

The Papers of James Madison. Volume 12: 2 March 1789–20 January 1790, with a Supplement: 24 October 1775–24 January 1789. Edited by Charles F. Hobson and Robert A. Rutland. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979. Preface, acknowledgments, editorial method, abbreviations, Madison chronology, index. Pp. xxiv, 498. \$17.50.)

The twelfth volume of the Madison papers covers the critical period in the careers of James Madison and the First Federal Congress which met at Federal Hall in New York City from March through September, 1789. The Constitution was untried, and the source of Antifederalists' quarrel with the document, besides the lack of a bill of rights, was the belief that the United States was too large a country to be brought under one government. By the end of September, 1789, both of these criticisms were successfully met.

Madison's contributions to the First Federal Congress as the acknowledged leader of the House of Representatives and confidential adviser to President George Washington can be seen as a culmination of his earlier triumphs in the Federal Convention of 1787, his essays in *The Federalist*, and his victory at the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788. Of all the legislation that Madison carried at the first session of Congress, none did more to enlarge and consolidate public support for the new government than Congress's approval of the ten amendments to the Constitution that are now known as the Bill of Rights. Moreover, Madison's magnanimous and politically astute gesture ensured a continuation of an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill essential to the survival of the young republic.

Important, too, are the papers on the debates concerning the president's removal power and on the impost and tonnage duties. Madison's correspondence with his fellow Virginians Edmund Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, Edward Carrington, Joseph Jones, Thomas Jefferson, and Washington offers insight into his thinking and the debates in Congress.

Jefferson's letters to Madison describe in graphic detail the bloody French Revolution; and his epistle of September 6, 1789, which conveys his philosophical speculations about human rights, is already well known. A supplement to this volume includes an important letter from Washington to Madison dated December 3, 1784, regarding the navigation of the Potomac.

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