

sources. However, the article is weakened by her own romanticizing of the cross-dressers. Margaret Creighton utilizes gender analysis to examine how "men *as men* shaped their voyage." (145) Creighton's sensitive inquiry encompasses the overlapping concerns of age, race and class and recognizes that all play a part in social relations. Lisa Norling's essay outlines the 'sentimentalization' of seafaring in New England between 1790 and 1870. Women of the earlier period appear more self-sufficient and active in the public sphere. After whaling moved inland from Nantucket to New Bedford land based attitudes limited women's activities outside the home. However, land attitudes changed as well in the period and perhaps both land and sea were effected more by an ethos than geography. Valerie Burton examines how gender and class intermingle in the views of seafarers, shipowners, and middle class feminists in the early 20th century over the issue of allotment, part of a sailor's pay given directly to his family. Shipowners used the perception of the Jack Tar as unreliable to fight allotment legislation while sailors attempted to rehabilitate their image. However, when the allotment issue threatened sailors' position of provider gender interests became paramount to sailors and they sided against the allotment.

The fourth section on sailors and war begins with an article by James Pritchler on why the French Expeditionary force sent to Acadia in 1746 was a failure. Valuable information collected by French officials indicates the original force was much larger than previously estimated (11000 men) and reveals a severe recruiting problem. Pritchler speculates the shortage of seafarers adversely affected France's push for empire in the 18th century. Next Ira Dye's article seeks to provide a physical and social profile of American seafarers using records of 14000 seafarers captured by the British between 1811-1814. The information on ages, ranks and service background of officers and seamen are interesting but not ground breaking.

The final section on Seafaring in the Industrial World contains an engaging article by Eric Sager who suggests the imprecision of memory, usually the main criticism of oral history, can reveal the nebulous values, feelings and morals of history's participants. Seager illustrates the thesis with interviews of

former members of the Canadian Seamen's Union. Finally, Del Muisse examines the crews of Yarmouth, an extremely important shipping port in Atlantic Canada, between 1871 and 1921. During this crucial period of industrial transition natives of Yarmouth increasingly choose to enter professional positions on land while crews became international. Given Yarmouth's reputed importance in the colonial economy Muisse's ongoing case study will prove very significant.

The editors hope *Jack Tar* will appeal to non-academics and the quality and diversity of articles should attract a wide audience. The inclusion of work by those other than historians is encouraging, and provides a different perspective which strengthens the collection. The articles impart an impression of maturity to the subject which enhances scholarly literature.

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Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

Colonial Leviathan is a collection of ten articles originally presented at a workshop in 1989 on "Social Change and State Formation in British North America." The purpose of the workshop was to consider various aspects of both the formation of the state in mid nineteenth century Canada and how this affected various groups of Canadians. Defining state formation is difficult and, as these articles attest, sometimes elusive undertaking. A number of contributors to *Colonial Leviathan* have considered the state as including "the constellation of agencies and offices" that shared in sovereign power. (10) Other scholars represented in this volume utilize the more organic Durkheimian-Marxist perspective, and see the state as an agency of moral regulation and state formation as a process "by which authority became progressively pervasive and efficacious in society." (10) Regardless which intellectual perspective is brought to bear on the subject, the purpose of the 1989 workshop and of *Colonial Leviathan* is to challenge "the liberal myth of the liberal

state.” (13) Within this context, *Colonial Leviathan* is successful.

Individually, the articles make a significant contribution to our understanding of British North America in the mid nineteenth century. In the “Birth of the Police in Canada,” Allan Greer persuasively argues that in Lower Canada newly-formed police forces began “to extend the reach of state control over civil society.” (43) Brian Young’s article illustrates how initiatives by the Special Council of Lower Canada set the parameters for the new “bourgeois democracy” (60) of mid-century. When “blended” with the more traditional preindustrial patterns of the church, the family and seigneurial tenure, the actions of the Special Council provided a powerful agent for modernization. Jean-Marie Fecteau’s discussion of voluntary organizations in Quebec concludes that, though they promoted a democratic impulse, these associations were effectively controlled by state regulation.

Ian Radforth approaches the question of state formation from what initially appears to be a very traditional vantage point. In “Sydenham and Utilitarian Reform,” he considers how the new governor introduced “British style budgeting and departmental management.” (95) The result of Governor Thom-son’s conscious reliance on British utilitarian ideas was to make the executive more potent, which decreased the ability of individual Canadians to influence government policy and actions. Bruce Curtis’s discussion of the growth of a colonial administration, to some degree, complements Radforth’s conclusions. In “Class Culture and Administration,” Curtis argues that despite the apparent “victory” of responsible government, political power was not transferred to the people, but to the new cabinet. In the 1840s, this resulted in greater efficiencies in managing the colony, but also in an expansion of the power of the state and especially of the new bureaucracies.

The problem of financing and state formation is considered in a short piece by Michael Piva, who outlines how the need to control government financing led to the development of new administrative structures, which themselves began to influence political policy. Financing, state regulation and transportation are linked in articles by Douglas McCalla and Peter Baskerville. Douglas McCalla argues persuasively that “railway technology was

one critical element in the transformation of Canadian society.” (209) By comparing the policies and development of the railways in Canada with those south of the border, he concludes that interpretations of Canadian railway policy which concentrate on the “politics” and “scandals” fail to appreciate the interplay of state and private actions. Peter Baskerville questions whether the state had a lasting influence in transportation policy during this period at all. “The activist state” in Upper Canada emerged only slowly, he argues. At best, state intervention was sporadic until at least the 1870s and dictated by the “social and economic fabric of local politics.”

Two of the most fascinating articles are those by Graeme Wynn, and Lykke de la Cour, Cecilia Morgan and Mariana Valverde. Wynn’s consideration of the power of the state in the Maritimes is premised on a series of vignettes of life in the Atlantic colonies. After fifteen pages of powerful reflections on the real state of the Maritimes in mid-century, he concludes that though the state linked colonists together, it lacked real power and authority. It was religion, ethnicity, locality and the traditional moral and social values, he argues, that gave meaning and structure to Maritimers’ lives.

“Gender Regulation and State Formation” is a provocative and, for the most part, persuasive outline of some of the ways that state formation in mid-century Ontario contributed to the solidification of gender definitions. Resting on a firm grasp of the secondary literature on British North America, and on the more limited though expanding work on women during this and a later period, the authors skilfully present the interplay of regulations which excluded women from the public arena, but which at the same time divided women by class and differing concerns.

The strength of this collection is in the individual articles. Its weakness is its lack of unity. First, it must be recognised that this is not really about the formation of the state in Canada. With the exception of Graeme Wynn’s article, *Colonial Leviathan* focuses on developments in central Canada. More importantly, despite the title of the volume, not all of the contributors accepted the assumption of state formation and its importance during this period. And some of the articles do not really deal with the question of the forma-

tion of the state at all but are studies of other processes.

Yet, in the end, the volume is successful. It raises more questions than it answers. It invites discussion and further investigation about issues that despite the assumption by a number of scholars, are not already resolved or well understood. And perhaps most importantly, *Colonial Leviathan* firmly establishes that a reexamination of colonial Canada is both legitimate and important.

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Alan M. Wald, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Selected Essays on Marxist Traditions in Cultural Commitment* (New Jersey: Humanities Press 1992).

Alan Wald is a cultural historian well known for his major study of *The New York Intellectuals*. He has also been a committed left activist since the 1960s, and was for some time involved with the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. At a time when Leninism is out of fashion on much of the left, Wald insists that a crucial failure of the sixties was the failure to "construct a serious, internally democratic, coherent socialist organization with a pro-working-class perspective that could have embodied the experiences of the past and synthesized those of the present."(xiv)

It is this concern with, and experience of, not just socialist activism but socialist *organisation* that gives this collection of essays and reviews their strength. When Wald talks about the tensions felt by intellectuals and artists within the socialist movement, he writes not as an academic onlooker, but as one who has lived the problems.

The essays range over a number of topics from the cultural history of the left. Wald moves with ease from Communist novelist Howard Fast to Trotskyist historian George Breitman, from sculptor Duncan Ferguson to singer Pete Seeger, from Chicano radicalism to proletarian publishing. He is at his best with cultural figures outside the mainstream. A model in this respect is his essay on the last years of Victor Serge, in which he shows quite clearly that Serge never repudiated Leninism,

while at the same time subjecting Serge's views in his last years to a sympathetic but searchingly critical appraisal.

Wald devotes a whole section of the book to problems of race and culture. There is a sensitive discussion of the problems of "free speech" and a sharp critique of the "ethnicity" school, which seeks to equate the experience of Blacks, Chicanos and other victims of what Wald calls "internal colonialism" with that of European immigrants to the USA. Wald counterposes to this what he calls the "class, gender and race methodology," though he would need to spell out at much greater length the interrelation between the three factors to be wholly convincing.

In this context Wald tries to show how literary studies in the USA have been dominated by European values and standards. Thus he compares an extract from Eliot's *Waste Land* to a poem by N. Scott Momaday, a writer of Native American ancestry, showing how the former depends on European references, while the latter requires judgment in terms of a completely different set of criteria.

In urging that literature syllabuses be restructured to break the grip of Euro-American values Wald is undoubtedly right; however in so doing he perhaps underestimates the importance for the oppressed of a study of their oppressors' culture. In reading Wald's devastating critique of Eliot, I am reminded of the words of the West Indian writer C.L.R James (to whom Wald devotes a disappointingly short essay in this book): "T.S. Eliot ... is of special value to me in that in him I find more often than elsewhere, and beautifully and precisely stated, things to which I am completely opposed."

This points to a wider problem. Wald makes extensive use of the concept of culture (drawing in particular on the work of Raymond Williams), but makes relatively little reference to ideology. Yet to study the products of a dominant culture as manifestations of ideology is precisely what a Marxist critique requires.

In the longest study in the book, on the Trotskyist sculptor Duncan Ferguson, Wald confronts the thorny problem of the relation between political organization and artistic practice. Ferguson spent his life torn between the urge to perfect his art and the demands of political militancy. In 1941 Ferguson asked