The Papers of James Madison. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1962.—*Volume I, 1751–1779,* xlii, 344 pp. $10.00; *Volume II, 1780–1781,* xix, 344 pp. $10.00.

In these first two published volumes of the Madison papers, under the joint sponsorship of the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia, the scholar and the general reader at long last will have ready access to the papers of one of America's major statesmen and political theorists. Up to now the collecting and editing of Madison's papers had run into an unusual number of difficulties, and the previously published Gilpin, McGuire, Congressional, and Gaillard Hunt editions were seriously inadequate. Together these four editions provided only about one-sixth of the extant documents by Madison and only an insignificant fraction of the around fifteen thousand extant letters addressed to him. The present collection, now in its beginning, contains not only the letters by Madison but also those addressed to him, even those to public bodies and committees of which he was a member, in the cases where his interests and duties made the communications particularly significant for him.

The papers are accompanied by copious, competent and insightful editorial notes. The editors have been unusually faithful in the transcription of the documents and in their aids to the reader. Ordinarily, words or phrases struck out by the writer are omitted without comment. (This reviewer is unhappy about even this exercise of editorial discretion.) But in other cases the deleted words appear in the footnotes. In a few highly important documents, strike-outs and insertions are presented in a close ap-

proach to the original documents as is typographically possible. Changes which the editors believe that Madison made in later life, while looking over the papers, are given in the footnotes.

The first volume covers the period of Madison's childhood, youth and young manhood: his stay at the College of New Jersey; his loafing interlude of intellectual gestation in his early twenties; his services to the Orange County Committee of Safety; his participation in the Virginia Convention of 1776; his membership in the Virginia Council of State. Many of the letters of this period deal with the gossip about college friends; the usual eighteenth-century speculation involving Locke, Hume and Montesquieu and large conceptualizing about the Muses and Graces, History and Morality, Volition and Mechanism, Liberty and Necessity; and the accelerating tempo of events leading to the Revolution. Even so sober a youth as Madison could wax enthusiastic about the marksmanship of the Upper Country riflemen (himself included) and the tarring and feathering of the Tories.

The second volume covers Madison's first year as a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The correspondence reveals vividly the sense of desperation of "the terrible year" of 1780: the lack of supplies for the armies; the increasing difficulties of recruiting men for the armed forces and the merchant vessels; the disruption of American shipping; the grave need of revenue, the disarray of public finances and the mounting inflation; the retreats in the Carolinas; the Arnold raid on Richmond and growing disaffection in Virginia; the agonizing waiting for aid from Spain and more effective help from France; the growing insistence by France and European commercial houses that the American states establish a central and stable government.

As a member of the Congress, Madison concentrated on public finance; on the Western lands, taking a lead for the cession to the general government of the Western lands held by the landed-states, including Virginia, and for safeguards against "the land-mongers," the big land companies making unauthorized purchases from the Indians; and on John Jay's mission to Spain and the importance of acquiring from Spain the right of free navigation by Americans of the Mississippi River through Spanish Louisiana. The adversities of 1780 brought victory for the cession of the Western lands and retreat from the American insistence on the free navigation of the Mississippi.

The letters of the young Madison are clear, to-the-point and solid factual reporting, and they show occasional evidence of the scope and insights of his somewhat later years. He often in-

duced more philosophic discussion from his correspondents than he gave in return. His letters are prosaic compared to the graceful and sometimes brilliant ones of William Bradford (who later, for a time, would be President Washington's Attorney-General), and the crisp, sprightly, robust ones of Edmund Pendleton.

These early letters scarcely anticipate the Madison of the *Federalist* essays. However, here and there is the point of view which later would bring him fame as the philosopher of political balance through group pluralism. While only in his twenty-third year, Madison noted the wide range of civil liberties in Pennsylvania and attributed this to the variety of national groups and religions there and the absence of a religious establishment. He contrasted this with the attitudes of the "Zealous adherents of Hierarchy" in his home state (Vol. I, p. 112). "If the Church of England had been the established and general Religion in all the Northern Colonies as it has been among us here and uninterrupted tranquility had prevailed throughout the Continent, it is clear to me that slavery and Subjection might and would have been gradually insinuated among us" (Vol. I, p. 105). Madison's activities at the Virginia Convention of 1776 indicate persuasively that the main honor of giving Virginia religious liberty, liberty of conscience, must go not to Jefferson but to Madison.

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