

attempted to be accurate. He makes clear, however, that part of his information is approximate or even "conjectural" (see p. 437). His history is obviously written in part to make Mennonites and Amish more aware of as well as proud of their history and heritage.

Indiana University

Donald F. Carmony

The Negro in the American Revolution. By Benjamin Quarles. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1961. Pp. xiii, 231. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Professor Quarles, of Morgan State College, is one of those scholars in the field of Negro historiography who is doing much to strengthen its foundations against perhaps understandable tendencies toward self-serving formulations. The present writer, for example, has an interesting pamphlet by a Negro slave defending slavery, but no plans for discussing it in print. Who would wish to print it? Professor Quarles is alert to the need for objectivity and follows commendable historical criteria. He identifies no person as a Negro on circumstantial evidence; only those explicitly termed Negroes are so regarded. He does not seek materials necessarily displaying Negroes in admirable situations. He has no occasion to note Negroes in ignominious circumstances, possibly because their circumstances in the colonies *were* ignominious; but he freely records their activities as predators, to be sure, largely under command of white Loyalists or rebels.

Indeed, one of this work's major themes is that Negroes served as freely with revolutionists as with Loyalists. Their condition being what it was, their goal was less colonial victory than whatever would augment their chances for freedom. They named themselves *Liberty*, *Freedom*, and *Free*. But though Crispus Attucks was immortalized by the Boston Massacre, and Negroes served at Lexington and Concord, their subsequent revolutionary careers were more complex than they were during these two events.

Patriots early adopted a policy of excluding Negroes from military ranks, especially in the South, where their effect on slave morale was feared. Hence, Negroes responded to Virginia's Royalist governor, Lord Dunmore, who sought to regiment them against their masters. They served at Great Bridge, where Dunmore was defeated. Increasingly, revolutionary leaders faced the fact that they needed the help of Negroes. Many Negroes served in northern forces: an entire regiment at the Battle of Rhode Island, though this is the one such unit identified. Hundreds of Negroes from Santo Domingo participated in the unsuccessful siege of Savannah in 1779. Negroes were widely used as laborers, as servants, as spies, informers, and notably as seamen and pilots. An interesting tale is their use in connection with the system of substitutes for military service. A somewhat even less inspiring use was made of Negroes as a supplement to land bounties for enlisted men. Negroes themselves were, in the North, manumitted in exchange for military service, and the record of their cheerfulness and desire to prove their title to regard is consistent. They served in all similar

capacities with the British, especially in the South with its large Negro population. Professor Quarles holds firmly to the record, but permits himself a touch of irony in citing British General Alexander Leslie as thinking the Negroes might perform "a last service" in their often fatal sicknesses: "About 700 Negroes are come down the River in the Small Pox. I shall distribute them about the Rebell Plantations" (p. 142).

The negotiations respecting Negroes following Yorktown casts an odd light on the libertarian sentiments ordinarily associated with the event, though by and large Negroes gained by the Revolution. The dispersal of Negroes to Canada, East Florida, the Caribbean countries, and Africa makes an interesting cosmopolitan tale. Professor Quarles's thorough research and judicious handling of details adds much to previous accounts of the subject. A critical bibliography would have been appreciated.

Antioch College

Louis Filler

The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830. By Shaw Livermore, Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962. Pp. ix, 292. Bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788. By Jackson Turner Main. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1961. Pp. xv, 308. Appendices, historiographical and bibliographical essay, index. \$7.50.)

Both *The Twilight of Federalism* and *The Antifederalists* challenge widely held interpretations of key developments in the early national period of American history. As the authors of these studies construct the history of the period, the Antifederalists in the late 1780's and the Federalists in the 1820's were fighting rear guard actions in defense of what each conceived to be a benign political and social order. If Professor Main is correct in assessing the Antifederalist platform as essentially democratic, it was this dynamic element in the lost cause of 1788 that persisted through to victory over the champions of an ordered society, organic in conception—the Federalists as Professor Livermore portrays them. Strong arguments for the traditional aristocratic-democratic polarity of the period are presented.

Livermore begins with the question: What became of the Federalists after the War of 1812? Were they simply absorbed into the latter-day Jeffersonian party of the Bank, the navy, and protectionism? Were they simply cast into oblivion only to reform under the National Republican and Whig banners? Neither view is sustained. The Federalists, this study shows, continued to be a potent force in American politics from 1815 to 1830, their quest for power a primary cause of the breakup of the Republican party during Adams's administration and their support a major source of Jacksonian strength.

What may appear to be an orthodox political history is in reality a remarkably able synthesis of social and political history. Leaning heavily upon his construction of the Federalist *weltanschauung*—their