

Rethinking Continuity and Change in Early Modern and Modern Political History

2nd Annual Workshop for PhD Candidates in Political History

16-17 December 2016



Welcome

Dear participant,

On behalf of the Political History PhD Network we welcome you to the second annual workshop for PhD candidates in Political History!

This booklet contains the workshop's full programme, abstracts, biographies and contact details of the participants, as well as biographies of the keynote speaker, Constanze Sieger, the participants of the roundtable discussion and organizers. In addition, there is also practical information on travelling to the University of Warwick and the location of the workshop itself.

This year's workshop has been made possible by the generous institutional and financial support of the European History Research Centre and the Humanities Research Centre, both of the University of Warwick; we are very grateful for this!

For further information on the Political History PhD Network and to become a member please join us on [LinkedIn](#)! Talk about the workshop on Twitter by using **#polhisphd**! If you have any questions regarding the workshop or the Political History PhD Network, please do not hesitate to **contact** us at: phdpolhis@gmail.com.

Alessandro Capone
Thomas Mainault
Anne Petterson
Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh

Political History PhD Network

The [Political History PhD Network](#), initiated after the launch of the Association for Political History in September 2014, brings together PhD candidates working on political history. In order to strengthen good practices of international cooperation and research, it focuses on young historians who are in the process of writing their doctoral dissertation. The Political History PhD Network issues a monthly newsletter, manages a LinkedIn-group, and organizes a yearly PhD workshop. As such the network offers an easy-accessible platform which will create a framework for future academic cooperation.

European History Research Centre

The [European History Research Centre](#) (EHRC) was established in 2014 by the Warwick University History Department under the directorship of Professor Mark Philp. The principal aims of the EHRC are to provide a centre for research activities related to European History, to further advance research in the broad field of European History, to facilitate collaboration between members of staff working in similar areas across the academic departments and faculties of the University and to stimulate and support interdisciplinary research especially across the Arts and Social Sciences. In particular the Centre is keen to develop work cutting across time periods, looking at Europe's negotiations of its borders and boundaries, and examining its links to the wider world.

Humanities Research Centre

The [Humanities Research Centre](#) was established in 1985 to promote individual, collaborative and interdisciplinary research in the humanities, through research projects, seminars, conferences, special lectures and publications. Its main aims are to provide an over-arching structure for research activities in the Humanities; raise the public profile of Arts research at Warwick within the wider scholarly community and beyond; promote research activities among all staff in the Faculty; help consolidate existing research activities in the Arts; initiate new research activities and groupings; encourage interdisciplinary research within the Faculty and between Faculties; advise on and encourage the pursuit of outside funding for Arts research.

The University of Warwick

The establishment of the [University of Warwick](#) was given approval by the government in 1961 and received its Royal Charter of Incorporation in 1965. The idea for a university in Coventry was mooted shortly after the conclusion of the Second World War but it was a bold and imaginative partnership of the City and the County which brought the University into being on a 400-acre site jointly granted by the two authorities. Since then, the University has incorporated the former Coventry College of Education in 1978 and has extended its land holdings by the purchase of adjoining farm land. The University initially admitted a small intake of graduate students in 1964 and took its first 450 undergraduates in October 1965. Currently, the university has 24,683 students, of which 13,864 are undergraduate and 9,540 are postgraduate. Of the total student population 9,363 are international students.

Programme

Thursday 15 December 2016

20:00	<i>Informal pre-workshop Welcome Drinks</i>
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Friday 16 December 2016

12:30-13:00	<i>Registration</i> Wolfson Research Exchange, University of Warwick Library
13:00-13:30	Welcome
13:30-15:00	Panel I <i>Parliaments and political deliberations (room A)</i> Chair: Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh
	Zachris Hapaarinne The multisitedness of eighteenth century decision-making processes
	Leonard van 't Hul Not dead, but buried alive. Political deliberation on the rearranging of the state-religion interlocution in the Netherlands, 1946-2009
	Carlos Domper Lásus A past that does not die. Nationalism, elections and the European integration process. A complex relationship
	Panel II <i>Confronting the emerging modernity (room B)</i> Chair: Anne Petterson
	Carolien Boender Continuities in urban civic identities. Citizenship and the crises of 1747-1749 and 1813
	Ettore Bucci A Catholic inspired autogestion? Hopes and utopies in French ideas of selfmanagement
	Jacopo Marchetti New institutional economics (NIE) and the emergency of social costs: how reconciling institutional changes with individual decision making processes
15:00-15:30	<i>Break</i>
15:30-17:00	Panel III <i>War and security (room A)</i> Chair: Alessandro Capone
	Carlos Antolín Réjon "Las cosas están tan públicas que todos estos potentados tienen puestos los ojos por ver cómo vuelve el rey por su reputación". Hawkes and doves or short versus long-term policy? The Crisis between the Spanish Monarchy and the Duchy of Savoy (1610)"
	Nick Crown Continuity and change in 16th-century Catholic and Protestant representations of sainthood and martyrdom
	Erik de Lange Making peace and changing fates. The Congress of Vienna and the securitizing of the Barbary Corsairs
17:00-17:30	<i>Break</i>
17:30-18:30	Round Table
18:30	<i>Workshop dinner</i>

Saturday 17 December 2016

9:30-10:00	<i>Welcome – Coffee and Tea</i>
10:00-11:00	Keynote Speech Dr. Constanze Sieger University of Münster
11:00-11:15	<i>Break</i>
11:15-12:45	Panel I <i>Parliaments and political deliberations (room A)</i> Chair: Thomas Maineult
	Lauren Lauret House of continuities. Meeting locations of the Dutch States General and the continuity of the early modern political word (1719-1830)
	Charles Lenoir How to deal with reform? The use of historical references to legitimize conservative political stance regarding the reform of the state in France and United States, late 19th century, early 20th century
	James McSpadden A radical change? The political influence of German, Austrian, and Dutch female parliamentarians, 1918-1940
	Panel IV <i>Nation and state building and language of politics (room B)</i> Chair: Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh
	Joonas Tammela A Swedish Israel or a secular nation? The construction of a patriotic identity in Swedish and Finnish local sermons, 1770–1820
	Glauco Schettini Redefining virtue in Revolutionary Italy, 1796-1799
	Tom Schuringa Towards the institutionalization of planning: Tinbergen and the increasing importance of ‘econometrics’ in the Netherlands (1929-1945) (originally panel II)
12:45-13:45	<i>Break (Lunch)</i>
13:45-14:45	Panel IV <i>Nation and state building and language of politics (room A)</i> Chair: Alessandro Capone
	Alessandro Bonvini “Oh Patria querida”. The construction of Italian identity in the Cono Sur through the journalism of mazzinian exiles (1835-1848).
	Stefanie Hundedege Shaping the future, tied to the past? Historicising language and patriotic identity in the political poetry of Baldur von Schirach
14:45-15:00	<i>Break</i>
15:00-16:00	Concluding meeting – Plenary session about the future of the Political History PhD Network. <i>The network is a joint effort, so your input will be very much appreciated!</i>

Papers

Friday 16 December 2016

13:30 – 15:00 Panel I *Parliaments and political deliberation* | Room A

Chair: Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh

Zachris Haaparinne | University of Jyväskylä

The multisitedness of 18th century decision-making processes

The eighteenth century British parliament functioned as a nexus between the different agents and publics of the political sphere. Representation, on which the House of Commons was founded, was a combination of both high and low politics. It combined parliamentary agents with publics out-of-doors, the members of the House of Commons gaining their legitimacy from a non-parliamentary electorate. The electors could not, however, require their representatives to act in accordance with the alleged will of the people, though many such claims were made.

But what kind of sources should be prioritized when examining eighteenth century debates on such subjects? I argue that from a conceptual perspective it is the parliamentary sphere of politics that is the single most important sphere for the construction of concepts. Rejecting approaches emphasizing the primacy of the early modern press does not, however, equal with regarding the press as irrelevant. Rather than being a choice between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary sources, the more relevant question is about how to combine a variety of divergent sources. Focusing on multisited agency might, as I suggest, be one way of overcoming such dichotomies.

Zachris Haaparinne is a second year PhD student who received a MA in General History and a MSc in Political Science from the University of Jyväskylä in 2014 and 2015. He currently writes his doctoral thesis on conceptualizations of political representation in eighteenth century petitions, focusing on the multisitedness of parliamentary politics in Georgian Britain. He is associated with the Jyväskylä tradition of history of political cultures, which combines both Koselleckian and Skinnerian approaches. Key concepts: Conceptual history, parliament, political cultures, petitions, multisitedness, 18th century

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Leonard van 't Hul | University of Amsterdam

Not dead, but buried alive. Political deliberation on the rearranging of the state-religion interlocution in the Netherlands, 1946-2009

Like the majority of its European neighbours, Dutch society has witnessed an unprecedented and rampant decline of traditional religion in the second half of the twentieth century. In just a few decades adherence to Christian churches and support for the confessional political parties dwindled. Nonetheless, the institutional presence of traditional church-organizations proved to be surprisingly resilient. Irrespective of the public self-identification of the Netherlands as a modern, secular country, and growing anti-religious, anti-institutional sentiments in the public domain, it appears that the Dutch government is still highly supportive of faith-based organizations (FBOs). In this context of public discontent, it is an open question how old and new FBOs were able to acquire and/or maintain a benevolent political position vis-à-vis the state against the odds of severe public discontent.

I will answer that question by delving into processes of political deliberation with respect to the rearranging of the state-religion interlocution in the period 1946-2009. Emphasis is put on the political dynamics just below the surface of public political debate, namely in the (state-)committees that were commissioned by the national government on issues pertaining to the separation of church and state. Case in point here are the political deliberations on the re-arranging of the faith-based

services for spiritual care in the armed forces. Doing so enables me to scrutinize the 'praxis' of political interaction between state-officials, church-representatives, and stakeholders of faith-based organizations such as the Humanist League and Muslim-organizations.

My research indicates that the lens of political communication and discourse can only partially account for the political dynamics over the course of the last decades. Discursive strategies were an integral part of the political deliberation process indeed. Nevertheless, the internal logic of how political deliberation was organized proved to construe the paramount factor in bringing about, or hampering the changes in the political arrangements. Overall, I henceforth aim to contribute to the general discussion by emphasizing the necessity for political-history to adopt institutionally-oriented research approaches. The discarding research approaches that emphasize institutional dynamics as 'old-fashioned', and 'narrow-focused' forms of research at the cost of the sole studying of political communication is to merely reproduce contemporary anti-institutional public sentiments as academic truths.

Leonard van 't Hul works as a PhD-student at the department of history at the University of Amsterdam. The working title of his project is *Religion Renegotiated. Faith-based organizations and the state in the Netherlands since the 1960s*. He studied sociology at the Universities of Utrecht (BA, UU), Amsterdam (MA, UvA) and Rotterdam (MA, EUR) and his main research interests circle around contemporary cultural and religious change as well as political sociology.

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Carlos Domper Lásus | **Universita LUISS 'Guido Carli'**

A past that does not die. Nationalism, elections and the European integration process. A complex relationship

Nationalism and differentiation are two of the hottest topics in the current European politics context. Based on the existing literature, this article seeks to establish what relationship exists between these two phenomena by analysing them from two perspectives: the political science one and the historical one. Thus, the paper discusses the evolution of the institutional structure of the modern state in Europe and shows how this institutional structure was transformed by the European integration process. The main conclusion arising from this paper is that the influence nationalism in setting the institutional framework of the European states, is one of the key factors to explain the current configuration of European Union as a "system of integrated differentiation".

Carlos Domper Lasús is currently pursuing his PhD in Political History at the Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali "Guido Carli" in Rome. He got his degree in History and his Advanced Studies Diploma in Contemporary History at Zaragoza University. In addition, he has carried out several research stays at Bourgogne University (2006-2007), Central European University (2012), Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2015), University of California (2016), and at the Instituto de Ciencias Sociais at Lisbon University (2016).

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13:30 – 15:00 Panel II Confronting the emerging modernity | Room B

Chair: Anne Petterson

Carolien Boender | **Leiden University**

Continuities in urban civic identities: citizenship and the crises of 1747-1749 and 1813

The focus on constitutional and juridical citizenship has helped students of the history of Northwestern Europe to note a shift from urban citizenship in the eighteenth century to

constitutional equality in the nineteenth century. However, citizenship, both in its urban and national appearance, has always been a moral category as well, in which civic values as honour and harmony played an important role. Traditionally, the more moral feature of citizenship and its influence on urban identity has been overlooked. In this paper I want to study citizenship as a social and cultural benchmark, which will provide the opportunity to trace continuities in urban civic identities.

My main focus will be on the Netherlands, more specific on Haarlem, a town in the province of Holland and the more northern town of Groningen, in the province of Groningen. I selected two case studies to explore the townspeople's ideas about citizenship. First, the *Pachtersoproer*, a major tax revolt that hit the Dutch Republic in 1747-1749. Although many of the rioters did not possess the legal right to call themselves citizens they defined themselves and their demands in terms of citizenship. Because the riots had torn urban communities apart, townspeople from all walks of life felt the need to reunite and hence restore the honour of the city. I will explain the rituals concerning this unification. Secondly, I will argue that townspeople during the shaky start of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1813, sacked the houses of other citizens because they were convinced that those inhabitants challenged the urban civic values. During both crises citizenship thus functioned as a cultural and social benchmark to determine whether someone was a honourable citizen and thereby deserved a place in the community. Consequently, the urban community was literally redefined by the in- and exclusion of people that did endorse or challenge civic values.

Carolien Boender obtained her MA degree in History from Leiden University (2014), with a thesis on the presence of local identity in the Coster commemorations in Haarlem (1823 and 1856). She is currently working on a PhD thesis on *the persistence of civic identities* in the Netherlands between 1747 and 1848, with Haarlem and Groningen as the main case studies. Her research is part of the NWO-project *The persistence of civic identities in the Netherlands, 1747-1848*, supervised by Judith Pollmann and Henk te Velde.

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Ettore Bucci | Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

A Catholic inspired autogestion? Hopes and utopies in French ideas of self-management

The analysis of decision-making processes within local communities allows the discovery of forms of property management that are neither public nor private. In French political space, these experiences, during the 19th century, are well known: Henri de Saint Simon, Frnaóic Fourier among other. In the same century, there are also some thoughts about community management of properties that will be included in a long political history of self-management ideas: a story that reaches to 1968 and the Long Seventies.

This paper analyses the contribution of the French Catholic world with a particular focus on the context from which emerges the Christian trade unionism, identifying continuities and discontinuities. As suggested by Frank Georgi, could we talk about autogestion as utopie chrétienne? The roots of the ideas of autogestion, cornerstone of political proposal of CFDT, could be traced to the articles of Philippe Buchez for *Journal des sciences morales et politiques* (1831), in Mounier's studies, in authors of journals like *Esprit* and *Autogestion*.

The contribution puts Catholic reflection in a 'long political history' of autogestion, without pretending to find continuities between the 19th and 20th century, in particular about the generation formed in the specialized Catholic Action movements, the author intends to deepen the Catholic sources that Alain Touraine calls *opérateur* conceptual for social movements after 1968.

Sources of research are the journals of Catholic movement, with special attention to the authors linked to experience like the *Semain Socials*, or personalism (*Esprit*). Climax of the reflection wishes to be the autoquestionnaire experience of LIP in trade union (CFTC/CFDT) and Workers' Catholic Action (ACO).

Are there continuities with Catholic social doctrine? How do they motivate managements practices adopted in different historical junctures? Could we talk about continuities of suggestions between the 19th and 20th century in France? How does the social Catholic world contribute to the definition

of alternative decision-making processes, depending on different historical contexts? What are the contradictions in the same Catholic world?

Ettore Bucci is a PhD candidate in Early Modern and Modern History at the Scuola Normale Superiore from November 2015, under the supervision of professor Daniele Menozzi. I graduated in Modern History in Pisa in November 2014 with a master's thesis supervised by prof. Cristina Cassina. This research was focused on French socialism and its relationships with experiences of autogestion in Roubaix, France, during the 1970s. I'm conducting a PhD research in joint supervision with professor Gerd Rainer Horn, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, for analysing possible Catholic roots of political heritage of autogestion between French and Italian social movements after 1968 and the Second Vatican Council.

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Jacopo Marchetti | University of Pisa

New institutional economics (NIE) and the emergency of social costs: how reconciling institutional changes with individual decision making processes

New institutional economics (NIE) and the emergency of social costs: how reconciling institutional changes with individual decision making processes. Abstract: The individualistic and evolutionary approach carried out by theorist of new social science of NIE (New Institutional Economics), stressing the dynamic and creative aspects of all human experience, has placed at the centre of the philosophical, historical and political debate of 20th Century a series of matters regarding the ability of social coordination processes. Starting from the epistemological approach of NIE outlined in the last years a. e. by Ronald Coase, Douglas North, Jon Elster, Elinor Ostrom on the theoretical premises of methodological individualism, in which social phenomena are the results of individual, unintentional and partially ordered set actions, we want to reflect on the relationship between individual and the possibility of thinking social and institutional changes on the base of their decision making processes. I intend to draw attention to the problem represented by the costs of individual interaction processes with the elements of discontinuity embodied in the nature of institutional changes. In a nonergodic world (using North's lexicon), subjected by rapid and continuous changes, as today, it will be more evident the conflict between continuity and change, i. e., between the revival of the schemes of the experience in individual learning processes and the ability to deal with unknown future situations. So, in front of an increasingly uncertain world, the ability to rely on the experience for making decisions seems to not be able to match the pace of innovation and transformation. And it spreads just as quickly changing values and expectations for a rate as to escape the possibility of control by politics. From these arguments, we want to discuss about the costs and the possibilities of social coordination processes, considering the difficulties arising from the strong discontinuity that is increasingly exacerbating between social actors and institutions, that is leading more and more to the conviction that the time of men and of their decisions not match the time of the rules and institutions.

Jacopo Marchetti was born in Pietrasanta (LU, Italy), I obtained in 2014 my Master Degree cum laude at University of Pisa, under the supervision of Professor Raimondo Cubeddu (Political Philosophy). In 2015 I won a PhD three-years scholarship between University of Florence and University of Pisa. I was scholar at "Scuola di Alti Studi Filosofici di Acqui Terme" directed by Alberto Pirni (Scuola Sant'Anna Superiore of Pisa), at "Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici" ("IISF Scuola di Roma") and at "Fondazione Magna Carta" (Rome), directed by Gaetano Quagliariello. I took part to the Workshops of Eranos School (Ascona, CH) in 2015 and 2016; I was coorganizer of the initiative "Philosophy, Social Sciences and (Neo)liberalism. 1920 -1970" at University of Pisa, in partnership with the University of Florence and Paris-Sorbonne Université (Paris IV); I'm a follow member of ECPR (European Consortium for Political Research). My works have been published by Il Mulino, Cespec and Rubbettino. I'm currently working on a book for IBL Editor about Foucault and Hayek (forthcoming in 2017)

and I am collaborating with the chair of Political Philosophy at University of Pisa. Researcher interest: Political Theory; Political Philosophy; Methodological Individualism and Social Sciences; Neoliberalism; NIE; History of Economic Thought; Theories of rationality; Philosophy of Law; Theories of Justice; Biopolitics; Bioethics.

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15:30 – 17:00 Panel III *War and security* | Room A

Chair: *Alessandro Capone*

Carlos Antolín Réjon | Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

“Las cosas están tan públicas que todos estos potentados tienen puestos los ojos por ver cómo vuelve el rey por su reputación”. *Reputation and policy-making in the Spanish court during the crisis with Savoy (1610)*

This talk analyzes the role “reputation” played in the Spanish monarchy’s policy-making at the beginning of the XVII Century. Historiography has traditionally considered Philip III’s conservative strategy (Pax Hispanica) to be more concerned about financial recovery and avoiding wars than about the monarchy’s prestige and reputation. Restoring the lost reputation indeed was a major claim of the faction that seized the power under the new reign of Philip IV. The crisis between the Spanish monarchy and the Duchy of Savoy in 1610 is a good example of how financial and diplomatic regards prevailed when Philip III and his ministers made their decisions. However, a closer analysis suggests that reputation was also a major concern even among the most conservative Counselors of State. In fact, keeping the King’s reputation was the first goal of all of his ministers, the difference was how to better do it without compromising other objectives.

Thanks to the rich documentation kept, it is possible to study the different arguments of the Spanish Counselors of State. Financial needs, military resources and diplomatic regards were pondered together with prestige to support different strategies to safeguard the King’s reputation. At the end, there were no hawks against doves, but a dispute between a short and a long-term policy.

Carlos Antolín Rejón is a doctoral candidate at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM), writing a thesis titled: *El sobrino del rey. Diplomacia, familia y lealtades: El príncipe Emanuele Filiberto de Saboya (1588-1624)*, directed by María José del Río Barredo (UAM). Due to the questions surrounding diplomacy and the ever-changing loyalties of Prince Filiberto of Savoy (1588-1624), he was initially drawn towards studying the dynastic relationships between the Spanish Monarchy and the Duchy of Savoy in the XVII Century. Currently, he seeks to broaden his approach by exploring the artistic and cultural exchanges between Madrid and Turin, and the political roles played by younger sons within their families.

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Nick Crown | University of East Anglia

Martyrdom and Sainthood in Tudor England

This research is derived from my doctoral thesis undertaken at UEA Norwich, which provided the first in-depth comparison of printed representations of Catholic and Protestant martyrdom in Tudor England since the work of McGrath and Dickens during the 1960s. In this thesis, a martyr is defined as one who bore witness to persecution during the Tudor Reformation (c.1530-1600), and who ultimately died for his or her beliefs rather than abjure. The main themes discussed were issues of continuity and change: to what extent did Protestant depictions of martyrs draw upon pre-Reformation ideas? Were they a radical break from the past; or did they represent gradual evolution and transition in which some older beliefs were perpetuated, some were reinterpreted allegorically, and others were abandoned and replaced with new representations? Novel contributions to the historiography include the representation of non-martyrs (individuals who failed to gain full

recognition in Catholic or Protestant martyrologies); Puritan efforts to supplant pre-Reformation rituals, relics and images with abstract, Old Testament inspired sermons; and the depiction of persecutors' untimely deaths as evidence not only of divine providence, but also of the illegitimacy of rival churches. Additionally, I have examined depictions of the state's dominance over the criminal's body and the extent order was maintained through terror or, conversely, willing popular consent. Although firmly grounded in history, my methodology also incorporated elements from other disciplines, especially gender studies, death studies, religion, philosophy, and some aspects of art history. In particular, I have reassessed gender roles in the sixteenth century, and discussed the language of inversion, where exceptionally courageous female martyrs were portrayed with the masculine virtues of courage, analytical rationality or self-control; and allegedly negative feminine traits such as cowardice, deceit, treachery, or sexual misconduct were used to shame and discredit clergymen from rival sects. Closely linked to the theme of inversion are the symbolic animalistic depictions that I will discuss here, which represented adaptation and evolution from dehumanization to empowerment.

Nick Crown is a recent graduate from UEA Norwich specialising in the English Reformation, early modern gender history, and death studies. He has contributed several articles for an upcoming encyclopedia on women and religion commissioned by the University of Michigan, and in addition has published work in five academic journals affiliated with the universities of Oxford, London, Utah, and Prague, plus the Mausolea and Monuments Trust.

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Erik de Lange | Utrecht University

Making Peace and Changing Fates. The Congress of Vienna and the Securitizing of the Barbary Corsairs

The 1814-1815 Congress of Vienna ended the Napoleonic Wars, bringing peace to the European continent. Beyond Europe, the Congress signified very different transitions and changes, marking the beginnings of a new era of violent confrontation and predation. For Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, the 'Barbary Regencies' of North Africa, the Congress of Vienna meant the beginning to their end. As the old, legal privateering of the Barbary corsairs was delegitimized and equated to piracy, the Regencies themselves became delegitimized as political entities that could be intimidated, attacked and, eventually, conquered. This paper presents the Congress as a pivotal moment in this process. It scrutinizes the manner in which North African corsairing became 'Barbary piracy' through the efforts of historical actors that were present in Vienna. By situating the arguments of small-power diplomats, transnational activists and hot-headed pamphleteers in 1814-1815 within the longer histories of European-North African political relations, this paper will track these changes. Thereby it will become apparent in which ways the Congress of Vienna came to mark a new period in which Barbary corsairing was to be seen as a common threat, calling for violent measures under the moniker of newfound peace and security.

Erik de Lange is a PhD candidate working within the ERC-funded research group 'Securing Europe, Fighting its Enemies, 1815-1914' at Utrecht University. His research looks into the manner in which Mediterranean piracy came to be framed and confronted as a shared threat to European security. He is also the editor of the USHS (Utrecht School for Historicizing Security) Blog in which the ERC team and various guest bloggers discuss security matters from an historical angle.

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Saturday 17 December 2016

11:25 – 12:45 Panel I *Parliaments and political deliberation* | Room A

Chair: Thomas Maineult

Lauren Lauret | Leiden University

House of Continuities – Meeting locations of the Dutch States General and the continuity of the early modern political word (1719-1830)

My PhD project studies the transformation of the States General of the Dutch Republic into the States General of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands between 1716 and 1830. Although the name suggested continuity of the same institution, its constitutional position had changed completely. The States General of the Dutch Republic had been the assembly where representatives of the seven sovereign Provincial Estates discussed the Republic's common policy issues. After the 1814 Restoration, the States General had become the legislative assembly representing the entire Dutch people vis-à-vis the country's newly adopted sovereign: King William I of Orange. My paper looks into the meetings' different physical settings and the administrative machinery behind it. Each regime change had significant impact on the States General physical appearance and practical, administrative organization. Constitutional changes confronted Members with both new political – and sometimes physical – surroundings, and consequently with question on how to proceed correctly, both in terms of space and on paper. The following sections therefore investigate how the constitutional shifts affected the physical surroundings of the States General and its successors. One aim of this paper is to demonstrate the crucial proximity between the States General, its archive and administrative office (*griffie*) for its proper functioning. How did the constitutional changes effect the States General's physical setting and how did those changes in turn determine the shape and functioning of the States General as a deliberative assembly? This is a relevant question to answer because the appropriateness of certain physical resilience affected a newly established regime's claim to political legitimacy. My study of political practices amidst constitutional innovations aims to contribute to research questions formulated by historians of new institutionalism and by historians adopting the approach of *Kulturgeschichte des Politischen* for constitutional history.

Lauren Lauret, MA is a PhD candidate at the Institute for History at Leiden University. Her current research focuses on the political history of early modern representative institutions and how these institutions' political symbolical inheritance persevered after the Democratic Revolutions. She completed the Research Master Historical Studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen (cum laude), which included internships at WWU Münster and Huygens ING (The Hague). Next to her research Lauren is PhD board member of the Research School Political History and involved in commission work for the Royal Dutch Historical Society.

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Charles Lenoir | Sciences Po Paris

How to deal with reform? The use of historical references to legitimize conservative political stance regarding the reform of the state in France and United States, late 19th century, early 20th century.

This paper aims to address political history through the analysis of political ideas and attitudes. It aims to rethink conservatism at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, when the processes of industrialization, urbanization and democratization presented a challenge to established institutions, as well as to political and social elites of Western societies. These evolutions led to the growing development of state's role, especially in economic sphere. Questioning the notion of conservatism helps us to understand the deep transformation of this movement which defined itself in relation to the rise of the modern state and more broadly with democracy.

Focusing on the cases of conservatism in France and the United States allows for an examination of this notion in political environments where few political figures claimed to be conservative and where conservatism had a rather negative connotation. At the same time different conservative trends and discourses existed on the French and American political and intellectual stages. This paper aims to highlight the different historical references used by conservative figures about key debates in the parliamentary sphere regarding the reforms strengthening the role of the state at the turn of the century.

The conservative political discourse is characterized by its strong attention to the historical legitimation of its ideas. The stronger involvement of the masses in the democratic process and the challenges posed by a growing labor movement and emerging socialism led conservatives towards a defensive liberalism and another vision of reform. The justification of their thoughts and attitudes regarding the reform process was grounded on historical claims. The use of history was at the heart of a political strategy and discourse allowing resistance and compromise with reform, as well as a tool to delegitimize political adversaries.

The use of parliamentary and congressional debates will help us to understand the use of history by conservative figures, especially through discourse analysis. It will emphasize the articulation between conservatism, resistance and modernity. Through these sources, this paper seeks to document a coherent conservative stance across the Atlantic against the rise of the modern state.

Charles Lenoir is a PhD student in history at Sciences Po Paris. He is currently working on Conservatives from France and the US from the 1890s to the aftermath of WWI. He has developed a comparatist approach in order to understand in what extent we can talk about a new kind of conservatism characterized by a resistance to the rise of the modern state during that period in the transatlantic world. He has passed the *Agrégation d'Histoire* (French highest competitive exam for teachers in secondary school and university) in 2012, and has been visiting assistant in research at Yale University during the Spring Semester 2015.

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James McSpadden | Harvard University

A Radical Change? The Political Influence of German, Austrian, and Dutch Female Parliamentarians, 1918-1940

This paper is an excerpt of a longer Ph.D. dissertation chapter that analyzes women as newcomers to European parliamentary life in the years following the First World War when women were first elected as parliamentarians. The paper approaches the question comparatively looking at Germany, the Netherlands, and Austria. Each case study follows one or two key female politicians in a given country and traces their parliamentary experiences through archival sources and memoirs. This sheds light on how these women fit into the legislative process and their parliament's social and political *milieux*.

Through comparison, the paper argues that there were gendered expectations in all national cases that women should focus their political work on issues involving motherhood, children, and welfare. However, the responses to this pressure in each country were different. In the Netherlands women concentrated on low-key work in subject-specific committees; in Austria individual women championed laws that were debated in a polarized parliament, and in Germany women collaborated across party lines on common proposals. Moreover, some women exerted considerable influence in the informal political world surrounding the German Reichstag, and this prompted a sexist backlash against that backroom culture.

James McSpadden is a sixth-year graduate student in the History Department at Harvard University. His Ph.D. dissertation, entitled "More than Ideology: Parliamentary Culture in Interwar Europe," is advised by Charles Maier, Alison Frank Johnson, and Daniel Ziblatt. James' academic interests are in modern European history, particularly the political history of

the interwar period. Before Harvard, James earned a B.A. in German Studies at Yale University, was a Fulbright Scholar in Berlin, earned a M.A. in Dutch Studies from Leiden University, and worked for a year as a professional translator in the Netherlands.

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11:15 – 12:45 Panel IV *Nation and state building and language of politics* | Room B

Chair: Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh

Jon Singerton | University of Edinburgh

'A Story of Benign Neglect'? The American Founding and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1776-1789

"I cannot tell you what joy I feel, when I hear or read of your progress in America. To speak the truth, I look upon you and all the chiefs of your new republic, as angels, sent by heaven to guide and comfort the human race." These expressed by the Hungarian academic János Zinner in 1778 should be curious to historians of the American Revolution not only for the author's location, but also because this patriotic enthusiasm was relatively common amongst elites in the Habsburg Monarchy. Their actions, in Zinner's case publishing supporting books and pamphlets, underscored their reception and purchase in the American cause. At the same time, Viennese, Slovak, and Hungarian newspapers communicated to Central Europe the revolutionary scenes unfolding in North America, which brought along with it a new vocabulary of describing power. This even translated into the official state level where bureaucrats, ministers, monarchs and their courtiers, adopted linguistic denotations for the newly emerging American states which betrayed the official garb of impartiality and neutrality in the War of American Independence. Language and its uses were a vital element in the American Revolution and its perception in Europe. This paper will focus on this dynamic in regard to the oft-neglected relations between the Habsburg Monarchy and the American Founding in the Age of Revolutions, between 1776-1789. It aims to not only show the intense connectivity between the western Atlantic world and the Central European regions but also to highlight how American patriotism was created across this vast geographic chasm.

Jonathan Singerton is currently completing his PhD entitled 'Empires on the Edge – The Habsburg Monarchy and the American Revolution, 1763-1789' at the University of Edinburgh under the primary supervision of Professor Francis D. Cogliano. He is also concurrently an Ernst Mach Fellow at the Institut für Neuzeit- und Zeitgeschichtsforschung at the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna under the supervision of Dr. William D. Godsey and was previously a short-term fellow at the International Center for Jefferson Studies. These alongside the generous funding from the Dietrich W. Botstiber Foundation has allowed him to conduct archival research on both sides of the Atlantic necessary for his study into the eighteenth-century connections between the Habsburg Monarchy and the emerging United States of America.

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Joonas Tammela | University of Jyväskylä

A Swedish Israel or a secular nation? The construction of a patriotic identity in Swedish and Finnish local sermons, 1770–1820

My presentation will show that in the Age of Enlightenment the modernization of patriotic identities took place not only in the debates of the political forums (parliaments, newspapers, pamphlets). The Swedish Lutheran local clergy had a very significant role in this process, as they acted in an intermediary role between the centre and peripheries of the state. Through their sermons clergymen participated in the process of constructing a more modern version of nationalism.

Earlier studies have demonstrated that changes of political cultures can be recognized in parliamentary and diet –sermons given by bishops. However, the role of the clergy was much wider

than this as, members of the lower clergy acted as political educators among the common people. I focus on the rise of more modern patriotic discourses in the Swedish realm and especially on the role of the local clergymen in this process.

Changes in the language of the sermons may not have been as explicit as in certain secular genres but their contribution to shifts in political culture can nevertheless be recognized by comprehensive contextualization and comparison. I present that the patriotic identity was conceptually constructed in sermons given by the local clergy in Lutheran contexts.

Joonas Tammela is doing a PhD thesis in Finnish History for the 2nd year with the theme “Societal views in Swedish and Finnish local sermons, 1770–1820” at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. In my thesis I’m interested in research themes of clergy, political cultures, patriotic identity, state building, protestant enlightenment and political theology. My intention is to demonstrate the role of Lutheran church and priests in the modernization process of patriotic identities in the Northern Europe. My defence will take place in 2019.

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Glauco Schettini | Fordham University ***Redefining Virtue in Revolutionary Italy, 1796-1799***

As historians have recently pointed out, over the eighteenth century the long-standing notion of republican virtue was eroded by the recognition that the pursuit of private interests provided benefits to the state as a whole. After Bonaparte republicanized the Italian Peninsula in 1796, the patriots, in spite of being imbued with republican thought, shifted the meaning of virtue in yet another direction. They realized that the traditional notion, which was intrinsically heroic, could not be proposed as a practicable ideal to a wide popular audience. Therefore, they started thinking of virtue in terms of empathy, brotherly love, and charity. In so doing, they did not reject the language of classical republicanism, yet thoroughly redefined it from within, putting a new concept of virtue into the foreground. This concept implied that the citizens were no longer supposed to sacrifice for their country, yet to love and care for their fellow citizens as if they were members of the same family. They were also called to lead a harmonious family life. This redefinition of virtue led the patriots to think of the nation itself in terms of a familial community and fostered the emergence of an autonomous private sphere, that could be properly defined as bourgeois.

Glauco Schettini is a Ph.D. student at Fordham University, New York. He earned his M.A. in 2016 from the University of Pisa and the Scuola Normale Superiore. His research interests focus on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, in particular the age of revolutions, the history of nationalism, and the Italian Risorgimento. He has presented papers at national and international conferences and published several articles on the political and religious history of late eighteenth century Italy.

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Tom Schuringa | University of Groningen ***Towards the institutionalization of planning: Tinbergen and the increasing importance of ‘econometrics’ in the Netherlands (1929-1945)***

In the Netherlands, the rather intricate and far reaching institutionalization of economic policymaking has long been understood as a process that emerged after 1945, when more rational and directive state influence on the economy was seen as a necessary ingredient to recover from the rampage of the Second World War. And indeed, many of the executive or advisory bodies that were involved in economic policymaking were established between 1945 and 1950.

In this paper, I reflect on one of the most striking examples of how scientific expertise increasingly took over from political affiliation in being the most important qualification to be involved in economic policymaking: Jan Tinbergen. He was not only the architect of ‘econometrics’, a new technocratic tool which brings mathematics and economics together. He also was the first director of

the Central Planning Bureau, the institution that was supposed to provide for all the data that would enable government to successfully implement long-term economic planning.

By elaborating on this example, I intend to prove that the emergence of economic policymaking bodies in the years after 1945 was in fact the outcome, and not the instigator of a process of professionalization of the branch of (political) economy.

Tom Schuringa (1978) earned his Master's degree in History at Groningen University (RUG) in 2007. He started his professional career at the Dutch department for Agriculture, before becoming a lecturer at the RUG in 2008. Since 2012, he combines his teaching duties with writing a PhD thesis on the history of the professionalization of Dutch economic policymaking. His supervisors are prof. dr. D.F.J. Bosscher and prof. dr. D.J. Wolffram. He currently is one of the three members of the PhD Council of the Research School for Political History.

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13:45 – 14:45 Panel IV *Nation and state building and language of politics* | Room A

Chair: Alessandro Capone

Alessandro Bonvini | Università di Salerno-Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá

«Oh Patria querida». The construction of Italian identity in the Cono Sur through the journalism of mazzinian exiles (1835-1848)

Between 1835 and 1848, certain affiliates of Young Italy lived in exile in the American Southern Cone. Between Brazil and Uruguay animated an intense journalistic activity, publishing periodicals, pamphlets and magazines that tried to circulate within the community of Italian immigrants and between the micro-local community of republican leaders. The region, at the time, became one of the operational centers of Mazzinian emigration. Their intellectual engagement on the press, through the dissemination of myths, symbols and political projects, in addition to activating important dynamics of the circulation of ideas between the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean, contributed to the development of a diaspora identity that characterized the construction path of the Italian nation.

Alessandro Bonvini is a PhD student at the University of Salerno in joint supervision with Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá (Colombia). He has participated to the ASMI post-graduate Summer School (June 2016), to the congress Risorgimento in Guerra. Eserciti, conflitti armati e violenza politica nell'Ottocento italiano (November 2016) and held some seminars in LatinAmerica universities.

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Stefanie Hundehage | University of Kent

Shaping the future, tied to the past? Historicising language and patriotic identity in the political poetry of Baldur von Schirach

“Let us proclaim the purpose of our existence: war kept us safe for war!”, Baldur von Schirach wrote in May 1929. His words expressed the aggressive nationalism of the young political right wing. In order to offer a nuanced view of (literary) attempts to explore the role of the young post-war generation, this paper will analyse the role of historicising language and patriotic identity in post-1918 political literature, specifically in the poetry of Schirach. He historicises the war by using military vocabulary better suited to pre-modern forms of combat in his poetry, thus embedding the events into an archetypal pattern and giving them the gravity and glamour of history. Schirach's poems attest to his attempt to redefine his own role as a member of a young generation that struggles for validation but also sees itself as freedom fighters. Their sense of identity could be described as autochthonous – advancing forward but with a tight grip on their roots. As politically active

individuals, his generation set out to shape society. However, their actions are not a result of a revolt of sons against their fathers' generation that is often found in modernist literature. Instead, they accept the war as part of their identity.

Stefanie Hundehege enrolled at the University of Kent to complete a PhD in German literature in September 2012. Previously, she graduated with a Master of Education in German and English Literature and Linguistics from the University of Osnabrück (Germany). Her main research interest lies in the field of völkisch and National Socialist literature of the early and mid twentieth century and how the role of the poet develops in the increasingly politicized culture of modern German mass society.

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Keynote speaker



Dr. Constanze Sieger graduated in March 2015 on a PhD thesis titled *Auf dem Weg zur Ludgerusstadt. Akteure, Motive, Strategien der Ortsentwicklung Billerbecks im 19. Jahrhundert* (University of Münster). She now works at the same university as a researcher in the project “Preußische Amtmannbürokratie und lokale Selbstverwaltung: Dörfliches Entscheiden in der preußischen Provinz Westfalen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert”. Her research interests include small cities in modernity and history of bureaucracy in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Round table



Prof.dr. Mark Philp's research includes work in political theory and political sociology, most recently on justice in relation to ageing, political corruption and issues relating to standards in public life, as well as in the history of political thought and British history at the time of the French Revolution. He is currently working on issues relating to familial justice, political conduct and corruption, the re-imagining of democracy at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, the Godwin Diaries, political realism and political ethics, and the history of political thought.



Dr. Pierre Purseigle's research and teaching agenda have been driven by a strong commitment to the comparative and interdisciplinary study of warfare and urban catastrophes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His work to date has mainly focused on the European and global history of the First World War and on the urban experience of modern warfare. He is now writing on the urban reconstruction of interwar Europe and is developing a new project on urban disasters and recovery since the early twentieth-century. From the local to the transnational, he endeavours to combine different scales of analysis and to engage with a range of disciplinary perspectives. Pierre Purseigle published articles and book chapters on the comparative urban history of the First World War, on refugeedom during the conflict, and on humour in wartime. His most recent publications have investigated the historiography and global history of the First World War and the transformations of the belligerent state during the conflict.



Dr. Charles Walton is a Member and former Director of the Eighteenth Century Centre at the University of Warwick and is an associate researcher the Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française (Paris I- La Sorbonne). He obtained his BA at the University of California, Berkeley, and his PhD at Princeton University. Before joining the History Department at Warwick, he taught at Yale University, the University of Oklahoma (Norman) and Sciences Po (Paris). His research focuses on Old Regime, Enlightenment and Revolutionary France, with emphases on democratization, rights and duties, liberalism and socio-economic justice.

Organizing Committee

Alessandro Capone is enrolled in joint doctorate at the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris (Sciences Po) and the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa. He is currently studying the French interference and military occupation in the Papal States between 1849 and 1870, under the supervision of professors Jean-François Chanet and Daniele Menozzi. Concerning in particular the political and institutional aspects of the Roman Question, his research aims at replacing it in the context of the French imperial projection in the Mediterranean scenario. His broad scientific interests include the relationships between politics and religion in state- and nation-building processes.

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Thomas Mainault is a PhD candidate in Sciences Po, Paris. He works on the Palestinian cause in France under the supervision of Prof. Marc Lazar. His dissertation analyzes how French intellectuals, political leaders and the media played a role in French public opinion in order to support the Palestinian cause. He also focuses on networks, groups and associations created in France, which seek to promote the defense of Palestinians within the Arab immigration living in France. He tries to understand why and how people from various backgrounds got together to support a cause that seemed, at first sight, very far from their political concerns.

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Anne Petterson studied History at Leiden University. In 2011 she started her PhD research on popular nationalism in late nineteenth-century Amsterdam. Her project focuses on the question how 'ordinary' citizens imagined the Netherlands and shaped a national identity through their experience and use of the urban surroundings. Other fields of interest are the study of political culture, social movements (nineteenth-twentieth century) and urban history. At the moment she works as a lecturer in Dutch History and Political History at Leiden University. Anne is editorial secretary and copy editor of *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, the leading Dutch journal of history, and member of the editorial board of *Holland. Historisch Tijdschrift*, a popular journal about the (local) history of Holland.

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Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh studied military history at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. He completed this MA in 2012 with a thesis on the military career of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, for which he was awarded the biannual thesis prize of the Royal Netherlands Foundation 'Our Army' and the Schouwenburg Fund Foundation. Since 2013 he is a PhD student at the Department of German Studies, the University of Warwick, United Kingdom, where he prepares his thesis, entitled *William I and monarchical rule in Imperial Germany, 1871-1888*. His research interest entail history of the monarchy in nineteenth century Europe, Prussian history and military history.

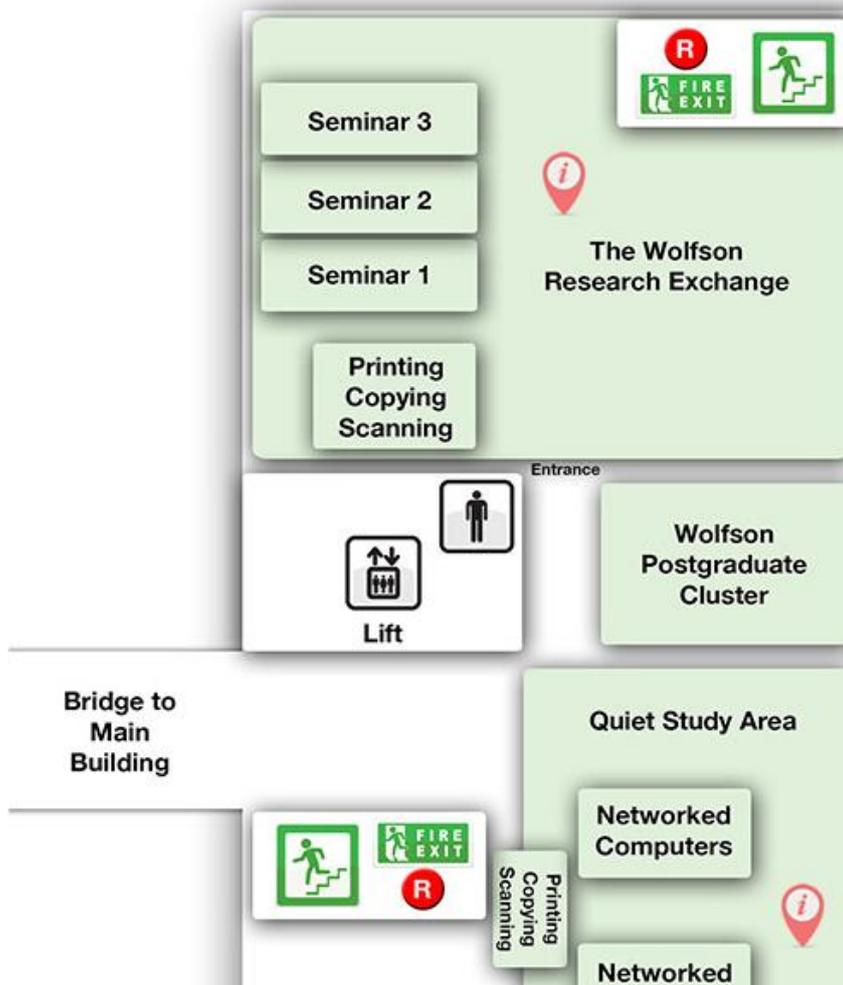
Contact | f.f.sterkenburgh@warwick.ac.uk

Location

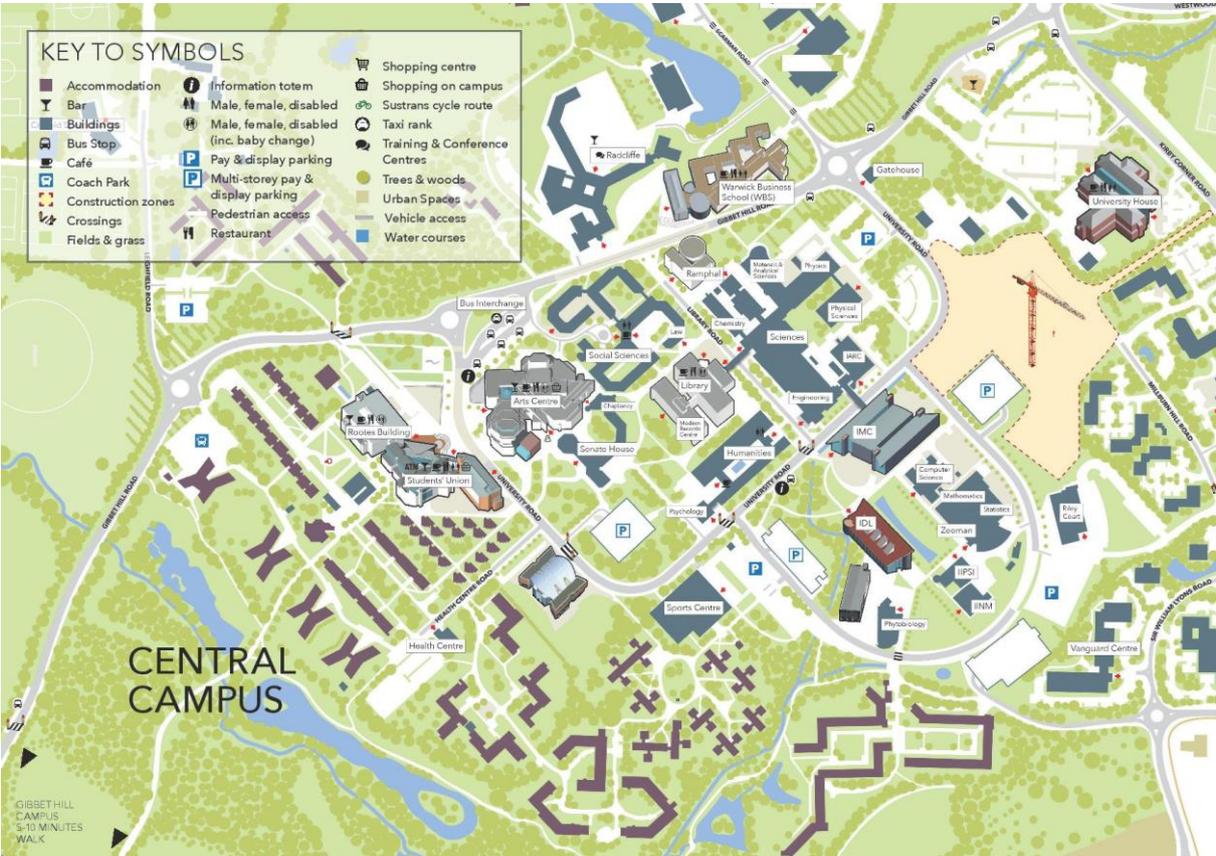
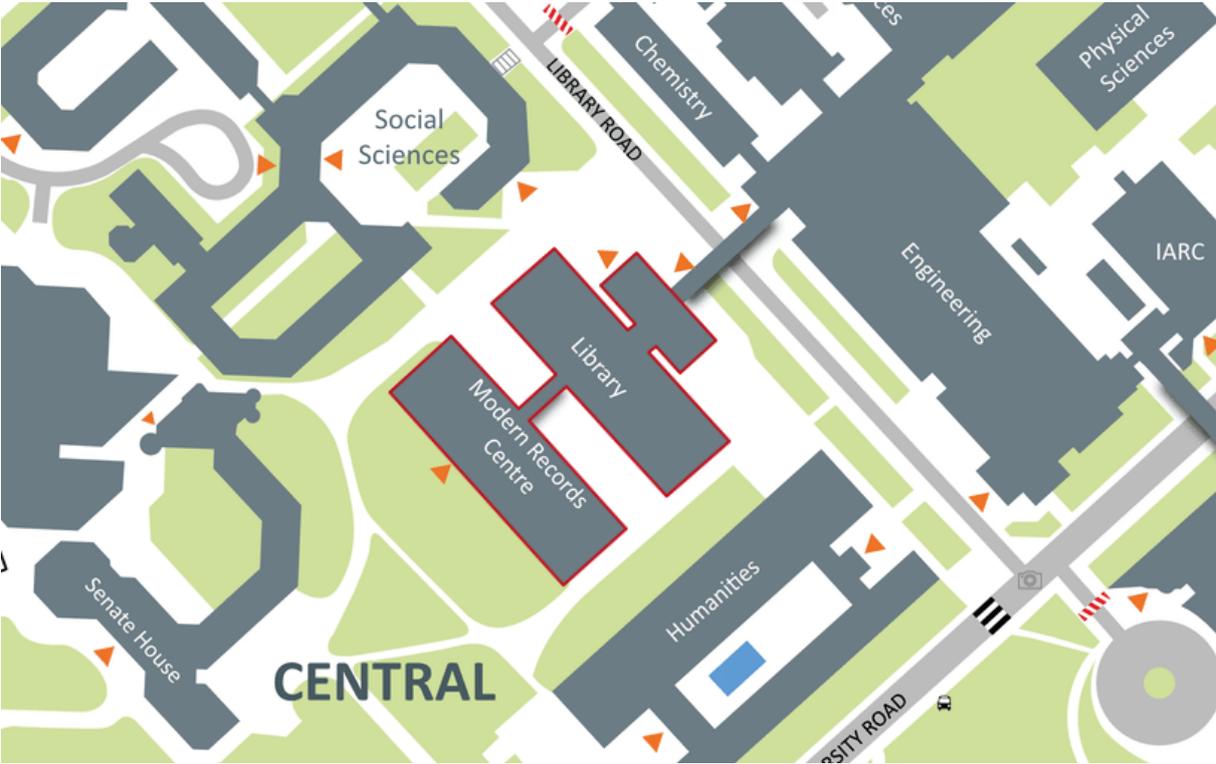
The workshop will be held in the Wolfson Research Exchange, University of Warwick Library, Library Road, Central Campus.

To find the Wolfson Research Exchange go to floor 3 of the Library. Go across the bridge to the library extension. Turn left you will see a glass partition wall with a set of double doors. To enter the Wolfson Research Exchange go through the doors.

To enter the Library a University ID card is required. If you do not have a card please speak to the staff member at the Welcome Point (the entry point for the whole Library). Explain that you are there to attend an event in the Research Exchange.



For a more detailed search of the campus, you can find an interactive campus map here:
<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/about/visiting/maps/interactive/>



Planning your visit

Travelling to the University of Warwick

From Birmingham Airport to University of Warwick Campus by train

The University of Warwick is easily accessed from all major airports in the UK. There are two regional airports and the campus can also be reached by public transport from all the major London airports

To get to the University from Birmingham airport, either

- take the [Oxford Bus Company's new direct coach service](#) to campus (approximately £4 for a student single ticket)
- take the train to Coventry (£3.50 return, 10 minutes) and then local [bus](#) (approximately £1.80 single, 25 minutes; exact fare must be paid to the driver) or taxi (about £10, 15 minutes) to the University of Warwick
- take a taxi from the airport to the University of Warwick (possibly slightly quicker, but expensive - about £30 for the half-hour ride).

From other Airports to University of Warwick Campus by train

For information on how to arrive at the University from East Midlands Airport (near Nottingham) or London Airports, please check this website:

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/about/visiting/directions/international/>

From Coventry City Centre to University of Warwick Campus by train

For information on how to arrive at the University from Coventry City Centre or other local destinations, please check this website:

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/about/visiting/directions/>

Accommodation

Accommodation can be provided at the Arden Conference Centre, Westwood. The cost will be £65.00 per night. This is comparable with local provision and has the advantage of being on the campus and within easy walk of the workshop venue. You can book a room for the Friday night (16th December), and extend your stay with an extra night for the Thursday and/or Saturday. If you would like to have more information or book a room at the Arden Conference Centre, please contact Ms. Tracy Smith: T.Smith.2@warwick.ac.uk

