

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

a very complex history of protest varying in locality and cause over several centuries. The first half of the sixteenth century saw most land protest occurring in lowland England and directed against a reassertion of seigneurial rights, especially against rent increases. During the second half of that century, however, protests dropped off, mostly because the yeomanry by then could withstand rent increases. The new wave of land protests, which closed the sixteenth and opened the seventeenth century, had a different cause from the protests of the early sixteenth century. They were directed, not against seigneurial assertiveness, but against the development of agrarian capitalism, that is, against attempts by landlords to increase the efficiency of their own arable and pastoral farming through increases in copyhold entry fines, evictions, enclosure of common fields and wasteland, deforestation and fen drainage. The first period of this sort of land protest, lasting from the 1590s to the mid-seventeenth century, saw most riots occurring in lowland England. But, in the period from 1650 to 1860, the protests shifted to the periphery of Britain, to the uplands of Wales, Scotland and the Border regions. The geographical shift in protest occurred because of a geographical shift in the cause of protest. In lowland Britain, agrarian capitalism had won the day by the 1650s, at least to the extent that no concerted protests could be mounted against it, but in upland Britain, it was only beginning to transform the countryside at mid-century.

In regard to the issue of food, the authors found that, in contrast to France, where food rioters were mostly peasants, English food protests, over the period from 1585 to 1847, were carried out by artisans and industrial and semi-industrial workers. The reason was that, in the regions where food rioting occurred, there simply were not enough small peasants left to protest. The main precondition of this sort of disturbance was the development of a predominantly industrial or pastoral local economy and the main precipitants were bad local harvests and attempts by commercial grain factors to export produce out of the region. The worst period for the food rioting in Britain was the eighteenth century owing both to the rapid growth of industry and agrarian capitalism and to the incompetence and insensitivity of a succession of aristocratic ministries.

Turnpike riots, at their worst in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were sparked simply by the establishment of tolls which cut deep into any profits farmers could make on their arable surplus. Genuine agrarian labour protests did not occur in Britain until about 1790, because until then Britain had no large agrarian labour population. In the early period of labour disturbances, from 1790 to about mid-nineteenth century, laborers protested mainly against tithes, mechanization, and low wages. From the 1870s, however, they began to imitate their urban brethren by organizing themselves into agricultural trade unions. An interesting point about labour protests is that often they could occur over several issues at the same time, for example, the Rebecca Riots in Wales in 1839 to 1844, which protested tithes, rates to support the Church of England, and turnpike extensions. Localism expressed itself in violent collective action occasionally, such as in the Club man Riots of the 1640s, which were protests against the predations of both Royalist and Parliamentary armies, and the militia riots of the 1700s, which often included savage attacks on local gentry.

An important problem with this book is that the great majority of the 62 maps which accompany the essays do not promote very well the reader's understanding of the geography of the rural protest. Most are of the whole of Britain, with individual protest locations indicated by small dots or the like, placed either within the context of Joan Thirsk's basic farming regions or within a totally blank outline. This technique does nothing to assist the thesis in the accompanying text, but only to illustrate it in the most general terms. For example, many authors argue convincingly that the reason one region experienced protests while another did not, when both were coping with similar economic pressures, is that the economy set up in the former allowed or necessitated protest while the economy in the latter disallowed or offered alternatives to protest. There is no map in this book that attempts to illustrate or assist this thesis. Moreover, all of the protests mentioned in this book are identified by country. Since most of the maps are either of Thirsk's farming regions or are blank, the reader must consult yet another atlas to locate most of the protests while reading the text.

On the positive side, there are a few very good maps, all of local regions, which assist their accompanying essays. One example of this type is Map 4 of section 2.8 (p. 34) illustrating how, in

the great Midland Revolt of 1607, rioters converged on one village from outlying villages. This map is a clear representation of how a riot was organized and it makes an interpretative statement about both the local orientation and the deliberative nature of enclosure protest in the early seventeenth century. Most of the essays are very good also, especially Charlesworth's own resolution of the Tawney-Kerridge debate over agrarian capitalism in the sixteenth century and John W. Leopold's essay on the 1724 Leveller's Revolt in Galloway, Scotland. As a collection of short concise treatment of the history of rural protest, this book is a useful introduction to the subject. As an atlas of the rural protest, however, it falls short of what it might have been.

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EMILIA CHICOINE, C.N.D. — *La métairie de Marguerite Bourgeoys à la Pointe-Saint-Charles*. Montréal : Fides, 1986. Pp. 359.

In days gone by, when nuns were still enveloped from head to toe in the mystery of their religious dress, smaller students were sometimes plagued by serious doubts as to whether they really had legs and feet at all. The same doubt seems to have afflicted most historians of religious orders, or so their work suggests. So absorbed have they been with the spirituality of their subjects that they have left no room for the mundane business of living, the serious preoccupations involved in keeping food on the table, clean linen in the cupboard, and the creditors at bay.

It is refreshing, therefore, to be allowed access to the everyday operations of a religious community of the past. The study in question is of a farm belonging to the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, a foot of the congregation, so to speak, planted sturdily in the soil of the island of Montreal. The farm grew out of a concession originally made to Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1662, of 30 arpents of uncleared land. She and her successors managed it and added to it until by 1781 it covered, according to a formal report, "212 arpents en superficie, le tout en désert, avec maison, grange et étable en pierre" (p. 99). Through two centuries it weathered the comings and goings of Indians friendly and unfriendly, of French and British battalions, of an American invasion force, only to fall prey in the end to a more formidable force: the irresistible expansion of the city of Montreal. Today only the farmhouse remains, a fine example of early Quebec architecture, restored to serve as a witness to the Congregation's past.

The author, Sister Emilia Chicoine, has reconstructed that past, or at least, the small part of it relating to the farm at Pointe-Saint-Charles. Unfortunately, the Congregation's archives have suffered in a series of disastrous fires. Therefore for the early years she has at her disposal — in addition to the building itself — only a limited documentation: census figures, notarial records, account books dealing directly with the farm and the *engagés* who worked it, and the occasional references found in other records. She has contrived to fill the gaps, however, by drawing from other sources of information on Montreal under the French regime. The result is an informed speculation on how the community lived: baking, sewing, doing the laundry, herding the cattle, bringing in the crops, celebrating the holidays of the year. Her method makes sense, since the life of the early congregation was enmeshed in the life of Montreal.

Readers will be especially interested in Sister Chicoine's chapter on the *filles du roi*. She maintains that many of these young women started their life in Canada at Pointe-Saint-Charles. As she herself admits (p. 51), there is no conclusive evidence to prove this; only a reasonable assumption, based on Marguerite Bourgeoys' well-recorded activity on their behalf, a sensible hypothesis that in a frontier town of small, cramped houses, the space available at the farm would not be allowed to go to waste, and, finally, the authority of a long-standing tradition within the Congregation. This