

REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN EUROPE

1815–49

► The Congress of Vienna resulted in several major boundary changes. France had its borders returned to those of 1792, Poland was divided once again and 39 German-speaking states were organized into the German Confederation, dominated by Prussia, which was given half of Saxony. Austria lost its possessions in northwest Europe to the Dutch in the newly created United Netherlands, but was given much of northern Italy by way of compensation.

▼ During the 1820s and early 1830s rebellions broke out across Europe, with liberals calling for an end to absolute monarchy in Spain and Portugal and in the Italian peninsula. The Greeks, with the help of the French, British and Russians, drove the Ottomans from Morea. The Russians also intervened to crush rebellion in Poland in 1830, having defeated their own Decembrist Revolution in 1825. The French brought about a degree of constitutional reform following the replacement of Charles X by Louis Philippe in 1830, and Belgium achieved independence from the United Netherlands the same year.

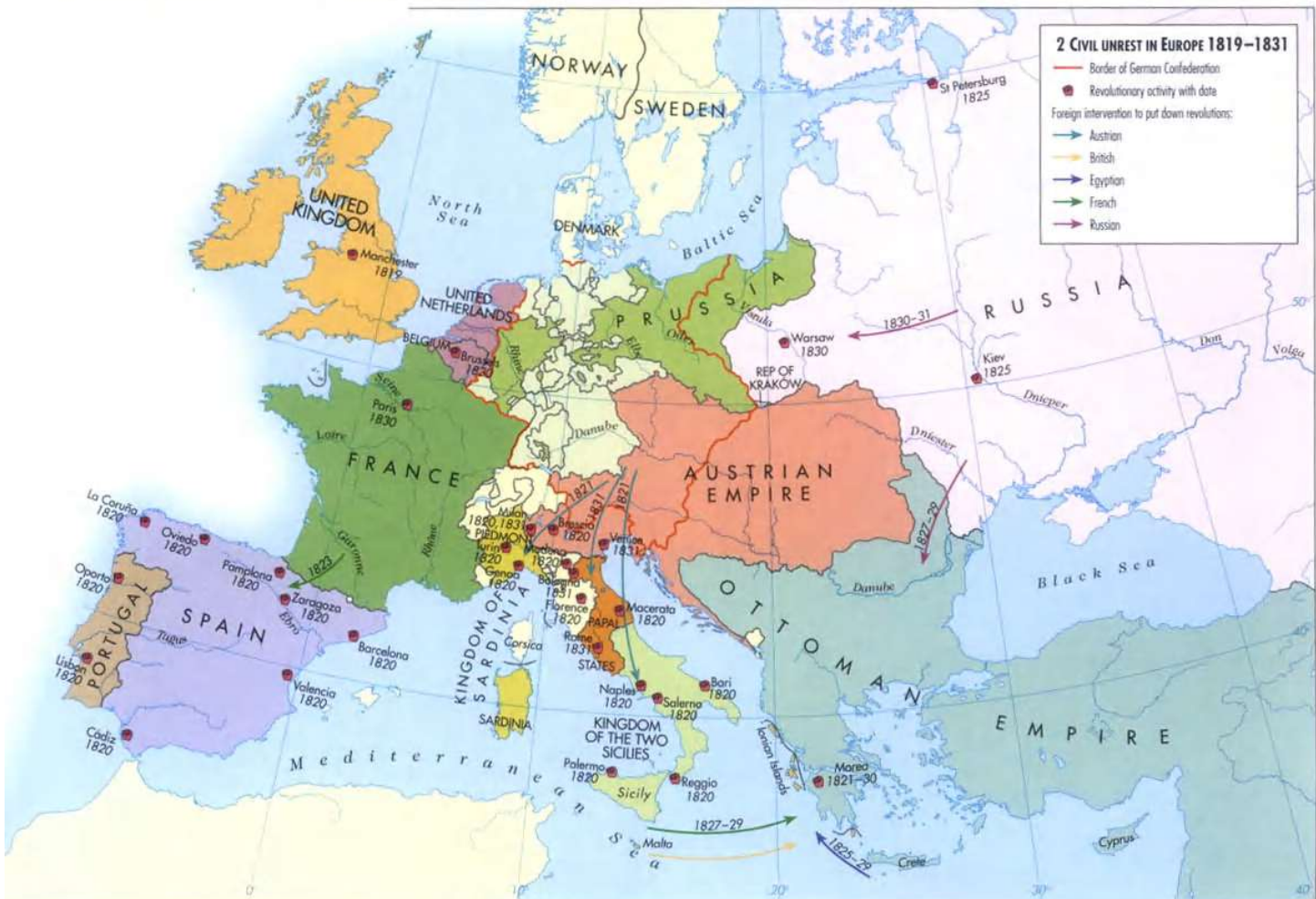


Following their initial victory over Napoleon in 1814, the major European powers met at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) to decide on the future political map of Europe. The Congress was dominated by three principles: territorial compensation for the victors, the restoration and affirmation of the ruling royal dynasties, and the achievement of a balance of power between the major European states. As a result of their deliberations the German Confederation was formed, replacing the Holy Roman Empire (map 1). Elsewhere, national boundaries were redrawn, often with little regard to ethnic groupings, thus planting the seeds of nationalist tensions.

There was a shared conviction that the spread of republican and revolutionary movements must be prevented. In September 1815 Russia, Austria and Prussia formed a “Holy Alliance”, agreeing to guarantee all existing boundaries and governments and to uphold the principles of Christianity throughout Europe. The alliance was subsequently joined by the other major European powers – with the exception of Britain, the Pope and, not surprisingly, the Ottoman sultan – and over the next 40 years there were several occasions when the autocratic rulers of Europe took military action to suppress uprisings in states other than their own.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH

In 1820 there was an explosion of revolutionary activity in Spain. Following the defeat of Napoleon, a liberal constitution had been introduced in 1812, but this had been annulled by King Ferdinand VII on his return from exile in 1815. In 1820 his authority was challenged by an army revolt, supported by riots across Spain (map 2), with the result that the liberal constitution was re-established.



Insurrections in Naples, Piedmont and Portugal in the summer of 1820 also attempted to introduce constitutional forms of government, and initially met with some success. However, Tsar Alexander I of Russia persuaded the Austrians and Prussians to support him in threatening military intervention, and in March 1821 Austria sent an army to crush the revolts in Piedmont and Naples. In December 1825 Russia faced revolutionary action on its own soil when a group of military officers tried unsuccessfully to prevent the accession to the tsardom of Nicholas I, preferring his more liberal-minded brother. The following year the continuing instability in Portugal prompted the British to intervene, in this instance with the intention of aiding the preservation of its constitutional government.

In Greece a revolution broke out in 1821 with the aim of shaking off Ottoman rule and uniting the whole of the ancient Hellenic state under a liberal constitution. The Ottomans enlisted support from the Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali, whose troops seized a large area of the country by 1826, when Russia, France and Britain intervened to defeat the Muslim forces. However, the London Protocol of 1830, which proclaimed Greek independence, fell far short of the aspirations of the revolutionaries in that it only established a Greek monarchy in southern Greece, under the joint protection of the European powers (*map 3*).

UNREST IN THE NORTH

By 1830 revolutionary passions were rising in France. King Charles X dissolved an unco-operative Chamber of Deputies and called an election, but when an equally anti-royal Chamber resulted, he called fresh elections with a restricted electorate. Demonstrations in Paris during July forced him to abdicate in favour of Louis Philippe, whose right to call elections was removed. His reign, known as the “July Monarchy”, saw insurrections as industrial workers and members of the lower middle class, influenced by socialist and utopian ideas, demanded an increased share of political power, including the vote.

Nationalist resentment at decisions taken at the Congress of Vienna led to insurrection in both Belgium and Poland in the 1830s. In Belgium, which had been given to the United Netherlands in 1815, riots broke out in 1830 and independence was declared in October. In the kingdom of Poland, an area around Warsaw that had been given to the Russian tsar, a revolt by Polish nationalists resulted in a brief period of independence before the Russians crushed the movement in 1831, and subsequently attempted to destroy Polish identity in a campaign of “Russification”.

Britain also experienced a degree of social unrest. A mass protest in Manchester in 1819 was crushed and 11 people were killed by troops in what became known as the “Peterloo Massacre”. Inequalities in the electoral system provoked a strong movement for reform, which resulted in the Great Reform Bill of 1832. This expanded the electorate by 50 per cent and ensured representation from the newly developed industrial centres. Further calls were made by the Chartists for universal suffrage, with petitions presented to Parliament in 1838 and again in 1848.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

By 1848 many of the European countries were suffering from an economic crisis; the failure of the potato and grain crops in 1845–46 was reflected in the price of food. There was political discontent at different social levels: peasants demanded total abolition of the feudal system, industrial workers sought improvements in their working conditions, and middle-class professionals wanted increased political rights. In Italy and Germany there were growing movements for unification and independence (*pages 176–77*).

Revolutionary agitation began in Paris in February 1848, forcing the abdication of Louis Philippe and the establishment of the Second Republic. It then spread across central Europe (*map 3*). The Habsburg Empire, faced with demands for a separate Hungarian government, as well as demonstrations on the streets of Vienna, initially gave in to the



demands of the Hungarian nationalists and granted them a separate constitution. This, however, was annulled some months later, leading to a declaration of independence by Hungary. The Austrian response was to quell the revolt in 1849 with the help of Russian forces (*pages 174–75*).

Discontent in Austria spilled over into the southern states of the German Confederation, and liberals in Berlin demanded a more constitutional government. As a result, the first National Parliament of the German Confederation was summoned in May 1848.

FROM REVOLUTION TO REACTION

In June 1848 struggles between the moderate and the radical republicans culminated in three days of rioting on the streets of Paris. In crushing the rioters the more conservative factions gained control, a trend that was repeated in Prussia, where royal power was reaffirmed. The second half of 1848 was marked by waves of reaction that spread from one city to another. The restoration of Austrian control over Hungary was achieved partly by playing off against each other the different ethnic groups within the empire. However, despite the suppression of the 1848 revolutionaries, most of the reforms they had proposed were carried out in the second half of the century, and at least some of the nationalist movements were successful.

▲ Rebellions broke out across Europe during 1848, inspired by the success of the French in abolishing their monarchy in February. The Habsburgs faced rebellions in Hungary and in the Italian cities of Milan and Venice, which were supported by Piedmont. Although the revolutions in Italy, Germany and Hungary were all defeated, the liberal constitutions, unification and independence they were seeking did eventually come about.

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE: EXPANSION AND DECLINE 1700–1918

► During the 18th century the Habsburg Empire took every opportunity to expand its territory at the expense of its neighbours. As a result of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Habsburgs gained territory in the Netherlands and Italy. They fared less well in the east, however, where territory taken from the Ottoman Empire in 1718 was regained by the Ottomans in 1739.



The Spanish Habsburg dynasty ended in 1700 with the death of Charles II. King Louis XIV of France supported the claim to the Spanish throne of Philip, Duke of Anjou, who was his infant grandson and the great-nephew of Charles. The British and Dutch, fearing French domination, supported the claim of the Austrian Archduke Charles, and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) ensued (map 1). The outcome, formalized in the Peace of Utrecht (1713/14), was a compromise under which Philip attained the Spanish throne on condition that he renounced any claim to France, and the Austrians gained control of territory in Italy and the Netherlands.

During the 18th century the Austrian Habsburgs were the major dynastic power in central Europe. They were threatened, however, when on the death of Charles VI of Austria in 1740 other crowned heads of Europe refused to recognize his daughter Maria Theresa as his successor. In the resulting War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), Bavaria, France, Spain, Sardinia, Prussia and Saxony joined forces against Austria, the Netherlands and Britain in an unsuccessful attempt to oust Maria Theresa.

REFORM OF THE MONARCHY

During her long reign (1740-80) Maria Theresa embarked on transforming the diverse Habsburg dominions into a centralized nation state, and initiated many progressive reforms in the spheres of education, law and the Church. Her minister, Haugwitz, put the Habsburg finances on a more stable footing, and these reforms reduced the rivalry between ethnic Germans and Czechs. When Joseph II succeeded his mother in 1780, he was able to build on her centralizing policies, and although his most radical reform – that of the tax system – was abolished by his successor, Leopold II, before it was given a chance to work, Joseph is generally considered to have been a strong and enlightened monarch.



▲ During her 40-year reign Empress Maria Theresa centralized control of the Habsburg territories through improved administrative systems, and won popular support with her social reforms.

In the years immediately after the French Revolution of 1789, and during the period of Napoleon's leadership, the Habsburg Empire became involved in a succession of wars against France (pages 166-67), as a result of which it temporarily lost much of Austria, as well as territories in northern Italy and along the Adriatic. Under the peace settlement negotiated at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Habsburgs renounced their claim to the Netherlands in exchange for areas in northern Italy (map 2).

Austria was by this time largely under the control of Foreign Minister Metternich, who used his influence to persuade the other major European powers to assist Austria in crushing revolts in Spain, Naples and Piedmont. His own methods involved the limited use of secret police and the partial censorship of universities and freemasons.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848-49

The years 1848 and 1849 saw a succession of largely unsuccessful uprisings against the absolutist rule of the Habsburg monarchy (pages 172-73). Although reforms of the legal and administrative systems (known as the "April Laws") were set to take effect in Hungary later that year, they did not apply to the rest of the Habsburg territories.

The unrest started in Vienna in March 1848 (as a result of which Metternich was dismissed) and spread to Prague, Venice and Milan. A Constituent Assembly was summoned to revise the constitution, but its only lasting action was to abolish serfdom. By the autumn the unrest had reached Hungary as a number of ethnic groups within the empire (map 3) made bids for greater national rights and freedoms. In December the ineffectual Ferdinand I abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. Not feeling bound by the April Laws, Francis Joseph annulled the Hungarian constitution, causing the Hungarian leader Louis Kossuth to declare a republic. With the help of the Russians (who

feared the spread of revolutionary fervour), and the Serbs, Croats and Romanians (who all feared Hungarian domination), the Austrian army succeeded in crushing the revolt in 1849 (map 4).

From 1849 onwards an even more strongly centralized system of government was established. Trade and commerce were encouraged by fiscal reforms, and the railway network expanded. Coupled with peasant emancipation – for which landowners had been partially compensated by the government – these measures led to a trebling of the national debt over ten years. Higher taxes and a national loan raised from wealthier citizens led to discontent among the Hungarian nobles, who wished to see the restoration of the April Laws. In 1859 war in the Italian provinces forced the Austrians to cede Lombardy (map 2).

CRISIS AND CHANGE

Several factors combined in the 1860s to create a period of crisis for the Habsburg Empire. It was becoming clear that Prussia, under Bismarck, presented an increasing threat, but Austria was unable to keep pace with military developments because of the insistence of the international banks that it balance its budget. Unrest in Hungary was presenting a threat to the monarchy, and also making it difficult to collect taxes and recruit for the army. A centralized government was unacceptable to the Hungarian nobility, but provincial government would be unworkable because of ethnic conflict. Austria was forced to reach a constitutional settlement with Hungary in 1867, forming the Dual Monarchy of Austria–Hungary. Although Francis Joseph was crowned head of both, and there were joint ministries for finance, foreign policy and military affairs, each nation had an independent constitution and legislature.

Encouraged by the constitutional change of 1867, many of the ethnic groups within the Dual Monarchy became increasingly vocal in their demands for the right to promote their language and culture, if not for outright autonomy. In Hungary, although other languages were not actually repressed, a knowledge of Hungarian was necessary for anyone with middle-class aspirations. Croatia was granted partial autonomy within Hungary in 1878, but continued to be dominated by its larger partner. There were also demands for greater autonomy from the Czechs in Austria, which were resisted by the German-speaking majority.

▼ Throughout the 19th century the ethnic minorities within the Habsburg, and subsequently the Austro-Hungarian, Empire

did not generally seek independence. Instead they sought to gain greater local autonomy within a reformed monarchy.



THE RISE OF SERB NATIONALISM

Bosnia, predominantly inhabited by impoverished peasants, was administered by the Austro-Hungarian Empire under terms agreed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. It was annexed in 1908 in order to protect Habsburg trade routes to and from the Dalmatian coast. The resulting incorporation of a large number of Serbs into the empire was actively opposed by Serbian nationalists and was to contribute to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarians in the war, the Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919) broke up the empire, granting autonomy to its constituent nations and reducing Austria and Hungary to less than a quarter of their former area.

▲ In 1815 the Austrian Habsburgs regained territory they had gained and then lost during the Napoleonic Wars. However, they were forced to give it up in the mid-19th century during the process of Italian unification, and in 1867 were persuaded to grant Hungary equal status to that of Austria.



◀ The unrest in Hungary in 1848 and 1849 was largely an expression of Magyar nationalism, and as such was opposed by those from minority ethnic groups, in particular the Croats. In 1849, with Louis Kossuth appointed president of an independent republic of Hungary, the Austrians accepted Russian assistance, offered in the spirit of the Holy Alliance, and the rebels were eventually crushed at the Battle of Timisoara.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND OF GERMANY 1815–71



▲ In 1859, following a war waged by Piedmont and France against the Austrian Habsburgs, Lombardy was liberated from Austrian rule. The autocratic rulers of Florence, Parma and Modena were also overthrown and provisional governments set up under Piedmontese authority. France was granted Savoy and Nice by Piedmont.

In May 1861 Garibaldi answered requests for support from Sicilian revolutionaries and landed an army in western Sicily. He proceeded to rout the Neapolitan army in a series of battles and to proclaim himself ruler of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Piedmontese, anxious to unify the whole of Italy, despatched an army southwards to take the Papal States, and Garibaldi was persuaded to hand over his authority in the south to King Victor Emmanuel II.

Venetia was ceded by Austria to Italy, following Austria's defeat of 1866 at the hands of the Prussians, whom Italy had supported. Rome and its surrounding territory was seized by Italy in 1870.

Among the most important developments in 19th-century Europe was the unification of Italy and Germany as nation-states – a process that fundamentally altered the balance of power in the continent. Although nationalist feeling had been stimulated by the French Revolution of 1789, and was originally associated with liberal ideas, unification was actually the result of diplomacy, war and the efforts of conservative elites rather than of popular action. German unification was promoted by Prussia, the most powerful German state, in order to protect its own domestic political stability; in Italy, Piedmont played this role for similar reasons.

ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY ITALY

The Napoleonic Wars (pages 166–67) had a dramatic effect on Italy. Napoleon redrew boundaries and introduced French political and legal ideas. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15 the major European powers attempted to reverse these changes by restoring deposed leaders, including members of the Habsburg dynasty, and giving conservative Austria effective control of Lombardy and Venetia in northern Italy (map 1). These developments were a major setback for Italian nationalists, who sought to remove foreign interference and unite Italy. The movement for national unification, or Risorgimento, continued to grow, despite the suppression of revolts in the 1820s and early 1830s (pages 172–73). A major figure in this movement was



▲ The Congress of Vienna in 1814–15 restored boundaries within Italy that had been lost under Napoleon's rule. It also

restored members of the conservative Austrian Habsburg dynasty to power in Modena, Parma and Tuscany.

the idealist Giuseppe Mazzini, who hoped the people would overthrow their existing rulers, both Italian and foreign.

In 1848 a wave of revolutionary fervour swept the cities of Europe – including those in Italy, where the rebels attempted to dispense with Austrian domination and to persuade local rulers to introduce constitutions. King Charles Albert of the kingdom of Sardinia hoped to defuse the revolutions by expelling the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia, but military defeats at Custoza and Novara forced him to abdicate in 1849 in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. In Rome, Venice and Florence republics were briefly established, but France intervened to restore Pope Pius IX to power and the Austrians reconquered Lombardy and restored the conservative rulers of central Italy.

THE RISE OF PIEDMONT

Moderate nationalists concluded that the best hope for Italian unification lay with Piedmont, which was economically advanced and had introduced a relatively liberal constitution. The Piedmontese prime minister, Count Camillo di Cavour, had already decided that foreign help would be needed to remove Austrian influence and achieve unification, and reached a secret agreement with Napoleon III of France at Plombières in 1858. Accordingly, when Cavour embarked on a war with Austria in 1859 France supported him; Austria was defeated and forced to cede Lombardy to Piedmont (map 2).

Piedmont's subsequent role in uniting Italy was partly a response to the actions of Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the radicals who had created the Roman Republic in 1848. In 1860 Garibaldi led an expedition of republican "Red Shirts" (also known as Garibaldi's Thousand) through the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, whose conservative ruler he defeated (map 2). Piedmont, anxious to preserve its constitutional monarchy, sent a force to annex the Papal States. Garibaldi then transferred the territory he had conquered to the Piedmontese king, who became head of the unified kingdom of Italy proclaimed in 1861. The remaining territories of Venetia and the Patrimony of St Peter were annexed during the subsequent ten years.

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

Before the Napoleonic Wars Germany consisted of over 300 states, loosely bound in the Holy Roman Empire. In 1806 Napoleon dissolved the empire, replacing it with a new Confederation of the Rhine comprising states in southern and western Germany, but excluding Austria and Prussia. The Confederation became a French satellite; its constitution was modelled on that of France and it adopted the Napoleonic legal code. It was dissolved after the defeat of the French at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 (pages 166–68).

The German Confederation, created as a result of the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, included 39 states, the largest and most powerful being Austria and Prussia (map 3). A *diet* (parliament), presided over by Austria, was established at Frankfurt, but plans to create a federal army and achieve constitutional harmony among the states failed.

As in other parts of Europe, 1848 saw a wave of revolutionary activity in Germany (pages 172–73). Following unrest in Berlin, the Prussian king, Frederick William IV, introduced constitutional reforms and seemed sympathetic towards German unification. Middle-class German nationalists established a parliament at Frankfurt which drew up a constitution for a future German Empire. However, they were divided over whether to pursue a “Greater Germany”, to include Catholic Austria, or a smaller grouping, dominated by Protestant Prussia. The parliament fell apart in July 1849 and by the end of the year the old order had been restored in both Germany and the Austrian Empire.

Although Austria and Prussia tried to co-operate during the 1850s, Prussia was already outstripping Austria in economic terms (pages 170–71). In 1834 Prussia had established a Customs Union (Zollverein) that bound the economies of the north German states closely, while excluding Austria (map 4). Industrialization made Prussia the richest German state, and increased its military power relative to that of Austria.

▼ German unification can be seen as the annexation by Prussia of the smaller states of the Confederation. Following Prussia's

display of military strength in France in 1870–71 the southern states acceded to Prussian demands for a unified Germany.

THE EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA

The leading role in German unification was played by Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor between 1862 and 1871. Bismarck, who had come to see Austrian and Prussian interests as incompatible, sought to secure Prussian influence over northern and central Germany, and to weaken Austria's position. He hoped that success in foreign affairs would enable him to control Prussia's liberals. In 1864 Austria and Prussia jointly ousted Denmark from control of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, but the two powers increasingly competed for control of the German Confederation. When Bismarck engineered a war with Austria in 1866 (Seven Weeks War), most German states supported Austria. Prussia, however, enjoyed advantages in military technology and defeated Austria quickly, signalling the end of the German Confederation and making German unification under Prussian leadership more likely.

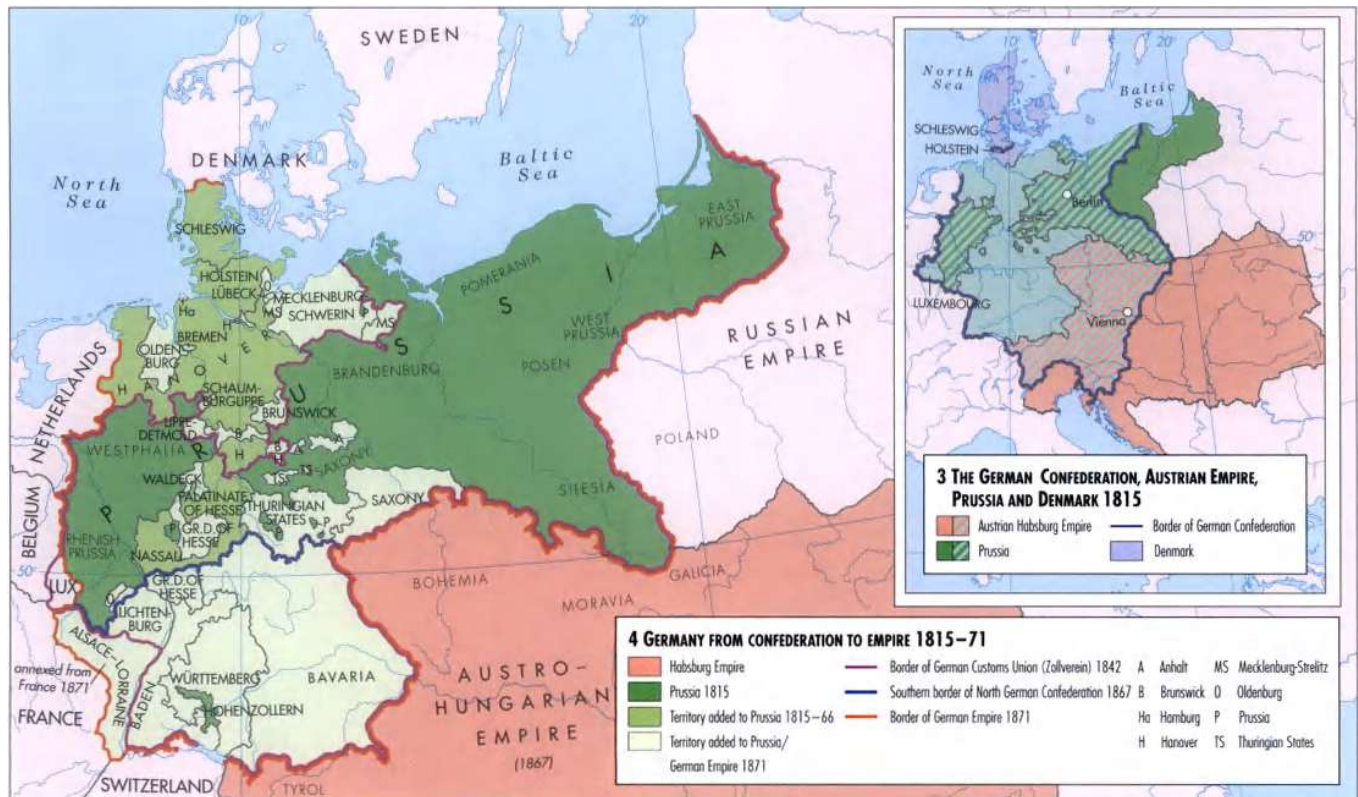
In 1867 Bismarck secured the creation of a North German Confederation (map 4). Each member state retained some autonomy, but the Prussian king, William I, became the Confederation's president, responsible for defence and foreign policy. Although the south German states were apprehensive about Prussian domination, Bismarck used their fear of the territorial ambitions of Napoleon III of France to persuade them to ally with Prussia. Bismarck needed to neutralize France if he was to achieve German unification on his terms, and he therefore provoked a war over the succession to the Spanish throne. In the resulting Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) France was decisively defeated, losing the largely German-speaking areas of Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia.

In January 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the German Empire was declared, merging the south German states with the North German Confederation. The new empire had a federal constitution, leaving each state with some powers, but the Prussian king became emperor and most government posts were put into Prussian hands. With well-developed industrial regions in the north and east (pages 170–71), a united Germany represented a powerful new economic force in Europe.



▲ During 1870–71 the Prussians, under Kaiser William I and Chancellor Bismarck, defeated the French army and laid siege to Paris. This display of strength convinced the southern German states to join with the North German Confederation in a unified Germany – dominated by Prussia.

▼ The German Confederation was established following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. It comprised 39 German-speaking states, by far the largest of which was Prussia, and included states under the control of the Habsburg Empire.



THE DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1683–1923

The decline of the Ottoman Empire is often said to date from the massive defeat of the Ottomans outside Vienna in 1683, but despite the territorial losses resulting from the subsequent Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the 18th-century Ottoman state remained the biggest political entity in Europe and western Asia (map 1). Although the effectiveness of the empire's prestige troops, the Janissaries, was weakened by increasing internal unrest, Ottoman forces were able to hold Serbia. They also got the better of their old Renaissance opponent, Venice, by recovering the Morea in 1718 (map 2).

During the 18th century the major European states became more of a threat to the Ottomans. There were large-scale Russian encroachments around the Black Sea in the

later part of the century, and in 1798 a French army under Napoleon Bonaparte made a devastating, if shortlived, surprise attack on Egypt, the empire's richest Muslim province. It was clear that the weaponry and the military capacity of the European states were moving ahead of those of their Islamic counterparts. At the same time, Europe's ideological conflicts reverberated among the Ottoman Empire's Christian subjects, encouraging bids for separatism and liberty which usually had Russian backing. Whole communities in the Caucasus switched their allegiance from the Ottoman (and Persian) states to the Russian Empire, and disaffection spread among the prosperous and previously co-operative Greeks of the empire's heartlands. In 1821 the western Greeks struck out for independence, and by 1832 they had won a mini-state (map 1).

▼ Between 1699 and 1739 the Ottomans lost large areas in the Balkans, although they regained the Morea from Venice in 1718, and Serbia and Wallachia from the Austrian Habsburgs in 1739.



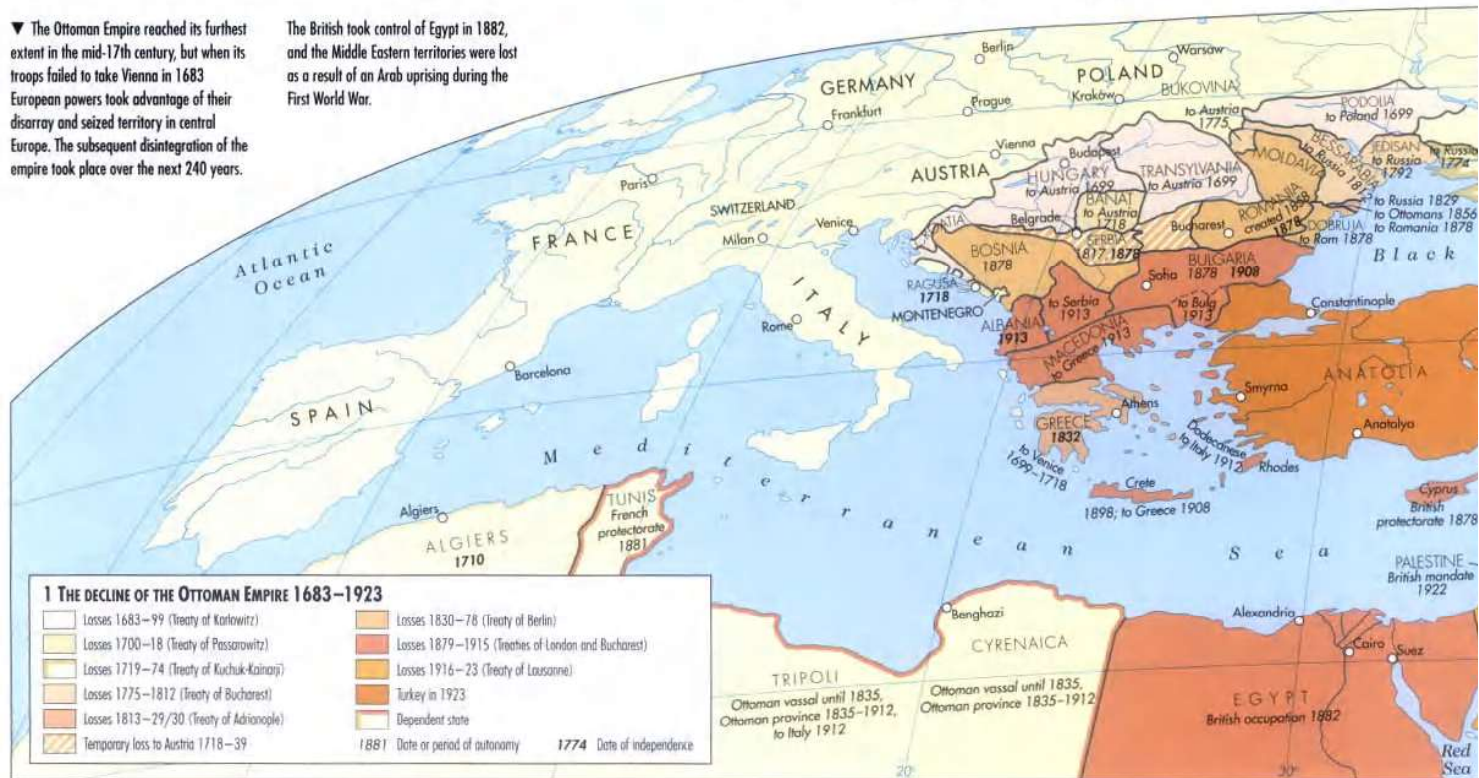
THE SLIDE INTO DEPENDENCY

The Ottoman state responded to its losses with a programme of expensive remilitarization, as well as political and economic reform and development, funded precariously from what were now seriously reduced revenues. The strategy for survival was to replace the empire's traditional patchwork of cultural and religious communities with a new model Ottoman society in which there was one legal system, one citizen status and one tax rating for all. This was progressive, liberal 19th-century policy, but it attacked vested interests in the provinces and among the Muslim clergy.

The reform movement engendered a limited revival of international confidence in the Ottomans. During the Crimean War of 1853–56, British and French armies fought to defend Ottoman interests against Russian military escalation in exchange for an Ottoman commitment to equality of status for its Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. This was a deal the Ottoman state was unable to honour; twenty years after the Crimean campaign, the Ottoman authorities were still employing ill-disciplined troops to contain unruly Balkan Christians, provoking an international outcry and eventually the resumption of full-scale war with Russia. Under the agreement reached at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the region's political map was redrawn (maps 1 and 3). "Turkey in Europe" became a much-reduced presence.

▼ The Ottoman Empire reached its furthest extent in the mid-17th century, but when its troops failed to take Vienna in 1683 European powers took advantage of their disarray and seized territory in central Europe. The subsequent disintegration of the empire took place over the next 240 years.

The British took control of Egypt in 1882, and the Middle Eastern territories were lost as a result of an Arab uprising during the First World War.



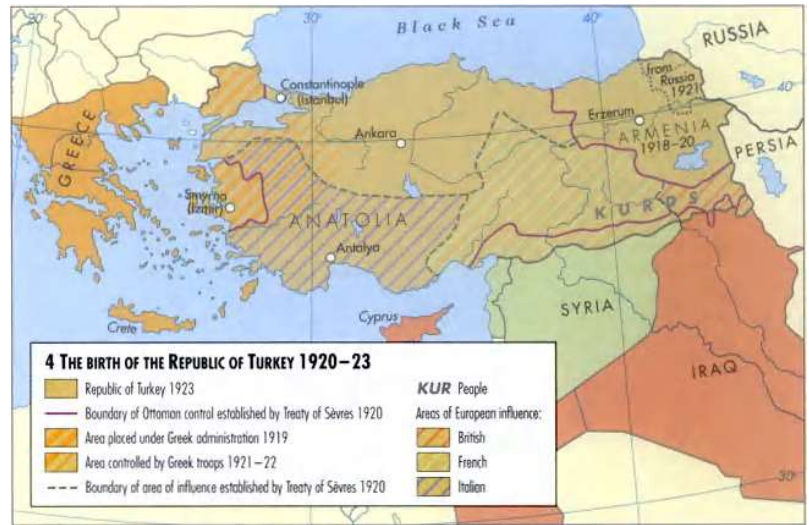


▲ Following Russia's defeat of the Ottomans in 1878, the Treaty of Berlin awarded an area of the Caucasus to Russia.

This land was returned in 1921 by Bolshevik Russia to those fighting for the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

THE RISE OF THE "YOUNG TURKS"

The new sultan, Abdul Hamid II, swiftly shelved the constitution he had adopted as the price of survival in 1876. He ruled in the tradition of the Ottoman dynasty – as a despot. His empire had two faces: a westward-facing and cosmopolitan Constantinople, run by European-educated officials who might also be slave-owners, governing a society that faced east. The empire's political geography was now predominantly Middle Eastern, and Abdul Hamid was keen to exploit



his status as caliph (senior ruler in the Islamic world) which gave Ottoman agents access to Muslim communities worldwide, including those living under the British Raj.

Pan-Islamic policies met widespread, if covert, criticism from those within the Ottoman elite who would have preferred a state with a nationalist Turkish identity to one with a more diffuse Ottoman or Islamic facade. The empire's fault lines were exposed by a new political force: the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), a successful, originally conspiratorial, pressure group dominated by Turkish nationalist army officers, commonly nicknamed the "Young Turks". The CUP was committed to the retention of "Turkey in Europe" and relatively dismissive of the empire's Middle Eastern provinces and peoples. In 1908 they forced the sultan to renew the long-suspended constitution of 1876, and the following year deposed him in favour of his more pliant brother.

The CUP set out with democratic ideals but found that these were incompatible with the empire's ethnic divisions. Showpiece general elections served chiefly to demonstrate the voting power of the minorities, particularly the Arabs. CUP administration survived only by becoming increasingly dictatorial, particularly when it faced a new round of territorial losses. It was in an attempt to remedy this situation that the leader of the CUP, Enver Pasha, with German military assistance, took the Ottoman Empire to war in 1914.

Between 1914 and 1916 the empire survived a series of Allied invasions (pages 218-19). Casualties were immense and the loyalty of the empire's minority populations was suspect, with thousands of Christian Armenians massacred for their pro-Russian sympathies. Apathy and disaffection among the empire's Arab Muslims was even more dangerous. In 1916 the Hashemi "sharif", governor of Mecca, raised a desert army which, allied with the British, successfully detached all remaining Arab provinces from Turkish control.

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW TURKEY

Post-war schemes for dismembering the empire and reducing the Ottoman sultanate to puppet status were built into the Treaty of Sévres (1920), which the sultan's administration in Constantinople meekly accepted, thereby losing any last shred of credibility. An alternative Turkish nationalist government was set up at Ankara, led by Mustafa Kemal, later named "Atatürk" (Father of the Turks). By 1923 the Ankara regime had won diplomatic and military recognition from all its former antagonists, including the Greeks, who had been defeated by Kemal's forces in 1922.

The Sévres agreement was replaced by the more generous Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which legitimized Ankara's right to govern an independent Turkish Republic in a region broadly corresponding to modern Turkey. The Ottoman sultanate was abolished by the treaty and the archaic caliphate followed it into extinction in 1924.

▲ The Treaty of Sévres (1920) stripped the Ottomans of the remains of their empire, and divided Anatolia into European "spheres of influence", leaving only a small portion to be directly ruled by the sultan. The Greeks, who saw the Turkish defeat as an opportunity to claim territory in western Anatolia with a substantial Greek population, had dispatched troops to Smyrna in 1919. Between 1920 and 1922 their troops established a firm grip on the region. During this time, however, Turkish nationalists became increasingly organized under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, and in August 1922 a Turkish nationalist army attacked the Greek forces and drove them from Anatolia in disarray. The other European powers, recognizing the overwhelming Turkish support for Kemal, withdrew, and the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923.



▲ As President of Turkey (1923-38), Mustafa Kemal ("Atatürk") instigated a series of reforms that created a modern secular state from the remains of the Ottoman Empire.



RUSSIAN TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION 1795–1914

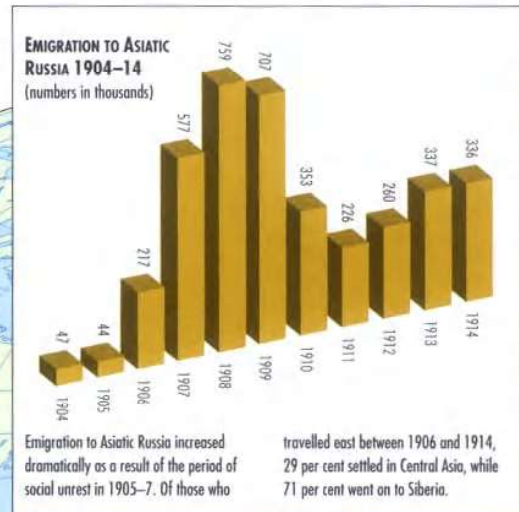
▼ Between 1795 and 1914 Russia sought to expand its territory in all possible directions but met with resistance from Austria, Britain and France when it threatened their interests in the Balkans in the 1850s. Expansion to the south and east was intermittent up until the 1880s, when it was halted by British power and by internal financial difficulties. To the east, the Russian Empire extended even onto the continent of North America, as far as northern California, until Alaska was sold to the Americans for \$7.2 million in 1867. To the southeast, Russia continued to exert its influence in Manchuria and Mongolia in the early years of the 20th century, despite its defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1905.

During the 19th century Russia continued a process of territorial expansion that had begun in the 1460s but which was now largely confined to Asia. Victory over Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815 brought the acquisition of the western part of Poland ("Congress Poland") and confirmation of earlier gains in Finland in 1809 and Bessarabia in 1812 (map 1). However, this marked the end of expansion to the west and in fact Romania soon cut its ties with Russia and in 1883 made an alliance with Germany and Austria. In the southwest the Transcaucasian territories were acquired between 1801 and 1830 and the route to them finally secured by the conquest of Chechenia – completed in 1859 – and Cherkessia in 1864.

In Central Asia, Russia seized large areas, often moving in where there was a political vacuum it could fill and perhaps resources it could exploit (although it failed to actually exploit them until the 1920s). The conquests began

in the 1820s and accelerated from 1853 onwards. In 1885, however, Russian troops clashed with Afghan forces at Pendjeh and came up against another imperialist power, Britain, which sent a stern warning that Afghanistan was not for the taking.

In the mid-19th century Russia also turned its attention to the eastern end of Asia, acquiring the regions north and south of the Amur River. This enabled it to establish Vladivostok – the vital warm-water port that gave year-round maritime access to the Far East. The Trans-Siberian Railway – built between 1891 and 1904 – linked Vladivostok to Moscow, and brought the potential for trade with the Far East. It tempted Russian policymakers to take over Manchuria in order to provide a more direct route to the coast, despite warnings from economic pressure groups that they should be concentrating on expanding internal markets in Siberia. The dream of eastern expansion reached both its apogee and its catastrophe in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, which resulted in a humiliating defeat for Russia. The limits of the empire were thus finally set.



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic development of the Russian Empire (*map 2*) was continuous throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century, but four periods can be distinguished. First there was slow and steady growth from 1800 to 1885, interrupted by setbacks in the 1860s when the iron industry in the Urals was adversely affected by the emancipation of the serfs. (Many who had been forced to work in the mines fled from the region on being freed.) Then, from 1885 to 1900, there was rapid government-induced growth, with a one-sided emphasis on railway building and heavy industry. Economic stagnation, prolonged by the effects of the revolution of 1905–7 (*map 3*), constituted the third period. The final period, from 1908 to 1914, was a time of renewed economic growth on a broader front.

It was during this last period that the big rush to emigrate to Siberia began, stimulated by the government itself, with the intention of solving the problem of land shortage in European Russia that had contributed greatly to the rural disturbances of 1905–7. Emigration to Siberia increased rapidly (*graph*) and the population of Siberia rose from 5.7 million in 1897 to 8.2 million in 1910. Settlement was concentrated along the Trans-Siberian Railway, which provided a link back to the west for a developing capitalist agriculture and the gold, copper and coal mines.

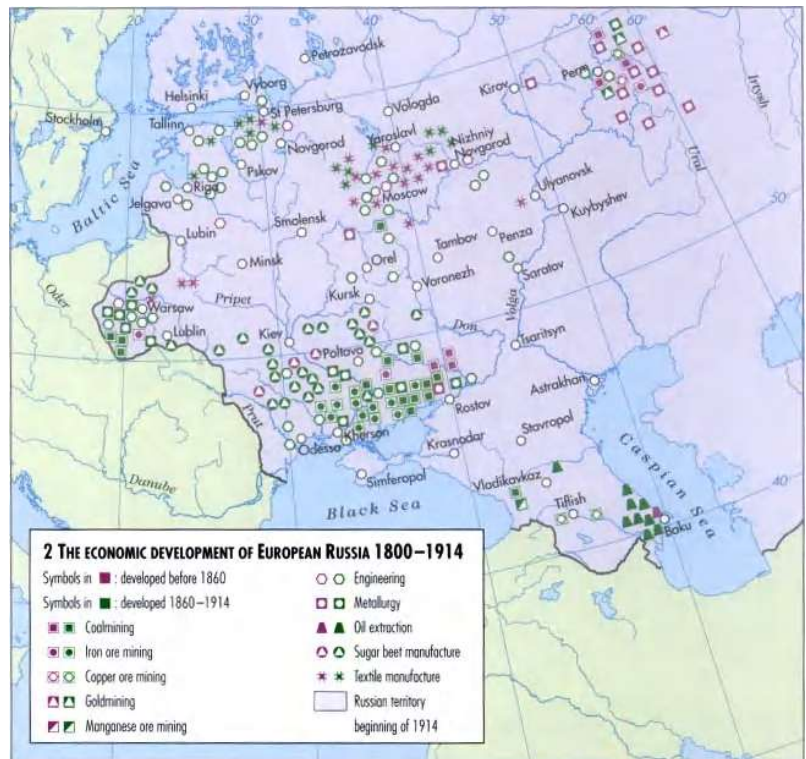
THE 1905 REVOLUTION

Russia's economy expanded in the 1890s with little attention to infrastructure and a complete refusal to link economic with political changes. This created tremendous tensions in the Russian social fabric, which were exacerbated by the government's repressive measures and its attempts at a gigantic foreign-policy diversion. "What we need to stem the revolutionary tide," said the reactionary, anti-Semitic Minister of the Interior Plehve in 1903, "is a small, victorious war". However, the result of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 was precisely the opposite: the "revolutionary tide" nearly swept away the whole tsarist system. Only the loyalty of parts of the imperial army at the decisive moment, in December 1905, saved the situation for Nicholas II.

The revolution of 1905 (or, more accurately, 1905–7) started under liberal slogans, and indeed the demand for representative popular government on the Western model was a common denominator throughout. It developed, however, into something much more threatening than a mere change of political regime. The workers who went on strike in 1905 set up councils, or "soviets", in every major city of the Russian Empire (*map 3*). These institutions acted as local organs of power, initially side by side with the old authorities, and in some cases led armed revolts that aimed at the complete overthrow of the imperial government. They were to resurface in 1917, with a decisive impact on Russian and world history.

The revolution of 1905 was not simply an urban movement of Russian workers and intellectuals. Agriculture had been neglected by the state in its drive for industrialization, and since the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 it had experienced either stagnation or a slight improvement, interrupted by the dreadful famine of 1891. It is hardly surprising that the peasants lost patience. The peasant revolts of 1905–7 were the first large-scale risings since the 18th century, and they forced the government into an abrupt change of policy (the Stolypin Reforms of 1906–10). This was, however, ultimately ineffectual, since the government carefully side-stepped the peasants' major grievance: the issue of gentry landholding. The peasant movement would revive with a vengeance in 1917 (*pages 222–23*).

The non-Russian nationalities also revolted in 1905, demanding autonomy or independence, depending on their level of social and national maturity. These demands would also resurface in 1917, leading to the complete disintegration of the Russian Empire, although the formation of the Soviet Union in 1922 delayed the establishment of independent national states on the territory of the former Russian Empire for nearly 70 years.



▲ Industrial expansion occurred mainly in engineering, metalworking and mining, with the development of engineering around Moscow and oil extraction around Baku particularly noticeable. Overall, the period 1800–1914 saw a clear shift in the centre of economic gravity from the Urals to the Ukraine and Poland.

▼ During the years of revolution, 1905–7, urban revolt was widespread across European Russia, with strikes and armed uprisings. In some cities workers organized themselves into soviets. Revolts also took place in large cities in Siberia and Central Asia, where there was a substantial Russian or Ukrainian population. Rural revolt, on the

other hand, was most intense in the Ukraine and to the south of Moscow, in provinces where land was held in common by the peasants and redivided every 20 years according to family size. This led to a strongly developed sense of community, making the peasants sympathetic to socialist revolutionary agitators.

