

The Papers of James Madison, Vol. 15: *14 March 1793-20 April 1795*. Edited by Thomas A. Mason, Robert A. Rutland, and Jeanne K. Sisson. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985. Pp. xxix, 561. \$57.50.)

Great events filled the two years of Madison's life which are documented by this substantial volume. Some of them were the news of the execution of Louis XVI, France's declaration of war on Britain and Holland, Washington's Neutrality Proclamation, the visit to America of Citizen Genet and his recall, Jay's mission to Britain, the Whiskey Insurrection, and Britain's severe mistreatment of American ships and seamen. In all of this, of course, Madison was deeply concerned as to the American response. In this volume we have an excellent repository of his ideas, expounded repeatedly and at length, in the clear context of letters he received and the pertinent general information provided by the editors.

At the start, we find Madison having been made an honorary citizen of the French Republic. He composed a cordial letter of acceptance which he sent to Jefferson for appraisal. Two weeks later, he wrote to Jefferson again on the matter (28-30), and here we have his defiant first paragraph which waved off concern about what people in the United States might think (including, presumably, Washington)—a paragraph which biographer Brant asserted had so shocked editor Hunt that he expurgated it. Madison's commitment to France was firm at that time, his hostility to Britain implacable.

It is fascinating to view such events through this generous presentation of Madison's papers. Happily, letters to him have been included; especially pleasing are the great number from Jefferson, whereby the celebrated political partnership can conveniently be observed. These were crucial years for the building of an opposition party, of which Madison was the "de facto leader" (148). His efforts are illuminated not only by personal correspondence, but also by his sixty-one speeches in Congress, his five "Helvidius" essays written at Jefferson's urging in response to Hamilton, and his twenty-two-page pamphlet, "Political Observations," in which he expounded his views of the proceedings of the Third Congress. That pamphlet, which he published anonymously in April 1795, is a particular gem, with its history of commercial difficulties with Britain since 1783 and Madison's arguments that an embargo was the way to deal with them.

It is especially useful to be reminded of the uncertainty of the attitude of newly elected members of Congress—a matter most frustrating to Madison, who so ardently hoped to lead a majority in opposition. This was important in view of the considerable expansion of House membership (up from 65 to 105) by the reapportionment according to the census of 1790. The Third Congress had sixty new members in the House. North Carolina's delegation had doubled; Virginia's nearly so. The struggle to enlist the new men in the opposition required intense efforts by Madison and others—efforts which for a time failed.

It was in 1794 that Madison married Dolley Todd. Aaron Burr had introduced them earlier, and some readers might hope at last to learn more

about the human side of "the great little Madison." But we do not. As the editors explain, in that time "the relationship between husband and wife was a private, almost a secret matter" (341). There are three or four items here which bear on the matter, but on the whole the yield is thin.

The editors' assistance in the brief preface, their explanation of editorial method, three substantial editorial notes, and a multitude of footnotes are all extremely useful. The footnotes in particular reveal impressive scholarship, but one unexpected disappointment is the considerable number of letters (known as to writer, recipient, and date) noted as "Letter not found." This volume, however, like those which precede it and no doubt those yet to come, is an indispensable treasure of information.

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