

THE DIARY OF A CHAPLAIN IN ANDREW JACKSON'S ARMY:
THE JOURNAL OF THE REVEREND MR. LEARNER BLACK-
MAN—DECEMBER 28, 1812-APRIL 4, 1813.*

EDITED BY DAWSON A. PHELPS

Nashville was in flurry of activity during the early winter of 1812. Not since 1803, when Thomas Jefferson had ordered a brigade of Tennessee militia to Natchez, had so many uniforms brightened its streets. In November Andrew Jackson received his commission as a Major General with instructions to "call out, arm and equip fifteen hundred of the militia of Tennessee . . . for their march to New Orleans for the defense of the lower country . . ."¹

Volunteers, a thousand more than had been called for, swarmed from every part of Middle Tennessee. They arrived on December 10 to find the Cumberland frozen from bank to bank, an event that occurs about once in thirty years. Jackson infused some of his dynamic energy into the preparations for the departure, so that the bitter cold which continued for more than a month scarcely slowed down the bustle of activity.

Three days after the rendezvous of the volunteers, Jackson, in general orders, announced his staff and the officers who were to lead the different units of his command.² Included in the list were the names of such men as Thomas Hart Benton who was to serve in the United States Senate for thirty years, William Carroll and John Coffee who were to distinguish themselves on the battlefield of Chalmette, and others who were to achieve fame in Tennessee annals.

Provision was made for a chaplain, but the man who was to occupy this place was not named until December 28.³ The choice fell to Learner Blackman, the most prominent Methodist circuit rider of Middle Tennessee.

He accompanied the Tennessee troops who, shortly after the outbreak of war, had been ordered to join the United States forces at New Orleans, commanded by James H. Wilkinson, for the purpose

* For reasons set out in Volume XI, Number 1, p. 96, this article is published substantially as sent in by the contributor. The editor of the *Quarterly* has not edited either for content or form.

¹ Willie Blount, Governor of Tennessee, to Jackson, November 11, 1812, in John S. Bassett (ed.) *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (6 vols., Washington, 1926-1935), I, 239. Cited hereinafter as *Correspondence*. For a vivid description of the preparations, see James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (3 vols., New York, 1859-1860), I, 368.

² *Correspondence*, I, 247.

³ See below, p. 268.

of occupying the Floridas. While the Volunteers were en route to Natchez, Congress refused to approve the proposed operation, and as a consequence Jackson was instructed to dismiss his force. This he refused to do, and assuming the responsibility for their pay and rations, led his men back to Tennessee. The Chaplain ministered to the spiritual needs of the command throughout its trip down the rivers and its return over the Natchez Trace.

Blackman was no novice at religion. A native of New Jersey, born in 1781, he had begun his missionary career in Kentucky and Tennessee in 1802. In October, 1804, he was selected by his ecclesiastical superiors for "the superintendency of that important difficult outpost"—the old Natchez District in the recently created Mississippi Territory.⁴

Accompanied by the famous eccentric, Lorenzo Dow, he left Franklin, Tennessee, on October 23 for his new station. This, the first of several journeys over the Natchez Trace, lasted for 17 days. Though the already well-known trail and post road through 400 miles of wilderness was reputed dangerous, the missionaries met no hostile Indians or bandits. They had failed to carry enough food, and went hungry one day before more was supplied by the Chickasaw Indians. Occasionally, a wild turkey supplemented food provided by the few inns or "stands" which were being established along the road. One night their horses strayed from camp but were returned by an "Indian and a Negro." The hair-raising predictions of dangers to be faced were not realized. It was a most commonplace journey.⁵

Blackman found a number of Methodist circuits and churches had already been established by the pious and energetic Tobias Gibson who had died in the preceding April after a ministry of four years in the Territory. The newly arrived circuit rider visited the widely dispersed settlements of Mississippi Territory, even venturing across the Mississippi to Opelousas, and to other places in Louisiana, where he established a few "societies"—then the Methodist name for a local congregation.

The Reverend Mr. Blackman remained in Mississippi Territory for three years and three months, effecting a district organization

⁴ John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism . . . In Mississippi . . .* (2 vols., Nashville, 1887-1908), I, 115 ff. All references are from Vol. I, cited hereinafter as *Methodism*.

⁵ For Dow's account of the journey, see Lorenzo Dow, *Life, Travels, Labors and Writings . . .* (New York, 1856), 155-156. In the preceding year Dow had started from Natchez and rode over the Trace. On this journey he was molested by a group of armed Indians, but escaped without injury.

which he supervised, after 1806, as presiding elder. The district consisted of three circuits east of the Mississippi and one on its western bank. He twice made round trip journeys over the Natchez Trace to attend meetings of the Western Conference of his church, that of 1805 in Scott County, Kentucky, and that of 1806 in Greene County, Tennessee.⁶

By January, 1808, the Reverend Mr. Blackman felt that his work in Mississippi Territory was completed. On January 18 he, one of a company of six, mounted his horse for another journey, his sixth, over the Natchez Trace. He reported a "comfortable journey" except for the last day in the wilderness when "it snowed all day and was very cold." After riding about 40 miles in "snow near a foot deep" the travelers spent the night at "Mr. Dobbins's."⁷ The next two days must have been hard going as they only got as far as Franklin.

From Nashville Blackman continued through Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania to New Jersey for a brief visit at the home of his parents. In May of the same year he attended the Baltimore General Conference of the Methodist Church in a fruitless quest for a church, or circuit, near Philadelphia. William McKendree was elected bishop at this meeting. For eight years he had been the moving spirit among the Methodists of the West, and had sent Blackman to Mississippi four years earlier. The newly elected Bishop now prevailed on Blackman to return to the West, and designated him Presiding Elder of the Holston District in East Tennessee. After two years of itinerant preaching to the mountaineers of that region Blackman was transferred as Presiding Elder to the Cumberland District in Middle Tennessee—a position he held until his death, by drowning, on June 7, 1815.⁸

The Reverend Mr. Jones who began riding the Mississippi Circuit only seven years after Blackman's death, described him as a man who:

had no eccentricities, no sharp points to unnecessarily irritate or offend those within or without the church; there was nothing repulsive in his personal appearance, words or actions, either in or out of the pulpit. He was more than ordinarily well beloved in all respects; genial in spirit,

⁶ Learner Blackman [Autobiography] MS. Winans Collection, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Chapters 3 to 9 inclusive, of this work, with no record as to how it was acquired, are to be found in the Collection. Chapter 8 was published in *Methodism*, 171-179.

⁷ Located near the extinct town of Gordonsburg, Lewis County, Tennessee, about 20 miles southwest of Columbia. Dawson A. Phelps, "Stands and Travel Accommodations on the Natchez Trace," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XI (1949), 51. Cited hereinafter as "Stands."

⁸ *Methodism*, 183.

dignified
associate
with the
same tim
cultivated
intent on

From
did not c
who und
carry the
719, set
to the he
find hea

lonely, a
severe pl
and Cart

Black
wrote me
undertoo

so much
I thirsted
more per

Black
volumin

October
Winans

History.

few frag
period I

ences as
Natchez.

and thei
for the

Mississippi
spelling

Mon. 28
to see if

Major G
such a c
the Army

⁹ Metho
¹⁰ Blac

dignified without stiffness, a fluent conversationalist without levity, he could associate without embarrassment with the high officials of the Territory and with the most refined, intelligent and elevated classes of society, and at the same time make himself so agreeable in the cabins of the poor and less cultivated, . . . that he was everywhere hailed as a friend and benefactor, intent on doing them good without any mixture of evil.⁹

From Blackman's extant writings, it appears that his preaching did not differ materially from that of Augustine and his companions who under somewhat similar conditions, in 597, went to Britain to carry the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons, or that of Boniface who, in 719, set out to evangelize Germany. Like these venerable apostles to the heathen, he traveled constantly, preached wherever he could find hearers, said prayers over the dead, comforted the sick and lonely, and while never threatened with martyrdom had to undergo severe physical hardships. He is remembered along with McKendree and Cartwright, as one of the "apostles to the West."

Blackman was not a learned man although he read widely and wrote more than passably well. While riding the Holston circuit he undertook the study of Greek, but

so much riding and so much preaching prevented my making much progress. I thirsted for knowledge, but also I thirsted for nearer access to God and a more perfect conformity to his will.¹⁰

Blackman, besides writing a part of an autobiography, kept a voluminous journal, of which only one small volume, for the period October 15, 1812, to July 15, 1813, of 72 pages, is a part of the Winans Collection, of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. It is written in a clear legible hand, and is, except for a few frayed corners, well preserved. That part of it covering the period December 28, 1812, to April 4, 1813, recording his experiences as chaplain to the Tennessee Volunteers on their voyage to Natchez, their stay in Camp Jackson, near Washington, Mississippi, and their return to Nashville over the Natchez Trace is here printed for the first time, by courtesy of the Historical Society of the Mississippi (Methodist) Annual Conference. Errors of grammar and spelling have not been corrected.

Mon. 28 [December 1812] Contrary to my expectation—a Messenger came to see if I would go down the Mississippi with the Army commanded by Major General Jackson as Chaplain. I hesitated to know what was duty in such a case—I paused I ultimately concluded I could be of some use to the Army especially that part of them that are Methodist. Secondly I have

⁹ *Methodism*, 126.

¹⁰ Blackman, [Autobiography].

for along time desired to visit my friends my extensive acquaintance that I formed in the Mississippi Territory & to visit New Orleans 3ly I felt it to be a very great cross I dare not go by it for fear of committing sin hence I go in the name of the God of Armies may he protect me & protect the Army The Emoluments are considerable its said they are worth 125 Dollars pr. month. I devised a plan which was the following that I trust will convince all that may have their suspicions about my motives—I I shall pay my Quarterage out of the emoluments—What would be my allowance 2 All the expenses incurred in consequence of expedition I Reserve the privilege of giving to whom I may think best and to objects of Charity and submit the whole account with the money I may have in hand not disposed of as above stated to the next annual Conference of which I am a member. O! my God. I am about to enter in to a new Scene I need much grace to shield me much zeal for thy great name—Go with me, O, thou God of Armies & direct my Course make me useful may I do good and git good. To day is the 5th of Jan—1813 I feel my mind composed—Theres a Heaven beyond the troubles & way of this Jarring world—Today is the 10th We embark. I am now on board of the Generals Boat I feel my [zeal] fixed on the high and holy one of Israel who inhabits Eternity. The Lord my [illegible] prosperous and the expedition Successful without the Loss of the lives and blood of our fellow Citizens. Monday 11 the last evening was the first evening I spent on board the Boat. Most of the Commanding officers came together & as it was Sabbath evening I took the liberty to read a part of the 10th chapter of the Gospel by St. Matthew preached some on fear not them which can kill the body but cannot kill the soul but rather fear him that hath power to Cast both soul and body into hell. I felt some embarrassed to speak to a few officers of information but not one of them religious—Thank God that they have been civil polite and agreeable—I am in a critical place But that God that preserved Daniel among the Lions can preserve me among wicked. O may they become religious O my God may my feable efforts be blessed May I be of some use. I feel now that the army is my charge while I am with them¹¹ Tues 12 only floated to the mouth of Harpeth about 4 or 5 detailed to distribute the army.¹² I went up to my old friend Dawsons preached to a small company collected at short notice. Stayed & preached at night—a considerable Company black and white from if it bare fruit well but if not then after that thou shall cut it down—Wed 13. We are now about leaving the mouth of Harpeth to float down on the bosom of the rolling Stream. We have prayer at night on board the Generals Boat But in the [Ms. torn] The Beating of the drum fixing to [Ms. torn]

¹¹ An aide of Jackson, probably Lt. Robert Searcy, kept a journal of the events occurring on the voyage, printed as "The Departure from Nashville," a Journal of the Trip down the Mississippi," *Correspondence*, I, 256-275, cited hereinafter as *Journal*. Of Blackman's first sermon Searcy wrote: "In the evening we had a very appropriate and sensible discourse delivered by the Revd. Mr. Blackman, Chaplain to the army, to a select company of officers and men. Mr. Blackman said it was Sunday, and the time of departure, he thought it his duty to admonish those around him. He concluded by a very affecting prayer for the success of the expedition, and for the Individual happiness of the General, Officers and men engaged in carrying it on."

¹² Part of the army had moved to the mouth of the Harpeth River, about twenty miles below Nashville, on January 7, where the different units were to be assigned to boats, and navigation instructions issued. *Journal*, 258.

it mak
It is no
Nashvi
want n
I coul
dispose
on us a
Sat. 16
pend
[to ass
go to t
instruc
quarter
Captain
I pr
and th
for he
him.]
rupted
place.¹
Compa
the po
on to
my ste
Barrels
in for
into C
and pr
the No
13 T
parently
258.
14 "
ing. M
a half
saved b
Bradley
Genera
pose."
15 "
Willian
men fe.
16 "
minute
Journal
Revolu
he bec
west in
that st
of cont
Laws,
Biograp
F. A.
(32 vol

It makes too much noise it does not seem proper to introduce prayer.¹³ It is now the 15th we are I suppose some more than one hundred miles from Nashville. This day I have used Absintance [sic] my mind seems calm. I want more of the flame of religion. I should I think enjoy myself very well if I could have the opportunity of preaching to the soldiers oftener—O my God dispose the officers to hear and encourage preaching. The Lord have Mercy on us and direct us in the right way

Sat. 16. We had some conversation with the General about how we were to spend the Sabbath The General Concluded that it would not be Convenient [to assemble] the Boats for the purpose of divine worship but that I could go to the different Boats & Captains Company & pray with them & give such instruction as I might think proper. I said General I Shall begin at Headquarters at 10 oclock Sun. 17. About 10 oclock at the Generals Boat with Captain Carrols Company.

I prayed & give out this for my text. Let the wicked forsake his way—and the uprighteous man his thoughts and let him return unto the Lord for he will have mercy on him & to our God for he will abundantly pardon him. I spoke to them I expect forty or fifty Minutes but was some interrupted in consequence of an Island which threw the Boat into a narrow place.¹⁴ I then proceed on to Captain Douglasses Boat & preached to his Company with out interruption from seek the Lord while he may be found the power of the Lord I think attended it in some degree. I then proceeded on to Captain Williamson & Capt. Wrenshaws Boats lashed together I took my stand on the top of Capt. Williamsons Boat but there being Several Barrels of pork on the rough [roof?] when the Company came up it fell in for 8 or 10 feet,¹⁵ But did no material injury We then Collected them into Cap Wr[enshaws] Boat & preached to them I believe to some purpose and profit. We then drew nigh to Edgeville the County seet of Calwell on the North West Bank of Cumberland I went up to Col. Lions¹⁶ to see an old

¹³The greater part of the army, on this day, moved to Clarksville. Blackman apparently tried to hold a service on the boat before landing, hence the confusion. *Journal*, 258.

¹⁴"Early this morning, we were informed by those on watch, that a boat was sinking. Majr. Carroll and A. Hynes who were in bed, arose and went up the River about a half a mile and found it was quarter master Alexander's Boat. Majr. Alexander saved his provisions and horses and part of his corn and put them on Board Colo. Bradley's Boat. The Revd. Mr. Blackman preached this morning on the roof of the Generals and Guard's Boats; and afterwards attended other Boats for the same purpose." *Journal*, 259.

¹⁵"While the Rev'd Mr. Blackman was performing divine service on Board, Capt Williamson's Boat, the collection being great, the roof gave way, and about a dozen men fell through, to the great astonishment of the Prea[c]her and others." *Journal*, 259.

¹⁶"The Gen'l met with the notorious, Matthew Lyon, and took him on board a few minutes, gave him as much whiskey as he could drink, and then sent him a shore." *Journal*, 259. Lyon, a native of Ireland, migrated to America in 1765, served in the Revolution, settled in Vermont, and represented his state in Congress, 1797-1801. Here he became acquainted with Jackson who had been elected to the House in 1797. Moving west in 1801, Lyon settled in Eddyville, Kentucky, and from 1803 to 1811 represented that state in Congress. Lyon's career was, like that of Huey Long of a later period, full of controversy; the best known episode being his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws, and his prosecution and conviction under the later. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Eddyville was located about 45 miles below the mouth of the Cumberland. F. A. Michaux, "Voyage to the West . . ." in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), III, 81.

acquaintance, felt somewhat weary but felt conscious I had spent the sabbath in the best manner I could under existing Circumstances. Mon. 18. after Breakfast I went to Capt. Martins Boat with a design to preach but they Capt. Seem to rather I should come at night I preached first at Capt. Wallaces Boat one of his Company was sick which seemed very desirous that I should pray for him I then proceeded on to Capt. Bledsoes Boat preached a short Sermon—His second Lieutenant got badly burnt with powder in his & hand. Its to be doubted whether he will ever see with his natural eyes—¹⁷ Preached at Captain Martins Boat to his company had a serious calami[ty.] Tues 19 we are now at the Mouth of Cumberland the ice runs so fast in the Ohio its thought to be dangerous to venture into the Ohio. We shall be much exposed I expect as we go down the Great River may God that Caused the mountains to rise and the rivers to flow guard and protect us in the midst of danger 20 of January Cannot go for ice. I have taken some calo.¹⁸ I want to live by faith, we are in a world of disappointments all the elements Conspire against poor feable man 21 Jan. I met with an old acquaintance Visited a sick woman on the borders of Eternity. But she was very desirous that I should pray with her.¹⁹ Mr. Cottin desired me to preach to them at night. I consented 40 or 50 attended while I made the most awful reflections on what is a man profited if he should gain the whole world and loose his own soul the people observed a profound silence—good attention some affected. Friday 22 not very well But went out and preached a Short Sermon to the Troops Stood on a stump in the midst of them My text was from Isaiah 1.19.20. I spoke about 50 minutes I hope it had some affect. I tried to bear a faithful Testimony against Swearing profanely. The Lord send it with energy to the hearts of the Officers and Soldiers amen—I feal my great deficiency I want more grace more gifts more fortitude to be usefull in the place providence has now placed me in. O May faith be strong & vigorous.²⁰

Sat. 23 We left the mouth of Cumberland descended as far as Fort Massac²¹ I went on shore and Lodged with Col. Anderson a very polite and agreeable man talked much with me about Religion. Sun. 24 morning went on board

¹⁷ The accident actually occurred on January 17. "There was an accident happened to Lieut. Glendenin of Capt. Bledsoe's company owing to his letting a candle fall among some powder. About a pound of powder flashed on his face and hands, which burnt him extremely. The circumstances like to have been more unfortunate. There was a Bucket suspended with about seven pounds of powder covered with a Handkf. The Handkf caught fire and was blazing toward the mouth of the bucket, but was extinguished by the intrepidity of [blank]." *Journal*, 258.

¹⁸ Probably calomel, the favorite remedy for malaria which had been used as a medicine as early as the 16th century. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 11 ed.

¹⁹ The expedition camped at the mouth of the Cumberland from January 18 to the 23rd because of ice on the Ohio. Here, as elsewhere, Blackman used the delay as an opportunity to minister to the settlers who lived in the vicinity. *Journal*, 260.

²⁰ "The troops have been exercised today. Mr. Blackman (chaplin) addressed them in a discourse while on the parade ground, tending to promote Obedience and Subordination in Camp." *Journal*, 260.

²¹ Fort Massac, established by the French as Fort Ascension in 1757, was the next year renamed Fort Massiac. It was destroyed by the Indians in about 1765. The site, fortified by Americans in 1794 and given its present name because of a legend that it had been the scene of a massacre, is located in Fort Massac State Park, near Metropolis, Illinois, about 30 miles below the mouth of the Cumberland. Article, Fort Massac, in *Dictionary of American History*.

the Generals
others had
belonging
to the regu
where mar
of Truth o
sidered the
general. O
on elevated
fully affrai
much to fe
soldiery an
tions of G
punishmen
unjust by
against it.
great cause
Fort Mass
At a Cert.
covered wi
down the
habitants
and mass
that had l
so the pl
the Masse
to—Come
presence
company
so I had
Tuesday
with a co
every day
We pass
the left
suppose
These co
should s
takes the
in morn
prayed t
tenant C
talked to
he woul

²² "pu
over to F
was impr
last sad C
²³ See
²⁴ Col

the Generals Boat.—But shortly returned to the Fort. the general and several others had went on shore to bury Mr. Rogers²² who had died on Saturday belonging to Captain Williamsons company—About 12 o'clock I preached to the regulars stationed at Fort Massac—I stood in a shed the Soldiers where marched before me Some looked deeply impressed with the force of Truth others were hard enough—My Sympathy was excited when I considered the Situation of Soldiers. They are not better of than slaves in general. O, the evils of war who can enumerate them. Fort Massac stands on elevated situation have an extensive View of the Ohio River—I am awfully affraid our officers in the regular Service are very wicked. We have much to fear when that is the case. Profane swearing prevales among the soldiery and likewise among the officers notwithstanding the Laws & regulations of General Government forbid it. How can an officer fine or inflict punishment on a soldier that will swear himself. A Just cause may be made unjust by ungodly officers. The Lord help me to bare a faithful Testimony against it. Because of swearing the land mourneth. Yes and our land has great cause to tremble because of wickedness—

Fort Massac was established by the French near one hundred years ago—At a Certain time an Indian came down on the opposite side of the river covered with a bearskin the inhabitant of the Fort seeing him come crawling down the banks and cried out a bear a bear it drew of many of the inhabitants of the fort while a number of Indians were near the fort run in and massacred the remaining inhabitants of the fort & met the others that had be deceived out by strategem as they returned & Massacred them so the place was called Fort Massac from that time in consequence of the Massacre²³ Mon 25 A dreadfull Stormy day rain—hail & Snow—had to—Come too before night—Very cold—I did—not feal so much of the presence of the Lord—as I wish to at all times. The wind blew hard. My company is agreeable in general [page torn] and airy at times. too much so I had rather see them so than to hear them profane the name of the Lord. Tuesday 20 Started about sunrise cold as it was. I went on shore in a peroque with a company after wood. Cut a little myself I find it good to take exercise every day of some kind that is lawful

We pass the Illinois Territory on the right & the State of Tennessee on the left stopt at an island called Cash Island 6 or 7 deer were killed—I suppose in less than 20 minutes—Its very cold—How providence provides, These countries abound with living animals. Is it any wonder that man should sometimes be at war with man when he is at war with and actually takes the lives of So many parts of Gods creation to preserve life—Wed 27 in morn Sail ark Went into Captain Moores Boat. give them an exhortation. prayed talked with the sick men. The Gen. in presence of the Col. & Lieutenant Col.²⁴ of the first Redgement examined me a little to know how I talked to the sick signified that it would be highly improper to tell a person he would die if Simtoms were unfavorable I let him know on that point

²² "pursuant to the order of the maj. Genl., the body of John Rogers was taken over to Fort Massac and interred with the honors of a soldier. The Scene and Ceremony was impressive and Solemn 'Logan Water,' which has been played in rendering the last sad Offices to many a brave and good man, was given to him." *Journal*, 261.

²³ See footnote 20.

²⁴ Col. William Hall and Lt. Col. Edward Bradley. *Correspondence*, I, 248.

that I should be independent & that I should do as I thought best.

I find the Gen. cannot bare much opposition. He is a good General but a very incorrect Divine.

I tried to preach at night to Capt-Williamsons Company & make some funeral remarks on the Death of Mr. Rogers that was buried last Sabbath they were very serious—but whether any real good was done or not I cannot tell we are now confined with the ice at the mouth of Mississippi when we shall get off I cannot tell

Thurs. 28 We cannot move down for ice I have severe exercises of mind, tempted that I shall do no good in the army & that many of my friends will be tried with me for going—But I have this Consolation that I have acted to the best of my knowledge. The Lord cover me with the blood of atonement Friday 29. wrote part of a Sermon felt my mind calm and composed But I want a deeper work of grace A deeper conformity to the mind and will of God. Jan. 30th Several of the men were absent fears were entertained as they had crossed the river the night before in a canoe the river being high that they were drowned hence we did not start till about half past 8 oclock when the absent men arrived safe—we have come about 40 miles today landed at Island Number six the Banks of the Mississippi appear very fertile some few scattering houses on both sides more properly huts or cabbans—Fort Jefferson²⁵ on the East Side. In this Majestic River Called the Mississippi we behold the Wisdom and goodness of God. It is the Key that unlocks the way to that vast track of Country West of Alegheny mountain That will according to human Calculations if favoured by Divine providence in 50 years will contain more than 20.000 000 inhabitants. Rivers pour from all directions from the high and lofty mountains into the great River Mississippi many of them afford large Bottoms sufficient to support thousands and tens of thousands. I visited a sicked man after we landed who seemed to be very desirious that I should pray for him. I then heard Mr. Mills²⁶ preach in Captain Martins Boat from the Alabaster Box. after some remarks he deduced—that we should give our precious things to Christ shewed what things we should give to Christ the reason why we should give our precious things to Christ—

Sund. 31. passed New Madrid²⁷ a little before night about 7 oclock I preached in Capt. Hamiltons to his Company from peace I leave with you my peace I give unto you. The Lord blessed it to some souls. I know from

²⁵ Fort Jefferson, on the east bank of the Mississippi 12 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, was built by George Rogers Clark in 1780 and was abandoned the next year. It was vainly attacked by the Chickasaws and Choctaws in 1781. Jefferson, Fort, *Dictionary of American History*, also A. W. Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee* (Nashville, 1859), 109-112.

²⁶ Samuel John Mills, 1783-1818, one of the founders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He and John F. Schermerhorn, in 1812, had been sent by the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies on a tour of the West, and accompanied the expedition to Natchez. Article, Mills, in *Dictionary of American Biography*. On January 26, Searcy reported "We had some amusement this day in trying The Chaplin, Maj. Carroll and Revd. Mr. Schermerhorn. The amt. of their fines were some Chickens for the use of the Boat." *Journal*, 261.

²⁷ New Madrid, Missouri, 71 miles below the mouth of the Ohio. See Mississippi River Commission, *Maps of the Mississippi River, . . .* (Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1940). No. 4. Used hereinafter in identifying river locations, but not specifically cited.

visible
on south
compan
they he
many d
look aw
times.
where a
to the
only ab
we go
with Go
Landed
are nev
2 Starte
that Isl.
destruct
to Capt
solome
My way
some af
tance o
roots ha
up abo
frequen
quence
very fa
in a fe
other B
Manner
& provi
Come t
I trust
bless th
Brigade
who ha

²⁸ Ne
on Dece
was the
nessee (1
years lat
demolish
Not far
crater is
America
²⁹ Ne
of the O
³⁰ "a
Chickas
Journal.
³¹ Th

visible appearances. I then returned to the Generals Boat. We landed on south side not far below Madrid and at night preached to Captain Nashes company from what is a man profited if he should gain the whole world & they heard with the utmost attention I hope the effects will be seen after many days—The fishers [fissures]²⁸ produced in the earth about Madrid look awful on both sides of the River and the earth continues to shake at times. fears are ascertained that the worst is to come. it is said that there where about one thousand inhabitants in the Town of New Madrid previous to the Earth Quake—but many alarmed went off that at this time there only about 300 Mond. 1 day of February 1813 we started about 6 oclock we go about 4 miles an hour my I pant for deeper union and communion with God. O for the living streams of life

Landed opposite Island 23²⁹—I calculated—that we came about 5 p. m. We are never I believe out of sight of an Island on this Majestic River—Tues. 2 Started about 5 oclock floated about 50. miles to an Island called flower³⁰ that Island called so in consequence of the flower Boats that have gone to destruction on it the Current is very swift Since we landed I have preach to Captain Kennedys Company—From the 13. & 9 of Luke They were solome & serious I trust profitted—May the Lord grant it may be the case. My way seems to be opening to do good among the soldiers I feel my heart some affected—the Lord affect it still more with a deep sense of the importance of my charge. The sawyers in the Mississippi are Large trees whose roots have been heavy enough to keep the butt down and the top just float up above the water surface if Boats hit them they are in great danger frequently Stove. These sawyers are common in the Mississippi in consequence of the caving Banks thousands of Trees fall in—Wed 3 went on very fast till about 10 oclock when Captain Wallaces Boat got Stove Sunk³¹ in a few minutes But all the men were saved tho awfully alarmed before other Boats got to their assistance it was Said they prayed in a Surprising Manner—The Lord be praised that no lives were lost. Most of their Guns & provisions were saved. The boat run against a Sawyer—
Come too on an Island No. 36 I preached to Captain Newlands Company I trust the word made Some impression on some of their minds—The Lord bless the Company I feal an anxity for the good order and success of this Brigade. Thurs. 4. floated 10 or 12 miles and then detained till Capt. Martin who had stayed with Capt. Wallace come on—with other Boats. I went out

²⁸ New Madrid was the victim of a series of catastrophic earthquakes which began on December 11, 1811, and continued through February 17, 1812, one result of which was the creation of Reelfoot Lake, Tennessee. S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930), 74-82. A Frenchman, visiting New Madrid three years later wrote: "This city felt violently the earthquake of 1812. Several houses were demolished, and a part of the land has sunk down—*calle*, as the French settlers say. Not far from the river I saw a great excavation formed by this phenomenon . . . this crater is still about twenty-five or thirty feet in depth." Edward de Montule, *Travels in America, 1816-1817*, Tr. by Edward D. Seeber, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1951), 113.

²⁹ Near Hales Point, at the mouth of the Obion River, 136 miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

³⁰ "arrived at the Flour Island No. [blank] in the navigator, in sight of the First Chickasaw Bluff a distance about fifty four miles this day and landed for the night." *Journal*, 264. The first Chickasaw Bluff, is in Tennessee, 48 miles above Memphis.

³¹ This incident is described vividly and at length in the *Journal*, 264-265.

& took some exercise cutting wood. I think it best to take some bodily exercise every day—About 3 o'clock an express come on from the second Regiment by which we learn they are about a days Journey or a little more behind—Mr. Mills is sick—he's a very good man I hope he will get well shortly. We float on with great swiftness on the bosom of the great River The Mother of Rivers fed with ever flowing springs & streams bursting from a Thousand Hills. We are now 7 miles from Fort Pickering³²—Friday 5 started about brake o day I went on shore with Major Carroll & some others. preached to the Soldiers Stationed at F Pickering about 25 minutes I could not think of detaining them long I discovered one had no shoes—& most were bad off for clothing. The Lord have mercy on them

The Fort is placed on an Elevated place of the Bluff—the Bluff seems to be elevated in general about 100 feet. above high water mark There are at this time only about 40 soldiers stationed at the fort. But 5 or 600 might be accomodated there its picquitted in There are several pretty good frame Houses When at the fort you have a most commanding View upon and down the Great Majestic River Mississippi.

There are scattered settlements on both Sides of the river Mississippi the West Side is the Louisiana Territory. The East Mississippi Territory Past Indian claims are not extinguished above the Yazoo—Thousands & Thousands of Acres belong as yet to the indians. After I returned to the Generals Boat a while I went with Captain Alexander to his Boat and preached to his company. They appeared to be an orderly company. We landed near Island No. 52.

A curious circumstance transpired—When one man began to pray very earnestly while Capt. Wallaces Boat was sinking it was supposed he had stolen coffee from one of his mess mates who told him when he saw him praying that he expected they would be drowned that he had better confess that he had stolen the coffee—Sat. 6. Started about 5 o'clock we have passed thro. difficult places, thro mercy we have been preserved. Land blow St. Francis River³³ found a white man with [page torn] small family living on the bank of the Mississippi with one acre of cleared land according to his own account—he raised he said 60 bushels of corn—off of that acre—he has been there one year beats his corn into meal with a Pistol seems in his mod of living to be removed but a small grade above the Indians. He says there are an numbers of families living on St. Francis River and likewise below him about 2 miles Sun 7. Started half past 5 in the morning I want to spend the blessed sabbath in the best manner the nature of circumstances will admit considering the detention preached to Captain Carrols company they were serious while I offered some of the most alarming reflections from what is a man profited if he should gain the whole world &

³² Located in the City of Memphis immediately north of the Harahan Bridge, on the fourth Chickasaw Bluff. J. P. Young, "Centennial History of Memphis," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VIII, (1924), 285. The fort was established by Capt. Isaac Guion, July 20, 1797, and named Fort Adams. In 1798, James Wilkinson established a fort at Loftis Heights on the southern border of Mississippi Territory and called it Fort Adams. The older fort then was renamed Fort Pickering. W. A. Provine, "Bedford's Tour Down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, V (1919-1920), 40-68.

³³ Near Helena, Arkansas, 298 miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

Loose
to be
them
No. 1
Capta
The
from
God
Lord
use to

Mond
We ha
far f
Arkar
them.
differ
to be
I feel
instan
as the
God t
one o
their l
I give
would
its the

Tuesd
5 mil
this m
be in
in my
I com
Smith
them i
propo
seems
have c
receiv
& that

Wed
terono
Preach
cause

34 p
master
35 J
Life an
Years

Loose his own soul We then went on shore to see some indians who appeared to be Arkansas Indians they had several beavers most likely they had killed them which belonged to the whites we float on very fast Land by the Island No. 66. I was supposed we came 60 miles after we landed I preached to Captain Moores company and a part of Wallaces

The people Seemed awfully impressed with the truths I tried to enforce from the world passeth away & the lust thereof but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever. Another Sabbath is forever past and gone—O my Lord make thy own word spirit and life. May thy feeble Servant be of some use to the detachment—

Monday 8 embark about half past 5

We have now passed White River on our right half past twelve. Landed not far from the mouth of Arkansas River Just below it have come 53 mi Arkansas about 200 yards wide Some little cabbins no persons living in them. But I understand an number of Settlements are forming up high in different places on the River. The land on both sides near the mouth appears to be too low for cultivation. I visited the sick in Captain Hamiltons boat I feel my deficiency more when I attempt to visit the sick than in any other instances for a day or two past I do not feel the spirit of prayer. It seems as tho. My prayers do not ascend above my Head. O be pleased gracious God to revisit and retouch my poor soul with fire from the Heavenly world one of Captain Kennedy men came to our Boat to invite me to go up to their boat & spend some time with them I did so. after singing and praying I give an exhortation they were Solome & Serious that Company I expected would be more disorderly than any company the detachment, but I think its the most orderly

Tuesday. 9. Started about half past 5. oclock—it is supposed we float about 5 miles an hour my mind was sorely vexed with temptations the last night this morning my soul is calm & composed how true is that text Sorrow may be in the evening but Joy shall come in the morning. read Several chapters in my Bible I have seldom read less than five of a day since I came on board. I compi [illegible] Mr. Blackburns map³⁴ of the Creek nation read Col Smiths account of the Indian wars in America³⁵ who was a prisoner among them in time of Braddocks defeat he is yet living—he seems to understand the proper method of treating the Indians The nation he was prisoner among seems to have had pretty correct Ideas of a providence over all this. We have come about 50 miles today we have landed on Island No. 82 We have received intelgence that the Second Regiment have lost one man by death & that they are about 30 miles behind us

Wed 10 Floated to the lower end of Island No. 38 Finished reading Deuteronomy I have now read the [bo]oks of Moses since I have been on board Preached to Captain Martins company they appeared serious. The Lord cause his word sink with awful weight upon their minds. Preaching or

³⁴ Possibly the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian preacher and school-master of Franklin, Tennessee, *Correspondence* I, 357, 365, and VI, 429.

³⁵ James Smith, c. 1737-c. 1814, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith During His Captivity with the Indians, in the Years 1755, '56, '57, '58, and '59* (Lexington, Ky., 1799).

something has had some effect to prevent profane swearing among the company in a great degree I do not hear half as much of it as I did when we first embarked The second Regiment came up Commanded by Col. Bentley about 10 oclock at night. A. Col. from Cincinnati³⁶ past in the night—and fired an number of big guns—

Ths. 11 started about 45 minutes past 4 oclock In consequence of the wind we only came 38 miles land not far from Island No. 94—Visited some sick persons in Captain Bledsoes Company. Frid 12 Started about six oclock did not proceed far before we had to stop in consequence of the wind—I breakfasted with Col. Bentons at his boat preached to Captain Capertons Company at night. In consequence of the wind we did not come much more than 30 miles lay not far from Island No. 100 Sat 13—Bothe Regiments stopt for the men to Wash their Clothes. I got a few men and started to Warrington about³⁷ 4 O. M reached there about 4 oclock in a peroque we rode hard. Walked up to my old friend Griffins³⁸—I feel thankful to see my old friends again—What must it be to meet round the throne with the millions of Gods shining ones. I have leave of absence for about a week to visit my old acquaintances in the Mississippi Sun. 14 preached at Hopewell Meeting House³⁹ to about 70 or 80. Some were affected the Lord is good to all but especially to them who are of the household of faith. Mond. 15. road very hard from nine oclock till about 5 in the afternoon in which time we road about 35 miles I had been so in the boat it injured me. I met with my dear old friend Randil Gibson and family.⁴⁰ I feel an awfull weight upon my mind when I look at my double responsibility the Lord give me grace give me power & to perform my duty. As Iron sharpeneth Iron so the countenance of Man his friend.

Tues 10. Preached at the School House in the Settlement of Clarks creek⁴¹ preached from the Kingdom come. I hope some hearts were touched by the holy spirit I had great impressions that the Lord will revive his work shortly in this Territory. Wed. 17. Road to Bro. Vicks on⁴² Coles C Bap-

³⁶ "We also had [sic] two or three cannon shot from a Boat from Cincinnati Commanded by a Colo. in the Regular army—we could not learn his name, nor see his boat, as he was some distance in the River." *Journal*, 267.

³⁷ Warrenton, Mississippi, about six miles below Vicksburg. "The Revd. Mr. Blackman sets out this morning in the Perioque to go to Warrenton, thence by land to Natchez." *Journal*, 267.

³⁸ Probably Jonas Griffing, who with others, had aided Tobias Gibson in organizing a Methodist Society, Hopewell, the first in what was to become Warren County, Mississippi. *Methodism*, 57.

³⁹ Soon thereafter the congregation had built "a plain but commodious house for public worship about one and a half miles east of Warrenton." *Methodism*, 57.

⁴⁰ Randall Gibson, a cousin of Tobias, had settled in Mississippi Territory before 1799, near Washington. He was a charter member of the first church organized by Tobias in 1799 or 1800. *Methodism*, 35. His first residence was located some half mile northwest of the town of Washington. Original plat, T 7 N, R 2 W, Land District west of Pearl River, surveyed by Thomas Freeman, C. 1805. Later he settled about a mile southeast of Port Gibson, where he apparently was residing at the time of Blackman's visit. Original Plat, T 10 N, R 2 E.

⁴¹ About six or eight miles southeast of Port Gibson. *Methodism*, 53.

⁴² The Reverend Mr. Newet Vick lived near Spring Hill about 6 miles west of Fayette, in Jefferson County. In 1814 he moved to a point about seven miles northeast

sized 2
Mississi
talk ab
ing wil
Washin
old frie
miles b
road to
difficult
as they
Citizen
Mrs. G
Natche
unwell
this af
Natche
playho
an nev
they b
we ma
Feb. 2
day no
my ol
day 2
Ridge
some p
—the
any Co
for the
preach
And r
of Vick
founde
Mississ
48 C
west fr
ing ne
plat, T
44
standi
the co
the W
45
The c
rebuil
46
Missis
47
the b
defeat
River
ductio

tized 2 children road to Bro. Newmans I fear religion is at low ebb in the Mississippi Territory. When cotton bore a price the people had enough to talk about their large crops & riches now its their poverty I am afraid nothing will bring them to repentance.—Ths. 18. road to Cantonment near Washington⁴³ thence to the City of Natchez thence to William Fosters⁴⁴ my old friend I have tried to arrange my business some today & road about 20 miles but I have not done much—the Lord have mercy on me. Friday 19 road to the Cantonment near Washington the General thinks it will be difficult to make any arrangements for preaching to the Troops on Sabbath as they are so unsettled. Hence I have made arrangements to preach to the Citizens I am now at the House of Mr. Roach married to my old friend Mrs. Grennfield as was when I travelled in this Country.—Sat. 20 went to Natchez brought out & had brought out my things to Mr. Roaches felt very unwell in the fore part of the day. road to the Generals quarters I feel better this afternoon the Lord be thanked for all his benefits. In the City of Natchez the Devils Kingdom is divided against itself. They have had one playhouse burnt down—Torn down by the mechanics They have erected an new one. Mechanics are not allowed to attend hence it is supposed that they burnt down the former & that they will burn the latter likewise—so we may hope the Devil's kingdom will fall—

Feb. 21 walked into Washington but it was such a wet rainy disagreeable day no one attended preaching—Mon 22. Road up on to Pine Ridge to see my old friend Turner—Preached at the Presbyterian Meeting H on⁴⁵ Tuesday 23 to about 20 hearers.—Wed. 24 Preached at Bro. Taylors on Pine Ridge to about 60. the Lord attended the word preached to the hearts of some preached at night at Washington at the Academy⁴⁶ to a Small company—the people of this company have the least curiosity about preaching of any Country I have [been] in tho. the night was dark might be some apology for their not coming out. Ths 25 road to Natchez. got letters from two young preachers in Tennessee—confirming the total defeat of General Winchester⁴⁷ And many things thy right Sets my mind to reflecting closely on subjects—

of Vicksburg, and established a plantation called Open Woods, and shortly thereafter, founded the City of Vicksburg. *Methodism*, 346. Also John B. Cain, *The Cradle of Mississippi Methodism* (n. p., n. d. C. 1929), 14.

⁴³ Camp Jackson. The site, located on the land of Joseph Perkins 1½ miles southwest from Washington, was selected by Jackson on February 20. The army after camping near Washington, moved to the new camp on the 23rd. *Journal*, 269. Also original plat, T 7 N, R 2 E.

⁴⁴ The house of William Foster, located about five miles north of Natchez, is still standing. A stone marker, erected by the Mississippi Methodist Conference, stands on the county road near the entrance to the property. Foster was one of the founders of the Washington Methodist Church.

⁴⁵ Pine Ridge Presbyterian Church, five miles north of Natchez, was erected in 1807. The church itself was destroyed by a tornado in 1901. The old brick was used in rebuilding. The Session House, built in 1807, still stands. Plaque in the church.

⁴⁶ Jefferson College. See William B. Hamilton, "Jefferson College and Education in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, III (1941), 259-276.

⁴⁷ James Winchester, of Nashville, had gone to the Canadian border shortly after the beginning of the War of 1812. Assigned to command Kentucky militia, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and most of his army killed or captured at the Battle of the River Raisin, January 22, 1813. Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, with introduction by Henry Steele Commanger, (4 vols., New York, 1930) IV, Bk. VII, 72-98.

Friday 26 visited my old friend Tooley,⁴⁸ who is fast declining towards the shades of death according to the course of Nature—One of his sons lie very sick & his wife is sick. So it is a house of affliction I felt some Liberty in praying for them

Sat. 27 I browsed some over Stewards Philosophy of the mind. I am afraid I shall not do much this day to purpose the Lord have mercy on me and help me

Sun. 28. preached at Natchez Meeting at 11. am. a solome attentive congregation. Some appeared affected I never got to preach in the Meeting House⁴⁹ I started til to day—I hope yet that it may be a blessing to the people of Natchez. preached to the Regiment of Cavalry⁵⁰ Stood in a waggon some were affected . .

Mon 1 March visited the sick at the Hospital prayed with them—Tus 2—Attended at the camp Saw them parade a little while. In the afternoon visited the sick again that where in the hospital prayed with them. Lodged at night with Mr. Bryan. Wed. 3 spent part of the day at the camp and part at my lodging reading the last part of Stewards Philosophy of the mind. Ths. 4 This day I have spent mostly in writing letters to my friends in Tennessee. I have confidence in the Lord.

Friday 5. This morning I feel rather gloomy who can describe the complex working of the mind under certain circumstances. Visited the camp spent most of the day there. Had some conversation with General Adair⁵¹ who visited the camp. I doubt he is an Infidel with a witness— — — He seem to think reason could be offered to prove the Eternity of matter or that what we see has always existed—He is a shrewd man—A man of deep penetration. Sat 6. road to Selcer Town Meet. House⁵² 2 Meeting commenced preaching a pointed practicle discourse—

Sun. 7. preached Administered the Sacrament for Bro. Sellers & preached the people were some effected—road to Cantonment by Washington preached to the Volunteers felt some exausted preaching and riding the dust. I felt somewhat barren to day the Lord revive me & increase me Mon. 8. spent part of the day in camp trying to git Subscription for the West Tennessee Bible Society. Many conceived very improperly of it. road to Bro. Fosters met Br. L. & W

Tues. 9 Spent part of the day in Natchez got my Horse shod—road to the encampment I am some embarrissed with regard to Money I have not

⁴⁸ Adam Tooley, a native of England who had settled near Washington. A trustee of Jefferson College, he was prominent in the religious and civic affairs of the Territory. *Methodism*, 248-249.

⁴⁹ Blackman had been instrumental in the construction of this building, the first Methodist Church building erected in Natchez, but left Mississippi before it was completed. *Methodism*, 165-167.

⁵⁰ "The Rev. Mr. Blackman preached to the cavalry to day." *Journal*, 279.

⁵¹ John Adair, 1757-1840, of Kentucky, who was to distinguish himself as the leader of the Kentucky riflemen at the Battle of New Orleans. See article in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁵² Located at Selsertown, a village six miles north of Washington.

enough to answer—present purposes. I cannot pay for my Horse.—Wed 10 road to Natchez preached at pine Ridge Ths. 11 at Bro Taylors Some were affected road thro the dust about Natchez & then out to my Lodging. My heart pant for the mind that was in Jesus Christ—Friday 12 at 4 oclock preached at Spring Hill Meeting House on the subject of prayer But a few where collected the notice was short. Sat 13 visited the sick in the Hospital —Attended a funeral—One of the Horsemen died was buried with the Honors of war I spoke after the platoons were fired on the occasion—After night I preached to the second Regiment Sunday 14 preached at Natchez in the Brick Chapel The people were wrought upon I hope shortly we shall git a society in Natchez—The rain prevented my preaching at Washington Mon 15 heard the General had received orders to March the Volunteers under his Command back to Nashville—⁵³ I abandoned my idea of going to N. Orleans made preperation for starting back to my District. Tuesday 16 did not much—Wed. 17 road to Natchez and back out to Washington preached to a few congregation very small in consequence of the rain it seems as if providence was saying do not preach to the people of Washington let them alone they are Joined to their Idols I have had three appointments and disipointed by rain every time or nearly so—the last appointment only preached to a few and at the other times not at alone. Wed 17—Ths. 18. Friday 19 left the neighborhood of Washington road to Bro. Newmans preached at night—to a few. Started Sat. 20 about break a day—breakfasted at Bro. Vicks. road to Randel Gibsons some fatigued but felt confidence in my God. Sun. 21 Preached at the Schoolhouse in the Settlement of Clarks C. had taken physic the night before which relaxed me—felt considerable worsted when I was done preaching did not feel much Liberty preached at night at R. Gibson Mon. 22. Started on my Journey to Tennessee.⁵⁴ Felt sick before I got to Gibson-port—⁵⁵ took a little Lavander compound felt some better road on to Col. Burnets⁵⁶ quite sick when I

⁵³ Jackson was attending a service conducted by the Reverend Mr. Winans, a colleague of Blackburn's, who reported, ". . . I attempted to preach in the camp: but the novelty of the scene rendered the scene very embarrassing; and my embarrassment was greatly increased by the General who was seated near me, rising and leaving the congregation soon after I commenced. A government despatch was handed him; and he felt it his duty to yield to it immediate attention. His manner of leaving was so quiet that I was satisfied of its purpose in the matter. The despatch was one which aroused the most violent indignation in the General. It ordered him to disband the volunteers in their present camp . . ." Autobiography, Winans Collection, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

⁵⁴ James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 375 ff, gives the classic account of the march of Jackson's army over the Natchez Trace, during which he earned the affectionate nickname, "Old Hickory." A more recent study of this famous march is Rogers W. Young, "Andrew Jackson's Movements on the Lower Natchez Trace During and After the War of 1812," *Journal of Mississippi History*, IX (1948), 87-103.

⁵⁵ Port Gibson, Mississippi, was until about 1815 known as Gibson Port. G. H. Hawkins, "History of Port Gibson." *Publications*, Mississippi Historical Society, VIII (1909), 286.

⁵⁶ Daniel Burnett resided at Grindstone Ford where the Natchez Trace crossed Bayou Pierre. He was a colonel in the militia, commanded the regiment which arrested Aaron Burr in 1806, a member of the Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1817, and a member of the State Senate. Dunbar Rowland, "Mississippi's First Constitution and Its Makers," *Publications*, Mississippi Historical Society, VI (1902), 89, and inscription on his tombstone, near site of his home.

got. rested the after part of the day Tues 23 this morning felt much better Major Hynes come on about 11 oclock with his detachment. I started with him we have road since to Mr. Mc Cravens⁵⁷ about 18 miles near the Indian line. I was surprised to hear by Major Hynes that the General had heard that I had stopped some wagons from coming on by telling them that they would not be wanting—I did state when I was interrogated that *that* it was expected the Troops would start at such a time and that they would be too late if they were not there at such a time But how the General could git offended at such a thing is a matter of Surprise Thank God I feel conscious of rectitude before him. Wed 24 This day we have road about 45 miles. Now at the Agents House of the Choctaw Nation⁵⁸ where we can be tolerably well accomodated. The Choctaw Nation is a very peaceable nation. O may the time come when this wilderness land Shall bud and blossom with fruits of righteousness—

Thurs 25 road about 46 miles to A. Mr. Crowder⁵⁹ married to an Indian wife Very dirty and disagreeable. We had to spread down the Blankets on some deer skin—prayed with them as is my Custom every night—Crowder swore profanely till he found out I was a preacher—God may yet bring great good out of what seems a great evil to many white men marrying among the Indians. The half breeds generally speak english. It may ultimately open away for the Gospel among the heathens of America—

Friday 26 road to Laflores⁶⁰ Frenchman 40 odd miles met with the detachment of the Cavalry left with the sick Mr. Taylor we found at the point of death I sung and prayed with him he seemed to have his senses I committed him to the Lord and left went and laid down in another room on our blankets & about 4 oclock this morning the Cornet who commanded the detachment reported Mr. Taylor was dead. I felt thankful that I had the privilege of speaking to him about his Soul before he bid this world of war and pain a lasting and a long farewell—Sat 27 Road past Mr. Fultons⁶¹ to his Son in Law Mr. Walls.⁶² it rained in the afternoon and very hard in the night. Sun. 28 started But found the waters very high & very numerous the branches of the Bigbay⁶³—Some of them were Swimming but we travelled

⁵⁷ A "stand" on the Natchez Trace, located where that road crossed the Claiborne-Hinds County line, which prior to 1820 was the boundary between the Old Natchez District and the Choctaw Indians. "Stands," 15.

⁵⁸ The Choctaw Agency was located, from about 1807 to 1813, some 8 miles north of Jackson, Mississippi. Original Plat, T 7 N, R 1 E, Choctaw Cession. Also, C. S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region, Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham, 1938), 55.

⁵⁹ About 50 miles northeast of Jackson, Mississippi. Riding southward on this road on November 12, 1815, the Reverend Thomas Nixon noted, in his journal, "We rode to Crowders and a disagreeable night we had." Quoted in *Methodism*, 396.

⁶⁰ French Camp, Mississippi, derives its name from the nationality of Louis Le Fleur, a Canadian who operated a stand on the Trace. "Stands," 27.

⁶¹ Pigeon Roost Stand was operated by Nathaniel Fulsom or Folsom, who was the father-in-law of Noah Wall. The location is 2 miles south of Mathiston, Mississippi. "Stands," 29.

⁶² About six miles north of Pigeon Roost near Line Creek which was, and had been since the 1730's, the boundary between the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. "Stands," 31.

⁶³ The Tombigbee River.

near forty miles. Lodged at Mr. Allens⁶⁴ he was not at home his wife tho nearly all white will not talk English. She says she is afraid she cannot talk it right and the people will Laugh at her. Mon 29 Much difficulty to git across the waters the Low ground in many places where like a Mill pond Camped that night near an Indian Cabbin under some peach trees—Tues. 30 Road to Levi Colberts⁶⁵ he is a half breed—the considered a clever man by travelers had a good House we traveled more than forty miles—Wed. 31 Crossed Tennessee River⁶⁶ road about Camped near an Indian Cabbin—the most of us Major Hynes and Captain Coleman slept in the Cabbin I felt a predilection to lay out in the woods in preference to lying in the Cabbin for Certain reasons—Thurs. 1 of April road to the Widow Granfields living at a noted place Called the Kegs Springs⁶⁷ in the bound of the white settlement I felt thankful to break bread with white people again

Fri 2 Road to Franklin my Company went further I stayed with Bro. Laundry Sat 3 road to Nashville in about 12 days we have road near five hundred miles thro a howling wilderness the Lord hath protected My company was civil—The Lord restrained them from wickednesses in my sight. To his name be glory. I now feel like covenanting to serve my God better. The Lord shall be my God forever. O may he be my guide even unto death—Sunday 4 preached at Nashville a crowd congregation attended the word—seemed to have some effect on the people. To his name be glory road after Meeting to General Jacksons dwelling to see his family according to his request prayed with them at night—They seemed solome. Major Hynes went with me.—

⁶⁴ 25 Miles north of Houston, Mississippi. "Stands," 41.
⁶⁵ Also called Buzzards Roost Stand, located in Colbert County, Alabama, about 25 miles west from Florence. "Stands," 48.
⁶⁶ At Colberts Ferry, Alabama, about 8 miles north of Buzzard Roost.
⁶⁷ In Hickman County, Tennessee, about 25 miles southwest of Columbia.

andians
 d been
 issippi.
 as the
 his Lo
 "We
 n this
 urham,
 C. S.
 north
 atches
 borne
 velled
 erous
 rd in
 tons
 f war
 id the
 id the
 n our
 mitted
 int of
 attach-
 with-
 TRYING
 bring
 powder
 ets on
 ndian
 fruits
) may
 rably
 miles,
 sious
 id git
 ce too
 it was
 they
 heard
 ndian
 I with
 better