

A large, clear glass hourglass is the central focus, resting on a wooden base. The top bulb is partially filled with white sand, and a thin stream of sand is falling into the bottom bulb. The background is a dark wooden surface with several antique pocket watches scattered around, some in focus and some blurred. The lighting is warm and soft, creating a sense of time and history.

# **British East-Asian Conference of Historians (BEACH)**

12 - 14 September 2023  
Institute of Historical Research



INSTITUTE OF  
HISTORICAL  
RESEARCH

SCHOOL OF  
ADVANCED STUDY  
UNIVERSITY  
OF LONDON

# Tuesday 12 September 2023

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**09.00 - 09.30**    **Registration**

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**09.30 - 10.00**    **Conference welcome & Introduction**

**Philip Murphy** (Director, History & Policy, IHR)

**Shunsuke Katsuta** (University of Tokyo)

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**10.00 - 11.00**    **Keynote Session 1**

*'Varieties of periodisation and their implications for historiography'*

**Masayuki Sato** (Yamanashi University)

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**11.00 - 13.00**    **Panel 1 | The Theory and Value of Periodisation in History**

Chair: **Claire Langhamer** (IHR)

Commentator: **Phil Withington** (University of Sheffield)

- **Tony Claydon** (University of Bangor)  
*'Periods and illusions of periods in English Protestant thought'*
  - **Shinji Nohara** (University of Tokyo)  
*'Historical thinking in Adam Smith: The rise of the age of capital'*
  - **Julie Gottlieb** (University of Sheffield)  
*'Britain's "War of Nerves": Reframing and reclaiming the period from the Munich Crisis to the end of the Phoney War'*
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**13.00 - 14.00**    **Lunch** (provided)

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**14.00 - 16.00**    **Panel 2 | Periodisation and Institutions**

Chair: **Philip Murphy** (IHR)

Commentator: **Robert Bickers** (University of Bristol)

- **Jun Iwai** (Shizuoka University)  
*'Relativising periodisation: History education, composite states, and the English Revolution'*
  - **Dongkyung Shin** (Ewha Woman's University)  
*'A second surge of the British academic world in the 1960s analysed through activities of the Inter-University Council'*
  - **Shigeru Akita** (Osaka University)  
*'Periodisation of modern/contemporary world history and 'East Asian Miracle' in the context of global history'*
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**16.00 - 16.30**    **Break** (provided)

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**16.30 - 18.30**    **Panel 3 | Imperial and Commonwealth History**

Chair: **Richard Drayton** (KCL)

Commentator: **Richard Huzzey** (Durham University)

- **Paul Tonks** (Yonsei University)  
*'Conceptualising "the project of an empire" before Adam Smith: An unfinished Scottish historical vision'*
  - **Rachel Bright** (Keele University)  
*'Women's citizenship in inter-war Australasia: Re-evaluating the Global Colour Line'*
  - **Hiroyuki Ogawa** (University of Tokyo)  
*'The empire-commonwealth, European integration, and periodisation in the history of post-war British external policy'*
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**18.30 - 19.30**    **Reception**

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## 10.00 - 11.00 Keynote Session 2

*'The "long" Reformation: Conceptualisation and periodisation in religious history'*  
**Stephen Taylor** (Durham University)

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## 11.00 - 13.00 Panel 4 | Religion

Chair: **Catherine Clark** (IHR)

- **Hannah Dongsun Lee** (University of Oxford)  
*'The significance of the 1650s in English religious history: The transformation of Reformed thought'*
  - **Young-hwi Yoon** (Kyungpook National University)  
*'British evangelical abolitionists' moral capital and an apocalyptic sense of crisis in the late eighteenth century'*
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## 13.00 - 14.00 Lunch (provided)

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## 14.00 - 16.00 Panel 5 | Gender History

Chair: **Claire Langhamer** (IHR)

Commentator: **Ben Griffin** (University of Cambridge)

- **Leonie Hannan** (Queen's University, Belfast)  
*'From household to institutions? Women and scientific enquiry'*
  - **Junko Akamatsu** (Bunkyo Gakuin University)  
*'Marriage, divorce and women's agency in the long eighteenth century: The problem of periodisation'*
  - **Nobuko Okuda** (Nagoya City University)  
*'A history of women's contribution to the household economy: Reconsidering periodisation of labour history of women'*
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## 16.00 - 16.30 Break (provided)

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## 16.30 - 18.30 Panel 6 | Economic History

Chair: **Julie Gottlieb** (University of Sheffield)

Commentator: **Craig Muldrew** (University of Cambridge)

- **Mabel Winter** (University of Sheffield)  
*'The political economy of mills, England 1315-1815'*
  - **Ryosuke Yokoe** (University of Tokyo)  
*'Alcohol regulation and the political economy of twentieth-century Britain'*
  - **Seung Woo Kim** (University of Uppsala)  
*'The politics of "gentlemanly capitalism": Contesting the historical narratives, the City of London, and the future of post-war British economy, 1956-1979'*
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# Thursday 14 September 2023

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**10.00 - 11.00**    **Keynote Session 3**

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**11.00 - 12.00**    **General Discussion**

Chaired by **Phil Withington**

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**12.00 - 13.00**    **Lunch** (provided)

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After the lunch break the conference attendees will travel to the  
**Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office** (King Charles St, London SW1A 2AH)

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## Seminar at the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)

**14.30 - 15.00**    **An introduction to the work of the FCDO historians**

**Patrick Salmon** (FCDO) and **Richard Smith** (FCDO)

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**15.00 - 15.30**    **Keynote Session 4**

*'Collaborating with the FCDO historians on the social and cultural history of diplomacy'*  
**Helen McCarthy** (University of Cambridge)

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**15.30 - 16.00**    **Tour**

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**16.00 - 17.00**    **Reception**

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The *British East-Asian Conference of Historians (BEACH) 2023* Conference would like to thank the following organisations for making this event possible:



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# Conference Abstracts

Tuesday 12 September 2023

## Panel 1 | The Theory and Value of Periodisation in History

'Periods and illusions of periods in English Protestant thought'

**Tony Claydon** (University of Bangor)

Despite the toleration act of 1689, and the possible decline of confessional views of foreign policy, protestantism remained culturally and politically important in England in the years after the Glorious Revolution. Protestantism shaped identity, and set policy goals such as the determination to defeat Louis XIV's catholic and persecuting France. This paper will explore the sense of time and periodisation that this English commitment to the protestant faith produced. It will suggest that the English of the late seventeenth century had a profound sense of living in a reformation era, that had starting with a clear chronological break in 1517 – when Luther had begun his protests against the Roman church. It will also suggest that a keen sense that protestantism had been in decline and retreat since 1600, and the new hope instilled by William III's arrival on the English throne, produced something that looked like an awareness of centuries.

The history of the reformation had been very different in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries; if a revival could be achieved, it would be very different again in the eighteenth. However, the paper will also argue that protestantism reduced, as much as it enhanced, any sense of clearly defined historical periods in its English adherents. Insisting the protestantism was nothing but a restatement of the pure faith of the early Christian era, and suggesting God never changed the basic nature of his dealings with his people, protestants tended to smooth history into an endlessly repeating drama. For them the past could not have significant periods with distinctive characteristics, turning points, or changes over time. This paper will explore this ambiguity and contradiction, arguing that it was a subset of wider Christian attitudes to time

'History and progress in Adam Smith: The periodisation of secularisation reconsidered'

**Shinji Nohara** (University of Tokyo)

Adam Smith has normally been regarded as the founder of political economy. He did not write a systematic history. Despite that, he has influenced such later historical thinking as the ideal of the progress of history. His four-stage theory, in which history progresses from hunters', through pastoral, agricultural, to commercial societies, had been seen as the progressive history. However, recently, some scholars on Smith challenged the view, and said that his four-stage theory was not fit for his historical

descriptions in reality. Rather, they argued that he recognized the difference between the theory and historical realities. This does not appropriately explain why Smith still adopted the theory, which seemed to be progressive.

To examine this, we need to look after his religious views. Although scholars argued Smith's religious views, this presentation shows his religious stance, and its connection with his historical thinking. His progressive view at first sight was based on his religious belief. He was not secular in the sense that he did not think of history as indifferent to the Deity.

'Britain's "War of Nerves": Reframing and reclaiming the period from the Munich Crisis to the end of the Phoney War'

**Julie Gottlieb** (University of Sheffield)

As contemporaries noted, the long months from the Munich Crisis (autumn 1938) through to the end of the Phoney war (spring 1940) felt like a 'war of nerves'. The battlefields were physical, material and military as much as psychological and imagined. Turning to sources that reveal visceral experience, we can explore the internal and internalised history of the international crisis. F.L. Lucas's *Journal Under the Terror, 1938* (1939) in which he undertook to keep a diary from 31 December 1937 to 31 December 1938, provided an answer to the question he wanted future historians to ask: "What can it have felt like to live in that strange, tormented and demented world?" Never before "has there been a war of nerves such as this... Not bullets only, nor artillery, nor bayonets nor bombs dropping from the sky are the modern armoury; but threats of mysterious weapons, gigantic bluff, and a cat-and-mouse game intended to stampede the civilian population of this island into terror," according to one newspaper. For practical psychologist H. Ernest Hunt, Hitler's war of nerves "[i]s like no other war that the world has yet seen, because it is being waged, as it were, simultaneously upon two battlefields, the mental and the physical." Turning to psychological and psychiatric sources prompts a reframing and renaming of the period, and identifying the first battle of Britain's 'People's War' as a war of nerves.

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It felt highly appropriate that the 1930s— the Devil's decade, the Long Weekend, the Lotus Years (as the decade was characterised by writers and politicians immediately at the end of the decade)— should have culminated in a war of nerves. More obviously, I am suggesting a rethinking of the chronological bookends of the interwar and the Second World War itself.

## Panel 2 | Periodisation and Institutions

'Relativizing Periodization: History Education, "Passive Periodization", and Composite States'

**Jun Iwai** (Shizuoka University)

Periodization will be necessary as long as historiography traces changes over time and discusses the development from one period to another. It has been emphasized when depicting the complete history of a country, partly due to the influence of Marxism or modernization theory. In Japanese high school textbooks, Japanese history is divided into the following time periods: primitive/ancient, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary. In English history, too, although there are differences in periods and centuries from Japanese history, the periodization of "primitive/ancient, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary" can almost certainly be applied. What lies behind this periodization? One can sense trust in the "periodization" that history has developed in stages, overcoming slavery and feudalism, through the democratic and industrial revolutions. It is fair to say that the general histories that use such "active periodization" have an attitude of emphasizing the basic continuity and "spontaneous development" of the governing peoples.

However, when one looks around at world history, one realizes that such countries and regions are not the majority. This is readily apparent not only in regions far from Japan and England, such as Africa, the Americas, and Southeast Asia but also by referring to the histories of regions adjacent to countries with "spontaneous development". For example, let us look back at the history of Taiwan, a country adjacent to Japan and under Japanese rule since the late 19th century. According to Taiwanese high school textbooks, Taiwanese history begins with the "Age of Exploration" (the Spanish and Dutch invasions) in the 16th century and is divided into the "period of Qing Empire rule" from the end of the 17th century, the "period of Japanese rule" from 1895, and the "Republic of China" from 1945. There, in contrast to the continuity of ruling peoples and "spontaneous development" in Japanese history, the period is divided externally, with alternation of rule by other countries and discontinuity of history as a guideline. This would mean something like "passive periodization" as a guide.

Nonetheless, Taiwan today has achieved industrialization, has brought about prosperous democratic achievements, and has become one of the most advanced regions in Asia. A similar example can be found in the history of Ireland, a country neighboring England. In Irish history, the pre-modern and contemporary periods can be described as the unique development of the Irish people, but the intervening

period between the 16th and 19th centuries is often divided into periods according to the extent of English rule. In this way, there may be two types of periodization: an "active periodization" that explains spontaneous development based on the continuity of ruling ethnic groups, and an external, "passive periodization" that uses the nature and extent of domination by other countries as a guideline. If so, the periodization that considers only the "active periodization" must be relativized. The former is preferred by Western European countries such as England, France, and Germany as well as Japan, while most of the histories of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Oceania belong to the latter.

In this paper, first, while acknowledging the significance of the "Modern and Contemporary History" introduced in recent years in Japanese high school history education, we point out the problem of "periodization" therein. Second, the paper argues that simply looking at the history of countries that have achieved "spontaneous development," such as the history of Japan and England, is not sufficient in terms of periodization and that it is necessary to consider comprehensive periodization by including Taiwanese history, Irish history, etc. Third, I would like to propose that both historiography and history education should set up the magnetic field of a composite state consisting of diverse regions for this purpose, promote research on various regions that have different characteristics from "spontaneous development," and conceive of Japanese and British history that synthesizes "active periodization" and "passive periodization". This paper does not deny the large-scale periodization based on world system theory or global history, but we believe that it is too broad and somewhat vague as a periodization theory. But, the conventional one-country historical periodization is marked by arguments that emphasize spontaneous development, so this paper attempts to synthesize "active periodization" and "passive periodization" by setting up a composite state field in the middle of the two.

'A Second Surge of the British Academic World in the 1960s analysed through activities of the Inter-University Council

**Dongkyung Shin** (Ewha Woman's University)

The beginning of the 1960s was a time for independence of new colonial Universities Colleges in Africa and the West Indies. These institutions were founded in the post-war development of the British empire and guided by the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies (later Overseas) and the University of London through the scheme of the 'Special Relations'. For example, the University of Ghana gained the University status in 1961 and the Universities of Ibadan and the West Indies followed in 1962.

With their political and academic independence, African countries had confidence in nationalising these British-founded university institutions and academic curricula. At the same time, focusing on the settler universities in the (old) Commonwealth countries, Tamson Pietsch suggests that the 1960s was a period for erosion of the British academic networks especially by American encroachment.

However, unlike independent African leaders' expectation, the speed of academic Africanisation and localisation of staff members appeared unsatisfactory. Rather than helplessly being superseded by the American influence, the IUC managed to alter its policies for keeping its institutional partnership with overseas universities in the former British colonies. Therefore, British expatriate staff's on-going overseas careers and African and West Indian Universities' active engagement in the IUC-led academic programmes and staffing service contributed to strengthening the bond of British and Commonwealth universities in the 1960s. The predominance of the British university model and expatriate staff in the 1960s was continued at overseas universities as assets of Britain's ongoing soft power.

In doing so, this paper argues that the 1960s was the second surge of the British academic world that was based on the IUC's service with new African and Caribbean universities in the bond of Commonwealth universities. Ultimately, this paper will give new insight into understanding the shaping academic and cultural bond of British and Commonwealth countries in a university context in the post-colonial era.

'Periodization of Modern/Contemporary World History and 'East Asian Miracle' in the context of Global History  
**Shigeru Akita** (Osaka University)

The Asian Association of World Historians (AAWH), founded in 2008, is an organisation of scholars worldwide, especially those living in or specialising in the Asia-Pacific region, with a focus on world-historical research and teaching involving Asia. It has become a significant organisation in the interdisciplinary study of societal change from the times of early humanity to the present, focusing on interactions throughout the Asian continent and Asian seas. Its journal, the *Asian Review of World Histories* (Brill), has rapidly become a major publication in world history. AAWH has held five conferences: in Osaka (2009), Seoul (2012), Singapore (2015), Osaka (2019), and New Delhi (2022). Its headquarters are now located at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in India. I served as the President from 2015 to 2022. Today, AAWH occupies a central position in our attempts to build a platform for global history studies in the Asia-Pacific region. This paper introduces our recent activities, based on the achievements of the last conferences and the activities of the Osaka group on global history.

In October 2014, Osaka University established the Institute for Open and Transdisciplinary Research Initiatives (OTRI) under the leadership of the President, and the Division of Global History was included at the initial stage. We have three strong research areas: (1) the silk road and Central Eurasian world history, (2) maritime Asian history in the early modern period, and (3) global economic history in modern and contemporary times. In this paper, I would like to introduce a new periodization of modern/contemporary world history in the context of global history from Asian perspectives, focusing especially on the historical origins of the contemporary 'East Asian Miracle'.

The 'East Asian Miracle' is a term proposed by the World Bank in 1993 to analyse the factors and backgrounds of the extraordinary economic growth of the Asia-Pacific region (East Asia and Southeast Asia). It is closely related to the transformation of the world's political economy and the emergence of the Asia-Pacific economies from the 1980s following the Oil Crises. This stimulating analysis of the contemporary world economy may offer us a reinterpretation of world history from the early modern period to the present: (1) the 'Great Divergence' in the long eighteenth century, (2) the Euro-American-centered long nineteenth century, and (3) the emergence of the 'East Asian Miracle' or the resurgence of East Asian economies from the late twentieth century. These kinds of long-century analyses lead to a different periodization of the modern/contemporary world and future perspectives.

### Panel 3 | Imperial and Commonwealth History

'Conceptualising "the project of an empire" before Adam Smith: An unfinished Scottish historical vision'

**Paul Tonks** (Yonsei University)

The 18th Century was a key period for the development of a genuinely 'British' empire in the wake of the Treaty of Union of 1707, which united the English and Scottish Parliaments. It was also a crucial era for the development of historical writing in Europe and North America, which is most often labelled by intellectual historians the 'Enlightenment'. Scottish thinkers and authors were at the very forefront of 18th Century historical thought and analysis.

Whilst we can acknowledge the huge impact of the ideas of celebrated Scottish intellectuals such as Adam Smith, as is perhaps particularly inevitable in this tercentenary anniversary year of his birth in 1723, it is crucial for us as British historians interested in themes of periodisation to look anew and in greater breadth and depth at the evolution of Scottish historical thought before those very well-known figures such as Adam Smith, David Hume, and William Robertson. This paper will do this by building on and engaging with the growth and transformation of Jacobite visions alongside the (re-)shaping of Country ideology in British, especially Scottish, political and economic thought as embodied in historical writing aimed at reaching a broader literate public as well as elites responsible for government in both Britain and its burgeoning empire overseas.

'Women's citizenship in inter-war Australasia: Re-evaluating the Global Colour Line'

**Rachel Bright** (Keele University)

In recent years, there has been intense interest in the origins of the modern system of migration control, usually situated within the anti-Asian sentiments of the British settler colonies [Lake & Reynolds, 2008]. This paper complicates that picture, by focusing on the cases of women in Australia married to Chinese or Japanese men. Their life stories, and the respective ways China, Japan, Australia, and Britain treated these women, can reveal much about the ways migration and citizenship systems actually worked in practice, a system that was never just about race. It offers a rare chance to compare some of the specifically gendered dimensions of citizenship law and practice across the region at the time, situated within the wider tensions of global politics and the rise of Commonwealth independence, and to reflect on the ways these foundations of a global citizenship system are still shaping migration and nationality today.

'The empire-commonwealth, European integration, and periodisation in the history of post-war British external policy'

**Hiroyuki Ogawa** (University of Tokyo)

As James Ellison pointed out in 2005, 'in foreign and economic policy terms, specific examination of Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe is beginning to rectify the surprising lack of interest in this topic' (emphasis added). Thereafter, the topic of 'Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe' has attracted increasing scholarly as well as political and journalistic attention, particularly through recent and ongoing debates related to Brexit, the post-Brexit Commonwealth, the Anglosphere, and so on. In addition, periodisation in the history of postwar British external policy could be effectively (re-)considered through the lens of the interactions among 'Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe'. It may be true that the retrospective and tentative nature of periodisation is strengthened (or exacerbated) by dealing with historical themes closely related to ongoing events and ideas, including Brexit, the Anglosphere, and 'Global Britain'. However, events with such huge magnitude as Brexit might well affect periodisation with regard to the preceding era directly or indirectly related to it, and then re-examining periodisation as to the postwar history could also enhance our understanding about Brexit and other recent directions of British external policy.



**Panel 4 | Religion**

'The significance of the 1650s in English religious history: The transformation of Reformed thought'

**Hannah Dongsun Lee** (University of Oxford)

This paper proposes that 1650 was an important watershed in discussing religion in seventeenth-century England. In recent scholarship, more historians have come to study religion qua religion, and to acknowledge the roles of religion and religious ideas in shaping the so-called Enlightenment. But this does not mean that the idea of religion as it had been in the early seventeenth century survived. Theologians and lay scholars made a more explicit and systematic distinction between revealed religion and natural religion, and the relationship between Christian morality and other modes of human ethics. In other words, the relativisation of Christianity within Christian conversation was the key shift. This paper argues that in England, an important transition to this new understanding of Christian religion took place around 1650, in the great political and social instabilities and intellectual liberty. As this paper shows, from around 1650, even a group of influential Reformed theologians, the least likely harbingers of an 'enlightened' discussion of religion, started to discuss the questions of natural religion and human morality from around 1650. Once we focus on the shared questions across different denominations from this point, we may understand the following century as a period of collaborated intellectual effort to investigate the nature of Christian religion and its relationship to more universal human morality mainly through Christian sources.

'British evangelical abolitionists' moral capital and an apocalyptic interpretation of the late eighteenth century'

**Young-Hwi Yoon** (Kyungpook National University)

This article examines how the period from the American Revolution to the French Revolutionary War was interpreted by British abolitionists: it attempts to synthesise the dual process by which the interpretation of the end of the eighteenth century as a crisis of the British Empire conferred moral prestige on those involved in the abolitionist movement, while at the same time creating in their minds a sense of crisis, a fear of national judgement.

The article makes three points in this regard. First, as a group of evangelical antislavery politicians came to interpret the late eighteenth century as a series of crises for the British Empire, and this environment opened a door for abolitionists to gain this 'moral capital', by campaigning with religious and moral purpose, as well as

for political objectives on a national level. Second, the perception of an 'imperial crisis' led evangelical abolitionists to associate the 'evil' of slavery with this series of events. The sense of crisis, that the nation was in trouble, motivated many evangelicals to take concrete action to avert impending judgement. Finally, in contrast to the views of some historians who have portrayed material interests generated by moral capital as the primary motivation for abolitionists, this article emphasises that for abolitionists who held an apocalyptic view of their times, moral prestige was a by-product of acting to avert a national crisis.

It was this dynamic combination of moral capital and a sense of crisis in the minds of evangelical abolitionists that motivated them to take concrete action to abolish the slave trade in the face of the perceived imperial crisis of the late eighteenth century.

## Panel 5 | Gender History

'From household to institutions? Women and scientific enquiry'

**Leonie Hannan** (Queen's University Belfast)

Traditionally, early modern women have been understood as appendages to scientific enquiry, rather than central players with questions and practices of their own. That said, a range of scholarship has illuminated the important role many women played in the scientific knowledge-making in this period and others<sup>1</sup>. In particular, Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton's foundational contribution, *Women, science and medicine 1500-1700* (1997), identified the kitchen and stillroom as female spaces of key importance to chemical, biological and medical knowledge<sup>2</sup>. They argued that the emergence of 'modernity' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries demanded a new separation of knowledge from the everyday, one manifestation being the institutionalisation of knowledge and thereby the exclusion of women from scientific enquiry. The precise timeframe for these major shifts depended on the type of science in question<sup>3</sup>.

Whilst this is a compelling narrative, it relies heavily on the slippery concept of 'modernity' and a sense that it arrived at a particular time. The concept has framed twentieth-century understandings of what came before in powerful ways. Hunter and Hutton's argument also proposes the eighteenth century as a period in which the home became less important in terms of scientific activity. Based on the findings of my recent book, *A Culture of Curiosity: Science in the eighteenth-century home*, this paper uses examples of eighteenth-century household enquiry, conducted by 'ordinary' people working at home, to argue that such practices in fact created the conditions of 'Enlightenment science'. Following Donald Opitz et al.'s line of argument, it will also suggest that extra-institutional knowledge-making has been a constant

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Gender and the historiography of science', *The British Journal of the History of Science*, 26:4 (1993), pp. 469-83; Patricia Fara, *Pandora's breeches: Women, science and power in the Enlightenment* (London: Pimlico, 2004); Michelle DiMeo, "'Such a sister became such a brother": Lady Ranelagh's influence on Robert Boyle', *Intellectual History Review*, 25:1 (2015), pp. 21-36; Ruth Watts, *Women in science: A social and cultural history* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Patricia Phillips, *The scientific lady: A social history of women's scientific interests, 1520-1918* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990); and von Oertzen et al., 'Finding science in surprising places'; Katherine Allen, 'Hobby and craft: Distilling household medicine in eighteenth-century England', *Early Modern Women: An interdisciplinary journal*, 11:1 (2016), pp. 90-114.

<sup>2</sup> Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds), *Women, science and medicine, 1500-1700: Mothers and sisters of the Royal Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix.

from the early modern through to the contemporary<sup>4</sup>. Whilst the nineteenth century certainly saw seismic shifts in terms of new institutions and the formation of institutionalised disciplines, it seems likely that domestic activity in that 'modern' era was also over-looked for its intellectual potential<sup>5</sup>. If anything, the further development of institutions packed with affluent men signals the need to delve deeper into the spaces and places that did not fit that model and were de-legitimised by its hegemony.

'Marriage, Divorce and Women's Agency in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Problem of Periodisation'

**Junko Akamatsu** (Bunkyo Gakuin University)

In the exploration of the gender history of marriage and divorce in England, what is the time period that is being referred to when using the term "modernity"? Since the 1970s, there has been a consensus in family history and traditional women's history that the late eighteenth century was a watershed of modernity. Family history, as represented by Lawrence Stone, argued that the mindset of "affective individualism" emerged among the middle and upper classes in the late seventeenth century and gained prominence in the mid-eighteenth century. Meanwhile, traditional women's history identified the ideological spread of modern feminism toward the end of the eighteenth century. However, gender history focused on the eighteenth century has challenged this perspective since the 1990s. It espoused the concept of the "long eighteenth century" to analyse the enduring structural aspects of the gender order in marriage and divorce, as well as the experiences of people within it.

Nevertheless, the gender history of the "long eighteenth century" encounters a significant issue in addressing the same theme. There is a lack of perspectives to explain the changes that occurred during this period. The emphasis often remains on the persistence of patriarchal gender constructs in marital life, and the examination of continuities or discontinuities in people's experiences with marriage law between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been neglected.

This paper aims to address the following questions by delving into studies of the long eighteenth century: 1) What are the characteristics of matrimonial court records as historical sources that gender historians have used and what factors should be considered when distinguishing between different eras? 2) To what extent and in

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<sup>4</sup> Donald L. Opitz, Staffan Bergwik and Brigitte Van Tiggelen (eds), *Domesticity in the making of modern science* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); also see Alix Cooper, 'Afterword' in this volume which discusses how extra-institutional knowledge-making also stretched back into ancient times, pp. 281-7.

<sup>5</sup> Opitz et al., *Domesticity*.

what ways can women be described as historical agents in the legal and intellectual system of marriage and divorce? Based on these questions, the paper reevaluates the concepts that establish chronological divisions in the gender history of marriage and divorce.

'A history of women's contribution to the household economy: reconsidering periodisation of labour history of women'

**Nobuko Okuda** (Nagoya City University)

Women's paid work, especially that of married women has been one of the constantly discussed topics both in economic history and women's history. It has been established that married women became less economically active during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. According to an article by Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, the male breadwinner family had been established by the mid-19th century, although they suggested that the dependence on the father/husband had preceded industrialisation<sup>1</sup>. The reduction of labour participation rates coincided with the establishment of separate spheres. It is again well-known that after the Second World War married women started to take paid work again, often as part-time workers, when their children were old enough. It seems that the history of women's work in the modern era had two turning points, the first half in the 19th century and around 1950. This periodisation is based on the transformations of paid work outside the home. The women's labour participation rates and monetary contribution towards the households have been good indices of their paid work.

However, some historians recently point out that those indices have caused an underestimation of unpaid work which women have been managing at home. A Dutch social historian Marcel van der Linden pointed out that work concerning consumption within a household, such as preparing food and cleaning a living place, was not included in the circulation of labour power<sup>2</sup>. An early modernist, Jane Whittle, pointed out that definition of work as what people do to earn an income caused difficulties in understanding women's activities in the modern era as well as the pre-modern time. Contemporary historians have focused on the importance of unpaid work of women as well. The rise of the history of emotion has revealed the extent of women's emotional labour both in public and private spheres in post-war Britain. After the Second World War, mothers were asked to pay close attention to

their children's emotions, and the ideal of companionate marriage meant wives must pay attention to their husbands' emotions more attentively. Eve Worth and Laura Paterson focus on organisational work, which is defined as 'how women managed working and mothering in the home and the workplace'<sup>3</sup>. Both emotional labour and organisational labour are unremunerated but time-consuming and psychologically demanding. All of these studies suggest the need to expand the definition of 'work'. Therefore, we need to include women's activities at home, both remunerated and unremunerated, to understand the long-term transformation of women's 'work' in the past. I suggest that we should examine married women's household work as well as productive work at home and paid work for the market to reconsider the periodisation of women's work.

## Panel 6 | Economic History

*'The political economy of mills, England 1315-1815'*

**Mabel Winter** (University of Sheffield)

This paper draws on research from the AHRC project 'The Politics of the English Grain Trade, 1315-1815' and discusses the problems and benefits of examining long-term trends across traditional periodisation boundaries. The majority of existing work on mills has tended to be confined to the period up to 1500, with medievalists arguing for a decline in mill numbers and profits from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Yet the continued importance and prevalence of mills into the eighteenth century at least is evidenced by work such as that of E. P. Thompson who framed the grain trade and mills within discussions of a moral v market economy in England.

The project takes a wider view and uses the transhistorical concept of commodification - the process through which something comes to be seen as a morally neutral commodity regulated by the market rather than by ethical or moral values - to chart changes and continuities across the period 1315 to 1815. Through research into the organisation and regulation of the milling trade, this paper examines some aspects of change and continuity in the political economy of mills across this period. It looks at factors such as state formation, particularly the shift from local manorial courts to the central courts of Exchequer and others; shifts in population growth; technological change, in food production and transportation; and market development.

<sup>1</sup> Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Britain' *International Review of Social History* 42, 1997, pp.25-64.

<sup>2</sup> Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World Essays toward a Global Labour History*, 2008, Leiden and Boston, Brill, p.28.

<sup>3</sup> Eva Worth and Laura Paterson, "'How is she going to manage with the children?'" *Organizational Labour, Work and Mothering in Britain, c.1960- 1990' Past and Present*, Supplement 15, 2020, pp.318-343.

This paper uses the politics of alcohol as a microcosm of evolutions in Britain's political economy throughout the twentieth century. The 'drink question' underwent a set of tumultuous shifts throughout the period. Following almost a century of conflict between the anti-alcohol temperance movement and the drinks trade in the nineteenth century, the First World War marked a turning point in which wartime demands for national efficiency forced the government to implement some of the most stringent controls ever imposed on pubs and drinking. Forever abandoning the possibility of alcohol prohibition, the success of such regulations led many to tout the virtues of strategic state regulation over alcohol and licensing, signalling a wider intellectual shift in attitudes towards state intervention in economic and private affairs. As drunkenness declined across the interwar and post-1945 periods, successive governments gradually liberalised the regulatory regime to allow for more flexible licensing arrangements, contributing to the abrupt rise in alcohol consumption from the 1970s onwards. Although this provoked the call for stricter controls in the form of higher pricing and advertising bans by an emerging coalition of public health campaigners, successive Conservative and Labour governments during the 1980s and 90s instead pushed for educational measures to discourage problem drinking to avoid antagonising the drinks industry. From the enthusiasm towards state regulation after 1914 to the reluctance to preserve such regulations on behalf of an emphasis on individual responsibility under 1980s neoliberalism, alcohol regulation mirrored wider shifts in dominant approaches to the political economy across the twentieth century. However, Britain, despite belonging to the group of 'temperance cultures' in Northern Europe and the Anglophone world, avoided the implementation of alcohol prohibition as seen in the United States, while existing control regimes post-prohibition were never as restrictive as those seen in Canada and Scandinavia. In contrast, Britain's circumstances throughout its modern history were such that the individual purchase and consumption of alcohol were freely permitted within looser confines set by beverage duties and licensing laws.

This paper examines the politics of 'gentlemanly capitalism' by analysing the contemporary contestation over the historical narrative regarding the role of the City of London in the post-war British economy. Beyond the validity of the thesis, it explores how intellectuals, politicians as well as the trade union of the City exploited or challenged the notion of a homogeneous and autonomous financial industry against the 'national interests'. Galvanised by the Suez crisis of 1956, left-wing intellectuals called for the idea of the re-birth of Britain into an industrial power with a social democratic vision of the world. Contesting the international commitment to maintaining the strength of the sterling, they construed the dichotomous assumption of finance and industry. For example, N. Davenport's *The Split Society* (1964) presented 'The Bank-Treasury-City nexus', a sectoral group for laissez-faire economic policy and moneyed interests from the Glorious Revolution.

The frustration of the Labour government's social policy owing to the repeated sterling crises in the second half of the 1960s seemed to vindicate the historical discourse. Against the political accusation, under the leadership of W. M. Clarke, the British financial industry established the Committee of Invisible Export to validate the City's contribution to the national economy with the publication of *The City in the World Economy* (1966). As a trade union of the City, it also deliberately directed international banking in the City to accommodate the needs of the British economy. In the following decade, the contestation over the City persisted alongside the political tension regarding the future direction of Britain when the UK government found itself in a dilemma between national considerations (industry) and international commitment (finance). The Wilson Committee to review the functioning of financial institutions in 1976 resumed the contestation until the victory of M. Thatcher. Drawing on contemporary publications and archival sources, this paper explores how the knowledge produced out of political assumption on the City not only inspired the historical narratives but also corresponded to the left-wing political practice concerning the future of Britain. Specifically, it pays attention to the financial crises of the 1960s and 1970s. In doing so, the genealogy of 'gentlemanly capitalism', beyond the academic debate, offers a complex relationship between historical knowledge and political economy in British society.

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