

onset of World War One, leading to the formation of the Health of Munitions Workers Committee. In chapter 3, Blayney focuses on the interwar development of industrial psychology, exploring the history of the state-run Industrial Fatigue Research Board (which became the Industrial Health Research Board in 1928) and the private National Institute of Industrial Psychology. For Blayney, psychology as a creditable academic discipline was essentially forged on the factory shopfloor.

Across these two key chapters, Blayney outlines an important distinction between the emerging science of work represented by industrial physiology and psychology, and Taylorist scientific management (coming out of the United States), which tended to focus on the tasks rather than on the worker. Blayney argues convincingly that of the two approaches, it was in fact the science of work that had the more long-lasting impact. He highlights how British interwar institutions made significant, hitherto neglected, contributions to the science of the working body.

In chapter 4, Blayney moves out of the factory and into the arena of consumption. Labor historians have argued for some time of the need to recognize the ways in which workers are themselves consumers, and the book certainly provides interesting evidence of this. Blayney examines how the battle against fatigue was commodified by the food and drink industries: for example, in products such as Bovril and Rowntree's Cocoa. Along with considering a range of advertising, Blayney studies the physical culture movement, the popular psychology texts of the day, and the eccentric figure of Herbert Casson, with his Efficiency Exchange (132) and correspondence courses for workers.

In the final chapter, Blayney prioritizes worker and union responses to the interventions of industrial physiologists and psychologists. He emphasizes how the application of a model of health to the factory floor did not go uncontested. Acknowledging the challenges of finding worker voices in the extant historical record, especially of those who engaged in an explicit way with the science of work, Blayney makes no claims to being representative in his analysis. Nevertheless, he has brought to light a range of worker testimonies from published and unpublished autobiographies, as well as from reading between the lines of official reports.

Health and Efficiency is a highly engaging approach to what could have been a dry institutional history of organizations such as the Industrial Health Welfare Board. Blayney incorporates a wide range of perspectives, including those of employers, industrial physiologists and psychologists, and workers and consumers. The book is fluently written and highly readable. Blayney positions his work as making a key contribution to histories of medicine and health. As a labor historian, however, I found *Health and Efficiency* fascinating for its insights into British working life in this period and would recommend it to scholars of labor and business. Perhaps surprisingly given his topic, Blayney is ultimately optimistic in tone. He argues that studying health as “fundamentally historical” makes it possible to see that there is always potential for human action. In his final sentence, Blayney encourages the reader to imagine “new kinds of political consciousness, new solidarities and better futures” (186).

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PETER CLARKE. *Keynes in Action: Truth and Expediency in Public Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. 274. \$39.99 (cloth).

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Peter Clarke is probably best known to readers of this journal for *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900–2000* (2004) and *The Last Thousand Days of the British Empire: The Demise of a*

Superpower, 1944–47 (2007). However, he has also written a series of excellent books on the economist John Maynard Keynes, of which *Keynes in Action: Truth and Expediency in Public Policy* is the most recent. In it, he builds on the arguments of his previous book, *The Locomotive of War: Money, Empire, Power and Guilt* (2017), which dealt with the involvement of prominent liberals (some of whom were also Liberals) in the First World War and its aftermath. The fact that, in *The Locomotive of War*, Clarke could segue naturally from discussion of David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt to Keynes is alone evidence that Keynes was no ordinary economist. He had a stature that few, if any, other economists could equal, even today when economics has come to dominate much public discourse. Keynes, Clarke argues, bore a significant share of responsibility for shifting the debate at the Versailles peace conference on to moral considerations and issues relating to German guilt, and yet, after his resignation he came to be one of the main critics of the eventual peace treaty, glossing over his role in helping to create the settlement that he was criticizing. In the following decade, Keynes also became a strong critic of the Gold Standard, again criticizing a policy that he had previously helped sustain. His career and those of Lloyd George and Churchill were closely intertwined.


In this new book, Clarke takes these arguments a stage further. The first two chapters overlap with material covered in *The Locomotive of War*: Keynes's involvement in the Versailles conference negotiations and his failure to reveal his own role in the provisions of which he was so critical in *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919, *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes*, vol. 2 [2012]). Clarke concludes these chapters by noting that Keynes's remark that Germany had been forced militarily to utter statements that they believed to be untrue should have made uncomfortable reading given the extent of his complicity in the crucial war guilt clause, a fact not widely known at the time. Faced with the demands of public opinion, truth might need to be sacrificed for expediency.

Clarke then carries this theme of the relationship between truth and expediency through other episodes in Keynes's career where it evolves into a defense of "pragmatic Keynesianism" over "dogmatic Keynesianism" (235) the key aspect of the former being recognition that there is much that we do not know. The opening chapters lead naturally into discussion of the Genoa conference and the Reconstruction Supplements that Keynes edited for the *Manchester Guardian* and his changing attitude toward Lloyd George, with whom his activities in the 1920s were closely intertwined. It was during the 1920s that Keynes began, over a decade or more, to work out what was to become the analysis of unemployment with which his name was eventually to become irrevocably linked; not only did he write in defense of the Liberal policy of public works, the idea of the multiplier (the key theoretical concept) was rooted in arguments made by Lloyd George.

Clarke then moves on to Keynes's academic work, turning to *A Treatise on Probability* (1921, *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes*, vol. 8 [2012]), a revision of the King's College Fellowship dissertation, submitted over a decade earlier, and his engagement with the polymath Frank Ramsey. Whereas at one time this was thought peripheral to understanding Keynesian economics, Clarke sees it as central, for it is where Keynes addressed questions such as "What is truth? How do we know what we think we know? With what degrees of certainty can we hold our beliefs? How far should we feel constrained in our actions by their likely consequences? How can we perceive in advance the likelihood of those consequences? How far can we trust such perceptions?" (7). From here on Clarke presents an account of the evolution of Keynes's economic theory, focusing on the role of his friends in the Bloomsbury Group, notably Virginia Woolf, and his colleagues in Cambridge. The underlying theme is that his economic theories, however abstract they might seem, were always rooted in his engagement with policy and his attempts to present his analysis to a wide audience. It was noted at the time that even when he claimed to be presenting a theoretical generalization, his analysis was typically rooted in specifically British problems. The issue of truth versus expediency remains, as when the Keynes plan for the international monetary system after the Second World War, first

formulated in 1941, evolved into something that, by the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, was much closer to the plan proposed by his American counterpart, Harry Dexter White. The outcome of the negotiations was not what Keynes had originally proposed but he felt able to argue, now in the House of Lords, that his original aims would be achieved.

By presenting material in a new way Clarke manages to shed new light on a subject on whom a vast literature has emerged. Inevitably in such a short book the specialist may quibble over a few of the summaries (for example, I think Clarke is too ready to accept Friedman's perspective on 1960s Keynesianism, at least as applied to the leading US Keynesians), but this is incidental. Clarke has successfully performed the difficult task of saying enough that is new to interest specialists in a book that should be accessible to a wide readership.

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JACK CRANGLE. *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland: British, Irish or "Other"?* Palgrave Studies in Migration History. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023. Pp. 283. \$149.49 (cloth).
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Jack Crangle's *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland: British, Irish or "Other"?* is ground-breaking: it is the first book-length study of immigrants in Northern Ireland in the twentieth century. Crangle has done a great job of locating archival sources for future scholars to utilize. He has also interviewed a range of first- and second-generation immigrants and civil society actors who have worked with immigrants. He uses those sources to examine the complexity of experiences of immigrant communities in a region beset with entrenched sectarian divisions.

Although Northern Ireland is formally part of the United Kingdom, scholars have tended to treat the study of the United Kingdom as if it is an island nation, Britain. Northern Ireland, if it is mentioned at all, is usually treated as an anomaly—a place apart, not an integral part of the United Kingdom. The study of immigration to the United Kingdom has, as Crangle notes, tended to be focused on England. *Migrants, Immigration and Diversity* is part of a developing four-nation approach to immigration in the United Kingdom that attempts to extend research on immigration beyond London and postindustrial cities in England. It joins works such as the edited collections by Charlotte Williams, Neil Evans, and Paul O'Leary, eds. *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales* (2015), and Tom M. Devine and Angela McCarthy, eds., *New Scots: Scotland's Immigrant Communities Since 1945* (2018).

Crangle states that his core aim in writing the book was “to formulate how the lived experiences of thousands of twentieth-century migrants and minorities can help us understand the place of ‘others’ in Northern Ireland's bifurcated society” (203). He pursues this goal by looking at four case studies of specific immigrant communities: Italians, Indians, Chinese, and Vietnamese. These roughly correspond to different waves of immigration to Northern Ireland: Italians at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, Indians during the post–World War 2 *Windrush* period, Chinese during the 1970s, and Vietnamese from 1979.

Including Italians allows Crangle to highlight that racialization of immigrants is not dependent on skin color or other visible phenotypical markers of difference. It also enables Crangle to illustrate ways in which changing contexts had an impact on perceptions of immigrant communities. He notes that the high proportion of fascist sympathizers among the Italian