CSS 240: The Emergence of Modern Europe
Sophomore History Tutorial

Fall 2022-Spring 2023

**Time:** F, 2 to 4 PM Eastern Standard  
**Building and Room #:** DWNY100  
**Tutor:** Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins  
**E-Mail:** dsteinmetzje@wesleyan.edu  
**Preceptor:** Max O’Hare  
**E-Mail:** mohare@wesleyan.edu  
**Office hours:** Th, 4 to 5 PM and by appointment

*A note from Prof. DSJ:* Really looking forward to meeting you soon. There is a lot of reading in this seminar. However, the questions listed for each week will help guide you, as well assist you in conceptualizing main themes and topics. I’ll see you in a few weeks. **Note:** Before our first class, you are required to do the readings for it. Basically, all the readings for the class are available to you on Moodle

**Preceptor:** Max O’Hare  
**E-Mail:** mohare@wesleyan.edu

*A note from Max:

I'm super excited to meet and get to know all of you! I'm happy to answer any questions you may have so feel free to shoot me an email. We will be meeting together weekly on Wednesday to go over the readings (location Fisk 210). I know it's a daunting task, but it's best to be as far along in the reading as possible by the time we meet to allow us to fully discuss together! I look forward to working with all of you throughout the trimester.

**Course Description**

This tutorial sequence analyzes the formation of modern European society from the late 18th to the last quarter of the 20th century. Attention will be placed on Britain, France, Germany and Russia, in particular, as these countries were shaped by, and responded to, demographic, economic, social, political and intellectual forces that led to revolutions, political and social reforms, new modes of production, changes in social hierarchies, and new forms of warfare. Much attention will be placed on the social and political consequences of the French Revolution and industrialization, the dynamics of empire, the origins and consequences of the two world wars (including the Russian revolution and the rise and defeat of Nazism), & postwar European politics and culture. Europe’s links to Africa, Asia and the Americas will be discussed in the context of revolution, industrialization, imperialism and the two world wars. In addition to developing knowledge of
important processes that have shaped the modern world, this tutorial seeks to foster a critical awareness of the varieties of historical narrative, the skills needed to interpret historical primary sources, and the possibilities and limits of history as a tool of social investigation.

**Course Requirements**

Students will write weekly essays for eight weeks corresponding to the tutorial topics on the syllabus below. Tutorial sessions meet each Friday to discuss the topic of the week and the essays that were written for it. Students are not assigned grades but are given feedback on their weekly written work. **The weekly essay must be completed and submitted via email to Max (mohare@wesleyan.edu) and me (dsteinmetzje@wesleyan.edu) no later than 1:30 PM before the tutorial session on Friday.** Note: If you forget to attach your file or send the wrong file, your paper will be considered late (Please see the CSS rules governing absences and late papers). You must also bring a hard copy to class and come prepared to discuss the readings. You will meet with Max on Wednesdays (Time and Place TBD) in preparation for Friday’s tutorial. The preceptorial meeting is a time for you to ask any question you may have about the material before writing your essay and attending class. You will go over the material as a group and pull out the key issues and ideas from each week.

**Your papers should be no longer than five double-spaced pages.** Papers exceeding this page limit will not be accepted. Your papers must have 1 ¼-inch left and right margins, 1-inch top and bottom margins, be double-spaced, paginated, and drafted in a **12-point font** on an 8 ½ x 11” page. **Again, I will only accept MS Word versions of your papers submitted to via email before the Friday 1:30 pm deadline.** Name your paper files by last name and week number, e.g., Smith_week_1.pdf.

*Weekly essay instructions are given at the end of this document (please read very carefully).*

When the tutorial sequence is completed, I will give each student a written assessment of their work. Copies of these assessments are filed with the CSS office, where they may be read by other tutors or the program chairs as needed. At the end of the sophomore year, you will take a comprehensive written and oral exam testing your knowledge of the tutorial and colloquium topics. This exam will be conducted by external examiners. (Please see the CSS Student Handbook for more information about the exam and the sophomore year.)

**Plagiarism:** With the ubiquity of the web, plagiarism has become easier and consequently an increasing problem on many campuses, including Wesleyan. Plagiarizing is taking and passing off as one’s own the ideas or writings of another person, whether from the web or from printed sources. **Plagiarism can also occur if you paraphrase passages of someone else without clear references to that source. Plagiarism is an act of dishonesty and a violation of the University’s Honor Code.** Consequently, clear cases of plagiarism will normally result in a failed paper and can result in dismissal from the CSS and University disciplinary action. Be warned that while the web has made plagiarism more tempting, the same technology makes it easier to catch plagiarists. If I suspect it, I reserve the right to enter suspected passages of papers into search engines and Turnitin.com, a plagiarism detection service contracted by Wesleyan.
Students with disabilities:

Wesleyan University provides reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. Students, however, are responsible for registering their documented disability with Accessibility Services in the Office of Student Affairs and making their requests for accommodation known to me in a timely manner. If you require accommodations in this class, please email me as soon as possible—by the end of the 1st week of the tutorial at the very latest—so that appropriate arrangements can be made. The procedures for registering are outlined on the Office of Student Affairs Accessibility Services website.

Required texts


16. A series of readings available as PDF files under “Course Documents” from the course Moodle page. These readings are flagged by “Moodle” in the tutorial schedule below. Please be sure to have the Adobe Acrobat Reader installed on your computer. Don’t hesitate to get in touch with me if you have technical problems and we will try to troubleshoot them together.

The required textbooks are available for purchase from the Wesleyan R.J. Julia Bookstore, 413 Main Street, Tel: (860) 685-3939. They are also available on 2-hour loan from the course reserve in the Olin Library. Some are available on Kindle or can be purchased through used bookstore outlets such as Abebooks. I will make many of these texts, but not all, available as electronic downloads on Moodle.

Other recommended texts:

In the past, many CSS sophomores have found it helpful to consult textbooks that offer a broader overview of the countries and historical periods covered in this tutorial sequence. You may wish to consult the following texts, but please do not rely on or refer to them in your essays:


Tutorial Schedule

WEEK 1: The French Revolution

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. Civilization in the West chapter 20

2.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 7 (Moodle):
   a) Sieyès, What is the Third Estate? 154-79.
   b) The Tennis Court Oath, 201.
   c) Decrees of the National Assembly, 226-31.
   e) Olympia de Gouge, Declaration of the Rights of Woman & the Female Citizen
   g) The Decree Establishing the Levée en Masse, 340-42.
   h) Robespierre, Report on the Principles of Political Morality, 368-84.
   i) The Conspiracy of Equals, 393-403.

3.) C.A. Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World, pp. 49-120.


5.) Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Régime and the French Revolution, 1-32. (Moodle)

6.) C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins, pp. 118-162. (Moodle)


Liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty were potent political ideals during the French Revolution, yet establishing a workable and stable constitutional government eluded France in these years. Indeed, France would be wracked by cycles of revolution, reaction, and dictatorship. Nevertheless, the Revolution did have a profound enduring legacy, not only in France but also elsewhere in Europe and overseas. It spawned the modern political ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, and socialism, altered the relationship of citizens to the state, and created the legal and institutional foundation for capitalism in much of Continental Europe. It also set an important precedent to governments throughout Europe about what can happen when social and political unrest is left to fester, initiating an era of political and social reform.

Some possible questions to consider:

- Why did revolution engulf France in 1789? Why then and not earlier?
• What was the relationship between the French Revolution and changes to the economy and society in France?
• Was the course of the French Revolution inevitable given the structure of the Old Regime? Why or why not?
• Why did the French Revolution continue and lead to so many forms of government? Why did it result in Napoleon?
• What was the legacy of the Revolution and Napoleon for France? For Europe? Beyond Europe?
• What was the legacy of the French Revolution beyond Europe?

WEEK 2: The Industrial Revolution and its Consequences

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. Civilization in the West, 21

2.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 8 (Moodle):
   a) T.B. Macaulay, Speech on Parliamentary Reform (2 March 1831), 41-54.
   b) 1846-47 Factory Legislation Debates, 62-82.
   c) Two articles from The Economist (1851), 92-100
   d) Thomas Gisborne, Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex, 100-106.


Between roughly 1760 and 1860 revolutionary changes in mechanical production first developed in Britain transformed much of the European economy, raising real per capita income and enabling tremendous population growth without declining living standards. These changes transformed European society, creating new social classes, spawning working class movements, religious movements, modifying political institutions, altering the role and status of women, and changing
perceptions of the past and future. The readings reveal many of these changes, the specific challenges they posed, as well as the first attempts to address them by reform legislation.

Some possible questions to consider:

- What was the role of the state in British industrialization?
- Why did industrialization result in both greater social mobility and rising inequality?
- How was urban life changed by industry?
- How did industrialization affect gender identities and roles?
- How did the class structure of Britain change as a result of industry?
- How did politics respond to the social changes ushered in by industry?
- Some historians blame religion for creating a downtrodden work force and a rapacious capitalist class in England; others praise it for saving England from upheavals like the French Revolution. What is your view?

WEEK 3: Nationalism, National Identities, & the European Revolutions of 1848

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. Civilization in the West, chapters 22, 23.

2.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 8 (Moodle):
   a) Giuseppe Mazzini, Duties to Country, 282-287.


8.) Karl Marx (with Friedrich Engels) The Communist Manifesto, Any edition
Nationalism and national contrasts and conflicts profoundly marked European history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nationalism was a force bequeathed by revolutionary France to its European neighbors. This European nationalism challenged prevailing allegiances and animated revolutionaries to create new contiguous nation-states in what were dynastic territorial states and empires. While the Revolutions of 1848 revealed the explosive force of this nationalism, they also underscored the weaknesses and divisions of liberal nationalists in Italy and central Europe, as well as the resilience of the old regime, particularly in Germany. Indeed, German unification would occur on terms quite different than imagined by the Frankfurt revolutionaries. The readings for this week examine the role that nationalism played in the Europe in the 19th century, in particular how various small states were united and transformed into a 'country,' in Germany & Italy.

Some possible questions to consider:

- What were the specific attributes of mid nineteenth-century European nationalism?
- Why did national revolutions erupt in so many places in Europe in 1848?
- How successful were the Revolutions of 1848? Where did they succeed or fail? Why?
- What role did nationalism play in creating and consolidating the German Empire?
- How revolutionary or reactionary was Bismarck? What was his legacy for Germany?
- How unified was Germany in 1871? In 1890?
- What role did "culture" play in national identity formation?
- How did nationalism and national conflicts affect the definitions of gender?
- What was the impact of nationalism beyond Europe?
- How did the creation of the German Empire alter the European balance of power?
- After doing the reading what other questions do you have about the topic that you'd like to bring forward for discussion?
- Of the myriad of radical commentators on the social problems of Europe, Marx and Engels were to dominate all others during the first half of the twentieth century. Limiting your analysis to the nineteenth century, explain the intellectual triumph of Marxism in many revolutionary and intellectual circles. What about this particular worldview and ideology was so much more appealing than many other ideologies on offer?

**WEEK 4: Imperialism**

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. *Civilization in the West*, Chapter 25

2.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 8 (Moodle):


By the turn of the 19th century, many Europeans believed they were at the pinnacle of civilization, seemingly confirmed by great material, cultural, scientific and technological advances. Yet the period was also marked by prolonged cyclical downturns, fear of degeneracy and decline, and fierce economic competition. Heightened antagonism was also in evidence in colonial and naval rivalries. The rise of mass politics, the spread of social Darwinism and more racialized forms of nationalism and chauvinism also contributed to the rising tide of international tensions between roughly 1875 and 1914, just as they justified the subjugation of non-European lands and peoples. The period was also notable for the rise of new industrial powers like the United States, Japan and Germany and the relative economic decline of Great Britain.

Some possible questions to consider:

- Explain the appeal of overseas empire within Europe between 1875 and 1914.
- What were the prevailing assumptions of empire and how did they intersect with nationalism?
- Where in the readings do you see signs of national self-determination projects in Asia, Africa and the Americas during this time?
- What accounts for the heightened economic and colonial competition between 1875 and 1914?
- How did European public opinion shape politics between 1875 and 1914?
- How did alliances and military strategies change in Europe between 1875 and 1914? Why?
- How do you account for the relative economic decline of Britain in these years?
- How did Britain’s perceptions of Germany change in this era? Why?
- Why did many people perceive this era as one of accelerated progress and change?

WEEK 5: The Great War and Its Consequences

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. *Civilization in the West*, Chapter 26

2). *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization*, vol. 9 (Moodle):
   b) Henri Philippe Pétain, A Crisis of Morale in the French Nation at War, 132-51.
   c) J.M. Keynes, The Economic Consequences of the Peace, 175-90.


4.) Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, chaps. 2, 3

European rivalries and tensions generated during the last quarter of the 19th century were brought to a head by the last in a series of pre-war Balkan crises. Complex webs of alliances as well as mobilizations plans then pulled most of the European powers into a wider war. The technological innovations that had preceded these years produced warfare of unprecedented carnage that devoured the manpower and resources of entire empires. While military stalemate was ended by the Russian Revolution, the war was only successfully concluded after large-scale American intervention on behalf of the Entente powers. The Paris Peace, initially launched with many good intentions, failed to settle grievances or provide a basis for postwar economic recovery and political stability.

Some possible questions to consider:

- Why did a world war erupt in 1914 and not earlier?
- Who or what started the war? Why?
- Where did the war happen?
- Why did the war last as long as it did and cost so much in lives and treasure?
- Why are we studying the Mandate system? What does it tell us about British imperialism in the interwar period?
- What were the most important political and social consequences of the war?
- How workable was the Versailles Treaty? What were its biggest problems? Why?
- What was the impact of the war on European overseas empire?
- What were the economic consequences of the peace?
- Why and where did perceptions of the war change in the 1920s?

WEEK 6: The Russian Revolution and Stalinism

1.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 9 (Moodle):

2.) Philip Pomper, *The Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia*, Introduction and chap. 6

3.) Leon Trotsky, “In Defence of October.”


Questions to Consider:

- To what extent was the Russian Revolution a successful imposition of intellectual theory on the messy realities of history?
- The most influential Marxist explanation of the October Revolution was Trotsky’s. Discuss and critique his analysis in light of other accounts. Keep in mind these possible causes of the uprising’s success: the “objective” alignment of classes in Russia and in the world generally, the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the influence of one individual (Lenin), and mere chance.
- Apologists for the Soviet Union have typically argued that Stalinism was an aberration due in part to Stalin’s paranoid and brutal character, in part to the extraordinary conditions he faced, such as international hostility, the depression, and the Second World War. Many, however, charge that Stalinism was a natural outgrowth of Leninism. What is your view?
- Critically assess Von Laue’s view that the tragedy of modern Russian history is a product of trying to “catch up” to Western society but without the spiritual resources on which Western success is founded.
- The Russian Revolution attracted immense sympathy among intellectuals, artists, and journalists in Western countries. Many refused to admit the dark side of the Soviet system, clinging to their illusions until the 1950s, or even later. What accounts for this extraordinary sympathy, and for its longevity?
- How Russian was the Russian Revolution? And how European?
WEEK 7: Nazi Germany and the Second World War

1.) Kishlansky, Mark, Patrick Geary and Patricia O’Brien. *Civilization in the West* Chapters 27 and 28

2.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 9 (Moodle):

3.) Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*, chaps. 4-5 (pp. 104-81).


7.) Niall Ferguson, “Defending the Indefensible,” and “Through the Looking Glass,” *The War of the World: History’s Age of Hatred*, chaps. 9 and 12 (pp. 312-44, 416-38)

Like Tsarist Russia, Imperial Germany was shattered by defeat and revolution. While the Weimar Republic survived coup attempts, assassinations, and disastrous inflation, the Great Depression and the mass unemployment that came in its wake fatally weakened it. The demise of the republic in 1933 with Hitler’s appointment as chancellor revealed how a parliamentary democracy with a free market system could degenerate into a totalitarian regime bent on conquest and domination. Some see Nazism as the inevitable outgrowth of nineteenth-century German militarism, nationalism and imperialism, while others emphasize the impact of war and defeat, the Versailles Treaty, the fear of Bolshevism, and the severe economic crises and political instability of the interwar period. What is certain is that the Nazi regime was bent from the outset to overturn the Paris peace and embark on a policy of remilitarization and conquest.

Some possible questions to consider:

- How did the First World War create conditions conducive to fascism and Nazism?
- What accounts for Hitler’s mass following?
- How did the Nazis come to power in Germany?
- What was the Nazi vision of empire and how was that different from or similar to imperialism before 1914?
- What were the aims of Appeasement and why did it fail to prevent war?
- What were the global factors that contributed to the Second World War?
• How do you explain the Holocaust? Was it the inevitable outcome of Nazi ideology and Hitler’s will or was it more the product of structural factors and the contingencies of war?
• How was World War II different from World War I?
• Why was Germany such a disruptive force to world order before 1945?

WEEK 8: Postwar European Reconstruction and Prosperity

1.) University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, vol. 9 (Moodle):


3.) Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, 1-272

From the perspective of mountains of rubble and millions of homeless and displaced people that was postwar Europe, it would have been hard to imagine that in little more than ten years prewar levels of prosperity would be surpassed in much of Western Europe. Even more amazing to a continent habituated to nearly half a century of uncertainty and warfare was the level of political stability and cooperation possible in the 1950s and 60s, despite the obvious division of Europe between the superpowers.

Some possible questions to consider:

• How was the postwar settlement after 1945 different than in 1918-19? What had changed?
• What did it mean for Europe to have its fate determined by the USA and USSR?
• How did the Cold War begin? Why?
• How did postwar domestic European politics change as a result of the experience of fascism, communism, and war?
• Why did Western European states assume so many new social responsibilities after the war?
• Why was European economic growth so rapid in the 1950s and 1960s?
• What were the institutional foundations of Western European cooperation?
• What factors beyond the European Coal and Steel Community contributed to greater mutual understanding and reconciliation in Europe?
Weekly Essay Instructions (please read very carefully)

After completing the readings, identify the most important theme or problem encountered in the readings and the most significant analytical question it raises. A range of possible questions is suggested below under “some possible questions to consider” for each topic. These questions are there to get you thinking about the kinds of themes and questions you could address. These also serve as essay prompts.

In writing your essays, state your thesis (argument) in response to the question you choose along with your main supporting arguments in the opening paragraph of your essay. This opening paragraph should take up no more than 1/3 of the first page of your essay. In the body of your paper carefully demonstrate your thesis by developing the supporting arguments paragraph by paragraph, making use of the tutorial readings where needed using Chicago-style footnote references (more below). Do not quote the readings—paraphrase instead, and be sure to use only the assigned readings in supporting your arguments. Your essay must demonstrate familiarity with the readings, critical thinking, independent judgment, and be persuasive. It is unacceptable merely to repeat opinions or positions from the sources; you must demonstrate why you agree or disagree with those positions in a critical and informed manner.

Thoroughly proofread for proper grammar, spelling, tense, and diction. Before submitting the final draft, have a classmate, friend or writing mentor read through it for clarity and coherence. If no one is at hand, read it aloud to yourself. In writing, always aim for succinctness and economy. Avoid the passive voice and jargon whenever possible. A now classic guide for this kind of writing is George Orwell’s 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language*. Please be sure to read it before starting on your first paper.

Your papers should be no longer than five double-spaced pages. Papers exceeding this page limit will not be accepted. Your papers must have 1 ¼-inch left and right margins, 1-inch top and bottom margins, be double-spaced, paginated, and drafted in a 12-point font on an 8 ½ x 11” page. I will only accept MS Word versions of your papers submitted to my email address before the Friday 2:00 pm deadline. Name your paper files by last name and week number, e.g., Smith_week_1.pdf.

Important things to keep in mind:

- Develop an argument in response to an analytical question. All historical analysis is driven by questions that invite interpretation and argumentation. The purpose of the weekly paper is not to practice writing five-page papers; rather, it is to get you to learn the process of devising interesting questions and developing your own sustained arguments.
- Be concise. It’s impossible to integrate all of the readings into a paper of 5 pages. You should focus only on those readings relevant to your question and argument. Don’t exceed the page limit; use the paper to present a reflection and offer interpretation.
- Don’t be simplistic. Historical processes are often complex, so be sensitive to the workings of structure, culture, agency and contingent factors in history.
- Don’t moralize or prescribe. While it’s natural (some would argue, necessary) to form opinions on the past, this isn’t an op-ed and it is not your task to ride a moral high horse through the past or to suggest policy after the fact. Seek to understand how or why things
unfolded as they did and try to interpret why people thought and acted as they did in their historical contexts.

- **Avoid presentism.** Don’t assume people in the past had the same values or assumptions that you have. Think and argue with a contextual perspective, and always use the past tense when discussing people or events of the past.

- **Submit your paper to the course Moodle as a PDF file before the start of class,** as it will be evaluated qualitatively and returned to you electronically. **Name your file by last name and week number (e.g., Smith_week_1.pdf).** Late papers (i.e., anything submitted after 2:00 pm Friday) will not be accepted.

**Referencing instructions**

In making footnote references to the readings, **use only the Chicago footnotes-bibliography style.** This style is standard for the discipline of history and is outlined in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 7th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), chapters 15-16 (in Moodle), as well as in the Chicago-Style Citation Quick Reference Guide.

Footnotes appear at the bottom of the page on which references are being made in the running text of your paper. A footnote number should normally only be inserted at the end of full sentences and after terminal punctuation (.?!). The corresponding footnote should be single-spaced and in 10 point font. A first footnote gives full information about the author, source title, publication information, and page number to which you are referring. It should look like this:


An immediately sequential footnote to the same source and page number should use the abbreviation “ibid.” in the footnote for the Latin term *ibidem* (“in the same place”). It should look this:

2  Ibid.

If a different page number to the same source is being referenced:

3  Ibid., 71.

If you refer to another source in the next footnote but then refer back to a source already cited in full in an earlier footnote in the next footnote, give only a shortened version of this source in that footnote (last name, short title, and page number), e.g.:


Since the first footnote reference is in effect a full bibliography entry, **no separate bibliography is needed.**