



New Postwar Orders: Transforming Europe and the World after War and Revolution (1815–1840)

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Convenors: Prof. Dr. Ute Planert

Elias Mahiout M.A. & Jonas Wernz M.Ed.

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Prof. Dr. Beatrice de Graaf (Utrecht)

“Fighting Terror after Napoleon: Creating an Imperial Peace”

Abstract

The first half of the 19th century has recently been discovered (again) by historians. In particular the transition from the Revolutionary Wars – the First Global War according to some – to the situation of peace after 1815 has attracted quite some scholarly attention. In this lecture Beatrice de Graaf will ask the question Napoleon himself allegedly repeatedly posed at Sint Helena: ‘What sort of Peace have they created?’ Contrary to the dismissive and frustrated response the former emperor provided in his memoirs, this lecture will argue that it was a new type of peace, an experiment in ‘mutual security’. Rather than discarding the first postwar decades after 1815 as a period of restauration, new imperial hierarchies and terrorist imaginaries were created, by fomenting fausses nouvelles and mobilizing a specific set of emotives, that produced a new security culture, lasting at least up until the 1870s. By bringing together new archival insights, IR theories and insights from the emotional turn in history, received ideas on the early 19th century and the restauration are upended and revisited.

CV

Beatrice de Graaf (1976) is Distinguished Professor and holds the Chair of History of International Relations at Utrecht University. For her monograph *Fighting Terror after Napoleon*, published with CUP in 2020, she received the Arenberg Prize for the Best Book in European History in 2022. In 2018, De Graaf was awarded the Stevin Prize, the highest distinction in Dutch academia. She was visiting fellow at Cambridge University/St. Catherine’s college (2016), at the Program of Extremism at GWU/New York Times, and is fellow at CASSIS, Bonn. She is core editor of the *Journal of Modern European History* and of *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Prof. Dr. Ute Planert (Cologne)

“Introduction”

Abstract

Wars are accompanied and followed by massive transformations. They are tremendous challenges to established regimes, both domestic and international. This is especially true for the era of the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon with their fundamental changes of political regimes and the global world order, mass armies and millions of casualties. When the war was over, the Ancien Regime had become history, Great Britain had risen to the ruler of the seas at the expense of other colonial powers, and South America began to emancipate itself from Iberian rule. Laws had laid the foundation for a bourgeois capitalist society, borders, imperial spaces and global economic landscapes were redrawn, and a new security system evolved in Europe. In southern Germany, demobilisation was followed by economic crisis, hunger, poverty and emigration. Princes reinvented themselves as citizen kings and sided with the bourgeoisie, while new forms of internationalism, knowledge production, and transnational public spheres emerged. It is questionable whether the term “restoration” adequately addresses the transformative dynamics of the postwar years. I would thus suggest that the epoch might be better described as an era of reconstruction or “instauration”.

CV

Ute Planert is Professor of Modern History at the University of Cologne. She wrote her prize-winning second book on Southern Germany during the French Wars (*Der Mythos vom Befreiungskrieg*, 2007) as a PI at the Collaborative Research Centre “War Experiences – War and Society in Modern History” at the University of Tuebingen and held the Hannah Arendt Visiting Chair of German and European History at the University of Toronto in 2012/13. A member of the Historical Commission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, she co-edits the journal *Archiv fuer Sozialgeschichte* and publishes widely on nationalism, gender, war, and international politics. Publications in English include *International Conflict, War, and the Making of Modern Germany, 1740-1815*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (2011); *Napoleon as an Icon of Liberalism in Restoration Germany*, in: Michael Broers/Ambrogio Caiani (eds.), *A History of the European Restorations* (2019); *Liberation: Myth and Reality in Germany*, in: Alan Forrest/Peter Hicks (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Napoleonic Wars* (2022), *Weimar Bodies: Gender, Sexuality, Reproduction*, in: Benjamin Ziemann/Nadine Rossol (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Weimar Republic* (2022) and the edited volumes *Napoleon’s Empire. European Politics in Global Perspective* (2016) and *Decades of Reconstruction. Postwar Societies, State-Building, and International Relations. From the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century* (with James Retallack, 2017).

Prof. em. Dr. Alan Forrest (York)

“Death and Transfiguration? France’s Atlantic Economy through War and Revolution”

Abstract

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic era had proved highly damaging for France’s Atlantic trade, signalling the end of the high profits that so many merchants had enjoyed during much of the eighteenth century. Revolution, war and naval blockade, combined with the loss of France’s most lucrative colony in Saint-Domingue, spelt misery for the Atlantic ports and their commercial elites. For cities that had been dependent on the slave trade – most notably, but not uniquely, Nantes – the growth of moral doubts and aggressive British abolitionism posed particular challenges. Recovery from war would prove slow and painful, and merchant houses were driven to a variety of expedients if they were to avoid bankruptcy. Some tried to revive the golden age they had lost, sending their vessels to the Americas and engaging in an illegal slave trade with west Africa and the Caribbean. Others sought opportunities elsewhere. Of the major Atlantic ports, Bordeaux forged new links with the Far East, India and Senegal, as well as with Central and Latin America. Although sugar continued to be a mainstay of Nantes’ commercial economy it increasingly came from the Indian Ocean rather than the Caribbean, especially from Mauritius and Réunion. Marseille, too, sought to diversify, looking increasingly to the Levant and to North Africa. Le Havre, which suffered badly from the decline of Caribbean trade, reinvented itself by turning to passenger traffic and would become France’s premier French port for transatlantic liners by the end of the century.

But success was not guaranteed. Cities to which migrant workers had flocked in search of work and prosperity risked depopulation as jobs dried up and opportunity drained away. Investors increasingly turned away from shipping and colonial commerce in favour of more lucrative returns from heavy industry, and in geographical terms, the Atlantic coast lost out to the heartlands of the French industrial revolution in the North and the East. Most of the Atlantic ports, indeed, faced a long period of stagnation and decline, as merchants found their ambitions frustrated by tariffs imposed by other European states, by English competition in the Americas, and by the French government’s own commercial and imperial policies. France in these years faced the challenge of building a new empire after so many of their Atlantic possessions had been lost, and this led to questions about the future shape of the economy and the nature of empire. What economic philosophy should France adopt in the post-Napoleonic world? Could the country profit, as Britain undoubtedly had, by committing to free trade? Or did the decline of the French Atlantic justify a return to mercantilism and to a protectionist approach to colonies? David Todd has studied the debates that followed the return of peace in 1815, debates that culminated in a strategy of imperial expansion that differed markedly from

Britain's, and has shown how France turned away from settler colonialism in favour of a more informal imperial model – what he calls a ‘velvet empire’, characterised by loans to client states supported by frequent military interventions.

CV

Alan Forrest is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of York, where he taught from 1989 until 2012, specialising in French Revolutionary and Napoleonic history and the history of war. He served as President of the International Commission on the History of the French Revolution of the World Historical Congress (CISH) from 2005-15, with spells as vice-president between 2000-05 and 2015-20. Between 2018 and 2020 he worked on a research project in Moscow with colleagues at the Russian Academy of Sciences and the State Academic University for the Humanities. He serves on the editorial boards of a number of journals and is an editor for the Palgrave-Macmillan book series on ‘War, Culture and Society, 1750-1850’.

Books include *Society and Politics in Revolutionary Bordeaux* (1975); *The French Revolution and the Poor* (1981); *Conscripts and Deserters: the Army and Society during the Revolution and Empire* (1989); *The Soldiers of the French Revolution* (1990); *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (1996); *Napoleon's Men* (2002); *Paris, the Provinces and the French Revolution* (2004); *The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars* (2009); *Napoleon* (2011); *Waterloo* (2015), and *The Death of the French Atlantic: Trade, War and Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (2020). He has also co-edited a number of books, among them (with Etienne François and Karen Hagemann), *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture* (2012), and (with Matthias Middell), *The Routledge Companion to the French Revolution in World History* (2016). Most recently he is general editor of the three-volume *Cambridge History of the Napoleonic Wars* (2023).

Prof. Dr. Tanja Bühner (Salzburg)

“South Asia during and after the Napoleonic Wars: An Imperialist or Counter-Revolutionary New Order?”

Abstract

The new postwar order and transformation of South Asia was already introduced during the Napoleonic Wars. It was marked by the rise of the British East India Company to a hegemonic power, its territorial as well as diplomatic expansion, the elimination of the French revolutionary danger and imperial rival. Yet, was this an aggressive imperialistic expansion in the shadows of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars or rather a counter-revolutionary policy that turned imperialistic? This paper explores the various and intermingling counter-revolutionary and imperialistic driving factors of South Asia's new postwar order. It argues that for a true understanding of the transformative dynamics we cannot not solely focus on metropolitan prime movers but must include cross-cultural and inter-imperial interactions on the ground into our analysis.

CV

Tanja Bühner is professor of Global History at the University of Salzburg. She studied history and philosophy at the University of Bern, where she completed her doctorate in 2008 with a thesis on German colonial security policy and colonial troops. This was followed by positions as lecturer and senior lecturer of modern history and contemporary history and as a senior lecturer of migration history at the University of Bern, as well as substitute professorships at the Universities of Rostock, Potsdam and LMU Munich. Mobility grants from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) have taken her to HU Berlin, the University of Dar es Salaam, the Oxford Centre for Global History, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the German Historical Institute London (GHIL) and Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), among others, as a visiting scholar. In 2019, she completed her habilitation at the Faculty of Philosophy and History at the University of Bern with a thesis entitled "Intercultural Diplomacy and Empire in an Age of Global Reforms and Revolutions".

Since April 2022, she has also been leading the sub-project "Illegitimate Violence in the French and Austrian Military during the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815)" in the DFG research group "Military Cultures of Violence - Illegitimate Military Violence from the Early Modern Period to the Second World War"

Main Research Areas

- East Africa, South Asia, France, Germany and Great Britain
- Colonial and global history with a regional focus on East Africa and South Asia (18th-20th centuries)
- transnational history of Great Britain, Germany and France (18th-20th centuries)
- intercultural diplomatic history
- history of violence and military history
- history of migration

Related Publications

A Thwarted “Westphalian Moment” in South Asia? The Triple Alliance against Tipu Sultan, in: Bérénice Guyot-Réchard and Elisabeth Leake (Hrsg.), *South Asia Unbound: New International Histories of the Subcontinent* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2023), S.41-60

‘Corruption, Empire and State Building: An Entangled History of the British and French ‘Imperial Nation States’ and Hyderabad, c.1760–1800’, in *Corruption, Empire and Colonialism in the Modern Era. A Global History Perspective*, ed. Ronald Kroeze, Pol Dalmau and Frédéric Monier (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 45-78

Intercultural Diplomacy and Empire in an Age of Global Reforms and Revolutions: European and Asian Intermediaries at the Court of Hyderabad, c. 1770-1815 (habilitation manuscript, under revision)

Intercultural Diplomacy and Empire in South Asia: British and Asian Diplomatic Agents at the Court of Hyderabad, c. 1770-1815, in: *The International History Review* 41 (2018), S. 1039-1056

Cooperation and Cultural Adaption: British Diplomats at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad, c. 1779-1810, in: Tanja Bühner, Flavio Eichmann, Stig Förster und Benedikt Stuchtey (Hrsg.) *Cooperation and Empire: Local Impacts of Global Processes*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2017, S. 90-114

Protektionsverhältnisse im Wandel: Hyderabad und Britisch-Indien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, in: Tilman Haug, Nadir Weber und Christian Windler (Hrsg.), *Protegierte und Protektoren: Asymmetrische politische Beziehungen zwischen Partnerschaft und Dominanz (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, Köln: Böhlau, 2016, S. 393-409

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Prof. Dr. Magnus Ressel (Frankfurt)

“An International Empire of Trade: Friedrich von Romberg’s Transatlantic Slave Trade and Its Dissolution”

Abstract

In economic history, Belgium is considered to be the first industrialized state on the European continent, i.e. the first European country to follow the example of Great Britain. Most economic historians date the Industrial Revolution to the period from 1790 to 1830. However, despite this special role in economic history, the course of Belgian industrialization is less well researched than one might expect. In this presentation, I will focus on an entrepreneur who, through his activities in the transit trade and the establishment of textile factories in the decades from 1760 to 1790, laid an essential foundation for industrialization in Belgium. The micro-historical approach can provide an important clue that explains Belgium's special historical development during and after the French occupation.

CV

Since 2023, Magnus Ressel serves as a substitute professor of early modern history at the University of Bremen. Additionally, he holds the position of private lecturer (Privatdozent) for Modern History at Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. His tenure at Goethe University Frankfurt lasted from 2013 to 2020. In his habilitation thesis, he delves into the network of German merchants in Venice and Livorno, examining the structures of transalpine long-distance trade and cultural interactions during the late 17th and 18th centuries. His doctoral research focused on the relationship between Barbary corsairs and Northern Europe in the Early Modern age. Ressel's primary areas of scholarly interest encompass social and economic history, the history of cultural contact, the study of asymmetrical dependencies, and maritime history.

Prof. Dr. Hilde Greefs (Antwerp)

“The Community of Maritime Traders in the Age of Revolution: The Case of Antwerp (1795–1830)”

Abstract

Times of crises and turmoil have devastating impact on societies, and offer many challenges to maritime traders as well. War and economic blockades could hinder existing trading routes but at the same time also offer new opportunities. Evidence however is often scarce and limited to specific trade routes or trading firms. By comparing the total community of maritime traders in Antwerp before and after the revolutionary era and analyzing all ship arrivals in the port, it is possible to detect which firms stayed active in trade and could adapt, and which did not, and how this offered chances to newcomers. By looking at trade portfolios and trading routes, as well as the background and connections of the traders and firms, it might be possible to offer some explanations of their resilience on a group or individual level and the decision making processes behind it (such as strategies of specialization or diversification in trade preferences or trade routes).

CV

Hilde Greefs is Full Professor and member of the Centre for Urban History at the University of Antwerp. She is a specialist in social and economic history of the long nineteenth century. Themes and topics central to her research are migration and mobility, social and economic networks, and changes in the urban environment, in port cities in particular. She is also interested in periods of crises (economic, social or health) and studies which social groups could adapt and which were vulnerable.

Martin Kauder M.A. (Cologne)

“Maintaining the Sons of the Fatherland: The Kingdom of Württemberg and Its Veterans”

Abstract

While we know much about soldiers’ lives during wartime and military memorial culture of the (post-)Napoleonic era, less is known about the men themselves after the war had come to an end. During the latter half of the 18th century, military veterans became a growing source of strain within European societies. The disappearance of mercenary armies, mass conscription and a larger scale of warfare produced increasing quantities of stranded, invalid men without capability to sustain themselves, let alone provide for a family. The offshoots of the 17th century and the Seven Years’ War of 1756–1763 gave hints of rising crisis potential. After the turmoil and disruption generated by the Napoleonic Wars, states across all of Europe were suddenly forced to organize the reintegration of thousands of returning soldiers. So was the Duchy (since 1806 Kingdom) of Württemberg. Yet, stricken with inner political conflict and suffering from a severe poverty crisis, its government failed in taking sufficient measures to solve the problem, prompting the Württemberg “Ehrbarkeit” and civil organizations to step in. Shortly after, veterans began to commit themselves to the greater cause of helping former comrades via clubs and charity. All this led to a successful "bourgeoisification" of veteran support and poverty alleviation in a broader sense. In the process, the state gradually associated with the incitements coming from its population, finally resulting in a rather stable collaborative system of veteran care. Exemplified in the case study of Württemberg, these developments laid the groundwork for veterans transforming into an influential, highly regarded political and social peer group of the 19th century.

CV

Martin Kauder M.A. (b. 1997) obtained Bachelor’s degrees in History and English Studies (2014–2019) before completing a Master’s degree in Modern History at the University of Cologne (UoC) in 2021. Parallel to his studies, he assisted in historical projects on 19th - century Europe, the German Court of Audit as well as the UoC during the Third Reich. Since 2021, he has served as research assistant to the editorial project “The personal physician of Kaiser Wilhelm II. in exile. The diary of Dr. med. Alfred Haehner (1880–1949)” at the Historical Commission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Munich (HiKo). Currently associated with the Chair of Modern History and a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School for the Humanities in Cologne, he is working on a Ph.D. project concerning the financial supply and social reintegration of veterans in the Kingdom of Württemberg after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Prof. Dr. Debora Gerstenberger (Cologne)

“Reordering the Empire through Spatial Practices and Social Engineering: The Transfer of the Portuguese Royal Court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro (1808)”

Abstract

When French troops invaded Portugal in 1807 with the aim of usurping the Portuguese throne, Portuguese politicians orchestrated an equally extraordinary and ingenious maneuver: the monarch, the entire royal court, and approximately 15,000 subjects set sail in November 1807, heading for Rio de Janeiro. From 1808 onwards, Rio de Janeiro emerged as the new center of the empire, resembling a "Tropical Versailles" (Oliveira Lima), while Portugal, in the eyes of contemporaries left behind, transformed into a "colony of the colony." This analysis sheds light on the empire's new system of governance, drawing insights from police documents sourced from both Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, with a specific emphasis on interventions in the social structures of the urban populations.

CV

Since October 2022, Debora Gerstenberger has been a professor of Latin American history at the University of Cologne. Prior to that (2013–2022), she was an assistant professor of Latin American history at the Institute for Latin America Studies of Freie Universität Berlin. Her research interests focus on the history of (colonial) rule and the techniques of power in Latin America and the Luso-Brazilian space. Her PhD dissertation, “Gouvernementalität im Zeichen der Globalen Krise” (“Governmentality in times of Global Crisis”) (Böhlau, 2013), submitted at the University of Leipzig, explored the transfer of the Portuguese royal court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro during the Napoleonic upheavals (1808). Here, she examined how the Luso-Brazilian Empire could persist despite the reversal of colonial relations.

Elias Mahiout M.A. (Cologne)

“(Un)Doing Nationalism: Circulating Knowledge in European Periodicals”

Abstract

In the 1830s, a new type of periodical appeared in Europe: ‘The Penny Magazine’. Aiming at a widespread audience, it offered an almost all-encompassing knowledge, praised as ‘useful’ for its readers. Within a short time after the release of the first issue in March 1832, the English ‘Penny Magazine’ reached an enormous circulation by selling nearly 200,000 copies per week. A year later, sister projects emerged in continental Europe, the French ‘Magasin Pittoresque’ and the German ‘Pfennig- Magazin’. By adopting the English formula for success of a weekly, illustrated and cheap magazine, they as well gained large popularity in short time, thus creating a hitherto unprecedented mass market for knowledge.

This European, enlightened and encyclopaedic phenomenon originated from a transnational network of publishers, allowing the respective editors the exchange and reuse of wood engravings. The accompanying texts, however, differed widely between the issues in England, France and the German states – they were not only translated loosely, but also reshaped by either omitting or adding certain bodies of knowledge. An examination of these transformations reveals an astonishing finding: The altering bodies of knowledge were rearranged in a national way. The ostensibly unsuspecting ‘useful knowledge’ could evoke national mindscapes in its recipients because the modified knowledge was enveloped with an identificatory potential. A transnational circulation process led, finally, to a national rearrangement of knowledge for the readerships of each magazine. It, thus, played a crucial role in the spread of this new concept of order for the postwar societies of the early 19th century and, consequently, contributed to the emergence of national orders of knowledge in Europe. For the 1830s – already regarded as an incubation time of modern nationalism –, processes of nationalisation beyond eloquent elites become, hence, visible in media of popular culture.

CV

Since September 2020 Elias Mahiout is a doctoral researcher of history and research assistant (Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter) at the Chair of Modern History of Prof. Dr. Ute Planert at the University of Cologne. He graduated in Modern History (M.A.) from University of Cologne in 2020. His dissertation project examines the circulation and popularisation processes of knowledge in early 19th century periodicals. Elias Mahiout’s research interests include the history of knowledge, media and nationalism, with a focus on the transition period from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century.

Prof. Dr. Jon Topham (Leeds)

“A ‘Forty Philosopher-Power Engine’: The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and the Refashioning of Society in Post-War Britain”

Abstract

Founded in 1826, the British “Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” was intended to renovate British society by sponsoring “useful knowledge” publications at unprecedentedly cheap prices. Among the notable reformers who were at the Society’s core were the MP Henry Brougham, the civil servant James Mill, and the philanthropist William Allen, who had long worked together in a wider project to transform the nation through popular education. The latest phase of their joint activities, however, reflected the rapidly changing circumstances of Britain in the decade that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars, including the rising tide of political unrest among Britain’s growing population of urban industrial workers, the mounting demand for printed matter from an increasingly literate population, and the rapid mechanization of book production. This paper examines the continuities in the reformers’ programme for refashioning Britain through mass education as well as the developments that brought about the innovative use of cheap print.

CV

Jonathan R. Topham is Professor of History of Science at the University of Leeds, UK. He has written extensively on the history of science and print culture in nineteenth-century Britain, including most recently *Reading the Book of Nature: How Eight Best Sellers Reconnected Christianity and the Sciences on the Eve of the Victorian Age* (Chicago, 2022). He is currently running a project entitled “Science for the People,” funded by a Leverhulme Trust Project Grant, to re-examine the history of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Jonas Wernz M.Ed. (Cologne)

“Opening Postwar: Political Agency and the Public Sphere in Germany 1813–1818”

Abstract

War and Revolution had a profound impact on the public sphere in Europe. When the great powers struggled for a post-Napoleonic order, it quickly became a powerful political factor monarchs and diplomats had to consider. From a bottom-up perspective, this momentum allowed to re-evaluate the relationship between the public sphere and arcanum politics. From 1813 onwards, German contemporaries formally excluded from political decision-making published a multitude of pamphlets and articles, assigning themselves a crucial role in the political transition from war to peace. The paper sheds light on the ways these writings constructed the modalities of the public sphere to legitimize the authors’ participation in shaping European postwar order. Approaching the public sphere as a space of imagination in which political agency, communicative claims and speakers’ positions in relation to state and society are negotiated, the paper traces the dynamics in which contemporaries opened postwar as a possibility for communicative action. Strategies of inclusion and exclusion, concepts of rationality and consultation unfolded practical relevance from which the ‘public’ as a social reality emerged. Its imaginative texture amalgamated elements of enlightenment thought and traditional patriotism with emerging nationalism and notions of disruptive temporality, providing continuity between the pre-revolutionary past and postwar future.

CV

Since September 2020 Jonas Wernz is a doctoral researcher of history, collegiate at the a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School and research assistant (Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter) at the Chair of Modern History of Prof. Dr. Ute Planert at the University of Cologne. He studied History at the University of Cologne and the School of History at the University College Cork, Ireland. His dissertation projects examines the interrelation of the (re)construction of open futures, the public sphere, and European political order in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars in Germany. His research interests include the history of the “long” 19th century, the history of nationalism, international relations, post-war periods and interdisciplinary theories on historical times and futures.

Prof. Dr. Jürgen Müller (Frankfurt)

“The German Confederation: An Agent of Restoration Policy?”

Abstract

After the breakdown of the Napoleonic Empire, the Congress of Vienna established the German Confederation as the cornerstone of a new political order in Europe. Thirty-eight German states were united in a federal structure whose main purpose was to preserve the security and order of both the territory of the Confederation’s member states as well as European political order. This entailed a strict supervision not only of revolutionary activities but also of any liberal, democratic or other oppositional tendencies which were suspected to threaten the conservative, post-war order. In the 1820s the German Confederation initiated a strict and relentless system of public surveillance and prosecution. This led to the imprisonment of hundreds of students, academics, and journalists on account of their alleged attempts to overthrow law and order in Germany and beyond. In this respect, the German Confederation was undoubtedly a forceful agent of restoration policy. Yet this is only part of the story, because the German governments, as well as the federal authorities (the Federal Diet in Frankfurt and its committees), soon found themselves in a dilemma between political repression and socio-economic modernisation. Economic development and technological innovations, which picked up speed in the 1820s, on the one hand, and social changes on the other hand, engendered the need for economic, administrative and political reform within the German states and the Confederation as a whole. In the long run this need was not compatible with a rigid policy of restoration which attempted to avoid change and even public discussion about desirable, and in many cases necessary, modifications to existing economic, social and political structures. In light of these points, the paper gives a survey of the discussion about reform and development in the German Confederation, focusing on the decade between 1820 and 1830.

CV

Jürgen Müller is a Professor of Modern History at the Goethe University Frankfurt and a Research Associate at the Historical Commission at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In the latter role he has so far published five comprehensive volumes of sources relating to the history of the German Confederation. The latest volume which documents the German Confederation’s policy in the period from 1824 to 1830 was recently published. Müller’s many publications on the German Confederation include two substantial monographs (*Deutscher Bund und deutsche Nation*, 2005; *Der Deutsche Bund 1815–1866*, 2006) as well as contributions to journals and handbooks such as the *Handbook of European Constitutional History* and the *Vormärz Handbuch* (both published in 2020). From 1994 to 2020, Müller was also a review editor of *Historische Zeitschrift*.

Prof. Dr. Glenda Sluga (Sydney/Florence)

“Women in the History of the Invention of International Orders”

Abstract

In this talk I will pose the question, what difference does adding women to the history of the invention of international orders make? I will take a relatively longue duree view with the early 19th century transformation in European diplomatic praxis at its centre. Among my concerns are the place of the informal as an historical category, and its significance for how we think about political history.

CV

Glenda Sluga is Professor of International History and Capitalism and Joint Chair in History and the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute, Florence. She is directing an ERC Advanced project on ‘Twentieth Century History of International Economic Thinking and the alternative history of globalization’. She is currently President of the Toynbee Prize Foundation. Her most recent book is *The Invention of International Order* (Princeton, 2020).

Prof. Dr. Brian Vick (Atlanta)

“Transnational Networks, Internationalism, and the Emergence of Civil Society”

Abstract

The classic age of organized internationalism is usually dated from the 1870s, while the emergence of civil society in early nineteenth-century Europe as a force in political and social life is typically recounted in terms of national experiences. As this paper will show, part of the postwar transformation of European politics and publics that occurred during and following the Congress of Vienna involved connections among transnational actors who pursued interests across state borders and even oceans, often through face-to-face meetings. Tracing these networks and their activities points to a significant degree of internationalization already in the decades before 1848, and at the same time shows the extent to which civil society activism at the national level emerged in tandem with the international, thus revealing another layer of reciprocal causation. Examples to be treated include intellectual and professional networks among scientists and other scholars as well as political movements such as antislavery and peace activists and Philhellenes. In this constellation, the range of actors in international politics extended well beyond diplomats alone or even white male elites; while still strongly exclusionary, these networks and venues also presented limited spaces and opportunities for the activity of women and People of Color.

CV

Brian Vick is Professor of History at Emory University. He is the author of *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Harvard University Press, 2014; winner, Hans Rosenberg Prize of the Central European History Society). His first book was *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Harvard University Press, 2002). He is also co-editor, with Beatrice de Graaf and Ido de Haan, of *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), and editor of the revised online volume on the period 1815-1866 in the German History in Documents and Images series of the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC, with new primary sources and introductions relating to Germans in transnational and global contexts, among other areas. Ongoing research interests include the internationalization of science and politics in the nineteenth century, cultural relationships between the German and Italian lands, the social and political roles of women, and network analysis.

Prof. Dr. Morton Nordhagen Ottosen (Oslo)

“The Politics of Nationalism: Reinventing Scandinavia”

Abstract

«Small states, Norwegians! Are pawns in the hands of larger powers»! Thus spoke Crown Prince Charles John of Sweden upon the Swedish invasion of Norway in 1814. The former Marshal Bernadotte had a point. One lesson learned from the wars of the Revolution and Napoleon was that small polities tended to vanish, whereas larger states survived or were created anew. This lesson was applied to the principle of nationality as well, through what Eric Hobsbawm has termed ‘the threshold principle’. This principle became a hallmark of nationalism in the nineteenth century, including the so-called Restoration. Giving the lie to the notion that the post-Napoleonic decades were a matter of turning the clock back, Sweden and Norway retained their liberal constitutions introduced in 1809 and 1814 and were united to form a geostrategic ‘Scandinavian peninsula’, which Charles John aimed to amalgamate into one Scandinavian nation. Unlike him, some saw the Danes as also integral to Scandinavian nationhood. The Danish state having faced a very real danger of being wiped off the map in the last stages of the Napoleonic Wars, by the 1840s many Danes feared for their national survival in the face of alleged German national expansionism. Alongside fear of Russia, this contributed to the emergence of Scandinavianism, an influential ideology of national unification that had much in common with contemporary German and Italian nationalism. This paper is concerned with the genesis of Scandinavianism during the first half of the nineteenth century, arguing that it very much reflected how, in the very poignant words of Michael Broers, “the men of Restoration Europe forged their own, unique political culture, to confront the problems of their own times”.

CV

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Dr. Ambrogio Caiani (Kent)

“Post-Napoleonic Catholicism: Between Developments and Deposits”

Abstract

Scholars have reappraised the ‘enlightenment’ profoundly in recent decades, it is no longer perceived as inimical to Christianity with a radical secularising mission. Some like Sorkin, Lehner and van Kley, argue that its intellectual energy was harnessed by ecclesiastical reform movements, led by theologians and clergymen during the eighteenth century. Subsequent collaboration by clergymen and prelates with revolutionary authorities and the Napoleonic Empire compromised the credibility and reputation of this version of Catholicism open to reform. A period of reaction was followed, Pius VII’s return from captivity to Rome, in 1814. Despite this apparent atmosphere of counter-revolution and reaction, a liberal and social Catholic movement did emerge. At its heart was the notion of ‘development,’ a complex though creative concept, that was to prove deeply influential during next hundred years. Even Pius IX’s proclamation of the ‘deposit of faith’ and ‘infallibility’ in 1870 did not eliminate those Catholics who believed that understanding religious doctrine and the church’s pastoral role was an evolutionary rather than a static project.

CV

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Dr. Matthijs Lok (Amsterdam)

“State System and Empire: Arnold Heeren’s Plan for the Pan-European Colonization of Egypt”

Abstract

In this paper I will discuss the views on extra-European imperialism in the works of the influential Göttingen historian Arnold Ludwig Heeren (1760-1842). In his widely read and translated handbook on the history of the European state system, Heeren extensively discussed the influence of extra-European colonization on the development of the state system. The handbook was originally written as a treatise critical of Napoleon’s rule and his continental Empire, but was republished in 1819, providing a legitimization of the international order created at Vienna. Heeren’s views on colonization were ambiguous. On the hand, he criticized the cruelty of European imperialism and argued that imperialism had a negative impact on the development of the European state system, enhancing ambition and conquest. On the other, he did not condemn imperialism in principle. In 1803, for instance, he published a plan for joint European colonization of Egypt (1803). More generally, in my presentation I will discuss the relation between counter-revolutionary Europeanism and visions of Empire and colonization in the first half of the nineteenth century.

CV

Matthijs Lok is a senior lecturer in Modern European History at the department of History and European Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He was a senior fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advance Study NIAS (2019-2020) and recently held visiting positions in Göttingen and Leuven. He published the monographs *Windvanen* (Prometheus 2009 (in Dutch): on civil servants and regime change in the Netherlands and France, 1810-1820) and *Europe against Revolution: Conservatism, Enlightenment and the Making of the Past* (OUP 2023). He also edited volumes with colleagues on *Antiliberal internationalism* (Routledge: forthcoming), *Atlantic Monarchisms* (2 vol. Bloomsbury 2024), *Cosmopolitan conservatisms* (Brill 2021), *The Politics of Moderation* (Palgrave 2019) and *Eurocentrism in European History and Memory* (AUP 2019).