

Book Reviews

Charles Clarke and Toby S. James (eds), *British Labour Leaders*, London: Biteback, 2015, pp. xix + 396, h/b, £25, ISBN 978 18495 48168

Malcolm Muggeridge used to say that leading figures in public life tend to conform to two types: clergymen or bookies. He was clearly anticipating the agenda of this volume edited by former Home Secretary Charles Clarke and his colleague at the University of East Anglia, Toby S. James. This is a part of a larger study of the interstices of political leadership in which historians, political scientists, journalists, and politicians explore how party leaders interpreted their role and the ways in which they succeeded or failed. Companion volumes have appeared on both the Liberal and Conservative parties. These books offer something to historians but also to the emerging field of Leadership studies, which is becoming evident in courses offered by business schools and others.

Let's start with a problem. Isn't Labour meant to be about the collective? Originally, Labour did not even have a leader; all it had in its early years was the glum post of chairman of the parliamentary party. Yet, throughout its history, it has often sought out charismatic figures to make its case. Leaders lead through force of personality, persuasive rhetoric, and, occasionally, charm (a much underestimated quality in politics). Running a fractious organization like Labour is often more a matter of person management than actual vision. Opposing the Conservatives is much easier than containing the in-fighting and indiscipline that has frequently been the party's hallmark. Ultimately, Labour leaders are judged on their skills as tacticians, which is really what this book is about.

Clarke and James structure the volume around what they call the 'statecraft' approach. They evaluate leaders in terms of 'the art of winning elections and achieving a semblance of governing competence in office' (12). Some readers may feel that this involves stating the obvious but it does not detract from a volume that has its share of insights. Clarke gives us the statistics on who did best in electoral terms. Leaders are divided into those whose appeal was derived from conscience (the belief in principle) and those animated by cunning: clergymen and bookies, in other words.

The editors have assembled an excellent range of contributors to evaluate the statecraft of each Labour leader. Many of them have already written the standard work on their subject. Thus we get Kenneth O. Morgan illuminating why Keir Hardie and Michael Foot constituted a distinct moral force in their respective historical moments (they both count as clergymen in the Muggeridge scheme of things). John Shepherd writes about George Lansbury and Chris Wrigley about Arthur Henderson. Readers may find the most original chapter to be that by William W.J. Knox on the often overlooked leaders George Nicoll Barnes and

William Adamson. Given that the latter were to some extent interim leaders, it is a shame that something was not said, even in passing, about the two female Labour 'leaders'. Margaret Beckett and Harriet Harman both led the party briefly. Harman, in particular, had the formidable task of taking on the Coalition in 2010.

The editors admit that contributors were chosen who are sympathetic to their subjects. This does not prevent them from offering serious and perceptive criticisms. The political scientist Tim Bale writes a clear-eyed, more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger account of Ed Miliband (again building on his book about Miliband, *Five-Year Mission*) whilst journalist Steve Richards offers a serious analysis of the Greek tragedy that was Gordon Brown's premiership. The book concludes with two revealing interviews with Neil Kinnock and Tony Blair. Both agree with the (not very controversial) statecraft analysis and then go on to talk productively about their very different experiences as leader. Blair, quite rightly, argues that ultimately Labour leaders should be judged not on their ability to speak to the party but on the conversation they develop with the country at large.

Contributors vary on the extent to which they adopt the statecraft approach. One who does employ it is Brian Brivati on Hugh Gaitskell (again building on his substantial biography). He argues that there are two styles of political leadership (199–200). The first says, 'This is what I believe, now follow me' in the hope that the authenticity of the message will bring the electorate round. The other says, 'Tell us what you want and we will try to give it to you.' Gaitskell, in his view, was of the former type: Wilson, Blair, and (a bit more arguable, this one) Attlee were of the latter.

There are some questions which the volume does not quite address though it touches on them. Is it true that Labour should be run by a candidate from the left? Before John Smith and Tony Blair, this was often an assumption as it reduced division. Figures such as Harold Wilson and Kinnock were associated at one time with the left, building a bond of trust with the party membership. The book does not have much to say about the rhetoric of 'betrayal', a standard jibe that tends to be thrust at most leaders at some time (I can remember references to 'Ramsay MacKinnock' in the 1980s). This is also a very Westminster-centred book. It does not really deal with the way in which people relate to Labour leaders or the way leaders embody the myths Labour lives by. We get a hint of this when Kenneth O. Morgan argues that Foot's identity, as the biographer of Nye Bevan, was an essential element in the way he was viewed.

The book was published in September 2015, the same month that Jeremy Corbyn was elected. This was so unexpected that there is not a single reference to him in the volume. Clarke and James's book does, however, show that Labour's history provides plenty of models through which to evaluate Corbyn's leadership. Malcolm Muggeridge, however, got there first. He would have told us that Corbyn is a clergyman and not a bookie.

Rohan McWilliam, *Anglia Ruskin University*

Allison Drew, *We Are No Longer in France: Communists in Colonial Algeria*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014, pp. xv + 311, h/b, £75, ISBN 978 07190 90240

‘We need a country that talks.’ Such was the ethos of the independence programme of the Parti communiste algérien (PCA). It was published in April 1962 amidst the maelstrom of simultaneous civil colonized-colonizer and guerrilla army wars for Algerian independence. The question of leftist thought and Communist Party action in Algeria and its incidence on the political landscape from the French conquest in 1830 to Houari Boumédiène’s military coup of independent Algeria in June 1965 drives Alison Drew’s comprehensive study of Algeria’s autonomous communist minority, which, she argues, often went against the grain. Initially it was as an ostensibly French organization with a Eurocentric focus on class that questioned indigenous (Algerian Muslim) party membership – the colonial ‘question’ was only tabled in 1923 (31). Then, in the 1930s, it would have internal divisions between political electoral gain and a vanguard clandestine movement that never fully focused on rural Algeria (67). Finally, on becoming autonomous from the Parti communiste français (PCF) towards the end of the Second World War, the PCA would struggle to keep political pluralism alive (209) in a society increasingly segregated by colonial repression.

The internal tensions undergone by this evolving political group provide an interesting way of discussing the intersection of international socialism and national self-determination. These questions came to the fore particularly after the Second World War, which is when Drew dates the commencement of the War of Independence and a slow communist shift towards a national prerogative. The PCA focus of the book allows the author to further unpick the powerful narrative of prevailing Algerian single-party (the Front de libération nationale, FLN) adherence by the people, and in so doing sheds light on political margins of Algerian society that have been obscured for too long. In line with a raft of recent archive-led historical works that have considered questions of labour organization, political thought, religious minorities, and gender, Drew contributes both the only English-language history of the PCA and titillates the scholar of Algerian history by considering the geopolitics of Algerian communism. Her text nudges at the geographical edges of leftist influence in Algeria by encompassing political conjunctures from the rise of socialism in Europe in the 1930s, to the influence of the USSR, through to Vietnam, and later from the Cuban revolution to other African independence movements. The most interesting of these angles of comparison and cross-fertilization is South Africa.

Drew’s inference in *We Are No Longer in France* is thus small but significant. Leftist thinking and Marxist methods of organization, for example striking, boycotting, the creation of networks, and cadre training that filtered out of the PCA have had a profound effect on Algerian civil and political society. However,

the PCA itself never made a major electoral breakthrough, reaching 8 per cent of the second 'Muslim' electoral college (154) when this was established as a concession after the Second World War – referenda and elections were often abstained from during the height of violent conflict (1955–62) until the establishment of a single party. Ironically for a party that sat on the margins of the national question, it was the communists that very early on noted the extent of violent repression and nationalism within the Algerian political sphere. The title of the book is taken from a PCF report which, as early as 1925, attributed police repression of communists in French Algeria to being 'no longer in France' (40). Despite this realization, it was only in 1959, a year before armistice and peace talks, that Maurice Thorez, leader of the PCF, the party from which the PCA was born, would declare the necessity of Algerian self-determination. Steadfastly nationalist, the heroic armed branch of the FLN the Armée de libération nationale (ALN) established in 1955 caught the popular imagination and galvanized the struggle through the Algerian peasant heartland. Meanwhile, the PCA, which retained its autonomy until after independence, supported the FLN from 1956 onwards but always with a social politics in mind. The necessity of organizing and retaining a civil administration and social structures was fundamental while questions of national identity were secondary. By comparison, the full-blown and arguably over-militarized path of the FLN gave it a unifying warrior identity.

Drew's text draws on diverse sources: from PCA and PCF archives to interviews with a number of noteworthy socialists in Algeria; these accounts are bolstered by newspaper articles, party publications, and other little-known papers. Drew simultaneously uses this material as source and looks at its quantity and censorship as an indicator of the expanding and contracting political space, which was a continual issue for the dispersion of political ideas in colonial Algeria. Furthermore, the author discusses at length the now household names of Camus and Fanon and their theoretical imprint on Algerian politics, contemplating for whom they may have spoken, positioned as they were within the colonial context as accommodationist and rebel respectively. However, perhaps most noteworthy and original within the book's specific contribution are the series of portraits of alternative Algerian socialists that span the book.

From her interviews Drew peppers her book with an array of portraits of colonial unsung 'oddball' Algerian leftist heroes, including Algerian Jews such as Gilberte Chemouilli, intellectual Algerian women such as Louise Ighilahriz, French women married to Algerian Muslims, pacifists who helped the independence cause such as Pierre Chaulet and Fernand Iveton, and non-native internationalists like Henri Alleg. While these intermittent accounts add life to the monograph they might have better elucidated the underlying political object of the book's chapters, which often tend towards weighty description. Further, more anchored portraits, cross-referenced with South African equivalents, might have helped the South Africa–Algeria comparison. Though this aspect of the

monograph is absolutely fascinating, and as is explicitly acknowledged, constraints of space and time did not permit a fuller comparison, the fact remains that the Algeria–South Africa comparison is introduced but little developed until the final chapter, which draws on Mandela’s meetings with external FLN leader Chawki Mostefai (258). This imbalance leaves the reader wanting more. Indeed, signs are there that meaningful comparison has been reflected upon in particular around questions of race and religion, struggle and organization, and intellectual (inter) penetration. Despite this slight unevenness, which hopefully paves the way for a more complete work of comparison, *We Are No Longer in France* is an extremely thorough work. It opens up fascinating avenues for more transnational work on traces of leftism in Algeria through alternative prisms such as gender, minority-actors, leftist press, and, most promisingly, regional histories.

Sami Everett, *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris and Woolf Institute, Cambridge*

Waltraud Ernst (ed.), *Work, Psychiatry and Society, c. 1750–2015*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, pp. xiv + 378, £75, ISBN 978 07190 97690

In his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Robert Burton (1577–1640) explains that he writes about melancholy in order to avoid becoming melancholic. For Burton and his contemporaries, being busy was melancholia’s best antidote; idleness, in contrast, was sure to trigger it. Similarly, psychiatrists have long believed in the therapeutic value of work for the mentally ill. Work became a key component of the moral therapy offered to patients at the York Retreat founded in 1796 by the Quaker William Tuke (1732–1822) and work therapy – variously described and implemented – has featured prominently in mental health care ever since. But, as Waltraud Ernst and her contributors indicate, the relationship between work and mental health has rarely been straightforward. What sort of work was therapeutic? Was work therapeutic for all, or did its benefits depend on factors such as race, gender, and class? In asylums that became financially dependent upon patient labour, were work regimes more exploitative than therapeutic? As the spectre of youth unemployment looms large, as the percentage of retired people in many countries continues to increase, and as advocates of Guaranteed Basic Income call into question the purpose of work in post-industrial societies, the seventeen chapters of *Work, Psychiatry and Society, c. 1750–2015* have considerable bearing on many pressing debates about work and its relationship to mental health.

Ernst’s introduction begins by presenting how work has been variously defined and understood, moving swiftly to discuss its medical implications. Within the humoral tradition, which influenced western medical traditions from the time of Hippocrates (460–370 BC) until well into the nineteenth century, the activity and exercise associated with work had a function in balancing the humours (blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm) and, therefore, maintaining health. Similar

ideas are also present Ayurvedic and Chinese medical traditions. It was the physical activity associated with work, rather than its capacity to be productive, however, that was important in these traditions. Work became a therapeutic goal in and of itself during the nineteenth century, when large asylums increasingly became the primary site for the treatment (or, perhaps, containment) of the mentally ill. Although Ernst's introduction does a decent job in providing some useful context for the volume, more discussion could have been devoted to the broader themes and tensions that frame the topic and, indeed, make it important. Too many pages (18–28) are devoted to long summaries of the chapters that follow, rather than providing the bigger picture.

Equally, it would be unhelpful for me to summarize briefly the seventeen chapters that follow, which admirably cover North America and the Caribbean, much of Europe, Japan, and South Asia. Instead, I will address a few of the major themes presented. Foremost among these is the debate about whether work therapy was ultimately viewed as therapeutic or as a form of economic exploitation. As Ben Harris's chapter suggests, work was seen as therapeutic by many American asylum superintendents but, by the middle of the twentieth century, 'most of the work performed by psychiatric patients had little if any claim to the status of therapy' (56). Complicating this dichotomy was the notion, grounded in the Protestant work ethic, that the ability to work productively was evidence of a rational mind. Focusing on lunacy trials in New Jersey, James Moran shows how the ability to work played a role in 'lunacy investigation law' (79), often affecting the outcome of cases. If the capacity for productive work was a necessary condition of insanity, then it is not surprising that some New Jersey superintendents believed that work could 'be both therapeutic and practically useful' (79). Was there something hypocritical in superintendents hailing the therapeutic benefits of work in one breath and then boasting about the cost savings of such regimes in the next? That depended. Ernst's study of Asia indicates that Indian superintendents 'proudly noted' the financial benefits of patient work (120), but stopped short of expecting European patients to work. Complicating matters further is the fact that patients were sometimes paid (albeit poorly) for their work, as Valentin-Veron Toma's chapter on Romania and Vicky Long's on the UK show, and that sometimes, as Kathryn McKay's chapter on British Columbia and as Oonagh Walsh's chapter on Ireland suggest, work was perceived – even by patients – as a 'privilege' (103, 310). Overshadowing the issue altogether at times, as Thomas Müller's chapter on Germany (and others) demonstrates, were crises caused by war and economic upheavals which made patient work a necessity, rather than simply a form of therapy.

Work, however, was not suitable for all patients. Both Akira Hashimoto's and Osamu Nakamura's chapters on Japan demonstrate how diagnosis was a key factor. While idle chronic schizophrenics were seen as ideal candidates for work therapy, psychopaths were not suitable, as they made patients uneasy. Given that one of the

tasks given to patients was chopping wood, as a photograph in Nakamura's chapter illustrates, perhaps this was sensible. Although Leonard Smith's chapter on the West Indies indicates that work therapy was seen as 'a crucial means of bringing about ... recovery' (154), Walsh describes how many patients were exempt from work. These included puerperal maniacs (mothers with post-partum psychosis) who needed physical, as well as emotional, rehabilitation.

Similarly, gender, race, and class could affect the type of work patients did. At some asylums, including a German one mentioned by Monika Ankele, patients could continue doing the sort of work they did previously, such as shoemaking. Pictures of female private patients in New Jersey happily sawing wood, however, demonstrate that traditional gender roles could also be overturned in asylum work. As Jane Freebody describes, class roles could also be upended, as in the famous case of King George III being forced by Dr Francis Willis to work in the fields. Working in the fields in the summer or sawing wood in the bright winter sunshine was one thing; being confined to the laundries or endlessly washing filthy floors was something else.

Overall, *Work, Psychiatry and Society* provides a fine introduction into this rich field of historical inquiry. Although, in a volume of seventeen chapters, I would have liked to see more engagement with patient perspectives, more discussion of the relationship between unemployment and the onset of mental illness, and some contributions by labour historians, these are less critiques than suggestions for further research. The volume raises important, relevant questions for those interested in labour and mental health history; while it may not answer all of them, it does call upon others to take up the challenge.

Matthew Smith, *University of Strathclyde*

Nick Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016, pp. xiv + 238, h/b, £75, ISBN 978 17813 82783

Nick Mansfield's prior research, which emerged from his tenure as Director of the People's History Museum, focused on the buildings and banners of the British labour movement and on the political identities of twentieth-century farmworkers. In his most recent work, however, Mansfield turns his attention to the experiences and attitudes of nineteenth-century soldiers. *Soldiers as Workers* is the sixth publication to be issued from Liverpool University Press's *Studies in Labour History Series*, edited by Neville Kirk, which seeks to extend the scope of labour history 'beyond conventionally organized workers', and Mansfield's study makes an important contribution towards this worthy aim. Mansfield convincingly argues that soldiers made up a significant part of the occupational structure of Britain. We learn that soldiers constituted the largest 'group of the uniformed working class'. Yet, rather like farmworkers and domestic servants,

soldiers have often been ignored by labour historians (3, 5). Mansfield suggests that the 'general hostility' of labour historians towards his topic can be ascribed to the 'prevailing conservatism' of much academic military history, and to the dominant narrative of 'loyal soldier-heroes', presented in popular military histories (6). However, by placing class at the centre of the analysis, *Soldiers as Workers* demonstrates that any aversion on the part of labour historians to the study of the military is misplaced.

Mansfield reinterprets a vast array of military history, ranging from well-known authorities such as J.M. Fortescue to the underused back-issues of the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, in order to outline the class structure of nineteenth-century military organizations. The focus is largely upon the British Army, but the East India Company, the Militia, and 'military adventurers' such as the British Auxiliary Legion are also compared and contrasted. That the British Army was a hierarchical institution will not be news to readers of this *Review*. High-ranking officers were always aristocratic gentlemen, more junior officers could be from middle-class backgrounds, while non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were taken from the most literate and capable sections of the rank and file, which was comprised of a broad cross-section of the working class. In this respect, Mansfield joins a chorus of military historians who have, in recent years, rejected the traditional view that private soldiers were recruited solely from the 'dregs' of society. More significantly, Mansfield vies against the popular image of simple ruffians merrily officered by gentlemen. From a careful reading of soldiers' autobiographies, Mansfield shows that much of the day-to-day running of the military fell to the NCOs, who performed a 'junior management' function (48). This arrangement limited the degree of contact between privates and commissioned officers and reinforced the distinctions of social class. Similarly, in terms of pay, dress, accommodation, and access to leave, officers and privates had entirely divergent experiences of soldiering. Thus, Mansfield convincingly builds a picture of 'social apartheid' (50) within the military, which was cemented by the fact that very few working-class NCOs were promoted to the position of commissioned officer. Hence the class structure of the nineteenth-century military mirrored that of wider society.

Soldiers as Workers emphasizes that new recruits brought their pre-enlistment skills into the military and continued to practise their civilian trades while serving. This is an important point often overlooked by battlefield historians, who fail to see that soldiers spent relatively little of their time engaged in armed combat (72). During their long hours of leisure, soldiers would often use their skills to perform odd jobs (known as 'foreigners'), for their officers and fellow men (78). Skilled 'military tradesmen' might also be excused drill and exercise in order to perform necessary tasks for their regiment. Butchers, cooks, tailors, shoemakers, armourers, and blacksmiths were particularly valued for keeping the regiment fed, clothed, and equipped and were contracted to work for

additional sums. Mansfield's evidence for this section is drawn from regimental order books, soldiers' autobiographies, and published military histories. This approach ensures that his writing is very readable and thick with the fascinating personal reflections of 'military tradesmen'. However, more could be done to establish the *proportion* of a given regiment made up of skilled 'military tradesmen'. It is unclear how representative the experiences of these men were of nineteenth-century military life in general and whether this changed over the course of the century.

Nevertheless, this book certainly conveys the sheer variety of work available to all private men. Soldiers could earn money as officers' servants, as clerks, or as 'penny capitalists', retailing consumer goods to the regiment. Even 'unskilled' activities, such as clearing ground, could be incentivized with extra pay. By stressing the continuities between civil and military labour, Mansfield lays the groundwork for examining class conflict in his final substantive chapter. Here, Mansfield demonstrates the importance of 'contract culture' among common soldiers and finds that a broad repertoire of resistance was adopted by privates and NCOs. Acts of desertion, the assassination of officers, and 'mutiny' could all arise from 'contract disputes'. Soldiers might resort to open resistance over levels of work (e.g. 'over-parading'), unsavoury living conditions, unfair floggings, or non-payment of bounty money. However, Mansfield shows that these forms of conflict existed alongside more subtle behaviours such as 'go-slows', passive resistance (e.g. 'backchat'), malingering, and drunkenness. None of these categories of conflict are investigated in great detail or with any substantially new archival material, and Mansfield can be overly sceptical of the value of official military records (204). However, in marshalling a range of examples, from various geographical and temporal contexts, convincing evidence is provided that class conflict was a key aspect of nineteenth-century military life.

Overall, Mansfield shows himself to be the master of summary and synthesis and *Soldiers as Workers* achieves its goal of defining a 'labour history of soldiers' (210). Many of the subsections on military tradesmen and class conflict could be extended into article-length investigations. This work therefore provides an invaluable introduction for labour historians interested in researching the military. Readers of this *Review* should look forward with enthusiasm to the planned publication of a sister volume dedicated to considering more fully the political consciousness of British soldiers.

Joe Cozens, *University of Essex*

Jörg Neuheiser, *Crown, Church and Constitution: Popular Conservatism in England, 1815–1867*, translated by Jennifer Walcoff Neuheiser, Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, 2016, pp. 318, h/b, \$110/£68, ISBN 978 17853 31404, eBook eISBN 978 17853 31411

Labour historians by their very nature tend to focus on the radical and the oppositional within working-class politics, often without due consideration of those who supported and indeed celebrated the status quo. By contrast, *Crown, Church and Constitution* is a richly detailed and enjoyable examination of mid-nineteenth-century popular conservatism in England. Jörg Neuheiser's central thesis connects the legacy of popular loyalism in reaction to the French Revolution in the 1790s with the 'phenomenon' of working-class conservatism at the 1867 general election. He seeks to challenge a labour history narrative of the rise of democratic radicalism and trades solidarity among the working classes in the early nineteenth century, arguing rather that a large proportion of workers found their class identity within an inclusive conservatism that was monarchical, Protestant, and constitutionalist.

The introductory chapter is a useful and readable summary of the main shifts in historiography of nineteenth-century popular politics. Neuheiser considers the recurring debate about why Britain did not experience a revolution in the 1790s, weighing more on the side of Harry Dickinson's conclusion of the strength of popular moderate loyalism, rather than on earlier emphases on the repressive role of state anti-radical measures and the violence of 'Church-and-King' sentiment. He then surveys the re-emergence of the Tory party and Conservatism as a political force in the early nineteenth century, unpicking the generalizations made by John Belchem and James Epstein on the mutability of constitutionalism and Patrick Joyce and James Vernon's arguments on the role of 'populism' within conservative thought. Indeed, Neuheiser's historiographical review is so succinct that some of the nuance of the debate is perhaps relegated too often to the very detailed endnotes, rather than explored more thoroughly in the main text.

Popular politics in three case studies – Bolton, Leeds, and parts of London – provide the basis of the analysis in the rest of the book. The first chapter focuses on the crowd in civic celebrations of monarchy, taking as its main reference point Mark Harrison's pioneering study of early nineteenth-century crowd ritual (*Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790–1835*, Cambridge University Press, 1988). It argues that crowd behaviour was essentially fickle, and could swing from radical support for Queen Caroline in 1820 to overtly loyalist-patriotic enthusiasm for the monarchs, including during the 1830–2 Reform crisis. Although Neuheiser underlines biases in reporting and also notes that crowds could be attracted by features other than politics such as free drink or spectacle, one would question whether it is possible to gauge popular loyalism through the language of sympathetic newspapers alone.

The second chapter charts how operative conservative societies promoted a constitutionalist interpretation of loyalty to the state. The societies flourished in industrial areas, but did not take strong root in London, where all extra-parliamentary organizations found it much more difficult to form. Though the party splits over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 also hit local branches hard, Neuheiser argues that a commitment to constitutionalism was maintained, and provided the basis for the formation of Conservative working men's associations in the 1860s. Chapter three addresses the third pillar of popular conservatism, Protestantism and anti-Catholicism. He argues for a more complex understanding of anti-Catholicism, particularly its role behind Conservative successes in the 1826 general election, and the complex reaction to and legacy of the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act. There is a valuable discussion of the disputes between Anglicans, Nonconformists, Liberals, and radicals over positions in church vestries and rates, which underlines the importance of literally parochial contests over power to national party allegiances and the role played by operative conservative societies in determining local electoral outcomes. Chapter four continues the examination of plebeian anti-Catholicism. It argues against Denis Paz's view that Guy Fawkes's night did not display the strength of popular anti-Catholicism, particularly during the Papal Aggression crisis of 1850. There is much valuable analysis here of the intertwining of operative conservative societies with Orange lodges.

Chapter five shows that social protest could be conservative. It focuses on the role of Tory Radicalism within the campaigns for factory reform and against the new poor laws. Neuheiser demonstrates that national politics did not reflect the complexities of political divisions on a local level. He argues against a prevalent view within the historiography that factory reform involved benevolent paternalism boosted by Evangelical moralism, but rather that the conservative elements of the movement could be forward-looking and willing to mobilize the masses. Yet, ultimately, by the time of the Conservative Party split in the 1850s, the impetus for social reform waned quickly as Free Trade came to dominate political economy.

The final chapter argues that although there was popular support for a 'Beer and Britannia' vision of conservatism against the Liberals' emphasis on self-improvement and temperance, the Conservatives also emphasized respectability and an orderly household, which served to attract women to the movement. Neuheiser thus finally tackles the issue of gender in this chapter, a question which is absent from the rest of the book. A closer examination of paternalism in the factory reform movement, and a short survey of female operative conservative societies is much needed, although the chapter feels oddly curtailed, and concludes only that 'what kind of contribution plebeian women made to the Conservative cause is difficult to assess' (254).

This edition is the English translation of Neuheiser's monograph, originally published in German in 2010. The book could have benefited from

some updating with six years' of more recent scholarship. Neuheiser was originally right to lament the paucity of studies of popular conservatism in the mid-nineteenth century. But since then some of the gaps have been filled, for example by David Walsh's 2012 monograph on operative conservative societies in Preston, Blackburn, and Lancaster (*Making Angels in Marble: The Conservatives, the Early Industrial Working Class and Attempts at Political Incorporation*, Breviary Stuff Publications, 2012), and my own work on loyalism and the Orange Order in northern industrial towns (*Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798–1815*, Oxford University Press, 2009), which would have provided some interesting contrasts with Neuheiser's findings in Bolton and Leeds. Neuheiser's main sources are the local newspapers and *The Times*, which provides a tighter and systematic narrative, although the exclusive reliance on newspaper reports at times leaves it feeling a little unsupported, and other evidence would be welcome.

Overall Neuheiser delivers a nuanced and well-argued interpretation of popular conservatism in the nineteenth century, and his account of working-class political activities offers a counterweight to similar work on radical and trades union culture. His stress on local and regional differences that shaped contests over national patriotic symbols of monarchy, Church, and the constitution also provides a welcome correction to histories that assume the homogeneity of working-class political loyalties, both in place and over time.

Katrina Navickas, *University of Hertfordshire*

Katrina Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789–1848*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, pp. 352, h/b, £70, ISBN 9780719097058

Since 2011, studies of popular protest and radicalism during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century have taken on a 'spatial turn'. As a historian who has ventured down this path in my own book, *The Home Office and the Chartists, 1838–48: Protest and Repression in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, it is with great pleasure that I review this much-anticipated publication by Katrina Navickas.

This book is the product of Navickas's highly impressive research in this field over the past decade, and covers the period from the 1789 French Revolution to the demise of Chartism. The main theme which runs throughout the book is protest and the privatization of space. Navickas looks at this from the protester's sense of place. During this period, customs and practices were contested in urban and rural environments, and there were many confrontations between radicals and the ruling political elites operating the coercive levers of the British state, and its machinery. *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place* offers a far deeper and more detailed analysis of the 'spatial turn' than ever before, and is broadly concerned with protest in Northern England.

Split into three parts, the first section, 'Spaces of exclusion, 1789–1830', contains chapters which chart the rise of Loyalist societies and the repression of radicalism, especially in and around Manchester during the 1790s. This was largely a reaction to fears emanating from the French Revolution and the emergence of the mass platform. Throughout this period, the role of the neighbourhood became important in shaping political networks, which is why Navickas argues that radicals took to using the 'spaces of making do', which included squares, committee rooms, and open-air mass gatherings, in order to get their message across.

In the third chapter, Navickas argues that the 1819 Peterloo disturbances represent a major turning point in the way in which the contestation of space was played out. The repressive nature of the 1819 Six Acts shaped the mindset of radical protest movements, as well as the thought processes of the ruling elites. This created a new dynamic which pushed protest into licensed activities. It is to that end that the first section of this book is rounded off by a vignette that looks at Radical locales, with specific focus on Manchester.

The second section, 'Spaces of the body politic in the 1830s and 1840s', explores the revival of the reform movement during an era characterized by encroaching state intervention. As various governments grappled with rapid social, economic, and political changes wrought by the transformative effects of industrialization, the chapters in this section offer excellent discussions about episodes such as the 1830–2 Reform Crisis, the War of the Unstamped Press, 'spaces of speech', and the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. Navickas argues that during the 1830s, the radicals response to those measures was anti-interventionist. Discussions about the emergence of collective action among radicals during the 1830s and 1840s through Chartism, and the underpinning of the vestry as the centre of radical resistance in opposition to the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, lead to an interesting vignette about the role of processions.

The sixth chapter provides an interesting debate about how during the 1830s and 1840s, popular radicals moved away from the 'spaces of making do' towards constructing their own spaces through chapels, working men's clubs, and association rooms. From a Chartist perspective, it was through vehicles such as the *Northern Star* newspaper and the Land Plan that the movement tried to develop its own alternative culture, economy, and education. Building on this narrative, there is a very good subsection titled 'gendered spaces', in which Navickas suggests that while activism was an integral part of Chartism and Owenite socialism, the role of women within those reform movements was problematic, especially among the leadership of those groupings.

The final section, 'Region, neighbourhood and the meaning of place', begins with a chapter titled 'The liberty of the landscape', which focuses on the meaning of place for social movements. This is followed by an excellent chapter about 'Rural resistance' which examines why Chartism and other urban radical

movements failed to gain a foothold in rural localities. This topic was recently discussed by Katrina Navickas at a conference on Rural Radicalism held at Anglia Ruskin University in June this year, where she correctly argued that the role of custom played a key role in the contestation of space. In agreement with Navickas, this is a struggle that has often been underplayed by historians.

In the final chapter, 'Making Moscows, 1839–48', which refers to Napoleon's attempt to raze the city in 1812, there is excellent discussion of how physical and symbolic conflicts over territory became the focus of radicals' contests of power and rights. Within this chapter, there are very good subsections about the policing of unrest, as well as the 1842 and 1848 Chartist rebellions. These are followed by a final vignette, 'New horizons in America', which looks at how radicals including the Bradford Chartist Peter Bussey fled to America. On arrival, they tried and failed to establish a democratic utopia before returning to England. On that note, this book ends with a very short conclusion.

Overall, this book is so beautifully written and contains such incredible detail, including some nice illustrations and maps, that it is impossible to put down. This leaves the reader fully engaged and wanting to know more about this fascinating era. The book also contains a very clear and well-structured narrative which makes use of excellent examples, as well as a huge depth of analysis and referencing, making it certain that historians will refer to this as a standard and definitive text in this field for many years to come.

Neil Pye, *SSLH and independent researcher*

Rhian E. Jones, *Petticoat Heroes, Gender, Culture and Popular Protest in the Rebecca Riots*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2016, pp. 224, p/b, ISBN 9781783167883

The Rebecca Riots was a major episode in Welsh history which came about in response to the imposition of road tolls in Carmarthenshire. Toll gates were attacked by farmers on horseback, dressed in women's clothing. The unrest began in 1839 and lasted up until the summer of 1843, when it faded, once the Tory administration of Robert Peel intervened by taking away the tolls and introducing the 1844 Turnpike Act. As a Chartist historian with a huge interest in Welsh radical protest, I found this book very enjoyable to read. The research included in this study is much needed too, for according to the author, the Rebecca Riots were about more than violent attacks on toll gates.

In analysing this publication, the introduction offers a very good discussion as to how the riots came to be known as 'Rebecca', referencing the works of historians in the field such as David J. V. Jones, David Williams, and Gwyn A. Williams. The second chapter then proceeds to give the reader a strong analysis of the socio-economic and political circumstances in Wales which gave rise to unrest in the region. In questioning from a Welsh historical perspective a view by E.P. Thompson, who suggested that the Rebecca Riots occurred at a

time when there was a shift from the 'pre-existing moral economy' to industrial capitalism, Jones argues that the protest in south Wales was a reaction to the effects of population growth and rapid industrial expansion. Also, 'Rebecca' was a response to an oligarchic government that was unable and disinclined to adapt to those changes. The problems began when the Efailwen gate was attacked and destroyed on two occasions, and it was during the third attack that the first recorded appearance of Rebecca came to light.

In the third chapter, 'Rebecca and the historians', Jones correctly points out that in many studies there is an absence of gender as a means of analysis, as well as a 'lack of post-modernist influence in the Welsh historiography'. In charting the narrative of Welsh history and the 'theoretical turn', Jones correctly asserts that there has been 'a reluctance to address inter-class tensions, conflicts or disparities of experience'. She also notes that women are absent from this narrative and their presence has almost been forgotten.

The sharp analysis and the way in which complex issues and debates surrounding the symbolism and identity behind the cross-dressing associated with Rebecca, as a form of radical protest, is highly evident throughout this book. In the fourth chapter, 'Pomp and paraphernalia, custom, festival, ritual and Rebeccaism', Jones makes a very good case by stating that the violence and criminality associated with Rebeccaism had arisen from the social conditions in the region. This feeds into a very strong fifth chapter, 'Petticoat Heroes, Rethinking Rebeccaite Costume and Symbolism', where Jones examines the disjuncture between feminine identities assumed by male Rebeccaites during the protest and the masculine description used for the same participants in the press and legal reports. The author questions historians' assumptions that Rebeccaite costume was used mainly as a disguise to avoid criminal responsibility. She also suggests that cross-dressing emphasizing the 'blurring and transgression' of gender boundaries during this period was not particularly unique to Rebecca.

The sixth chapter, 'The New Poor Law and Female Sexual Agenda', explores the ways in which Rebecca was characterized in the press and popular imagery, as well as the attempt by the New Poor Law to both police the sexual agency of women, and marginalize them. What follows is an excellent chapter which dissects the imagery and mythology surrounding Rebecca. Jones's analysis of the many identities with which Rebecca became associated suggests that she was presented as a 'stylised or allegorical figure'. Popular politics at the time of Rebecca highlighted the female body and female dress as a means of political communication, mobilization, and the contestation of public space, and this chapter goes on to explore how Rebecca has often been portrayed as an 'abstract character'. It also examines Rebecca's various guises as 'The Lady', 'The Reformer', 'The Heroine', 'The Girl Led Astray', and as a vehicle for political satire.

The final chapters explore Rebecca's aftermath, as well as its long-term political and cultural impact, which contains a very strong examination of how

Rebeccaism lived on in popular and political memory. It also explores how it gave the rise to Welsh national dress during the 1830s and 1840s and shaped the Welsh character. Jones argues that Wales did not develop a recognisably modern political life until after 1840, for which its unique language and non-conformism were often blamed and depicted as evils. During the nineteenth century and beyond, the name 'Rebecca' was often associated with lawlessness, and in the concluding chapter, Jones points out that the cross-dressing associated with Rebeccaism was more complex than was previously recognized.

Overall, this book debunks many myths about the Rebecca Riots and offers the reader a highly complex analysis of a very important episode in Welsh history, especially in the shaping of its culture and identity, and in relation to studies about anthropology and gender. This is a very good book that is really well-written and referenced, and one would like to see further research build on it with a much broader and overarching study of Welsh Chartism, which has been needed for quite some time.

Neil Pye, *SSLH and independent researcher*

Andrew S. Crines and Kevin Hickson (eds.), *Harold Wilson: The Unprincipled Prime Minister? Reappraising Harold Wilson*, London, Biteback Publishing, 2016, pp. 352, h/b, ISBN 9781785900310; Joyce Gould, *The Witchfinder General: A Political Odyssey*, London, Biteback, 2016, pp. 320, h/b, ISBN 9781849549752

This is a review of two superb books which have recently been produced by Biteback Publishing about a couple of very formidable figures within the Labour Party, Harold Wilson and Joyce Gould, which cut across different eras in the party's long and well-documented history.

At first sight, both books have excellent cover photographs of their subject, which immediately attract the reader's attention. Andrew S. Crines and Kevin Hickson's *Harold Wilson, The Unprincipled Prime Minister? Reappraising Harold Wilson* is a collection of chapters produced in the centenary of his birth. As one of the Labour Party's greatest-ever leaders and a four-time general election winner, this book is essentially a re-evaluation of Harold Wilson's political life and legacy. Split into three sections under the headings 'themes', 'policies', and 'perspectives', the consistent narrative which runs throughout this book and its highly detailed chapters is a portrayal of Wilson as a pragmatist and a centrist politician who served as Prime Minister at a time when Britain was seen by many commentators as ungovernable.

Andrew S. Crines and Kevin Hickson can be very pleased with their efforts, for which they have both contributed and put together a very strong collection of chapters written by many contributors including Dennis Kavanagh, George Howarth MP, Kenneth O. Morgan, Catherine McGlynn, Sir Gerald Kaufman MP, who was part of Wilson's inner circle, and Lord David Steel. Also, there is a

retrospective piece from Tom Watson MP. For anyone who has read Ben Pimlott's and Phillip Ziegler's biographies and accounts of Harold Wilson, as well as books by Joe Haines, Wilson's former Press Secretary, and Lord Bernard Donoughue, who served as a Senior Adviser to Wilson, this book is a highly credible addition to the historiography.

Overall, this collection does a great deal of justice to the legacy of Harold Wilson, one of whose greatest achievements was the creation of the Open University. In recent years, Wilson has received a mixed press which, as Dennis Kavanagh notes, neglected rather than vilified him, and this book more than succeeds in redressing that interpretation.

Following this and from a biographical perspective, is another excellent book written by Joyce Gould, *The Witchfinder General: A Political Odyssey*. The nickname was given to Gould when she took on and removed members of the far left entryist organization the Militant Tendency from the Labour Party during the 1980s and early 1990s. This book charts Joyce Gould's political journey from humble beginnings in Leeds, West Yorkshire, where she went from working in a Boots store to become a hugely important figure within the Labour Party, which she prominently served first as an Assistant Regional Organiser from 1969 to 1975. Gould then became the Assistant National Agent and Chief Women's Officer from 1975 to 1985, and then later Labour's Director of Organisation from 1985 to 1993.

This book shows that there is much to admire about Joyce Gould's contribution to the Labour Party, in terms of her bravery and conviction, from directly tackling issues such as sexual discrimination within the party during the 1970s and 1980s, to confronting what she described as the 'vilification, threatening behaviour, abuse and violence' associated with the Militant Tendency. An entire chapter is devoted to this struggle against what her colleague and fellow party organiser Peter Kilfoyle once described as a large cuckoo in the nest that did not stand for regular Labour Party values.

In the main, this book charts the hugely important role that Joyce Gould played in helping to shape the fortunes of the Labour Party, especially throughout the difficult times which followed the 1979 general election defeat that propelled Margaret Thatcher into Number 10 Downing Street. Gould's version of the internecine warfare that followed within Labour Party ranks, which largely revolved around the ambitions of Tony Benn, has also been well-documented in Biteback's recent reissue of John Golding's *Hammer of the Left*, and Michael Crick's *Militant*. Joyce Gould described the period from 1983 to 1992 as one of 'turmoil and disarray'.

Following the wreckage of Labour's disastrous 1983 general election defeat under the leadership of Michael Foot, epitomized by a manifesto once described by Sir Gerald Kaufman MP as 'The longest suicide note in history', Labour went through a period of transformation. Under the leadership of Neil Kinnock and

deputy leader Roy Hattersley, nicknamed the 'Dream Ticket', it was Joyce Gould, along with Peter Mandelson and Philip Gould, who did much to modernize the Labour Party and turn it into a more coherent, efficiently organized, and effective political force. All of this work is explicitly well-documented throughout the text.

Although those changes came too soon to have an impact on the 1987 general election, Labour's polished performance at the next contest in 1992 showed how far the party had travelled in thirteen years in opposition, first to the Thatcher administration and then John Major's government, only to fall at the last hurdle following the infamous 'Nightmare on Kinnock Street' attack which appeared in the *Sun* newspaper, and the ill-fated Sheffield Rally. All in all, Joyce Gould's work helped lay the foundations and paved the way forward for Labour to emerge from the wilderness and win three successive general elections under the leadership of Tony Blair in 1997, 2001, and 2005.

The epilogue of this incredible political journey offers a forensic survey of the wreckage of Labour's calamitous 2015 General Election defeat under the leadership of Ed Miliband. Of this and what has followed since, Gould is highly critical. On that note, one suspects that had today's politicians heeded the warnings and learned lessons from figures such as Joyce Gould and Harold Wilson, the Labour Party might not be embroiled in the existential crisis that it currently faces.

Neil Pye, *SSLH and independent researcher*