

The lack of intent to provide an overarching appraisal about the nature of regional diplomacy is evident in the short conclusion, with only 4.5 pages, 1.5 of which are concerned with areas for further research. This is very much a book about the Arctic Council, and only the Arctic Council. There is room for that in the literature. But like so many working group reports, the audience for that is quite niche.

REFERENCE

Badie, B. 2012. *Diplomacy of connivance*. New York: Springer.

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MASTERS AND SERVANTS: THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND ITS NORTH AMERICAN WORKFORCE, 1668–1786. By SCOTT P. STEPHEN. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2019. ISBN 978-1-77212-337-1. 448 p., maps, b&w illus., bib., index, notes. Softbound. Cdn\$44.99. Also available as an ebook and pdf.

Scott P. Stephen makes an important contribution to labour history in *Masters and Servants: The Hudson's Bay Company and its North American Workforce, 1668–1786*. Drawing from the company's labour contracts, correspondence, post journals, and other documents, Stephen offers key insights into how the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) mobilized its labour force during its early history in an isolated setting of the British Atlantic world.

In James and Hudson Bay forts and at the first of the company's nearby inland posts, the model of the early modern family household shaped the behaviours, expectations, and responsibilities of company masters and servants. The company's ranks were very familiar with the "household" fundamental to English society at the time and constituting "the primary organizational model for most early modern domestic and economic life" (p. 9). In England, work was often "integrated into small households that were both units of family and units of production;" indeed, a "'family' typically included apprentices and servants as well as kin, and the head of the household was a father figure as well as their employer" (p. 9). Within the company's post households, employees pursued both their own self-interests while serving the whole, and men and masters could operate within norms familiar to them. At small HBC outposts, they knew of comparable units at home where even small households were usually composed of a few servants. At larger factories, company masters (factors) could manage "households comparable in size (up to 40 or 50 servants) to those of the English aristocracy" (p. 16). In such circumstances, an individual's worth as a

good HBC employee could be "defined and described in terms drawn from the contemporary ideals of master-servant relationships in British households," where sobriety, hard work, diligence, honesty, and a willingness to do numerous tasks rather than simply specialized ones, "were valued characteristics for men in all ranks of the corporate hierarchy" (p. 274).

The household model came to dominate HBC service after its business grew in North America. With its chartering in 1670, the company experimented in trading by shipside and temporary coastal shelters. However, the building of a permanent post on Bayly's Island (Albany Fort) in 1679 began a period of expansion in the 1680s, raising challenges for the company to find sources of labour and recruit reliable men. Moreover, periodic food shortages, isolation, and French opposition, soon felt in the upland areas of the Canadian shield and in spates of French aggression, warfare, and post seizures, required a social organization to keep men in place and limited the degrees to which the company could demand extraordinary service of them. By 1686, the company had 89 men at five establishments, but it continually raised or lowered their numbers according to its needs and circumstances. Even so, until the 1780s, its labour force did not exceed 200 employees. The household as a model, then, proved an effective means for the company to contain, control, discipline, and reward servants and factors. Factors organized their households independently of other posts, and household dynamics circumscribed the ways the company's London committee rewarded or sanctioned its factors at Hudson and James Bay, and they their own men.

Given that corporate HR management in the HBC was never codified, Stephen relies on meticulous research to piece together the values, procedures, and customs of work in bayside posts. He reconstructs workforce management in the careers, some short, some long, of individuals in contractual service. Their personal circumstances in such difficult work settings make compelling reading. Stephen makes sense of their various fates within the company by drawing on public and hidden transcripts to expose the normative values ascribed to work and the ways servants independently pursued their own profits and lives as employees. The attention to the public transcript is particularly useful in Stephen's analysis of correspondence exchanged between masters and London committee members. Within their "rhetorical tapestry," Stephen confirms household dynamics in an individual's job and career strategies (p. 205). This communication as ritual (rather than communication simply to transmit information) was one of the ways men renewed contracts, by drawing on the relationships they cultivated, and above all, demonstrating deference to their superiors and expressing signs of love and evidence of friendship within their networks. By building up one's credit and reputation through good behaviour, an individual could rely on the generosity, patience, and reward of patrons and benefactors within the company. Stephen perceives,

in work contracts, transactional promises to perform certain tasks, but beyond them unwritten expectations that an individual could coexist productively within a larger social organization. Within this world, a servant's treatment and promotion depended less on specialist skills as his socialization, willingness to work where and when needed, and his alignment of personal interests with those of the company's. Promises of advancement granted men "vertical consciousness that connected masters and men even as they were separated horizontally by consciousness of relative status and rank" (p. 275). Concurrently, men might work at odds with the social and economic values of the public transcript.

Stephen makes comprehensible the HBC's corporate labour force. As household managers, the company's factors (as patriarchs) could dismiss, harshly discipline or find reconciliation with errant servant family members. Factors might shed expensive and experienced men after their contracts expired to replace them with cheaper new recruits. Still, men were managed often in respect to the

personal relationships they cultivated and the non-economic contributions they made to the smooth running of posts. The most stirring example of household management working even within the company's London Committee is found in the case of George Mace. In his first winter of service in 1715, Mace lost all his fingers and toes to frostbite. The London committee, "considering him as an Object of our Charity," kept him employed, despite his incapacity to work effectively, until 1725, when Mace decided to return home (p. 162). Stephen, then, provides not only a comprehensive history of the ways the HBC recruited and contracted its workforce in its early North American history, but how it sustained and managed its employees within the model of the early modern household.

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