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*Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in 19th-Century and 20th-Century
France*, by Edward C. Carter, II

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remained clearly socialist, as manifested in the First International and especially in the ideology of the Paris Commune, which was neither Marxist nor Proudhonian, but associationist—now tied to a political concept of federated communes.

Moss argues that the advent of republican government in a labor-repressive atmosphere demonstrated to skilled workers the utopianism of their political perspective: once they achieved a degree of power, the small-propertied peasants and middle classes would turn their backs on trade socialism. As opportunist republicanism showed its true direction, skilled workers increasingly took a revolutionary and more collectivist stance that stressed proletarian political exclusivism. But federated trade socialism remained the root ideology: the shift was toward greater national coordination of the movement. Paul Brousse and Benoît Malon more perfectly reflected the outlook of the majority of skilled workers than did Jules Guesde, but as they slid into cooperation with the hated republicans in the later eighties, the skilled worker movement moved toward Allemanist *ouvrierisme* and ultimately toward the anti-politics of revolutionary syndicalism.

The comparative value of this work should be emphasized, but a caution registered. In many ways, it provides a model against which the evolution of working class ideology elsewhere can be gauged. It is doubtful, however, that trade socialism had the same degree of significance beyond the borders of France. Nowhere else were expectations of the social transformation to be ushered in by democratic republicanism so strong (the heritage of '93), and nowhere else was the rise of industrial capitalism so retentive of handwork and semi-artisanal industry. Moss's study needs a stronger groundwork in economic history, not only to illuminate the differences between the evolving structures of the working class in France and its more rapidly developing neighbors, but also to tighten his own analysis. In this context I am not convinced that the shift to greater collectivism and a revolutionary strategy in the 1880s was rooted only in a new assessment of political realities. After all, the authentic proletarian population was growing rapidly as mechanization spread, and more and more artisans were being proletarianized, particularly in semi-rural settings (one thinks of the works of Rolande Trespé, Joan Scott, and Harvey Smith), as a kind of second industrial revolution unfolded in France. Combined with the obvious capitalist bias of the Opportunist Republic, such forces surely contributed to the new orientation of skilled workers. Such comment, however, should take nothing away from a book of great interest to historians and militants alike.

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EDWARD C. CARTER II *et al.*, editors. *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1976. Pp. xx, 207. \$12.50.

The four papers in this book, which were read in a Johns Hopkins-Catholic University lecture series in 1973, vary widely in purpose and approach. In his contribution, Maurice Levy-Leboyer attacks the notion that French entrepreneurs followed "Malthusian strategies" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and thereby undercut the economic growth of France. He argues that "there were very few growth potentials that big business failed to exploit" (p. 127), and that if the French performance was less than optimal this resulted not from any irrational behavior on the entrepreneurs' part but from objective circumstances beyond their control. He thus exonerates the entrepreneurs by denying that entrepreneurship has been a crucial factor for French economic development.

By contrast, in his study of the textile dynasties of Roubaix-Tourcoing, David Landes again asserts that the quality of entrepreneurship is the crucial factor in French development. Arguing that local resource endowments were not sufficiently favorable to account for the expansion of the textile industries of Roubaix in the nineteenth century, he credits that expansion to the industrialists' dedication and zeal, which he traces, in turn, to their compulsive need to emulate and outshine their "betters" in nearby Lille.

While Levy-Leboyer and Landes thus rework familiar but important ground, Albert Boime and Charles Kindleberger venture into newer but more peripheral territory. Boime describes the role of businessmen as patrons of art and arbiters of taste and also explores the nature of entrepreneurial activity in the art "industry." Kindleberger assesses the influence of the French system of technical education on the personnel and practices of French business, concluding that that influence was somewhat negative but minor in the nineteenth century, more positive and more significant in the twentieth.

Obviously, no consistent or comprehensive interpretation of French entrepreneurship can be expected from four such distinct and divergent papers. Individually, however, each contributes to our understanding of the myriad forces acting upon entrepreneurs and the myriad ways entrepreneurs interact with their society. For that reason, their publication together in this handsome volume is welcome.

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C. STEWART DOTY. *From Cultural Rebellion to Counter-revolution: The Politics of Maurice Barrès*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1976. Pp. 294. \$12.00.