

EUROPE IN 1815

Monaco Newly created or restored states after the Congress of Vienna
Yellow Territorial acquisitions and reacquisitions in brighter colors
Red Boundary of German Confederation
White German small states
Orange Military Frontier against the Ottomans



Post-1815 Europe

Muhammad Najm Akbar
 makbar@mpc.edu



Introduction

Post-1815 Europe

- Last week, we looked at the Industrial Revolution in the British Isles that came to dominate the largest part of the globe. Great Britain became the birthplace of a watershed moment in world history because the Industrial Revolution generated efficiencies of productivity that shattered the Malthusian Trap, the unequal growth of productivity, and the means of subsistence for the population.
- Today, we will begin the first of two conversations about Europe post-1815, discussing some salient historical developments. We will look at Europe after Napoleon today and the Revolutions of 1848; their contributory factors and consequences will be the subject of the last lecture of this unit.

Post-1815 Europe

- The Napoleonic Wars dominated Europe from 1803 to 1815, changing its political map, introducing Napoleon's family and selected associates as new royal rulers of the French colonized parts of Europe, and exporting some of the gains of the French Revolution and Napoleonic reforms across conquered territories. In Europe post 1815, we can trace a few commonalities:
 - Efforts to ensure that Napoleon does not happen again
 - Tracking the impact of the French Revolution so that the seminal ideas it generated did not reverberate with the grassroots in other countries. We can thus argue that the process of reversing the impact of the French Revolution that Napoleon began in 1799 gained larger momentum after his defeat at Waterloo in 1815. European powers restored the Bourbon monarchy and continued to rollback the revolutionary gains across Europe.
 - Incorporating the impact of the Industrial Revolution
 - Figuring out ways of having a share of the European dominance of the world.

Post-1815 Europe

- The European old order first struggled to overcome the shocks of the French Revolution, the Revolutionary Wars, and the Napoleonic Wars that ensued. Waterloo extended its supremacy for quite a while.
- The Congress of Vienna 1815 codified the monarchical resolve to establish and sustain the balance of power among them and to secure peace.
- We will see how events such as the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars made this consolidation of the European old order possible.

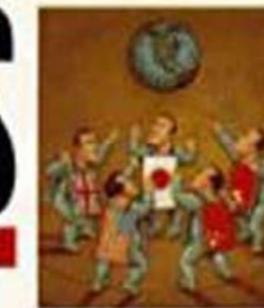
References

- Felix Rösch, “Affect, Practice, and Change,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 56, no. 2 (June 2021): 123–40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48649520>.
- Glenda Sluga, “‘Who Hold the Balance of the World?’ Bankers at the Congress of Vienna, and in International History,” *American Historical Review* 122, no. 5 (December 2017): 1403–30, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26580662>.
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989)

BY THE AUTHOR OF
PREPARING FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

"A fresh enlightenment of the problems of our
own time." —The New York Times Book Review

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GREAT POWERS



PAUL KENNEDY

Post-1815 Europe

- Historian Paul Kennedy defined several characteristics of post-1815 Europe.
- This historical period witnessed a steady, and after the 1840s, spectacular growth of an integrated global economy, which drew ever more regions into a transoceanic and transcontinental trading and financial network centered upon Western Europe and especially Great Britain.
- Despite the dismemberment of the Latin American empires of Spain and Portugal early nineteenth century, the European colonial outreach expanded stupendously. In the year 1800, they occupied or controlled 35% of the land surface of the world; by 1878, 67%, and by 1914 over 84%.

Post-1815 Europe

- Technology derived from the Industrial Revolution began to make its impact on the economy, military, and naval warfare.
- In economic terms, enhanced efficiencies and productivity gave an enormous edge to Great Britain. Kennedy highlights the Machine Age advantage over time. According to him, real wages in Britain rose between 15 and 25% in the years 1815 to 1850 and by an impressive 80% in the next half-century.
- In the military and naval fields, the pace of change was slow, but in the second half of the century, the railways, telegraphs, quick-firing guns, steamed propulsion, and armored warships became decisive indicators of military strength.

Non-Europeans Eclipsed

- Kennedy argues that this era also marked the eclipse of the non-European world. The share of non-Europeans, including China and British India, in the world economy shrank. They experienced de-industrialization because of the penetration of the traditional markets by the cheaper and better products of the Lancashire textile factories.
- China had a 32.8 percent share of the world's manufacturing in 1750, India 24.5 percent. By 1880, the Chinese share was reduced to 12.5 percent and India's to 2.8. In the next twenty years, China and India, respectively, dropped to 6.2 and 1.7 percent (p. 149).

Post-1815 Europe

- England was the home of the Industrial Revolution.
- Europe faced equally life-changing movements affecting its socioeconomic and geopolitical environment.
- We devoted the last unit of the fall session to the French Revolution, which had a deeply transformative impact internally and externally. We learned how by 1795, the Revolutionaries struggled with the balance between a strong center, order, and individual freedoms. They failed to develop an efficient central governance mechanism. Napoleon took advantage of the internal contradictions of the French executive, comprising a five-member Directory, staged a coup d'etat on November 9, 1799, and initiated a strong, central, functional government. In 1804, he crowned himself as Emperor.

Post-1815 Europe

- Ironically, parallel to each other, while Napoleon reversed Revolutionary advances such as emancipation, separation of church and state, and elected national and city governance at home, European Monarchies sought to rollback his expeditions and reforms into their territories.
- Since 1812, Napoleon began to lose against the coalition of his erstwhile victims as the Russian campaign decimated his military advantage. Waterloo ended his ambitious imperial plans in 1815.

Post-1815 Europe

- Napoleon was a stupendous though destructive force of nature.
- The Continental System was one of his biggest mistakes. He devised it to cut off the trade between Continental Europe, which he increasingly viewed as his fief, and England.
- Napoleon had this grand idea that he could monitor and control the Atlantic and Mediterranean coastlines of Europe, spread over the Northern Sea, Adriatic, from Scandinavia to Anatolia, to enforce a trade embargo against Britain.

• PoPost-1815 Europe

- Napoleon's pursuit of vendetta against the violators of the Continental System led to the most devastating war against Russia in 1812.
- Of the 60 battles Napoleon waged, the battle of Leipzig (1813) was one of the seven most crucial defeats, with Waterloo ending his adventurous career forever.
- The anti-Napoleonic forces chased him out of power and onto the distant island of St. Helena, a possession of the East India Company, as a prison.

Post-1815 Europe

- Following Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, the allied forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the land of his in-laws, moved to undo the French stranglehold against them.
- Napoleon's abdications of 1814 and 1815 met the allies' immediate objective. Louis XVIII resumed control over the Bourbon throne.
- For their long-term goals, the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe codified guarantees for peace and the settlement of outstanding territorial claims.
- Postwar accommodations functioned differently from the Versailles Treaty that we will study as part of the Great War. The focus was on the restoration of the old order rather than punishing the French aggressor.

The Congress of Vienna 1814-15

- The terms of settlement toward France were lenient, the objective being to turn France into an ally rather than a resentful enemy. They reduced France to its 1789 boundaries.
- Because Napoleon escaped from Elba and returned to France after his first abdication of 1814, the allies imposed an indemnity of 700 million francs and required the French to return stolen artifacts and submit to the occupation powers and their allied forces until the indemnity was paid (done by 1818).

The Congress of Vienna 1814-15

- The Congress of Vienna emphasized legitimacy and stability.
- By legitimacy, they meant that territories should once again be placed under the control of the old ruling houses of the traditional order, adjusting to new ground realities.
- By stability, they meant establishing and maintaining a balance of power within Europe, with a particular focus on restraining France.
- They also agreed that the settlement should apply to all of Europe.

The Congress of Vienna 1814-15

- The major powers traded and acquired territories by mutual consent (Final Document).
- These congresses stretched from 1814 to 1822. The first Congress began after Napoleon's first abdication and ended a few days before his final defeat at Waterloo in June 1815. The second Congress was held in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, followed by Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822).
- Napoleon had demolished the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. This flexible structure had existed since 800 but breathed its last in the nineteenth century. The major powers created the German Confederation of 39 states to replace it.
- Russia, Austria, and Prussia became the linchpins of a Holy Alliance committed to preserving the Vienna settlement and indicated a possibility of intervening in other countries in support of their conservative principles.

The Concert of Europe

- Besides the Holy Alliance, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain created a military alliance to guarantee the Vienna settlement.
- They called it the Quadruple Alliance or the Concert of Europe, which showed its strength in authorizing military actions against insurrections or liberal revolts in Naples in 1821 and Spain in 1822.
- The Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which the British supported, eliminated any possibility of European intervention in the Western Hemisphere to protect the interests of the Spanish crown.

The Dancing Congress of Vienna

- The Poloniase
- The Minuet
- The Waltz
- As the future is unknown and unpredictable, historians continue to seek new perspectives to the past. Historian Rosch has explored the dance evenings that the Congress hosts organized to make their evenings interesting and productive for the new treaty arrangements. Here is how he relates these evenings to the treaty contents:

The Dancing Congress of Vienna

The Minuet

- Rosch looks at dance as a political practice at the Congress of Vienna. The Minuet, he argues, served two intentions in Vienna: “First, strictly defined movements reassured dancers of their position within a European aristocratic order, while at the same time it embodied collective public approval of this order and its members ... by carefully staging minuets, the nobility allowed for an embodied aesthetic that was carried by their rhythmic movements and affective properties.
- An example of this was the opening ball on 2 October 1814, which invited 10,000 guests to the imperial palace, comprising not only its two ballrooms but also ... an indoor riding school. On the occasion, thousands of candles were lit, leaving a lasting impression on numerous eyewitnesses...This ostentation of splendor and the carefully staged dances symbolically re-legitimized the nobility’s claim to power vis-à-vis the public by helping to constrain ‘the revolutionary virus.’

The Dancing Congress of Vienna

- Second, dancing also helped to establish, with the Concert of Europe, a relatively long-lasting system of conflict resolution. The minuet, like the polonaise, allowed dancers and observers to communicate directly.
- Dancing constituted a creative force of meaning-making to identify communalities while not renouncing diversity. This affective meaning-making contributed to ending hostilities and enabled France to retain its great power status. It also helped to create the Concert of Europe, in which a shared togetherness was established that at least nominally gave everyone the same voice in the annex to the final act. It also furthered perceptions of a world in which states as international actors were not considered exclusive and mono-cultural, bounded by clearly demarcated and unsurmountable lines, but were woven together by sets of inclusive relations as multicultural constructions.

Post-1815 Europe

- This was a period of intense focus on ideologies such as conservatism or liberalism.
- The European Monarchs were thus also responding to various internal pressures. The rising wave of nationalism threatening the multiethnic and multilingual imperial structures was one of them.

Ideas and Ideologies

- Nationalism was an idea that the French Revolution reinforced.
- Nationalism promised to unify nations, liberate subject people from foreign rule, create a sense of fraternity among the members of a national community, and lead that community to a common destiny. At its core was a feeling of cultural identity among distinct groups of people who shared a common language and traditions and belonged to a nation-state of their own.
- Nationalism posed a challenge to multi-ethnic empires like the Austrians (Habsburgs), where Czechs, Magyars, or Serbs (independence 1878), or the Greeks under the Ottomans (independence 1829), the Poles under the Russians, and Italians under the Austrians felt either ethnically and linguistically discriminated against or suppressed by foreign domination.

The Dancing Congress of Vienna

- Rosch argues that Waltz, “spinning for the nation” responded to the sentiments of nationalism at the Congress. He says, “...people started to imagine a different world, and dancing helped them to affectively negotiate these ambivalences... Waltz allowed dancers constantly touch one another in a closed position. With its repetitive, almost ecstatic turns and constant embrace, the waltz provided for a rhythmic experience that individualized dancing. Unlike the minuet, it emphasized not uniformity, but individual expression; there are no rules... save for a few basic steps; the individual is encouraged to introduce his own variations and interpretations.’ While this created barriers between dancers, it helped to reduce them between classes, as dancing skills became more important than the performers’ status.

The Dancing Congress of Vienna

- ...Being accessible to all and having no strict sequence of steps, the waltz embodied liberal views, promoting equality on a national basis. Hence, in contrast to the minuet, whose affective dynamics evoked an 'inter' across a transboundary European elite, the emergence of the waltz enabled to 'constantly generate, rework and mediate nationalisms coinciding with imaginations of the international in which the 'ideal of cosmopolitanism started to give way to tropes of cultural belonging and national commitment.' In the decades following the Congress of Vienna, spinning around the dance floor commonly embodied national sentiments throughout Europe.
- The Congress further accelerated this change, in which nation-states gradually came to be perceived as the only representation of modern society by not only promoting the waltz but also other folk dances from across the Austrian Empire.

The Concert of Europe

- The Concert of Europe was the successful beginning of a Great-Power-based international system. It succeeded partially, however. It did not end the wars. Unlike the prolonged conflicts of the 18th century, however, occurrences of hostilities such as the Franco-Austrian War of 1859, instrumental to the unification of Italy in 1861, the wars of German unification in the 1860s, the Crimean War of 1853-1856, between the Russian Empire and an alliance of the Ottoman Empire, France, the United Kingdom, and Sardinia-Piedmont, were limited in duration and area.
- In 1870, France suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of a unified German Empire.

Ideas and Ideologies

- Essentially, conservatism opposed the revolutionary notion of equality and believed in order and hierarchy. The participants in the Vienna Congress were conservatives. They also resented the idea of individualism based on Enlightenment because it would fragment society and lead to anarchy.
- Liberalism drew on the promises of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment. Liberals wanted a society that promoted individual freedom, or liberty, and opposed the dominance of politics and society by monarchs, aristocrats, and clergy. They demanded reform and fought resisting conservatives,

Post-1815 Europe

- As common features of Europe, Kennedy also counted massive expansion of national and international banking, the growth of governmental bureaucracies, and the ability of different regimes to raise funds from the money markets.
- Glenda Sluga explores the role of national and international banking at the Congress of Vienna. Besides the services rendered to the political and military elite at the Congress, the bankers also pleaded for rights of minorities, in this case of Jews, and for the independence of Greece.

Sovereign Debt Market

- Sluga finds the history of the sovereign debt market entwined with the strands of political and economic developments, and to the 1818 Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, dominated by the indemnity payment by France to the Coalition. The bankers organized that payment—through a sovereign debt loan. Through this newly transnational sovereign debt market, a Swiss banker, Jean-Gabriel Eynard, also managed to fund the Greek independence movement as a humanitarian cause.

Sovereign Debt Market

- France owed 1.95 billion francs to the Allies. For an expeditious payment, the British government endorsed the idea of a public loan. British Barings took the contract and then sold on the “indemnity loan” in tranches to a European public who responded enthusiastically to the promise of an attractive annual interest.
- The French foreign minister, the Duc de Richelieu, quipped that there were now six great European powers—Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Barings (bank).

Sovereign Debt Market

- The Swiss banker, Jean-Gabriel Eynard led a group of influential associates and began his efforts to fund Greek independence in 1824-25 through stock markets in Paris and London.
- Although a stock exchange crisis of 1825 impeded the endeavor, they successfully raised a public loan of £800,000, for which the London Greek Committee “offered the (notional) national property of Greece as guarantee.” After costs and commissions, “the Greeks were left with less than a third of the amount raised for their political or military purposes.”

Sovereign Debt Market

- David Ricardo, a London-based banker and economist, raised a second public loan issue totaling £2 million, of which £980,000 remained for “the Greek cause, once costs and embezzled money were subtracted.”
- Both these Greek loans ended up on a long list of sovereign debt bonds intended to raise capital for aspiring or newly independent (postcolonial) states, including Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and others in Central America, all of which failed to pay interest until the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Sovereign Debt Market

- Besides the humanitarian aspect of the bankers' newfound power, French imperialism found an extractive usage of indemnity loans. Facing penalties for Napoleonic ambitions, the revived Bourbon monarchy decided to continue Napoleon's mission in Haiti in another way.
- Through a royal ordinance in 1825, France imposed reparations of 150 million French francs on post-revolutionary Haiti. For the long centuries of its colonization of Haiti from 1659 to 1804, France required Saint-Domingue to compensate French planters for the loss of land and slaves. Positioning its warships around the Caribbean island in a kind of military occupation, the French government coerced the Haitian government into taking a series of indemnity loans from French bankers to be paid in French currency.

Sovereign Debt Market

- Through a syndicate of French bankers, Haiti was coerced into accepting excessively negative terms. For the second indemnity installment of 30 million francs, for example, the terms were as follows: 6.5 million francs paid annually to the bankers over thirty-five years, eventually totaling 227 million francs (or thirty-five times the borrowed capital).
- The cost to Haiti of the loans was ten times its annual revenue.

Sovereign Debt Market

- The French ensured to exclude the possibility that the English could step in with a better offer. The indemnity exceeded estimates of the cost of losses by 50 million francs, and a 50 percent tariff reduction on French imports.

Conclusion

- European response to the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars dominated historical developments in post-1815 Europe. Its efforts to create a European system of interstate relations and conflict resolution succeeded only partially.
- Europe also adjusted to colonialism and the globalization of economies and finance. Imperialism leveraged the sovereign debt market to its advantage.
- Despite internal problems, the European share of world dominance and control increased to the detriment of non-European powers.
- We will look at the domestic situations and their impact on the 1848 revolutions next week.