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Bringing Sense and Sensibility to the Continent: Vienna 1815 Revisited¹

Between September 1814 and June 1815 the Vienna Conference assembled monarchs, rulers, diplomats, ministers and other dignitaries to negotiate the political and territorial settlement of the continent after the havoc caused by the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The Congress included political negotiations, behind the scene bilats, momentous church services, banquets, balls and more frivolous activities, as Adam Zamoyski has described so eloquently.²

The Congress and its aftermath also provide us with a wealth of sources regarding the emotions and sentiments that were felt by people and princes alike after having gone through the tremendous hazards and hardships of the revolutionary and Napoleonic years. This «emotional vocabulary of security» begs for more focussed attention. Concentrating on this emotive aspect of the Congress puts the events of 1815 in a new and perhaps more modern light. This essay thus advocates applying the «emotional turn in history» to the year of 1815 and its international reverberations in an attempt to historicise the «balance of power» rhetoric and strip it of its rather anachronistic post-1945 interpretations. If the longing for security was the most heartfelt desire of 1815, the Congress of Vienna and its outcome might come to enjoy substantially more legitimacy today than much of the historiography has granted it.

Waverley

A fine example of the emotive language employed during the year 1815 can be retrieved from the novel *Waverley*, published in 1814.³ This historical novel soon became a best-

1 The author would like to thank John Kok for his editorial help. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n.615313.

2 A. Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna*, London 2008. See also

M. Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*, London 2013; B. E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon*, Cambridge, MA 2014; H. Duchhardt, *Der Wiener Kongress. Die Neugestaltung Europas 1814/15*, München 2013.

3 W. Scott, *Waverley, or, 'T Is Sixty Years since*, Leipzig 1845.

seller in England as well as abroad and established its author, Sir Walter Scott, as a novelist with an international reputation. Although the book was published anonymously, Scott's authorship was a public secret at the time. As a close friend of Viscount Castlereagh, he visited Brussels and Paris and travelled through Europe in 1815, becoming something of a «cultural icon» in Europe.⁴

Waverley tells a love story set at the time of the Jacobite uprising in 1745. It follows a young English nobleman, Edward Waverley, who becomes involved in the Jacobite Rebellion led by Charles Edward Stuart («Bonnie Prince Charlie»). Waverley's romantic entanglement with the Jacobite cause is intensified by his passion for the beautiful Flora, the sister of one of the leading rebels. However, Waverley eventually decides to abandon the Scottish rebels, leave the passionate Flora, and marry the calm Rose Bradwardine. Rose not only represents a more sensible and domestic life for Waverley, but also a more realistic and reasonable future for post-Union Scotland – in stark contrast to the rebels who are stuck in a tragic, backward-looking fight. The mid-eighteenth century setting provides ample parallels to the unruly times of the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic years. The novel is wrought with passionate language and interludes by the author. Scott marvellously evokes the emotions and passions of those times: «[...] those passions common to men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart, whether it throbbed under the steel corset of the fifteenth century, the brocaded coat of the eighteenth, or the blue frock and white dimity waistcoat of the present day.»⁵ These passions do not only concern matters of the heart, but can also be found on the various battlefields throughout history, although the manner in which these warring urges are expressed has changed over time: «The wrath of our ancestors, for example, was coloured *gules*; it broke forth in acts of open and sanguinary violence against the objects of its fury. Our malignant feelings, which must seek gratification through more indirect channels, and undermine the obstacles which they cannot openly bear down, may be rather said to be tintured *sable*. But the deep-ruling impulse is the same in both cases; and the proud peer who can now only ruin his neighbour according to law, by protracted suits, is the genuine descendant of the baron, who wrapped the castle of his competitor in flames, and knocked him on the head as he endeavoured to escape the conflagration.»⁶

Although *Waverley* had already been conceived and written well before 1815, it became a major international success during these years.⁷ Scott stayed with the Castlereaghs in Paris in 1815, visited Waterloo and was a celebrated author amongst «the many great and powerful» men and women in the immediate post-Napoleonic

4 J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Edinburgh 1837, 346–372; J. Scott, *Journal of a Tour to Waterloo and Paris, in Company with Sir Walter Scott, in 1815*, London 1842; J. Bew, *Castlereagh: A Life*, Oxford 2012, 403; M. Pittock (ed.),

The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe, London 2006.

5 Scott, *Waverley*, 11–12.

6 *Ibid.*, 12.

7 Pittock, *The Reception*.

months.⁸ His novels spoke the language of the time and thus resonated with a broad public. 1815 was the year in which a major event came to a conclusion and in which a new international system was created in order to keep the European knights, barons and warlords from «knocking each other on the head». *Waverley* echoed the anxieties, fears and longings of a continent that had been war-ridden for over two decades. The «emotional vocabulary of security» in this context refers to the emotive and political language, in which collective sentiments regarding war and peace were frequently clad, disseminated and understood by a European public in and after 1815. Honing in on the collective and political sentiments that surrounded the Congress of Vienna will help us gain a better understanding of its nature and significance.

The Emotional Turn in History

That emotions influence thoughts and behaviour needs little documentation, although how and why they do it is a matter of continuing debate. Nonetheless, taking the role that emotions have played into account when studying the past is increasingly recognised as a legitimate historiographic approach. Although many different and contrasting understandings still come into play when it comes to determine how these emotional states in past times may be accessed, Ute Frevert and others have done much to professionalise the field of the study of emotions in history.⁹ Studying emotions in the history of international relations is challenging since the focus is not so much on mass movements, groupings or organisations, but on the movement of states, statesmen and power politics. However, today's very heated debates regarding terrorism and security, which do not shy away from acknowledging emotional and passionate expressions of fear and anxiety, do point to the impact that public sentiment can have on the course of national or even international security politics. Additionally, international developments and policies, too, arouse and mobilise sentiments that come to be inscribed in public and political discourse.

The American historian William M. Reddy makes the case that human emotional experiences are influenced by the cultural and political settings of their time. Following David Denby, he contends that the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment period marks the emergence of collective sentimentalism, and argues that extravagant performances of emotion have become routine among the educated elite ever since.¹⁰ Reddy's claims tie in with Georg Lukács' argument in *The Historical Novel* (1937). Lukács postulated the rise of a new, historical consciousness, associated with the

8 Scott, as quoted in: Bew, *Castlereagh*, 403–404.

9 U. Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found*, New York 2011; U. Frevert et al. *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*, Oxford 2014; J. Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl. Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte*, München 2012. See also N. Eustace et al., «AHR

Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions», in: *The American Historical Review* 117 (2012) 5, 1487–1531.

10 W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge 2001, 155–156.

French Revolution and the rise and fall of Napoleon, which «made history a *mass experience*, and moreover on a European scale». The succession of wars and upheavals between 1789 and 1815 «gives them a qualitatively distinct character, it makes their historical character far more visible than would be the case in isolated, individual instances». ¹¹ Taking these arguments on the influence of emotions further, Lynn Hunt argues that the advance of the human rights paradigm was partly mediated through the rise of popular epistolary novels that «helped spread the practices of autonomy and empathy». ¹²

From these works, it has become clear that specific emotions are translated from individual sentiments into emotional norms and habits, and that purposefully cultivated emotional communities can interact with political interests. Emotions and emotive language are being used and appropriated to serve and distribute power across society.

The same case can be made for the historical place of «1815». Feelings of fear and a longing for peace, tranquillity and order were translated into political metaphors and informed new concepts of and ways of thinking about international relations. A novelist like Scott found such a broad readership at a time when millions of people had been affected by the Napoleonic wars. Lukács has argued that men begun «to comprehend their own existence as something historically conditioned, for them to see in history something which deeply affects their daily lives and immediately concerns them». ¹³ Evidence that confirms both the sense of experiencing the historical dimension of one's times as well as the general sensation of war-w(e)ariness and a longing for peace can be identified among the established perceptions, politics and concepts surrounding the Congress of Vienna.

The Sensations of Vienna

As Brian Vick points out in his rich overview of the Congress of Vienna, invited kings, diplomats and citizens were all expected to engage and participate in a collective expression of emotions such as pride, passion and gratefulness for the new order that was being created. The way in which the sensations of «Vienna» were conveyed to a broader audience is exemplified by a public account of the entry of the three allied rulers into the city on 25 September 1814, Tsar Alexander, King Friedrich Wilhelm III and the Emperor Franz. Vick quotes a Viennese cultural periodical, *Pages of Peace*, which claimed: «It was not three monarchs, surrounded by the trappings of majesty, stared at with senseless curiosity: it was the sight of these three, blessed by all the peoples of Europe, worshipped in particular by their own peoples, honoured by all men of heart and spirit for their own sake; it was *these* three, friends bound through

11 G. Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, London 1962, 23.

13 Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, 24.

12 L. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History*, New York 2007, 32.

fate, through sufferings and joys, through their own hearts, which captivated all gazes and made their appearance an angel's apparition for every joy-drunk eye and for every delighted heart.»¹⁴

Uncertainty and fear were remembered, invoked and squared against the joy, peace, security, order, and tranquillity that would commence in this new era of peace. Vick lists and describes numerous instances of mass celebrations, not only the frivolous balls and dances that so often figure in 1815 histories, but also the masses and the spiritual gatherings that took place during those months. Exalted language was employed; religiously charged calls for renewal were made. Musical compositions were so created that spoke to this emotional wave of relief and gratitude. Anton Diabelli composed his *Tone Portrait* for the Celebration of 18 October 1814, a remembrance of the Battle of Nations in which he contrasted the silence of the crowds with the crashing of the cannons, and captured the moment when the monarchs and their entourage «kneel before the altar in humility, to bring their thanks to the Highest». Adalbert Gyrowetz, in a stately andante, similarly portrayed how the «most heartfelt emotion gripped all souls at the conclusion of the solemn thanksgiving offering».¹⁵

Mass gatherings, ceremonious troop inspections, annual celebrations and memorial days channelled emotions of national pathos and transnational gratitude for peace and security. Take for example the Battle of Leipzig anniversary celebration in October 1814¹⁶ or the commemoration of the Battle of Waterloo.¹⁷ After hearing the news about the final battle, Walter Scott was keen to visit the site itself and travelled to the continent in August 1815. In October his poem «Field of Waterloo» was published.¹⁸ In the concluding lines, Scott offers a moral lesson, contrasting the carnage caused by «wild passions» with steadfastness, control and a just cause:

Write, Britain, write the moral lesson down:
 'Tis not alone the heart with valour fired,
 The discipline so dreaded and admired,
 In many a field of bloody conquest known;
 – Such may by fame be lured, by gold be hred –
 'Tis constancy in the good cause alone,
 Best justifies the meed thy valiant sons have won.

Such inclinations towards constancy, controlled passions and a longing for peace and quiet can also be found in individual accounts, as Glenda Sluga convincingly shows in her close reading of female diaries as well as the memoirs of notable female *salonnières* and publicists such as Madame de Staël.¹⁹

14 Quoted in: Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 25.

15 Ibid., 34.

16 Ibid., 47–48, 67.

17 For the impact of «Waterloo» on Dutch collective memory see L. Ph. Sloos, *Onze Slag bij Waterloo*.

De beleving van de overwinning op Napoleon in Nederland, Nijmegen 2015.

18 W. Scott, *The Field of Waterloo; A Poem*, Edinburgh 1815.

19 G. Sluga, «Women, Diplomacy and International

The celebrations and festivities heralding the arrival of the European monarchs and the peace that came in their wake were the transnational *contrapoint* to the horrors caused by Napoleon's return in March. Napoleon's landing in the south of France on 1 March sent tremors across the continent and shocked not only the diplomats and statesmen but also ordinary citizens.

Petronella Moens, a very popular Dutch female writer, published a poem in 1815 entitled «Bij het intrekken van Napoleon Buonaparte in Parijs» («On Napoleon Bonaparte's Entering Paris»). She articulated the emotions of women confronted with the danger of the returning tyrant and war. In the poem, she invoked «dutch virgins» in order to spread feelings of patriotism and to encourage fathers, sons and loved ones to join the allied forces. The women's emotional pleas encouraged men to overcome their fears and join the final battle. The poet's choice of words was very reassuring: no doubts existed that reason and patriotic love would overcome the despotic tyrant, especially since the beloved father of the Dutch nation, the newly crowned King William, and God were on their side.²⁰ Another poem issued a passionate appeal to allied unity and solidarity:

Help God!, Inspire and strengthen the great Alexander!
 Help Austria! – Germany! The noble Prussians and Brits!
 Screw the hands of all our princes together
 In order to reach your holy goal and aim.²¹

The emotional vocabulary employed across the continent during the Congress of Vienna, the 100 days of Napoleon's return and his final defeat denounces extremism, revolutionary upheaval, hegemonic egotism and arbitrary rule. These notions are countered with praise for stable, organic constitutions and for monarchical rule, which is viewed as a hereditary, historically grounded and limited form of rule compared to the infinite powers that Napoleon had bestowed upon himself.²²

Interestingly, these emotional expressions of security cannot be understood as a longing for a return to the olden days of the *ancien régime*. Instead, something new, but markedly post-revolutionary, was desired. People called not for a restoration of the ancient regime, but for new forms of security and reasonable (sometimes even monar-

Politics, before and after the Congress of Vienna», in: idem. / C. James (eds.), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, London 2015; G. Sluga, «Madame de Staël and the Transformation of European Politics, 1812–1817», in: *International History Review* 37 (2015) 1, 142–166.

20 See L. Jensen, «A Poem by Petronella Moens: «Bij het intrekken van Napoleon Buonaparte in Parijs»», <http://www.100days.eu/items/show/61>.

21 *Vaderlander, Strijd! voor God! den Koning! en het Vaderland*, Amsterdam 1815. For an analysis of popular reactions in the northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands during the Hundred

Days, see L. Jensen, ««De hand van broederschap toegereikt». Nederlandse Identiteiten en Identiteitsbesef in 1815», in: F. Judo/ S. Van de Perre (eds.), *Belg of Bataaf. De wording van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, Antwerp 2015, 85–110.

22 C. Nübel, «Auf der Suche nach Stabilität. 1813 und die Restauration der Monarchie im Europäischen Vergleich», in: B. Aschmann / T. Stamm-Kuhlmann (eds.), *1813 im europäischen Kontext*, Stuttgart 2015, 163–186; V. Sellin, *Gewalt und Legitimität. Die europäische Monarchie im Zeitalter der Revolutionen*, München 2011.

chical) rule. The call for a legitimate historically grounded, but forward-looking new order was in the air. This collective longing, audible throughout Europe, found its way into the back corridors of the power brokers and architects of the new European security order. Arguably, this is most markedly expressed in the rejuvenated rhetoric surrounding the «balance of power» or the *juste équilibre* – as the French expression went those years.

The «Balance of Power» as an Emotive Concept

Emotional content can certainly be garnered from pronouncements occasioned by mass celebrations or produced by the collective shock following the confrontation with a global oppressor. But the emotional vocabulary of the year 1815 was also implicit to (and used by those who championed) the concept of the balance of power. If we accept the hypothesis that collective emotions and political interests come to be translated into the «received» emotional vocabulary of security, then the concept of the balance of power is an excellent case in point. Rather than being merely an objective description of the political system of the nineteenth century, it should also be understood as articulating a moral and emotional preference for «sense and sensibility» (Jane Austen) in politics after the chaos, turmoil and despotic rule of the Napoleonic era. («Sense and sensibility» does of course refer to Jane Austen's novel that was written during the Napoleonic wars and published in 1811.²³)

The notion of balance of power was not invented in 1815. On the contrary, it was an old idea that had originated during the unruly times of the 1648 settlement and that had increasingly gained dominance in 1713.²⁴ During the Napoleonic Wars, Friedrich von Gentz, the Congress of Vienna's secretary, published an extensive study on the need to rearticulate the balance of power as a blueprint for a new European order.²⁵ At that point, various interpretations had gained ground. The British interpretation of the balance of power was strongly influenced by the desire to keep Britain's hegemony on the seas intact and to prevent conflicts on the continent. For Pitt, «balance» meant an equal division of power in Europe, free ports to the North Sea (an alignment with a stable and independent Dutch state), and a containment of both France and Russia.²⁶

In retrospect, the Realist School of International Relations (IR), most notably Henry Kissinger and other post-1945 epigones, have re-appropriated the balance of power rhetoric. In this IR-reasoning, the balance of power comes across in highly objectified,

23 L. Prescott, «Voices in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars: Jane Austen» (2009), Jane Austen Studies Center, Paper 1.

24 H. Duchhardt, *Gleichgewicht der Kräfte, Convenance, Europäisches Konzert. Friedenskongresse und Friedensschlüsse vom Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV. bis zum Wiener Kongreß*, Darmstadt 1976, 68–76.

25 F. von Gentz, *Fragments upon the Balance of Power in Europe*, London 1806; F. von Gentz, «Über de

Pradt's Gemälde von Europa nach dem Kongress von Aachen», in: *Wiener Jahrbüchern der Literatur* 5 (1819), 279–318, in: *Gesammelte Schriften* VIII/3, 96; With thanks to Raphael Cahen.

26 Duchhardt, *Gleichgewicht*, 137. See also Mark Jarrett in this volume, or Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy*, 39–42.

almost statistically crafted, politico-engineering terms. Resources, power relations and hard interests are calculated and weighed against each other. Scholars in international relations usually see the nineteenth century as an era characterised by this realist interpretation of the balance of power, the so-called Concert of Europe, where states were the main actors pursuing their own interests.²⁷ Certainly, over the last few years more sophisticated narratives about the Congress of Vienna are replacing the balance of power concept with terms such as «hegemony» or «political equilibrium».²⁸ They signal a gradual shift away from focussing primarily on classical diplomacy and inter-state relations towards unpacking and analysing decision-making processes. Mark Jarrett and Brian Vick even ascertain that incipient collective and liberal tendencies already influenced international relations in 1815.²⁹ Notwithstanding Adam Zamoyski's highly critical appraisal of the allegedly strictly reactionary outcomes of the Vienna Congress,³⁰ there are others, such as Matthias Schulz and Eckart Conze, who consider the Congress the beginning of a development towards institutionalised forms of transnational security cooperation.³¹ Mark Mazower also locates ideas of global cooperation and world governance in the early nineteenth century.³²

However, much more can and should be said about the way in which the whole idea of a balance of power resonated with and was interpreted by the people in 1815. The very term «balance» evokes a certain emotion, or perhaps better put, the absence of passions and a predilection for reason, stability and control. On the one hand, it involves opposing extreme positions, stabilising the status quo by «having your weight spread equally so that you do not fall» and «the ability to move or to remain in a position without losing control or falling». Sometimes the term describes «a state in which different things occur in equal or proper amounts or have an equal or proper amount of importance». In 1815, balancing included the division of spheres of influence, ascertaining the spoils of war and fixing acquired or reconquered gains. On the other hand, it also indirectly implies a judgement about «unbalanced», revolutionary and subversive protests against the new order. Words that keep recurring throughout the letters, texts and documents in 1815 are «*repos*», «*ordre*» and «*tranquillité*». Rather than immediately discrediting these terms as reactionary, repressive or conservative, they should be understood as expressions of sincere emotions, a longing for peace and quiet;

27 Predominantly H. Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, New York 1994, 78–102.

28 M. Schulz, *Normen und Praxis. Das Europäische Konzert der Großmächte als Sicherheitsrat, 1815–1860*, München 2009; W. Pyta (ed.), *Das europäische Mächtekonzert: Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik vom Wiener Kongress 1815 bis zum Krimkrieg 1853*, Cologne, Vienna 2009.

29 Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna*; Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*.

30 Adam Zamoyski sees the Final Act mainly as a victory for the right of the strongest and as the

cornerstone of the creation of a new system of illiberal oppression: Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace*, 168.

31 Schulz, *Normen und Praxis*; Pyta, *Das europäische Mächtekonzert*; E. Conze, «Abschied von Staat und Politik? Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Internationalen Politik», in: U. Lappenküper / G. Müller (eds.), *Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen. Erneuerung und Erweiterung einer historischen Disziplin*, Köln, Weimar 2004, 14–43.

32 M. Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present*, New York 2013.

however opportunistic and utilitarian their use could become when usurped by the new rulers of the day.

This positive, historically meaningful interpretative strand regarding the creation of a new European balance of power in 1815 can be found in historiography as well. For the British audience at the time, «bringing sense and sensibility to the continent» was obviously as much of a noble cause as it was a pretext for serving British interests. Still, as the British Prime Minister William Gladstone put it in 1879, keeping «the powers of Europe in union together [was crucial]. [...] Because by keeping all in union together you neutralise and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each.»³³ Gladstone's convictions echoed what Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, wrote to his Prime Minister Liverpool in August 1815: «it is not our business to collect trophies, but to try [...] [to] bring back the world to peaceful habits.»³⁴ Rather than a «winner takes all» arrangement, they set about to design a sensible, modest, multilateral mode of conference diplomacy and international power brokering suitable to the emotions of the immediate post-Napoleonic period.

Traces of this can also be found in later years: although Woodrow Wilson denounced the elaborations of Vienna as «covenants of selfishness and compromise» in 1918,³⁵ Austen Chamberlain, while preparing for the conference of Locarno in 1925, commented: «Britain's part now is the same as in 1815 and *mutatis mutandis* Castlereagh's policy is the right one today.»³⁶ He further contended that «Great Britain stands forth again as the moderator and peace maker of the new Europe created by the Great war.»³⁷

Proof of this idea is salient throughout the discourse of the day. The emotional vocabulary of security, which permeated this logic and made it so persuasive that it still holds strong today, was inescapably reasonable. Balance implied movement, but a stable and controlled movement. This notion of controlled and stable power relations was translated into security provisions everywhere. It underpinned the military security concept of barrier and bulwark reasoning. It permeated the debates on the maintenance of law and order on the domestic/political front and was inferred in the art of crafting constitutions that combined both liberal provisions and monarchical vetoes and preferences.³⁸ In the international arena it dictated a delicate division of spheres of

33 W. E. Gladstone, «Speech at West Calder», 27 November 1879, in: idem., *Political Speeches in Scotland, November–December 1879*, Edinburgh 1880, 115–116.

34 Quoted in: Bew, *Castlereagh*, 407; See also: P. W. Schroeder, «A Mild Rejoinder», in: *The American Historical Review* 97 (1992) 3, 733–735.

35 From Wilson's address to the Congress of the United States, 4 December 1917. See: W. Wilson, *War and Peace: Presidential Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers*. Volume I, New York 1927, 129.

36 Cited in: P. O. Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace after*

World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932, Cambridge 2008, 217.

37 Cited in: Z. S. Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919–1933*, Oxford 2005, 403. Thanks to Eva Maria Werner.

38 For the Netherlands see B. de Graaf, «Schoothondje van de mogendheden. Nederland en het collectieve veiligheidssysteem in de negentiende eeuw», in: J. Pekelder / R. Raben / M. Segers (eds.), *De Wereld volgens Nederland Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek in historisch perspectief*, Amsterdam 2015, 42–58.

influence and difficult debates amongst the powers regarding the military upholstering of the «general guarantee» against revolutionary upheaval.

The connection between balance and ordered, consensual politics (at least consensual between the larger powers), as stipulated in Article VI of the Quadruple Alliance of 20 November 1815, continued in the following years: «[...] for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe».

Bringing Sense and Sensibility to the Continent

Two hundred years after the final act was concluded, it is time to remember, reassess and analyse the extent to which the Napoleonic Wars and especially the Congress of Vienna produced new modes of security management and new security cultures that combined pre-revolutionary, Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic ideas on war, peace and stability. In order to augment the existing literature on the balance of power and on diplomacy and statecraft in and after Vienna, more research on the emotions and ideas that underpinned the territorial settlements as well as the political and cultural transformations (or restorations) that took place in Europe in and after 1815 needs to be conducted.

Following from the Congress of Vienna, the European powers did not only establish elementary conditions for the protection of the «status quo»³⁹ and for the regulation of interstate conflict through a «political equilibrium», as the literature on this era has it,⁴⁰ but also for the creation of a *Pax Europæana* and the emergence of a common European security culture. While this widespread longing for security was upended to legitimise the fight against purported revolutionaries (inspired by uprisings, revolts and incidents in 1819, 1830, 1848 and 1870),⁴¹ this should not obscure the fact that the larger and smaller European powers did recognise the mutual need for stability and order in the year 1815 and immediately thereafter.

To better evaluate what the Congress of Vienna was really about, the time is ripe to historicise the ideas of fear, danger and security that were felt, expressed and negotiated in 1815. We should thus pay more attention to the intersubjective character of threat and interest construction within the historical context.⁴² The nascent European security culture and the norms and practices it produced sometimes took highly exclusion-

39 J. L. Klüber (ed.), *Acten des Wiener Congresses in den Jahren 1814 und 1815*, Erlangen 1815–1835, here: Acten II, 530–537.

40 P. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763–1848*, Oxford 1994; E. Kraehe, *Metternich's German Policy: The Contest with Napoleon, 1799–1814*, Princeton 1963, 3–17.

41 K. Härter, «Security and Cross-Border Political Crime: The Formation of Transnational Security

Regimes in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Europe», in: *Historical Social Research* 38 (2013) 1, 96–106.

42 E. Conze, «Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?», in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38 (2012) 3, 453–467; B. de Graaf / C. Zwierlein, «Historicizing Security: Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive», in: *Historical Social Research* 38 (2013) 1, 46–64.

ary and intrusive forms when it came to ethnic and religious minorities, colonial natives and civil rights. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 was no exception. Liberal, colonial and oppositional voices were silenced and «enemies of the states» were categorically repressed, while legal norms were by no means universally applied. However, 1815 also gave rise to emotions of relief, anger and the yearning for a stable, secure peace that were articulated in and inscribed into a collective and political discourse; a discourse that juggled both old and new ideas, liberal and restorative initiatives as well as in- and exclusiveness. A process of conference diplomacy that bestowed new meaning and legitimacy (of a procedural, substantial and perceived kind) onto the balance of power reasoning emerged as well.

Studying the ways in which collective emotions and emotive language were translated into the political discourse and were used to mobilise support and cement new systems and orders, thus helps understand the notion of the balance of power as an emotional metaphor. Rather than discarding it post hoc as a reactionary political idea, the concept bore more legitimacy in 1815 than has sufficiently been acknowledged in the historical literature.

Let's go back to *Waverley's* Flora and Rose. In the final chapters of the novel, Edward Waverley abandons the Scottish rebellion, leaves the passionate Flora and returns home. And let us conclude with Scott's explicit pathos, giving voice to the longing for peace, security and quiet of those days: «He then, for the first time since leaving Edinburgh, began to experience that pleasure which almost all feel who return to a verdant, populous, and highly-cultivated country, from scenes of waste desolation, or of solitary and melancholy grandeur. But how were those feelings enhanced when he entered on the domain so long possessed by his fore-fathers; recognised the old oaks of Waverley-Chase; thought with what delight he would introduce Rose to all his favourite haunts; beheld at length the towers of the venerable hall arise above the woods which embowered it, and finally threw himself into the arms of the venerable relations to whom he owed so much duty and affection!»⁴³

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43 Scott, *Waverley*, 352