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Patriot War: Conclusion
Last Days at Fort Madison, Part I
A Special Veteran's Chronology

Visit 1812: Chalmette Battlefield

New War of 1812 Monument near Fort York, Toronto, Canada

Features: Louisiana; Joseph Savary; Jackson's Proclamation; Calendar of Events; News You Use; and More...

Spring 2009
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The Journal of the War of 1812
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Footnotes must be numbered using Arabic and not Roman numerals.

Important: Images must not be embedded in the text of a document and must be submitted separately, either in electronic format or clean hard copy. Electronic copies should be JPEG files, 300 dpi.

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EDITOR'S QUOIN

WHO WON THE WAR OF 1812?

It is inevitable, and there is no chance of stopping it, but the issue of who won the War of 1812 is surfacing again as if it ever really disappeared from the public discourse. Half-heartedly in the last Journal, I mused that I would tell you exactly who won the war and I shall, but first:

The present discussion was, I think, precipitated by the unveiling of a new piece of public art in Toronto late last year. Our cover portrays two toy soldiers. One is British in the 1813 uniform of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The ramrod soldier is towering over a supine and apparently injured or dead soldier from the 16th U.S. Regiment of Infantry, a member of the opposing force on the northern frontier.

“We won,” shout the jingoistic and naive in Canada; “foolishness,” retort the patriotic and equally naive, south of the border. And, unfortunately, both are right and both are wrong.

War is the supreme act of conflict between sovereign states. Philosophers, statesmen, and soldiers agree that war is in many respects both foolish and self-defeating, and surely the correct question on war is who was damaged least by the repetitive flailing of men, material and treasure against one another. In one sense, as a veteran, I can tell you that, in the end, no one “wins.”

In other respects, many historians look to the war aims to weigh the results against the costs. This was where Wesley B. Turner was going in his small but prescient The War of 1812: The War that Both Sides Won (Toronto: Dundurn, 2000). It may be true that by agreeing to a treaty characterized by a status quo ante bellum neither side can be ruled the “winner.” It is equally true that neither side, therefore, “lost.”

With regard to the costs alone, neither side was bankrupted, driven to national despair over manpower loses (like France a century later), or politically inhibited by the results.

For the Americans, the results of the war included an urgent manifest destiny and an enhanced reputation abroad. We came of age as a nation, completing the process of independence and allowed ourselves to stake a claim to much of the continent.

So, too, for Canada. Although she remained British for decades, her drive toward independence, continental growth and democratic traditions only grew stronger after the war. It is true that even today separation from Britain, the completion of the trans-Canadian railway and the War of 1812 remain the three top events remembered by most Canadians.

After the War both nations, however, were stronger and more nationalistic. More importantly both nations remained at peace these succeeding two hundred years.

The British, of course, were British. In 1812 they were in a struggle to the end, for survival itself, against Napoleon. They never viewed war with America seriously, that is, until the French devil was defeated and on his way to Elbe.

Look at their desultory strategy and tactics. With the exception of New Orleans, they never contemplated a serious campaign. Washington and Baltimore were little more than raids, by their own admission. At Plattsburgh, the leadership seemed to look for a reason to move back north to the St. Lawrence. They did not make an attempt at Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia, but did succeed by sheer weight of numbers blockade the American Navy.

Even at the peace negotiations, they seemed to focus on those actions which protected their fur trade and maritime interests, as if the supreme weapon in the hands of British regulars at Waterloo would be the fur-lined shako.

In the end, the “winner” of any war should be “peace.” We both won!
NEWS YOU CAN USE

Monroe, Michigan. - The Raisin River Battlefield is getting closer and closer to having full National Park Service (NPS) status. Portions of the Public Lands legislation recently signed by the President clears the way for land transfers and initiation of the appropriate NPS general management plan.

The Raisin River was the location of a January 1813 battle between British forces, including their Indian allies, and US troops, largely Kentucky militia. Many of the militiamen were captured and in one of the most shameful events of the War were massacred by rampaging Indians after capture.

Mr. John Gibney, director of the Monroe Historical Museum and Raisin River Battlefield, lauded the legislation. He is a strong advocate of historical tourism and noted the location of the site between the superb Fort Meigs in Perrysburg, Ohio, and Fort Wayne, a Civil War site, at Detroit.

Welland, Ontario, Canada. - Travelers in Canada and throughout the United States may spot a new War of 1812 logo license plate beginning later this year. Niagara 1812 Bicentennial Legacy Council CEO Vincent Del Buono (in photograph) announced the sale of these plates with the hope of promoting cross-border commemorations and enthusiasm.

The Legacy Council was established in 2007 as a not-for-profit corporation designed to co-ordinate and promote celebration of 200 years of peace among neighboring Canada and the United States.

The plates can be reserved by emailing vdb1812@yahoo.com to show an interest.

THE 19TH ANNUAL WAR OF 1812 IN THE WEST SYMPOSIUM

On March 28-29, 2009, enthusiasts assembled in Arrow Rock, Missouri, for a symposium.

Hosted by the Arrow Rock State Historic Site and the re-enactors from the 1st United States Infantry, attendees and participants benefited from nine presentations on the War.

War of 1812 author Richard Barbuto discussed his view on the Battle of Chippewa, Old Fort Madison Site Administrator Eugene Watkins, presented the common soldier of the era, and Dr. Maryellen McVickers offered “Memories of Missouri.”

Additional presentations were on the Battle of Campbell's Island (Michael D. Harris), Old Fort Madison (David Bennett, who was also the coordinator and the author of a featured piece in this issue of the Journal), and how the organization of the US War Department affected the War in the West (LTC Paul Rosewitz, Deputy Director for Mobilization, Office of the Secretary of Defense).

Ms. Sally Bennett offered a discussion on the diet of frontier soldier and your editor reprized his article on Major Zachary Taylor and his activities in the Mississippi Valley.

The Arrow Point/Boone's Lick area was the site of several War of 1812 incidents requiring the employment of the Missouri Rangers into central Missouri in 1814. Residents there are noted for “forting-up.” At least eleven homesteads were eventually stockaded and several were attacked and burned. The Indian menace did not abate until some years after the War of 1812.

The Symposium is an annual event and will be held in March 2010 possibly in St. Louis. Details will be published in the Journal.
NEWS YOU CAN USE

St. Marys, Georgia. - In what surely is “one of the last battles” of the War of 1812, a British force overwhelmed U.S. Regulars stationed at Point Peter on January 13, 1815. Today, this nearly forgotten encounter is commemorated by a marker placed by the Georgia Historical Society and the National Society, U.S. Daughters of 1812, State of Georgia. End of story, right?

Not so fast. This marker has “legs.” Recent historical excavations by a private builder, area development pressures, and security fencing at Kings Bay Naval Base may have combined to require its relocation from Spring House Pavilion, Cumberland Harbor, to the present location on a median supporting an entrance to a new housing subdivision.

Many roadside and other historical markers in the country have been moved over the years and visitors to the site should keep in mind that the Battery at Point Peter was around here, someplace!

Erie, Pennsylvania. - According to the Erie Times-News, volunteer Claudia Bankert is using Facebook.com, the now ubiquitous social networking site, to raise money to support the Brig Niagara at Erie.

The replica of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's flagship at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813, like many historical enterprises, is facing a state budget shortfall during these troubled times.

At stake is the ability to sail the ship to various exhibitions and events on the Lake in the coming year. Without the funds to sail the ship, Ms. Bankert believes other volunteers might stop or curtail their support for the floating museum. She hopes to raise $200,000 to keep the ship sailing throughout 2010.

Literary Notes

Saranac Lake, New York. - War of 1812 author, Colonel David G. Fitz-Enz, has penned a novel on the Battle of Plattsburgh with an unusual twist: What if the British had won?

Writing his non-fiction book, The Final Invasion: Plattsburgh, The War of 1812's Most Decisive Battle (New York: Cooper Square Press, c2001), Colonel Fitz-Enz began to realize that at many points the battle could have gone either way. A British victory would have had enormous consequences.

In his Redcoats' Revenge: An Alternate History of the War of 1812 (Washington: Potomac Books, 2008), the 67-year old retired Army officer, shifts from high strategy to intrigue and even a little romance to draw back the curtains of history. How would the 19th century unfolded if the Mississippi River were British and the United States were limited to less that one-quarter of North America? A good read.
Find each of the following CAPITAL-LETTERED words by reading the letters in the diagram forward, backward, up, down and diagonally, but always in a straight line. Each of the following words are found in this diagram.

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WAR LEADER PROFILE

JOSEPH SAVARY

In every war individuals come into view that would otherwise scarcely bear historical notice. Joseph Savary is one of those men.

Jean Baptiste Savary (but Joseph Savary on his consolidated record at the National Archives) was born in Saint-Dominque. He is said to have served in the French army there and after the Haitian Revolution escaped to New Orleans about 1809. Information about his vocation is vague. He may have worked with or for Pierre and Jean Lafitte, the folk heroes/criminals/pirates/patriots of Barataria.

There is no doubt when he came into Andrew Jackson's view. Jackson needed soldiers, in his words, whether they be “white, black or tea...”

New Orleans' black residents had served in colonial Louisiana militia as early as 1729. Both the black and the mulatto battalions were fully manned with black officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.

The future of these formations became a hot issue after the territory fell to the Americans. Even Secretary of State James Madison was drawn into the controversy. After 1803 Territorial, and later, State Governor William C. C. Claiborne had succeeded in keeping a formation in the militia structure after the Louisiana Purchase and statehood.

There were a limited number of black officers in the militia. At the time Jackson was assembling his forces Claiborne's black battalion was commanded by Major Pierre LaCoste, a wealthy white planter.

Jackson and Claiborne began their correspondence on the subject in late summer, 1814. Both men were strong advocates of slavery, but in the present emergency both men also saw the need for military forces, plenty of them, and soon. So long as the new black forces would not be retained after the war the New Orleans Committee of Defense agreed to use the existing force and raise another.

It is vague as to whether it was an offer by Savary or a request by Jackson, but Savary successfully raised a second battalion of Free Men of Color. This battalion was composed almost entirely of refugees from Santo Domingo. They were inducted into the service of the United States on December 19, 1814. Savary was given the rank of Second Major, the highest ranking black man in the United States Army at the time.

Jackson placed both black battalions in a regiment commanded by Michel Fortier, another wealthy white planter and merchant. Separate black companies also served at Fort St. Phillip and in locations other than New Orleans.

This second battalion was under the command of Major Louis (in some references: “Jean”) D'Aquin. Some writers say he was a white Santo Dominican immigrant; others state he was a quadroon (an offspring of a mulatto and a white person, i.e., one-quarter black).

The battalion was first deployed during the night attack on December 23, 1814. Jackson sought to disrupt British preparations as they emerged onto the banks of the Mississippi and sent D'Aquin, part of the 7th U.S. Infantry and his Tennesseans supported by the Carolina (14 guns) south from the Rodriguez Line. Savary was heard to urge his men on in French. French echoes on the battlefield were disconcerting to Wellington's regulars deployed from the European wars. Savary's battalion had seven casualties.

In the climatic battle on January 8 both black battalions were at the Rodriguez line. Historical confusion reigns in any battle. Some writers say both battalions were held in reserve behind the Rodriguez Canal. At a moment in the battle when the advancing British seemed on the verge of breaching the line, Savary, either in violation of orders or by direction, advanced to the front and participated in the rout of the British. Other writers referring to recollections from members of Plauche's battalion suggest that Savary's men moved beyond the breastworks, exposing themselves and deserved distinguished praise. In a battle that's won, all are heroes. Only the defeated are vanquished.

After the battle Jackson publicly praised the black battalions, saying it was his belief that the British withdraw was begun when one of Savary's soldiers killed British MG Sir Edward Pakenham.

Joseph Savary's service record has been found. Formally he was appointed by MG Jackson on December 19, 1814, and served until March 20, 1815. His pay record indicates that for his services he was paid a total of $290.48 on May 8, 1815.
The Patriot War
Part Three: Conclusion
By Colin Murphy

(Editor: This is the concluding part of Mr. Murphy’s article on the Patriot War in Florida. In Part One he explored the strategic environment along the southern border of the United States in the early 19th century and in Part Two he introduced the principal characters on the ground, following their activities and interactions. In this Part we see the final stages of the War and an assessment of the results. Mr. Murphy has also provided an annotated bibliography for this event. NOTE: The editor confesses that he “forgot” in the rush of events that this Part was not published last Summer and with regrets to those waiting for it that Part Three only now appears.)

The confusion and stagnation of the Patriot and U.S. advance into Florida had given time for Governor [Juan Jose de] Estrada to marshal his forces and prepare to go on the offensive. On May 16 Spanish force consisting of Spanish Soldiers and African Americans attacked Ft. Mose under the guns of a Spanish Schooner. Colonel Thomas Smith was forced to retire inland and the fort was burnt to the ground by the attackers. Over the next three months Smith remained in his camp and the Spanish maintained St. Augustine. On occasion small bands of soldiers, Indian or African Americans would cross each other in small skirmishes, but there were no major assaults. The stalemate solidified even further on June 11 when a squadron of ships from Cuba arrived with soldiers and a new governor General Sebastian Kindelan y O’Regan. Upon his arrival, Kindelan sparked a series of letters between himself and Smith.

Kindelan was essentially asking what the United States’ intentions were to which Smith usually responded with the quintessential “I am a soldier following orders, ask my superiors.” Eventually all communication was cut off due to perceived insults by each from the other.

Despite this breakdown in local communication much higher level talks had been going on since the first news of the build up of Patriot forces reached Washington. In Washington Monroe was trying to persuade the Spanish and English that this was not at all an action by the United States. The Spanish consul to the United States, Luis de Onis, and British consul, Augustus Foster, demanded an explanation. With tensions rising between America and Britain Monroe had his work cut out for

him. He was told by Foster that, if necessary, “his government should proceed to vindicate the Rights of Spain by force of Arms.” Also, within the government chambers of Washington was a growing debate over how to handle the problem of the Florida Patriots. It was no secret that the administration had some influence over the situation and in July of that year the issues were brought to the floor of Congress. An act authorizing the occupation of East Florida passed the House but fell just short in the Senate. Soon after it was brought to the floor again with the same result. Congress having denied the administration the backing needed to continue with its policy it soon became necessary to design a new plan to reverse the events underway. This would leave those involved in the events: the Patriots, the militiamen, and U.S. forces with a sense of abandonment that would continue to grow as time went on.

Four months since arriving at Ft. Mose in April, Smith’s command was severely suffering from a lack of provisions and proper clothing due to the difficulties of maintaining a steady supply chain from Pt. Petre and Fernandina. He constantly called for artillery, more men, and assistance from the Navy and Marines, but none of it was forthcoming. He was growing increasingly tired of his present predicament. He wrote to a friend that he was “truly tired of this Damned Province and would not remain (if it rested with him) one month longer in my present situation for a fee simple to the whole of it.”

The difficulty in the supply chain was due to the fact that in the territory under Patriot control, the land between the St. Mary’s River and St. Augustine, became a lawless and dangerous place filled with the roving, plundering bands of Patriots bringing the revolution to those who either continued to support the Spanish king or remained neutral. The Patriots also ventured deeper into Seminole lands which led to an inevitable conflict with a nation already aggravated. On July 25 the Seminoles began launching raids against Patriot parties, outposts and plantations.

The arrival of the news concerning the declaration of war against Great Britain raised the hopes of those in Florida including Smith. Surely the Florida situation would have to be taken care of, one way or another, before the war with Britain heated up. Still, the affairs around St. Augustine remained stagnant; away from the town, the action intensified. The war here was not Patriots and U.S. troops against Spaniards but at its base, white men, mostly Georgians, against Native Americans and African Americans.

While the war devolved into campaigns of retribution, the Patriot revolution was fading. McIntosh, Director of East Florida, had no government and no control. His enabler, Mathews had died on his trip back to Washington and some of the other original Patriot leaders faded away in the hope they would not be hung as traitors when the whole charade came down around them. Increasingly the war was being carried on by Georgians hoping to wipe out the Seminole threat to their state with occasional aid from the forces of the United States.

Outside of St. Augustine Smith’s men grew increasingly sick during the summer months but in mid-August news arrived that 250 Georgia volunteers under Col. David Newnan were in the vicinity of St. Augustine. They had established a blockhouse and an encampment for the reestablishing of supply lines. Though subject to constant raids and attacks from Seminoles, African Americans and the occasional Spaniards, they held their positions. Newnan informed Smith he was ready to move against the Seminoles and he hoped he could first assist Smith. Accordingly a supply train was assembled to

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bring the much-needed material to Smith. The wagon train would set out from the blockhouse located along Davis Creek, move through a tropical morass known as Twelve Mile Swamp, and then into Smith’s camp. In charge of this supply train was Captain John Williams of the Marines. He and twenty of his men had been acting as couriers between Governor Mitchell and the various Patriot, Georgia militia and U.S. military posts in Florida.

At dusk on September 12 the wagons, guarded by the Marines and a handful of Georgia militiamen, entered the canopied Twelve Mile Swamp. Almost immediately an ambush erupted from the darkness of the swamp. The trained Marines formed into line and fired back but soon after Williams fell to the ground wounded. The Marines and Georgians, realizing the linear tactics were not suitable, took cover in the thickets. Seven more Marines were wounded and Williams was hit seven more times before his men dragged him to safety. The attackers, a band of Seminoles and African Americans, believed to be numbering about sixty now moved in for the kill. They set one wagon on fire and commandeered the others and a Seminole warrior finished off a wounded Marine and scalped him. Seeing this either angered the Marines or made them determined not to face the same fate. They stood and advanced upon their attackers with their bayonets. This show of force caused the attackers to fall back into the brush continuing to snipe at the Marines throughout the night. They withdrew in the morning.

When word reached the Davis Creek blockhouse a relief party was sent out. Reaching the Marines they moved back to the blockhouse carrying the still-alive Captain Williams. For nineteen days Williams fought his injuries but eventually succumbed. Smith’s situation was now desperate. Without the supplies in that wagon train he could remain no longer where he was. Smith was forced to burn his camp and seek shelter at the blockhouse on Davis Creek. The flames and smoke from Smith’s camp brought a general celebration to the people of St. Augustine but the suffering in Florida was not over. A week later the Georgia volunteers under Col. Newnan moved on the Seminoles hoping to destroy their settlements. For nearly three weeks they were constantly engaged in guerrilla warfare, never reaching a major Seminole town. They were forced to withdraw back to their camps. Though their actions are a dismal failure Newnan and his men were proclaimed heroes.

Soon after Col. Newnan’s expedition concluded, word came from Washington that there would be another change in command. Mitchell would be replaced by Brigadier General Thomas Pinckney with

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4 Cusick, 235.
5 See Davis, supra.
the ultimate intention of the government, which was under increasing pressure from Congress, to start
to deescalate the situation and withdraw. But the Georgia legislature did not find this so appealing, and
with the leadership of Governor Mitchell, it penned a series of resolutions calling for the occupation of
Florida as a matter of state and national security. However, for the meantime, all U.S. forces were to
remain where they were to defend against depredations of the Seminoles. Throughout Georgia and the
neighboring state of Tennessee a general call went out to gain support for the crushing of the Indian
threat from Florida. In the province of West Florida a faction of the Creek Nation was preparing to
fight the encroaching Americans while the actions of the Seminoles in East Florida was causing more
and more alarm.

Seminole and Patriot raids continued as did the raids of Georgians already in Florida but no major
offensive action was taken until February, 1813. On the seventh of that month three hundred Georgians
accompanied by a detachment of Smith’s Riflemen, the Marines, now under Lt. Alexander Sevier, and
bands of Patriots moved deep into Seminole territory. Their object was to accomplish what Newnan
could not: destroy the Seminole’s homeland. They moved on the major towns of the Seminoles, named
after their leaders Payne and Bowlegs, and every small settlement they came across. When the
expedition was over they had destroyed 386 houses, 2,000 bushels of corn, 2,000 deerskins and drove
away three hundred horses and four hundred head of cattle. Col. John Williams of the Tennessee
militia wrote, “The balance of the Seminole Nation is completely in waste.” The Seminoles were in a
dire state. They were scattered, without food or shelter, and, though they were not wiped out as a
Nation, they were effectively blunted as a threat until at least 1818.

For the United States the Patriot revolution was becoming a problem it did not need. The first eight
months of war with Britain had produced little but defeat and outright embarrassment on the field of
battle. Monroe worked feverishly to find a way to honorably abandon the Patriot cause in Florida. To
accomplish this he needed to seek amnesty for the Patriots. Agreed upon by Onis, an Act of Amnesty
was issued by Kindelan on March 18, 1813, exactly one year after the formal acceptance of Fernandina
by General George Mathews. The act called for the Patriots to take an oath of allegiance to Spain
within four months. Simultaneously with the amnesty agreement American forces were to withdraw
from East Florida. On May 6, 1813 the last of U. S. forces embarked aboard boats in Fernandina and
landed at Pt. Petre.

Many of the Patriots who lived in Florida when the revolution accepted the amnesty offer. Others that
were not sure if the Spanish officials would live up to their word or if their neighbors who had
remained loyal to Spain would seek retribution for the chaos and losses, headed north to Georgia and
beyond. But this was not the end of the Patriot cause. John McIntosh had assembled handful of men
determined to fight on. Georgians Buckner Harris and Daniel Delany now became officials of the
Patriot government. They hoped that “either the United States would again intervene, or else that they
could make terms with St. Augustine which would assure them possession of some of the lands they
had hoped to gain in the revolution.” They issued continuing proclamations condemning the Spanish
authorities in St. Augustine and calling on the people to rise and fight for their freedom. They also
threatened former Patriots if they took the oath of allegiance. Few people came to their standard and
their threats, their continuing raids, and their mere presence in the land they controlled along the St.
Mary’s River brought the ire of the loyal Spanish subjects. In Early August, 1813 citizens from
Fernandina set out to defeat the Patriots along the St. Mary’s. In the battle that ensued the Patriots

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7 Ibid., 239.

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drove off their attackers. Instead of using the victory for a precursor to an offensive movement, the Patriots used it as a way to extend the idea of coming to a negotiated peace.

Between August, 1813, and January, 1814 nothing was accomplished as Kindelan refused to enter into negotiations with the Patriots. Frustrated, Buckner Harris and a force of about eighty “Patriots” (most of them from Georgia) moved into the devastated former land of the Seminoles and established a government for the newly formed District of Alachua. They built a blockhouse on the site of the former Seminole town of Payne and quickly petitioned Congress for annexation that was just as quickly denied. The intrepid Patriots stay in their new locale for nearly four months constantly addressing letters to state and national official seeking any sort of recognition they can get. They also offered their services to U.S. military commanders in the southern districts but they were rejected. In May, 1814, while on a reconnaissance patrol, Buckner Harris was killed in a Seminole ambush. Their leader gone, the Patriots abandoned their blockhouse and scampered back across the Georgia border leaving East-Florida, for the first time in two years, in relative peace.

The Patriot War was over, but the American desire for Florida did not fade. Following the War of 1812 and the First Seminole War in 1818, the United States, through diplomacy, not invasion, was able to secure Florida with the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. The implementation of the plans for the annexing of Florida by the means proscribed to in 1811 by Mathews, Madison and Monroe would certainly become a “How Not To” guide as the American nation looked westward and south in the coming century. Later in the Nineteenth-Century Florida residents affected by the Patriot War, by then U.S. Citizens, sued their government for the loss and damage to their property during the war. Their claims were heard by Judge Isaac Bronson and others. They were eventually awarded nearly $200,000 in reparations, less than half the total claimed. Judge Bronson would declare the Patriots War “an episode in the general history of the nation, which, as an American citizen, I could wish might remain unwritten.” But it has not remained unwritten and is beginning to receive more and more scholarly attention and it is well that it should. Great nations must be honest with its past and recognize it missteps as well as its achievements. Though the Patriot War was a “story of aggression, of repudiation, of executive double-dealing, of inhumanity,” it should also be recognized as an early instance of how our checks and balance system prevailed even in a “hawkish” atmosphere, the Congress had successfully checked presidential power.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:
The Internet has been a godsend to those who seek out primary historical resources but lack the funds to freely travel to the various repositories that house them. One source is the digitized documents of the James Madison Papers from the Library of Congress Website (http://loc.gov). Also available from the Library of Congress website is the entire series of the American State Papers. A collection of congressional documents dealing with debates and resolutions of Congress as well as reports to Congress by military, naval, treasury and diplomatic officials.

Beside government Internet sites also available is the America’s Historical Newspapers database (http://infoweb.newsbank.com) that compiled 230 years of newspaper articles searchable by publication, subject, date, city or any combination of those. This allows the researcher to seek out dozens of articles

8 Patrick, 303.
9 Ibid.
written at the time of the Patriot War from different political, sectional and national vantage points.

More Internet searching brings one to a website dedicated to preserving the memory of Ft. Mose in Florida (http://fortmose.com/patriot_war.html). On this website is the republication of the correspondence of Lt. Col. Thomas Smith of the U.S. Army. This correspondence was originally published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* by T. Frederick Davis in the late 1920s and early 1930s and gives a near daily account of Smith’s command in Florida.

For more specific points concerning the naval operations in Florida, use *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History* volumes 1 and 2, edited by William S. Dudley and produced by the Naval Historical Center. This is an incomplete four-volume set (volume 4 is still in the works) that encompasses all the aspect of the service of the United States Navy in the years 1811-1815 including the letters of Captain Hugh Campbell that deal with the activities during the Patriot War.

Lastly, for a very detailed prospective, use the records of the United States Marine Corps that are available from the National Archives. Record Group 127 contains all Marine Corps correspondence including the letters sent between the officers in charge of the Marine Corps detachment assigned to support the Army along the Georgia-Florida border and Marine Corps Headquarters in Washington D.C.

**Secondary Sources:**

Until recently, the one and only in-depth study of the Florida Patriot War was Rembert W. Patrick’s *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815*, published in 1954. Being a complete study, this book was extremely helpful and entertaining by the fact of emphasizing the “fiasco” part of the title. Covering from the first intrigues of the Government to the court squabbles that came as late as 1851 concerning losses incurred during the war, the author is considered one of the pre-eminent scholars of Florida history and uses a wide range of evidence, focusing mainly on the American side of the story.

In an effort to round off the Patrick’s telling of the story by the additional use of more international sources, James G. Cusick produced the second of the two books written on the subject in 2003. Cusick’s *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* is an extremely detailed, balanced and thoroughly researched book. Cusick places the Patriot War in the context of the global and hemispheric drama that had been growing since the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. It also provides the social and racial context of the American south in the early 19th Century.
Aside from Patrick’s and Cusick’s book there is only one other book on the shelves that deal with the Patriot War in any significant manner. Julius W. Pratt’s Expansionists of 1812 deals with the Florida Patriot War in the larger context. There were many Americans in the early 1800s anxious to grab adjacent lands from neighboring territories such as Florida, Canada, and even Texas.

Another helpful source was the Encyclopedia of the War of 1812, edited by David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler. This encyclopedia covers all imaginable subjects concerning the War of 1812. Information can be gained from the biographical entries on the various personalities involved in the Patriot War, as well as from entries concerning the Patriot War itself and Florida.

To set the military and international diplomatic picture prior and during the Patriot War, the author consulted The Encyclopedia of Military History. This extensive text gives a brief synopsis to all known major conflicts from the dawn of civilization to the 1960s. Though the Patriot War was too small to receive its own study in the text there was considerable space given to the wars for North America and the Napoleonic Wars and their impacts on colonial rule and exchanges of territory as a result of those wars.

Also consulted were a group of general histories of the State of Florida ranging in publication date from 1837 to 1971. The two earliest, The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes, from the First Discovery to the Present Time by John Lee Williams, published in 1837 and History of Florida, by George R. Fairbanks, published in 1871, were of limited use because these both were produced in jingoistic fashion and based on anecdotal evidence. However, as the editors of the republished facsimile of William’s work openly admitted, this text is not to be considered a “literal historical account,” nonetheless they note that Williams’ work on the Patriots War “rises above the level of much of the rest of the “history” in this volume.” In order from oldest to newest the other works consulted were:

A History of Florida: From the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Time by Caroline Mays Brevard (1924), Florida Under Five Flags by Rembert Wallace Patrick (1960) and A History of Florida by Charlton W. Tebeau (1971). Each of these books devotes a few pages to the Patriot War that allows the reader to get a general overview of the causes and controversies but they offer little, if any, specifics.

To place the Patriot War into the broader context of the War of 1812 a couple of books dealing with the War of 1812 were used. Two from an ever-growing number of books dealing with the war were John K. Mahon’s The War of 1812 which is considered the most detailed single volume on the War of 1812 and the most widely praised book published to date on the war, Donald R. Hickey’s The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.

NOTICE TO READERS:
The Consortium of the War of 1812 is seeking to collect a complete set of the Journal of the War of 1812 and its predecessor publications for an enhanced digitalization project. We hope to assemble a complete set to provide to research centers and academic libraries who have expressed an interest. If you have individual issues that are complete and unedited, please contact the Editor at the1812archive@gmail.com to first determine whether we have the issue you are offering. This project will be an important part of our contribution to the scholarship of the War.
HONORING THE VETERANS OF THE WAR OF 1812

Florence, Alabama. - According to the Times-Daily, the Florence City Cemetery in Florence, Alabama, was added to the Alabama Historic Cemetery Register in March. Although plotted in 1818 the earliest known burial at the site was in 1831.

Since then two Alabama governors and veterans from the Revolution, War of 1812, and the Civil War were laid to rest among approximately 12,800 headstones. Alabama Cemetery Alliance member Bob Torbert and local genealogist Lee Freeman of the Florence Heritage Preservation worked for two years on this project.

The 2-acre cemetery at the corner of Dr. Hicks Boulevard and Tennessee Street is the second cemetery so designated in Lauderdale County, Alabama.

Coral Gables, Florida. - Coral Gables is not a place one normally thinks of when seeking War of 1812 history, but Pinewood Cemetery, the oldest in the city, was a place of remembrance on March 21, 2009, during Pioneer Day in this south Florida city.

The cemetery, which contains grave sites of veterans who served from the War of 1812 to the present, is being renovated under the guidance of the Pinewood Cemetery Advisory Board.

Officials at Pinewood emphasized that the extended biographical data on the older tombstones offer a virtual self-guided tour since there is much information on the deceased etched on each stone.

Active since 1983, the project is currently restoring the original look of the cemetery, hopefully without damaging further the existing tombstones. Funds are being solicited and contributors can contact the city's Historical Preservation Office at 305.460.5090.


Spencerville, Ohio. - The War of 1812 graves near Fort Amanda, Ohio, are facing a new, yet very old, enemy – the forces of nature. Each year the Auglaize River erodes more and more of the cemetery land endangering the grave sites.

With revenues down and a perennial shortage of funds, it's only a matter of time, according to officials with the Johnny Appleseed Metropolitan Park District, until the graves themselves start falling into the river. Some shoring with steel walls and pilings were undertaken about ten years ago, but the river erosion is relentless.

A further problem is associated with the fact that even if the money could be found, the District would probably not repair the site since it only manages and does not own the site.

This is not a unique problem in this country.

Fairfield, Connecticut. - The Greenfield Hill Cemetery is due for a clean-up. The cemetery is the resting place for veterans from as early as the French and Indian War and includes War of 1812 veterans among the graves.

Dead trees and other low hanging branches threaten the grave sites. Additionally, tombstones need resetting and reinforcing and accumulated debris must be removed. A pre-cleanup workshop is planned.

Under the sponsorship of the Fairfield Museum and History Center, the April 18th project sought help from the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Greenfield Hill Village Improvement Association, the Historic District Commission, the local Boy Scouts, area merchants and many other local community volunteers.

NOTE: The Journal will publicize the activities of War of 1812 heritage societies as they are received. Members of the heritage societies and others are encouraged to keep the Journal informed of any activity seeking to honor the soldiers of the War of 1812.
Andrew Jackson had defeated the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend in March and was appointed a Major General in the U.S. Army in May, 1814. He commanded the 7th Military District which included Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi Territory. During extensive correspondence with Louisiana Governor William C. C. Claiborne, he issued the following proclamation:

**Head-quarters, 7th Military District, Mobile, September 21, 1814.**

**To the free coloured inhabitants of Louisiana.**

Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This shall no longer exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her kind and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause, without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honour would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier, and the language of truth, I address you.

To every noble-hearted, generous Freeman of colour, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz.: One hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations, and clothes furnished to any American soldier.

On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major-General commanding will select officers for your government, from your white fellow citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrollment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

**Andrew Jackson, Major-general commanding**

The population in New Orleans during the pre-war years presented fearful trends for the emigrating white southerners from the United States. Growth of the back populations in New Orleans, both free and slaves, dwarfed white numbers. Fear of armed blacks restrained the government from maintaining large black formations. Only one battalion survived from French and Spanish colonial times. Claiborne, however, had suggested that as many as 400 free men of color could be raised for up to six months.

This proclamation was aimed at the large free black population. The call succeeded in bringing two black battalions to the Rodriguez Canal line as well as other formations to Fort St. Philip and elsewhere.

Jackson later said in a letter to Secretary of War, James Monroe, that: “The two corps of colored volunteers have not disappointed the hopes that were formed of their courage and perseverance of their duty.”

**References:**


Within the National Park Service's Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve is the Chalmette Battlefield at New Orleans, Louisiana. Known as the location of the famous Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815, the site stands for both the enigma and promise of America.

To many observers the Battle of New Orleans was unnecessary; to others it was a heroic example of American determinism and a promise of a future on the nineteenth century American frontier.

This monument pays tribute to the American soldiers who fought the British along a line at the Rodriguez Canal about eight miles south of old New Orleans. Elsewhere in this issue of the Journal and in countless other books, pamphlets and articles, the measure of this Battle is and has been taken with every detail analyzed and evaluated.

But behind all the analysis and evaluation, there remains the American soldier: white, black and Indian; immigrant and native; militia, volunteer or regular, who stood shoulder to shoulder on that fog-shrouded plain. Here one gets a true sense of “place.” Whether a recreation, a replica, or a reenactment, one is struck by the magnitude of the success of American arms at the historic Battle of New Orleans.

No tour of War of 1812 national sites is complete without a visit to this place. However (and this is a big “however”), the damage to the park from the 2005 Hurricane Katrina was severe. The 2009 observance of the January 8th battle was conducted, but today much of the old park is temporarily closed to the public.

A major restoration project is underway. The battlefield visitors center was destroyed and a temporary building is now being used. Architects, exhibit designers and park staff are hard at work and the new visitors' center should open in the Spring of 2010.

The battlefield's Tour Loop Road and Chalmette National Cemetery is also closed except by special arrangement. Damage to the separating wall and the cemetery was severe. Steps are being taken now to save and restore as much of the old wall as possible.

Officials hope that this part of the battlefield will be open as soon as February 2010. The 2010 anniversary ceremonies are planned now for an off-site event elsewhere in St. Bernard Parish during the second weekend in January.

According to the website these events include cannon and musket firings, military drills and craft and cooking demonstrations. Living history volunteers, both old and new, are encouraged to contact the Park.

It had been a tradition at the January ceremonies that Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) detachments from New Orleans Public Schools portrayed both white Tennesseans and the free men of color who fought at the Battle of New Orleans. These units returned to the Park for the 2009 event after the participation had been suspended following the Hurricane. Each detachment participating (Andrew Jackson High School and Chalmette High School) had been trained in the 1815 military skills and battle tactics by Rangers assigned to the Park.

TODAY THE PARK IS OPEN. The site is located at 8606 West St. Bernard Highway in Chalmette. Daily hours are from 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. The park is closed on Christmas and Mardi Gras Day.

Admission is free. The Junior Ranger program is still operating and the bookstore in the temporary facility is open.

Visitors are encouraged to check the Park's Website at http://www.nps.gov/jela/chalmette-battlefield.htm. The telephone number is 504.281.0511.
A New Perspective on the Last Days of Fort Madison  
Part I: The Fort at the “Belle Vue”  
By David C. Bennett

Introduction

The history of Fort Madison, built in 1808 and evacuated in 1813, has been re-told and recorded in print many times since 1815. There have been countless history books and journals that have chronicled the importance and history of the United States factory fort built on the Mississippi River, just north of the Des Moines River, in modern day Iowa.

The story of soldiers from the 1st United States Infantry Regiment on the frontier, subjected to fierce warriors defending their sacred homeland, captures our imagination, yet, at every retelling over the past one hundred ninety three years, just like the childhood game of whispering secrets in a large group, Fort Madison’s history has begun to morph into a different tale. The recent discovery of new documents, and the benefit of examining past histories side by side with an in-depth understanding of the period, has finally brought to light new facts concerning the battles at Fort Madison.

Review of Past Histories of Fort Madison

A brief examination of past histories is required to place the recently discovered documents in perspective. The Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America, published in 1843, recalled that Fort Madison was built “...as a defense against Indians, who obliged the garrison to abandon it, and to burn the fort, in 1813.”¹ In the First Annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society, of Wisconsin, for the Year 1854, the narrative of Colonel John Shaw was reprinted. Colonel Shaw’s narrative related several critical facts regarding the post. Shaw writes, “Early in November, 1813, Fort Madison was evacuated, and the buildings burned, in consequence of the contractor failing to furnish that garrison with provisions, which caused much alarm and apprehensions at the forts and the settlements below.”² The Loyal West, in the Times of the Rebellion, published in 1865, states “In November, 1813, it was evacuated and the buildings burnt, as the contractor failed to furnish the garrison with Provisions.”³

³ John Warner Barber and Henry Howe, The Loyal West in the Times of the Rebellion (Cincinnati: F. A.

Journal of the War of 1812, Volume 12, No. 1, Page 17.
Lee County, Iowa, published in 1879 stated that “In 1812, the Indians made another fierce attack on the fort” which resulted in a second siege. The garrison “had nothing but potatoes to subsist upon...” and finally “resolved to abandon” their fort. The retreating soldiers met up with a boat with their provisions near modern day Warsaw, Illinois, and thus determined to halt and build “temporary fortifications,” which became the “origin of Fort Edward.” Though this account is grossly incorrect. There was no evacuation in 1812, but the potato story may be accurate. However, no date of the evacuation was given.⁴

The most detailed description of the garrison, their battles, and their evacuation would emerge in the July 1897 issue of the Annals of Iowa. The article clearly stated that its purpose was to “reconcile the conflicting” accounts regarding Fort Madison. The unknown author, gave a stirring account how the soldiers in the dead of night on 3 September 1813, dug a trench, and on their hands and knees, crawled away from their attackers. The garrison found itself, “Entirely surrounded by a treacherous and deadly foe, urged on by British agents...” The author’s sources were “...prepared at the War Department, Washington, D. C. for this magazine.” Also included in the article was a reference to a letter by Captain John C. Symmes, 1st Infantry, written at St. Louis, on 31 October 1813. Symmes was reported as stating he was ordered to rebuild Fort Madison, but he requested permission to delay in order to settle his quartermaster accounts. The Symmes letter was used to support the declaration that the evacuation occurred on 3 September 1813.⁵ To date, this letter has not been found.

The writing style of the 1897 article dramatically changed on the last two pages, possibly indicating that there was more than one author. Before that point, the article was very factual and even reprinted original letters. After printing a letter penned by Thomas Hamilton on 18 July 1813, the author declared that it was the last “official communication” from Fort Madison. The paper then deviated to undocumented information regarding the evacuation and the writing changed to a fiction-like descriptive style.

Thus, in 1897, the fort’s evacuation had now changed from November to September, 1813. Benjamin F. Gue in his History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century, published in 1903, picked up the torch that was lit in 1897. Gue writes, “In August of that year [1813] a large force of Indians laid siege to the fort entirely surrounding it. The garrison, under Hamilton, made a brave defense until the provisions were exhausted and they were reduced to the verge of starvation.” In Gue’s account, the “little garrison” was faced with escaping, starvation or being massacred by the hostile Indians. Digging a trench in the middle of the night, the men then headed to their boats moored on the river during the night of 3 September. Crawling on their hands and knees, the garrison kept strict silence so as to not alarm the Indians. As the garrison left, “The last man to enter the trench applied the torch to the fort.”⁶

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⁴ The History of Lee County, Iowa, containing A History of the County, its Cities, Towns, & c., (Chicago; Western Historical Company, 1879), 589-592.
⁵ Prepared at the War Department, “Fort Madison,” Annals of Iowa, 3d ser, vol. 3, no. 2 (July 1897), 97-110.
This was Fort Madison before the “extraordinary tail” and Blockhouse Number Four was built. This illustrations is by David Sessions and used by the *Journal* with permission from the University of Iowa, Office of the State Archaeologist.

A careful analysis of this account brings up several concerns. First, Benjamin Gue’s source was from the unknown author in 1897 *Annals of Iowa*. Second, sources should always be stated clearly so that they can be located and confirm the author’s contentions. The sources here were only listed as being from “The war department” files. Third, there was no need for the men to dig a trench on the night of 3 September, as the garrison had already built a subterranean passageway in July, 1813. Fourth, though it is possible that the men did crawl instead of marching through the passageway, there is no documentation to prove either. The assumption in the 1897 article is that the men crawled “silently” as they were afraid the Indian forces would hear them and attack them. Fifth, to date, no documents have been found to indicate what time the garrison left the post, or even if a soldier used a torch to light the fort afire, instead of an artillery port fire, which was documented as used to burn the factory building during the siege in September, 1812. Sixth, no documents have yet been found to support the contention that the post was under attack by hostile Indians when they evacuated.

*The Story of Lee County*, published in 1914, purported to tell “Its correct History,” including: “On the night of September 3, 1813, the garrison, moving noiselessly along their trench on their hands
and knees and, carrying the little remaining stock of provisions, their arms and a few valuables, gained the boats.” Also in 1914, author Jacob Van Der Zee, wrote an excellent article on fur trade operations in eastern Iowa. It was published in the July, 1914, issue of the *Iowa Journal of History*. Though Van Der Zee used several excellent documents with well described sources, unfortunately, he also relied on the before-mentioned 1897 account by an unknown author. He restated the oft repeated story of the soldiers digging a trench and “crawling out on hands and knees” during the evening of 3 September 1813. Thus, most if not all accounts of Fort Madison after 1897 relied on the article written by an unknown author, possibly “a clerk in the War Department.”

Forty-four years later in January, 1958, historian Donald Jackson, in his article “Old Fort Madison 1808-1813,” expresses concern over the 1897 account. Jackson also acknowledges the fact that there was yet to be found a documented source on the date of the evacuation when he writes, “It is little comfort to this writer to assume that such a document still exists, and that some day...it will come to light.” However, Jackson goes on to state: “Since the author of the 1897 article in the *Annals* was clearly working from original documents, and since his report is basically accurate in other respects, there is little reason to doubt his statement that the fort was abandoned on September 3.” Despite his reservations, Jackson still accepted the 1897 article. He assumed that the September evacuation was not noted in the newspapers due that Fort Madison was only a “small loss to the war machine.” Like other authors before and after him, he concluded that the facts stated in the 1897 article must be true, or the author would not have said so.

One other fairly recent source, *Pen in Hand*, by Louis Koch, a pamphlet published in 1974 by the North Lee County Historical Society, transcribes official military letters to tell the story of Fort Madison; however, the last letter printed in the pamphlet was from 18 July 1813. Documents from later in July through September, 1813, are lacking. With the serious gap of letters or other documents to further prove what happened, Koch relied upon the 1897 account to fill in the gaps.

In the February/March 2008, issue of *The Time Traveler*, a newsletter published by Old Fort Madison, Iowa, site manager Eugene Watkins, discusses “What Happened in the Fall of 1813: The Abandonment of Fort Madison, the Controversy Continues.” Watkins concludes that the 1897 article published in the *Annals of Iowa*, “...is specific enough that there is little reason to doubt it. This of course would mean that the September date for abandonment is back on the table...” Watkins puts forth another source, written in 1869 by Charles Negus, also published in the *Annals of Iowa*, wherein, Negus states the garrison left in September, but halted after meeting up with a relief party with their provisions, and then built a temporary fort. Watkins admits that, “Negus does not give any source for his information, which is problematic... The reason I think this article is of interest (despite the lack of sources) is because it explains the major delay between the burning in September [and] the arrival at Fort Belle Fontaine in November.” The Negus account is almost identical to that found in the *History of Lee County, Iowa*, ten years later. Watkins asserts that the 1897 article and the 1869 Charles Negus article are creditable; however, he also ponders that until...

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8 Jacob Van Der Zee, “Fur Trade Operations in Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1823,” *Iowa Journal of History*, vol. 12, no. 3 (July 1914), 511-514.
10 Jackson, 60-61.

*Journal of the War of 1812, Volume 12, No. 1, Page 20.*
more primary sources are found, “...we will never know for sure.”

Through an accurate transcription by this author, the recent discovery of the Fort Madison Garrison Order Book will now settle the dispute of the accuracy of the 1897 War Department clerk’s account, which has been so commonly quoted over the past one hundred and eleven years. The 1897 account, specifically the last two pages, told the story of a besieged and frightened garrison of United States soldiers, who in the cover of night abandoned their post. Starving and unable to defend the post any longer, they silently crawled out on their hands and knees, defeated by an unwavering and dedicated foe. With the evacuation date corrected, plus, as already demonstrated that there was no need for the men to dig a trench in which to escape their besiegers on the night of 3 September, 1812, can any of the other undocumented information be accepted as fact? With the War of 1812 Bicentennial on the horizon, a fresh look at the Battles of Fort Madison based on documentation is due.

The Establishment of Fort Madison

Fort Madison was certainly born of an unhappy childhood. On 17 March 1808, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn ordered that a Government Indian Trading House, with a supporting garrison of infantry for protection, be built. The location chosen was at the mouth of the “River Lemoine,” Missouri Territory, today called the Des Moines River in modern day Iowa. The new post and Indian Trading House, or Factory, supported the U.S. government’s Indian policy towards the Sauk and Fox nations. However, the location of the Factory would change, not by the Secretary of War, but by a mere lieutenant. The site this officer chose would later be described as “objectionable.”

Although Captain Ninian Pinkney’s company of the 1st United States Infantry was ordered to build and garrison the new post, Pinkney never joined his company. The responsibility to build the fort and the Indian Trade Factory fell to First Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley, a Vermont native, who had been with the company throughout 1807 at Newport Barracks, Kentucky. Kingsley, with only five years experience in the army, is not known to have ever built a fort prior to Fort Madison. To assist Kingsley, the government had chose an experienced officer, Colonel Thomas Hunt of the 1st Infantry, who was suppose to lead Kingsley up the Mississippi River, assisting the factor and company commander in selecting a location for their new factory fort. However, Col. Hunt died on 18 August 1808, leaving Kingsley alone to determine the site of the new fort.

A shortage of keel boats and the untimely death of Col. Hunt delayed Kingsley from departing until 24 August 1808. Kingsley’s company left Fort Belle Fontaine with their contracted ration supplies and military stores as well as Factor John Johnson and his trade goods. The boat crews used sails and oars on their way up the Mississippi River toward the lands of the Sauk nation, whose villages stretched along the river from the mouth of the Des Moines River, north to the Rock River, on the east side of the Mississippi River.

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13 Capt. House to Secretary of War Eustis, 9 May 1809, RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917, Fort Madison Reservation Files, microfilm, NARA.

Arriving about 11 September, at the mouth of the Des Moines River, Lt. Kingsley quickly determined the site was unsuitable. Kingsley was fixated on finding a location with a spring, on the west side of the Mississippi. So the expedition continued up the river, pass the head of the rapids (near modern day Keokuk, Iowa), until Kingsley finally settled for a “...good situation, well timbered, an excellent spring...” The site was known as “Belle Vue” on account of a spring. It was more than 15 miles up river than the location the government had purchased from the Sauk Indians. Upon arriving, he sent word to the Sauk and Fox and asked permission to build, apparently waiting until they would agree. Meanwhile, autumn rapidly approached.

The Sauk, or Osakiwugi, the “People of the Outlet” or the “Yellow Earth People,” were still displeased and divided over the 3 November 1804, Treaty with both the Sauk and Fox, which resulted in the loss of 15 million acres of land that they held sacred. The Sauk and Fox were two distinct nations, closely connected by customs and language. They became close allies during the 1720’s when the French attempted to exterminate the Fox, who thereby took refuge with the Sauk.

Kingsley’s late arrival resulted in the building of temporary barracks, store houses, and a low stockade, perhaps not more than six feet high, enclosing the spaces between the buildings. Meanwhile, Black Sparrow Hawk (Makataimeshekiakiak), a notable Sauk warrior, remembered that his warriors playfully seized the muskets of soldiers while on wood cutting details. They would also stand on logs and barrels peering over the low picket at the soldiers inside. So far, the “weak and exposed situation of the Garrison” did nothing to gain the respect of the neighboring Indian nations.

Writing on 22 November 1808, the naive Lieutenant wrote that he would start building his fort in December and sent his proposed plan of the new fort to the Secretary of War Dearborn. The plan included two blockhouses near the Mississippi River, and another near the land side, barracks, a guard house, hospital, and two factory buildings. The stockade would be made from 14 feet high, white oak logs from 12 to 18 inches in diameter, which were also hewn on two of the sides. Kingsley also boasted to the Secretary of War that “this situation is high – Commands an extensive view of the River and the adjacent Country, also an excellent spring of water, and I believe there is no place on the River which will prove more healthy.” The garrison spent the winter months cutting timber, sawing plank, and generally preparing to build the fort in the spring.

But there was one important piece of information Kingsley failed to mention to Dearborn: a high

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15 Carter, William Clark to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, 18 August, 1808, 208.
16 Lt. Kingsley to Secretary of War Dearborn, 22 November, 1808, RG 94, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA; John Johnson to John Mason, 19 September, 1808, RG 94, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA.
17 Bruce E. Johansen and Barry M. Pritzker, Ed., Encyclopedia of American Indian History, vol. 4, (Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, 2008), 4:1278
19 Lt. Kingsley to Secretary of War Dearborn, 22 November, 1808, RG 94, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA.

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ridge overlooked the fort site, about 250 feet to the north. Anyone standing on that ridge would have a perfect view or line of fire directly into the fort. When Kingsley began the construction in earnest on 1 April 1809, or April Fools Day, he added another blockhouse to his plan, which would be built on top of that ridge. This fourth blockhouse would be reached by a “covert way,” described as an “extraordinary tail.” A couple of brass howitzers, which could fire 2 ¾ inch shells, would be eventually mounted in the two blockhouses near the river. Previous authors have reported the artillery issued to the post was six pounders. Recent documentation indicates only small howitzers were at Fort Madison. He also decided that the Indian Trade Factory buildings should be built 100 yards outside of the pickets. Kingsley was so focused on finding a site with good timber and water, that he forgot the primary prerequisite for locating a fort: its defensive abilities. This blunder would haunt the garrison until its evacuation in 1813.

In early April, 1809, Kingsley received word that the Sauk and Winnebago had become “insolent” and planned to attack his garrison. Due to the Indian threat, Kingsley wrote to Belle Fontaine for reinforcements. With the building materials already cut, dressed, and prepared, and with a renewed sense of urgency, the soldiers quickly completed the blockhouses and the 14-foot high stockade. The garrison took quarters in the new post on 14 April 1809, now officially christened as Fort Madison. Kingsley was the first post commander, but not the last, to request more troops, who rushed up the river, rarely arriving in time, and generally, after the threat had subsided.

On 12 April, Captain James House with reinforcements left Fort Belle Fontaine for Fort Madison, arriving there on 23 April. The Indian threat had ended about ten days before their arrival. House did not stay long, dropping off artillery and soon returned to Belle Fontaine, arriving back there on 6 May 1809. While going down river, he met another force of reinforcements comprised of Missouri Militia, escorting the food rations for the post.

The delayed birth of Fort Madison delivered a shaky beginning that left the garrison threatened from the very day of its construction by the very nations it was built to trade with. This entirely assured Fort Madison of a discombobulated existence.

Editor: Succeeding Parts of this narrative will relate the experiences of the soldiers assigned to Fort Madison during the War of 1812 and reveal all of the new evidence regarding how and when the Fort was abandoned by U.S. Forces.

20 Carter, Lt. Col. Bissell to Secretary of War, 26 September, 1812, 595.
21 RG 92 NARA Records of the office of the Quartermaster General Philadelphia Supply Agencies 1795-1858, bound volumes No. 28 (old volume 509), Entry 2117. One Six-Pounder may have been issues but was not recorded in the Ordnance Returns for 1808-1811; Donald Jackson, “Old Fort Madison, 1808-1813,” The Palimpsest, vol. 39, no. 1, (January 1958), 59.
22 Lt. Kingsley to Secretary of War Eustis, 19 April, 1809, RG 94 Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA.
23 RG 92 NARA Records of the office of the Quartermaster General Philadelphia Supply Agencies 1795-1858, bound volumes No. 28 (old volume 509), Entry 2117. Ordnance inventory 1808 to November 1811. The 2 ¾ inch Howitzers had a bore about 2.85. A three pound shell or solid shot was about 2.77 inches. Several of the 16 each 2 ¾ inch “King” howitzer’s produced in the early 1790’s for General Wayne found their way to western outposts by 1812. Two Brass Howitzers only are recorded at Fort Madison by November 1811.
24 Capt. James House to Secretary of War Eustis, 9 May 1809, RG 94 Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA.
NEWS BULLETIN:
House Bill Would Aid Preservation of Battlefields

In March, 2009, the U.S. House of Representatives approved action that would place endangered Revolutionary War and War of 1812 battlefields within the same standards of care and preservation as Civil War battlefields when it passed legislation affecting hundreds of other historic sites.

Correctly demonstrating that the War of 1812 was not only an East Coast phenomenon, New Jersey Congressman Rush Holt, the sponsor, explained that Revolutionary and War of 1812 events crisscrossed over 33 states in places as far apart as Florida and Oregon.

Available under the legislation would be specific federal preservation grants patterned after a Civil War Preservation Program enacted in 1996. Under this and its companion Civil War bill, an additional $20 million per year through 2013 ($10 million for War of 1812 sites) would be available.

The 2007 National Park Service study identified 677 battlefields from the Revolution and the War of 1812 indicating that as many as 170 sites are in danger, especially in rapidly developing areas.

Elsewhere in this Journal readers saw the last of three parts describing the Patriot War and War of 1812 activities in Florida. Colin Murphy does an excellent job chronicling the sites within East Florida. Sites referenced by the National Park Service include Fallen Pines, Payne's Town, Davis Creek Block House and Fort Stallings. Look for them when next in Florida.

While the House action is good news for War of 1812 enthusiasts, as of this writing neither the Civil War bill nor the Revolutionary War and War of 1812 bill have sponsors in the United States Senate.

Editor's Note: Here in Florida we may have to wait a little longer before attending the dedication ceremony for the “Bowleg's Town” National Military Park.
LOUISIANA
DURING THE WAR OF 1812

Louisiana was the newest state in the Union when the War of 1812 began. It was unique among the states for having the largest percentage of foreign-born citizens (both French and Spanish) and the largest percentage of free men on color living within its borders, especially at New Orleans.

Originally, Louisiana was the name applied to the entire area purchased from France in 1803. Its boundaries fluctuated wildly until by April, 1812 it was established within its present boundaries and included the western half of West Florida.

William C.C. Claiborne (1775-1817), initially Orleans Territorial Governor, was elected in his own right following Louisiana statehood and knew the stakes involved. Born in Virginia and raised in Tennessee, where he served as a U.S. Congressman, Claiborne was the embodiment of Jeffersonian republicanism and the frontier perspective.

As bold as his philosophy was, his governance was decidedly cautious. He constantly sought the counsel, if not the approval, of his peers, but when drawn, his decisions could be forceful and determined.

The United States had been negotiating with European powers since the 1783 Treaty of Paris to assure access to the mouth of the Mississippi River for American goods and commerce. Now within American hands the lower Mississippi and New Orleans would surely be an area of sharp interest to Great Britain so long as the belligerency existed.

United States forces in the Gulf region were meager and the exposed approaches to the city were many. Master Commandant Daniel Todd Patterson (1786-1839) commanded the New Orleans naval station. The bayous, bays to the east and west, the river itself, and land bridges from the east offered amply opportunities for British offensive operations against Louisiana. It was fortunate for the state that the British began concentrating her efforts there only in 1814.

During the War the decision was made to raise a regiment at New Orleans, the 44th, but few Creoles joined. Defensive forces would have come from outside the state. Following Andrew Jackson's defeat of the Creek Indians in March, 1814, he was appointed a Major General and assigned the defense of the Gulf Coast.

Energy, determination, and obstinacy are just a few of the characterizations of Jackson; but without him, many argue, it would hardly have been possible to save Louisiana and New Orleans for the union. Jackson and Claiborne forged an alliance and made a successful defense at least possible. In the event, this alliance was to be sorely tested.

At New Orleans Jackson sought total commitment of the city and state in its own defense. For example, although feared by a large portion of its white citizenry, Jackson accepted the armed aid of free blacks in the city. The suggestion was initially forwarded to him by Governor Claiborne. On September 21, 1814, Jackson replied: “Our country has been invaded and threatened with destruction. She wants Soldiers to fight her battles. The free men of color in your city are inured to the Southern climate and would make excellent soldiers. They will not remain quiet spectators of the interesting contest. They must be for, or against us – distrust them, and you make them your enemies, place confidence in them, and you engage them by every dear and honorable tie to the interest of the country.”

By December, Jackson had imposed martial law in the city and began making suggestions deprecating Louisiana loyalty. Claiborne persevered and at least through the events leading to the climatic battle on January 8, 1815, Louisiana performed admirably.

The conduct of the Battle and the aftermath has been told and retold. Recent scholarship, however, suggests Louisiana geography as well as Jackson's leadership together influenced the outcome of the battle. This Editor would add a third factor: The character of the polyglot society that comprised the unique place called “Louisiana” during the War of 1812.


WAR OF 1812 CHRONOLOGY
May through July

This is a special non-traditional chronology that recounts the activities of the individual soldiers, sailors, and marines who fought for, and the civilians who served this country. – Editor.

Events in 1812:

May 01: E. L. Whitlock is a Major in 15th Infantry
May 06: John C. Calhoun is working on war-related legislation in Congress
May 12: D.M. Forney is a Major in 12th Infantry
May 20: Robert Fulton wins Patent argument
May 29: R.L. Livingston appointed LTC in 23rd Infantry
Jun 01: James Madison sends war Message to Congress
Jun 10: James Barbour is serving as Governor of Virginia
Jun 16: C.G. Boerstler appointed Colonel in 14th Infantry
Jun 24: Sailor John Taylor, USS President, is killed
Jun 25: Andrew Jackson offers services to the U.S. government
Jul 06: Alexander Macomb appointed Colonel in 3rd Artillery
Jul 11: CPT Stephen Harrington, OH militia, dies:
Jul 12: Ohio militia moves into Canada with BG Hull
Jul 17: LT Moses Austin, 2d Dragoons, is killed
Jul 23: VA militia assembling at Norfolk
Jul 30: Anti-war minister James Abercrombre preaching

Events in 1813:

May 06: Soldiers at Fort Meigs, OH, under siege
May 10: USS Constitution sends 157 sailors to Lakes
May 13: POW Elisha Goodnow dies at Quebec
May 15: MG Wade Hampton commands 5th Military District
May 15: William Clark is Governor of Missouri Territory
May 20: Private Jacob Sheets, 19th Inf., dies
May 28: Crew of USS Essex in Pacific Ocean
Jun 01: Crew of USS United States under Decatur attempts escape from New York
Jun 03: Robert B. Taylor commands at Norfolk, VA
Jun 09: Private William Lapsley, 2d Artillery, dies:

Events in 1814:

May 02: Constant Freeman is now Chief of Artillery
May 07: Crew of USS Yankee strikes at smugglers near Stonington, CT
May 10: US forces under Gov. Clark in-route to Prairie du Chein
May 15: Zachary Taylor is promoted to Major
May 25: Private John Christie, 13th Infantry, dies
Jun 05: Am forces fighting at Chippewa, in UC
Jun 09: A.A. White is now a Major in 12th Infantry
Jun 13: Private William Roll, 11th Infantry, dies
Jun 19: Private Joseph Baker, 17th Infantry, dies
Jun 20: Crew of USS Constitution is blockaded in Boston
Jun 25: Alexander McIlhenny is Major in 11th Infantry
Jun 28: Crew of USS Wasp II defeats HMS Reindeer
Jul 03: Ralph Isaacs discusses peace in Florida
Jul 11: US garrison at Fort Sullivan, ME, surrenders:
Jul 14: L.L. Taylor is LTC in 12th Infantry
Jul 15: Lookout William Lambert expects Chesapeake attack
Jul 25: Many casualties at Lundy's Lane, UC
Jul 31: Private Alex Owens, 9th Infantry, dies

Events in 1815:

May 09: James Madison serving as Secretary of State
May 13: Henry Atkinson is Colonel, 6th Infantry
May 17: Many officers discharged as Army shrinks
Jun 01: Daniel Appling is Major with 7th Infantry
Jun 15: Ranger Companies in US Army discharged
Jun 18: James T. Austin on Passamaquoddy Bay
Jul 04: Daniel Wentworth, ME militia, dies
Jul 14: Crew of USS Epervier lost in Atlantic
Jul 26: Decatur's squadron arrives off Tunis to press US demands
War of 1812 Events Calendar

May 23-24:
First Siege of Fort Meigs, 1813, Fort Meigs, Perrysburg, OH. For more information visit <www.fortmeigs.org> or call 800.283.8916.

June 5-7:
Battle of Stoney Creek, Battlefield House Museum and Park, Stoney Creek, Ontario, Canada. For more information visit <battlefield@hamilton.ca> or contact Susan Ramsur at 905.622.8458.

June 26-28:
7th Annual War of 1812 Weekend, Niagara Frontier & Genesee Valley of Western New York, Mumford, NY. This is a juried event. Register at <www.battlefieldhouse.ca> For more information contact Brian Nagel, 1410 Flint Hill Road, Mumford, NY 14551, 585.538.6824, ext. 279 or <bnagel@gcv.org>.

July 11-12:
War of 1812 Grand Tactical at Crysler's Farm, Morristown, Ontario, Canada. To register, visit: <www.cryslersfarm.com>.

July 11-12:
War of 1812 – Siege of Fort Wayne, Historic Fort Wayne, Fort Wayne, IN. For more information, visit <www.oldfortwayne.org>, or call 260.460.4763.

August 8-9:
Siege of Fort Erie, Fort Erie, Ontario, Canada. For more information contact: Peter Martin, 350 Lakeshore Rd., Fort Erie, Canada; 905.871.0540, pemartin@niagaraparks.com, or visit <www.iaw.on.ca.jsek/1812a.htm>

August 15-16:
Fort George Fife and Drum Muster and Soldiers' Field Day, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario Canada. For more information call 905.468.4257 or email at ont-niagara@pc.ge.ca. Additional details are found at <www.niagara.com/parkscan>.

September 5-6:
Fairfield Comes Alive, Thamesville, Ontario, Canada. For more information, contact Gayle Allen, 30020 Clachan Road, RR#3, Bothwell, Ontario, NOP 1C0 Canada, 519.695.3634, or visit <Fourandtwentyblackbirds@sympatico.ca>.

October 2-4:
Mississinewa 1812, Marion, IN. For more information, contact Mississinewa Battlefield Society, 402 S. Washington Street, Suite 509, P.O. Box 1812, Marion, IN 46953; 800.822.1812; email at <info@mississinewa1812.com>.

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