The Papers of James Madison. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Volume III, *3 March 1781 - 31 December 1781.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963. Pp. xxv, 381. Facsimiles, illustrations, index. $10.00.)

After a first volume of the *Papers of James Madison* that covered his education and the beginning of his political career on the state level, and a second that included the correspondence from his first year on the national scene as a member of the Continental Congress, we have now a third volume that spans only March through December of 1781. During these ten months Madison continued in Congress—indeed, it

is, as the editors remind us, the time when he first rose to prominence in that body.

Although Madison's stand on the various questions that came before the Congress in 1781 inevitably reveals something of his ideas and attitudes, these papers primarily show his development as a working politician and legislator. The overwhelming bulk of correspondence represents the regular exchange of information between the Virginians at Congress and the various state officials at home, among them three successive governors who served during the year, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Nelson, Jr., and Benjamin Harrison. Most of the remaining documents are committee reports, resolutions, and other proceedings of the Congress itself.

It has become increasingly popular to depict the Madison of 1781 as an emergent nationalist. In support of this interpretation the materials published here include his proposed amendment of March 12, 1781, to the Articles of Confederation, allowing Congress to use force to compel the states "to fulfill their federal engagements," as well as several statements in defense of another proposed amendment allowing import duties to be levied by the Confederation government. Nevertheless, the picture that overwhelmingly emerges in this volume is that of a zealous guardian of the welfare of his native state—whether enlisting adequate support for the Virginia and Yorktown campaigns, defending the state against claims by merchants arising from the supply of the George Rogers Clark expedition, or, above all else, disputing the small-state delegates and the land speculators over the conditions of Virginia's western land cession. In one instance, in a letter to Jefferson of November 18, 1781, he reached the extreme point of recommending that in providing for its future security the state should "presume that the present Union will but little survive the present war." In his more typical moods, however, Madison was a faithful spokesman for his state who nonetheless conceived its interests very broadly and who sought to restrain any ill-considered action by its legislature, especially on the western question. Thus, he urged caution upon a more local-minded leader such as Edmund Pendleton and expressed confidence that Virginia could protect itself and operate effectively within the framework of the Confederation government.

On balance, then, Madison at this stage of his career was neither an unqualified nationalist nor an incipient states' righter. His position was not yet explicitly formulated, but, more than anything else, he was a federalist in the strict meaning of the word. He was in 1781 a man seeking to represent the interests of Virginia realistically and at the same time learning the necessities and advantages of an adequate central power.

If this description of Madison as an emergent federalist is an accurate reading of the positions he took on the issues before Congress in 1781, it makes his record less contradictory than might otherwise appear to be

the case. It provides, in a sense, a preview of Madison's later career and a hint, too, that there is not necessarily an inconsistency between the father of the Constitution and the opponent of the Hamiltonian program and the author of the Virginia Resolves.

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