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On the Limits of Liberty  
Our Elusive Edward Lindsey

By Gale Morgan Kane

Writing late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Daniel DeFoe was the very first English novelist. His book, *Moll Flanders*, lacks some of the descriptive context that we are accustomed to read in modern novels, but it makes up for it in action. The heroine made the dangerous voyage to Virginia with her new husband. In Virginia, her mother-in-law, a colonial lady, describes the inhabitants of Moll's new home:

Among the rest, she often told me how the greatest part of the inhabitants of the colony came thither in very indifferent circumstances from England; that generally speaking they were two sorts; either, first, such as were brought over by masters of ships to be sold as servants. "Such we call them, my dear," says she, "but they are more properly called slaves." Or, secondly, such as are transported from Newgate and other prisons, after having been found guilty of felony and other crimes punishable by death.

"When they come here," says she, "we make no difference; the planters buy them, and they work together in the field till their time is out. When 'tis expired," says she, "they have encouragement given them to plant for themselves" ... "Hence, child, says she, many a Newgate-bird becomes a great man, and we have," continued she, "several justices of the peace, officers of the trained bands, and magistrates of the towns they live in, that have been burnt on the hand." ... (*Moll Flanders*)

We don't know why Edmond Lindsey (b. ~1624) immigrated to Lower Norfolk Co., Virginia in 1642, or much else about him. Evidently he was an impulsive and impertinent young man and his first mark in American history was that he was flogged for saying "slanderous" things about the wife of the town's doctor. Then he had to stand in the churchyard with a sign on his head, stating his wrongdoing. This sort of treatment tells us he was not a gentleman.

Our Edward Lindsey's (Linsey, Lindsay, Linza, etc.) ancestor, Edmond moved to Charles Co., Maryland in 1656. There he prospered and became a well-to-do and upstanding citizen. He was probably English because he was a vestryman in the Anglican congregation there. His descendants moved west over the next couple of generations to locate at Long Marsh, Frederick Co., Virginia (*The Thorndale Letters: Lindsey's of Long Marsh, Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1733-1770*. FHL Microfilm #928098 [http://mimpickles.com/thorn/thorndale\\_letters.pdf](http://mimpickles.com/thorn/thorndale_letters.pdf)). A generation before the Revolution several members of our Lindsey clade began a serial migration into South Carolina.

Our subject, Edward Lindsey, was born in Laurens Co., S.C., we estimate about 1777 (census, 1775-1784), the son of Ezekiel Lindsey. The Lindseys were typical of the **frontier** culture that filled the west of the old British colonies in the South. Ezekiel was a small landholder and that is most of what we know. Additionally, we do know that he was one of the frontiersmen who howled out of the forest and besieged Major Ferguson's Loyalist army on King's Mountain in 1780. **How is this known?** That victory turned the war in the South. No doubt Ezekiel was a part of the ad hoc frontier militia who fought most of the famous battles in the Carolinas. Ezekiel's brother, John, certainly served in an impressive list of battles as a militia captain from Laurens County. You can bet little Edward watched with big, little boy's eyes the comings and goings of his warrior father and uncles, and the forebodings of danger on that young family living in a war zone.

One of the headaches of the American Command was the uncontrollable militia, who came and went as they saw fit, much as they had for half a millennium in the British borderlands. Called to muster, the men signed on for 3 month's service, but they frequently only stayed for the fighting, then went home. They were not simply irresponsible; these men had the additional concern for the safety of their families since the Indians on the frontier were the allies of the British and could descend on a remote cabin at any time. So the militiamen melted away into the wilderness after every battle to return home to protect their families. Laurens County didn't have the Indian problem, but they were harried by Loyalists who might take advantage of the absence of a father who was away serving the Patriot

cause. These things may well have impressed a little boy's mind. The young father, Ezekiel Lindsey, died before 1784 in Laurens Co, S.C., leaving an estate to his wife, Elizabeth, and three sons, Edward, Isaac, and Ezekiel. He could have been killed in battle, or wounded so that he died some time later, or simply died of some other cause shortly after the war. His estate was administered in 1784. Growing up without a father is tough on a family, even with nearby uncles as guardians. Whatever prosperity they were building before the war, must have been dashed for Widow Elizabeth Lindsey who had three sons and a daughter. (1790 census. Laurens Co., SC)

By the 1800 census, Edward Lindsey had established his own home, with a wife, an older woman who was probably his mother, and one little girl (1800 census, Laurens Co., S.C.). For the same census, brother Ezekiel had two little boys, and brother Isaac (B.) had a daughter. If our record is right, Edward's little girl would have been Rebecca Elizabeth Lindsey, later wife of James Kelly in Lawrence County, Tennessee. Her modern era grave marker in Lawrence Co. says she was born 1795. James Kelly was born 1797 (census) so it is probable that Rebecca Elizabeth was actually born closer to 1798 – or even later.

### **The Alonzo Lindsey Record**

Alonzo Lindsey was born at Lawrenceburg, Lawrence Co., TN in 1841. His father was Edward Newton Lindsey (b. 1810-13), last son of Edward Lindsey. Alonzo's mother was Solinah Bailey (m. 1837, Lawrence County Marriages). Alonzo is the main source of traditional information about the Lindseys of Lawrence County, TN. Unfortunately he did not grow up among his Lindsey cousins. His inquiries, beginning about 1880 and continuing to his death, occasionally passed along muddled information.

I was born on the main street of Lawrenceburg, Lawrence County, Tennessee and was the second child born to Edward Newton Lindsey (1811-1844) and Salinah Bailey (1820- ), who were married in Lawrenceburg in 1839. The

first child died soon after birth and the third and last child born of the union, Pizatro, (1843-1847) it will be noted died at the age of four years.

There are no authentic records of my paternal ancestors, but tradition relates that my father was the ninth child of Edward Lindsey, who was killed in 1814, while fighting with Andrew Jackson against the Creek Indians in Florida. Tradition also has it that Edward was the son of Isaac Lindsey (of Scottish ancestry) who came to Tennessee from South Carolina, and that Isaac Lindsey was descended from John Lindsey who was a colonel during the Revolution. (<http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=workingfile&id=I86581>).

The last sentence of the above excerpt is a good example of muddling. Some is flatly wrong and some isn't correct, but can be reconciled.

The research left us by Alonzo Lindsey (1841-1932) gives us a list of the children of Edward Lindsey. Though over time Alonzo's lists changed, a merger of the lists is a starting point:

Rebecca Elizabeth

William Elliott

Starling

Matilda

Keziah

Daniel

Green Lee

Isaac

Ezekiel

Edward Newton

(undated letter from Alonzo Lindsey, written after 1924 and before 1932, Lindsey Family File, Lawrence Co., TN; letter, Daniel A. Lindsey to Mrs. John C. Donohoe, 4 April 1952, Lindsey Family File, Lawrence Co., TN)

The Alonzo Lindsey information is a great boon to us, but it comes with built in problems. Alonzo carefully garnered family information from his extended family of cousins, and did a little searching in the public records. He did find and add considerable lore to the family information he may have received as a boy, though his father, Edward Newton Lindsey died when he was only three years old. (Two siblings died very young.) His mother remarried and he was raised by his maternal grandfather. Unfortunately, he did not consistently note which was original lore and personal knowledge, or some other source of the information. His work was destroyed in a fire in 1916. He tried to reassemble some of what he had from memory and correspondence, and his son, Daniel A. Lindsey, recorded some from old letters and memory early in the 1950s.

Much of Alonzo's work has to be questioned because of changes in his pronouncements over time. Alonzo never knew his Grandmother Catherine Lindsey or his Great Aunt Hannah Lindsey. Of course, he knew (of) many cousins, but many of his Lindsey aunts or uncles did not stay in Lawrence County. The Lindseys were strikingly short-lived and most of his father's generation did not live past his childhood. He was left with the knowledge of first and second cousins to sort out. It is little wonder that he resorted to researching the records at the State Historical Society in Nashville and writing to the National Archives to try to augment his received knowledge base.

### **Rationale For The Lindsey Children**

The Kelly family traditions are strong so that it is probable that he had some reliable input from the family concerning Edward's oldest child, **Rebecca (Becky) Elizabeth**. Elizabeth Lindsey married James Kelly 31 July 1820 in Lawrence County (Lawrence Co. Marriages). She died after the 1850 census. The 1850 census says she was 47 years old and born in North Carolina. (1830 census: 20-29) Since we now know that Lindsey children born before 1806 were either born in South Carolina or Georgia, we have to consider this information unreliable. Local descendants claim she was born in 1795. Mrs. Noblitt said she is buried at the Clayton Cemetery. In

1800, Edward Lindsey had one little girl in his home. It is more likely that Rebecca Elizabeth was born 1797 to 1798, which would also be the same age as her husband, or as late as 1803 (per census). An Alonzo Lindsey letter found in family files of Alonzo Lindsey descendants talks specifically about “Aunt Becky” and “Aunt Keziah,” establishing these two as probable daughters of Edward Lindsey (letter from Lindsey family files, Lawrence Co., TN Archives).

According to 1840 census, Elliott Linsy was born 1790 to 1800. He is **William Elliott** on Alonzo’s list and he died sometime between 1836 and 1840. He married Mary (Polly) Kelly, the sister of James Kelly, 31 July 1820 [How is this known?](#) in Lawrence Co. Mary Kelly Lindsey was well remembered in the Kelly family. However, once again, the 1800 census said Edward had only one little girl in his home, which makes Elliott hard to explain. We are guessing that he was a son of Ezekiel Lindsey (d.1807) who had two boys in his house in 1800, and whose widow, Hannah, as well as Elliott, and Starling Lindsey were (adult) residents of Lawrence County at the time of the 1818 census.

**Starling/Sterling Lindsey/Linsey** married Mary Asbell in Caldwell County, Kentucky 22 August 1816. In 1818, he was counted for the first census of Lawrence Co. He was a bondsman for Daniel Lindsey’s marriage, so probably a brother. He appears on the 1840 census of Polk Co., Missouri age 40-49 (1791-1800). Since he was married and taxable in the 1816-1818 time frame he must have been born about 1797 or a little before. For the same reason as for the previous proposed children, he cannot have been a son of Edward. He was most likely a son of Ezekiel (d.1807). Alonzo Lindsey says that Starling moved to Missouri. He also made the trek to the California gold fields, but ended his life in Southwest Missouri. In 1952 correspondence between Daniel A. Lindsey and Mrs. Donohoe, Daniel notes that Starling was a first cousin of his Edward Newton Lindsey, not a brother.

Of all the Lindsey children listed by Alonzo, **Keziah Lindsey** is the only one for whom he had a full birth and death date. He called her “Aunt Keziah” and she was born 9 May 1800 in Laurens Co., South Carolina, and died 25 April 1845 in Lawrence County, Tennessee. Alonzo relates that she married [Wesley Coburn](#). However my own subsequent research has found that beginning about 1818, Keziah

lived with, but did not marry, George Cockburn, by whom she had three children (George Westley, Felix, and Louisa). There is no marriage or divorce for them in any logical county. After being saved under the ministry of Rev. John Haynie, in 1832, George Cockburn had his Lindsey children by Keziah Lindsey legitimized by resolution of the Alabama State Legislature. (Acts of the General Assembly, State of Alabama,

[http://books.google.com/books?printsec=frontcover&dq=%22george%20cockburn%22%20%22lauderdale%20county%22%20alabama&sig=wAJgPocqXQEN\\_Ys69Du5Rx7Tdh8&ei=TubLS-](http://books.google.com/books?printsec=frontcover&dq=%22george%20cockburn%22%20%22lauderdale%20county%22%20alabama&sig=wAJgPocqXQEN_Ys69Du5Rx7Tdh8&ei=TubLS-)

[LCH4LWsQOpX5SPA&ct=result&id=66o3AAAIAAJ&ots=chmpKHTRdk&output=text&pg=PA109\)](http://books.google.com/books?printsec=frontcover&dq=%22george%20cockburn%22%20%22lauderdale%20county%22%20alabama&sig=wAJgPocqXQEN_Ys69Du5Rx7Tdh8&ei=TubLS-LCH4LWsQOpX5SPA&ct=result&id=66o3AAAIAAJ&ots=chmpKHTRdk&output=text&pg=PA109) He appears to have raised the three children,

who subsequently carried the surname Cockburn. Keziah married Tannahill Tracy 23 March 1830 in Lawrence Co. (Lawrence Co. Marriages) She had four children with Tannahill (Granville Blount, Emily, Notley F., and Ananias or Americus D.). The father of Eliza Ann Tracy cannot be determined. It can be deduced that he was neither George or Tannahill. She married William Edward Kelly (Lawrence Co. Marriages). Eliza Ann, who survived to 1913, must have been the source, in some way, of Alonzo Lindsey's complete dates for Keziah.

**Matilda Lindsey** married Daniel Bentley 15 May 1822 in Lawrence Co. On 1850 census Matilda said she was born about 1800 in South Carolina, while on the 1860 census she reported she was 52 years old. Presuming she was age 21 at her marriage, she might have been born in 1801; on the other hand, Lindsey women married young and an 1808 birth date is possible. In either case, if she was a daughter of Edward, her birth date cannot be earlier than 1800 because of the 1800 census; an 1800 birth date would conflict with Keziah; an 1801 birth date would conflict with Daniel Lindsey. Indeed, in a later list of Edward's children, Matilda was not included.

**Daniel Lindsey** is another from the list who claimed to be born 1800-1801. He married Elizabeth Wisdom 26 April 1821 in Lawrence Co., probably making him 21 that year (Lawrence Co. Marriages). He married Sarah Dalton 8 May 1836

(Lawrence Co. Marriages). On 1850 census he reported that he was 49 years old; on 1860 census in Independence Co., Arkansas, he reported that he was 60 years old. The list of names of his children (Angeline, Hannah, Mary, Kesiah, Samuel, John, Ezekiel, Clark, Tennessee, Martha, missing Edward and Catherine, but including Hannah and Ezekiel), gives the impression that this child of 1800 was a son of Ezekiel (d. 1807). Daniel Lindsey and his brother Starling moved to Louisburg, Missouri together in the 1840s, and they made the trip to the California gold fields together.

The 1850 census of Decatur Co., Tennessee reports that Green was born 1801 in Georgia; but in 1860 and 1870 he said 1803. **Green Lee Lindsey** married Elizabeth H. Crisp 17 June 1822 in Maury County. Betsy filed for divorce in McNairy County 8 September 1825, charging that he mistreated her, when she was unable to get the divorce, she moved to get a divorce in 1828. Green subsequently married Mary and they moved to Decatur County. Green evidently got his life straightened out and joined the Baptist Church in 1850.

**Isaac Lindsey** is an elusive son to trace, but it is certain that he was the son of Edward Lindsey. He seems to have become 21 in 1828 when he inherited his part of his father's estate and that positively identifies his father as Edward (Maury Co., DB N, 1807-1850, p.117). Isaac B. Lindsey, Edward's brother and evidently the trustee of the property and guardian. It is presumed that Isaac became 21 that year, so he would have been born in 1807.

Alonzo Lindsey was of the opinion that **Ezekiel Lindsey** left Lawrenceburg about 1840. Ezekiel married Mary Ann McCallister (b. 1811, 1850 census) on 14 May 1829 in Lawrence County. He appeared on the Lawrence County census in 1840 as Ezekiel Tinsey (age 30-39, 1840 census) with a wife and several children, and an older woman age 50-60 in the house. The older woman was probably his mother, Hannah Lindsey. Sometime in the 1840s he moved his family to Mississippi. By 1850, his wife was back in Lawrence Co. with her family, living with her father, John McCallister. One little girl in the house was born in Mississippi as evidence of their brief immigration. It is presumed that Ezekiel died.

**Edward Newton Lindsey** was the last child of the Edward Lindsey family. Alonzo even produced more than one birth date for his own father, born either 1811 or 1813. His grave marker in the McLean cemetery **says** he was born 5 January 1813, and died 21 August 1845.

Lindsey researchers are questioning if all of these people are, indeed, the children of Edward Lindsey, or if some might be children of his brother Ezekiel who died in 1807, or even his brother Isaac B. Lindsey. The name of Edward Lindsey's wife was Catherine or Catey per various legal documents. According to the tradition that Alonzo received as early as 1880 when his own mother was still living, Catherine was the daughter of Newton Higgins (d. 1816) and Sarah Holcomb (d. 1815) of Laurens Co., South Carolina. Daniel A. Lindsey was working to confirm these **relationships** in his correspondence with Mrs. Donohoe. (I don't believe it is confirmed yet.) The family tradition was muddled at John Lindsey, and Alonzo and Daniel got sidetracked with Col. John Lindsay of Fountain Creek in Maury County who was not related. The Capt. John Lindsey (1790 census, Laurens Co., SC) they had confused was the brother of Edward's father who served in South Carolina, and was probably the guardian of the orphan boys after their father died in 1784. (RootsWeb LiINDSAY-L Archives, James & Sarah Daniels Lindsey,mht **This reference is confusing as to how one might look it up**) John Lindsey sold his property in Laurens Co., South Carolina in 1791 and moved to Wilkes County, Georgia, parceling out adjoining land that appears to have been held in trust for the sons of his brother, Ezekiel.

### **Movin' On West**

Sometime after 1800, probably about 1803, the brothers Edward, Isaac, and Ezekiel (and their mother) moved to Georgia in time to establish residence ahead of the 1805 land lottery. It was a typical serial migration as evidenced by deeds in Laurens Co., SC:

Isaac and Ezekiel on the Enoree, 1800

John, Isaac, Edward, Ezekiel (no location), 1800

Isaac on Enoree, 1800

Edward, Catey, Ezekiel on Enoree, 1802

Isaac, Elizabeth, Ezekiel on Enoree, 1803

Ezekiel on Enoree, 1805

The Act was passed in 1803. A participant needed to be a resident of his Georgia county for 12 months prior to the drawing. The draws were made during the month of August 1805. For the 1805 lottery, records were kept of the people who signed up to draw, as well as the winners, whereas the 1807 lottery only records winners. We know that Edward, Isaac, and Ezekiel all signed to draw, but were not successful. **I am not aware of any records of these 3 in Georgia. Do you have a court, land, or lottery record for them? There was an Isaac and an Edward Lindsey listed on Wilson Co. tax lists 1803-1807. I have wondered if this might be them.** (Nor do they appear on the 1807 list of winners.) They probably moved to Tennessee in 1805/1806, the year of the Chickasaw Land Cession that drew a land rush to that state. Edward's brother Ezekiel died in 1807 and his estate was probated in Maury Co., his wife Hannah was executrix. That same year Edward Lindsey was among the signers of a petition for the formation of Maury Co. ("The Formation of Maury County," *Asearchin' News*, April/Jun 1966, p. 81) In 1810 Uncle John Lindsey died in Maury Co, leaving a fairly prosperous estate that included a few slaves, and among his property was a Bible and a book of *Pilgrim's Progress*. These are an indication of a reasonably literate man and his Christian commitment. They would have been influences on his nephews. Edward first appeared on tax lists in Maury County in 1811, living on Little Bigby Creek with no land. He signed another petition to the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1813 asking to change the names of Anderson and Giles Counties to Pike and Lawrence. ("Petitions to the General Assembly of Tennessee," *Asearchin' News*, Summer 1989, p. 63) While living in Maury County, Edward Lindsey probably mustered for the militia whenever Indians threatened, though no records have been discovered. As in the past, the call-ups were for three months, and the men habitually dribbled home when the threat waned. Andrew Jackson, the Adjutant General for Tennessee, wanted to

professionalize his militia command by appointment instead of election of officers.  
(H. W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson*)

The Lindsey property was in the western part of old Maury County, fairly near the Natchez Trace. Probably herein lies the accounting for Edward's precipitous behavior in 1814. The Lindseys all settled – squatted I am hesitant about using “squatted”. John Lindsey leased a 500 acre tract. The lease was in his inventory. It was difficult to purchase land because it had all been taken up in the 1783 land rush, per Thorndale. I don't think the Lindsey's were there illegally, they probably just leased rather than purchased – a little west of Pruitt's Lick on Little Bigby Creek that empties into the Duck River in the midsection of western Maury County. In those days, the Duck River was a waterway to the county seat at Columbia to the east or to the Tennessee River to the west. It was here that Isaac B. Lindsey and his brother Edward “intruded” some property in 1812. (DB 2, p. 340; DB N, p. 117) It appears the Lindsey boys saw an opportunity to engage in commerce in preference to simply farming. At the time a man named George Cockburn was a frequent name, crisscrossing various Lindsey transactions. George was an influential and popular, if somewhat shady, person in the area, owning the ferry house at the Duck River in Columbia. It was remembered that the ferry house was a wicked place. No doubt there was drinkin', and fightin', and dancin' and wimmen. George was making a small fortune from the men plying commerce along the river. And the stands along the Trace just to the west needed supplies too. The Lindseys were perfectly located to operate a busy moonshinin' business to augment their hardscrabble farms, for the supply of Cockburn's river enterprises and the Trace stands. Indeed, early in 1816, Isaac B. Lindsey, the brother of Edward Lindsey, was charged with making spirits contrary to law, and George Cockburn made \$100 bail for him (Maury Co., DB T, 1807-1850, p.222). Similar charges for various Lindseys appear in court records over the next several years before the family moved to Lawrence County.

### **A Cautionary Tale**

The Creek War began as an internal flare in the Muscogee, instigated by the Red Stick (traditional) faction within the tribe, allied with the British and supplied by the Spanish. By 1813, attacks on American interests drew American forces into the fray. Both statewide newspapers, the *Clarion* and *The Tennessee State Gazette* carried articles:

#### Postscript – Important Intelligence

An express arrived on Sunday last to his excellency the Governor Blount from Fort St. Stephens, bringing certain information of the dreadful slaughter of several hundred of our fellow citizens by the Creek Indians...On the 30<sup>th</sup> of August about 750 savages attacked Fort Mims, a stockaded fort about 10 miles above Fort Stoddart and 35 miles below Fort Stephens, defended by about 175 fighting men, in which were about 120 or 130 women and children...Every soul of the whites perished except 8, and of the Indians about 200 were killed...The inhabitants of the Mobile country have abandoned their dwellings and retreated to the forts...Aid is solicited from our states. (<http://files.usgwarchives.net/davidson/military/pipkin01.txt>)

Andrew...

Jackson departed Fayetteville, Tennessee on October 7, 1813. He joined his cavalry in Huntsville and crossed the Tennessee, establishing Fort Deposit. He then marched to the Coosa and built his advanced base at Fort Strother, Jackson's first successful actions, the battles of Tallushatchee and Talladega, occurred in November... However, after Talladega, Jackson was plagued by supply shortages and discipline problems arising from his men's short-term enlistments. (Wikipedia)

By the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 27 March 1814, the Red Stick Rebellion was broken and Jackson prepared to mop up in Florida (remember this was before Florida was ceded by Spain, and the panhandle extended along the Gulf Coast across Alabama and Mississippi). Jackson was anxious to move on to Mobile and on to New Orleans to engage the British.

One of his command troubles by that time was that Tennessee had just about exhausted its militia resources. In January 1814, Secretary of War, General Armstrong, wrote a letter to Governor Blount of Tennessee, giving him the power to determine the length of militia service up to six months. General Armstrong's letter was written before the expiration of a law that had extended enlistments to six

months, but before the passage of a new law in April 1814, giving the President the power to enforce extension of terms of militia service to six months. 20 May 1814, Tennessee Governor Blount issued an executive order extending the terms of service for the Tennessee militia, including Lt. Col. Philip Pipkin's regiment, to six months.

Edward Lindsey was among the last draftees to be mustered for the Creek phase of the War of 1812. The men were required to rendezvous at Fayetteville, Tennessee 21 June 1814. They were to form two detachments of 1000 men each, to be commanded by Lt. Col. Philip Pipkin of Davidson County, and march to Fort Jackson (the site is about 5 miles north of Wetumpka, AL) in what is now the panhandle of Alabama, but then in Florida. By the time the new recruits arrived in Florida, the fighting was essentially finished though Jackson was still suppressing a few stragglers and negotiating a treaty. On 8 August, thirty-six chiefs of the Creek Nation signed a treaty, ceding one half of their territory to the United States. Three days later, Jackson immediately took his battle-hardened troops and most of the supplies and marched to Mobile, leaving the green troops to garrison the fort.

It was a burdensome, BORING duty, and on short supplies. The men had left their wheat harvest, and corn planting in the hands of their wives and teenage sons. Edward's brother Isaac, doubtless, was running the still, and Ezekiel's boys were getting to the age to be of some use. But, Edward's boys were pretty young, and Catey had a house full of little ones. The senior officers were saying that they had enlisted for six months. Who did they think they were? They hadn't even been elected by Maury County men. We don't like the looks of that Col. Pipkin.

By the end of August, Pipkin was worried about his troops, issuing an order to his officers to "use their best endeavor to suppress any mutiny." Backwoods ditties or poems were found nailed to the gates of the fort.

Look below we are the Boys  
That fear no noise  
No orders that we hear.  
Eighteen days more  
And then we go,

Or be found in gore,  
And never come here no more,  
To suffer as we and many others have before.  
--Liberty Street (enclosure, letter Pipkin to Jackson, 2 Sept 1814)

The next month saw several serious incidents of insubordination. Rumors of all sorts were rife. It was evident to the officers that the men all along the line of forts in the Creek country were very restive and surly. Indeed, it appears that some of the junior militia officers and non-commissioned officers were not any better informed than the enlisted men. The mutinous mumblings were right on the surface – these men were going home at the end of their three-month's service, 21 September. By-Gum!

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of September, several men broke into the bread house. Edward Lindsey was a ringleader, right in the forefront, showing the men how to lift the doors off their hinges to break in, and helping to roll eleven barrels of flour out of the storeroom. (I wonder if this implies that Edward was a big man?) Cattle were slaughtered and cooked. The bake house caught fire and burned. Edward was the man who made the call for the men to come and receive their rations. At reveille, about 180 of the garrison force of 500 men, loaded their packs and left the fort yelling and firing their guns in the air. They were joined along the way by men from Fort Strother and Fort Williams.

Col. Pipkin sent the names and home counties of the deserters to the newspapers. An order was given that the men should be returned to their assigned posts. A good number of the men returned on their own, some men joined other units, some were returned in chains. Edward Lindsey returned on his own to Fort Jackson on 12 October.

The regiment was ordered to depart for Forts Pierce and Montgomery on 11 November, and on 27 November they were ordered to Mobile for courts martial. The courts martial convened on 5 December with Lt. Col. Peter Perkins, President, and members Maj. William C. Smart, Capt. James Blackmore, Capt. William McKay, Lt. James Boyd, and supernumeraries Lt. Daniel Mitchell, and Ens. Thomas H. Williams. In all, about 205 men were charged with conniving to mutiny, mutiny,

robbery, and desertion. Edward Lindsey was also charged with “forcing the guard, cooking his provisions, and yelling and firing his gun.” (He was not convicted of these lesser charges.)

Two of the defendants were officers. They were found guilty of the charges and sentenced to loss of their commissions, dishonorable discharge, and being barred from ever serving as an officer again. One had his sword broken over his head. They had half of their heads shaved.

Most of the rest of the enlisted men were sentenced to making up their AWOL time at one half pay. They all had half of their heads shaved and were dishonorably discharged. But, six of the men, including our Edward Lindsey, were sentenced to death by a firing squad.

A transcript of Edward Lindsey’s trial was published in 1828:

The court having been sworn in the presence of the prisoner, arraigned on the following charges and specifications, who have been previously asked, if he had any objections to any of the members, and having answered in the negative, proceeded to the trial of

*Edward Linsey*, a private of captain Searcy’s company.

Charge 1<sup>st</sup> – *Mutiny*.

*Specification*. In this, that, on the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> September, 1814, he went with a number of others, to the issuing house, and forced the guard, and broke down the door, and shewed others how to do it, and took out several barrels of flour, rolled it to the camp, issued it, received his proportionable part, cooked it, and, at the end of reveille-beat, marched off with the mutinous party, yelling and firing guns.

Charge 2<sup>nd</sup> – *Exciting to Mutiny*

*Specification*. In this: that, between the 20<sup>th</sup> August and the 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1814, speaking words, tending to lead men to the act of mutiny.

To which charges and specifications the prisoner plead *not guilty*.

*Corporal James McDonald*, of captain Mchane’s company, a witness in behalf of the prosecution, being sworn, states: That the prisoner passed, or

forced the guard, going to the issuing house, with a number of others, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September, ; that he lifted the door down; that flour was rolled out by the same party, and carried to camp, issued, and believes the prisoner received his proportionable part; and disremembers seeing him for several days after the 20<sup>th</sup> of September.

*Edward Pickett*, a private of captain Searcy's company, a witness in behalf of the prosecution, being sworn, states: That he saw the prisoner at the issuing house, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1814, take a mattock, and show how the door might be taken down,; believes he received his proportionable part of the provisions taken there from; and, on the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, paraded, and, at the end of reveille-beat, marched off with the mutinous party.

*Pharoah Hudgins*, a private of captain Strother's company, a witness in behalf of the prosecution, being sworn, states: That the prisoner stated, in his presence, that it would not be long before he would be at liberty, when refused the privilege of passing the chain; and saw the prisoner march off with the mutinous party from Ft. Jackson, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 1814.

*Lt. David Mitchell*, a witness in behalf of the prosecution, being sworn, states: That he saw the prisoner at the issuing house, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1814, take the door down, after being prized off, and the party, of which the prisoner was one, rolled out eleven barrels of flour. When they had gone in front of the line, heard the prisoner direct the party to call and receive their rations, which *he issued*, and marched off with the mutinous party, on the morning of 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1814.

*James Gumbreel*, a corporal of captain Strother's company, a witness in behalf of the defendant, being sworn, states: That, either in August or September, he heard the prisoner say he would endeavor to go home at the end of three months.

*Edward Black*, a private of captain Strother's company, a witness in behalf of the defendant, being sworn, states: That the prisoner did not break down the door of the issuing house, at Fort Jackson, on 19<sup>th</sup> September.

The prisoner states, in his defense, that he did not force the guard as charged; he went to the issuing house by permission; acted incorrectly through ignorance; regrets the impropriety of his conduct; and implores the mercy of the court.

The court, after due consideration, find the prisoner guilty as charges, with the exception of “forcing the guard, cooking his provisions, and yelling and firing his gun, and sentence him to receive the punishment of death by shooting. (H. Niles & Son, eds, “Tennessee Militiamen, *Nile’s Weekly Register...*, Baltimore, March 1828-September 1828, [http://books.google.com/books?id=nZY-AAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA57&lpg=RA1-PA57&dq=Tennessee+militiamen+1814+mutiny&source=bl&ots=g5ofSD0p7Q&sig=vqYVKun4I tgaE76Wcd00Mq7lpg&hl=en&ei=aQFJTIWbM8P98AafK m Dg&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Tennessee%20militiamen%201814%20mutiny&f=false.](http://books.google.com/books?id=nZY-AAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA57&lpg=RA1-PA57&dq=Tennessee+militiamen+1814+mutiny&source=bl&ots=g5ofSD0p7Q&sig=vqYVKun4I tgaE76Wcd00Mq7lpg&hl=en&ei=aQFJTIWbM8P98AafK m Dg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Tennessee%20militiamen%201814%20mutiny&f=false.))

The courts martial adjourned 18 December 1814. General Andrew Jackson was preoccupied at the time with preparations for the Battle of New Orleans, which was fought in phases from 23 December 1814 to 26 January 1815. It was not until 8 February that the British fleet withdrew to Biloxi.

Jackson signed the order for the execution of the 6 hapless mutineers on 21 January. It was a long two months – to contemplate one’s own death by firing squad.

**Jacob Webb, David Morrow, John Harris, Henry Lewis, and Edward Lindsey.** None were educated men, but they were literate. Edward may have strained to write a letter of farewell home, but we do not have anything more than a signature on the muster of his handwriting. **Do you have Edward’s signature? If so, I would love a copy.** Two of the men were lettered enough to write a series of letters to their wives in those last weeks. John Harris, a Baptist minister, and Henry Lewis, a battle hero of the war, wrote heart-wrenching letters to their wives. Both men gave clear Christian testimony of their confidence of their salvation through the blood of Christ. Harris admonished his wife to raise their young children to be Christians and Lewis

promised to meet his wife and children in **Heaven**. It is reassuring to hope that such strong Christian men would have witnessed to their fellow condemned prisoners and given them spiritual sustenance.

Colonel Russell, who commanded the execution detail gave a good account of the men's last minutes. General Jackson marched his entire force to Mobile to witness the executions on 21 February. Six graves were dug and six coffins stood beside the open graves. The men rode to the execution place in a large wagon. Colonel Russell rode to the wagon and ordered the men to descend. Rev. Harris was the only one who sank into unmanly grief, his son nearby, quite overcome. "You are about to die by the sentence of the Court Martial," admonished Russell, "die like men; like soldiers you have been brave in the field – you have fought well, do no discredit to your country, or dishonor to the army or yourselves by any unmanly fear. Meet your fate with courage." Heroic Henry Lewis responded, "I have served my country well. I love it dearly, and would, if I could, serve it longer and better. I have fought bravely, you know I have, and here I have a right to say so myself. I would not wish to die in this way. I did not expect it. But, now I am as firm as I have been in battle, and you shall see I will die as becomes a soldier. You know I am a brave man." Six soldiers were drawn to fire at each man. Such **an** awful duty! The caps were drawn over their heads, the word was given and five men fell literally into their coffins. The marksmen had missed and only mortally wounded Lewis who pulled himself onto his coffin. "Colonel, I am not killed but I am sadly cut and mangled". The next day, word came of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, as the British fleet disappeared off the Mobile coast. Four days later, Lewis too died, in agony. (Binns, John, *Some Account of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson*, circa 1828, Philadelphia, General Negative Collection, North Carolina State Archives, call number N.57.11.2, <http://www.archives.ncdcr.gov/exhibits/dmedia/sect-1828.xml#6>.)

Evidently none of Edward Lindsey's family attended the heartbreaking scene. We know that the fort at Mobile at the time was called Fort Charlotte. There appears to be no record of the six graves.

It is a tragic tale. Colonel Russell said that the men truly believed that they were compelled to serve for only three months. Edward Lindsey thought he was a free man. He remembered the heady days of the American War of Independence in which his liberties had been secured by the blood of American patriots. He had lived his adult life more or less autonomously on a frontier that was barely touched by the growing reach of the national government. He was not a man accustomed to taking orders. He had no idea of the powerlessness of a man who might fall into the great black maw of federal government. It is a cautionary tale of the limits of liberty.

There is little evidence of Edward Lindsey's family in the years immediately after his execution. The shame is palpable in the closed door of family history. He did not leave a will. Isaac B. Lindsey seems to have continued to operate the Lindsey manufacturing enterprise (as it appeared on his 1820 census). Hannah Lindsey moved her maturing family to Lawrence Co. and settled on Knob Creek before the 1818 *census* at the organization of the county. Catey was still living on Little Bigby Creek with a full household in 1820. She is not in evidence for the 1830 census, so it is probable she was dead. There is evidence of how Isaac B. distributed the property he had intruded with Edward in 1812. In 1828, **presumably** the year the Isaac (son of Edward) came of age, Isaac filed an 1812 deed for Edward's son (DB N, p. 117), witnessed by George Cockburn. Though there is no record for the other boys, it is likely there was a similar distribution from Uncle Isaac B. when they reached their majority.

### **The Election of 1828: Vindication**

John Quincy Adams was the son of the second president, John Adams. He was a man who had devoted his life to remarkable public service. He was elected president in 1824, at a time when the original party system had collapsed, and electoral politics became regional politics. For that election, Adams was the candidate from New England, while the rest of the field was divided between four other candidates, including the hero of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson. Though Jackson won a plurality of the electoral vote, the split vote threw the decision of the

election to the House of Representatives who elected Adams. It set up a failed presidency for Adams and vicious confrontation between the two men in 1828.

One of the political issues that emerged in the election of 1828 was the 1815 execution of the Tennessee militiamen. Election handbills were printed, called the "Coffin Handbills," they appeared in many forms that year. (The one above is in my personal collection.) Political opportunity resulted in Congressional hearings held in the spring of 1828. After weeks of digging and political posturing, Congress split the baby by a verdict that the order to extend the term of service from three to six months in 1814 was an illegal order. The pension and benefits rights of the besmirched veterans were restored. Judging from the stonewall that persisted in the Lindsey family memory, it did not wipe away the shame. When the election was held, Jackson beat the unpopular John Quincy Adams handily. But, Andrew Jackson lost in his home state of Tennessee.