

The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series: Volume 3: 1 March 1802–6 October 1802. Edited by DAVID B. MATTERN, J. C. A. STAGG, JEANNE KERR CROSS, and SUSAN HOLBROOK PERDUE. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. xxxix, 657p. Bibliography, index. \$47.50.)

This volume of the James Madison Papers covers a seven-month period in his career as secretary of state, from early March to early October 1802. The major foreign policy issues facing Madison and the scarcely year-old administration of Thomas Jefferson involved France, Spain, and the future of Louisiana and the Floridas, Toussaint L'Ouverture's rebellion against the French in Saint-Domingue, and the ongoing conflict with the Barbary States, which included Morocco's short-lived declaration of war against the United States. In addition, it fell to Madison's department to begin to implement the settlement between Georgia and the United States, by which the state ceded land west of the Chattahoochee River in exchange for a cash settlement, a confirmation of prior land grants on that ceded land, and the extinguishment of Indian land claims within the state of Georgia. This issue, like all of the above-mentioned foreign policy questions, was not resolved in this period.

The most alarming and potentially most consequential problem facing Madison and the administration was the rumored retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France. Madison wrote Robert R. Livingston, United States minister to France, on May 1, 1802, that the "Cession of Louisiana to France becomes daily more and more a source of painful apprehensions." The secretary of state instructed Livingston to urge the French "to revise and abandon the project," for it would "have an instant and powerful effect in changing the relations" between the two countries, especially if the "session [*sic*] of the mouth of the Mississippi is to be added to other causes of discord, the worst events are to be apprehended" (pp. 175-76). But if the French persist, Livingston was told, he must ascertain the extent of the cession, and if it included the Floridas and New Orleans, press the French to sell those possessions to the United States.

During this time Madison was getting conflicting reports from his ministers in France and Spain. Charles Pinckney, United States minister to Spain, asked Madison in April for instruction "on the Terms, the Sum, mode and times" (p. 143) of what

the United States might offer Spain for the Floridas, while Livingston, at the same time, assured the secretary "that the floridas [*sic*] are given to France" (p. 156). Three months later, however, Livingston had changed his mind when the Spanish ambassador to France pledged to him "that the Floridas are not included in the cession" (p. 443).

The United States' concern about Louisiana was closely tied to France's fortunes in Saint-Domingue. For while the black revolt on the island uneasily reminded southern Americans of their vulnerability to the potential violence of their own slave population, they also worried that if the French were successful in subduing the rebellion this would make it easier for them to reestablish themselves in Louisiana. Much of Madison's correspondence on this issue reflected this ambivalence and was concerned with French requests for loans and credit and their protests against Americans trading with the rebels.

The editors have produced an impressive, attractive, and superbly detailed volume. And their thorough and painstaking scholarship enriches and enlarges the meaning and significance of individual letters. And while one might be impatient with only getting seven months' correspondence in a 657-page volume and be eager to trace to conclusion a number of fascinating and crucial foreign policy issues, our consolation is that if the succeeding volumes are as good, they will be worth the wait.

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