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Historiographical Essay

The War of 1812:
Still a Forgotten Conflict?



Donald R. Hickey*

IN 1999 David Curtis Skaggs published a review in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of two new books on the War of 1812. In that review, Skaggs said: "Since the publication of Donald R. Hickey's *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), there has been a veritable flood of books trying to disprove his subtitle."¹ Skaggs's assessment is certainly correct, at least on the war's military history. In the 1990s alone more than seventy-five books bearing on the military history of the conflict were published, making this the most prolific decade ever for 1812 studies. And judging from additional projects known to be under way, there appears to be no letup in sight.

In the mid-1980s, when I began in earnest to work on my book, the historiographical landscape was very different. Two source guides had

* This article is limited to secondary sources and, with a few notable exceptions, does not include recent works that reproduce memoirs or other documents. An earlier draft was presented at the annual convention of the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR) in Buffalo, N.Y., on 21 July 2000. I am indebted to a host of people for assistance. Don Graves and Gene Smith have been especially generous in sharing their knowledge of the literature on the war. I am also indebted to Bill Dudley and Christine Hughes and their associates at the Naval Historical Center; and to Kevin Crisman, Dave Edmunds, Anna von Lunz, Christopher McKee, Bob Malcomson, Frank Pytko, David Skaggs, and John Staggs. Finally, I want to thank two staff members at the U. S. Conn Library at Wayne State College: June Davidson at the interlibrary loan desk showed her customary efficiency in tracking down items and Gayle Poirier at the government documents desk brought a number of pertinent web sites to my attention.

1. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 56 (January 1999): 228. The two books were Joseph Whitehorne's *The Battle for Baltimore* and Anthony Pitch's *The Burning of Washington*, both of which are discussed below.

just been published: John Fredriksen's bibliography, which lists over six thousand works, and Dwight Smith's annotated bibliography, which describes almost fourteen hundred.² Although Fredriksen's work is marred by a great many transcription errors, it is still the most complete bibliography on the war.

We also had a number of good general military histories of the war. Harry Coles's study was the liveliest; Reginald Horsman's was the most accurate; and John Mahon's was the most detailed. In addition, Glenn Tucker had written a two-volume study which offered the best context for the war; and Tucker had collaborated with James R. Jacobs on a short volume that provided the best explanation of military policy and equipment.³ Two Canadian scholars, J. Mackay Hitsman and George Stanley, had written fine accounts of the fighting along the Canadian-American border.⁴ Hitsman's work was a solid military history presenting the Canadian perspective, while Stanley's study provided good detail and balance and showed a fine grasp of the importance of logistics. Although there were recent studies of the fighting on the Gulf Coast and in the Champlain Valley, few other battles or campaigns had been subjected to modern analysis.⁵

The state of historiography on the war at sea was much the same. Theodore Roosevelt's nineteenth-century study was still the best work on the naval war, and Alfred Thayer Mahan's 1905 study still offered the

2. John C. Fredriksen, *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights: A Bibliography of the War of 1812* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985); Dwight L. Smith, *The War of 1812: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985).

3. Harry L. Coles, *The War of 1812* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812* (New York: Knopf, 1969); John K. Mahon, *The War of 1812* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972); Glenn Tucker, *Poltroons and Patriots: A Popular Account of the War of 1812*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1954); James Ripley Jacobs and Glenn Tucker, *The War of 1812: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969). Horsman, Mahon, and Tucker documented their work; Coles and Jacobs-Tucker did not.

4. J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812: A Military History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); George F. G. Stanley, *The War of 1812: Land Operations* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada and National Museums of Canada, 1983). Hitsman did not document his work; Stanley provided only light documentation.

5. For the Gulf Coast, see Charles B. Brooks, *The Siege of New Orleans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961); Wilburt S. Brown, *The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1969); and Frank L. Owsley, Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981). For the Champlain Valley, see Allan S. Everest, *The War of 1812 in the Champlain Valley* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981).

best analysis of naval strategy.⁶ Beyond this, we had only a few modern naval biographies and ship studies.⁷

General Works

Today, the literature on the military history of the war is far richer. John Fredriksen, who has emerged as the war's unofficial bibliographer (at least of American sources), has published an annotated work describing 870 eyewitness accounts and is now working on an annotated list of all the manuscript collections bearing on the conflict.⁸ We also have two new encyclopedias. One, prepared by David and Jeanne Heidler, is devoted exclusively to the war.⁹ Perhaps out of necessity, the Heidlers wrote a large number of the entries themselves, and the other essays were not always assigned to the leading authority on the subject. In addition, the focus of the work is clearly American. Even so, the Heidlers managed to secure essays from a fine group of scholars, and the resulting work, replete with maps, illustrations, documents, a chronology, and a bibliography, is a splendid accomplishment. Equally impressive is Robert Rutland's encyclopedia of James Madison, which includes a host of essays on 1812 subjects, many written by distinguished scholars.¹⁰

In the 1990s several general military histories of the war were published. In both my original work and in an abridged edition published in 1995, I had argued that the United States lost the war because it had initiated the contest and yet had not achieved the aims for which it was fighting.¹¹ In a short account published in 1990, Canadian Wesley Turner

6. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882); A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power and Its Relation to the War of 1812*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1905). Before Roosevelt's work, the best account of the naval war, and it is also very good, was James Fenimore Cooper's *History of the Navy of the United States of America*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840).

7. Most notably, Linda M. Maloney, *The Captain from Connecticut: The Life and Naval Times of Isaac Hull* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986); and Tyrone G. Martin, *A Most Fortunate Ship: A Narrative History of "Old Ironsides"* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1980).

8. John C. Fredriksen, *War of 1812 Eyewitness Accounts: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997).

9. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997).

10. Robert A. Rutland, ed., *James Madison and the American Nation, 1751-1836: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994).

11. The abridged edition is *The War of 1812: A Short History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995). Canadian historian George Stanley also argued that the United States lost the war. See Stanley, *War of 1812*, 407.

argued that both sides won.¹² The United States had won because it had eliminated the British and Indians as a threat, and Canada had won because it had fended off invasion and vindicated its existence as a nation. Another military history, written by the late John Elting, is a lively work that shows a good command of geography and of army organization and procedures but illustrates the dangers of writing history from secondary sources.¹³ Although Elting was an accomplished historian of the Napoleonic Wars, his treatment of the War of 1812 is filled with errors and misconceptions.

By contrast, Canadian Donald E. Graves has done a fine job of updating J. Mackay Hitsman's 1965 work.¹⁴ Except for making some cosmetic changes and correcting a few errors, Graves has reproduced Hitsman's original text. However, he has added an introductory chapter that traces the history of the myth that the militia won the war for Canada. He also has incorporated new illustrations and maps and appended a splendid bibliography that focuses on British and Canadian sources. Even more impressive, Graves and several Canadian colleagues have undertaken the painstaking task of retrofitting Hitsman's work with endnotes. Graves also has written an essay presenting his own view of the war, emphasizing internal dissent in Canada.¹⁵ The late Robert Quimby's two-volume work on the American army's role is yet another recent military history.¹⁶ Based mainly on government documents, this work reads like a semiofficial account. Although the numbing detail and ponderous style may put some readers off, for everyone this study should be a useful reference work. Moreover, Quimby does a good job of comparing what the principal participants actually did with what they later claimed in their memoirs.¹⁷

Philip Katcher and Bryan Fosten have prepared another general work on the war, a volume in the Osprey Men-at-Arms series.¹⁸ This brief

12. Wesley B. Turner, *The War of 1812: The War that Both Sides Won* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990).

13. John R. Elting, *Amateurs to Arms! A Military History of the War of 1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1991).

14. J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812: A Military History*, updated by Donald E. Graves (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1999).

15. Donald E. Graves, "The War of 1812 along the St. Lawrence Border and the Lake Ontario Littoral: A Canadian Perspective," in *A Shared Heritage: The Historical Legacy of Sackets Harbor and Madison Barracks*, ed. Jan M. Saltzgäber (Ithaca, N.Y.: Ithaca College, 1993), 15–31.

16. Robert S. Quimby, *The U.S. Army in the War of 1812: An Operational and Command Study*, 2 vols. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997).

17. The only time that Quimby shows a blind spot in ferreting out humbug is in his treatment of General William Hull, who surrendered Detroit in 1812. Unaccountably and uncharacteristically, Quimby defends Hull even though his memoirs are manifestly at odds with the historical record. See *ibid.*, 1: 46–48.

18. Philip Katcher and Bryan Fosten, *The American War, 1812–1814* (London: Osprey, 1990).

book contains photographs and paintings of the uniforms of the armies on both sides. René Chartrand has written a more comprehensive account of the uniforms, arms, and equipment of all the American forces in the war—regulars, militia, marines, naval personnel, and even some privateersmen.¹⁹ This study is richly illustrated and loaded with information. Chartrand also has completed two volumes in a large-format three-volume work on Canada's military heritage.²⁰ This work has a distinct Francophone bias, and its treatment of the War of 1812 is pedestrian, but it is well illustrated and presents a good description of British army life in nineteenth-century Canada. Chartrand also has collaborated with Gerry Embleton on a short volume in the Osprey Men-at-Arms series on the uniforms of the British and Canadian forces of the era.²¹ In another study of uniforms, Brian Dunnigan has examined the difficulties that both sides had outfitting troops on the western frontier.²²

Gerard Altoff describes the neglected role of African Americans in the conflict.²³ Altoff suggests that because of growing American manpower needs, African Americans played an increasingly important role in the war on land, at sea, and on the lakes. David Skaggs and Larry Nelson have an anthology in press that will examine a broad range of topics bearing on the War of 1812 on the Great Lakes.²⁴ Frederick Drake has written a fine article giving an overview of the war on the lakes.²⁵ Donald E. Graves has written several well-researched articles on the artillery and ordnance used during the war and on the training and drill manuals employed by the American army.²⁶ Robert Henderson has given us a good description of the diet and eating habits of British regulars in

19. René Chartrand, *Uniforms and Equipment of the United States Forces in the War of 1812* (Youngstown, N.Y.: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1992).

20. René Chartrand, *Canadian Military Heritage*, 3 vols. (Montreal: Art Global, 1993–).

21. René Chartrand and Gerry Embleton, *British Forces in North America, 1793–1815* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1998).

22. Brian Leigh Dunnigan, "To Make a Military Appearance: Uniforming Michigan's Militia and Fencibles," *Michigan Historical Review* 15 (Spring 1989): 29–43.

23. Gerard T. Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men: African-Americans and the War of 1812* (Put-in-Bay, Ohio: Perry Group, 1996).

24. David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson, eds., *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814*, Michigan State University Press, forthcoming.

25. Frederick C. Drake, "The Niagara Peninsula and Naval Aspects of the War of 1812," in *The Military in the Niagara Peninsula*, ed. Wesley B. Turner (St. Catharines, Ont.: Vanwell Publishing, 1990), 15–37.

26. Donald E. Graves, "Field Artillery of the War of 1812: Equipment, Organization, Tactics and Effectiveness," *Arms Collecting* 30 (May 1992): 39–48; "American Ordnance of the War of 1812: A Preliminary Investigation," *Arms Collecting* 31 (November 1993): 111–20; and "From Steuben to Scott: The Adoption of French Infantry Tactics by the U.S. Army, 1807–1816," *Acta* (International Commission of Military History Held in Helsinki in 1988) 13 (1991): 223–33.

Canada.²⁷ Frank Winter has written an informative account of the Congreve rocket system, which the British used extensively in the Chesapeake campaign of 1814 and which various American inventors tried to duplicate.²⁸ And for those who wish to tour the battlefields, Gilbert Collins's recent handbook covers most known sites and supersedes all earlier guides.²⁹

The Officers and Men

We have a number of new works on the officers and men of the opposing armies. William Skelton's superb work on the American officer corps examines the evolution of the American army from the Revolution to the Civil War.³⁰ Although focusing on the antebellum period, when Skelton believes a truly professional officer corps emerged, the War of 1812 clearly sowed the seeds. In a recent article, Skelton has detailed how the army's high command (field and general grade officers) was gradually transformed between 1808 and 1815.³¹ In this article, Skelton attributes early failures in the War of 1812 less to the incompetence of the officers than to institutional weaknesses in the army.

Another book on the American officer corps is John Fredriksen's collection of biographical sketches of thirty American officers who served on the Niagara frontier in the so-called Left Division of the army.³² Evidently aimed at a popular audience, this work is too superficial to be of much use to scholars. Fredriksen also has written a useful work on the history of the army's regiment of riflemen, which he calls "the most effective infantry formation fielded by the United States in the War of 1812."³³ This is the first detailed regimental history that we have for the

27. Robert Henderson, "Diet and Messing Arrangements of the British Army in Upper Canada at the Opening of the War of 1812," *Military Collector and Historian* 49 (Winter 1997): 175–82.

28. Frank H. Winter, *The First Golden Age of Rocketry: Congreve and Hale Rockets of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

29. Gilbert Collins, *Guidebook to the Historic Sites of the War of 1812* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1998).

30. William B. Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms: The Army Officer Corps, 1784–1861* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

31. William B. Skelton, "High Army Leadership in the Era of the War of 1812: The Making and Remaking of the Officer Corps," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 51 (April 1994): 253–74.

32. John C. Fredriksen, *Officers of the War of 1812 with Portraits and Anecdotes: The United States Army Left Division Gallery of Honor* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989).

33. John C. Fredriksen, *Green Coats and Glory: The United States Regiment of Riflemen, 1808–1821* (Youngstown, N.Y.: Old Fort Niagara Association, 2000). Quotation from p. 72. Although only one rifle regiment served for the duration of the war, Congress created three others in 1814.

war. Finally, in an important recent article, John Stagg compares the peacetime and wartime armies in the United States between 1802 and 1815 and concludes that they attracted very different kinds of recruits.³⁴

Another useful study is Edward Skeen's detailed account of the role of the American militia.³⁵ Although Skeen never solved the organizational problem of telling a story that involved militia from thirteen states serving in theaters all over the United States, his work is loaded with information and thenceforth should be the starting point for anyone interested in the militia's role. Mark Pitcavage has added a pair of informative articles on the militia, one showing that a small population and tax base in strategically important frontier areas doomed the territorial militia to ineffectiveness, and the other showing how growing opposition to militia service virtually killed the system in Ohio by the end of the war.³⁶ Michael Bellesiles's recent work on American gun culture also bears on the militia, since he claims that the ownership of guns and proficiency in their use was far less widespread in the early national period than previously had been thought.³⁷ Bellesiles's research is impressive and his case appears compelling, but his work should be read in conjunction with that of Clayton Cramer, who argues persuasively that Bellesiles misused some sources and ignored evidence indicating that the ownership and use of guns was actually commonplace.³⁸

Several recent biographies of American generals should be noted. John Eisenhower's study of Winfield Scott presents a good narrative of Scott's military career but is too uncritical and especially weak whenever

34. J. C. A. Stagg, "Soldiers in Peace and War: Comparative Perspectives on the Recruitment of the United States Army, 1802–1815," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 57 (January 2000): 79–120.

35. C. Edward Skeen, *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

36. Mark Pitcavage, "Ropes of Sand: Territorial Militia, 1801–1812," *Journal of the Early Republic* 13 (Winter 1993): 481–500; and "Burthened in Defence of Our Rights": Opposition to Military Service in Ohio during the War of 1812," *Ohio History* 104 (Summer-Autumn 1995): 142–62.

37. Michael A. Bellesiles, "The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States, 1760–1865," *Journal of American History* 83 (September 1996): 425–55, and *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000). For additional criticisms of Bellesiles's work, see Kimberley A. Strassel, "Arm-Twisting," 5 April 2001, at <<http://www.OpinionJournal.com>>. According to Strassel, Bellesiles says he cannot respond to his critics because his notes were destroyed by a flood.

38. See Clayton E. Cramer "The Truth about Bellesiles' *Arming America*," *America's 1st Freedom*, November–December 2000, 55–57, 68. See also the material that Cramer has presented on several web sites: <<http://www.ggnra.org/cramer/ArmingAmericaLong.pdf>>, <<http://www.ggnra.org/cramer/ArmingAmericaFraud.pdf>>, and <<http://www.ggnra.org/cramer/GunScarcity.pdf>>.

the author strays from strictly military matters.³⁹ More useful is Timothy Johnson's study of Scott, which shows a better grasp of his subject's weaknesses—his oversized ego and other "fatal character flaws."⁴⁰ Also valuable is John Morris's new biography of long-neglected Jacob Brown, which has burnished the reputation of a general who had a remarkably successful wartime and postwar military career.⁴¹ Morris credits Brown with winning four of the nine major American victories in the war, and with playing a central role in the postwar reform of the army.⁴²

For the British officer corps, we have Wesley Turner's thoughtful and innovative study of the leadership, civilian and military, of five generals—George Prevost, Isaac Brock, Roger Sheaffe, Francis de Rottenburg, and Gordon Drummond.⁴³ Turner ranks Brock and Drummond the highest, followed by Sheaffe and Prevost and then Rottenburg. This ranking gives Drummond more credit and Brock less than conventional wisdom suggests. Another Canadian, Stuart Sutherland, has prepared an impressive biographical register of the British officers who served in Canada during the war.⁴⁴ In an illuminating introduction, Sutherland provides an overview of British army administration, including much-needed explanations of the chain of command in Canada and how the complicated system of promotion in the British army worked.

We also have new works that shed light on the Canadian militia. In a social history of Upper Canada, George Sheppard (like several others before him) has taken direct aim at the hoary myth that the militia saved Canada during the war.⁴⁵ Another scholar, William Gray, has prepared a

39. John S. D. Eisenhower, *Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

40. Timothy D. Johnson, *Winfield Scott: The Quest for Military Glory* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998). Quotation from p. 64.

41. John Morris, *Sword of the Border: Major General Jacob Brown, 1775–1828* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2000).

42. According to Morris, Brown's four victories were Sackett's Harbor, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and the sortie from Fort Erie. The other five American victories were the Thames, Fort George, the defense of Fort Erie, Plattsburgh, and New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 302n38. Plattsburgh, which was won on Lake Champlain, and Lundy's Lane, which is probably best seen as a draw, might well be excluded from this list. That would mean that Brown won three out of seven major American victories on land.

43. Wesley B. Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812: High Command in the Canadas* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

44. Stuart Sutherland, *His Majesty's Gentlemen: A Directory of British Regular Army Officers of the War of 1812* ([Toronto]: Iser Publications, 2000). This work has been privately printed and is not widely available. It deserves a commercial press and much wider distribution. In the meantime, interested parties can acquire a copy only by writing to Iser Publications at 63 Madison Ave., Toronto, ON, Canada M5R 2S3.

45. George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profits, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). Some Canadian scholars have challenged Sheppard's use of evidence in this work. See, for example, Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812*, 120, 140, 194n30, 197–98n55.

guide to the militia from Upper Canada who served in the conflict.⁴⁶ Although undocumented, his work provides a particularly good overview of the militia. In contrast to Sheppard, Gray argues that citizen soldiers in Canada made a significant contribution (particularly in supporting roles) and that many of those who refused to serve did so simply because the pay was so pitiful—especially compared to wages in the labor-starved private sector. Yet another scholar, Luc Lépine, has prepared a biographical directory of the 2,700 militia officers who served in the war from Lower Canada.⁴⁷ In still another study, David Facey-Crowther argues that the main purpose of the New Brunswick militia was to provide a pool of recruits from which volunteer provincial corps could be raised in time of crisis.⁴⁸ Two such corps, enrolling 1,300 men, were raised during the War of 1812. Finally, in a brief article René Chartrand describes the attempt to transform the Canadian *voyageurs* (fur traders) into a military supply corps.⁴⁹

The Old Northwest

In addition to these general studies, there have been many specialized studies of battles and campaigns. Of the five major theaters of operations, the Old Northwest was probably the least important because it was so far removed from the centers of power, population, and commerce further east. Nevertheless, it was fiercely contested. In a study of British general Henry Procter's role, Sandy Antal has given us a new account of the campaigning on the Detroit River frontier.⁵⁰ Antal seeks to rehabilitate Procter's reputation. Although not entirely successful—after all, Procter lost an army at the Thames and was severely condemned by a military court—Antal reminds us that Procter played a role in earlier British victories.⁵¹ In addition, Antal provides a good analysis

46. William Gray, *Soldiers of the King: The Upper Canadian Militia, 1812–1815* (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1995).

47. Luc Lépine, *Les officiers de milice du Bas-Canada, 1812–1815/Lower Canada's Militia Officers, 1812–1815* (Montreal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 1996). The introduction to this work is in French and English; the biographical sketches (most of which are very brief) are in French.

48. David Facey-Crowther, *The New Brunswick Militia, 1787–1867* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press and New Brunswick Historical Society, 1990).

49. René Chartrand, "Canadian Voyageurs during the War of 1812," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 72 (Autumn 1994): 184–86.

50. Sandy Antal, *A Wampum Denied: Procter's War of 1812* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997).

51. For a more concise and focused defense of Procter, see Antal's article, "Myths and Facts Concerning General Procter," *Ontario History* 79 (September 1987): 251–62.

of British policy and strategy and of warfare on the Detroit and Ohio frontiers. In another study bearing on this theater, Bruce Bowlus describes the British assault on Fort Stephenson in Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), Ohio, in 1813.⁵² In still another work, Stuart Rammage examines the little-known Battle of Malcom's Mills in western Upper Canada in 1814.⁵³ Finally, Donald Melhorn seeks to determine the accuracy of one of John Richardson's tales of Indian nobility at the siege of Fort Meigs.⁵⁴

There also are a number of new studies of the war on Lake Erie, a waterway crucial to the land war in the Old Northwest. In 1988 a special issue of the *Journal of Erie Studies* was published commemorating the 175th anniversary of Oliver H. Perry's victory on Lake Erie. This contains a number of informative essays, most notably Michael Palmer's compelling indictment of Perry.⁵⁵ About the same time, Gerard Altoff published an equally compelling indictment of Perry's nemesis, Jesse Duncan Elliott.⁵⁶ Shortly thereafter, William Welsh and David Skaggs published another anthology, which has an especially illuminating essay on the murky subject of naval tactics and artillery by Frederick Drake.⁵⁷ Less useful is Robert Ilisevich's brief and undocumented biography of Daniel Dobbins, the man who oversaw the construction of Perry's fleet on Lake Erie.⁵⁸

We also have several new works on the Battle of Lake Erie. Canadians Robert and Thomas Malcomson have produced a large-format, heavily illustrated book aimed at a general audience.⁵⁹ Their account gives

52. Bruce Bowlus, "A 'Signal Victory': The Battle for Fort Stephenson, August 1-2, 1813," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 63 (Summer-Autumn 1991): 43-57.

53. Stuart A. Rammage, *The Militia Stood Alone: Malcom's Mills, 6 November 1814* (Summerland, British Columbia: Valley Publishing, 2000).

54. Donald F. Melhorn, Jr., "'A Splendid Man': Richardson, Ft. Meigs and the Story of Metoss," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 69 (Summer 1997): 133-60.

55. Michael A. Palmer, "A Failure of Command, Control, and Communications: Oliver Hazard Perry and the Battle of Lake Erie," *Journal of Erie Studies* 17 (Fall 1988): 7-26.

56. Gerard T. Altoff, "The Perry-Elliott Controversy," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 60 (Autumn 1988): 135-52. Two years later Lawrence J. Friedman and David Curtis Skaggs entered the debate, claiming that, contrary to popular belief, Elliott was not mentally unstable. See "Jesse Duncan Elliott and the Battle of Lake Erie: The Issue of Mental Stability," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (Winter 1990): 493-516.

57. Frederick C. Drake, "Artillery and Its Influence on Naval Tactics: Reflections on the Battle of Lake Erie," in *War on the Great Lakes: Essays Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie*, ed. William Jeffrey Welsh and David Curtis Skaggs (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991), 17-29.

58. Robert D. Ilisevich, *Daniel Dobbins: Frontier Mariner* (Erie, Pa.: Erie County Historical Society, 1993).

59. Robert Malcomson and Thomas Malcomson, *HMS "Detroit": The Battle for Lake Erie* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1990).

due attention to the British side of the story without sacrificing balance or ignoring the American side. Robert Malcomson also has written articles on HMS *Detroit*, the British flagship in the battle, and George Inglis, the officer who surrendered this ship.⁶⁰ More recently, David Skaggs and Gerard Altoff have collaborated on a fine study of the battle.⁶¹ Although based mainly on American sources, their work is likely to be accepted as the standard treatment for some time to come. In a companion piece, Skaggs has concluded that Perry did a good job of fostering cohesion in his motley crew.⁶²

In another work on the battle, Altoff presents the most complete description we have of the 600 Americans who served in Perry's fleet, 40 percent of whom were regulars or militia with little or no naval experience.⁶³ We also have two studies that seek to identify those engaged on the British side of the battle, but since they use different sources, their results are different. Using mainly POW and casualty records, Robert Malcomson has identified 451 men who were most likely involved; while Douglas Hendry, Charles Morrissey, and David Skaggs have used Admiralty and War Office records to come up with 564 names.⁶⁴ Robert Malcomson also has examined British command relationships on Lake Erie.⁶⁵ Lastly, Edward McHugh has told the story of a seaman and two marines executed for desertion from the American fleet on Lake Erie.⁶⁶

The Niagara Frontier

The second major theater of operations—along the Niagara frontier—witnessed some of the fiercest fighting of the war and has generated

60. Robert Malcomson, "H.M.S. *Detroit* 1813: The British Flagship at Put-in-Bay," *Seaways* 2 (January-February 1991): 26-32; and "George Inglis: Insights about the Man Who Hauled Down the British Flag at Put-in-Bay," *Journal of Erie Studies* 24 (Fall 1995): 71-80.

61. David Curtis Skaggs and Gerard T. Altoff, *A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign, 1812-1813* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997).

62. David Curtis Skaggs, "Creating Small Unit Cohesion: Oliver Hazard Perry at the Battle of Lake Erie," *Armed Forces and Society* 23 (Summer 1997): 635-68.

63. Gerard T. Altoff, *Deep Water Sailors, Shallow Water Soldiers: Manning the United States Fleet on Lake Erie, 1813* (Put-in-Bay, Ohio: Perry Group, 1993).

64. Robert Malcomson, "The Crews of the British Squadron at Put-in-Bay: A Composite Muster Roll and Its Insights," *Inland Seas* 51 (Summer 1995): 16-34, and (Fall 1995): 43-56; Douglas L. Hendry, Charles C. Morrissey, and David Curtis Skaggs, "British Personnel at the Battle of Lake Erie," *Inland Seas* 54 (Winter 1998): 298-314. Even though both of these studies appeared in the same journal, Hendry, Morrissey, and Skaggs do not mention Malcomson's work.

65. Bob Malcomson, "Controversial Relationships among the British before and after the Battle of Lake Erie," *Inland Seas* 46 (Fall 1990): 187-97.

66. Edward James McHugh, "The Erie Executions," *Inland Seas* 48 (Winter 1992): 297-304.

some of the best recent literature. In 1991 Arthur Bowler edited an illustrated anthology on the Niagara theater which includes a number of useful essays, most notably Donald E. Graves's reassessment of the training of Winfield Scott's troops at Buffalo.⁶⁷ Graves also has written books of exceptional quality on the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.⁶⁸ These works, which have established Graves as the preeminent military historian of the war, have everything one could hope for: a good description of the men and equipment, excellent maps and illustrations, and an uncommonly lucid account of the unfolding battles.⁶⁹ Complementing Graves's work is Joseph Whitehorne's concise operational study of the battles fought at Fort Erie in 1814.⁷⁰ Supplementing the works of both Graves and Whitehorne is Richard Barbuto's new book on the entire Niagara campaign of 1814.⁷¹ Barbuto's work includes fresh insights and new detail though its real value lies in establishing the larger context for the campaign. Barbuto analyzes the war aims and national strategy of both belligerents and also discusses the influence of geography and logistics and the role of the militia and Indians.

Robert Malcomson has written an essay that offers the best account of the Battle of Queenston Heights.⁷² Brian Dunnigan has written a short article on the history of the large garrison flag at Fort Niagara that was recently repatriated from Scotland.⁷³ And John Staggs has uncovered a

67. Donald E. Graves, "'I have a handsome little army . . .': A Re-Examination of Winfield Scott's Camp at Buffalo in 1814," in *War along the Niagara: Essays on the War of 1812 and Its Legacy*, ed. R. Arthur Bowler (Youngstown, N.Y.: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1991), 43–52.

68. Donald E. Graves, *Red Coats and Grey Jackets: The Battle of Chippawa, 5 July 1814* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994) and *Where Right and Glory Lead! The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 1814*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1997). Chippewa is one of several battles that is spelled differently on each side of the border. Americans spell it "Chippewa," while Canadians spell it "Chippawa."

69. Graves also has adopted Charles Oman's simple but elegant solution for distinguishing between the numbered units of opposing armies. Numerals are used for British and Canadian forces (thus, 100th Regiment of Foot), while written numbers are employed for American forces (hence, Twenty-Fifth Infantry).

70. Joseph Whitehorne, *While Washington Burned: The Battle for Fort Erie, 1814* (Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing, 1992). Whitehorne presents a more compact view of how the American army strengthened and supplied Fort Erie during its occupation in "The Battle of Fort Erie: Reconstruction of a War of 1812 Battle," *Prologue* 22 (Summer 1990): 129–48.

71. Richard V. Barbuto, *Niagara 1814: America Invades Canada* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

72. Robert Malcomson, "'It remains only to fight': The Battle of Queenston Heights, 13 October 1812," in *Fighting for Canada: Seven Battles, 1758–1945*, ed. Donald E. Graves (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 89–130.

73. Brian Leigh Dunnigan, "Fort Niagara's Star-Spangled Banner: A Garrison Color of the War of 1812," *Military Collector and Historian* 50 (Summer 1998): 75–80.

plan prepared by Peter B. Porter for an invasion of Canada in 1812 which he also analyzes.⁷⁴ Stagg argues that Porter's strategic recommendations were designed to support his goal of building an Ontario canal. Although he presents little direct evidence to support this contention, the document is nonetheless important, and Stagg's commentary reminds us how often national policy and strategy in this era were seen through local prisms.

Also useful is a collection of essays—essentially a scientific report—edited by Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald Williamson describing the excavation and analysis of the remains of twenty-eight American soldiers discovered at Fort Erie in 1987.⁷⁵ The scientific prose in this work may discourage some readers, but the way that information was gleaned from the skeletons is fascinating, and the findings (which are conveniently summarized in a well-written concluding chapter) shed light on the kind of men who served in the American army. For those who prefer to avoid the scientific jargon altogether, there is a fine popular account of this project by Paul Litt, Ronald Williamson, and Joseph Whitehorne that not only is well written but also presents information not found in the original report.⁷⁶

Just as the control of Lake Erie was crucial to the war in the Northwest, so too did control of Lake Ontario affect the war on the Niagara. Although this lake was an important theater of operations, no decisive battles were fought there. Instead, each side contended for mastery in what has been called "a shipbuilder's war."⁷⁷ As a result, students of the War of 1812 have been inclined to slight Lake Ontario, preferring to focus instead on the more glamorous and decisive battles fought on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. Robert Malcomson has now remedied this deficiency with a detailed and balanced account of the war on Lake Ontario, which includes a series of tables in the appendix giving the strength of each side at different times in the war.⁷⁸ Malcomson also has written articles on HMS *St. Lawrence*, the 102-gun ship-of-the-line that the British had in service on Lake Ontario in the last months of the

74. J. C. A. Stagg, "Between Black Rock and a Hard Place: Peter B. Porter's Plan for an American Invasion of Canada in 1812," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (Fall 1999): 385–422.

75. Susan Pfeiffer and Ronald F. Williamson, eds., *Snake Hill: An Investigation of a Military Cemetery from the War of 1812* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991).

76. Paul Litt, Ronald F. Williamson, and Joseph W. A. Whitehorne, *Death at Snake Hill: Secrets from a War of 1812 Cemetery* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993).

77. See C. Winton-Claire [R. C. Anderson], "A Shipbuilder's War," in *The Defended Border: Upper Canada and the War of 1812*, ed. Morris Zaslow (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1964), 165–72.

78. Robert Malcomson, *Lords of the Lake: The Naval War on Lake Ontario, 1812–1814* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1998).

conflict, and on British efforts to win control of the lakes by sending pre-fabricated warships to Canada.⁷⁹

Robert Malcomson's work should be read in conjunction with several other studies. Patrick Wilder offers an excellent analysis of the Battle of Sackett's Harbor in 1813.⁸⁰ Carl Benn has a fine account of the two American assaults on Fort York in his larger history of the Canadian post.⁸¹ And Tom Malcomson has done a valuable statistical analysis of the seamen who served on the lake and has told the chilling story of the only seaman hanged at Kingston during the war.⁸²

We also have two fine studies of joint operations on Lake Ontario. William Dudley shows how successful such operations were for the United States at York and Fort George in 1813, although his defense of Isaac Chauncey's failure to cooperate with the army in 1814 is not very persuasive.⁸³ Frederick Drake presents a good analysis of the conflicting tactical and strategic mandates of the two opposing naval commanders on the lake and concludes that British commander James Yeo did a better job of achieving his larger aims than Chauncey.⁸⁴

The St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain Front

For the third major theater of operations, the St. Lawrence River and Lake Champlain, we also have several new works. Donald E. Graves has again left his mark with a superb account of the British victory at Crysler's Farm and the triumph of the French Canadians at Chateauguay.⁸⁵ Graves points out that the United States employed more regular troops in this campaign than in any other military operation before the Civil War and that it represented the most serious attempt to conquer

79. Robert Malcomson, "HMS *St Lawrence*: The Freshwater First-Rate," *Mariner's Mirror* 83 (November 1997): 419-33, and "Xebecs for the Great Lakes War," *Model Ship Builder* 101 (May-June 1996): 51-54.

80. Patrick A. Wilder, *The Battle of Sackett's Harbour: 1813* (Baltimore: Nautical Aviation and Publishing, 1994). Wilder is working on a revision of this study.

81. Carl Benn, *Historic York, 1793-1993* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1993).

82. Tom Malcomson, "Muster Table for the Royal Navy's Establishment on Lake Ontario during the War of 1812," *Northern Mariner* 9 (April 1999): 41-67; and "Hanging Seaman Jones," *Inland Seas* 55 (Winter 1999): 315-27.

83. William S. Dudley, "Commodore Isaac Chauncey and U.S. Joint Operations on Lake Erie, 1813-14," in *New Interpretations in Naval History: Selected Papers from the Eighth Naval History Symposium*, ed. William B. Cogar (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1989), 139-55.

84. Frederick C. Drake, "Commodore Sir James Yeo and Governor General George Prevost: A Study in Command Relations, 1813-14," *ibid.*, 156-71.

85. Donald E. Graves, *Field of Glory: The Battle of Crysler's Field, 1813* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1999).

Canada. Moreover, the American defeat was "so catastrophic" that "it swept away an entire stratum of incompetent senior officers."⁸⁶

André Charbonneau has written an informative book on British fortifications and defense strategy in the Champlain Valley.⁸⁷ Russell Bellico provides a brief but serviceable account of the war on Lake Champlain.⁸⁸ Donald Alcock has made the dubious and largely unsupported claim that Vermonters engaged in smuggling to forestall a British invasion.⁸⁹ Norman Ansley has identified more than 2,500 Vermonters who volunteered for service at Plattsburgh.⁹⁰ And David Fitz-Enz has a book in press on the Battle of Plattsburgh that promises to shed new light on the fighting on land as well as on the lake.⁹¹

The Chesapeake Bay

The fourth major theater of operations, the Chesapeake Bay, was virtually without any modern work in the mid-1980s other than Walter Lord's fine popular account.⁹² We now have several good studies, each approaching the war from a different angle. The most comprehensive is Joseph Whitehorne's mistitled account of the entire British campaign in the Chesapeake from 1812 to 1814.⁹³ Whitehorne apparently relied heavily on published sources, and he has a weak introductory chapter on the causes of the war, but otherwise his work is thoughtful and informative. In another work, Anthony Pitch presents a lively and detailed (though at times confusing) account of the campaign against Washington and Baltimore.⁹⁴ Christopher George has published a valuable work that

86. Ibid., xvi, 320.

87. André Charbonneau, *The Fortifications of Île aux Noix: A Portrait of the Defensive Strategy on the Upper Richelieu Border in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, trans. Department of the Secretary of State (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1994).

88. Russell P. Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains: A Maritime and Military History of Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Fleischmanns, N.Y.: Purple Mountain Press, 1992).

89. Donald G. Alcock, "The Best Defence is . . . Smuggling? Vermonters During the War of 1812," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 25 (Winter 1995): 73–91.

90. Norman Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812* (Severna Park, Md.: Brooke Keefer Limited Editions, 1999).

91. David G. Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion: Plattsburgh, the War of 1812's Most Decisive Battle*, Cooper Square Press, forthcoming.

92. Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972).

93. Joseph A. Whitehorne, *The Battle for Baltimore, 1814* (Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing, 1997).

94. Anthony S. Pitch, *The Burning of Washington: The British Invasion of 1814* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1998).

examines British raiding operations in the Chesapeake and a long article that details the wartime role of Harford County, Maryland.⁹⁵

We have several new studies of British participants in the Chesapeake campaign. There are two new biographies of Horatio Nelson's bold and gifted protégé, Admiral George Cockburn, who spearheaded British operations in the Chesapeake, culminating in the assault on Washington. James Pack is primarily interested in Cockburn as an individual, and his study presents a more detailed account of Cockburn's Chesapeake campaign.⁹⁶ Roger Morriss, on the other hand, is more interested in Cockburn's place in the Royal Navy tradition, and his work shows a firmer grasp of British strategic considerations.⁹⁷ In a related study, Bryan Perrett briefly examines the life of James Gordon, who masterminded the daring waterborne plunder of Alexandria in 1814.⁹⁸

Several other works on this campaign should be noted. Lonn Taylor has retold the story of how "The Star-Spangled Banner" was written and has traced the history of the famous flag from the end of the war to the present.⁹⁹ Scott Sheads has written a brief history of Fort McHenry that includes particularly striking contemporary color illustrations.¹⁰⁰ Louis Norton has written an informative biography of Chesapeake naval hero Joshua Barney, although the work is thinly documented, and the author acknowledges that he has taken "some minor license by adding a dash of prose coloration."¹⁰¹ And Christopher George has penned an article describing the role of African Americans in the campaign.¹⁰²

95. Christopher T. George, *Terror on the Chesapeake: The War of 1812 on the Bay* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Books, 2000); and "Harford County in the War of 1812," *Harford Historical Bulletin* 76 (Spring 1998): 3–61.

96. James Pack, *The Man Who Burned the White House: Admiral Sir George Cockburn, 1772–1853* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1987).

97. Roger Morriss, *Cockburn and the British Navy in Transition: Admiral Sir George Cockburn, 1772–1853* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997).

98. Bryan Perrett, *The Real Hornblower: The Life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir James Alexander Gordon, GCB* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997). Perrett argues—not altogether convincingly—that C. S. Forester modeled his fictional naval hero Horatio Hornblower after Gordon.

99. Lonn Taylor, *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Flag that Inspired the National Anthem* (New York: Smithsonian Institution and Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

100. Scott Sheads, *Fort McHenry* (Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing, 1995).

101. Louis Arthur Norton, *Joshua Barney: Hero of the Revolution and 1812* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2000). Quotation from p. xviii. Norton also has included some improbable stories on Barney's early life based on family tradition.

102. Christopher T. George, "Mirage of Freedom: African Americans in the War of 1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 91 (Winter 1996): 427–50.

The Southwest and Gulf Coast

The fifth theater of operations, the Gulf Coast, was much better served by historians in the 1980s, largely because of the appeal of the spectacular Battle of New Orleans.¹⁰³ Even so, we have several new works on this campaign. Gene Smith has put out a new edition of Arsène Lacarrière Latour's important contemporary work on the war on the Gulf Coast.¹⁰⁴ Smith explains Latour's role in the war in an introductory chapter, and he has added twenty documents to the appendix that Latour planned to include in a future edition. Robert Remini has drawn upon his research on Andrew Jackson over the years to produce a lively account of the Battle of New Orleans that is rich in detail but thinly documented.¹⁰⁵ Remini calls this battle "one of the great defining moments in the history of the republic" because it helped establish American character and vindicate American nationhood.¹⁰⁶ Tim Pickles has written a breezy, undocumented account of the Battle of New Orleans that is part of the Osprey Campaign Series.¹⁰⁷ This work is useful mainly for its lavish illustrations. Matthew Warshauer has re-examined Andrew Jackson's rule of martial law in New Orleans.¹⁰⁸ And Robert Vogel has written a pair of articles on the Lafitte brothers and the Baratarian pirates.¹⁰⁹

The Indians

Further enhancing our understanding of the War of 1812 has been the publication of a number of books on the Indians.¹¹⁰ Gregory Dowd has written a compelling analysis of the spiritually-based and remarkably persistent pan-Indian movement, although his treatment of the war

103. See note 5.

104. Arsène Lacarrière Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814–15*, ed. Gene A. Smith, expanded edition (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999).

105. Robert V. Remini, *The Battle of New Orleans* (New York: Viking, 1999).

106. *Ibid.*, 199.

107. Tim Pickles, *New Orleans, 1815: Andrew Jackson Crushes the British* (Oxford, England: Osprey Publishing, 1993).

108. Matthew Warshauer, "The Battle of New Orleans Reconsidered: Andrew Jackson and Martial Law," *Louisiana History* 39 (Summer 1998): 261–91.

109. Robert C. Vogel, "Jean Lafitte, the Baratarians, and the Historical Geography of Piracy in the Gulf of Mexico," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 5 (Spring 1990): 63–77; and "The Patterson and Ross Raid on Barataria, September 1814," *Louisiana History* 33 (Spring 1992): 157–70.

110. In Canada, Indian tribes are officially known as "First Nations," and Indians are often referred to as "aboriginal people" (the equivalent in the United States of "Native Americans").

years is regrettably thin.¹¹¹ John Sugden helps fill this gap in his detailed biography of Tecumseh, the best-known leader of the Indian unity movement.¹¹² Sugden's work is sometimes uncritical and often speculative, but it is based on extensive research, and the story he tells is richly textured and remarkably informative. The late Robert Allen has written an account of Britain's relationship with the Indians, emphasizing the critical role they played in defending Canada during the War of 1812.¹¹³

We also have several new works that focus on the northern Indians. Richard White's study is a fine example of the new Indian history that "places Indian peoples at the center of the scene and seeks to understand the reasons for their actions."¹¹⁴ White calls the Old Northwest "the middle ground," a kind of no-man's land where Indians and whites interacted in an extraordinary variety of ways, most of which had very little to do with imperial or tribal policy. Another important work shedding light on the northern Indians is Carl Benn's superb study of the Iroquois.¹¹⁵ Like Robert Allen, Benn argues that the Indians played a crucial role in the defense of Canada, and he has a particularly good chapter on how the Iroquois waged war. He also demonstrates how this once powerful confederation, divided and greatly weakened by the American Revolution, was utterly devastated by the War of 1812. Less useful is Christopher Densmore's brief biography of Red Jacket, the Seneca orator and statesman who sided with the United States.¹¹⁶ Densmore shows that Red Jacket deserves to be remembered for his efforts to preserve Seneca traditions and tribal lands but adds little to our understanding of his role in the War of 1812.

There are also several new books that focus on the Indians in the Southwest. Kathryn Braund's study of Creek trade shows how contact with whites changed Creek society and ultimately led to the Creek civil war that soon became Andrew Jackson's Creek War.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Benjamin Griffith's dual biography of William McIntosh and William Weath-

111. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

112. John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997).

113. Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992).

114. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Quotation from p. xi.

115. Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

116. Christopher Densmore, *Red Jacket: Iroquois Diplomat and Orator* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

117. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

erford, two mixed-blood leaders who fought on opposite sides in the Creek civil war, also argues that white contact caused the internecine conflict.¹¹⁸ Claudio Saunt makes much the same point in a perceptive study that argues that mestizos (mixed-bloods) spearheaded the adoption of new concepts of power and property that fundamentally transformed and disrupted Creek society and thus brought on the civil war.¹¹⁹ Indeed, Saunt emphasizes that Redstick traditionalists targeted mixed-bloods as much as whites in their war with the United States. David and Jeanne Heidler have written a study of Andrew Jackson and American expansion in the Southwest that is sharply critical of Old Hickory, portraying him as "an angry young man who became an angry old man."¹²⁰ Thomas Kanon has written an article on the Battle of Horseshoe Bend that includes fresh detail.¹²¹ And Brian Rucker has written an article describing American raids on the surviving Redsticks who took refuge in Spanish Florida after their defeat at Horseshoe Bend.¹²²

Together these works present a great deal of information on how Native Americans lived and on their role in the War of 1812, showing that they were much more than passive agents to be manipulated by the belligerent powers.

The War at Sea

The war at sea has attracted almost as much attention as the war on land. Robert Gardiner has edited a large-format, illustrated work that presents an overview of the naval war. This is a British production, the fifth volume in a six-volume set on the British navy in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.¹²³ Although an informative and useful corrective to American studies, this work is marred by an unnecessary introductory chapter that is filled with errors and by a tendency to distort the evidence to make the British look better. We also have two vol-

118. Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988).

119. Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

120. David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1996). Quotation from p. 18.

121. Thomas Kanon, "'A Slow, Laborious Slaughter': The Battle of Horseshoe Bend," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1999): 2–15.

122. Brian R. Rucker, "Nixon's Raid and Other Precursors to Jackson's 1814 Invasion of Spanish West Florida," *Gulf South Historical Review* 14 (Spring 1999): 33–50.

123. Robert Gardiner, ed., *The Naval War of 1812* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1999). The series is the Chatham Pictorial Histories.

umes in the superb documentary collection being produced by William Dudley and his colleagues at the Naval Historical Center in Washington, D.C.¹²⁴ This collection, which is now projected to reach four volumes, focuses on the American side of the story, but within those limits covers all aspects of the war on the coast, the high seas, and the lakes, including operations, supply, recruitment, privateers, marines, ship construction, prisoners-of-war, and inter- and intra-service rivalries.

We have two new studies of American naval strategy at the beginning of the war. In one, Peter Kastor makes the dubious claim that the administration sent the navy to sea only because the army was so slow to mobilize.¹²⁵ In the other, Jeff Seiken suggests that the American navy might have been most profitably used disrupting trade and threatening troop and supply transports off the coast of Canada.¹²⁶ Two other studies examine British naval strategy. In a fact-filled article focusing on the economic impact of the conflict, Faye Kert argues that blockade and convoy played a central role in British strategy.¹²⁷ And in a thinly researched article that explores British attitudes, C. J. Bartlett argues that contempt for the American people underlay Britain's willingness to launch amphibious operations against civilian targets.¹²⁸

Another useful work on the navy is Christopher McKee's fine study of the officer corps.¹²⁹ McKee presents an excellent analysis of how the navy worked before and during the War of 1812, focusing on the duties of officers, navy finances, deaths and resignations, crime and punishment, alcoholism (predictably widespread), and homosexuality (surprisingly rare). Another useful work is Harold Langley's informative but

124. William S. Dudley et al., eds., *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (Washington: Naval Historical Center, 1985-).

125. Peter J. Kastor, "Toward 'the Maritime War Only': The Question of Naval Mobilization, 1811-1812," *Journal of Military History* 61 (July 1997): 455-80. Jeff Seiken has challenged Kastor's use of evidence in "Expanding the Fleet: The Congressional Debate over Naval Policy on the Eve of the War of 1812," paper delivered at the annual convention of the Society for Military History, Wheaton, Ill., 26 April 1998.

126. Jeff Seiken, "'To Strike a Blow in the World that Shall Resound through the Universe': American Naval Operations and Options at the Start of the War of 1812," in *New Interpretations of Naval History: Selected Papers from the Fourteenth Naval History Symposium*, ed. Randy Balano and Craig L. Symonds, Naval Institute Press, forthcoming.

127. Faye M. Kert, "The Fortunes of War: Commercial Warfare and Maritime Risk in the War of 1812," *Northern Mariner* 8 (October 1998): 1-16.

128. C. J. Bartlett, "Gentlemen versus Democrats: Cultural Prejudice and Military Strategy in Britain in the War of 1812," *War in History* 1 (July 1994): 140-59.

129. Christopher McKee, *A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1794-1815* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1991).

diffuse study of naval medicine, which details attempts to cope with health problems ashore and afloat and describes the movement to establish a more professional medical service.¹³⁰ Complementing Langley's work is Seebert Goldowsky's fascinating biography of Usher Parsons, a surgeon who served on the Niagara frontier and then in Perry's squadron on Lake Erie.¹³¹

Spencer Tucker's illustrated study of naval guns and ordnance is yet another valuable work.¹³² Although this study is indispensable for understanding the war at sea, Tucker presents little information on how the guns actually performed in battle, and his spare documentation style will make it difficult for others to duplicate his research.

Tucker also has produced a fine study of Jefferson's gunboat navy.¹³³ Tucker argues that during the War of 1812 gunboats played a useful (if modest) role, convoying coastal vessels, serving as transports for the navy, and delaying the British advance on New Orleans. In a follow-up article, Tucker credits these vessels with several other minor wartime contributions.¹³⁴ In another study (one that uses a somewhat broader definition of gunboats), Gene Smith makes the credible argument that these vessels contributed to the American victories on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain as well as at New Orleans, although his claim that they also delayed the British assault on Washington and prevented an attack on Charleston and Savannah seems to go too far.¹³⁵ In still another work, Robert Malcomson presents a superb analysis of the design and use of gunboats on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.¹³⁶ In another study of small vessels, William Wells seeks to shed light on the confusing history of American revenue cutters captured during the war, although at times his account is itself confusing.¹³⁷ Finally, in a brief article, Blake Dun-

130. Harold D. Langley, *A History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

131. Seebert J. Goldowsky, *Yankee Surgeon: The Life and Times of Usher Parsons (1788–1868)* (Boston: Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine and Rhode Island Publications Society, 1988).

132. Spencer Tucker, *Arming the Fleet: U.S. Navy Ordnance in the Muzzle-Loading Era* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1989).

133. Spencer Tucker, *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

134. Spencer Tucker, "The Jeffersonian Gunboats in Service, 1804–1825," *American Neptune* 55 (Spring 1995): 97–110.

135. Gene A. Smith, "For the Purposes of Defense": *The Politics of the Jeffersonian Gunboat Program* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995).

136. Robert Malcomson, "Gunboats on Lake Ontario in the War of 1812," *Seaways: Ships in Scale* 7 (January-February 1996): 31–37, (March-April 1996): 27–31, (May-June 1996): 40–44.

137. William R. Wells II, "US Revenue Cutters Captured in the War of 1812," *American Neptune* 58 (Spring 1998): 225–41.

navent examines the American navy's river operations during the war.¹³⁸

We also have new studies of several ships and naval engagements. Frances Robotti and James Vescovi have written an undocumented popular history of the USS *Essex* that challenges Captain David Porter's claim that he did \$5 million dollars in damage to the British in the Pacific before his ship was captured and turned into an Irish prison hulk.¹³⁹ Tyrone Martin has significantly revised his authoritative 1980 popular work on the USS *Constitution*, presenting additional detail on the ship and its successful cruises during the war.¹⁴⁰ In another popular work, James Tertius de Kay traces the history of the *Macedonian*, the British frigate that was captured by the USS *United States* in 1812.¹⁴¹ Calling this "the most important prize of war ever taken by the American Navy," de Kay shows how the navy kept this trophy ship on display until it was finally dropped from the rolls in 1875.¹⁴² In another popular work, De Kay describes the Anglo-American sparring in Long Island Sound and Great Britain's curious assault in 1814 on the exposed but inoffensive town of Stonington, Connecticut.¹⁴³ And in a recent article, Anthony Gutridge has examined the lucrative business of a British navy prize agent at Halifax and Bermuda during the war.¹⁴⁴

Poor record keeping has limited our understanding of the design and construction of many warships that took part in the 1812 conflict. Fortunately, scholars on both sides of the border have begun archaeological investigations of sunken ships, many of which have been well preserved in the freshwater environment of the lakes. So far, these projects have targeted some fifteen vessels, including the *Nancy* in Lake Huron; the *Hamilton*, *Scourge*, and *Jefferson* in Lake Ontario; the *Eagle*, *Ticonderoga*, and *Linnet* in Lake Champlain; and Joshua Barney's flotilla of gunboats in the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁴⁵

138. R. Blake Dunnavent, "BroadSides and Brown Water: The US Navy in Riverine Warfare during the War of 1812," *American Neptune* 59 (Summer 1999): 199–210.

139. Frances Diane Robotti and James Vescovi, *The USS "Essex" and the Birth of the American Navy* (Holbrook, Mass.: Adams Media, 1999).

140. Tyrone G. Martin, *A Most Fortunate Ship: A Narrative History of Old Ironsides*, rev. ed. (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997).

141. James Tertius de Kay, *Chronicles of the Frigate "Macedonian," 1809–1922* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995).

142. *Ibid.*, 11.

143. James Tertius de Kay, *The Battle of Stonington: Torpedoes, Submarines, and Rockets in the War of 1812* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1990).

144. Anthony Gutridge, "George Redmond Hulbert: Prize Agent at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1812–14," *Mariner's Mirror* 87 (February 2001): 30–42.

145. The best overview of this subject, though now somewhat dated, is Kenneth A. Cassavoy and Kevin J. Crisman, "The War of 1812: Battle for the Great Lakes," in *Ships and Shipwrecks of the Americas: A History Based on Underwater Archaeol-*

We have several new naval biographies as well. Ira Dye has written a fine dual biography of two commanders, William Allen of the USS *Argus* and John Maples of HMS *Pelican*, whose vessels clashed in 1813.¹⁴⁶ In the process of telling his story, Dye presents a good deal of information on service in the American and British navies. Stephen Duffy has just published a study of Johnston Blakeley, the ill-fated officer who was in charge of the USS *Wasp* when it disappeared at sea in 1814 after a remarkably successful cruise.¹⁴⁷ And Gene Smith has written a biography of Thomas ap Catesby Jones, the naval officer who chased smugglers and foreign privateers at New Orleans and then fought the British on Lake Borgne.¹⁴⁸

The War of 1812 was the last war in which privateering played a significant role, and several recent works deal with this subject. Lawyer Donald Petrie has written an incisive little book that lays out the ground rules for privateering.¹⁴⁹ He also discusses the practice of ransoming vessels and the use of sea cartels. Faye Kert has written a fine account of Canadian privateering, demonstrating that this species of warfare contributed to the "unprecedented prosperity" of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during the war.¹⁵⁰ Kert has informative chapters on the operations of privateers, the evolution of prize law and prize courts, the British system for licensing enemy trade, and the disposition of navy prizes. She also compares privateering in Canada with the practice in the United States. In another work, Richard Winslow presents a colorful if superficial account of private armed vessels operating out of Portsmouth.¹⁵¹ And in yet another work, Gordon Harrington has written

ogy, ed. George F. Bass (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 169–88. See also Art Cohn and Kevin Crisman, "The Archaeological Legacy of the War of 1812," in Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812*, 216–19.

146. Ira Dye, *The Fatal Cruise of the "Argus": Two Captains in the War of 1812* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1994).

147. Stephen W. H. Duffy, *Captain Blakeley and the "Wasp": The Cruise of 1814* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2001).

148. Gene A. Smith, *Thomas ap Catesby Jones: Commodore of Manifest Destiny* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2000).

149. Donald A. Petrie, *The Prize Game: Lawful Looting on the High Seas in the Days of Fighting Sail* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1999).

150. Faye M. Kert, *Prize and Prejudice: Privateering and Naval Prize in Atlantic Canada in the War of 1812* (St. Johns, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997). Quotation from p. 157.

151. Richard E. Winslow III, *"Wealth and Honour": Portsmouth during the Golden Age of Privateering, 1775–1815* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Portsmouth Marine Society, 1988).

an article showing how American privateers caused problems in the Far East for Britain's East India Company.¹⁵²

Most American POWs in this conflict were seafaring men, and two studies of this group should be noted. Robin Fabel has written an article that presents a good description of what life was like at Dartmoor prison for some 6,500 American POWs, most of whom were taken from privateers or released from British warships at the beginning of the war.¹⁵³ Similarly, Ira Dye has done a statistical analysis of the Dartmoor POWs to produce a portrait of American seamen in this era.¹⁵⁴

Works in Progress

All in all, the recent outpouring of literature on the military history of the War of 1812 has been remarkable. Nor is the end in sight. Robert Malcomson is writing books on the Battle of Queenston Heights and warships on the lakes; James Elliott is working on the Battle of Stoney Creek; John Grodzinski is pursuing research on the war on the St. Lawrence River; Stanley Quick is writing a book on the war in the Chesapeake; William Gray has another project under way on the militia of Upper Canada; Donald E. Graves is working on a biography of the Canadian traitor Joseph Willcocks; Carl Benn is preparing a biography of the influential Anglo-Indian leader John Norton; Frederick Drake is working on the naval war; Gary Gibson is studying the war on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River; Barry Gough is writing a book on the war on Lake Huron; David Skaggs is writing a dual biography of Oliver Perry and Thomas Macdonough; Tyrone Martin and Virginia Steele are working on a biography of shipbuilder William Doughty; Richard Eddy is working on a study of shipbuilder Joshua Humphreys; Kevin Crisman is editing a volume on the archeology of 1812 shipwrecks; Matthew Warshauer is writing a book on Andrew Jackson's imposition of martial law in New Orleans; John Stagg is working on a social history of the American army; Gene Smith is preparing a comprehensive work on African Americans in the war; and John Weiss is researching the 4,000 slaves who fled with the British at the end of the conflict.

152. Gordon K. Harrington, "The American Naval Challenge to the English East India Company during the War of 1812," in *New Interpretations in Naval History: Selected Papers from the Tenth Naval History Symposium*, ed. Jack Sweetman et al. (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 129–52.

153. Robin F. A. Fabel, "Self-Help in Dartmoor: Black and White Prisoners in the War of 1812," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9 (Summer 1989): 165–90.

154. Ira Dye, "Physical and Social Profiles of Early American Seafarers, 1812–1815," in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 220–35.

Still a Forgotten Conflict?

Does this renaissance mean that we can drop the label “forgotten conflict”? Probably not yet. Most of the work has been done in the United States and Canada. Canadians have been especially busy, producing a disproportionate number of 1812 studies, probably because this war holds a more central place in their heritage. Indeed, in a recent poll Canadians ranked the War of 1812 as the third most important event in their history, behind only the establishment of the Confederation (1867) and the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1885).¹⁵⁵ The British, by contrast, still consider “the second American war” little more than a footnote to the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁵⁶ Even though there were as many British troops in North America in 1814 (48,000) as at any time in the Peninsula, and far more than at Waterloo in 1815, the British continue to ignore the American conflict.¹⁵⁷

Moreover, virtually all the new work has been confined to the war’s military history; the domestic history and the diplomatic history have been largely ignored.¹⁵⁸ In addition, while the new works have given us a deeper understanding of the war, they probably will not significantly alter the way the conflict is treated in textbooks. Recent scholarship has

155. See Anne McIlroy, “Confederation Wins the Vote for the Greatest Event in Our History,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 18 September 2000.

156. British scholar Brian Jenkins calls the war “the always peripheral American conflict.” See *Henry Goulburn, 1784–1856: A Political Biography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 89.

157. The figures on British deployments were supplied by Donald E. Graves in a letter to the author, 26 August 2000. The pertinent volume in the new *Oxford History of the British Empire* has only a few scattered references to the war in 595 pages of text. See P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 2 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Alaine Low (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998), 195, 369, 382–83, 387–88, 579–80.

158. There are some exceptions. In *Injured Honor: The “Chesapeake”-“Leopard” Affair, June 27, 1807* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996), Spencer C. Tucker and Frank T. Reuter present the first book-length analysis of this episode in Anglo-American relations. Their description of the engagement and the ensuing American naval investigation is very good, but their diplomatic history is unreliable. In *The Presidency of James Madison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), Robert A. Rutland presents an even-handed but sympathetic view of Madison’s wartime leadership. And in *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700–1815* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994), Edwin J. Perkins presents a refreshingly modern and astute reassessment of American wartime finance. Perkins argues that the administration did much better in this area than is commonly thought, although he appears to have underestimated the seriousness of the financial crisis that beset the nation in the last months of the war, when the Treasury was so destitute of funds that it defaulted on the national debt, government paper was quoted at a substantial discount, and banks and government contractors refused to accept treasury notes.

not significantly changed the big picture of the war, and most textbooks do not go much beyond this. Textbook writers are usually slow to adopt new ideas anyway (unless, of course they deal with trendy subjects, such as race, gender, class, or ethnicity).

Nor is it certain that the public will embrace the war as enthusiastically as scholars have. There are, however, some indications that it may. Studies dealing with the conflict seem to sell reasonably well, although this could be simply a reflection of the general popularity of military history.¹⁵⁹ Also encouraging is the way that reenactors around the country have gravitated to the conflict. Canadian John Sek has identified thirty-seven American and British units that are now active.¹⁶⁰ There is a General Society of the War of 1812, with affiliates in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia, which is open to the male lineal descendants of those who served in the war.¹⁶¹ There is a similar organization for women, the United States Daughters of 1812, which is open to female descendants of anyone who held a civil or military position between 1784 and 1815. This organization has affiliates in thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia and maintains a museum in Washington, D.C.¹⁶²

The War of 1812 Consortium in Baltimore publishes a popular quarterly journal and sponsors an annual fall symposium on the war.¹⁶³ Christopher George and the War of 1812 Consortium also have established a comprehensive website that publishes documents, articles, biographical sketches, and other information on the war.¹⁶⁴ MilitaryHeritage.com maintains another War of 1812 website aimed at military buffs.¹⁶⁵ Holts Tours of Kent, England, has offered tours of 1812 sites, and HistoryAmerica Tours of Dallas, Texas, offered a similar tour in 1998 (although it did not draw nearly as well as established tours dealing with the Revolution, the Civil War, or the Indian wars of the West).¹⁶⁶

159. David Nevin's fictional work, *1812: A Novel* (New York: Forge, 1996), also seems to have sold well.

160. Sek has listed thirty-four units on his web site at <<http://www.iaw.on.ca/~jsek/1812unit.htm>>. Three additional units have not yet been listed. Sek to author, 8 March 2001.

161. For details on this organization, go to: <<http://www.societyofthewarof1812.org>>.

162. For details, go to: <<http://www.usdaughters1812.org>>.

163. The "Journal of the War of 1812" was formerly "The Journal of 1800-1840."

164. "Casebook: The War of 1812" can be found at: <<http://warof1812.casebook.org>>.

165. "The War of 1812 Website" can be found at: <<http://www.militaryheritage.com/1812.htm>>. Yale Law School's "Avalon Project" supports another website that reproduces documents bearing on the war's diplomatic history. See <<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/br1814m.htm>>.

166. The Canadian army regularly offers tours of 1812 sites as part of the professional development of its officers just as American army officers regularly take part in staff rides of Civil War battlefields.

Even though only 4 of the 229 cultural or historical sites managed by the National Park Service are devoted to the war, the Park Service has initiated a study of all 1812 sites in the United States to foster preservation.¹⁶⁷ The Park Service also is studying the feasibility of creating a Star-Spangled Banner National Historic Trail linking more than thirty 1812 sites in the Upper Chesapeake. Canadian officials and scholars seem equally determined to preserve and promote sites on their side of the border. Efforts also are under way to reconstruct some of the warships that sailed on the Great Lakes during the era of the War of 1812. On the American side the *Niagara* has been rebuilt, as has the privateer *Chasseur* (which, after a fire, has been rebuilt a second time and is called *The Pride of Baltimore II*); and on the Canadian side the *Tecumseth* and *Bee* have been reconstructed, and work has begun on the *Detroit* and *Wolfe*.¹⁶⁸

Documentary films could further stimulate public interest. Here, as in other areas, the Canadians have taken the lead. Arnie Gelbart and Andrea Nemtin have produced a four-part documentary presenting the Canadian and Indian view of the war for Galafilm of Canada.¹⁶⁹ This ponderous film relies heavily on actors and reenactors instead of expert commentators, but despite some inadequacies, it is generally accurate. It has aired on local stations in Canada as well as on the History Channel.¹⁷⁰ Canadian Robert Livesey has produced a three-part film on the war that relies entirely on re-enactors for both commentary and action scenes.¹⁷¹ Although marred by some errors, anachronistic language, and confusing battle scenes, the film does a good job of depicting field and battle conditions of the period. Mark Starowicz is producing a sixteen-part documentary on the history of Canada for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation that started airing on CBC in the fall of 2000. The fifth episode covers the years from the American Revolution through the War of 1812.¹⁷²

167. The four 1812 sites are Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore, Maryland; Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial at Put-in-Bay, Ohio; Horseshoe Bend National Military Park at Daviston, Alabama; and John Lafitte National Historical Park, which includes Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, in New Orleans, Louisiana. The total number of sites managed by the Park Service is 384. For more on the National Park Service's American Battlefield Preservation Program (which is currently targeting sites from the American Revolution as well as the War of 1812), go to: <<http://www2er.nps.gov/abpp>>.

168. For the reconstruction of the *Niagara*, see Bob Malcomson, "Niagara Sails Again," *Naval History* 5 (Summer 1991): 37-43.

169. *War of 1812*, prod. Arnie Gelbart and Andrea Nemtin, Galafilm, 1999.

170. There is a large format, richly illustrated companion volume to the film that includes an interactive CD-ROM. It is Victor Suthren, *The War of 1812* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999).

171. *1812: The Forgotten War*, prod. Robert Livesey, Little Brick Schoolhouse/Franjo Productions, 1995.

172. *Rebels, Loyalists and Invaders*, Episode #5 of *Canada: A People's History*, prod. Mark Starowicz, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2000- .

American Gary Foreman has produced nicely paced and reasonably accurate documentaries on the life of Tecumseh and the Battle of New Orleans, although the former is marred by too many Anglo-looking Indians and a certainty in the script that is hardly warranted by the historical record.¹⁷³ Both of these films have aired on the History Channel. The History Channel has produced its own documentary on "The "Star-Spangled Banner."¹⁷⁴ This film is well-paced and profits from scholarly commentary, but the script is gushy and filled with errors. It is also marred by an ill-advised attempt to pass off Hillary Rodham Clinton as an expert on the Fort McHenry flag. Finally, Bruce Carlin and David Fitz-Enz of Cannonade Filmworks have produced a fine documentary on the Battle of Plattsburgh and are contemplating another documentary that would cover the entire war.¹⁷⁵

Future Work

Is there additional work still to be done on the war? There certainly is. Although scholars have pursued some of the leads that I suggested in my 1989 study (as well as many that did not occur to me), there are still gaps in our knowledge. We need someone to write a history of this conflict from the perspective of the British government and the British people. We also need a full-scale analysis of the strategy and tactics of the war. We could use modern studies of the battles of Tippecanoe, Detroit, Fort George, Stoney Creek, and Beaver Dams. We could also use a detailed account of General Henry Dearborn's aborted invasion of Upper Canada in 1812 and of the British occupation of Maine in 1814. In addition, we need fuller studies of the British and American supply systems, the treatment of prisoners of war, and the role of privateering. We could profit from modern biographies of all the British senior commanders (Prevost, Brock, Sheaffe, Drummond, and de Rottenburg) and several of their American counterparts (Dearborn and Porter as well as William Hull, Alexander Macomb, and James Wilkinson).

There also is work to be done on the domestic and diplomatic history of the war. To better assess the causes of the war, we need modern

173. *Tecumseh: The Dream of Confederacy*, prod. Gary L. Foreman, Questar, 1998; *The Battle of New Orleans*, prod. Gary L. Foreman, Swell [Productions] and Gary L. Foreman Productions, 2000. The documentary on Tecumseh is part of a four-part series called *Frontier: Legends of the Old Northwest*, while the film on New Orleans is part of a four-part series called *Frontier: The Decisive Battles*.

174. *The Star-Spangled Banner*, prod. Andrew D. Berg, History Television Productions, 1998.

175. *The Final Invasion: The War of 1812 and the Battle of Plattsburgh*, prod. Bruce Carlin and David Fitz-Enz, Cannonade Filmworks, 1999.

studies of the British practice of impressment, the American use of economic sanctions, and the economic impact on the United States of the British Orders-in-Council and the French Continental Decrees. For the war itself, we need to know more about the scope and role of enemy trade, the part played by Republican dissidents in the United States and Canadian dissidents in Canada, and the way that enemy aliens were treated on both sides. We could also use a comprehensive study of Federalist opposition to the war.

We need modern treatments of the financial history of the war in the United States and Canada. The social and economic history of the contest in both countries has barely been touched.¹⁷⁶ In addition, we could use studies that explore the war in the American and Canadian memories—that is, how the conflict has been understood and portrayed on each side of the border over the past two hundred years. Finally, as John Stagg has suggested, we need someone to break the standard campaign narrative mold and offer a new synthesis of the war, one that better links the wartime themes of American unity and expansion to subsequent developments in American history.¹⁷⁷

Fortunately, source material for much of this research is readily available. In the United States, most of the pertinent government records, personal correspondence, newspapers, pamphlets, and other sources have been microfilmed and thus can be bought or borrowed through interlibrary loan. Much of the British material is available on microfilm as well. According to Donald E. Graves, “The National Archives of Canada in Ottawa has acquired all the British diplomatic, strategical and operational primary documentation of the war in the north and it is well indexed, organized and available on microfilm for loan.”¹⁷⁸

In sum, even though we know more about the War of 1812 than we did ten or fifteen years ago, there are still plenty of opportunities for those interested in pursuing research on the “forgotten conflict.”

176. The most notable exception as far as social history is concerned is George Sheppard's *Plunder, Profits, and Paroles* and a follow-up article, “Wants and Privations”: Women in the War of 1812 in Upper Canada,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 28 (May 1995): 159–79.

177. Stagg made this suggestion in a thoughtful comment delivered in a session entitled “The War of 1812 and Its Aftermath” at the annual SHEAR meeting in Buffalo, N.Y., on 21 July 2000.

178. Letter to the author, 14 June 2000.