



## **Between Civic Virtue and Civil War: Global Genealogies**

### **First Part: Civic Virtue to Civil War**

### **Second Part: Between Civil War and Revolution**

The two workshops explore the ubiquitous and generic vocabularies of civil society from the early modern period up to the twentieth century in both a European and global context.

Here the workshops aim to explore how a breakdown in unity and concord within different political communities placed ideas of civic virtue under intense pressure; and how this came to reshape ideas of civic participation, which became increasingly violent and confrontational. The workshops also look to explore how the vocabularies of civil society operated differently in different cultural and linguistic contexts, as well as across time. We are asking how we might construct “global genealogies” and whether there is a common set of vocabularies associated with civil society?

The first workshop looks at different moments in early modernity when growing religious division, a humanist reengagement with republican thought and citizenship, alongside the emergence of ‘statist’ thought and European colonial expansion, challenged the vocabularies of civil society. The second workshop continues this story up to the twentieth century, when those vocabularies which had emerged out of the early modern period met with the new legitimating forces of populism, democracy and revolution.



**Workshop**

**Between Civic Virtue and Civil War: Global Genealogies  
First Part: Civic Virtue to Civil War**

**Lichtenberg-Kolleg, Georg-August-Universität**

**Department of Politics, University of York**  
*Rethinking Civil Society: History, Theory, Critique*  
RL-2016-044, Leverhulme Trust Research Leadership Award  
<http://rethinkingcivilsociety.org/>

**Monday 20 May/Tuesday 21 May 2019**

Venue: Historic Observatory/Historische Sternwarte  
Geismar Landstraße 11

**Monday, 20 May**

9:15-9:30 Registration and Welcome

**The Problem of Civic Virtue**

9:30-11:00 SERENA FERENTE (KING'S COLLEGE LONDON)  
"On party feeling: freedom and political division in the self-governing city (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)"

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-13:00 PHIL WITHINGTON (UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD)  
"Practical humanism and civil war"

13:00-14:00 Lunch

**The Problem of Civil Society**

14:00-15:30 STUART CARROLL (UNIVERSITY OF YORK)  
"Civil conflict as an historical problem"

15:30-16:00 Coffee Break

16:00-17:30 SARAH MORTIMER (CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD)  
"The Reformation and the purpose of politics"



**Tuesday, 21 May**

**Civil War and Reason of State**

- 9:30-11:00 MARK HUTCHINSON (LICHTENBERG-KOLLEG/UNIVERSITY OF YORK)  
"The English state and *die deutschen Stände*: conceptual dissonance in the crisis of the Palatinate"
- 11:00-11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30-13:00 LISA KATTENBERG (UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM)  
"No virtue like necessity': Lipsius' *Politica* and reason of state in Spanish political thought and action"
- 13:00-14:00 Lunch

**Different Turns in Religious Thought**

- 14:00-15:30 CHLOE IRETON (UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON)  
"Entangled Histories: Black Africans' Visions of Just War and Just Slavery in the Early Spanish Empire"
- 15:30-16:00 Coffee Break
- 16:00-17:30 TIM STUART-BUTTLE (UNIVERSITY OF YORK)  
"The virtue of civility: from English natural jurisprudence to Scottish social science"



**Workshop**

**Between Civic Virtue and Civil War: Global Genealogies**

**Second Part: Between Civil War and Revolution**

**Lichtenberg-Kolleg, Georg-August-Universität/  
Department of Politics, University of York**  
*Rethinking Civil Society: History, Theory, Critique*  
RL-2016-044, Leverhulme Trust Research Leadership Award  
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**Thursday 23 May/Friday 24 May 2019**

Venue: Historic Observatory/Historische Sternwarte  
Geismar Landstraße 11, Göttingen

**Thursday, 23 May**

9:15-9:30 Registration and Welcome

**Humanism in Strife**

9:30-11:00 JOHN MCCORMICK (CHICAGO)  
"Machiavelli on conflict and virtue: historical reflections,  
contemporary implications"

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-13:00 MURAD IDRIS (VIRGINIA)  
"Re-Orienting Luther: soldiers, missionaries, second-comings"

13:00-14:00 Lunch

**In the Shadow of Revolutions**

14:00-15:30 GEORGIOS VAROUXAKIS (QM LONDON)  
"John Stuart Mill on revolution and civil war"

15:30-16:00 Coffee Break

16:00-17:30 LIISI KEEDUS (TALINN)  
"The snake biting its own tail": Karl Barth on revolution, war  
and civil society"



**Friday, 24 May**

**The Question of Civility**

- 9:30-11:00 ZSOFIA LORAND (LICHTENBERG-KOLLEG, GÖTTINGEN)  
"Intellectual women and Post-WWII reconceptualisation of democracy and civil society in East Central Europe - case studies from Hungary and Yugoslavia"
- 11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

**Liberalisms of Fear**

- 11:30-13:00 AISHWARY KUMAR (STANFORD/GÖTTINGEN)  
"The logic of political cruelty: Ambedkar, Arendt, Shklar (and the new civil war)"
- 13:00-14:00 Lunch
- 14:00-15:30 Martin van Gelderen (LICHTENBERG-KOLLEG, GÖTTINGEN)  
"Where there is God: fear and desperation in the diaries of Anne Frank"



## **Between Civic Virtue and Civil War: Global Genealogies First Part: Civic Virtue to Civil War**

**SERENA FERENTE (KING'S COLLEGE LONDON)**

### **"On party feeling: freedom and political division in the self-governing city (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)"**

Political division within the self-governing community was an everyday reality in late medieval and Renaissance Italian city-states, yet the discourse on division was overwhelmingly negative. Framed in Christian or classical language, division was the consequence of vice/sin (pride/ambition and avarice, above all), a metaphorical disease of the body politic, which caused the ruin of free communities. Indeed much of the constitutional development of Italian city-states from the 14th to the 16th centuries aimed to find stable solutions (electoral, penal, procedural) to the destructive force of division. This paper seeks to uncover a submerged tradition of political thought, which framed political division as an intrinsic feature of free political life and indeed one that contributes to the preservation of freedom itself. The extent to which free political life was inevitably connected with division and plurality became an object of theoretical reflection in the 14th century; Machiavelli's positive evaluation (Discourses, I, 4) of the conflict between patricians and plebeians in republican Rome was not the first instance of a new vision of such a role of political conflict. An important element of this tradition of thought was a discussion of human passions and their medical and moral role.

**PHIL WITHINGTON (UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD)**

### **"Practical humanism and civil war"**

This paper examines the relationship between 'renaissance' and popular politics in seventeenth-century England. It divides into two sections. The first half expands on Colin Burrow's concept of 'practical humanism' to consider how, over the course of the early modern period, 'ancient' knowledge and skills came to shape and inform vernacular culture and everyday social practices. The second section then exemplifies this process by considering one manifestation in particular: namely the emergence of the language of 'slavery' as an emotive, widespread, and politicised commonplace by the middle of the seventeenth century.

**STUART CARROLL (UNIVERSITY OF YORK)**

### **"Civil conflict as an historical problem"**

"Civil War is, philosophically, politically and historically, a poorly elaborated notion". This holds true today, as it did for Foucault in 1973. This paper looks at 4 constituents of early modern conflict – religion, violence, politics and identity. It argues that civil conflict was more widespread in Europe than is usually assumed, crucial to understanding the emergence of early modernity and considers why some conflicts were more 'civil' than others.



**SARAH MORTIMER (CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD)**

**“The Reformation and the purpose of politics”**

From the 1530s, Melanchthon and other Protestant theologians began to argue that the purpose of civil authority was to promote the glory of God. It followed from this claim that political norms and Christian principles had to be aligned together – and that there was no specifically civic virtue, distinct from the law of God known through nature and scripture. This line of argument then helped to galvanise the Protestants in their struggle against the forces of the Counter-Reformation, infusing their campaigns with both religious and political significance. In this paper I will outline the ways in which Protestant thinkers explained the relationship between (civic) virtue and Christianity, and what this meant for the task of the civil magistrate. I’ll then point to some of the tensions that this generated, suggesting that by the start of the seventeenth century some Protestant writers were keen to see politics as a separate discipline, geared towards the safety and preservation of the city rather than true Christian virtue.

**MARK HUTCHINSON (LICHTENBERG-KOLLEG/UNIVERSITY OF YORK)**

**“The English state and *die deutschen Stände*: conceptual dissonance in the crisis of the Palatinate”**

This paper examines the English-German pamphlet and letter exchanges over the decision of James I & VI’s son-in-law Frederick V of the Palatinate to accept the Crown of Bohemia which led to the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War. In doing so, the paper explores the emergence of two very different accounts of ‘the state’ which arose in response to the problem of religious and civil discord. In an English context a ‘reason of state’ reading was applied. This was about maintaining contingent political stability in a political community which was divided along religious lines. Thinking in terms of a balance of political forces, Frederick was told he could not hope to outmatch the House of Habsburg. Frederick and his German associates, however, stuck fast to the constitutional and ethical principles of the Holy Roman Empire, which involved its Christian and universal remit, and the collective and ethical duties embedded in the German concept of *die Stände*. This suggested that the way to restore order was to stick fast to the legal, ethical and collective principles of German thought. This is suggestive of two very different modernities.

**LISA KATTENBERG (UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM)**

**“‘No virtue like necessity’: Lipsius’ *Politica* and reason of state in Spanish political thought and action”.**

Peace and order in society are necessary conditions for virtue to thrive, yet from the perspective of early modern rulers, the means of maintaining political stability were not always compatible with moral and religious virtue. This was especially the case in the context of composite monarchies. In the Spanish empire in particular, a Catholic king needed to unite rules of moral justice with the exigencies of preserving and ruling over disparate and remote territories, constantly challenged by war and



internal rebellion. Could keeping the state, or the ruler's power to guarantee harmony and stability in society, legitimate bending the rules of moral justice? In his *Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction* (1589) Justus Lipsius proposed a

solution to this problem by suggesting that moral laws could be (slightly) bent under circumstances in which the condition of necessity pertained. Lipsius' ideas found an eager audience in the Spanish monarchy, since they had the potential to amplify the range of legitimate action in the political arena, for example in negotiating with non-Catholic rebels. But in the absence of a fixed set of circumstances that amounted to necessity, who was to determine when the condition was in place? Could the presentation of circumstances be manipulated in order to justify departing from political virtue? In this paper I will explore the relation between political virtue and necessity. I will both outline the theoretical ramifications of Lipsius' notion of extenuating necessity, and, focusing on Spanish debates about negotiating peace or truce during the long war in the Netherlands, trace the working of the concept within the political arena. Thus, I hope to open a discussion about ways in which to unite theory and practice in thinking about virtue and politics in the early modern period.

**CHLOE IRETON (UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON)**

**"Entangled Histories: Black Africans' Visions of Just War and Just Slavery in the Early Spanish Empire"**

This paper explores how some enslaved Africans litigated for their freedom in Spanish royal courts in the sixteenth century on the basis that they had been unjustly enslaved in Africa. With a focus on the port cities of Seville and Cartagena, I explore how litigation suits for freedom due to unjust enslavement illuminate how individuals from starkly different social worlds and intellectual milieus – who inhabited the same urban sites – affected and shaped one another's intellectual landscapes. I trace how enslaved Africans' epistemologies of just slavery shaped broader discourses on the just enslavement of Africans in the Spanish empire.

**TIM STUART-BUTTLE (UNIVERSITY OF YORK)**

**"The virtue of civility: from English natural jurisprudence to Scottish social science"**

This paper re-examines the relationship between broadly voluntarist strains of (primarily English) natural law in the later seventeenth century, and the development of Scottish moral philosophy and social science from the mid-eighteenth. It foregrounds a distinctive feature of the responses to Hobbes advanced by Locke, Cumberland and Tyrrell: their emphasis on mankind's natural desire for esteem. It argues that this characteristic of human nature received increased attention as one means of challenging Hobbes's denial of natural sociability: our concern for the opinions of others induces us to moderate our conduct, without political constraint, in such ways as are likely to win the approval of our neighbours. The emphasis placed upon the desire for esteem by Scottish philosophers such as Hume, Smith and the marginal but important figure of Archibald Campbell is striking, and offers one means of better understanding the shift from natural jurisprudence to political economy as the primary framework within which the sociability debate was conducted.