

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 3: March 3, 1781-December 31, 1781. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1963. Pp. 381. \$10.00.)

Volume three of *The Madison Papers* opens with Maryland's ratification of the Articles of Confederation in March, 1781, and closes in December of the same year. Like its predecessors it is a highly commendable piece of work. The editors are at their best in their role as detectives. The notes not only provide cross references, identifications, definitions of archaic words, and descriptions of the original documents, but also place each item in its proper historical context. Often the notes are longer than the document they describe. While the editors are justified in presenting more than correspondence, one questions the inclusion of such items as Madison's transcriptions from the secret journals of Congress which could have been omitted or calendared without detracting from the reader's ability to see what influenced Madison as well as what Madison influenced.

The volume consists predominantly of letters between the governor of Virginia and the state's delegation in Congress, and congressional motions, reports, and notes from the secret journals. Only fifty-seven of the 174 items are actually letters to or from Madison personally. The bulk of these are

from Edmund Pendleton, with a few from Thomas Jefferson, Joseph Jones, and David Jameson. Only twenty-one of Madison's own letters are extant: several to Pendleton, a few to Jefferson, and one each to his father and Philip Mazzei. In his July letter to Mazzei, Madison neatly summarized the military and financial events of the preceding year.

As in volumes one and two, there is rarely a hint in the colorless letters that Madison had a personal life. His letter to his father, in which he writes briefly of family matters, is the only exception, unless one wishes to include his emotional reaction to Yorktown. *The Papers* do present much about the progress of the war and the events in Congress. Nearly half of the book deals with military events: the continuous reports and rumors about the progress of the war in the South which involved Madison as a member of the committee corresponding with General Nathanael Greene, the invasion of Virginia, and the exciting build-up to Yorktown. Scattered throughout are references to the difficulty of supplying the military and civilian population of Virginia.

Most significantly the volume deals with the attempts of several men in Congress, especially Madison, to strengthen the national government. Immediately after Maryland completed the Confederation, Madison and others drafted a proposed amendment giving Congress the right to use the implied power (the editors believe this is Madison's first use of the term) of Article 13 to coerce the states, through economic sanctions, into obeying congressional decisions. At the same time, although Madison ignored Pendleton's proposal to appoint Washington a temporary dictator, he toyed with the idea of using a civilian-commanded military force to compel obedience to Congress. Also reflecting the philosophy of those favoring a stronger central government, Madison moved that General Anthony Wayne be given power to impress supplies which could then be credited to the states' congressional requisitions. As the notes point out, the nationalists knew what the acceptance of any such implied power would do to the strict construction argument. It was also Madison who moved for the creation of a strong court of appeals for admiralty cases, and congressional payment of the delegates from occupied states. Madison worked to strengthen the powers of Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris, proposing that he control funds borrowed abroad and that he administer the navy until a Secretary could be appointed. As could be expected he actively encouraged and defended the Impost of 1781.

This volume also offers important information on Virginia politics, Virginia's refusal to appear before a Pennsylvania court (the parallel to *Chisholm vs. Georgia* is noteworthy), the depreciation of and speculation in currency, and the various instructions to the several diplomats in Europe. The French alliance and the uncertain relation of Spain to the war are occasional topics, but the Mississippi question itself is less important than in 1780. Western lands played a minor role in the first months of 1781, but after Yorktown became as important as they had been in 1780.

Although Madison had demonstrated capacities for leadership during his first year in Congress, it was in 1781 that he assumed a major role. Regular in attendance, an active member of numerous committees, and often making

significant motions, James Madison in 1781 became a prominent nationalist espousing and fighting for the principles he would continue to fight for until his first term in the United States House of Representatives ten years later.

The University of Wisconsin

KENNETH R. BOWLING