



University of California at San Diego

HIEU 109

NATIONALISM IN EUROPE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT: BLOOD SOIL AND BOUNDARIES

Winter 2024

Professor Deborah Hertz

Class meets Tuesdays and Thursdays from 11 to 12:20 in 1A19 PODEMOS Hall, in the Theatre District across from Galbraith Hall. Our classroom is on the ground floor of a tall new building.

Office hours: Tuesdays 1:30—2:30. My office is located in the Torrey Pines Living and Learning Complex, in the Ridgewalk Academic Building #919. I am happy to meet you in other spaces on campus. Talking after class or during the time for Small Group Conversations is also fine.

Email: dhertz@ucsd.edu. I would prefer to speak to you in person about minor issues. Use my email thoughtfully and sparingly. You can easily send me a message through our Campus web site.

Class Web site: We will be using Canvas.

Aims of the Course. In this course, we explore nationalist movements in Europe from the French Revolution to the present. Wide historical background is not required. Students are **not** expected to decide on a particular theory of nationalism, but rather to read widely and make thoughtful comparisons between various regions in Europe across this era.

Requirements:

There is no set relationship between points and grades. At the end of the quarter the instructor will construct a curve appropriate to the overall trend of the point totals. Once the point totals are assembled for the entire class, I tailor the curve to how students actually performed rather than an abstract guideline of matching points to grades. This method almost always results in higher letter grades than students might assume using a pre-form rigid system. Keep in mind that if students overall do not do particularly well in the course, those with points in the 80s may well receive an A.

----Submit a one page typed statement of **Why I Enrolled in this Course** by **January 11th**. Submit on CANVAS. The purpose of this assignment is so that the instructor can help students with evolving English-language competence. 5 points.

----Take two *quizzes*. The first will be the weekend of **January 27** and the second will be the weekend of **February 10**. The quiz portal will remain open for one hour once you begin. These are open-book quizzes. 5 points per quiz. Stay tuned for details.

----Submit the **proposed topic** for your essay on the Discussion platform by **January 13rd**. 5 points

-----**Close the conversation** with the professor and settle on a topic for your essay by **February 15th**. You may revise the topic as you pursue the research but you will need permission for the new topic. 5 points.

-----**Two Critical Analysis Responses**. These will replace the midterm and the final. You will receive the prompt [of one question] on a Friday morning, and your three mini-essay will be due on Sunday evening. Each CAR worth 25 points. Dates: weekend of February 15th and weekend of March 16.

-----**Essay** of 10 pages on a topic of your choosing. Due March 13th. **Students can submit an early draft of their essay on March 5th**. The point of this process is to use the Turnitin report to revise the final version. Use the *Personalities and Events* section of each class session to choose a topic, or use the indexes of the books or Google to help you choose a topic. There is also a list at the end of the syllabus. For your research, you must use one academic book [a historical monograph or a biography] or four academic articles for references. You may use the internet to pursue your research, but do not add internet sources to your footnotes unless the source is an authentically academic source which exists only online.

TOTAL POINTS: Two quizzes, 5 points each; Submission and Approval of Essay Topic, 5 points each; two Critical Analysis Reports for 25 points each; essay 25 points. 10 for quizzes; essay topic 10 points; 50 for CARs, and essay for 25.

PLAGIARISM Cases of academic dishonesty will be turned over to the Office of Academic Integrity. We take plagiarism very seriously at UCSD and expect you to understand the moral issues involved. Punishments are severe, but you should not need the threat of punishment in order to be honest and authentic. You are paying tuition to learn how to read, think, converse, and write, so why would you undercut this learning opportunity? Any students who are discovered to have posted material from the course on illegal web sites should expect to receive negative consequences. Avoid using Chat GPT because you will likely do a better job than those robots can do. Besides why would you find a way around the very instruction for which you pay your tuition? <https://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/index.html>

Definitely take advantage of the services of the *Teaching and Learning Commons* located on the ground floor of the library. Do not wait to visit them until the end of the quarter as you will find it more difficult to obtain an appointment. <https://commons.ucsd.edu/>

Small Group Conversations. Every Thursday the **Conversations** groups will meet for the last 20 minutes of class. Be ready to choose among the following topics: Monuments, Films, Folklore, Theories of Nationalism, or Charismatic Leaders Compared. Groups can also form with a focus on the national struggles in France, Serbia, Bulgaria, Poland, Haiti, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, and Germany. Groups must have a minimum of five students and we will need a leader for each group.

In your weekly **Conversation** meeting, students can discuss the Burning Questions noted for each lecture, discuss contemporary politics connected to the themes of the course, or share their ongoing research challenges. Each group will be responsible for a very short presentation at the end of the quarter.

Maps as History website: We will be watching the short videos from the modern European section of this wonderful platform at the beginning of class. You can use this resource as you master the class material. Note the short written narratives for each session, which you can print up and study. Log in: UCSD. Password: History. The relevant platforms are “Europe and the Nations 1815-1914” and “Europe and the Nations 1918-1942.” <https://www.the-map-as-history.com/Europe-19th-Congress-of-Vienna>

Class Etiquette. Kindly do not eat in class, it is distracting for the professor. Drinks are fine. It would be much appreciated by the instructor if you come on time and remain in the classroom until the lecture is finished. It is difficult to concentrate with students entering and leaving during our time in class.

CLASS TEXTS

Derek Hastings, *Nationalism in Modern Europe*. Bloomsbury Publishers, 2018. [Kindle \$15; print copy \$28; nook \$26]. The digital version of this book is available for sale in the bookstore and we will be reading selections from the book for most class sessions. The first several chapters of the book have been scanned by Google Books.

Recommended texts: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Publishers, 2016. Kindle \$9.99 and Paperback \$13.

David Bell, *Men on Horseback: The Power of Charisma in the Age of Revolution*. Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2020. Kindle \$13 and paper \$15.

FILMS

We will be using 9 films as texts. This means you should watch them on your own, as they will not be shown in class. My lectures will incorporate the films and they can be the topic for CAR questions or quiz questions. Eventually all of the films should be streaming through the Library Reserves platform, but until all films have arrived, note that you can watch many of them on You Tube for free or on Amazon prime if you have a subscription.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES

January 9: How Print-Capitalism Made Nationalism Possible

Recommended background reading: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Chapters Two and Three.

Prepare the one-page statement on “Why I Enrolled in this Course” which is due on Thursday, January 11. The purpose of this assignment is to provide the instructor with a baseline to determine your English-language writing skills. Please do not ask for help from anyone as you prepare this page. Post your statement on the Assignments page of our CANVAS site.

January 11: *France from Empire to Nation*

Read: Hastings Chapter Two, 21-36

Personalities and Events: Hobsbawm’s notion of “invented tradition;’ Estates-General; Third Estate; Marquis de Lafayette; Rousseau and the General Will; Abbe Emmanuel Sieyes; storming of the Bastille; Declaration of the Rights of Man; Benjamin Franklin; King Louis XVI; Declaration of Pillnitz; Battle of Valmy; Maximillian Robespierre; guillotine as punishment; Reign of Terror; Jacobins; Cult of the Supreme Being; Jacques-Louis David; Olympes de Gouge; women’s march to Versailles

Submit one-page paper statement on “Why I Enrolled in this Course.” Please submit on the Assignments page on CANVAS.

Burning Question: [Hastings at 25]: “The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen...incorporated both abstract Enlightenment ideals and more practical principles from the American Revolution. It presents us with an early instantiation of the potent mixture of universalist idealism and particularist self-interest that would come to characterize much nationalist discourse over the next two centuries.” How can universalism and self-interest be combined?

SUBMIT YOUR PROPOSED ESSAY TOPIC

January 16: *The Unlikely Charisma of Robespierre, and Napoleon as a New King?*

Read: Hastings, 36-55.

Recommended: Bell, *Men on Horseback*, Chapter Three.

Watch: *Napoleon* Directed by Yves Simoneau, 2002, A and E Network, four episodes available streaming on Amazon Prime Video

Personalities and Events: biographies of Napoleon, Robespierre; Talleyrand; Lord Nelson; Andreas Hofer; Igne Marinovics; The Directory; Thermidorian Reaction; Coup of 18th Brumaire; the *Grand Armee*; status of the Papal States; Spanish Independence movement,

Burning Question: Why did a revolution which killed a king rally behind Napoleon, who was ostensibly anti-royalist but in fact adamant about exercising power?

January 18: *The Triumph and Tragedy of Revolution in Haiti*

Read: Bell, *Men on Horseback*, Chapter Four

Personalities and Events: Toussaint Louverture; Vincent Oge; Etienne de Bizefranc de Laveaux; Leger-Felicite Sonthonax; Etienne Polverel; French Revolution abolishes then re-instates slavery; Haiti as producer of coffee and sugar; status of free persons of color in Haiti; Napoleon's changing policies on Haiti; Abbe Raynal, the French opponent of slavery.

Watch *Toussaint Louverture* by Philippe Niang. Made by French Television 2012. Available at <https://youtube.com/watch?v=gau8RGiT5Do>.

Burning Question: If France outlawed slavery in 1794, why did French revolutionaries not welcome the Haitian Revolution?

January 23: *How the Vienna Congress Established a New Map for the Nineteenth Century*

Read: Hastings, 51-60.

Personalities and Events: Confederation of the Rhine; Klemens von Metternich; Lord Castlereagh; Prussian expansion; Czar Alexander I of Russia; Napoleon's escape from Elba; Jewish salons in Vienna; Karl Ludwig von Haller; French king in Sweden; city of Vienna in 1815; military dimensions of the Napoleonic Wars; Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexander von Humboldt; Rahel Levin Varnhagen and her husband Karl.

Burning Question: What principles did the European statesmen employ when they drew a new map for post-Napoleonic Europe? Would it have been better if Germany and Italy had become unified by the Congress of Vienna?

January 25: *The Serbian Uprising, the Bulgarian War of Independence, and Pan-Slavism*

Read Hastings 115-117 and 135-136

Personalities and Events: Bulgarian War of Independence 1878; Serbian uprising 1804; conversions to Islam in Europe; minority policies in Ottoman Empire; Sephardic Jews; pan-Slavism; Kemal; Ataturk; Berlin Conference 1878; the phrase "the sick man of Europe."

Burning Question: In the poem "The Mountain Wreath" of 1847 [in Hastings at 116] we read: "your destiny is to bear the cross of the fierce fight against brothers and foes!" Do you read this as a Christian theme? What is the significance of casting the pan-Slavist national struggles in religious terms?

QUIZ NUMBER ONE OVER THIS WEEKEND

January 30: *Scotland's Contested Autonomy: A Nation Without a State?*

Read Christopher Bryant, "Claiming Scotland," chapter in his *The Nations of Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 62-91.

Personalities and events: Robert Burns; Scottish Gaelic language; Acts of Union 1707; Highland clans; Jacobites; Act of Proscription 1796; men in kilts; Hugh MacDiarmid; Scottish National party

Burning Question: In 1707, the leaders of Scotland agreed to an arrangement with the English crown that aspects of their autonomy would be relinquished, in return for joining Britain. Was it possible to maintain cultural autonomy with this political capitulation? Compare to other ethnic regions inside of larger empires that were not able or willing to make such a compromise.

February 1: Greek Independence and Lord Byron the Romantic Hero

Read: Hastings 72-77

Personalities and Events: views of Greek antiquity; major powers help Greece; Rigas Velesinlis, revolutionary anthem; Adamantios Korais; Friendly Society of Odessa; Alexander Ypsilantis; Ali Pasha; Sultan Mahmud II; Petrobey Mavromichalis; Greek constitution; Lord Byron; William Parry; Percy Shelley; the concept of the romantic hero; comparative study of various romantic heroes from the nineteenth century; closeted and openly homosexual men in Byron's circle.

Watch *Byron*, TV movie by Julian Farino, produced by the BBC, 2003. Two 75 minute parts. UCSD Library owns and the film is streaming on the Library Reserves platform on CANVAS. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1t3xHPn2JH0>

Burning Question: Why did the Greek War for Independence attract the support of "romantic heroes" from England in this era? Why did Greeks wish to be totally independent from the Ottoman Empire even though the Empire's religious and ethnic policies were actually very enlightened?

February 6: Did the 1848 Revolution Truly Fail?

Read: Hastings, 77-88

Watch: *Young Marx* film (2017) by Raoul Peck. Available on Amazon Prime Video and free on You Tube Movies

Personalities and Events: King Louis-Philippe; Karl Marx; Friedrich Engels; *The Communist Manifesto*; banquet campaign in France; Alphonse de Lamartine; National Workshops in France; Charles Rogier; duel Rogier and Charles Gendebien; civil conflict in Switzerland; Irish Rebellion; Reform Society of Stockholm; Magyarization in Hungary; Lola Montez; King Ludwig of Bavaria; resignation of Metternich

Burning Question: Historians continue to debate whether we should view the 1848 Revolution as a failure or a success. How should we measure success? Contrast the class struggle against an aristocratic order, the political struggle for constitutional monarchy, and the national struggle for independent ethnic states.

February 8: The Gender of Nationalism

Read George Mosse, Chapter Five of *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

Personalities and Events: Marianne symbol of France; Germania symbol of Germany; Victoria symbol of England; women cross-dressing as men to fight in wars; notable Queens in the nineteenth century; men's homosocial friendships; what was toxic masculinity in the nineteenth-century; female heroines in nationalist movements

Burning Question: Why were the symbols of the various nation states female? Can we learn anything about the style of the various nationalisms from the female images used to represent the nation?

QUIZ NUMBER TWO OVER THIS WEEKEND

February 13: The Charisma of Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Unification of Italy

Read: Hastings, 91-99 and “An Obituary from the London Times, 1882” reprinted in Denis Mack Smith, ed., *Garibaldi* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Publishers, 1969), 149-152.

Watch: Roberto Rossellini, *Garibaldi* (1961) also called *Viva Italia*. Available for streaming on Amazon Prime and YouTube Movies

Personalities and Events: Vincenzo Gioberti; Piedmont; Pope Gregory; Pope Pius IX; march to Monte Cavallo; stabbing of Pellegrino Rossi; Risorgimento; Mazzini; Garibaldi; Camillo di Cavour; Victor Emmanuel; red shirts; gesture of hand in coat; Crimean War

Burning Question: Would you consider Garibaldi and his wife Anita to be left-wing rather than right-wing nationalists? Is left versus right an important way to examine and compare different national movements?

February 15: How Three Wars United the Germanic Lands

Read: Hastings, 99-108

Personalities and Events: Otto von Bismarck; German liberalism; the Schleswig-Holstein conflict; antisemitism in the Germanic lands; city-states and small nation-states in the Germanic lands; the Little Germany versus the Big Germany; German Confederation; 1864 war with Austria; 1870-71 Franco Prussian War; Protestants and Catholics in Germanic lands; rapid German industrialization and national unification; Emperor Franz Joseph of Habsburg Empire; North German Confederation

Burning Question: Contrast Otto von Bismarck and Giuseppe Garibaldi as nationalist leaders, and compare the steps toward national unification in Germany and Italy.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS RESPONSE THIS WEEKEND.

CLOSE THE CONVERSATION WITH PROFESSOR ABOUT YOUR ESSAY TOPIC

February 20: How to Explain the Murder Suicide Pact of Crown Prince Rudolf at Mayerling in 1889?

Read Hastings, 126-128;

Film by Terence Young, *Mayerling* 1963. Streaming on Reelgood.

Personalities and Events: Emperor Franz Joseph; suicide in Austria; language struggles inside the Hapsburg Empire; contrast ethnic politics in Ottoman Empire and in Austria-Hungary; Hungarian victories for parity in the empire; Rudolf Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary; Baroness Mary Vetsera; Archduke Franz Ferdinand; Gavrilo Princip and the start of World War One

Burning Question: The Hapsburg Empire allowed Hungary to become an equal “sub-nation” inside of its Empire during the 1860s. Why did the Czechs and the Slavs not achieve this parity with the Austrian rulers?

February 22: Catalonia Resists Integration into Spain

Read Hastings, 186-187

Watch *Uncertain Glory [Incierta Gloria]* 2017 by Agustí Villaronga, streaming on Apple TV, Google Play and YouTube

Personalities and Events: Spanish civil war; Antonio Salazar; Primo de rivera; King Alfonso XIII, Second Republic; Falange party; military victory over Morocco; General Francisco Franco; fights between anarchists and communists; George Orwell

Burning Question: Once World War Two began, historians began to refer to the Spanish Civil War as a “dress rehearsal” for the second World War. Describe the meaning of this label.

February 27: Israel Zangwill’s Critique of Zionism

Read: Gur Alroey, “Zionism without Zion?”: Territorialist Ideology and the Zionist Movement 1882-1956,” in *Jewish Social Studies* Volume 18 Number 1, Fall 2011, 1-32.

Personalities and Events: Israel Zangwill; Theodor Herzl; Max Nordau; First Zionist Congress; the notion of settler colonialism applied to Zionism; Martin Buber; Yiddish socialist Bund; Am Olam movement for agricultural Jewish settlements in the United States; Baron de Hirsch colonies in South America; the Uganda plan of 1903

Burning Question: Summarize the variety of views among prominent Jewish intellectuals regarding the hope and struggle for a Jewish state in Palestine before World War One

February 29: The Causes and Consequences of the Russian Revolution

Read: Hastings, 59-60

Watch: *Ten Days that Shook the World*, a film by Sergei Eisenstein 1928. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tQ9GCi4Gjso>

Personalities and Events: Alexander Kerensky; Vladimir Lenin; Leon Trotsky; Jews as Bolsheviks; Mensheviks; Social Revolutionaries; Cadet Liberals; Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; sealed train; industrialization; the Worker’s Councils; representative democracy; the novel and film *Dr Zhivago*; comparison Russian Revolution to nineteenth-century European revolutions; Zionists in Soviet Russia; Jewish radicals in Russian left

Burning Question: Vladimir Lenin broke with Marxist doctrine when he advocated a revolution in 1917 that would skip the stage of the bourgeois revolution against aristocracy and autocracy and move directly to socialism. Was he correct in this position?

March 5: Josef Pilsudski, Revolutionary, Nationalist, Statesman and the Survival of Poland

Read: Hastings, 169 to 171

Events and Personalities: Josef Pilsudski; Wilson’s Fourteen Points; Paris Peace Conference 1919; non-Poles inside the border of Poland; Roman Dmowski; antisemitism in interwar Poland

Burning Question: Why did Woodrow Wilson single out Poland as a people who deserved their own nation state in the Fourteen Points?

ROUGH DRAFT OF YOUR ESSAY DEADLINE MARCH 5 AT 11:59

March 7: The Easter Uprising in 1916 in Ireland

Read: Hastings 61-2, 79-82, and 163-64

Recommended: *Mise Eire* documentary on 1916; by George Morrison <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1JogzEhgDF4>

Personalities and Events: Daniel O’Connell; Feargus O’Connor; Chartist Movement; James Bronterre O’Brien; Robert Bruns; Political Martyrs’ Monument; Walter Scott; Walter Scott novels; Repeal Association; potato famine; migration to United States; Act of Union of 1801; Young Ireland movement; Thomas Davis; legacies of Northern Ireland in the British Empire

Burning Question: What role did the religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants play in the fight for an independent Ireland in 1916? Compare to Scotland if you can.

March 12: Rethinking the Concept of Nationalism

Read: Elie Kedourie, “Nationalism and Self-Determination,” in *The Oxford Reader on Nationalism*, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D Smith (New York: Oxford University Press), 48-55; and Eric Hobsbawm, “The Rise of Ethno-Linguistic Nationalisms,” in *The Oxford Reader on Nationalism*, 177-184.

Burning Question: Contrast ethno-nationalism to a citizen style nationalism. Do you think that ethno-nationalism should be avoided as this model cannot lead to true equality for peoples who are not born into the dominant ethnicity?

FINAL ESSAY DUE ON WEDNESDAY MARCH 13TH at 11:59 PM

March 14: Student Presentations

SECOND CRITICAL ANALYSIS RESPONSE OVER THE WEEKEND OF MARCH 16 AND 17

ESSAY TOPICS

Any of the personalities or events listed for particular lectures; flags; constitutions; charismatic famous leaders; obscure leaders; passports; maps of the region; language wars; anthems; inventions of tradition; food; trade legal and illegal across borders; status of minorities; ideologies of class and peoplehood; religious conflicts; world fairs; gender symbols of nationalism such as Marianne and Germania; sexuality in boarding schools; primary education and literacy rates for girls; women’s participation in political congresses; migration rates by gender; Charles Kingsley novels; Rudyard Kipling and masculinity; sexologists Magnus Hirschfeld and Krafft-Ebing; Oscar Wilde; Edward Carpenter; Johann Herder; Johann Fichte; Oktoberfest in Munich; Walhalla Monument; cult of friendship; Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Christian Garve; Wars of Liberation; the *Volk*; Heinrich von Kleist; Caspar David Friedrich; homosocial and homosexual; gymnastics movement; Turmvater Jahn; British boarding schools; Scouts movement

Festivals at opening of railroads, mail delivery, railroads as democratic; Friedrich List; Count Cavour and railways; Saint-Simonians and railways; Karl Marx and railways; European book trade in nineteenth century; elite culture and popular culture; censorship regulations; literacy rates; public libraries, history of museums.