THE "J. HARTSELL MEMORA": THE JOURNAL OF A TENNESSEE CAPTAIN IN THE WAR OF 1812
Edited by MARY HARDIN MCCOWN

FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

Jacob Hartsell, the son of Hannah Hartsell, was born in 1786, probably in Pennsylvania shortly before his mother moved with her family to the Watauga settlements. The Hartsell family, descendants of the feudal clan of the barons of the Reich van Hertzeele, who resided in the vicinity of the city of Cologne on the Rhine, were among the numerous emigrants from the Palatinate who came to Pennsylvania during the early part of the eighteenth century. Induced by religious persecution and urged by the offers of William Penn, who guaranteed religious freedom in his colony, eight different Hertzels landed in America and took up homesteads in Bucks and Northampton counties, Pennsylvania. One of them, George Henry Hartsell, who settled in Bucks county and established the Indian Creek Christ Reformed Church near Telford, died in 1784. In 1930 a bronze tablet was erected at the church to his memory by the National Association of Hartzells of America.¹

The exact date when Hannah Hartsell moved with her three sons, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from Pennsylvania to the Tennessee country is unknown. According to tradition she was a widow at the time of her arrival, and this view is supported by the complete absence of any reference to her husband in the Tennessee records. On February 19, 1790, Hannah Hartsell purchased from John Hunter, Jr., for $210 thirty acres of land in Washington county, North Carolina, lying on both sides of Cherokee Creek, beginning at William Murphy's line. On July 12, 1794, after the Southwest Territory had been organized, she obtained a North Carolina "50 shilling grant" of thirty acres located in the same vicinity. A third acquisition of land was her purchase in 1805 from John Hunter for $77.00 of fifteen and one half acres of land also lying along Cherokee Creek in Washington county.²

Although Jacob was the youngest of Hannah Hartsell's three sons, it appears that in 1811 she transferred to him her landed estate by a

¹Jacob Hartsell MSS. (in possession of Mrs. Minnie Jones Cargile, Jonesboro, Tennessee). The name Hartzell may also be found listed among Pennsylvania's Revolutionary War soldiers.
²Washington County Deed Book (in Washington county courthouse, Jonesboro, Tennessee), E, 173, No. 7, p. 186, No. 8, p. 301, No. 11, p. 268. In the Washington County Lists of Taxables for 1796, 1797, and 1798 she is recorded as the owner of sixty acres of land on Cherokee Creek. Her neighbors included the Bolingers, John Cressfason, Hosa Rose, Peter Rable, John Hunter, and Charles Robertson.
covenant or article of Agreement for $725.00 for the benefit of my other children, to be paid in annual installments, 1/6 part each year, beginning with the eldest—together with the further sum of $30.00 per annum to be paid me during my lifetime—also firewood furnished me—For this I transfer to Jacob Hartsell all my interest in my tract of land on the brushy fork of Cherokee Creek—75 acres more or less. 

On this tract of land was built, either by Hannah Hartsell or her son Jacob, the manor house in which dwelled four generations of the Hartsell family. It was a large two story log house with smaller out-houses for the slave quarters, typical of the period. When it was eventually destroyed by fire about 1900, one of the few family pieces saved was an old grandfather clock probably brought south by Hannah Hartsell. The land is still in the possession of the family.

Although many of the neighbors along Cherokee Creek were Baptists and attended the Cherokee Baptist Church, Hannah Hartsell and her family attended the “Old Dutch Meeting House,” constructed by the early Lutheran pioneers. No records of this early church are extant, but according to tradition it was built before 1800.3 After the Lutherans ceased to use it, some time before 1860, it was used by the Methodists. The building was later torn down, and today “God’s Acre” is the only material evidence of its former existence. Beneath one of the crude, unlettered, limestone markers in this graveyard lie the remains of Hannah Hartsell, who died in 1841, leaving an estate of considerable proportions for that day.

Concerning the early life and education of Jacob Hartsell little is known, but one surmises that the godly mother and the “Old Dutch Meeting House” played an important part in both. Before he was twenty-one he was married to Nancy Million, the daughter of Edward and Mary Million, early Baptist settlers on Cherokee Creek. To this union were born nine children, Mary, Anthony, Delilah, Russell Bean, Hannah, Martin Luther, Emeline, Isaac Washington, and Nancy. Most of these children reached their maturity and married early. Some

3Deed Book, No. 13, p. 39; Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1811-1817, p. 139. The eldest son, Abraham Hartsell, moved to Blount county, where he married a Mary Norton. Isaac Hartsell, the second son, remained in Washington county and purchased land from a William Whitson in 1810 and from his brother Jacob in 1828. Deed Book, No. 12, p. 339, No. 18, p. 142. He served as first lieutenant in Jacob Hartsell’s company in the Creek War. He married a Miss Nelson, but little is known of his life.

In addition to the Hartsells, its membership included the Bolinger, Keplinger, Walters, Cresselius, Horse, May, and Coblesia families.

Washington County Estate Records, Undated Inventory. The total of notes and cash was $1,813.99. The estate was settled on November 30, 1843, by Jonah Lilburn and Orville P. Nelson, administrators in place of Jacob Hartsell, deceased.

They were married on October 3, 1805, by Jacob Brown, justice of the peace. J. Hartsell Memo.
chose to settle on nearby farms, while others moved to distant parts. Martin Luther Hartsell settled in Roane county, Tennessee, and Hannah, who married O. P. Nelson, moved to Kentucky. Isaac Washington married Rebecca Brown of the Nolichucky River neighborhood in September, 1842, and after his father's death on May 2, 1843, he and his wife moved into the old home with his mother. Jacob Hartsell died intestate, leaving over 1,300 acres of land, besides his home, cattle, sheep, stock, notes, and ready money.

Nancy Hartsell drew a widow's pension for the services of her husband in the War of 1812. A forceful character, she possessed a keen wit and led a most active life, surviving her husband until 1870. A short time before her death, she united with the Christian Church during a revival led by her son, Isaac Washington, who was one of the early preachers of the Church of Christ, or Christian Church, in East Tennessee. Her will left her entire property to her children, with the unique restriction requiring the daughter's shares to descend to daughters, or daughters of daughters. She was buried beside her husband in the churchyard of the old Cherokee Baptist Church.

Early in life Jacob Hartsell showed traits of leadership, for in 1809 he was appointed by the Washington county court to act as tax assessor, and given the title of captain. He served in this capacity until 1815, except for the year 1813, and again from 1826 to 1830. He was a magistrate, or esquire, for many years, performing a great many marriages in the county. He was public-spirited, interested in good roads, a popular money-lender, and was evidently highly esteemed by his fellow citizens of Washington county.

As a result of the massacre at Fort Mims in August, 1813, a call was sent out for volunteers to engage in a campaign against the Creek In-

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Rebecca was the great-granddaughter of Jacob Brown, the pioneer who settled on Nolichucky River in 1771.

Washington County Estate Records. The inventory totaled $2,129.32. The estate was administered by two sons-in-law, Jonah Lilburn and O. P. Nelson, but settlement was postponed until October 15, 1847, because of litigation among the heirs in which the widow was successful. Among the bills paid was one "To George Reed, paid $7.08 for coffin."


The title of captain, used by the esquire who recorded the taxables, was probably a relic of the early military organization.

Washington County Lists of Taxables, 1809-15, 1826-30.
dians. It is not strange that Captain Jacob Hartsell took the lead in enrolling a company at Jonesboro in October of that year. That he planned to keep a journal of events is indicated by his purchase of a record book and ink powder before the company left Washington county. The book purchased was six and one-half by eight inches in size, with brown cardboard binding, and containing 80 pages. This little book and other Hartsell manuscripts are packed into a small hand-made walnut chest of Jacob Hartsell. They are the prized possessions of a great-granddaughter, Mrs. Minnie Jones Cargile, of Jonesboro, Tennessee.

It is this journal which gives us the real insight into his character, depicting a man of above-average intelligence, with the habits and training of a farmer. All along the route of march to Alabama he took note of the soil, the variety of trees, the water courses, the hills, and the valleys; all were of great interest to him. Though not a trained militiaman, he drilled his men until they excelled all other companies. He was on the alert to provide daily rations for both men and horses. He faithfully discharged the responsibility he had assumed. The Indian life was novel and of interest to him. In short, he was a mountaineer who was seeing the outside world for the first time. He abhorred sham and deceit, especially among officers, and was bold to speak against it. Naturally of a social nature, he enjoyed companionship with the other men, and was always looking up his former friends and comrades. On this campaign, he made the acquaintance of John Ross, the Cherokee chief, and kept an interest in him in later years. A lover of music, he was mindful of its effect on his men during service. Through no fault of Hartsell's, the Second Regiment, to which his company belonged (Col. William Lillard's), was detained at Fort Armstrong for almost two thirds of their three months enlistment period. Although they had not actually participated in any battles, when the call came to enlist for longer service, his men voted to go home, for as Hartsell said, most of them had no other way to make a living but to "farm it," and

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2J. S. Basset (ed.), Correspondence of Andrew Jackson (Washington, 1926-1935), I, 320, n. Tennessee was raising 5,000 men for the campaign, 1,500 being in obedience to a call from the Secretary of War, while 3,500 had been called out by the state legislature. Of this number, one half were to come from West (now Middle) Tennessee, and one half from East Tennessee.

3Captain William McLin, also of Washington county, enrolled a company at the same time in Jonesboro. Tennessee State Archives.

4J. Hartsell Memoirs, I.

5Hartsell MSS. Some time after the Creek campaign Jacob Brown, of Washington, Rhea county, Tennessee, wrote to Col. Jacob Hartsell: "You asked about John Ross, Sir. He is now living some distance from where he used to live in the nation [Cherokee]. the water course is not by me recollected." Jacob Brown, a brother-in-law of Hartsell, was also on the Creek campaign with Ross and Hartsell.
spring crop time was at hand. So he returned them safely to their homes.

After his return to Washington county he must have enjoyed some degree of popularity, for he was always addressed as Colonel Hartsell, and in 1836 was urged to become a candidate for the office of brigadier general in the militia of his district.37 During the years following the War of 1812 he became a large land owner, and acted in positions of trust as guardian, etc., until his premature death.

The little journal termed by him "J HARTSELL MEMORA" is not merely the account of his military expedition; it contains also his family record, including the births of his children, and the dowry given each child at his or her marriage. The amount of each dowry was commensurate to the length of time spent in service for the parents.18

Another side of his nature is revealed by the "Memora." Without it we would not have known the poetic longings and aspirations of the man. Wars have always inspired the bard to sing his lay; and one of Hartsell's ballads preserved in the "Memora" is entitled "A Song Balet Concerning Ware." Two others are called, "A Song Balet Rote by me, Dec. 4, 1814,"19 and "The Second Book of Cronicals."20 A fourth, unnamed, is about a brave volunteer. Crude as they may appear to the literary critic, they breathe the soul of one who cries:

Our Countries invaded, oheare the alarime  
Turn out sons of tennessee and gird on your armes  
We air sons of Columbia and straingers to fear  
Sure heaven will smile on the brave Volenteere.

When wars and its thunders shall cease for to roar  
Then we will returne and enjoy our stores  
We'll train up our children their rights to revere  
And when their invaded turn Volenteere.21

A major purpose of the editor in presenting the journal of Captain Jacob Hartsell has been to give the reader a human story of the Creek

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1William Boren to Hartsell, March 20, 1836, in ibid.
2J. Hartsell Memora. "This is a Memorandum of the property that I Jacob Hartsell give to . . . when they married . . . and their age, so that all of my children may know how things will stand at my departure of this life."
3This is a ballad of the "Barbara Allen" type.
4This describes the battles of Tallahatchee and Talledega: "The Cronicals of Andrew, one of the Chief Captains of Columbia's Host—when he lead the thousands throw the South Country in search of the barbarians that dwell in the deserts of Alabama—Composed by Joseph the high priest and recorded by Jecsey the Scribe on the 8th day of twelfth month in the eighteenth hundred and thirteenth year of the Christian Hegira—Rote by me in a hurry on the 7th day of January 1814. Jacob Hartsell Capt."
War. This war was noted for its scarcity of food, the lack of concerted action among its leaders, and the insubordination in its ranks. Jacob Hartsell was untrained in military tactics; yet, possessed of a keen perception and an observing mind, he recorded a vivid picture of his "three months tour," and a glimpse of the indomitable spirit of General Andrew Jackson.

Hartsell's schooling was evidently limited, as shown by the Memora. His irregular use of capitals, his numerous misspelled words, his lapses in grammar, and his almost total abandon of punctuation marks, all were common to his day. Yet his words expressed his feelings, and one cannot fail to grasp their meaning.

An exact copy of his manuscript has been made, using his orthography and capitalization, but the editor has inserted punctuation marks where necessary to make the meaning clear. And the entries for October 12, 13, 15 and 21, which are to be found near the end of the manuscript journal, have been moved to their proper position at the beginning, although they were probably not recorded until after the date of the first entry on the first page of the journal, October 26.

Hence, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, these "Memora," probably kept by Hartsell only for himself and his family, now reveal to the world the reactions of an early American.

* * * * 

J H

J HARTSELL MEMORA

Captain Jacob Hartsell's Company of East Tennessee Volunteers Inroled October 12th 1813 in Jonesborough Washington County

October 12 day 1813—I and my subalterns [subalterns] never drew aney extrey rations from the day we started up to this time

October 13 day 1813—the names of the men that never did apear: levy Bayles, John Stanton, William Anderson, James Law. those that is sick and got clared as folowes: Joseph Lain, Sick; John Inglish [and] Thomas Whittet got off by aplying to a fisition in Knoxvill, to docter Strong.28 the[y] was recipited by Magor Masinggill—23

28Dr. Joseph Churchill Strong, a native of Connecticut, came to Knoxville in 1804. He had served in the United States navy as assistant surgeon until 1801. It is likely that he was detailed as medical examiner for the troops. His old account books, 1806-18 (in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee), list among his customers in 1813-14 the U. S. government, and also Col. John Williams' regiment.

The "J. Hartsell Memora": Journal of a Tennessee Captain

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October the 21st 1813—Rendezvoused at big bent of noblehuckey

October 26 Camp Williams—Capt. Hartsells Company drew 80 rations of flower [flour] and beefe. on 27 did draw 80 rations of beefe and flower. on 28 day did draw 240 rations of beeke and flower for three days. I did not draw anye safe [save] for the five days—

October 26th day 1813 Camp Williams—Did not draw aney forege for horses—

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<td>do 27—did not draw aney corn or foder.</td>
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<td>October 29 day Camp Williams—Did not draw aney rufness for our teeme; do, on the next day—Did not draw aney corn or foder—</td>
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<td>October 31 day—which was Sunday, marched into West point at Kingston; do, 27 on the same day at Kingston we drew two hundred and thirty one compleat rations for three days—</td>
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Foredge Return for Capt Jacob Hartsells Company of E T Volenteers. for my Baggage wagon in Service begining on the 31 and ending on the same—Camp Williams October 31 1813—no. of horses—4; no. of days—1; no. of Rations—4; total—4. Jacob Hartsell Capt., Quartermaster Isue for your horses agreeable to the above Ritusrne.

November 1 day 1813—Joseph Lain tooke sick and was left behind, four miles this side of Kingston.

November 2 day 1813—Thomas Whitecer was judged to not bee sufitant to stand a tower of dewty by Docter Strong. do, John Inglish at the same time.

*A few miles southwest of Hartsell's home on Cherokee Creek, in the extreme southwest tip of Washington county.

Probably the camp referred to by Col. John Williams in a letter to President Madison, dated December 3, 1812: "In camp, one mile from Knoxville." Williams was commander of the 39th Regiment of the United States army. S. C. Williams, "A Forgotten Campaign," Tennessee Historical Magazine, VIII, No. 4 (January, 1925), 209.

Southwest Point, located at the junction of the Clinch and the Tennessee rivers, where a garrison had been stationed since territorial days.

Kingston, nearby, was established in 1799 on the lands of Robert King. It was a recruiting point in 1812 for Capt. Uriah Allison. The Tennessee Society, United States Daughters of 1812, placed a bronze marker on the Roane county courthouse in 1933 honoring these soldiers of 1812.
November 3—arrove at Camp Brown 26 four miles this side of the garrison. 26 ther drew 240 compleat rations; whear we met with about 2200 troops from defrent parts.

November 4 day 1813—Marched to the Creek 26 nation and past the line about leven o’clock in the forenoon, and marched in the nation about leven miles and lay on a small Creek at levele and hamsome place, whear all my troopes met me and in number was 1300 troops of foot and horse.

November 5 day 1813—Marched throw [through] about 6 miles throw [through] as levele ground as your eyes ever beheld in my life, and very rich Timber was very good. then we crossed one Rumming Creek, then come to same as good land as I ever saw; both and well timbered of both white oak, and black oak, and popeler. then we came to the River 27 which was a large cane Brack bottom of cane.

November 6th day 1813—Crossed tennessee River 28 and marched to Camp Ross 28 we was all day Crossing the River with two Botes and only seven wagnons Crossed, the look out mountain 24 Is the Longes mountain and strates mountain and the biges fase of a mountain that ever I saw—

Where we drew drew one days Rations of flower, and met, and whiskey—We have not drew anye fodder and never since—

26Camp Brown was probably named for Col. John Brown of Roane county, a commander of a regiment of volunteers in the Creek War. It was located on high ground, about half way between old Washington, Rhea county, and the Hwaxassee Garrison on an old road which comes into the present road to the garrison site some three or four miles back from the river. This site was definitely located in May, 1838, by Mrs. P. J. Allen and the editor.

28Hwaxassee Garrison, located ten miles southeast of Dayton, at the junction of the Tennessee and Hwaxassee rivers. Established by the U. S. government in 1807 as a frontier post against the Cherokee, the troops were stationed there until a short time before the War of 1812. The Cherokee Indian agency, with Col. Return J. Meigs as agent, was located there from 1807 to 1816, when it was moved to present county of Meigs. Penelope J. Allen (comp.), Historic Chattooga (Chattanooga, 1935), 23.

27Hartseall meant the Cherokee Nation. In 1812 the northern boundary of the Cherokee territory on the west bank of the Tennessee River was a line running due west from the mouth of the Hwaxassee. East of the river, however, their land extended to the mouth of the Clinch. During the Creek War the Cherokees were allies of the Americans. J. P. Brown, Old Frontiers (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938), 460-465, Appendix B.

28Tennessee River.

29At John Brown’s Ferry. He was a Cherokee who operated two ferries, one above and one below the “Suck.” Brown was a slave trader and a blacksmith. His claims presented to the United States government show that he ferried many troops across the river: “Dec. 2, 1813—To ferriage 200 men Col. Brown’s Regiment across Tenn. River @ 12½ cents apiece—$32.50...” “Jan. 29, 1814—To ferriage 500 men Col. John Brown’s Regiment across Tenn. river—$31.25. To ferry wagnons across—$6.00.” Return J. Meigs MSS. (in possession of Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga, Tenn.).

30Camp Ross, established by Gen. James White in October, 1813, was located at the foot of Lookout Mountain near the mouth of Chatahooche Creek, and called Camp Ross from its proximity to the trading post of Daniel Ross, a Scotchman, and the father of John Ross, the Cherokee chief. Allen, op. cit., 25. For brief sketches of John Ross, see Brown, Old Frontiers, 473 et passim.; F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians (Bulletin No. 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1907-10), II, 396.

31Lookout Mountain extends from Chattahooche, Tennessee, to Gadsden, Alabama. It is about eighty-five to ninety miles long.
The "J. Hartsell Memorial: Journal of a Tennessee Captain" 101

November, 7 on Sunday—all the troops crossed the River, five of General Whites84 min came from turkey town86 with ten pack horses and made a report that General Jackson had made any attack87 with hostile Creeks and killed about 130 Indians or upwards. Several whites was carried away in blankets of the white. the hole army where we lay shot and Drunk tell midnight for joy, which made much noise. I think that there was two thousand guns fired on the ground.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe pint88 blanket. November 8 day 1813—Samuel Bayles.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, on six and halfe pint blanket. November 8 day 1813—John R Clingian.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe pint blanket. November 8th day 1813—Joshua Gaines.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe pint blanket. November 8th day 1813—Joshua Gaines.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe pint blanket. November 8th day 1813—Joshua Colens and Jonathan Colans.

Received of Capt. Jacob Hartsell, sixteen yards of too [tow] lining for one tent cloth—John Ingram, Jesse Hampton.

We was three days crossing the river; one day the horse men, two days the foot men and wagons, the river was about one quarter of a mile over, then ther came large crick into the river, which we had to run up with the botes be fore we could [could] land. the lock out mountain came down to the creek that we could not git out. the name of the camp was Camp Ross where we lay at; the name of the creek we run up with the botes w called Chatechty Creek.89

9 day instant—We left Camp Ross and marched about twelve miles and lay on the same creek where was noble timber and good land, a very large creek and prime clear running water fit for any kind of a mill—

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84Brig. Gen. James White (1747-1821) served as captain and colonel in North Carolina during the Revolutionary War. He built White's Fort in 1785 at the site of Knoxville. During the War of 1812 he commanded a brigade of militia, which while en route to join Jackson at Fort Strother on the Coosa River, had been detached from Camp Ross to Targettown to the relief of the Chief Pathkiller, who feared an attack from the Creek Indians. Tennessee State Archives; Bassett, op. cit., I, 342, 345.

85Targettown, a Cherokee town founded about 1770, and located in the bend of the Coosa River in Cherokee county, Alabama, was noted as the home of "The Turkey," a famous chief who led many early attacks against the whites of Tennessee and Kentucky. During the Creek War it was the home of the head chief of the Cherokees, Pathkiller. T. M. Owen, History of Alabama (Chicago, 1921), II, 132.

86Probably the Battle of Tallushatchee. See note 46, below. It is likely that White's men brought the first news of this victory to General Cocke's army, as recorded by Hartsell.

87A corruption of the trade term, "point," no longer used, denoting weight.

88Chattanooga Creek joins the Tennessee River at the base of Lookout Mountain. Camp Ross was on the high ground between the creek and the river.
10 Instant—We marched about 15 miles throw some as good ground as
my eyes ever saw. large leveled plantations might be had with not one hill
in them, white oak and black oak and shagartree, poplar, wild cherry trees
plenty, some good springs as ever run out of the earth. I think that on one
spot of straight rode I was on advance garrd this day and halted my company
and looked back, saw at least one thousand men well armed which appeared
at least three quarters of a mile long—

thursday 11—Marched about twenty miles. passed throw two Indians
towns. I was as much amazed. I saw what I never saw be fore. ther was
all kinds of squaws with their children on their backs, one little girl with one
amost as large as her self on her back asleep. I laped as hearty as I ever I
did in my life at the sight. ther was as good running water as I ever saw in
my life. passed as good land and some as good springs as I ever saw in my
life, some as leveled land and some as timber in my life, some shugar trees. we had to draw beeive the same night with much confusion as
my selfe attended to the plasee till we recived our rations—

on the same knight I dreamt I met my mother and went in to my house
with her where I saw my wife making of corn bread and saw the table set
with plates, copes [cups], knives, and other articles. then I taught [thought]
I was walking with my brother along some rode, then I awoke and was
in my tent in the wild woods. soon after the drum beat the revelee—

On the 12 Instant—We marched to a small creeck, then we came to along
leading creeck, then to some hiley ground and poore. we incamped about
twelve miles on the same rode.

On Saturday 13 Instant—We marched to a small river caled Cooey, then
we came to a small creeck and some good land. passed several good
houses where was some half bread lived, and they had some likely farmers,
then we came to Camp Cooey, where we met with thirteen hundred troopers at
this place from different countreys. we incamped in a hollow square. be
fore we was there ther was sentinles placed round the Incampment. I was
very unwell this day till [until] I came to this plase, and I got better
and Magor Bradley and my selfe and one of my boys went in the river and
cross in a small canoe [canoe], where we went throo a large cane brack

Probably Cherokee villages.

The headwaters of the Coosa River cross Cherokee, Etowah, and Elmore counties,
Alabama. The name "Coosa" is derived from the Choctaw word "Coosa," meaning
"reddy," on account of the dense cane brakes along its banks. An Indian tribe by
the same name was there when De Soto discovered the river.

The site of Fort Armstrong. The camp on the Coosa was built in October, 1813,
by Gen. John C. C. C. and used as a base for supplies, both of men and provisions.
Located on the north bank of the river in Cherokee county, Alabama, just west of the
Georgia line, it was the logical place for a fort, for the Coosa was then considered the
boundary line between the Cherokee and the Creek nations. The fort was named for
John Armstrong, then secretary of war. B. J. Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of War
of 1812 (New York, 1869), 766.

Major William Bradley, first major in the Second Regiment under Col. William
Lillard. He was ordered on the second campaign in January, 1814, under Col. John
Brown. Tennessee State Archives.

The next day we came to the coast where we found that the savages had
three quarters of a mile land, none of the houses and the savages were
very good at shooting with their small guns. The savages told me that they was
very large in number and that I had better pass on. That they had high hopes to
get the war going and they would not stop till they got the whole of the large
countries, which was a large country, and it was a famous river. The savages
is only one side of the river and the other is on the ten Islands.

The bear that was killed was by the ten white men. The savages killed
five prisoners. The savages that was killed was by the last born children,
[warriors] and many of them was killed. We was on horseback and made
rifles guns and we was the first one that was killed. We was the whites—

November 9

On Sunday evening we stop to build a block house and a fort. On Monday,
we marched out of the fort and we was the [y] was the [y] was the [y] was the
first to come in the fort to make a fort on the fort. We was the ten
different tent, the ten different tents, more than I ever seen—

Was this the

The Ten Islands

766. "Fort Coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

"Fort coffee's cavalry

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"Fort coffee's cavalry
three quarters of a mile, and the land was very good and the timber was very good of all kinds. I cold not git one yeare of corne and I fetched a very large load of cane for the horses, and came throw the incampment and some horses lay there. and as I pased through the horses nickered for my cane tell my hart ached for them—the rivere runes very still and very deep and has high banks, and on this side, which is the south side, there is the appearance of a large inarchement and apaires to bee done seven or eighte yeares agow. there is a large spring running out of the banck of the quick sand. It will bee a famous river for boting. for it is always deepe anwol for bones to run. there is only one ford to cross in all nowing, that is where General Jackson lays at the ten Islands, which is thirty miles be low where we now lay.

The best accont we have had from General Jackson is that the first batele he killed one hundred and eighty on the ground, and twock [took] thirty prisoners. some of them dyed and some of them is alive yet. the first batele lost five on the ground, and tow [two] dyed after wards that was wounded. the last batele that Jackson had he killed two hundred and sixty wayers [warriors], and whome was all wayer fifty wayer charged throw the lines and made ther ascapes. the most of ther armes was taking from them, fifty rifles gwines the white twock from them. the Indians killed sixty horses of the whites—

November 13th day—I bought corn for my horses—0-3-0

On Sunday 14teenth—William Rogers preached to 12 olock at the block house, where there was a large assembly atended with much satisfaction, for the hole of them seemed to be engaged with solom inerity. the most of the men was melted into teeres under the sermont. after the preachen the[y] was dismis without singer or prayer. the[y] started to ther deferent tents, which seemed to bee fifteen hundred men, all of one choler nearer than I ever saw in my life before, no women nor children, all men. after I

*Was this the scene of an earlier Indian battle?*

*The Ten Islands were seventy miles below Fort Armstrong. Lossing, op. cit., 766. "Fort Strother was on the west bank of the Coosa... at the lowest point of the Ten Islands Shoals. Greensport, Ala., the present Lock Three on the Coosa, the railroad station named Lock... and the old fort site are coincident... Rousseau's raid into Alabama in 1863 says that he crossed the Ten Islands Shoals at Fort Strother exactly where Andrew Jackson crossed in 1813.‖ Peter A. Brannon Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, March 25, 1938, to the editor.*

*Tallahatchie, fought on the early morning of November 6, 1813, with General Coffee's cavalry leading the attack, resulted in 186 Indians killed and eighty taken prisoners. Col. Richard Brown, a Cherokee chief, two of Chisby's men, and Jim Fife, of the Natchez tribe, distinguished themselves on the American side. Here it was that the young Indian lad, Lineyes, was rescued by General Jackson. Jackson wrote Gen. Willie Blount, "We have retaliated for the destruction of Ft. Minus." Bassett, op. cit., I, 341, 345; Lossing, op. cit., 762-763.*

went home I took a walk round the lines and counted the fiers which surprized me much. ther was two hundred and fifty different fiers, twelve men to each fier and some thirteen and fourteen to each fier. the hole liones is one mile lone [long] which is camped in a hollow-square, the block house in the midst of the incampent, the horses and all the head ofseres [officers] and ther waters [waiters] in the midst of the liones—about 9 o'clock at night ther was one of the Sentinels fired. orders was given to perade Instantly. I was seting by my fier side talking with some of my boyes. I holowed perade, perade in aminit, which was don. in a few minutes I marched up the lines to see how the men was standing and when I had them in order I returned to the head of my line. had not been ther long be fore I thought I hearded some one walking tordes [towards] me and snaped ther gun tordes me behind the fiers. I hailed them, and hailed them twice and was redy to fire my piece, and the man ansered twice and said it was mee fixing my gunloock, which scared me much for I shold shot in aminit if he head not apsowk and shold killed him without assendent [accident]. when I tock second [second] thought I was much scared. if I had killed him, he or the[y] cold not abland me for it, because the hole of the men was ordered out in the inside of the incampent and he was out side of the incampent which was liable to be shot without hailing aney— As quick as I was formed the Adjent came to me and demanded six men out of my Company to go to and see what was don. I told six of the men to turn out amedintley [immediately]. John Walker, George Starmar, James Casey, Lenard Calver, Moses Conkling steped out without delay, and marched to the Sentinal where the firing was, and did not find the Sentinal, went to the men [mess] and found him much scared. twoock his gun from him and ordered John Walker and James Casey to garde him to the General, and the General on examination clared him and sented him to his post. when all was don the officer holowed "a fawise alarme, Dismis your men." I dismisses my men and we went to bed as usual—

On 15 Instant—the Cherokees brought in Six prisoners to this plase from the Sender towns, the[y] war Creeks and when the[y] Came I went to See them, and they war Stout high men and Straight bilt men, but they war verye black to the Cherokees.

"The Cedar Creek Indian village town was in Talledega county, Alabama, located on the north bank of the creek above where it empties into the Coosa. On March 21, 1814, Fort Williams was built on the same side of the creek between the town and the river. Owen, op. cit., I, 212.

"The Creek Indians, so-called from numerous streams of water in their country, occupied the greater part of Alabama along the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and on the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. The most serious war of the Creeks against the Americans was that of 1813-14, and it ended with the complete submission of William Weatherford, the Creek chief, and the cession of part of the Creek lands to the United States. The Creeks were removed to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi in 1836. Hodge, op. cit., I, 362.

"The Cherokees are of middle stature, of an olive colour, the generally painted and their skins stained with gunpowder, pricked into very pretty figures." S. C. Williams (ed.), Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake (Johnson City, 1927), 75. The Creek man is larger than the ordinary race of Europeans, often above six feet in height, but well formed, erect in carriage, and graceful in every movement. Hodge, op. cit., I, 362.
The "J. Hartsell Memoir"; Journal of a Tennessee Captain

The names of our officers at this place as followes: General John Cock, Colonel Wm. Lillard, Major Bradley, Agedent Wm. Nolen. Captaines. We have fifteen, their names I now not. 4 horse Captaines, which makes twenty in our ridgement—

** MORNING REPORT OF CAPTAIN JACOB HARTSELL COMTV INSTANT—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATION</th>
<th>November 15, 1813</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present for Duty</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 4 3 64 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick Present</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Detachment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Command</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Daily Duty</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waters [Waiters]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent without Consent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserters</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in confinement</td>
<td>64 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>1 2 1 4 4 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On Tuesday 16—it Rained and Slewed some—

Gen. John Cocke (1772-1854), the son of William and Mary McLaw Cocke, came from Virginia at an early age to Mulberry Grove, Hawkins County, Tennessee. William Cocke was active in early Indian warfare along the Watauga. He served in the War of 1812 when over sixty-five years of age, and was personally thanked by Jackson for bravery of Enochopo. John Cocke served in the state legislature and in 1813 was appointed major general for East Tennessee volunteers in the War of 1812. Jackson and John Cocke had misunderstandings which led to Cocke's arrest in January, 1814, and he later went to Congress. His home was at Rutledge, Grainger County, Tennessee. “The Cocke Family,” *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, April, 1897), 11, 152 et seq.

Col. William Lillard (1744-1830), the son of James and Keriah Bradley Lillard, was born in Virginia, where he served in the Revolutionary War. He moved to Jefferson County, Tennessee, in 1797, and served in the legislature. He was made colonel of the division of East Tennessee volunteers in 1813. He Second Regiment of John Cocke’s division of East Tennessee volunteers in 1813. He moved to Missouri after the war but returned to Tennessee and entered land in the Hiosee district in 1825. J. E. S. Lillard (comp.), *Lillard Family* (Richmond, 1928), 47.

William Bradley; see note 43.

Should be Adjutant Thomas Nolen.

The roll of officers of the second regiment of East Tennessee Volunteers, commanded by Col. William Lillard was as follows: William Lillard, colonel; William Smoodegrass, lieutenant colonel; William Bradley, 1st major; Issac Allen, 2nd major; Thomas Vandyke, Surgeon; Thomas Nolen, adjutant; William Rutledge, quartermaster; James Masen; William Armstrong, R. commissary; George Turner, sergeant major; James Masen; Thomas Sharp, captain; Zaches Copeland, captain; Jacob Dyke, captain; Thomas Gillenwaters, captain; William Hamilton, captain; Jacob Hartsell, captain; Robert Keyes, captain; Benjamin Henry King, captain; James Lillard, captain; Robert Maloney, captain; Hugh Martin, captain; Robert McAlpin, captain; Thomas McCauston, captain; Abraham William McIn, captain; John Neatherdon, captain; John Reeder, captain; Abraham Gregg, ensign. Tennessee State Archives.
A Provion Returns for Captain Jacob Hartsells Company of E T Voleneetees beginning on the 16 November and ending on the same—Camp Armstrong—No. of men—75; No. of days—1; No. of Rations—75; Total—75. Jacob Hartsell Captain—Quarter Master Iseue, seventy five comoleat rations agreeable to the above returne—Wm Lillard, Colonel.

On Wendesday 17 Instant—It Snowed all day amos [almost]. ther was nothing Strange in the Camps.

November 17 day 1813—It was a verey drisely night and verey warm. I and all the boyes was well on this morning. we peraded at Day light and maid our morning Report agreeable to the Strength and Condition of our Company & &

MORNING REPORT OF CAPT. JACOB HARTSELLS COMP TY INSTANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATION ARMSTRONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOVEMBER 17TH, 1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privates for duty ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick present ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Detachment ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Daily command ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Daily duty ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waters ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent without leave ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deserted ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In confinement ..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate ..........</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DO on the same day—John Slaygal deserted about 9 ocllock in the morning—

On Thursday 18th Instant—it Snowed verey hard about Day Brack. We harled from General Jackson by Major Rogers and Major Minns, the[y] fetched anyt Strate account that ther was three hundred Creek Wayers killed on the ground be sides some wounded and tock prisoner; and if it had not abin for a deputy quarter Master, the[y] might killed the hole of them on the ground. the[y] Had seroudned them Compleetly and the quarter master Came to one side and said the General Commanded him to tell them to Retreit fifteen pases, Which the[y] did and when the[y] retreated &

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*This is the first reference to the camp under the name Armstrong.
*A private in Captain Hartsell's company.
**David Rogers served as 2nd major in Col. Samuel Bunch's regiment of mounted riflemen, East Tennessee volunteers, October 16, 1813, to January 14, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.
***Major Minns is not listed in Tennessee State Archives.

**This account of the Battle of Talledega tells of the retreat of Col. Edward Bradley, who later went forward, but too late to prevent the escape of many Indians. The true loss of Americans was 18 killed and 87 wounded, of which 2 died later. Basset, op. cit., 1, 349; A. J. Pickett, History of Alabama (Montgomery, 1851), 290.
The "J. Hartsell Memoirs": Journal of a Tennessee Captain

went to the General and told him that one side of his lines was Retreating, and the General ordered one Regiment to march in the Rear of the lines that was Retreating and the Indians that had crossed Route in, the[y] charged throw and killed twenty five white men, and wounded eighty, two of them dyed since and the rest is living at this time—

On Thursday 18—at knight one of the Indian prisoners got loss from the yard here and made his escape. one of the Sentinels shot at him as he started, and the Indian fell to the ground and holowed, "Booh," and recovered and run like . . . and that is the Last of him—

A trew Returne of the Strengte and Condition of a Company at this place, now Incamped. Station Armstrong, Camp Coocy—November 18, 1813—Jacob Hartsell Capt.

1 Captains 2 Lieutenants 1 Ensigns 4 Sergeants 3 Corporals 63
Privats 73 Rifles 73 Powder Horns 73 Shot Pouches 37 lbs of Powder
1000 Loose Ball 20 Flints 75 Knapsacks 73 Blankets 70 tomahawks 73
Knives 7 Tents 6 Kiteles 9 Skillits 1 buckets 2 axes 1 wagons 1880
Total—

Friday 19 Instant—before Day ther was alarme gun fired and was a faulse alarme, and about one hower be fore day ther was another fired and the men was formed when the news Came that one of the prisoners had escaped from the yard hie, aneateally at the brack of day Seven of my boys went to the General, and got a permit to go after him—

On Friday 19 Instant—I hapened to be at the Generals ten[t], and the Chief of the Cherokees Came to the Generals tent to know what to dow with the Indians that he and his men had took prisoner. he stated that he had bin at General Whites Ridgement, where the prisoners was taking and General White told him to Come to General Cock and Command his prisoners to kill, or to doo with as he pleased. and General Cock told him to doo with them as he thought[t] proper. two of them they killed aneateally, and the other three they twokc home with them as frendeley Indians. those two that the[y] killed, they shot and Tomahocked in a cruel maner. one of them the[y] twokc one scalp of him, the other they twokc three calpes of him be cause the[y] said he killed three white men in his time—

On the same day—we had now met to draw throw out the Ridgement and the General give every Capt. Leave to Sende ten men out of their Companyeys to kill any thing that they cold find and bring it to the block house, and evrey man to have a equal Share of the meat that they cold kill.

"Hartsell calls the camp Camp Coosa, Station Armstrong, and Camp Armstrong."

"Although Pathkiller was the head chief of the Cherokees at this time, this reference is to Col. Richard Brown, another friendly Cherokee chief, who had led a band of Cherokees at Talushtachee. Pickett, op. cit., I, 295; Bassett, op. cit., I, 536, 341.

"With reference to this scarcity of food supplies, see a letter from John Cocke at Fort Armstrong to Jackson, November 27, 1813: "I am as yet unprovided with provisions. Cattle are scarce among the Cherokees. I despair of getting a considerable number of them. I have men however out in all directions in search of beef. They will return in 8 or 9 days. I shall then march for Ft. Sirother." Bassett, op. cit., I, 361."
this day Much Confution was amongst the men Concerning the Campaigns. Some of the officers Swore that they wold march no further. Some of the privates Swore that they wold march home if it got any worse.— In the Evening I went to the block house and counted Eighteen head of hidges that was killed and brought to the house and money more Came after wades. ther was beefe anufl for the hole of the men to draw for two days. be sides the pork ther was severale Beeves killed on the same day and brought[t] on the ground. Some turkeys.

On Saturday 20—it was a verey pretly Day and verey warme. on the same knight the newse of our horse men came to the General that they had tropc three hundred prisoners, and had killed fifty Indians on the ground. the hole of the Horse men that was left on the ground was Sent with flower to met them— at Darck Enoch Kinshelow and Marck been met John Slaggal back to my in Campment and I told the boyes to git him something to Eat, and then I went to hold a cort Martial over him and went to the Lieutenants Camps and the[y] was not thare. I had the opportunity to Councile him and told him the Disoner of Deserting on the turmes [terms] that you did and he Seemed not to mind it nonor then if he had not transgressed. Whilst I was taulking with him, Magor Mineet Came and Demanded the Deserter that Enoch Kinshelow Brought back. I ordered Sergeant Rubele and a file of men to garde him to the Generals tent and they Did Say he Seemed remorse & asked them if he was not guilty.

Saturday 20—Slagle was brought to the Campes and on Sunday ther was a cort martial held over him. on exonmination the[y] asked him guilty or not guilty. he said guilty. on Mundy morning I went to General Cock and asked him what was to bee dun with John Slagle. he convorsed with me on the subject verye kind and I told the General that I was verye sorow for the boy for he was very young and Did not steady what he had don, and I wished the punishment to bee as Light as posoble. the General got the law and Read It to my satisfaction. the Crime that he had don Came under the Dreadfull Sound of Death. he head [had] twock ahire of another man to stand Sentinal and when he was Caled for he did not answer to his name. to Desert of a post is Deth. to goo asleep on a post it is Death. to Diny a manes name it is Deth. he head Doone two of the Crimes and unavailing within the Cort martial. the[y] maid the thing shor[t] and easy as posoble. the cort martial then was seting. the General told me to stay with him a few Minits and he wold Read me the Sentiment. the Sentiment was that Sd Slagle was to be kep under gard till nine o'clock, then all the men of three Ridge-

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*The Hillabees Massacre on November 18, 1813, led by Gen. James White, resulted in 64 Indians killed and 256 prisoners taken, the latter being sent to Horseshoe Garrison. One principal warrior, Billy Scott, had been wounded at Talledega. Bassett, op. cit., I, 361. After the battle of Talledega, the Hillabees, who lived on the Tallapoosa, sent an old Scotchman, Robert Grayson, to Jackson to sue for peace, to which Jackson agreed. General Cocke, knowing nothing of this, ordered General White to attack these towns. The Indians considered themselves betrayed, and fought the whites with desperation to the end of the Creek War. *ibid.*, I, 354; Lossing, *op. cit.*, 766.

*William C. Mynatt, aide de campe to Gen. John Cocke, served from September 25, 1813, to January 16, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.

*John G. Rubele, of Washington county, 2nd sergeant in Hartwell's company.
ments was to see Dr. Himes's [two] Lines fifty paces Distants apart, and a gard of men choosen to guard Sd Slagle to the midele of the two lines, and one halfe of Sd Slagle faze and one halfe of his head Shaved, and then two men to march be fore him with ther Baynets on ther muskets and them under ther arms; two at the flank tow at the Rare of Sd Slagle and all the drumes and files in three Ridgement to bee be fore him and the Roses march to bee bett after him to the left of the Ridgement to which he belongeth, then wheled to the left and marched throw the hole of the men and then throw the Sentinels and pases to the Right about and Dismiss'd. or officer or privat to suffer him in Camp or to be caunt taulking with him or the[y] shal bee punished for the Crime—

Mond 21 day Instant—I hared of Capt. MacKling[66] Laying in Six miles of us. after Slagal was Discharged I went to the General and asked him if I might take Six or Eight of my men and meet Capt. McLing and the Carter [county] troops, and he granted me the Request. Capt. McLings brother,[60] Capt. Dick,[61] and Eight of my boys went armed in the best maner to meet them. when we Came in forty passes Capt. Dick and myself marched in front of the lines. we opened the lines halfe of the men on each Side of the Rode and Suited them, when the[y] head [had] pased throw the lines Commanded Shoulder arms and went fered to See the men. the[y] came running to mee on Evey Side and Shank hands In the hith [height] of the Joy. Major doring [Doran][62] Came up and a glader man I never saw. he puld his boote and Dranke to me with much Joy, and made me aquainted with a Capt out of his county.[63] Every Man Seemed to Leap Round me with Joy and we Sent in for the best music ther was in the Incampment. the music Came. we formed the Company, my men in the Rare of Capt. McLings men, mee and Capt. Dick and Capt Mc Loney [Maloney][64] marched in front of the Company In to the Incampment, and they was Recived and his Incampment was Layed off, which was a disagreeable one. I made aplication to the General to let Capt Mc lling Incamp with my Company and the green [county] Companyes[65] this knight. he granted it. on the next day the[y] Camped on the front of the lines. on the Same day the morning Some of the Cherokeees Caut one of the Creeks askouting round the In Camp-

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66Capt. William McLin led a company in Colonel Lillard's regiment. He was the son of Alexander McLin, an early settler in Washington county, living west of Leesburg. William McLin later moved to Blount county. War of 1812 Records (in possession of the editor).
60Capt. Jesse Cole's company in Col. Samuel Wear's regiment was from Carter county, Tennessee. War of 1812 Records.
64James McLin was a sergeant in Capt. Charles Keyes' company, Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives. He graduated from Washington College in 1818, and later taught there. He also preached in East Tennessee. War of 1812 Records.
65Capt. Jacob Dyke led a company in Lillard's regiment, which mustered out at Greenville on February 8, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.
67Probably Alexander Doran, of Carter county, served as 2nd lieutenant in Capt. Jesse Cole's company of Colonel Wear's regiment in Creek War. War of 1812 Records.
68Probably Capt. Jesse Cole.
69Capt. Robert Maloney, of Greene county, led a company in Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.
70Capt. Dyke's and Captain Maloney's companies.
ment. the[y] twuck him and tyed him to the General, and on axamination the[y] found him guilty. the General give him to Cherokees to punish in ther one way. the[y] twuck him to the Indian fire. I was present at the same time one of the Cherokee Indians twuck his wife out and cau[t] his bare that was Clubed up and Cut it off to his head. amedtely they twuck him tordez the gard. he wold not walk aney further. one of the Indians Struck his tomahawk In to his head, no Sooner then was five or six more in his head. he fell to the ground. one of the Indians Steped up and Scalped him and twuck the scalp in his hand and jumped about and holed, "aleway, aleyaw," and Seemed much Regoiced much. one of the others Striped him; another put a rope round his neck and drew him Round the neck to the other two. Several of them Stuck ther knives. he drew him selfe up. the[y] holowed wors. then I returned be fore the[y] twuck him away. the[y] twuck him In to the tents whar the Shee Cooyys and Children was and all the women and cryed and made Evey kind of noise. I stowed amased and lowoked [looked] for one hour. abram fine was with me. he said he wold not miss his trip for five hundred Dollars. they ware Coooking and barking all sorts of nastiness with Vitees. I thought It wold kill me to Eat the Vitees that the[y] Cooked. whilst I was Standing thare the[y] holowed over the River that ther was more prisoners on the other Side of the River. the Cunwou [canoe] was bisey from that time till knight fetching the prisoners and the horse men over. ther was 27 men which was wayers [warriors]. the deferent Captains marched in front of the prisoners and Some of the men In the Rare of the prisoners and marched them to the Generals life gard below square. on aAxamination the[y] found out ther was one of the head Indians which was in the batele that Jackson head [had]. Some of them was wounded Slightly. the General told the Commander to take the prisoners In to the gard house and keepe them tell further orders. this was on Tuesday about twelve o'clock. it head bin verye wet the day be fore and all the knigh and this morning the Camping ground was verye wet and of all the Smells that ther was about the Slaughter pen and blockhouse I ever Smelt it was thare and Round the Incampment of menure. it was enuff to make aney purson Sick. the Cooy wiming and children the Cherokee twuck home with them—

On Wensday 24 day—Capt Mc Loney was arrested for giting Drunk and Disorderly Conduct. I was caled on to attend Cort Martial on that acount, and Several of the officers to try the Case at twelve o'clock in the fournoon. We drew a purition [petition] In the be halfe of Capt Mc Loney be halfe and got Several Signers of the field officers and Some of the Captains to Sign the paper, and Myself and Capt McLing and Capt Mc Loney went to the Generals tent with the paper and the General when he Came Torde the paper that the names was Signed to, the General Tolde his adircamp to with Draw the Charge that Capt Mc Loney was arrested for on the Spot, and give

**Note:**

110 The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications

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84The prisoners of War [of the Cherokees] are generally tortured by the women, at the party's return, to revenge the death of those who have perished by the wretch's countrypmen. S. C. Williams, Memoirs of Timberlake, 82, n.

85Abraham Fine, a private in Hartsell's company.

86Taken at the Hillabee towns on November 18.

87Billy Scott. See note 65.
The "J. Hartsell Memora": Journal of a Tennessee Captain

him orders to Returne to his former Company and Command it with Care. the General said he was Sorow to See any man brought before a courtmartial for his Diademener. the Captain excused him selfe in the bist Turnes he cold and thanked the General for his favour. he went to his Company and mustered the men all the afternoon as I was told— In about one our I was Caled on to meet at the block house to try another Capt in Colonal Browns Ridgement, for being Intoxekated the Evening before and abusing his Company. he kicked Several kites of the fire, and Split the Vituals that was in the Same, and Drew his Sord and Swore that he wold bee Commander in Chief, and if aney body said to the contrary he wold Smite him to the ground. 2 Secondley, he was Charged with not mustering of his men More than twelve times in Six months; thurderley, for not tending to their Rations as he come a officer in the Service. the Courtmarlial was conveyed [convened] and swaring [sworn in]. the trial was poot off tell next morning at ten ocklock. the men meet on the trial. Capt Underwood sent his Resignation to the Colonal of the Ridgement that he belonged to. The Colonal of the Courtmarlial, which was presedent of the Courtmarlial, he excepted [accepted] his Resignation, and the Courtmarlial Santioned it, and ther was a Record Entered of it and the Cort was Disussed tell one ocklock in the after noon to See what the General wold dow about it. the General Did Recive the Resignation, and his Ridgement was peraded and the Same was Read to his Ridgement on the Same day. sd Capt belonged to Colonal Brown's Ridgement. sd Capt Commanded a mounted Rifle Company of horse men. he was Brock on thursday 25 Instant—

November 26 1813—Station Camp Armstrong—Morning Report of Capt. Hartsells Company—

Present for Dewty—Capt—1, Lieut—1, 2nd Lieut—1, Ensign—1, Sergeant—4, Corporals—4, Privats—46, Total—64.

Sick Present—0, Sick Absent—0, On Command to Rossey—3, Privats On guard—7, Privats On Fortigue—4, Privats Absent without leave—0, Deserters—0, In Confinement—0.

Aggregate—72

November 27th day 1813—Major Parker and Joseph Mc Clary cut of Capt David G Vances Mounted Company Stayed with mee on the Reason of Joseph McClarys loosing of his horse. John Miller left my Company by hiring a substitute in his place. On the twenty eight Instant I was appointed

*Col. John Brown (1779–1845), of Rensselaer county, commanded a regiment which enlisted on September 30, 1813, until January 1, 1814; and a second one from January 1, 1814, until May 20, 1814, which was attached to Gen. George Doherty's brigade. Family tradition says that he equipped his regiment with his own means. One of his descendants is Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, Nashville, Tenn. War of 1812 Records.

*Capt. David Underwood served from September 30, 1813, until November 25, 1813, when he was broke.
officer of the Day and about twelve o'clock I went Round the Sentinals, the Rest of my Company was Drawing ther Rations by Reason by fore of the men that was Caled for to goo with the wagons to Roses. It made Some odd men at the messes which made the grates Despute I ever was in the Company, the most of them had not bin long from preaching which surprised mee Much. I came to me tent where the men was Desputing much. I lisened to ther Deferent tales Some time. I hapened to bee in a good humour and observed to the men that the[y] grumbled at the Big men So much I said that we had no reason to Say aney thing about them for we ware only a handful of us Cherokees and we defered So much. I told them To Devide the provison and give to me what was left and I wold Starve one Day Rather than have aney more fuse [fuss] about It. on I told them that I wold tell to them that we had brought Some when we was Scarce. that shet ther mouths Close and the[y] goot veryy Cam. I observed that all ways when I was absence, ther was a fuss with them to Devide ther mele [meal] or meet.

November 29—Ther was a desput arose at The Block House between Lieutenant White⁸⁸ and [show] Celey.⁹⁸ Celey was Issuing of beeve to the Soldiers and Lieutenant White was Concerned about the Rations. Celer ordered him out and White told him that he Did not use the Soldiers well, for he Sold the publick whiskey at fiftty cents pur quart, and the[y] wold not allow the men more then fiftty Cents pur gallon for ther back Rations. he give White the lye. White told Celey he Did not Rob Boyes wagon. Celey jurked on [one] of the Sentinals gunes out of ther hands and Cocked it at him and Captain McLing nucked the gun up wicch Saved White from being Shot. Cuneum out of mairesvill[9⁸] jurked Capt McLing away and told Celer to Shoot the dammed Scoundrel. White jumped to the gun. one of Capt McLings men caut Cuneum and Swore he Could whip him. Cuneum wold not fite him. Celer drew his Tomahock on a men be fore the Same day and threatened to Split him to the ground. the man went to his tent and got his gun to kill him. But when he went back he cold not find Celer tell his pation [passion] was Cold—

This evening about nine o'clock ther was after the Revelee a drum and fife and fidele played from the Generals tent Down the first pretation [battalion] then acrosses the End of the Line Coling [calling] at Eveyre Captains tent to Join them in the Seraoid to march Round the Deferent Ridgement to Join In the Evening Seraoid. I my Selfe took up the Idea that ther was Some good muse from General Jacksons army. when all the Captains was Colected we formed in Coloms of fore [four]. the first Colom marched in front of the musick, the hole of the officers in the Rare of the Rest. then we marched to the Colonals tents, which was in the senter of the Intervill. when

⁸⁸Lieutenant Frederick White was in Capt. Jacob Dyke's company, Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

⁹⁸Joshua Celey, who was probably a quartermaster.

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all was collected, we marched to the General's tent and beat Jefferson's liberty and marched round the tent and hailed in abest, Expecting the General to Come and Salute us or reed some later. We stood about one minit and the General did not appear. The[y] sent into his tent for to see what was the matter. The[y] found the General asleep when the[y] entered his tent, we stood there till he got on His Close, when the General came out and did not Comedate us in the Least. He said Gentle men Come to the fire. The officer ordered to the Right to be tount face, Dismissed, which was Capt Hamberton from pates value. The officers was much displeased about it. To think that the[y] should expose their selves to march in the cold so long to be faced to the Right about and be dismissed at the General's tent, when he did not pay any address to the officers when the[y] came to his tent in order agreeable to his order. Capt Mc Ling and Capt Mc Loney and Capt McEes and Capt Dick and my selfe which was one lone as we marched we rejoined and made one file when we was faced to the Right about and dismissed we went to our tents very Cold and not pleasant well.

November 30 Day 1813—Magor Smith the Deferent Companies Coled to gether to Inspect ther arms. Some of the ramations was out of order, Some of the trigers was out of Repair—

The Generals Orders was to Every Captain in the Second Ridgetment to make a true Statement of the Strenght and Condition of ther Company, gunes, ammunition, and quantety of men that Enroled and Started, and the number of Deserters, and number of Sick left be hind, number of men that got off by being Sick, the time when, and where, ther names, and ther Disorder, the men that is gon with the wagon to Roses, or the place where any of them might bee, the Day and Date when Enroled, and from what Countey the[y] Came—

A true Returns of Captain Jacob Hartsells Company, of Est Tennessee Volunteers. In Rolled October 12th 1813, In Jonesborough, Washington County.

Jacob Hartsell, Capt
Isaac Hartsell, Lieut
Samuel Bailey, do
George Stamer, Ensign
Sergeants
Thomas Shear
John G Rubels
John Odele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Cassidy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Gaines</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Carley</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Elen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Andis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Shagle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Jefferson's Liberty March, a popular air during the War of 1812.
*Capt. William Hamilton from Powell's Valley, the captain who volunteered for longer service when Lillard's regiment went home in January.
*Cpt. George Reyes of Sullivan county.
*Acheson Smith served as inspector general under Cocke during the 1813 campaign. In 1814 he served as first major under Col. Samuel Bunch and Brig. Gen. George Doherty, of the East Tennessee militia. Tennessee State Archives.
*Gen. Thomas Findley, commander of the entire Southern Division, ordered Jackson to render a complete return of all the troops. Bassett, op. cit., I, 352.
Deserted November 14 day 1813

George Bayles 2
abraham fine 3
Stith M. Laughing 4
Richard Hatle 5
Philip Crenthus 6
andrew Lilburn 7
John Walker 8
Jesse Garland 9
Philip McCray 10
Jonathan Tucker 11
Samuel Randels 12
John Tilson 13
Wm Battles 14
Thomas D Briels 15
Jesse Hampton 16
George Jackson 17
Thomas Barren 18
William Ingle 19
Turner Smith 20
Adam White 21
John Ingle 22
Isaac Thrasher 23
Jonathan Collens 24
James Eperson 25
John Clayed 26
Joseph Haire 27
Isaac Charler 28
David Boman 29
John Garland 30
Henry Claxton 31
William Whitson 32
Hugh Martin 33
James Vest 34

alexander fulkerson 37
Terry White 38
Thomas Whiteacre 39

got off by applying to fission october 29 day 1813

Samuel Dugles 40
Samuel Millie 41
Jacob Jackson 42
John Ingleh 43

got off by applying to a fission october 29 day 1813

Abram Tinker 44
Lenard Calvert 45
John Pulmer 46
Joseph Britton 47
Stephen pincecock 48
John Ingram 49
William Frayer 50
John Wood 51
Thomas Charlton 52
Fredrick Sterene 53
Joseph Mequines 54
Joseph Lain 55

left Sick be hind October 29 day 1813

Henry Nelson 56
James Michtale 57
Moses Joe 58
James Whitle 59
Joshua Collens 60
Moses Conk 61
Benjamin Eperson 62
John Michtle 63

Everey man armed—Number of arms.......................... 72
Pounds of Powder in Company.................................. 20 lbs.
Lbs Lead in Sd Company...................................... 10 pounds

November 30 day 1813 signed by me

Jacob Hartsell Captain of a Company of Est Tennessee Volunteers

November 30 day 1813—Capt Mc Loney Company, Capt Mc Lings Camped Below me, Capt Dicks above. My Company was formed in the Senter, the other Company formed on each wing, in one straight line which composed one pretalion [battalion], when all the Men was Collected and Complateley Everey man armed, It made the best Show that I ever Saw audent Wm Nolen58 Came and Drilled the Deferent Companies. The agendet Said it was Don in high Stile. It much pleased him to See men so well Dic太平ed, And I beleive there was not one musket in the hole Laine. I think that it was the pretyth Muster that I ever Saw with my eyes. Jacob Hartsell, Capt.

On last Evening we Recieved orders on the first Day of December to prade Everty Company at nine o'clock in the morning To larn the Deferent

Hartsell meant Adjutant Thomas Nolen of Lillard's regiment.
Steps and the Deferent fasings, the formation of Companys, Displaying of Coloms, and forming Compayns from Coloms. I Caled my Compayny to gether at the Beat of Drum at nine o'clock. I ranked and Size My Compayny the quickes and Easiest and best that Ever was Seene in the United States, which amased all the other Compayns so much that the[y] Did not Doo anything but Stand and loock at my Compayny for Some time. then the Deferent Companys begun to form plattoons. Some of them wold have three men in a plattoon, Some five in a plattoon which made the motions quite ocred [awkward]. my Compayn purfomed So well that the[y] got the praise of all the men in the Ridgement—

Head quarters—Fort Armstrong—28 November 1813—Perole Heron Countersign Harabel By Command—Andrew Cowan* Depty quarter Major General. Captain Jacob Hartsell Officer of the Day. on the first day of november. the Perole Thomas, Countersign Madeson—*

*The second, and concluding, installment of the "J. Hartsell Memora" will appear in No. 12 of the Publications.