After Napoleon’s defeat in 1815, following twenty-six years of unprecedented revolutionary upheavals and endless fighting, the victorious powers craved stability. With the threat of war and revolutionary terror still looming large, the coalition launched an unprecedented experiment to re-establish European security. With over a million troops remaining in France, they established the Allied Council to mitigate the threat of war and terror and to design and consolidate a system of deterrence. The Council transformed the existing norm of interstate relations into the first modern system of collective security in Europe. Drawing on the records of the Council and the correspondence of key figures such as Metternich, Castlereagh, Wellington and Alexander I, Beatrice de Graaf tells the story of Europe’s transition from concluding a war to consolidating a new order. She reveals how, long before commercial interest and economic considerations on scale and productivity dictated and inspired the project of European integration, the common denominator behind this first impulse for a unification of Europe in norms and institutions was the collective fight against terror.

Beatrice de Graaf is Distinguished Professor and holds the Chair of History of International Relations at Utrecht University. She was awarded the Stevin Prize in 2018, the highest distinction in Dutch academia. Tegen de terreur, the Dutch version of this book, was listed for the Libris Prize.
FIGHTING TERROR AFTER NAPOLEON
How Europe Became Secure after 1815

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A journey into the nineteenth century requires suitable luggage, especially if one is a child of the twentieth century and departs from the twenty-first. People did things differently two hundred years ago. The international language was French, everything was written by hand, in Germany still in the oftentimes hardly legible Kurrentschrift. What complicates matters even more is the fact that the historical people I encountered were not even from the nineteenth century, but came from the eighteenth century – an era of pompadoured wigs that seems even more distant in time and customs. How should we then begin to understand what a politician, general or diplomat meant when talking about the balance of power, about peace or security?

I have been able to follow through with this voyage back in time and space and make sense of these historical encounters only thanks to my group of travel companions. My European Research Council group – Constantin Ardeleanu, Susanne Keesman, Wouter Klem, Erik de Lange, Melle Lyklema, Ozan Ozavci, Joep Schenk, Jossie van Til – accompanied me along the winding paths, through the mists of the immediate post-1815 years, and helped me avoid pitfalls and dead alleys.1 Our group’s student assistants were also indispensable; without them I would still be wandering about: Yannick Balk, Annelotte Janse, Hannah Joosse, Paul Kardoulakis, Eva van de Kimmenade, Nicolette Moors and Celine Mureau, with Yannick and Celine being of essential help during the final stretch. The NWO Blueprints group in Utrecht – Clemens van den Berg, Trineke Palm, Peter-Ben Smit and Jorrit Steehouder – and the GIB/Conflict section in our History Department provided support and inspiration throughout. In between, the students of my MA tutorial on 1815 – Carla, Daan, Leone, Merit, Rob, Tim and Yannick – were a great audience for finding and testing the main arguments. I am grateful to Ozan, Wouter and Erik for helping me find my way through various archives, to Yannick for the beautiful images, to Erik Goosmann for the elegant maps and to Carla Spiegel and Myrthe van Groningen for the fine-tuning of the English edition.

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