

COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763, ending the war between Great Britain, France, and Spain, which was known in North America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War. This treaty was responsible for the transfer of enormous amounts of territories. The British received Canada and Louisiana - in other words, all of the French held territory east of the Mississippi River from Canada all the way to the Gulf of Mexico, which included East and West Florida. As Francis Parkman, a noted nineteenth century American historian said: "half a continent changed hands at the scratch of a pen," and Colin Calloway used this phrase as the title of this concise book which was the winner of the Society of Colonial Wars Book Award in 2006.

Divided into seven chapters, plus an epilog, this book, which is part of the "Pivotal Moments in American History" series published by Oxford University Press, is not about diplomacy, war, or even land. It is about the year 1763, and the power politics of Europe at that time. As Calloway says, it is "less concerned with changing colors on the map...than with the effects of changing circumstances on the various people living there." This is a unique approach to the study of early America, because most historians writing on that period have focused their studies on the Anglo-American society and culture of the people that lived in a narrow strip of land along the East coast of North America. While Calloway also discusses this group, he goes further by including others who were also part of the story of the colonization of America. These groups included the Native Americans, Canadians, French, and Spanish, as well as those British colonists who lived in the back country and whose lives were very different than those living along the Atlantic coast. Calloway describes the many cultures that made up the British Empire of the 1700s with statements such as "slaves from West Africa labored in fields in West Florida wearing textiles from West Yorkshire."

Each chapter of this book deals with a different subject. Chapters 1 and 2 give an overview of life in America in 1763 and the contested land areas. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to Pontiac's War, the Settler's War, the Red Coat's War and the setting of the new boundaries, while Chapter 5 deals with the endurance of the French in North America. The last two chapters are both rather short and discuss the "Louisiana Transfer and Mississippi Frontier" as well as "Exiles and Expulsions."

Calloway writes that the Seven Years War actually lasted nine years in America, and it ended the fifty year struggle between France and Great Britain for control of Canada and the Ohio River Valley - the lands between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi

River. He also shows that the Treaty of Paris set in motion a series of unexpected consequences. Indians and Europeans, as well as settlers and frontiersmen, all had to struggle to adapt to the new boundaries, alignments, and relationships. Great Britain was now in possession of a vast empire in North America. Settlers were now free to move into the western territories, and the clashes with Native tribes became more frequent and violent as the Indians tried to defend what they believed was their territories as well as their cultures. In the Northwest Territory, Pontiac's War - which Calloway describes as the first World War - "brought racial conflict to its bitterest level so far." The year 1763 saw the migration of whole ethnic groups - sometimes from one end of the continent to the other, as the Acadians did when they left Canada, migrated to Louisiana, eventually becoming known as Cajuns.

Calloway tells his story with great narrative skill. Not only does he include the regular cast of characters such as George Washington, Thomas Gage, and Jeffrey Amherst, he also includes many other lesser known people such as William Johnson, the Irishman who was able to move from Indian camps to British forts. Also included are the great Ottawa chief, Pontiac; Alejandro O'Reilly, the Spanish governor of Louisiana who outlawed the taking of Indians to be slaves, and James Murray, the first British governor of Quebec, who was diligent in his fight for the rights of his French Catholic subjects.

While most Americans are aware of the significance of the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation, they are, for the most part, unaware of the significance of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, even though this treaty shaped our history just as decisively as those documents signed in 1776 or 1862. This small book by Colin Calloway explains why this is true and he provides a wealth of well-documented information in his book - a book that should be read by anyone who has an interest in the relationships between the French, the British, the Spanish, and the Native Americans prior to the American Revolution.

As stated earlier - this book is not a book about the French and Indian War, but rather about the consequences of that war and its effect on the people - of all nations - living in America in 1763. This reviewer believes that had Calloway increased the size of the book by adding one or more chapters, especially one that further explained how the various Native American groups were treated by the major powers, as well as some comparisons of the treatment of the other various groups, it would have given an even better view of what it was really like to live in North America in 1763 and given more depth to the effects of the war on the people living there.

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Notes

¹ Colin Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15.

² *Ibid.*, 16.

³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴Ibid., ix-x.

⁵Ibid., Inside Front Cover.

⁶Ibid., 24.

⁷Ibid., 27.

⁸Ibid., 119

WYMAN H. HERENDEEN. *William Camden: A Life in Context*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2007. Xiii+536 pp.

Wyman Herendeen's book on the famed English Renaissance intellectual William Camden (1551-1623) is described as an analytical biography. Indeed, the account goes far beyond a straightforward narrative of Camden's life. Represented as a minor yet important figure operating from the fringes of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, Camden is studied from birth to death through the various institutions and people with which he was involved, how they influenced him, and how he in turn influenced them, his own time and that which followed.

Herendeen, Professor and Chair of the Department of English at the University of Houston, Texas, divided the book into three phases, taking the reader through Camden's early years and schooling; his period as an educator, headmaster, writer, historian, and antiquary during Elizabeth I's reign; and his waning years as a herald in the Jacobean period. Relying on primary sources by contemporary figures such as John Stow, Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, and William Cecil, Camden's own works and prodigious correspondence, as well as recent scholarship, Herendeen examines each period in minute detail to understand what drove Camden's interests, career moves and attitudes. While the author has created an exhaustive study, his profiles of the figures and institutions with which Camden interacted are so extensive that the reader may forget who the book is actually about. Yet the upside of this scrutiny results in a thoroughly comprehensive understanding of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods from intellectual, religious, political and cultural points of view, as well as of London's atmosphere and the schools that played key roles in Camden's education, including St. Paul's, Westminster and Oxford.

Camden was indeed an intriguing figure of the English Renaissance. He took on many "careers," ranging from teacher, poet, and scholar to herald, historian, antiquary, the first biographer of Elizabeth I and author of several works, the most important being the *Britannia*. Herendeen makes the astute summation that Camden, in spite of never narrowing his focus onto any one of his many pursuits, was "greater than the sum" of all those pursuits put together. Yet in spite of his prolific correspondence and well known gift for lifelong friendships, Camden appears to have been intensely private. Herendeen writes almost nothing of the intellectual's family other than a few words about his parents. A wife—unnamed, yet who apparently nursed Camden through a prolonged illness—is noted only once. No children are mentioned at all.

Camden seemingly walked a very fine tightrope between the religious factions of the day, staying in line with Elizabethan Protestantism while remaining neutral on Catholic and Puritan issues. He also is thought to have trod softly around political matters, giving the appearance of aloofness when in truth political volatility had to have encircled him. Herendeen interweaves these two aspects with the intellectual and cultural elements very well. One thread that he missed, however, was how antiquarianism, probably one of Camden's most satisfying interests, stemmed from the growing sense of nationalism that England was experiencing at the time, a cultural element that grew out of the aftermath of the Hundred Years' War that ended in 1453. John Leland, a predecessor in English antiquarianism whose interest in Britain's past was certainly sparked by this sense, had deeply influenced Camden's own interest. Here, Herendeen's study neglects the importance of the late medieval period's lingering influence on the English Renaissance.

Further, Herendeen paints a glowing view of Camden, finding deep admiration and virtually no faults. Indeed, portraits of the man show eyes full of kindness, and true, only one critic exists in the sources, that of the ranting, jealous Ralph Brooke who despised Camden. Brooke felt that Camden's elevation to Clarenceaux King of Arms (officer of arms at the College of Arms in London) was out of line and undeserved. However, numerous other sources portray a rush of friends and colleagues who defended Camden against anything Brooke said or wrote. When an account such as this biography appears so one-sided, questions arise as to the author's potential bias. To be fair, though Herendeen may have ignored Camden's faults, he may also have lacked any sources to explore them. Perhaps Camden was as successful in hiding faults as he was in treading the tightwires between factions and in protecting his private life.

Overall, Herendeen achieves his goal of placing Camden within the context of his lifetime. However, several issues mar this book besides those already cited. If the volume were ever revised, a good hard edit would be a foremost task. Elimination of a tremendous amount of redundancy could reduce the text by at least a third and produce a much clearer study. Proper copyediting would eliminate myriad punctuation errors and missing and misspelled words. In the section about Roger Brooke's animosity towards Camden, the author over-used quotes from Brooke's works, each time stating what Brooke said, then quoting directly, going on page after page. Further, numerous quotes in Latin were not translated or presented within the context so that a non-speaker of Latin can understand the gist of the author's statements. No bibliography was provided, a serious omission for a scholarly monograph. Instead, notes with some references were placed at the end of each section. The most glaring mistake, however, was the author's anachronism of referring to Mary, Queen of Scots as the sister of Elizabeth I instead of her cousin.

While perhaps Camden's need for privacy created an absence of

details for Herendeen to employ, and though a wealth of knowledge about sixteenth century England is imparted in this volume, unfortunately, the reader comes away with the sense that too much attention has been paid to the peripheral information at the expense of focusing on Camden himself.

KATHLEEN GULER

JENNIFER D. KEENE. *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

American academic military history has undergone a significant metamorphosis since the mid-twentieth century. It has become an increasingly complex and multi-faceted field, although in the eyes of the reading public it remains one that is often confused with popular military history, a form written for general audiences and lacking academic rigor. In a recent discussion of the field launched by "Mind and Matter - Cultural Analysis in American Military History: A Look at the State of the Field," military historian Wayne E. Lee distinguishes between the traditional academic military history approach that studies the "nature of weapons and activities of armies within political, economic and technological contexts," and the newer form of military history, "war and society" studies that focus on the social and cultural impacts of war by analyzing the effect of the war experience on those who served in the military and upon society in general in the midst and aftermath of war.¹ Military historian Edward Hagerman's *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command* is an excellent example of the traditional military history "material and operational" approach. Conversely, Jennifer D. Keene's *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* exemplifies the "new military history" with a ground-breaking study of America's Great War "doughboys," the men who formed the largely conscripted, mass army that the United States sent to win the "war to end all wars."² In her masterful work, Keene develops the thesis that the Great War experience not only shaped the doughboys into a highly politicized generation, but that it did so in ways which eventually led to the creation of the GI Bill, the "most sweeping piece of social welfare legislation in American history."³

In a manner strikingly similar to Fred Anderson's award-winning *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* and Kyle Zelner's *Rabble in Arms: Massachusetts Towns and Militiamen During King Philip's War*, Keene sets out to research the social character of men-in-arms, the society from which the men were drawn, who they were, why they served, and the effects of their service on their future lives. She begins her study by examining how the citizen-soldiers of 1917 came to find themselves bearing arms. Like their predecessors from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the first of colonial America's great wars, King Philip's War (1675-1678),

most of the men who served in the First World War were conscripted. Also, many of the decisions about who went to war were made at the local level.⁴ Keene, however, benefited from the sheer enormity of archival material available to her. Compared to King Philip's War, the Great War was relatively recent and the materials available for researchers include documents such as the draft registration records of 24 million men in addition to volumes of correspondence, surveys, letters and diaries, military records, and reports from both American and foreign newspaper correspondents. Keene's extensive back-matter, comprised of endnotes and a review of primary and secondary source material, provides insight into the depth of her research and the vast amount and diversity of the materials used in her work.⁵

Keene comprehensively builds her case that the Great War experience of America's doughboys had a significant and lasting impact on the men and upon American society. In its struggle to raise and field a mass army, where over 70 percent of the men served involuntarily rather than by volunteering, the U.S. Army found itself faced with unique and unexpected tests. The Army's challenge began with its need to absorb, train and discipline men from an increasingly diverse nation; regional and racial conflicts came to the Army together with its new conscripts. The Army faced the need to accommodate language and literacy barriers; "approximately 100,000 of the half-million foreign-born troops serving in the military could not speak English" and illiteracy rates ranged from 14.2 percent for the men from Minnesota to 49.5 percent for those of South Carolina.⁶ Overall, black troops suffered the highest from educational neglect with an overall illiteracy rate exceeding 50 percent.⁷ The Army encountered additional challenges brought on by the need to support front-line combatants across the Atlantic. For the first time, the majority of the men in service played support and technical roles rather than serving as combat soldiers. The Army had little time to train combat troops. Those serving in support roles received minimal if any training before assuming their duties.⁸

Keene establishes that the conscripted soldiers viewed a social contract existing between themselves and the nation they served, a contract that implicitly set boundaries upon the severity of Army discipline and that included impacts to the federal government. In the eyes of the doughboys, they fulfilled their duties. They believed that the federal government assumed a reciprocal responsibility to provide them with adjusted compensation to reimburse for the "diminished social and economic prospects" the veterans faced upon re-entry into American society.⁹ The "social contract" theme flows throughout *Doughboys* and finds its culmination in Keene's analysis of the veterans' Bonus March during the height of the Great Depression, when Great War veterans found themselves suffering from a substantially higher unemployment rate than the country in general. The unemployment rate among veterans was almost 50 percent

higher than that of non-veteran peers in their age-group.¹⁰ Keene persuasively argues that the Great War veterans played a critical role in enacting the GI Bill, providing a legacy to their veteran sons and daughters that would significantly improve the quality of their lives following time in service to their country. The GI Bill paved the way for WWII veterans to “enter the middle class” by providing “education, home ownership, and medical benefits at the right historical moment in the life of both individuals and the nation.”¹¹

If a flaw can be found in Keene’s work, it is the lack of an introduction to the Great War itself, a war which resulted from rivalries among Europe’s great nations and that “constitutes the seminal event of the twentieth century, since it paved the way for so many of the century’s later events: the Russian Revolution, the Second World War, the Holocaust, decolonization, and the Cold War.”¹² Within the larger perspective of the Great War’s impact on subsequent peoples and generations over the globe, Keene’s focus is narrowly Americanized and could benefit from an additional chapter that places the war within its overall context. That said, Keene’s *Doughboys* is an impressive work and one that displays the social history genre of the “new military history” at its finest.

ANNE MIDGLEY

Notes

¹Wayne E. Lee, “Mind and Matter--Cultural Analysis in American Military History: A Look at the State of the Field,” *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (March 2007): 1116-1142, Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost <http://ezproxy.apus.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=24562558&site=ehost-live>, (accessed February 2, 2013).

²Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 1.

³*Ibid.*, x.

⁴Keene, *Doughboys*, 10-11, 18-25; Kyle Zelner, *A Rabble in Arms: Massachusetts Towns and Militiamen during King Philip’s War* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 7-8.

⁵Keene, *Doughboys*, 11, 215-285.

⁶*Ibid.*, 20, 28.

⁷*Ibid.*, 28.

⁸*Ibid.*, 39.

⁹*Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 181.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 212.

¹²Samuel R. Williamson Jr. and Russel Van Wyk, *July 1914: Soldiers, Statesmen, and the Coming of the Great War, a Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2003), 1.

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PAULINE MAIER. *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010. Xvi + 590 pp.

Shortly following the writing of this book review, historian Pauline Maier passed away from a short illness on August 12, 2013 at the age of 75. *Ratification*, the 2011 George Washington Book Prize winner was her final book in her distinguished career as a historian and educator. With the current political rhetoric continually referring to the creation of the United States and the government under the Constitution, attention needs to be paid to the ratification process. Since Constitutional originalists insist on purity in their concept of what the Constitution means, it is only right to study how the Constitution was created. To that end, the ratification process is just as important to that issue as the Constitutional Convention itself. The Convention was only one phase of the process of changing the government of the United States. Getting the Constitution ratified was the second part and as the documents of the past show us, far more difficult than the creation was.

Pauline Maier, the William Rand Kenan, Jr. Professor of American History at MIT has written what is the most exhaustive examination of the ratification process to date. Utilizing records from the conventions and state legislatures, private letters from delegates, and newspaper accounts, she has reconstructed what took place at the conventions and more importantly, why events occurred as they did. The result is a very detail oriented book that explores what the men who attended the conventions were thinking as well as the factions in the states that were for and against ratification. She makes it perfectly clear that ratification was not a slam dunk affair, but instead a very iffy proposition that came very close to failing.

We know today that eleven of the thirteen states ratified the Constitution and commenced operating under it in March of 1789. What most people do not know is that this almost did not occur. Quite possibly a very different national history could have transpired, potentially one that created multiple nations instead of the America we know today. The Constitutional Convention was not employed to create a totally new government, and Congress could easily have decided not to send the proposed Constitution to the states for their legislatures to decide upon calling for a ratification convention or not. However, Congress did decide to send it on as they deemed it was legal to do so under the Articles of Confederation. Had they thought it was not legal, they certainly would not have done so.

Once the states received the Constitution with its proposed national government, the legislatures had to decide whether they should call for a ratification convention or not. One state, Rhode Island, decided not to do so and its legislature voted against ratification. The rest of the states did call for conventions and set forth

voting parameters and delegate qualifications. Maier covers this as the process was important and resulted in delegates being elected on the basis of being for or against ratification while in some states a great many were elected because they had not made up their minds and wanted to do so at the convention based on what they learned. Maier also reminds us repeatedly that this was the late 18th century where communications were only as fast as a horse could carry a rider. She also points out how unusual it is to modern readers that delegates in that era were elected to make up their minds later when they went through the information instead of staking out a position one way or the other in many cases. The contrast between that idea and today's election process stands out.

Maier covers each convention in the order they happened. While some conventions were smaller and a large majority predisposed for ratification, important questions were asked. Maier points out the basic arguments which were brought up in each convention as well as the defenses which countered them. She also addresses where deviations from the discussion took place and why. She does not invent an interpretation, but rather relies on solid work with primary source documents to construct her interpretation of the process. While some states had sparse records of their conventions for political reasons, Maier dug up additional sources which show there was a solid core of opposition in most states. She delves into the background of the prominent delegates who took part in the process, but she also brings many of the minor delegates to the forefront, men who could be considered as minor Founders. These delegates played a role albeit secondary to the main figures, but still important as in a few states the voting came down to several men who either switched their votes from their original positions or made up their minds on the last day.

Maier's book contends that while the Federalist Papers were written during this period, their impact on the various conventions was slight. She refers to it in explaining what James Madison, John Jay, or Alexander Hamilton thought of the Constitution, but does not use it as a means of explaining what everyone thought. In fact, she goes to great lengths to show that there were many different opinions on both sides of the argument and that even the men who signed the Constitution at the Convention had differing opinions on most of the articles in it. This is important because the concept of originalism is dependent upon the idea that the Founders were in agreement on what they were doing. The complete opposite is true. Often they agreed that something needed to be done in a certain way, but they disagreed on why it should be done.

All in all, this is an outstanding book for any student of the Constitution to read. Readers will finish it with the realization that ratification almost failed. They will also emerge knowing that unlike today's politicians who continually fight and work to impede the progress of legislation that has already been made law, the men of the ratification conventions worked to create a national government

regardless of how they voted at the conventions. They worked together once the votes were finished in order to create a more perfect union. They disagreed on many issues, but once the voting ended they abided by the results and worked to make things better. Maier shows this result as well as how each person's individual beliefs and personalities influenced each other. Many historians of this period remark on this as well.

This book is highly recommended for students of this era as it is quite informative in explaining how the Constitution became the frame for the new national government and why certain events occurred as they did. Quite often the personalities of the people played important roles in those events. The example of James Madison barely being elected to the first House of Representatives is a good example of how personalities clashed over ratification. Also, the fact that George Washington favored ratification and the fact that practically every delegate assumed that Washington would serve as the nation's first president is brought up in several chapters. In the end, that could have been one of the factors that changed a few delegate's minds about ratifying the Constitution. As stated earlier, Maier's depiction of the events brings them to life and makes the participants human. That in turn makes this book a great read and a worthwhile addition to any history scholar's library.

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