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r 12, 1787⁸⁷

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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 Hertzele, 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 Hartzels 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 Cargille, 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 Creselious, Hosea Rose, Peter Ruble, 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. . . .³

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 1800.⁴ 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.⁵

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,⁶ 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, Emaline, 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.

⁴In addition to the Hartsells, its membership included the Bolinger, Keplinger, Walters, Cresellious, Horne, May, and Coblentz families.

⁵Washington 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.

⁶They were married on October 3, 1805, by Jacob Brown, justice of the peace. J. Hartsell Memora.

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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 Brown⁷ 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.⁸

Nancy Hartsell drew a widow's pension for the services of her husband in the War of 1812.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ He served in this capacity until 1815, except for the year 1813, and again from 1826 to 1830.¹² 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-

⁷Rebecca was the great-granddaughter of Jacob Brown, the pioneer who settled on Nolichucky River in 1771.

⁸Washington 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."

⁹Records of the United States Pension Office (Washington, D. C.). Nancy Hartsell applied on November 18, 1850, aged 63 years.

¹⁰Washington County Will Book (in Washington county courthouse, Jonesboro, Tennessee), No. 2, p. 232.

¹¹The title of captain, used by the esquire who recorded the taxables, was probably a relic of the early military organization.

¹²Washington County Lists of Taxables, 1809-15, 1826-30.

dians.¹³ It is not strange that Captain Jacob Hartsell took the lead in enrolling a company at Jonesboro in October of that year.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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 Cargille, 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,¹⁶ 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 the men had no other way to make a living but to "farm it," and

¹³J. S. Bassett (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.

¹⁴Captain William McLin, also of Washington county, enrolled a company at the same time in Jonesboro. Tennessee State Archives.

¹⁵J. Hartsell Memora, 1.

¹⁶Hartsell 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 corse is not by me recollected." Jacob Brown, a brother-in-law of Hartsell, was also on the Creek campaign with Ross and Hartsell.

Hartsell took the lead in that year.¹⁴ That he by his purchase of a Washington county eight inches in size, pages. This little a small hand-made ed possessions of a of Jonesboro, Ten-

into his character, with the habits and to Alabama he took es, the hills, and the ot a trained militiar companies. He en and horses. He umed. The Indian was a mountaineer He abhorred sham to speak against it. ship with the other and comrades. On loss,¹⁶ the Cherokee lover of music, he Through no fault company belonged nstrong for almost d. Although they e call came to enlist Hartsell said, most t to "farmit," and

(Washington, 1926-1935), 500 being in obedience out by the state legis- (now Middle) Tennessee, lled a company at the

John Brown, of Washing- You asked about John d to live in the nation own, a brother-in-law t sell.

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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.¹⁷ 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 alarme
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 out 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

¹⁴William Boren to Hartsell, March 20, 1836, in *ibid.*

¹⁵J. 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."

¹⁶This is a ballad of the "Barbara Allen" type.

¹⁷This describes the battles of Tallushatchee and Talledega: "The Cronicals of Andrew, one of the Chief Captains of Columbia's Host—when he lead the thousands throw the South Counterey in search of the barbarians that dwelt in the deserts of Alibamia—Composed by Joseph the high priest and recorded by Jesey the Scribe on the 8th day of twelfth month in the eighteenth hundred and thirteenth year of the Christian Hegaria—Rote by me in a hurey on the 7th day of January 1814. Jacob Hartsell Capt."

¹⁸A poem also included in the J. Hartsell Memora.

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 Hartsells Company of Est Tennessee Volenteers Inroled October 12th 1813 in Jonesborough Washington County

October 12 day 1813—I and my surboltens [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 apeare: levy Bayles, John Stanton, William Anderson, James Law. those that is sick and got clared as folowes: Joseph Lain, Sick; John English [and] Thomas Whit-ece got off by aplying to a fision in Knoxville, to docter Strong.²² the[y] was recipted by Magor Masinggill—²³

²²Dr. 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, 1806-15 (in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee), list among his customers in 1813-14 the U. S. government, and also Col. John Williams' regiment.

²³James Massengale, quartermaster sergeant in Col. William Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

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The "J. Hartsell Memora": Journal of a Tennessee Captain 99

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October 15th day 1813—			
to one and halfe quire of paper 2/3	0	2	3
do to one blanket	1	7	0
do to tow cases	0	9	0
do to one blank boock	0	6	0
do to ink powder	0	1	6
do to two quires of paper	0	4	6
do to three tin panes	0	10	6

October the 21st 1813—Randezvoused at big bent of nolechuckey²⁴

October 26 Camp Williams²⁵—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 beefe and flower for three days. I did not draw aney safe [save] for the five days—

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

do 27—did not draw aney corn or foder.

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—

October 31 day—which was Sunday, marched into West point²⁶ at Kingston; do,²⁷ on the same day at Kingston we drew two hundred and thirty one compleat rations for three days—

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 Riturne.

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 sufittiant to stand a tower of dewty by Docter Strong. do, John English at the same time.

²⁴A few miles southwest of Hartsell's home on Cherokee Creek, in the extreme southwest tip of Washington county.

²⁵Probably 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), 269.

²⁶Southwest Point, located at the junction of the Clinch and the Tennessee rivers, where a garrison had been stationed since territorial days.

²⁷Kingston, 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—arove at Camp Brown²⁸ four miles this side of the garrison.²⁹ ther drew 240 compleat rations; whear we met with about 2200 troops from defrent parts.

November 4 day 1813—Marched to the Creek³⁰ nation and past the line about leven o'clock in the forenono, and marched in the nation about leven miles and lay on a small Creek at levele and hansome plase, whare 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 eys ever beheld in my life, and verey rich Timber was verey good. then we crossed one Runing Creeck. then come to some 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 River³¹ which was a large cane Brack botom of cane.

November 6th day 1813—Crosed tennessee River³² and marched to Camp Ross.³³ we was all day Crosing the River with two Botes and only seven wagons Crosed. the loock out mountain³⁴ Is the Longes mountain and strates mountain and the biges fase of a mountain that ever I saw—

Whare we drew drew one days Rations of flower, and met, and whiskey—We have not drew aney foder and never since—

²⁸Camp 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 Hiwassee 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, 1938, by Mrs. P. J. Allen and the editor.

²⁹Hiwassee Garrison, located ten miles southeast of Dayton, at the junction of the Tennessee and Hiwassee 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 Chattanooga* (Chattanooga, 1935), 23.

³⁰Hartsell 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 Hiwassee. 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.

³¹Tennessee River.

³²At 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 260 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 wagons across—\$6.00." Return J. Meigs MSS. (in possession of Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga, Tenn.).

³³Camp Ross, established by Gen. James White in October, 1813, was located at the foot of Lookout Mountain near the mouth of Chattanooga 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., 1905-10), II, 396.

³⁴Lookout Mountain extends from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to Gadsden, Alabama. It is about eighty-five to ninety miles long.

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o Gadsden, Alabama.

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November, 7 on Sunday—all the troopes Crossed the River, five of General Whites³⁵ min came from turkey towns³⁶ with ten pack horses and made a report That General Jackson had made aney attack³⁷ with the hostile Creeks and kiled about 130 Indians or upwards. Several whites was Caried away in blankets of the white. the hole army whare we lay Shot and Drunck tell midnight for joy, which made much Noise. I think that ther was two thousand gunes fired on the ground.

Received of Capt Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe pint³⁸ blanket. November 8 day 1813—Samuel Bayles.

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

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—Josh Isaac thrasher.

Received of Capt Jacob Hartsell, one six and halfe point blanket. November 8th day 1813—Stephin Pitcock.

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

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

We was three days crosing 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 cold [could] land. the loock out mountain came down to the creeck that we cold not git out. the name of the camp was Camp Roos whare we lay at; the name of the creeck we run up with the botes w caled Chatehuty Creeck.³⁹

9 day instant—We left Camp Ross and marched about twelve miles and lay on the same creeck whare was nobele timber and good land, a verey large creeck and prime cleare runing water fit for aney kind of a mill—

³⁵Brig. Gen. James White (1747-1821) served as captain and colonel in North Carolina during the Revolutionary War. He built White's Fort in 1786 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 Turkeytown to the relief of the Chief Pathkiller, who feared an attack from the Creek Indians. Tennessee State Archives; Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 342, 348.

³⁶Turkeytown, 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, 1332.

³⁷Probably 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.

³⁸A corruption of the trade term, "point," no longer used, denoting weight.

³⁹Chattanooga 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 eys ever saw. large levele plantations might be had with not one hill in them, white oak and black oak and shugartree, poplar, wild chereytrees plenty, som good springs as ever run out of the erth— I think that on one spot of straight rode I was on advance gard this day and halted my company and loocked back, saw at leas one thousand men well armed which apeared at least three quarters of a mile long—

thursday 11—Marched about twenty miles. pased throw two Indians towns.⁴⁰ I was as much amased. I saw what I never saw be fore. ther was all kinds of squaws with their children on their backs, one litele garle with one amost as large as hur self on hur back asleap. I lafed as harty as I ever I did in my life at the sight. ther was as good runing water as I ever saw in my life. pased as good land and some as good springs as I ever saw in my life. some as levele land and large timber as I ever saw in my life, some shugar trees. we had to draw beefe the same night with much confution as my selfe atended to the plase tell we recived our rations—

on the same knight I drempt I met my mother and went in to my house with hur whare I saw my wife making of corn bread and saw the tabelle set with plates, copes [cups], knives, and other articales. then I taught [thought] I was walking with my brother along some rode, then I a woake and was in my tent in the wild woodes. soon after the drume beet 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 Coocy.⁴¹ then we came to a small creeck and some good land. pased several good houses whare was some half breed lived, and they had some likely farmes. then we came to Camp Coocey,⁴² whare we met with thirteen hundred troopes at this plase from diferent countreys. we incamped in a holow square. be fore we was thare ther was sentinales plased round the Incampment. I was verely unwell this day tell [until] I came to this plase, and I got beter and Magor Bradley⁴³ and my selfe and one of my boys went to the rivere and crosed in a small Cuneo [canoe], where we went throo a large cane brack

⁴⁰Probably Cherokee villages.

⁴¹The headwaters of the Coosa River cross Cherokee, Etowah, and Elmore counties, Alabama. The name "Coosa" is derived from the Choctaw word "Coosha," meaning "reedy," 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.

⁴²The site of Fort Armstrong. The camp on the Coosa was built in October, 1813, by Gen. John Cocke, 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.

⁴³Major 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.

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⁴⁸Chaplain

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three quarters of a mile, and the land was vey good and the timber was vey good of all kinds. I cold not git one yeare of corne and I fetched a vey large load of cane for the horses, and came throw the incampment and some horses lay thare, and as I pased throw the horses nickered for my cane tell my hart aked for them—the rivere runes vey still and vey deep and has high banks, and on this side, which is the south side, there is the apearance of a large intranchment⁴⁴ & apaires to bee done seven or eight yeares agow. ther is a large spring runing out of the banck of the quick sand. It will bee a famous river for boting, for it is allways deepe anuff for botes to run. ther is only one ford to cross in all nowing, that is whare General Jackson lays at the ten Islands,⁴⁵ which is thirty miles be low whare we now lay.

The best account we have had from General Jackson is that the first batele⁴⁶ he kiled 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 batele⁴⁷ that Jackson had he kiled two hundred and sixty wayers [warriors], and whome was all wayers fifty wayers charged throw the lines and made ther ascapes. the most of ther armes was taking from them, fifty rifles gunes the white twock from them. the Indians kiled sixty horses of the whites—

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

On Sunday 14teenth—William Rogers⁴⁸ preached to 12 oclock at the block house, whare there was a large asembly atended with much satesfaction, for the hole of them seemed to be engaged with solom inserety. the most of the men was melted into teeres under the sermont. after the preachen the[y] was dismissed without singen or prayer. the[y] started to ther deferent tents, which seemed to bee fifteen hundred men, all of one cholier nearer than I ever saw in my life before, no women nor children, all men. after I

⁴⁴Was this the scene of an earlier Indian battle?

⁴⁵The 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.

⁴⁶Tallushatchee, fought on the early morning of November 3, 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 Chinaby's men, and Jim Fife, of the Natchez tribe, distinguished themselves on the American side. Here it was that the young Indian lad, Lincoyer, was rescued by General Jackson. Jackson wrote Gov. Willie Blount, "We have retaliated for the destruction of Ft. Mimms." Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 341, 345; Lossing, *op. cit.*, 762-763.

⁴⁷Talledega. Lashley's Fort at this town, thirty miles below Ten Islands on the east side of the Coosa, housed some friendly Creeks. Hearing of an attack from hostile Creeks expected there, Jackson set out from Fort Strother with most of his troops, relying on General White and the East Tennessee troops to arrive soon. In the attack on November 9, 299 Indians were killed, and of the Americans only fifteen were killed, and eighty-seven wounded. Jackson then hastened back to Ten Islands. Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 349, 355.

⁴⁸Chaplain in Gen. John Cocke's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

went home I took a walk round the lines and counted the fiers which seprised me much. ther was two hundred and fifty diferent fiers, twelve men to each fier and some thirteen and fourteen to each fiere. the hole loines is one mile lone [long] which is camped in a hollow-square, the block house in the midst of the incampment, the horses and all the head ofesers [officers] and ther waters [waiters] in the midst of the lines—about 9 o'clock at knight ther was one of the Sentinales 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 heard some one walking tordes [towards] me and snaped ther gun tordes me behind the fiers. I haled them, and haled them twice and was redy to fire my piece, and the man ansered twice and said it was mee fixing my gunlook, which scared me much for I shold shot in aminit if he head not aspoock and shold kiled him without axsedent [accident]. when I took sedond [second] thought I was much scared. if I had kiled him, he or the[y] cold not ablamed me for it, because the hole of the men was ordered out in the inside of the incampment and he was out side of the incampment which was liabile to be shot without hailing aney— As quick as I was formed the Agjedent came to me and demanded six men out of my Company to goo and see what was don. I told six of the men to turn out amedentley [immediately]. John Walker, George Starmer, James Casedy, Lenard Calver, Moses Conkling staped out without delay, and marched to the Sentinal whare the firing was, and did not find the Sentinal, went to the mex [mess] and found him much scared. twoock his gun from him and ordered John Walker and James Casedy to garde him to the General, and the General on axamination clared him and sent him to his post. when all was don the oficer halowed "a fawlse alarme, Dismis your men." I dismisses my men and we went to bed as ushale [usual]—

On 15 Instant—the Cherokees brought in Six prisoners to this plase from the Seeder townes.⁴⁹ the[y] war Creeks⁵⁰ and when the[y] Came I went to See them, and they wair Stout high men and Straight bilt men, but they war verey black to the Cherokees.⁵¹

⁴⁹The 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.

⁵⁰The 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.

⁵¹The Cherokees are of middle stature, of an olive colour, tho 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.

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MORNING

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NOVEMBER 15

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 City, 1927), 75. The
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 ry movement. Hodge,

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The names of our officers at this plase as folowes: General John Cock,⁵² Colonel Wm Lillard,⁵³ Magor Bradley,⁵⁴ Agedent Wm Nolen,⁵⁵ Captaines. we have 16teen, ther names I now not. 4 horse Captaines, which makes twenty⁵⁶ in our Ridgement—

MORNING REPORT OF CAPTAIN JACOB HARTSELL COM TY INSTANT—

STATION	Corporis	Capt.	1 Lieutenant	2 Lieuts.	Ensigns	Sergeants	Musitions	Privats	TOTAL
NOVEMBER 15. 1813									
Present for Dewty.....	1	1	1	1	4	3	..	64	75
Sick Present		1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
on Detachment .....	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3
on Command .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
on Daly Duty.....	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	4
Waters [Waiters] .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Absent without consent.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Deserters .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
in confinement .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Aggregate	1	2	1	4	4	8	..	64	75

On Tuesday 16—it Rained and Sleated some—

⁵²Gen. John Cocke (1772-1854), the son of William and Mary McLin 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 Enotochopo. 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, at Camp Ross, but at a court martial Cocke was acquitted. He later went to Congress. His home was at Rutledge, Grainger county, Tennessee. "The Cocke Family," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, April, 1897), II, 152 *et seq.*

⁵³Col. William Lillard (1744-1830), the son of James and Keziah 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 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 Hiwassee district in 1825. J. E. S. Lillard (comp.), *Lillard Family* (Richmond, 1928), 47.

⁵⁴William Bradley; see note 43.

⁵⁵Should be Adjutant Thomas Nolen.

⁵⁶The roll of officers of the second regiment of East Tennessee Volunteers, commanded by Col. William Lillard was as follows: William Lillard, colonel; William Snodgrass, lieutenant colonel; William Bradley, 1st major; Isaac Allen, 2nd major; Thomas Vandyke, surgeon; Thomas Nolen, adjutant; William Rutledge, quartermaster; Arthur G. Armstrong, R. commissary; George Turnley, sergeant major; James Masengale, quartermaster sergeant; James Burrow, drum major; George Argenbright, captain; Thomas Sharp, captain; Zacheus Copeland, captain; Jacob Dyke, captain; William Gillenwaters, captain; William Hamilton, captain; Jacob Hartsell, captain; George Keyes, captain; Benj. H. King, captain; James Lillard, captain; Robert Maloney, captain; Hugh Marton, captain; Robert McAlpin, captain; Thomas McCuiston, captain; William McLin, captain; John Neathernton, captain; John Roper, captain; Abraham Gregg, ensign. Tennessee State Archives.

A Provision Returns for Captain Jacob Hartsells Company of E T Volenteers beginning on the 16 November and ending on the same—Camp Armstrong⁵⁷—No. of men—75; No. of days—1; No. of Rations—75; Total—75. Jacob Hartsell Captain—Quarter Master Isue, seventy five compleat rations agreeable to the above returne—Wm Lillard, Colonel.

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

November 17 day 1813—It was a verey driseley knight 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

STATION ARMSTRONG NOVEMBER 17TH, 1813	1 Capt-	1 Lieut	2 Lieut	Ensigns	Sergeants	Corporals	Musitions	Privats	Total
Privates for dewty.....	48	75
Sick present	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
on Detachment	1	1	..	..	14	..
on Daly command	3	..
on Daley dewty	1	..
Waters
absent without leave
Deserted
In confinement
Aggregate	1	1	1	1	4	3	0	64	75

DO on the same day—John Slaygal⁵⁸ Deserted about 9 oclock in the morning—

On Thursday 18th Instant—it Snowed verey hard about Day Brack. We hared from General Jackson by Magor Rogers⁵⁹ and Magor Minns.⁶⁰ the[y] fetched aney Strate account⁶¹ that ther was three hundred Creeck Wayers kiled on the ground be sides some wounded and toock prisoner; and if it had not abin for a deputy quarter Master, the[y] might kiled the hole of them on the ground. the[y] Had serounded them Compleatley and the quarter master Came to one side and said the General Commanded him to tell them to Retreat fifteen pases, Which the[y] did and when the[y] retreated &

⁵⁷This is the first reference to the camp under the name Armstrong.

⁵⁸A private in Captain Hartsell's company.

⁵⁹David 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.

⁶⁰Major Minns is not listed in Tennessee State Archives.

⁶¹This 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 15 killed and 87 wounded, of which 2 died later. Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 349; A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1851), 296.

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COMP TY INSTANT

Corporals	Musitions	Privats	Total
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3	0	64	75

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regiment of mounted
14, 1814. Tennessee

Col. Edward Bradley,
y Indians. The true
l later. Bassett, *op.*
, 296.

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went to the General and told him that one side of his loines was Retreating, and the General ordered one Ridgement to march in the Rare of the loines that was Retreating and the Indians had one broadside to Retreat in, the[y] charged throw and kiled 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 loos from the gard fiere and made his ascape. one of the Sentinales 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 Strenght and Condition of a Company at this plase, now Incamped. Station Armstrong, Camp Coocy⁶²—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 Flint 75 Knapsacks 73 Blankets 70 tomehocks 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 newse Came that one of the prisoners had escaped from the gard fier. amedeately at the brack of day Seven of my boys went to the General, and got a purmit to grow after him—

On Friday 19 Instant—I hapened to be at the Generals ten[t], and the Chiefe indian of the Cherokees⁶³ Came to the Generals tent to know what to do with the Indains that he and his men had toock prisoner. he stated that he had bin at General Whites Ridgement, whare 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 pleases. and General Cock told him to doo with them as he though[t] proper. two of them they kiled amedeateley, and the other three they twock home with them as frendeley Indians. those two that the[y] kiled, they shot and Tomahocked in a crewal maner. one of them the[y] twock one scalpe of him, the other they twock three calpes of him be cause the[y] said he kiled 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 ther Companyes to kill aney thing that they cold find and bring it to the block house, and everey man to have a equal Share of the meat that they cold kill.⁶⁴ on

⁶²Hartsell calls the camp Camp Coosa, Station Armstrong, and Camp Armstrong.

⁶³Although 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 Tallushatchee. Pickett, *op. cit.*, I, 295; Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 336, 341.

⁶⁴With 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. Strother." Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 361.

this day Much Confution was amongst the men Concerning the Campaigneys. Some of the oficers Swore that they wold march no further. Some of the prvates Swore that they wold march home if it got aney worse— In the Evning I went to the block house and counted Eighteen head of hoges that was kiled and brought to the house and maney more Came after wardes. ther was beefe anuff for the hole of the men to draw for two days. be sides the pork ther was severale Beeves kiled on the same day and brough[t] on the ground. Some turkeys.

On Saturday 20—It was a verey prety Day and verey warme. on the same knight the newse⁶⁵ of our horse men came to the General that they had twock three hundred prisoners, and had kiled 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 Enock Kinshelow and Marck been met John Slaygal back to my in Campment and I told the boyes to git him something to Eat, and then I ment to hold a cort Martial over him and went to the Lieutenants Camps and the[y] was not thare. I had the opertunity to Councile him and told him the Disoner of Deserting on the turmes [terms] that you did and he Seemed not to mind it nomor then if he had not transgressed. Whilest I was taulking with him, Magor Minet⁶⁶ Came and Demanded the Deserter that Enock Kinshelow Brought back. I ordered Sergeant Rubele⁶⁷ 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 axamination 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 conversed with me on the subject verey kind and I told the General that I was verey 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 asleap on a post it is Death. to Diny a manes name it is Deth. he head Doone two of the Crimes and on unavailing within the Cort martial. the[y] maid the thing shor[t] and easey 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 tell nine oclock, then all the men of three Ridge-

⁶⁵The 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 Hiwassee 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.

⁶⁶William C. Mynatt, aide de campe to Gen. John Cocke, served from September 25, 1813, to January 16, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.

⁶⁷John G. Rubele, of Washington county, 2nd sergeant in Hartsell's company.

ments was to be Drawes In tow [two] Lines fifty pases Distents apart, and a gard of men Chosen to gard Sd Slagle to the midle of the two lines, and one halfe of Sd Slagle fase 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 armes; two at the flanck tow at the Rare of Sd Slagle and all the drumes and fifes in three Ridgements to be be hind said gard, and the Roses march to be beet after him to the left of the Ridgement to which he belongst, then wheled to the left and marched throw the hole of the men and then throw the Sentinals and pases to the Right about and Dismised. or offiser or privat to sufer him in Camp or to be caut taulking with him or the[y] shald be punished for the Crime—

Mond 21 day Instant—I hared of Capt Mackling⁶⁸ Laying in Six miles of us. after Slaygal 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,⁶⁹ and he granted me the Request. Capt McLings brother,⁷⁰ Capt Dick,⁷¹ and Eight of my boyes went armed in the best maner to meet them. when we Came in forty pases Capt Dick and myself marched in frunt of the lines. we opened the lines halfe of the men on each Side of the Rode and Seluted them, when the[y] head [had] pased throw the lines Commanded Shoulder armes and went fored to See the men. the[y] came runing to mee on Evey Side and Shuck hands In the hith [height] of the Joy. Magor doring [Doran]⁷² Came up and a glader man I never Saw. he puled his botele and Dranke to me with much Joy, and made me aquanted with a Capt out of his county.⁷³ Evey Man Seemed to Leap Round me with Joy and we Sent in for the best musick ther was in the Incampment. the musick Came. we formed the Company, my men in the Rare of Capt McLings men, mee and Capt Dick and Capt Mc Loney [Maloney]⁷⁴ marched in frunt of the Company In to the Incampment, and they was Recived and his Incampment was Layed off, which was a disagreeeable one. I made apli- cation to the General to let Capt Mc ling Incamp with my Company and the green [county] Companey⁷⁵ this knight. he granted it. on the next day the[y] Camped on the frunt of the lines. on the Same day the morning Some of the Cherokees Caut one of the Creecks askouting round the In Camp-

⁶⁸Captain 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).

⁶⁹Captain Jesse Cole's company in Col. Samuel Wear's regiment was from Carter county, Tennessee. War of 1812 Records.

⁷⁰James McLin was a sergeant in Captain George 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.

⁷¹Capt. Jacob Dyke led a company in Lillard's regiment, which mustered out at Greenville on February 8, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.

⁷²Probably 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.

⁷³Probably Capt. Jesse Cole.

⁷⁴Capt. Robert Maloney, of Greene county, led a company in Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

⁷⁵Captain Dyke's and Captain Maloney's companies.

ment. the[y] twock 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] twock him to the Indian fire. I was present at the Same time one of the Cheroke Indians twock his nife out and caut his hare that was Clubed up and Cut it off Close to his head. amedetely they twock him tordes the gard. he wold not walk aney further. one of the Indians Struck his tomahock 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 twock the scalp in his hand and jumped about and holed, "aleway, aleway," and Seemed much Regoiced much. one of the others Striped him; another put a rope round his neck and drawed him Round the neck to the other two. Several of them Stuck ther knives. he drawed him selfe up. the[y] holowed wors. then I returned be fore the[y] twock him away. the[y] twock him In to the tents whar the Shee Coocys and Children was and all the women and cryed and made Everey kind of noise.⁷⁶ I stowed amaised and lowocked [looked] for one houre. abram fine⁷⁷ was with me. he said he wold not miss his trip for five hundred Dollars. they ware Cooeking and baking all sorts of nastiness with Viteles. I thought It wold kill me to Eat the Viteles that the[y] Cooaked. whilst I was Standing thare the[y] holowed over the River that ther was more prisoners⁷⁸ on the other Side of the River. the Cunuow [canoe] was bisey from that time tell knight fetching the prisoners and the horse men over. ther was 27 men which was wayers [warriors]. the deferent Captains marched in frunt of the prisoners and Some of the men In the Rare of the prisoners and marched them to the Generals life gard holow square. on ad-samination the[y] found out ther was one of the head Indians⁷⁹ 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 Tueseday about twelve o'clock. It head bin verey wet the day be fore and all the knigh and this morning the Camping ground was verey 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 Coocy wiming and children the Cherokees twock home with them—

On Wensday 24 day—Capt Mc Loney was arested for giting Drunck and Disorderley Conduct. I was caled on to atend Cort Martial on that acount, and Several of the offisers to try the Case at twelve oclock in the fournoon. We drew a purtition [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 Myselpe and Capt McLing and Capt Mc Loney went to the Generals tent with the paper and the General whene he Came Torede the paper that the names was Signed to, the General Tolde his adicamp to with Draw the Charge that Capt Mc Loney was arested for on the Spot, and give

⁷⁶"The 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 countrymen." S. C. Williams, *Memoirs of Timberlake*, 82, n.

⁷⁷Abraham Fine, a private in Hartsell's company.

⁷⁸Taken at the Hillabee towns on November 18.

⁷⁹Billy Scott. See note 65.

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him orders to Returne to his former Company and Command It with Care. the General Said he was Sorow to See aney man brought before a cortmartial for his Disdemenier. the Captain excused him selfe in the bist Turmes 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 houre I was Caled on to meet at the block house to try another Capt in Colonal Browns⁸⁰ Ridgement, for being Intoxekated the Evening be fore and abeusing his Company. he kicked Several kiteles off the fire, and Spilt the Vituales that was in the Same, and Drew his Sord and Swore that he wold bee Com-mander in Chiefe, and if aney bodey said to the contrarey 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; thurdeley, for not tending to their Rations as be come a officer in the Service. the Cortmartial was conveyed [convens⁸⁰ and swaring [sworn in]. the trial was poot off tell next morning at ten oclock. the men meet on the trial. Capt Underwood⁸¹ sent his Resig-nation to the Colonal of the Ridgement that he belonged to. The Colonal of the Cortmartial, which was presedent of the Cortmartial, he Excipited [ac-cepted] his Resignation, and the Cortmartial Santioned It, and ther was a a Record Entered of it and the Cort was Dismised tell one oclock 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 Browns 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, Ser-geants—4, Corporals—4, Privats—46, Total—68.

Sick Present—0, Sick Absent—0, On Command to Rosses⁸²—3, Privats On gard—7, Privats On Fortiegue—4, Privats Absent without leave—0, Deserters—0, In Confinement—0.

Aggregate—72

November 27th day 1813—Magor parker⁸³ and Joseph Mc Clarey out of Capt David G Vances⁸⁴ Mounted Company Stayed withe mee on the Reason of Joseph McClares loosing of his horse. John Miller left my Company by hiring a subestute in his plase. On the twenty eight Instant I was apointed

⁷⁹Col. John Brown (1779-1845), of Roane 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.

⁸⁰Capt. John Underwood served from September 30, 1813, until November 25, 1813, when "he was broke." Capt. James Standifer took his company. Tennessee State Archives.

⁸¹Camp Ross, from where the provisions were being hauled overland.

⁸²Major. Parker's name is not on the Tennessee State Roll in the Archives.

⁸³Capt. David G. Vance led a company of mounted infantry under Col. Samuel Bunch, October 16, 1813, to January 22, 1814. Tennessee State Archives.

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 whare the men was Desputing much. I lisened to ther Deferent tailes 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 provition 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 bought Some when we was Scarce. that shet ther mouthes Close and the[y] goot verey 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 betwene Lieutennant White⁸⁵ and Jshoar Celey.⁸⁶ Celey was Isuing of beefe to the Soldiars and Lieutenant White was Concerned about the Rations. Celer ordered him out and White told him that he Did not use the Soldiars well, for he Sold the publick whiskey at fifty cents pur quart, and the[y] wold not alow the men more then fifty 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 nocked the gun up wich Saved White from being Shot. Cunegum out of mairesvill⁸⁷ jurked Capt McLing away and told Celer to Shoot the dammed Scoundrel. White jumped to the gun. one of Capt McLings men caut Cunegum and Swore he Could whip him. Cunegum wold not fite him. Celer drew his Tomehock 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 pretalion [battalion] then acrowss the End of the Line Coling [calling] at Everey Captains tent to Join them in the Seronaid to march Round the Deferent Ridgement to join In the Evning Seronaid. I my Selfe toock up the Idea that ther was Some good nuse from General Jacksons arney. when all the Captains was Colected we formed in Coloms of fore [four]. the first Colom marched in frunt 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

⁸⁵Lieutenant Frederick White was in Capt. Jacob Dyke's company, Lillard's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

⁸⁶Joshua Celey, who was probably a quartermaster.

⁸⁷Cunningham from Maryville. An Alexander Cunningham served as a private in Capt. Lunsford Oliver's company, Col. John Brown's regiment. Tennessee State Archives.

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all was Collected we marched to the Generals tent and beat Jefersons liberty⁸⁸ and marched Round the tent and halted in abrest, Expecting the General to Come and Selute us or reed Some leter. We stood about one minit and the General Did not appair. the[y] Sent in to his tent for to See what was the mater. the[y] found the General asliep 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 Gentele men Come tordes the fiere. the officer ordered to the Rignt tebout face, Dismissed, which was Capt Hambileton from pauls value.⁸⁹ the officers was much Displeases about it. To think that the[y] Shold Expose ther Selves to march in the cold So long to bee faced to the Right about and be dismissed at the Generals tent, when he Did not pay aney adresses to the officers when the[y] Came to his tent In order agreeable to his order. Capt McLing and Captain Mc Loney and Capt Mckees⁹⁰ and Capt Dick and my selfe which was on one loine as we marched we Joined and made one file when we was faced to the Right about and dismissed we went to our tents verey Cold and not pleases well.

November 30 Day 1813—Magor Smith⁹¹ had the Deferent Companyes Coled to gether to Inspect ther arms. on adsamination ther was fourteen of my Companeyns guns out of Repair. Some of the locks was out of order, Some of the trigers was out of Repair—

The Generals⁹² Orders was to Everey Captain in the Second Ridgement to make a trew a Statement of the Streight and Condition of ther Companey, gunes, amminition, and quantety of men that Inroled 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 whare, ther names, and ther Disorder, the men that is gon with the wagon to Roses, or the plase whare aney of them might bee, the Day and Date when Inroled, and from what County the[y] Came—

A trew Returne of Captain Jacob Hartsells Companey, of Est Tennessee Volenteers. In Roled October 12th 1813, In Jonesborough, Washington County.

Jacob Hartsell, Capt	1	James Casidy	4
Isaac Hartsell, Lieut	2	Corporals	1
Samuel Bayles, do	3	Joshua Gaines	2
George Starmer, Ensign	4	Thomas Carley	3
Sergeants		Anthony Holen	4
Thomas Sheral	1	Adam Andis	4
John G Rubels	2	Privats	1
John Odele	3	John Shagle	1

⁸⁸Jefferson's Liberty March, a popular air during the War of 1812.

⁸⁹Capt. William Hamilton from Powell's Valley, the captain who volunteered for longer service when Lillard's regiment went home in January.

⁹⁰Capt. George Keyes of Sullivan county.

⁹¹Alexander 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.

⁹²Gen. Thomas Pinckney, 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		alexander fulkirson	37
George Bayles	2	Terey White	38
abraham fine	3	Thomas Whitecer	39
Stith M Laughling	4	got off by aplying to fision october	
Richard Haile	5	29 day 1813	
Philip Creselus	6	Samuel Dugles	40
andrew Lilbourn	7	Samuel Millir	41
John Walker	8	Jacob Jackson	42
Jese Garland	9	John Inglish	43
Philip McCray	10	got off by aplying to a fision october	
Jonathan Tucker	11	29 day 1813	
Samuel Randeles	12	Abram Tinker	44
John Tilson	13	Lenard Calvert	45
Wm Battles	14	John Fulmer	46
Thomas D Briles	16	Joseph Briton	47
Jesse Hampton	17	Stephen pitcock	48
George Jackson	18	John Ingram	49
Thomas Baron	19	William Proyer	50
William Ingle	20	John Wood	51
Turner Smith	21	Thomas Charlton	52
Adam White	22	Fredrick Starens	53
John Ingle	23	Joseph Megines	54
Isaac Thrasher	24	Joseph Lain	55
Jonathan Collens	25	left Sick be hind October 29 day 1813	
James Eperson	26	Henry Nelson	56
John Cloyed	27	James Mitchale	57
John Brown	28	Moses Jobe	58
Joseph Haire	29	James Wilhite	59
Isaac Charler	30	Joshua Collens	60
Davied Boman	31	Moses Conk	61
John Garland	32	Benjamin Eperson	62
Henry Click	33	John Mitchale	63
William Whitson	34		
Hugh Marton	35		
James Vest	36		

Everey man armed—Number of armes..... 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 Volenteers

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 Colected and Compleateley Everey man armed, It made the best Show that I ever Saw. agedent Wm Nolen⁹⁸ Came and Driled the Deferent Companey. The agedent Said it was Don in high Stile. It much plaised him to See men So well Dicipelened, And I believe there was not one musket in the hole Loine. I think that it was the pretyeth Muster that I ever Saw with my eys. Jacob Hartsell, Capt.

On last Evning we Recived orders on the first Day of December to pre-rade Everey Company at nine oclock in the morning To larn the Deferent

⁹⁸Hartsell meant Adjutant Thomas Nolen of Lillard's regiment.

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Steps and the Deferent fasings, the formation of Companeys, Displaying of Coloms, and forming Companeys from Coloms. I Caled my Company to gether at the Beat of Drum at nine oclock. I ranked and Size My Company the quickes and Easiest and best that Ever was Seene in the United States, which amaised all the other Companeys so much that the[y] Did not Doo anything but Stand and loock at my Company for Some time. then the Deferent Companeys begun to form plat toons. Some of them wold have three men in a platoon, Some five in a platoon which made the motions quite ocred [awkward]. my Company purformed 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 Cowan⁹⁴ Depty quarter Magor General. Captain Jacob Hartsell Officer of the Day. on the first day of november. the Perole Thomas, Countersign Madeson—*

⁹⁴Andrew Cowan served as senior adjutant under Maj. Gen. John Cocke, November 25, 1813. Tennessee State Archives.

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