

The Papers of James Madison, Volume 4 edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965.—xxviii, 486 pp. \$12.50.

Like its predecessors, this fourth volume of the Madison papers contains the letters to and from Madison, along with the reports, motions, and resolutions with which he was identified and the communications to and from the delegations and committees of which he was a member. The documentation and notes by the editors are exhaustive and constitute a notable contribution to scholarship.

The first seven months of 1782, which are those covered by this volume, reflected both the confidence and the confusion of the interval between Yorktown and the peace treaty. The main attention was still on foreign affairs, for there was keen awareness that the actual power situation in the world would determine the substance of the peace treaty. Rodney's naval victory in the West Indies in April caused much American concern, but it came too late to reverse the trend against Britain, beset by defiance in Ireland, reverses in India, loss of Minorca, threatened loss of Gibraltar, intensification of the war with the Dutch, Dutch recognition of American independence, and political crisis which led to the fall of Lord North and the return of the Whigs. The British were putting out separate peace feelers to America and France, seeking to divide the allies and sow discord among the Americans.

Americans were suffering from the many years without normal foreign trade and from previous war exertions. Absenteeism from Congress reached serious proportions; requisitions on the states for men and money were poorly met; trading with the enemy at New York and Charlestown grew scandalously; the outflow of specie was alarming; the scarcity of hard money made tax collections in the states scanty; drives for new

loans from Europe were rebuffed (the French again came to the rescue); the intrigues of the anti-French, anti-Robert Morris, anti-Franklin cabals grew apace; the factiousness of the Arthur Lee and Richard Henry Lee clique in Virginia politics produced embarrassments. The conflict over admitting Vermont to the Confederation foreshadowed future East-South differences; and this conflict was further complicated by being tied in with the question of accepting Virginia's reservations to her cession of her Western lands, which in one way or another involved the interests of East, South, small states, and land companies.

Despite frustration, there was an underlying buoyancy produced by expectations of independence and of advantageous commercial treaties with the Dutch and the Spanish, including hopes of Spanish guarantee of free navigation of the Mississippi through Spanish-held territory. The trans-Allegheny country was filling up, Kentucky was agitating for statehood, and in the East the Bank of North America paid healthy dividends in 1782.

Madison's letters reveal growing maturity. He was developing both responsiveness to the needs for immediate practical action and scrupulous respect for constitutional limitations. This dualism sometimes posed a dilemma, as when Madison was faced with formulating his position on chartering the Bank of North America by Congress (pp. 20-23). It was the first facet of the Madisonian mind which would make him a Federalist in 1787, the second, which often would make him a strict constructionist after 1789. The most inclusively informative letters received by Madison during this period were those of Edmund Randolph. The letters of Edmund Pendleton, delightful for their lean and picturesque English, continued to show common sense and shrewd insight into the practical politics of America and Britain.

As one by one these Madison volumes come from the press, it is increasingly clear that they are making readily available a storehouse of information which allows for wider knowledge and understanding of Madison himself, the pragmatic growth of the federal idea, and the events, personalities, customs, ceremonials, conditions, and temper of the times.

WILLIAM G. CARLETON
University of Florida