THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON, *Presidential Series, Volume 4: November 5, 1811-July 9, 1812 with a Supplement, March 5, 1809-October 19, 1811.* Edited by J. C. A. Stagg, et al. (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2000. xliv, 675 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, editorial method, Madison chronology, significant federal officers, index. Cloth $65.00, ISBN 0-8139-1859-6).

During this period James Madison was preparing for war against Great Britain, a war Congress finally declared on June 18, 1812. In his third annual message to that body, dated November 5, 1811, Madison urged Congress to authorize the manufacture of munitions, the completion of the coastal defenses, the provision of the navy, and the calling into service of regular troops, volunteers, and militia. Congress acted on Madison's recommendations and even imposed new taxes in March 1812. But Madison's credibility was undermined the same month by the news that French frigates had burned two American merchantmen bound for Spain. Napoleon's officials had assured the Madison administration that France's Berlin and Milan decrees, which authorized the destruction of neutral vessels that traded with Britain and her possessions, no longer operated against the

United States. Nevertheless, the French minister to the United States did not even express regret at the sinking of the American ships. By pursuing war measures against Britain but not against France, Madison appeared to favor one side over the other in the Napoleonic Wars. Madison expressed his dilemma in a letter to Thomas Jefferson (May 21, 1812, p. 415): "To go to war against Engd. [England] and not w. Fr. [France] Arms the federalists with new matters and divides the Reps [Republicans]. . . . To go to war with both presents a thousand difficulties." In the end Madison's War Message (June 1, 1812, pp. 431-439) emphasized the British impressment of American sailors and the British incitement of Native American attacks on American frontiersmen, as well as the British seizure of American ships. Even so, Madison was deluged with petitions from New England towns, and letters from private citizens, urging him to negotiate peace with Britain. Several correspondents noted the irony of prosecuting a war in defense of the very faction (merchants) that most strongly opposed war. Meanwhile, the Republican Party nominated Madison for re-election, and Louisiana applied for entrance into the Union as a state.

During this time Madison was also bombarded with letters of recommendation for those seeking military commissions. Even John Adams, a former political opponent of Madison, penned such a letter. Thomas Jefferson wrote several, often with palpable reluctance, including a letter for a relative that included the caveat: "He is quarrelsome and may be troublesome to his companions" (p. 363). This was high praise compared to an anonymous correspondent's characterization of Robert Leroy Livingston, another candidate for one of the commissions: "Well Known by the name of 'Crazy Bob,' and if throwing Decanters and Glasses were to be the weapons used, he would make a most excellent Lieut. Colonel" (p. 320). While Gen. Henry Dearborn urged caution in promoting Federalist officers because he feared they might conspire with the British, Jefferson suggested that Madison might have to employ "hemp and confiscation" against Federalist opponents of the war.

During the same period Madison received many heart-breaking letters from Native American tribes pleading for justice. The chiefs of the Wydanot Nation wrote: "Several black robes have come to our villages, to preach the religion of white people; they told us the religion of the whites consisted in a few words; that was, to do unto others as we wish that others should do unto us.

. . . We wish you to put the above Christian rule into practice" (p. 165). Set starkly against this proposal was that of Matthew Lyon, who declared that it should be the policy of the United States to retaliate against every tribe that attacked American troops. Such retaliation should involve killing every man, and enslaving every woman and child, of the offending tribe. Lyon wrote: "Let no man who holds in Slavery the Children of Africa, which has never offended this nation, say that it is cruel to make Slaves of the Of[f]spring of the American Savages who have been butchering our friends" (p. 42).

The editors should be commended for their usual meticulousness. Their notes and abstracts are informative, and their index is fairly complete.

The volume closes with Madison's proclamation of a day of prayer and "public Humiliation" to secure divine support for the United States in the War of 1812. Issued by the principal drafter of both the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the proclamation highlights the distance that modern courts have come from the founders' far narrower interpretation of the First Amendment's religious establishment clause.

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