

THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON. Volume V, 1 AUGUST 1782–31 DECEMBER 1782. Edited by *William T. Hutchinson* and *William M. E. Rachal*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1967. xxx, 520. \$12.50.)

VOLUME V of Madison's papers devotes 500 pages to 201 documents written during the last five months of 1782 when Madison and his colleagues in the Confederation

Congress seemed suspended uncertainly between war and peace and the touch-and-go peace negotiations kept everyone's "anxiety on fire," as Edmund Pendleton wrote. Hostilities between the American and British armies had virtually ceased after Yorktown, the North ministry had fallen, and peace overtures were under way in Paris, but Congress remained completely in the dark about the proceedings until December 13, when they learned that George III had authorized Richard Oswald to deal with the American commissioners as representatives of the thirteen United States rather than the thirteen colonies. On December 23 Congress received letters from Benjamin Franklin and John Jay which mentioned several preliminary propositions made in October, but the year closed with Madison and Congress unaware of the provisional peace treaty signed on November 30.

Throughout 1782 Madison continued to advocate close cooperation with France in the peace negotiations. Late in the year he was shaken by the revelation that Barbé-Marbois, secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia, had advised Vergennes to exclude the Americans from the Newfoundland fisheries and by a letter from Jay warning that France would not support American claims to lands west of the Appalachians for fear of alienating Spain. But he opposed a move by his colleague, Arthur Lee, to exempt American commissioners from the obligation to conduct negotiations with the knowledge and concurrence of the French.

On the domestic front Madison worked persistently for some means of dealing with the national debt, favoring "the Impost which alone promises a chance of establishing that credit, by which alone the inadequacy of taxation can be supplied." He was especially critical of Rhode Island's veto of the impost proposal, noting that "the indignation against this perverse sister is increased by her shameful delinquency in the constitutional requisitions." He was almost equally critical of Virginia's failure to make any contribution in 1782 toward its quota of the federal requisition. Throughout the year he pressed for the completion of the cession of Virginia's western land claims in order to create a fund "for the general emolument," as the General Assembly of Virginia phrased it, and thus provide income from land sales for discharging the national debt. As a member of a congressional committee, Madison was also instrumental in persuading the Pennsylvania legislature that the Confederation would be imperiled if the federal creditors in the state were to be paid by the state out of money earmarked for the federal requisition, arguing against "the pernicious tendency of such unconstitutional appropriations."

Edward Randolph and Edmund Pendleton were Madison's most constant correspondents in Virginia, and the two-way correspondence furnishes clues to the factional alignments in both state and Confederation politics. The only evidence of the Jefferson-Madison friendship in this volume relates to Madison's motion to reappoint Jefferson as a peace commissioner after his wife's death. Finally, Madison's "Notes on Debates" in Congress, which he began in November, and his weekly letters to Randolph, who did not resign as a delegate to Congress until December, though he was in Richmond serving as Attorney General of Virginia, are invaluable supplements to the official journal and other records of Congress.

The editors have continued their policy of full and meticulous annotation, a boon to scholarship, but something of a drag to the production schedule of this important and fascinating series.

Cornell University

JAMES MORTON SMITH