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THE "J. HARTSELL MEMORA": THE JOURNAL OF A TENNESSEE CAPTAIN IN THE WAR OF 1812

Edited By
Mary Hardin McCown*

(Continued from East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 11)

December 2 day 1813—I made a true statement of the Strenght and Condition of my Company from the Day I Started up to this Date. what is a pay Returne for all the officers and privates and the wagoner, wagon and horses, the time when Inroled, the Ridgement that I Inroled into Servise, the officer which Commands Me at this plase.

A muster Roll of a Volenteer Company East Tennessee. Under the Command of Capt Jacob Hartsell, in the Ridgement Commanded by Colonel William Lillard, from the 12th day of October, 1813.

Mens names what rank when Entered into Servise for what Period present
Jacob Hartsell Capt October 12 For 3 months
Isaac Hartsell Lieut 1813
Samuel Bayles 2 Lieut
George Starmer Ensign

Thomas M Sheral 1 Serg
John G Rebele 2 Serg
John Odele 3 Sgt
James Casey 4 Sgt

Joshua Gaines 1 Corpl
Thomas Carley 2 Corpl
Anthony Hole 3 Corpl
Adam andes 4 Corpl

B-
Bayles George
Bottles William
Briks D Thomas
Baron Thomas
Brown John
Boman David
Briton Joseph

*For the editor's foreword see the beginning of the first installment of this "Journal" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 11, pp. 93-98.
C-
Clingan John ----------------------------- A wagoner for the United States Service
Creselus philip
Clayed John
Chambors Isaac
Cleck Henry
Calvert Lenard
Chalton thomas
Cholans Joshua
Conk Moses

D
Dugles Samuel
E-
Eperson James
Eperson Benjamin
F-
Fine abram
Fulkerson Alexander
Fulmer John
G-
Garland Jesse
Grayham Thomas
Garland John

H-
Hampton Jesse
Haile Richard
Hair Joseph
I-
Ingram John
Ingle William
Ingle John
J-
Jackson George
Jackson Jacob
Jobe Moses

Inglish John ----------------------------- Discharged at Knoxville unfit for Duty

October 31 day 1813

L-
Laughline M Stith
Lilbourn Andrew
Lain Joseph ----------------------------- Left sick five miles this side of

Kingston November 5 day 1813

M-
McCray philip
Martain Hugh
Millie Samuel
McGiness Joseph
Mitchale James
Mitchale John
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N-
Nelson Henry
P-
Pitcock Stipten
Prover William
R-
Rondeles Samuel
S-
Shagle John Deserted brought Back and Discharged
November 16 d 1813
Smith turner
Starres fredrick
T-
Tucker Jonathan
Tinker abram Introled himselfe as a wagner in
Tilson John the United States Service out of my
Thrasher Isaac Company on the 20th day of November 1813
V-
Vest James
W-
Walker S John
White adam
Whitson William
White terey
Wood John
Willhite James...Whiteker thomas..Discharged at Knoxville unfit for duty October 31 day 1813

I do hereby certify as an officer that this muster Roll contains as true a statement of this Company under my Command, and that these Remarks opposet mens Names are just and true as can be ascertained by me.

Jacob Hartsell Captain—

December 4th Day 1813 made out by me Capt-

December 5th day 1813—On last Evening ther Came aney Express from General Jackson to General Cock for to reinforce his armey with all his force. this morning General Cock Sent aney Express to General Jackson armey to know what quantity of men he wold Require of him. this morning General Cock Called all the officers to his tent and told them that he ment to Join General Jackson on the twelv of Instant with all the force that Jackson might Require of him. If theyl Marched Day and knight

Jackson, always short of rations for his army, had been desperate which course to pursue. He had hesitated to order Cock to join him on account of the conditions of supplies, but on December 6 he ordered him to be at Ft. Strother on December 12, after which they were to advance to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and establish camp there. J. S. Bassett (ed.), Correspondence of Andrew Jackson (Washington, 1926-1935), I, 374, 335.
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and all the men to Carey four days provision on their backs, like wise Stated that in three Days after the arifelarrival at Jackson Camps we cold have the Creeks at our feet Compleateley.

General Jacksons letter further States that if the United States Required it of us that we cold Eat our new yars Diner in penny Coley [Pensacola].

this morning General Cock Sent anye Express on to the Georgia troops which Lays in the frunteeres of the frendeley Creeks Side about one hundred miles from this plase to march on throw the Creek nation with Speed and Care. It is said that ther Commander was not worth one fig; the Last account that I recived from the Georgia troops was Expected that Goviner pinkey [Pinckney] wold bee Commander of the hole of the Georgia troops.

December 5 day 1813.--On this morning one of Colonial Waires men Dyed with the plurecy in the head. I under Stood that one of the horse men Dyed be tween heer and Rosses, a grate maney of ther Horses was likely to give out on their way to Rosses for the lack of feed. this Day ther Came two white men Running to the In Campment and said that ther was Some Creeks indians fired at them. James Willhite was close where the men Came Running, I and he Came to my tent much alarmed. Capt Mc Ling hapened to bee at my tent, we Did not beleve it but in a few minits major Smith Came Riding round the Loines [lines] and give orders for Everey Captain to have his men in Readyness for ther was Creeke Indians Close at hand. Some men Run Everey Detection and Shot all throw the Campes. My men behaved very well not one of them Shot all of them war loding that was not Loded, and when the men

Jackson had known all the while that the Spanish were instigating the Creeks against the Americans. A letter to Leroy Pope, October 31, 1813, says: "The irregularity of supplies has retarded my progress very much, and I am anxious to reach the center of the Creek country, and give them a final blow, and then strike at the root of the ceaseless pensacola." *Ibid., I, 339. See also Jackson to Holmes, in *Ibid., VI, 428.

The Georgia troops were led by Brig. Gen. John Floyd and Gen. John Adams. *Ibid., I, 364. A letter from Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount, December 29, 1813, says: "We have got within 90 miles of each other [the Georgia troops]." *Ibid., I, 419.

On November 7, 1813, Daniel Parker, chief clerk of War Department, notified Governor Blount that Governor Mitchell of Georgia, having declined re-election, the President of the United States had ordered Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney to take direction of the expedition against the hostile Indians. *Ibid., I, 351, n. On November 16, 1813, Pinckney notified Jackson that he had been so ordered. *Ibid., I, 363.

Col. Samuel Ware (1753-1818) commanded a regiment from East Tennessee from September 23, 1813, until January 1, 1814. Tenn. State Archives. He was a veteran of the King's Mountain campaign and an early settler of Sevier county. War of 1812 Records (in possession of the editor).

*A private in Hartsell's company.

*Alxander Smith. See note 91 in first installment of this "Journal," *Publications* No. 11, p. 113.
was Ready I started to Hear what to Doo and met Major Smith Coming Down the Loines and he Said that ther was nothing the mater, ther was Some of the White men a hunting and Shot at Some of ther one [own] men to See wheather they wold Run or not, but they Run like lusty filowers, yester Day and Last knight was verry wet and windey. Captain oliver⁸ was aрестed and tryed two Days be fore a cort martial before the tryale was Desided. the cort martial found ad clever guilty of the Charge and brock him, all his men got on ther knapsacks on and marched out of the Camping ground, then they was marched to the General tent where ther Captain was which they found him in teeres, the General as Stored [restored] him again, and ther was one glod officer, and his men was glad. I was at the cort martial one Day and the Captain head [had] hired a lowyar [lawyer] the major that aрестed the Captain hired another lowyar and they argued verry Strong on both Sides. that was the first Cort martial that I ever Saw Lowyars Speech on in my Life—

Last evening General Cock went to the Deferent Companys in Colonal Waires Ridgement to See how many men wold Volenteere ther Selves for twenty Days Longer to goo to join General Jacksons armey to goo to the hickrey groundes,⁹ the hole of the men that he cold Raise was thirtyeight offizers and privates to goo. this is about as Rainey a day as I ever Saw in my Life. the water Stendes all over the InCampment marely, the wind blowes the wind and the Smoke throw the Campes.

December 7 Instant—aney Express¹⁰ Came to General Cock about tow [two] ocklock in the morning. about the brack of Day I went to See the General whare I met with Several other offizers. the General amediateley Red the Express to the officers present, which the General told the officers to amediateley to Draw provitions for four days and back [bake] the bread and barbeceu the meat and be Ready to march in the morning by Day light. the letter that Jackson Sent to Cock Stated that the Georgey troops got Compleateley whiped¹¹ by the hostile Creeches about


⁹The Hickory Grounds were near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. The Indians were taught that the place was holy ground and that the white man could not tread it and live. The force of the Creeks assembled there was supposed to be about 4,000. The distance from Tuckerton on Coosa to the Hickory Ground was 145 miles, and from thence to old Ft. Toulouse [a French fort established in 1714 near the site of Montgomery, Alabama] was only about three miles. Bassett, op. cit., I, 326n, 329.

¹⁰"It is my wish that you arrive here by the 12th Inst with 1500 men." Jackson to Cocke, Dec. 6, 1813. Ibid., I, 374.

¹¹"This was the Battle of Tallassee, at first reported to Jackson as a victory for the Creeks, but later found to have been one for the Georgians. Ibid., I, 372-74, 376; B. J. Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of War of 1812 (New York, 1859), 768."
seventyfive miles from the place where General Jackson found them, at Some fort on Some River. this morning ther is grate Shooting and grate Confusion in the Camps.

Eight Instant—About sixteen hundred troopes Started from Camp Armstrong to meet with General Jackson and his army. on the Seventh Day in the morning. when I found that my Company had to march, I left the Generals tent and went to my Company and give orders for them to Draw four Days Rations and back [bake] the bread and barbriew the meet for to morrow morning we have to march. my Company drew ther beeves In good time, meney of the Companyes Did not draw aney meet. on 8 Instant my Company was Readey to march. I went to the General and asked his leave to march my Company on to the River and Cross. the General granted me leave. I came and formed my Company the first of aney on the ground. Capt McLing was the next Ready. Capt McLing and my selfe and our Companyes marched to the mouth of Catehugah. the bote had not Come to the place when we Came there. Capt keese from Soleven [Sullivan] and his Company was at the River. In about one hower ther was nine or ten Companyes there, the Cane was so thick that we cold not Stand till the men Did cut it Down. the River Side was Strunge [strewed] up and Down for a large Distance. the bote Came and one Company got over. ther was the most Swaring and poshing when the bote wold Come to Shore who wold Crows first. Several of my boys Crossed and brought the bote to Shore. I formed my Company and Capt McLings in one body and Stuck to gather tell we Crossed. it was about four ocklock when we Crossed and the hole of the troopes Did not Cross tell morning. they was Crossing all the knight. we Crossed and all Camped on the other Side which was the north Side. next morning about Sun Rise we marched after Colonial Browns Ridgement. about ten ocklock we pased Colonial Browns Ridgement which afrunted him and all of his men. we halted our two Companyes, and wated tell our owne Ridgement Came up. we marched north of west Some. we pased throw Some as poore Land as I ever Saw tell about Leven ocklock; then we pased a low gap of the Loock out mountain; then we Came to a field and after wards marched throw Some as goode ground and verey levele as your eyes

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"Lashley's Fort on Talledega Creek. See note 47, in Publications No. 11, p. 103."
"General Cocke left a small contingent to care for the garrison at Ft. Armstrong, among whom was Capt. Robt. McAlpin's company, Lillard's regiment. Tenn., State Archives."
"Chatuga River."
"The Chatuga River rises near Somerville, Ga., and flows south, emptying into the Coosa River."
"Capt. George Keyes of Lillard's regiment."
"North side of the Chatuga River, also north side of the Coosa."
ever Saw. we Crossed one Large Creek and Several small Creeks, and the timber was like the timber In Washington [county]. we Camped at a large Spring on a ridge on the north Side of sd Spring. this Evening ther was at Least two thousand weight of pork killed and brought to Campes.

Friday 10 Instant—we made a Erley Start. Marched throw very good ground and well timbred, large popeler and white oack and verily plentiffull of preson tree. about tow o clock in the Evening Came to one small Indian Hous. about two miles Came to one pretty good Cabon. one mile from there we Came to a large field and verily good house with two good porches and a house mill and Lume [loam], a number of Small Cabenes. we marched about one mile further and Camped on a large hill which we Colied Camp poverty, it was Scarce of timber and water both. ther was a number of meet killed both beepe and pork and brought to the Deferent Companayes.

Saturday 11 Instant—We made a very Earley Start. we Came to a large Creek in about one mile, we was at Least tow hours Crossig sd Creek or River. we marched about one mile and Came to General Jacksons trase and halted for the Rare [rear] to Come up. whilst we war seating one man was springing his trigers and his gun went off and Shot a man in his Right arme above his Elbow and brock the bone off. the Docter was uneatealy Sent for to Clense the wound and Set the bone. ther was awing made be twene two horses with two poles and two tent clotches and he was brought on into the Incampement. we Came throw a great Deele of poore Leavele Land and Small River and Crossed the River and marched about one mile and Incampe on one small Ridge, which Convenient for timber and water. the name of the Creek was Calded Cuncio Creek. to Day we marched a south corse all Day. we Crossed Some very pretty Runing Springs. we was Cutting of [off] a large pine tree on the Side of the Creek I Stood by, and Recovered a old Chop in the tree and I Counted the grothes from the cot [cut] out to the barck, and the number of grothes from the Cot maid out twentyfive yeares Since the tree was Cot. ther was the appearence of a old fish [fish] trap that might have

"Likely Will's Creek, also a tributary of the Coosa. Further north on this creek was Will's Town, named for an important Cherokee, Will, a red-headed half-breed. F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians (Bulletins No. 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1905-1910), II, 956.

"General Jackson's route from Huntsville via Ditto's Landing and Pt. Deposit to Strother at the Ten Islands.

"Canoe Creek, which flows east emptying into the Coosa. On October 28, 1813, Colonel Dyer, detached from Coffee's brigade, fell upon the Indian village of Littefutchee at the head of Canoe Creek, laid the town in ashes, captured twenty-nine prisoners and a good supply of corn. Lossing, op. cit., 761; also A. J. Pickett, History of Alabama (Montgomery, 1851), 294.
bin built fifty yeares agoo. I discovered a large Logue laying in the water with several mortises in the Loge tolerable Large. we marched about one mile and Incamped on the South Side of a verye pretty hill, verye pretty Runing Spring. the name of the Camp was Camp Harrison.21

Sunday 12 Instant-Started about Sunrise. Marched through Some as poore ground and hiley and stoney you might a thought that ther was Snow on the ground. By the lucks of the gravele, we Crossed Several Creeks and Came to the River.22 Whore the men had been gigns the Side of the mountain down to make a rode for the wagons to goo with the provission. we suposed the River to bee three quarters of a mile across where the hole Chanele Run together. we marched to the ten Islands23 whare General Jackson Lay with his armey from West Tennessee. on the arivele of the troops from Est tennessee General Jackson fired three Cannons off24 which was the first that I ever heard in my life. Jacksons Troops prereded in Several Loines to recive us. ther fases was all Strange to me, the men Lockeed verye bad. In general. We marched throw the Incampment. on our Returne I saw Charles Sevior25 from obes River,26 as Soon as we wair Dismasted Charles Sevior Came to my Incampment to See the Washington Troopes. he seemed verye frendeley and natural. he invited me to walk with him to the garison. I went with him to General Jacksons markee where I saw the gratese flage that I ever Saw in my Life.

I and Major Sevior Talked about the batele27 that Jackson and his men fought. he told me that the men onley Drew one halfe Ration of beef be fore they was marchen on to the batele and fought the [battle] and

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21No reference to Camp Harrison has been found, but it must have been located between Canoe Creek and the camp at Ten Islands called Ft. Strother.
22The Coosa River.
23See note 45, in Publications No. 11, p. 103.
24Jackson wrote to Coffee, December 12, 1813: "Genl. Cocke and White has joined me to day with 1450 of as fine looking Troops, as you ever saw." Bassett, op. cit., 1, 387.
25Charles Robertson Sevior (b. 1778 in Green co., d. 1855 in Ellis co., Texas) was the son of Robert Sevior and Keshia Robertson. The father was mortally wounded at King's Mountain, and his widow afterwards married Major Jonathan Tipton. Charles Sevior went to Overton county, Tennessee, about 1800, and was major of the county militia in 1806. He served as 2nd major in Col. Thomas McCory's Second Regiment, Tennessee militia, and later migrated to Texas and there died. War of 1812 Records.
26Obed River, a tributary of the Cumberland.
27Talledega, fought November 9, 1813. Major Sevior and Colonel McCory were both hosted by Jackson as "... entitled to great praise for their bravery on that occasion." Bassett, op. cit., 1, 349. On October 23, 1813, Jackson wrote: "There is an enemy whom I dread, much more than I do the hostile Creek, and whose power, I am heartily, I shall first be made to feel. You know I mean that meagre-monster 'Famine'." Ibid., I, 335.
marched back to this place, and never Eate any thing but the halfe Ration of beece tell the was heare two Days. the[y] marched on tordees Ditoes Landing and met the provision Comming, and the[y] turnd back and Eate Roy hides and Shunk Calves and the gutes and tripes of the beeves be war Ishued out to the men. Charles Sevier told me that he head Drawed onely three yeres of Corn for Six Days provision. number of the men Did not draw any thing for the Same Space of time. he told me that he Saw Some of the men hunt Corn that the horses head bot off the Cobs before the[y] went from heare that was trod in the Dung and parch it and Eate it. this Day Capt Mc Ling and my selfe Drew met and Capt Mc Ling, Capt Mc Keese, Capt King28 and my selfe Drew one barele of Corn meeke for our fore Companeyes this was the first meeke that was Drew in the three Ridgements of Est Tennessee. ther was more Confusion than I ever Saw in my Life at one place. ther cold hardeley bee anye thing bee Dune for Cusing and Swarding amongst the men.

Monday 13-there was two Volenteere Companeyes29 of West tennessee Dismissed to goo to Nashvill, in Camberland, and Stay untill the[y] Recived further orders from government. this is part of the men that Inroled ther selves under General Jackson one yeare to goo to the natchey,30 and went and Stayed four months of thertime, and ther was nothing for them to Doo, and they war dismissed at Columbia,31 toll further orders. Jackson Coled on them three months for to fight the Indians, and they wold not Stay anye Longer on the acount of ther bad usage and it much afrunted General Jackson and I heared him Sware that he wold Right [write] to the Government to send them on to the natchey Cunterey to Serve the Balence of the time, which wold bee five months Longer. we Est tennessee Volenteerees air much Displeased at ther usage at this place. we wold bee verye glad to march on to the Hickry ground, as Soon as posoble. We have nothing to Cuck in but one tin bucket for all my Companey, and we Susper much at this time. I scene much Disturbed In my mind to See So much Raskality Caried on and men Susfering on the acount of It. Some of the men has to Cooce in a tin cup In Stead of a boten [bucket].

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29 The First Brigade of volunteer infantry, commanded by Brig. Gen. William Hall, comprised the First Regiment, led by Col. Edward Bradley, and the Second, led by Col. William Pillow, of about 1400 men. Only one commissioned officer, old Capt. Williamson, remained. Jackson contended that their enlistment had been for one year of service, exclusive of the time spent at home between the Natchez expedition and the Creek campaign, while they urged that the year had passed. Ibid., I, 392.
30 On the Natchez expedition the troops had been ordered discharged en route, but Jackson brought them back to Columbia and issued a discharge until further orders. They now claimed a complete discharge. Ibid., I, 388.
31 The county seat of Maury county, Tennessee.
December 14 Instant—We did not draw aney thing but one gill of meade to a man. ther Is as much confusion heare as I ever Saw and more then I wanted to See at aney plase. ther Is at least thirty thousand weight of pork at this plase now. ther Is four hundred Beesives now at this plase, some very large ones. I think the[y] wold way at least three hundred weight Round. ther Is not aney meale at this plase now, but ther Is two boat Loades about five miles up the River, and it cannot come tell the River Rises, or tell the wagon comes from Dittoes Landing. the wagons is expected every hower.

Wensday 15th Inst—It is a very warme morning and Raney.ther was at least one hundred Campes built by eight ocklock in the morning. this morning we head to furnish one hundred men out of our Ridgement for to Stand gard and to bee on furteage [fatigue]. we air now in camp on the South side of very pleasant hill midden handey to wood but very Unhandey to water. the name of this fort is called Fort Strather. General Jackson stays in his marke in side of the fort. General Cock stays inside of our Ridgement with his Life Gard round him Day and knight, one Captains Company to gard the General ever since he has bin at this plase. last Knight one of the trupes that lay at this plase Dyed, and to Day about twelve ocklock he was Caried to the grave. twelve men marched in front of the Corpes with ther gurne Caried at a reverse to the grave, one halfe of them marched the Right and the other halfe on the left, the Corpes was layed in the grave and about halfe Covered and ther was not one word Spock, as I heard. I stood in five feet of the grave. the Commander told those men to rest on

*ditto's landing, on the north side of the tennessee river and south of Huntsville, was a base of supplies where General cocke had contracted to send those from East Tennessee. boats could not come down in low water, so supplies had to be brought overland. camp coffee was on the bluff opposite ditto's landing. ibid., i, 325, 326, 332. "tennessee, like most of the western rivers, is not navigable in its upper waters in dry seasons, and the flour which General Jackson expected to find awaiting him at Coffee's bluff, was still hundreds of miles up the river, waiting for a rise." James parrot, a history of the battle of talledega (new york, 1860), i, 430.

*st. strother, built by Jackson during the first week in November before the battle of talledega, was located at the Ten Islands of the Coosa, on the upper or left side. it was named for Capt. John Strother, who served as topographer during the Creek War. Pickett, op. cit., 295. strother later served under Col. Philip ripkin, from June 20, 1814, until January 27, 1815. He went with Gen. John Sevier in June, 1815, to run the creek boundary line. Sevier's diary records: "Fry, 18 last night Major John Strother departed this life intened to day." S. G. Heiskell, Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History (Nashville, 1920), II, 613. It is interesting to note that John Sevier died about one month later, also in Alabama.

*It must be remembered that Jackson was ill and still suffering from the wound received in the Bentine duel in September. He also wrote a great many letters and addresses, for he made an address before and after each battle.
armes Reversed and the[y] Did So. then the Commander Sholder armes, make readey, then the word fier was given, the[y] fired in the air, amedeatesley loded and Came to asholder, make Redey, fier In the air, then the[y] maid Redey and pointed ther gunes into the grave and fired, fased to the Right and left, the fife and drum beet the quick Step and marched off to ther deferent tents. It was the Stilste being [burying] that I ever Saw in my life, all but the firing of the platoons that was fired-- the man that was beried had not bin Long maried one or tow days before he left home.

16 teenth Instant-- ther was two Ridgements Dismissed, Colonial Waires, Colonial Browns and the[y] marched all the men of the three Deferent Ridgements[85] was formed In a soled Colom on the Senter of the Incampment. ther was about be tweene two and three Thousand men in a small Compas. ther was two Sheetes of paper[86] Rote on Both Sides. the first, in treatment of the Leter Spoke Largeley of the Saveges Invading of our frunteers Spiling the Blude of the Insemnt; In the Second plase, he Inreated on the ware fare wat glories and prosperes Campaign we had so faire not with Standing the Defeciteys that he met heard with by Disappointment of the Contracters; therdeley, Stated that he understood that we was Six muthn men but Sence we arrove he understood we war onley three monthes Volenteers and was not furnished to Stay Longer for the want of Clothing; forthley, Stated that the Sepreme [God] Cold [could] not make a better Set of men for the business then ther was at this plase, and he maid now [no] doubt but ther was maney of those men wold Returne home to ther Deferent homes and ficks [fix] themselves and Come on and See the Campaign Ended. Stated that the Glorely was In our handes and he hoped that the Setesons [citizens] of East and West tennessee wold not Let him Stay and Sufer on Such a good glorie Cause; hoped that maney of those Gentele men wold Come as oficers or as Soldiers. He Stated that he took a good setesyon to make a good Soldier, and he Stated that ther was word Came to him Last knight that ther was newse Came to him that the Contracter had not Issued Compleat Rations of meet and flower. he unstoonded that we had not Drew only three quarters of porke Issued to Each men. he Stated to our oficer that we war all Soldiers no Doubt and a soldier out [ought] to have ther Dew [due] for the Contracters made it In ther one [own] pockets. he Sowre that we Shold have full Rations from this on.

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[85] General James White's brigade of Cooke's division was also dismissed on December 15. They were to go home, while Coke was ordered to East Tennessee to collect supplies which he should send to Ft. Armstrong, a post of deposit. Bassett, op. cit., I, 395.
[86] Ibid., I, 393; also General Orders, Pt. Strother, in ibid., VI, 429. Jackson's aide, Maj. John Reid, read the letters to the soldiers.
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17 Instant:- We maid out a returnes for two Days, and I went to the market house and Sow the meet Drew my Selve, and the meet was sent to the Incampment. I then went to the place where the meele was to bee Drew and I my Selve opened five or Six hares of Corn meele, that one third of the meele was Spoiled. I condemned the Spoilt meele and threw it into other tubes and I hunted tell I found a hare of good meele and Drew for my Companye and Sent the Same to the Incampment. when I returned amost all the men swore that they wold not Eat the meet that was Drew - John G. Rubele Said that he wold take the meet back to the block House and Drew better meet. I told him that he Cold not Drew anye better meet and that this meet wold dow tolelable well, but he tooke the meet back and the[y] Sent him back and the meet Likewise. the meet was tolerable good. this Day Drew Whiskey at this place, one gall a peese for Each man. We musteered my Companye and Capt McLings together to Day at Fort Strather. this is a verye warme morning for the Season, the fog Stayed tell ten oclock before It went off. I went to the River in the morning and the fog was so thick that I cold harley find the Rode, It was Darker than when the moon Shomed Some knightes. I thought that I Cold Smell the fog verye plain. this afternoon we all was ordered to perade our Companys to bee Reviewed by General Jackson. he told Ajudent nolen to muster the Deferent Companyes. when he Came to the End of the Loin, the General told the ajudent to muster the Rest by bretalion. when we war done mustering, I went to where Colonial Lillard and the General was Standing, and Colonial Lillard Made the General acquainted with me and Capt McLing, and [the General] told us that we both head proper Companyes of young brave Boys such as he wold wish to meet with the falow boys. he told me that he head Seed me in Jonesborough 87 Several times, he told me to Come to his tent when I had Leashure and See him; that he wold be verye glad to have a small acquaintence with me. he Stated that It wold bee on possessble [impossible] for beeter meelials [militia] to be maid then was haeve at this time. he said that he wold bee verye happye to give us a crismass [Christmas] frolick. he said that he head bin [in]formed that ther was Some indians in hiding about fifty miles below heare on the River.

This Morning ther Came two men 88 to General Pinkney to General Jack-

87Jackson, while serving as a judge, was often in Jonesboro, holding court, and had probably seen Hartsell on those occasions.

88A Mr. Robert Sorrels and a Mr. McCanless (McCandless), who had been sent on November 22, 1813, with a letter from General Claiborne of the Mississippi militia, from the residence of John Pitchlynn (Peckland), the interpreter with the Choctaws. Col. John McKee was agent to the Choctaws with headquarters on Pearl River, about 170 miles above its mouth, on the Nashville-Natchez road.

Bassett, op. cit., I, 325, n, 358.
sons arnemy, the[y] war Sent from Beach Land, where the troopes from tombigbay head gathered and part of the Chocktoy indians.

the two men war sent to the Hickrey groundes, on his way he re felin with General Pinkneys arnemy from georgy. then he Struck for the Hickrey groundes and before he Came nare the plase the[y] Discovey. So much Signe of Indians the[y] Struck further up the River and Crossed Cocey fifty miles below heare and Came up the River tell the[y] Came heare. the Same man that Came new [knew] Rusel Bean, and Rusel Beanes Brother in the Chocktoy nation, and he inquired for the name of bee[n] from East tennessee. when he found Rusel Beene the[y] knew onenother. I talked with one of the men one or two hours on the purpose of ther being Sent So fair for Speyes. the Genteel man give me grate Satisfacon on money things that we taulked on, Concerning the water Corses and the Land and the timber. he told me that ther was very good Land on the South Side of the alabamery, and tolerable well watered and pretty good timber. the north Side of the River was very brocan and Stoney. he Said on the tombigbay, that ther was Some very good land and Some very Sorey Land, the water was Generaily bad and Scarce. he Said ther was Several Small Rivers Emped into the major River that apared to bee very good Land, and the water was tolerable good on talow Dego. ther was Some famous River botomes, very Large and Leaveile. he Stated that ther was the largest Cain Brackes that he ever Saw In his Life, very Large timber of Eeverey kind amost, a grate money Shugarrees, Large walnut timber. he Said that the River Run with a very pretty Chorous and midelen Deep.

*He means Feachland's (Pitchlym) at the mouth of Octibaha River. See note 38 above.

*The Tombigbee River lies west of the Coosa, which unites with the Tallapoosa to form the Alabama. This latter joins the Tombigbee to form the Mobile. Gen. Ferdinand Claiborne, the commander of the Mississippi militia, was stationed at Ft. Stoddart on the lower Alabama and at Ft. St. Stephen on the Tombigbee. Bassett, op. cit., I, 358n.

*The friendly Choctaws were led by their chief, Pushamataha. The Chickasaws also joined the Choctaws. Lossing, op. cit., 762. It is of interest to note that the venerable Gen. James Robertson was agent to the Chickasaws at this time. Bassett, op. cit., I, 319n.

*Russel Bean served as a private in Capt. William McLein's company, Lillard's regiment. He was transferred on December 13, 1813, to the West (Middle) Tennessee troops. The son of William Bean, Sr., he was the first white child born in Tennessee.

*Twelve Beans enlisted in the Tennessee troops during the War of 1812. The brother referred to was probably Lieut. Jesse Bean, of Capt. William Mitchell's company of spies. Bean's brother-in-law, Samuel Mitchell, was about that time an agent to the Choctaws. Tenn. State Archives.

*The Alabama River, after the confluence of its two tributaries.

*The Talledega River rises in Clay county, Alabama, flows west through Talledega county, and empties into the Coosa. It is not navigable. T. M. Owen, History of Alabama (Chicago, 1921), II, 1295.
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Sunday 19 Instant--all of the officers in Colonel Lillard's Ridgesment was peraded in the Senter of the Incampment with ther guns to bee Dried and trained, agreeable to Dewvaines Militia Instructer. we all preraded and formed a straight Loin to goo throw the manied Exerise. ther was Several motions that I never Saw before in my Life. It was Strange to all the officers that was on the ground, the major General Said we performed very well. he formed Devitions and Sub Devitions from a colom of four men Depee, and from the Sub-devitions formed a colom, and from a colom formed a patoone, and from a patoone formed a Single file.

On 20 Instant--It is very wet over knight and amost of to Day. ther was two Companeyes went out scouting [scouting] on this Side of the River.

On tuesday 22-- ther was fourteen of them Came to the Incampment. those fourteen Came in horse back, with E verey horse Loded con Corn, and the[y] said they head bin about twenty five miles Down the River. they said that ther was about one hundred bushels of Corn in a crib, and Some in holow trees. the balance of the men went to goo some further and See wheather they cold not find any more property, and If they cold not, they wold Come in two or three Days. the[y] said ther was no fresh Sine of Indians to bee found where they head bin. on this Evening ther was newes that General Jackson head Received orders from the Governor that he ment to keep us Six moneths. ther was more confution In the Campes then I ever Saw in my Life. I cold Not help lafing tell my Sides Did ask, Concerning the Deferent apion of the Captaines and the opinions of the privates. Some Swore that before they wold Stay three moneths they wold kill General Jackson. Some Swore that they wold desert, Some one thing. Some another thing, Some Swore that they wold Loose all ther wagons before they wold Stay aney Longer.

On Wensday the 23-- the wagons Started to Fort Depauisit for more provition. one man was coted from Each Company for to gard the wagons. Richard Hail wint out of my Company. this Day my Company Is in Number Sixty fore offiers and privates, Some at fort arm-

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*Likely an old military book.

"Governor Blount in his letter of December 15 had actually advised Jackson to discharge the volunteers even though they "were detached for six months' service," since Colonel Carroll was recruiting another force of equal size. Bassett, op. cit., I, 393.

"Ft. Deposit, fifty miles north of Ft. Strother, was established by Jackson about October 28, 1813, as a defensive depot. Located on the southeasterm point of the Tennessee River in Alabama, at the mouth of Thompson's Creek, it was twenty miles below Ditto's Landing. Bassett, op. cit., I, 336n.
strong Some at one place, and Some at Fort Depaust. We have generaley to furnish Eleven men for gard and fortigue [fatigue] besides the oficers and non commitioned officers—

This morning a Lieutenant from East tenessee Dyed, and was beried at four o clock in the afternoon, by the Generals orders agreeable to the honors of ware. toDay the three Ridgements was Drew in three soled [solid] Cholomes and a letter from the governer of the State of tenessee Conserving the Deferent troopes that was from Deferent partes of the United States against the hostile Creeks. the governer Saded in his Leter to General Jackson that he hoped that the Volenteers from East tenessee wold not Leave him untell he Recived a reinforcement of men to goo on to the hickery ground, further Stated that governer pinkney[49] from georgey State head marched to the South Side of the alebamey, and was waiting for the arivele of General Jacksons and General Cocks armey to meet with him hare; he Stated that General fenoy[50] had Sent five hundred bares of flower on to govenor Clayburnes armey, and that govenor pinkney head taking a large quentity of cattle and hogens and about fifteen hundred bushales of corn; and he Stated that that was the riches part of the Creeck nation; he Stated that the Indians head run off ther property into the black mountains.51

23 Instant—General Jackson Received a Express from governer pinkney, that he had a batele[52] with the Creecks nere the hickery ground, not fair from the fish Dames.53 he give aney account of ther killing about two hundred on the ground of the Indians, and he head Lost Leven of his men and about fifty wounded In all. on to Day I was the oficer of the gard and the Countey Sigen was Reid.54 It was a very pleasant knight, I was put on at ten o clock and Releived at half after ten the nex morning. ther was the Spey Company of horse Came in to Day

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*Thomas Pinckney, major general and commander in chief of the entire Southern Department.

*General Flournoy of Georgia had been ordered by Pinckney to send a convey of provisions up the Alabama to the forks of Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. *Ibid.*, I, 408.

*So called from the richness of the soil.

*The Battle of Autossie, on November 28, 1813, between the hostile Creeks and the Georgia troops aided by friendly Creeks led by William McIntosh, of the Coweta tribe. This village was on the east side of Tallapoosa, near mouth of Callahbee Creek, and was one of the residences of Alexander McGillivray. General Floyd, the Georgia commander, was wounded at this battle. The Indian loss was 200 killed while the Americans lost 11 killed and 54 wounded. It was first reported a Creek victory. *Lossing, op. cit., 768.* See note 11, above.

*Major John Reid, Jackson's aide-de-camp. Reid began a life of Jackson, but died in 1816, and John Henry Eaton finished it in 1817.
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and give any account of fifteen hundred horse that was at huntes Vill, and they wold not Come any fother. one of the men told me with his one [own] mouth that the General Cofey head poot Several of the horse men in Jail, and they [the] Rist of the men brock oping the jale, and took the men out of the jale and swore that they wold kill him if he resisted. he said ther was Noreistance, he further Stated that ther was about fifteen hundred foot men Comming on Short Ley. he further Stated that ther was word gon on to the barric of ware Concerning the Conduct of General Jackson about the usage that he head give his men, he further Stated that It was the opinion that General Jackson wold Never head another armey from West tenessee. this man was avery Clever Deesent man by his apearance.

24 Instant- ther was nothing Strainge hapened, but two of the Cherokee Spyes Came in with two Culeyes that they head taking from the Creeks. he Stated that the[y] Discovered Seven or Eight and keled two of them, and they Stated that the hole of the Creeks wold make peese [peace] on aney terms. on this Evening I went to Evereye tent on my men and told them not one of them to Shoot a gun. they Did say about two hours before Day ther was two Cannons fired off. In about two minetes ther was several gunes fired off. Instantly firing Comenced all Round the Incampment. Capt McLing and my selfe head In the Evening Concluded that we wold not fier one gun, but after all the Rest was firing he ordered all of his men in to a line and fired. I was Seting in my tent Surprised that he wold fier after agreeing not to fier in the Evening, but he head not long fired before the ajetent Came Round and Commanded Evereye man not to fier one gun. I was well pleased to think that Evereye Companye Disobeyed orders but my Companye.

25 Instant-I went to the block house and found the General aswaring that he head amind to take Evereye Sord from the miltiue and brack them of ther Commotions. he swore that If the[y] head abin not Stoped they wold Shot Evereye pound of powder that they head. he further Stated that the Indians might abrochkin and kiled half of the men be

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*Huntsville, Madison county, Ala., settled in 1805 by John Hunt, who lived there until 1808. The name was changed from Twickenham to Huntsville in 1811. It was used as a depot of supplies by Jackson. Owen, op. cit., I, 718.

*Coffee had allowed his regiment to refresh their horses and return to Huntsville. There they became mutinous, refusing to cross the Coosa and return to Ft. Strother. He wrote Jackson on December 18, 1813: "How long can I continue the men under my command I cannot pretend to say," Jackson replied, December 22, 1813: "I have to request a report of every individual both officer and men that were engaged in overawing the Geoler of Huntsville, and compelling him to liberate the prisoners..." Bassett, op. cit., I, 398, 404.
fore they wold new any thing about it. I thought that he was Right. It appered that the world was Shuck with the Reportes of ther gunes, the firing Continued from about two hourses before Day untell the brack of Day. I met with major pickens from west tennessee. he was verye glad to meet with me. he asked me about all of his old acquaintance in wawashin. I returned home and ther was orders to purforme the manuel Exercise. we all made the gratest aparenece that I ever saw in mye life, all of the men was armed as the Law Directed. in everey point the men purforme ther Dewteyes verye well. we was all Drew in one Straight Loine and all the officer marched to the Senter and Recived ther orders to Returne to ther Respective Companyes and march them to ther homes and Desmiss them. after the Dismissing of my Company, I went Down to major Seviers tent, and Several of the majors and Several of the Docters and my Selfe Commenced that game Coled town ball, for to heave It to Day we head no other Sport for acrismass frolick.

26 Sunday-- Sergeant major turnley Came to the Defent Captains tents and told them to make out ther opinions for General Jackson. Stated that ther Surplyes of forty Dayes of beece, and pork two Days, bread Stuff for two thousand men, and In two hours major turnley was to Come back and know the opinions of the officers, but Instead of Comming back, he Stated to the General that ther was three Capt willing and perhaps money more if it was put to the test. ameadeateley orders was to perade our Companyes and to form them in one Strate Loine, to know how money of them wold tender ther Servises to meet the Ineny with what provition ther was on hand. General Jackson Stated that he wold order the horse men on with forch marches in the rare of the foot troopes; he further Stated that he wold head the troopes with great pleasure. after the men was Drew in one Loine, the Capt was Caled to the Senter and the Letter was read, then It was handed to the oficers to Sign ther names. Capt hamelton Signed his name to the paper, Readey to goe any wheares. Colonel Lilard twock the paper and as all the oficers Stood in aring he Came to me and asked me my opinon. I Stated to him that under the present Surcomstance I wold not turn out. then he went round the ring, and all the Capt Said as I said, which mad

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*Capt. James R. Pickens, in Gen. Isaac Roberts’ brigade, was one of those arrested and tried for mutiny, but whose sentence was shortened because Roberts was blamed for their conduct. *Ibid.,* I, 456. Pickens was a native of Washington county, East Tennessee.

*Similar to baseball, probably derived from the Indian’s “ball play.”

*George Turnley of Jefferson county, served as sergeant major in Lillard’s regiment. Tann, State Archives.

*William Hamilton, of Powell’s Valley, had offered his services to Jackson in a letter dated December 17, 1813. Another captain, George Argenbright, had also offered his services. Bassett, *op. cit.,* I, 397.

**General Jackson didn’t want to billet his men more than six miles of camp, that’s why the paid taxes to accept their service.**
that he was Right. The Devert of ther gunes, they Stay untill the brack of the gusses. he was verye old acquantences in Law to perfore the that I ever saw in my life. in every point of Law and was all Drew in one age. the mee was and Recived ther mee, and march them to ther Captains. & my Companiay, I was admited as majors and Several others. Coled town ball, 68 Christmas frolick.

The Devert Captains of General Jackson. Stated that in eight two days, bread and Turney was to be served, but Instead of Compy the Captains, one Capt willing to adtime, aedeateley orders that the men Strate Loine, to meet these. Jackson Stated that he was the rare of the foot troopes with great matter. Capt was Caled to the oficers to read the paper, Reday paper and as all the paper our opinion. I Stated that if it should not turn out, the people would have none of our committee. was one of those who were determined because Roberts was the native of Washington and a "ball play."

The major in Lillard’s services to Jackson in Argenbright, had also

amajority of all but one; then we are ordered to returne to our Devert Companiay and march them home and Dismiss them. In the Evening the old Sergeant major Came to my Companiay and the boyes Colored Round him and formed a companey and mad Every kind of musick In the hith [height] of Sport; Intered [introduced] Capt McLin to him and Stated that this was major turney, the major of the volenteers, which Struck him to the heart. by this time the men gathered from all the Companiayes round him, and plaged him tell he Cried, and Drumed him roune the Loines[lines], and faced him to the right about; Dismissed him. this was the head time that I ever saw in my Life; it pleased Colonel Lillard to the heart to See the Sport in the morning.

27 Instant- he threw up his Commition, and Sholdered his napacc, and went off with much Jeoy to all the troopes in the Ridgement.

28 Instant- We Drew half rations of meal, and the balance in beeke for two Days. It was all the meal at this place, ther Is Some Coming on with the wagons from fort Depaust; it is Expected on Every Day. General Roberts Is Expected In Every moment with about two hundred foot men. he marchd his men in about three miles of the place and incamped them, and Came on to See wheather the General wold Except them as three months men or not. General Roberts swore if he would not Except of ther Services as three months men that he wold not march aney further, and wold Discharge them and let them return home to ther native Cuntery. he further Stated that those militay that was hear ony inrolld for three months, and that Some of them was verye poor men and had nother way of making aliving but to farmit. General Jackson swore that that mattered nothing, when men was at ware they must Stay tell they head Doon ther Cuntery Servise, and the men Shold Stay ther Six months out. General Roberts Swore that the men Should not Stay aney longer ther times was out. the[y] passed Several verye high words, and both of them Drew ther Sordes and Swore vengeness one against the other, but it was Squashed without aney blows. General Roberts went to his tent and amedateley pursede to righting one Letter after another. the[y] both Sent Letters all this knight, back and foresdes. the[y] have not Determined ther bissnes this morning. on this Evening General Roberts went to the General and Stated to him, that If he wold recive his men as three months volenteers he wold Dismiss them. the General Jackson told him he wold recive them as three months men, but he wold not bee acontacable for the payment off of them.

*General Roberts had left to find fresh recruits. When they came within two miles of camp, Roberts went into Ft. Strother to ascertain whether Jackson would accept them as three months men, and if they would be paid. Russell, op. cit., I, 420.
On 29th the General went to bring the men in and the men wold not come. on General Roberts return it maid a grait Confusion. It highly aunted General Jackson to day about nine oclock in the forenoon I was Sumonised to atend at Colonal D Windeles tent to Set on a tryal Concerning four out of Colonal Lillard's ridgement. Concerning ther killing a hogge, or hogen, that they were Cau Skinning and Cuting up. the Cort martial Determined that they Shold work on fortuge three Days for the Second ofence, that was for Leaving ther Companyes with out Leave of ther Commanding officer; the[y] war to work on fortuge [fatigue] one Day for that ofence. On the Same knight ther was three of Capt Dykes men toock under gard for ther being out of the Loines of the Sentinals before a Cort martial was permuted to bee kept under gard one Day and knight, and to bee on fortuge one Day. the Cort martial adjurned tell the 30th at ten oclock. when We Did meet ther was one man out of Colonal D Windeles ridgement to bee tryed for Leaving his post, which Come not Short of Deeth, but on tryal he proved that he was not plased by a noncommissioned officer, and he was Clared by the Cort martial. Colonal D Windell was presedent of the Cort martial. ther was three Capt out of Colonal Lillards ridgement, three out of the other ridgement; Major Taylor was adjecent of Sd Cort martial. ther was some very Smart officers from West tennessee, and Some that was very indifferent in my opinion. the Cort martial was tyed in evening all most every time, and the presedent head to give the Casting vote. the Last man that was tryed every man Did agree on the questing.

December 31 Day 1813-- Govener Blunt Sent a express to General Jackson, that it was his opinion that he headbet Dismiss the militay that he head under his Command, or order them back to nashville and Dismiss them there. Govener Stated that he head not undertook the busines of the Sectarey of Wars, but he further Stated that the men head a very hard Campaign and by Dismissing them they might offer their Services Sooner again to Stand In aney opposition that might take place; he Stated that If ther was nomore men Left at the plase, ther wold

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*The final outcome was that the 191 recruits deserted after Jackson's orders were read to them, and marched home. Roberts was ordered to go after them and return them. *Ibid.,* I, 428.

*David Wendell was a son of David and Susannah Deaderick Wendell, of Frederick county, Virginia, who settled near Nashville, Tennessee.

*Major Samuel Taylor, first major in Col. John K. Wynn's First Regiment of Robert's brigade. He enlisted October 4, 1813, and was discharged January 4, 1814. Tenn. State Archives.

*Willie Blount to Jackson, December 22, 1813, in Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 405; Parton *op. cit.*, 479. See also Jackson's reply, December 29, 1813, in Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 416-20; and Jackson to John Armstrong, December 30, 1813: "Gov. Blount has lately recommended a return to the settlements with all forces under my Command, and a temporary abandonment of the Campaign." *Ibid.*, I, 423.

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keep The place untill ther wold Come provition Sufficant to the place, then order a sufficent quantity of men there to gooo on without more Delay that the Campaign might bee Ended in a short time. he further Stated that the armey was Laying as a dead Weight on the United States, and he thought the more he Cold Dismiss the better it wold bee, for the men and for the United States.

January 1st Day 1814--It was a verye pretie Clear Day and verye warme. about ten ocklock in the morning I was Caled on to Set at Cort marial to try Several privates for being absent without Leave. this Day my Lieutenant was arrested for on Gentlemanly Conduct, the Generals adicamp ordered me to give him the Lieutenants Sworde and to bee Spondebele for his apperience next Day at ten ocklock, to bee tried before a ridgemente Cort marial. I was Sunnysed on trysle, and when the Cort marial head meet, I refused to Set on trysle and they Let me off and Sat another member.

On Sunday 2 Instant-- ther was a man dyed, he was one of the old Volenteers that was left Sick behind, the mans name was Thomas B Clurcher, a privat. ther hez binn a berion everey Sunday Sence we have binn heare. on to Day ther wase one hundred pack horses Come from hustes vil with Meale. they was unloled verye quick and Sent back for more to Depasut, and the Same Day ther wase one hundred and fifty three Steeres brought in for the armey. ther was fifty of them Condemed, the rest was branded and keep for the use of the armey. ther was three Companyes Came in to Day, that went out ascouting Seven days ago. the[y] was about Sixty miles Down the river on this Side. the[y] burnt Several townes and a large quantity of Corn and Lift about five hundred bushales in one crib, they Saw verye Little fresh Sine. they plundered a few horses and Some other articale and brought in. I have bin Caled to Set on Cort marial four Dayes hand runnin to try Delinquencerees. Last knight ther was one man Caut Steeling Shugar out of the hospitable Stores.

On Munday 3--My Lieutenant was acquited of his Charge, and ranked amongst the officers as uhal.

On tuesday 4--two Ridgements from East tennesee, ther times was out, and they Did Command ther Discharge and the General Refused to give...
them their Discharge. The General Contended that they was Six months men. General Robertes, the Commander of the two ridgementes of men, he told the men that their times was out and they shold bee Discharged. on this morning the Sentinels was ordered to bee Set out on their postes. the Lieutenant⁵⁰ that was oficer of the gard for the present Day, when the old Sentinels was relieved he ordered all his men to returne to ther Campes. they was all marching after the Lieutenant to ther tentes when the General and his Life gard Come and ordered the Lieutenant to holt his men. the Lieutenant wold not Stop. he marched till he met the Generals Life gard, the General Steped in and presented his pistole at the Lieutenants brest and Swore that he wold Shoot him If he wold Step one inch. the Lieutenant Drew his Sword, and all of his men Cocked ther gunes and Swore that the next Shootes wold be therne. the General Commanded the Lieutenant to give up his Sword, or he wold blow him throw. the Lieutenant wold not give up his sword, ther was a doctor⁷¹ that Steped fore and toock the Sword out of his handes and give it to the General. the Generals Life gard⁷² twock the Lieutenant under gard, and tock him in to the Stockading. ther was a Cort Coled to try him Instantely. the Cort was Coled and juryed tell next Day. the next Day when the Cort met the Lieutenant was gonn.⁷³ the men all went on the Day the[y] was to Start. the General when he found he Cold not keep the men aney Longer, he head all of them Coled up and made them a purposall. If they wold Stay aney Longer, that at the Expiring of Six weekes he wold give them a onerabile Discharge; but the men wold not Stay aney Longer on no turnses. about two ocklock in the afternoon the[y] Started.

On Wensday 5 day Instant-- ther Came a express from Colonial Williams⁷⁴ from Knoxvill, that Colonial Williams head Started with Eight

⁵⁰William M. Kirby (Reid gives his name Kearley, but Bassett gives it Kirby). Bassett, op. cit., I, 433.
⁵¹Doctor Taylor of Captain Gordon's company, Colonel McCrory's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.
⁵³When the officer of the day found the guard abandoned, Kirby was ordered to give up his sword. This he refused to do, saying it would protect him to the Tennessee River. When later arrested by Jackson's lifeguard, he still refused to halt, and General Jackson intervened, personally demanding his sword. Upon Kirby's refusal, the General leveled his pistol at Kirby, but Adjutant Gen. James W. Sitter stepped between the two. Dr. Taylor rushed up and drew Kirby's sword, handing it to Sitter, who demanded that Kirby himself tender it. This was done, and Kirby arrested. He later repented and was pardoned by Jackson, on account of his youth and the influence of others in the case. Next day all of Roberts' brigade were gone. Bassett, op. cit., I, 433-34.
⁵⁴Col. John Williams (1778-1873), of Knoxville, commander of the 39th Regiment of the United States army, did not reach Ft. Strother until February 6, after Lillard's regiment had gone. Williams was a son-in-law of Gen. James White.
hundred troops, and Expected to arrive at this place on the tenth of this Instant. Judge White\textsuperscript{75} wrote to Colonel Lillard that he hoped that he wold not think heard to Stay a few Days Longer if Colonel Williams Cold not reach this place befor the fourteenth of this Instant. on this Day the hole Ridgement was Coled in a hollow Square and the orders read to the hole of the men. General Jackson Stated that if the men Came on as he Expected he wold forme a loine of march on tuesday next, and the plase wold bee vacant without our asistence. he hoped that the men wold volunteer ther Servise to twenty Days Longer\textsuperscript{76} either to goo om or to Stay heare to gard the plase. ther was not one Capt that offerad his Servise but Capt Hambleton and all of his men not one of them knew that he had Infored them. they Sware they wold not goo with him. ther was a great money yong men said that If they cold Inrole with me they wold goo with me If I wold. I told them under the present surcomstance I cold not goo on them. I Stated to them that it was proper for them to goo that cold goo; I said perhaps ther was some Capt that head no famlecy that might goo very handey.

On 6 Day — In the evening we Started from my tent to march round to Colonial Lillards tent and marched round the tent. I holted the men and ther was Several more ofcers and privates joined our Serenade. we marched to Major Bradleys tent. I holted the men, Major Bradley\textsuperscript{77} Came to all of us and thanked us for our visit and said he was sorrow that he head nothing to treat us with. we thanked him and said we was as much obliged to him as if he head. we asked him if he cold march with us awhile, he said he cold with pleasure. we head three very good fifers when we was formed. I ordered the hole forward march, we marched by Capt Hambleton Company. I Stated we was Volenteers to goo home on the fourteenth Day of this Instant, and all the men that was willing to goo home with me to Come and fall in and march round, they most all fell in and marched with us round. before we got round we head one third of the men. I marched them to my Incampment and holted them and the loine was about one hundred yards long, four men Deep. major bradley and the rest of the officers Concluded to forme them on the perade ground and State to them as we Entered the perade ground

\textsuperscript{75}Hugh Lawson White, son of Gen. James White, was a lawyer of Knoxville. Parton (op. cit., 469) gives Hugh L. White the credit for sending Col. John Williams to Jackson's aid.

\textsuperscript{76}See Jackson to Blount, January 7, 1814: "Gent. Roberts Brige. abandoned me on the 4th, Col Lillards Regt. will abandon me on the 14th, I en- treated, in the most pressing manner I knew how, the continuation of their services for only 20 days beyond the period of their engagement." Bassett, op. cit., I, 437.

\textsuperscript{77}First major in Lillard's regiment.

\textsuperscript{78}William Rutledge, Sullivan county, quartermaster in Lillard's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.
that William Rutledge90 and Capt. Dick would stand on the right, and all the men that was for the hickrey groundes would fall in on the right. I marched the men by them and halted and then counted the men that was willing to go on. By this time ther was Some of the Generales Life gard Came to See what was the mater. William Rutledge swore that he was on uranitest [on your own test]. we formed and marched round the Loines tell we Came to the midle of the ridge. By this time ther was Capt. Gordon91 and Capt. Russell92 and many more of the Generales Life gard Came to where we was. we dismissed them tell next Day at ten o'clock to meet at the Generals tent to inrole themselves for twenty Days longer, Either to go on to the hickrey groundes or to Stay heare. we all brock up and went to our tents. on the next morning about Sunrise the General give orders to Colonal Lillard to get all the Capt. opinions and the opinions of ther men in righting by ten o'clock; and all the Capt. to meet at the Colonals tent with ther returns. I made out my returne and Stated In it as folowes: the reason that my men wold not turn out I Stated, from the information we head of the General and from what acquaintance we head made with him the men was not willing to march one Step with him nor Stay heare to gard the plane; I further Stated that all the men was willing to march to ther Respectible homes with me and the subolen [subaltern] officers, on the fourteenth of Instant or Swoner, If Convenant. when the Colonal read my returne, It made him laff verye hartey. he said that I twock no roundabout way to Excuse the mater, but was Short and Straight. I Stated that If we head not bin deceived by hour General Somency times that we wold bin willing to Stay and to Serve good officers. he Stated that I was verye right to bee Short and plaine about the mater. Some of the officers Stated to the Colonal that ther men head no shoes [shoes], Some one thing. Some another. the Colonal Stated from the Decite that the General head made with the men was anuff to make a man make a returne like mine, Short and Straight. on this Same day about ten o'clock the re-

90Capt. John Gordon (1763-1819), the first postmaster of Nashville, is best eulogized by the monument on the lawn of the post office and custom house in Nashville, Tennessee. He came to Nashville from Virginia in 1782, and became a noted defender of old Fort Nashboro and the frontier settlements from the Indians, and participated in the Niacajack expedition which ended Indian atrocities on the Cumberland. As captain of the spies in the Davidson county regiment, reporting only to Jackson, he distinguished himself in nearly battle of Jackson's Creek campaign. In 1814 he performed alone a mission of great danger, as Jackson's special envoy to the Spanish governor of Pensacola, resulting in the capture of Pensacola and the cession of Florida to the United States. He is buried at Columbia, Tennessee.

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The turn of the hole ridge ment was made to the General, on the face of the returne, to his amaisement he found onley three men to inrole under him aney longer; the mesnames [men's names] was Capt Wm Hamilton and his father and his fathers grand son, 81 which made the old Vilion Sware outrageous. 82 he said we head acted with great imposition to make amock of him and the rest of the officers; he was greeved to the heart to think we thought nonore of him. he Said he never Commanded Such asmart healthly Set of men in his Life before, and he was sorow that he cold not purvale with them anyey Longer.

On Saturday 8- it was very drisley morning. all of the boyes Seems to bee verey Smart and able for ther allowance. the ridge ment gites Smaller Every Day. about twenty five yards above the Stockading then Stands the Largest pine tree that I ever Saw in my Life. it is about five feet throw and Sixty feet before ther is one lime [limb]; it is up the river from the Stockading, on the Same Day about three oclock In the afternoon the hole ridge ment was Coled together to hear General orders read. when peraded, Major nolen read the orders. In the first instat read, Sow the General Said that from the answer he Recieved from Colonel Lillard 83 it Stated that none of the Capts wold offer ther Servises, onley brave Capt Hambleton and two privates in his Company; he Stated further that none wold volenteere ther Servises to Stay heare to keep the plate; he Stated that our time was out on the fourteenth Day of this instant, and as Long as we wold not Stay nor goy [go], he wold give us the balence of our time. he Said we on the ninth of Instant Shold Stay and Draw five Days rations to take us to armstrong, then to march to Knoxvill and to be Discharged by General Cock at his Designation. he

81 Captain Hamilton was later killed in the Battle of E就像co, January 24, 1814. Jackson then wrote concerning him: "... among the former [those killed] was the brave Capt. Wm. Hamilton from E. Tennese who with his aged father and two others of his company, after the period of his engagement had expired, volunteered his services for this excursion ... No man ever fought more bravely, or fell more gloriously ..." Jackson to Pinckney, January 29, 1814, Bassett, op. cit., I, 452.

82 Jackson wrote to Coffee, December 31, 1813: "They militia I think will go and I wish they and they volunteers had a smoke tall in their teeth, with a Petecoat [the symbol of cowardice] as a coat of mail to hand down to their offspring ... I think of all damned Rascals I ever saw, is some of the Holston [Jackson always refers to the eastern region as Holston] soldiers, nothing can excupe them." Ibid., I, 431. Jackson's patience did give out.

83 Lillard wrote to Jackson on December 26, 1813, and January 7, 1814, that his men just refused to go on, except Capt. Hamilton and two of his men. Ibid., I, 411, 437, n. Lillard was severely criticized by Col. John Williams: "I am mortified to hear of Col. Lillard's conduct. It is disgraceful in the extreme. A petty coat ought to be presented to him." Ibid., I, 431, n. Jackson also criticized Lillard in a letter to Blount, December 26, 1813: "I could not believe the general would have made such a promise to men whose service was so much needed ... without notifying me thereof." Ibid., I, 409.
Stated that on munday the tenth we wold forme the loine of march, In order agreeabele to the rules and articules of ware, with a advance gard and a rease gard and to keep Sentinales Set out regular tell he Dismissed the troopes. he further Stated that if he Did not march his men in order he wold be Sponsebele for aney Dammage that might be Don on the way home Either by or in the Indian Inhabitence; the[y] air not to Do aney of them or aney of ther property, nor to injure the white men nor ther property; he Stated ther shold bee flankers out everey Day on the march, and after the Sentinals was plased out ther shold not Suffer aney officer or Soldier to lay out of his Camp in gard; If aney was found he shold punish them agreeabele to the rules and articules of ware. he Stated that Colonals Browns and Colonals Waires ridgements head injured the indian property much from a statement he head recived from the Crawler Indian. the manes [names] of the Captas that is on this ground Commanded by Colonial Lillard Is as folows: ther Names Capt Sharp, Capt Gifenwaters, Capt Hambelton, Capt Copolen [Copeland], Capt McCriston [McCuisiton], Capt Roper, Capt King, Capt Marton [Martin], Capt Lillard, Capt Etherton [Neatherton], Capt McLoney [Maloney], Capt Jacob Dyck [Dyke], Capt McCopen [McCalpin], Capt McLing [McLin]. the General Said this was the best looking men he head the Command of and he thought the[y] wold fight. he wished us all Safe home and grate Luck on the way. this was all in his Leater, and four times as much.

Fort Strocher January 5th 1814-Countersign, Jackson -By Order A Thomas Noland Adjutent - Capt Jacob Hartsell, officer of the Day I was the first Capt that ever acted in Sted of a fild officer in Colonial Lillards ridgement. In Jacksons arnemy, on Coocoy, at the ten IsLandes. I performed with honour, as It Happened . . .

This is my hand riting on Coocoy. In the yeare of our Lord, January 9th day 1814, those few Lоines I rought about twelve o'clock with my

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*The poor Indians were pillaged and their property ravaged by the army, which was always short of supplies. Many complaints were sent to Colonel Meigs about the conduct of the East Tennesseans, but very little relief was felt while the war lasted. The Indian warriors were at the front fighting for the Americans, while the women and children were made to starve by their allies. Along the Ross read from Ross' Landing to Turkeytown, near Ft. Armstrong, hardly a cow or hog, or an ear of corn was left. Daniel Ross wrote to Colonel Meigs at Hiwassee asking help for them. In 1816 Colonel Meigs submitted to Secretary of War John Armstrong claims for the Cherokees amounting to $25,498,42½ for property damages inflicted by the march of the white troops through their lands. Meigs MSS. (in possession of Mrs. P. J. Allen, Chattanooga, Tennessee). Jackson informed Cooke, December 28, 1813, that certain felonies were traced to Colonel Wear's regiment, and denounced the actions of the troops. Bassett, *p. cit.* 1, 415.

*See note 50, in *Publications* No. 11, p. 103.*
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Boock In my hand Laying on My knees Siting In my tent with. This is my wish, that God wold inabele me and all of my Companey to returne to ther respectebe famileys or homes, and all of the other troopers in our Ridgement. So Ends my Speech—.

On last knight a privat out of Capt Jacob Dyckes Companey Dyed about midnight, the name of Moses freeman.88 he was twock with a vilent pain in his head the Day before he Dyed. he was all the purson that Dyed out of our ridgement yet.

Monday 10—he was beried about nine oclock in the morning. he was beried with the honors of ware. ther was twelve men marched to the Corps with ther armes Caried at areverse, and then to the grave; then the[y] stood arest on armes reversed till the Corps was laid in the ground, and Covered over the bordes [boards]; then the[y] Came to asholder, make redy, fier; Charge, make redy, fier; make redy, fier. the thurd fier was in the grave; then the quick Step was beet and all the men th[o] ther tents to make redy to march. about half after Leven we formed a Loin of march, and Come about twelve miles and Lay on the north Side of Cuneow [Caneo] Creek.

the next Tuesday 11— in the morning the Colonol ordered Everey Capt to make out his morning report to See how meaney men was absent with out leave. all of my men was present to answer to ther names but two, Moses Conk and James Vest, hoo [who] head went own further than we got this nite. this morning we Started about the brack of Day and Struck a verye liveley march, and we marched tell the Sun was about one hower high, and we Supposed we marched nare thirty miles and Camped on a large Creeck,87 on the South Side of the Creek where ther was good Land and good timber. all of the men was verye much furtaged and willing to Camp.

12—about Darck ajedent Thomas Noland aointed me Capt of the gard. the County Sign was Shelvey. in the morning he pointed me officer of the rare gard. imarched behind tell about nine oclock and pased Several men unwell. before knight we pased a number of men that was verye unwell. Some from everey Companey nairley. all of my men is tolerabele well; we air the heilhies [healthiest] Companey in the hole ridgement as yet, thank God for his merses [mercy].

this morning we marched throw Some verye good ground for about Seven miles, then Struck the Lockout Mountain88 and marched on the moun-

88Moses Freeman enlisted as a private in Capt. Jacob Dyke's company on October 14, 1813, and died January 10, 1814. Tenn. State Archives.
87Will's Creek.
88The lower end.
tain about leven miles and Camped on a ridge whare the timber and water was verey handy. It is verey Cold and windet this evening. the men Is Scattered verey much along the road four miles or more.

On 13--I was apointed advance gard. I peraded about Sunrise at the Colonals tent and twentyfore privats, and it was verey Cold. I Started and marched to the river,98 whare Some was Cating trees en rows and Some awarding. Iwent Down to whare the boat was to bee. when we Came in about amile of whare the boat was to bee, we heard that the boat was not Come Down. we met a cuniow [canoe] and i and the advance gard Crossed. Some waded, and Some made raftes and Crossed. when we was over the boat Came. I Started throw the Cain brack tordes the fort,99 and Struck the road about two miles below the fort on the river, and marched on to the foart whare I met with all the boyes that I head left behind.100 the[y] Seemed verey glad. In about one bower the most of the ridgement Came and the men Seemed much rejoised. I peraded my men and marched them up the river and Camped on asmall branch. I was the first Captain that head marched his men to the Camping ground. we was handey to wood and water. I went and Drew ovenes for my Company to Coock in. we Drew whiskey for all the ridgement. ther was more fitting then ever waws in the Campes from the time we marched; ther was more Desputing about marching then iever Saw in my life. all the men that was able to march Sware the[y] wold march wheather the[y] got Leave or not. Some of the Capts Sware the[y] wold march Earley in the morning, orders or no orders. we Drew four rations of meet and one of flower.

On friday 14-- We Drew foore rations of meece and one of flower, and we Drew four days rations of whiskey. on friday night ther was all kind of Swaring and all kind of fitting.

Saturday 15 Day 1814-- We Started from fort Armstrong, about ten oclock in the morning, which was a verey raney morning and we march-ed throw the gap of the mountain, and Camped on avery pretty ridge which was about ten miles from the fort. Crossed little Chatuga river. all of the men in my Company is able to march but Thomas Carley;102 he was Caried in the bagage wagon. my Company and Capt McLings goines [joins] together and has a wagon to the two Companyes. ther

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98 The mouth of Chatuga River where it joins the Coosa.
99 Fort Armstrong.
100 Those left by General Cocke to guard the garrison when he advanced to Ft. Strother. Lieut. Col. William Snodgrass was in command of the Cherokees left there. Tenn. State Archives.
102 A corporal in Hartsell's company.
was two of Mackling men that head to ride in the bagage wagon, William Brown and Thomas Messer.

Sunday 16teenthy day—we marched about Sixteen miles, and Camped on the South Side of a large Creeck where the timber was very good, and the Land was good also. the ridgement was much Scatered along the road.

On monday 17th—we marched about twenty five miles, and Camped on the north Side of asmall Creeck, where ther was good timber and mideling good Land. the ridgement was much Scatered along the road.

On tuesday 18th—we marched to Camp Ross. Some Companyes Did not Come in. the weather is very Cold and Clowdy; the river is very high and will be very hard to Cross. on today we Came about twenty five miles.

On Wensday 19th—We Drew four Days rations and prepared to march.

On thursday—we Crossed the tennessee river. all of kind of pooshing and Swaring that I ever heard, ther was there; Everey man for himSelfe; you Cold not heare your own yeares. the river is about Eigh feet higher then it was when we Crossed when we went on, and Still rising; we have fore boates going Steedey all Day. on thursday 20th all the troopes Crossed.

On friday 21st—we marched to John browns, on this Side of the river and Drew meet for two Days and marched about one mile and Crossed a verye large Creeck, and Camped on the North Side of the Creek. the weather is very Cold and windie. we met two Companyes of foote men from Anderson county, going on in midelen good heart. ther was two Companyes of troopes Came Down in boates on thursday the Day we Crossed Tennessee river, from somers [somewhers] about kingston.

On 22 Day—we marched about twenty miles and Camped nare the loine [line] on asmall Creeck. the wagons Did not Come up and Some of the men Stayed back with the wagons. the knight is verye Cold.

*See note 33, in Publications No. 11, p. 100.
*At John Brown's ferry. See note 32, ibid.
*John Brown's ferry is an old Cherokee landmark. In 1842 his heirs filed a claim with the United States government for the spoliation of these two ferries on the Tennessee River. Meigs MSS.
*Some of the new recruits, likely some of Colonel Williams' regiment.
*Likely Col. John Brown's regiment on its second tour. Roane county had troops at different times on the Creek campaign.
Sunday 23—we marched to Camp brown. I and Several of my boyes Struck throw the woode to the highway [Hiwassee] garison, and went about two miles twolow where we Struck a large Cain brack. we went up the river to the garison, and there was a grate meaney of my old acquaintences there. I drew Rations for three Days for my Companye, and then I went to Camp brown, where I met with all the Washington [county] troopes where I was much revied to heare from all of my kindfolds and old acquaintences. this night ther was more Snow fell then I have Saw this winter.

Monday 24 Day 1814—we left Camp brown about ten ocklock, and marched about twelve miles and Camped on the north Side of a hill on a verey pritty Creek; the Land and timber was good all this days march, ther was Some verey good farms.

Tuesday 25 Day—we marched about twenty Miles throw verey good Land and timber, Some verey good farms. we Camped on the North Side of a small branch.

Wednesday 26 Day—we marched to kingston, where we met with a boat of apes and Sider. we all Spent our money verery freeley. I Spent narley three Dollars in money for brandy, and Sider, and apes, and pies and butter. we marched about two miles out of the town and Camped on the Side of a small ridge, where the water was verery bad. the ridgement is much Scattered along the roades.

On Thursday 27—we marched about twelve miles and Camped on the South Side of a verery pritty ridge; the wood and water was verery Scarce. the ridgement is much Scattered along the road; my Companey is much Scattered at this time.

On the 28 day—we marched about twenty miles and lay at Major benets [Bennett's] where the harican head bin about four years agoe; the timber was all Ded and blowed Down. ther was no water but well water for all the troopes.

[This concludes the "Journal" as kept by Capt. Jacob Hartsell, but his company was mustered out on February 4, 1814 at Jonesboro, Tennessee.]

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"See note 28, in Publications No. 11, p. 100.
"See note 29, ibid.
"Likely Major Peter Bennett, a Revolutionary soldier from North Carolina who lived in the lower end of Knox county on the Kingston Pike. A daughter married Richard Bearden. A Bennett descendant was the late Judge John Devitt of Nashville, Tennessee.