

HIST504B: Nineteenth-Century European Politics (Spring 2011)

Professor R.S. Alexander email: rsa@uvic.ca Office: Clearihue B220
Telephone: 721 7391 Office Hours: Wednesdays, 12:30-2:00 or by appointment.

Course Nature: I have designed this course as an exploration of some of the principal themes of nineteenth-century European political history. As you can see on the schedule, there are two sessions on inter-state relations (including one on imperialism/colonialism), four on political 'isms' or ideologies, two on the expanding role of the state, and one on proto-fascism and military intervention.

Background Reading: This is a topics course, but obviously it would be helpful if you were familiar with the broad political narrative that is the backdrop for what we will be discussing. If you do not have much by way of background for the course, it would make sense to read a survey. Among the many, I would recommend:

Robin Winks & Joan Neuberger, *Europe and the Making of Modernity 1815-1914* (Oxford, 2005).

Robert Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914*, second edition (Oxford, 1996).

M.S. Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe 1815-1914* (London, 1985)

Structure: We meet each Monday for roughly three hours, but we'll take a break of ten minutes in the middle of each session.

As you can see on the schedule, the final session definitely, and perhaps final two (depending on the number of students enrolled in the course), will be dedicated to presentations which you will give. See below for more detail on the presentations.

Save for the presentation sessions, you will be expected to have done the readings prior to each class. They are listed below. Two copies of each of the readings are placed on reserve in the Library. Many of them (particularly those drawn from journals) will also be available in the stacks or perhaps online. As a rule of thumb, I tried to aim for around 200 pages of text per session, although I do occasionally overshoot that figure. Especially for the sessions in which there are a lot of relatively short readings, it would make sense to start early so as to avoid traffic jams. For most sessions, I tried to provide at least one broadly theoretical reading – for example, one on the nature of conservatism, but thereafter the readings concentrate on actual historical movements, regimes, or institutions. The idea is to combine understanding of theory with knowledge of actual practice or implementation.

Marks

Class Participation: 30%

Term Essay: 50%

Class Presentation: 20%

Participation: Each session entails discussion, either of readings or presentations. I will try to assure that everyone has fair opportunity to participate, but obviously much of this component rests upon your own initiative.

I will lead the discussion for the first session on international relations, but after that we will all share this responsibility. The number of readings that you are assigned will be determined by the number of people in the class, but you should expect to do at least one in most sessions.

There are two keys to leading discussion of a reading. Firstly, you should identify what you consider to be the main points of the reading and how the reading might relate to other ones on the course. Secondly, you need to formulate questions that will lead the class to discuss the points you have identified.

If you wish to bring some additional information by way of introducing the reading, please do so. Many of the readings are taken from books; so you might want to say how the reading fits into the broader framework of the book. Or you might want to give some background on the author, or check out book reviews. One way or another, keep in mind that your task is to lead a discussion, not to give a presentation.

You will not be marked specifically on these assignments, but obviously they will form part of how I evaluate your participation mark.

Term Essay: I do not want to be too specific in assigning topics, but the paper will need to be on some aspect of nineteenth-century European political history touched upon in the course. A couple thoughts do come to mind:

- 1) There are many topics that would be suitable for a historiographical essay: say, on the Vienna Settlement, the Revolutions of 1848, the Paris Commune, or the Origins of World War One.
- 2) Otherwise, it would be best to do something that is trans-national in scope, involving two or more countries. You could, for example, trace the evolution of one of the 'isms', noting change in both theory and practice. Or you could consider some aspect of state formation, say regulation of prostitution or development of social welfare. It would be up to you to define the extent of the period covered, based on the nature of the topic & the research materials available to you.

The key is that you start thinking about your essay immediately. You could begin by browsing through the course reading list & thinking about possibilities. Then do a bit of research as to whether there is sufficient literature available. Then inform me as to your plans so that I can schedule your presentation. It would be wise to have this decision made within two weeks of today, and you should submit a working bibliography to me two weeks prior to the presentation.

The essay should be roughly thirty pages in textual length (c. 8,000 words). It would be inappropriate to specify the number of sources, given the potential diversity of topics, but anything under twenty would probably look thin for a grad paper.

The essay will be the basis for your class presentation; see the instructions regarding presentations below. After you have given the presentation, you can revise the essay, but it should be submitted to me no later than two weeks after the presentation.

Essays should be written in accordance with the History Department style guide; you can view it on the departmental website. There should be a title page, pages should be numbered, & notation & bibliography should be done in the form given in the style

guide. Do not hand in an essay that has already been submitted in another course, and submit the original copy (not a photo-copy).

Plagiarism

- 1) Note the statement on plagiarism and cheating in the university calendar.
- 2) Note the History Department statement on plagiarism at the end of this course description.
- 3) If you are in doubt, consult me before you submit your essay.
- 4) If I think you have purposefully plagiarised, you will fail the essay and may fail the course.

Class Presentation: Everyone will give a presentation in one of the final sessions. It will be based on your essay topic & should last roughly twenty minutes. It will be followed by a question period of roughly 10 minutes. You should take the questions and comments from the class and me into consideration prior to submitting the essay. I will provide you with an evaluation of the form & content of the presentation.

It would make sense to start by placing your topic in its broad historical context, particularly concerning how it might relate to the subjects we have covered in the course. After a general intro, you can then turn to a more specific discussion of what you consider to be the main issues involved in your essay.

How you present your report is up to you. You may wish to have it fully written out. This option can prevent mental blocks due to nervousness, but avoid slipping into a monotone. Or you may prefer to speak simply from rough notes. This can have the advantage of sounding more spontaneous, provided you don't discover you have forgotten what you meant to say. There isn't time for long pauses while you try to recollect what you meant to say. One way or another, give yourself ample time in preparing your report and practice delivering it so that you have the timing worked out.

For the rest of the class, participation begins with the question period. Make your comments/questions constructive, but try to suggest means of improvement – points of clarification, aspects of the topic that might be more fully considered, relations to subjects previously discussed that the presenter has not mentioned, or whatever occurs to you as worthy of further discussion.

Provisional Schedule

10 Jan.	Intro
17 Jan.	International Relations, 1814-1914
24 Jan.	Conservatism, Reaction, & Autocracy
31 Jan.	Liberalism, Reform, & Revolution
7 Feb.	Nationalism & National Unification
14 Feb.	Socialism, Anarchism, & Revolution
28 Feb.	Feminism, Civil Society & Democracy
7 March	State Formation: Increasing Civil Regulation
14 March	State Formation: Increasing Civil Provision
21 March	Presentations? Imperialism
28 March	Presentations The Man on Horseback & the New Right

Readings

17 January Session I: International Relations, 1814-1914

1) Paul W. Schroeder, 'International politics, peace, and war, 1815-1914' pp. 158-209 in T.C.W. Blanning, *The Nineteenth Century: Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2000), 158-209.

2) Paul Kennedy, 'Introduction', 'Industrialization and the Shifting Global Balances, 1815-85', in his *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London, 1988), xv-xxviii & 183-248.

2.5) James L. Richardson, 'The Crimean war crisis, 1853-1854', in his *Crisis Diplomacy* (Cambridge, 1994), 69-105 & 378-83.

2.75) Hew Strachan, 'Military Modernisation, 1789-1918', in T.C.W. Blanning, ed., *The Oxford History of Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2000), 76-100.

24 January Session II: Conservatism, Reaction, & Autocracy

3) Noel O'Sullivan, 'Conservative Ideology: a Philosophy of Imperfection', in his *Conservatism* (London, 1976), 9-31.

4) Michael Broers, 'Conservatism: the ideology of power' & 'Reaction: the ideology of defiance' in his *Europe after Napoleon: Revolution, reaction and romanticism, 1814-1848* (Manchester, 1996) 19-34 & 52-66.

5) Charles Esdaille, 'Enlightened Absolutism versus Theocracy in the Spanish Restoration, 1814-50' in David Laven & Lucy Riall, *Napoleon's Legacy: Problems of Government in Restoration Europe* (London, 2000), 65-81.

6) Alan Sked, 'Explaining the Habsburg Empire, 1830-90' in Bruce Waller, ed., *Themes in Modern European History* (London, 1990), 123-58.

7) Edward Acton, 'Russia: tsarism and the West', in Bruce Waller, ed., *Themes in Modern European History* (London, 1990), 159-89.

8) Anna Gambles, 'Rethinking the Politics of Protection: Conservatism and the Corn Laws 1820-1852', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 928-52.

31 January Session III: Early Liberalism, Reform, & Revolution

9) E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish, 'General Introduction: Major Strands of liberalism', in their *Western Liberalism: A History in Documents from Locke to Croce* (London, 1978), 3-35, 91-4.

10) Alan S. Kahan, 'Introduction: Defining Liberalism', in his *Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London, 2003), 1-17, & 202-4.

11) R.S. Alexander, 'Benjamin Constant as a Second Restoration Politician', in Helena Rosenblatt, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Constant* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 146-70.

12) Dieter Langewiesche, 'Early Liberalism and "Middle-Class Society"' and 'Liberal Politics in the Revolution of 1848-9', in his *Liberalism in Germany* (Princeton NJ, 2000), 1-55 & 321-8.

13) John Breuilly, 'Liberalism in mid-nineteenth-century Britain and Germany', in his *Labour and liberalism in nineteenth-century Europe* (Manchester: University Press, 1992), 228-72.

7 February Session IV: Nationalism: Unification & Disintegration

14) John Breuilly, 'Introduction', 'Unification nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe' & 'Separatist nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe' in his *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 1-41 & 65-117.

- 15) B.A. Haddock, 'Italy: independence and unification without power', in Bruce Waller, ed., *Themes in Modern European History* (London, 1990), 67-98.
- 16) Bruce Waller, 'Germany: independence and unification with power', in his *Themes in Modern European History* (London, 1990), 99-122.
- 17) Harm-Hinrich Brandt, 'The Revolution of 1848 and the Problem of Central European Nationalities', in Hagen Schulze, ed., *Nation-Building in Central Europe* (Leamington Spa, 1987), 107-34.
- 18) Gary B. Cohen, 'Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914', *Central European History*, 40 (2007), 241-78.

14 February Session V: Socialism, Anarchism, & Revolution

- 19) Pamela Pilbeam, 'Plural Socialism' & 'The social question' in her *French Socialists Before Marx: Workers, Women and the Social Question in France* (Montreal & Kingston, 2000), 1-25 & 207-11.
- 20) Gregory Claeys, 'Robert Owen: The Machinery Problem and the Shift from Employment to Justice', in his *Machinery, Money and the Millennium: From Moral Economy to Socialism, 1815-60* (Cambridge, 1987), 34-66 & 203-9.
- 21) Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Marx, Engels and Politics', in Hobsbawm, ed., *The History of Marxism: Volume One: Marxism in Marx's Day* (Bloomington IN, 1982), 227-64.
- 22) James Joll, 'Reason and Revolution: Proudhon', in his *The Anarchists* (London, 1964), 45-66 & 268-70.
- 23) George Lichtheim, 'Marxism and Anarchism' & 'The Second International: 1889-1914', in his *A Short History of Socialism* (New York, 1970), 202-36.
- 24) Ulrich Linse, 'Propaganda by Deed and Direct Action: Two Concepts of Anarchist Violence', in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld, eds., *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Europe* (London, 1982), 201-29.
- 25) John Gooding, 'The Vision, 1890-1917', in his *Socialism in Russia: Lenin and his Legacy, 1890-1991* (Houndmills, 2002), 34-50 & 255-6.

28 February Session VI: Civil Society, Democracy & Feminism

- 26) Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, 'Democracy and Association in the Long Nineteenth Century: Toward a Transnational Perspective', *Journal of Modern History*, 75 (June 2003), 269-99.
- 27) Joseph Bradley, 'Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 1094-1123.
- 28) Robert J. Morris, 'Civil Society, Subscriber Democracies, and Parliamentary Government in Great Britain', in Nancy Bermeo & Philip Nord, eds., *Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Lanham MD, 2000), 111-33.
- 29) Offen, Karen, 'Birthing the "Woman Question", 1848-1870', in her *European Feminisms, 1750-1950* (Stanford, 2000), 108-43.
- 30) Richard J. Evans, 'Women's Suffrage and the Left', in his *Comrades and Sisters: Feminism, Socialism and Pacifism in Europe, 1870-1945* (Brighton, 1987), 66-92.
- 31) Lynn Abrams, 'Politics, Nation and Identity', in her *The Making of Modern Woman* (London, 2002), pp. 213-41.
- 32) Martin Pugh, 'The limits of liberalism: Liberals and women's suffrage 1867-1914', in Eugenio F. Biagini, ed., *Citizenship and community: Liberals, radicals and collective identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 1996), 45- 65

33) James F. McMillan, 'In search of citizenship: Feminists and women's suffrage', in his *France and Women 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London, 2000) 188-216.

7 March Session VII: State Formation: Increasing Civil Regulation

34) Michael Mann, 'The rise of the modern state: I. Quantitative Data', in his *The sources of social power: volume II: The rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914* (Cambridge, 1993), 358-95 & 396-401.

35) Gordon Wright, 'Age of the philanthropes 1814-1848' and 'Two Steps Forward, Two Steps Back 1848-1870', in his *Between the Guillotine and Liberty: Two Centuries of the Crime Problem in France* (Oxford, 1983), 48-108 227-39.

36) Paul Ginsborg, 'After the Revolution: bandits on the plains of the Po 1848-54', in John A. Davis and Paul Ginsborg, ed., *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento* (Cambridge, 1991), 128-51.

37) Mary Gibson, 'Regulation' and 'Abolition', in her *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860-1915* (Columbus Ohio, 1986), 13-75 & 219-30.

38) Ruth Harris, 'Legal Procedure and Medical Intervention', in her *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the fin de siècle* (Oxford, 1989), 125-54.

14 March Session VIII: State Formation: Increasing Civil Provision

39) Michael Mann, 'The rise of the modern state: IV. The expansion of civilian scope', in his *The sources of social power: volume II: The rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914* (Cambridge, 1993), 479- 507 & 508-9.

40) Alan Kidd, 'The State and Pauperism', in his *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (Houndmills, 1999), 8-64 & 172-79.

41) Hermann Beck, 'Conservatives and the Social Question in Nineteenth-Century Prussia', in Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack, eds., *Between Reform, Reaction and Resistance: Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945* (Oxford, 1993), 61-94.

42) George Steinmetz, 'The Myth of an Autonomous State: Industrialists, Junkers, and Social Policy in Imperial Germany', in Geoff Eley, ed., *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870-1930* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 257-304 & 304-318.

43) E.P. Hennock, 'The Origins of British National Insurance and the German Precedent 1880-1914', in W.J. Mommsen, ed., *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany 1850-1950* (London, 1981), 84-107.

44) Judith F. Stone, 'The Legislation of Social Reform: Insurance', in her *The Search for Social Peace: Reform Legislation in France, 1890-1914* (New York, 1985), 99-122 & 223-33.

21 March Session IX: Imperialism/Colonialism

45) A. G. Hopkins, 'Overseas expansion, imperialism, and Empire, 1815-1914' in T.C.W. Blanning, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000), 210-40.

46) Jennifer Pitts, 'James and John Stuart Mill: The Development of Imperial Liberalism in Britain', in her *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*, (Princeton NJ, 2005), 123-62 & 299-313.

47) H.L. Wesseling, 'Long-term developments, 1815-1919', in his *The European Colonial Empires 1815-1919* (London, 2004), pp. 13-73.

48) Christopher M. Andrew, and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, 'Centre and periphery in the making of the second French colonial empire, 1815-1920', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 16 n. 3 (1988), 9-34.

49) Arne Perras, 'Colonial Agitation and the Bismarckian State: The Case of Carl Peters', in Geoff Eley and James Retallack, eds., *Wilhelminism and Its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890-1930* (Oxford, 2003), 154-70.

50) John M. MacKenzie, 'The imperial expositions', in his *Propaganda and Empire: The manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester, 1984), 97-120.

28 March Session X: The Man on Horseback & the New Right?

* How many of these we discuss will depend on class size & number of presentations.

51) S.E. Finer, 'The Military in the Politics of Today', 'The Political Strengths of the Military', & 'The Political Weaknesses of the Military', in his *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (London, 1962), 1-19.

52) Stanley Payne, 'The Era of the Pronunciamientos, 1814-68', in his *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* (Stanford, 1967), 14-30 & 466-70.

53) Gerhard Ritter, 'Military and Civilian Authority under the German Empire', in his *The Sword and the Scepter: the Problem of Militarism in Germany*, volume II (Coral Gables, 1970), pp. 119-36 & 290-2.

54) Douglas Porch, 'The army and the republic', in his *The March to the Marne: The French Army 1871-1914* (Cambridge, 1981), 1-22 & 257-8.

55) E. J. Hobsbawm, 'The transformation of nationalism, 1870-1918', in his *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, 1990), 101-30.

56) Geoff Eley, 'Some thoughts on Nationalist Pressure Groups in Imperial Germany', in Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls, eds., *Nationalist and Racist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914* (London, 1981), 40-67.

57) Peter Davies, '1870-1918: anti-Third Republic Protest: *revanche* and the new nationalism', in his *The Extreme Right in France, 1789 to the Present* (London, 2002), 55-78 & 166-73.

58) Emilio Gentile, 'From the Cultural Revolt of the Giolittian Era to the Ideology of Fascism', in Frank J. Coppa, ed., *Studies in Modern Italian History: From the Risorgimento to the Republic* (New York, 1986), 103-19.