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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 trew a 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 Service, the officer which Commands Me at this plase.

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

Mens names	what rank	when Entered into Service	for what Period	names present	Remarks
Jacob Hartsell	Capt	October 12	For 3 months	- -	- -
Isaac Hartsell	Lieut	1813			
Samuel Bayles	2 Lieut				a wagon and
George Starmer	Ensign				teeme presed into the United States Service
Thomas M Sheral	1 Serg				
John G Rubele	2 Serg				
John Odele	3 Sgt				
James Casedy	4 Sgt				
Joshua Gaines	1 Corpl				
Thomas Carley	2 Corpl				
Anthoney Holen	3 Corpl				
Adam andes	4 Corpl				

B-

Bayles George
Bottles William
Briles 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.

McCray philip
Martain Hugh
Millir Samuel
McGines Joseph
Mitchale James
Mitchale John

N-

Nelson Henry

P-

Pitcock Stipten

Proyer William

R-

Randeles Samuel

S-

Shagle John -----Deserted brought Back and Discharged
 Smith turner November 16 d 1813

Starens fredrick

T-

Tucker Jonathan

Tinker abram -----Inroled himselfe as a wagoner in
 Tilson John the United States Servise out of my
 Thrasher Isaac Company on the 20thday 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 dew-
 ty October 31 day 1813

I do hereby Certify as an oficer that this muster Roll Contains as true
 a statement of this Company under my Command, and that these Remarks
 oposet mens Names air Just and trew as Can be ascertained by me.

Jacob Hartsell Captain—

December 4th Day 1813 maid out by me Capt-

December 5th day 1813--On last Evning ther Came aney Express from
 General Jackson to General Cock for to reinforce his army with all his
 force. this morning General Cock Sent aney Express¹ to General Jackson
 army to know what quantety of men he wold Require of him. this
 morning General Cock Called all the oficers to his tent and told them that
 he ment to Join General Jackson on the twelt of Instant with all the force
 that Jackson might Require of him. If the[yl] marched Day and knight

¹Jackson, always short of rations for his army, had been desperate which
 course to pursue. He had hesitated to order Cocke 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.), *Correspond-
 ence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935), I, 374, 335.

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(ed.), *Correspond-*

and all the men to Carey four days provition on ther backs, like wise Stated that in three Days after the arifele [arrivall] at Jackson Camps we cold have the Creecks at our feet Compleateley.

General Jacksons leter further States that if the United States Required it of us that we cold Eat our new yars Diner in pency Coley [Pensacola].² this morning General Cock Sent aney Express on to the Georgey troopes³ which Lays in the frunteeres of the frendeley Creecks Side about one hundred miles from this plase to march on throw the Creeck nation with Speed and Care. It is said that ther Commander was not worth one fig. the Last account that I recived from the Georgey troopes was Expected that Goviner pinkey [Pinckney]⁴ woldbee Commander of the hole of the Georgey troopes.

December 5 day 1813--On this morning one of Colonal Waires⁵ 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 ther way to Roses for the lack of feed--- this Day ther Came two white men Running to the In Campment and said that ther was Some Creecks indians fired at them. James Willhite⁶ was close wheare the men Came Runing, I and he Came to my tent much alarmed. Capt McLing hapened to bee at my tent, we Did not beleave it but in a few minits major Smith⁷ Came Riding round the Loines [lines] and give orders for Everey Captain to have his men in Readyness for ther was Creecke Indians Close at hand. Some men Run Everey Derection and Shott all throw the Campes. My men behaved verely well not one of them Shot all of them war loding that was not Loded, and when the men

²Jackson 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 diseas pensacola." *Ibid.*, I, 339. See also Jackson to Holmes, in *ibid.*, VI, 428.

³The 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.

⁴On 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.

⁵Col. Samuel Wear (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).

⁶A private in Hartsell's company.

⁷Alexander Smith. See note 91 in first installment of this "Journal," *Publications* No. 11, p. 113.

was Ready I started to Heare 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 ahunting and Shot at Some of ther one [own] men to See wheather they wold Run or not, but they Run like lusty filowes. yester Day and Last knight was verrey wet and windey. Captain oliver⁸ was arested and tryed two Days be fore a cort martial before the tryale was Desided. the cort martial found sd olever guilty of the Charge and brock him, all his men got on ther knapssacks on and marched out of the Camping ground, then they was marched to the General tent whare ther Captain was which they found him in teeres, the General as Stored [restored] him again, and ther was one glad oficer, 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 arested the Captain hired another lowyar and they argued verrey Strong on both Sides. that was the first Cort martial that I ever Saw Lowyars Speeck on in my Life---

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

December 7 Instant--aney Express¹⁰ Came to General Cock about tow [two] oclock in the morning. about the brack of Day I went to See the General whare I met with Several other oficers. the General amedeateley Red the Express to the oficers present,. whitch the General told the oficers to amaeateley to Draw provitions for four days and back [bake] the bread and barbecuw the meat and be Ready to march in the morning by Day light. the leater that Jackson Sent to Cock Stated that the Georgey troopes got Compleateley whped¹¹ by the hostile Creeckes about

⁸Capt. Lunsford Oliver led a company in Col. John Brown's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.

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 Turkeytown 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, 328,n, 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.

¹¹This was the Battle of Autosse, at first reported to Jackson as a victory for the Creeks, but later found to have been one for the Georgians. *Ibid.*, I, 373-74, 378; B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of War of 1812* (New York, 1869), 768.

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seventyfive miles from the plase whare General Jackson fout them, at Some fort on Some River.¹² this morning ther is grate Shooting and grate Con-
fution in the Campes.

Eight Instant--About sixteen hundred troopes Started from Camp Arm-
strong¹³ 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 barbrecew
the meet for to morow morning we have to march. my Company Drew
ther beefe In good time, meney of the Companey 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 onn to the River¹⁴
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 Companey marched to the mouth of
Catehugah.¹⁵ the bote had not Come to the plase when we Came thare.
Capt keese¹⁶ from Soleven [Sullivan] and his Company was at the River.
In about one hower ther was nine or ten Companey thare, the Cane was
so thick that we cold not Stand till the men Did cut it Down.the River
Side was Strunge [strewn] up and Down for a large Distance. the bote
Came and one Company got over. ther was the most Swaring and pooshing
when the bote wold Come to Shore who wold Crows first. Several of
my boys Crosed and brought the bote to Shore. I formed my Company
and Capt McLings in one body and Stuck to gether tell we Crosed. It
was about four oclock when we Crosed and the hole of the troopes Did
not Cross tell morning, they was Crosing all the knight. we Crosed and
all Camped on the other Side which was the north Side.¹⁷ next morning
about Sun Rise we marched after Colonal Browns Ridgement. about ten
oclock we pased Colonal Browns Ridgement which afrunted him and all of
his men. we halted our two Companey, and wated tell our owne Ridge-
ment Came up. we marched north of west Some. we passed throw
Some as poore Land as I ever Saw tell about Leven oclock; then we pased
a low gap of the Looock out mountain; then we Came to a field and after
wards marched throw Some as goode ground and verely levele as your eys

¹²Lashley's Fort on Talledega Creek. See note 47, in *Publications* No. 11, p. 103.

¹³General Cocke left a small contingent to care for the garrison at Ft. Arm-
strong, among whom was Capt. Robt. McAlpin's company, Lillard's regiment.
Tenn. State Archives.

¹⁴Chatuga River.

¹⁵The Chatuga River rises near Somerville, Ga., and flows south, emptying into
the Coosa River.

¹⁶Capt. George Keyes of Lillard's regiment.

¹⁷North side of the Chatuga River, also north side of the Coosa.

ever Saw. we Crosed one Large Creeck and Several small Creecks, 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 Evning ther was at Least two thousand weight of pork kiled and brought to Campes.

Friday 10 Instant--we made a Erley Start. Marched throw verey good ground and well timbred, large popeler and white oak and verey plenti- full of presemon trees. about tow oclock in the Evning Came to one small Indian Hous. about two miles Came to one prety good Cabon. one mile from there we Came to a large field and verey good house with two good porches and a horse mill and Lume [loom], a number of Small Cabenes. we marched about one mile further and Camped on a large hill which we Coled Camp poverty, it was Scarce of timber and water both. ther was a number of meet kiled both beefe and pork and brought to the Deferent Companey.

Saturday 11 Instant--We made a verey Earley Start. we Came to a large Creeck¹⁸ in about one mile, we was at Least tow houers Crosing sd Creeck or River. we marched about one mile and Came to General Jack- sons trase¹⁹ and halted for the Rare [rear] to Come up. whilest we war Seting 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 amedeateley Sent for to Clense the wound and Set the bone. ther was aswing made be twene two horses with two poles and two tent clouthes and he was brought on into the Incampment. we Came throw a great Deelee of poore Leavele Land and Small River and Crosed the River and marched about one mile and Incamped ona small Ridge, which Convenent for timber and water. the name of the Creeck was Caled Cuncio Creeck.²⁰ to Day we marched a south corce all Day. we Crosed Some verey prety Runing Springs. we wase Cuting of [off] a large pine tree on the Side of the Creeck I Stood by, and Decovered 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 Cut. ther was the apearence of a old fich [fish] trap that might have

¹⁸Likely 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* (Bulletin No. 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1905-1910), II, 956.

¹⁹General Jackson's route from Huntsville via Ditto's Landing and Ft. Deposit to Strother at the Ten Islands.

²⁰Canoe 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.

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On October 28, 1813,
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bin built fifty yeares agoo. I discovered a large Logue laying in the water with Several morteses in the Loge tolerable Large. we marched about one mile and Incamped on the South Side of a verey prety hill, verey prety Runing Spring. the name of the Camp was Camp Harrison.²¹

Sunday 12 Instant-Started about Sunrise. Marched throw 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 Crosed Several Creecks and Came to the River,²² Whare the men had been giging the Side of the mountain down to make a rode for the wagons to goo with the provition. we surposed the River to bee three quarters of a mile across whare the hole Chanele Run together. we marched to the ten Islands²³ whare General Jackson Lay with his armey from West Tennes-see. on the arivele of the troopes from Est tennessee General Jackson fired three Canons off²⁴ which was the first that I ever heard in my life. Jacksons Troops preraded in Several Loines to recive us. ther fases was all Strange to me, the men Looched verey bad In general. We marched throw the Incampment. on our Returne I saw Charles Sevier²⁵ from obes River.²⁶ as Soon as we wair Dismised Charles Sevier Came to my Incampment to See the Washington Troopes. he seemed verey friendeley and naural. he invited me to walk with him to the garison. I went with him to General Jacksons markee whare I saw the gratest flage that I ever Saw in my Life.

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

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: "Genls Cocke and White has Joined me to day with 1450 of as fine looking Troops, as you ever saw." Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 387.

²⁵Charles Robertson Sevier (b. 1778 in Green co., d. 1855 in Ellis co., Texas) was the son of Robert Sevier and Keziah Robertson. The father was mortally wounded at King's Mountain, and his widow afterwards married Major Jonathan Tipton. Charles Sevier went to Overton county, Tennessee, about 1800, and was major of the county militia in 1806. He served as 2nd major in Col. Thomas McCrory'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 Sevier and Colonel McCrory were both cited by Jackson as "... entitled to great praise for their bravery on that occasion." Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 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 fearful, I shall first be made to feel. You know I mean that meagre-monster 'Famine'." *Ibid.*, I, 335.

marched back to this plase, and never Eat aney thing but the halfe Ration of beefe tell the was heare two Days. the[y] marched on tordes Ditoes Landing and met the provition Comming, and the[y] turned back and Eat Roy hides and Slunk Calves and the gutes and tripes of the beeves be war Ishued out to the men. Charles Sevier told me that he head Drawed onley three yeares of Corn for Six Days provition. number of the men Did not draw aney 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 Eat it. this Day Capt McLing and my Selfe Drew meet and Capt McLing, Capt McKeese, Capt King²⁸ and my selfe Drew one barele of Corn meeles for our fore Companeyes. this was the first mele that was Drew in the three Ridgements of Est Tennessee. ther was more Confution than I ever Saw in my Life at one plase. ther cold hardeley bee aney thing bee Dune for Cusing and Swaring amongst the men.

Monday 13--there was two Volenteere Companeyes²⁹ of West tennessee Dismissed to goo to Nashville, in Cumberland, 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 monthes 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 munths for to fight the Indians, and they wold not Stay aney Longer on the account 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 onn to the natchey Cunterey to Serve the Balance of the time, which wold bee five months Longer. we East tennessee Volenteeres air much Displeased at ther usage at this plase. we wold bee verey glad to march on to the Hickry ground, as Soon as posobele. We have nothing to Cuck in but one tin bucket for all my Companey, and we Sufer much at this time. I seeme much Disturbed In my mind to See So much Raskality Caried on and men Sufering on the ocount of It. Some of the men has to Cooch in a tin cup In Stead of a boten [bucket].

²⁸Capt. Benj. H. King, in Lillard's regiment.

²⁹The 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 Captain 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.

³⁰On 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, 385.

³¹The county seat of Maury county, Tennessee.

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December 14 Instant-- We did not draw aney thing but one gill of meale to a man. ther Is as much confution 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 Beeves now at this plase, Some verely 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 Ditoes Landing.³² the wagons is expected Everey hower

Wensday 15th Inst--It Is a verely warme morning and Raney.ther was at Least one hyndred Campes built by Eight oclock in the morning. this morning we head to furnish one hundred men out of our Ridgement for to Stand gard and to bee on furteuge. [fatigue]. We air now In Camped on the South Side of verely pleasant hill midelen handey to wood but verely Unhandey to water. the name of this fort Is Caled Fort Strather.³³ General Jackson Stays in his markee In Side of the fort.³⁴ General Cock Stays inside of our Ridgement with his Life gard Round him Day and knight, one Captains Company to gard the General ever Sence he has bin at this plase. Last knight one of the trupes that Lay at this plase Dyed, and to Day about twelve oclock he was Caried to the grave. twelve men marched in frunt of the Corpes with ther gunes Caried at a reverse to the grave, one halfe of them marched the Right and the other halfe on the left, and 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

³²Ditto'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, 328, 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 Parton, *A Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1860), I, 430.

³³Ft. 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 Pipkin, 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 Majr. John Strother departed this life interred 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.

³⁴It must be remembered that Jackson was ill and still suffering from the wound received in the Benton 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 ready, then the word fier was given, the[y] fired in the air, amedeateley 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 Stilest beriang [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 Dismised, Colonal Waires, Colonal Browns and the[y] marched all the men of the three Deferent Ridgements³⁵ was formed In a soled Colom on the Senter of the In-campment. ther was about be tweene two and three Thousand men in a small Compas. ther was two Sheetes of paper³⁶ Rote on Both Sides. the first, in treatment of the Leter Spoke Largeley of the Saveges Invaiding of our frunteeres Spiling the Blude of the Inesent; In the Second plase, he Intreated on the ware fare wat glories and prospres Campaign we haed so faire not with Standing the Defecilteys that he head met with by Dis-appointment of the Contracters; therdeley, Stated that he understood that we was Six month men but Sence we arove he understood we war onley three monthes Volenteers and was not furnished to Stay Longer for the want of Clothing; forthley, Stated that the Sepreeme [God] Cold [could] not make a beter 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] ther-selves and Come on and See the Campaign Ended. Stated that the Glorey 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 glorise Cause; hoped that maney of those Gentele men wold Come as officers or as Soldiers. he Stated that it toock a good seteson 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 Isued Compleat Rations of meet and flower. he underStood that we had not Drew only three quarters of porke Isued 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 Swore that we Shold have full Rations from this on.

³⁵General James White's brigade of Cocke's division was also dismissed on December 15. They were to go home, while Cocke was ordered to East Tennessee to collect supplies which he should send to Ft. Armstrong, a post of deposit. Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 395.

³⁶*Ibid.*, I, 393; also General Orders, Ft. 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 retunes for two Days, and I went to the market house and Saw the meet Drew my Selfe, and the meet was sent to the Incampment. I then went to the plase whare the meelee was to bee Drew and I my Selfe opened five or Six barels of Corn meelee, that one third of the meelee was Spoiled. I condemed the Spoilt meelee and threw It into other tubes and I hunted tell I found a barel of good meelee and Drew for my Company 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 beter meet. I told him that he Cold not Drew aney beter meet and that this meet wold dow tolerable well, but he tooock the meet back and the[y] Sent him back and the meet Likewise. the meet was tolerable good. this Day Drew Whiskey at this plase, one gill a peese for Each man. We mustered my Company and Capt McLings together to Day at Fort Strather. this is a verrey 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 knighte. I thought that I Cold Smell the fog verrey plain. this afternoon we all was ordered to parade our Companeyes to bee reviewed by General Jackson. he told Ajedent nolen to muster the Deferent Companeyes. when he Came to the End of the Loine, the General told the ajedent to muster the Rest by bretalion. when we war done mustering, I went to whare Colonal Lillard and the General was Standing, and Colonal Lillard Made the General acquainted with me and Capt McLing, and [the General] told us that we both head proper Companeyes of young brave Boys Such as he wold wish to meet with the falow boyes. he told me that he head Seed me in Jonesborough³⁷ Several times, he told me to Come to his tent when I had Leashure and See him, that he wold be verrey glad to have a small acquaintance with me. he Stated that It wold bee on posebele [impossible] for beter meletials [militia] to be maid then was haeve at this time. he said that he wold bee verrey hapey 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 men³⁸ to General Pinkney to General Jack-

³⁷Jackson, while serving as a judge, was often in Jonesboro, holding court, and had probably seen Hartsell on those occasions.

³⁸A 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 (Peachland), 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 army, the[y] war Sent from Beach Land,³⁹ where the troopes from tombigbay⁴⁰ head gathered and part of the Chocktoys⁴¹ indians. the two men warsent to the Hickrey groundes, on his way heare he felin with General Pinkneys army from georgey. then he Struck for the Hickrey groundes and before he Came nare the plase the[y] Decovered So much Signe of Indians the[y] Struck further up the River and Crosed Coocey fifty miles below heare and Came up the River tell the[y] Came heare. the Same man that Came new [knew] Rusel Bean, ⁴² and Rusele Beanes Brother in the Chocktoy nation,⁴³ and he inquired for the name of been [Bean] from East tennessee. when he found Rusele 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 Gentele man give me grate Satesfaction on meney things that we taulked on, Conserving the water Corses and the Land and the timber. he told me that ther was verely good Land on the South Side of the alebamey,⁴⁴ and tolerable well watered and prety good timber. the north Side of the River was verely brocan and Stoney. he Said on the tombigbay, that ther was Some verely good land and Some verely Sorey Land, the water was Generaley bad and Scarce. he Said ther was Several Small Rivers Emped into the magor River that apared to bee verely good Land, and the water was tolerable good on talow Dego.⁴⁵ ther was Some famous River botomes, verely Large and Leavile. he Stated that ther was the largest Cain Brackes that he ever Saw In his Life, verely Large timber of Everey kind amost, a grate meney Shugartrees, Large walnut timber. he Said that the River Run with a very prety Chorous and midelen Deep.

³⁹He means Peachland's (Pitchlynn) at the mouth of Octibaha River. See note 38 above.

⁴⁰The 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, 358,n.

⁴¹The 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, 319,n.

⁴²Russell Bean served as a private in Capt. William McLin'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.

⁴³Twelve 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.

⁴⁴The Alabama River, after the confluence of its two tributaries.

⁴⁵The 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 Colonal Lillards Ridgement was peraded in the Senter of the Incampment with ther gunes to bee Driled and trained, agreeabele to Dewvaines Millitia Instructor.⁴⁶ we all preraded and formed a straight Loine and Commenced to goo throw the maniel Exercise. ther was Several motions that I never Saw before in my Life. It was Strange to all the oficers that was on the ground. the magor General Said we purformed verely well. he formed Devitions and and Sub Devitions from a colem of four men Deepe, and from the Sub-devitions formed a colem, and from a colem formed a platoon, and from a platoon formed a Single file.

On 20 Instant--It Is verely wet over knight and amost of to Day. ther was two Companeyes went out acouting [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 Everey horse Loded with 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 balence of the men ment to goo some further and See wheather they cold not find aney 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 whare they head bin. on this Evning ther was newse⁴⁷ that General Jackson head Received orders from the Governor that he ment to keep us Six monthes. ther was more confution In the Campes then I ever Saw in my Life. I cold Not help lafing tell my Sides Did ack, Concerning the Deferent apinions of the Captaines and the apinions of the privates. Some Swore that before they wold Stay three monthes they wold kill General Jackson. Some Swore that they wold desert, Some one thing, Some another thing, Some Said that they wold Loose all ther wagons before they wold Stay aney Longer.

On Wensday the 23-- the wagons Started to Fort Depausit⁴⁸ for more provition. one man was coled from Each Company for to gard the wagons. Richard Hail wint out of my Company. this Day my Com-pany Is in Number Sixty fore oficers and privates, Some at fort arm-

⁴¹Likely an old military book.

⁴²Governor 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.

⁴³Ft. Deposit, fifty miles north of Ft. Strother, was established by Jackson about October 28, 1813, as a defensive depot. Located on the southernmost 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, 336,n.

strong Some at one plase, and Some at Fort Depauset. We have generaley to furnish Eleven men for gard and fortigue [fatigue] besides the officers and non commitioned officers---

This morning a Lieutenant from East tennessee Dyed, and was beried at four oclock 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 leter from the goviner of the State of tennessee Concerning the Deferent troopes that was from Deferent partes of the United States against the hostile Creecks. the govivor Stated in his Leter to General Jackson that he hoped that the Volenteers from East tennessee wold not Leave him untell he Recived a reinforcement of men to goo on to the hickrey ground, he further Stated that govenor pinkney⁴⁹ from georgey State head marched to the South Side of the alebamey, and was waiting for the arivele of General Jacksons and General Cocks army to meet with him heare; he Stated that General fenoy⁵⁰ had Sent five hundred barels of flower on to govenor Clayburnes army, and that govenor pinkney head taking a large quantety of cattle and hoges 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 govenor pinkney, that he had a batele⁵² with the Creecks nare the hickrey 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 verely pleasent knight, I was put on at ten oclock and Releived at half after ten the nex morning. ther was the Spey Companey of horse Came in to Day

⁴⁹Thomas Pinckney, major general and commander in chief of the entire Southern Department.

⁵⁰General Flournoy of Georgia had been ordered by Pinckney to send a convoy of provisions up the Alabama to the forks of Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. *Ibid.*, I, 408.

⁵¹So called from the richness of the soil.

⁵²The Battle of Autosse, 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 east side of Tallapoosa, near mouth of Callabee 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.

⁵³The large fish trap (or dam) on the Coosa, near the Hickory Grounds.

⁵⁴Major John Reid, Jackson's aide-de-campe. Reid began a life of Jackson, but died in 1816, and John Henry Eaton finished it in 1817.

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men in Jaile, 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 Noresistance.⁵⁶ he further Stated that ther
wase about fifteen hundred foot men Comming on Short Ley. he further
Stated that ther was word gon on to the beoard of ware Concerning the
Conduct of General Jackson about the usage that he head give his men.
he further Stated that It was the apinion that General Jackson wold
Never head another army from West tennessee. this man was averey
Clever Deesent man by his aparence.

24 Instant- ther was nothing Strainge hapened, but two of the Chero-
kees Spyes Came in with two Culeyes that they head taking from the
Creecks. he Stated that the[y] Decovered Seven or Eight and keled
two of them, and they Stated that the hole of the Creecks wold make
peese [peace] on aney termes. on this Evning I went to Everey 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. Instantley firing Com-
enced all Round the Incampment. Capt McLing and my selfe head In
the Evning 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 Evning, but he head not long fired before the ajedent Came
Round and Commanded Everey man not to fier one gun. I was well
pleased to think that Everey Company Disobeyed orders but my Com-
pany.

25 Instant-I went to the block house and found the General aswaring
that he head amind to take Everey Sord from the melitley and brack
them of ther Commitions. he Swore that If the[y] head abin not Stopped
they wold Shot Everey pound of powder that they head. he further
Stated that the Indians might abrockin and kiled halfe of the men be

⁵⁵Huntsville, 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.

⁵⁶Coffee 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 I can 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 aney thing about it. I thought that he was Right. It apeared that the world was Shuck with the Reportes of ther gunes, the firing Continued from about two houres before Day untell the brack of Day. I met with major pickens⁵⁷ from west tennessee. he was verely glad to meet with me. he asked me about all of his old acquaintences in washington. I returned home and ther was orders to purforme the manuel Exercise. we all made the gratest aparence that I ever Saw in my life, all of the men was armed as the Law Derected. in everey point the men purformed ther Dewteyes verely well. we was all Drew in one Straight Loine and all the oficer marched to the Senter and Recived ther orders to Returne to ther Respective Companeyes and march them to ther homes and Desmiss them. after the Dismissing of my Companey, I went Down to major Seviars tent, and Several of the majors and Several of the Docters and my Selfe Commenced that game Coled town ball,⁵⁸ for to heave It to Day we head no other Sport for acrismass frolick.

26 Sunday-- Sergeant major turnley⁵⁹ Came to the Deferent Captains tents and told them to make out ther opinions for General Jackson. Stated that ther Surplyes of forty Dayes of beefe, 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 Insteed of Comming back, he Stated to the General that ther was three Capt willing and purhaps meney more If it was put to the test. amedeateley orders was to perade our Companey and to form them in one Strate Loine, to know how maney of them wold tender ther Servises to meet the Inemy 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 Leter was read, then It was handed to the oficers to Sign ther names. Capt hambelton⁶⁰ Signed his name to the paper, Readey to goo aney wheares. Colonel Lillard twock the paper and as all the oficers Stood in aring he Came to me and asked me my apinion. 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

⁵⁷Capt. James B. 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.

⁵⁸Similar to baseball, probably derived from the Indian's "ball play."

⁵⁹George Turnley, of Jefferson county, served as sergeant major in Lillard's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.

⁶⁰William 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.

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amajority of all but one; then we are ordered to returne to our Deferent Companey and march them home and Dismiss them. In the Evning the old Sergeant major Came to my Companey and the boyes Coleted Round him and formed a companey and mad Everey kind of musick In the hith [height] of Sport; Intered [introduced] Capt McLin to him and Stated that this was major turnley, the major of the volenteers, which Struck him to the heart. by this time the men gathered from all the Com- paneyes round him, and plaged him tell he Cryed, and Drumed him rounne 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 Colonal Lillard to the heart to See the Sport in the morning.

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

28 Instant- We Drew half rations of meele, and the balance in beefe for two Days. It was all the meele at this plase, ther Is Some Coming on with the wagons from fort Depauset; it is Expected on Everey Day. General Roberts Is Expected In Everey moment with about two hundred foot men. he marched his men in about three miles of the plase and In- camped them, and Came onn to See wheather the General wold Except them as three monthes men or not. General Roberts⁶¹ Swore if he wold not Except of ther Servises as three monthes men that he wold not march aney further, and wold Discharge them and let them return home to ther native Cunterey. he further Stated that those militley that was heare onley inroled for three monthes, and that Some of them was verely poore men and had noother way of making aliving but to farmit. General Jack- son Swore that that matered nothing, when men was at ware they must Stay tell they head Doon ther Cunterey Servise, and the men Shold Stay ther Six monthes out. General Roberts Swore that the men Should not Stay aney longer than ther times was out. the[y] pased Several verely high words, and both of them Drew ther Sordes and Swore vengenes one against the other, but it was Squashed without aney blowes. General Roberts went to his tent and amedeateley purseded to righting one Leter after another. the[y] both Sent Leters all this knight, back and foredes. the[y] have not Deturmined ther bisnes this morning. on this Evning General Roberts went to the General and Stated to him, that If he wold recive his men as three monthes volenteers he wold Dismiss them. the General Jackson told him he wold recive them as three monthes men, but he wold not bee acounteabele for the payment off of them.

⁶¹General 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. Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 420.

On 29th the General went to bring the men in and the men wold not Come. on General Roberts returne it maid a grait Confution. It highley afrunted General Jackson.⁶² toDay about nine oclock in the forenoon I was Sumonesed to atend at Colonal D Windeles⁶³ tent to Set on a tryal Conserving four out of Colonal Lillards ridgement, Conserving ther killing a hogge, or hoges, that they ware Caut Skinning and Cuting up. the Cort martial Deturmined that they Shold work on furtugue three Days for the Second ofence, that was for Leaving ther Companeyes with out Leave of ther Commanding officer; the[y] war to work on furtugue [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 purmeted to bee kept under gard one Day and knight, and to bee on furtugue 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 noncommishioned 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 taylor⁶⁴ was adjedent of Sd Cort martial. ther was Some verey Smart officers from West tenessee, and Some that was verey indiferent in my opinion. the Cort martail was tyed in evening all most everey time, and the presedent head to give the Casting vote. the Last man that was tryed everey man Did agree on the questing.

December 31 Day 1813th Govenor Blunt Sent a express to General Jackson,⁶⁵ that It was his opinion that he headbeter Dismiss the melitey that he head under his Command, or order them back to nashvill and Dismiss them theare. Govenor Stated that he head not undertooock the bisness of the Sectarey of Wars, but he further Stated that the men head head a verey hard Campaign and by Dismissing them they might offer ther Servises Sooner again to Stand In aney oposition that might take plase; he Stated that If ther was nomore men Left at the plase, ther wold

⁶²The 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.

⁶³David Wendell was a son of David and Susannah Deaderick Wendell, of Frederick county, Virginia, who settled near Nashville, Tennessee.

⁶⁴Major 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.

⁶⁵Willie 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, 425.

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keep The plase untell ther wold Come provition Suficiant to the plase, then
order a suficiant quantity of men there to goo onn without more Delay
that the Campaign might bee Ended in a short time. he further Stated
that the army was Laying as a dead Weight on the United States, and
he thought the more he Cold Dismiss the beter it wold bee, for the men
and for the United States

January 1st Day 1814--It was a verey prety Cleare Day and verey
warne. about ten oclock in the morning I was Caed on to Set at Cort
marial to try Several privates for being absent without Leave. this Day
my Lieutenant⁶⁶ was arested for on Gentlemanley Conduct, the Generals
adicamp⁶⁷ ordered me to give to him the Lieutenants Sworde and to bee
Sponsebele for his apparience next Day at ten oclock, to bee tryed before
a ridgementele Cort marial. I was Sumensed on tryale, and when the
Cort martial head meet, I refused to Set on tryal and they Let me off and
Sat another member.

On Sunday 2 Instant-- ther was a man dyed, he was one of the old
Volenteeres that was left Sick behind, the mans name was Thomas B
Clurcher,⁶⁸ a privat. ther heas binn a berion everey Sunday Sence we
have binn heare. on to Day ther wase one hundred pack horses Come
from huntet vill with Meale. they was unloded verey quick and Sent
back for more to Depauset, and the Same Day ther wase one hundred and
fifty three Steeres brought in for the army. ther was fifty of them
Condemed, the rest was branded and keep for the use of the army. ther
was three Companeyes Came in to Day, that went out ascouting Seven
days agoo. 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 verey Litele fresh Sine. they
plundered a few horses and Some other articales and brought in. I have
bin Caed to Set on Cort martial four Dayes hand runnin to try Delin-
queneres. Last knight ther was one man Caut Steeling Shugar out of
the hospitale Stores.

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

On tuesday 4--two Ridgements from East⁶⁹ tenessee, ther times was out,
and they Did Command ther Discharge and the General Refused to give

⁶⁶Isaac Hartsell, brother of Jacob, was 1st lieutenant, and Samuel Bayless, 2nd
lieutenant.

⁶⁷Maj. John Reid was aide at this time, the other aide, Maj. Robert Searcy, be-
ing away. Tenn. State Archives.

⁶⁸He belonged to a regiment which had left for home. Not on Tenn. State
Rolls.

⁶⁹Hartsell means West (now Middle) Tennessee. Gen. Roberts' brigade was
composed of two regiments led by Col. John K. Wynn and Col. Thos. McCrory,
the latter being a native of Sullivan county, Tennessee.

them ther Discharge. the General Contended that they was Six monthes men. General Robertes, the Commander of the two ridgementes of men, he told the men that ther times was out and they shold bee Discharged. on this morning the Sentinals was ordered to bee Set out on ther postes. the Lieutenant⁷⁰ that was oficer of the gard for the present Day, when the old Sentinals 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 tell he met the Generals Life gard, the General Steped in and presented his pistele 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 fored and tooock the Sword out of his handes and give it to the General. the Generals Life gard⁷² twock the Lieutenant under gard, and twock him in to the Stockcading. ther wase a Cort Coled to try him Instantley. the Cort was Coled and jurned 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 purposshal. If they wold Stay aney Longer, that at the Expiring of Six weekes he wold give them a onerabele Discharge; but the men wold not Stay aney Longer on no turmes. about two oclock in the afternoon the[y] Started.

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

⁷⁰William M. Kirby (Reid gives his name Kearley, but Bassett gives it Kirby). Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 433.

⁷¹Doctor Taylor of Captain Gordon's company, Colonel McCrory's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.

⁷²Capt. John Gordon's company of spies. Tenn. State Archives.

⁷³When 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. Sitler stepped between the two. Dr. Taylor rushed up and drew Kirby's sword, handing it to Sitler, 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.

⁷⁴Col. 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.

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hundred troopes, and Expected to arive at this plase on the tenth of this Instant. Judge White⁷⁵ rote to Colonal Lillard that he hoped that he wold not think heard to Stay a few Days Longer if Colonal Williams Cold not reach this plase before 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 asistance. he hoped that the men wold volenteer ther Servises twenty Dayes Longer⁷⁶ either to goo onn or to Stay heare to gard the plase. ther was not one Capt that ofered his Servise but Capt Hambelton and all of his men not one of them knew that he had Inroled them. they Swore the[y] wold not goo with him. ther wase a great meney 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 with them. I Stated to them that it was proper for them to goo that cold goo; I said purhaps ther was some Capt that head no fameley that might goo verey handey.

On 6 Day -- In the evening we Started from my tent to march round to Colonal Lillards tent and marched round the tent. I holted the men and ther was Several more officers and privates joined our Serenade. we marched to Major Bradleys tent. I holted the men, Major Bradley⁷⁷ Come to all of us and thanked us for our visit and said he was sorow 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 wold march with us awhile, he said he wold with pleasure. we head three verey good fifers when we was formed. I ordered the hole forward march, we marched by Capt Hambletons Company. I Stated we was Volenteeres 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 yardes 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

⁷⁵Hugh Lawson White, son of Gen. James White, was a lawyer of Knoxville. Parton (*op. cit.*, 499) gives Hugh L. White the credit for sending Col. John Williams to Jackson's aid.

⁷⁶See Jackson to Blount, January 7, 1814: "Genl. Roberts Brige. abandoned me on the 4th. . . . Col Lillards Regt. will abandon me on the 14th. . . . I entreated, 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.

⁷⁷First major in Lillard's regiment.

⁷⁸William Rutledge, Sullivan county, quartermaster in Lillard's regiment. Tenn. State Archives.

that William Rutledge⁷⁸ 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 there was Some of the Generales Life guard Come to See what was the mater. William Rutledge Swore that he was on urantest [on your own test]. we formed and marched round the Loines till we Came to the midele of the ridgement. by this time there was Capt Gordon⁷⁹ and Capt Rusele⁸⁰ and maney more of the Generales Life guard Came to where we was. we Dismissed them till next Day at ten oclock 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 git all the Capt opinions and the opinions of ther men in righting by ten oclock; and all the Capt to meet at the Colonals tent with ther returnes. I made out my returne and Stated In it as folowes: the reason that my men would not turn out I Stated, from the infermation 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 plase; I further Stated that all the men was willing to march to ther Respectible homes with me and the subolten [subaltern] officers, on the fourteenth of Instant or Swoner, If Convenant. when the Colonal read my returne, It made him laff verrey 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 Decived by hour General Someney times that we would bin willing to Stay and to Serve good officers. he Stated that I was verrey right to bee Short and plaine about the mater. Some of the officers Stated to the Colonal that ther men head no shoos [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 oclock the re-

⁷⁸Capt. 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 Nicajack 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 every 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.

⁸⁰Captain William Russell led another company of mounted spies, who served as Jackson's lifeguard. Russell served as major of Vol. Mtd. Gunmen under Col. Robert Dyer in General Coffee's brigade in the New Orleans campaign, 1814-15. Tenn. State Archives.

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 aney longer; the mesnames [men's names] was Capt Wm Hambilton 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 greaved to the heart to
 think we thought nomore of him. he Said he never Commanded Such
 asmart healthey Set of men in his Life before, and he was sorow that
 he cold not purvale with them aney Longer.

On Saterdag 8- it was verely drisley morning. all of the boyes Seemes
 to bee verely Smart and abele for ther allowance. the ridgement gites
 Smaller Everey Day. about twentyfive yardes above the Stockading ther
 Standes 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 ridgement was Coled together to heare General orders
 read. when peraded, Major nolen read the orders. In the first inStant
 read, Sow the General Said that from the answer he Recived from
 Colonal Lillard⁸³ it Stated that none of the Cpts wold offer ther Serv-
 ises, onley brave Capt Hambelton and two privates in his Companey; he
 Stated further that none wold volenteere ther Servises to Stay heare to
 keep the plase; 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 balance 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 Knoxville and to be Discharged by General Cock at his Desgnation. he

⁸¹Captain Hamilton was later killed in the Battle of Ephotochopco, January 24, 1814. Jackson then wrote concerning him: "... among the former [those killed] was the brave Capt. Wm. Hamilton from E. Tennessee 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.

⁸²Jackson wrote to Coffee, December 31, 1813: "They militia I think will go and I wish they and they volunteers had a smoke tail in their teeth, with a Peticoat [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 excap them." *Ibid.*, I, 431. Jackson's patience did give out.

⁸³Lillard wrote 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 articales of ware, with a advance gard and a reare 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 articales 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.⁸⁴ the manes [names] of the Cpts that is on this ground Com-manded by Colonel Lillard Is as folows: ther Names Capt Sharp, Capt Gilenwaters, Capt Hambelton, Capt Copolen [Copeland], Capt McCriston [McCuiston], 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].⁸⁵ the General Said this was the best loocking 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 Strother January 5th 1814--Countersign, Jackson --By Order A Thomas Noland Adjudent - Capt Jacob Hartsell, officer of the Day I was the first Capt that ever acted in Sted of a fild officer in Colonel Lillards ridgement. In Jacksons army, on Coocey, at the ten IsLandes. I pur-formed with honour, as It Hapened. . . .

This is my hand riting on Coocey. In the yeare of our Lord, Januarey 9th day 1814, those few Loines I rought about twelve oclock with my

⁸⁴The 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 road 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 Cocke, December 28, 1813, that certain felonies were traced to Colonel Wear's regiment, and denounced the actions of the troops. Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 415.

⁸⁵See note 56, in *Publications* No. 11, p. 105.

the loine of march, In
 , with a advance gard
 ngular tell he Dismissed
 march his men in order
 might be Don on the
 the[y] air not to Do
 ure the white men nor
 ut everey Day on the
 shold not Suffer aney
 If aney was found he
 es of ware. he Stated
 ents head injured the
 ived from the Crawler
 on this ground Com-
 nes Capt Sharp, Capt
 and], Capt McCriston
 urton [Martin], Capt
 ney [Maloney], Capt
 pin], Capt McLing
 king men he head the
 he wished us all Safe
 his Leater, and four

Jackson --By Order A
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 Tennessee). Jackson in-
 were traced to Colonel
 Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 415.

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 Company to returne
 to ther respectebele famileys or homes, and all of the other troopes in our
 Ridgement. So Ends my Speech--

On last knight a privat out of Capt Jacob Dyckes Company Dyed
 about midnight, the name of Moses freeman.⁸⁶ he was twoock 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 thhe
 Corpes with ther armes Caried at areverse, and then to the grave; then
 the[y] Stood arest on armes reversed tell the Corpes was laid in the
 ground, and Covered over the bordes [boards]; then the[y] Came to
 asholder, make redey, fier; Charge, make redey, fier; make redey, fier. the
 thurd fier was in the grave; then the quick Step was beet and all the men
 tho [to] ther tents to make redey to march. about half after Leven we
 formed a Loine of march, and Come about twelve miles and Lay on the
 north Side of Cuneow [Canoe] Creek.

the next Tusday 11-- in the morning the Colonal 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 verey liveley march, and we marched tell the Sun was about one hower
 high, and we Suposed we marched nare thirty miles and Camped on a
 large Creeck,⁸⁷ on the South Side of the Creeck whare ther was good
 Land and good timber. all of the men was verey much furtuged and
 willing to Camp.

12--about Darck ajedent Thomas Noland apointed 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 verey unwell, Some from everey Company nairley. all of my
 men is tolerabele well; we air the helthest [healthiest] Company in the
 hole ridgement as yet, thank God for his merses [mercies].

this morning we marched throw Some verey good ground for about Sev-
 en miles, then Struck the Lookout Mountain⁸⁸ and marched on the moun-

⁸⁶Moses 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 verely handy. It is verely Cold and windet this evening. the men Is Scatered verely 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 verely Cold. I Started and marched to the river,⁸⁹ whare Some was Cuting trees en rows and Some awading. 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 Crosed. Some waded, and Some made raftes and Crosed. when we was over the boat Came. I Started throw the Cain brack tordes the fort,⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ the[y] Seemed verely glad. In about one hower 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 Cooch in. we Drew whiskey for all the ridgement. ther was more fiting 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 abel to march Swore the[y] wold march wheather the[y] got Leave or not. Some of the Cpts Swore 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 meelee 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 fiting.

Saturday 15 Day 1814-- We Started from fort armstrong, about ten oclock in the morning, which was a verely raney morning and we march- ed throw the gap of the mountain, and Camped on averey pretey ridge which was about ten miles from the fort. Crosed little Chatuga river. all of the men in my Company is abele to march but Thomas Carley,⁹² he was Caried in the baggage wagon. my Company and Capt McLings goines [joins] together and has a wagon to the two Companys. ther

⁸⁹The mouth of Chatuga River where it joins the Coosa.

⁹⁰Fort Armstrong.

⁹¹Those 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.

⁹²A corporal in Hartsell's company.

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but Thomas Carley,⁹²
y and Capt McLings
two Companeyes. ther

a.
when he advanced to Ft.
l of the Cherokees left

was two of Macklings men that head to ride in the bagage wagon,
William Brown and thomas Messer.

Sunday 16teenth 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 allso. the ridgement is much Scatered along the
road.

On munday 17--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 tusday 18--we marched to Camp Ross.⁹³ Some Companeyes Did
not Come in. the weather is very Cold and Clowdey; the river is
very high and will be very hard to Cross. on today we Came about
twenty five miles.

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

On thursday-- we Crossed the tennessee river.⁹⁴ of all kind of poosh-
ing and Swaring that I ever heared, ther was there; Every 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 goeing Steedey all Day. on thursday 20 all
the troopes Crossed.

On friday 21--we marched to John browns, ⁹⁵ on this Side of the
river and Drew meet for two Days and marched about one mile and
Crossed a very large Creeck, and Camped on the North Side of the
Creeck. the weather is very Cold and windey. we met two Companeyes
of foot men from Anderson county,⁹⁶ goeing on in midelen good heart.
ther was two Companeyes of troopes Came Down in boates on thursday
the Day we Crossed Tennessee river, from somers [somewheres] about
kingston.⁹⁷

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 very Cold.

⁹³See note 33, in *Publications* No. 11, p. 100.

⁹⁴At John Brown's ferry. See note 32, *ibid*.

⁹⁵John 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.

⁹⁶Some of the new recruits, likely some of Colonel Williams' regiment.

⁹⁷Likely 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.⁹⁸ I and Several of my boyes Struck throw the woodes to the highwasey [Hiwassee] garison,⁹⁹ and went about two miles twolow whare 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 Company, and then I went to Camp brown, whare I met with all the Washington [county] troopes whare I was much revived to heare from all of my kindfolks 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 oclock, and march- ed about twelve miles and Camped on the north Side of a hill on a verey prity Creeck; the Land and timber was good all this days march, ther was Some verey good farmes.

Tusday 25 Day--we marched about twenty Miles throw verey good Land and timber, Some verey good farmes. we Camped on the North Side of asmall branch.

Wensday 26 Day--we marched to kingston, whare we met with a boat of apeles and Sider. we all Spent our money verey freeley. I Spent narley three Dollars in money for brandy, and Sider, and appeles, and pyes [pies] and buter. we marched about two miles out of the town and Camped on the Side of a small ridge, whare the water was verey bad. the ridgement is much Scatered along the roads.

On thursday 27--we marched about twelve miles and Camped on the South Side of a verey prity ridge; the wood and water was verey Scarce. the ridgement is much Scatered along the road; my Company Is much Scatered at this time.

On the 28 day-- we marched about twenty miles and lay at Major benets [Bennett's],¹⁰⁰ whare the harican head bin about four yeares ago; 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.]

⁹⁸See note 28, in *Publications* No. 11, p. 100.

⁹⁹See note 29, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰Likely 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 Dewitt of Nashville, Tennessee.