The Papers of James Madison, Vol. III, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. xxv, 301 pp. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963. $10.00.

This third volume of papers of the fourth President covers the relatively brief period from March 3, 1781 to December 31 of the same year. It does not end, like its two predecessors, with a significant event in the life of James Madison or of the Confederation Congress in which he served. But it does demonstrate Madison's development, within his states' rights position, towards nationalism, and it affords good evidence of his scholarly methods in thoroughly familiarizing himself with a problem before he undertook debate on the subject. More generally, it reflects the growing gravity of the military situation before the siege of Yorktown and of the civilian situation both before and after that great event.

Of the one hundred and seventy-four papers in this volume, only twenty-two have previously appeared in the editions of the writings of James Madison. Seventy-six are in his hand and many others are signed by him as a member of the Virginia delegation in Congress. From the general reader's point of view the material is disappointing in that there is so little of the personal. Family, friendships, and reading here receive little attention. In these months as in others before and after, the little statesman confined himself usually to the business at hand. And as in other periods even when he did turn aside for a moment, he failed to preserve copies of the "frivolous" or personal things he wrote. But one does see this Southern leader's growing awareness of the means and methods of a loosely organized political machine, of its ineptitude and powerlessness in certain situations, of its determined civilian muddling-through as implementation for military victory.

The Madison who a few years later wrote the great numbers of *The Federalist* in the magnificent debate as to whether the central power should be strengthened was here getting his practical experience in what he knew was the folly of over-diffusion. And the Madison who thirty years later led his reorganized government into and through another war with Great Britain came in this period to appreciate the problems of the civilian power in wartime. Personally for him these years of relative quiet shaped his destiny.

Yet a real excitement runs like a bright thread through these sober documents. The fear and hope and ultimate triumph of Yorktown are suggested by comments in letters and reports of the gathering of forces around the Virginia peninsula, of the rumors of the whereabouts of the French fleet, and finally of the assurance of victory. The reader lives

through these months as though he were a contemporary civilian privileged to read some newspaper marked "highly confidential."

Glimpses of Madison's own region, the South, come here and there. The desperate plight of Virginia families, the barbarity of the British in the Carolinas and Virginia, and the negotiations with the Cherokees are matters of grave concern. While Madison is in Philadelphia the Virginian Edmund Pendleton keeps him acquainted with what is going on at home and when he can with other matters. And Madison informs his father that he has sought and is shipping five English grammars to a Virginia schoolmaster in dire need of them.

Impeccable in text, interesting and complete in annotation, these pages are like other such editions at once history and biography and more. If one needs to ask the reasons behind these dozen or so editions of eminent American statesmen now appearing, he has only to spend a few hours with this volume covering ten months in the life of one of these men to get the answer—and the answers to dozens of other questions. Among the latter may be how and why the South has developed major political thinkers for two hundred years. The answer is complex, but much of it lies in these documents.

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