

with suspicion within the Labour Party. The result is that the conflict that Miles discerns between what he describes as the elitists within Labour Party, attached to Parliamentary sovereignty and the legislative authority that a Commons majority confers, and the pluralists, who see electoral reform as a route to a wider political realignment and the realization of a progressive electoral majority, has been a largely one-sided one in which the former have prevailed. If the party did consider electoral reform, as occurred during the 1990s, then a preferential voting system was the most that could be countenanced, and even then only if endorsed by the public in a referendum; proportional representation has never been seriously contemplated. The future may, however, bring changes given that the Party membership appears to be overwhelmingly supportive of reform (173).

While Miles's account offers much that is valuable, most clearly in his discussion of the Plant Report, there are areas where his analysis could have been expanded. Although Miles discusses the Labour Party's broader constitutional outlook in places, it would have been beneficial to have had a deeper consideration of the relationship between electoral and constitutional reform, particularly in relation to the devolved institutions, where different electoral systems are in place. Equally, the link between electoral reform and the referendum, and between issues of representation and sovereignty, might have been given more attention. Still, and notwithstanding certain presentational issues (the copyediting is, it must regrettably be said, inadequate), Miles has produced a worthwhile addition to the literature that will be of particular interest to scholars working on Labour politics in the 1990s and early 2000s.

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## **Amy Milne-Smith. *Out of His Mind: Masculinity and Mental Illness in Victorian Britain***

**Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022. Pp. 328. \$130.00 (cloth).**

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In *Out of His Mind: Masculinity and Mental Illness in Victorian Britain*, Amy Milne-Smith recovers the figure of the madman within histories of nineteenth-century insanity. She argues that madness posed a challenge to dominant codes of masculinity well before World War I introduced the phenomenon of shellshock. Milne-Smith's study of male insanity in Victorian Britain highlights how a lunacy certification was felt as a powerfully emasculating experience, with both social and emotional consequences for men and their families.

Milne-Smith's book covers the period 1845–1914, a period bookended by the 1845 Lunacy Act and World War I. The 1845 Act established the Lunacy Commission, the reports of which, alongside asylum case notes, form the basis of the book's first chapter on care in the institution. By including male patients in criminal and military asylums, Milne-Smith corrects the notion that the asylum population was overwhelmingly women. She also emphasizes the diversity of treatment for mental illness in Victorian Britain, in line with recent

historiography. Of particular interest is Milne-Smith's recovery of the practice of boarding pauper lunatics in the community, as a matter of course in Scotland and when asylum spaces were scarce in England and Wales.

Central to *Out of His Mind* is madness's incompatibility with dominant norms of Victorian masculinity. Certification and confinement in an asylum radically upset masculine privilege, stripping men of their autonomy and status as head of their household. Moreover, madness indicated a man's failure to live up to the Victorian model of respectable masculinity. Insanity was marked by a loss of self-control, emasculating men as either weak-willed or violent beasts.

Male madness, Milne-Smith convincingly shows, was most often connected to violence. This association was particularly strong for working-class men, who were the subjects of frequent media panics around violent and criminal lunatics. In chapter five, Milne-Smith examines local and national newspaper reporting, showing that madmen were overwhelmingly depicted as violent beasts. Such stories were often presented in domestic settings, Milne-Smith argues, tapping into cultural anxieties about working-class masculinity's relationship to the domestic. Sensationalism was fueled by an increasingly competitive newspaper landscape, enlivening a discourse that stigmatized men's madness, creating fear and stoking debate over violent lunatics' criminal responsibility. As Milne-Smith argues in chapter one, male asylum patients were at greater risk of violence and neglect from attendants who justified rough treatment through the belief that male lunatics were inherently violent.

A strength of *Out of His Mind* lies in Milne-Smith's empathetic reconstruction of the emotional consequences for men who received a lunacy certification. Madness, she argues in chapter three, was a shaming experience. Madness in men was often linked to intemperance or sexual excess, and the shame experienced by men who felt they could not control their impulses created additional emotional distress and psychic strain.

On the other hand, as Milne-Smith shows in chapter two, men's position of social superiority, particularly when supplemented with socio-economic status, enabled them to exert greater control over their treatment than women. Wealthy men in particular could deny the severity of their illness and escape certification through foreign travel, a practice which was believed to relieve nervous exhaustion. Even if men managed to convince their family to avoid the asylum, they could still face abuse and neglect at the hands of relatives. However, Milne-Smith argues from an assessment of sensational cases reported in newspapers, forced confinement at home was more likely to occur when there was another male relative to challenge the patients' authority: wives found it almost impossible to defy their husband's will alone.

*Out of His Mind* is filled with diverse examples of men's experience of madness, drawn from the popular press, case notes, legal battles, lunacy commission reports, and fiction. One commonality is that madness pitted men against their extended families and communities. Men were "expected to demand their independence as a healthy expression of manliness, no matter their level of illness" (31). Men's failure to contest their diagnosis, whether privately or much more rarely, publicly through the courts, was seen as a symptom of mental disorder in itself.

*Out of His Mind* evidences a cultural fascination with madmen that tapped into anxieties about men who deviated from respectable models of Victorian masculinity. This book convincingly shows that madness operated as normative masculinity's foil. Milne-Smith goes beyond a purely cultural history, however, arguing that studying men's madness "allows for an exploration of the cultural expectations of male behaviour, and how men responded to those norms in their lived experience" (4). Yet asylum case notes, court reporting, and the popular press all heavily mediated the experience of mental distress. The patient's perspective was filtered through, and often obscured by, the medical, legal, and journalistic lens. Although it is unrealistic to expect completely unmediated access to experience, especially when writing histories of a marginalized population, more reflection on the difficulties these

sources pose to histories of the experience of masculinity and madness would have been welcome.

A significant strength of the book is its retrieval of the diversity of mental health care even in the so-called age of the asylum, although this insight will not surprise readers of recent literature on nineteenth-century psychiatry. Moreover, consideration of the way that madness and masculinity interacted corrects an important oversight in older literature that has tended to see mental health diagnoses as a means of policing feminine gender norms exclusively. As Milne-Smith shows, madness interacted with masculinity in potentially just as devastating ways.

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## **Neil Penlington. *Men Getting Married in England, 1918–60: Consent, Celebration, Consummation***

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Engagements, weddings, and honeymoons have largely been a subject for scholars of women's history, so a book concentrating on men and masculinity is welcome. The period covered by the book is also ideal—a time when a high percentage of people married, did so at young ages, and took part (or aspired to take part) in the traditional white wedding. The author has used a wide source base, including etiquette books, law cases, Parliamentary debates, newspaper coverage, and oral history interviews.

In three cultural/social chapters, Neil Penlington discusses prescriptive literature first, then uses the oral history sources to parse out what men actually did. The newspaper coverage and etiquette books described actions suitable only for the middle and upper classes, but some issues crossed class borders. Men were to be the assertive partner, proposing the marriage and asking permission from the women's fathers. Many of men's roles prefigured their duties as breadwinners and heads of the family, such as giving gifts or planning honeymoons. The so-called proper masculinity, though, involved walking fine lines. A man must be romantic, but not too emotional, and must negotiate with his father-in-law in a way both respectful and independent. He must also avoid over-dependence on his own family or male comrades, but make sure to include them in the celebrations.

Continuity with earlier views of masculinity was clear. Men were the aggressive sex, pursuing women and more interested (and experienced) in sexual intimacies. The connection between masculinity and provision remained, and the gendered symbolism of the white wedding involved one man handing property (the bride) to another. The main change in weddings was their increasingly elaborate arrangements, with numerous attendants and expanded roles for children. In addition, class differences dictated men's choices, as in earlier times; working-class couples had to be pragmatic, and working women had more freedom of action. Both men and women agreed on the definition of a proper wedding, meaning a church wedding with traditional vows. Penlington argues that the emphasis on the Anglican, monogamous union fed the racial, class, and especially gender hierarchies of the mid-twentieth century.