in charge of the Andrew Jackson Society in 1890. Alexander was probably a good

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<sup>15</sup> MD; “First Lady Biography: Frances Cleveland,” *National First Ladies Library*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://www.firstladies.org/biographies/firstladies.aspx?biography=23>.

<sup>16</sup> Nov. 1, 1892, LHA Minutes; Will L. Lloyd, *The Red Book, An Illustrated Legislative Manual of the State, Containing the Portraits and Biographies of its Governors and Members of the Legislature* (Albany, NY: James B. Lyon Publisher, 1892), 61-70, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015; “New York Governor Roswell Pettibone Flower,” *National Governors Association*, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, [http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page\\_new\\_york/col2-content/main-content-list/title\\_flower\\_roswell.html](http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_new_york/col2-content/main-content-list/title_flower_roswell.html).

<sup>17</sup> Nov. 1, 1892, LHA Minutes; *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, Vol. 4., ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 239-241, Google Books, accessed Feb. 19, 2015.

acquaintance of Adolph Ochs, since he sold his newspaper *The Philadelphia Times* to Ochs in 1901.<sup>18</sup>

Pennsylvania	<p>Harriet Lucas          Harriet was the wife of John Lucas as well as a friend of Ellen Call Long of Florida. She helped create a Committee on Women's Work from Pennsylvania for the World Columbia Exposition in Chicago and may have also worked with Bertha Palmer. She was elected to the position of vice-regent in 1890, but died in 1893.<sup>19</sup></p>
Virginia	Mrs. Lee <sup>20</sup>
Virginia	Mrs. James G. Leigh <sup>21</sup>
Washington D. C.	<p>Annie Virginia Robertson Norris          According to Dorris, she was "one of the most active vice regents of the association" before she died in 1897. Her husband James L. Norris was a prominent patent attorney in Washington D. C.<sup>22</sup></p>
Washington D. C.	<p>Miss Grace Norris          Elected in 1896, to replace her mother Annie, she eventually married Arthur Pue Gorman, a US Senator from Maryland. According to a biographical dictionary, her</p>

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<sup>18</sup> MD; Damon M. Laabs, "McClure, Alexander Kelly," *Pennsylvania Center for the Book*, Penn State University Library, accessed Feb. 19, 2015, [http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/McClure\\_\\_Alexander\\_Kelly.html](http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/bios/McClure__Alexander_Kelly.html); *The Progressive Men of the Common Wealth of Pennsylvania, Vol. II.*, ed. Col. Charles Blanchard (Logansport, IN: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1900), 562-566, Google Books, accessed Mar. 4, 2015.

<sup>19</sup> MD; *Memorial – Harriet Anne Lucas* (Philadelphia: Press of Times Printing House, nd) 3-10, 56, Openlibrary.org, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> MD.

<sup>21</sup> NEWS.

<sup>22</sup> Jan. 14, 1895, LHA Minutes; "James Lawson Norris, Sr.," *Find a Grave.com*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=43645869>; *The Successful American V*, no. 1 (January 1902): 346-348, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015.

favorite recreations were gardening, motoring, sewing, and walking.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Nov. 10, 1896, LHA Minutes; *Woman's Who's Who of America*, ed. John William Leonard (New York: American Commonwealth Company, 1914), 335, Google Books, accessed Feb. 17, 2015; "Gorman, Arthur Pue, (1839-1906)," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, accessed Feb. 17, 2015, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=g000326>.