

The Papers of James Madison: Vol. V. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967. Pp. 520. Notes, index. \$12.50.)

During the six months covered by this volume, the war for independence was coming to an end. American peace commissioners were at work in Paris but there was no peace in Congress where James Madison had been a member since March, 1780.

Congress had quarrelled for years about instructions to the American peace commissioners. The faction known as the Lee-Adams junto had insisted that American diplomats should act independently of France and that the right to fish in Newfoundland waters and to the free navigation of the Mississippi River be a part of any peace treaty with Britain. Another faction, led by Robert Morris, had insisted that American diplomats should be guided by France at every step and was willing to surrender the fisheries and the navigation of the Mississippi as the price of French and Spanish help in the war. In June, 1781, this faction had written new instructions which put the peace commissioners, in effect, under French control. During the last months of 1782 the remnants of the Lee-Adams junto, and particularly Arthur Lee of Virginia, waged a futile campaign to reverse the instructions. (Fortunately for the United States the commissioners ignored their instructions.)

Madison supported the Morris faction, not the Lees of his native state. He also supported Morris's efforts to strengthen the central government and to secure an independent income for Congress. The Impost Amendment of 1781 which would have given Congress power to collect import duties was blocked by Rhode Island and then killed by Madison's own Virginia which repealed its act of ratification in December, 1782.

Madison split with the Morris faction on only one issue: western lands. The Virginia cession in 1780 of its claims to the Old North-

west (a part of which became the state of Wisconsin sixty-eight years later) had a condition attached to it: the cession would not become final until Congress declared invalid the pre-war purchases from Indians of lands in the area. Many members of Congress from the middle states, as well as Robert Morris, were members of the land companies which had made the purchases, and they were powerful enough to block acceptance of the Virginia cession until 1784. On

this issue, Madison supported his state's position.

The materials in this volume and the full documentation, even though they relate only to the last half of 1782, are therefore invaluable for an understanding of many of the larger issues of the whole revolutionary era as well as of the career of James Madison.

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