The Papers of James Madison. Volume 13: *20 January 1790–31 March 1791.* Edited by Charles F. Hobson, Robert A. Rutland, *et al.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981. Pp. xxx, 423. $20.00.)

This volume documents Madison's career during the second and third sessions of the first federal Congress, concluding the intense legislative work of the first session begun by Congress in New York in April 1789. Between then and March 1791, when it adjourned in Philadelphia, Congress was in session for nineteen months. Unlike Volume 12, which documented Madison's role as unofficial administration floor manager, this volume reveals his emergence as leader of the opposition in speaking out against Hamilton's plans for funding the debt and chartering a national bank. As usual, the editors have presented the Madison papers with re-

markable skill, erudition, and judgment. This care appears, for example, in scrupulous attention to the date of probably the last friendly letter from Hamilton to Madison. The editors surmise that this note, inviting Madison's next-day reaction to a draft of a "report" (then to be passed along to Jefferson), referred to a short November 1790 report on the public credit, rather than to the book-length report on manufactures of the following year. Thus the editors date the note 1790, not 1791, when, as they understate it, relations between the two had become "increasingly strained" (p. 306). This simple, plausible correction of the previous dating may save dozens of scholars needless agony over the already much-debated timing of the "split" between Hamilton and Madison!

One sees in this volume not only the papers about well-known events but also flashes of light on the lesser themes that occupy members of any legislative body. For example, in considering a bill to carry out the constitutionally mandated census Madison proposed that information be collected about employment in various occupations so that Congress might then be able to "adapt the public measures to the particular circumstances of the community." This would allow representatives to "rest their arguments on facts, instead of assertions and conjectures," Madison hoped (pp. 8, 16). He secured passage of this bill in the House, arguing its usefulness to "the science of Political Economy" and the advantage of a decennial collection of "a most curious and instructive assemblage of facts." He reported scornfully to Jefferson, though, that "It was thrown out by the Senate as a waste of trouble and supplying materials for idle people to make a book" (p. 41). Such small-mindedness, Madison noted, was a bad omen to those who hoped the Congress might take up great measures in the public interest.

On another topic Madison argued that though "an easy mode of naturalization" was generally desirable to encourage "the worthy part of mankind to come and settle amongst us . . . ," he warned against immigration laws "merely to swell the catalogue of people" without assuring that they would also add "to the strength or wealth of the community" (p. 17). During these same days he also asked for respectful attention to a petition signed by Benjamin Franklin urging Congress to "'step to the very verge' of its powers to discourage the slave trade . . . ." Madison thought this an "object well worthy of attention" (pp. 39, 40). Finally, in this span of time he wished Congress were less under the commercial, speculative influence of its residency in New York City. Votes ought to be cast, Madison wrote Benjamin Rush, by "those philosophical and patriotic citizens who cultivate their reason, apart from the scenes which distract . . . [them,] and expose . . . [them] to the influence of the passions" (p. 93).

We see, then, Madison continuing to bring all public measures to the test of republican principles. Every little thing interested him, especially in the precedent-setting first years of government under the new constitution. Thus, the census ought not merely to enumerate but ought also to collect information useful to good legislation, naturalization laws ought to encourage quality as well as quantity, Congress ought to move to the "very verge" of its powers to suppress assaults on human rights such as the slave trade, and the nation ought to consider the moral as well as the

material environment of its governing bodies. That these concerns still face us nearly two centuries later is evidence both of our unfinished agenda as a nation and of Madison's keen insight into the problems of self-government. We can be thankful the editors offer this wisdom to us so fully and so meticulously.

Syracuse University RALPH L. KETCHAM