British point of view was the recent rise of Japan. England immediately supported this Oriental power, which, driven to desperation by persistent Russian encroachments, was at length, in 1904, emboldened to declare war. Japan's great victories on land and sea enabled her to acquire a paramount position in Korea and in the Yellow Sea. These advantages were secured by the treaty of peace signed at Portsmouth (U. S.) in August, 1905. Even before the war was concluded riots had taken place in Russia, which have since culminated in a great revolutionary movement. For the present the Russian Government is occupied with domestic affairs, and can exercise no pressure upon English interests either in Asia or elsewhere. Plainly the turmoil in Russia redounds to the decided advantage of Britain. By the eliminating process of time one after another of England's potential rivals in world empire have been stricken from the list, until in the year in which this chapter is written (1906) there remains only Germany. This vigorous and youthful empire has lately girded its loins to share in the partition of the world, with the result that English public opinion has transferred its wakeful jealousy from St. Petersburg to Berlin. The foreign policy of Great Britain is for the moment guided chiefly with reference to the growth and expansion of Germany.

The sovereign reigns but does not govern.

The predominance of Parliament, achieved in the seventeenth century, has not been questioned by the later sovereigns, who have rested content with their honorary headship of the nation and the indefinable political influence commanded by it. The long reign (1837–1901) of Queen Victoria, a conspicuous lover of peace, came to an end amidst universal signs of sorrow. She was succeeded by Edward VII., her oldest son by her marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.

CHAPTER XXIV

RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY; THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE BALKAN QUESTION

REFERENCES: FYFFE, Modern Europe (*passim;* see Index); PHILLIPS, Modern Europe, pp. 491–523; SEIGNOBOS, Europe Since 1815, Chapters XIX.–XXI.; ANDREWS, Modern Europe, Vol. II., Chapter XIII.; RAMBAUD, History of Russia, Vol. III.; KENNAN, Siberia and the Exile System; MILYOUKOV, Russia and Its Crisis (a searching analysis of present Russian conditions); KOVALEVSKY, Russian Political Institutions.

Czar Alexander and Poland.

THE part which Russia played in the overthrow of Napoleon made Czar Alexander I. a conspicuous figure in Europe after 1815. The Congress of Vienna confirmed him in the possession of Poland, which he ruled as king, on the basis of a granted constitution, as long as he lived. We have seen how under his successor, Nicholas I., the Poles revolted (1830) and had to pay for their audacity with the loss of their constitution and their independence.

Russia, a heterogeneous state.

The Poles, however, were not the only foreign people united with Russia under the sceptre of the Czar. The grand-duchy of Finland was inhabited by Finns intersprinkled with Swedes, while in the Baltic provinces were settled Letts and Esths, who tilled the soil for an upper crust of German landlords. Finland and the Baltic provinces, Russian only in name, had preserved a measure of provincial self-government. That was not the case with the various Slav tribes—White Russians in the west, Little Russians in

the south—who had been incorporated with Russia by conquest and were held under autocratic rule. Russia, even if we limit our statement to Russia in Europe, was therefore not a homogeneous nation, but consisted of a Russian core, surrounded, especially along its western border, by conquered peoples in various stages of dependence.

The emancipation of the serfs.

The people of the great Russian state were so backward in civilization that their domestic history in the nineteenth century can be rapidly told. Having no share in the government, they hung upon the initiative of the Czar, who, if progressive, might do something to improve conditions; if reactionary, thought only of preserving his power. Alexander I. (1801–25), after disappointing many hopes, was followed by his brother, Nicholas I. (1825–55), of whose despotic disposition we have had a glimpse in the Polish revolution of 1830. He stood for conservatism, and ruled his country with a rod of iron. But he was followed by a man of a different temper, his humane son, Alexander II. (1855–81), who was persuaded that reforms were inevitable. His greatest service to his country was the emancipation of the peasants. By the decree of 1861 the peasants, who were serfs and numbered many millions, constituting between eighty and ninety per cent of the population, were declared free, and provision was made by which they could become proprietors of small farms. As the peasant communities were also given the right to govern themselves, the masses were for the first time raised to the full dignity of manhood, and Russian society was gradually transformed and modernized. Alexander was now urged to grant a constitution, but could not be persuaded to make this supreme concession.

The expansion of Russia.

Apart from the emancipation of the serfs, and certain administrative and judicial reforms by which Russia was assimilated to European methods, the history of the state

under the nineteenth century czars is a record of territorial expansion. This expansion took two directions: (1) Toward the Bosporus, where it came in conflict with Turkey; and (2) toward Asia, where it was opposed mainly by England. The movement of Russia toward Turkey obliges us to examine the Ottoman empire.

The peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

The Turks, after establishing their rule in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had in the fifteenth century conquered the Balkan peninsula and set up their capital at Constantinople. The territory around the capital had been settled by Turks, but the other provinces remained in the hands of the various peoples who had occupied them in the Middle Ages. The most important, together with their geographical positions, were the following: (1) Greeks in the Grecian peninsula, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and along the Thracian coast; (2) Roumanians north of the lower Danube; (3) Serbs south of the Danube, between that river and the Adriatic Sea; (4) Bulgarians on either side of the Balkan Mountains; (5) Albanians on the Adriatic coast. Of these tribes all were Slavs[1] except the Greeks and the Roumanians, and all were Christians, belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, except the Albanians, who to a large extent had gone over to the religion of their Mohammedan conquerors.

The government of the Sultan.

The government of the Turks was a typical Oriental despotism. The Sultan at Constantinople, kept in ludicrous ignorance of the affairs of his realm, was content if his subordinates forwarded the tribute necessary to support his harem, while the real power lay in the hands of the pashas, who stood at the head of the provinces and plundered the poor inhabitants at discretion. The Christians, whom centuries of oppression had reduced

[1] The Roumanians, although they speak a language akin to Italian, and hold that they are, as their name suggests, descended from Roman colonists, are probably largely a Slav stock which has been Latinized. The Albanians, roughly classified as Slavs above, are a people of uncertain origin, with a strong Slav admixture. The racial situation on the Balkans is incredibly confused.

to the level of brutes, were deprived of every human right except the exercise of their religion. Turkey in Europe, closely considered, was nothing more than a victorious band of warriors encamped among enslaved Christian peoples, who might presently arouse themselves and cast their tyrants off. And the awakening came. It came in the nineteenth century, seized people after people, and created what is called the Balkan or the eastern question. But no sooner were the Sultan's Christian subjects in revolt than the European powers felt urged to declare their interest in the fact. They interfered and protected the small nations against the Sultan's wrath. Revolt, accompanied by European intervention, is the history of Turkey in the nineteenth century.

The first step toward Balkan freedom.

The beginning was made, as we have already seen, by Greece. The Greeks, after a spirited resistance, were about to be crushed when the powers interfered, fought the battle of Navarino (1827), and secured Greek independence. Out of the confusion developed a war between Russia and Turkey, in which Russia was victorious (Peace of Adrianople, 1829), and secured a paramount position at Constantinople. This war closed the first phase in the crumbling process of the Ottoman empire. Greece was now an independent kingdom,[1] while the Sultan withdrew from the direct government of Servia and the two Roumanian provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, putting their administration in the hands of native princes.

New crises.

The next great event in Turkish history was the revolt of the cunning and powerful pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, against his suzerain at Constantinople. This was a conflict among Mohammedan believers. Mehemet defeated the Sultan in two great wars, fought between 1833 and 1840,

[1] The first king of Greece was Otto of Bavaria, who, after ruling autocratically for a period, granted (1843) a constitution. Twenty years later he was deposed by a revolution, and was succeeded (1863) by a prince of the House of Denmark. This prince, King George I., still rules in Greece.

and might have driven him from the Bosporus if the powers had not become alarmed and forced the pasha to release his prey. The incident showed the helpless decay of Turkey. Czar Nicholas, encouraged by this situation to plan for the peaceful partition of the realm, spoke on repeated occasions of "the sick man" and his approaching funeral; but when he found the other powers, especially England, determined to support the Sultan, he decided on a policy of active aggression. The result was the Crimean War (1853–55), which is particularly interesting in showing the radical disagreement of the European powers with regard to Turkey. The Russian aim of conquering and partitioning Turkey was opposed by England, which feared that the growth of the Russian power in the Mediterranean would threaten her position in India. England managed to communicate her alarm to France, with the result that the two western powers defended Turkey, defeated the Czar (Sebastopol, 1855), and in the Peace of Paris (1856) guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman empire. But all the tinkering of Turkey's friends could do no more than delay disruption. There were troubles in Crete, Syria, in short, wherever Christians came in contact with Mohammedans. Every year brought some new loss or disgrace to the Commander of the Faithful. Thus, when in 1859 the two provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, self-governing since 1829, united under the name of Roumania, the Sultan had to give a belated consent; and when in 1866 a representative assembly elected Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (related to the reigning House of Prussia) hereditary prince, the successor of Mohammed was not even consulted. Such was the precarious situation in Turkey, when a revolt among the Serbs of Herzegovina led to another violent crisis. The Herzegovinians rose in 1875 against the Turkish tax-gatherers, who plundered them with systematic and brutal cruelty,

The Crimean War.

Creation of Roumania.

and were presently aided by their brethren of the province of Servia. A wave of excitement swept over the eastern world.

The war of 1877.

The Russians, themselves Slav and Orthodox, were greatly agitated, and Alexander II., in spite of his love of peace, was moved to take the field (1877). Thus was initiated the third war waged, since the Congress of Vienna, between Russia and Turkey.

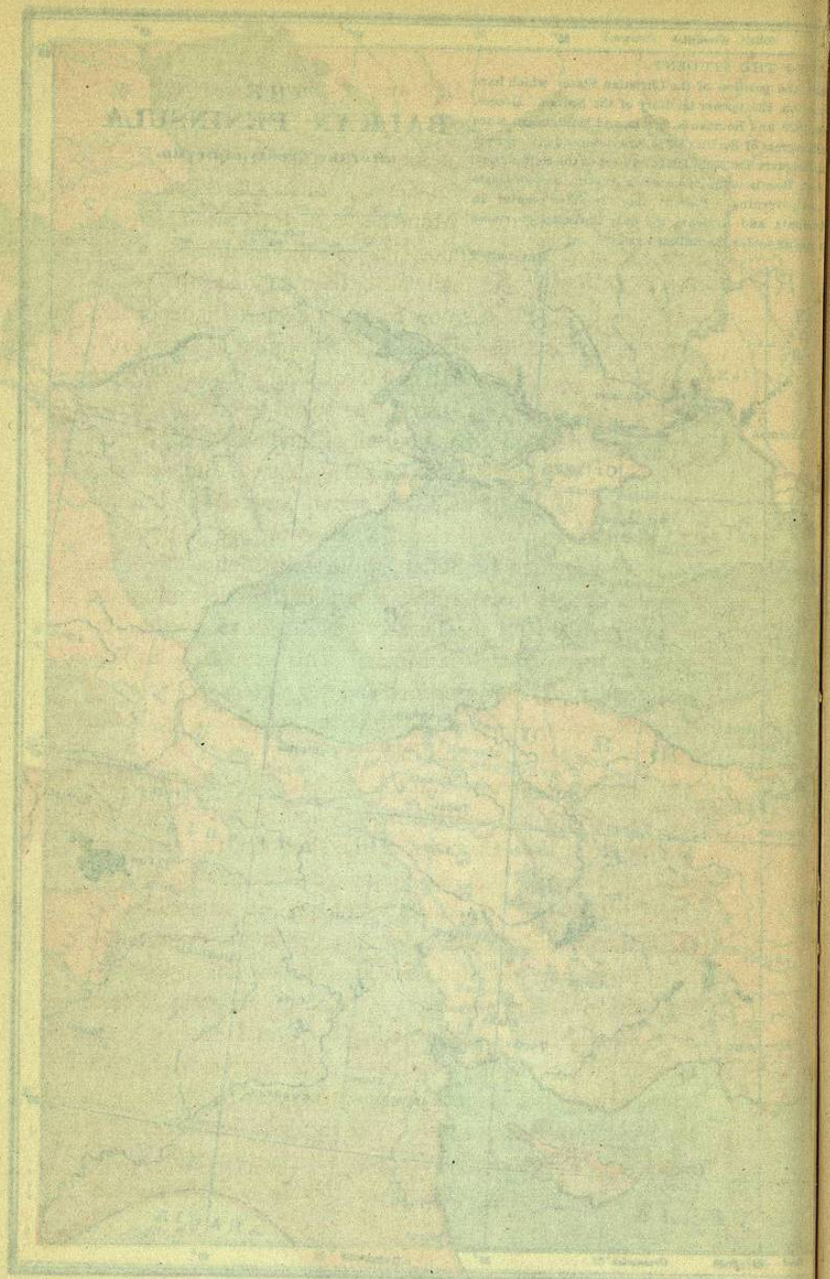
Victory of Russia.

In this war England did not actively support Turkey, while the small Slav tribes of the Balkan peninsula, as far as they were free to act, gladly joined with Russia. The fate of the campaign hinged upon the siege of Plevna. This fortress was fiercely and skilfully defended by Osman Pasha; but on the failure of provisions he and his army were obliged to surrender (December 10, 1877). Nothing now arrested the victorious Russians. They crossed the Balkans and would have floated their banners from the minarets of Constantinople if the Sultan had not sued for peace. In March, 1878, were signed the articles of San Stefano by which the Turk lost all his European possessions except Albania and the territory around Constantinople. England, gravely alarmed over this increase of Russian influence, assumed a warlike tone and refused to be placated until the Czar agreed to have the treaty of San Stefano revised in a general meeting of the European powers.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.

The Congress of Berlin, held in June, 1878, marks a new epoch in the history of Turkey. Although the congress could not undo the defeat of the Sultan, it could and did, under the leadership of England, reduce the advantages of Russia. The principle upon which the anti-Russian faction acted was to secure the independence of the Christian peoples of the Balkans under the guarantee, not of Russia, but of all the European powers. The congress finally agreed upon the following measures: (1) Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were declared free and sovereign. Prince


THE
BALKAN PENINSULA
after the Treaty of Berlin.
NOTE TO THE STUDENT:
Study the position of the Christian States which have arisen on the former territory of the Sultan. Greece, since 1829, and Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, since the Congress of Berlin (1878), are independent. Bosnia and Bulgaria are technically subject to the Sultan, but, in fact, Bosnia is incorporated in Austria, and Bulgaria is selfgoverning. Present day troubles center in Macedonia and Armenia, the only Christian provinces remaining under the Sultan's sway.
SCALE OF MILES.
KILOMETERS
Longitude East from Greenwich
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
GERMANY
Bohemia
Moravia
Galicia & Lodomiria
Prague
Olmütz
Cracow
Lemberg
Vienna
Pressburg
Komorn
Buda
Pesth
Innsbruck
Trieste
Agram
Venice
Hermanstadt
Danube
Drave
Save
Maros
Theiss
Kaminetz
Chozim
Jassy
Moldavia
Pruth
Dniester
Bug
Dnieper
Ekaterinoslav
RUSSIA
Cherson
Odessa
Akerman
Sea of Azof
Kuban
Manitch
Crimea
Kertch
Kaffa
Sebastopol
Balaklava
ROUMANIA
Wallachia
Bucharest
Krajova
Orsova
Passarovitz
Semlin
Belgrade
SERVIA
Nissa
BOSNIA
Zvornik
Serajevo
Mostar
Herzego-vina
MONTE NEGRO
Novi Bazar
Spalato
Ragusa
Dalmatia
Zara
Pola
Ravenna
San Marino
BULGARIA
Rustchuk
Silistria
Shumla
Plevna
Lovatz
Sofia
Varna
Bourgas
EAST'N ROUMELIA
Philippopolis
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Rome
Gaeta
Benevento
Naples
Bari
Taranto
Sicily
Messina
Catania
Malta
(British)
Prisrend
Uskub
Durazzo
Monastir
Macedonia
Avlona
Kastoria
Seres
Salonika
TURKISH EMPIRE
Adrianople
Constantinople
S. Stefano
Bosporus
Enos
Gallipoli
Sea of Marmora
Scutari
Broussa
Butrinto
Corfu
Trikala
Larissa
GREECE
Cephalonia
Zante
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Nauplia
Sparta
Coron
Kythera
Lemnos
Mytilene
Chio
Smyrna
AEGEAN SEA
Rhodes
Kanea
Candia
Crete
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sinope
Samsoun
Trebizond
Amasia
Tokat
Erzerum
Bayazid
Angora
Kisil Irmak
Armenia
L. Van
Bitlis
Kaisariyeh
Konia
Diarbekir
Tigris
Urfa
Mosul
Adalia
Adana
Tarsus
Aleppo
Antioch
Euphrates
Cyprus
(British)
Nikosia
Limasol
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
ARABIA
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N.Y.



Charles of Roumania presently became King Charles I., while the native prince of Servia, Milan Obrenovitch, became King Milan I. Montenegro, a tiny principality of Serbs, located in the almost inaccessible mountains which skirt the Adriatic, had really never been subdued by the Ottoman empire, and was now formally declared independent under its native prince Nikita. (2) A number of other provinces were practically but not theoretically detached from the Turkish empire. Austria was asked to occupy Herzegovina and Bosnia, but as no limit of time was fixed, the occupation has acquired a look of permanence. Bulgaria was divided into two sections. The region between the Danube and the Balkans was declared a self-governing principality owing allegiance to the Sultan, while the seçtion south of the Balkans, officially called East Roumelia, was left under the military authority of the Turks. (3) Russia received an increase of territory in Asia Minor. This was hardly an adequate reward for her exertions and her victory, and created an indignation in Russia against the settlement of Berlin which has survived to this day.

The growth of the small Balkan states.

It remains to inquire into the success of the Berlin policy and the development of the new Balkan states. With due allowance for the difficulties of the situation, the statement may be ventured that the young governments have prospered. The only regulation which proved untenable was the division of Bulgaria. In 1885 the southern section—East Roumelia—revolted and applied for union with the northern province. When the ruler of Bulgaria, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who had been lately elected to the throne, yielded to the popular pressure and accepted the union of north and south, Servia, angry at the increase of her neighbor, declared war. The incident introduces us to a new and important feature in the Balkan situation. The young Christian states regard one another with the most in-

tense jealousy, each one hoping, in the event of the further dissolution of the Ottoman empire, to secure the lion's share. The war of 1885 supplies the comment to this statement. Servia was roundly beaten, and owed her preservation to the interference of Austria. But Prince Alexander did not long enjoy his triumphs. He had given umbrage to Czar Alexander III., who in 1886 compassed his downfall. The Bulgarians, indignant over this interference with their affairs, now cut loose from the Czar's apron-strings, and elected as their prince Ferdinand of Coburg, an officer in the Austrian army. Ferdinand has achieved a remarkable success, having held the power for almost twenty years, and being in a fair way to perpetuate his dynasty.

Present storm-centres of the Turkish empire.

The troubles of the diminished Turkish empire have not ceased, owing chiefly to the fact that the Christians remaining under the Mohammedan yoke continue to ask for relief. The chief centres of disturbance of late have been (1) Crete, (2) Armenia, and (3) Macedonia. (1) The endless revolutions in Crete, an island inhabited by Greeks, kept the people of the kingdom of Greece in sympathetic excitement, and led in 1897 to a declaration of war against Turkey. The small power proved no match for Turkey, which quickly defeated it; however, Europe interfered, and not only saved Greece from spoliation, but also made Crete self-governing under a Greek prince. The Cretans, in spite of their virtual independence, continue to demand union with Greece, and the probability is great that their wish sooner or later will be realized. (2) The Armenians, Christians of Asia Minor, are desirous of achieving their independence, but the agitation among them is carefully watched by the Turks and from time to time repressed by a terrible massacre. The outrages committed by Turk upon Armenian, and *vice versa*, have aroused the indignation of Europe; but no cure has thus far been found for the evil. (3) The same may be said for

the troubles in Macedonia. This province—the last Christian possession of the Sultan in Europe—has been in a state of increasing ferment; but a solution is rendered difficult, owing to fierce race jealousy. Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians, Serbs, and Greeks, who are quite as ready to butcher one another as to fight the common enemy, the Turk.

The British occupy Egypt.

These various events, all pointing to the eventual dissolution of Turkey, do not complete the tale of the Sultan's misery. In 1882 England occupied Egypt with an army, and although the pasha—ruling under the title of khedive—has not been deposed and the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan is still acknowledged, Egypt may be counted a British province. Nobody will venture to say how all these various issues will be settled; but the assertion is not over-bold that the end of Turkey, corrupt, backward, incapable of reform, has been decreed by the fates.

The Russian advance in Asia.

The establishment of numerous small independent states upon the ruins of Turkey in Europe tended to put a check upon the Russian march to Constantinople. In consequence, the Czars began to take up with increased vigor their plan of conquest in Asia. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they had acquired Siberia, embracing the whole north of that great continent; and in the nineteenth century they have striven to reach a warm port, with open water all the year round, upon the Pacific and Indian oceans. Although their progress has been steadily opposed by England, which was seized with alarm for its Indian empire, the Russian advance met with continued success, until it was challenged by Japan. A glance at the map will show that Russia would attempt to reach the ocean in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of China. When England let it be understood that she would fight before she would permit her rival to get a lodgment in the waters west of India,

the energy of Russian expansion was unloaded upon weak and unresisting China. The Czar acquired control of a considerable slice of Chinese territory (Port Arthur, Manchuria), causing such consternation in the neighboring empire of Japan that the Mikado, after many futile remonstrances, declared war. The conflict (1904–5) showed the decisive superiority of the Japanese upon land and water. At the Peace of Portsmouth (August, 1905) Russia was obliged to withdraw from her advanced positions, and Port Arthur, southern Manchuria, and Korea fell under the influence of Japan. The forward movement of Russia in Asia seems to be blocked for many a day.

The war with Japan.

Domestic troubles of Russia.

However, the present acute paralysis of Russia is due not so much to her defeat by Japan, as to the domestic revolution which broke out during the war. To understand this important movement we must turn back once more to the reign of the kindly Alexander II. Although the Czar had liberated the serfs in 1861, he disappointed many of his people by refusing to grant a constitution. The Poles had even persuaded themselves that he was going to grant them not only a constitution, but their independence; and on awakening from their illusion, they rose in rebellion (1863). Of course they were crushed, as in 1831, but the movement served as an announcement to the world that their national sentiment was still alive. Once again the Poles were ground under the iron heel of the Czar, their very language being banished from the schools, the court-room, and even from public sign-boards.

The Polish rebellion of 1863.

The educated movement for a constitution.

In Russia proper the liberal discontent with the continued maintenance of the autocratic system took a different form. The radicals, more and more enraged at the Czar and his bureaucracy, adopted the anarchistic views spread by certain revolutionists in western Europe, and under the name of nihilists sought the destruction by any and every means

of the detested government. Attacks upon prominent officials with pistol and bomb became frequent, culminating in 1881 in the assassination of the once popular Alexander II. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III. (1881–94), who stubbornly maintained his absolute power and met the plots of his opponents by wholesale banishments to the lonely and noisome prisons of ice-bound Siberia. By the time Nicholas II. succeeded (1894) his father, the liberal propaganda had begun to assume another shape. Although a band of radicals continued to terrorize society with bombs and assassination, the middle classes and the workingmen of the cities—the latter largely organized as socialists—came to believe their cause would triumph by more peaceful means. Their chance came during the war with Japan. The defeats suffered by the Russian government encouraged criticism, which the authorities tried to appease by concessions. Finally, in October, 1905, the Czar went the length of proclaiming a constitution, embodying a limited number of popular concessions. But it was too late. The accumulated excitement burst in riots and rebellions, the end of which no one can foretell. In May, 1906, a popular Assembly, called Duma, was convened, but the Czar dissolved it in July before it had effected any changes. Nicholas II. stands at present at the parting of the ways, apparently undecided whether he shall follow the liberal path or that of the traditional absolutism. While the situation is frightfully involved, it does not, however, seem too much to say that the old autocracy can never be restored, and that a new era has dawned in Russia.

The present revolution.