

experiences to be usable to the historian *as it stands*, without sorting or evaluation. Such an analytic process does not appear in the volume.

What the reader really needs to make sense of these accounts is a context or contexts, a setting in which to understand the experiences of different types of travellers. What, for example, was the nature of the international marriage market, and why might an aristocrat decide to put him or herself onto this market, rather than sell domestically? No clue is given. What motives led mercantile heirs to go abroad and how did systems of international finance and trade utilize British tourism? Again, no response. Who were Britain's ambassadors and envoys abroad, and what, in addition to dispensing hospitality and keeping a watchful eye on visiting Britons, was their function? How were they chosen and what criteria used in their assignment? We are never told. What, if any, were the effects of romantic novels with European settings like Mrs. Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*, or *The Mysteries of Udolpho* on the tourist trade? Did lady tourists flock to crumbling Italian castles or were they content to stay in their warm drawing rooms vicariously enjoying the thrills and dangers of foreign travel? Finally did such travel have any significant effect on English life, on manners, architecture or taste? We are left wondering.

This is a marvelous topic and its history still remains to be written.

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ROBERT BOTHWELL — *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company, 1926-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pp. XIII, 470.

DUNCAN MCDOWALL — *Steel at the Sault: Francis H. Clerque, Sir James Dunn, and the Algoma Steel Corporation, 1901-1956*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pp. x, 326.

Tom Traves concluded his introduction to a recent collection of essays on Canadian business history with the hope "that the birth of a clearly defined new field will soon be a fact rather than a wish." One obvious and traditional centre point for such a field is the company history. Canadian historiography is sprinkled with company biographies. Most often, however, they have been written by journalists who have emphasized colourful details, dominant personalities and humorous anecdotes at the expense of a systematic analytical perspective. Quite often, too, such histories have been of the commissioned variety designed to pay tribute to past and passing captains of industry. While the two company histories under review here fit neatly into neither of the above categories, they still fall short of providing the essential centre point for "the birth of a clearly defined new field."

This in no way means that both studies are other than superior examples of a particular approach to Canadian business history. Other reviewers of these books have amply testified to that fact. In this review, however, what is primarily at issue is the question whether or not the approaches Bothwell and McDowall employ are sufficient for defining a new sub-discipline.

How could company history become a centre point for such a discipline? A brief look at the evolution of this genre in American historiography is instructive. In the United States, in the 1930s, company history seemed the best way to explore America's business past. The Hidys, Allan Nevins and others wrote multi-volume company histories in the belief that as individual units such studies had value and that taken together they could provide the basis for over-arching syntheses. For a number of reasons, however, no one could fashion a completed mosaic from these discrete efforts. The books possessed no common conceptual frame, other than that perhaps of a whiggish hagiography. The knees of even the most energetic reader buckled under the mass of anecdotal detail embedded in them.

While they contained much data and even, at times, provided a focused story, they failed to present, as the late Fritz Redlich pointed out, much analysis. For Redlich analysis in business history meant reaching "generalizations of restricted validity." And to do that, he advised, "one conceptualizes and builds a model."

Alfred D. Chandler Jr. took Redlich at his word and moved company history to a new plane. In his two most important works *Strategy and Structure* and *The Visible Hand*, Chandler adopted some insights from Max Weber and Talcott Parsons concerning the role of organizations in the modern world and applied them to a study of the rise of the modern firm in capitalist society. While his unit of analysis remained that of the individual company, he did not deal with that company in isolation. For him, analysis necessitated a comparative approach. Within this comparative frame Chandler focused on the process of policy making, the nature of structural change within the firm and the function that firms came to exercise within the modern capitalist world. By so doing, he has argued (and some have agreed) that business history has moved to the centre of modern American historiography.

The company histories under review here reflect a different historiographical tradition. Interaction between personality and the state provide the structural coherence for Bothwell's and McDowall's richly detailed narratives. These authors bring together two strong schools in Canadian historiography — biography and political economy. Thus for McDowall the fortunes of the Algoma Steel Corporation revolve around, in chronological order, the promotional skills and weaknesses of Francis Clerque, the managerial lassitude of a shadowy group of Philadelphia investors and the energetic management of the financier turned industrialist, Sir James Dunn. The portraits provided for all but the Philadelphians are finely crafted, nuanced and critical. Nor are the prime movers in Algoma's fortunes dealt with in isolation. At each crucial stage the state, be it municipal, provincial, federal or a combination, is seen in the role of "intellectual entrepreneur", the provider of "information, ideas and opportunities" as well as money (p. 25). As McDowall reiterates throughout his book, given the headstart of American steel producers, state support via tariffs and subsidies was a *sine qua non* for Algoma's successful development.

The structure of Bothwell's "story" (p. 433) is similar to that of McDowall's "tale" (p. 7). The LaBine brothers dominate Eldorado's early years. The narrative is spiced by allusions to corrupt dealings on the part of one Boris Pregel, a promoter/salesman essential to Eldorado's initial marketing success. In Eldorado's case the state (personified by C.D. Howe) becomes owner and revives the ailing company with capital and managerial (Bill Bennett) infusions during World War Two thus facilitating its growth in the 1950s as the main feeder of uranium for the American nuclear armament complex. The company becomes the official marketing agent for all Canadian uranium producers and virtually its sole market is that of the United States government throughout this period.

This focus on individuals and the state as central units of analysis allows both authors to end their studies with the companies themselves left in midstream. Bothwell's ending in 1960 is consistent with managerial changeover but leaves unsettled just how Eldorado as a company will react to the seeming closure of the American market and leaves unsettled the unravelling of state control. The company itself is posed on the brink of dramatic structural change but because the state (especially with C.D. Howe out of power in 1957) and the managerial elite (the more important of whom retired in and around 1960) are the main units of analysis, the company's future is left to the reader's imagination.

McDowall, in a succinct summary of the steel business in the twenty years following Dunn's death in 1956, compensates somewhat for ending his discussion on the death of an individual rather than a company. But even he, in terms of the company's history, leaves detailed discussion at a time of profound internal transition and external change. Partly as a result we are not sure whether the crumbling edifice at Algoma today is the result of exterior competition or internal managerial problems.

Underlying Bothwell's and McDowall's approach to company history is a tendency to focus on externalities. Chandler's institutional focus is virtually absent from Bothwell's narrative and is

not a major theme in McDowall's account. The administrative organization, the internal structuring of Eldorado and Algoma while mentioned are dealt with in passing. No single chapter in either book focuses on the development of an integrated managerial system and as a result the impact of such systems on the companies fortunes are missed. The contrast between their Table of Contents and that of Chandler's *The Visible Hand*, is striking in this regard.

Also absent is any explicit attempt to situate their particular companies in a systematic comparative context and, in the sense mentioned by Redlich, to generalize therefrom. Not that either author ignores the issue of competition within their respective economic sectors. Bothwell, for example, clearly shows how Eldorado dominated the uranium mining area in the period under review. McDowall nicely demonstrates the divisive perspectives of the various iron and steel companies in Canada and shows how this made it difficult for any government to take action which would satisfy that industrial sector.

But once again this reflects an externalist perspective. The tendency is to overlook the company as an institution and to focus on the drama of personality, state and intercompany rivalry. In McDowall's case this leads him to assert that Algoma's history is unique in the sense that it sidestepped the rise of "managerial capitalism" and instead reflected the old way of doing business under the managerial control of the company's owner. But he provides no support for this claim. Were other Canadian iron and steel companies managed differently? Indeed in the Canadian, if not the American context (see the admittedly contentious work by Philip Burch Jr. on this) it is quite possible that family capitalism has been the dominant mode even in the twentieth century. This question is certainly an important one. The point is, however, that McDowall's approach precludes an authoritative answer.

With *Eldorado*, a comparative perspective is more problematic. Given the nature of government control, a comparison with other uranium or, indeed mining companies in general, might be of limited utility. The proper unit of analysis would seem to be that of the crown corporation. Bothwell, I suspect, would be quick to claim that in this context Eldorado was not at all representative. That may be correct, but it should be noted that such a conclusion follows logically from a research design which lacks an explicitly comparative intent. In this sense, the business historian is without a suitable context within which to put the intimate detail Bothwell provides.

In fact in Bothwell's case one wonders if at times the detail does not somewhat overwhelm the narrative. Too often in the early chapters of the book the reader seems to be presented with one thing after another. On p. 48, for example, the reader is told "We shall now turn to what publicity did, and did not, do." No rationale is given for what is in fact a rather abrupt change in emphasis and in any case the next several pages have little to do with publicity and more to do with working conditions at Great Bear. More such examples could be given (see p. 224) but the point is that a clearer analytical structure might have led to a more tightly presented argument (from this point of view Chapters 8 and 9 are perhaps the most effective sections of the book).

The above comments suggest that Canadian business historians should look to something more than biography and political economy as cornerstones for "a clearly defined new field." This is not to argue that these traditions can or should be ignored; rather they should be supplemented by an increased awareness of and concentration on the company as institution. In this case acquaintance with the work of Chandler and Oliver E. Williamson is certainly appropriate, but not sufficient.

Common to the American and Canadian approaches to company history is the relegation of workers to a secondary or, especially in the American case, even lower level of significance. McDowall is conscious of this and explains that "this is not a history of Algoma Steel from the labour perspective." (p. 6) Workers generally crowd the edges of Bothwell's detailed tapestry. We hear of them coming and going (turn-over rates seem enormous, although once again we lack comparison and thus a context for informed judgement) but we see little of them in the flesh. Safety and health problems are given little space. Unions warrant only brief mention. Workers are in but not of the company. Like McDowall's Algoma, Bothwell's *Eldorado* is not a history from the labour perspective.

While typical of general company history, this omission is nonetheless unfortunate. It is this very lacuna, the factoring out of labour from traditional company history, that gives the lie to Chandler's claim that American business history lies at the centre of American historiography. And it is this very gap that provides the opportunity for Canada's business historians to define clearly a new field. By including labour as a major variable in company history a more holistic and intellectually satisfying analysis must ensue.

McDowall's study of Algoma is a case in point. For McDowall the key actors are the dominant corporate executives. Yet Craig Heron's and Robert Storey's fine analysis of Canadian steel workers in *On the Job* provides a richer context for an understanding of the activities of McDowall's industrial captains. In fact there seems to be a symbiotic relationship between Algoma's workers and the activities of Algoma's leaders. The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a labour force characterized by mixed ethnicity and high turnover. Against this background of labour instability Algoma's leaders could and did operate with virtual impunity. Not until, as Heron's and Storey's close analysis of the work process allows them to demonstrate, a small but determined group of semi-skilled workers in the rolling mills emerged (in part due to technology and in part due to management requirements) did labour begin to seek and establish industrial unionism. "The victory," Heron and Storey write, "of the United Steel Workers of America by 1946 brought a significant shift in the administration of the steel making labour process — from autocracy to bureaucracy." Given McDowall's perspective (a focus on externalities and corporate leaders) this important insight is unavailable to him and thus it is not surprising that he sees such a shift at Algoma occurring only after and thanks to Dunn's death in 1956.

If company history is to become the cornerstone for "a clearly defined new field" then Canadian historians should attempt to marry their current emphasis on corporate leaders and the state with a more vigorous investigation of the internal operation of the companies under study. Whenever possible comparison should be made with developments in other business units within the same economic sector. If the notion of company as institution is moved more to centre stage, then that same notion must be enlarged to encompass the experience and impact of labour as well as management. As others have noted, some of the best company history being written in Canada today is from the labour perspective. If, by including labour as a major variable, Canada's business historians learn to dance the dialectic then that would at least set them apart from business historians of most other capitalist nations.

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ANDREW CHARLESWORTH, ed. — *An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain: 1548-1900*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983. Pp. 197.

*An Atlas of Protest in Britain: 1548-1900* is a collection of essays and maps, prepared by Andrew Charlesworth and fifteen collaborators, presenting a geographical interpretation of agrarian and industrial protest in the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth century. Charlesworth states that the general aim of the work is to provide a comprehensive geographical analysis of British rural protest, following the example set by George Rudé in *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England 1730-1848* (1964).

These essays and the maps are grouped according to eight issues the authors designate as the most important causes of protest during this time. These are land, food, labour conditions, the poor law, tithes, turnpikes, militia recruitment and localism. Over the issues of land, the authors present