NETWORKS IN NEGOTIATION: THE ROLE OF FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN INTERCULTURAL DIPLOMACY ON THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN FRONTIER, 1680-1840

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INTRODUCTION

NETWORKS IN NEGOTIATION: THE ROLE OF FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN INTERCULTURAL DIPLOMACY ON THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN FRONTIER, 1680-1840

The historiography of the Trans-Appalachian frontier has centered on the political negotiation between governments, and recent works have illustrated the complexity of imperial and native contests for the region.[1] To truly understand this negotiation, however, historians must go deeper than governmental claims and wrangling to the familial and personal forces that have been obscured by the emphasis on formal government relations. Governments in the colonial and early republic period often proved unable to enforce their claims or promises and so individuals often turned to their kinship networks to accomplish their political and economic goals. This study of familial networking highlights the personal relationships that helped to add stability to government claims and that guided the decisions of the leaders of those governments. In the Cumberland region of Trans-Appalachia, familial relationships operating from the beginning of Indian-colonial interaction had profound impacts upon the broader course of events during the world-altering period from 1680 to 1840 for Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Anglo-Americans. These networks helped to further agendas at local, regional, and national levels. Through comparative analysis of family case-studies, my dissertation explores how the

[1] The Trans-Appalachian frontier refers to the region west of the crest of the Appalachian Mountains and east of the Mississippi River from the southward of the Ohio Valley. The region is referred to as a frontier because of the extensive amount of contact, exchange, and conflict that took place between Anglo-Americans, American Indians, and Africans/African-Americans. For a complete definition of Trans-Appalachian frontier, see Malcolm Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850, 3rd Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008). The Cumberland region encompasses much of the Trans-Appalachian frontier including what is now middle and western Tennessee, northern Alabama and Mississippi, and parts of southern Kentucky.

institution of family shaped intercultural negotiations between these three groups within the Trans-Appalachian frontier, as well as how the interaction of these groups changed the shape and functions of family in each of these cultures. This analysis adds new, comparative perspectives to the historiography of family history, diplomacy in the Early Republic period, and the interconnections between the social institution of family and national politics and economies. It will also highlight how definitions of family in these three cases remained culturally distinct and yet functioned in similar ways. Kinship networks helped individuals accomplish particular political and economic goals in the Early Republic period.[2]

This dissertation will challenge traditional definitions of family and kinship in the Anglo-American and American Indian historiographies. Rather than using static models, these case-studies demand recognition of the flexibility family and kinship exhibited across cultural divides. Furthermore, family decision-making and networks illustrate the intertwined nature of personal and state interests in this period for all three groups: Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Anglo-Americans. In this time of coalescing modern nation states, the individual and family continued to be primary forces in the political process.[3]

By the early eighteenth century, disease and warfare had caused the Cumberland region to be largely devoid of American Indian towns, but Chickasaws and Cherokees held competing

[2] I use the terms American Indian, Indian, and native interchangeably. These terms reflect the discussions at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association and their use by recent historians. Anglo-Americans here refers to people who were born in, or descended from those born in, the British Empire, including Scotland.

[3] I use the term individual to mean one person or one person's life. Anne S. Straus highlights the distinction between western ideals of individualism and American Indian autonomy, "Individuality is by no means peculiar to modern Western society. . . . But the meaning of individuality differs in different cultural contexts. In Western society the valued self is independent, internally driven, "self-actualizing"; the dependent, other-directed person is defined as having an unhealthy self. In Northern Cheyenne culture, individuality does occur and is respected unquestioned, but (as one woman stated it) "the individuals are like the poles of a tipi – each has his own attitude and appearance but all look to the same center [heart] and support the same cover." For Cheyennes, individuality supports a tribal purpose, a tribal identity. Individual freedom does not consist in distinguishing oneself from the group. Indeed, without the tribe there is no freedom; there is only being lost." Anne Strauss, quoted in Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, eds., Women and Power in Native North America, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 246.

claims over the region as hunting grounds. As Anglo-Americans began to make their own claims for ownership of the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the three

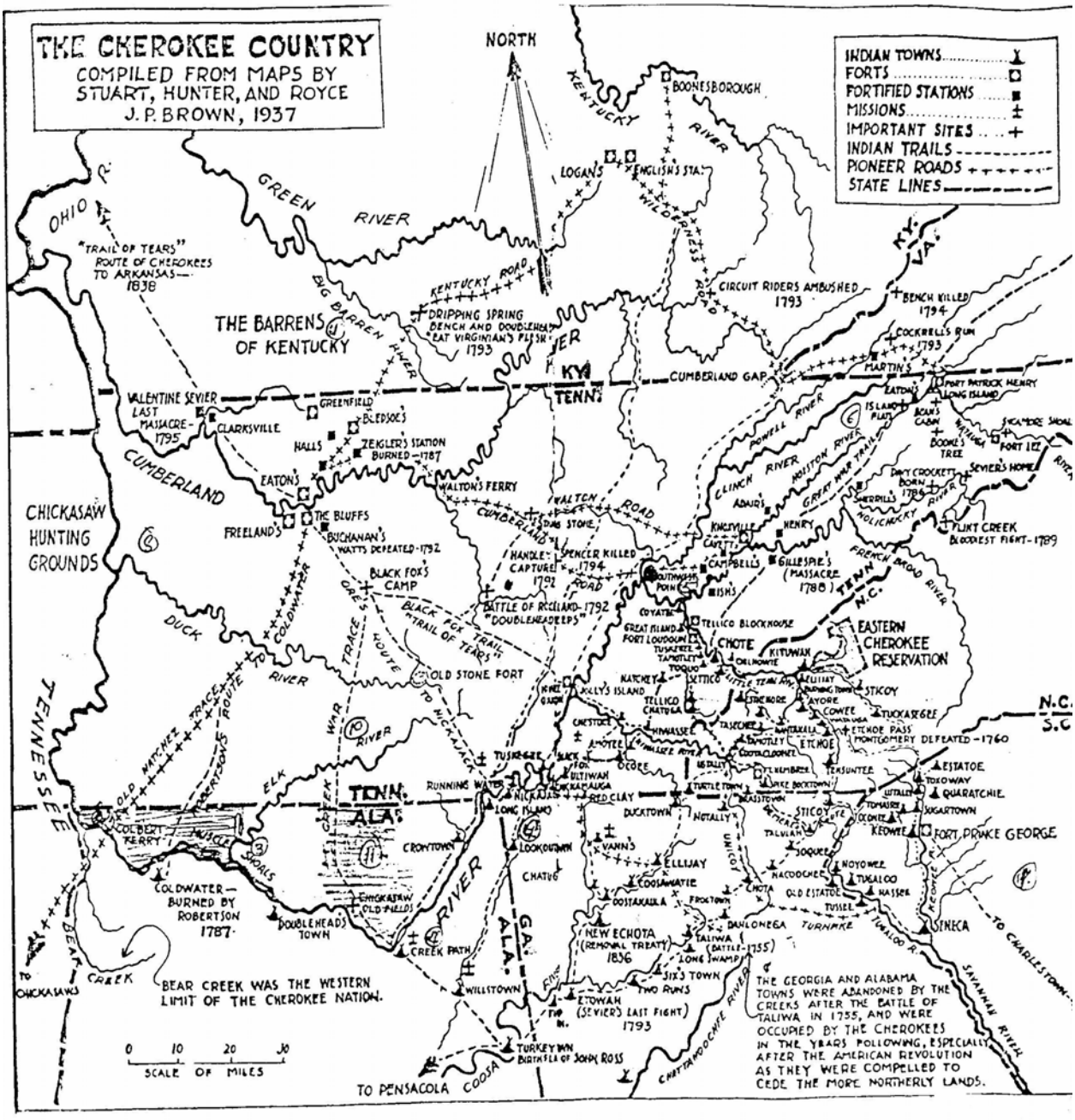

Figure 1. Contest for the Cumberland Region. This map depicts Cherokee claims in the Cumberland region as well as some Chickasaw towns and some of the conflicts that took place during the colonial and early republic eras. The Chickasaws also claimed much of the region depicted in this map, especially from the Elk River northward to Kentucky, southward into Alabama and Mississippi, and west to the Mississippi River. Reproduced from Brown, Old Frontiers, 1.

cultures collided.[4] The region provided a meeting place for trade, a battleground over land and resources, as well as the diplomatic site where competing societies negotiated their relative positions in the balance of power. The land of the Cumberland region itself became both the setting of encounter as well as the prize for which these people/groups fought. Historians of the region that would be absorbed into the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi have long recognized the complicated nature of the intercultural negotiation, the push-pull of diplomacy and warfare, and the personal level at which people interacted there. These people and governments operated in a contested borderland, in which they frequently crossed the political and cultural boundaries of the US, Cherokee, and Chickasaw polities for travel, trade, and warfare. While other Indian groups used the region as a thoroughfare and even resisted Anglo-American settlement in the region, the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Anglo-Americans proved the key competitors for the land and resources of the Cumberland region.

The Cumberland borderland illustrates in detail what was at stake in intercultural negotiation, not solely for this region, but with consequences in national politics and for the broader history of the interaction between native groups, European empires, and the United States. This work is part of a broader historiography of borderland and frontier interaction. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron's 1999 article, "From Borderlands to Borders," sought to redefine both frontiers and borderlands and reinstitute them as productive historical terms. They

[4] To fully cover the intercultural negotiation in the Cumberland region, this dissertation would need to cover the agency and negotiation of slave family networks. While some of the documents I have come across in my research indicate that such networks functioned at the same time as those addressed in this dissertation, the quantity of documents I have found are too few to span the time periods addressed in this study. For more on slave family networks, see Cynthia Cumfer, Separate Peoples and Paul Finkleman, ed., Women and Family in a Slave Society, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989). Tiya Miles describes the agency of a family that had intertwined black and Indian heritage in Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Without more evidence from slaves related to the Colbert, Ridge, Donelson/Jackson families, I on these authors to present the history of slave family networks on the Trans-Appalachian frontier.

defined frontier as "a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined... [where] intercultural relations produced mixing and accommodation as opposed to unambiguous triumph" and borderlands as "the contested boundaries between colonial domains." Together, these terms provided a "vocabulary to describe the variegated nature of European imperialism and of indigenous reactions to colonial encroachments. ... [C]onflicts over borderlands shaped the peculiar and contingent character of frontier relations."[5] This dissertation adopts these definitions of "frontier" and "borderland" to refer to the spaces of intercultural negotiation and border contests that shaped the political, economic, and social strategies on both sides of the contested borders on the Trans-Appalachian frontier.

This dissertation weaves together family case-studies from three different cultural groups. Stories of the Anglo-American Donelson family, the Chickasaw Colbert family, and the Cherokee families of Little Carpenter and Major Ridge illuminate how familial networks shaped Early American politics.[6] Because these families included influential political and military leaders, their use of kin networks helped to determine national policies for each of the three polities.[7] These families were chosen for their influence in the regional and national politics of their nations, but also because they left enough sources for investigation of the role of kinship in their personal and political decision making.

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[5] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," American Historical Review, June 1999. For a discussion of the debate over the term frontier see pp. 814-815, especially footnote 1-3. Quote, 815-816.

[6] Due to the varied spellings and multiple names used in their lifetimes, I have used the Anglicized version of American Indian names where possible throughout the dissertation to ensure clarity and consistency.

[7] I generally refer to Chickasaw and Cherokee political organization by the terms "governments," "nations," or "polities." All of these terms are somewhat problematic, but "government" and "polities" leave room for decentralized political systems based on town- and clan-based governance. I use the term "nations" more often in my chapters on the nineteenth century after Chickasaw and Cherokee governments become a bit more centralized, but even then one must recognize that these governments retain much more individual autonomy than the typical definition of a modern nation-state. On the difficulties of terminology for native polities, see Ethridge & Hudson, Transformation, xx.

During the colonial and early republic eras, family consistently functioned as a motivating factor for political and economic action, and as a means to achieving political and economic goals regardless of cultural differences. Family gave people a reason to strive to achieve goals and a potentially beneficial network of people to help them achieve those goals. Furthermore, family networks played important roles in intercultural negotiation between the Southeastern polities, in part as the basis of small- or large-scale alliances. Such networks helped to determine the power-relations between native and non-native polities in their political contests in the colonial and early republic eras.

Recently, historians of Native America have begun re-evaluating their perceptions of the roles family played in how native peoples shaped their economic, political, and social worlds after encountering Europeans. Richard White's "middle ground thesis" was recently challenged by Heidi Bohaker who argued that Anishinaabe peoples' relocations were part of migrations related to kinship networks and cross-cultural alliances that had long served as a safety net for native peoples in the area, rather than the cultural discontinuity described by White. Cynthia Cumfer and Michelle LeMaster have explored the extensive gendered familial language central to treaty negotiations between the US government and Southeastern tribes. Cumfer highlights the importance of kinship to Cherokee diplomacy, but places that in opposition to US officials who operated as representatives of the nation. I argue that kinship plays a different role for Anglo-Americans than for American Indians, but is an important factor in American diplomatic efforts as well. Works like these by Bohaker, Cumfer, and LeMaster are the heart a new historiography that argue that kinship was central to the process of intercultural negotiation and that recognizing such cultural traditions can reorient historical understandings of American Indian diplomacy. Continuities guided native strategies of diplomacy and war that hinged upon the fulfillment of

their short-term goals of continued economic and political sustainability. These works have helped to define native kinship as a key element of American Indian diplomatic strategies. This dissertation expands their definitions of kinship to one that permits cross-cultural comparison and recognition of systemic flexibility.[8]

While family networks in the early republic United States have also recently received substantial historical attention, the history of family on the Trans-Appalachian frontier has been largely ignored. Early studies of family in the American South focused on the role of family and gender in shaping racial dynamics on plantations. For example, Elizabeth Fox-Geneovese illustrated the importance of recognizing family as central to understanding issues of race and economics in plantation households. Thad Tate's collection of essays entitled Race and Family in the Colonial South provides a great example of early investigations into the role of family in the South. However, outside of the plantation household, the role of family in the South, until recently, was limited, especially where native and non-native systems of family and kinship intersected. More recent scholarship looks beyond the plantation to the influence of familial networks on urban populations, farming communities, and others. Lori Glover's statistical and anecdotal evidence in All Our Relations depicts survival in early colonial South Carolina as largely dependant on the support of familial networks. Over time, these networks became the basis for political and business monopolies that concentrated offices in state government in the

[8] Heidi Bohaker, "Nindoodemag: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701," The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 63, No. 1, January 2006. For Richard White's "Middle Ground Thesis" see, Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great lakes Region, 1650-1815, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Cynthia Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Michelle LeMaster, "'Thorough-paced girls' and 'cowardly bad men': Gender and Family in Indian-White Relations in the Colonial Southeast, 1660-1783" Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2001. Other important works on native kinship and family include Tiya Miles, Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Cameron B. Wesson, Households and Hegemony: Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); and James M. Volo and Dorothy Denneen Volo, Family Life in Native America, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007).

hands of a few elite families such as the Pinckneys. Carolyn Earle Billingsley argues in Communities of Kinship that genealogy, rather than being an antiquarian exercise, can actually help historians better understand local and regional social, political, and economic forces better, including migration patterns, religious affiliation, and collective economic power. These networks laid the groundwork for many of the social structures in communities. My work argues these same principals are applicable at national levels as well.[9]

The Cumberland region provides an example of how intercultural contests for control played out, but this dissertation is part of a larger historiographical movement highlighting the role of kinship networks in facilitating the survival strategies of American Indians in the face of aggressive colonial and imperial pressures. Similarly, recent historiography has investigated the importance of familial networks on Anglo-American economic and political strategies. My work brings these two trends together to create a more complete understanding of how these interpersonal relationships guided both sides during intercultural negotiation of the colonial and early republic era. I argue that family networks are key to understanding Anglo-American intercultural politics, especially on the Trans-Appalachian frontier, and that these family networks were not entirely different from those utilized in native intercultural politics. In contrast to early anthropological construction of fixed kinship models, I argue that the roles of kinship in politics were flexible for both American Indians and Anglo-Americans and had many common traits.

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[9] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Thad Tate, ed. Race and Family in the Colonial South, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1986). Lorri Glover, All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Carolyn Earle Billingsley, Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004). An interesting collection of essays edited by Joseph M. Hawes and Elizabeth I. Nybakken entitled Family and Society in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001) includes among its accounts of family across time and the continental United States an essay on Seneca kinship structures but does not integrate the essays to provide comparative analysis.

This dissertation gives substantial evidence that the vital role of kinship in American Indian politics was not eliminated by the turn of the nineteenth century, but rather that Cherokee and Chickasaw kinship systems were flexible and that the influence of these systems on native politics persisted through and beyond the removal of these tribes in the 1830s. The diplomatic and military negotiation among these polities reflected their ability to adapt to the rapidly changing political environment of the early republic. Historians must recognize native, kin-based agency in the era prior to removal to better understand the later basis for native claims to sovereignty and power. The adaptability of American Indians in the colonial and early republic eras foreshadows their use of US federal laws to claim rights to exercise "traditional" customs in contrast to state norms in the twentieth century.[10]

Since the 1970s, histories of the early republic period have become ever more attentive to the importance of previously ignored actors such as native people, slave and free African-Americans, and women. Historians, like Nancy Shoemaker in her book Becoming Red and White, have argued that opposing racial and cultural identities across deep divides took time to develop in response to ongoing conflict. Kathleen DuVal and Warren Hofstra have highlighted the intertwining of dozens of native and non-native peoples in the physical landscapes of the Arkansas watershed and the Shenandoah Valley. Still, the legacy of anthropological studies emphasizing the contrasts between Indian and non-Indian societies have left the fields of early American history and American Indian history with a much clearer view of the differences between these populations than of their similarities. However, studying the historical intersection of kinship and politics for Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Anglo-Americans reveals similar political and economic trajectories that have previously been overlooked.

[10] Claudio Saunt, A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land, 14-15.

Recent works in American Indian history credit the agency of native peoples in choosing sides and fighting for their lands and sovereignty and recognize the place of Anglo-American greed for Southeastern lands as a central motive for the Anglo-Americans that chose to fight against the British. However, many also seem to succumb to declensionist theory. In most books the end of Indians' real-power and effective resistance to Anglo-American settler encroachment serves as the climax to their books, whether the Seven-Years War, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, or Indian Removal. Even the rather nuanced collection edited by Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert which argues for recognition of Indian agency in the Early Republic period ends with an assertion that the Early Republic period in American history should be seen as "the Age of Removal" in which many peoples, including white women, were shoved into "asylums" to make room for the ideals of the Anglo-American men in power.[11]

Recent scholars of American Indian history, including those cited above, have recognized the hazards in allowing the declensionist narrative to take over the end of the story. Daniel Richter's call for historians to "face east from Indian country" has inspired a new generation to try even harder to approach American history from a native perspective by recognizing the

[11] Some examples of this historiography includes Colin G. Calloway, The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Gregory Evans Dowd, A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, Native Americans and the Early Republic, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 352-53. These works helped to define Indian "agency." Dowd interweaves the political imperative for retention of land with the cultural and spiritual means that native peoples used to fight the disbursement of their lands. I hope to echo this in my emphasis on the cultural continuities of kinship's role in native approaches to diplomacy and war. Indian Removal was not truly inevitable until native governments physically took up residence in Indian Territory, in what would become Oklahoma. Even then, many of these people, who were supposed to have been removed, continued to live in Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, and many other states. Their descendants, east and west, retain bits and pieces of their ancestral lands and self-identify as American Indian. While it would be foolish to argue that American Indian groups retained the power and influence that they held before contact with European groups, declensionist narratives have led much of the reading public to believe that Indian cultural and political identities, and even the people themselves, have disappeared.

power of indigenous culture to shape intercultural encounters.[12] This dissertation argues that American Indians maintained a cultural core that allowed them to continue to identify as Cherokee or Chickasaw long after their alleged fall from power and that, anchored in that cultural core, these people were able to continually adapt to changing political and geographic climates to maintain sovereignty. I am heavily indebted to the analytical contributions of these scholars, but I contend that, while Indian removal did force Indians from their lands, it did not tear from them their cultural identities, nor did it assimilate them into the background of American life. Rather, leading families continued to use kinship networks to sustain and rebuild distinct Chickasaw and Cherokee societies following removal.

By using a comparative methodology, this dissertation illustrates that not only was kinship central to the societies of the Cherokee and Chickasaw, but it was also central to the economic and even political practices of the early American Anglo-American society. The actions of the Donelson family, which would come to include Andrew Jackson and his descendents, prove that kinship connections played a very strong role in their upward mobility as both individuals and as a family unit. As land speculators, Indian agents, treaty negotiators, and policy makers, the Donelson family created a network resembling the vertical integration business model which facilitated the acquisition and distribution of Indian lands. These lands were transformed into the basis of wealth for the family and the nation. The inclusion of the Donelson family in this dissertation presents a foil against the historiographical assertion that kinship structure played a crucial role in simplistic, clan-based societies in opposition to the modern American nation state. While the structures and uses of kinship and family were much more similar between the Cherokee and Chickasaw societies, the similar use of kinship in

[12] Daniel Richter, Facing East From Indian Country: A Native History of Early America, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001).

political and economic strategies across all three groups belies that division of native and Euro-American societies.[13]

Evaluating the role of kinship and family in diplomatic and military negotiation also clarifies many of the nuances of intercultural political interaction in this period. As recent histories have shown, American Indian political and military strategies cannot be understood apart from kin and clan networks. This realization helps to bring to the fore the Cherokee and Chickasaw sides of the story. Finally, comparative analysis of the uses of family helps us to understand how the cultural definitions of family and kinship provided both a basis for communication and miscommunication across cultures.

The very terms "family" and "kinship" invoke a rich historiography dating from the 1970s. Thanks to the work of Steven Ozment, Alan Macfarlane, Peter Laslett, and Lawrence Stone, the term "family" conjures up images of the European or Euro-American nuclear units of parents and children rather than extended networks and patrilineal rather than matrilineal descent.[14] "Kinship," on the other hand, brings to mind large groups of people or family gatherings in which kin relationships were dictated by tradition and blood-relations rather than by interpersonal interaction.[15] "Kinship" has been much more frequently applied to the

[13] While comparative histories often leave much to be desired, Colin Calloway's history entitled White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) presents an eloquent comparison of American Indians and Highlanders. This work forms a methodological basis for my own comparisons of Chickasaw, Anglo-American, and Cherokee societies.

[14] Peter Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations, Essays in Historical Sociology, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Steven Ozment, Ancestors, The Loving Family in Old Europe, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). Alan Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition, (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1978). Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800, (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

[15] The specific intertwining of strands of these families through the generations mirror those described by David Sabean in his account of the networking strategies within the community of Neckarhausen in early modern Germany. David Sabean, Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology Series, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). American Indian kinship systems have been the subject of sociological, anthropological, and historical study from the 1770s onward. One example of this is James

American Indian context than to that of Anglo-Americans. Can historians truly talk about American Indian "families" rather than "kinship" or "kin groups" and Anglo-American kinship beyond nuclear units? Challengers to the European nuclear definition of family, including Naomi Tadmor, have gained recognition that such terms had multiple definitions even within English society and are far from universally applicable.[16] Like the critics of the Turnerian frontier thesis, these detractors have succeeded in tarnishing the models but not replacing them with a new consensus.

During the eighteenth century, the uncle/nephew relationship in matrilineal native societies in many ways mirrored the father/son relationship in patriarchal societies comprehendible to the Anglo-Americans that recorded these relationships. They often highlighted how uncles kept a nephew by their side in important council meetings and how an uncle would pass on his role in the town, such as war-chief, peace-chief, or medicine-man to his nephew. However, whereas the relationship was primarily determined by primogeniture in Anglo societies, American Indian societies in the southeast were much more democratic. One man might have had several sisters and dozens of maternal nieces and nephews, but not all of them could follow in his stead. Likewise, a child might have many maternal uncles. Aptitude and capability played a central role in the selection of how a child might be educated and trained for his or her future place in this society. Therefore, both kinship and individuality shaped the cultural inheritance of a child. Kinship strongly influenced how positions of prestige passed down through the generations, but it did not work simply or to the exclusion of other factors, such as proven ability.

Adair's History of the American Indians published in 1775. See Kathryn E. Holland-Braund, ed., The History of the American Indians, by James Adair, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

[16] Naomi Tadmor, Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Merit-based Cherokee and Chickasaw politics forced leaders to prove their worth in order to gain and maintain a following.[17] James Adair, writing in 1775, noted that"the Indian method of government... consists in a fœderal union of the whole society for mutual safety.... The power of their chiefs, is an empty sound. They can only persuade or dissuade the people.... It is reputed merit alone, that gives them any titles of distinction above the meanest of the people."[18] In 1977 cultural anthropologist Raymond Fogelson argued that political and social power could not be inherited in Cherokee society. Instead, power derived from prestige that was contingent upon one's ability to sway his audience.[19] More recently several historians and anthropologists, including Theda Perdue, John Phillip Reid, Ronald Eugene Craig, and Charles Hudson, have highlighted the central role of kinship in the social organization of Southeastern Indians.[20] Hudson states that "in matrilineal societies a boy respects his mother's brother in much the way a boy in other kinds of societies respects his father. He looks to his mother's brother to teach him much of what he needs to know as a man ..."[21] Rather than revealing tension between the importance of kinship to Southeastern native societies and their individualistic political systems, Theda Perdue argues that the two worked together, "The Cherokees listened to [a Cherokee

[17] John Reed Swanton, Chickasaw Society and Religion, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2006). For a similar analysis of Cherokee political systems, see Raymond Fogelson, "Cherokee Notions of Power" in The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 185-95.

[18] Samuel Cole Williams, ed. Adair's History of the American Indians, (New York: Promontory Press, 1930), 459-60. Punctuation and spelling as in original.

[19] Raymond Fogelson, "Cherokee Notions of Power" in The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 185-95.

[20] Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 44-45. John Phillip Reid, A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation, (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 35-48. Raymond Eugene Craig, "The Colberts in Chickasaw History, 1783-1818: A Study of Internal Tribal Dynamics," Dissertation University of New Mexico, 1998. Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 185-95.

[21] Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, 187.

leader] because of his accomplishments, not his ancestry, but his Cherokee uncles provided him with the kind of training and experience that made his achievements possible."[22]

Within their democratic systems of government which privileged merit over lineage, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Anglo-American societies created traditions of leadership that grew out of the relationship between kinship and politics. Kin-based factions in Chickasaw and Cherokee governments stemmed from the decentralized nature of those governments, allowing these nations additional freedom to negotiate with multiple native and imperial powers, but also sometimes straining the relationship between their government and those with whom they treated. Similar networks within the United States political system were deemed nepotism, but they existed nonetheless, entangling the public interest with their private and familial goals. Comparing these systems brings to light parallels between native uses of kinship in politics and Anglo-American ones.

This dissertation follows three generations of the Colbert, Ward, Ridge, and Donelson families, intertwining these definitions of family and kinship. My definition of family includes relationships between individuals and their parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and others they deemed kin. Therefore, family refers to the interpersonal relationships forged on cultural definitions of familial responsibilities. For example, brothers owed each other a particular kind of loyalty in each of these societies, but the precise responsibilities varied by culture. These variants provided the basis for intercultural communication and miscommunication, such as when parties called one another "brothers" in treaty negotiations. "Kinship" here is a network of people related through blood, marriage, and adoption extending through the branches of family trees in many directions. Kinship, then, provided networks of

[22] Theda Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 41.

these interpersonal relationships that worked together to provide a safety net or a ladder for advancement. These families used kin networks as the basis for military units, business dealings, and political legacies among other things.

The importance of interpersonal relationships is key to understanding the roles family and kinship played in the early republic era across cultural and ethnic lines. People chose who they would call upon to fulfill the cultural obligations associated with family ties. They decided which of their family members would be good business partners and which proved far greater liabilities than assets. In each of these familial case-studies, concepts of family and kin mediated the political and economic decisions of individuals, kin groups, and the nations they represented. Family provided the foundation for reliable alliances within and across ethnic lines. Family was, of course, not the only set of networks of interpersonal relationships at work. Historians are working to tease out the roles town and community played in each of these societies, especially because towns were the primary political units for the Cherokees and Chickasaws shaping the success of collective tribal endeavors. Friendship and ideological networks also played important roles in the intercultural negotiation of these groups. Histories of nationalism and democratic ideologies have improved our understanding of how political ideas were disseminated, adopted, and made potent, but this same historiography has obscured the ways personal networks shaped those ideas and the political process. The actions of the Donelsons, the Colberts, and the Ridges prove that family and kin relationships were both flexible and enduring. Anglo-American, Chickasaw, and Cherokee families had more in common than historians have previously acknowledged. Each endeavored to translate familial ties into economic and political assets in the cross-cultural competition for the political and economic future of the Trans-Appalachian frontier.

Better understanding of the roles family played in intercultural negotiation between American Indians and Anglo-Americans requires the use of shared terms. Humanists have boxed Anglo-American families into nuclear, patrilineal units and American Indians into matrilineal kinship systems, neither of which allowed for the flexibility and cross-cultural similarities that took place in the families studied here. Therefore, this dissertation redefines the terms "family" and "kinship" so that both terms are applicable to the history of native and Anglo-American actors. Here family refers to the relationships between individuals and their parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, and others they deemed kin. Therefore, family refers to the particular interpersonal connections that were dependent upon culturally specific definitions of familial responsibilities. For example, brothers owed each other a particular kind of loyalty in each of these societies, but the precise responsibilities varied by culture. These variants provided the basis for intercultural communication and miscommunication. Kinship, then, is defined as networks of people related through blood, marriage, and adoption extending through the branches of family trees in many directions. Kinship networks knit these family relationships together to provide a safety-net or a ladder for advancement.[23] Together, these definitions provide a common vocabulary with which to compare and contrast the roles of family in native and Anglo-American societies. We can then begin to see how gender shaped the ways family influenced political and economic decisions.

B.L. Marshall critiqued early feminist theory as having "floundered in implicitly or explicitly replicating gender polarity… or the binary opposition of male and female, rooted in

[23] Carolyn Billingsley in her book, Communities of Kinship, argues that "kinship… should be considered as a category of analysis complementary to and potentially as powerful as race, class, and gender. … race, class, and gender are not rendered obsolete; rather they are part and parcel of kinship, although, at times they are subsumed by kinship as categories of analysis." Carolyn Billingsley, Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 1. She argues for an expansive definition of kinship not predicated on "blood" ties, but does not delineate the limits of her definition of kinship.

bodily existence."[24] More recent postfeminist theory has explored the intersections of feminism, postmodernism, and post-colonialism to "advance debates around identity, nationality and difference already articulated within these political and cultural movements."[25] North American family history has experienced a similar trajectory in which early historiography reified the opposition of Anglo-American families and American Indian kinship.[26] More recently collections like Family & Society in American History, edited by Joseph M. Hawes and Elizabeth I. Nybakken, include analysis of American Indian, as well as Chinese-American and Italian-American families alongside generic "American" families.[27] The form and function of 'family' and 'kinship networks' during the colonial and early republic era did not fall easily into oppositional categories of native and Anglo-American. The institutions were themselves shaped by the contact of these cultures with one another, and by the political and economic environments in which they all competed. As studies of gender implicitly examine unequal power dynamics, a history of the role of family and kinship networks must explore how they were shaped by gendered power and, by extension, the strategies employed by those kin networks.

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[24] B.L. Marshall quoted in Ann Brooks, Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory, and Cultural Forms, (New York: Routledge Press, 1997), 20.

[25] As Ann Brooks puts it, "Postmodernism's emphasis on 'deconstruction' and 'difference', and its challenge to the idea of a single epistemological truth, added to the voices of those who had been marginalized by feminism's modernist heritage. Subaltern groups have encouraged both feminism's and post-colonialism's engagement with postmodernist discourses in political, cultural, and representational terms. Feminist and post-colonialist theorists have recognized the potential of postmodernism to advance debates around identity, nationality and difference already articulated within these political and cultural movements." Ann Brooks, "The 'Landscape of Postfeminism': The Intersection of Feminism, Postmodernism, and Post-colonialism," in Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory, and Cultural Forms, (New York: Routledge Press, 1997), 92.

[26] A few examples include Arthur W. Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family, Vol. 2: From Independence through the Civil War, (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1928, reprinted 1960).

[27] Joseph M. Hawes and Elizabeth I. Nybakken, eds., Family and Society in American History, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Beyond simply filling in a gap in the historiography, we must look beyond the local and institutional role of family to see it as having fundamentally shaped the thought and behavior of key actors in the national history of the United States as well as for Cherokee and Chickasaw politics. These personal relationships guided the socioeconomic and political goals of Andrew Jackson, Levi Colbert, and Major Ridge at crucial moments for their nations. Family strategies and personal ambitions furthered through familial ties cannot be separated from the ways these politicians viewed their political and economic worlds or their responsibilities as influential political leaders. In all three of these societies, family responsibilities were intertwined with all aspects of the personal and political lives of their members.

Setting

Within the Trans-Appalachian frontier, the Cumberland Region (as defined in this dissertation) encompassed most of what would become middle and western Tennessee along with northern Alabama and Mississippi, southwestern Virginia, and southern Kentucky.[28] The native and non-native inhabitants of this region made forays for hunting, trade, and war throughout the North American continent east of the Mississippi river, down the Mississippi itself, and beyond the Mississippi to the west. While this dissertation spotlights the struggle of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Anglo-Americans for political and economic dominion over the Cumberland region, neither these people nor their conflicts or negotiations were limited geographically. The region itself prior to the 1770s was the shared hunting and fishing grounds for the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Shawnee, Creek, and others, but because of its lack of natural

[28] Historical definitions of the Cumberland region were quite vague, generally meaning the region purchased in the controversial Henderson Treaty of 1775, especially the lands in the bend of the Cumberland River south to the Tennessee River and west to the Mississippi River. The Cumberland region would later include the Mero District of North Carolina.

defensive features none of these groups maintained permanent settlements there. It provided many natural resources for the groups, including several river and overland thoroughfares for transportation. The same features that made it prime shared real-estate made it irresistible to land speculators and potential settlers as soon as British legal barriers, such as the Proclamation Line of 1763, were challenged by the American Revolution.

The histories of these families give us insights into all three polities, including the workings of the leadership of the US government, as well as a better understanding of Early Republic intercultural negotiation more broadly. The strategies of trade, war, and diplomacy employed by the Donelson, Colbert, and Ridge families were intertwined with those of their governments and illustrate the ways personal relationships guided these nations in this period of dynamic intercultural competition and collaboration. The region itself served as both the stage and the subject for these negotiations. As the fur trade diminished in the late eighteenth century, land became the premier prize for which these nations fought, collaborated, and haggled. The fertile lands of the Cumberland region became the main focus for the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American subjects of this dissertation. Alternating strategies of diplomacy and warfare would determine who dominated which tracts of this fertile land.

By the 1770s the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American governments and peoples had been negotiating political, economic, and social relationships with one another for generations. Although the Chickasaw and Cherokee peoples were often lumped together by British and American authors as "Indians," the two peoples were from entirely different language families (Muscogean and Iroquoian respectively). Religious and social customs for the two nations, from dances to marriage practices, were distinct from one another. Others were similar, such as matrilineal clan-based descent and similar gender roles. By the early eighteenth century,

the Chickasaws had created a stable trading relationship with British traders in Charleston, South Carolina that helped them thwart their French and Indian enemies in the Lower Mississippi Valley. They alternated between alliances and war with the Cherokees who served as both rivals for the resources of the Cumberland region and fellow allies of the British. Similarly the Cherokees shifted between alliance and warfare with their Anglo-American neighbors who provided both trade goods and treachery by turns according to which official was in charge of Indian affairs. The period from the 1770s through the 1830s continued and intensified these complex political and economic relationships. Negotiation by these nations' leaders reflected shifts in their relative military power as well as internal power shifts in the nations.

During the colonial and early republic eras, the Trans-Appalachian frontier was embroiled in intense competition for political and economic control of the region.[29] Dozens of polities used diplomatic and military strategies to coax alliances or land cessions from one another. British, Spanish, and French attempts to gain control over the region melded with the existing American Indian patterns of war and negotiation that had long shaped regional political boundaries. Familial networks (natal, marital, and fictive) shaped the diplomatic and military tactics of these nations, as such networks had shaped the politics of native and European competitions for centuries.

This dissertation's main actors had accumulated a long, fraught history of political and economic negotiation with one another by the 1770s. Native kinship and kin networks had become part of that diplomatic system and helped smooth the relationship of southern tribes with

[29] In the Early Republic period, the Chickasaw nation claimed territory encompassing what would become the northern parts of Alabama and Mississippi and much of middle and western Tennessee and had additional towns in Georgia. For more on the territorial claims of the Chickasaw during the colonial and Early Republic periods, see James R. Atkinson's Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), Arrel Gibson's The Chickasaws, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), and Wendy St. Jean's "Trading Paths: Chickasaw Diplomacy in the Greater Southeast, 1690s to 1790s," Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2004.

one another and British traders and officials. The fur trade was beginning to give way to trade based on land cessions as British settlers' demand for land increased exponentially. After 1763 and then again in 1775, the power and number of imperial powers shrunk reshaping power-dynamics throughout North America. This combination of appetite for land and narrowing of imperial players increased the aggressiveness by speculators, politicians, and warriors. The Cumberland region, and others like it, became the center of an intensified battle for dominion over lands, resources, and power. Anglo-American settlers moving into the Cumberland region raised the stakes for the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American families in this dissertation as well as for the Creek, Choctaw, Shawnee, and African American populations that lived, traveled, or hunted in the area. The connections and strategies of familial and kin networks reveal the ways individuals and governments attempted to make the best of the new opportunities and challenges inherent in the efforts to conquer, maintain, or reclaim possession of the Cumberland region.

Historical Actors

This dissertation evaluates the interconnections between family, politics, and economy as seen through the lives of certain families from the early eighteenth century through the 1830s. All of these families, the Colbert family of the Chickasaw nation, the Donelsons of the new settlement of Nashville, and the families of Little Carpenter and Major Ridge of the Cherokee nation, represent the political leadership of their nations. They each left substantial records with which to trace these interconnections and they utilized familial networks to navigate the complex diplomatic, military, and economic circumstances of the era. The stories of these families illustrate how kinship ties shaped national politics by blurring the lines between personal and

political decision-making at the time and reminding historians of how personal diplomacy could be. Family goals remained a central motivating factor for undertaking risky economic and political ventures for the leadership of each of these polities, as well as an important means to achieving success in those endeavors.

The Family of James Logan Colbert

The Colbert family emerged in the historical record as chiefs of the Chickasaw nation in the 1760s. They remained influential representatives of the Chickasaws even after the tribe emigrated to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). The children of Scotsman James Logan Colbert and three Chickasaw women from the prominent Incunnomar house group utilized their dual-heritage as cultural-brokers to serve the diplomatic interests of the Chickasaw people.

Living in towns in what would become northern Alabama and Mississippi and along the Mississippi River, the Chickasaw nation in 1775 consisted of approximately 2,300 people, 450 of whom were warriors. They were renowned by their native and European neighbors for their ferocity in battle. The Chickasaw nation preserved its autonomy by engaging in, and warding off, slaving raids born of Euro-American demand for unfree labor in American Indian slaves.[30] The French also armed and encouraged the Chickasaws' traditional native enemies, especially the Choctaws, in efforts to secure unimpeded travel on the Mississippi River and therefore more control over the region.[31] The Chickasaws and English had maintained a strong trade alliance

[30] Colin G. Calloway, The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 214. This tribe of Southeastern Indians has been significantly less studied than the more populous Creek and Cherokee tribes, despite the fact that the Chickasaws maintained a powerful presence in the region.

[31] For an interesting colonial account of warlike role of the Chickasaw in the Southeast, see Bernard Romans, A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, Vol. 1, (New York: Printed for the Author, 1775), 59-62. On the effect the Indian slave market had on native groups, see Robbie Ethridge, "Creating the Shatter Zone: Indian Slave Traders and the Collapse of the Southeastern Chiefdoms," in Thomas J. Pluckham and Robbie Ethridge, eds. Light

throughout the colonial period. In 1759 an advantageous marriage between a young Scottish trader named James Logan Colbert and a woman from a powerful matrilineal clan created a newly bi-cultural family that shaped the Chickasaws' relationships with European, and later American, governments. Sources from this period highlight the importance of the Colbert family to the political and economic strategies and negotiation of the Chickasaw nation.[32]

James Logan Colbert, born in Scotland, first accompanied traders to the Chickasaw nation in 1736 at age fifteen. By 1759 he had married a Chickasaw woman from the prominent Incunnomar house group. As his prestige grew through his connections to trade goods and his exploits in battle with the Chickasaws against the French, he married two other women from the tribe. His sons, William, George, James, and Levi, became influential chiefs in the Chickasaw nation.[33] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a time of political experimentation for the Chickasaw people in general, and for the Colberts in particular. Families grouped together for common political and military goals into kin-based factions, like the one led by James Logan Colbert. Colbert's faction engaged in military campaigns against Spanish boats on the Mississippi even while the Chickasaw nation officially maintained peaceful relations with

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on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006). For Chickasaw wars against their French and native neighbors, see James Taylor Carson, "Sacred Circles and Dangerous People: Native American Cosmology and the French Settlement of Louisiana," in Bradley G. Bond, ed., French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

[32] Due to their blended heritage, the Colbert family are one of the simplest families among the Chickasaw to tracein the historical record. They have been a primary focus in several monographs including Gibson's The Chickasaws and Atkinson's Splendid Land, Splendid People and recent dissertations such as Ronald Eugene Craig's "The Colberts in Chickasaw History 1783-1818: A Study in Internal Tribal Dynamics," (Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1998), for the integration of James Logan Colbert into Chickasaw society see pages 112-16.

[33] Craig, "The Colberts in Chickasaw History," 112-16. The historical record presents overwhelming evidence that the Colberts played an important role in diplomacy for the Chickasaw nation with the United States, from negotiating treaties to being among the party charged with choosing the location of the lands the Chickasaws would accept in Indian Territory. Still, the sources are nearly all written from the perspective of American observers and participants. One source hints at what difference other sources might have provided. Malcolm McGee, interpreter in the nation, noted orally to Lyman Draper in the 1840s that "George Colbert was never Head Chief, but was asked by the King to act as principal chief in all matters with the U.S. government – as his knowledge of English better fitted him for such services. Levi Colbert was appointed precisely as was George and for the same purposes," 4:4 "Oral History: Malcolm McGee, Chickasaw Interpreter," Journal of Chickasaw History, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1998), 6.

Spain. The various Chickasaw factions played Spanish and US diplomats against one another to further the interests of the Chickasaw nation.

The Chickasaws also experimented economically. In 1805 the Colberts helped to secure permission for a great road to be built through the Chickasaw nation with the condition that only Chickasaws could own or run taverns on the road to service the travelers. The Colbert family owned most of these establishments and profited from the large number of Anglo-Americans traveling south through Chickasaw territory. The sons of James Logan Colbert, including William, George, and Levi, also amassed wealth in the form of plantations and slaves mirroring those of the most affluent Anglo-American planters of the time. For example, by 1835 Levi Colbert had acquired 150 slaves, roughly the same number as Andrew Jackson.

While the Colberts appear on the surface to have been working towards the "civilizing" of one of the five "Civilized Tribes," they also gained the esteem of the Chickasaw people as key diplomats for the nation. Although they successfully negotiated the legal world of the Anglo-Americans and took on many of their trappings, they maintained several markers of Chickasaw identity, including speaking the language and dedication to Chickasaw autonomy. When the Indian Removal Act of 1830 threatened Chickasaw lands and government, the Colberts negotiated to minimize the cost in lives and financial assets by determining the terms for and implementation of Chickasaw removal to prevent the horrors of the "Trail of Tears" seen by their Cherokee neighbors. The history of the Colbert family provides an interesting insight into how political and economic strategies of American Indians could so thoroughly adopt pieces of "western culture" while retaining Indian identities and sovereignty.

The Colberts' kinship networks exhibited attributes of both matrilineal and patrilineal kinship systems. The interconnection of family and politics for the Colberts remained strong and

flexible through the removal of the Chickasaws to Indian Territory after which it began to fade. The Colbert family acted as key diplomatic negotiators and warriors for the Chickasaw nation. The history of their family network illustrates how intertwined familial goals were with those of the larger Chickasaw nation.

The Family of John Donelson

The historical record left by the Donelson family depicts familial strategies guided by two patriarchs with networking ambitions, Colonel John Donelson and General Andrew Jackson. These two men appear to have orchestrated their plans to elevate the Donelson family through land speculation, political office, and marital networking to a prosperous, prominent family. This vision, distorted by centuries of strategic and unintentional editing, implies an inordinate amount of power vested in these two men over the destinies of their sons, daughters, nieces, and nephews. More likely, the vision of a powerfully networked family was shared by many members of the Donelson family. Nonetheless, both men left records indicating their active efforts to encourage certain marriages that would add individuals with social or monetary assets to the family. These connections added different varieties of security to the family in a physical environment that proved quite hostile at times. Generation after generation pursued strategies interweaving the strands of the family together, knitting the family into a thick cord of allied interests. The networking strategies of the Donelson family were typical among families that aspired to capitalize on their existing wealth and increase both their wealth and prestige in the fluid and fertile environment of the land booms of the early republic era.[34]

[34] Examples of this are found throughout this dissertation in both the text and the footnotes. The specific intertwining of strands of the family through the generations mirror those described by David Sabean in his account of the networking strategies within the community of Neckarhausen in early modern Germany. David Sabean, Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology Series,

The family of John Donelson emigrated from tidewater Virginia to western Virginia, then on to the Watauga Settlements in what would become east Tennessee, and finally helped to lead one of Nashville's founding expeditions. This family capitalized on the booming land market to become upwardly mobile and eventually become part of Nashville's political and economic elite. For the Donelson family, familial relationships served as key social networks tying together individuals who could help each other climb professional ladders in law, politics, and business. Together the Donelson family supported one another as land speculators, businessmen, lawyers, military men, treaty negotiators, Indian agents, and local justices of the peace. Andrew Jackson married into the family as a young man and drew upon his kinship ties to rise in his various careers. Those relationships further supported him in his role as the seventh president of the United States. The interactions of the Donelson family provide an example of the degree to which familial networks could be utilized in early American society for personal and political gain.[35]

(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also, Carolyn Earle Billingsley, Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004) and Alan Taylor, William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

[35] Apart from President Andrew Jackson, the only member of the Donelson family to receive monograph length biographical coverage was Andrew Jackson Donelson. Donelson was Jackson's nephew, personal secretary in the White House, and ran as candidate for Vice President alongside Millard Fillmore as part of the Know-Nothing Party in 1852. See Mark Cheatham, Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007) and R. Beeler Satterfield, Andrew Jackson Donelson: Jackson's Confidant and Political Heir, (Bowling Green, KY: Hickory Tales, 2000). The family has, however, established a place in local and state histories because of their role among the founders of Nashville and because of their relation to President Andrew Jackson through his marriage to Rachel Donelson. A few of these works include Virginia Reardon, "The Family and Home Life of Andrew Jackson," M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1934; and R. Beeler Satterfield, "The Early Public Career of Andrew Jackson Donelson, 1799-1846" M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1948; and Leona Taylor Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee: Its History and Landmarks, (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, 1968). The Donelson family are prominent figures in contemporary descriptions of the region including JGM Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century Comprising Its Settlement, as The Watauga Association, from 1769 to 1777; A Part of North Carolina, From 1777 to 1784; The State of Franklin, From 1784 to 1788; A Part of North-Carolina, From 1788 to 1790; The Territory of the U. States, South of the Ohio, From 1790 to 1796; The State of Tennessee, From 1796 to 1800, (Charleston, SC: Walker & Jones, 1853. Reprinted Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1999), 134-35. John Haywood, The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee From its Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796, Including the

The patriarch of the Donelson family, Colonel John Donelson, led the more dangerous of the two expeditions to settle the Cumberland Region during the 1780s. His children and their spouses became deeply intertwined with the business, politics, and society of the region. The Donelson family serves as the focus for this study because this family is one of the best examples of the extent to which familial networks were used to the best possible advantage for the social, political, and economic advancement of their members in the Cumberland region. Consanguine and marital ties built this family into one of the wealthiest in the region with strong ties to the local legal system, the local militia, and eventually to the United States presidency. Because Andrew Jackson has received so much academic and popular attention, this dissertation presents him as a member of the family, but as only one of many members in this family who utilized kinship ties to build their personal and collective futures.

Members of the Donelson family embraced land as the key to their futures by engaging in careers of land speculation, surveying, law, general store ownership, and plantation ownership. Each acted separately, choosing careers in one or more of these activities, as well as collectively, networking together their various skills and assets. This land-centered network made the benefits to the whole greater than the sum of its parts. These men utilized each other to further their own interests in land speculation, law careers, and plantation ownership. As allies borne of familial obligation and good-will, they strove toward common goals of wealth, prestige, and power.

Boundaries of the State. Exact Reprint of the Edition of 1823, Published by W.H. Haywood, Great-Grandson of the Author; With a Biographical Sketch of Judge John Haywood By Col. A.S. Colyar. (Nashville, TN: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Barbee & Smith, Agents, 1891, Reprinted Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1999), 54-55.The Donelson family tree can be found in the appendix (originally found in Sam B. Smith and Harriet Chappell Owsley, eds., The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Volume I, 1770-1803, Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988, 417).

For the Donelson family, kinship meant support. The trust they placed in one another during the voyage of John Donelson's son and sons-in-laws down the Tennessee River in 1780 was reflected in their later bonded interests in financial ventures. The concept of family as security carried through into the next generation's interaction with each other as Donelson's ten sons and sons-in-law ensured their financial futures in particular by utilizing their familial connections in frontier commerce and speculation. These connections would be replicated in generation after generation as cousins continued to intermarry to reinforce the bonds. Examination of the role of the Donelson family network in facilitating the political and economic goals of the family members begins with the efforts of Colonel John Donelson. His roles as Nashville founder, surveyor, land speculator, and government appointed negotiator with Southern Indian tribes laid the foundation for the important place his family would hold in the Cumberland region. The actions and marriages of his children and grandchildren, however, took his investment in the region to a new level by creating an extensive and profitable social network with Andrew Jackson and the children of Daniel Smith. This generation yielded ten brothers-in-law who used their talents as land speculators, lawyers, county court justices, and plantation owners to create synergies that furthered their investments. Their familial network was similar to others built out of frontier needs and opportunities. Understanding this network across generations of the Donelson family will help to explain the rise in number and prestige of lawyers and surveyors. Analysis of how familial networks helped to build wealth among elite westerners helps to explain the enormous growth of influence and prestige in the region that swayed Congress and the Presidency toward political measures that profited the western territories during the early republic and antebellum eras like the Indian Removal Act.

The Families of Little Carpenter and Major Ridge

While the Colbert and Donelson families leave clear genealogical records, documents on Cherokee families in the period prior to the emigration rolls (starting in 1815) leave much to be desired. Most often British and American observers left records noting father/son relationships and, more rarely, uncle/nephew relationships but rarely noted the names of wives, mothers, sisters, and aunts.[36] For this reason, this dissertation looks at two prominent Cherokee families whose genealogy was documented and who played important roles in the political and economic negotiation of the Cherokee nation.

The first of these families centered around the renowned diplomat Little Carpenter, or Attakullakulla. Little Carpenter served as both a war chief and an advocate for peace from the 1730s through the 1770s. He was among the best known Cherokees of that time and frequently appears in the historical record as the main negotiator between the Cherokees and the British. His son and niece both held important political positions in the tribe shaping the negotiation between the Cherokee nation and their settler neighbors. The lineage from Moytoy of Great Tellico through Little Carpenter to his niece, Nancy Ward, hints at a tradition of peaceful accommodation and emphasis on trade alliances with Anglo-Americans. Dragging Canoe, Little Carpenter's son, resisted accommodation and declared war on those who sought to pressure Cherokees into selling their hunting-grounds in the Cumberland region, especially those who

[36] This is true for the Colbert family as well. The wives of James Logan Colbert, although noted as being from a prominent clan and house group, remain unnamed and their matrilineal lineage ignored. Luckily, more is known for his children's generation where sisters and wives have received a place in the historical and genealogical record.

tried to settle there. The relationships of these figures illustrate how matrilineal kinship guided the reactions of these actors to increasing pressures on Cherokee lands.[37]

The second family is centered around the Ridge. The Ridge fought as an ally of Andrew Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-14 during which he was awarded the military title of Major. Ridge later became infamous as the leader of the "Treaty Party" that signed the Treaty of New Echota, which would ensure removal of the tribe to Indian Territory. Due to the lack of evidence on Cherokee women, the Ridge's mother is not known nor are her brothers who would have raised the Ridge and his brothers. However, the actions of the next generation, including Major Ridge's son and nephews, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Stand Watie, illustrated that both matrilineal and patrilineal influences shaped their attitudes toward adoption of American cultural attributes, political sovereignty, and their duties as Cherokee. This family depicts both the changes that kinship underwent in the early nineteenth century and the ways in which kinship networks were employed to affect both change and continuity in the Cherokee nation.[38]

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[37] Information on Little Carpenter can be found in James C. Kelly, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Little Carpenter," Journal of Cherokee Studies 1978 3(1), 2-34. Other sources that detail Little Carpenter's role in intercultural relations include John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838 (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc, 1938); J.G.M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee; and Haywood, Civil and Political History. On Nancy Ward, see David Ray Smith, "Nancy Ward, 1738-1822" Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2002, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=W017); Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," Ethnohistory, Vol. 39, No. 2, Spring 1992, 97-107; and Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). On Dragging Canoe, see E. Raymond Evans, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Dragging Canoe," Journal of Cherokee Studies, 1977 2(1), 176-89; Brett Alan Cox, Heart of the Eagle: Dragging Canoe and the Emergence of the Chickamauga Confederacy, (Milan, TN: Chenanee Publishers, 1999). For all three figures, see Pat Alderman, Nancy Ward, Cherokee Chieftainess, Dragging Canoe, Cherokee-Chickamauga War Chief, 2nd Ed. (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1978).

[38] The Ridge family has received significant coverage by historians due to their controversial role in leading the "Treaty Party" which signed the Treaty of New Echota ensuring Cherokee removal. The works that deal most thoroughly with this family include Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People, 2nd Ed. Rev. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); Edward Everrett Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940); Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, eds., New Echota Letters, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968); James W. Parin, Elias Cornelius Boudinot: A Life on the Cherokee Border, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Theresa Strouth

Both the Little Carpenter and Ridge families represent the movements for and against alliances with the British and the Americans, as well as the variant methods of negotiation employed by representatives of the Cherokee nation. As leaders of peace and war factions, the kin networks they drew upon reflect the centrality of kinship and clan affiliation to their political and economic strategies.

Together these case-studies present familial networks as a common tool for implementing Chickasaw, Anglo-American, and Cherokee political and economic strategies at both the local and national levels. They further illustrate that the culturally defined definitions of family and kinship created a basis for understanding and misunderstanding one another in intercultural negotiation.

Chapter Summary

While familial responsibilities and the use of kinship networks were woven into the fabric of the social, political, and economic decisions of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American actors in this dissertation, the following chapters will attempt to tease out specifically how these relationships were manifested over time. The first two chapters compare the role of kinship for the three case studies during the colonial era. Chapter 1 describes the evolution of the Donelson family network and their political and economic strategies during the colonial era. Chapter 2 recounts the contemporaneous political and economic strategies of Cherokee and Chickasaw polities, especially those pursued by Little Carpenter's family in the Cherokee nation and the Chickasaw family of James Logan Colbert. The following four chapters describe how the families met as allies or competitors in the Cumberland region and how their family networks

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Gaul, To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Theda Perdue, ed., Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

shaped that intercultural negotiation. Chapter 3 covers the diplomatic and military upheaval that resulted from the Anglo-American movement to settle in the Cumberland region during the American Revolution resulting in regional, intercultural warfare. Chapter 4 recounts the military and economic alliances of the Colbert, Ridge and Donelson families during the 1780s and 1790s as well as the development of their economic strategies following the Revolution. Chapter 5 describes the native families' reactions to Jeffersonian "civilization" policy and all three families' participation in the Creek Wars of 1813-14 and the Battle of New Orleans. Chapter 6 relates how the Colberts, Ridge, and Donelson families met once again at the treaty table to negotiate the relationships between their governments in the aftermath of the War of 1812 and later to negotiate the terms of Indian Removal. The conclusion notes that the political roles of kinship did not end with the Cherokees' and Chickasaws' removal to Indian Territory. Rather, kin-networks continued to shape the political action of all of these families during the Civil War and beyond. Together these chapters illustrate the ways family networks remained central to individual and national political and economic strategies from the colonial period through Indian removal and beyond. Understanding the relationship between such social networks and formal political and economic systems enables us to re-conceptualize how modern political systems function and develop over time.

CHAPTER I

COLONIAL ANGLO-AMERICAN FAMILY NETWORKS, 1680-1774

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Virginia's relationship with the Cherokees alternated between uneasy trade alliance and outright conflict.[1] Despite the royal government's efforts to control it, land speculation escalated following the 1763 British victory over the French and resulted in ever increasing tension between Virginia and its Indian allies, including the Cherokees. Using John Donelson's family as a case study, this chapter illustrates how kinship and family networks facilitated frontier economic ventures, especially land speculation, prior to the American Revolution. The Donelson network used familial obligation and reciprocity to capitalize on the economic and political opportunities available, and to create new opportunities in the frontier region of southwestern Virginia in order to secure their positions in the colonial planter elite. The political relationship between the colony of Virginia and the Cherokees prior to and during the Seven Years War, the early networking strategies of the Donelson family, and the effects of land speculation on Virginia/Cherokee diplomacy following the Seven Years War illustrate how the drive of land speculating families for more land complicated the trading and military alliance of Virginia with the Cherokees.[2]

Outside of middle Tennessee the Donelson name is hardly known, but towns, schools, businesses, churches, and roads within the region bear the name Donelson in honor of Colonel

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[1] For some of the most important histories of Virginia, see Alan Taylor, "Virginia, 1570-1650" in American Colonies: The Settling of North America, (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 117-137 and Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975). For more on the cultural interaction and clash in Virginia, see Warren R. Hofstra, The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2004).

[2] See the introduction for my definitions of the terms "family," "kinship," and "kinship network."

John Donelson, one of the leaders of Nashville's founding party. Several hagiographic articles and even works of fiction herald Donelson's bravery in the face of danger and death on the journey from Knoxville to found Nashville. Apart from these highly biased sources, however, little has been written about this man and his family. The history of John Donelson, his family, and their collective economic and political strategies in Virginia and the Cumberland region of Tennessee provide much more than triumphalist pioneer tales.

The Donelson family is representative of, rather than exceptional to, the experience of families who embraced land speculation as the key to their economic advancement and utilized their network of familial obligations to facilitate that investment. Other families that utilized kinship networks to capitalize on land speculation and other frontier speculative ventures include the Washington, Henry, Blount, Carter, and Byrd families of Virginia and North Carolina. Their strategies, the intersection of those strategies with local and national politics, and their relationship to native governments might be compared to those of any number elites on the frontier.[3] While such networking may have been common west of the Appalachian crest, it has largely been treated in the historiography as a barrier to representative democracy. How personal networks actually functioned in early American politics and economy has not previously been recognized. Family served as the basis upon which larger political, ideological, and economic networks were built. Close analysis of the Donelsons' actions reveal just how

[3] Thomas Perkins Abernethy's work is a good example of the historiography that sees familial networking as nepotism and evidence that the frontier was not a haven of democracy. He noted the frequency with which family networking and politics combined in his chapter "The Great Land Grab" in which he comments that "[William Blount], like [Richard] Caswell, [Alexander] Martin, and others of their ilk, practiced nepotism on a grand scale, and feathered very cozily the nests of a host of kin and friends." Thomas Perkins Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy, (University of Alabama Press, 1967), 52. My dissertation argues that such networks and nepotism were part of how the politics of the time worked, rather than detracting from an idealized version of democracy. These patterns of kinship use remain consistent at least through Andrew Jackson's presidency and are highlighted throughout this dissertation. The trajectory of John Donelson's life and political career in many ways mirrors that of Jonathan Bryan as described by Alan Gallay in The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989).

central those networks were to land speculation, military campaigns, and other endeavors. This chapter highlights how kinship networks facilitated land speculation, despite British attempts to curtail it and the tensions it created with neighboring Indians.

Born between 1718 and 1725, John Donelson, like his father and grandfather before him, was a colonial landowner.[4] In the 1730s southwestern Virginia had attracted large land speculators, such as William Byrd, who bought up hundreds of thousands of acres for the purpose of settling Scotch-Irish, German, and Swiss immigrants in the area.[5] During the 1740s smaller land speculators, including Donelson, bought tens of thousands of acres each.[6] In 1744 John Donelson moved to southwestern Virginia from Accomac County.[7] To gain additional profits from land speculation in the region, including his own, Donelson became county surveyor for Halifax County, and later, when the county split into two, for Pittsylvania County.[8] By 1774

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[4] The Sussex County, Delaware deed book indicates that in March of 1733, the parents of Colonel John Donelson, "John Donelson "yeaoman of Sommerset Co., MD., and his wife, Catharine" sold land in Delaware to William Beckett. Johnita P. Malone, ed., Land Records of Sussex County, Delaware, Deed Book G. No. 7, 1732-1743, (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2008), 39.

[5] William Byrd was one of Virginia's wealthiest planters and largest land speculators. Historian Thomas Perkins Abernethy in his Three Virginia Frontiers (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940) briefly notes that the networking strategies of the Byrd family in the tidewater region of Virginia and the Donelson family in the piedmont region were exemplary of the intertwining of land speculative interests, capital, and political influence, 45.

[6] Maud Carter Clement's The History of Pittsylvania County Virginia (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1976), provides the best account of John Donelson's life prior to his move to the Cumberland region. For the role of land speculators in the settlements of Southwest Virginia, see pp. 34-47. For more on the development of southwest Virginia, see Warren R. Hofstra, The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Richard R. Beeman, The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); and Charles J. Farmer, In the Absence of Towns: Settlement and Country Trade in Southside Virginia, 1730-1800, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1993).

[7] Pauline Wilcox Burke notes that in 1763, Rachel Stockly Donelson, wife of Colonel John Donelson, inherited several slaves from her father, Alexander Stockly who died in Accomac County, Virginia. Donelson's grandfather, Patrick Donelson, left to his son the family Bible and silver signet ring. Colonel John Donelson and his wife, Rachel Stockley Donelson, came from established, even wealthy, families in Virginia and Maryland. Donelson sought to build his own wealth by speculating in land markets during the 1740s. Pauline Wilcox Burke, Emily Tennessee Donelson, Vol. 2, (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1941), 163-64, fn 11-17.

[8] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County. Anne-Leslie Owens, "John Donelson, 1718-1785," Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, 1998, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=D043.

Donelson owned at least 1,019 acres of land, eighteen slaves, and an iron works or bloomery.[9] Donelson ranked among the political, economic, and social elite of Southwest Virginia. He served as a justice of the peace in Halifax County in 1764 and in Pittsylvania County in 1767, 1769 and 1774.[10] In 1769 Donelson served in the House of Burgesses on the Non-Importation Association alongside George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry.[11] From at least the 1740s, the Donelson family's primary economic strategy depended upon acquiring large tracts of land.

John Donelson was one of many who sought to capitalize on the acquisition of Indian lands and who set up businesses in newly opened regions. Land speculators in Virginia bought up as much land as possible to take advantage of the needs of planters whose tobacco crops had exhausted the soil on their current land-holdings. While Virginians had long attempted to force small local tribes to cede land to the colony, 1744 marked a historic turn of events. Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania met with the Six Nations and several other tribes in Lancaster, Pennsylvania to negotiate a peace between Virginia and the Iroquois in the aftermath of a clash between settlers and warriors. After tedious negotiations, the Iroquois renounced their right to "all lands within [Virginia] as it is now or hearafter [sic] may be peopled and bounded by his

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"Colonel John Donelson," Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1769-1923, Volume II, (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1923). Marquis James, Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1933), 51.

[9] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 156.

[10] H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Justices of the Peace of Colonial Virginia, 1757-1775, Bulletin of the State Library of Virginia, Vol. XIV, No. 2 & 3, (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1922), 59, 98, 127.

[11] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 136. That same year Donelson participated as part of the Committee for Religion and the Committee for Trade. John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766-1769, (Richmond, VA: The Colonial Press, Everett Wadley Co., 1906), 228.

said Majesty."[12] Henceforth, Anglo-American Virginians considered the title to those lands cleared. Finding that the Iroquois were not sole claimants for that territory, however, Virginians would again attempt to clear Indian claims from the land at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768.[13]

Historians have argued that the land booms of the 1740s and 1750s led directly to the start of the Seven Years war as Virginia attempted to militarily back the claims of the Virginia based Ohio Company against the French who had built a fort on the Ohio River.[14] Similar conflicting land claims led to conflict between Virginia and Pennsylvania for the Ohio country, which nearly resulted in war between the colonies and spawned Lord Dunmore's War against the Shawnee. Although Donelson's land speculation was timid compared to land barons like the Byrd family, political pressure from land speculators, as well as their willingness to transgress Indian boundaries, pushed Virginia's politicians to repeatedly seek treaties with Indian nations that would open up lands to Anglo-American settlement. The failure of colonial and Indian governments to arrive at amenable treaty agreements in a timely manner meant chronic warfare between settlers and Indians on the frontier.

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[12] Benjamin Franklin, Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1936), 44-45. L. Scott Philyaw, Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 42.

[13] More on the Treaty of Fort Stanwix later in this chapter.

[14] L. Scott Philyaw, Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 37-64. Donelson was not part of the Ohio Company. Instead he was a member of the Loyal Land Company of Virginia which received a grant of 800,000 acres in 1749. Abernethy, Frontier to Plantation, 20-21. Donelson's land speculation activities became much more prominent following 1770 when he surveyed the line between Virginia and the Cherokee nation. Similar extensive, unregulated land speculation, according to Edmund S. Morgan, had led to Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s. Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975, 1995), 250-70.

Cherokees and Virginians during the Seven Years War

During the 1740s and 1750s, tensions mounted between British and French colonial authorities over competing claims of jurisdiction. After war was declared in 1754, both sides, short on troops, called upon their native allies to back competing colonial claims militarily. The British government had established itself as a main trading partner for both the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations by the 1730s and had created kin-ties within their towns through marriages of traders like James Logan Colbert to women who were part of powerful matrilineal clans. Most of the Cherokees and Chickasaws remained allies with the British and sent warrior bands to support their allies in the Seven Year's War against the French. Rumors of Cherokee-French ties, British hesitancy to place forts in the backcountry for defense of their Indian allies, and the massacre of several Cherokee peace chiefs in South Carolina led to a breach between the Cherokee and British resulting in the Anglo-Cherokee War that raged from 1760-61. The Proclamation Line of 1763 enacted by the British crown was meant to placate Britain's uneasy Cherokee allies, but served more as a challenge to restless settlers and land speculators determined to turn the fertile hunting grounds of the Indians into financial opportunities for themselves.[15]

Although South Carolina maintained control over a majority of trade with both the Cherokees and Chickasaws, Virginia provided the colony with some competition for the

[15] This chapter begins with land speculation that led to the Seven Years War. For more on colonial intercultural interaction in the Southeast prior to 1754, see Lynda Norene Shaffer, Native Americans Before 1492: The Moundbuilding Centers of the Eastern Woodlands, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992); Patricia B. Kwachka, ed., Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguistics, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 27, Mary W. Helms, Series Ed., (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, eds., The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760, (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2002) and Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). This chapter highlights the competition between British and French imperial governments, but does not address other competing colonial powers. Later chapters will discuss the Spanish presence in the southeast. For more on these the Spanish and Dutch empires, see Nan A. Rothschild, Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: The Spanish and Dutch in North America, (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003).

Cherokee alliance. By the early 1750s the Cherokees, unhappy with the scarcity and price of goods from Charles Town, sought to break that colony's monopoly on trade. Sending diplomats to Virginia, the French, and Georgia, Cherokee leaders felt that soliciting new traders for their towns would fix their problems by providing them with all of the goods they needed at competitive prices. These policies were risky in a time when both French and English officials demanded exclusive trade agreements with their Indian allies. As tensions mounted, Cherokee leaders like Old Hop, Little Carpenter, and Oconostota engaged in a diplomatic balancing act by sending delegations to rival powers, utilizing rhetoric, and disclaiming alliances or diplomatic delegations as necessary. The power of trade, however, was primary for Cherokee towns and their allegiances went to those with the most plentiful, high quality goods. The efforts of both Virginia and South Carolina to maintain amiable relations with their Cherokee allies by meeting their trade needs were impeded by the governing assemblies' determination to keep taxes to a minimum and cut what they saw as useless spending, especially on Indian "gifts."[16]

After war broke out in 1754, South Carolina's Governor, James Glen, encouraged Cherokee leaders to heed the call for troops issued by Virginia's Governor Robert Dinwiddie.[17] Several hundred Cherokees joined Virginians in "protecting the frontier" from the French and French-allied Indians like the Shawnees.[18] In return for this military assistance, Virginia's

[16] Excellent works on Cherokee diplomatic efforts prior to the Seven Years War and their consequences during that war are David H. Corkran, The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962) and Tom Hatley, The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the era of Revolution, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). Corkran and Hatley both point out that these "gifts" were really payment for service and that by denying Cherokees the gifts they sought the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina were pressing their allies to fight the French and French allied Indians for free.

[17] For more on the origins, progression, and aftermath of the Seven Years War, see Fred Anderson, Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

[18] Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 115. Corkran notes that in 1757 "250 or more Cherokees were among the 400 Indians who defended the Virginia frontier."

governor promised to help build a fort near the powerful Cherokee town of Chota. This fort, garrisoned by Virginians, would augment Fort Prince George built by Carolina in 1753 at Keowee town. Both of these forts were, according to the Cherokees, to be sites of trade and military protection, as well as symbols of the strength of the alliance between the governments. These forts were meant to bolster existing trade and remind the colonies of their commitment to provide the nation with plentiful goods.[19] Virginia finished building the fort, named Fort Loudon, and then left it ungarrisoned for a time until rumors of French designs to build a fort on the Tennessee River spurred them to send troops to Fort Loudon.

Many of these Cherokees served in the Southwestern region of the colony, where Donelson and his kin lived at the time. As is often the case, during wartime even friendly soldiers might commit atrocities. Virginia, to encourage warfare against French-allied Indians, put bounties on scalps taken from those Indians. Unfortunately, one scalp often looked like another and Cherokees and Virginians often failed to discriminate between allies and enemies. To make matters worse, Virginia, like Carolina, remained tight-fisted and refused to give the promised goods to Indian warriors for their efforts. Some of those warriors took their pay out of the countryside stealing cattle, horses, foodstuffs, and clothing from farmsteads on their trips home. The alliance during the early years of the Seven Years War left both the Indian warriors and backcountry settlers with negative impressions of one another. As historian Tom Hatley argues, by the 1760s "Virginians" had become an epithet for people "distinguished less by their place of origin than by their attitudes."[20] Virginians, it seems, were people who had little regard for Cherokee rights, ways of life, or even the lives of Cherokee individuals. Instead they sought

[19] Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 75-101. Hatley, Dividing Paths, 95-98.

[20] Hatley, Dividing Paths, 206.

profit alone, through scalp-bounties or acquisition of Cherokee lands.[21] John Donelson, it seems, fit with many of the qualifications for a "Virginian." Although few records exist testifying to his role in the war against the French or his dealings with Indians during this period, Donelson lived in Southwestern Virginia at the time and likely earned his military commission of colonel during this war.

Cherokee frustration over continued poor trade with Carolina, Virginia's failure to pay Cherokee warriors, and backcountry attacks on Cherokees returning from war resulted in retaliation by raiding parties of Cherokee young men on the frontier towns of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. In 1759 several headmen from throughout the Cherokee nation traveled to Charlestown to apologize for the attacks and to seek a peaceful solution to both sides' grievances. South Carolina's Governor Lyttleton had by that time decided to go to war against the Cherokees. Lyttleton took the delegation of seventy-eight prominent Cherokee leaders hostage promising their release upon surrender of the prisoners the Cherokee were holding as well as the men responsible for the raids. The governor, prisoners, and 1,200 troops traveled to Fort Prince George within the Cherokee nation and waited for the Cherokee headmen who had not been imprisoned to comply. Little Carpenter negotiated the release of all but twenty-two of the headmen. When the governor abandoned the fort due to a small-pox outbreak, negotiations broke down, Cherokees attacked the fort, and the troops within the fort killed the remaining hostages. Battles raged for the next two years against both forts and the towns adjoining Cherokee territory.[22]

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[21] For more on the roles of Cherokees in protecting Virginia and the reaction of Virginians to Indian allies, see Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 66-84.

[22] For more on the Anglo-Cherokee War, see John Oliphant, Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-63, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001); Hatley, Dividing Path, 113-178; Anderson, Crucible of War, 457-471; and Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 178-272.

Although ordered to assist Carolina's war against the Cherokee towns, Colonel William Byrd of Virginia undertook an expedition that concentrated on building roads and forts on its way to Cherokee territory. Reinforcements from Virginia never attacked the Cherokee Overhill towns near the Virginia border while Carolina's troops plunged deep into Cherokee territory destroying many of the southern towns. When the Cherokees sued for peace, the Virginia troops were close enough that Cherokee runners approached Byrd with the peace treaty before Little Carpenter and his delegation could get to South Carolina to conclude peace with Governor Lyttleton. The result was that the Cherokees made separate peace treaties with each of the colonies. Chief Standing Turkey, who negotiated peace with Byrd requested that he "send an officer back with them to their country, as that would effectually convince the nation of the good intentions and sincerity of the English towards them."[23] Ensign Henry Timberlake volunteered and lived three months in Cherokee towns to secure good relations between the colony and the Cherokees and left a memoir account of his experiences and impressions of Cherokee culture.

The conclusion of the Anglo-Cherokee War brought about many of the changes in trade policy that the Cherokee leadership had hoped for, but at a terrible price. South Carolina's monopoly on trade was broken and traders from Virginia set up stores in several Cherokee towns. The towns themselves had to be rebuilt in 1761 after Colonel James Grant's expedition of South Carolina's troops burned fifteen of the towns and fifteen-hundred acres of corn.[24] The newly defined boundaries whetted the appetites of Virginians and Carolinians for land speculation.

British Parliament, however, had different ideas. The Proclamation Line of 1763 was a law forbidding settlement beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The British had spent

[23] Lt. Henry Timberlake, The Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake: The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1756-1765, Duane King, ed., (Cherokee, NC: Museum of the Cherokee Indian Press, 2007), xxiv-xxv.

[24] Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 254.

a fortune on the Seven Years War with the French and on the Indian wars that accompanied it. They had entertained many delegations from the various Indian nations that all came with the same complaint – that settlers had disregarded previous treaties and that the consequences of that disregard would be continued bloodshed as native peoples fought back against the impending tide. Continued bloodshed would inevitably mean employing troops to protect the backcountry settlers and/or prevent incursions into native lands. Worst of all for the settlers, as demand for land increased, the British government was actually trying to enforce this law against its own citizens. Troops deployed against Anglo-American settlements, even if the towns were illegal, enflamed backcountry settlers against the British government. They decided to blatantly disregard the Proclamation and to take the law into their own hands. Afterall, law was necessary to keep order, but that order must support the best interest of the people. Backcountry settlers had a clear definition of who "the people" included and who it excluded. Diplomatic relations with American Indians and protection of Indian property from settlers were simply not appropriate uses of the law according to the backcountry settlers.[25]

John Donelson's proximity to the events and his political roles following the war indicate that he and his kin, like other frontier elites, translated his kinship ties into both economic and military advantages. Militia units were often drawn from neighborhoods and extended families. The first record of John Donelson as a colonel is listed alongside his commissions as county surveyor and justice of the peace for Pittsylvania County upon its creation in 1767.[26] As he had previously held surveyor and justice of the peace positions in Halifax County, it is safe to assume the colonel commission similarly carried over from Halifax and was likely earned in the Seven

[25] For a detailed account of the political reasoning behind the Proclamation Line of 1763 and the colonial reaction to the Act, see Colin G. Calloway, The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[26] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 93-99.

Years War. Likewise, Donelson's kin-based business and land speculation networks operated both before and after the war. Those networks did not dissolve in the interim. In the years following the war, Donelson would unite his business and his personal interests by getting his family involved in his business and getting his business associates to marry into his family.

Early Donelson Kinship Networking

Marriages were the mechanism by which kinship networks were formed and maintained. The connections of the Donelson men, through both blood and marriage, in Colonel John Donelson's generation and the two following generations are the most visible relationships in the network. Marriages facilitated the utilitarian use of family ties to achieve economic and political ends. Through this view of marriage, the women almost disappear entirely from the narrative, serving only as a means to tie men together for business deals and political alliances. In this case, the surviving sources deceive the readers into believing the Cumberland settlements were essentially masculine with women serving little purpose other than the being means to forge together important men, bearers of the heirs, and keepers of the household. Donelson family households usually fit the patrilineal, patriarchal, nuclear family model. However, often Donelson marriages failed to fit the mold of austere contracts binding together families and individuals for self-interested ends. In the cases of Samuel Donelson's elopement with Mary Smith and Andrew Jackson's marriage to Rachel Donelson, for example, the marriages were presumably instigated by compassionate ideals and resulted in disowning and legal complications respectively. Nonetheless, after the unions were formed, the marriages formed the

basis for additional familial networks that were used in political and/or economic strategies.[27]

As slaveholders, these families reflected the power dynamics described by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese: "Convention declared that the household responsibilities of slaveholding women were natural extensions of their personal relations as wives, mothers, and daughters, all of whom answered to a master who was husband or father." She further notes that "gender spheres interlocked with networks of families and households; men represented those families and households in the larger worlds of politics and warfare, or to reverse matters, women belonged within families and households under the governance and protection of their men."[28] Gender constructions were central both to the ways kinship systems functioned in the colonial and early republic eras, particularly whether the descent and inheritance was matrilineal or patrilineal, and to how people from different cultures understood and misunderstood one another.[29] In Anglo-American society, men, rather than women, were charged with the agricultural responsibilities and ownership of the household and its goods. They embraced primogeniture inheritance in which eldest sons most often inherited family property. Gendered perceptions of family, not

[27] Anya Jabour's recounting of the marriage of Elizabeth and William Wirt parallels many of the Donelson family marriages in time period and social status. Anya Jabour, Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998). Find more on these marriages in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

[28] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 192-195.

[29] Matrilineal and patrilineal refer to structures of inheritance in which descent and inheritance are traced through the mother and father respectively. Primogeniture is the system of inheritance in which an oldest son inherits the entire estate from the father. In most cases on the Trans-Appalachian frontier, the system of primogeniture was tempered by ensuring the oldest inherited most of the estate while other family members received smaller shares, household items, and/or slaves.

only shaped how the Donelson family formed and used networks, they also affected intercultural negotiations between native and non-native governments.[30]

The interconnections between family, politics, and business were evident both within and beyond Anglo-American society. Little Carpenter described his understanding of the relationship between Anglo-American kinship and the intercultural trade in his speech to Captain Raymond Demere, the commanding officer at Fort Prince George near Keowee. Little Carpenter argued that a trader named Elliott "imposed upon [the Cherokees] in a most barbarous Manner" and monopolized the trade. He had "heard that Elliott was related to [South Carolina's] Governor [James] Glen and that he was concerned in the Trade with him which has surprised [Little Carpenter] very much."[31] Little Carpenter expected Anglo-American family members to be involved in business dealings with one another, but he also thought that those business relationships obligated Glen to provide oversight ensuring the quality of his relative's relationships with trade partners like Little Carpenter. However, while family members invested in lucrative opportunities together, families like Glen's or the Donelsons were less concerned with seeing that the needs of Indians were met than with how their familial networks could provide vast profits to family members, especially themselves.

The creation of familial networks by John Donelson and his descendants took place within the context of early modern English definitions of kinship and the reciprocal obligations implicit in familial relationships. As evident in the historiography of early modern English and American families, those definitions and traditions were highly flexible and provided more of a

[30] This thesis is another of the underlying principles in this dissertation. It will be further explained throughout the dissertation. See especially the marriage between Virginian Joseph Martin and Cherokee Betsy Ward in chapters 3 and 4.

[31] Little Carpenter, "The Little Carpenter's Speech to Captain Raymond Demere," July 13, 1756, The Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series II, Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1763, Vol. 3, William L. McDowell, Jr. ed., (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1970, 138.

template for relationships, obligations, and household structure than strict rules families were hesitant to break. The Donelsons utilized familial relationships to ensure that their personal bonds reinforced business relationships for greater stability and profitability in a volatile market.

Utilitarian familial networking served John Donelson from his marriage on. His brother-in-law, Hugh Henry, likewise moved from Accomac County to the Pittsylvania County in southwest Virginia. Colonel Daniel Smith, later a surveyor and Tennessee Representative in Congress, also lived in Pittsylvania county prior to his move to the Cumberland region. Years later, both of Smith's children would marry Donelson's children. Donelson's daughter married Thomas Hutchings, at the time Donelson's assistant surveyor, in Pittsylvania County in 1772. Later generations of the Hutchings and Donelson families would become deeply intertwined within the other branches of the Donelson family that sprang from the marriages of the children of Colonel John Donelson.[32] Generations of Donelsons continued to seek marriages that reinforced the political and economic position of the family.

Donelson augmented his income from land speculation and his plantation by purchasing the local iron works in Pittsylvania county from a Pennsylvanian named John Wilcox in 1768. The disputed Wilcox land sale provides one example of John Donelson's land speculation practices in Virginia. Donelson bought a large tract from Wilcox with the condition that Donelson was to take over the quick-rent payments on the property. Donelson apparently had not yet paid Wilcox when the land was sold at auction for failure to pay quick-rents. Although Donelson testified that he had paid the fees on behalf of Wilcox, the testimony was dismissed when it came to light that Donelson had already purchased the land claim from the successful

[32] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 153. Captain John Donelson's daughter Mary married the best friend of the captain's brother-in-law Andrew Jackson, General John Coffee. Their two children married members of the Hutchings family. Andrew Jackson Coffee married Elizabeth Hutchings, and Mary Coffee married Andrew Jackson Hutchings.

bidder, James Cox. Either Donelson knew that Wilcox had not paid the quick-rents prior to the 1768 sale or Donelson purposefully defaulted on the payments to get the land at a much cheaper price. The court ruled in Cox's favor and approved the sale to Donelson.[33] Historians have debated both the ethics and profitability of this purchase. Whether Donelson entered into the contract with intent to defraud Wilcox or circumstances complicated the sale, Donelson acquired the iron works in order to profit from the scarcity of available iron in southwestern Virginia. He made this investment work to his advantage by relying on his brother-in-law, Hugh Henry, to oversee the operation and found in John Caffrey, not only a skilled hammerer, but also a future son-in-law.[34] By 1779 Donelson's oldest daughter Mary had married Caffery. Donelson's iron works provides the first evidence of the connections between business and familial ties for the Donelson family network.[35]

Long before Colonel John Donelson became famous as a founder of Nashville, his family formed networks that fused their business ventures, land speculation, and talents as surveyors. This networking would only intensify once the group migrated together to the Cumberland settlements. While networking became a prevalent part of the Donelson family economic strategies, the place of iron works within those strategies was short lived. The Donelsons did not

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[33] Herman Melton dedicates a chapter to Donelson's "questionable business practices" in buying and selling the iron works entitled, "John Donelson's Iron Land Swindle: An Early White-Collar Crime," in his book Southside Virginia: Echoing through History, (New York: The History Press, 2006), 21-27. The incident is also mentioned in Michael Paul Rogin, Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 55 and in Samuel Gordon Heiskell, Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Ambrose Printing Company, 1920), 275. Some historians have argued that Donelson's iron works investments "swept away the accumulations of thirty prosperous years." See citations in this footnote. Others have argued that the iron works were sold for a nice profit when Donelson's negotiations with the Cherokee yielded a desire to resettle on bountiful Tennessee lands. Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 156-57.

[34] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 156. Hugh Henry was married to Rachel Stockley Donelson's sister Mary. Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 417.

[35] For more on the importance and operation of the iron industry in Virginia's backcountry, see Ann Smart Martin, Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 60-66.

own or operate iron works in the Cumberland region, but rather bought such goods from others in order to concentrate their capital in land speculation and plantations. The familial networking begun in Accomac County, Virginia continued to intensify through and beyond Donelson's lifetime.

Land Speculation in Cherokee Territory

In 1768 several families founded settlements on the Watauga River in response to a rumored land cession. They quickly found, however, that the area was owned by the upper towns of the Cherokee nation. The Watauga settlements were among several that had transgressed Cherokee territory and provided Cherokees with motivations to create a boundary between themselves and encroaching settlements. The solution to this problem seemed to officials in both the Cherokee nation and the British government to be a treaty that would clearly mark the limits of Anglo-American settlement and jurisdiction. Just as the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster created a flood of land speculators and settlements into southwestern Virginia, the Treaties of Fort Stanwix, Hard Labor, and Lochaber created a flood onto lands west of the Appalachian Mountains in what is now east Tennessee.

In 1768 William Johnson, Superintendent of Northern Indians, held a treaty at Hard Labor with the Six Nations to determine the boundaries of their claims. The Six Nations claimed lands as far south as the Tennessee River by conquest and ceded that southern territory to the British Empire. At the same time, John Stuart, Superintendent of Southern Indians, held a treaty at Hard Labor, South Carolina with Cherokee headmen to determine the boundaries of the

Cherokee nation which overlapped those ceded by the Six Nations.[36] When the boundaries were reviewed, several Anglo-American settlements remained within the limits of the Cherokee nation, including the Watauga settlements.[37]

Beyond the jurisdiction of the colonies of North Carolina or Virginia and threatened by the Cherokee on whose land they settled, these settlers struck a bargain with the neighboring towns to lease the land upon which they had already planted crops. These original settlers were joined in 1771 by the survivors of the "Regulator" movement, a group of North Carolina insurgents who, according to John Haywood's 1823 history, had risen up "driven by oppression to desperation and madness" against what they viewed as a corrupt and disdainful colonial government. They were defeated by North Carolina's colonial troops. As the settlements grew, the leaders sent requests to both Virginia and North Carolina for annexation. Haywood went on to declare that the Watauga settlement's population had included "Some transient persons who had come to the Watauga … intending to become residents there, were men of bad character; others, again were men of industrious habits and of honest pursuits, who sought for good lands to reward their toils in the tillage of the earth."[38] Although some historians have doubted the settlement of the Regulators at Watauga,[39] Marjoleine Kars' recent monograph highlights the

[36] Historian Colin Calloway argues that the cession of the overlapping territory in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was an intentional strategy "by Iroquois delegates who wanted to ensure that white expansion went south." Calloway, American Revolution, 189.

[37] John Richard Alden, John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944), 221; Louis De Vorsey, Jr., The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 64-92; and Hatley, Dividing Paths, 204-207. The boundary would again be adjusted in 1770 at the Treaty of Lochaber negotiated by Alexander Cameron and John Donelson.

[38] Haywood, Civil and Political History, 50-55.

[39] Abernethy, Frontier to Plantation, 6-9. Abernethy argues that there was little or no settlement of Regulators at Watauga, but that the settlements there were comprised entirely of land speculators.

connection between the ideals of the Regulators and other separatist movements at Watauga and places like it, even noting Regulators' presence in the State of Franklin movement in the 1780s.[40]

At the very least, the Watauga settlements did create their own government separate from the government of North Carolina. In the absence of the protection and jurisdiction of the established colonies, the settlers forged the "Watauga Compact" in 1772 that created their own set of laws and means for protecting themselves against any outside (Indian) attacks. The group was comprised of people who had purposefully moved into Cherokee territory and fortified with insurgents who had taken up arms against the royal government. They expected the colonial governments to negotiate with the Indians to annex and protect them, but when such efforts fell through the settlers once again took extra-legal steps to form a government and militia of their own outside of the sanction of any royal government. This pattern would be repeated twice in the 1780s as the settlements at Nashborough, later Nashville, created a similar governing document known as the "Cumberland Compact" and as many leaders in what would become East Tennessee presented to the federal government a fully formed new state government they called the "State of Franklin."[41]

The early years of the Watauga settlements provoked no major reactions from the Cherokees who were content to allow the settlers to remain in the area as long as they did not expand their settlements. John Donelson was commissioned to survey the line between Virginia and the Cherokee nation in 1770 whereupon the settlements were officially declared to be within

[40] Marjoleine Kars, Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 216-17. Stephen Aron, How the West was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boon to Henry Clay, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 59-70. Chapter 4 details the role of the State of Franklin in shaping intercultural diplomacy.

[41] See chapters three and four for more on the Cumberland Compact and the State of Franklin.

Cherokee territory.[42] The Cherokees allowed the lease to remain valid despite British Indian Agent John Cameron's insistence that the settlements be abandoned and the settlers returned to British colonial jurisdiction. The status of these settlements and the amiability with which they were tolerated by their Cherokee neighbors would change drastically after the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals and outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775. This treaty converted the leases into purchases and the Cherokees found that the Wataugans were indeed not content within the boundaries set in the early 1770s.[43]

Several settlements, including those on the Watauga River, remained in Cherokee territory even with the land cessions secured in the 1768 treaty of Hard Labor. The flow of settlers into Indian territory increased after the Treaties of Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor despite the British government's Proclamation that no settlements were permitted beyond the crest of the Appalachian mountains. Cherokee leaders were motivated to once again put space between themselves and the Anglo-American hoard that violated their land and interfered with their hunting and livestock. John Stuart, Superintendent of Southern Indians, again requested the opportunity to regulate trade and to minimize backcountry conflicts.

After hearing Cherokee requests regarding the setting of new boundaries, Stuart brought his proposal before the Earl of Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for approval and informed the Virginia government of its contents. The Virginia House of Burgesses, of

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[42] Although John Donelson made his famous survey in 1770, he did not move with his family to the Watauga settlements, but retained his home in Pittsylvania County, Virginia until 1779. He then assembled and led a group of Watauga settlers to new settlements they planned to inhabit in the Cumberland region. Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 156.

[43] Joshua William Caldwell, Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee, Rev. Ed., (Cincinnati: Robert Clark Company, 1907), 7. JGM Ramsey notes in 1853 that "This signal overthrow of the flower of the Cherokee nation [by the Chickasaws], took place about 1769 – the period when the first white settlement was being formed on Watauga, and, doubtless, contributed much to the pacific demeanour manifested for some years by the neighbouring Indians to that infant feeble and secluded community. The favourable moment was lost, when the young Hercules might have been strangled in his cradle, by a slight exertion of the usual vigilance and enterprise of the Indian sachem and warrior." Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, 85.

which John Donelson was a member, declared that Fort Stanwix had settled the ownership of the land north of the Tennessee River and denied that Cherokee had claims to that region. Hillsborough did not agree, but rather approved the proposal negotiated between Stuart and the Cherokees. In that light, Virginia commissioned Colonel John Donelson, the surveyor for Pittsylvania County, to act as the state's representative in the treaty negotiations and to survey the new boundaries between the state of Virginia and the Cherokee nation.[44] In 1770, Stuart, Alexander Cameron, the British agent to the Cherokee nation, and Donelson along with around 1,000 Cherokees concluded the Treaty of Lochaber which conclusively excluded the Watauga settlements from Cherokee territory.

In May of 1771 John Donelson and his future son-in-law and assistant surveyor, Thomas Hutchings, along with Cameron, Little Carpenter, several other Cherokees, and two interpreters set out to survey the lines agreed upon in the Lochaber treaty. As in his land and business deals, Donelson called upon his kin to assist him in this surveying project. The boundary, often known as Donelson's line, made one strategic variation from the treaty negotiated in 1770. Donelson convinced Little Carpenter to run the line not across the Cumberland Mountains, but rather north up the Kentucky River. The detour resulted in thousands of additional acres for Virginia in exchange for £500 in gifts. The Cherokee leaders approved the change upon the return of the survey crew. The Virginia Burgesses refused to allocate the extra funds, but recognized the boundary change nonetheless.[45] This incident, and the land cession it brought, earned Donelson fame that propelled his name into early histories of colonial Virginia.[46]

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[44] For most of the historiography, this survey marked the first mention of John Donelson. For examples, see Haywood, Civil and Political History, 30.

[45] Calloway, Revolution, 189; De Vorsey, Indian Boundary, 67-92; and Alden, John Stuart, 274-85.

[46] Haywood, Civil and Political History, 29-30; Ramsey, Annals, 75-77, 92-93; Joshua W. Caldwell, Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee, (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1895), 3-8.

Donelson's profitable suggestion to Little Carpenter that they shorten the survey trip with a detour that conveniently added hundreds of acres to the land cession served the private interests of Donelson and his kin who then invested in those lands. During this survey, Donelson and Little Carpenter traveled together for a full five months which certainly shaped Donelson's later forays into Indian diplomacy by acquainting him with key Cherokee leaders.[47] Years later Donelson would serve as a negotiator of several treaties with the Southeastern tribes, including the Cherokee. Kinship continued to play a part in the Donelson family strategies of land speculation, surveying, and treaty negotiation for generations.

British proclamations against trans-Appalachian settlement failed to stem the tide of new Anglo-American towns cropping up within the boundaries of Indian nations. The Proclamation of 1763 was reiterated by the Earl of Hillsborough in 1770 during the Treaty of Lochaber debates between John Stuart and the Virginia House of Burgesses. This stern reminder, however, failed to inhibit land speculation, even by those sworn to uphold the Proclamation. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, encouraged surveyors to chart tracts of land for sale beyond the Appalachian Mountains. These efforts met with heavy resistance from the Shawnees whose claims to the region were ignored by both the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and by the Treaty of Lochaber. The efforts of Shawnees to prevent Virginia's encroachment on their lands in 1774 became known as Lord Dunmore's War. With Dunmore himself violating the Act and the Indian boundaries, land speculators and settlers viewed both as mere suggestions and proceeded according to their own self-interest.

Land companies from both Pennsylvania and Virginia ventured into the Ohio Valley planning to survey lands there for land speculation. The two colonial governments clashed over

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[47] Alden, John Stuart, 274-85.

who had rights to the region, with each side declaring their intentions to make treaties with the Indians living in the region. In 1774 Lord Dunmore announced to Shawnee leaders that he would pay them nothing for the lands because all Indian claims had been cleared by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. The Shawnees brought two scalps into camp the next night and the Virginians declared war on the Shawnees. This war blurred into the Revolutionary war as the Shawnees allied themselves with the British and continued their resistance against Virginia's encroachment. The region Dunmore claimed included not only Shawnee land, but also hunting grounds claimed by the Cherokees. After the withdrawal of Dunmore's troops, the Shawnees called upon the Cherokees in general, and specifically Dragging Canoe, to join their fight against the Virginians.[48]

Conclusion

Lord Dunmore's War followed directly on the heels of Anglo-American encroachment inspired by the Treaties of Fort Stanwix, Hard Labor, and Lochaber. Dunmore's efforts to recognize the Treaty of Fort Stanwix over claims of the Shawnees and even the Cherokees foreshadows Henderson's Treaty of Sycamore Shoals which claimed to buy all of the region north of the Cumberland River from the Cherokees triggering violent repercussions that would last for decades. In the coming decades, Lord Dunmore's War and Henderson's treaty represented the willingness of land speculators and politicians to legitimize contested land

[48] Dowd, Spirited Resistance, 47-56. Randolph C. Downes, "Dunmore's War: An Interpretation," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 21:3, Dec. 1934, 311-330. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774, (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), ix-xxviii. John Donelson is listed in the Bedford County, Virginia Public Service Claims as receiving payment either for his services as a soldier or as a supplier for the army. Warren Skidmore and Donna Kaminsky, Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774: His Captains and Their Men who Opened up Kentucky and the West to American Settlement, 1st ed., (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2002)

cessions. These events inspired many Cherokees, Shawnees, and others to fight against the settlement of their hunting grounds by rallying their kin.

CHAPTER II

COLONIAL CHEROKEE AND CHICKASAW FAMILY NETWORKS, 1680-1774

For Chickasaw and Cherokee societies during the colonial period, kinship formed the primary basis of alliances. Therefore, exploration of networks of familial connections facilitates historical understandings of alliance formation and maintenance in intercultural contexts. This chapter illustrates how kinship intersected with the ideals and practices of Cherokees and Chickasaws as they negotiated their political and economic relationships with the British government during the colonial period. The flexibility of kinship systems, from the adoption of strangers into clans to understandings, and creative misunderstandings, of familial obligations written into treaties, enabled these alliances to endure or be reborn despite the intense pressures of imperial competition between Britain and France which exacerbated existing tensions between native nations. The central place of kinship in Cherokee and Chickasaw societies shaped the reactions of native leaders and their families to regional trade opportunities, the introduction of chattel slavery, political negotiation in treaties, and anti-trade factions who opposed alliances with Europeans and the land speculation that threatened the autonomy of native nations.

Kinship strategies, such as those employed by the families of Little Carpenter and James Logan Colbert, shaped the trading relationships between their respective governments and the British. Cherokee and Chickasaw marriages, like the Donelsons' marriages, functioned as the basis of a familial network that employed particular economic strategies in this period of political and economic uncertainty. Although coming from completely different traditions of inheritance and gendered power, the parallels of strategic negotiation are unmistakable.

Kin-based relationships, along with town councils, formed the foundation of Cherokee and Chickasaw decentralized governments.[1] The importance of kinship to these societies and the individualistic nature of their political systems worked together in a flexible system that rewarded the most skilled leaders. Rather than mirroring European political dynasties, political lineages for the Cherokees and Chickasaws grew out of a merging of the matrilineal kinship system, in which uncles helped raise their sisters' children, with a merit-based political system that vested individuals with political power only insofar as they were able to persuade their peers of their proposal's value. The system enabled children to learn political and military skills from their uncles, but only the most successful leaders would have enduring political influence. These kinship systems also clarified who were allies or enemies and strengthened the bonds of reciprocal obligation between allied or negotiating parties.

This decentralized system of government enabled native groups to engage one another and imperial powers with a great deal of flexibility during the colonial period. Native polities could maintain alliances with multiple competing powers while limiting losses in lives and property when European allies demanded troops to fight their wars with each other, because one leader could ally his kin and his town with one European interest while another leader pursued a separate alliance with a competing power. This decentralization encouraged competition among their allies which could result in better trade prices, but also fostered competition between native

[1] Because the matrilineal definition of family and the associated obligations were so different from that of the British and American observers that left records on these tribes, the genealogies of families as defined by the Cherokees and Chickasaws are hard to recover from a historical record that failed to name women family members in nearly all cases. Nonetheless, many accounts do note the all-important uncle/nephew relationship that shaped native politics in the era. Matrilineal kinship enabled uncles to discern who among their sisters' children had the potential to follow in their footsteps as spiritual leaders, warriors, political negotiators, etc. and to focus their effort on those individuals. Similarly, Cherokee and Chickasaw democratic systems of politics enabled the populations of towns or coalitions of towns to choose or reject leaders based upon their record of achievement. See Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians. For more on the role of town councils in determining the political direction of the Cherokees, see Corkran, The Cherokee Frontier. For a detailed study on the function of a Creek town, see Joshua Piker, Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

towns and prominent families over who could best facilitate that trade. Often those connections were facilitated through intercultural marriages between prominent families and European traders and Indian agents, from whom leading warriors and diplomats descended.[2]

The families of Little Carpenter and James Logan Colbert capitalized on these trends by creating and reinforcing trading relationships that benefited their respective families, towns, and ultimately nations through marriage and diplomacy. In both Cherokee and Chickasaw societies, towns and town leaders existed within a hierarchy which privileged "mother towns" and the opinions of the leadership of those towns. Therefore, early ethnographers described a "king" that led the decisions of the mother town and whose opinions were more highly valued than the principal chief of other towns. Cherokee and Chickasaw "kings" may have had more influence over their peers, but even they, like Little Carpenter and the Colberts, held only the political power granted to them by those they attempted to persuade. Their prominence was contingent upon the acceptance of their town and the leadership of other towns. Neither the family of Little Carpenter nor the Colberts descended from a "king." Their prominence stood, therefore, alongside and in competition with other Cherokee leaders as they worked to persuade both their peers and their "king." These families were prominent prior to intermarriage with British traders, but their connections to trade ensured their continued importance to their people because they had stable access to goods, they could voice native concerns to British traders and officials, and their access to information allowed these families to better understand British policies to some degree from the inside.[3]

[2] See the introduction for this dissertation's definitions of kinship and family, as well as for more on how intercultural marriages worked.

[3] See Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians.

Little Carpenter, or Attakullakulla, served as one of the primary voices for the Cherokee alliance with Britain beginning with his visit to England in the 1730s through the Anglo-Cherokee War in 1760 and continuing until his death in 1777. Throughout his lifetime, Little Carpenter worked to mediate the relationships between his family, town, and nation and other governments, both European and native, in order to obtain the best trading relationship for his people. His niece, Nancy, and her daughters, Katy and Betsy, further cemented the family's access to trade through their marriages to men influential in the Anglo-Cherokee trade. Described by historian Corkran as the prime-minister of his people, Little Carpenter took the lead in many intercultural negotiations. English authorities attempted several times to get the Cherokee nation to recognize Little Carpenter as the "emperor" of the Cherokee to make diplomacy easier.[4] The political structure of the Cherokee nation, however, ensured that all voices had a say in diplomacy, warfare, and internal affairs limiting the effectiveness of such positions.

The connections between this practice of government and kinship became especially clear toward the end of the eighteenth century when Little Carpenter's son waged war against Anglo-American settlers on Cherokee lands while the old diplomat, Little Carpenter, and his niece worked to re-establish peace with the British. This family was central in the formation of Cherokee policies of diplomacy and warfare and their actions illustrate precisely how kinship was intertwined with Cherokee intercultural politics.

The history of the Colbert family of the Chickasaw nation presents a parallel story of how families and towns created secure trade connections through intermarriage. James Logan Colbert, a Scots trader, married a woman from a prominent Chickasaw clan around the same time as Little Carpenter made his famous trip to England. Their marriage forged a permanent

[4] Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 42-45, 259.

economic tie between a British trader and this leading family in Chickasaw government. The children of that marriage continued to cement that bond through their matrilineal ties to the clan and through their father's patrilineal interest. James Logan Colbert served from the 1730s onward as a British liaison to the Chickasaw nation and fought for decades alongside his Chickasaw relations against their Choctaw and French enemies. The political and military roles of Colbert and his sons, who inherited the prestige of their mothers' clans, grew in importance alongside the strength of Chickasaw trade and military alliances with the British.[5] Although the children were Chickasaw by birth, Colbert's Scottish upbringing ensured that he took an interest in their education and economic decisions.[6] The sons of James Logan Colbert continued to run trading posts in the Chickasaw nation at least until the tribe removed west to Indian Territory and were important in the Chickasaws' diplomatic relationship to the British and later the Americans. Kinship was central to how Chickasaws, like Cherokees, navigated trade and political relationships with other peoples and governments though the networking of families like the Colberts.

These two families were leaders among their people. Their stories illustrate the importance of kinship to a variety of intercultural negotiations during the colonial era. The remainder of this chapter describes the role of kinship in Chickasaw and Cherokee involvement

[5] Because Chickasaw kinship was matrilineal, the Colbert family is often cited as exemplary of forfeiture of native traditions in favor of European cultural practices, including patrilineal lineage. However, at least to begin with, the incorporation of James Logan Colbert into Chickasaw society grew out of Chickasaw alliance practices that used marriage as to cement diplomatic relationships. Gibson, The Chickasaws, 65.

[6] Chickasaw fathers were not usually involved in the education of their offspring. That role fell to the children's maternal uncles. Colbert's efforts to educate his children, however, was not uncommon of Scottish or English men who married native women. Town governments usually deferred to the mother on whether children's education could be determined by the father, but often western-style education was seen as potentially beneficial to the clan as it would provide the child, who was Chickasaw by birth, with additional skills that would be useful later in life in negotiating with English or American governments.

in the Indian slave trade, marriage of Indian women to traders, the language of kinship in treaties, and nativist opposition to trading alliances.

Kinship and the English Slave Trade[7]

Trade between American Indians and the English during the early eighteenth century meant exchanging manufactured goods for animal pelts and human slaves. When the value of human cargo exceeded that of all other goods in the late seventeenth century, the trade came to revolve around the ability and willingness of native allies of the British to raid neighboring native communities and to turn their captives over to the British to be shipped off as slaves to the West Indies.[8] Although the Indian slave trade largely ended with the Yamassee War in 1715, the resulting costs in lives and stability in native communities has become known as the "Mississippian shatter zone," a region depopulated by slaving, warfare, and disease.[9] Chickasaws and Cherokees were both victims and slavers in this trading system. Their

[7] Intercultural trade relations in the Southeast during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have received a lot of historical attention in recent years. Key works in this area include Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Alan Gallay, The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); William L. Ramsey, The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Steven J. Oatis, A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Alan Gallay, ed. Indian Slavery in Colonial America, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Robbie Etheridge and Charles Hudson, eds., The Transformation of Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760, (Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 2002); Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Steven C. Hahn, The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); . Many of these works credit Verner Crane's The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004/1929) as their historiographical inspiration and the starting point for their research.

[8] Recent historians have noted that the French also traded goods for slaves during this period of time. See Gallay, Indian Slave Trade, 308 and Ethridge, "The Making of a Militaristic Slaving Society: The Chickasaws and the Colonial Slave Trade," in Gallay, ed., Indian Slavery, 254-55. Although the demand for slaves exceeded that for pelts, by 1720 pelts regained their previous status as the center of the trade between Europeans and Indians.

[9] Ethridge, Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone.

participation in the trade, and ultimately their rejection of the slave trade during and after the Yamasee War, hinged upon their definitions of, and responsibilities to, kin.

Oral histories and archaeology indicate that intertribal conflict, prior to contact with Europeans, often included captive-taking. Historian Theda Perdue and others have indicated that such captives were integrated into their new societies either as adopted kin or slaves.[10] Those who became slaves found that their roles in the new societies were as walking ghosts, people who were to perform needed tasks for the community – similar to those done by other members of the community, but without the belonging, protection, and autonomy that came with being a member of a clan. French accounts of the Mississippian Natchez communities in the eighteenth century describe a four tier socio-political hierarchy which existed apart from the society's slaves, essentially deeming them non-persons.[11] Deprived of clan-membership, these individuals became "the other" against which community members defined their own identity. Southern Indian societies consisted of kin, allies (which functioned as distant kin through marriage or ceremony), enemies, and non-persons. Enemies and slaves presented a set of attributes against which one defined himself. Slaves were without kin and therefore vulnerable and without a say in the decisions of the clan or the town. Enemies were those who were alien, distrusted, and competed with kin and allies for precious resources. In this system, however, slaves could change their status to become more integrated into the community if they were adopted into a clan or married a member of the community. The status of slaves in this native system applied

[10] Theda Perdue, Slavery and the evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979). Tiya Miles, Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Claudio Saunt, Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[11] Lynda Norene Shaffer, Native Americans Before 1492: The Moundbuilding Centers of the Eastern Woodlands, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 65.

only to the individuals enslaved and was not hereditary, unlike the chattel slavery system used by the English.

This dichotomy of kin and other provided native people with a way to understand the ambiguities of life. In a spiritual and physical world that depended on balance between dichotomies, a place must exist for those people, animals, plants, and spirits that did not easily fit into the categories that balance each other. Various stories help to make a place for these beings or things. The bear wandered between the human and animal worlds, the bat between the animal and bird societies, witches between the human and spirit worlds.[12] Slavery served a similar purpose by creating a place for those who were between life and death, neither kin nor enemies.

English traders in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries tapped into existing animosities between native polities, which had been producing slaves for the communities, and turned it into a full scale market.[13] This paralleled the ways Europeans tapped into existing slaving practices in Africa. English slave traders eventually realized that the efficiency of native slavery in the American colonies was limited by the opportunities for native laborers to simply slip away from the fields and return to their homes. Therefore, they often sent captives to the West Indies to fulfill labor demands there for workers on sugar plantations. Historian Alan Gallay estimates that up to 51,000 American Indians were sold as slaves in the period between 1685 and 1715. Slaving along with deaths from disease and warfare in that period resulted, according to anthropologist Robbie Ethridge, in a regional population decline of nearly fifty-four

[12] Barbara Duncan, Ed., Living Stories of the Cherokee (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[13] C.S. Everett describes the capture and even purchase of Indian slaves in the early to mid-seventeenth century, well before the full-blown market described here. See C.S. Everett, "'They shalbe slaves for their lives': Indian Slavery in Colonial Virginia" in Gallay, Indian Slavery, 67-108.

percent during that thirty year period.[14] The trade itself, although declining in the early eighteenth century, came to an abrupt halt following the Yamasee War during which native slavers throughout the Southeast had turned against South Carolina's traders and laid siege to the colony.

Although Chickasaws and Cherokees were familiar with the taking of slaves, the ways slavery was defined and implemented by the English differed drastically from the native system. English chattel slavery employed slaves not simply for household chores or burden bearers but for intensive labor which often shortened slaves' life-spans to just a few years. Traditionally Indian slaves might gain relatives' status through marriage and their children were born free. Slaves in the chattel slavery system, by contrast, were not able to commute their status by adoption or marriage, although some slave-owners did manumit women with whom they had a sexual relationship and the children born of those relationships, and their children were automatically given slave status. Despite their removal from their kinship networks, slaves in this new system created new kinship ties through marriage and sexual liaisons. The children of unions between Indians and Africans or Indians and Europeans, called "mustee slaves," were evidence of these new connections. Such unions were outlawed following the Yamasee War as fears of joint Indian/African armed rebellion increased. Slaves also found kinsmen similarly enslaved on neighboring plantations.[15]

Kinship was central to this period of turmoil. Matrilineal kinship and clan organization, blood revenge, and reciprocity were among the social institutions that persisted from

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[14] Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, Shatter Zone, 14. Gallay, Indian Slave Trade, 298-99. Peter Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region," in Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast, Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and Thomas Hatley, eds., revised ed., (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 57-132, data from 61.

[15] Gallay, Indian Slave Trade, 40-50. Everett, "They Shalbe Slaves," 95.

Mississippian cultures into the colonial era and drove retaliation for slave raids that fueled the cycle of killing and enslaving.[16] Raiding parties were often comprised of warriors bound by kinship ties. The deaths of family members in raids or as slaves required kinsmen to take revenge on those who instigated those losses. Slave raids took women and children captive while decimating the male population of the towns. The practice destroyed entire chiefdoms and led refugees to join with the larger polities in the region that would become the five dominant tribes in the region, the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles.[17]

Thomas Nairne, a trader who was named Indian agent for South Carolina in 1707, wrote an account of his journey to visit the Chickasaws in 1708. The Chickasaws, with a population of 700 men[18] (about 2000-3000 total population), had "success in the war against their Bow and Arrow Neighbours, for they chancing to procure a Trade with us, soon made themselves terrible to those who wanted that advantage, so they have now the reputation of the most military people of any about the great river."[19] As the value of peltry in the trade declined at the turn of the eighteenth century, the return in goods for slaving and ease of "carriage" or transportation outpaced the value/labor ration of any other goods Chickasaws might look to trade for European goods. According to Nairne,

> Formerly when beavor [sic] was a commodity they sold about 1200 skins a year but no imployment [sic] pleases the Chicasaws [sic] so well as slave Catching. A lucky hitt [sic] at that besides the Honor procures them a whole Estate at once, one slave brings a Gun, ammunition, horse, hatchet, and a suit of Cloathes [sic], which would not be procured without much tedious toil a hunting.[20]

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[16] Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, Shatter Zone, 35.

[17] Ibid, 259.

[18] Nairne, Journal, 36.

[19] Ibid, 38.

[20] Ibid, 47-48.

As allies and trading/slaving partners of the English, the Chickasaw raiding parties took slaves from as far north as St. Louis, as far south as the Gulf of Mexico, and many miles west of the Mississippi. The Choctaws, their neighbors to the south suffered most from the Chickasaw raids. In 1700 Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, French military commander and one of the founders of French Louisiana, addressed Chickasaw leaders in an effort to halt Chickasaw attacks on the Choctaws, arguing that the activity was not ultimately profitable for the Chickasaws. "You have taken more than 500 prisoners and killed more then 1,800 Chaqueta [Choctaws]. Those prisoners were sold; but taking those prisoners cost you more than 800 men, slain on various war parties, who would be living at this moment if it had not been for the English."[21] In addition to heavy population losses, these successful raids earned the Chickasaws the enmity of all of their neighbors who sought alliances with the French to combat the frequent Chickasaw raids.

Participation in the slave trade was shaped by existing understandings of the role of kinship in society, but that participation also reshaped Chickasaw kinship to cope with the new opportunities and challenges created by that trade. Ethridge argues that clans, in the early years of the slave trade, were grouped into red and white moieties, or kinship groups, that functioned politically to balance the needs of their people through leadership in war (red) and peace (white). The white moiety held sway over peaceful negotiations and alliances with other groups based on adoption of a leader from foreign groups as "Fane Mingo," or Squirrel King. The lines between alliances and warfare became blurred as trade, usually a peaceful endeavor, became inextricably linked with warfare and slaving. While the peace moiety, which traditionally outranked the war moiety, lost influence as the profitable slave-based alliance with the British through off the

[21] Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, Iberville's Gulf Journals, translated and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 172.

traditional balance in favor of the war moiety. To reinstate that balance the peace moiety sought out alliances with the French. No longer were the kinship factions based on a balance of war and peace, but on a balance of competing trade alliances. According to Ethridge, "The European trade system thus worked to transform indigenous institutions by promoting internal factionalism and, in the case of the Chickasaws, by redefining the basis of the dual moiety organization from one of complementary to one of competition."[22] This competitive factionalism would enable the Colbert family in the coming century to gain prominence through their alliance with the British, and later the Americans, while other factions sought alliances with the French and Spanish.

Kinship ties between native groups in the Southeast also limited the slave trade in important ways. Clans crossed the political boundaries of the native polities creating kin even among enemy towns.[23] Clan members did not attack one another, but rather were pledged to protect, defend, and avenge one another's deaths. This meant that towns with more kinship ties would be less likely to engage in slave raids against each other. It also meant that individuals could find havens in enemy territory. Kinship provided people with an identity that coexisted with and at times superceded township or ethnic loyalties.[24] By the same token when kin loyalty exceeded ethnic or town identities, non-kin, even within one's own town, could be dangerous in a "shattered" region in which slaving broke down former political associations and the price on human lives exceeded the benefits provided by loyalty to one's town or rival towns within the

[22] Ethridge, "Making of Militaristic Slaving Societies," 263-267, quote 267.

[23] Ramsey, Yamasee War, 107-112. Ramsey notes, "Because southeastern enemies were often closely related by blood, they could and did maintain contact with one another even through time of war. In between the bloodshed, the Indians frequently socialized in one another's villages," 107.

[24] Ramsey, Yamasee War, 172. Ramsey argues that "Towns and confederacies formed and re-formed bur clan membership devolved upon the individual at birth and never changed. Southern Indians belonged to such clans as bear, eagle, and turkey. When visiting other peoples, an Indian was welcomed by clan members as a 'kinsman even though the 2 nations have wars together,'" 172.

tribe. This appears to have been the case for the Tuscaroras. As historian C.S. Everett argues, "In the end, driven by their dependence on the trade, as well as the colonists' thirst for slaves, Tuscaroras were willing to enslave Tuscaroras."[25] From 1711 to 1713 the kin of the enslaved Tuscaroras, who had been allies and slavers for South Carolina to that point, waged war upon the colony and its Indian allies seeking revenge for the outrage of their kin being enslaved.[26]

The Tuscarora War was a signal of the heights to which tensions had risen between traders, Indian allies, and the colonial governments. By 1715 many native people in the South saw their trade relations as untenable and in need of drastic negotiation. When political infighting among those charged with regulating South Carolina's trade with the Indians interrupted the diplomatic discussions of the colony with all of the native groups, native discontent took on a violent form. In 1715 the Yamasees invited South Carolina traders and officials to their town and then launched a surprise attack killing their guests. The Yamasees and the Upper Creeks, kinsmen of the Yamasees and likewise incensed over the handling of the trade, formed the core of the Indian assault on South Carolina. These groups called upon their kin and Indian allies to lay siege to the colony. The Cherokees, only marginally involved in the slave trade, sent a small number of troops to support the Yamasees but remained divided on who they should support militarily, if anyone. All of the Indians of the Southeast killed the English traders that lived among them. The Chickasaws, nominally involved in the conflict and the only nation in which some traders survived, later claimed that the Creeks had been the ones to kill their traders. Cherokee leaders eventually chose to side with the British against the Yamasees and Creeks, helping to end the Yamasee War but resulted in decades long warfare between the

[25] Everett, "They Shalbe Slaves," 95.

[26] Everett, "They Shalbe Slaves, 92-95.

Cherokees and the Creeks. The Yamasee War constituted the largest pan-Indian effort to date decimating the colony and redefining the contours of intercultural trade in the Southeast. The Yamasee War further devastated the native population of the southeast, but ultimately replaced the English slave trade with a trading system based mainly on the exchange of deerskins for European goods.[27]

The pressures of the English slave trade and deadly epidemics hastened the decline of Mississippian chiefdoms that had begun centuries before first contact with Europeans. The Chickasaws and Cherokees became powerful in part because of their ability to assimilate refugees from smaller polities that disintegrated in the face of waves of disease and war. Historian Patricia Galloway argues that these polities had already been moving away from Mississippian hierarchical structure toward more egalitarian political structures prior to the slave trade, because "smaller village and lineage units – much more dependent upon the distributed authority of women and kinship not recognized by Europeans – were capable of providing most kinds of support including subsistence, as long as environmental resources were adequate."[28] This form of government was harder for outsiders, either larger chiefdoms or European empires, to control and change.

This new flexible structure of Cherokee, Chickasaw, and other southeastern Indian societies functioned through competition of leaders for the loyalty of their peers. In the deerskin trade, as had been the case in the Indian slave trade, certain towns and families would gain

[27] Ramsey, Yamasee War, 97-152. Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, Shatter Zone, 327-329.

[28] Patricia Galloway, "Colonial Period Transformations in the Mississippi Valley: Disintegration, Alliance Confederation, Playoff," in Ethridge and Hudson, The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 225-247, quote on 247.

political and economic advantage over others through access to trading paths and traders.[29] The families of Little Carpenter and James Logan Colbert were among those families whose prestige increased based on their access to trade. Little Carpenter was just a boy during the Yamasee War and James Logan Colbert was not born until six years later.[30] However, the legacies of kinship's importance in trade, the political and economic competition of families, towns, and polities, and the contrasting definitions of slavery would have great significance in their lives and those of their kin.

Marrying Traders

As native participation in the English slave trade stemmed in part from native practices of captive taking, Chickasaws' and Cherokees' efforts to secure steady access to trade were rooted in native traditions and were shaped by new realities brought about by contact with Europeans. Intermarriage proved one way to ensure that particular towns had regular access to European goods and that certain families maintained a degree of control over both the flow of goods and their relationships with the traders and governments that provided those goods. Matrilineal kinship also ensured that the clans could limit traders' influence in town councils, over their offspring, and over clan-owned resources such as land. The marriages of Little Carpenter's niece, Nancy, to trader Bryan Ward and of trader James Logan Colbert into a prominent Chickasaw

[29] Christopher B. Rodning, "Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities in Southern Appalachia," in Ethridge and Hudson, The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 155-177.

[30] John Donelson was born between 1718 and 1725 too late to have participated in the English slave trade. John Brown asserts that Little Carpenter was between 19 and 30 years old at the time of his visit to England in 1730. This means that he would have been between the ages of four and fifteen years old at the start of the Yamasee War. He would have, however, likely been old enough to fight in the Cherokee-Creek War that followed on the heels of the Yamasee War and stretched on for decades. Brown, Old Frontiers, 8n6.

family illustrate how access to trade benefited their native families and how town councils restricted traders' political influence and access to native resources.[31]

Although cross-continental native trade routes had been consistently used for thousands of years, Europeans' access to those routes changed both the nature of trade and the demographics of native polities.[32] Pre-contact trade had been based largely on the exchange of prestige goods and rare resources through gift exchange. The slaving wars of the late seventeenth century increased migration and facilitated the "genesis" of native coalescent polities that forged dozens of linguistically and culturally distinct polities into new political identities bound together by kinship bonds, based on existing clan membership or newly forged through adoption and marriage.[33] Those wars had also proven that trade alliances, especially ones that provided arms and ammunition, could mean the difference between survival and extermination by neighbors. The slave trade had turned existing tensions between native competitors for natural and human resources into warfare that threatened dissolution of most native polities at the time. The deerskin trade continued to exacerbate tensions over natural resources by creating new demand for another limited resource, deer. Furthermore, trade alliances depended upon the forging of kinship ties which had additional obligations to support one another in times of war.

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[31] The historical topic of trading between Indians and Europeans following the Yamasee War has been among the most historiographical fruitful topics in Early American history. Some examples of this work are Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Claudio Saunt, A New Order of Things; Joseph M. Hall, Jr., Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); and Michael P. Morris, The Bringing of Wonder: Trade and the Indians of the Southeast, 1700-1783, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999). For examples of trading and exchange patterns outside the Southeast, see James Brooks, Captives and Cousins; Susan Sleeper-Smith, Rethinking the Fur Trade; and Richard White, The Middle Ground.

[32] Galloway, "Colonial Period Transformations," 233.

[33] The terms "genesis" and "coalescent societies" are taken from Patricia Galloway, Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

These relationships had special significance in the aftermath of the slaving wars as remaining animosity encouraged native and European polities to align their economic and political interests. Both the French and the English found factions among the Chickasaws and Cherokees willing to form trade alliances.[34] As competition between the European colonies increased, so too did pressure to bring all of the factions in line to make the trade alliances exclusive.

Connections to trade were also important within Chickasaw and Cherokee societies. Native leaders vied with one another to gain influence within their towns and in councils with the leaders of other towns. In this environment marriages between Indian women and traders served similar economic functions to the utilitarian marriages employed by the Donelsons. These marriages provide a crucial kinship link between native families and sources of trade that gave them political advantage over their rivals and advanced the prestige of the family (clan). Rather than a cultural quirk or holdover from an antiquated past, matrilineal kinship served the needs of native communities in new societies that little resembled the hierarchical Mississippian chiefdoms of their ancestors.

Little Carpenter traveled to England in the 1730s as part of a Cherokee delegation to see the king.[35] What he saw there impressed upon him England's capability to be a good trading partner. English goods were abundant, of good quality, and seemed to be endlessly available. As wars between the French and English increased pressure on American Indian allies to take sides, Little Carpenter became a staunch advocate of the British and launched several forays against French convoys traveling down the Mississippi River. Prominent within the government

[34] Craig, "The Colberts," 94-95. Corkran, Cherokee Frontier, 50-65.

[35] For a recent account of Little Carpenter's visit to England, see Alden T. Vaughan, Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 137-164.

of the Cherokee mother town of Chota, Little Carpenter's opinion was important, but contested. Other towns chose alliances with the French to counteract South Carolina's trade monopoly that limited the amount of goods flowing into Cherokee towns.

Nan-ye-hi, also known as Nancy Ward, was powerful in her own right. Descended from the Wolf clan along with chiefs Old Hop and Little Carpenter, Nancy was among the women who accompanied Cherokee war parties and in 1755 had taken up the rifle of her fallen husband Kingfisher to fight the Creeks at Taliwa. Following his death, she married trader Bryant Ward to help reinforce the trading relationship between South Carolina and the town of Chota. Nancy's daughters, naturally descendents of the Wolf clan, also married to facilitate diplomacy with English traders and officials.[36] By her actions in war and trade, Nancy Ward gained power in traditionally male segments of society and became arguably the most powerful woman in the Cherokee nation. Her marriage and those of her daughters were not simply dictated by law or naïve admiration of the traders, but rather they were utilitarian unions designed to stabilize and regulate trade that was crucial to the survival of the town, their kin, and their tribe. Through their marriages, town leaders ensured the continued supply of goods. The traders' own power was limited by law restricting them to observation in town councils, ensuring that the traders lived and ran their posts on land owned by their wives' clan, and encouraging them to dress, speak, and act according to Cherokee traditions.[37]

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[36] Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian women as Cultural Mediators," in Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, eds., Native Women's History in Eastern North America before 1900: A Guide to Research and Writing, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 53-64. Cynthia Cumfer, "Nan-ye-hi (Nancy Ward) Diplomatic Mother," in Sarah Wilkerson Freeman and Beverly Greene, eds., Tennessee Women: Their Lives and Times, Vol. 1, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 1-22. Ward's eldest daughter, Katy, married two traders in succession, John Walker and Ellis Harlan. Her youngest daughter, Betsy, married Virginia's Indian Agent Joseph Martin in 1770.

[37] In 1702 Henri de Tonti recorded an encounter with an English trader among the Chickasaws whose speech and dress mirrored those of the Chickasaws with whom he lived. "Holding a gun in his hand and a saber at his side. He had on a rather dirty blue shirt, no pants, stockings, or shoes, a scarlet wool blanket and some discs at his neck like a savage." Henri de Tonti, quoted in Ethridge, Shatter Zone, 339.

Marriages among southeastern Indians were so different from the Anglo-American patriarchal ideal that several early travelers commented upon it. James Adair, an English trader who traveled among the southern Indians and eventually married a Chickasaw woman, commented that Cherokee marriages "were of a short duration in that wanton female government."[38] Within a marriage, spouses were obliged to be sexually faithful, but the union could be dissolved at will. For Chickasaws and Cherokees, like other American Indians in the Southeast, land and material goods were handed down from mothers to daughters because they were responsible for growing the corn and maintaining the homes that sustained their families. The property and children of those marriages belonged to the woman and her clan rather than to the father. William Bartram, a naturalist who spent years documenting the flora and fauna of the southeast and, to a lesser degree, the social relations of people within the region, wrote of the marriage between a Seminole "little charmer" and a North Carolina trader that apparently resulted in the trader's ruin. Bartram described the incident as illustrating the differences between native and European marriages and concepts of property. "[S]he has so artfully played upon her beguiled and vanquished lover, and unhappy slave, as to have already drained him of all his possessions, which she dishonestly distributes among her savage relations."[39] The "little charmer" was within her rights to distribute her property among relations according to the customs of her people, but rights of women, especially over matrilineal property, shocked Anglo-American men who wrote about the marriage. Nonetheless, these examples illustrate the degree

[38] Adair, History of the American Indians, 126-27.

[39] William Bartram, Travels of William Bartram, Mark Van Doren, ed., (New York: Dover Publishers, 1955), 110. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds., William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

to which European traders were expected to observe native definitions of marriage, property, and gender roles.[40]

In January of 1736 fifteen year old James Logan Colbert joined an expedition of Scottish traders to Chickasaw country led by John M. McIntosh. At age 20 he became the resident agent among the Chickasaws. By 1759, Colbert had married a Chickasaw woman from a prominent family and a year later his first son, William was born. He would later marry two more Chickasaw women according to Chickasaw traditions of polygamy. His children would be part of three separate Chickasaw families.[41] James Logan Colbert was listed as one of the seven traders and twenty-two packhorsemen operating in the Chickasaw nation in 1766.[42] Traders and their assistants were so prevalent in the nation that two years earlier Chickasaw chief Payamatah had requested in treaty negotiations that the number of traders be reduced to two favorites noting that, "Heyrider [John Highrider] and John Brown were enough, and that he desired no more."[43] Colbert served as interpreter at this meeting and was not included in the traders Payamatah wished to keep in the Chickasaw nation. This indicates either that Colbert was not a valued trader, or that his adoption into the tribe made him one of them rather than a trader sent by South Carolina. His marriages, like those of Nancy Ward, existed within a state of competition in which traders, as well as native leaders, competed with their peers for influence over the trade. Colbert's connections to his Chickasaw families raised their prestige and his own. Those

[40] For more on Indian marriage practices and the nature of intermarriage, see Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians, Swanton, Chickasaw Religion and Society, and Reid, Law of Blood. For more on the limits placed on traders by native polities, see Robbie Ethridge's theory regarding the separation of spheres of exchange in Shatter Zone, 343-49.

[41] Craig, "The Colberts," 112-119.

[42] James Adair, "A List of Traders and Packhorsemen in the Chickasaw Nation January 22d. 1766," transcribed by Grant Foreman, Oklahoma Historical Society, http://www.chickasawhistory.com/Chick_Traders.html, accessed 10/22/2009.

[43] United States, Journal of the Congress of the Four Southern Governors, and the Superintendent of that district, with the Five Nations of Indians, at Augusta, 1763, (Charles Town, SC: Peter Timothy, 1764), 26.

economic connections, however, existed within the broader context of clan prestige and individual performance in war and oratory as one factor among many that allowed individuals and families to gain influence out among their peers.

Whereas town councils took great pains to limit the power traders could wield in both internal and external affairs of the town, James Logan Colbert was an exception to this rule and was named among the chiefs of the Chickasaws. This kind of influence was impossible for outsiders unless they were adopted. By 1782 Colbert's adopted nephews joined him in raids against the Spanish.[44] His adoption gave Colbert kin status and a voice in town councils. It did not, however, give his children added status, because their status was determined by their membership in their mothers' clans.

Colbert's influence stood as one of many Chickasaw and English voices engaged in diplomatic talks. While the British had long supported the Chickasaws in wars against the French and the Choctaws by providing trade goods and ammunition, throughout the period of Chickasaw contact with Europeans the Chickasaw leadership was divided into factions that supported the British, French, or Spanish according to their perceptions of how each group might provide them with military assistance or trade goods. Although Colbert had exceeded traditional limits set upon traders, his influence remained limited by internal and external political competition that was, in part, derived from the demographic and cultural changes that emerged out of the British slave trade, including the shift from peace and war moieties to kin-based factions with competing alliances.

Rather than gaining political power from their father, Colbert's children gained personal access to Anglo-American knowledge of diplomacy and economy. Chickasaw and Cherokee

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[44] D.C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol. 24. No. 4. March 1938.

leaders hoped that the children of traders would be "both white and red" and would gain an education from their fathers that would benefit the tribe. In 1760 at the close of the Anglo-Cherokee war, Cherokee headmen offered blocks of land to the sons of Alexander Cameron and Richard Pearis, traders who had over the years pleased the Cherokees with their trading practices. Oconostota noted, "We are desirous that he may educate the boy like the white people, and cause him to be able to read and write, that he may resemble both white and red, and live among us when his father is dead. We have given him for this purpose a large piece of land."[45] As both white and red, a child of intercultural marriages was expected to pursue the interests of his clan, his mother's people, using insider knowledge in negotiations with Anglo-Americans. Colbert's sons did just that becoming among the most prominent of Chickasaw leaders known among Anglo-American diplomats for their bargaining skill.

The trade-alliance marriages of Nancy Ward and James Logan Colbert operated with completely different cultural expectations and gender roles than the marriages of John Donelson and his descendents, but they shared a common purpose in providing an economic edge for the families. These marriages served the utilitarian function of securing satisfactory access to and terms of trade while maximizing the political clout of the clan within Cherokee and Chickasaw society as well as with those with whom they engaged in treaties. Although less necessary than in the colonial era, these types of marriages in the early republic era would be a means for counteracting the land-speculation of families like the Donelsons.

[45] Oconostota, Minutes of Congress Held at Hard Labor, October 15, 1768, C.O. 5/74/39, quoted in Hatley, Dividing Paths, 207.

Kinship in Treaty Negotiation

Although my emphasis in this dissertation is on the actual role that families and family networking played in politics, the figurative role of familial relationships in treaty negotiation was certainly important. Treaty language revealed the importance of using kinship as a common language for diplomatic communication. Cultural differences in the definitions of those familial relationships created unintentional, or purposeful, misunderstandings. When members of the Donelson family met with those from the families of Little Carpenter and James Logan Colbert in treaty negotiation, their understandings and misunderstandings about family shaped the alliances they formed. Such alliances were at their core understandings of kinship, since non-kin were usually enemies. The political relationships between the governments described in these documents replicated the language of negotiators' interpersonal relationships.[46]

Treaties frequently invoked the familial ties upon which diplomatic relationships were built. By using terms such as "brother," "father," "uncle," and "nephew" and even hierarchical designations such as "elder brother" and "younger brother," these documents illustrated how Indian people expected international alliances to mirror kin-based power relationships and reciprocal obligations. These perceptions of the commonality of familial obligations provided a foundation for intercultural diplomacy while culturally specific definitions of kin obligations enabled miscommunication.[47] The Seven Years War generated many talks and treaties that used

[46] The roles of kinship in intercultural treaty negotiations have been explored in detail by Richard White, Nathaniel Sheidley, Wendy St. Jean, Cynthia Cumfer, Michelle LeMaster, and others. My analysis builds upon their work. Wendy St. Jean, "Trading Paths: Chickasaw Diplomacy in the Greater Southeast, 1690s-1790s," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2004; Cynthia Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land; Michelle LeMaster, "'Thorough-paced girls' and 'cowardly bad men'."

[47] See the introduction for my definitions of family and kinship and how cultural definitions of particular kinship obligations differed between Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Anglo-American.

the language of kinship to describe the treating parties' expected affinity and obligations to one another.

In 1756 the English colony of Virginia negotiated a military alliance with the Cherokees against the French colony of Louisiana.[48] The Cherokees agreed to provide troops in return for a substantial "gift" paid in trade goods. The Virginia alliance threatened South Carolina's trade monopoly with the Cherokees. Governor Dinwiddie noted to the treaty commissioners Peter Randolph and William Byrd that "you will find the traders from South-Carolina, will do all they can to harass you in your treaty."[49] In his message "to the emperor Old Hop, and the other [Cherokee] Sachems, and Warriors," Dinwiddie spoke on behalf of "your Brothers the English" using the term "your Brothers" a total of seven times in his short speech. He also referred twice to "our Father" the King of England. The language Dinwiddie used reveals his desire to connect on a personal level with his Cherokee audience. It was also, however, derived from his own patriarchal culture. In Dinwiddie's society a father had authority over his sons and brothers owed each other "love and friendship" that would bond them together against a mutual threat. The speech, however, was received by a culture that assigned different obligations to those same terms. Cherokee fathers obtained the favor and ear of their sons by providing them with gifts, but held no coercive authority. In matrilineal societies fathers were not kin because they did not belong to the clan of their offspring. Brothers, then, born of the same father, only owed each other the loyalty due to kin if they shared the same mother. Even then, brothers often exhibited competition in addition to loyalty. Brotherhood signified parity of position and power. The

[48] As noted in chapter one and earlier in this chapter, some segments of the Cherokee population continued to advocate cultivating a relationship with the French to counterbalance South Carolina's trade monopoly. These factions believed that alliances with France or Virginia might ensure a more steady supply of high quality trade goods through competition.

[49] US Government, "Treaty held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians," 23rd December, 1755 to 12th April, 1756, Case FG 801.56 no. 222, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, vi.

relationships Dinwiddie described in his speech held very different significance to his English and Cherokee audiences which would shape the tenor of the alliance. Dinwiddie expected obedience and firm familial loyalty, but he had described a set of relationships that the Cherokees viewed as temporary, gift-dependent, and based on secondary, rather than primary, kinship ties. Had he eschewed his references to a common father, his calls to his "brothers" might have been received differently.

The language of the other treaty talks and of the treaty itself utilized the same tropes to engender allegiance and amity. The treaty talks by the Virginia commissioners included the terms "brothers" or "brethren" an additional seventeen times, "our Father the King" an additional six times, and "dutiful children" an additional three times. Little Carpenter responded in kind using parallel language of "father," "brothers," and "children," but his comments illustrated how "duty" to a father was qualified, "I shall always remember my Father's [the King's] Commands, and shall **whenever I have an Opportunity**, give the strongest Demonstrations of **my Readiness** to obey them."[50] For the Cherokees to provide Virginia with troops, the Virginians had to follow through on promises the king and his governors had made to the Cherokees regarding consistent trade and the building of a fort in Cherokee territory.

> The King our Father told me, that we should mutually assist each other, and therefore, as we are unacquainted with the Manner of building Forts, and had not the necessary Materials, we thought ourselves justifiable in making our Application to Governor Glen [of South Carolina], who I must again repeat it, has forfeited his Word. I have a Hatchet ready, but we hope our Friends will not expect us to take it up, 'til we have a Place of Safety for our Wives and Children. When they are secure, we will immediately send a great Number of Warriors to be employed by your Governor, where he shall think proper.[51]

[50] *Ibid*, 14. Emphasis added.

[51] *Ibid*, 15.

The king-father could suggest that the English and Cherokee brothers assist one another, but it was up to the brothers to follow through on their obligations. The metaphor of "brothers" reinforced the Cherokees' view of the parity of their chiefs and English governors in power and responsibilities to one another. The treaty itself reiterated the relationship of the "brothers and faithful allies," promised Virginia's assistance in building the desired fort and prohibiting a corresponding French fort, and declared that in return the Cherokees would wage war with 400 able warriors against the French.[52]

The commissioners during the 1756 treaty talks had also decried Delaware and Shawnee warriors who fought with the French despite their past treaties with the English. The Cherokees would attempt to leverage that ambiguous relationship between the English and the Delawares two years later into better trade terms and more gifts for their own people by drawing upon their own familial relationships with the Delawares.

In 1758, Cherokee chiefs, Techtama and Homwhyowa, instructed their "nephews" the Delawares to join themselves and their "eldest Brothers the 6 nations... to join with our elder Brother the English" against the French and their Indian allies.[53] These familial terms called upon both parties to fulfill specific obligations of an elder brother, nephew, and younger brother. In these matrilineal societies, they urged one another to observe the hierarchies of wisdom that comes with birth-order in a family. Such relationships helped to create structure in societies that governed democratically by persuasion, but only insofar as the relationships obligated the younger to hear out the older and the nephews to recognize the authority of uncles over them.

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[52] *Ibid*, 20-22.

[53] Techtama and Homwhyowa, "A Message from Techtama and Homwhyowa or the Wolf King the two Chiefs of the Cherokees to the Delawares as it was Delivered to the messenger at Philadelphia to Mr. Peters and Israel Pemberton," 20 June, 1758, Vault Box Ayers MS 877, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

The language of nephew/uncle relationships and matrilineal brotherhood mediated by birth-order resonated within this audience's cultural context in ways Virginia Governor Dinwiddie's speech had not two years earlier. The Delawares, however, listened more fervently to their uncles, the Senecas, who were aligned with the French.[54] The Cherokees themselves would go to war against the English colonists in 1760 after a succession of affronts by British officials and backcountry settlers.[55]

In the treaty that ended the Seven Years War in 1763 negotiated in Paris, France failed to include American Indians among its negotiating parties. Peace in the southern colonies was restored through a "Congress of the Four Southern Governors and the Superintendent of that District, with the Five Nations of Indians, at Augusta, [Georgia]," in November of 1763. The commissioners in their treaty talks continued the tropes of "brotherhood" through "the great king, our common father."[56] The commissioners declared, "that your lands will not be taken from you; and this is to be [said] before you all, and not in secret, that no nation of Indians may be ignorant of [the king's] gracious intentions, and of his fatherly care of the red as well as the white."[57] The primary function of the treaty was to create peace between the colonies and their native neighbors as well as between the tribes themselves. James Logan Colbert, acting as a representative of the crown, visited several towns to encourage the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Upper Creeks to attend the congress and served as the interpreter for the Chickasaws and

[54] Amy C. Schutt, Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 111.

[55] For more on this conflict, see chapter one.

[56] United States, Journal of the Congress of the Four Southern Governors, and the Superintendent of that district, with the Five Nations of Indians, at Augusta, 1763, (Charles Town, SC: Peter Timothy, 1764), 14.

[57] *Ibid*, 14. This was not entirely true as the resulting treaty included large land cessions by the Creeks.

Choctaws.[58] The Chickasaws sent twenty-seven delegates, the Choctaws two, the Creeks nine headmen "and their followers," the Cherokees fifteen including Little Carpenter, and the Catawbas sent "Col. Ayres and his followers." A total of seven hundred Indians attended the treaty.[59]

Englishmen and Indians provided colorful kinship metaphors in the treaty talks. John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian affairs for the southeast noted that the purpose of the treaty was that "the great king's good disposition towards his red children is to be communicated to you, in the presence of one another."[60] James Colbert interpreted Payamatah's speech saying "he looks on the white people and them [the Chickasaws] as one; that they are good friends as if they had sucked one breast."[61] Little Carpenter made talks not only to the English but also to the other Indian nations gathered at Augusta. "He has now met all the red people of various nations, and will now give his talk to them. … He says, the governors, by the great king's orders, sent for them all together, and not to dwell together in enmity, but like friends and brothers."[62] After so many years of fighting against one another as allies of the French or British some of which continued even through the congress itself, the native nations of the southeast took this opportunity to make peace with one another publicly through speeches and giving strings of wampum. At this congress, "The prince of Chotih [Chota] made overtures of peace and friendship to Pia-Mattah, the chief Chicasah; which being accepted, the prince of Chotih gave

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[58] *Ibid*, 19-23. Note that Colbert was an interpreter rather than a Chickasaw delegate. As opposed to his sons' power as chiefs of the Chickasaw nation, James Logan Colbert himself was a trader, a soldier/warrior with the Chickasaws, and an interpreter but was not a chief representing the opinions of the Chickasaw nation.

[59] *Ibid*, 22-23.

[60] *Ibid*, 23.

[61] *Ibid*, 26.

[62] *Ibid*, 29-30.

him a string of white beads."[63] Many Chickasaws, including Colbert's sons, had fought against the Cherokees in the Anglo-Cherokee war of 1760. This congress enabled native leaders to discuss peace among themselves continuing to use the rhetoric of "brotherhood," though the leaders that attended had to convince their towns and clans back home to accept those overtures.[64]

Kinship was important to the congress beyond rhetoric and language. Many of the traders and interpreters, like James Colbert, had been integrated into the tribes through marriage and adoption and owed the tribe the loyalty of kin. Likewise the superintendent himself, John Stuart, was Little Carpenter's close friend, possibly an adopted brother, who had married a Cherokee woman and fathered several children who held clan membership.[65] These personal relationships guided the proceedings and helped to mediate the tensions that grew out of opposing alliances during the Seven Year's War. These kinship ties would help to encourage factions within the Chickasaws and Cherokees to remain allies of Stuart and the British just over a decade later in the American Revolutionary War.

Just as with Indian and Anglo-American ideals toward marriage, expectations for treaty parties to fulfill kin-based obligations to one another were complicated by differing definitions of those obligations as well as contrasting definitions of kinship. Historians have done a good job accounting for the contrast between the roles expected of fathers and sons in Anglo-American versus matrilineal native societies. It is also true that "fictive" kinship relationships between "white people" and "Indians" held less sway over the actions of individuals than marriage ties

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[63] *Ibid*, 38. Two other Cherokee chiefs, Young Warrior and Tistowih, held friendly talks with Creek chiefs Mustisicah and Fool-Harry also giving them "beads."

[64] For more on this congress, see Calloway, Scratch of a Pen, 100-111.

[65] Calloway, Scratch of a Pen, 111.

that bound specific lineages together with mutual obligations to support one another in war or trade. Marriages of Indian women to traders like Colbert provided more concrete assurances of reciprocity than the documents that men like John Donelson so prized. Treaty negotiators often failed to fulfill their promises, such as in the case where John Donelson promised $500 in goods for the alteration of the Cherokee boundary in the Treaty of Lochaber survey in 1771. These failures led native people to rely on intercultural marriages as their recourse for the bad faith efforts of treaty negotiators.[66] The 1770 marriage of Betsy Ward to treaty negotiator and Indian agent, Joseph Martin, reflects the efforts of that leading family to stabilize treaty negotiation in much the same way as her mother and sister had helped to stabilize and regulate trade with the British through marriages with traders.[67]

Nativism versus Trading Alliances

Little Carpenter, Nancy Ward, and Colbert's marital family invested in personal relationships to reap the rewards of trading and negotiating in the highly competitive economic environment of the colonial southeast. Their efforts were contested by other native leaders seeking to augment their own positions through trade with one or more European powers, but also by leaders who sought to eschew trade with Europeans altogether.

The kin-based divisions and factions in both the Chickasaw and the Cherokee nations served the larger purposes of their people as openings for active dissent against violent foes. Repeatedly, factions expressed their extreme dissatisfaction with the trading practices of British traders through attacks on the traders themselves or on nearby Anglo-American settlements.

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[66] DeVorsey, Indian Boundary, 85-88. See chapter one for more on the Lochaber Treaty survey.

[67] The effectiveness of the Ward/Martin marriage is discussed in Chapter 4.

While Little Carpenter traveled to Charles Town to work toward a diplomatic solution to bring about better terms of trade for his people, other chiefs sought to remedy the problem through taking the goods they had been promised from the countryside.[68] Strategies of diplomacy and war among the Cherokees and Chickasaws were more than simple reactions to European and United States provocations, such as land encroachment, terms of trade, and requests for land cessions through treaties. These strategies were born of deep and lasting cultural traditions, including kinship responsibilities, which flexed with the needs of the people. Connections between kinship and politics served as a core part of the cultural identities guiding Cherokee and Chickasaw actions as their world continued to change. The internal debates over which alliances, if any, should be pursued ensured that dissenters would have the freedom to pursue options, including rejection of the English trade alliance.

Historians have traditionally seen this decentralization among American Indians within the context of intercultural contact as a tragic flaw that certainly caused the decline and fall of the Indian empires.[69] However, the Chickasaws, like the Cherokees, drew upon these traditional divisions in ways that allowed them to maintain alliances with many polities and thereby ensured a steady supply of trade goods and a measure of goodwill that helped to offset the jealous rivalries among the Europeans. While the Cherokees eventually had to split into two nations for these factions to serve their purposes, the Chickasaw chiefs in negotiation with the offended party simply disavowed that the factions were acting on behalf of the nation and reaffirmed their loyalty. The practice proved somewhat successful and, for the most part, kept that nation out of

[68] A great example of these conflicting strategies is found in Corkran's chapter entitled, "The Conspiracy of Tellico," in Cherokee Frontier, 85-101.

[69] Calloway, American Revolution; Dowd, Spirited Resistance; Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Arrell Gibson, The Chickasaws, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); James Atkinson, Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

the war. Their geographic location also kept them farther from the fray, unlike the Cherokees who lived and hunted where land speculators sought to extend settlements.

Historian Gregory Evans Dowd described a continent wide "Indian Great Awakening" that peaked from 1745 to 1775 and culminated in the nativist, or anti-European, resistance movements of Tecumseh's Pan-Indian alliance.[70] Some Cherokees and Chickasaws embraced the ideals of this movement and fought in these conflicts to reinstate a mythic Indian past free from European intrusion.[71] While during the colonial era the families central to this study were not a part of this movement, following the outbreak of the Revolutionary War Little Carpenter's son, Dragging Canoe, embraced nativist ideals. He gathered likeminded supporters, including kin, into a resistance movement and pledged to purge Cherokee hunting grounds of Anglo-American intruders. Many other native leaders, like Alexander McGillivray, the son of a Scottish trader and Creek woman, would launch parallel attacks to eliminate Anglo-American settlement in contested regions of the southeast.[72]

Cherokees and Chickasaws were more effective in implementing strategies that made sovereignty possible than historians have admitted. For many years before the arrival of the Europeans, native peoples strove against and with one another in the contest for resources and respect in the region. These traditional strategies of decentralized leadership appear strange and ineffective from the perspective of societies with centralized governments, but worked well as a mechanism for ensuring the survival of the Chickasaw nation, a mere 2,300 people including 450

[70] Gregory Evans Dowd, A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1992).

[71] Ibid.

[72] John Walton Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

warriors,[73] surrounded by people eager to eliminate them in order to gain use of their strategic position on the Mississippi River, these decentralized leadership strategies worked. During the American Revolution, these traditional ways of engaging in diplomacy and war were less effective in maintaining their land-base than ensuring continued political sovereignty. In this, the Chickasaw fared better than the Cherokee.[74]

Historians and anthropologists continue to debate the effectiveness of decentralized societies in playing rival powers off one another and securing profitable terms of trade. According to Dowd, decentralization caused the failure of the pan-Indian movements by Tecumseh and others.[75] Anthropologist Marvin Smith likewise argues that political factionalism was among the primary forces responsible for early native population movements and disintegration of polities.[76] However, the persistence of decentralized tactics through the mid-nineteenth century leads me to agree with Patricia Galloway's assessment that "the more decentralized the authority, the less easy it was to bring it under discipline and forcibly alter its construction of ethnic identity … and in the long term this is how most "subaltern" groups have managed to preserve their identities and resist cultural absorption."[77] Kin-based factions provided Chickasaws and Cherokees with a method to manage the conflicting agendas of

[73] Calloway, American Revolution, 214.

[74] For more on diplomatic and military strategies during the Revolutionary War and the years immediately following, see Chapters 3 and 4. For more on pre-contact interaction among native peoples in the Southeast, see Patricia B. Kwachka, ed., Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguistics, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 27, Mary W. Helms, Series editor, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994). John P. Dyson provides an analysis of how a 1723 map of the Chickasaw territory reveals native concepts of space and geography through the lens of kin-oriented politics in "Through Native Eyes: An Early Chickasaw Map of North America," Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture, Vol. 11, No. 1, Series 41, 2007, 6-35.

[75] Dowd, A Spirited Resistance.

[76] Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast," in Ethridge and Hudson, Transformations, 3-4.

[77] Patricia Galloway, "Colonial Period Transformations in the Mississippi Valley: Disintegration, Alliance, Confederation, Playoff," in Ethridge and Hudson, Transformations, 225-248, quote from 247.

powerful neighbors. These factions would be ever more important as these groups attempted to thwart land speculation within their boundaries while minimizing the destructive capacity of their neighbors during the chaos of the American Revolution. Nancy Ward and Dragging Canoe in particular would utilize strategies of decentralization to defend Cherokee lands and lives from Anglo-American aggressors.

Conclusion

Chickasaw and Cherokee family networks clearly illustrate the interwoven nature of kinship and politics within their societies. Each family represents a tradition of leadership through powerful kin-based factions that was reinforced by the intercultural negotiation between the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American governments. These kinship systems also exhibited flexibility that permitted the Cherokee and Chickasaw to choose to train leaders from among the many nieces and nephews available and adopt some elements of Anglo-American culture, such as western-style education, alongside their matrilineal practices like clan-based inheritance. These kinship networking strategies enabled key clans and families to gain prestige and political influence through securing access to trade through intermarriage. Such efforts resulted in ensuring that Little Carpenter, Nancy Ward, and James Logan Colbert, and their kin were central to the intercultural negotiations between their people and the British and American government officials. With the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, these figures tried to negotiate amiable relationships with their Anglo-American neighbors. Dragging Canoe and likeminded native leaders would challenge their peace through relentless warfare on the Watauga, and later Cumberland, settlements.

CHAPTER III

REGIONAL UPHEAVAL AND FAMILIAL NETWORKS IN THE CUMBERLAND REGION, 1774-1783

Histories of the American Revolution have traditionally depicted the war itself and the outcomes of that war in terms of patriots or loyalists, ignoring or marginalizing native allies. The causes of that war have been couched in terms of "liberty," "freedom," and "equality" between colonists and their British counterparts across the Atlantic.[78] "Taxation without representation" and even the American smuggling industry have been cited as the reasons for the break from the mother country. These discussions, however, fail to take into account the political and economic contexts of the American backcountry. For historians of the Trans-Appalachian frontier, the incendiary possibilities of the rhetoric of taxation, the smuggling industry, and political equality between the metropole and periphery were limited. The key issue for the Southern backcountry grew directly out of the Proclamation of 1763, an edict which prohibited settlement beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains.[79]

Many Anglo-Americans in the southeast felt that victory in the Seven Years War meant that they had won, at least in part, dominion over French claimed territories regardless of

[78] For simplicity's sake, I refer to those colonists that adhered to the British government of the colonies as "loyalists," to troops from mainland Britain as well as those troops that included loyalists as "British," and to those who broke from British colonial leadership as "Americans" or "American-militia." "Anglo-Americans" refers to people of British, Scottish, or Scots-Irish origin or ancestry before, during, and after the American Revolution. Indigenous people in this chapter are referred to as "American Indian," "Indian," "native," or by their tribal association of "Chickasaw," "Cherokee," "Chickamauga," or "Chickamauga-Cherokee" according to the current uses of those terms by the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association.

[79] The Proclamation Line of 1763 forbade expansion beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The law was outdated before it was even enacted. Many settlements, including Watauga, had been founded west of the line years before. Surveyors were ordered to adjust the line in order to accommodate these communities, but by the time the surveyors arrived more communities had been established requiring additional adjustments. For more on colonial Anglo-American expansion and the Proclamation line, see Chapters 1 and 2.

indigenous claims to that land. This perception meant that freedom from British tyranny in the Cumberland region was much less about taxation, shipping, or barracking British troops and much more about regaining the "liberty" of unfettered territorial expansion. The British government created this boundary to limit the extensive costs associated with frontier warfare that escalated with the elimination of French competition for trade and allies. American Indian claims to that territory and resistance failed to deter the majority of those Anglo-Americans who determined to extend their settlements beyond the boundary. Those expansionists eventually caused the new federal government to have financial and political concerns similar to those the British had tried to avoid.[80] Both Anglo-Americans and Indians in the Cumberland region tapped into kinship networks to form military units during the Revolutionary period in order to

[80] Early histories of the American Revolution were largely military histories and hagiographies of military-men. For an example see, David Ramsay, The History of the American Revolution, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: Aitken & Son, 1789); Compte de Mirabeau, Honore-Gabriel de Riquetti, Reflections on the Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the Means of Making it a Benefit to the World, Richard Price, Trans., (Philadelphia: T. Seddons, 1786); and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, A History of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America, (London: T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1787; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1968). Scholars in the 1980s and 1990s depicted the Revolution from the perspective of New England and large coastal cities like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. See for example, Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979). Others focused on Revolutionary language and rhetoric. See for example, Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992) and Gordon S. Wood, The Radicalism of the American Revolution, (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992). More recently historians have concentrated on complicating the narrative by studying a wide variety of people and places. See for example, Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf, eds., Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Kevin R. C. Gutzman, Virginia's American Revolution: From Dominion to Republic, 1776-1840, (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2007); James W. Raab, Spain, Britain, and the American Revolution in Florida, 1763-1783, (Jefferson, NC: Macfarlane Publishers, 2008); and Harvey H. Jackson, Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); and Rhys Isaac, Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Recent works focusing on the roles of American Indians in the American revolution are especially relevant to this dissertation. A few of these include Woody Holton, Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Joseph T. Glatthaar and James Kirby Martin, Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); and Colin G. Calloway, The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For more on historiographical trends and debates regarding the American Revolution, see Gwenda Morgan, ed., The Debate on the American Revolution, Issues in Historiography Series, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

pursue kin-related economic strategies, reviving land speculation for the former and territorial preservation for the latter.

The ways kinship networks facilitated the Donelson family's efforts to settle on the Henderson purchase[81] and Dragging Canoe's resistance to that settlement are evident in John Donelson's Journal of the journey to the Cumberland settlements. In 1779, John Donelson, along with at least two dozen family members, descended the Tennessee River intending to follow it to the Cumberland River. There they would build a new settlement on the lands obtained by Richard Henderson at the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals in 1775. The Cumberland region,[82] however, served as the principal hunting grounds for the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations.[83] During their journey, the Donelson party encountered intense opposition when they ran into several towns on the Tennessee River that had been founded by Dragging Canoe, the son of Cherokee chief, Little Carpenter, who was among those who had signed Henderson's Treaty. Dragging Canoe, nonetheless, opposed the land cession and declared that he would wage war

[81] The Henderson purchase, a tract including all of present day Kentucky and middle Tennessee obtained by Richard Henderson through a controversial treaty with the Cherokees, was strongly contested by many Cherokees. Dragging Canoe and his supporters, many of them kin, sought to prevent settlement of this territory through armed resistance. I go more into detail on the treaty, its legality or lack thereof, and related resistance movements later in this chapter.

[82] Anglo-American dismissal of native hunting grounds as insufficient claims to the region reflected enlightenment traditions that asserted that men could claim land through agrarian labor. For an example of this, see Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Andrew Skinner, ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1999). In contrast to Anglo-American ideals that privileged single habitations, American Indians often maintained semi-nomadic lifestyles in which communities, or parts of communities, migrated between several residences seasonally to take advantage of abundant resources. Ironically, in England many people were familiar with seasonal migration as they moved between town and country homes.

[83] This chapter focuses on the Cumberland region of the Trans-Appalachian frontier because it was the stage for intercultural negotiation between the Cherokees, Chickamauga Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Anglo-Americans. The Cumberland region is defined as the river's watershed from the Cumberland Mountains on the east to the Mississippi river to the west and from the hills of Kentucky south to the southern tip of the Appalachian mountain chain to the south in what is now northern Mississippi. The region contains parts of what are now the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. An older history of the river and the region is James McCague, The Cumberland, (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1973). The actions of the descendants of three men, Little Carpenter, James Logan Colbert, and John Donelson, illustrate the ways these cultures connected and conflicted as they negotiated who would control the land and waterways of the region. Brief descriptions of these families and why they serve as the subjects of this dissertation are included in the introduction of this dissertation. Chapters one and two provide more on their colonial experiences.

against any attempted settlements in the region. He was joined in this endeavor by his brother, his nephews, and others including John Watts, Dragging Canoe's eventual successor to leadership of the Chickamauga Cherokee resistance movement.[84] Little Carpenter and Dragging Canoe pursued opposing actions that were rooted in Cherokee traditions linking kinship with traditions of peace and warfare. Each responded to the encroachment according to the roles associated with his clan's traditional roles.

The Chickasaw Indians, on the other hand, remained neutral toward the Cumberland settlements until a year later when American militia-men attempted to build a fort on the sacred Chickasaw Bluffs (near present-day Memphis, Tennessee) to gain control over the Mississippi River. Then James Logan Colbert, a Scottish trader adopted into the Chickasaw nation, and his sons and adoptive nephews laid siege to the fort.

Within a year of Anglo-American settlement, the descendants of John Donelson, James Logan Colbert, and Little Carpenter met in conflict over the use of the land and river systems of the Cumberland region. In the coming years, these families would alternate between war and diplomacy to negotiate the future of the contested land and the relative power of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and United States governments in the region. Battles between settler-militias and British-allied Indians during the period from 1774 to 1783 cannot be divided by Revolutionary battles and non-Revolutionary resistance to encroachment. Settlers chose to join the Revolution

[84] The Chickamauga-Cherokees, led by Dragging Canoe and later John Watts, began as a war party and grew into a resistance movement intent on preventing Anglo-American settlement of Cherokee territory. After 1777 when the Cherokee nation signed a peace treaty with the Virginians, the Chickamauga Cherokees officially became a new political entity separate from the Cherokee. The Chickamaugas, as they came to be called, continued their war against the settlers, while the Cherokee nation remained at peace with their neighbors. In this chapter, I will describe in detail the nature of the split and its consequences for the families of John Donelson, James Logan Colbert, and Little Carpenter. For more, see James Paul Pate, The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier, Dissertation: Mississippi State University, 1969, James Paul Pate, and John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838, (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc, 1938).

in part to ensure future territorial expansion and Indians found whatever support possible to retain their territorial boundaries. Kinship networks supported these efforts on both sides.

During the American Revolutionary period, kinship networks and family relationships influenced the decision-making of both colonial and Indian populations, including on which side individuals chose to fight and whether they fought as part of large armies, smaller militias, or kin-based raiders. Kin supported one another, either in battle, or as allies protecting one another and providing supplies in a war-zone. These connections, intracultural or intercultural, determined the course of the war in the Cumberland region by determining who would side with whom and how people fought or resisted fighting.

The American Revolution and the settlement of the Cumberland region brought the Donelsons, the Colberts, and the descendants of Little Carpenter together. Their stories would be linked for the next fifty years. Anglo-Americans in the Southeast, including the Donelsons, supported the war against Britain largely to overcome the obstacles to land speculation and hoped to make land speculation and unlimited western expansion a common, later national, project. Likewise, Indian alliances reflected responses to intensified threats to their territorial sovereignty. All parties attempted to gain, and retain, political control of the region through strategies of warfare and diplomacy, but also through cross-cultural familial alliances.[85]

This chapter argues that kinship systems played a key role in Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Anglo-American political and economic negotiation in the Cumberland region through familial efforts in warfare, trade alliance, and land speculation. The actions of two families, the Chickasaw family of James Logan Colbert and the Cherokee leader Little Carpenter and his

[85] Marital alliances were part of Early American diplomacy. People related through marriage were considered allies, as opposed to strangers who were often deemed immediately enemies. All three societies, Anglo-American, Chickasaw, and Cherokee, also used adoption also created new kin connections which were permanent and as binding as familial ties forged at birth. Chickasaw and Cherokee societies also permitted temporary adoptions to incorporate individuals into their towns and families during particular rituals.

descendents, serve as case-studies of how such negotiation took place during the tumultuous decades of the 1770s and 1780s. Both case-studies illustrate how matrilineal patterns of influence shaped individuals' decisions to pursue peace or conflict. Furthermore, the actions of members of the Anglo-American Donelson family foreshadow the importance of kinship to their economic, social, and political strategies which gained momentum in the 1790s and continued well into the nineteenth century.

The tensions between Britain and her colonies, and those between Anglo-American land speculators and the native inhabitants they aimed to displace, came to a head in the 1770s in the Cumberland region, bringing with them war fought with intensity that matched the stakes. The battles fought on this land would determine not only political dominance over the territory, but would shake the existing power dynamics in the area to their core. Traditional alliances, reinforced through intermarriage, between the Cherokees and the British or the Chickasaws and the British, rent communities as many Anglo-Americans with whom they traded or made treaties often served in the Rebel army against the polity they had claimed to represent. Anglo-American land claims on Cherokee hunting grounds provided the catalyst that brought the war deep into the heart of the Trans-Appalachian region as native and non-native participants fought for the best interests of themselves and their kin. Warriors, such as Dragging Canoe and James Logan Colbert, took on the titles of British officers. Meanwhile, land surveyor John Donelson became a Colonel in the fight against the British. That the contested settlement of the Cumberland took place at the same time that the North American colonies broke away from Great Britain was more than a coincidence. The new state governments of Virginia and North Carolina supported expansion of their territorial claims despite American Indian resistance. The American Revolutionary war, and the diplomatic relations that accompanied it, illustrates how kinship was

central to the decision making process of Indians and Anglo-Americans as they chose to go to war or to work for peace on the Trans-Appalachian frontier.[86]

Controversy over the Henderson Treaty

Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 signaled the lengths to which land speculators, especially those with political power, would go to claim new lands after the close of the Seven Years War irregardless of native claims or native resistance.[87] The Watauga settlements, settled in 1769 near present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee, were among those that extended beyond the Proclamation boundary line. Cut off from the political jurisdiction of both North Carolina and Virginia, these settlements adopted the Watauga Compact in 1772 to facilitate community self-government and defense. Neighboring Cherokee towns agreed to allow the Wataugans to rent the land upon which they lived and farmed, but refused to sell land beyond the boundary.[88] The efforts of Richard Henderson and his Transylvania Land Company took these extra-legal actions to a new level when he decided to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians for all of their hunting lands in what would become Tennessee and Kentucky.

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[86] Key works that illustrate the importance of land speculation to Revolutionary sentiment include Calloway, The American Revolution in Indian Country; Alan Taylor, The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006); Walter S. Dunn, Jr., Opening New Markets: The British Army and the Old Northwest, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); L. Scott Philyaw, Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Thomas Perkins Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy, (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1967); and Kristofer Ray, "Land Speculation and the Origins of a Political Culture, 1775-1790," in Middle Tennessee, 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 1-10.

[87] Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, led troops into the Ohio Valley planning to claim it for Virginia before Pennsylvania claimed it. The incident almost led to a clash of troops from the two states but was diverted into a war against the Shawnee Indians for those lands. Lord Dunmore's War convinced some of the Shawnee to abide by the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix in which the Iroquois (who had no real right to the land) signed away the lands east and south of the Ohio River. Chapters 1 and 2 go into greater detail on this war.

[88] Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation, 347. Brown, Old Frontiers, 127-133. The Watauga settlements are covered in more detail in Chapters 1 and 2.

Henderson and his company left the Watauga settlements with the purpose of buying up the lands upon which the Watauga settlements sat and any additional lands the Cherokees would sell.[89] Henderson's negotiations, begun in the fall of 1774, were interrupted by Lord Dunmore's war against the Shawnee in the Ohio country and later concluded in April of 1775 at Sycamore Shoals. The treaty bought from the Cherokee Indians all of the land south of the Ohio and Kentucky Rivers and north of the Cumberland river, essentially all of what would become Kentucky and upper Middle Tennessee, as well as purchased the Watauga settlements that had previously been leasing land from the Cherokees.

Although Judge John Haywood, in his 1823 history of Tennessee, proclaimed that the lands were obtained "in fair and open treaty,"[90] the treaty was immediately repudiated by the colonial governments of both Virginia and North Carolina and the lands were confiscated on the grounds that Henderson was not an "Officer appointed to superintend Indian Affairs." The Declaration made by Josiah Martin, Governor of North Carolina, in 1775 warned

> AND I DO hereby forewarn all, and all Manner of Persons, against taking any Part, or having any Concern or Dealings with the said Richard Henderson, touching the Lands for which he is said to have entered into Treaty with the Indians as aforesaid, or with any other Person or Persons, who have engaged, or may engage, in Projects of the like Nature, contrary to the Tenor of his Majesty's Royal Proclamation aforesaid, as every Treaty, Bargain, and Agreement with the Indians, repugnant thereto, is illegal, null, and void, to all Intents and Purposes, and that all Partakers therein will expose themselves to the severest Penalties.[91]

While the colonial authorities denounced Henderson's Treaty and made the sale of those lands illegal, the upheaval of war would soon replace those authorities with others more amenable to

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[89] Archibald Henderson, The Conquest of the Old Southwest, (New York: The Century Co., 1920), 55.

[90] Henderson, Conquest of the Old Southwest, 30.

[91] Josiah Martin, North Carolina, By his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq. Captain-General, Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over the said Province. A Proclamation, Newbern, NC, February 10, 1775. Emphasis in original.

the purchase and use of Indian lands. Soon thereafter, the officials of the states of North Carolina and Virginia claimed the lands as part of their own states extending the existing boundary between them to include these newly gotten lands. These lands would be given as Revolutionary land warrants to soldiers who fought against the British in the Revolutionary War. The transition between colonial officials' rejection of the treaty to state acceptance of it reflected the transition from British enforcement of the Proclamation Line of 1763 to the participation of state politicians in the project of westward expansion.

Oddly enough, in that same 1823 history, Haywood recorded Cherokee chief Oconostota's opposition to the treaty and prediction that a pattern of encroachment and land cessions would repeat itself over and over until the native peoples disappeared entirely. He exhorted his people to refuse to sign the treaty or, he declared, they would lose everything.[92] Oconostota was joined in his opposition to the 1775 Treaty of Sycamore Shoals by his great-nephew, Dragging Canoe, who made a similar speech before the treaty council warning Henderson and associates, "You have bought a fair land, but you will find its settlement dark and bloody."[93] This "treaty" proposed by Henderson's Transylvania Company split the Cherokee people into two factions – one led by Little Carpenter accommodating and bargaining with the white settlers and the other led by Little Carpenter's son, Dragging Canoe, declaring war upon the intruders. Historians for generations considered the opposing views of this father and son an anomalous sign of strife within a Cherokee family. By considering Cherokee kinship, however, we can understand that their contrasting political approaches reflected the importance of

[92] Writing in 1823, Haywood was certainly reflecting upon the current controversy in Congress caused by the pressure by the State of Georgia and its allies for the removal of the Cherokee and other Southern tribes beyond the Mississippi River. The Cherokees were forced to remove beyond the Mississippi River in 1838. The debates and negotiation leading up to Indian Removal are covered in Chapter 5. Henderson, Conquest of the Old Southwest, 59.

[93] John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838 (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc, 1938), 3.

Cherokee matrilineal kinship relationships in which uncles influenced a young man's life much more than his father did because uncles were kin, of the same clan, while fathers were not. Clashes between Indian nations and imperial powers, or in this case land speculation companies, had both familial and gendered dimensions.[94]

The controversial negotiations of this treaty and its opposition became a topic for contention again and again. The Tassell, one of the Cherokees' most prominent chiefs, denounced Henderson's treaty of Sycamore Shoals at the treaty talks leading up to the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785.

> The people of North Carolina have taken our lands without consideration, and are now making their fortunes out of them. I know Richard Henderson says he purchased the lands at Kentucky, and as far as Cumberland, but he is a rogue and a liar, and if he was here I would tell him so... If Little Carpenter signed this deed, we were not informed of it; but we know that Oconostota did not, yet we hear his name is to it. Henderson put it there, and he is a rogue.[95]

The commissioners to this new treaty replied that the signers were all dead and that Henderson's deeds remained as witness. "The parties being dead, and so much time having elapsed, and the country being settled upon the faith of the deed, puts it out of our power to do anything respecting it; you must, therefore, be content with it, as if you had actually sold the land, and point out your claims exclusive of this land."[96] At the completion of the treaty, all parties

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[94] Another of Little Carpenter's sons, Turtle-at-Home, joined his brother Dragging Canoe in the Chickamauga resistance. Calloway, American Revolution, 196. More on the importance of matrilineal kinship to Cherokee strategies of war and diplomacy will follow my discussion of the Henderson Treaty. My work is part of a larger historiography that recognizes matrilineal descent (lineages extend through the mother's family) as a key component of intercultural politics in Early America. See for example, Theda Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South, Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures No. 45, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 1-58.

[95] The Hopewell Treaty of 1785 was one of a string of treaties the United States government made with the Cherokees in the decades following the close of the Revolution. More on this treaty can be found in Chapter 4. Brown, Old Frontiers, 249.

[96] Brown, Old Frontiers, 249.

complained that their rights had been violated. Indeed, the United States would send commissioners again to create a new treaty with the Cherokees six years later.

Beginning with the Henderson Treaty, Dragging Canoe and the his followers, called the Chickamaugas, fought against those who would claim Cherokee lands. During the American Revolution, the Watauga settlements, and later the Cumberland settlements, would suffer heavy losses for the sake of their holdings beyond the Indian boundary.

Cherokee and Chickamauga Resistance to Settlements

The Cherokees had clashed with the British in the Anglo-Cherokee war in the 1760s and frequently clashed with Anglo-Americans who transgressed the legal boundary between the colonies and Cherokee territory.[97] Although Chief Little Carpenter worked hard to forge peace between the Cherokee people and their neighbors, he died in 1777 leaving behind both a diplomatic void and a recent history of alliance with Britain. These two legacies became decoupled in 1775 with the beginning of the Revolution and Henderson's purchase. In opposition to Henderson's attempted land grab and the resulting settlement, Dragging Canoe, son of peace-chief Little Carpenter and great-nephew of war-chief Oconostota, reclaimed the alliance of his people to Britain. Dragging Canoe fought in the British cause against the rebellion simultaneously defending Cherokees' regional power and territorial claims. Contrarily, Nancy Ward, Little Carpenter' niece, took up her uncle's peace-keeping in order to maintain peace with their neighbors and physical security for the towns bordering potentially militant settlements. Among the Cherokees, the actions of Little Carpenter, his son, and his niece illustrate how native kinship could shape practices of diplomacy and war. The relationships and political roles of

[97] These issues are covered in detail in Chapters 1 and 2.

these three historical actors and their descendants reflected Cherokee patterns of matrilineal kinship and how it was used to navigate the contentious political environment of the Cumberland region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Little Carpenter served as one of the primary voices for peace with the English from his first contact with the English in the 1730s through the Anglo-Cherokee War and continuing until his death in 1777.[98] Little Carpenter's son, Tsu-gun-sini, translated Dragging Canoe, received his name by his determination to join a war party as an adolescent. His skills as a warrior sustained him throughout his lifetime as he waged war against the Anglo-settlements on Cherokee lands."[99] Anglo-centric historians often recounted the relationship between Little Carpenter and Dragging Canoe as an illustration of a massive rift in Cherokee society begun between father and son over the sale of their homeland. However, the American Revolutionary period and the decades that followed were among the most dynamic years for Cherokee political negotiation. Factions, often kin-based, used innovative, as well as traditional, means to negotiate their political, economic, and geographic positions in the region. According to Cherokee kinship roles, the two men adhered to their traditional roles in which Dragging Canoe was not expected to submit to his father, but was instead shaped by his maternal uncles who raised him.

By the 1770s treaty negotiators and interpreters had grown accustomed to American Indian strategies of diplomacy and carefully recorded the relationships between uncles and

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[98] The details about Little Carpenter's death are not known. However, historian John Brown wrote that, "[i]n the midst of turmoil and confusion attendant upon the apparent ruin of his people, the Little Carpenter laid down his cares forever. His great soul took its flight so unobtrusively that his last resting place is unknown, though it is probably in the soil of his beloved Chote." Brown, Old Frontiers, 164.

[99] The Chickamauga Cherokees were a faction dedicated to wage war against the Cumberland settlements and officially seceded from the Cherokee Nation after the elders signed peace treaties with the Americans in 1777. John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838 (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc, 1938), 3. Brown notes that "Dragging canoe has been called the Savage Napoleon. After the destruction of his towns by Shelby, he justified the title. Another Indian leader, after so crushing a defeat, would have asked for peace, but it was not so with Dragging Canoe," Ibid, 174.

nephews, highlighting the transitions of power as they passed from one generation to the next. Merit in Cherokee society gained chiefs and warriors the respect of their peers and only that respect enabled them to take positions of leadership in the tribe. However, kinship played an important role in transferring the seeds of merit from one generation to the next. Great leaders, like Oconostota and Little Carpenter, passed their knowledge of military arts and diplomacy to their nephews, and occasionally their nieces, through years of careful instruction. These leaders raised their sisters' children to succeed in Cherokee society by giving them the spiritual, physical, and rhetorical tools necessary to meet the challenges of living in the contentious Cumberland region.[100]

In June of 1776, Colonel William Christian of the American militia wrote to William Preston Smithfield arguing that if only they could convince the settlers to swiftly move off of Cherokee lands they could prevent an alliance between those Indians and the English. Christian wrote, "The Cherokees are drawing on their destruction; should they make war, an army will be sent directly against them; and I fear it is now too late to send messengers into their towns to undeceive them, especially as the Agents seem to have such an ascendancy there... Is it not some pity that the poor Savages should be ruined by the intrigues of our own Nation." Later he noted that the Watauga settlements would "remain at their homes, & join the [rebellious] enemy."[101] Christian himself would soon lead American troops in battle against the Cherokees.[102] With the

[100] A detailed explanation of this blending of meritocracy and kinship is found in Reid, Law of Blood. Theda Perdue describes it succinctly, "The Cherokees chose war chiefs primarily on the basis of merit, but kin ties to prominent families also played a role…. The Cherokees listened to [John] Watts because of his accomplishments, not his ancestry, but his Cherokee uncles provided him with the kind of training and experience that made his achievements possible." Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians, 42.

[101] William Christian, Fincastle Town, to William Preston Smithfield, June 8, 1776, Filson Historical Society, Bullitt Family Papers Collection A/B937c Folder 410.

[102] Brown, Old Frontiers, 156.

Watauga settlements and the proponents of the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals solidly in the American military camp, those Cherokees opposed to the controversial land cession were certain to meet with fervent armed opposition.

The beginning of the American Revolution and its effects on the Cumberland region, like other parts of North America, were deeply intertwined with ever increasing pressure from Anglo-Americans to stretch beyond their existing land base into territory claimed by Native American polities. By the 1770s, American Indians were very familiar with Euro-American conceptions of land as private property that could be bought and sold at a set value. Indians had been selling land to Europeans almost since the first contact between the groups, although the stakes grew ever higher as the scarcity of resources which Indians had found abundant prior to the invasion of Europeans threatened to undermine traditional efforts to make ends meet in their mixed economy. Demand for land, and government's restrictions on that demand, provided a central reason for rebellion of Anglo-American settlers in the backcountry. Existing privilege and fears of an Indian war that would undermine that privilege provided the reasons loyalists clung to British authority over the Southern colonies.

American Indians faced the same issues when deciding whether or not to join their Anglo-American neighbors in the fight for or against the British Empire. Those who held privileges as warrior allies, diplomats, or honored headmen had a stake in perpetuating the allied government that had backed their claims to prestige and influence.[103] Indians who felt intensely the encroachment of settlers into their fields and hunting grounds recognized patterns of failure

[103] "Most of the Indians who eventually sided with Britain did so after American acts of treachery, inability to provide trade, and continued pressure on their lands convinced them that they had no choice in the struggle for survival but to support the crown. In colonial times the crown had established a record of protecting Indian country; its colonial subjects, those now in rebellion, had posed the major threat to Indian lands." Calloway, American Revolution, 31. Please note that throughout this chapter quotes are copied as in the document cited including spelling, grammar, punctuation, and emphasis.

of the British government to enforce boundaries upon its citizens. Despite claims that the government had authority over the settlers and had tried to enforce treaties, settler encroachment did not stop even after boundaries were redrawn. Many Indians sought to use the revolution as a way to halt that encroachment or even to reclaim the lands that had been lost through the endless redrawing of boundaries.[104] Alliances also fluctuated because American Indians "knew they would have to live with the winners."[105]

Either way, as Colin Calloway notes, "Indians responded to the event as individuals, not just as tribal units."[106] They would act on behalf of the British government or against it according to their own interests. These interests, however, deeply reflected social ties, especially personal relationships such as kinship and friendship, in both Anglo-American and American Indian contexts. Dragging Canoe, and others like him, claimed to have joined the British cause, but in reality simply received British arms to fulfill their own purposes in fighting the Americans. John Stuart, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, repeatedly implored Dragging Canoe and his troops to hold off on their attacks and wait to be coordinated with British troop movements. Although, Dragging Canoe continued to fight on his own terms, British officials continued to supply them with ammunition.[107]

While Dragging Canoe launched into an all-out war against the settlements built on land ceded in the Henderson Treaty, other Cherokees, including his father Little Carpenter and his cousin, Nan-ye-hi, later known as Nancy Ward and Ghigau (Beloved Woman), worked to assure

[104] Ibid, 32.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid, 28.

[107] Calloway, American Revolution, 200.

the Americans that their people were indeed neutral.[108] Ward had extended the family's kinship connections beyond the Cherokees when she married trader Bryant Ward in the mid-1750s.[109] Those ties influenced her to protect her husband's people in western North Carolina when war broke out between them and the Cherokees. In July 1776, Nancy Ward, warned the Watauga settlements of an impending attack by her first cousin, Dragging Canoe, and six hundred of his followers.[110] She then rescued one of the women captured in her cousin's attack, Mrs. Bean, who was apparently destined to be burned.[111] Like her uncle, she remained a voice for peace and compromise until her death in 1822. [112] Her actions mirrored those of her uncle in working toward peace with the settlers.

John Sevier, one of the leading Watauga rebels, and his North Carolina troops frequently attacked Dragging Canoe's Chickamauga towns, but those were re-supplied by young men from the peace-professing Cherokee Overhill towns that abutted the Watauga settlements. Quickly,

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[108] Nancy Ward, like her uncle Little Carpenter, was a matrilineal descendant of the prestigious Wolf clan. "Beloved woman" was a rare honor in Cherokee society that gave Nancy Ward the right to speak and make speeches in councils and other diplomatic situations as well as to declare captives free. Cynthia Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2007), 27. See also, Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

[109] Alderman, Nancy Ward, Dragging Canoe, 4.

[110] John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West, 1838 (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc, 1938), 148-51. J.G.M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century, (Johnson City, TN: The Overmountain Press, 1853), 151-. David Ray Smith, "Nancy Ward, 1738-1822" Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2002). Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," Ethnohistory, Vol. 39, No. 2, Spring 1992, 97-107. Pat Alderman, Nancy Ward: Cherokee Chieftainess, (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1978), 4.

[111] Judge John Haywood writing in 1823 dubbed her "the Cherokee Pocahontas" as did future historians who cited his work. Haywood, Civil and Political History, 60. This comparison continued as historians such as JGM Ramsey used the same terminology in 1853 in his Annals of Tennessee (p144). In the 1880s, John P. Brown and W.W. Clayton would also use Haywood's account as the basis for their own histories of the Cherokee frontier and Davidson County respectively.

[112] Ibid, 148-49. J.G.M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century, (Johnson City, TN: The Overmountain Press, 1853), 151.

Sevier decided that attacking the warrior towns would not accomplish his mission of subduing his Cherokee enemies. He began chastising the sacred and political center of the nation by burning the Overhill towns. Captain John Donelson, Jr. and Lieutenant Hugh Henry, Jr. along with Ensign Moses Hutchings (Thomas Hutchings's brother), commanded a company in 1777 against "Indian outrages."[113] These attacks on Cherokee towns forced the Cherokees to seek peace at the expense of their territory.

The Chickamauga Indians were originally part of the Cherokee nation located in the Southeast. The dissident group, named the Chickamauga Cherokees, officially split from their parent tribe when the Cherokee government surrendered to American forces in 1777. The Chickamaugas, led by Dragging Canoe, refused to abate their war against the white encroachers. Rather than surrender, they chose to form new towns at Chickamauga Creek southwest of the Upper Cherokee towns. The Chickamaugas used the imperial tensions inherent in the Revolutionary War to their advantage by making alliances and receiving supplies from British, Spanish, and French supporters. The Chickamauga resistance movement joined with the enemies of the Anglo-American settlers, including the British during the American Revolution and several pan-Indian efforts to check the ongoing settler encroachment. The main goal of the Chickamaugas was to discourage Anglo-American settlement of the Henderson Purchase.[114] According to historian James Paul Pate, the Chickamaugas were quite successful in their attacks

[113] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 153. Clement notes that many of the Henry family accompanied the Donelson family in their move to the Tennessee country. Haywood, Civil and Political History, 99 notes that Hugh Henry's boat was sunk, but that the family escaped alive in the famed voyage that helped to found Nashville documented in the Donelson Journal.

[114] Main sources on the history of the Chickamauga Indians are James Paul Pate, The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier, (Dissertation: Mississippi State University, 1969); John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West, 1838, (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938); Brent Cox, Heart of the Eagle: Dragging Canoe and the Emergence of the Chickamauga Confederacy, (Milan, TN: Chenanee Publishers, 1999); Henry Thompson Malone, Cherokees in the Old South: A People in Transition, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1956); and Grace Steele Woodward, The Cherokees, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

on the Cumberland settlements. "Mounted militia forces had little success in combating the swift strikes by the Chickamaugas. Scalps, fire, death, booty, and horses were the bywords of the Chickamauga strategy."[115] John Wimbish sent a request to Captain Joseph Martin in August of 1777 sending a description of the runaway and asking for Martin's assistance in "apprehending the fugitive."[116]

The older chiefs who had long professed peaceful intentions toward the Anglo-Americans, including Little Carpenter and Oconostota, came to a swift solution to the violence plaguing their towns. They signed treaties with North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia in 1777 promising to "bury the hatchet and to reestablish peace."[117] The treaty with South Carolina and Georgia even specified that "The Cherokee nation acknowledge that the troops that ... repeatedly defeated their forces... did effect and maintain the conquest of all the Cherokee lands eastward of the Unacaye mountain..."[118] Furthermore, each treaty delineated new boundaries and demanded cessions of Cherokee lands that added up to more than five million acres.[119]

After these treaties, Dragging Canoe and the Chickamauga towns were no longer sanctioned by the Cherokee nation, but became an entity unto themselves dedicated to

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[115] James Paul Pate, The Chickamauga; quote from Daniel Kennedy and the Inhabitants of Greene County to Joseph Martin, June 5, 1788, Draper MSS, 2XX28 in Ibid, 181.

[116] State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Calendar of the Tennessee and King's Mountain Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts, Vol. 3., (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin Publications, 1929), slide 1xx28, 11.

[117] Vine Deloria, Jr. and Raymond J. DeMallie, Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979, Vol. 1. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 70-78.

[118] Ibid, 72.

[119] Calloway, American Revolution, 200.

warfare.[120] The war-towns and the peace-towns of the Cherokees became different peoples through what became known as the "Chickamauga secession." Hostile Cherokees then became the Chickamauga Indians. Essentially, their dedication to waging war against the Anglo-populations had temporarily trumped the connections of these Indians to their sacred towns. Dragging Canoe and the rest of the Chickamaugas claimed to serve the Cherokee people by pursuing the return of native lands and expulsion of intruders upon those lands. Similarly, the Cherokee peace towns also claimed to support Cherokees' best interests adopting the opposite philosophy that peace would ensure stability and economic success in the Cherokee nation by moving beyond previous land cessions and conflicts.[121]

To some degree, the tribe split along generational lines, following traditions of kinship and dissent that had served their society well in the past.[122] Dragging Canoe and the other young warriors followed in the footsteps of his great-uncle Oconostota who had been the tribe's great war-chief decades earlier in the Anglo-Cherokee War (1759-61) while Attakullkulla had served as its great peace-chief. The old men argued that they could not control the young men's actions and that they wished to be at peace with the Americans. They told the truth but gave unspoken support to those who fought for the political autonomy and the traditional geographic boundaries

[120] The Chickamauga Cherokees relationship to the Cherokee nation is comparable to that of the IRA to Ireland. They are not sanctioned by the Irish government, but they claim to serve the Irish people through military resistance to encroachment. The Cherokee nation, by declaring peace, was forced to disavow the actions of the Chickamauga movement even though many Cherokees agreed with Chickamauga aims, and even their methods, of resistance.

[121] Calloway, American Revolution, 200-01. My account of the involvement of the Cherokee in the American Revolutionary War does not go into detail on the battles themselves. Colin Calloway's chapter on Chota does a nice job of this although the reader should be cautious of his analysis that these battles were central to the demise of the power and sovereignty of the Cherokee. Haywood's Civil and Political History, Brown's Old Frontiers also provide interesting accounts of the events.

[122] The generational split was not complete as many young men remained in the peace towns. Nancy Ward, who shared the same generation with Dragging Canoe actively campaigned for peace and attempted to limit the damage inflicted by American militias by impeding attacks on Anglo-American towns, supplying those towns with food, and encouraging her daughter to marry American officer and Indian agent, Joseph Martin. Joseph Martin and Josiah Martin, the colonial Governor of North Carolina in 1775, were to my knowledge unrelated.

that had ensured their economic stability in the stiff competition for resources that plagued the region in the eighteenth century. Calloway argues that the Revolution created a break in the traditional roles of the old and young men.[123] Calloway was half-right. The young militants were building on traditions that made them the aggressive ones and the older men the diplomats. However, their actions in the Revolution did not serve as a break, but rather an intensification of the stakes of the game as Anglo-neighbors became ever more violent and pushed into the heart of Cherokee territory. Similar patterns of war and diplomacy were used by the Cherokees in their colonial interactions with both Indians and Europeans and would continue into and through the Removal period.[124] Dragging Canoe followed in his great-uncle's footsteps fighting as a great war-leader. What had changed, however, was the proximity of the Anglo-population and their new unwillingness to play by Cherokee rules.

Nancy Ward's daughter, Elizabeth "Betsy" Ward, also of this powerful clan, further cemented the relationship between the Upper Towns and the settlers by becoming the Cherokee wife of Joseph Martin. Martin's son, William, recounted how his father had married Betsy Ward shortly after being appointed Virginia's Indian Agent to the Cherokees. The two lived together at Long Island on the Holston.[125] If this marriage took place in 1777 as this source reported, Martin's marriage would have forged familial ties between the two governments just after the

[123] Calloway, American Revolution,196-97. "Traditionally, young men were expected to be aggressive in certain circumstances and old men to be rational; Cherokee society accommodated and harmonized the resulting tensions. However in the Revolution the tensions became incompatible. The older chiefs who had sold lands to Henderson and built networks of accommodation with colonial traders and officials were hesitant to act now that their white counterparts were divided among themselves. Younger militants, no longer prepared to tolerate the illegal occupation of their lands, seized the initiative."

[124] The removal of American Indians from their lands east of the Mississippi began prior to 1818 and gained momentum with Congress's Indian Removal Act of 1830. Most of the efforts of the US government to remove Indians from these eastern lands ended in 1838 with the famous Cherokee "Trail of Tears."

[125] Draper Papers, Quoted in Alderman, Nancy Ward: Cherokee Chieftainess, Dragging Canoe: Cherokee-Chickamauga War Chief, 57.

peace treaty was signed between Virginia and the Cherokee nation and during the height of Dragging Canoe's Revolutionary resistance. Martin himself led military expeditions against the Chickamauga towns while attempting to insulate the Upper Towns from settler retaliation.

Cherokee allegiances were divided between supporters of the American and the British armies. The actions of Dragging Canoe, Nancy Ward, and Betsy Martin represented two contrasting, but complementary strategies. Dragging Canoe orchestrated devastating raids on the unwanted settlements while Ward and Martin attempted to limit counterattacks through diplomacy and disavowal of Dragging Canoe's legitimacy. Together these strategies might accomplish the goals of reinforcing Cherokee territorial boundaries and power in the region. American militia, however, treated the Cherokees as a one enemy nation and waged war on the peace towns and war towns alike. Although the actions of these cousins appear directly opposed, examination of their actions within the Cherokee cultural context reveals that their efforts followed accepted traditions and even complemented each other in their dealings with the Anglo-Americans. Cherokee cultural practices of diplomacy and war met with those of Anglo-American settlers and diplomats creating hybrid strategies in a sort of "middle ground" in which they modified their cultural practices to confront a new foe while retaining a recognizable cultural core.[126]

In the winter of 1779 and 1780, the Americans planted settlements and forts that antagonized both the Cherokees and the Chickasaws into raising strong opposition. The decision of James Robertson and John Donelson to lead a large group of civilian families to occupy the Cumberland Region, supposedly ceded by the Cherokees in the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals brought fervent resistance by Dragging Canoe and the Chickamaugas. When the families

[126] This phrase is courtesy of Richard White's The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

appeared determined to stay on the former Cherokee hunting grounds, the Chickamauga Cherokees launched an all out war against the both Watauga and Cumberland settlements. At the same time, the Americans built Fort Jefferson on Chickasaw Bluffs overlooking the Mississippi, a sacred site that doubled as a military stronghold for the Chickasaws. The resistance of the Chickasaws to this incursion matched that of the Chickamaugas as both groups fought enemies in their heartland.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, John Donelson and his family chose to fight against the British. As a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1769, Donelson participated in the creation of the Virginia resolve against what became known as "the Intolerable Acts" including the taxation of tea. In 1775, he was appointed to the county's highest military office, county lieutenant of the militia.[127] Having made his living as a planter and a surveyor, often surveying Indian lands, Donelson was invested in the opening of the western lands for settlement. He had been among the negotiators who leased the Watauga settlements from the Cherokees in 1769. By the time he led one of the two founding parties to settle at the future site of Nashville in the heart of the Henderson purchase in February 1780, he had earned the title of Colonel.[128] His son, John Donelson, Jr. had become a Captain. Their particular roles in the American Revolution are not well known, but they became famous after 1780 as one of Nashville's most heroic founding families. While Donelson ranked among the political, economic, and social elite of Southwest Virginia, his role as surveyor ultimately prompted him to join the crowd going farther south and west into the Tennessee country.[129]

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[127] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 99.

[128] JGM Ramsay, Annals of Tennessee, 134-38, 197-202. Haywood, Civil and Political History, 93-107.

[129] Donelson's heroic reputation, of course, did not translate to fame and respect among the Cherokees. Recent historiography mentions Donelson mostly in passing. Clement, History of Pittsylvania County. Anne-Leslie Owens, "John Donelson, 1718-1785," Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture,

By fall of 1779, several families had decided to settle within the bounds of the Henderson Purchase on the fertile lands next to the Cumberland River at the site that was soon to become Nashborough, later Nashville. Captain James Robertson and Colonel John Donelson each agreed to lead the parties. Robertson traveled overland northwest into Kentucky and then southward through the Cumberland Gap. This route was seen as the more dangerous option as they were sure to meet hostile Indians, geographic challenges such as steep cliffs, and hazardous wildlife. Those opposed to the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals had said, after all, that Kentucky would be "dark and bloody." Donelson took a few men as well as all of the women and children down the Tennessee River. The water-route was considered easier and safer for the families but it would be slower than the overland route. The men who arrived with Robertson would have time to set up shelter, planting gardens and fields, and fortify the area before their families arrived. The plan seemed to minimize risk and to maximize the probability of the settlement venture's success. What Robertson and Donelson failed to take into account was that the Indians who had promised them resistance had built towns along the Tennessee River. When John Donelson and his party set out in December of 1779 with his lead boat named the "Adventure," he could not have guessed how prophetic that name would be. Donelson's journal, kept throughout the journey, secured his place in the history of the new settlement as among its premier heroic leaders and Indian fighters.[130]

1998, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=D043. "Colonel John Donelson," Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1769-1923, Volume II, (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1923).

[130] In the early 1990s, a painting commemorating the triumphant trip of James Robertson's group through the Cumberland Gap graced the front of the text-books used to teach eighth-grade Tennessee history throughout the state. John Donelson's "Adventure" even inspired a novel by Peyton Cockrill Lewis entitled Perilous Journey: The Founding of Nashville, Tennessee 1780-81 (Washington, DC: Channing Press, 2004). The story told in the Donelson Journal is recounted in every history of Tennessee or Nashville I have seen including Haywood, Civil and Political History; JGM Ramsay, Annals of Tennessee; Clayton, History of Davidson County; and Goodstein, Nashville, 1780-1860 among others.

Although the Donelson family network proved an evident economic and political force in Virginia, the full potential power of these family connections became clear during their voyage. John Donelson's immediate family and in-laws emigrated to Cumberland settlements as a united group, comprising much of the flotilla, including Thomas Hutchings, John Caffrey, John Donelson, Jr., Hugh Henry, Sr., and Thomas Henry and their wives and children.[131] Donelson's journal mentions several instances of the his sons and sons-in-law taking on the riskiest missions, from meeting with potentially hostile Indians to returning to a campsite that had been abandoned in an Indian attack to retrieve what was left behind.[132] John Donelson's brother-in-law and his children, as well as **all** of Donelson's children and their spouses, together embraced John Donelson's vision of a profitable future in the Cumberland country. Shared investment in common economic goals united the Donelson family's determination to go on this trip and the members of that kinship network worked together to ensure that they arrived safely in order to pursue those goals.

Donelson led the expedition with over seventy people and had at least thirty four casualties that either died in or were captured by Indian attacks. That deadly adventure was only the first of many for the settlers of the Cumberland region that would become Nashville and its surrounding environs. According to historian W.W. Clayton, in the first dangerous years of the Cumberland settlements, several "brave-hearted women," John Donelson's widow and daughters-in-law, Mrs. Donelson and Mrs. Caffrey among them, refused to give up on the settlements but rather "comforted themselves and others by their 'trust in Providence.'"[133] Many women in the Donelson family network expressed resolution to carve a place out for themselves

[131] John Donelson, "Donelson's Journal," 2-3.

[132] John Donelson, "Donelson's Journal," 1-10.

[133] Clayton, History of Davidson County, 128-29.

in this highly contested region. Donelson frequently served as a US Commissioner traveling to the seats of the various Southeastern tribes, including the Chickamaugas, to negotiate a peace that would deliver the Cumberland settlements from the ongoing seige.

The Donelsons also took a leading role in the government of the Cumberland settlements, as they had in the borderland settlements of Watauga and Pittsylvania County. Colonel John Donelson and his son-in-law, John Caffrey, both signed the "Articles of Agreement, or Compact of Government, entered into by settlers on the Cumberland river, 1st May 1780," the first governing document of the region.[134] Although Andrew Jackson's political career was by far the most dynamic, successful, and well documented in the Donelson family network, many Donelson family members took government positions, especially within the local court system.[135] Government appointments, especially at the local level, helped to further cement the status of the family as an influential force within the community.[136]

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[134] "Articles of Agreement, or Compact of Government, entered into by settlers on the Cumberland river, 1st May, 1780," in Three Pioneer Tennessee Documents: Donelson's Journal, Cumberland Compact, Minutes of Cumberland Court, (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1964), 11-21. Clayton, History of Davidson County, 33-35.

[135] R. Beeler Satterfield, Andrew Jackson Donelson: Jackson's Confidant and Political Heir (Bowling Green, KY: Hickory Tales, 2000); Mark Renfred Cheatham, Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); John F. Marszaleck, The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny, and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House, (New York: The Free Press, 1997).

[136] Donelson's future son-in-law, Andrew Jackson, himself was rumored to have fought the British during the American Revolution to the extent his youth would allow. He lost his mother and brothers to disease fighting the British, and himself suffered the indignity of being beaten with the broad side of a British officer's sword leaving him with physical and emotional scars that he would claim helped him in undoing the British Empire in North America at the 1815 Battle of New Orleans. Jackson's families had themselves moved to the Waxhaws Settlement in Western Carolina that edged up to the Cherokee boundary. For an interesting account of the affects of growing up during the Revolution, see Emmy Werner, In Pursuit of Liberty: Coming of Age in the American Revolution, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006).

Chickasaw Resistance toward Fort Jefferson

During the early years of the American Revolution, the Chickasaws generally remained neutral. The British had long supported the Chickasaws in their fight for independence against their French and Choctaw enemies by providing trade goods and ammunition. As with the Cherokees, however, the Chickasaws' decentralized government operated through the traditional systems of kinship, town leadership, and individual persuasiveness. Throughout the period of Chickasaw contact with Europeans, the Chickasaw people divided into factions that endorsed alliances with the British, French, or Spanish according to their perceptions of how each group might support them through military assistance or trade goods. For the most part, the British-leaning faction proved dominant as the Chickasaws worked to maintain their autonomy in the region against many more populous foes. During the American Revolution, however, the Chickasaws, with a few exceptions (the Colbert family notably among them), mostly left the Anglos to war amongst themselves reacting to the conflict only when it encroached upon their lands.

Although the Chickasaw nation had been allies of the British since before the French settled at the mouth of the Mississippi River, they were reluctant to be dragged into this particular war. Superintendent Stuart complained that these allies did not do enough to support the British troops. The actions of James Logan Colbert, a Scottish trader who had made his home among the Chickasaws, and his wives' families proved exceptions to this rule. Colbert's leadership of his pro-British Chickasaw kin demonstrated the importance of such cross-cultural kinship ties and the persistence of matrilineal kinship in forging political alliances and military units.[137]

[137] James Logan Colbert, born in Scotland, first accompanied traders to the Chickasaw nation in 1736 at age fifteen. By 1759 he had married a Chickasaw woman from the prominent Incunnomar house group. As his prestige grew

James Logan Colbert had served as the British liaison to the tribe and had fought numerous times as a British officer against the French alongside his Chickasaw relations. In June of 1777, he again took up this role leading a group of Chickasaws and loyalists in their mission to patrol the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Ohio Rivers to prevent Britain's enemies from utilizing the waterways.[138] As the Chickasaws had little to fear from the Americans, these patrols became less vigilant over time, at least until Spain declared war on Great Britain two years later. Then pro-Spanish factions and pro-British factions within the nation found themselves at odds. Colbert remained part of the pro-British faction and his renewed patrols on the rivers engaged the Spanish and their Indian allies in small-scale warfare.[139] For the most part, Colbert's faction provided the only real military engagement for the Chickasaws. Some Chickasaw leaders assured the Spanish of their fidelity, while others, like Colbert, clung to their alliance with the British which provided them with goods and arms, but little else. Both sides claimed that the others were renegades without legitimacy. Together these factions mediated the conflict by claiming allegiance to both sides.

At the same time Donelson and his family attempted to settle on the Cumberland River, American forces at the order of Thomas Jefferson, then the governor of Virginia, built a fort on

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through his connections to trade goods and his exploits in battle with the Chickasaw against the French, he married two other women from the tribe. His sons, William, George, and Levi, would become influential chiefs in the Chickasaw nation. Colbert, a British captain, led war parties against the French through the 1760s alongside the Chickasaws and he opposed the Americans in the Revolution. The introduction of this dissertation has a more thorough summary of the importance and early history of the Colbert family. Raymond Eugene Craig, "The Colberts in Chickasaw History, 1783-1818: A Study of Internal Tribal Dynamics," Dissertation University of New Mexico, 1998, 112-16. James R. Atkinson's Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), Arrel Gibson's The Chickasaws, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), and Wendy St. Jean's "Trading Paths: Chickasaw Diplomacy in the Greater Southeast, 1690s to 1790s," Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2004. D.C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 24, No. 4 (March 1938).

[138] Craig, "The Colberts," 112-16. Calloway, American Revolution, 223.

[139] Ibid, 226-28.

the Chickasaw strong-hold of Chickasaw Bluffs. The tribe had been only marginally involved in the war until then, but this action by the US troops unleashed stiff military resistance that had previously been reserved for the French and their allies. A new enemy had claimed Chickasaw territory and had to be driven out.

Fort Jefferson was built due to Jefferson's desire to repeat George Rogers Clark's successes in the British Northwest. As historian Arrell Gibson argued, "Jefferson... intended for the post to serve as a depot for arming northern Indians... to send them into the Chickasaw Nation to harass the towns and soften the Chickasaws for conquest. He regarded [the Chickasaws] as the stalwarts of the British defenses south of the Ohio River and thus the key to destroying British power there."[140] As in the Cumberland region, the fort and settlements went up together. Haywood recounted that the settlements had been killed because "The Chickasaws had the undisputed claim to the territory on the west of the Tennessee.... Offended at [the building of a settlement and fort on their land], the Chickasaws, till then neutral, become allies of the British Nation, and were so at the time when this mischief was perpetrated."[141] George Rogers Clark reported he had arrived to "Execute the orders of my Superiors for the Establishment of [the] Post" on May 11, 1780.[142] The Chickasaws laid siege to the fort and settlements for nearly a year. On August 10, 1781, John Floyd wrote to Clark,

> The Savages are constantly pecking at us & in a few weeks this handfull of wretched People will be invaded on all sides by them & their Infernal Leaders. nothing has hitherto prevented it but the expectation of a Campaign against them. The reason that the Country is not now left waste is the inability of the Settlers to remove having already lost

[140] Gibson, The Chickasaws, 72.

[141] Haywood, Civil and Political History, 127.

[142] George Rogers Clark to Oliver Pollock, May 11, 1780 in George Rogers Clark Papers, James Alton James, ed., Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. 8, edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, (Springfield, IL: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1912), 418-19.

> most of their Horses, and the Ohio only runs one way. The Militia are entirely without Ammunition and I find it impossible to procure any.[143]

By October 1781, the fort and settlements had been evacuated.[144] The Chickasaws had triumphed over this encroachment, but lost the careful balance that ensured their tentative neutrality.

James Logan Colbert had served as a British officer frequently fighting against the French alongside Chickasaw warriors and family members especially through the Seven Years War. Colbert led a large contingent of Chickasaws against the fort, even being wounded in one attack.[145] He continued his opposition of the Americans and Spanish and in April of 1782 accomplished the daring and controversial feat of taking the family of the Governor of Spanish St. Louis captive.[146]

The actions of Colbert's kin-based faction within the Chickasaw nation highlight the ways families grouped together for common political and military goals. The Colbert family, led by James Logan Colbert, engaged in military campaigns against Spanish boats on the Mississippi even while the Chickasaw nation officially maintained peaceful relations with Spain. His group was neither officially supported nor punished by the leading Chickasaw chiefs. The pro-Spanish and pro-British factions served their people by playing the Spanish and US representatives against one another. US officials and subsequent historians took the claims that the chiefs were helpless to control the rival factions at face value. Surely, these leaders were frustrated to some extent by their inability to keep their word. However, these patterns of diplomacy and war had

[143] John Floyd to George Rogers Clark, August 10, 1781 in Ibid, 584.

[144] George Rogers Clark to Thomas Nelson, October 1, 1781 in Ibid, 605-06.

[145] Atkinson, Splendid Land, 108.

[146] Ibid, 112.

precedent in earlier alliances that drew on many sources for military and economic support while balancing enemies against one another. Because Chickasaw kinship was matrilineal, the Colbert family is often cited as an example of loss of traditional Chickasaw kinship patterns in favor of European cultural practices, including patrilineal lineage.[147] At least to begin with, however, the incorporation of James Logan Colbert into Chickasaw society grew out of traditional Chickasaw kinship alliance practices.

After thwarting the attempts of the Americans to establish Fort Jefferson at Chickasaw Bluffs in 1782, Captain Colbert "and his band of Loyalists and Indians," including at least one of his sons, attempted to end Spanish claims of dominion over the Mississippi river.[148] Colbert repeatedly attacked Spanish boats traveling down the Mississippi to New Orleans, once even taking prisoner Madam Cruzat, the wife of the Spanish Governor of St. Louis, and her four children. Colbert released Cruzat with a message to the Spanish governor of New Orleans requesting an exchange of prisoners and the prohibition of scalp buying at Mobile. Governor Esteban Miro refused, sent an expedition to find and subdue Colbert, and applied to the Chickasaw Chiefs to turn Colbert's band over to his men. The Chickasaw leaders argued that the raids were by Loyalist English and refused to send in Colbert instead turning in some Natchez refugees. He successfully attacked the Spanish Arkansas Post in 1783 with "eleven Indians, sons and nephews of Colbert, five Negroes, one Frenchman, and enough English and Americans to make the number eighty-two."[149] His objective in these attacks was to secure Great Britain's right to cede land lying between the Yazoo and Ohio rivers.

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[147] Arrell M. Gibson, The Chickasaws, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 65.

[148] Atkinson, Splendid Land, 125. D.C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 24, No. 4 (March 1938), 461.

[149] Corbitt, 457-472. Quotation from 466.

The military allegiance of Colbert with his sons and nephews indicated a merging of personal and matrilineal influence through Colbert's military prowess and loyalty to the Chickasaw people, as well as traditional matrilineal responsibility to aid one's clan members.[150] That Colbert even had "nephews" in the tribe suggests that he was adopted into a clan and received the support of his adopted kinsmen in battle. The alliance of James Logan Colbert's sons and nephews with the English Captain might indicate patriarchal influence over his male relations... or, more likely, such alliances could reveal other native kinship practices drawing on their maternal clan affiliations. The fact that Colbert's nephews join him in battle against the Spaniards is evidence that he was successfully integrated into the tribe and that his influence followed native traditions of uncle/nephew influence. The Colbert family's allied military actions fit with Chickasaw traditions that privileged individual military skill and clan-based loyalty which drew his sons and nephews to assist James Logan Colbert in battle.

1783 Treaties

By the end of November 1782, the diplomats of Great Britain and the United States of America had agreed upon provisional articles of peace. On September 3, 1783 they had signed the Treaty of Paris which declared peace. Historians would later list this document "[a]mong the most important foreign treaties in the early days of the republic" and argue that, besides ending the American Revolution, it also "created a nebulous political status for Indian nations living between the watershed of the Appalachians and the British possessions in Canada. In theory,

[150] Existing records of the 1786 Chickasaw treaty with the United States at Hopewell do not record Colberts among the signers, however our record of those documents only record three signers while subsequent treaties, such as the 1801 treaty at Chickasaw Bluffs which William and George Colbert signed, record dozens of signers. Thus extant copies of the Chickasaw Hopewell treaties do not seem to provide reliable records of whether or not members of the Colbert family validated the agreement.

and for a while in practice, this territory was owned and controlled by a confederacy of Indian nations."[151] Control over American Indian territories had always been challenged. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, competing groups of native peoples strove for territory with abundant resources. The arrival of people from across the Atlantic intensified and added new intercultural elements to that competition. However, after 1783 the constituency of the new United States became the primary challenger for the territories east of the Mississippi River.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the United States sought to ensure peace with its former native enemies, including the Cherokees, Chickamaugas, and the Chickasaws. Ironically, one of the two commissioners charged with this task was John Donelson, head of one of the founding expeditions to Nashville, colonel in the US Army, and surveyor invested in continued land cessions in the region. Many of these treaties failed to be accepted by one or both sides. By December of 1783 Donelson's co-commissioner, Joseph Martin, was defending Donelson in letters to the Governor of Virginia against the "charge of neglecting his duty in relation to the Indian treaty, particularly the [expenses related to] lengthy engagement of guides and an interpreter."[152] Donelson was not involved in the next round of treaties that concluded in the Treaties of Holston in 1784 and 1785, but instead remained active in his business and land-speculative ventures in Kentucky and the Cumberland region until his death in the fall of 1785.[153] The marriages of his heirs "tied together land speculators, planters, and merchants" not

[151] Deloria, Jr. and DeMallie, Documents of American Indian Diplomacy, 109-10.

[152] Joseph Martin to Governor Benjamin Harrison, December 16, 1783. Library of Virginia, Full Text Document, http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/GLR/04972 Document Image. These treaties were not ratified by Congress and did not become part of the official historical record. Copies of these treaties have yet to be located

[153] Clayton, History of Davidson County, Tennessee, 136-7.

to mention politicians including his most famous son-in-law, Andrew Jackson.[154] These valuable kinship ties will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

Conclusion

Kinship was central to Cherokee and Chickasaw strategies of diplomacy and war, as well as to the motivations and tactical alliances of Anglo-Americans during the American Revolution. Kinship ordered fragment groups through matrilineal clan-based loyalty, especially relationships between maternal uncles and their nieces and nephews. For military maneuvers, kinship mattered as much as tribal affiliation and fragment groups, like those led by James Logan Colbert and Dragging Canoe, pursued the best interests of their kin. These fragment groups might also have served as active dissident groups fighting for the interests of the whole. The colonial and imperial contests in the region necessitated **action** from these decentralized societies. Kin-based dissident groups born of traditional kinship roles provided the answer. Anglo-Americans migrated with family and plotted for the increase of familial assets through intermarriage and cooperative speculation in the land market that directly grew out of pressure on American Indians to trade land for peace. Kinship guided both the motivations and the performance of diplomatic and military maneuvers.

The examples of these two American Indian families raise questions about the ways historians have viewed native diplomacy and war. For too long, native traditions have appeared to have no impact upon the negotiation of intercultural economics and politics. By suggesting the importance of kinship in shaping American Indian approaches to diplomacy and war, this work is part of a tradition of historiographical inquiries into the ways native traditions and

[154] Anita Shafer Goodstein, Nashville 1780-1860: From Frontier to City, (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1989), 46.

cultural continuities shaped their agency in the Early Republic era. Informal lineages of war or peace were created through matrilineal teaching. Kin-based divisions and factions in both the Chickasaws and the Cherokees served the larger purposes of their people as openings for active dissent against violent foes by playing European and American governments off one another. Recognizing cultural continuities is key to discerning the reasons negotiation for the region played out as it did.

Traditional kinship-based strategies guided the actions of the Cherokees and Chickasaws during the American Revolution at the same time as Anglo-Americans pushed for more lands to enrich their own kin. The American Revolution in the Southeast represented opportunities for both Anglo-Americans and American Indians to capitalize on the conflict as part of strategies to attain more land and to regain lost lands respectively. Jack Greene has argued that the rebellions of the seaboard colonists stemmed from many, multifaceted economic motivations rather than the simple ideals of "liberty" and "freedom" or even "no taxation without representation." The motives of Anglo-Americans in the backcountry were similarly economic, but perhaps less multifaceted than Greene's subjects. They engaged in a relentless pursuit of Indian lands. Individuals such as Dragging Canoe and James Colbert, with their kin-based alliances, used the Revolution as a convenient means to obtain the arms necessary to oppose these Anglo-American pursuits. When the Revolution was over and the Treaty of Paris signed, these American Indians would continue to utilize traditional strategies of diplomacy and war while also adapting to the new demands of diplomacy with the United States.

Kinship networks provided families with military support regardless of whether they fought with or against the British armies. Kinship guided individuals' decisions about with whom they sided, how they fought (as part of regular troops or kin-based militias), and what they

hoped to achieve through their alliances. Kinship would be an equally important part of decision-making in the post-Revolution era as these families pursued alliances or warfare in order to achieve political and economic goals. As in the Revolutionary period, those disparate goals included extensive land speculation, economic prosperity through trade, and land retention through military resistance. How kinship was used to pursue these goals, however, reflected the changed political and economic environment of the Trans-Appalachian frontier.

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL COMPETITION AND INTERCULTURAL ALLIANCE STRATEGIES, 1784-1800

Following the 1783 Treaty of Paris, kinship remained the foundation upon which the members of each society built their relationships to political, economic, and social institutions. Key crises such as the Chickamaugas siege of the Cumberland settlements, the conflict between North Carolina and the State of Franklin, and the Northwestern Territory wars of the 1790s illustrate that fragmentation continued to serve factional interests in each of these societies. The family case studies in this chapter represent the disparate perspectives in these dramas and show how kin-based factions turned the upheaval of the post-Revolution era to economic advantage.

After the American Revolution, many families attempted to profit from the increased Anglo-American presence in the region by investing in commercial enterprises, plantation agriculture, and booming transportation market. The ongoing work of the US army as the primary builder of roads and an active military presence on the frontier enabled some families to become suppliers for the US Army. Anglo-American demand for property in the Cumberland region also led to divergent strategies. As the Donelson family and others clamored to buy and survey former Indian lands, American Indian families like the Wards, Ridges, and Colberts made names for themselves as intercultural negotiators working to reinforce their nations' political boundaries and economic stability. Others, like Dragging Canoe and his supporters, resisted encroachment militarily and received the spoils of war. These economic strategies reflect the political atmosphere of the Trans-Appalachian frontier, but also reveal how these government

leaders and their families carved out places for themselves in the highly competitive economy that resulted from the new power-dynamics of the post-Revolution Southeast.

Part I: Donelsons' Economic & Political Strategies

After completing the trip to the Cumberland region during which they braved the rapids, arrows, cold, and hunger together, the Donelson family united in common economic and political goals. The family pooled their talents as land speculators, lawyers, planters, soldiers, and businessmen to advance members of the network in their social and economic investments. By 1797 Nashville had a population of between 250 and 300 inhabitants, of which at least thirty-nine were relatives of John Donelson.[1] The Donelson family was just one of the thousands of families who invested heavily in the land speculation market. The economic strategies of Anglo-Americans on the Trans-Appalachian frontier were not simply an extension of the commercial economy of the eastern seaboard, but were predicated on continued US territorial expansion and Trans-Appalachian Anglo-American emigration. Kinship-based networks enabled the Donelsons, and others like them, to capitalize on the land-speculation and business opportunities that both thrived on and drove the territorial expansion of the new United States.

Henderson Treaty Results in Heavy Land Speculation

The Henderson treaty had been declared invalid by the colonies of North Carolina and

[1] This number is based upon the genealogical information in Sam B. Smith and Harriet Chappell Owsley, eds., The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Volume I, 1770-1803, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 416-22 and upon letters found in this volume from Jackson addressed to his Nashville family including Robert Hays, John Caffree, William Donelson, and John Donelson in 1797, 132, 135, 161, and 167. The birth, death, and marriage dates are corroborated by references to military and civil appointments in and around Nashville noted in William Blount, The Blount Journal, 1790-1796: The proceedings of government over the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, William Blount, Esquire, in his executive department as governor, (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1955), 127-34. John Wooldridge, ed., History of Nashville, Tennessee, (Nashville: Barbee & Smith, 1890), 95-103.

Virginia because individuals, like Richard Henderson, could not legally make treaties with Indian nations. Rather than enforce the colonial mandate after the Revolution, the state of North Carolina chose to appropriate the treaty to pay its debt to Revolutionary War soldiers through land grants.[2] By assigning lands within the Henderson claim as payment for war service, the state of North Carolina simultaneously undermined Henderson's claim and affirmed the treaty.

North Carolina officials claimed that Indians, particularly the Cherokees, had forfeited their lands by allying with the British. Historian Thomas Perkins Abernethy noted, "An act passed for filling the continental battalions of the state provided that each soldier who served his full enlistment of three years should receive a prime slave and two hundred acres of land. The grant was to be located in that part of the western country which lay to the north of the Tennessee River and west of Cumberland Gap."[3] The warrants benefited land speculators more than veterans because, according to historian Kristofer Ray, "Without the means of getting to the military district, or for paying for the surveys, most veterans found that their certificates were meaningless. Faced with this reality, and with a need for real money in the post-war economic recession, many soldiers sold their claims to speculators for bargain prices."[4] The Donelsons readily took advantage of veterans' willingness to sell their land warrants. Between July 21 and July 26, 1794, Robert Hays bought up seven of these warrants, each containing 640 acres. Similarly John Donelson bought five military certificates on August 20, 1794 worth a total of 1865 acres. On April 18, 1796, William Donelson purchased the warrant from James Scurlock

[2] The Henderson Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, took place between Richard Henderson's Transylvania Land Company and the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokee's there supposedly ceded most of the current state of Kentucky and the region of Tennessee north of the Cumberland River to the Transylvania Land Company. Many Cherokees, including Dragging Canoe, opposed this cession as did the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina. For more on this treaty and its aftermath, see chapter one of this dissertation.

[3] Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee, 40-1. Finger, Tennessee Frontiers, 103.

[4] Ray, "Land Speculation," 6.

for 550 acres awarded for military service.[5] Stockley Donelson bought and sold these warrants frequently. Through such warrants the Donelson family bought up and later resold much of the region building personal empires from land sales.[6]

Donelson land speculation in the Cumberland region was an extension and drastic expansion of the types of investments John Donelson had made in Virginia. The economic environment of the Cumberland region, and the aspirations of the Donelson clan, revolved around land: land speculation, land surveys, land-ownership disputes. According to Ray, land speculation was central to the establishment of Nashville. Because Trans-Appalachian leaders and their allies in the North Carolina government were deeply involved in large-scale land speculation, the issue dominated local politics and strongly influenced those of the North Carolina, Territorial, Tennessee, and Federal legislatures. Ray argues that this partnership was destroyed in the 1790s when Washington's administration found that aggressive land speculation and the corresponding escalation of warfare had cost the country too much in revenue and lives.[7] Ultimately, Ray claims that this break helped lead to the ascendancy of the Jeffersonians, who continued to support territorial expansion, to national power and to long-term political dominance in the state. Essentially, the interests of land speculators determined the direction of

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[5] For Hays's purchases, see Timothy R. and Helen C. Marsh, eds., Land Deed Genealogy of Davidson County Tennessee, 1793-1797, vol. 2, (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1992), 88-89. For John Donelson's purchases, see Davidson County Deed Index, (A-K), Microfilm Roll A, (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives), Slides c-340 and c-341. Samuel Donelson was named as co-assignee with John on one of these warrants. For William Donelson's purchase, see ibid, slide c-494.

[6] For more on the role of speculators in the political and economic development of Tennessee, see Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee. Craig Thompson Friend presents similar analysis in his collection Buzzel about Kentucke. Both historians argue that the frontier was not the bastion of democracy and the common man as touted in earlier historiography, but rather that the economic and political development of such regions were largely controlled by moneyed elites who speculated heavily in western lands.

[7] Kristofer Ray, "Land Speculation, Popular Democracy and Political Transformation on the Tennessee Frontier, 1780-1800." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 61:3, September 2003, 160-81. Ray's argument, as well as my own, builds upon the works of John Finger who presents contests over land as the central feature of frontier interaction. See Finger, Tennessee Frontiers.

the state vote at a critical juncture.[8] As conflict between officials declined and the effectiveness of Indian resistance to the encroachment diminished, resolution of conflicting legal claims through the judicial system became an important part of the land speculation industry dependant upon the actions and decisions of lawyers, judges, and surveyors.

Land markets for the Donelsons were alive with possibilities for speculation and incredible financial gain.[9] Their ideals of market possibilities revolved not around credit and wage labor, though both were part of their ventures, but around exploiting the cheap land and lack of mercantile competition to its fullest. Personal relationships in the Donelson family network produced real gains in wealth and stature for its members that defied strict definitions of markets. The right investments in the marital market could be the best way for a family to capitalize on the booming economic opportunities available. Historian Anita Shafer Goodstein notes that "Land speculation... was the pursuit of men whose total pattern of actions adds up to a

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[8] Ray, "Land Speculation," further argues that while most white males were able to vote, trends of deference led them to put speculators in positions of power. He states, "In the Mero District the trend away from wider political participation was particularly pronounced, as seven out of eight legislators and eighteen of twenty-four county court judges were either speculators or employed by them," 168. He names Stockley Donelson and John Donelson among 'the leading speculators in this period' along with James Robertson with whom John Donelson Sr. coordinated the initial settlement journeys to Nashville, 180.

[9] The histories of the development of economic and legal infrastructures in new cultural and political borderlands, like the Cumberland region, illuminate the ways in which these institutions were utilized and transformed in the process of re-forming societies in the face of cultural competition. Most works on these topics assume interplay of economy and law as people attempted to recreate the societies from which they came. Few, however, make the relationship explicit in ways that help explain how the interplay of law and economy yielded profitable relationships like those of the Donelson family. Deborah Rosen's book, Courts and Commerce: Gender, Law, and the Market Economy in Colonial New York, describes the discourse between law and economy as the colony evolved into a primarily commercial center. However, much of her work disputes that of Allan Kulikoff by engaging definitions of market and arguing that the economic interactions in the British-American colonies were not characterized by romantic communitarian values, but rather impersonal commercial interaction. Similarly, Kulikoff describes mutually exclusive "households and markets" as better representations of early American commerce than a chronological periodization of market interaction. His strict definition of 'market' creates problems when applied to the Trans-Appalachian frontier environment. Deborah A. Rosen, Courts and Commerce: Gender, Law and the Market Economy in Colonial New York, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997) and Allan Kulikoff, "Households and Markets: Toward a New Synthesis of American Agrarian History" The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 50, No. 2, (April 1993), 342-355. For a definition of "markets" that better fits the model of the Cumberland settlements, see Walter S. Dunn, Jr., Opening New Markets: The British Army and the Old Northwest, (London: Praeger Publishers, 2002).

picture not so much of adventurers as of entrepreneurs, commercially minded, unspecialized, buying capital however they might."[10] The Donelson family integrated land speculation, legal careers, and other economic ventures to take advantage of the interconnected opportunities for vast profits based upon the booming land market.

Early tax lists for Tennessee indicate that between 1796 and 1815 members of the Donelson family network owned land in Davidson, Wilson, Williamson, Maury, Knox, Grainger, Sevier, Robertson, White, Sumner, Montgomery, Campbell, Blount and Greene counties in Tennessee.[11] Members of this family network also speculated heavily in lands that would become parts of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi as well.[12] Wide-ranging land speculation became the foundation of the Donelson family wealth resulting in several large plantations that were passed down through the generations.[13] This speculation was facilitated by the family network and was predicated on the ability to obtain land cessions from Indians.

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[10] An excellent article on this conjunction of legal and economic interests is Anita Goodstein's "Leadership on the Nashville Frontier, 1780-1800," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, Vol. 35(2), 1976: 175-198, quotation on 197.

[11] Sistler, Byron and Barbara. Index to Early Tennessee Tax Lists. (Evanston, IL: Byron Sistler & Associates, 1977), 55, 90, 102, 104.

[12] For an account of speculation in Chickasaw Territory prior to Indian Removal, see Mary Elizabeth Young's Redskins, Ruffleshirts and Rednecks: Indian allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), as well as Nina Leftwich's Two Hundred Years at Muscle Shoals, Being an Authentic History of Colbert County, 1700-1900, With Special Emphasis on the Stirring Events of the Early Times, (Tuscumbia, AL: 1935). Clayton's History of Davidson County has an interesting account of the Donelson land speculation ventures in Georgia near Muscle Shoals including the official appointment of Colonel John Donelson as surveyor for the venture, 135.

[13] "Donelson File," TSLA, includes newspaper articles on Stockely Donelson's plantation and the Hermitage. Not all economic interchange within the Donelson family network ended positively. In an 1803 case before the Superior Court of Tennessee, Thomas Hutchings sued his brother-in-law Stockley Donelson claiming that the latter had in effect stolen a plat belonging to Hutchings and sold it as his own to pay his debts to the firm of Mayberry, Jackson, and Miller. The case abated due to the deaths of both Hutchings and Donelson before a verdict was reached. *Hutchings v. Mayberry, Jackson, and Miller*, Superior Courts of Law and Equity for the State of Tennessee, Hamilton District, Manuscript case pleadings, (Knoxville: Supreme Court Building, transcribed by Dr. Judy Cornett, 2001), Adjudicated March Term 1805. Abstracted Book 1, 13-32 and *Miller v. Hutchings and Donalson*, Superior Courts of Law and Equity for the State of Tennessee, Hamilton District, Manuscript case pleadings, (Knoxville: Supreme Court Building, transcribed by Dr. Judy Cornett, 2001), Adjudicated September Term 1806. Abstracted Book 1, 33-35.

Land Speculation, Surveyors, and Lawyers

Surveyors' positions yielded great rewards in an economy based upon land speculation. Colonel John Donelson utilized these skills both in Virginia and in the new Cumberland settlements. At least three of his sons, John, Stockley, and William, and at least two of his sons-in-law, Thomas Hutchings and Robert Hays, were also official surveyors.[14] These skills helped to build the Donelson family holdings. Many veterans could not afford the survey fees or to travel to the military reserve. The Donelsons had political connections that facilitated their connections to the land office, including four surveyors in the family network. Stockley Donelson, Secretary of the State of North Carolina, frequently traveled to and from the state capital to visit family or check on his holdings in the Cumberland region. His trips provided the rest of the Donelsons with a convenient means of getting documents to the land office there. Similarly, individuals who could survey the land for themselves, as many of the Donelson men did, need not pay survey fees at all and knew where to find the choicest lands. John Donelson, Sr., John Donelson, Jr., and Stockley Donelson achieved high surveyor positions within county and state governments receiving appointments as Principal Surveyor, Assistant Surveyor, and Surveyor General respectively. These positions generated not only higher economic status, but also prominent social and political positions that grew out of growing social networks built upon

[14] See Marsh and Marsh, Land Deed Genealogy, 3 vols. A surveyor on the Trans-Appalachian frontier faced a multitude of dangers in addition to the opportunities. Jerry Price, in his Tennessee History of Survey and Land Law, lists accounts of several surveyors losing their lives to Indian attacks and that due to the danger, "little, if any, actual field [was] work carried out during this period. The surveyors took the warrants and entries made upon military warrants and made out plats without ever seeing the lands, in most cases, and returned them to the Secretary's office in great numbers, and grants were issued upon them." The Donelsons likely faced somewhat less danger as many of the tracts they surveyed existed on the boundaries of properties that they or their brothers already owned. Jerry K. Price, Tennessee History of Survey and Land Law, (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, 1976), 186-87. Price's book ends with the telling comment, "When I die and if I should be reincarnated, let me return as a surveyor: a worthy, fulfilling profession," 198.

land speculation markets.[15]

The Donelsons also collaborated by buying and selling land to members of their family and to outsiders, as well as granting power-of-attorney to one another to make such sales. One example of this interconnection in land sales involved a purchase made by Stockley Donelson and William Terrell from the state of North Carolina and then sold to Thomas Hutchings:

> **Stockley Donelson** & William T. Lewis _ Feb 26, 1798
> North Carolina Grant No. 356. For 10 lbs per 100 acres paid by **Stockley Donelson** and William T. Lewis was granted a tract of land containing 640 acres in Davidson County on the south side of Cumberland River in Jones Bent about one quarter of a mile above **Donelsons Ford** and Jones Bluff. **Surveyed** for said Donelson and Lewis by **John Donelson** 3/1/1792, W.No. 321. Located 3/1/1784. Dated (no date given).[16]
>
> **Thomas Hutchens [Hutchings]** – May 14, 1798
> This indenture made 4 Dec 1797 between **Stockley Donelson** of Chatham county, State of North Carolina of the one part and **Thomas Hutchens** of Davidson County of the other part. **Stockley Donelson** conveyed unto **Thomas Hutchens** 320 acres of land on the south side of Cumberland River in Jones Bent, being and undivided part of 640 acres in joint with William T. Lewis and joining Jones Bluff and **John Donelson's corner**. Wit: **John Hutchens [Hutchings]** and Daniel Small. **Signed by John Donelson, attorney for Stockley Donelson**. Apr Term 1798.[17]

John Donelson, brother of Stockley Donelson and brother-in-law to Thomas Hutchings, surveyed this piece of land and then later certified the transaction between the in-laws as Stockley's attorney. By utilizing the positions of surveyor and lawyer as collective assets, the Donelsons built their separate fortunes and furthered those of their family members. Each person benefited individually, but their familial ties enabled the whole to prosper through such assets as proximity, lower fees, trusted legal witnesses, and reliable neighbors.

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[15] Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 306. Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 75. For more on the political positions held by the Donelson family, see the first chapter of this dissertation. While familial networks were not the only social networks that knit together frontier elites, they were among the most effective and durable of those networks.

[16] Helen C. and Timothy R. Marsh, eds., Land Deed Genealogy of Davidson County Tennessee, 1797-1803, vol. 3, (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1992), 11. Emphasis added.

[17] Ibid, 31. Emphasis added.

The economic environment of the new Cumberland settlements, especially the booming land speculation market, enabled men of modest means to acquire, through utilizing social and political networks, the capital and personal connections necessary to invest in land. Lawyers had the opportunity to collect capital that could be invested in wildly profitable land deals. In early Nashville, men of modest beginnings could rise socially by studying law, collecting capital, and making the right connections. Only with the right connections could a lawyer become landowner and then a politician with local, regional, state, and national possibilities. Wealth and power grew out of large-landownership and landownership grew out of the right investments and connections with individuals who would assist in the advancement of interests common to himself and his associates. The addition of several lawyers to the Donelson land speculators and surveyors only served to strengthen their position in the litigious competition for land and influence in the Cumberland region.

The land speculation based economy generated an abundance of litigation over overlapping boundary lines and contested deed ownership. Surveyed land did not always guarantee clear title or undisputed boundaries, especially when land was surveyed from the inside of a fort. As historian Jerry Price noted, "the Judges of Tennessee… would not receive the plats and water-courses laid down in [land grants] as locative evidence in the controversies concerning boundaries."[18] Surveyors were employed to verify boundaries in such claims. Similarly, having lawyers within the family could be of use to those involved in land purchasing.[19] As well as being knowledgeable about land law, the lawyers in the family,

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[18] Price, Tennessee History of Survey and Land Law, 187.

[19] In Kentucky, claims Stephen Aron, "a French traveler sadly determined that Kentuckians 'would hardly know how to buy a piece of land without involving themselves in a lawsuit, often ruinous, always long and wearing.'…Legislators wrestled with the problems of widespread landlessness and universal uncertainty about titles." Aron, How the West Was Lost, 82. Tennessee faced similar problems, but for the Donelson family such litigation brought prosperity more often than ruin.

Andrew Jackson, Samuel Donelson, and Robert Hays, provided a form of insurance for those involved in speculation. They could be credible witnesses to contracts (as seen earlier in this paper in Thomas Hutchings' 1798 contract with Stockley Donelson), trusted with the power-of-attorney to execute deals or collect debts, and could be counted upon to take the cases of family members involved in land disputes.

The Donelson lawyers also leaned upon one another for professional support. Stockely Donelson, in particular, frequently prevailed upon his brother-in-law, Andrew Jackson, to take cases regarding Donelson's land claims or those of men for whom Donelson scouted or surveyed pieces of land. For example on August 3, 1792 Stockley sent this request to Jackson:

> …their is a writ of Ejectment Sevd. on Capt. John Kearnes and Capt. John Sawyears for the Wright of the Land & possession whereon they now live which Land I sold them and am bound to make the Title to them therefore have to defend the Suit the one Servd on Kearnes I leave with this letter for your Perusal and wish you to take Such measures as is Most adviseable Also woud be glad youd call on Kearns and Sawyears; The Suit is Brought by one Jeremiah Chamberlain claiming by the advantage of Obtaining the first Grant by fraudulently obtaining the Same by Suprenumery warrants. My wrighs were by early Special Entries in Armstrongs office Pray Sir Enter yourself as attorney for the Defendants Sawyears & Kearns and Not Suffer a Judgement Immediately to be obtaind, I Shall be at the Court but Perhaps late…[20]

In sending such a letter, Stockley Donelson gave Jackson little room to refuse or defer to another named individual. He further gave Jackson power-of-attorney to handle land deals for him on September 10, 1792 calling him "my Trusty friend."[21] Donelson made similar requests of Jackson throughout their relationship which ended in 1805 with Stockley Donelson's death.[22]

Jackson also intervened on behalf of another brother-in-law, Alexander "Sandy" Donelson, in a dispute with the heirs of Anthony Bledsoe over title to a piece of land in August

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[20] Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 36-37. Spelling and punctuation as in original.

[21] Ibid, 38.

[22] Ibid, 417.

of 1797. Jackson gave his brother-in-law, Robert Hays, power-of-attorney "to Receive from the Treasurer of the United States, all Sums of Money due & Oweing to me, for my Services done and performed as Attorney General."[23] Samuel Donelson, while on a buying trip for the mercantile firm he co-owned with Jackson, asked Jackson,

> If you should not go down to Tenessee Court you will get Mr. Searcy [a friend of Jackson's] to do my business in that Court The Suits are as follows…I am for the Dfft. and in my pocket book you will find the copy of Oldhams depositon which will be sufficient to base the suit upon it being illegally done and if not in first Espinass you will find law anoughf to supporte the Defence; …[24]

Future generations of the Donelson family continued to join the legal profession, including Stockley Donelson Hays in 1812, Andrew Jackson Donelson in 1823, and a future Samuel Donelson who served as the clerk of the Criminal Court of Donelson County in 1878.[25] As members of the Donelson family network, these lawyers were obligated to assist family members with their legal concerns, as well as their docket loads.

Donelsons in Politics

The Donelson family network filled a variety of governmental positions, mostly within the judicial branch, that gave them access to knowledge and power that supported their familial economic agendas. Many Donelsons and Donelson in-laws became justices on the county and state courts. Brothers-in-law Captain John Donelson and Robert Hays both served as justices for the Davidson County Court in 1789. The next year, Andrew Jackson, was appointed Attorney General for the Mero District of North Carolina, also known as the Cumberland region, shortly

[23] "Power of Attorney to Robert Hays, December 12, 1794," Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 52.

[24] "Samuel Donelson to Andrew Jackson, June 29, 1795," in Ibid, 62-63.

[25] Clayton, History of Davidson County, 95-97.

before he married Rachel Donelson, the sister of the two justices. Hays also served as chairman for the "Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions at Nashborough" in 1791. In 1792, Jackson was appointed Judge Advocate for Davidson County.[26] In 1796, Samuel Donelson became a justice for the Davidson County court, followed in that position the next year by his brother, William Donelson, and brother-in-law, Thomas Hutchings. Jackson served as a state Superior Court Judge from June 1798 through June of 1804 when he resigned from that position after being appointed the major-general of the militia.[27] With these positions, the Donelson family network created ties within all businesses and government offices related to land speculation which brought them immense profit.[28]

The legislative and executive positions occupied by the Donelsons helped to ensure that the local, state, and federal governments supported US territorial expansion. Colonel John Donelson had been elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses just prior to the American Revolution. In 1790, John Donelson, Jr. and Robert Hays were appointed justices of the peace for Davidson County.[29] Stockley Donelson was appointed by President George Washington to

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[26] William Blount, Blount Journal, pp 41, 46, and 66.

[27] Ely, Legal Papers of Andrew Jackson. For Donelson family members' positions with the various state and county courts, see Clayton, History of Davidson County, 88-93. William Donelson also served as justice for the Davidson County court in 1805 and 1828. Samuel Donelson's father-in-law, Daniel Smith, served as a Senator for Tennessee from Dec. 3, 1798 to March 3, 1799 and from Dec. 2, 1805 to March 3, 180. While Smith was a part of the Donelson family network beginning with his daughter's marriage to Samuel Donelson in 1796, he was reluctant for the families to be joined. Smith disowned his daughter until the couple had their first child a year later. Their third child, born in 1801, was named Daniel Smith Donelson. See Clayton, History of Davidson County, 95 and Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 414.

[28] Donelson connections to valuable positions in the government, legal profession, and surveyor's office mirrored vertical integration model of business. According to www.businessdictionary.com, the vertical integration business model is defined as "Merger of firms at different stages of production and/or distribution in the same industry. When a firm acquires its input supplier it is called backward integration, when it acquires firms in its output distribution chain it is called forward integration. For example, a vertically integrated oil firm may end up owning oilfields, refineries, tankers, trucks, and gas (petrol) filling stations." The Donelsons operated similarly by integrating land speculators, surveyors, lawyers, and lawmakers into their familial network providing allies at each stage of the land speculation business.

[29] Blount, Blount Journal, 41.

be a council member in the Upper House of the Territorial Legislature for the Territory South of the River Ohio.[30] Upon statehood in 1796, Andrew Jackson was named a representative for Tennessee in Congress. He immediately followed this year-long appointment with another year as a Congressional Senator for the state, but resigned in June 1798 to serve as a Judge for the Superior Court of Law and Equity for Tennessee.[31]

Jackson's six years as a Superior Court justice were followed by a commission as major-general of the state militia, the highest military office in the state, much like John Donelson's military commission in Virginia. The militia offered the Donelson family network prestige and connections to other prominent men in the area which often translated into business connections. Military victories on the frontier were also often accompanied by Indian land cessions, adding to the value of military service for the Donelsons. Militias on the Trans-Appalachian frontier took on especially important roles for the community providing a semblance of protection and acting as the proving ground for a man's reliability, bravery, and leadership skills. These qualities, or their absence, in a leader meant life or death for the men in the company. The militia became a symbol of masculinity and a stepping stone into local politics. If a man could prove his manhood and leadership skills in a militia, he gained credibility with the populace. Deference on the Trans-Appalachian frontier was accorded to men of property, but with additional requirements unique to the frontier. According to historian Elizabeth Perkins, "Newcomers to office ... began their political careers with a fiery speech before their militia regiments, rather than a patronage-

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[30] On Stockley Donelson, see Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 93; Blount, Journal, 37 and 99; and Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 303.

[31] Robert Remini, Andrew Jackson, (New York: Harper-Perennial, 1999), 33.

seeking visit to a local grandee."[32] Marksmanship and courage in battle were among the traits most valued in the Cumberland region. Due to the fierce resistance of Chickamauga Cherokees to Anglo-American settlement, the Donelson men had plenty of opportunities to prove both.

Of the eleven sons and sons-in-law of Colonel John Donelson, at least eight of them held military titles, including (General) Andrew Jackson, (Colonel) Robert Hays, (Colonel) Stockely Donelson, (Major) Alexander Donelson, (Captain) John Donelson Jr., (Ensign) Samuel Donelson, (Colonel) John Caffrey, and (Colonel) Thomas Hutchings.[33] William Donelson, Stockley Donelson, and Robert Hays received commissions as Lieutenant Colonels within the Davidson County militia.[34] Such family dedication to military involvement was a testament to both the importance of the military to the community and to the importance of militia activity in attaining local prominence.[35]

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[32] Elizabeth Perkins, Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 148-9.

[33] Clement, History of Pittsylvania County, 153. Clement notes that many of the Henry family accompanied the Donelson family in their move to the Tennessee country. Haywood, Civil and Political History, 99 notes that Hugh Henry's boat was sunk, but that the family escaped alive in the famed voyage that helped to found Nashville documented in the Donelson Journal.

[34] On Stockley Donelson, see Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 93; Blount, Journal, 37 and 99; and Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 303. On John Donelson, Sr., see Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 307. On William Donelson, see Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 303 and Blount, Journal, 102. On Robert Hays, see Blount, Journal, 41.

[35] For the militia's importance to the community and its political nature, see Ray, "Land Speculation," 7-8, 19-21. For its implications on masculinity, see Nathaniel Sheidley, "Unruly Men: Indians, Settlers, and the Ethos of Frontier Patriarchy in the Upper Tennessee Watershed, 1763-1815" (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1999). For a similar phenomenon in Kentucky, see Stephen Aron, How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 25-33, 54-57, 155-56. For the military titles claimed by the Donelsons, see Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, as well as the Blount Journal pages 37, 42, 46, 50-3, 56, 102. For Alexander Donelson's military role, see Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, 365. For an account of the interaction of General Andrew Jackson, Major Alexander Donelson, Captain John Donelson, and General John Coffee during the War of 1812, see Clayton, History of Davidson County, 77-83. For more on masculinity and military careers, see Glover, Southern Sons, 152-157 and Harry S. Laver, "Refuge of Manhood: Masculinity and the Militia Experience in Kentucky," in Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, eds. Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

Land Speculators and Treaty Commissioners

Indian relations constituted another important political sphere for members of the Donelson family who secured positions as United States Commissioners and Agents to the Southeastern Indians. Colonel John Donelson, General Andrew Jackson, and General John Coffee all served as commissioners, representatives of the US government, at treaty negotiations with the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and other tribes. Prior to his death in 1786, Colonel Donelson was a US Commissioner traveling to the Southeastern nations, including the towns of the Chickamauga Cherokees, endeavoring to negotiate a peace that would deliver the Cumberland settlements from the ongoing siege. John Coffee was also the US Agent to the Chickasaw Indians during and after the War of 1812 and Creek War. These positions completed the vertical integration of Donelson family careers in the land speculation business. They fought the native peoples, negotiated the treaties to end the fighting and purchase native lands, surveyed the newly available lands, bought those lands, litigated over disputed boundaries, adjudicated the cases, and made and kept laws within the region carved out of Indian lands. In these positions, the Donelsons most often came into contact with members of Cherokee and Chickasaw elite families, including the Colberts, Little Carpenter, and Dragging Canoe. This does not mean that the members of the Donelson family network supported one another uniformly, that all battles against Indians were actually about securing more land for the family to speculate in, or that judges were automatically predisposed to ensure the success of cases brought by family members. It did, however, mean that members of the family had knowledge of every business associated with land speculation. It also meant that the family was poised for economic success even where individual members failed or fell to the physical or economic dangers of the

contested region. [36]

The legal, military, and governmental offices filled by members of the Donelson family helped to establish the family's esteemed place in the region. Their positions as lawyers, military officers, and government officials proved their dedication to the community while also strengthening the Anglo-American hold on the Cumberland Region. Together law, economic opportunity, and family reveal much about the economic strategies of the Anglo-American local elite on the Trans-Appalachian frontier. There land and mercantile speculation could be augmented by the possibilities afforded to men who embraced a career in law. The Donelsons used their familial network to take advantage of the many possibilities opened by a booming land speculation industry and the new markets that industry created in the frontier community of Nashville. Of the families in this study, only the Donelsons employed land speculation as an economic strategy. US territorial expansion, and land speculation particularly, directly opposed the motives behind the economic strategies of the Chickasaw and Cherokee families: land retention and reinforcing native political sovereignty.

Part II: Treaties, Alliances, & Resistance

None of the American Indian families in this dissertation engaged in land-speculation based economic strategies. Instead, some of those families worked to halt westward expansion

[36] For Colonel John Donelson's role in the 1783 treaties with the Southeastern nations, see Clayton, History of Davidson County, 39, 42. Andrew Jackson was a treaty commissioner for several treaties with the Cherokee and the Chickasaw from 1816 to 1818, see Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837: with A Copious Table of Contents, (Washington DC: Langtree and O'Sullivan: 1837; Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), 199-201, 208-15, 261-64. John Coffee was a commissioner for the 1816 treaty with the Choctaws (see Ibid 204-205) and for the 1832 treaty with the Chickasaws (see Ibid, 513-27). Daniel Smith was a commissioner for the 1804 and 1805 treaties between the US and the Cherokee and witnessed several other treaties, see Ibid 108-09, 124-25.

through diplomacy.[37] Others used military opposition to reverse the encroachment by making the losses in Anglo-American lives and property unacceptable to those living on Indian claimed land. Whether native families embraced strategies of alliance or resistance, their political and economic strategies worked toward the goal of reinforcing Chickasaw and Cherokee political sovereignty and land retention in the face of immense pressure from their Anglo-American neighbors like the Donelsons.

The Hopewell Treaties

The negotiations of 1783 failed to produce viable treaties between the United States and the Southeastern Indian nations. John Donelson had been brought before the Virginia governor for betraying the state's interest in order to pursue his own agenda. Although no charges were ultimately leveled against Donelson, when new treaties with the Chickasaw and Cherokee nations were negotiated Donelson was not among the new US treaty commissioners.[38]

Negotiations of the Treaty of Hopewell, convened at the town of Hopewell, on the Keowee River on November 28, 1785, highlighted the roles of Little Carpenter and his descendants, Nancy Ward and Dragging Canoe in pursuing familial economic strategies. As noted in Chapter 3, Cherokee chief The Tassell rebuked the 1775 Henderson Treaty during the Hopewell treaty negotiation and denied that several Cherokee chiefs would have signed such a document,

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[37] These new "civilized" Indian governments were intended to maximize the benefits Indians received in trade from the United States. Indian officials adopted cultural markers that their diplomatic counterparts in the US felt signifiers of "civilization" while maintaining the key cultural components that made up their Chickasaw and Cherokee identities. The nuances of this process will be explored in detail through the rest of this chapter and in chapter five.

[38] For more on the 1783 treaties and Donelson's role in the negotiations, see Chapter 3.

> The people of North Carolina have taken our lands without consideration, and are now making their fortunes out of them. I know Richard Henderson says he purchased the lands at Kentucky, and as far as Cumberland, but he is a rogue and a liar, and if he was here I would tell him so... If Attakullakulla [Little Carpenter] signed this deed, we were not informed of it; but we know that Oconostota [Dragging Canoe's great uncle] did not, yet we hear his name is to it. Henderson put it there, and he is a rogue.[39]

This quotation indicates not only that the oral tradition of the Cherokee contested the written historical record of the Henderson Treaty proceedings, but also that the Cumberland region was as thoroughly contested in 1785 as in 1776. Nancy Ward spoke before the assembly requesting that, "The talk that I give you is from the young warriors, as well as from myself. They rejoice that we have peace, and hope that the chain of friendship will never be broken."[40] The Treaty of Hopewell was intended to end the hostilities between the Cherokee and the Cumberland settlements thereby returning the parties to their former trading relationship. However, it failed to address the central issue of those hostilities – the appropriation of the Cherokees' profitable hunting grounds in the Cumberland region in the highly suspect Henderson treaty.

The commissioners, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, Joseph Martin, and Lachlan McIntosh, insisted that the cession was valid and that this treaty would respect the boundaries established by the Henderson Treaty. The treaty also demanded the return of slaves, property, and prisoners taken in attacks on the Cumberland settlements. Dragging Canoe, representing his own group of young warriors who had claimed those people and property as the spoils of war, did not sign this treaty but rather began anew the siege of the settlements.[41]

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[39] Brown, Old Frontiers, 249. See also Brent Alan Yanusdi Cox, Heart of the Eagle: Dragging Canoe and the Emergence of the Chickamauga Confederacy, (Milan, TN: Chenanee Publishers, 1999), 34-39.

[40] Brown, Old Frontiers, 250.

[41] Brown, Old Frontiers, 251. A copy of this treaty is available in Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778 to 1837, New Edition, (Washington, DC: Langtree and O'Sullivan, 1837, Reprint: Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), 8-11.

Although Little Carpenter had died prior to this treaty, his authority within the tribe remained part of the oral history and his niece replicated his efforts to create a lasting peace between the Anglo-Americans and the Cherokees. Dragging Canoe replicated Oconostota's resistance to the imposed boundaries. Kinship helps explain how Cherokees reacted to the both the Henderson Treaty and the reinforcement of the boundaries drawn there through the Hopewell Treaty a decade later. Each side represented differing kin-based economic agendas.

The Chickasaw nation also signed a treaty at Hopewell just over a month later at the same place on January 10, 1786. This treaty likewise delineated the tribe's boundaries, required that prisoners be returned, and promised that the US rather than the states would be authorized to regulate trade. The Chickasaws, however, lacked the motivation to continue warfare against the US once Fort Jefferson was abandoned. Instead, the agreement provided the potential for a valuable trade relationship.[42] They had signed a treaty with the Spanish on June 23, 1784 establishing a similar trade relationship.[43] The Chickasaws utilized various kin-based factions to take advantage of several governments vying for their trade.

Cherokee Allies, Chickamauga Enemies

Joseph Martin, Virginia and North Carolina's appointed agent to the Cherokees, married Elizabeth "Betsy" Ward in 1777 to improve diplomatic and economic relations between the two formerly warring governments by cementing his place in the tribe as a relative of one of the most prominent families of that nation. To fulfill his political obligations, Martin embraced Cherokee

[42] Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778 to 1837, New Edition, (Washington, DC: Langtree and O'Sullivan, 1837, Reprint: Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), 15-17.

[43] Deloria and DeMallie, Documents, 125-127.

cultural norms that drastically differed from, and even contradicted, Anglo-American beliefs about marriage and gender roles. Despite Christian doctrine against polygamy and sexual relations outside of church-sanctioned marriages, Martin maintained one family in Virginia and another in the Cherokee towns of Long Island and Citico.[44] Establishing diplomatic ties through his familial connections and honoring his obligations in the Cherokee nation required rejecting Anglo-American definitions of marriage and gender norms at least while he remained within the Nation. His actions contrasted sharply with those of Creek agent, Benjamin Hawkins, who worked to make his agency a model of Anglo-American cultural norms so that Creeks might emulate proper marriages and gender roles. However, Martin's behavior, rather than Hawkins's, typifies Anglo-American responses to the demands of transacting political or economic business with American Indians in the Southeast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Because Indian politics revolved around kinship categorizing people into "kin" and "enemies," Martin and others found that they needed native kin to do their jobs as agents, diplomats, or traders.[45] Gaining native kin trumped the dictates of their own culture that made marrying native women taboo at best and threatened to jeopardize one's very soul at worst.

Martin's position as an intermediary between the Cherokees and the Anglo-Americans made him vulnerable to both sides. He found himself leading military expeditions against both the Chickamauga towns and against rogue militias that burned Cherokee towns. This ambivalence made him the target of many North Carolinians' disdain.[46]

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[44] Cynthia Cumfer describes the couple as having two homes in the Cherokee nation, one at Long Island on the Holston and another at Citico. Cumfer, Separate Peoples, 35.

[45] Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians, 9-13.

[46] Brown, Old Frontiers, 245.

After North Carolina extended its laws over the Watauga and Cumberland settlements in 1783, Martin was appointed the Indian Agent to the Cherokee for North Carolina.[47] The following year representatives of the Watauga settlements declared their independence from North Carolina as the sovereign state of Franklin. John Sevier led a Franklinite militia on an Indian campaign against the Upper Towns of the Cherokee destroying several towns and wounding Betsy Ward, Martin's Cherokee wife, in the process. Martin, who had recently been appointed Brigadier General by North Carolina's Governor Caswell, recommended military action against Sevier and the Franklinites for their rebellion against North Carolina and their unsanctioned actions against the Cherokee allies of that state. Those recommendations were approved and Martin himself led the expedition charged with detaining Sevier for questioning by the North Carolina. Sevier ultimately escaped and the conflict between North Carolina and Franklin was resolved by the Federal Government's creation of the "Territory South of the River Ohio."[48] Martin remained the agent to the Cherokees and one of the commissioners of treaties between that tribe and the US government through 1789. This marriage illustrates the ongoing commitment of the Wolf clan to maintaining peace between the Upper Towns and the

[47] Ibid.

[48] Sevier and several other prominent men in the Watauga settlements in 1783 began pushing for statehood separate from North Carolina's government because, they argued, North Carolina was not defending communities west of the Appalachian Mountains from their Indian enemies. After declaring themselves a separate state and electing their own government officials, the Franklinites met federal opposition in addition to North Carolina's. North Carolina attempted to enforce its laws, including taxation, on the Franklinites by calling upon loyal military men like Joseph Martin. The Franklinites finally conceded defeat in 1788, but were in part vindicated a year later when the federal government created a new territorial government for the lands North Carolina claimed beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The State of Franklin received much historiographical coverage, but has been addressed only tangentially in recent years. For more on the movement, resistance, and resolution, see Noel B. Gerson, Franklin: America's "Lost State," (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1968); Thomas Perkins Abernethy, "The State of Franklin" in From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy, (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1967), 64-90; Kristofer Ray, Middle Tennessee 1775-1825: Progress and Popular Democracy on the Southwestern Frontier, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 9; Malcolm Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850, 3rd ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 29-30; and Kevin Barksdale, The Lost State of Franklin: America's First Secession, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008).

neighboring governments of Virginia and North Carolina. Interestingly, however, Martin himself frequently launched military expeditions against his wife's cousin in the Chickamauga towns during his time as Indian agent.[49]

The failure of the treaties between the Cherokees and the United States in 1783 and 1785 to address the reason for Chickamauga military resistance, the contested Henderson Treaty, resulted in perpetuating that resistance. Whereas negotiation between diplomats promised the potential for peaceful coexistence of modern democratic republics, the US government's commitment to territorial expansion, settlers' disrespect for the boundaries set in treaties, and the frontier violence that resulted gave the lie to these promises for peace.

Violence continued to wrack the region. Colonel John Donelson was killed in the spring of 1786, possibly by Indians, while traveling from Kentucky to the Cumberland region.[50] Even after British support had disappeared with the close of the American Revolution, Dragging Canoe and his relations pursued a concerted effort over decades to resist that encroachment by making settlement of native lands economically infeasible. Kin-networks became military units that made Chickamauga warfare against the Cumberland settlements possible. The Chickamaugas used warfare as a means to achieve the economic ends of reclaiming valuable hunting grounds. Their raiding served as a profitable economic strategy, simultaneously

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[49] Ramsey, Annals, 266-76, 417. The dynamics of this relationship have received at most a line or two in the histories of Cherokee-US diplomacy. Martin served as the agent to the Cherokee, remained married to his wife in Virginia, and pursued some land speculation on the Cherokee lands at Muscle Shoals. Similarly, some accounts hint that Wolf clan men, including Nancy Ward's brother and son, fought occasionally with the Chickamauga warriors. Further exploration of the relationship between Martin, Betsy Ward, and her family would surely reveal much about the relationship between family and intercultural diplomacy in the early republic era. For more on the complexities of intercultural marriages in this period, see Theda Perdue, "'A Sprightly Lover Is the Most Prevailing Missionary': Intermarriage between Europeans and Indians in the Eighteenth-Century South," in Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians, Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, eds., (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 165-178.

[50] Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 309-310. Aiken notes that the two young men that were traveling with Donelson were suspect for his death because the deceased's saddlebags disappeared with him. They were cleared when both the body and the saddlebags were found. Indians were then blamed for Donelson's death. Ramsey, Annals, 345.

depriving Anglo-Americans of their property and supplying the Chickamaugas towns with horses, slaves, and trade goods.

Cherokee attitudes toward slavery and race shaped Chickamauga Cherokee strategies for resistance. Historian Theda Perdue argues that slaves in Cherokee society prior to 1800 held less value as laborers than they did as barter for trade which yielded concrete and immediate gains to the selling captor. Slaves became more valuable as demand from white markets increased first for Indian slaves and later for black slaves. Slaves were kidnapped from one part of the frontier to be sold to white plantations in another part. As the opportunity for profit from selling captives grew, warfare increased among native groups often instigated by white resident traders.[51] Blacks rarely became allies of the Cherokees because of the stigma of inferiority attached to blacks by whites. The Cherokees perceived such an alliance as disadvantageous in their dealings with the whites. Such reluctance toward an alliance with blacks did not exist among the Chickamauga who had little need of white approbation.[52] Chickamauga Cherokees inherited views of blacks as alien and exploitable from their Cherokee roots, but their purpose of expelling the white population reigned superior to older ideas including ancient rivalries against other political powers, indigenous and European. The Chickamauga created several multiethnic communities in their hideaway towns on the lower Tennessee River which included slave and freed blacks.

[51] Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, xi-49. For more on the Indian slave trade, see Alan Gallay, The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). For a different geographical context, see James Brooks, Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands, (Chapel Hill, NC: Univerity of North Carolina Press, 2002).

[52] Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 46; Halliburton, Red over Black, 139-140; and Hatley, The Dividing Paths, 225. Hatley argues that Chickamauga Indians had no need to please Anglo-American diplomats and thus were willing to incorporate runaway slaves into the Chickamauga towns and the resistance movement.

Slaves became a focal point of the Chickamauga plans of destruction along with other property and the lives of the enemy themselves.

Chickamaugas took every opportunity to pillage and inflict losses on their enemies. Dozens of letters from the Indian agents to the Cherokee demanded the return of slaves taken from white estates. William Blount, governor of the Territory South of the Ohio River, wrote to the Cherokee Chiefs, "I would advise you to deliver up at the Tellico block house, to John McKee, without delay, all the deserters, prisoners, negroes, and horses; then the people of Kentucky can have no more cause to invade your country."[53] John Sevier wrote to the "Chiefs and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation" that "Also some black people that was taken from the same place [Kentucky] (a woman and three children that belonged to general Logan of that country)."[54] He wrote again less than three weeks later requesting the return of some slaves taken from George Colbert of the Chickasaw nation, "You know it is wrong to stop people for horses, for negroes is not horses though they are black…I wish you and the Chickasaws to live as brothers and good neighbors, but you can't expect this to be the case, if you keep their people from them."[55] The Chickamaugas refused to give up the slaves. Nearly a year later in May of 1797, Louis Phillippe, the future king of France, related in his journal of his travels through Chickasaw territory George Colbert's take on why the Chickasaws' relationship with the Cherokees was strained because,

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[53] "William Blount, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America, south of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern district, to Doublehead, and the other Chiefs and Warriors of the Lower Cherokees," American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1816), 534.

[54] "John Sevier to Chiefs and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation, Knoxville, 7th July 1796," Letters of Tennessee Governors- John Sevier, Microfilm GP-2, (Roll 1. Box1. Folder 2.81), Tennessee State Library and Archives.

[55] "John Sevier to The Little Turkey, Knoxville 25th August, 1796." Letters of Tennessee Governors- John Sevier, Microfilm GP-2, (Roll 1, Box 1, Folder 2), Tennessee State Library and Archives.

> The Cherokees resent the Chickasaws for their neutrality in the last war with the Americans, and they hate the major [George Colbert] for several reasons: 1st because with his brothers he served in the American army, 2d because he married a Cherokee woman who owns livestock and is well off, and 3d because they stole two Negroes from him that they do not want to give back.[56]

The allies of the United States, including the Colberts, were not immune to the Chickamaugas' economic strategies that aimed at the destruction and demoralization of their white enemies through deprivation of financial assets.[57]

After the defeat of the Chickamaugas at Nickajack, Governor Blount replied to Chickamauga Chief, John Watts, "I understand that [the Chickamaugas] wish an exchange of prisoners; to this I agree… All negroes in your hands, whether captured, or absconded from their masters, are to be considered as prisoners in your hands, and are to be delivered up."[58] The Chickamaugans saw slaves as a weakness in their enemy. They therefore proceeded to exploit that weakness through abduction and encouraging desertion of the slaves. Theft of slaves served as an economic blow to Anglo-American settlers, but also provided labor or even allies for the Chickamaugas.

The economic strategies of Dragging Canoe and the Chickamauga Cherokees derived from their knowledge of the regional economic system. Their raids for horses and slaves were a continuation of previous Cherokee economic tactics that modified Anglo-American economic practices to fit Cherokee values, wherein for example the opportunity for military bravery and exchange value trumped slaves' labor potential. The Chickamaugas also employed destruction

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[56] Louis-Phillippe, Diary of My Travels in America: Louis-Phillippe, King of France, 1830-1848, Stephen Becker, Trans., (New York: Delacorte Press, 1977), 96.

[57] The Creek allies of the Chickamauga also participated heavily in abduction of slaves. See American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I., (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1816), 77-81 and 546 and Saunt, New Order of Things, 111-39 and 273-90.

[58] Conversation: Governor Blount, Hanging Maw, and Colonel Watts, November 8, 1794. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1816), 537.

of property and lives to make the cost in both unacceptable to the settlers. Although Chickamauga Cherokee resistance has been noted among the military pan-Indian traditionalist movements, which rejected anything to do with Anglo-American culture including trade goods, the tactics of Dragging Canoe and his followers reflects their familiarity with the economic system. They understood Anglo-American economic strategies and how to best inflict damage that would make settlement economically infeasible.

In 1788 US commissioners again had the opportunity to meet the Chickamaugas' demands and thereby end the constant warfare. Cherokee headmen at Ustinale wrote to Richard Winn, superintendent for the Southern Department of the War Office that "Congress is determined to have our hunting grounds open so that our young men may hunt" and that plans had been made "that a friendly talk will soon take place... [to] put a stop to all Hostilities and for the time to come to Live like Brothers and friends."[59] Dragging Canoe and "Watts," also known as John Watts, both prominent Chickamauga leaders, signed this talk indicating that they approved of the message and the peace that would result from a return of hunting rights to the Cherokee hunters. This clause, however, never made it into a ratified treaty. Talks, treaties, and warfare worked together to protect Cherokee sovereignty in the ongoing intercultural contest. If one method did not work, another might.

Chickasaw Alliances

The Chickasaws also found themselves in treaty talks in 1788 and 1789 in response to the formation of the new Territory South of the River Ohio. Federal officials wanted to clarify boundaries between the Territory and native nations and decrease the friction between them.

[59] Cherokee Nation to Richard Winn, "A Talk from the Head Men at Ustinale," 20 Nov, 1788, Vault Oversize Ayer MS 167, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

These talks gave the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations a chance to bargain for rights or trade negotiations they had not secured in the earlier Hopewell Treaty.

Following the close of the American Revolution, the Colbert family, familiar with the formerly-British settlers in the region, seemingly ended their alliance with the British government and supported friendly relations with the United States. The Colbert faction, however, was not solely responsible for Chickasaw diplomacy. "A talk delivered [to] General Joseph Martin by Piamingo chief warrior of the Chickasaw Nation for His Excellency Samuel Johnson [Governor of North Carolina]" in 1789 reaffirmed the alliance between the Chickasaw and the United States and requested ammunition from his North Carolina allies to provide Chickasaw warriors with ammunition to fight against the Creeks. The "Elder Brothers of North Carolina" were asked to provide his warriors with ammunition in exchange for furs or horses. Piamingo ended the talk by saying "my Talk is short [so] I hope [you] will Remember me and my People we are not able to help ourselves without you as we do not know how to make powder and are verry [sic] unwilling to apply to the Spaniards for it, they are people we never loved they have Sent to us often to come to them but we will not if we can help it."[60] Piamingo's Spanish trade alternative was no mere threat.

The Chickasaws negotiated official treaties with the Spanish in 1784, 1790, 1793 and 1795 which included assertions on the part of Spain that trade goods would be provided to the Chickasaws "under the most equitable prices."[61] Signatures on the US treaties did not match those on the Spanish treaties indicating less political centrality than inferred in the treaties. The

[60] Piamingo to Samuel Johnson, "A Talk (Delivered Genl Joseph Martin) by Piamingo Chief Warrior [sic] of the Chickasaw Nation the 23rd of Sept 1789 for his Excellency Samuel Johnson Esqr. Governor of the State of North Carolina," 23 September, 1789, VAULT box Ayer MS 722, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[61] Deloria and DeMaille, Documents of American Indian Diplomacy, 106-07. Quote, 126.

Colberts did not sign any of the Spanish treaties. Different kin-based factions treated with different imperial powers ensuring that the Chickasaws reaped trade benefits from multiple sources. The 1786 Treaty of Hopewell likewise delineated Chickasaw boundaries and an exclusive trade relationship between the Chickasaws and the US. Each set of leaders could uphold their trade agreement with their imperial ally because those factions functioned separately. Together the US and Spanish treaties reveal divergent groups pursuing separate interests with competing imperial powers. Colbert's band was only one of several groups claiming political authority, Piamingo's was another.[62]

In the early 1790s, the Colbert family heeded the United States commissioners' request that the Chickasaws aid in the campaigns of Arthur St. Clair and Anthony Wayne against the American Indian coalition in the Northwest Territory. As in the Revolutionary War, the Colberts went to war as a kin-based faction. However, when Creek allies of the northern Indians attacked the Chickasaws and the Colberts retaliated, Secretary of War Timothy Pickering argued that the assistance of "a few Chickasaw warriors" was not enough to back the Chickasaws in a war with the Creek Indians. Rather than lending military support to their Chickasaw allies, Pickering advised that the US stay out of the conflict because, "the four Southern nations of Indians have, in precisely the same terms [in treaties], put themselves under the protection of the United States. Two of them are now at war with each other. And from the terms of their treaties each has an equal right to demand protection."[63] Pickering later had to accept the consequences of that decision when he "found Major Colbert singularly difficult to please: perhaps because the President could not gratify his wishes in making open war against the Creeks." He agreed to

[62] Ibid, 15-17.

[63] United States, War Department, "Letters [manuscript] 1795-1798" Timothy Pickering to David Campbell, War Office, 28 August, 1795, Vault Box Ayer MS 926, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

provide Colbert and his fellow Chickasaw delegates with clothing and "to furnish their families with clothing." He added "To grant his request and to soothe him under his great disappointment I have given Major Colbert four hundred dollars to buy an elegant stallion: but he seemed to consider this sum as hardly sufficient. As I said before it was not easy to please him."[64] Both Colbert's actions as a military commander and as a negotiator revolved around his kin relations. Pickering recognized that mollifying Major Colbert required also providing for Colbert's family.

Some contemporary American officials, and later historians, have argued that the Colberts operated as corrupt officials demanding bribes and hijacking the treaty process to the detriment of their people. Others, including myself, see this family as one important faction among others in a decentralized society. To gain the support of these multiple factions, the United States was often forced to accept Chickasaw terms of trade paying more for native lands and services than the US commissioners would have liked.[65]

The Decline of Chickamauga Resistance

After Dragging Canoe died in 1792, "the brother of the late Dragging Canoe, the same that the Council at Estinaula declared should succeed to his brother's honors and command, came to Estinaula after the War pipe which he had brought down from Detroit."[66] John Watts, nephew of Old Tassel, took Dragging Canoe's place in the eyes of their enemies as the name most associated with leadership of the Chickamauga war parties. Old Tassel had served as a chief and elder for the Chickamauga towns. Watts rather than Young Dragging Canoe, nephew

[64] Timothy Pickering, "Letters from the War Department," Timothy Pickering to Colonel Henley, August 26, 1795, Vault Box Ayer MS 926, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[65] Chapters five and six describe Colbert political strategies in treaties in additional detail.

[66] William Blount, "Blount, William 1749-1800 (Miscellaneous Letters)," James Carey's Account of the Knoxville, November 3, 1792, Collection Mss C B Doc. 3, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

of the deceased Chickamauga leader, took over leadership of the towns. While matrilineal kinship patterns ensured that leaders passed down their knowledge, skills, and even their names to their nephews, the transition of power from Dragging Canoe to Watts illustrated that tribal perception of merit ultimately decided who would continue the fight against the Cumberland settlements. Nonetheless, kinship remained a factor as Watts fought to avenge his uncle's death. Although the Chickamauga Cherokee towns were destroyed by 1795, Watts continued to negotiate as chief of "the river towns" into the nineteenth century.[67]

Prior to 1794, Chickamauga Cherokees put forth formidable resistance to the encroachment of the white settlers onto their lands. In 1794, a group of Nashvillians, led by Major James Ore and guided by a former captive, attacked and destroyed the Chickamauga towns of Nickajack and Running Water near Muscle Shoals. The towns, founded by Dragging Canoe, had served as the military base for the highly affective attacks against Nashville. In 1795 the federal government signed the treaty of San Lorenzo settling the border with Spain, lifting the ban on American transportation on the Mississippi river, and allowing American goods to be "deposited" in New Orleans. As Spanish support of the Chickamauga and Creek resistance to the Cumberland settlement and trade with Chickasaw factions diminished, Anglo-American economic and territorial expansion increased and families like the Donelsons profited.[68]

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[67] Benjamin Hawkins, "Journal of the Commissioner of the United States," Vault Ayer MS 3180, p6, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[68] For the defeat of Nickajack and Running Water, see James Paul Pate, "The Chickamauga: A Forgotten Segment of Indian Resistance on the Southern Frontier," Ph.D. Diss. Mississippi State University, 247-250 and John P. Brown, Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal West, 1838, (Kingston, TN: Southern Publishers, 1938), 450-453. On the treaty of San Lorenzo and its impacts, see Finger, John R. Finger, Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 146-7, 208. For economic opportunities opened up after the stabilization of the region, see Thomas Perkins Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy, (Memphis: Memphis State College Press, 1955), 197-207. For more on the power dynamics of this period and why native power declined in the mid-1790s, see Celia Barnes, Native American Power in the United States, 1783-1795, (London: Associated University Presses, 2003).

Part III: Continuing Donelson Economic & Political Strategies

After the death of Colonel John Donelson in 1786, his widow Rachel Stockley Donelson rented rooms to local lawyers, John Overton and Andrew Jackson. By doing so, she gained economic stability for herself and her three children still living at home. One of John Donelson's daughters, also named Rachel, gained permission to leave Kentucky and return to the Donelson homeplace on the Cumberland after having a falling-out with her husband Lewis Robards. At a time when divorce required an act of the state legislature, the widow Donelson must have supported her daughter Rachel's decision to get a divorce and marry their boarder, Andrew Jackson. This is one example of the gaps in the historical record that blind us to women's agency on the frontier. The widow Donelson's economic activities and her possible role in initiating or encouraging profitable marriage alliances are equally obscured leaving a deceptively strong impression of the importance of patriarchs Colonel John Donelson and Andrew Jackson in creating and sustaining the Donelson family network.[69]

The marriage of Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson Robards in 1791 created significant controversy. Apparently both Jackson and Robards believed her first husband had granted her a divorce when they eloped at Natchez. When it came to light that Robards had not received the divorce, the couple reapplied for the divorce and remarried in Nashville. This incident resulted in repeated accusations of bigamy and fornication which drove Andrew Jackson to initiate several duels, one with Tennessee's Governor John Sevier.[70] Jackson would later claim that these accusations led to the death of his pious wife.[71]

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[69] Remini, Andrew Jackson, 16.

[70] Clayton, History of Davidson County, 148-49.

[71] Many accounts have been written on the most famous of the Donelson family members, Andrew Jackson, but none look closely at his relationships with his in-laws. In Virginia Reardon's thesis "The Family and Home Life of Andrew Jackson," Reardon examines Jackson's relationships with his wife, his adopted son, and with two of his

General-stores (or 'mercantile ventures') in the outlying areas around Nashville also offered potential profits to the Donelsons. Samuel Donelson and brother-in-law Andrew Jackson formed a partnership to this end, opening a mercantile store in 1795 near Jackson's home at Hunters Hill. The store served dual purposes; it provided Jackson, Donelson, and their associates with easy access to the goods they wanted or needed and, without local competition, the store promised decent profits. Jackson was forced to sell the store in 1796 to pay debts incurred when an associate for whom he had co-signed proved insolvent.[72] Jackson attempted to get another brother-in-law, Robert Hays, to join him in a similar venture in late 1797 and early 1798, though Hays does not appear to have been receptive.[73] Later Jackson found another more amenable family member with whom to partner in John Hutchings, son of brother-in-law Thomas Hutchings. The two opened a store in 1803 at Hunters Hill and branches in Gallatin and Lebanon in 1804-1805.[74] John Coffee ran a store in Haysborough and in 1804 he joined Jackson as a partner in his Clover Bottom business "comprising a store, tavern, boatyard, and

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wards (Andrew Jackson Donelson and Andrew Jackson Hutchings). Robert Beeler Satterfield wrote about Jackson's relationship with Andrew Jackson Donelson, but only after Jackson's election to the presidency. Leona Taylor Aiken wrote a short history of the family in 1968 which depicts Colonel John Donelson's trip on the Adventure and then skims over his sons to discuss Jackson, John Donelson Jr., and Andrew Jackson Donelson with few interconnections. None explore the legal, political, and economic aspects of the early relationships between the Donelson brothers and brothers-in-law, including Jackson, during the extremely dynamic period of the first Anglo-American settlements in the Cumberland region. Virginia Reardon, "The Family and Home Life of Andrew Jackson," M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1934; R. Beeler Satterfield, Andrew Jackson Donelson: Jackson's Confidant and Political Heir, (Bowling Green, KY: Hickory Tales, 2000) and "The Early Public Career of Andrew Jackson Donelson, 1799-1846" M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1948; and Leona Taylor Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee: Its History and Landmarks, (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, 1968).

[72] Mercantile ventures were secondary to land speculation in the Donelson family economic strategies. The role of land speculation will be addressed in detail later in this chapter. See "List of Taxable Property" in Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 34; John Overton to Andrew Jackson, in Ibid, 54; "Account of Freight Expenses from Philadelphia, Between May & August 1795" in Ibid, 58; Samuel Donelson to Andrew Jackson, Louisville, June 29th, 1795" in Ibid, 62; .Andrew Jackson to Samuel Donelson, c. June 1796 in Ibid, 92-94.

[73] See "Andrew Jackson to Robert Hays, November 2, 1797" in Smith & Owsley, Papers of Andrew Jackson, 151 and "Andrew Jackson to Robert Hays, January 12, 1798" in Smith and Owsley, Papers of Andrew Jackson, 165-66.

[74] Aiken, Donelson, Tennessee, 78-9.

racetrack."[75] Five years later, Coffee married Jackson's niece Mary Donelson, the granddaughter of Colonel John Donelson. Jackson seems to have been the most enthusiastic of the members of the Donelson network in opening mercantile stores, but he shared at least the opportunity to engage in this type of speculation with his family members. By 1805 three of the ten Donelson brothers and brothers-in-law had died and Jackson began to look to his nephews as business partners rather than his brothers-in-law. Following the War of 1812, Jackson's political career transformed his business relationships as his business ventures, legal career, and land speculation became secondary to his political aims. At this point, the younger generation sought to use their familial ties to capitalize upon his fame and power.[76]

In 1797 Stockley Donelson was implicated in a land fraud scandal along with his father-in-law James Glasgow. When Glasgow, North Carolina's Secretary of State, was accused of issuing grants of land based upon forged military warrants, Donelson, his long term partner, was implicated as well. Andrew Jackson tried to direct the charges at his political rival, John Sevier, but in the process snagged his brother-in-law in the turmoil of scandal and investigations. An undated letter from Stockley pleaded with Jackson, "I woud thank you to write Me, by the first oppertunity your friendly advise, I now and Continually want some New occurrences, Seem to be awaiting me of a Singular Nature. I forbear to Mention. I have no doubt but Some other Judgements will be this Court Obtaind againt me,…"[77] According to historian Robert Corlew,

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[75] Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 331-32n. Coffee would become one of Jackson's best friends as well as an integral part of the Donelson family network. He engaged in the family business of land speculation and military leadership.

[76] Beginning in 1804 Jackson's papers show evidence of diminishing correspondence with his family members and growing correspondence with political or military associates. For Jackson's economic interactions with his nephews, see Virginia Reardon, "The Family and Home Life of Andrew Jackson," and Satterfield, Andrew Jackson Donelson: Jackson's Confidant and Political Heir.

[77] Robert E. Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 2nd ed., (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 133-34. "Stockley Donelson to Andrew Jackson" in Ibid, 160-61.

"It was Andrew Jackson rather than John Sevier who suffered the greater loss of popularity as a result of the controversy."[78]

In 1801 Andrew Jackson wrote to Stockley's wife Elizabeth requesting her to convince her husband to move to the Cumberland region where "here his friends are disposed to serve him as far as is in their power, at least I speak for myself." He also notes that, "Col. Donelson has shown me your letter and the information communicated to you. with respect to the sentiments of his friends relative to you, rest assured is not well founded. The respect they have for you and his happiness would always make you a welcome guest with them" despite the unfortunate events that had befallen Stockley. Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson seems to have been perceived by Jackson as both the barrier to the couple's move to the region and the remedy to the possible resistance of her husband to the idea.[79] Although family members could prove valuable partners, the land speculation business itself often proved quite risky. Jackson was convinced that if the couple moved closer to the rest of the family the situation could be resolved more easily.

The marriage of Mary Smith and Samuel Donelson, in 1796, also inspired scandal in the region. When Daniel Smith forbade his sixteen year old daughter to marry thirty-seven year old Donelson, the two eloped with the help of Samuel's brother-in-law Andrew Jackson. Smith disowned his daughter and refused to speak to either of them. He relented a year later when his first grandchild, John Samuel, was born. The couple would name their second and third sons Andrew Jackson Donelson and Daniel Smith Donelson respectively.

While not all of the Donelson family networking and economic strategies worked out

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[78] Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 133-34.

[79] "Andrew Jackson to Elizabeth Glasgow Donelson, June 28, 1801," in Smith and Owsley, The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 247-48.

perfectly, those strategies had enabled the family to become one of the wealthiest in the region. The family continued to pursue similar strategies in the nineteenth century as they had in the eighteenth century. The Donelsons had found economic strength in numbers.

Conclusion

Following the American Revolution, the political and economic climate of the Trans-Appalachian frontier changed significantly. The Chickasaws and Cherokees sought to play Spanish and American diplomats against one another to secure profitable trade alliances. The Chickamaugas fought to regain lost Cherokee territory accumulating significant spoils of war in the process. In the meantime, the Donelsons built familial wealth through land speculation. As US political power and commitment to territorial expansion increased during the nineteenth century, the Indian families would turn their attention from maximizing their terms of trade and even more toward securing their territorial boundaries and political sovereignty against the US strategies of dispossession.

CHAPTER V

FAMILY STRATEGIES AND NATIONAL AGENDAS FROM THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE TO THE WAR OF 1812

At the turn of the nineteenth century, France, Spain, and England adjusted their territorial claims in the southeast according to shifts in their global imperial strategies. Consequently American Indian families needed to modify their own political and economic strategies to make the best of this new geopolitical environment. For example, Louisiana, claimed by Spain since 1763, was transferred back to France in 1800 and was bought by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. At the same time, Jefferson sought to implement new policies toward Indians that encouraged them to take up plantation agriculture, spinning and weaving, and animal husbandry so that they would become self-sufficient yeoman farmers who would abandon hunting as an economic activity and the lands it required. With their fragmented diplomacy strategies curtailed by the diminishing power in North America of European rivals to the US, many Chickasaw and Cherokee families chose to reinforce their position relative to the US government by strengthening their alliance with the US. The War of 1812 gave these families, native and non-native alike, the opportunity to prove their loyalty to the US as allies or citizens.

Although the power-dynamics in the southeast went through significant changes, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Anglo-American families held onto many of the strategies that had been successful over the previous decades. As in the past, the United States and the

British relied upon Indian allied forces to supplement their troops to fulfill their military agendas in the region. Native factions within the same tribe continued to take opposite sides hedging their bets by creating alliances with both sides of conflicts between American and European adversaries. Kinship remained the bonding mechanism for war parties and political factions within Chickasaw, Cherokee, and even to some degree American, governments. The competition between kin-networks in all three societies continued to ensure that some families were more prominent than others in the historical record and, therefore, presumed by historians to have had more power. The family of the Ridge, also known as Major Ridge, received more attention in the historical records of the early nineteenth century than did the descendants of Little Carpenter and Dragging Canoe, thus shifting this chapter's focus toward the Ridge's family network.[1] Kinship networks served as the enduring structure supporting these families as they adjusted their strategies to cope with the changing political and economic environment of the early nineteenth century. By hanging onto kin-based strategies, these families built upon what they knew in order to deal with the new circumstances in which the old balance of power politics no longer applied.

[1] The Ridge family in this chapter and the following one refers to the matrilineal and patrilineal descendants of The Ridge, known after the War of 1812 as Major Ridge. The descendents of The Ridge (or Major Ridge) took Ridge as their surname and represent cultural changes during the nineteenth century as That the Ridge had a major influence on both his nephews and his son is evident in the way that kin network operated as proponents of signing the Cherokee removal treaty. His influence and that of his children and nephews significantly shaped Cherokee history, especially through their roles as the core of the treaty party in the 1830s. However, discussion of the Ridge in this chapter is somewhat problematic because historians have yet to uncover the historical records describing the Ridge's matrilineal ancestry. While the Ridge was a key actor in the period from 1800 to 1815, his kin-network remains behind the scenes. His actions as a military leader mirror those of William Colbert and others who led small kin-based war parties in the Creek War indicating that he was most likely embedded in a kin-network throughout his lifetime and not just after the 1820s when it appears in the historical record.

Native Kinship Networks and Diminishing Imperial Competition

Tumultuous international politics at the beginning of the nineteenth century meant that families on the Trans-Appalachian frontier had to be flexible and adaptive to make the most of the opportunities, and address the challenges, inherent in a region in political flux. The Colbert and Ridge families utilized long-standing kinship networks and traditions to navigate new social and political environments as the United States' power grew in relation to its European rivals. These Chickasaw and Cherokee families reinforced their alliances with the United States by using diplomatic and economic tactics that paralleled some of the Donelson family's economic strategies in an effort to capitalize on the United States rising power.

Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Cherokees and Chickasaws utilized familial networking to create and maintain simultaneous alliances between their people and multiple European and native allies in order to mitigate the power that allies could wield in the relationship. These alliances were predicated on the desire of European allies to translate trade agreements, first, into physical security for their colonies as Indian allies provided those colonies with military support and buffer zones against enemies, and, second, into a profitable market which provided raw materials such as deerskins. Through 1763 the Cherokees and Chickasaws balanced alliances with the English against those with the French in Louisiana and the Spanish in Florida. With the end of the Seven Years War, the Spanish took over control of the Mississippi River and transferred its claims to Florida to the British. In treaty negotiations in 1800 Spain returned possession of Louisiana to France. Just three years later Napoleon sold France's

claims to Louisiana to the United States.[2] Florida went through similar imperial transitions. It was claimed by Spain until 1763, by Britain from 1763 to 1783, and once again by Spain from 1783 until it ceded that land to the United States with the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819.[3] European territorial claims remained relatively stable between 1775 and 1800 enabling native people to effectively negotiate with each party to achieve beneficial terms of trade and mitigate the military inclinations of their European allies. These imperial shifts at the turn of the century meant that native governments had to stay abreast of the global political movements and changing European territorial claims which affected their trading relationships in order to retain their own regional power.

Colbert family actions between 1800 and 1803 illustrate the ways Chickasaws continued to play powers off one another even in the midst of the shifting imperial claims. The Colberts' role as liaisons to the British and the United States governments likely increased their standing within the Chickasaw nation, especially as such negotiations became critical to the survival of the polity. Malcolm McGee, an interpreter in the nation at that time, told Lyman Draper that "George Colbert was never Head Chief, but was asked by the King to act as principal chief in all matters with the U.S. government – as

[2] Historians have recently given significant attention to the effects of these transitions of territorial claims and the impact that had on the peoples that lived in the Gulf coastal, lower Mississippi valley, and trans-Mississippian regions, especially regarding self-definitions of identity and political alliances. For examples of this work, see Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s, (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2010), Jon Kukla, A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); and Richmond F. Brown, Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). For works that extend this analysis to the southwest, see Patrick G. Williams, S. Charles Bolton, and Jeannie M. Whayne, eds., A Whole Country in Commotion: The Louisiana Purchase and the American Southwest, (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2005) and Jesús F. de la Teja and Ross Frank, eds., Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

[3] See Paul E. Hoffman, Florida's Frontiers, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) and Jane Landers, Black Society in Spanish Florida, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

his knowledge of English better fitted him for such services. Levi Colbert was appointed precisely as was George and for the same purposes."[4] In contrast, US politician William Anderson in 1809 referred to George Colbert as "the Bonaparte of that Nation."[5] As long as multiple imperial competitors remained in the region, the family independently forged an economic strategy that was most advantageous to them despite the efforts of US Indian agents to ensure their sole allegiance to US political agendas.

Samuel Mitchell, the US agent to the Chickasaws, expressed frustration that he could not convince William Colbert to cease war with the Osages west of the Mississippi River.

> I have done every thing in my power to cause this Nation to make peace with the Osages_ When any mischief is done the Osages by this or the Chactaws Nation, they retaliate on the white hunters from the different Spanish post~ I have not a doubt but the whole of this Nation[,] William Colbert excepted[,] would willingly make peace, he is opposed to the Nation, having fell in the estimation of his people, and will do all in his power to thwart their design, and has declared his intention of going to war against the Osages, but do not believe he will raise many … warriors.[6]

Colbert apparently refused to let US desires stand in the way of his quarrel against the Osages and raised warriors from his clan rather than a large united Chickasaw force.

Mitchell also described the Chickasaws concern at the reoccupation of New Orleans by the French on January 23, 1803, "Some appeared alarmed by the report from

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[4] Craig, "The Colberts in Chickasaw History," 112-16. "Oral History: Malcolm McGee, Chickasaw Interpreter," Journal of Chickasaw History, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1998), 6. The historical record presents overwhelming evidence that the Colberts played an important role in diplomacy for the Chickasaw nation with the United States, from negotiating treaties to serving among those Chickasaws charged with choosing the location of the lands the Chickasaws would accept in Indian Territory. Still, the extant sources were mostly written from the perspective of American observers and participants. One source hints at the different perspective other sources might have provided.

[5] William P. Anderson, "Letter [manuscript] : Nashville, [Tenn.], to George W. Campbell, Washington City, 1809 Jan. 9," Vault Box Ayer MS 20, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[6] Samuel Mitchell to Henry Dearborn, August 26, 1802, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS, Series 488 Box 89 Doc 106.

Orleans that the port was shut against the United States, and expecting that the French would take possession (who have never been friends with the Chickasaws) would sit either the Creeks or Cherokees or both nations against the Chickasaws and thereby destroy their Nation."[7] In this instance, Mitchell represented US military support against a potential enemy. George Colbert assured Mitchell that to counteract the French threat the Chickasaw nation would be willing to allow the US to establish a post on the Tennessee River.[8] When the Louisiana Purchase ended the French threat, so too did talk of building that fort.

Getting the best prices for trade goods remained a high priority and the Spanish presence enabled Chickasaws to use competition to their advantage. Mitchell noted in May of 1803 that he had trouble getting the Chickasaws to agree to a federal trading post or "factor" at the Chickasaw Bluffs because "goods bring much lower [cost less] in Mobile, and which they can get goods at reduced prices, will trade in Mobile."[9] The Chickasaws were aware of the fluctuating imperial power dynamics and continued to make diplomatic adjustments to take advantage of Euro-American competition as long as that competition existed.

Following the transfer of Louisiana claims to the US in 1803, the Cherokee and Chickasaw political systems retained their traditional format in which leaders shared and competed for power. Leaders still had to prove their worth to have influence and

[7] Samuel Mitchell to William Claiborne, January 23, 1803, MDAH, Series 488, Box 166818, Doc 138.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Samuel Mitchell to William Claiborne, May 28th, 1803, MDAH, Series 488 Box 100, Doc 164.

credibility with the nation itself. When leaders stepped over the line, they did not represent the nation long.

In 1807 Cherokee Chief Doublehead abused his treaty making power by getting tracts of land dedicated in his name in treaties and then reselling it to the United States. Several "young chiefs," including the Ridge, assassinated Doublehead for this transgression. Just two years later, efforts to get the Lower Towns to negotiate an exchange of their lands for others in Arkansas resulted in the nation's repudiation of those chiefs' power to sell land. The Ridge played important roles in both of these events.[10] Historian William G. McLoughlin argues that these events constituted "a major step from being an ethnic nation toward being a nation-state."[11] However, he notes that the addition of a national council added new requirements for Cherokee identity, residence within specific boundaries and loyalty to the representative government. The enforcement of a common Cherokee purpose contrasts against the pluralistic political practices that had held up through the end of Spanish claims to Louisiana in 1803. After the withdrawal of the Spanish from the region, younger leaders like the Ridge felt that the practice of separate parties negotiating with multiple parties would no longer work to their advantage, because US officials represented one interest rather than competing colonies.

These changes in perspective did not, however, invalidate the importance of kinship and clan-membership to Cherokee identity and political decision making. To remain political leaders, proponents of "civilization" still had to represent the ideas of the

[10] William McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 109.

[11] Ibid, 109-10.

town, clan, or nation by convincing them that adopting some components of Anglo-American culture could benefit their people through added political clout and protection of their lands and sovereignty. The unbalanced way Cherokee and Chickasaw political leaders adopted the trappings of plantation agriculture and its attendant wealth was not so very different from the economic disparities between American political leaders and the majority of their constituents. While The Ridge and his supporters gained enough support to remain political leaders and to avoid retaliation through kin-based vengeance, other chiefs continued to express dissenting views that led some to relocate into Arkansas even before the 1817 treaty which enticed a large portion of the Cherokees to move west of the Mississippi River.[12]

Whereas in the 1780s the federal government had little power to enforce its edicts as evident in the Regulator movement and the State of Franklin secession and armed conflict with Joseph Martin, by the early nineteenth century it had embraced the expansionist mission that had fueled many of those rebellions as a sanctioned national project. Nonetheless, figures like Andrew Jackson continued to defy the President and Congress in favor of their own interests and desires. By the end of the War of 1812, the US was beginning to look less fragmented and more united in their vision for the nation and approach to obtaining it through acquiring native lands.

Indian Reactions to Jeffersonian Policy

Thomas Jefferson's presidential election in 1800 marked the beginning of a new era in US Indian policy that contrasted sharply against the Federalist efforts to minimize

[12] Robert A. Myers, "Cherokee Pioneers in Arkansas: The St. Francis Years, 1785-1813," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 56, (Summer 1997), 127-157.

conflict between native and non-native frontier inhabitants.[13] While historians recognize the power that Jefferson's ideals had on United States internal and diplomatic policies from the election onward, it is important to recognize that his vision for America was highly contested during the election and beyond. Robert Troup, one of Alexander Hamilton's aides, noted that "The election was extremely warm and contested.… Never before have I witnessed such exertions on either side before."[14] Federalist support of an industrial American nation continued to contest Jefferson's vision of a nation of small-scale commercial farms. However, that Jeffersonian vision directly shaped the diplomatic relationships between the United States and American Indian nations.[15]

Fascinated by the cultures and languages of native peoples in North America, Jefferson collected information on native vocabularies and grammar and shared it with the American Philosophical Society, an organization of early American intellectuals in Philadelphia. According to Jefferson, better knowledge of American Indians would permit better diplomatic negotiations between the new United States and those native polities. Jefferson wrote, "I have long believed we can never get any information of the antient [sic] history of the Indians, of their decent & filiation [sic], but from a knowledge & comparative view of their languages. I have therefore never failed to avail myself of

[13] For an excellent history of Federalist policies toward American Indians, see David Andrew Nichols, Red Gentlemen & White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008). Reginald Horsman details the similarities and differences between Washington's and Jefferson's approaches to Indian policy in "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire of Liberty'" in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., Native Americans and the Early Republic, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 37-61. Nichols and Horsman see the "Revolution of 1800" as a significant shift in the approach and intensity of "civilization" rhetoric with negative repercussions for native land retention.

[14] Robert Troup to Peter Van Schaack, May 2, 1800, quoted in Nobel E. Cunningham Jr., Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Confrontations That Shaped a Nation, (Baltimore: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000), 127.

[15] Roger G. Kennedy, Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

any opportunity which offered of getting their vocabularies."[16] It would also facilitate the religious and cultural conversion of those people from their "savage" state to one of "civilization" that would permit their incorporation into American society.[17] This plan for "civilizing" American Indians was meant to be both altruistic and self-interested. The transition, he believed, would benefit Indians tremendously by elevating them to join "civilization." "Civilization" as defined by Jefferson and his contemporaries essentially meant Anglo-American culture, including among other things their manner of dress, religion, language, and culinary choices, which they saw as the pinnacle of cultural evolution. Jefferson argued that,

> Experience and reflection will develop to them the wisdom of exchanging what they can spare and we want, for what we can spare and they want. In leading them to agriculture, to manufactures, and civilization; in bringing together their and our settlements, and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our governments, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good.[18]

If native people needed less land, particularly their hunting-grounds, they would happily sell that land in massive quantities to the US government for a pittance. The US Treasury would fill with revenues gained from selling these lands to Anglo-American yeoman farmers, bringing Jefferson's dream for the American economy to fruition.

Jefferson advocated encouraging American Indians to become "civilized" by adopting plow agriculture, spinning and weaving, and animal husbandry in place of the

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[16] Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Hawkins, March 14, 1800, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress – Online. Jefferson's fascination with Indian cultures also led him to encourage Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to keep detailed accounts of their meetings with Trans-Mississippi Indians.

[17] Roger G. Kennedy, Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). John Freeman, A Guide to the Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the library of the American Philosophical Society, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1966). Daythal Kendall, A Supplement to A Guide to the Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the library of the American Philosophical Society, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1982).

[18] Thomas Jefferson to Congress, January 18, 1803, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress Online.

Indians' existing diversified economic strategies that combined hunting, fishing, and trading with small-scale agriculture. By 1800 many families had already added animal husbandry and wage-earning activities, such as assisting traders or surveyors for a fee, to their varied economic activities. They already practiced agriculture and were quite happy to learn new weaving and blacksmithing skills. Native families were less willing to give up hunting activities and traditional gender-roles that were central to their social structure and cosmological understanding of the world. Ultimately, Jefferson's administration was committed to separating American Indians from their land through the policy of "civilization" while native people utilized the concept of "civilization" to augment their existing economic strategies and to reinforce their claims to their land. The tensions between Jefferson's definition of "civilization" and those definitions embraced by Chickasaw and Cherokee leaders provided a space for negotiation, agency, and mutual misunderstandings.

Treaty talks and treaties in this period illustrate the ways US commissioners and native leaders negotiated "civilization" to serve their own purposes, continued to use the rhetoric of familial relationships, and gained financial advantage through treaty related enterprises. Some of the leadership of Cherokee, Chickasaw, and other southern Indian nations, including the Colbert and Ridge families, embraced "civilization policy" (according to their definition rather than Jefferson's) and made some structural changes to their societies to accommodate their United States allies. These changes, however, were interwoven with existing native understandings of politics, kinship, gender roles, and economy. The experiences of the Colbert and Ridge families illustrate how their definitions of identity based around conceptions of "kin" and "other" shifted according to

the degree of their greater involvement in the US economy. Rather than buying into "civilization," these families used Jefferson's political ideals to further their own economic and political agendas while pursuing their particular visions for their own governments.

In treaties between the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations and the new United States, "civilization" was often one of the reasons for distributing certain trade goods, at little or no cost to the tribe. Cherokees and Chickasaws had been trading with Europeans for over a century to obtain goods such as blankets, clothing, knives, salt, sewing items, guns, ammunition, cooking paraphernalia, and ornamental items such as beads and silver jewelry. In fact, many historians, including Colin Calloway, have argued that by 1775 native peoples could no longer live without trade goods.[19] Some American Indians were quite ready to become "civilized" if it meant an abundance of these goods at little or no cost. The US government's offer to supply cotton cards, spinning wheels, and even skilled weavers and blacksmiths seemed like a great opportunity for American Indian communities to get more of what they had already incorporated into their societies for a much lower cost. However, the Jeffersonian focus on land acquisition meant that trade transactions more oriented toward exchanging land, rather than peltry, for trade goods or money. Treaties and treaty talks serve as some of the clearest statements of US intent to

[19] Colin Calloway, American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For more nuanced discussions of the evolution of trade in the southeast during the early republic era, see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) and Claudio Saunt, A New Order of Things: Property, Power and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). While I appreciate Saunt's description of the growing importance of capitalist economic strategies among American Indians in the region, I dispute his argument that these economic strategies replaced kinship networks as the central orienting focus for Indians. Instead, I argue that these economic changes took place through the continued use of kinship networks, making those networks even more important to native people.

"civilize" the Indians and reveal a kind of dialogue on the subject between the two sides. Article 14 of the Treaty between the Cherokees and the US government concluded July 2, 1791 promised to send up to four interpreters,

> That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish, gratuitously, the said nation with useful implements of husbandry; and further to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication.[20]

Likewise, on October 21, 1801 General James Wilkinson invited the representatives of the Chickasaw Nation to "state to us freely [the] situation of your nation and what you wish on the part of your father the president to better your condition in trade, in agriculture and manufactures."[21] In response, "A Talk from the King Chiefs and Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation to the Secretary of War, delivered by Tisshamastubbe, Speaker for the Chickasaws" requested spinning wheels, cotton cards, and weavers.

> Father, our first Father the then President [George Washington] advised us to settle out, raise Stock, and become farmers and that he would give us assistance, nearly all our people have left the old towns & Settled over our Country raising stock and working like white people many of our women have learned to Spin to make our own Cloathing [sic], we have been furnished with some wheels & cards, but not enough we raise Cotton this year with a hope that we shall be furnished, and we want weavers.

Tisshamastubbe further complained that US citizens "brought, into our land, between forty & fifty head of Kattle [sic] and dry goods and trading with the Indians, to the Injury

[20] Vine Deloria, Jr. & Raymond J. DeMaille. eds. Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999, 34-38.

[21] Benjamin Hawkins, "Journal of the Commissioner of the United States," Vault Ayer MS 3180, p74, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

of George & Levi Colbert."[22] This talk reaffirmed that the Chickasaw leadership sanctioned certain aspects of "civilization," such as spinning and weaving, and requested that the promised related goods be forthcoming.[23] (Other aspects promoted by the US officials would meet with less enthusiasm.) This talk also protected the financial interests of the Colbert family who, as important traders and leaders in the nation, helped to shape the definition of "civilized" Chickasaws while insisting upon limiting competition from rival traders.

Plantation agriculture provided Indian and Anglo-American leaders with similar lifestyles. By adopting plantation agriculture and securing wealth in land and slaves comparable or superior to that of their Anglo-American rivals, the Ward, Ridge, and Colbert families attempted to achieve status and respect from US officials that placed their governments on similar terms with the United States government. The Ridge built "the usual log cabin of the frontier settler...And here...the Indian warrior and his bride, forsaking the habits of their race, [set] themselves to ploughing and chopping, knitting and weaving and other Christian employments" including the purchase of slaves.[24] William, George, James, and Levi Colbert amassed wealth in the form of plantations and slaves mirroring those of the most affluent Anglo-American planters of the time. By

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[22] Tisshamastubbe, "A Talk from the King Chiefs and Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation to the Secretary of War, delivered by Tisshamastubbe, Speaker for the Chickasaws," Mississippi Department of Archives & History, Series 488, Box 89, doc 123.

[23] Samuel Mitchell, agent to the Chickasaws, wrote in 1802 that "more than half the nation have settled and made small farms with good fences and receive the benefit of their Stocks ~ they are much in the spirit of farming and raising of stock, and will settle the road tolerable." S. Mitchell, Chickasaw Agency, to Henry Dearborn, [August] 26th, 1802, Series 488 Box 89 Doc 106, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS.

[24] Thomas McKenney quoted in Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 33. The Ridge family also ran a trading post and a ferry. Major Ridge's son and nephew attended mission schools nearby and in Connecticut. They went on to be active voices for "civilization" in Cherokee politics and through the first Cherokee newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix.

1835 Levi Colbert had acquired 150 slaves roughly equivalent to the amount owned by Andrew Jackson. At the turn of the nineteenth century, several native-owned plantations operated in Indian country mirroring those of elite southerners like the Donelsons.

While they professed joyful complicity in this movement for Indian "Civilization," following Jefferson's election in 1800, people like the Ridges and Colberts actually modified the adopted goods and practices to meet their societal needs and norms, as they had in generations past. For example, some leaders combined Anglo-American style jackets and pants with breechcloths, turbans, and feathers. While Jefferson envisioned thousands of new American Indian yeoman farmers, some who adopted the Anglo-American agricultural model took up plantation agriculture rather than small-scale farming. Although many southern Indians ran small farms without slaves, these leaders patterned their economic adoption after Jefferson's example rather than that of their Anglo-American neighbors who struggled to feed their families. Perhaps the US Congressmen, Governors, and Presidents were pleased that the lifestyle of the American Indian leadership began to mirror their own, or perhaps they were threatened by these men who utilized the plantation model to become competitors in the American economic system. To some extent, Indian adoption of the plantation model even fit with existing gender-roles that were rooted in a cosmology of balance.[25]

[25] Nathaniel Sheidley, "Unruly Men: Indians, Settlers, and the Ethos of Frontier Patriarchy in the Upper Tennessee Watershed" (PhD Diss., Princeton, 1999). Daniel Barr, The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Boundaries of the Frontier of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750-1850 (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006). Theda Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003). These works describe native beliefs that the world depended upon a careful balance between opposites: male and female power, the over-world and the under-world, spiritual and physical beings, life and death, etc. Throwing that balance off, for example by mixing or confusing male and female power, according to native beliefs created distinct imbalances that unleashed chaos in the world which would have negative repercussions in their lives.

Adopting European style agriculture and its US southern corollary, chattel slavery, enabled southern Indians to claim to be "civilized." Native groups in the Southeast had long had slaves and even interacted with the US American variant through strategic kidnapping or harboring of runaway slaves. After the turn of the nineteenth century, the Cherokee and Chickasaw economies, along with those of other southern tribes, grew ever more intertwined with the institution of chattel slavery.

The adoption of chattel slavery sustained the traditional gender-roles among Southeastern Indians. European-style agriculture threatened native gender roles that gave women ownership over, and responsibility for, the fields while men were the hunters and warriors. Rather than pursuing subsistence agriculture which would make men the farmers, as envisioned by Jefferson's civilization policy, American Indian elites embraced plantation agriculture. The owning of slaves had long been a part of native societies. Plantation agriculture ensured that slaves did the physical work of planting that had traditionally been a female responsibility. Plantation, rather than subsistence, agriculture provided an amenable intersection of the Anglo-American economic system and the matrilineal gender-role traditions of the Cherokee and Chickasaw for elites. Many Indians, however, heeded the call to adopt Anglo-style agriculture but did not have the means to procure the slaves necessary to keep their traditional gender-roles intact. [26]

These understandings of slavery changed as plantation agriculture took root in Cherokee and Chickasaw societies. These societies with slaves became more and more intertwined with the institution. Native slaveholding plantations came to mirror those

[26] Nathaniel Sheidley, "Unruly Men." See also Christina Snyder, Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in America, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). On the difference between societies with slaves and slave societies, see Ira Berlin, Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in America, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

owned by Jefferson and Jackson. The institution grew much more race-based, labor intensive, and hierarchical than in the American Indian variant which prevailed into the early nineteenth century. Slavery divided black and Indian peoples in response to the economic and social pressures exerted by US proponents of "civilization policy."

Generations of historians have highlighted the economic gap between native political leaders who adopted "civilization" strategies and non-elites who at times suffered from poverty and starvation.[27] They argue that "Civilization policy" and its supporters created a breach between "hunters" and "elites." Mixed-blood elites, supposedly, turned their backs on their societies' core values in favor of self-interest and a new-found greed for Anglo-defined wealth. Such dichotomies, however, rarely existed in practice. "Civilization" had proponents and opponents, but also many whose opinions balanced somewhere on the spectrum in between. Nonetheless, some individuals refused to adopt small-scale agriculture. Most of those who did adopt Anglo-style agriculture did not have slaves to mediate the disruption of matrilineal gender-roles that dispossessed women of their traditional authority over farms. Whether elites' embrace of private material goods was a diplomatic strategy derived from the selfless virtue of the native politicians which put the good of the polity (or kin) above themselves or whether it was from selfish personal interest was debatable. According to the rhetoric of the time, however, it did help to alleviate the cultural distance between leaders of the United States and leaders of the Chickasaw and Cherokee governments.

New Economic Gains from Treaty Negotiation

[27] Alan Gallay, Indian Slavery; Perdue, Cherokee Women; Saunt, A New Order of Things.

While some tribal leaders adapted "civilization" policy to their needs, others eschewed the system altogether. The nature of the historical record highlights those who embraced the system, but the challengers to the system appear between the lines. Treaties between the US and the Chickasaws after 1805 included clauses rewarding certain chiefs for their "long services and faithful adherence to the United States Government," indicating that such loyalty was valued and contested by other political leaders.[28]

The Colberts again received special consideration in the 1805 and 1816 Chickasaw treaties. The 1805 document noted that the Chickasaws were parting with tracts of land because "the Chickasaw nation of Indians have been for some time embarrassed by heavy debts due to their merchants and traders, and being destitute of funds to effect important improvements in their country."[29] George Colbert received a special payment of $1,000 "granted to [him] at the request of the national council, for services rendered the nation."[30]

As in the colonial period, treaty talks composed by Anglo-Americans invoked the father/child relationship, but that language took on a hard edge as treaty commissioners sought to force Indians to comply with their definitions, terms, and even the location treaties would be held. The new context of negotiating the definitions and benefits of "civilization" encouraged native leaders to assert their authority in the face of Anglo-

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[28] Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778 to 1837, New Edition, (Washington, DC: Langtree and O'Sullivan, 1837, Reprint: Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1975), 83-84, 116-118, 201-204.

[29] Vine Deloria, Jr. and Raymond J. DeMaille, Documents of American Indian diplomacy : treaties, agreements, and conventions, 1775-1979, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 116.

[30] Vine Deloria, Jr. and Raymond J. DeMaille, Documents of American Indian diplomacy : treaties, agreements, and conventions, 1775-1979, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 116.

American pressure to change. US officials, in turn, worked to get Indian leaders to accede to their wishes and their definitions. On August 15, 1801, US Commissioners James Wilkinson and Benjamin Hawkins sent a letter to the Cherokee chiefs convening at Oosetenauleh declaring that,

> The people of the US having given you a new father we have pleasure in assuring you that he holds his red Children and his white Children in the same regard, that that [sic] he will neither violate your lands or suffer them to be violated while you behave yourselves as you have done like dutiful and affectionate children who look up to him for protection. ... Your father has a right to name the place where he will speak to you and you have no right to object to his invitation, since he has for object your own good as well as that of his white children.[31]

While to the Anglo-Americans the paternal relationship represented authority, benevolent rule, and disciplinary action for disobedience, the same relationship, to Cherokees and Chickasaws, represented good-will gained through generous gifts of a father to his children, rather than his authority over them.[32] The rhetoric of fatherhood had always contained implicit connotations of enforcement. As American pressure on the cultural and territorial boundaries of American Indians increased, that rhetoric transformed its implicit threats into explicit ones. This became especially true when warfare threatened the southeast as it had in the 1770s and would again in the 1810s.[33]

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[31] Benjamin Hawkins, "Journal of the Commissioner of the United States," Vault Box Ayers MS 3180, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL., pp. 15-16.

[32] Richard White, "The Fictions of Patriarchy: Indians and Whites in the Early Republic," in Native Americans and the Early Republic, Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 62-84. White disputes Michael Paul Rogin's uncomplicated definition of patriarchal language in Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975). White argued that Rogin failed to take into account native usages of that same language. White, "Fictions of Patriarchy," 67. See also Nathaniel Sheidley, Jr., "Unruly Men: Indians, Settlers, and the Ethos of Frontier Patriarchy in the Upper Tennessee Watershed, 1763-1815," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1999. For more on familial language in colonial treaties, see chapter 2.

[33] Cynthia Cumfer argues that during this period Cherokees intentionally weakened their diplomatic kinship ties by referring to officials as "friends and brothers." Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land, 89. This argument does not fit with my analysis of how that language was used in the period. Instead, these

Treaties provided the terms of peaceful negotiations between governments, but they were also windows into the economic activities of the region. Treaties set the terms of trade, secured permission for the building of roads, granted exclusive rights to operate ferries and inns, determined who would accompany the surveyors of the new boundary lines, and determined how and to whom payment for land cessions would be paid. The process of treaty negotiations was itself quite expensive as treaty commissioners, interpreters, and surveyors all received fees for their services, at times the negotiations began with gift giving, and supplies had to be provided for all who attended the proceedings. The Colbert and Ridge families took advantage of these economic engines by running ferries and inns, provided supplies for survey crews, treaty negotiations, and the US army, and served as interpreters or boundary surveyors. While these activities brought significantly less capital than plantations and stores, they illustrate the extent of intercultural contact in the region, the economic impact of treaties, and the families' broader connections to one another.

The Colbert family embraced "civilization" through their early economic and military alliances with the English, their running of trading-posts, taverns, and ferries and their later support of economic and military connections with the US, all the while serving as leading Chickasaw chiefs. In 1801 the Colberts helped to secure permission for a "Great Road"[34] to be built through the Chickasaw nation with the condition that only Chickasaws could own or run taverns on the road to service the travelers, a clause

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Cherokee and Chickasaw families appeared to make concerted efforts to strengthen their ties to the US while maintaining the maximum possible autonomy.

[34] John Sevier to Return J. Meigs, "Permit for Adam Peck to buy provisions for his party cutting the road," November 2, 1804, University of Tennessee Special Collections, UTK MS 368.

that benefited the Colberts tremendously.[35] The Colbert family lobbied to ensure that treaties guaranteed the continued preeminence of their trading posts. They employed similar tactics when the Chickasaw nation agreed to allow the United States to build a "Great Road" through their territory with the condition that only Chickasaws would be permitted to own or operate taverns, inns, or other accommodations on the road.

Treaties facilitated transportation improvements that were booming in the new republic and native families sought to profit from the transportation clauses of those treaties. The Colberts maintained a ferry over the Tennessee River that derived great profits from the building of the "Great Road" and another over the Duck River.[36] There they often held treaty negotiations and entertained US officials. The ferry was such an integral part of their economic strategies that after Indian removal the family built a new "Colberts' Ferry" over the Red River between Indian Territory and what would soon become the Republic of Texas. Major Ridge ran a ferry in Cherokee territory on the Eustinale River. In 1836 George Lavender signed a "certificate in relation to the value of Major Ridge's Ferry in which he noted that "some six or seven years ago the Ferry was very valuable, and considered to be a ferry as valuable as any within the Cherokee Nation...[when it] made from three to four dollars pr. day."[37] The Colbert and Ridge

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[35] United States, Senate, "A Treaty of Reciprocal Advantages and mutual convenience between the Unite States of America and the Chickasaws," December 29, 1801, American State Papers – Online. Samuel Mitchell to William Claiborne, August 15, 1803, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Series 488, Box 16618, Doc 176. Mitchell writes "I yesterday met them [with the Chickasaw "Kings"] again, and after debating the whole day, they agreed to give the answer Inclosed … nor do I believe I should have been able to do any thing had not George Colbert came in from the river who gave his opinion in favour of the Stages … The Indians they have appointed to Settle on the road are well disposed men, and have property and if they will hire honest white men as they have promised me, they will be able to keep good houses."

[36] William Meadows, "Enclosure: Report of William Meadows," April 18, 1808, Andrew Jackson Papers.

[37] George Lavender, "Certificate in Relation to the Value of Major Ridge's Ferry," Jan. 23, 1837, University of Tennessee Special Collections, Penelope Allen Papers, MS 2033, Box1, Folder 147. This

families integrated these profitable transportation-related industries into their diversified economic strategies.

Councils at which treaties were negotiated also required a variety of economic activities just to make sure the negotiations ran smoothly, from providing food and supplies to attendees to hiring assistants and interpreters for the survey crews laying new boundaries and provisioning the US Army and others as they build new roads or trading posts in the Indian nations. When the US commissioners planned to make a treaty within the Chickasaw nation, "Major [George] Colbert … informed [US officials] that abundant supplies of provisions could be furnished by the nation."[38] His brother James Colbert, who frequently made the US Army payroll as an interpreter, requested a pay increase because,

> whereas we are daily called on to do business with the agent of our nations by the natives thereof, and are constantly more or less crowded with company, the support of whom [by providing food and drink hospitality] is a very considerable tax upon us, … [I] request of the Government to afford to us such further allowance as will cover this expense, and thereby enable us to save our present salaries as a support for our families, and a compensation for our loss of time from our homes and attention to business.[39]

Family members earned wages through these activities which contributed to the economic strategies of their families.

The Ridge and Colbert families' embrace of elements of Anglo-American economy and culture through "civilization" highlight both what they gained from these

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document also estimates that John Ross's Ferry at the junction of Hightown and Eustinale brought a similar income.

[38] George Graham to Andrew Jackson, August 5, 1816, Library of Congress online "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates."

[39] James Colbert and Turner Brashears to The Commissioners of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations, appointed by the President of the United States to Treat with the Said Nations, October 18, 1816, Library of Congress online "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates."

changes and how those elements blended with native social and economic traditions.[40] These families gained prestige within their tribes through their roles as liaisons to the US government. Both the Colberts' political standing and the intergovernmental relationship were strengthened by the family's "advancements in civilization." In some cases, they enjoyed special recognition and monetary compensation for their political and military loyalty to the US. Both families show evidence of patrilineal influence as fathers, Major Ridge and Levi Colbert, influenced their sons' educations, but also evidence of continued importance of clan prestige and matrilineal relationships between uncles and nephews. How the Ridge and Colbert families responded to US "civilization" efforts reflects the personal and tribal benefits that could be gained through adoption of US economic practices, as well as how they modified "civilization" to fit into their existing economic and cultural frameworks. While what constituted "Cherokee" or "Chickasaw" identities changed as the tribes became "civilized", crucial elements including gender-roles and political sovereignty remained cornerstones of the economic and political strategies of these families.

The native families in this chapter by the early nineteenth century shared many economic and social characteristics with the Donelson family, including their embeddedness in the local economy. While the diplomatic climate favored emphasizing the similarities between societies built upon the rhetoric of "civilization," the points at which these family strategies diverge illustrate clearly how the effectiveness of native "civilization" strategies (modified from the Jeffersonian definition) was limited by the

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[40] For more on American Indian strategies of economic diversification strategies, see Dan Usner, "Iroquois Livelihood and Jeffersonian Agrarianism: Reaching behind the Models and Metaphors," in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, Native Americans and the Early Republic, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 200-225.

persistence of Anglo-American expansion. The booming land speculation market depended upon continued land cessions by the native polities. Land speculation, and the US support thereof, were in direct opposition to American Indian efforts to use modified "civilization" strategies to retain their lands and political sovereignty.[41]

Creek War Family Networks

The War of 1812 and the attendant Creek War brought leading Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Anglo-American families into direct contact with one another in much the way the Revolutionary war had, except this time the families were fighting a common enemy rather than each other. The War of 1812 began when the US declared war on Britain in an effort to end British impressment of Americans at sea into the British Navy. The war was seen by many as an attempt by the US to extend its northern boundary into British claimed territory. An allied force of northern Indians, led by Tecumseh and his brother The Shawnee Prophet, took this opportunity to resist militarily the persistent US encroachment on their lands. These Indians convinced the Creeks in the south to join the fight and reject all ties to the US. This conflict in the south became known as the Creek War.

The Colbert and Ridge families fought as allies of the United States Army against the Red Stick Creeks, those Creeks who fought the US. Their strategic military alliances, like the Colbert's alliances in the 1790s against the "northern Indians," were intended to

[41] Ironically, although native people tried to use "civilization" to help them secure their place as allies and peers of the United States, Elise Marienstras has argued that in reality the rhetoric and imagery of "civilization" policy incorporating Indians served to facilitate the trope of the vanishing Indian in such a way as to promote US nationalism at the expense of the public image and political effectiveness of Indians. See Elise Marienstras, "The Common Man's Indian: The Image of the Indian as a Promoter of National Identity in the Early National Era," in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, Native Americans and the Early Republic, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 261-296.

solidify the families' relationship with the United States in such a way that would boost the prestige of the individuals, their families, and their governments. The Donelson family network, including Generals Andrew Jackson and John Coffee, also used the war as an opportunity to gain prestige. The close of the Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans left the United States with the dilemma of how to reward their Indian allies and at the same time translate the destruction of the Red Stick Creeks into large profitable land cessions.

After 1803 the United States drew upon the weakening position of its English, Spanish, and French rivals to encourage Indians to make a series of treaties and land cessions, but the British, especially, remained an economic and political player in Trans-Appalachian intercultural politics. The impressment of American sailors into service on British ships and the continued British encouragement of American Indian resistance to American encroachment on their lands provided the motivation for the young republic to once again declare war on Britain in the War of 1812.[42] Warhawks hoped that decisive victories by American troops would lead to fewer Indian wars, safety for American

[42] The War of 1812 has a far less extensive historiography than the American Revolution. Monographs dedicated to the War of 1812 include Robert Remini, The Battle of New Orleans, (New York: Viking, 1999); Colonel David Fitz-Enz, Redcoats' Revenge: An Alternate History of the War of 1812, (Washington: Potomac Books, Inc., 2008); and Eugene M. Wait, America and the War of 1812, (Commack, NY: Kroshka Books, 1999). Other works that highlight the war include David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003); Robert P. Wettemann, Jr., Privilege vs. Equality: Civil-Military Relations in in the Jacksonian Era, 1815-1845, (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2009); and Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars, (New York: Viking, 2001). For printed primary accounts of the War of 1812, see Nathaniel Herbert Claiborne, Notes on the War in the South; with Biographical Sketches f the Lives of Montgomery, Jackson, Sevier, the Late Gov. Claiborne, and Others, (Richmond: William Ramsay, 1819) and Arsène Lacarrière Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, With an Atlas, Expanded Ed., Gene A. Smith, ed., (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999). John Reid and John Henry Eaton first published The Life of Andrew Jackson in 1817 which provided both an authorized biography of Jackson and an account of the War that made him famous. See John Reid and John Henry Eaton, The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major General in the service of the United States Comprising a History of the War in the South, From the Commencement of the Creek Campaign, to the Termination of Hostilities Before New Orleans, Frank L. Owsley, Jr., ed. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1974). For works exclusively on the Creek War, see footnote 3 in this chapter.

vessels on the seas, and possibly even the opportunity to expand US territorial claims in Canada and Florida. Instead, the US army met with defeat after defeat and the demoralization of its soldiers who were unsure of exactly why or even sometimes who they were fighting.[43]

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, many Indians took the opportunity, as they had in the Revolutionary War, to express their displeasure with the encroachment on their lands by siding with the British. Tecumseh and his brother the Shawnee Prophet inspired a coalition of tribes in the Ohio Country to fight with British aid to drive the Americans from their lands. He likewise traveled around the Southeast seeking converts to his message of native religious renewal and military resistance which he said would be supported by the British who retained territorial claim over Florida. Most of those who heeded Tecumseh's call to arms were his distant kin among the Upper Creeks, but his message resonated with many who felt the US pressure to relinquish lands had simply become too much.[44]

In the Creek War, the Colberts proved their alliance to the United States again by forming military parties that marched against the red-stick Creeks on the Alabama River.

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[43] Michael A. Bellesiles, "Experiencing the War of 1812," in Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway, eds., Britain and America Go to War: The Impact of War & Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754-1815, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 227. Bellesiles argues that troops often could not tell friendly Indians from enemy ones and ended up being fired upon by people they thought were "friendly Indians who were with us," *Ibid*, 227. He argues that only the Battle of New Orleans redeemed the war and enabled soldiers have a semblance of pride in their role in the war.

[44] Both George Colbert and The Ridge claimed to have heard Tecumseh's appeal and rejected it. Halbert and Ball, Creek War, 41 and McLoughlin, Cherokee Renaissance, 187. For more on Tecumseh, see John Sugden, Tecumseh's Last Stand, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985). Works exclusively on the Creek War include Gregory A. Waselkov, A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006); H.S. Halbert and T.H. Ball, The Creek War of 1813 and 1814, Frank L. Owsley, Jr., ed., (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1969); and George Cary Eggleston, Red Eagle and the Wars with the Creek Indians of Alabama, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company Publishers, 1878/1980).

According to historian James Atkinson, "William, George, Levi, and James Colbert later raised a military force of about 230 Chickasaw warriors, which left in March 1814 to join Colonel Russell at Fort Claiborne in present-day Alabama."[45] In return for their assistance, James Robertson ordered additional fortification of the Chickasaw nation, including troops sent to protect the Colbert's Ferry, against retaliation by the Red-Stick Creeks.[46]

The Ridge was among the strongest Cherokee supporters of the US campaign against the Red Stick Creeks. He received a commission as lieutenant at the beginning of the conflict and was promoted to major by its end.[47] The Ridge noted that his troops had been at Hillibee and Fort Armstrong with Jackson's troops. Charles Hicks requested remuneration for losses of two large barrows and six large hogs sustained by The Ridge during his wartime absence when the US army foraged for provisions as it trekked through Cherokee country.[48]

Like their Chickasaw and Cherokee allies, Andrew Jackson and John Coffee drew upon their kinship network to fill the ranks with trusted family members. Jackson and Coffee had been friends for decades and had recently become related by marriage when Coffee married Jackson's niece. Jackson's brother-in-law Robert Hays was the muster

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[45] Atkinson, Splendid Land, 201-203.

[46] Atkinson, Splendid Land, 201-203. Following the Creek War, historian Arrell Gibson argues that the Colberts' diplomatic negotiations were key to the loss of Chickasaw lands, "General Jackson accepted Colbert family power as the most strategic element in Chickasaw negotiations and bragged that he knew how to manage them. His formula was 'touching their interest, and feeding their avarice.'" Gibson, Chickasaws, 100. While historians agree that the Colberts played an important role in the diplomatic relationship between the Chickasaw nation and the United States before and after the War of 1812, they disagree over whether that role ultimately produced more positive or negative outcomes for the Chickasaws.

[47] McLoughlin, Cherokee Renaissance, 191-92.

[48] Penelope Johnson Allen Papers, UTKMS 2033 Box 1 Folders 9-10.

master and deputy inspector general for the West Tennessee militia during the Creek War.[49] Jackson's nephews served in strategic support positions; Major Alexander Donelson (Jackson's aid who was killed in the Battle of Emuckfaw during the Creek War),[50] Stockley Donelson Hutchings (quartermaster sergeant in Coffee's cavalry regiment),[51] Stockley Donelson Hays (quartermaster general for Jackson's army),[52] Lieutenant John Donelson Jr. (company captain for Coffee's mounted infantry at the Battle of New Orleans),[53] Lieutenant Thomas Hutchings (often a messenger for the family),[54] and Major Robert Butler (nephew by marriage, brevet colonel and Jackson's adjutant general through 1821).[55] Although Jackson and Coffee commanded thousands of non-kin, their family ties encouraged them to place family in positions of power creating interesting parallels between his command and the kin-based war parties of the Colberts and The Ridge.

The Creek War campaigns ended shortly after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Tennessean Ephraim Foster crowed, "How pleasing is the thought, that while in the North, everything means the face of discomfiture, & disgrace, the American coulours [sic] wave triumphant in the south: while Wilkinson, Hampton, & Harrison are either lying inactive, or moving to no purpose but to their shame, the great & immortal Jackson, leads

[49] Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 3, 8.

[50] Reid, Life of Andrew Jackson, 128.

[51] Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 2, 379.

[52] Ibid, 459.

[53] Ibid, 444.

[54] Ibid, 397.

[55] Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 3, 45.

the valliant & daring sons of Tennessee to victory & to glory."[56] Cherokees and Chickasaws had fought in several crucial battles and suffered losses alongside the US army.[57] Although the Cherokees returned home after the battle, some of Jackson's Chickasaw allies joined him in fighting the British at New Orleans.[58] The Ridge and the Colberts would claim their part in the Creek War as proof of their valor and loyalty to the US for decades to come. Jackson would translate his role into a dynamic political career and a profitable resurgence in his land speculation activities. To punish the Red Stick Creeks, Jackson forced the tribe to cede most of the Creek lands covering much of the southeast. That cession, to the dismay of Jackson's Indian allies, included significant amounts of territory claimed by the Lower Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and the Choctaws. Native leaders protested to Congress against Jackson's unfair redistribution of lands and Congress rewarded their outrage by revoking Jackson's unilateral decision. The nations would once again bargain at the treaty table to retain their territorial sovereignty. In choosing the "winning side" Indian allies expected to be rewarded for their assistance monetarily and through US reinforcement of their political boundaries. Instead, Jackson and his allies found themselves head to head over the new boundaries of the southeast.

Conclusion

[56] Ephraim Foster to George Graham, April 8th, 1814, Gilder Lehrman Collection, GLC2804.

[57] Eighteen Cherokees were killed and thirty-six wounded in the Battle of Horseshoe bend. Chickasaw losses and Cherokee losses in other battles were not recorded. Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 3, 54.

[58] Remini, Battle of New Orleans, 97.

The familial economic strategies in this chapter, whether the similar strategies of plantation agriculture, treaty negotiation, or the contrasting strategies of land speculation and military opposition to expansion illustrate the families' resourceful uses of kinship to support their families' economic goals during the Jeffersonian era. These strategies intertwined with national politics as well. As representatives of their governments, these families pursued both the good of their kin and their polity. These disparate, sometimes conflicting, economic strategies reflected the contested nature of politics in each of these societies. "Civilizationists" worked to create parity and mutual respect between their native governments and the United States. They drove hard bargains at the treaty table securing the right to send a native representative to Congress and discussing the possibility of creating a native state that would join the United States. Others argued that such negotiations were futile and that only military opposition would stop encroachment on Indian lands and ensure native political sovereignty.

Regardless of the rhetoric, the broader Trans-Atlantic economy shaped the strategies of American Indian "civilizationists" and "traditionalists," as well as Anglo-American diplomats and land speculators. These family strategies are emblematic of the many economic strategies employed by families and nations in the Cumberland region during the colonial and early republic eras. They help illuminate the character of the regional economy and the basis for political and diplomatic controversies leading up to the removal crisis of the 1820s and 1830s.

CHAPTER VI

OLD STRATEGIES AND NEW TACTICS IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA, 1815-1845

Dressed in a suit and cravat, the height of fashion at the time, an important diplomat served his country as a key negotiator of the treaty between the United States government and the local American Indian government. He ranked among the wealthiest planters in North America. Operating several thriving commercial enterprises, he found his personal and political interests frequently intertwined.

This description actually fits several men in this study, including Major Ridge of the Cherokee nation, Major Levi Colbert of the Chickasaw nation, and General Andrew Jackson of the United States. Each wielded similar power in their governments, held considerable wealth, and engaged in the regional economy as planters and businessmen. As they met time and again to negotiate treaties, these men found themselves in some ways looking into a mirror, negotiating with others of comparable status in the economy of the region. These leaders played the diplomatic game in pursuit of a common prize, the lands claimed by the Chickasaws and Cherokees in what would become North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi, as well as their vision for their respective nations. By reflecting Anglo-American standards for success, including similar dress and accumulation of wealth in the plantation economy, these Cherokees and Chickasaws felt they came to the diplomatic negotiations on equal terms with their counterparts. While this parity held prior to the Creek War and looked as if it would be reinforced by the war-time alliances of these leaders, the attitudes of US officials

changed drastically after that war as they found they no longer needed native allies for national security and instead set their sights on further acquisition of native lands.

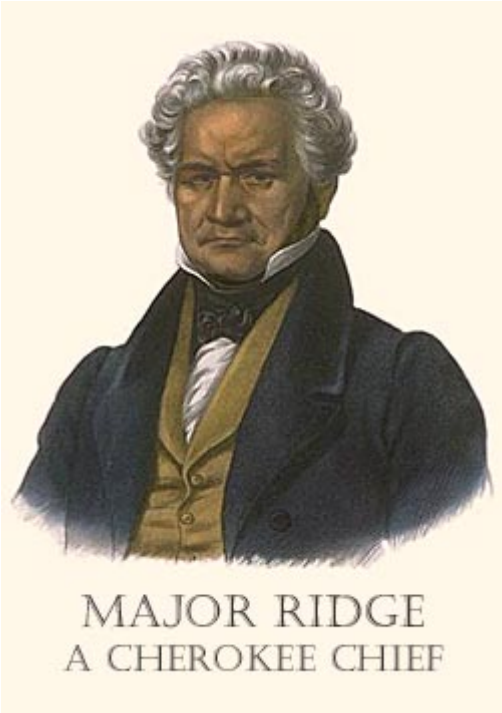

Figure 4. Portrait of Major Ridge. From Thomas McKinney and James Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, (Philadelphia: 1837-1844).

Within this altered political climate, Cherokee and Chickasaw kin-based factions, including the Colberts and Ridges, as well as the Donelson family now pursued familial strategies that supported clashing visions for the economic and political future of their people. Donelson family strategies flourished because of US policies encouraging western expansion and in turn, through the career and nepotism of Andrew Jackson, reinforced the US investment in expansion. The Colberts and Ridges, however, embraced familial strategies and political agendas which were not fully supported by their people. In the face of intense and growing pressure to relinquish their lands east of the Mississippi River, the Chickasaws and Cherokees remained fragmented on how to best ensure their political and territorial sovereignty. In this

controversial negotiation, the Colbert, Ridge, Ward, and Donelson families employed traditional tactics that they had used for generations although modified somewhat to reflect the post-1815 shifts in intercultural power dynamics.

Rather than reiterating the familiar narrative of the era following the Creek War, this chapter highlights how the complicated relationship of the US and its Indian allies following the drastic shifts in the balance of power following the War of 1812 was mediated by kinship networks and kin-based strategies. The tension between the possibility of "civilized" coexistence of Indians and Anglo-Americans and the pressure of western expansion on Indian lands finally came to a head in Congress and the US Supreme Court in the early 1830s. The debates over Indian removal played out in all three branches of the US government (within which Donelson family members held office), as some of the native families pursued legal and lobbying strategies. When those seemed hopeless, Cherokee and Chickasaw kin-based factions again determined the fate of their nations by signing treaties to trade their lands east of the Mississippi for others in Indian Territory to the west. Although the actions of kin-based factions were similar to those taken in past decades, the new centralized political systems set those families up for criticism that they had pursued the interest of their kin over that of the nation. Such allegations helped to transform traditional kin-based factions into sometimes violent kin-based rivalries.

Aftermath of the War of 1812 & Creek War

Following the triumph of the allied forces at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson sought a conqueror's victory complete with the territory and abject surrender of his defeated foes.

But the flexible, contested, and permeable boundaries of the southeastern Indian nations made this sort of victory impossible.[1] Instead Jackson's demands for land as retribution for Red Stick Creek misdeeds encompassed lands claimed as hunting grounds by all of his Indian allies. Jackson refused to believe that the lands ceded by the Creeks did not belong exclusively to the Creeks and thus by treaty exclusively to the US.[2] Jackson immediately arranged for his friend and nephew-in-law, John Coffee, to receive the commission to oversee the surveying of the boundary line described in the Creek treaty. Armed guards accompanied the survey party to prevent resistance, by Creeks or others, to the boundary survey.[3] Allied Indians, including the Cherokees and Chickasaws, did in fact resist the proposed boundary line, not through military efforts, but rather through diplomatic channels. A Cherokee delegation in particular traveled to Congress and negotiated a new treaty reifying their boundary claims which was ratified despite Jackson's protests that it conflicted with the Creek treaty. Finding Congressional lobbying strategies effective, native leaders attempted for the next several decades to use Congress to mitigate Jackson's intractable Indian policy.

[1] US state boundaries also continued to be contested during this period despite US rhetoric of a united, centralized governmental system. See for example John Haywood's account of the 1819 dispute over the boundaries between Tennessee and Virginia and Kentucky, Haywood, Civil and Political History, 24-26.

[2] This situation is comparable to Virginia's efforts to recognize the sole ownership of the Ohio country by the Iroquois and therefore the land cessions in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix as superceding all rights of Cherokees, Shawnees, and others to any of that land. This is described in more detail in Chapter 2.

[3] William Barnett, Benjamin Hawkins, and Edmund P. Gaines, Survey Commission of John Coffee, Fort Hawkins, February 9, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113. Edmund P. Gaines to John Coffee, November 28, 1815, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113. Two more of Jackson's nephews, John Hutchings and William Donelson, were among the group of surveyors accompanying Coffee and both acted as witnesses for Coffee's payments to supply provisioners. Receipt of payment to George Black for provisioning survey crew, January 27th, 1816, and Receipt of Samuel Gordon, March 16, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113.

Ironically, many of Jackson's allies, including a company of Chickasaws, had accompanied Jackson's troops in the Battle of New Orleans.[4] Their stunning success at the New Orleans proved the only major victory for the US in the War of 1812 and earned Jackson heroic status which would propel his political career toward the Presidency. His Indian allies, however, had helped to push the British from the continent. Just a few years later the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 removed Spanish claims to Florida, in part thanks to Jackson's military campaign against the Seminoles which destabilized the border between Florida and the US, and left the US without centralized opposition to their expansion. Tecumseh's pan-Indian armies in the Ohio country and his Creek allies had been defeated as well. The US no longer had need of Indian allies for defense and those allies lost their external leverage. Nonetheless, Congress's lack of approval of the unilateral changing of native boundaries in the southeast gave Indian leadership a counterweight to Jackson's determination.

Immediately after the signing of the Creek treaty, surveyors began running the boundary line described in the treaty and settlers began settling upon the lands purported within the new US holdings. Before the line could be run on land that Cherokees also claimed, Cherokee leaders traveled to Washington and negotiated a separate treaty reifying their claims. William Russell, a former soldier in Coffee's unit implored that Coffee inform them of the dispute's likely outcome, "as we who have followed your fortune, in the tented field have acquired a habit of looking to you for protection and advice_ we solicit the favor that you would turn your attention that way and let us know if this be really the case whether there remain any prospect of our views succeeding or whether it be worth while to go on with Cultivating our crops of corn or

[4] Heidel, Old Hickory's War, 45-48.

not."[5] In the new treaties authorized by Congress to resolve the conflict over the Creek cession boundaries, pressure from settlers helped push native leaders to cede some lands, if not all that Jackson had hoped. Highly motivated to gain the maximum land cessions, Jackson and Coffee became treaty commissioners, along with four others, for the 1816 treaties with the southeastern nations.

The first round of treaties in March 1816 with the Chickasaws and the Cherokees resulted in land cessions that overlapped, and each side contested the boundaries set in the treaty with the other native nation. William Barnett, one of the treaty commissioners along with Benjamin Hawkins and E.P. Gaines, reported that the gathering of the allied Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Choctaws in June 1816 failed to produce a firm consensus on the boundaries between those nations.[6] In particular he noted that, "The Chickasaws and Cherekees [sic] could come to no understanding as to their boundary."[7] Barnett found the Cherokees rude and intractable. At the end of the meeting, he decided to head home without resolving the issues, even declining to visit Coffee in person in Nashville because of his horses' sore backs and because his "head gets veary [sic] full of home." Barnett was sick of trying to straighten out the overlapping land claims.

[5] William Russell to John Coffee, May 8, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113.

[6] Charles, C. Royce, The Cherokee Nation, Richard Mack Bettis, ed., (Washington, DC: The Native American Library, 2007), 79.

[7] William Barnett to John Coffee, June 7, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113.

John Coffee took over the boundary negotiation and survey in July, but the unresolved boundary between the Chickasaws and Cherokees resulted in a second round of treaties.[8] James Colbert informed Andrew Jackson that,

> it was determined by the chiefs then present [at a meeting to decide what to tell the commissioners] that the Chickasaw nation had no lands to sell or exchange whatever. I have also to state that the warriors of this nation have been very much dissatisfied with the chiefs ever since the treaty held with you in [March] 1816, on account of the land then sold by them.[9]

The Chickasaws did, however, agree to meet again with commissioners to hear them out. This took place at Colonel George Colbert's home, located where the Natchez Trace crossed the Tennessee River in the Chickasaw Nation.[10] In the new treaties, US commissioners resolved the conflict by compensating both the Cherokees and Chickasaws for the disputed territory.[11] The result, according to treaty commissioners Andrew Jackson, David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin, was that, "we have this day concluded a treaty that secures to the West a free and uninterrupted intercourse with the low country. Independent of the accession of a rich and large body of lands to the United States, the objects otherwise obtained by this treaty are of incalculable political advantage to our country."[12] Most importantly western settlers now would have navigational rights to many of the Southeast's major rivers as "The whole southern country

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[8] John Coffee to the Secretary of War, July 25, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113.

[9] James Colbert to Andrew Jackson, July 17, 1816, Library of Congress, "A Century of Lawmaking."

[10] William Cocke to John Coffee, July 20, 1816, Dyas Collection of the John Coffee Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Heard Library, Vanderbilt University, Microfilm 3113.

[11] Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes, 185-204. Major Ridge was among the signers of the March 1816 Cherokee treaty, but not the September Treaty. Levi Colbert, William Colbert, George Colbert, and James Colbert signed the September 1816 Chickasaw treaty. James Colbert also acted as an interpreter for the negotiations. The earlier 1816 Chickasaw treaty has not been published or located.

[12] Andrew Jackson, D. Meriwether, and J. Franklin to William H. Crawford, September 20, 1816, Library of Congress, "A Century of Lawmaking."

from Kentucky and Tennessee to Mobile has been opened by the late treaties"[13] which "secured the affections of the population of the South and West to the present administration"[14] and one might add to Jackson's future administration.

The Chickasaw treaty of September 1816 withheld specific tracts from the land cession for the continued use of individual Chickasaws and their families. George and Levi Colbert, along with two other men, each received tracts of land exempted from the US purchase "only so long as they shall be occupied, cultivated, or used, by the present proprietors or heirs." Another article specified that "as a particular mark of distinction and favor for his long services and faithful adherence to the United States' Government, the commissioners agree to allow to General William Colbert an annuity of one hundred dollars, for and during his life."[15] The treaty also held a detailed clause limiting the trading licenses issued for trading with the Chickasaw nation, likely as a way of protecting the commercial interests of the Colbert family and other enterprising Chickasaws who had stores in the Chickasaw nation. These special articles revealed strategies on both sides of the treaty table geared toward insulating the wealth and political power of those Chickasaws who supported these treaties, including the Colberts.[16]

The following year the US held another treaty with the Cherokee nation that included the first clauses about the exchange of lands east of the Mississippi River for acreage in what would soon become the Arkansas territory.[17] Several Chickamauga towns had relocated west to that

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[13] Andrew Jackson to William H. Crawford, November 12, 1816, Library of Congress, "A Century of Lawmaking."

[14] Andrew Jackson, D. Meriwether, and J. Franklin to William H. Crawford, September 20, 1816, Library of Congress, "A Century of Lawmaking."

[15] Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes, 202-203.

[16] Ibid., 201-204. For more on the enterprising activities of Chickasaw leaders, see Gibson, The Chickasaws, 76-162. Chapter two on the economic strategies of the families will further analyze these treaties.

[17] Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes, 209-215.

region following the defeat of Dragging Canoe and the Chickamauga resistance movement in 1794. The remaining Lower Towns, which had retained some of the leaders from the Chickamauga movement, expressed a willingness to join those refugees in an effort to escape continuing land speculation around Muscle Shoals, pursued not unsurprisingly by several members of the Donelson family network including Andrew Jackson. The commissioners made the exchange as attractive as possible including the promise of a rifle, ammunition, blanket, and either a kettle or beaver trap as well as provisions for the move and provisions for the first year in the new territory.[18] They also attempted to create an allotment policy giving the remaining Cherokees a 640 acre plot each. The latter clause was ignored, but the removal of the Lower Towns set a precedent for treaty negotiators among the southeastern nations, including Andrew Jackson whose name was the first signing the document.[19] The US signed treaties with the Cherokee nation in 1818 and with the Chickasaw nation in 1819 each demanding more land. The leaders of these nations, under extreme pressure from US officials to cede more and more land, looked for ways to preserve the landbases and political autonomy of their nations. The following section illustrates thematically the mix of traditional strategies and new tactics used by these leaders to navigate this new, challenging diplomatic environment.

Post-War Native Strategies for Intercultural Diplomacy, 1817-1831

The treaties following the Creek War signaled to the leading Chickasaw and Cherokee families that the rules of the game had changed significantly. No longer was it enough to be on

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[18] Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes, 209-215.

[19] Ibid, 215. For more in depth analysis on this removal and others prior to the 1830 Indian Removal Act, S. Charles Bolton, "Jeffersonian Indian Removal and the Emergence of Arkansas Territory," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Autumn 2003, 62:3, 253-271 and Stephen Bragaw, "Thomas Jefferson and the American Indian Nations: Native American Sovereignty and the Marshall Court," Journal of Supreme Court History, 2006, 31:2, 155-180.

the right side of imperial conflicts. Native leadership now had to convince American leadership to take them seriously without the benefit of European competition that threatened warfare on both the North American and European continents. As in the previous decade, the Colbert, Ridge, and Ward families used the rhetoric of civilization to convince US officials that they were aligned with the present and future visions of their allies. They also reconditioned the old tools that had served them well in past intercultural negotiation: diversifying their economy, calling upon old alliances, and marrying outsiders to create and reinforce new alliances.

By 1815 the Colbert, Ridge, and Ward families melded aspects of plantation agricultural, animal husbandry, spinning, weaving, running river ferries, tavern keeping, and provisioning treaties and survey crews into their more traditional economic strategies of hunting, fishing, tanning pelts, creating basketry and pottery, and selling horses and excess foodstuffs to travelers through the nation. These new "civilized" endeavors augmented rather than replaced the more traditional strategies, which was prudent as the demand and price for deerskins and other peltry declined, the wildlife supply diminished from over-hunting, and the size of native hunting grounds contracted through sales made under duress of pressure of US officials. Although these families had maintained diversified economic strategies for centuries, even while the slave and deerskin traders encouraged them to focus their labor strategies for the market, the economic environment of the post-1815 Trans-Appalachian frontier pushed them to develop new entrepreneurial avenues while maintaining older ones.[20]

Chickasaw and Cherokee leaders also sought to capitalize on the alliances they had built over the years through personal relationships. The Colberts, Major Ridge, and others drew upon their service to the United States in the Creek Wars as evidence of their friendship to the new

[20] Daniel H. Usner, Jr., American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 73-110.

nation and the obligation of respect owed them. John Ross, elected principal chief of the Cherokee nation in 1829, wrote in 1831 to Senator David Crockett, a fellow officer in the Creek War, to thank him for his support in voting against Indian Removal,

> I have known Genl. Jackson from my boyhood_ … during the late war I held a rank in the Cherokee regiment & fought by his side_ and so far as common sense will dictate to me that his measures are correct & just I should be among the last to oppose them_ but it is with deep regret, I say, that his policy toward the aborigines, in my opinion, had been unrelenting and in effect ruinous to their best interests and happiness and whatever may be the final result of our present difficulties and troubles, we are prepared to meet it_ but never to remove west of the Mississippi[21]

As Coffee's troops had sought his advice and support in land-speculative ventures, Cherokee military service in the Creek War inclined some Cherokees to admire Jackson. However, his insistence on Indian removal negated these inclinations and forced Indian leaders to call upon old allies for political support. Ross ended his letter by listing those Cherokees and Creeks wounded in the war including those in The Ridge's company.[22] Native service and sacrifice in the Creek war became a key anti-removal argument in the ongoing efforts to derail removal.

In order to gain audience among US politicians, Nancy Ward drew upon her importance as a political ally of the settlers during the Revolution as well as the personal connections forged by herself and her daughters to gain audience among US politicians. In 1818, Nancy Ward, as a representative of the Cherokee Women's council, argued that the Cherokees should remain in the east because they had become "civilized,"

> Our Father the President advised us to become farmers, to manufacture our own clothes, & to have our children instructed. To this advice we have attended in every thing as far as we were able. Now the thought of being compelled to remove the other side of the Mississippi is dreadful to us, because it appears to us that we, by this removal, shall be

[21] John Ross to David Crockett, January 13, 1831, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, Vault Box Ayer MS 781.

[22] Ibid.

> brought to a savage state again, for we have, by the endeavor of our Father the President, become too much enlightened to throw aside the privileges of a civilized life.[23]

According to Ward, her people were too entrenched in the local economy to live in a "savage state." The "civilized life" provided distinct advantages to native people who reshaped it to reflect their societies' values. According to Ward, "Civilization" (through economic diversification) had changed her people and provided them with the economic and cultural tools to live in peace among the white people.

Ward also used familial language to call upon the young Cherokee leaders to heed her mothers' wisdom and respect the mothers of the nation who knew what was best for their sons, "We have raised all of you on the land which we now have, which God gave us to inhabit and raise provisions, ... [removal] would be like destroying your mothers."[24] Especially moving in a matrilineal society, Ward hoped her talks would similarly move the sons of the new nation to do what was right by ending efforts to force Cherokees to remove. She expressed disappointment that many cross-cultural marriages failed in uniting the political interests of those Anglo-Americans and Indians, "There are some white men among us who have been raised in this country from their youth, are connected with us by marriage, & have considerable families, who are very active in encouraging the emigration of our nation. These ought to be our truest friends but prove our worst enemies."[25] Ward's appeal to her nation's sons might also have resonated with a new set of allies, American women, whose rhetoric of "republican motherhood" gave

[23] Nancy Ward, "Petition of Cherokee Women," June 30, 1818, reproduced in Perdue and Green, Cherokee Removal, 133 and Sturgis, Trail of Tears, 96-97.

[24] Nancy Ward, Petition of Cherokee Women, May 2, 1817, quoted in Perdue, Cherokee Removal, 131-32.

[25] Nancy Ward, Petition of Cherokee Women, June 30, 1818, quoted in Perdue, Cherokee Removal, 133.

them a place in the political arena where they banded together to advocate missionary efforts among Indians in the southeast and later to fight removal.[26]

This diversification mirrored the political diversification employed by these families throughout the eighteenth century and that evolved into new political strategies in the nineteenth century. Oconostota had desired that the children of intermarried traders would become a bridge between the red and white peoples, helping both to understand one another better. The Colbert family sought to use American education to facilitate that understanding. Jeffersonian rhetoric of "civilization" was channeled by native leaders into educational opportunities to learn the oratorical and debate skills that would support them in their verbal defense of sovereignty. Levi Colbert also made a point to send all of his children to a nearby mission school.[27] The Colberts sought to use that knowledge to their advantage. As a treaty commissioner in 1818, Andrew Jackson complained to Isaac Shelby that "[The] Colberts say, they will part with their lands for the price the u. states gets for theirs. These are high toned sentiments and they must be taught to know that they do not Possess sovereignity [sic], with the right of domain."[28] Although they successfully negotiated the legal world of the Anglo-Americans and took on many of their trappings, the Colberts maintained several markers of Chickasaw identity. They continued to speak Chickasaw in addition to English and remained dedicated to using their education to reinforce Chickasaw political autonomy. Jackson, however, saw the Colberts' influence and

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[26] Tiya Miles, ""Circular Reasoning": Recentering Cherokee Women in the Anti-Removal Campaigns," American Quarterly, 61:2, (June 2009), 221-243. Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," Journal of American History, 86:1, June 1999, 15-40. Hershberger argues that women's organizations were among the most powerful voices in opposition to removal and that the anti-removal movement served as the predecessor to both the abolition and women's rights movements.

[27] The Colberts sent their male and female children to school. For more on the Colberts' educations, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Charity Hall: An Early Chickasaw School," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 11:3, September 1933, 912-26 and S. J. Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and its Founder," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 2:4, December 1924, 366-79. Carr listed several Colbert girls who were among those "who first entered the school," 374-75.

[28] Andrew Jackson to Isaac Shelby, August 11, 1818, Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 4, 234-35,

"civilization" as evidence of "designing half-breeds" who had apparently inherited their greed and cunning from their Anglo-American ancestors and were at odds with "true Indians, the natives of the forest."[29]

Although Major Ridge was considered a "full blooded" Cherokee, his son and nephews attended the local Moravian mission school and then New England schools to learn, among other things, Anglo-American rhetorical and legal philosophies. His grandson John Rollin Ridge would go on to be among the first American Indian authors and would write about his perceptions of America and his own native heritage.[30] Another grandson, Cornelius Boudinot, the son of Elias Boudinot, became the editor and publisher of the Arkansian newspaper in Fayetteville, Arkansas.[31]

Anglo-style education enabled the Ridge family to forge new alliances, as their association with New England clergymen teachers could now be added to older military and diplomatic relationships. Northeasterners, particularly missionary organizations and women's aid societies, became active allies on behalf of southern native peoples supporting their right to political sovereignty, especially because of their willingness to become "civilized Christians." Elias Boudinot and John Ridge presented themselves as evidence of Indian "civilization" on the Northeastern lecture circuit.[32]

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[29] Remini, Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars, 56. Rogin, Fathers and Children, 113-250.

[30] For an example of Ridge's writing, see his novel, John Rollin Ridge, The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit, (San Francisco: W.B. Cooke, 1854). For works on Ridge's life and writings, see James W. Parins, John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) and Cheryl Walker, Indian Nation: Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 111-38.

[31] James W. Parins, Elias Cornelius Boudinot: A Life on the Cherokee Border, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 22-23.

[32] Ibid, 32. Bernard Feder, "The Ridge Family and the Death of a Nation," American West, October 1978, 15:5, 28-31, 61-63.

As the Ward family had cemented their ties to traders through intercultural marriage, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot (who adopted the name of the aging Continental Congress representative and American Bible Society president) sought to marry Anglo-American girls who they had met while away at school. This strategy backfired as writers lambasted the marriage as racially repugnant and an angry crowd burned effigies of Elias Boudinot and his bride Harriott Gold on the town green in Cornwall, Connecticut. Even among the seemingly supportive Northeastern mission societies, the rhetoric of "civilization" contrasted against a rhetoric of innate savagery which meant that to some degree recognition of "civilization" implied that "civilized" Indians had been savage prior to their adoption of white ways. Clothes, careful diction, religious piety, and logical arguments could not overcome their racist perceptions of Boudinot. Intercultural marriage was a tactic that lost some of its effectiveness in the aftermath of the Creek War. No longer able to link peoples diplomatically through ties of kinship as the Betsy Ross/Joseph Martin marriage had in 1777, the Ridge network marriages, nonetheless endured and the couples moved back to the Cherokee nation to continue their campaign for "civilized" sovereignty in publications for Cherokee and white audiences.[33]

H.S. Gold, Boudinot's brother-in-law, wrote a journal of his travels in Cherokee country which he sent as a letter to his uncle-in-law, General D.B. Brinsmade in May of 1830. Gold recorded details about the structure, cleanliness, and furnishings of the houses, a piano concert performed by chief David Vann's wife (noting both Vann and his wife were "descendants of Cherokees"), and the spinning, weaving, and cotton plantations that signified "civilization."

[33] Theda Perdue, ed., Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Ralph Henry Gabriel, Elias Boudinot Cherokee & His America, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941); Theresa Strouth Gaul, To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

Gold also noted in careful detail the familial connections among those he visited. For Gold, like his Cherokee in-laws, family connections seemed to indicate valuable connections that helped him better understand the people and places he encountered.[34]

Elias Boudinot edited the Cherokee Phoenix from 1828 through 1834.[35] The Phoenix described a "civilized Cherokee" identity both similar to the lifestyles of their elite southern neighbors, and distinctly Cherokee. The Phoenix, for example, advocated literacy in both English and the Cherokee syllabary.[36] While instructing Cherokees how to be good Christians, they cultivated alliances with missionaries who voiced their support in their organizational newsletters, northern newspapers, and before the US Supreme Court.[37] Producing the Cherokee Phoenix newspaper was an outgrowth of Ridge family efforts to reinforce their political position within the Cherokee nation through creating alliances outside it and through obtaining critical skills that aided in US/Cherokee diplomacy. Boudinot and others also published pamphlets[38] and wrote articles for Christian newspapers throughout the country detailing the "civilization" and

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[34] H.S. Gold to General D.B. Brinsmade, May 22, 1830, UTK Special Collections Library, Penelope Johnson Allen Papers, MS 2033, Box 2, Folder 19.

[35] Reproductions of the Cherokee Phoenix are available online at http://www.wcu.edu/library/CherokeePhoenix/. The paper has also been reincarnated by the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, recent editions of which are available in print and online at http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/.

[36] The Cherokee syllabary was an alphabet completed by Sequoyah in 1821 with 85 symbols to represent the sounds in the Cherokee language in written form. See Margaret Bender, Signs of Cherokee Culture: Sequoyah's syllabary and Eastern Cherokee Life, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Grant Foreman, Sequoyah, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973, 1938); Maureen Konkle, "Sequoyah, Cherokee Antiquarians, and Progress," in Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 78-96.

[37] For a detailed analysis of the Supreme Court Cherokee cases, see Bragaw, "Thomas Jefferson," 155-180.

[38] A great example of one of these pamphlets, which was derived from a lecture, is Elias Boudinott, "An Address to the Whites Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the 26th of May, 1826," (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1826), Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Phillips Pamphlet Collection, Box 586.2-2329.1, Folder 1679. Boudinot here poses the question, "What is an Indian?" to which he answers "You here behold an Indian, my kindred are Indians and my fathers sleeping in the wilderness grave_ they too were Indians." Ibid, 3.

political plights of southeastern Indians to a significant number of subscribers.[39] The Ridge family network's use of newspapers was a new take on old strategies; whereas native leaders in the eighteenth century relied upon treaty talks and personal relationships to sway their allies, by the nineteenth century they augmented those talks and relationships with additional forms of written persuasion, convincing those allies (in this case northern Christians) that supporting native sovereignty was in both of their best interests.

Chickasaws and Cherokees augmented old strategies like economic diversification, calling on established allies, creating new allies through marriage, and persuasive writing with the trappings and rhetoric of "civilization" from plantation agriculture to newspapers to make these strategies more effective in the nineteenth century. They did not use other strategies, such as kin-based military resistance and trade negotiation, because they no longer seemed tactically sound as the Creek War and subsequent land grabs illustrated. Without a tangible threat from European powers in the southeast, native leaders used personal and kinship relationships to lobby for their continued political presence in the region. These strategies encountered the stiffening obstacles of unchecked U.S power, rampant land speculation, and virulent racism. Native families' most effective defense against removal now proved to be a language condemning its immorality and injustice, which did gain southeastern Indians important political allies in both the Congress and the Supreme Court.[40]

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[39] Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women," 18.

[40] Indian removal and the accompanying debates have been covered in detail by a number of historians. Some examples of this historiography include Grant Foreman, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, New Ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1953); Brown, Old Frontiers; Paula Mitchell Marks, In a Barren land: American Indian Dispossession and Survival, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1998); Remini, Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars; Perdue, The Cherokee Removal; Amy H. Sturgis, The Trail of Tears and Indian Removal, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007); Claudia B. Haake, The State, Removal, and Indigenous Peoples in the United States and Mexico, 1620-2000, (New York: Routledge, 2007). For an interesting take on the uses of history and historical precedent in pro- and anti- removal arguments, see Jason Meyers, "No Idle Past: Uses of History in the 1830 Indian Removal Debates," The Historian, 2001, 53-65.

Donelson Family Strategies, 1816-1828

Like the leading Indian families during this period, the Donelson family network strategies exhibited continuities with those pursued by previous generations of Donelsons, including treaty negotiation, land speculation, and kin-based military connections. The network operated as a web of individuals who relayed valuable information, pursued similar economic goals (often by investing together), and backed one another in political and military conflicts. The coterie of Andrew Jackson's in-laws and nephews that had aided him in the Creek War continued to be instrumental to the function of his New Orleans and Florida campaigns.

The Donelson family network included land speculators who benefited from the large tracts of land obtained through the post-Creek War treaties of 1816 and 1818. John Donelson Jr. was a founder of the Pensacola land company in 1817.[41] John Coffee, Andrew Jackson, and James Jackson among others founded the Cypress Land Company that bought the land on the Tennessee River that would become the town of Florence, Alabama.

As in early Donelson land speculation, surveying provided extra income and connections that served the familial network. Andrew Jackson secured the office of state surveyor of Alabama for John Coffee in 1816 which provided Coffee and his relations with valuable information on choice lands in the state, especially around Muscle Shoals. John Donelson Jr. told Coffee, Donelson's son-in-law, that he planned to buy two tracts of land, selling one to pay for the other. Donelson quipped, "This my way of speculation."[42] Coffee's brother-in-law, Lemuel Donelson, also informed him that he would like "to have a finger in the [land speculation]

[41] While there, John Donelson, Jr. invested in the Pensacola land speculation company. See Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 4, 284-85, 285fn4.

[42] Rogin, Fathers and Children, 175.

pie."[43] When the Cypress land company documents were lost in a fire at the Alabama land office nearly a decade after the formation of the company, Jackson wrote to Coffee that "your survayors [sic] business will occasion the Government (not you) some expense … your attention must be draw[n] to the duties of your office as survayor [sic] & to close the business of the Cypress land company."[44] Coffee's position as state surveyor brought himself and his family significant income through survey fees and land speculation activities.

Donelson network members also continued to conduct business with one another. A covenant between Andrew Jackson and William Donelson dated July 19, 1820 reveals the ongoing intertwined economic relationships of the network,

> I, William Donelson, bind myself &c to convey unto Andrew Jackson when called on for undivided half of the 640 acres of land originally granted by the State of North Carolina to Hugh Hays, lying on the south side of Cumberland adjoining the land on the north whereon said Andrew now lives and known by the name of Hugh Hays Preemption which said tract of 640 acres was bought by me and Samuel Donelson in his lifetime from said Hugh Hays. This 11 Dec 1806. Test: Jno. Coffee. July Term 1820.[45]

Brothers William and Samuel Donelson had bought the tract from neighbor Hugh Hays and promised Jackson he could have the land when he wanted it. When the time came for Jackson to claim the land, his friend and nephew-in-law Coffee signed as witness.

A letter from Andrew Jackson to John Coffee in 1825 reflects earlier patterns of familial legal activities. Jackson writes, "I shall write you by Major Green a relation of yours & McLamores from NoCarolina who will be with you some next week & send you powers of atto. [attorney] from Mrs. [Catherine Donelson] Hutchings & Mrs. [Jane Donelson] Hays to Locate

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, December 22, 1827, found in Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 6, 405-06.

[45] Helen C. and Timothy R. Marsh, Davidson County Tennessee Wills and Inventories, Vol. 2 – 1816-1830, (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1989), 74.

their share of the grant separately."[46] The family network continued to utilize power of attorney to stake land claims for one another.

Much like Jackson having taken on his nephews as wards upon the deaths of his brothers-in-law, raising and administering the estates of young family members continued to be a responsibility shared by multiple family members. The death of Jackson's nephew John Hutchings resulted in Andrew Jackson gaining guardianship over his grand-nephew Andrew Jackson Hutchings. Jackson and Coffee, who owned the neighboring tract, acted as executors of the estate and together managed the plantation and upbringing of the young Hutchings.[47] In 1826 Jackson bought a horse from Captain Jack Donelson for Andrew Jackson Hutchings' plantation which was forwarded on to Coffee who managed the plantation for Hutchings. Jackson wrote to his nephew, William Donelson, that their charge (Hutchings) had "been suspended from College, & is now at the Hermitage Idle_ This intelligence is a sore grief to me, and one from his pledge to me, of good behaviour ... and I must adopt such measures, such as will yet preserve him from ruin, & myself from disgrace."[48] He asked Donelson to enroll Hutchings in school with Mr. Otey of Franklin, Tennessee "as I find it useless to attempt to make him a good classic scholar; and all I now hope for is, to give him an education to fit him for a farmer."[49] Jackson, Coffee, and Donelson together took financial and social responsibility for Andrew Jackson Hutchings balancing the management of the boy's plantation and education alongside their other business, political, and familial responsibilities.

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[46] Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, October 12, 1825, found in Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 6, 107. Jackson requests in the same missive that Capt. Jack Donelson take inventory of Jackson's slaves and livestock.

[47] Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, January 5, 1825, found in Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 6, 5-6.

[48] Andrew Jackson to William Donelson, March 22, 1829, found in Andrew Jackson Papers, Vol. 7, 109-110.

[49] *Ibid*.

The Donelson family network, like the Colbert, Ridge, and Ward families, practiced continuity in their political and economic strategies by drawing heavily upon their kinship connections to one another. However, the Donelsons in the years following the Creek War had little need to adjust those strategies to the new political and economic environment of the Trans-Appalachian frontier. Instead, their strategies functioned effectively unchanged from their early speculative ventures of the Revolutionary period. New generations of Donelsons got rich from land speculation, surveying, legal connections, and plantation agriculture.

Negotiating Removal

The United States government had been encouraging Indians to leave their homes east of the Mississippi since early in Jefferson's presidency. The Georgia state government was so sure of this inevitability that when they ceded their rights to their western territories (which would become Alabama and Mississippi) to the US government in 1802, the agreement included a clause that required the federal government to remove all Indian land claims from Georgia. After the Cherokee nation ratified its own constitutional government based on the US Constitution, the Georgia state government recognized that the Cherokees were officially denying the right of Georgia to enforce its laws within Cherokee territory and on Cherokee citizens. The ratification provoked Georgians to further step up their efforts to force Cherokees to remove through legislation and physical intimidation as Anglo-Americans set up homesteads in Cherokee territory that were subsequently legitimized through surveys and deeds by Georgia. "Civilization" strategies, intended to support political sovereignty, created a backlash from Georgians determined to assert their dominion over Cherokee territory to the north. They sent

the militia to enforce Georgia law, they settled on Cherokee land, they imprisoned principal chief John Ross, and they seized the Cherokee Phoenix.[50]

By 1828 the leadership of the Choctaws and Chickasaws were seriously considering US offers of land west of the Mississippi. A group of chiefs, including Levi Colbert and his nephew Charles Colbert, US army personnel, and missionaries set out together to inspect the lands proposed to them. In the course of the journey the chiefs reaffirmed peaceful relations with several tribes along the way, including the Shawnees, Osages, and western Cherokees. Peter Pitchlynn, one of the Choctaw chiefs, kept a journal of the trip noting the deceptive efforts of the Anglo-Americans who traveled with them,

> The country between the Osages and Kanzas is all Prairie, no game of any kind whatever, and the soil of the lands by no means good. But notwithstanding that these are facts to me and all of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in company, the whites who are with us, some of them have been presumtious [sic] enough to tell us that it is a fine country, and even have said that it is the best in the world.[51]

Pitchlynn and his Choctaw and Chickasaw associates undertook reconnaissance of Indian country to determine if removal might be to the advantage of their people. They followed traditional protocols of smoking the calumet and making or reinforcing alliances along the way. While the Anglo-Americans attempted to delude the delegation into taking the least desirable territory, the delegation were well aware of the productive potential of the lands they examined and chose a section that remained fertile enough for agriculture and that retained game. Both of these attributes would support the diversified economic strategies they embraced.

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[50] "Memorial of a Delegation from the Cherokee Indians, January 18, 1831, Phillips Pamphlet Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, Box 7282-7311, Folder 7311.

[51] Peter P. Pitchlynn, Journal – November 28, 1828, Peter P. Pitchlynn Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, Box 5.

The Cherokees were especially divided over how "civilization" could be used to support the sovereignty of their people. Several authors have investigated how this issue caused the family networks of Major Ridge and John Ross to square off politically against one another. The two groups agreed that the adoption of slavery and plantation agriculture made Cherokee leaders more competitive in the Anglo-dominated economic markets and lent prestige to their diplomatic negotiations with US planter elites.[52] Following the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 by a vote of 102 to 97, the Ridge family network began to feel that their efforts to convince America of the value of "civilized" Indians would not prevent those most determined to have their land from taking it. John Ross and his supporters continued to lobby Congress for support against the onslaught until federal troops had rounded up the Cherokee nation into holding-pens until they could be transported west against their will.

The Indian Removal Act "provide[d] for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi." It promised payment for improvements, "aid and assistance … to enable them to remove," and funding for their subsistence in the first year of residency in the new Indian territory. Most importantly, it allocated $500,000 "for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act." This sum, as it would turn out, was insufficient for funding the removals themselves, not including the first-year support it promised.[53]

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[52] Theda Perdue and Michael Greene, The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents, 2nd ed., (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005). Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995). Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People, 2nd ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986).

[53] United States Congress, "Indian Removal Act," May 28, 1830, published in Perdue, Cherokee Removal, 123. Alfred Cave points out that the Act did not authorize Jackson or anyone else to seize land or force Indians to remove, but only to make voluntary treaties. Jackson, of course, used the authorization to make treaties to make living east of the Mississippi unbearable by refusing to enforce native boundaries and sovereignty, therefore encouraging Anglo-Americans to settle on native lands. Alfred A. Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian

When the Indian Removal Act threatened Chickasaw lands and government, the Colberts negotiated to minimize the cost in lives and financial assets by determining the terms for Chickasaw removal. The Colberts illustrate how Chickasaws could so thoroughly adopt pieces of "western culture" while retaining an Indian identity that privileges Chickasaw political sovereignty. The Colberts' most important diplomatic role in the nineteenth century was their participation in the negotiations of the terms of Chickasaw removal west of the Mississippi in 1835. Historian Mary Young argues that Levi Colbert was effective as the lead negotiator, getting the United States government to pay market value for Chickasaw lands and ensuring the payments were made to the Chickasaw government rather than funneled through corrupt government contractors.[54] The nation's new lands in Indian Territory were to be bought at a fair price and chosen by an expedition of tribal leaders and US officials who evaluated potential territories on-site. The remaining funds were then used by the Chickasaw government, rather than the United States government, to provide adequate transportation on the journey to Indian Territory. Prior to the treaty, some of the Colberts had toured their potential future territory alongside Choctaw leaders and found the territory lacking. By 1835, they had still not found a suitable territory. Signing the treaty forced the Chickasaws to purchase territory already claimed by the Choctaws in Indian Territory and Martin Colbert, Pitman Colbert, and Thomas Colbert were among the negotiators for that territory.[55] While the Removal treaty still forced the tribe to exchange their homeland for less desirable territory west of the Mississippi, the efforts of Colbert

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Removal Act of 1830," The Historian, 2003, 65:6, 1330-1353. See also Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 50-72.

[54] See Mary E. Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts and Rednecks : Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

[55] Foreman, Indian Removal, 202.

and others ensured that the Chickasaw nation did not suffer the degree of loss in lives and resources as other Southern tribes.

The process of removal was easier for the Chickasaws who migrated semi-voluntarily rather than at the points of federal bayonets. Still they suffered significant losses in lives and property. An estimated 500 to 600 Chickasaws died of a smallpox epidemic related to the move. They lost so many horses and oxen along the way that they had to abandon much of their baggage.[56] Their losses, however, paled in comparison with those suffered by the Cherokees.

Levi Colbert oversaw the preparations for the removal process for the Chickasaws, but died prior to the actual move. The Colberts remained important political leaders after removal. Benjamin Franklin Colbert built a new Colbert's Ferry on the Red River. Winston Colbert and Holmes Colbert, nephews to George Colbert, were instrumental in developing the Chickasaw Constitution in Indian Territory during the 1850s.[57] Winchester Colbert, Levi Colbert's nephew, served as governor of the Chickasaw Nation from 1858 to 1860 and from 1862 to 1866. Their commitment to slaveholding and their physical proximity to confederate Texas meant that the Chickasaw nation fought alongside the Confederates in the Civil War.[58]

The Cherokees by 1835, however, were divided over the question of removal. The Ridge family network, in particular, had been directly affected by Anglo-American racism in spite of their obvious "civilization." Their marriages had been harangued, their printing press seized, and their property had been assaulted by white Georgians. US officials continually presented Cherokee leaders with new, slightly revised treaties which were rejected again and again.

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[56] Foreman, Indian Removal, 221-223.

[57] Jesse Burt and Bob Ferguson, Indians in the Southeast: Then and Now, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1973), 147-150.

[58] Winchester Colbert was Levi Colbert's nephew and ward. Gibson, Chickasaws, 226, 249-280. John Bartlett Meserve, "Governor Daugherty (Winchester) Colbert," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 18:4, December 1940, 348-56.

Finally in 1835 Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and his nephews Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie, along with several other Cherokee leaders signed the Treaty of New Echota exchanging the eastern Cherokee nation for land in Indian Territory and $4.5 million in payment for improvements and to fund removal.[59] According to the treaty, the Cherokees had until 1838 to evacuate their lands.

Because only about 2,000 Cherokees had actually removed by the 1838 deadline, President Martin Van Buren authorized General Winfield Scott to enforce the removal militarily.[60] The process of rounding up those who had not yet emigrated and marching them to Indian Territory took a total of around ten months. Between 4,000 and 8,000 Cherokees out of a population of 21,500 died on the 2,200 mile trek that became known as the "Trail of Tears."[61] The surviving Cherokees in Indian Territory suffered the aftershocks of removal which included a kin-based feud between the Ross and Ridge factions.

While decentralized political power had commonly operated in the colonial period, the Cherokee Constitution of 1828 declared that signing a treaty without an affirmative vote of the national council was punishable by death.[62] This sentence was carried out by John Ross's political and kinship networks. By 1839, Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot as well as several other signers were dead. In June of that year, John Ross related to Brevet Brigadier General Mathew Arbuckle at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory that he would be arriving for their

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[59] Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes, 633-645.

[60] Perdue, Cherokee Removal, 167.

[61] Sturgis, Trail of Tears, 2, 60. The population and mortality statistics vary according to which historian one cites. Sturgis is among the most recent historians to cover Indian Removal and has the most recent data on the subject.

[62] Cherokee National Council, "Constitution of the Cherokee Nation: Formed by a Convention of Delegates from the Several Districts at New Echota, July 1827," printed in Laws of the Cherokee Nation, (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation: Cherokee Advocate Office, 1852, reprinted New York: Gryphon Editions, 1995), 118-30.

meeting with an armed guard because "an additional number of my friends have assembled at this place for the purpose of repelling an attack upon me, as was reasonably anticipated from the violent threats of personal revenge."[63] A month later, US captain Benjamin Bonneville reported on the standoff,

> a delegation of the treaty party of Cherokees – about 750 men, women & children have fled beyond the limits of the Nation for safety_ Murders are still continued_ Light horse or police companies are assigned to each district three companies_ are certainly very summary dealers in justice … Stand Wattie has collected around him 120 Cherokees & he is determined not to leave the nation_ Says he will not act on the offensive_ or on the defensive & leaves the decision of their president condition to the Presdt. U.S.[64]

The Cherokee nation was again fragmented into kin-based factions pursuing different agendas, but this time with deep animosity that threatened to overturn the centralized government that had grown out of the "civilization" movement. These factions remained at opposition through the Civil War when the Cherokee Nation, under Ross's leadership, ended up siding with the Union[65] and Stand Watie became a Confederate general leading Cherokee troops against his old foes in the Cherokee Nation.[66]

The era following the Creek War produced drastic changes in the Chickasaw and Cherokee nations, but the centrality of kinship remained, even becoming more prominent in these times of crisis. The Colbert family was instrumental in negotiating the best deal possible

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[63] John Ross to Matthew Arbuckle, June 24, 1839, Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, NY, GLC06741.01.

[64] Benjamin L. Bonneville to unknown recipient, July 22, 1839, Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, NY, GLC01233.06.

[65] The Cherokees began the war as allies of the Confederates, but after the Union army invaded the nation and captured the capital, Ross's administration declared their allegiance to the Union.

[66] Watie's nephews John Rollin Ridge and Cornelius Boudinot were also staunch Confederates. For more on Indian Territory during the Civil War, see Clarissa Confer, The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Fay A. Yarbrough, Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Dale and Litton, Cherokee Cavaliers, 98-228. Frank Cunningham, General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians, Fwd by Brad Agnew, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Mabel Washburn Anderson, Life of General Stand Watie: The Only Indian Brigadier General of the Confederate Army and the Last General to Surrender, (Pryor, OK: Mayes County Republican, 1915).

once removal became unavoidable. The Ridge family lost their reputation and several family members in the controversy surrounding removal. Both family networks, however, continued to draw upon their kin for political and, in the Ridge family's case, military support.

Donelson Network Strategies, 1828-1850

Jackson first ran for President of the United States in 1824 and was elected to that office in 1828 and 1832. During and after his presidency, family remained central to his political and economic strategies. General John Coffee remained a treaty negotiator and was the US Indian agent to the Chickasaws. Jackson chose his nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, as his private secretary and asked his niece-in-law, Emily, to be the White House hostess upon the death of his wife, Rachel.[67] The Donelson family network, as in the years before the presidency, created a family-based political framework for President Jackson. As in years past, Jackson played an influential role in shaping the network itself through guiding his nephews to suitable marriages and negotiating the conflicts that arose when business deals between multiple family members went awry.

Although social standing was clearly one of many factors that shaped the Donelson family network it was not the central factor. Prior allegiances or valuable skills could overwhelm the impulse to encourage matches between prominent families. The tension within the Donelson family network over differences of opinion on the purpose and function of the institution of marriage became clear in a disagreement between Andrew Jackson and his niece and nephew over the White House scandal known as "the Eaton Affair." When Jackson's friend,

[67] Emily opposed President Jackson in the "Eaton Affair" over the controversial marriage of Jackson's cabinet member John Eaton, but was acclaimed by Jackson and the press for her dignity and efficiency in the management of the social affairs of the White House. President Jackson was said to have adored her. Pauline Wilcox Burke, Emily Donelson of Tennessee, Jonathan M. Atkins, ed., (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001).

cabinet-member, and later biographer, John Eaton married Peggy O'Neil, a local Innkeeper's daughter and occasional barmaid, Washington society was appalled. Jackson himself had no objections to the marriage and had even encouraged it. The other wives of Jackson's cabinet-members, including Jackson's niece Emily, refused to associate with Mrs. Eaton. Jackson ordered the women to end their ostracizing of Mrs. Eaton, but his demand had no effect on their actions. This rebellion sowed strife within the cabinet itself. The tension within the family over the conflict lasted from January of 1829 through July of 1831.[68]

Jackson, however, proved his allegiance to the matching of prominent families by mitigating the marriage opportunities of his nephew in 1832. He wrote to Eliza Fauquier, mother of the bride-to-be, extolling the virtues of his nephew and the Donelson family more generally,

> Thomas was reared by an amiable & pious mother having lost his father when very young- his moral character as well as all his family is without a stain_ his fortune tho small, is competent with industry & economy to live independantly- he is clear of debt, of amicable disposition, free from all kind of … intemperate habits, from all which, I have no doubt he is well calculated to make your daughter happy_ he possesses a good tract of land and ten negroes with stock on his farm, adjoining me.[69]

Eliza Fauquier was the aunt of Sarah York who had married Andrew Jackson, Jr. just a year earlier. Andrew Jackson continued the kinship strategy of tying together prominent families into the Donelson family network. The marriage of Thomas J. Donelson to Emma Fauquier created another bond between the two families.[70]

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[68] Robert Remini, Andrew Jackson, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999), 124-32. Remini claims that Emily's refusal was because of "her husband's admitted indignation over Eaton's influence with his uncle", Ibid, 126. For a detailed history of this incident, see John Marszalek, The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny, and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House, (New York: The Free Press, 1997). Cheathem, Old Hickory's Nephew, 60-120.

[69] Andrew Jackson to Eliza Fauquier, August 28, 1832, Philadelphia, PA, Autographed Letter Signed, Gilder Lehrman Collection, Document GLC07464.

[70] Ibid. Smith and Owsley, Papers of Andrew Jackson, 421.

The intertwined economic activities of Jackson's son and nephews gave him some trouble in 1843 when one nephew, Stockly Donelson, defaulted on a contract that he bought from Andrew Jackson Jr. The complicated mess threatened to derail Andrew Jr.'s financial stability and the honor of the family itself. Jackson relayed the situation as follows,

> shortly after the purchase of the negroes by Major A J. Donelson, & A. Jackson jnr the latter desposed [sic] of his interest in that purchase to Stockly Donelson, who became liable for all sums of mony [sic]on said contract that A. Jackson jnr was liable for having stepped into the shoes of the said J. Jnr. It has been owing to the default of Stockly Donelson in not complying punctually with his engagement that any delay in payment has happened to compell [sic] S. Donelson to secure the payment of his part of this debt, … Mr. A. Jackson jur [sic] has been badly treated by Stockly Donelson, who bought his interest in the negroes, and expected great punctuality in Stockly Donelson, but has been much injured by his failure to comply.[71]

Former President Andrew Jackson was forced to bring a suit against his nephew to ensure that neither his son nor himself would be liable for Stockley Donelson's failure to pay the debt. As in generations past, members of the Donelson family network engaged in business ventures together and, as in the past, not all of those deals came off without damaging the finances and the relationships of those investors.

After Jackson's death in 1845, Donelson family members continued to be politically active. Andrew Jackson Donelson ran for Vice President of the United States in 1856 alongside Millard Fillmore as representatives of the Know-Nothing Party and was the United States' foreign minister to Texas, Prussia, and Germany.[72] Donelson's political career marked the last vestiges of the Donelson family network's presence on the national stage. The family's status,

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[71] Andrew Jackson to R.W. Latham, December 28, 1843, Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, NY, Document GLC03423.

[72] Mark Renfred Cheathem, Old Hickory's Nephew: The Political and Private Struggles of Andrew Jackson Donelson, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 299. The Know-Nothing, or American, Party was essentially an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic party devoted to Protestantism. Its primary constituents were middle-class Protestants who feared losing their jobs to immigrants. For an interesting primary account of the party written the year Filmore and Donelson ran for office, see Anna Ella Carroll, The Great American Battle: or The Contest between Christianity and Political Romanism, (New York: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan, 1856).

financial gains, and land speculation proved longer lasting than their time in the national spotlight.

Conclusion

Although Cherokee and Chickasaw leaders dressed and spoke like gentlemen, ran plantations and owned slaves, and even adopted US-style central governments, Lewis Cass, deemed by his contemporaries one of the "highly thoughtful experts … on United States Indian policy and the histories and cultures of the tribes," declared in 1830 that efforts to civilize the Indians had failed. "But such a wish [to incorporate Indians into Anglo-American society] is in vain. A barbarous people, depending for subsistence upon the scanty and precarious supplies furnished by the chase, cannot live in contact with a civilized community."[73] Cass's "expert opinion" revealed that native "civilization" strategies could only accomplish so much. While they could persuade religious and women's groups, individuals with a vested interest in Indian removal, including western politicians and land speculators (often individuals were both), believed what they chose about the "civilization" or "hunter lifestyle" of Indians. US proponents of westward expansion argued that "barbarous people" should not exist in close proximity to Anglo-American communities. "Civilizationists" attempted to remove that excuse and worked to convince old and new allies that they had indeed done so. That Cass's comments came after more than three decades of "civilizing" and despite the best efforts of leaders, such as Major Ridge and Levi Colbert, proved the native opponents of "civilization" correct in their assertion that adopting elements of Anglo-American "civilization" would not stop westward expansion.

[73] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents, (New York: Bedford/St. Martins Press, 2005), 115-116.

The political and economic strategies of both Indian and Anglo-American leaders reflected the continued role of kinship and familial strategies in nineteenth century intercultural negotiation and conflict. The Colbert, Ward, and Ridge family networks continued to diversify their economic strategies, to call upon old alliances forged through military and diplomatic association, to use familial language persuasively, and to cement new allies to their interests through marriage. They adapted to the changing economic and political environment by tapping into extensive communication avenues to increase their rhetorical effectiveness through newspapers and lecture circuits and reached beyond traditional alliances to engage religious and women's society networks throughout the US on their behalf. Meanwhile, the Donelsons also employed strategies that had worked for them in the past in order to capitalize on the new political and economic environment. Their kinship network reaped political and economic benefits as western politicians who gained power in Washington embraced western expansion which enabled family members to continue to profit from land speculation.

Kinship and familial strategies in the 1830s resembled those employed by leading families in the colonial era, but also displayed the ingenuity and flexibility of those using them as they reflected the opportunities and challenges unique to the period. Although the native families had some success with their efforts to retain political sovereignty with the help of their allies, the Donelson family was significantly more effective at translating their generations-old strategies into nineteenth century profits thanks to the federal government's embrace of western expansion ideals.

CONCLUSION

STORIES OF FLEXIBLE CONTINUITY: FAMILY NETWORKS BEYOND REMOVAL

On my first research trip when I was just beginning to get a feel for the connection between kinship and the decision-making of early American native and non-native leaders, I asked a Chickasaw woman I had met in the library what family meant now for Chickasaws – for herself. I expected a definition or a description of the complicated, but valuable role of family in busy lives. Her answer surprised me. "Everything, family means everything to us." She then went on to explain how kinship shaped how individuals' relationships and responsibilities, but also how those relationships guided decisions about marriage partners, where one lived, occupations, and even current political debates over NAGPRA guidelines.[451]

Not adhering to kinship guidelines spelled disaster. She then gave as immediate evidence the story of a young Chickasaw man's divorce which, she said, was caused by his marrying a non-Chickasaw woman. The man, present at this cautionary telling, agreed contritely – his every word and movement displaying not his embarrassment at having his story told to a complete stranger, but his respect for the older woman telling the tale.

[451] Informal Interview with Glenda Galvan, Chickasaw Tribal Library, Ada, OK, July 20, 2005. NAGPRA is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act which has given native people much more control over what happens to their ancestors' graves, physical remains, and burial goods. For more, see http://www.nps.gov/nagpra.

Rather than inspiring me to read these relationships backward in time, this incident made me recall what I had learned about Chickasaw matrilineal kinship relationships and the primary documents that had inspired me to start this project. It reconfirmed for me that the questions I was asking about the connections between kinship and the decisions leaders made that shaped the fates of their nations was important. I also realized that this story would be about continuity as much as it was about historical change. To ignore that statement that family "is everything" – that it has concrete influence on lives and decisions today – would be to deny one of the primary tools of individual and collective agency that has functioned effectively for generations.

This dissertation, however, is also about how the definitions of family could be expanded and the literal and rhetorical uses of family altered to fit the historical climate and contemporary needs of those deploying those networks to achieve changing familial goals. While the existence and importance of kinship networks as useful means to shared ends remains continuous from the colonial era through the Civil War and beyond regardless of families' cultural affiliation, the goals families sought to reach and the ways they utilized their networks changed significantly over that period of 150 years.

The families of James Logan Colbert of the Chickasaw nation, of Little Carpenter and Dragging Canoe of the Cherokee nation, and of John Donelson of America included several influential political leaders and soldiers who served their governments at crucial moments. The actions of members of these families illustrate how deeply intertwined the institution of family and the operation of government were in the colonial and early republic eras. Inter-government negotiations directly shaped the fates of these leading families and vice versa.

Anthropologist Charles Hudson stated, "Kinship was a kind of mentality that pervaded many areas of life... One can scarcely overemphasize the importance of kinship in the social life of the Southeastern Indians."[452] Many recent histories of American Indians in the North American Southeast have emphasized the importance of kinship in the language of intercultural diplomacy, as well as in the broader political strategies of these nations, as a way to better understand the relationship between native and non-native governments.[453] A few recent works have even recognized the crucial role of kinship for Americans in the early republic.[454] This dissertation builds upon that scholarship by researching the links between familial relationships and politics within particular Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Anglo-American families. I challenge the idea that native systems of kinship remained static until *broken* by the intrusion of Anglo-American ideals of family. The flexibility of these systems enabled them to endure as an important force in politics well into the nineteenth century.

I also dispute the notion that family relationships and kinship networks played a significantly smaller role in the politics of Anglo-Americans. Rather than contrasting

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[452] Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976).

[453] Cynthia Cumfer, Separate Peoples, One Land: The Minds of Cherokees, Blacks, and Whites on the Tennessee Frontier, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Michelle LeMaster, "'Thorough-paced girls' and 'cowardly bad men': Gender and Family in Indian-White Relations in the Colonial Southeast, 1660-1783" Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2001. Theda Perdue argues that "The time has come to move beyond a history of southern Indians that rests on 'blood' as a primary category of analysis. In order to do so, we need to understand more fully the incorporation of non-Indians into Native societies, the participation of their descendants in tribal life, and the construction of the racial category of 'mixed blood.'" Theda Perdue, Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South, Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures No. 45 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), x. This dissertation takes these suggestions presenting the Colberts as Chickasaw rather than some inferior or superior hybrid. According to Chickasaw kinship practices, the Colberts were Chickasaw rather than Scottish or "mixed blood."

[454] A few examples of this are Billingsly, Communities of Kinship; Cheathem, Old Hickory's Nephew; and Mary L. Kwas, "Simon T. Sanders and the Meredith Clan: The Case for Kinship Studies," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Autumn 2006, vol. 65:3, 250-273. For more, see the Introduction.

kinship-based native governments against that of a modern democratic nation state (the United States), I argue that leaders of these three governments all utilized their familial relationships to gain and maintain political positions and to pursue familial economic goals. While each of these groups defined specific kinship obligations differently, kinship was very important to political strategies in all three of these families. This fact provided a common ground upon which diplomats attempted to build relationships between their governments. The family's role in forming military units illustrates interesting parallels across cultural divides as families went to war. In war or peace, these leaders relied upon kin to implement their personal and political strategies.

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these families utilized several kin-based strategies consistently. All of the families embraced strategic marriages to further their economic goals, whether related to trade, as in the case of the native families, or investments, like the land speculation ventures of the Donelsons. Military service remained an essential element of familial strategies and each group drew upon kin-networks to form their military units. Familial language continued to invoke culturally specific family obligations and was used by both native and Anglo-American treaty negotiators. Finally, the families all drew political support from their kin which at time formed factions that at times limited the effectiveness of their governments through fragmented political policy. These strategies were consistent through both centuries and across cultural boundaries. The families' political and economic goals, however, changed over time.

In the colonial period, Little Carpenter and his matrilineal descendants primarily sought to secure trade connections that could provide the Cherokees, and especially his

town of Chota, with an abundant supply of quality goods. Their neutral stance during the American Revolution reflected their commitment to this goal, as well as their physical proximity to Anglo-American settlements. Dragging Canoe and his matrilineal kin and other followers preferred to protect their territorial integrity through kin-based war parties. Following the Revolution, Nancy Ward and her daughters embraced strategic marriages to reinforce their diplomatic and trading relationships with the new United States. These marital alliances also served to bolster the family/clan's importance within the Cherokees' political structure.

In the nineteenth century, the Ridge family network increased their wealth and political position within the tribe through their military alliance with the US. Leading kin-based war parties, the Ridge received a field promotion in the Creek War to Major. He and others attempted to translate those military alliances into political alliances with key Congressmen to fight Anglo-American efforts to remove the Cherokees from their lands east of the Mississippi. The goals of these Cherokee families had gone from trade security to personal and economic prominence to the preservation of political and territorial sovereignty, but kinship networks remained central to their efforts to reach those goals.

The Colbert family history had a similar trajectory. James Logan Colbert married into a prominent clan to secure trade access to the Chickasaws and giving trade access to his wife's, later wives', clan and town. As the Chickasaws had been at war with the French for decades before Colbert's arrival, kin-based warfare was central to the family's political and economic strategies throughout the eighteenth century. Colbert, his sons, and his nephews fought for Chickasaw interests, but also served in ways that cemented

the Chickasaws' alliance with the British. His sons would later lead kin-based war parties in Anthony Wayne and Arthur St. Clair's campaign against northern Indians and against the Creeks in the Creek War. These military alliances helped to bolster the family's reputation in the Chickasaw nation and among US officials. The family also invested in trading posts, taverns, ferries, and other economic ventures together. The Colberts used their military alliances, political and economic position in the Chickasaw nation, and reputation as political allies with the US to achieve their goals. Like the Cherokee families, their goals changed from securing trade and military allies in the early eighteenth century to familial political and economic prosperity to retention of political sovereignty in the mid-nineteenth century. When the Chickasaw government's ability to avoid removal diminished, the Colberts were instrumental in using their kin network and Anglo-style educations to negotiate the best deal possible for the Chickasaws.

The Donelson family network maintained consistent goals throughout this period pursuing elite status through the acquisition of wealth, land, and prestige. Early on members of this network, including John Donelson, Andrew Jackson, and Samuel Donelson, employed economic strategies that diversified their investments in iron works, plantation agriculture, general stores, land speculation, legal careers, and surveying. By the mid-nineteenth century the network was still engaging in land speculation, surveying, and legal activities, but their interests in stores and iron had given way to more concentrated focus on plantation agriculture and investing in slaves. To achieve their personal and collective economic goals, the Donelson family network utilized their connections to one another to gain the best information on land speculation opportunities, to defend those claims in court, and to ensure the family's offspring were raised properly,

especially if a member died. The strength of kin obligations increased through the generations as branches of the family intermarried and network members accumulated decades of experience making business deals with one another.

Removal happened despite the efforts of the Ward, Ridge, and Colbert families and their allies. The Colbert family, and Levi Colbert in particular, put their Anglo-American educations to work to ensure that the Chickasaws received the best deal possible from the US government. Despite accusations that he and his families took bribes to sign the treaty, Colbert was authorized to negotiate for market value prices for Chickasaw land, adequate provisions for their trip, and made the arrangements for removal in order to make the trip to Indian country as painless as possible.

The Ridge family, however, who had likewise decided that holding out against the US government was futile, met significant opposition from principal chief John Ross and his allies. The Ridge network had mounted a semi-effective campaign against removal, but the Georgia state government and their allies (who included Andrew Jackson and the Donelsons) only continued to increase their political and military pressure on the Cherokees to remove. Signing the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 without the authorization and support of the National Council resulted in the network being labeled "the Treaty Party" and a reputation as traitors of their people.[455] While fragmented political policy led by kin-based factions had worked in the balance of power political environment of the eighteenth century, similar actions in 1835 by the Ridge family

[455] Most histories of removal portray the Ridge family somewhat sympathetically despite the Cherokee people's expressions of blame and anger toward the New Echota treaty signers. See, for example, Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People, 2nd ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986).

network spurred decades of warfare between kin-based factions led by John Ross and Stand Watie, Major Ridge's nephew.

The Donelson family network continued to reinforce itself through strategic, influential marriages through Andrew Jackson's lifetime. While native economic strategies hinged upon inclusion and diversification, the Donelson strategies truncated into cotton-based plantation agriculture which suffered with the market fluctuations in the antebellum era. Still, their investments in plantations and land speculation ensured they were among the region's elite families. Although they had seen the zenith of their place in the national scene with Jackson's presidency, the family remained politically connected and translated their wealth into generational inheritances that can still be seen in the landholdings and reputations of the Donelson and Jackson descendants.[456]

For each of these families, kin-based networks provided the foundation from which they launched political and economic strategies, pro- or anti-removal. These networks provided individuals with stability through trust and mutual interest that enabled Andrew Jackson to run military campaigns in New Orleans and Florida, that helped Colbert and Ridge profit from running ferries, stores, and plantations, that provided the language for Nancy Ward's dismissal of removal, and that supported the remaining Ridge network members after the assassination of most of the Treaty Party. Family networks linked individuals in ways that made them more politically and economically effective than they could have been without family support. Kinship

[456] John Donelson IV is a current Nashville resident. John Donelson III passed away January 20, 2010. For his lifetime achievements and connection to the first John Donelson in Nashville, see his obituary at http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/tennessean/obituary.aspx?n=john-donelson&pid=139305061. Andrew Jackson VI, who is a judge of the General Sessions Court in Knoxville, Tennessee, was recently asked to speak at the reburial of the remains of Dickinson, the man Andrew Jackson killed in a duel in 1806. For more on the event, see http://www.newschannel5.com/global/story.asp?s=12713217. For more on Jackson VI, see http://www.knoxnews.com/news/2010/mar/21/andrew-jackson-vi-has-fun-with-famous-name/.

networks ultimately served incredibly similar purposes across the cultural barriers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather than native leadership following outdated "tribal" or "clannish" politics in opposition to "modern" democratic political practices of Andrew Jackson, this dissertation shows that family held crucial roles for all of the political leaders in this study from the colonial era through Indian Removal in the antebellum period and functioned as the foundation of political and economic action in Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Anglo-American societies.

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