

SHIFTING ALLIANCES IN EUROPE FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815)
TO THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1878)

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SHIFTING ALLIANCES IN EUROPE FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815)
TO THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1878)

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ABSTRACT

SHIFTING ALLIANCES IN EUROPE FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1815- 1878)

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The aim of this thesis is to examine the historical background of the alliances that European Great Powers created for the first time in terms of mutual benefits after wars had ended with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and the interruption of these alliances with the wars between the Ottoman Empire and Russia (The Crimean War and Ottoman- Russian War, etc.) in the light of Ottoman archival documents. A number of social, political, and economic reasons had some effects on the foundation of these alliances which were called Congress system established after the Congress of Vienna. European Great Powers put some economic and political policies into practice in order to share the Ottoman lands equally since the middle of the 19th century. These policies which the European Powers named as the ‘Eastern Question’ also determined the future of the Ottoman Empire. Although these policies caused clashes among the European Great Powers as happened in the Crimean War and 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, they could overcome these clashes in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. However, this was a temporary situation and the agreement among them only lived until the World War I. For this reason, the basic points in these alliances during the period that had started in the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and lasted in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The effects of these in the future of Europe and accordingly of the Ottoman Empire are important and this thesis is written to examine those points.

Key Words: Europe, Alliances, Concert of Europe, Eastern Question, the Ottoman Empire.

ÖZ

VİYANA KONGRESİ’DEN BERLİN KONGRESİ’NE KADAR AVRUPA’DA DEĞİŞEN İTTİFAKLAR (1815- 1878)

Keyvanoğlu, Merve Cemile

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

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Bu tezin amacı, Avrupalı büyük güçlerin 1815 Viyana Kongresi ile büyük ölçüde savaşları geride bırakıp tarihlerinde ilk kez karşılıklı çıkarları çerçevesinde kurdukları geniş ittifaklar ve bu ittifakların Osmanlı ve Rusya arasında yaşanan savaşlara (Kırım Savaşı ve Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı vb.) bağlı olarak kesintiye uğramasının tarihsel arka planını Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri ışığında incelemektir. Avrupa tarihine Kongre Sistemi olarak geçen ve 1815 Viyana Kongresi sonrası kurulan bu ittifakların temelinde, bir dizi sosyal, siyasal ve ekonomik neden etkili olmuştur. Avrupalı büyük güçler, 19.yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Osmanlı topraklarını eşit şekilde paylaşmak amacıyla ekonomik ve siyasi bir dizi politikayı da uygulamaya koydular. Bu politikalar onların “Doğu Sorunu” olarak gördükleri Osmanlı Devleti’nin de kaderini tayin ettikleri politikalarıydı. Bu politikalar, zaman zaman Avrupalı büyük güçleri Kırım Savaşı ve 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı’nda olduğu gibi karşı karşıya getirse de onlar bu sorunu 1878’de Berlin Kongresi’nde büyük ölçüde çözebildiler. Fakat bu geçici bir durum olmuş ve sağladıkları uzlaşma ancak I.Dünya Savaşı’na kadar yaşayabilmişti. İşte bu nedenle Avrupa ittifaklar sisteminde 1815 Viyana Kongresi ile başlayan ve 1878 Berlin Kongresi’ne kadar uzanan süreçte ittifakların temel noktaları ve bunun Avrupa ve dolayısıyla da Osmanlı devletinin geleceklerindeki etkisi önemlidir ve bu tez de bu temel noktaları incelemek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Viyana Kongresi, Avrupa Uyumu, Doğu Sorunu, Berlin Kongresi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

HAT: Hatt-ı Hümayun

IBID: Ibidem (The same)

Y. PRK. HR: Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Hariciye Nezareti Maruzatı

Trans.: Translated by

Ed.: Edited by

H.: Hijri (Hicri Takvim)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For many ages, European History has always attracted historians and researchers, because Europe has been a dynamic continent all the time. There are different branches of European History to study: social, economic, military, cultural, political, architectural, etc. In fact, not only wars, migrations, alliances, peace, revolutions have influenced Europe but also other geographies. In the present thesis, a period of Europe will be studied and this is the long period of alliances which have established after the Congress of Vienna and have not been seen in the history of Europe before.

These alliances were the second chance of peace in Europe established after a long period of wars in the history of Europe. The first one was the Peace of Westphalia. In fact previously after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, Europe was transformed into a different dimension. Between the 15-17th centuries, kings, and monarchies were more significant than the states and nations. The Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia changed this situation. From then on, nation-states became decisive in European political and social world. With the Treaty of Westphalia, the states had the “self-determination” principle, and this principle resulted in liberalism. In the 18th and 19th centuries, after the French Revolution, Europe and the Ottoman Empire started to deal with the nationalist revolutions and uprisings. The French Revolution was an example for the other nations. Moreover, for the economic and political purposes, European Powers had their eyes on the Ottoman Empire. According to their benefits, they made alliances, treaties, and wars with the Ottoman Empire. The general expression for this interest on the Ottoman Empire is named as the “Eastern Question”.

The aim of this thesis is to examine and compare the shifting alliances among European powers from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the Congress of Berlin in 1878. These congresses are significant not only for the European powers to determine their politics but also for the destiny of the Ottoman Empire. In the former Congress, the states promised to protect balance of power and to make alliances and treaties in order to protect peace in Europe. In the latter one, the situation changed. While in the first congress the states decided to protect the land integrity of the Ottoman Empire, in the second congress, their plans about the empire were on its division which meant the end of the empire. After the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the European powers tried hard to take their share from the Ottoman Empire according to their benefits.

The policies of European great powers were different from one state to another and they also changed from time to time. The main aim of Britain was to protect her trade routes, for this reason until the end of the 19th century; Britain supported the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Britain joined the alliances in order to protect her economy and commerce. After 1878, when the balance of power in Europe destroyed, Britain changed her attitude and demanded her share from the Ottoman Empire. France planned to recover herself and her political position in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars in the 19th century. Moreover, in order to maintain commercial benefits in the Eastern Mediterranean, France applied both friendly and hostile policies in Europe. The fear of Austria was the revolutionist movements, so she had a conservative policy. Especially, the policy of Russia formalized the policy of Austria in Europe, because Russian ambitions in Mediterranean made Austria uncomfortable. Russia had plans as Panslavism and being the protector of Orthodox people, and these were problems for Austria, the benefits of the two states in Balkans conflicted each other. Finally, Prussia, later Germany, was busy with the unification during the 19th century, so she was with the powerful allies according to her benefits.

The European political history of the 19th century, especially about the balance of power, European state-system, the Eastern Question, foreign policies of the

European states attract many historians and they wrote books and articles about the subject. Especially the books written by Norman Davies, M.S. Anderson, J.A.R. Marriott, A.J.P. Taylor, Paul Kennedy, Marian Kent, Paul Schroeder and Oral Sander are valuable to mention about the aforementioned topics. Moreover, Fahir Armaoğlu, Hüner Tuncer and İlber Ortaylı's books in Turkish also provide important information about the 19th century Europe and the Ottoman Empire. However aforementioned social scientists did not use Ottoman sources to evaluate the balance of power, European state-system, the Eastern Question, and foreign policies of the European states. Therefore, in the present thesis, the Ottoman archival documents are used to add the position and opinion of the Ottoman Empire before, during and at the end of the alliances and policies of the European Great Powers.

The viewpoint of the Ottoman Empire about the alliances, the congresses, the wars, the peace conferences in Europe could be seen with the help of the archival documents. In this thesis, official documents from the Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry are taken into consideration in order to support the statements and learn the interconnected incidents among the powers and the Ottoman Empire. These documents are mostly *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (imperial decrees) and some of the documents are from the *Hariciye Nezareti* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The documents were generally written from the consulates of the empire in Europe, the officers gave the news in Europe to the sultan as letter, interviews, and the translation of the agreements, etc. These correspondences help for the understanding of the views of the Ottoman Empire.

In the first chapter of this thesis, the European monarchies, the state-system after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) until the French Revolution will be examined. Forces of change and forces of continuation help to understand the conflict between the ideas and institutions of the period. Thus the emergence of nationalism, liberalism and the decline of monarchies in Europe until the French Revolution will be underlined to understand the conflicts among the great powers and the reasons brought the Great Powers to the Congress of Vienna better.

The French Revolution was the biggest movement in the 18th century in Europe. After the revolution, Europe has never been the same; the three mottos, “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” became an example to Europe and to the Ottoman Empire. During and after the revolution, Napoleon became the most important actor in European history. For this reason, in the second chapter, Napoleon Bonaparte, the underlying facts for the meeting of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the statements from the purpose of convention of the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the Crimean War (1856), the foundation of alliances among the Great Powers and the concert of Europe after the congress, liberal revolutions in 1830 and 1848 will be examined.

The third chapter deals with the Crimean War (1856), the Three Emperors League (1872), the Eastern Crisis and the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78) and the Congress of Berlin (1878) from the perspective of the shifting alliances among European Powers. In this chapter, the effect of the Industrial Revolution, the rivalry among France-Russia, the expansionist policies of Britain and Russia and the reactions to these movements could be grasped. Furthermore, it could be stated that most of the alliances of European powers emerged around the Eastern Question.

Conclusion will be formed around the findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2

EUROPE, EUROPEAN STATE-SYSTEM IN TRANSITION PRIOR TO THE 19TH CENTURY

From the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, most of the European states were centralized politically and militarily under one power, the centralization was supported by state taxation, increased powers, developed bureaucratic organization.¹ The European states were generally governed by a monarch, a king who had the authority to rule the country by hereditary rights. The kings or queens had the absolute power over their peoples.

The aforementioned period was also the time for expansion in the world; the states discovered new lands and had the opportunity to get benefit from the new sources. Europe was welcoming the changes in economy, society and politics. In this period, especially Britain, Spain and Portugal were the most powerful monarchies in Europe. In the Eastern Europe, the Ottoman State was extending in terms of politics, economy and the military especially after the conquest of Constantinople in the 15th century.

Monarchies had been established after collapse of the feudalism and were demolished by nation-states. It is important to ask some questions in this matter: How and why did the European political system and order change in several centuries and which events or institutions affected European history? These questions will be answered in the following parts. As a first step, information on

¹ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers- Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 70.

the Peace of Westphalia (1648) is given and its importance is explained as this settlement brought new terms and ideologies on European politics.

2.1. From Monarchies to State-System, the Peace of Westphalia (1648)

In the 16th century, two empires, the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire had a balance of power in east-central Europe and in the Mediterranean and agreed not to make war. But this policy changed when the religious disorders and Thirty Years War (1618-48) began and the Ottomans were back to their expansionist policy.² Consequently, it is important to give information about the Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

In the meantime, the 16-17th centuries were tumultuous years for Europe in terms of religion, politics and social life. The states had the right to determine the religion of their citizens with the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, but this right did not work in practice and the Protestant German states established a union to defend their rights. In order to be supported, they demanded to meet with Holland, France and Britain. In 1609, the Catholic German states constituted a union with the support of Holy Roman Empire and with the leadership of Baviera and they were relying on Spanish support. So, Germany was disintegrating and two groups were preparing for a religious war.³

The Thirty Years War between 1618 and 1648 affected European politics severely. Many states joined this war in Europe. These “war series” were formed

² Halil İnalcık, *Turkey and Europe in History*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2006), p. 112.

³ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 99.

in terms of religion. They were the wars between Catholicism and Protestantism, but then they turned out to be political.

Initially, the Thirty Years War was a German civil war against the Catholics with Protestant motives. Secondly, it was a war between the Holy Roman Empire who wanted to protect the political union and member states who tried to have their independency. Thirdly, the Thirty Years War was an international war between France and Habsburgs, Spain and Holland, and there were also Denmark, Sweden and Transylvania. The Thirty Years War ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.⁴ The Peace of Westphalia “marked the beginning of the modern international system as a universe composed of sovereign states, each with exclusive authority within its own geographic boundaries.”⁵

Hence, it could be said that a new international system was constituted with the Peace of Westphalia in which there were certain rules and order and the states were acting according to them. Autonomy and national self-determination principles were decided. A state-system was established in Europe: a new European system with the Peace of Westphalia.

The Ottoman Empire, as mentioned above, planned to continue the expansionist policy against the Habsburgs after Thirty Years War. For example the Ottoman Empire sieged Vienna for the second time in history in 1683, but the Habsburgs made a coalition against the empire. England and the Netherlands tried to make peace between them, because of the fear of France advance in Rhine Valley. With the Karlowitz Treaty in 1699, the war finished, and after this time, England had a special interest in the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Empire understood the European superiority in technology. Moreover, the Russian Empire joined to Holy League and as they took Azov from Ottomans, Constantinople was under threat.

⁴ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 99-100.

⁵ Stephen D. Krasner, “Compromising Westphalia”, *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter, 1995-1996), pp. 115-151, p. 115, retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539141>, (accessed 1.1.2015).

Russia was admitted to the European state system by joining to the Holy League, but the Ottoman Empire remained outside of the mentioned system until 1841.⁶

2.2. Forces of Change, Forces of Continuity and Road to French Revolution

The political environment of the 18th century is significant to understand the road to the French Revolution and the conflict of forces of change and forces of continuity. Different political regimes but mainly monarchies were the main factors creating political environments. Britain had a parliament and also a king, the Habsburgs, Spain, France, Portugal, and Denmark had monarchies in the 18th century Europe. Maybe the most powerful monarchy in the 16-17th centuries were the Habsburgs, and in the East, there was the Ottoman Empire. In the 17-18th centuries, while the two aforementioned monarchies became weaker, Britain and France became powerful in Western Europe. In the 17-18th centuries, the powerful European states were: Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Austria, Sweden, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.

Monarchies could not establish or continue powerful governments that were products of globalization and also that were needed in the 19th century. These powerful governments could have only been established by nation-states. For European people, international politics gradually became a transaction between states, not between monarchs and princes. For this reason, monarchs and princes became less important than the states. From the middle of the 18th century on, the foreign policy of France, ambitions of Prussia became more concrete than those of any other kings. In the 18-19th centuries, people believed in “superiority and

⁶ Halil İnalcık, *Turkey and Europe in History*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2006), p: 112.

inviolability of states” because religion also a lesser unifying role. In the 19th century, people became “patriots”. The leading states in Europe were Germany, France and Britain in the 19th century.⁷

In the 18th century, France’s superiority in military decreased after the death of Louis XIV (France was a more powerful state after the Thirty Years War), and Britain and Austria rose as powers in Europe. Moreover, in the Seven Years War in 1756, Britain defeated France and had most of her colonies in India and America. Seven years before 1756, Austria and Prussia made war in order to have supremacy over Central Europe. At the end of the war, with the Peace of Aix- La- Chapelle in 1748, Prussia acquired the Silesia region and became a considerable power in Europe. In order to have Silesia back, Austria planned to be allies with France, and as opposed to this, Britain wanted to be ally with Prussia. Austria used marriage for making an alliance with France. Louis XVI (the future French emperor in the following years) and Marie Antoinette (daughter of the Austrian Emperor) married, and the alliance was achieved. In order to suppress the power of Prussia, Russia joined to this alliance, too.⁸

The last thirty years of the 18th century is known as the “Age of Revolution”. The main reason of these revolutions is to overthrow all established authorities and institutions. Namely, the starting point was to destroy the relationship between the ruler and the ruled people.⁹ The Age of Revolution firstly started in America. The ideas of liberalism, equality and independency had first emerged in Thirteen Colonies in North America with the American Revolution. At the end of the 18th century, these ideas turned back to Western Europe and caused a big explosion: the French Revolution. These new terms and organization conflicted with the Ancient Regime and constituted new expansionist powers. From these,

⁷ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 144.

⁸ William Doyle, *The Old European Order 1660-1800*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 144-148.

⁹ Ibid, p. 295.

nationalism, democracy, Industrial Revolution and imperialism started to expand from Western Europe to Central and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and to the world. In a sense, conflicts of forces of change and forces of continuation are the essence of the 19-20th centuries.¹⁰

From the middle of the 18th century and most of 19th century, the events were shaped and influenced by liberalism. In a political meaning, the basis of liberalism is the relationship between government and people. In this manner, the first example was the American Revolution and this revolution caused an awakening in French intellectual groups. However, there were obstacles in France when compared to America. For example, unproductive nobility and church had privileges, but productive classes did not have any privileges.

So, the middle class (commercial and industrial bourgeoisie) came together with the other classes and opened a war to forces of continuity, namely feudalism, absolute monarchy, and church. So, the impetus of liberal French Revolution was middle class with villagers and the example of American Revolution.¹¹

2.3. French Revolution of 1789 and Napoleon Bonaparte

The French Revolution of 1789 changed the progress and course of European politics in the 18th and 19th centuries. The liberal and nationalist explosion affected most of the Europe. There were some reasons or causes why this revolution started in France. The first reason was the administrative system in France. The King (Louis XVI) was an absolute monarch and he had all the power

¹⁰ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 149-150.

¹¹ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 161-162.

in his own hands, and his sovereignty over the people was not approved since French people were unsatisfied with his reign. Thus the French people needed a change. The second was the judicial system. There was not guarantee of liberty in personal life. Moreover, the rights were multiple and illogical. The third reason was about taxation. Paying taxes was very difficult for lower class people, and so was for farmers, because they were earning less but were paying very much. The fourth one was about the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers. Philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu wrote their ideas about politics, economy and society with Enlightenment thoughts and when people read their books or writings; they became more informative about what was going on in France. The Bankruptcy of France was the last reason why the revolution took place in France. The loans from the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV were the seeds of this economical problem. With the ministers and their reforms, this problem was tried to be overcome but they failed.¹²

In summary, the main reasons of French Revolution were governmental issues and unbalanced social system. There was a class system in France and the injustice of taxation system made French people uncomfortable. The fiscal crisis in 1789 (because of the war in America) became the last drop of people, so they started revolting against the king with the mottos: "Liberty, equality, fraternity".

When the French Revolution happened, France had difficult times in economy, society, military, etc. Since much have been told how the Revolution happened it would be better to mention the results of the revolution which were striking both for France and the European states and and to benefit from them to underline the conditions prepared the ground for the alliances.

First of all, the Bourbon Dynasty was collapsed in France; the constitutional regime took the place of Ancient Regime. Secondly, ideas of liberty, nationalism, fraternity became widespread and as a consequence of nationalist attitude, multi-

¹² Samuel Hugh Mcgrady, *A Notebook of European History 1400-1920*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company Publishers, 1928), pp. 104-110.

national states lived the same problems, too. Thirdly, in the periodization of European history, this event is accepted as the end of Early Modern Age and the beginning of Modern Age. Most importantly, during the French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte who later crowned as the king of France I had a significant role in the army of France. This commander was going to change course of European history. Coalitions were going to be gathered against him when he created turmoil in Europe with the Napoleonic Wars. These wars and coalitions were the reasons of why the Congress of Vienna (1815) was convened by Great Powers of Europe.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769) was born in Corsica, and became one of the most important actors in Modern European History. Napoleon Bonaparte showed his talent in the army in the last years of the French Revolution. The regime of Directory was ended by him in 1799, and he established his own authority, his dictatorship over France. He became “the First Consul” of France.¹³ With this movement, the French Revolution and dictatorship of Napoleon ended; and as a result of this, the Napoleonic Wars started.

Before becoming the First Consul, Napoleon had become a successful commander of France. Even in these times, he was planning to invade Britain. While the plans were being done, Bonaparte was thinking that invasion of Britain was a very risky move. In the last days of 1797, he examined the sea stations and garrisons in the Northern coast of France; he realized the possible problems that the invasion could have posed. In August of the same year, he wrote that “the time is not distant when we shall realize that to destroy England herself was about to succumb to direct attack”.¹⁴ The reason of Napoleon was of course trying to cut the relationship of Britain with her eastern colonies and also to recover the economy and commerce of France after the destruction of colonies and war expenses in America.

¹³ Malcolm Crook, *Revolutionary France*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 29.

¹⁴ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1966), p. 25.

Some of these plans were soon applied, with the conquest of Malta; the French army took the control of southern Egypt. It was apprehended by the Ottoman Empire, thus Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (Minister of Foreign Affairs of France) prepared some explanation in his reports; however, he did not give them to Sublime Porte. Naturally, the Ottoman Empire and Britain did not stay silent and neutral. Admiral Nelson defeated Napoleon's army in Battle of Nile in 1798.

After this date, France and the Ottoman Empire became enemies; since the Fourth Crusade, a powerful army had come to the Eastern lands. This was a new step in modern history. With the invasion of Egypt by France in 1798, the partner of the Ottoman Empire became Britain in the balance policy until 1878. After 1878, when Britain gave up her policy (instead of supporting the integrity of Ottoman Empire, Britain planned the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire), Germany became the ally of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵

Napoleon established the "Three Consuls" administration which he was at the head of this system, by destroying the Directory system with the support of French people. France gave their destiny to Napoleon's hands and had the hope of peaceful, happy and successful future. Napoleon started to make new arrangements and became successful on this road. He assured national peace with a powerful and central administration. France was in peace with the states of the continent. The position of First Consul was so sure and the support of people was so powerful that the Consul Regime was transformed into Empire in 1804 with a plebiscite and Napoleon became an emperor with the title of Napoleon I.¹⁶

Napoleon was the most likely man to ensure political union in continental Europe. Armed struggle which started in 1792 and ended in 1814 could be considered as a

¹⁵ Gül Akyılmaz, "III. Selim'in Dış Politika Anlayışı ve Diplomasi Reformu Çerçevesinde Batılılaşma Siyaseti", in *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel and Kemal Çiçek, Cilt. 12, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), p. 664.

¹⁶ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 171.

“world war”, because a part of this struggle influenced Spanish America which was trying to be independent.¹⁷

European states were in war or conflict with each other, but the development, power and success of France made them come together against France. European states and the Ottoman Empire established “coalitions” in order to come together and make war against France. These wars are known as “the Napoleonic Wars”. There were seven coalitions against Napoleon in total until 1814.

In 1812, Napoleon went to Russia with his army and planned to conquer Moscow. This war did not continue as he wanted, he was defeated by Russian and Prussian forces. This was a strong blow for Napoleon. He went back to Paris, but he lost many of his forces in the war. After he came to Paris, the allied powers decided to declare a war against Napoleon. At this time, the allied powers signed the Treaty of Chaumont by which they decided to stay unified and preserve the coalition against Napoleon. After the powers defeated him, the Russian Emperor, Prussian King and the Austrian Emperor came to Paris and took control. Napoleon was sent to exile in Elba, and Louis XVIII who was a relative of Napoleon became the king of France and the son and family of Bonaparte stayed in Paris under the control of the Austrian Emperor.¹⁸ This was the last point of the road to the Congress of Vienna. Europe prepared the end of Napoleon. The defeat in Moscow cost him many soldiers, capitulations, and his power; and for this reason, when the allied powers saw his situation, they did not wait to make war against him. With the Treaty of Chaumont, they took the second step after coalitions. In the following part, there will be information about the process since this treaty to Congress of Vienna, the end of Napoleon and other important issues of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 171.

¹⁸ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), HAT, Dosya No: 951/Gömlek No: 40864, Date: 11/C/1229 (May 31, 1814).

It is important to note that purpose of the convention of Congress of Vienna was providing peace in Europe after French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars, because as it was stated before, France was not only influenced by the revolution in 1789, but also by the ideas of nationalism and liberalism impressed other European nations also. Therefore, the states wanted to protect their state and people from these ideas and to maintain the peace in Europe. The events which occurred in France in 1789 constituted politics in Europe in the 19th century. So, the reason was making a peace settlement in 1815.

The French Revolution changed the balance of power in Europe among the powers. This event was seen as an internal problem of France, but it influenced Europe and the Ottoman Empire as well. After the people saw that French overthrew their own king, Europe was shattered by revolutionary ideologies. The soldiers of France revolutionary armies thought that they were liberating Europeans from feudalism and oppression and they were carrying freedom in their backpacks.¹⁹

¹⁹ John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe, From the French Revolution to the Present, Volume Two*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 544.

CHAPTER 3

EUROPE and the ERA of ALLIANCES (1815- 1853)

The French Revolution of 1789 shaped European politics and also the Ottoman Empire. This impression continued also in the 19th and 20th centuries. After the nationalist movements, European powers tried to ensure “peace”. In order to obtain a peaceful environment, European powers gathered and made important decisions about Europe in the lights of “balance of power” in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Europe was the most significant and dynamic continent of the 19th century, and the dominant principle of the 19th century Europe was the “balance of power”. This balance of power between Europe’s Great Powers enabled all states to survive in peace together for nearly half of a century.²⁰

The 19th century European History started with alliances and agreements firstly because of the fear of Napoleon and then nationalist movements all over Europe. First of the agreements was Treaty of Chaumont on March 1814 signed by four European powers in order to unify against France: Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. The motives of these states were defeating Napoleon and after this, protecting European map by being in the alliance for 20 years²¹; and to Rene Albrecht Carrie, Treaty of Chaumont had reasserted the ties of the coalition.²²

The Treaty of Chaumont was followed by the Treaty of Paris on May 1814, which gave birth to the idea of holding the Congress of Vienna. The reason why the

²⁰ Hüner Tuncer, *19.Yüzyılda Osmanlı – Avrupa İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 11.

²¹ Ibid, p. 11.

²² Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper&Brothers, 1958), p. 9.

Treaty of Paris was signed was making peace among France and Sixth Coalition. This was the end of Napoleonic Wars, after Napoleon invaded Russia; European powers came together and made France accept the boundaries of 1792. In a document from the Ottoman Archive, there is a summary of the treaty of Paris. The terms of the Treaty of Paris firstly covered the territories that France abandoned and their future, secondly the lands belonged to Austria and Sardinia, thirdly the territories and future of Netherlands, fourthly the German lands under the authority of France since 1792, furthermore the situation of France, and lastly France's acceptance of this treaty, namely it was important that France had to be careful about the terms.²³ After the Treaty of Paris, the European states decided to make a congress in Vienna for these reasons: Napoleon and France, economic affairs and most importantly, the balance of power and its legitimacy. The Ottoman Empire and its territory were the matters of congress too.

3.1. The Congress of Vienna (1815)

The Congress of Vienna gathered in September 1814 and continued for eight months (September 1814- June 1815). In this congress, there were the major statesmen of European politics: Tsar Alexander I of Russia, Karl August von Hardenberg of Prussia, Klemens von Metternich of Austria, Robert Stewart Viscount Castlereagh and later Arthur Wellesley First Duke of Wellington of Britain and Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord of France. Also there were participants from almost all states in Europe.²⁴

²³ BOA, HAT 962/41206, Date: 27/N/1229 (September 12, 1814)

²⁴ Robin W. Winks and Joan Neuberger, *Europe and the Making of Modernity (1815-1914)*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 14.

According to Fahir Armaoğlu, all of the states were planning to have some benefits and profits for themselves in the congress. There were two purposes of Britain in the congress: First one was holding of the colonies which she seized from France and Holland during wars and second one was protecting the balance of power in Europe. Britain did not want Russia and Austria to become powerful, so she was advocate for Prussia's power in order to use Prussia against Russia when necessary. Moreover, Britain needed to support France against Austria so did not want France to be suppressed much. Also, in order to prevent France to have English Channel coasts, Britain preferred a powerful state to be established there by unifying Holland and Belgium. Next, Austria wanted to prevent Russia and Prussia from expansion since the former had eyes on Poland and the latter had on Saxony. Austria was not pleased with this situation; she especially hesitated about Prussia as she would take the leadership of Germany. Therefore for Austria, if Prussia was going to expand the lands, she would do this not in Saxony but in Rhine. For this reason, Prussia and France would have been in conflict of interest. Also, in order to make pressure on France, Austria demanded to have the control of Northern Italy. Russia wanted to settle in Poland and later turn her face to the Ottoman Empire. Prussia aimed to expand in both Saxony and Rhine. Because this situation would have taken her in a conflict with Austria, Prussia planned to be together with Russia in the congress. These were the ideas of four great powers when they came to the congress. It is obvious that these ideas were colliding with each other. So, four great powers tried to make the decisions together in order to control each other. They did not wish to include small states and defeated France in the business. Talleyrand's situation was very difficult in the congress, because he was representing a defeated state. For this reason, he planned France to get out of this problem with the least loss. Thus, he came up with the principle of "legitimacy". According to this principle, the emperors before Napoleonic wars should have been sent to their thrones and lands. This principle of Talleyrand was favored. Old small states and kingdoms of Europe came together with Talleyrand and he had great prestige and support in the congress. Another event strengthened

Talleyrand's situation. In November 1814, Russia invaded Warsaw and Prussia invaded Saxony. Britain and Austria formed a group opposed to these two states. Talleyrand supported Britain and Austria, the two powers of the congress. As a result of this, Britain, Austria and France signed a treaty against Russia and Prussia in January 8, 1815. As this policy of Talleyrand brought esteem and strength to him in the congress, making alliance of a defeated France to Britain and Austria which were two triumphant of the war disrupted the alliance of four powers against France. Namely, Talleyrand destroyed "the Quadruple Alliance" which was against France.²⁵

The Congress of Vienna actually regulated the 19th century diplomacy. These policies were adopted by the states, European states decided to "protect" the order and balance of power in Europe. According to Albrecht- Carrie "Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, the four greater powers, intended to make the decisions; France soon joined them, and the five Great Powers dominated the Congress whose business was mainly done by them, in private meetings rather than in plenary sessions".²⁶

According to Oral Sander, all European states and even the representatives of old states which were ended with Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon joined to the Congress of Vienna with the hope of becoming independent units. However, four great powers –Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia- were sovereign states and they took the important decisions. All the delegates shared the same opinion about "protecting European liberty", namely any of the European powers should not be dominant in the whole system. "Universal Monarchy" which Napoleon gave the title for the system he desired to establish in all over Europe was going to be

²⁵ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 127-129.

²⁶ Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper& Brothers, 1958), p. 12.

prevented with the precautions as land arrangements, restricting soldier numbers in some states.²⁷

The Final Act was prepared in hurry, because Napoleon gathered an army and was moving to North from the Elba Island. So, all the statesmen wanted to have the decisions while Napoleon was preparing French people for a war.

The decisions taken at the Congress of Vienna were as follows. When the affairs of borders are taken into consideration it could be seen that as the most difficult problem to be solved was contending Russia and Prussia; Britain had her desired territories and tied them to her. Austria, Germany and Italy also took their lost territories back and invaded the territories which were thought to be given them as compensation. Tsar Alexander wanted to establish a Poland kingdom by unifying Warsaw Duchy with old Poland territories and connect it to Russia, because the lands which Russia wanted belong to Prussia until 1806. Thus, Russia and Prussia should have been contented in the same way, and this affair caused for difficult Germanic problems. Prussia was planning to have Kingdom of Saxony as compensation and in November 1814, she took the control of administration of Saxony. Both the plans of Russia in Poland and of Prussia in Saxony were confronting the resistances by the other countries. After Prussia took the side of Russia; and Britain of Austria and France, Saxony problem became more complicated. As the Tsar accepted the two Polish cities namely Poznan and Krakow to become neutral and independent, Polish problem was seem to be ignored. As opposed to this, Saxony problem flamed up harshly that people worried about a war between Prussia, Russia; and France, Britain and Austria, namely Talleyrand advocates. By the devotions of two sides, the problem eventually was solved. Saxony was divided into two and the south was left to Saxony. The north part joined to Prussia.²⁸ The French reaction to these situations could be seen in a document from the Ottoman archive. According to Yanko, who

²⁷ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 179.

²⁸ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), pp. 46-47.

was the hospodar of Wallachia, the delegates convened in Vienna in September 17, 1815. Talleyrand did not want to be out of the decisions; he demanded to be arbiter, because these decisions taken were about Europe. Moreover, he was opposed to the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland and the abandonment of Saxony to Prussia.²⁹

The reason for this article could be the fear of Russia. To Prussia, because she abandoned half of Saxony, three cities near Rhine were also given. Other small Germanic states stayed in the same size as in Napoleon's time. From the states, which were removed while Rhine Union was establishing, only Hannover, Hessen-Kassel, Oldenburg, Braunschweig were founded again. Westphalia, Berg, Wurzburg, Frankfurt and other Rhine Union member principalities were shared. Frankfurt- Main, Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck were accepted as independent cities. In order to prevent the border disagreements between German rulers, a land commission was founded in Frankfurt- Main. Austria succeeded to have great acquisitions with the Congress of Vienna, and Italy reestablished her sovereignty and became ruling in South Germany with the territories of Bavaria. Although Austria left the long distance places as Belgium and Breisgau, she became powerful by taking Illyria, Venice, Mantua and all of Lombardia. As Austrian princes and princesses were appointed to Toscana, Modena and Parma, Austria's situation in Italy got stronger. With the efforts of Talleyrand, Naples was given back to the old Bourbon princes. Papacy was reestablished, but all the rights of church were not given and so, Papa did not approve and sign decisions of the congress. Moreover, Spain got irritated at giving of old Spanish Italian lands before Napoleon to Austria and did not sign these decisions, either. In north Belgium and in Holland- Luxembourg a united Holland Kingdom and Sardinia- Piedmont and Genoa were added, too. Switzerland was reestablished and Neuchatel joined as a new canton. The news of Napoleon's leaving from Elba came to Vienna in March 5, 1815. This news caused everyone a panic, but they decided to continue the meetings and Napoleon's old minister of foreign affairs,

²⁹ BOA, HAT 956/41022, Date: 01/Ra/1229 (March 23, 1815).

Talleyrand, did his best to make an upheaval in Europe against Napoleon and he became successful. Russia, Britain and Prussia signed a new peace treaty (March 25). Other states also joined to this agreement. Only Switzerland observed this passively. Spain was angry with the states for not having attention, so started a war against France. In relation to the turmoil of the situation, congress affairs were expedited and a new German law which was discussed since October 1814 was resulted. Although German patriots wanted German Empire to be revived and a new unified state composed of the German states, Austria opposed to reviving of German Empire by not accepting the crown of emperors. Eventually, according to the new constitution (Bundesakte) which was signed in June 8, 1815, Germany became a state union (Confederation) with 35 independent states and 4 independent cities. This foundation was named as German Union (Der Deutsche Bund) and its highest agency was Union Assembly (Bundestag) which was going to meet in Frankfurt- Main. Ambassadors of union states were going to join this assembly and Austrian ambassador was going to be the chair. From the soldiers of member states, a union army was going to be established. Non-German lands of Prussia and Austria were not included in the union. However, British king as the sovereign of Hannover; Holland of Luxembourg; Denmark of Holstein as well as the Lauenburg Duke became the members of the union. In German constitution national-international affairs were mixed to each other and the situation of Germany was decided in an international congress. The decisions about rearranging the European map in the Congress of Vienna were generally haphazard; nationality, culture, and religion, etc. were not taken into consideration and the borders were drawn, Italian lands were given to Austria, Polish lands to Prussia and Russia, Norway to Sweden. Catholic Polish people became nation in Orthodox Russia; the borders were not drawn according to the nationalism and language, but to the benefits of kings. Nonetheless, the decisions taken in the Congress of Vienna had great importance for developing of international law. Although this was not a congress decision but a new European balance system consisted of five great powers, Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia was

established in this congress. Also, rules for arranging the traffic in international rivers were decided, slave trade was forbidden as a principle, protocol affairs of the ambassadors were arranged in the congress. With the treaties, Switzerland was accepted as neutral, Greek islands (Seven Islands) were given in the protection of Britain.³⁰ According to Winks and Neuberger, the two results of the congress were the Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance.³¹

As explained before, Napoleon was moving across the north for taking revenge and his crown. He rescued from the island of Elba with soldiers and came to France. It is known that French people were happy to see him in France.

Although Napoleon declared that he would retain France within the borders of 1792, he could not prevent the European powers from coming together against him and Austria, Russia, Prussia and Britain proclaimed that they did not accept Napoleon's plans. When Napoleon saw his attempts were not producing results and the states were getting prepared to a war, he started to preparations against Seventh Coalition of Europe. Napoleon's first move was sending his troops to Belgium in June 14, 1815. The soldiers of allied powers and of Napoleon confronted in Waterloo (Luxembourg) in June 18, 1815. At the head of allied powers, there was Wellington. In the most critical time of the war, Prussian General Bluecher came to help Duke of Wellington and then Napoleon's army was defeated.³² After Napoleon turned back and the coalition was established again, diplomatic efforts and achievements of Talleyrand went for nothing.³³ After the Battle of Waterloo, Napoleon was sent to the island of Saint-Helene. European powers decided France to have borders of the year 1790. From this time on, European powers were going to make alliances. Before explaining these alliances,

³⁰ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), pp. 47-49.

³¹ Robin W. Winks and Joan Neuberger, *Europe and the Making of Modernity (1815-1914)*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 17.

³² Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 134-135.

³³ F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814- 1914*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 31.

it is important to look at the place and significance of the Congress of Vienna for the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire was one of the states which made war against France because of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. So, the empire should have joined the Congress of Vienna which was a peace meeting. For this reason, when a peace congress was decided to be made in Vienna, Austrian Prime Minister Metternich invited the Ottoman Empire to this congress. The Ottoman Empire answered negatively. So, Metternich repeated his invitation and declared that the empire should have joined the congress, if not; the empire should have wanted her territorial integrity, because Austria was nervous about Russia's expansion efforts in Balkans. Britain was also worried about Russia's expansion in Black Sea and going down to Mediterranean Sea from the straits. So, international conditions were seemed as available for the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Despite these, the Ottoman Empire avoided to join the congress. There were some reasons why the empire did not join the congress. First, the Ottoman Empire did not see this territorial integrity guarantee by European states as suitable for the independence of the empire. The empire regarded this guarantee assured under protection of the European powers. Second, with the 8th article of Treaty of Bucharest of 1812, the Ottoman Empire was going to give privileges to non-Muslim Ottoman subjects in Mediterranean islands and other places, but what did these privileges included was not clarified. So, the Ottoman statesmen worried if the empire joined to the congress and had a disagreement with Serbians, Russia could have came up with subject privileges and extorted rights, because Serbians had sent a committee to congress and had wanted the congress should have acted for their favor. Third, the Ottoman Empire hesitated that Russia, the head of victorious states, could have brought the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia issue which was a continuous problem between the empire and Russia to the congress again. Last, As the Ottoman Empire was anxious, Russia tried to have the attention of congress members to the situation of Christian people living under the authority of the Ottoman Empire. Russians mentioned the Ottoman Empire as

Eastern Question now. Afterwards, this expression was used in European diplomacy abundantly. Eastern Question generally was used for the protection of Ottoman lands in the first half of the 19th century; for sharing lands of Turks in Europe in the second half of the 19th century; and for dividing all the lands of the empire up in the 20th century. Although the Ottoman Empire did not participate in the Congress of Vienna, Britain and Austria suggested that lands of the empire should have been taken under the protection of Europe. Russia was not glad for this idea. So, she suggested that Spanish colonies in South America should have been under guarantee, too. This idea did not suit Britain's purpose. In this period, independence actions started in South America and Britain greeted these with sympathy, because with the states which were going to separate from Spain, Britain could have made commercial activities and taken them under economic control.³⁴

As mentioned before, the Congress of Vienna ended up with the Battle of Waterloo and the Ottoman Empire did not join the congress. Largely in deference to Tsar Alexander's wishes, Ottoman affairs were left outside the purview of the congress.³⁵ Also, it is known that the congress prepared the peace and settlements for Europe until 1914, the First World War.

After the Congress of Vienna and the Battle of Waterloo, European states constituted new alliances between themselves, but the members changed from time to time. These alliances were made in order to protect the order in Europe and were the seeds for Concert of Europe. Moreover, a new term, "Eastern Question" came up.

Meantime the Ottoman statesmen were busy with the local notables in Balkans and Egypt, but it could not be said that central state did constitute the authority by qualified officers and commanders. Eventually the turning point of the empire

³⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 158-160.

³⁵ Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), p. 15.

came. Nationalist movements were following one another and they started to reach for the purpose. This is a strange point in the history. A modern Ottoman state was going to be disintegrated because of nationalist movements in the same time when Restoration Europe digested nationalism. While Metternich rejected the demands of Greek nationalists and warned Tsar about Balkans, he was concerned about his own situation, too. In an environment that Greeks, Serbians, and Montenegrins had their independence, how it would be possible to keep more developed nations like Magyars, Polish, and Czechs calm? The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was going to prepare the destruction of old Europe. Although Austria's Prime Minister was seeing this ending, he did not have the possibility to prevent this. In the end of 18th century and beginnings of the 19th century, Europe which was shattered by French Revolution and Napoleon invasion, was busy with its own crisis. Conservative Europe became calm with the Congress of Vienna. Holy League which was composed by Austria, Russia and Prussia became successful at suppressing the nationalist and liberalist movements.³⁶

3.2. Alliances and Concert of Europe after The Congress of Vienna

3.2.1. The Holy Alliance

The architect of Holy Alliance was Tsar Alexander I of Russia. The other members of the alliance were Austria and Prussia. Tsar Alexander believed that Russia had the task for protecting Christianity and saving Christianity from

³⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: TimaşYayınları, 2013), p. 55-56.

Turkish chain.³⁷ Moreover, after Napoleon was defeated, he thought that he won the war against Napoleon and played the role of leader of Europe. Because of the mysticism of his character, as he was religious, he decided to protect and continue the European system according to the religious principles and he became successful to make the Austrian and Prussian rulers to sign a treaty on September 26, 1815.³⁸ However, according to an official document from Ottoman Archive, after the three terms are explained: brotherhood, help to needy, and holiness. It is written that the Holy Alliance was signed on September 14, 1815.³⁹ Although the history books assert that the date of sign is September 26, 1815, this document states that the date was twelve days ago. According to Schroeder, making a treaty over Christian Gospel, European alliance was going to become a fraternal union between rulers and people. The Holy Alliance was Tsar's attempt to have hegemony over Europe and his ego.⁴⁰

The Holy Alliance was made as a step in order to protect the system and order after the Congress of Vienna. These purposes were going to be done under the title of religion. As a matter of fact, Russia thought that they were the protectors of Orthodox Christians, so Catholic Austria and Protestant Prussia as the leadings of their states joined to this alliance. Britain did not sign this, Castlereagh saw this alliance unnecessary. Metternich also did not appreciate the Holy Alliance constituted by Russia, Prussia and Austria from the heart. In his memoirs Metternich stated that Austria and Prussia signed this document for pleasing the tsar. Generally people saw the Holy Alliance as a tool which was going to let the despotic monarchs to interfere in the internal affairs of small states. Holy Alliance which was referring to "Union of Christians", was resting on an assumption that

³⁷ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyılın Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p. 163 in A. Debiour, *L'Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe: La Sainte Alliance*, Tome: 1, p. 100.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 163.

³⁹ BOA, HAT 1285/49841, Date: 17/R/1231 (March 17, 1816).

⁴⁰ Paul. W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics 1763- 1848*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 558.

legitimate and monarchic governments were the heads and there is a community of states applying same kind of policies and as opposed to that Quadruple Alliance which took the balance of power principle as basis, because of the fact of incessant competition and depression among the states, aimed to establish balance of power between different governments of states and make the necessary changes in this balance by periodic congresses between great powers.⁴¹

According to Bridge and Bullen, Holy Alliance was “hardly a practical diplomatic instrument at all”. The mixture of doctrines from Enlightenment and of his deep Christianity shaped this alliance. Moreover, other great powers were contended that Tsar prepared this alliance, because they preferred these policies of him instead of “projects of expansion” of Russia.⁴²

3.2.2. The Quadruple Alliance

The system of congress which Metternich saw it as a tool to provide peace and balance in future emerged with the establishment of the Quadruple Alliance. The day when the Second Paris Treaty was signed (November 20, 1815) four allied powers signed another treaty which set up the Quadruple Alliance. Four states who signed this alliance promised to protect the regulations accepted in Chaumont, Paris and Vienna for twenty years by using power. Therefore, “Concert of Europe” was created, too; because four states accepted to make periodical meetings in order to take necessary measures for protecting peace in

⁴¹ Hüner Tuncer, *Metternich'in Osmanlı Politikası (1815-1848)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2013), p. 59.

⁴² F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814- 1914*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 38.

Europe and to consult each other about concerning common benefits. Also, in the time between First and Second Paris Treaties, after Napoleon escaped from his exile, all Europe defeated him again, and this showed that revolutionary powers could have been limited by international collaboration.⁴³

As Britain joined to the allied powers, the name of group is “the Quadruple Alliance”. There are important points for the membership of Britain in the Quadruple Alliance. Britain Minister of Foreign Affairs Castlereagh (1812-1822) explained that Britain was going to join the alliance in order to protect border regulations and to prevent Bonaparte from ascending to the throne of France.⁴⁴ Britain would not intervene in the internal affairs of the other states and interfere in France to support Louis XVIII. This difference of principle constituted the conflict between Britain and the allied powers and caused Britain to separate from “The System of Congress”.⁴⁵

The Quadruple Alliance, according to Fahir Armaoğlu, was signed against France. However, Austrian Prime Minister Metternich was going to use this treaty in order to suppress all liberal movements in Europe for more than thirty years. The Quadruple Alliance did not only consider about France, but also intended to protect peace in Europe. Metternich who stood on this purpose of the alliance tried to use it to protect absolute monarchical regimes for years. Consequently, because of Metternich, Quadruple Alliance had an important place in 19th century political history with the title of “Metternich System” or “Intervention System”, because after this, when an independency and democracy movement came up in all over Europe, Quadruple Alliance would have interfered in to interrupt. For this reason, Metternich System and Despotism would have been meant the same thing

⁴³ Ibid, p. 58.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 58.

⁴⁵ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009), p. 20.

after this alliance. However, Holy Alliance was forgotten soon in the shade of Metternich System.⁴⁶

3.2.3. Concert of Europe and Congresses

Concert of Europe idea came up after the Quadruple Alliance, the basis of the idea decided within this alliance. According to H ner Tuncer, the purpose of defeating Napoleon in short term by Great Powers transformed into the purpose of preventing the continent to be ruled under one power in the long term. The aim of allied powers was providing the compatibility between the actions of these states with protecting division of Europe to dynasty states and solving of conflicts between the greatest powers of the continent. So, from this idea, “Congress System” emerged and this system formed the idea of “Concert of Europe”. Since the Congress of Westphalia after the Thirty Years War in 1648, this institution which represented all European states in order to discuss the common problems of the states was constituted.⁴⁷ However, according to Merriman, the beginning of the Concert of Europe was the Congress of Vienna in 1815. After defeating Napoleon, European powers planned that an international mechanism as the concert could prevent Europe from revolutions and the peace could be reestablished in Europe.⁴⁸

After the Battle of Waterloo, the defeat of Napoleon, all the statesmen in Europe were in the idea of protecting peace. The Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance were the steps of this concert. With the leading of Metternich (as this

⁴⁶ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yy Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), pp. 165-166.

⁴⁷ H ner Tuncer, *19.Y zyılda Osmanlı – Avrupa İlişkileri*, (Ankara:  mit Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 13.

⁴⁸ John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe, From the French Revolution to the Present, Volume Two*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 587.

system is also called Metternich System), congress system namely Concert of Europe was established. Fear of France did not come to an end, allied states agreed to take action together in case France would have taken a serious action against any of the allies. The Concert of Europe protected peace between the Congress of Vienna and Crimean War. The concert was not a one-time-incident, rather it continued for years with other different treaties and congresses. Great powers, in order to maintain peace and territorial status quo, applied conference (congress) diplomacy. Between the years, 1822 and 1913, there had been 26 conferences that the great powers joined.⁴⁹

Concert of Europe, namely Congress System did not only include European purposes but also affairs and aims of Europeans on the Ottoman Empire. According to Elrod, “The Ottoman Empire was necessary to the European system simply because its demise would raise problems so dangerous that general European war and upheaval could not be avoided. European cabinets thus relied upon concert diplomacy to sustain the Turkish Sultan- to replace unilateral pretensions by a European guardianship, to avoid as long as possible the inevitable scramble over the spoils, and to insure that no one power acquired exclusive preponderance in an area affecting the interests of all.”⁵⁰

According to Eric Hobsbawm, the system of Europe after Napoleon Wars was not more fair and ethical than other systems, but as it is clear that the people who organized this system had totally anti-liberal and anti- national (anti-revolutionist) purposes, it could not be said that this situation was not realistic and comprehensible. They did not get benefit from the victory over France: a new Jacobinism should not have been stimulated. The borders of defeated country was left as it was in 1789, the compensation of war was not too much, invasion of

⁴⁹ F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814- 1914*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 4.

⁵⁰ Richard B. Elrod, “The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System”, *World Politics*, Vol. 28, No: 2, (Jan., 1976), pp. 159- 174, retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2009888 accessed in: 07/06/2014.

foreign soldiers did not continue long and in 1818 France was accepted to Concert of Europe.⁵¹

The first congress of the Concert of Europe was Congress of Aix- La- Chapelle (September 20, 1818). The participants were Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia. The problem to be solved of this congress was the situation of France. In these times, France wanted Tsar to end the invasion of France, and Duke of Wellington stated that withdrawing of armies from France did not constitute danger for peace. In order to solve the problem of evacuation of France, allied powers decided to make a congress in Aachen.⁵²

One of the results of the congress was that the occupation armies were withdrawn from France and compensation of France was wanted. The reason of allied powers for accepting the wishes of France was again the fear of France. In these times, French people were not happy because liberals had won the elections. Also, in October 9, 1818 Treaty of Aix- La- Chapelle was signed between France and the four great powers. With this treaty it could be said that Napoleonic wars came to an end, because France was accepted to the (Quadruple Alliance) Concert of Europe as a member for the first time.

According to Fahir Armaoğlu, the decision of withdrawal of armies from France was given quickly. However, other issues caused the congress to continue more. At the head of these issues was the wish of France to join the Quadruple Alliance. This matter caused a disagreement between the members of the alliance. This disagreement was the first shake of the Quadruple Alliance. Britain was opposed to the participation of France to this alliance. Austria and Prussia were sharing the same opinion. However, Russia supported the wish of France. In those times, their relationships were straight. Russia even wanted to make an alliance with France.

⁵¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *Devrim Çağı 1789-1848*, trans. Bahadır Sina Şener, (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2013), p. 114.

⁵² David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 135.

Britain did not like the relationship between Russia and France.⁵³ On the other hand, after the European war, Russia wanted to turn her face to the Ottoman Empire, namely Balkans and in the meantime, started to provoke Greeks.⁵⁴ This policy of Russia was confronted with anxiety by Britain and Austria. Austria especially did not like the provocation of Slavs in Balkans by Russia. Now Austria had given up the idea of fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire because of Russia's Balkan policy. There were Slavs in her own borders. So, in the first congress, the Quadruple Alliance was in the situation of conflict.⁵⁵

With a protocol signed on November 1 among four states, the continuation of the Quadruple Alliance was stated and if France had an internal conflict, the four powers would have taken an action together. Allied powers promised to withdraw from the lands of France.

In the first part of another protocol, signed on November 15, 1815, four great powers except France guaranteed to continue the union and solidarity of the Quadruple Alliance. The second part was the Quintuple Alliance. With this protocol, France joined to the Quadruple Alliance and promised to make collaboration for protecting peace in Europe with them. So, Quadruple Alliance became the Quintuple Alliance. According to Thomson, the first part was to guard themselves against France.⁵⁶ In the Congress of Aix- La- Chapelle, the participation of France to the allied powers created objection and contradiction among the other delegates. Especially Russia and Prussia did not accept this participant.⁵⁷ The other states did not trust France, because they took steps for the

⁵³ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yy Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p. 167 in Debiour, *La Sainte Alliance*, p. 167.

⁵⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yy Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p. 168 in Debiour, *La Sainte Alliance*, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 168.

⁵⁶ David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 135.

⁵⁷ BOA, HAT 954/40957 C, Date: 5/S/1234 (December 4, 1818).

development of peace and continuation of European concert. However, as mentioned above, they accepted France eventually.

The striking feature of the balance of power after Napoleonic Wars was the inclusion of France which did not split up, not divided, not paid any war compensation and had the statue before the war to this balance. Great European powers wanted to get benefit from France instead of eliminating her in order to use this power for balancing the power of Russia and the other states. The states which defeated France chose to have France in league of nations again instead of punishing or insulting, and made France believe in that France being a supportive member of international system after war would serve it for the profit.⁵⁸

Congress of Aix-La- Chapelle was a significant international congress because it was not an end of a war and it was gathered for solving the European issues in peace time. Moreover, it was the introduction of managing Europe from one hand in a perspective of alliance. At the same time, it was seen in the congress that aforementioned features were too difficult to happen and there were differences of opinions between the allied powers.⁵⁹ With the Congress of Aix- La- Chapelle, the states agreed not to make decisions themselves, they promised to protect the peace in Europe, and they sent this agreement to other European states.⁶⁰

After the Congress of Aix-La-Chapelle, Europe entered the Congress System or as this congresses and treaties called as “the Concert of Europe”.

European Map after Congress of Vienna was a map that emerged by fear. This fear was the fear of French Revolution and the ideas came up after the French Revolution, according to Toktamış Ateş, the Congress of Vienna wanted both to turn back and made the Europe turn back. Namely, the congress wanted to make

⁵⁸ Hüner Tuncer, *Doğu Sorunu ve Büyük Güçler (1853-1878)*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2003),p. 12.

⁵⁹ Rıfat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789-2012)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2013), p. 133.

⁶⁰ BOA, HAT 1196/ 46973 D, Date: 4/M/1234 (November 3, 1818).

the impossible. A lot of regions that had their hopes on the Congress of Vienna disappointed after the decisions were taken.⁶¹

As Europe was in the concert, the impressions or influences of French Revolution did not come to an end. After Napoleonic Wars, Europe was still in the effect of the French Revolution. Nationalist movements were about to start. Moreover, some states were not contended with the decisions of Vienna Settlement. One of them was Germany. The disintegration of Germany continued, so this caused German people to be discontent, they wanted a federal state with all the Germans. The disintegration of Germany was the decision of Metternich; he did not want a unified Germany. So, Germany was fighting with absolute monarchy (despotism) with secret or open corporations.

Metternich was not happy with what was going on in Germany, the corporations and liberal voices of Germany made him nervous, as he was tried to protect Europe from rebellions, movements. Universities became centers for these corporations. University students established a union, *Burschenschaft*, in order to collaborate together for German nationalism.⁶² Metternich closed four universities and these cautions made people thrilled. For example a university student killed the agent of Tsar (Kotzebue) in Germany and when some killing attempts followed this event, Metternich held a congress in Carlsbad (Baden) in August 6, 1819.⁶³ The Congress of Carlsbad was gathered with the German representatives. In the congress, following decisions were taken: German universities were going to be under control and the newspapers were going to be censored.⁶⁴ Also, some corporations were going to be closed.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Toktamış Ateş, *Siyasal Tarih*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 201-202.

⁶² Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper& Brothers, 1958), p. 25.

⁶³ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), p. 63.

⁶⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yy Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p. 167 in Debiour, *La Sainte Alliance*, p. 172.

The movements were not affecting only Germany; Italy also had problems after French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars and Settlement of Vienna. People were not pleased with despotism in Italy. Moreover, they were worried about the situation of Northern Italy which was under the authority of Austrians. Italians rebelled in the Kingdom of the two Sicilies. Two Sicilian kings (King of Naples and King of Sicily) had to accept the new constitution.

In aftermath of these events, Metternich started to work on them politically and militarily. He sent soldiers to Italian borders and called allied powers for a convention. The congress which Austrian and Russian emperors, Prussian heir and French and British representatives joined opened in Troppau (now Opava) on October 20, 1820. Before this congress was gathered, Russian emperor was going to invite the Austrian emperor in order to talk about the Spanish revolutions and disorder, he wrote a letter and sent to Austria. However, before the letter went to Austria, the two Sicilies situation emerged and Prussian king also was invited to the congress.⁶⁶ So, the congress was the common demand of the emperors. In this congress, Metternich won a victory: after he succeeded to generalize the decisions taken in Carlsbad Congress, he made the representatives accept the decision of intervention with armed forces by Great Powers wherever the rebellion showed up. Moreover, allied powers stated that they were not going to accept the changes in states done with illegal ways. In an official document it could be seen that after the emperors, the king and other delegates came and discussed the problems, Britain did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.⁶⁷ After this, the kings of two Sicilies were called to the congress about the administration problem and this time congress was convened in Laibach (now Ljubljana) on January 1821. In this congress, it was stated that the situation at Sicilia threatened peace

⁶⁵ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), p. 63.

⁶⁶ BOA, HAT 739/ 35023, Date: 09/Z/1235 (September 17, 1820).

⁶⁷ BOA, HAT 1281/ 49647, Date: 29/Z/1236 (September 27, 1821).

and the neighbors and Austria was employed to establish the old situation again.⁶⁸ It is learned that from a document from the Ottoman Archive, Austrian soldiers came to Naples and when they saw the number of soldiers in Naples, the allied powers gathered soldiers from Magyar and Austrian lands, and they invaded Naples.⁶⁹

With these decisions, we can see the Austrian effect on Italy and Metternich effect on European politics, Concert of Europe, balance of power in Europe.

As a consequence, in all Italy, Austrian dominance was reaffirmed, but another significant issue had been raised at Troppau and Laibach, according to Rene Albrecht- Carrie, that of the merits and legitimacy of the intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another.⁷⁰

The reactions for Vienna did not come to an end. While the leaders were busy with Germany and Italy; Spain was also agitated by liberal movements. The people were not happy with the constitution, liberals wanted new things from the king. When the king (Ferdinand VII) could not stand to them, he wanted help from the Great Powers. So, for solving this reason, the Quintuple Alliance gathered in Verona on October 20, 1822. (Congress of Verona).⁷¹ France was assigned to stop the liberal movements in Spain, because it was easier for France to go to Spain with soldiers and France wanted the allies to entrust again after all the events. France went to Spain and the rebellions ended, because the rebels ran away. In the Congress of Verona, the states promised to solve the problem easily and friendly.⁷²

⁶⁸ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), p. 63.

⁶⁹ BOA, HAT 1281/ 49668, Date: 29/Z/1236 (September 27, 1821).

⁷⁰ Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper& Brothers, 1958), p. 26.

⁷¹ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yy Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p: 167 in Debiour, *La Sainte Alliance*, p. 175.

⁷² BOA, HAT 957/ 41041, Date: 29/Z/1238 (September 6, 1823).

After all these rebellions, alliances and treaties, it could be seen that the system of Metternich, namely the Congress System worked until these years. Nations which were affected from French Revolution showed their discontent and wanted to change the system, but with the Congress System, five Great Powers suppressed these movements. They prevented such activities. This worked for now, but the anger of people did not come to an end. Europe was going to be agitated by new rebellions, revolutions. One thing is also important here to mention: As the Congress System repressed liberalist movements in Europe namely the European powers were successful with this situation, but they failed one time. This event happened in South America. When Ferdinand had the absolute control in Spain because of Verona Congress, he wanted to hold his colonies in South America under control with the help of Great Powers again. France again put herself forward, as they wanted to gain more reliance over the other powers. Moreover, these Spanish colonies were opportunity for economic and trade activities. This reason was maybe more important for France.

While France was planning these actions, Britain and America rejected to this idea. Britain was always against for intervention of the internal affairs of states. In this situation, there was another reason for Britain in order to reject the intervention of allied powers especially France in South America. Britain had a vast trade relation with these colonies, and if these colonies would have become independent, Britain could have made trade activities more easily and more comfortable. If these colonies would have come under the authority of Spain or any other powers, commercial activities of Britain could have been damaged from this.⁷³ So, for Britain the independence of these colonies was better. This was one of the reasons of France-Britain disagreement. Moreover, the commercial and economic reasons of America for rejection of intervention by Europeans were the same. America also did not want Europeans in solving the colony problems. America wanted to prevent Europeans to intervene in their continent.

⁷³ Fahir Armaoğlu, *Siyasi Tarih Dersleri 1789-1919*, (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1961), pp. 98-99.

Although America was in war with Britain at this time, they shared similar ideas together about the Spanish colonies. Moreover, America had the fear that Russia could have come to America for helping, but they could have had any other plans. As Alaska was the land of Russia, Russia could easily have intervened in the politics of America. Idea of America for not intervening in South America was the cause of how the Monroe Doctrine came up.

In April 1822, American government announced its plan of recognizing the South American states.⁷⁴ This idea was consequence of the Congress of Verona, because there was a plan that Europeans made that they could have gone to suppress the rebellion of South Americans. Therefore, President Monroe sent a message to the Congress of Verona on December 2, 1823: the Monroe Doctrine. With Monroe Doctrine, “any European intervention in the Americas would be regarded as an unfriendly act.”⁷⁵

As a consequence of the Monroe Doctrine, the Spanish colonies in South America became independent. America totally forbade Europeans from the America Continent, this was a mutual understanding, as Europeans did not intervene in America, and America also did not intervene in the politics of Europeans. Until First World War, this situation continued. In First World War, America entered to the war because of economical reasons against Germany. So, with Monroe Doctrine, America drew from European politics, and looked at her own plans, because America was a new state which was just developing economically, politically and socially.

As aforementioned before, the Quintuple Alliance, namely allied Great Powers of Europe were trying and succeeding in suppressing rebellions in Europe. These were liberal movements, as all the five states accepted the Congress System; they acted together against for these movements in all Europe. This act only became

⁷⁴ Rene Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna*, (New York: Harper& Brothers, 1958), p. 30.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 30.

unsuccessful in South America; the Spanish colonies became independent without intervention of allied powers. As Great Powers are counted successful in Europe, the liberalist movements did not come to an end. Europe was going to live difficult years, shattered by liberal rebellions.

The impact of French Revolution was still continuing. Nations living under other states wanted to gain their independence, establish their new states. The wind of liberalism was blowing all around Europe and the world. As Europe, the Ottoman Empire was also shattered by liberal movements by Serbians and Greeks, too.

3.3. The Liberal Revolutions in Europe in 1830 and 1848

The reasons and results of the liberal revolutions in Europe in 1830 and 1848 are indispensable to understand the effects of nationalism and liberalism over Europe. After the Congress of Vienna, there were some significant changes in Europe. Industrial Revolution, nationalism, liberalism, absolute monarchy system, congress system, rebellions for independence were in conflict in Europe. Europe seemed like in peace but actually it was not. Liberal reaction, started to strengthen against authority (absolute monarchy) since 1820s, suddenly agitated all over Europe in 1830. This reaction which was against for Holy Alliance and the system it represented was a resistance that Europe was not used to. [...] In this new situation, the states did not confront against monarchies, but European people who got up with revolutionary ideas did.⁷⁶

The reasons of 1830 Revolutions in Europe could be classified as follows: Politically, the origin of Liberalism idea for this century was coming from French Revolution. People from all over Europe wanted to have their independence.

⁷⁶ Rıfat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789-2012)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2013), p. 134.

Their example was French people. Also, with the influence of Enlightenment, the ideas were widespread; people read and wished to react against absolute monarchies. They wanted Republicanism, extended rights, extended constitution. Economically, after French Revolution in France and after Napoleonic Wars in the states which were in war with France, there became economical namely monetary shortage and people were discontent about this. After a while, people thought that the reason why they could not develop their works was the policy of their monarchies. Here, Republicanism became significant, because liberalism (republicanism) in politics could have made their economy liberal, too. Moreover, Industrial Revolution should not be forgotten, because of this revolution, people needed new markets and raw materials, so it was their right to want liberalism in economy. Religiously, people in Europe thought that Catholic Church could help them for liberalism in printing press, education. They were uncomfortable with absolute monarchies and their applications, so the church could overcome the monarchs. When looked socially it is seen that nationalism idea arose from French Revolution. One of the reasons of how this idea was developed was railways in Europe. With the communication, people recognized the “citizenship and citizens of their state”. Therefore, “nation”, “citizen”, “citizenship” became key words for strengthening nationalist feelings.

So, it can be seen that people of Europe in the 19th century wanted to announce their voices, because they were uncomfortable with their political, religious, economical characteristics of their states. Of course, these reactions from European people did not go up suddenly, this was a growing discontent since French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, but it exploded in 1830. On July, 1830, Liberalism and Absolute Monarchy confronted in many states like France, Belgium, Poland, Italy, and Germany. The result of 1830 Revolution was the constitutional monarchy (ruled by Louis Philippe) in France and this revolution became example in aforementioned states, too. With the revolution of 1830, noble

privilege came to an end in France in national politics.⁷⁷ From a document dated August 19, 1830, from the Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry, it is learned that in June 10, Paris started to be disordered, the people rebelled to Charles X. The Prime Minister Jules de Polignac killed more than five hundred people. The king and the relatives ran away to Lille. After a while Bourbon Dynasty collapsed and the new king was announced.⁷⁸ This was the July Monarchy: Louis-Philippe became the new king.

As the idea of liberalism affected the European politics, nationalism also was not innocent. Both of the ideologies threatened the state system of Central Europe. Polish nationalists revolted against Russia, Germans and Italians were also preparing for political unification.⁷⁹

At the end of 1830-33 Revolutions, it could be seen that Europe was divided into two political regions with more distinct lines. Conservative powers had victory against liberalism in Germany, Italy, and Poland and the revolutions of these states were suppressed with joint actions of Austria, Prussia and Russia. Liberalism became successful in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, and Britain with the support of Britain and France. Europe, in the east of Rhine, protected the main lines of 1815 economical and political arrangements. Europe, in the west of Rhine, adopted liberal, constitutional, parliamentary regime which was intended to commercial and industrial middle class. This situation continued until 1848 Revolutions.⁸⁰

Economical difficulties, food shortages, unemployment revealed 1848 Revolutions in Europe. These revolutions were the results of conflicts of forces of

⁷⁷ John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe, From the French Revolution to the Present, Volume Two*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 616.

⁷⁸ BOA, HAT 954/ 40947, Date: 29/S/1246 (August 19, 1830).

⁷⁹ John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe, From the French Revolution to the Present, Volume Two*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 622.

⁸⁰ Hüner Tuncer, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Avrupa İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 20.

change and forces of continuation. The movements were nationalist-based in Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. In Sweden, Belgium, Britain and France, the movements were for social and democratical reforms because of incapability of governments. In France, 1848 Revolution consolidated the principles of French Revolution.⁸¹ In the background of the 1848 Revolutions, there was an economic depression. Agricultural depression, financial crisis, unsucccess in business and trade made people to go out to streets in order to announce their voices. According to Norman Rich, these revolutions could be divided into two: Liberal-social (nations were against for their own governments) and national (nations living under foreign rule, and they were against for their foreign rule).⁸²

One of the examples of the second group was Italians. Italians wanted to end the sovereignty of Austria over Italian peninsula. Secret societies like Carbonari and Giuseppe Mazzini's republican movements had actions in everywhere. The purpose of Mazzini was to integrate Italy under one republican rule. Constitutions were recognized in Naples, Piedmont, Toscana, and Rome. So, Italy had a new liberal government period.⁸³

The importance of 1848 Revolutions was the destruction of Metternich system and the end of feudalism in Eastern Europe. Metternich had to resign after the revolution. Liberal and nationalist views and ideas became significant. The effect of liberalism and nationalism could be seen in these revolutions better.

According to Anderson, the governments reasserted themselves and became stronger than their situations in the pre-revolutionary era. The reasons for their power were railways, telegraph, and the new regimes namely the changing intellectual climate.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 189.

⁸² Norman Rich, *Great Power Diplomacy 1814-1914*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1992), p.79.

⁸³ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009), p. 33.

CHAPTER 4

SHIFTING ALLIANCES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS (1856-1878)

Until the end of the eighteenth century, economic activities had been based on agriculture, crafts and trade. Land was the main source of the production and owned by the Church and the nobles, which resulted in the consolidation of power by those two entities. However, this structure was challenged not only by the ideas of liberalism and nationalism, but by the changes in economic system. The new inventions, specifically steam engines, generated machinery industry and contributed to accumulation of capital in Europe, which would be called “The Industrial Revolution”⁸⁵

With the proliferation of the machinery, big factories emerged. Hence, Europe witnessed mobility in its social structure from agricultural workers community to factory manufacturer society. While the signifiers of the former period were hunter-gatherer tribes and huge lands, factories marked the new period. The main source of the factories was coal. It was so vital that the Britain could gain economic superiority over other states as it had the richest coal resources. Consequently, steam and coal, two important components of the Industrial Revolution, gave birth to age of railways, in addition to its other important social

⁸⁴ Matthew Smith Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe 1815-1914*, (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1985), p. 99.

⁸⁵ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 208-209.

and economic outcomes. Developing railways replaced the poor land routes and then accelerated the struggle by boosting the trade.⁸⁶

The population was also increasing, which resulted in the challenge of providing sufficient food for that growing number of people. Advances in chemistry contributed to solution. Artificial fertilizer helped people extract more food from the land. Furthermore, railways; steamship; use of electricity and cooling techniques; opening of tunnels and the Suez Canal brought about coming of extensive amount of food to Europe in cheap and faster ways. Therefore, the problem of feeding a huge population was overcome.⁸⁷

When compared to the 20th century, the 19th century was the period of peace for most of the time. It was, obviously, because of the Concert of Europe. Mainly five states shared the power: France, Prussia/Germany, Austria, Russia and the Britain. Maintenance of the peace and surviving of other small states were dependent on the power balance of those states. Any of those mentioned states had to consider the response of the other ones before acting. Moreover, none of them was strong enough to establish superiority to other states. Therefore, they preferred bargaining instead of fighting.⁸⁸ International trade, which was the source of wealth, must not have been blocked because of any war. There were several more motivations for those states to maintain the peace, but the most important of them was that any tension between those states could be canalized to colonial territories. To illustrate, when France treated Germany as enemy, the Germans supported France for a new colony in Africa. However, by the late nineteenth century, no territory had remained to colonize. Hence, the focus shifted to

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 209-211.

⁸⁷ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 214.

⁸⁸ William Hale, *Türk Dış Politikası 1774-2000*, (translated by Petek Demir), (İstanbul: Mozaik, 2003), p. ix.

Ottoman lands in Balkans, which would become a struggle that caused a catastrophe.⁸⁹

After Germany established its national unity in 1871, balance of power fundamentally changed. When Bismarck declared war to some countries and extended the territories, he did not get the consent of the others. Late 19th century witnessed new searches for power balances. Military and political situation of the states became much more important for the balance. Although industrialization helped the maintenance of the peace in short term; its outcomes were applied for struggle and fight by the Europeans.⁹⁰

After the decay of the European Concert, Germany-France tension went on until the Second World War. Bismarck aimed at strengthening the unity of Germany after 1871; yet, his actions were seen as hostile by France. Accordingly, France changed its policy to escape from loneliness in order to remain strong against German threat. The situation of Alsace-Lorraine also played a major role in the mutual relations of Germany and France. So, tripartite alliances of two groups came out of that search of balance in this period.⁹¹

On the other hand, Russia was accumulating power. Idea of Pan Slavism played an important role in Russian politics. Although Pan Slavist activities increased after the Crimean War, it is possible to claim that the idea can be dated to the period of Tsar Petro I. While he tried to make the country Westernize, he also wanted to extend the territories through the south. For this policy, Balkans, the Straits and Constantinople were important keys; therefore, Russia gave importance to Slav subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Increasing Russian interest on Ottoman lands got the attention of the Britain and France. They succeeded to block the Russia with London Conference in 1841 and the Treaty of Paris in 1856 after the Crimean

⁸⁹ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 245.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 246.

⁹¹ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 248.

War. The outcomes of Crimean War increased the hostility of Russians against the Western powers and accelerated the Panslavist policy of Russia. It was thought that a Slavic Empire could be established as Pan-germanism served German imperialism and Pan-italianism developed Italian imperialism. Consequently, from the mid-1800's to the end of century, Panslavism steered Russian foreign politics. Moreover, it prepared the ground for the loss of Balkan territories for the Ottoman Empire and became a factor in international relations.⁹²

4.1. European powers, Major interests, Eastern Question and the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was a world empire that lasted for six centuries. Becoming an empire from a very small tribe was not a simple thing but the Ottoman Empire made it happen. This transformation was the success of the Ottoman Empire. The politics they applied for the Byzantine Empire and other Turkish tribes are the facts for their development.

As the other topics and periods about the Ottoman Empire are significant for understanding world history, the 19th century is maybe much more interesting than the others for this research, because 19th century is the era of transformations all over the world. With industrialization, globalization, rebellions of nationalism, congresses, the influences of Enlightenment, wars, secret or open alliances, the world was in a transformation and alteration. Moreover, the 19th century was showing the effects of French and American Revolutions, these revolutions were bringing other rebellions and Europe was too agitated by nationalist movements.

⁹² Mithat Aydın, "19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Panslavizm ve Rusya", *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 15, 2004/1, 109-124.

The 19th century planted the seeds for First World War (1914-1918) and this war and after-war agreements mostly shaped today's world. The world and history that brought us to the 19th century is also significant and the other periods of time are unique, but the point is that in order to see the transformations and creation of today, the 19th century is an indispensable era.

The Ottoman Empire was a monarchy at the beginning until the First Constitutional Era was declared in 1876. Central administration was always powerful, but after the 16th century, there were deteriorations in this structure. This could be explained with rebellions (Jelali Rebellions, Janissary Rebellions and others) in center and provinces of empire, decrease in value of money, economic disruption, industrial, commercial backwardness, unsuccessful wars, etc. For example, when Selim III ascended the throne in 1789, the empire had passed a period of stagnation and started to collapse from inside. Local pashas had become very powerful in collecting taxes and the officers were disobedient. In provinces, rebellions and dangers like this had started. Mamluk governors in Egypt were some of them. Moreover, in various Christian communities, the soul of independence attracted attention.⁹³

Military structure of the empire was getting worse in modern age. The core of military was janissary corps for the Ottoman Empire, but they were constantly revolting against empire and sultan, because the empire had not power as in classical times, and also long wars, changing traditions, less money were the reasons of this situation. Modernization process of military system of the empire was going on, new schools were opening, and foreign (especially French) teachers were coming to teach the students at military school. Comte de Bonneval and Baron de Tott are examples of these teachers. Selim III made an important move in military modernization; he set a new army, Nizam-ı Cedid (New Regulations) in late the 18th century. There was a regular army from then on. It should not be forgotten that these new regulations were not made only for military, there were

⁹³ Lord Kinross, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yükselişi ve Çöküşü*, trans. Meral Gaspıralı, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2012), pp. 419- 420.

also new orders in taxation, economy, legal reforms, too. These reforms started by Selim III in the late 18th century and continued by latter sultans.

So, the 19th century started with new reform movements for Ottoman Empire. French influences on politics, military, culture, social life are also significant for understanding the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. As aforementioned, the French Revolution of 1789 revealed three notions: Nationalism, equality and modernization. All of these ideas affected the Ottoman Empire in all aforementioned ways. The influences of these two ideas have examples on the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, after the French Revolution in 1789, “nationalism” idea became widespread all over Europe. Actually nationalist ideology was received as danger for an empire like the Ottoman Empire since there were different nations living under the empire, like Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Arabs, Armenians, etc. So, when the events spreaded in the empire, people wanted to have their own free states. Nationalism was destroying absolute monarchies; French people showed that they could defeat the king. The Ottoman Empire did not know that this revolution was going to influence the minorities living under them. There were some reasons why the revolutionary ideas easily extended through the Ottoman Empire. First of all, French was the language of connection and literature of the era. Secondly, Ottoman- French relationships were continuing from the reign of Suleiman the Lawgiver. Thirdly, Egypt invasion of Napoleon for a short time affected lands of the empire. Because of decentralization, inequality of the tax system, economical problems, and provocations of European states prepared the base for the notions to become widespread in the Ottoman Empire. Rebellions of the minorities continued until the end of the empire.

In order to understand the shifting alliances in European politics in 19th century, it is indispensable to explain “The Eastern Question”. This term was used firstly in Congress of Vienna in order to talk about the issues and problems on the Ottoman Empire. The researchers and writers who wrote about Eastern Question are divided into three while using and researching “Eastern Question”. First group starts the Eastern Question from the 14th century, the first confrontation of Turks

and Europeans in real serious patterns. For example, J.A.R. Marriott explains the Eastern Question from “The Advent of the Ottomans”. According to him, the Eastern Question may be taken for his research to include: First, in the middle of 14th century, the crossing of Turks from Hellespont, second, situations and changes in Balkan States Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Transylvania, Bukovina, third, the problem of Black Sea and the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, fourth, Russia’s policy and plans on Europe, Mediterranean, and Balkan (Slav) nations, fifth, the position of Habsburg Empire in accordance with Russia’s plans on Southern Slavs and other Balkan nations, finally, the attitude of European powers about all the problems aforementioned above.⁹⁴

Matthew Smith Anderson states in his book “Eastern Question 1774- 1923: A Study in International Relations” that Eastern Question started in 1774 with Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. With this treaty, Russia firstly had right to pass from Straits, to build An Orthodox Church in Constantinople, to have a land near Black Sea. In addition to these rights, Crimea became independent, and this was a danger for Ottoman Empire and the states which were against to the expansion of Russia. So, according to Anderson, Eastern Question started with the policies and plans of Russia started from 1774.

The same idea is available for Stephen Pierce Hayden Duggan’s book “The Eastern Question, A Study in Diplomacy”. In the preface of this book he states: “[...] Though my subject is the diplomatic side of the Turkish question, the thesis is by no means a history of Turkey, nor even a diplomatic history of Turkey. It practically begins with the treaty of Kainardji, of 1774; for though the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was considered essential to the balance of power in Europe before then, the positions held by the various

⁹⁴ J.A.R Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 2-3.

European states on the Turkish Question and especially by England and Russia, really date from that treaty.”⁹⁵

A.L. Macfie, with his book “The Eastern Question “1774- 1923” starts the term from 1774 as it could be understood from the name of his book. He states that Russo-Turkish war and Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca after the war marks the beginning of the question.

According to Edouard Driault (1864-1947), Eastern Question is composed of two parts. In his book “The Eastern Question”, the first part starts from the Byzantine Empire, Latin Kingdom and the early stages of the Ottoman Empire. The second part starts from the Greek Independence War. So, it may be said that he shared same ideas with J.A.R. Marriott. The confrontation of Ottomans and Europeans in the 14th century is the first stage, and Driault continued by telling the significant events of Ottoman-European relations, and as the date of book is 1898, he quits in the 19th century events.

Gerald David Clayton in his book “Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli” argues that as the seeds of Eastern Question were thrown before Greek Independence War, the beginning of Eastern Question started with Siege of Missolonghi and ended with World War I.

The aforementioned historians and researchers are right in their own ideas, because this term could be used for all the stated subjects. If the Eastern Question is the problem of issues about Ottoman Empire and this term was started to be debated in Congress of Vienna, then, road to the congress should be taken into consideration. The earnings of Russia after 1774, the disturbance of Britain and Austria for Russia’s power, Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt and the reaction for this invasion from the Ottoman Empire and Britain and lastly, Napoleonic Wars in Europe were the reasons for the settlement of Vienna. So, if we look at from this

⁹⁵ Stephen Pierce Hayden Duggan, *The Eastern Question, A Study in Diplomacy*, (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 5.

picture, the start of Eastern Question after 1774 is logical, but it does not mean that the other statements are wrong.

So, it could be seen that in the 18-19th centuries, Europe and Ottoman Empire was agitated by the ideas of nationalism, liberalism, and revolutions. However, the Ottoman Empire was not powerful as before. As Europe was being revised by alliances, the Ottoman Empire struggled with internal affairs (modernization, reforms, rebellions, wars, etc.). The territories of the Ottoman Empire attracted the European powers and in aforementioned period, and the interests and decisions of the Great Powers on the Ottoman Empire identified 19th century.

4.2. The Crimean War (1853-1856)

The Crimean War was the result of political struggles between the Great Powers and Russia. The struggle firstly started over the Holy Places problem. The Holy Places were the Church of Nativity and some other churches in and around Jerusalem. France and Russia (Catholic and Orthodox states) had a disagreement over holding services of the churches.⁹⁶

The Crimean War was one of the turning points in the Eastern Question and in order to understand the policies of Great Powers, it is important to know the pre-war politics and plans. Firstly, France had the lessons after Mehmet Ali Pasha Revolt and Treaty of London and did not want to be out of the concert. Moreover, France planned to support the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, because the capitulations were bounded to the empire. The purposes of Napoleon III also were providing of protection over Latins in Near East by France and recognition of the

⁹⁶ Candan Badem, *The Ottoman-Crimean War (1853-1856)*, (Brill: Leiden, 2010), p. 64.

supremacy of France in this area, against Russia.⁹⁷ Secondly, Austria always made efforts to prevent a war before the Crimean War. Thirdly, Britain continued her policy of protection integrity of the empire. The only fear of Britain was still Russia, if there was going to be a danger by Russia on Ottoman Empire, then Britain of course was not going to be silent. Fourthly, Russia was again planning the presence of the Ottoman Empire under her own authority. Moreover, after Mehmet Ali Pasha Revolt, weakness of the Ottoman Empire was clear, Russia seemed to be planning to destroy the Ottoman Empire, and thought that other Great Powers were not going to make any objections, because the Revolutions of 1848 made turmoil in Europe. Lastly, Prussia was again sided with Austria and had her own internal affairs.⁹⁸

According to Anderson, the belief of Tsar Nicholas that the destruction of the Ottoman Empire was not going to be postponed partially belonged to the Austro-Turkish tension over the situation of Montenegro in 1853. Austria was opposed to the Ottoman's occupation of Montenegro. In this case, Russia supported Austria. Removal of Ömer Pasha from Bosnia governorship was an earning for Austria and Russia, but the weakness of the Ottoman Empire was again seemed clearly.⁹⁹ After this event, Russia suddenly came up with Holy Places problem, and they also wanted to have the protection of Orthodox people of the empire. As the Ottoman Empire was promising to be respectful to them, Menshikov, who was sent to the Ottoman Empire in order to settle the problems of Holy Places and Ottoman- Russian disagreements by Russia, stated that an Ottoman declaration which guaranteed the religious rights of Orthodox people was going to be accepted as a hostile action by Russia. This was a big mistake, because this statement empowered the belief that Russia was using this "rights of Orthodox

⁹⁷ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı- Avusturya İlişkileri (1789-1853)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2008), p. 141.

⁹⁸ Ibid, pp. 142-144.

⁹⁹ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), pp. 119-120.

people” issue as a mask to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁰ The departure of Menshikov from Constantinople was as a declaration of war between Russia and Ottoman Empire, for this war or diplomacy, Britain and France united.¹⁰¹

Britain and France discovered the plan of Russia. From the time that this problem came up on, both of the states adhered themselves to the protection of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire could have resisted to Russia’s demands by relying on these two states. But were these two states relying on each other? According to the Prime Minister of Britain Lord Palmerston: “Austria would do us no...harm as an enemy, France could injure us seriously”.¹⁰² Napoleon even wanted to command the allied forces in Crimea, this idea made Britain uncomfortable. He wanted to have Sivastopol where the Russian fleet stood.¹⁰³

When the Crimean War started, Russia was planning that Austria was going to be with them as an ally. The policy of Count Karl Ferdinand von Buol (Foreign Minister of Austria) in 1853 showed his uncertainty. Invasion of Russia in Danubian principalities endangered Austria’s commerce from Danube to Black Sea and destroyed the benefits of the Habsburgs than the Ottoman Empire. However, Buol did not make any counteraction; he wanted the invasion to be postponed. He was waiting, because he wanted to solve Ottoman-Russian conflict with other Great Powers. For this reason, with the delegates of France, Britain and Prussia, gathered a meeting in Vienna. This meeting was going to end with Vienna Note (August 1, 1853). While Russia accepted, the Ottoman Empire

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 123.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*, (Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific Honolulu, 2002), p. 110.

¹⁰² Keith M. Wilson, *British Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Policy: From Crimean War to First World War*, (London: CroomHelm, 1987), p. 32.

¹⁰³ Hayreddin Bey, “*Vesaik-i Tarihiyye ve Siyasiyye*”- *Belgelerin Dilinden Osmanlı ve Avrupa*, Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu & İshak Keskin (ed.), (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2008), p. 20.

rejected to this idea, because there was not a proportion of the empire in this note.¹⁰⁴

The policy of France on a war was changing, at first, Napoleon III came up with the idea about Holy Places, and this idea was one of the reasons of the war. While the events became serious, he now was trying to persuade the Ottomans to accept the Vienna Note. Austria was also trying to do so. The dominating idea of Austria's policy was not only displeasure of the invasion of Russia in Danubian principalities, but also the probability that showing a sympathy to Russia could have opened a way to an attack by France to Habsburg lands in Italy.¹⁰⁵ The pro-Western policy of Austria originated from the fear of France over Italy. For this reason, Buol controlled Sardinia and French by his agents.¹⁰⁶

Prussian King Frederick William IV thought that he should have been loyal to her family's tradition which was proponent to Russia. For this reason, he did not want to join the Britain, France and Austria who were meeting in order to threaten Russia to withdraw from Danube and to protect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁷ Prussian King did not want to involve in the sides of both.¹⁰⁸ While the war was continuing, Britain, France and Austria met and prepared "Four Points" in August 8, 1854. These four points were: "the substitution of a European guarantee of the Principalities for Russia's protectorate, freeing the Danube mouth for navigation, revision of the Straits Convention of 1841 in the interest of the

¹⁰⁴ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), p. 127.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 127-132.

¹⁰⁶ Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain and the Crimean War- The Destruction of the European Concert*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 104.

¹⁰⁷ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain and the Crimean War- The Destruction of the European Concert*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 84.

European balance of power, and a joint European guarantee of Christians' rights in Turkey, within the limits of the Sultan's sovereignty.”¹⁰⁹

When Tsar Alexander II accepted the peace calls, Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Piedmont and the Ottoman Empire settled for a peace conference: Paris Peace Conference. According to Anderson, all the powers had their own purposes in this conference: Britain wanted to weaken Russia strategically in every field. France was tenderer than Britain against Russia and also thought that as the Ottoman Empire and Britain, Austria and Prussia were closer and acting together, and a friendship with Russia could have needed for them.¹¹⁰ Austria wanted to strengthen her position in Danubian principalities. The main aim of Prussia was made the other powers to accept Prussia as a Great Power and protect this statue.

All in all, the Crimean War was done to protect the Ottoman Empire against Russia, but of course all the European powers wanted to protect their own positions. The war ended up as a failure for Russia, without a little support of Prussia, Russia was alone. Russia wanted to apply her own politics over the Ottoman Empire without taking the concert ideas into consideration. The European Concert was destroyed; a new system which included the Ottoman Empire was arising. However, until the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878, Russia did not give up the plans. With the Crimean War, Eastern Question became more serious in the European history.

Stephen J. Lee states that there was a big difference between the periods of 1815-54 and 1856-71. The first one was the longest period of modern history that none of the great powers of Europe had war. However, this is a truth that countless struggles and opposite diplomatic movements which almost destroyed the Congress System took place in this period. Totally opposite to the first period, the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 193.

¹¹⁰ Rıfat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789-2012)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2013), p. 242.

second period witnessed armed conflicts, in this period Prussia and Austria had three battles each, and France had two battles. The reason for this transformation was that Crimean War made the two guarantors of European status quo weaker seriously. This space culminated as giving a unique opportunity to a new statesmen generation who had revisionist purposes and became ready to use forces in order to have these purposes: Napoleon III, Cavour, and Bismarck.¹¹¹

The 19th century, after the Crimean War, started to be more intricate. Europe and the Ottoman Empire had new actors. These were Italy and Germany; two newly born states were ready to affect the European and World History in the 19th century. These two states were the only states that could not have established their national union and could not have had a central government system in Western and Central Europe. Both the states were under the influence and control of France and Austria- Hungary.¹¹² After these two states were established, the course of European and World History was substantially going to change.

Italians too were influenced from the nationalist and liberalist movements in 19th century Europe. They both wanted to achieve the union of Italy and to obtain liberal constitution. This movement is named as “Risorgimento”, namely “Rising Again”, political revival and unification of Italy.¹¹³

Metternich established the order of Italy in 1820, but Italy was under the influence of Austria. Piedmont or Sardinia was the only independent Italian state, and it was hoped that all Italy could have been gathered around Sardinia Kingdom.¹¹⁴ The Prime Minister of Piedmont, Count Cavour, became allies with French Emperor Napoleon III in order to defeat Austria. As Napoleon planned his international

¹¹¹ Stephen J. Lee, *Avrupa Tarihinden Kesitler 1789- 1980*, trans. Savaş Aktur, (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2010), p. 84.

¹¹² Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 217.

¹¹³ Hüner Tuncer, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Avrupa İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 55.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 55.

politics on Catholicism and nationalism, he supported this struggle of Italy. Two states had victories in 1859 and afterwards. Italian parliament declared Vittorio Emanuele II the king of unified Italy in 1861.¹¹⁵ In 1870, Roma and Venice joined to Italy, and the unification of Italy was completed.

After the Italian unification was provided, the turn of Germany came. The two states which could have established and lead were Austria and Prussia. As Austria was a German state but a cosmopolitan emperorship, she was not in the situation to apply a German nation policy, so German nationalists gathered around Prussia.¹¹⁶

Prime Minister and also Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Bismarck, was appointed by Wilhelm I. Wilhelm believed that Prussia could have achieve the unification of Germany. International policy of Bismarck rested on two main principles: alliance with France and Russia and opposition to Austria. In 1866, Bismarck started to the process of unification of Germany. Firstly, he added Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover regions and in 1867, Mecklenberg, Saxony and Darmstadt to Prussian lands. Secondly, in 1870-71, he took Baviera, Baden, Württemberg, other southern states and Alsace- Lorraine region from France after the Battle of Sedan. Bismarck won this war against Napoleon III. Third republic was declared. Finally, Bismarck excluded Austria from German Empire in 1871 and ensured the borders of Germany until 1918.¹¹⁷

Prussian king became the emperor of German Confederation. Balance of power which was set with the Congress of Vienna in Europe changed with the establishment of Italy and Germany.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was still called as “the Sick Man of Europe”. When Abdulhamid II ascended to throne, the Ottoman

¹¹⁵ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 219- 220.

¹¹⁶ Rıfat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789-2012)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2013), p. 287.

¹¹⁷ Hüner Tuncer, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Avrupa İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2000), p. 57.

Empire was in war with Serbia and Montenegro. Serbians and Montenegrins helped to the rebels from the beginning of 1875 Herzegovina Revolt. With the influence of Pan- Slavism policy, these two nations raised their hostile activities against the Ottoman Empire. Serbian governor Milan wanted the empire to end Herzegovinian revolt, because this revolt destructed Serbian trade and also wanted the Serbian soldiers to provide the security in this region. The Ottoman Empire did not give an answer, and in this process, Serbians and later Montenegrins declared war on the Ottoman Empire on July 1, 1876.¹¹⁸ In this period, all the Balkans was agitating. Austria and Russia decided not to interfere in the rebellions. They also signed Reichstadt Treaty on July 8, 1876 for this reason. When the Ottoman Empire was eminent, Russia forced Ottomans to ceasefire. At this time, Abdulhamid II ascended to throne. In order to solve the Balkan problem, Britain, Russia, Austria, France and Prussia gathered a conference in İstanbul: İstanbul Conference on December 23, 1876. The Great Powers imposed the Ottoman Empire to make reforms in the Balkans.¹¹⁹ These reforms were about the enhancement of the rights of Christian people. The demands of powers were rejected by the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁰ The reason for this rejection was that the Great Powers wanted to take decisions about the internal affairs of the empire. In the same day, the Ottoman Empire declared constitutional monarchy in the empire.

The Tsar was nervous about the declaration of the constitution of the Ottoman Empire since taking root of the new parliamentary constitution in the empire was a threat to Russian administration system. Moreover, if this parliamentary system became successful, the intervention of Russia for the Balkan nations would have

¹¹⁸ Hüner Tuncer, *Doğu Sorunu ve Büyük Güçler (1853-1878)*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2003), pp. 121-122.

¹¹⁹ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe (1848-1918)*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 241.

¹²⁰ Toktamış Ateş, *Siyasal Tarih*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 389-390.

been canceled. So, Russian Tsar wanted to make war with the help of other Great Powers. For this reason, on March 31, 1877 London Protocol was signed. This protocol was signed by the powers which joined to Conference of Istanbul. These states underlined with London Protocol that they all had common interests about the enhancement of the situations of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. They suggested the Ottoman Empire to achieve the internal reforms and warned the empire that the unrest in Ottoman provinces was not accorded with the general benefits of Europeans, and if this unrest continued, they were going to make a common movement for the expedience of the Christians.¹²¹The control was going to be made by ambassadors of Great Powers. This “control” issue made the Ottoman Empire uncomfortable, and so the empire rejected the protocol. This rejection caused the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78).

4.3. Three Emperors League (Dreikaiserbund) (1872)

The continent of Europe faced different attitudes and shifting policies by the great powers from the last quarter of the 19th century to the first quarter of the 20th century. The first stage of this situation was set by the “Three Emperors League” by Germany, Austria- Hungary and Russia.¹²²

The main idea of Bismarck about the foreign policy of Germany was to get away from a possible war between Russia and France, because if the two states became closer, there could have been a war. The attacks of both states could have been disastrous for Germany, so Bismarck had to choose between them. He chose

¹²¹ Hüner Tuncer, *Doğu Sorunu ve Büyük Güçler (1853-1878)*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2003), p. 134.

¹²² David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 459.

Russia to be allies, because after France-Prussia War in 1871, the ideas about France was fresh in Germany. For this reason, Bismarck became allies with Russia and Austria and they established “Three Emperors League” in 1872.¹²³ Moreover, Bismarck moved to maintain the European state system in order to revive the Metternichian concert among the conservative European powers. Both Austria and Russia had the fear of nationalist revolutions.¹²⁴ This alliance was fragile, according to Thomson, the states planned to hold conservative principles and to keep the peace in Europe. However, the real purpose of this alliance was to isolate France from the politics and to relieve Austrian-Russian rivalries (especially in the Balkans).¹²⁵ According to this agreement, status-quo of Europe was going to be protected. This was significant for French-German border. Moreover, the three emperors were going to cooperate against the revolutionarist forces. They were going to solve the problems about the Ottoman Empire together (Eastern Question). However, Russia and Germany had disagreement about the problems on the empire. While Russia planned the policy of sharing the Ottoman Empire, Germany supported the integrity of Ottoman lands. The opposition of Germany to Russia became clear in the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-78 and the Congress of Berlin in 1878. So, the expansionist policy of Russia bothered Germany as well as Britain and France. Russia left the Three Emperors League, and the league was cancelled because of the conflicts of interests on the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁶

The other reason of dissolution of the Three Emperors League was the Dual Alliance among Germany and Austria- Hungary in 1879. The aim of this alliance was protecting peace in Balkans, because the Russian fear continued. They promised to prevent Russian expansion in Balkans. This alliance made the Three

¹²³ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), p. 251.

¹²⁴ Norman Rich, *Great Power Diplomacy 1814-1914*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1992), p.220.

¹²⁵ David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 460.

¹²⁶ Şerafettin Turan, *Türk Devrim Tarihi-I*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1991), p. 23.

Emperors League meaningless, because the two states agreed to come together in case Russian attacks in Balkans. Moreover, the alliance among Germany and Austria-Hungary possessed instability in the Balkans and this was a threat to European peace for the three emperors each.¹²⁷

4.4. Eastern Crisis in the Balkans: Ottoman- Russian Wars of 1875-78

Eastern Question was not on the agenda of the European Great Powers until the revolt of Herzegovina in 1875.¹²⁸ As it is known, the origin of this war was also the revolts in Balkans. In this time, Bosnia-Herzegovina was revolting against the worse administration, heavy taxes and economic problems and difficulties in July, 1875. Regarding the politics of Great Powers to this issue, it could be seen that Russia was again making moves according to her own interests. According to Anderson, the development that turned a villagers revolt into an international event was the reaction of the revolt in Russia and consequently, how the difference of Russia's and the other powers' attitudes against the situation in Near East were appeared.¹²⁹ However, the event became international because of the Ottoman Empire itself by applying Austria to make them protect the borders and also the Great Powers to want the cease of helps by Montenegro and Serbian

¹²⁷John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe, From the French Revolution to the Present, Volume Two*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), p. 1010.

¹²⁸ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları: 2009), p. 119.

¹²⁹ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), p. 179.

Principalities.¹³⁰ In the first phase of the revolt, Russia and Austria were following different policies, if these lands were accepted as autonomous, and Bulgaria was also going to have the same rights and this was going to cause Greece, Serbia and Montenegro following an aggressive policy against the Ottoman Empire. So, while Austria was opposing to the revolts, for example Andrassy, the foreign minister of Austria who was pro-Turkish and anti-Slav¹³¹, Russia demanded that the autonomous places could have been established under Ottoman Empire.¹³² Germany tried to prevent a war between Austria and Russia, because they had the intention of having superiority over Balkans. Britain chose to be away from this situation, as its own policy, Britain thought that this was the internal problem of the Ottoman Empire. France feared that Russia, Austria and Germany were going to solve the Eastern Question by leaving France outside of the problem.¹³³ These were the policies of Great Powers during the Herzegovina Revolt. In order to find a common way with other powers and to end the revolt in Herzegovina, Andrassy and Russian ambassador to Austria prepared and sent a note to other powers in December, 30, 1875: Andrassy Note. The note included: “a grant of religious liberty, an end to tax farming, an amelioration of the conditions of life of rural population, the appropriation of direct taxes raised in Bosnia and Herzegovina to local purposes, the appointment of a mixed Christian-Muslim commission to supervise the proposed reforms.”¹³⁴ With Andrassy Note, Great Powers again tried to turn the event according to their benefits. As the Ottoman Empire and other powers accepted this note, the revolt did not come to an end, and Andrassy’s

¹³⁰ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları: 2009), p. 121.

¹³¹ F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814- 1914*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 199.

¹³² M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1966), p. 180.

¹³³ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları: 2009), p. 125.

¹³⁴ A.L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (London: Longman, 1996), p. 37.

efforts to moderate the tension and also to avoid from Russian interference were unsuccessful. In the first months of 1876, Russian sympathy for the rebels arose, and Montenegro was openly helping to the rebels. In Balkans, there was a tension between Austria and Russia, for these reasons, Gorchakov (Russian Prime Minister) and Andrassy met in Berlin by the invitation of Bismarck, which ended with Berlin Memorandum.¹³⁵ According to this, Austria, Russia and Germany agreed upon the terms that included two months of ceasefire, supervision tasks for ambassadors for the reforms, even division of some Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire between Russia and Austria. This memorandum was accepted by France and Italy, too, but Britain opposed to this agreement.¹³⁶

Britain did not want to be reckless to the Eastern Question and also wanted to remove Russia's plans over the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the Conference of Istanbul was gathered for the protection of the Ottoman Empire in December, 1876. When the Ottoman Empire rejected the articles of the agreement, the ambassadors of Great Powers left the Ottoman Empire.

Russia could find a way for a war, because another agreement between Great Powers, London Protocol, stated that reforms concerning Christians living in the Ottoman Empire should have done and controlled by ambassadors. This was disturbing for the empire, and when the empire rejected this, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Britain stated that they were not approving this war and were not going to help the Ottoman Empire. Austria was also neutral, but if Russia would have taken a unilateral right on Christians in Balkans, Austria was going to invade the Western lands, too. As Austria was supporting Russia in this

¹³⁵ M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), p. 183.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p.184.

war but seemed neutral, Britain and Austria were agreed upon finding a common solution with all the Great Powers.¹³⁷

According to an Ottoman archival document, in a letter written from Vienna to Rome, it was stated that Austria was going to be neutral in this war, but if Russia would have transported any armistices in Austrian lands, then Austria was not going to be calm.¹³⁸ Again, in a different letter from Vienna to Rome, it is stated that the invasion of Balkans by Russia created sorrow in Austria and Britain wanted Austria to left Three Emperors League because of Russia's movements in Balkans.¹³⁹

With the help of Balkan states, Russia proceeded very fast, and when they came to Adrianople, the Ottoman Empire was obliged to ceasefire. An agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Russia was signed in Adrianople in January 31, 1878 and due to this treaty, Bulgaria and Bosnia and Herzegovina were going to be autonomous; Russian privileges and rights were going to be protected in Straits; Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were going to be independent states.¹⁴⁰ According to British, this agreement was Russia's plan to control the Ottoman Empire and was not appropriate for the concert of Europe, so they rejected it. British ships even came to Straits and also Derby was replaced by Salisbury at the foreign office.¹⁴¹

The policy or position of Germany was to influence Austria; Andrassy always listened to Bismarck and tried to have a common idea with him. According to Bismarck, the main way to solve Eastern Question was the disintegration, the

¹³⁷ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları: 2009), p. 160.

¹³⁸ BOA, Y. PRK. HR. 3/88, Date: July 19, 1877.

¹³⁹ BOA, Y. PRK. HR. 3/88, Date: July 18, 1877.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 157-158.

¹⁴¹ F. R. Bridge and Roger Bullen, *The Great Powers and the European State System 1814- 1914*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), pp. 204-205.

collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Russia and Britain encountered again and France and Italy were not contended with the unilateral solution by Russia.¹⁴²

Russia was getting closer to Constantinople, and the Ottoman Empire accepted a peace treaty: Treaty of Ayastefanos in March 3, 1878. This agreement was the extended version of Treaty of Adrianople. The sides at first agreed not to tell some articles to the Europeans, and these articles included fragmentation of the European lands of the Ottoman Empire. This agreement was only for the benefits of Slavic nations. Montenegro and Romania were becoming independent. Bulgaria was going to be autonomous and have her own government. There were also other articles that Count Andrassy stated that the following of them could not have accepted by Austria: Montenegro and Serbia's boundaries, the passage of Russian soldiers from Sava, the settlement of Russian soldiers in Bulgaria, the borders of Bulgaria, and retaking of Bessarabia.¹⁴³ Lord Beaconsfield summarized the situation as: "Turkish Sultan is in the condition of becoming under the authority of Russia. So, we protest the agreement that gives all the location and sources to Russia."¹⁴⁴ Lord Derby stated that unless the delegates of Paris Peace Conference accepted this agreement, the agreement was invalid. If there was going to be a conference about this agreement, the agenda items should have stated to them. If not, Austria, Britain, Italy and France were not going join the conference. So, there was going to be no conference.¹⁴⁵ After this agreement, Great Powers again wanted to intervene in the problem, because this agreement included heavy articles for the empire. Moreover, Balkan states were not happy with this agreement; they could not have had any lands or other benefits. Russia sent this agreement with a map to other Europeans, and if there was going to be a

¹⁴² Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları: 2009), p. 162.

¹⁴³ BOA, Y. PRK. HR. 2/61, Date: April 3, 1878.

¹⁴⁴ Lord Kinross, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yükselişi ve Çöküşü*, trans. Meral Gaspıralı, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2012), pp. 539-540.

¹⁴⁵ BOA, Y. PRK. HR. 1/48, Date: March, 9, 1878.

conference, every state was going to be free in ideas, actions and examinations, so Russia also had these rights.¹⁴⁶ From this document, it could be understood that Britain was ready for any conventions, because of her concern about Russian expansion. While Russia was planning to talk about some articles of the agreement, Britain wanted to negotiate all the terms. So, in order to start negotiations, Britain and Russia met. They could not get through. So Bismarck called all the powers and the Ottoman Empire to Berlin for a convention in June 13, 1878.¹⁴⁷

4.5. The Congress of Berlin (1878)

The Congress of Berlin was convened in order to settle peace between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. European powers had the idea that the Treaty of Ayastefanos did not support for the balance of power in Europe. For example, Bismarck explained that the reason why The Berlin Congress was gathered was the destruction of European benefits by Ayastefanos Treaty.¹⁴⁸

The Congress of Berlin started in June 13, 1878 and continued until July 13, 1878. From an official document from Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry, we learn that the conference started at 14.00, and Prince Bismarck was elected as chair person. After he gave information about the current situation and he offered Bulgarian problem to be taken into consideration, the delegates accepted this offer. Moreover, when Lord Beaconsfield offered the delegates that there should

¹⁴⁶ BOA, Y. PRK. HR. 2/75, Date: April 11, 1878.

¹⁴⁷ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih (1789-1960)*, (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1980), p. 156.

¹⁴⁸ Hüner Tuncer, *Doğu Sorunu ve Büyük Güçler (1853-1878)*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2003),p. 162.

have been a Greek officer in the conference, Prince Gorchakov rejected to this idea.¹⁴⁹ This offer and rejection was going to be clear during and after Balkan Wars, Britain secretly supported Greece in case there would have had a problem with the Ottoman Empire, Britain was going to apply her policies over Greece, and Russia did not want any Balkan Wars.

According to Merriman, there were specific purposes of each state in the Berlin Congress. The Ottoman Empire was looking for better peace conditions. Austria-Hungary and Britain were opposing for the Treaty of Ayastefanos, because Russians violated interests of the two states. For example, Britain and Austria-Hungary argued that establishment of Great Bulgaria was problem, because Russia would have used this new state as puppet in order to dominate Bulgaria.¹⁵⁰ The powers concentrated on their own plans and wishes, and actually did not care about the states with the manipulated lands.¹⁵¹

The Treaty of Berlin was signed by six powers in only a month and this agreement reset the Treaty of Ayastefanos. “Great Bulgaria” plan of Russia was abandoned, instead of this, Bulgaria was divided into two, one of them was going to have a political autonomy under Sultan, and the other one was going to be under the authority of Sultan directly. Russians opposed to this article, Lord Beaconsfield persuaded Russians. According to Bismarck, there was a “Turkey” again in Europe. The Berlin Treaty prevented a great war by diplomacy and Lord Beaconsfield showed it as an honorable peace. Bismarck also influenced this peace. The Ottoman Empire maybe used the last chance given by Great Powers.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ BOA, Y.PRK. HR. 3/4, Date: 1295, June 13.

¹⁵⁰ John Merriman and Jay Winter (ed.), *Europe 1789 to 1914- Encyclopedia of the Age of Industry and Empire*, (New York: Thomson Gale, 2006), pp. 529-530.

¹⁵¹ Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey- Volume II: Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 190.

¹⁵² Lord Kinross, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yükselişi ve Çöküşü*, trans. Meral Gaspıralı, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2012), pp. 541-542.

After the Berlin Congress, there was a development in foreign financial and political intervention of in Ottoman affairs by European powers, Austria- Hungary emerged as a Balkan power, Germans started to interest in Turkey, Britain became powerful in Near East, and Balkan states raised their national awakenings.¹⁵³

With the Treaty of Berlin, status-quo in Danube and the Straits was protected as in Ayastefanos Treaty. The integrity of the lands of the Ottoman Empire was not guaranteed in this treaty, and “not intervening in the internal politics” principle was not accepted in the Congress of Berlin.¹⁵⁴

From Russian politics perspective, the Berlin Congress was a failure¹⁵⁵; Russia lost some of the advantages (authority of Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia; territories of Dobruca, Eleşkirt, and Beyazıd) and the Ottoman Empire was threatened by not only Russia, but also by other great powers. The Congress of Berlin was an international congress that the decisions about the fragmentation and share of the Ottoman Empire were made.¹⁵⁶

The effects of the congress on the alignments of the great powers were more significant than the settlement of the fate of Turkey. As consequences, Russia took the territories that she had stipulated at Ayastefanos Treaty. Austria had the right to have and manage Bosnia and Herzegovina. Britain reserved the island of Cyprus and France was appeased by being promised the North African territory,

¹⁵³ Marian Kent (ed.), *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, (London: Franck Cass, 1996), p. 74.

¹⁵⁴ Hüner Tuncer, *Doğu Sorunu ve Büyük Güçler (1853-1878)*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 2003), p. 169.

¹⁵⁵ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe (1848-1918)*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 252.

¹⁵⁶ Rıfat Uçarol, *Siyasi Tarih (1789-2012)*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2013), p. 420.

Tunisia, of the Ottoman Empire. Only Germany and Italy could not gain territory.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 464-466.

CONCLUSION

All in all, the 19th century was a very rough century for many countries not only in Europe and in Asia but elsewhere in the world since many states were established and monarchies were dissolved. The European Great Powers had reached the zenith of their territories, and with the Industrial Revolution, proliferation of machinery, they required raw materials. Thus, they had to have new territories and protect their colonies. Moreover, the European states had long-lasting wars during the 18th century, and for this reason, they planned to recover themselves and have more economic power. The 19th century was the age of revolutions, industrialization, and the alliances. These alliances were the shields of the states in order to protect their benefits. For this reason, the reasons behind the shifting alliances, the Congress System, and the Concert of Europe had a significant place to understand the European diplomacy in the 19th century.

This study attempts to examine the effects of the shifting alliances in Europe from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the Congress of Berlin (1878) on the politics of European Great Powers. In the 18th century, Europe witnessed long-lasting wars and revolutions in both Europe and America. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Napoleonic Wars agitated Europe. Therefore, the European powers decided to end the series of wars, and this could have been achieved by the alliance system according to the statesmen of the mentioned era.

The Congress of Vienna (1815) was the beginning of the alliance system. The final act of the congress was not the first alliance in Europe, before the congress the European states signed two treaties: the Treaty of Chaumont (March, 1814) and the Treaty of Paris (May, 1814). The reason behind these two treaties was the fear of Napoleon. The Great Powers like Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia aimed to defeat Napoleon and protect the peace in Europe. However, Napoleon escaped from the island of Elba, came to Paris and gathered soldiers to fight back. This situation was taken into serious consideration by the Great Powers and

resulted in the Battle of Waterloo. They decided to make a peace settlement in order to end the fear of Napoleon in Europe since they believed that it was their responsibility to take a common action when France threatened the peace and balance of power in Europe.¹⁵⁸

However while making the peace settlement in Vienna, the Great Powers had different policies from one another, but the common aim of the powers was to protect their political and economic benefits over their territories. For this reason this reality as given in this thesis affected the course of alliances among the Great Powers. The alliances in the 19th century were the products of economic and political rivalry among the European Great Powers. But the alliances were at the same time were the shields for these states. Behind this rivalry, there was the imperialism. The idea of imperialism influenced the states to have more lands and more money. However, as mentioned above, the plans and policies of the European powers to have land and money were going to end with war, because their interests conflicted each other. Although they joined to the alliance system, they continued to pursue their policies. The alliance system changed seriously after the Congress of Vienna. Especially the conflicts between the forces of change, the Industrial Revolution, liberalism, and nationalism, and the forces of continuation, the church, feudalism and monarchy affected Europe with revolutions. One of the reasons of the alliance system was to protect the peaceful environment in Europe, and the states decided to protect the monarchies, because only monarchies could have had a powerful administration over the people. However, the ideas of nationalism and liberalism and the exploitation of people with the effect of the Industrial Revolution caused the liberal revolutions in 1830 and 1848. Until the Crimean War, Europe witnessed the nationalist or liberalist revolutions (Italy, Spain, Germany, etc.), and in order to prevent such activities, the allied powers solved the problems with the congresses. In the first half of the 19th century, it could be seen that the European powers were together while taking

¹⁵⁸ Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Büyük Güçler (1815-1878)*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2009), p. 22.

the decisions about the incidents. However, in the second half of the 19th century, the effect and diversity of Russia in European politics increased. The two wars were the examples of Russia's position: The Crimean War (1854-55) and the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78). The alliances in the 19th century were interrupted by the aforementioned wars.

Especially, when the shifting alliances are taken into consideration, it is indispensable to explain the influence of the Eastern Question on the subject. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Eastern Question generally was used for the protection of the territories of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century; for sharing lands of Turks in Europe in the second half of the 19th century; and for dividing all the lands of the empire up in the 20th century by the European Great Powers.¹⁵⁹ Shortly, demands of the European powers conflicted on the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, while the alliance system in Europe is examined, the position of the Ottoman Empire should not be underestimated as most of the alliances are formed around the Eastern Question, namely the Ottoman Empire.

The turning point in the process of the Eastern Question was the Crimean War. The reason was that the Crimean War and the Paris Peace Conference changed the balance of power in Europe and the position of the Ottoman Empire and Russia in this balance. The hostile attitude of Russia against the Ottoman Empire was ceased by the European powers, especially Britain and France. Russia's policy against the Ottoman Empire disturbed other European powers that also have plans and policies over the empire. Their plans generally conflicted on the Mediterranean that had importance for their commercial activities. For this reason, after the Crimean War, the Paris Peace Conference (1856) was gathered in order to solve the problems after the war. This time a new European bloc was formed against Russia; and the Ottoman Empire was in this alliance with the other European powers.

¹⁵⁹ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), p. 160.

The Crimean War and the Paris Peace Conference caused the alliance system or the concert of Europe to be interrupted in the 19th century. A period of peace continued until the Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-78. There were revolts in the Balkans, Crete, etc., and the Ottoman Empire had a difficult period. The Ottoman-Russian War damaged the empire financial and political ways. Moreover, after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Balkan territories of the empire dissolved. European powers recognized this situation, and they aimed to form a new balance in Europe. Before the Congress of Berlin, the European Great Powers had agreed to support the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. However, after the Congress of Berlin, the powers aimed to divide and share the Ottoman territories. Moreover, the alliance system changed again according to a territorial problem. As Germany had Alsace- Lorraine where was a territorial issue between Germany and France, France decided to be allies with Russia and Britain. However, Germany rose as a power at the end of 19th century. After the Congress of Berlin and until the Balkan Wars, there was no more war in Europe but this was still a temporary situation not only in the history of Europe but also in the regions of which destiny and history were affected from the developments in Europe.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX- I: Archival Documents From Ottoman Archive Of Prime Ministry

دولت متفقہ اہل فرانہ دینی جتنہ بارہاں شہرہ عقد اولیان معاملہ عہدنامہ سہل شریوط غرضی زبہ سید

اولیٰ مادہ معاہدہ جملہ ملک اوقعی مادہ سی لازہ سببہ مستحق فرانہ فرانک کفر بر وفاق اندکی اراضی ملک بعد ازین آقضا ارضی ملک
 ترتیب و تقسیم وادریادہ حقیقی وقری موازنہ ملک مہرئی سندیم اولہ جن ملکیات خصوصی دولت متفقہ بنفہ اختیار ارضی
 اساس اوزدینہ بناؤ ودرادہ مقصدہ بہ سببہ اوزدینہ عوی تربیاتیہ نظر مجلس مکالمہ بہ تنظیم اولہ اوقعی مادہ مستحق ارضی ارضی
 انا لیا مالکینہ بر قبضہ و تصرف ارضی اولہ جن ارضی بر طرفین یو ویزین نہری و دیگر جائیداد بولن کو اہل محاط و محصور اولہ
 صادر بنا قرانی از قریم مہرئی اولیٰ مالک ملک ضبط و تکلیف ابقا اولنوب فقط بہتو معاہدہ لازہ سببہ فرانہ دولت در ملک در ملک
 ابقا سی مستحق اولن ساوریا ابائی مستحق اولہ و ذکر اولن انہ صادر بنا قرانی مالکی جنیز ممکنہ جانیدن توسیع اولہ اوقعی جنیز
 لیا سی سرستہ بر لیاں قلوب لیاں مذکورہ دائر دولت متفقہ ملک بعد ازین صادر بنا قرانیہ بعضی نظامات عہد و شریوط اہل محصور
 اولہ دولت متفقہ ملک عہد سہ واند اہل بالو اضاف وضع اولن انہ اسلہ بی اولہ حق بلوچر جمہورین اختیار ارضی ملک عوی
 نظام ملک سی فرانہ دولتی دولت متفقہ اہل متا و اندر کی قبول و اعتراف و تعیین و کف اہل اوقعی مادہ ملک دولت اندکی
 مستحق دولتی لیاں قوت مخصوصہ سہ و قایہ و محافظہ بہ مقصد اوقعی اور دیادہ موازنہ نامہ ملک ابقا متفقہ اندکی اولہ
 بناؤ بحر محیط اہل بہتو معاہدہ شریوطی لازہ سببہ تکلیف اولن انہ فرانہ حدودی و عہد نہری جتنہ محاط اولن ارضی
 ہی الدولہ ملک دولت ضبط و تصرفہ قائم اوزدہ دولت مذکورہ بہ الحاق اولہ ووزہ نہرین ساحل بندہ کائن
 حدود ذکر اولن انہ ملک دولت و دیگر ارضی ہرینہ قواعد جریہ اوزدہ موازنہ اولہ جن و ہلہ تنظیم اولہ و بعضی نہرین
 سیر سفایں خصوصی نہ سرب اوقی اوزدہ ابقا اولنوب بہتو معاہدہ ملک سببی مادہ سندہ دین ہرہ سیر سفایں مادہ ہی
 تنظیم اولن انہ اصلہ سببی اولہ و در بی مادہ دین نہرین ساحل یارزہ واقع اولن بیل بیروز طفاں اہل سہ عیسوی
 تاریک نہر فرانہ دولتی الحاق اولن انہ ارضی ملک دولت توسیع حدودینہ و در بیادہ دولتی و سار اولن انہ دولتی
 بیل اوقی اوزدہ تعیین و تکلیف اولہ ر سببی مادہ بہتو معاہدہ ملک اولن سکری مادہ سندہ سببہ اوزدینہ دولتی
 فرانہ دولتی مذکورہ ملک کہنوں دونور تیر اوزدہ قوانینہ سہ و سار دولتی و سار بر سار سببہ وقف صورتہ
 و جهت آخری اہل مصر و تکلیف اولن انہ اراضی ملک صراحتہ سببی اولہ البنی مادہ نہرین انہ بیل کوئی تاریک نہر
 اولن انہ معاہدہ ملک مادہ حقیقہ لازہ سببہ فرانہ دولتی ہا سببہ صروفہ سندہ سببہ اولن انہ سوال و تقوید
 بولدر سببہ تعیین و تکلیف ہفت و بوبارہ صرف ماحصل وضع و قرض اہل ملک بیان امین اولن انہ اموال مذکورہ ہی
 ظاهرہ اصراج ضبط و تصفایں ارضی ملک دھر و تھر ایرد دیو سطور
 آقضا ایردہ ارضیہ ایرہ ملک دھر و تھر ایرد دیو سطور

HAT. 962/41206

HAT. 0962

2

[illegible]

HAT. 956/41022

[illegible]

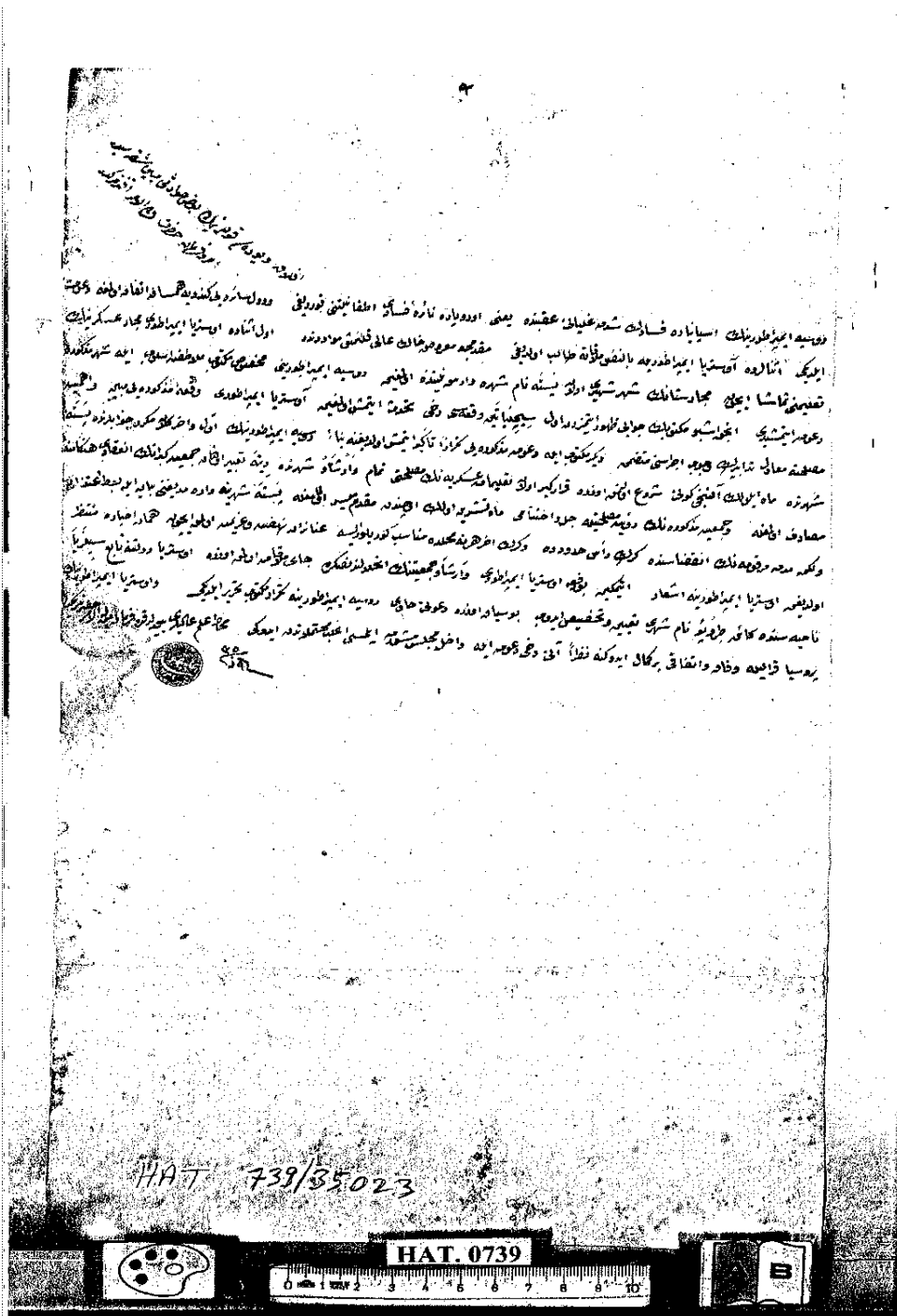
A simple line drawing of a cell. It has an irregular outer boundary. Inside, there is a large, roughly circular nucleus with a smaller, darker nucleolus inside it. Several small, dark, oval-shaped organelles are scattered throughout the cytoplasm.

A horizontal ruler with markings from 0 to 10 centimeters. The markings are in millimeters, with major ticks every centimeter and minor ticks every millimeter. The numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are printed below the ruler.

[illegible]

HAT 1196/46973-D

HAT. 1196



7- BOA, HAT 739/35023

فصل دوم در بیان

HAT: 128/49647

HAT. 1281

[illegible]

HAT 1281/49668

A horizontal ruler with markings from 0 to 10 centimeters. The markings are in millimeters, with major ticks every centimeter and minor ticks every millimeter. The numbers 0 through 10 are printed below the ruler.

اشپوسنه عيسويه سي شيرين ناليسله غره سنده و دونا شيرينه مقیم معبود برکته نلې ایغورنه کان انجولفات نام شربندر قولرینه
دیردی هواد نلک ترجمه سید

نکته اولی در
بر نوع انسانی انجولفات ایون معبود و تجارت کی کور نور جهان و نور ان معبود انند
نکته دوم در
ایغورنه مقیم معبود برکته نلې ایغورنه کان انجولفات نام شربندر قولرینه
هواد نلک ترجمه سید

دور استغفور نام انگلتره ایچسی جنابلی و دونا شیرینه و دوی طرف دولت علیه دن ایچی موی الیه اعطا بوویدون فقره رسمی اکابر
مجلسه ابرار ایچسی عموما دوله عنده و تخصیص انگلتره و دستیار الو عنده ندره تحسین و مقیم اولدی فی موادی قصد فی بله فکتری دوکار
اولدیغنه بناً خیر انجام برائی شیخ اوله معی و با پایا ملکه و قوع بودی نازده فته و فساد و اختلالی قهر و زمیرا به منطقی اولسی
مجلسه مرقومه واکو ریلوب علی قدر امکان اوافه دم اولمیه دن سهولت و مددیت اوزده دول متفقه طرف ندره دوستانه فوسط اولسی
انطب کور لیدی و بر مشیر و اور و پاوه منشرا و باب عرض و فسادل سو قصد لی ایچی حکم اولره اولوب ملوکلی ایسه جد و سعیدی
اومقوله مفید و خلتی منع دودغه معروف اولدیغند ناشی بعض اطوار و حرکات و فتم و استنباط اولدیغی اوزده ایغورنه شریزه مقیم دم ه
عصانه اعانه و دفعا له شهر مذکور ایمانه مهات سفیه اسالی شریل ایرن ککر اولدیغنی قفص و استطان مختره فوسفانه منشور سی
برج قورسی جنابلی نلک مجلس مذکوره دعوی اولدیغی و معبود معبودی ایکنه مذکوره حواله بنده قوقی و من القیش اولدیغنه بناً العاف
یکفیه الاشاره و به دلت تحریر جواب کف بردارنه دیو تنبیه ایچی و عصاة محذوله نلک سرکرده ندرن الیوم جریره موره فقراسه
جور و فکدی ایرن فی شعور ایستدنی و تروبله و ادیسبوس و قلو قوتی و قزوات نامان خان و ارا فنی موره و قلوب مالد و قزواتی نام
ملعون ایسه بخون کی ایغورنه شریزه دود و دیگری اماکن ساریمه جان اتوب قزواتیکره اولدیغی سفور فجات نام شربندر ه
قولرینلک کاغذنه مسطور و محرور

HAT 957/41041

HAT. 0957

ویندیشیج ھو عناو وھو اہلو افرج ھو نازک
 ماہ صہرالیہ اونی کوئی فراتجہ دیارنہ یاربہ عظیم افسول واقع اولوب فراتجہ دولتناک باس وکیلا اولون ویشہ یولیانہ معنی
 یاربہ اھادیہ اعلم اربوب ویشہ ادمہ زباج طرفہ اعلم ولفن وفتیلم فراتجہ قرانی ووغلو وایریا قلفا خندہ بر فاج نظر
 یاربہ جیفیب لی طرفہ زار و سب فساد دنی سنہ در ہندہ فراتجہ ملککہ مخیر لرہ یاربہ جمع اولدہ ہندہ طرفہ وقوعہ لازم مصالح
 ملکداری ہر نالیہ داز مشاوری اولدہ فراتجہ معبرانی قرانی طرفہ بلاستیناز غراط مشعلہ فیکت معنادارنہ ایچی ہوشو صا در
 بیہمارج اخلافاہ وقوعہ نشاندایم ایدک و قزاق و راندہ کسہ کتیبہ یاربہ اھادیہ اویج رانگو اویج ہر ادرکت دیر
 یاربہ ملک ایلی قزاق شلو بوی اعلاز و انقا وایہ ناہور و قندہ قلمہ کسانہ یاسکیجا ووز لا فاید نام جنالی شریع ہور
 اختیار ایش اولدق حوادہ بی طرفہ بلغاد کھدرن ظہور ایدک بعد زمو جملی طرفہ دنی بالواسطہ سفال اولوز جملہ کور
 دنی قسودہ ایش اولدق بویکیضاص وولہ وقوعہ ایدک و نچہ قار دنی ایشوئی مجارفہ قال حب البیب چند روز قزاق
 بچہ مجارفہ عازم اولدوہ ویکلہ اصیل کچہ قران اولدوہ لیسہ سحرہ قدر بولہ یایر قزاق غنایہ وقرعی ولیقہ بونہ دنی
 برھمہ حقیرہ وازارہ سحرکی صانع عیدہ اورس برنی اولدوہی انہ انکھان محاط علی عالم اری عابدہ بیوروزن ہر صانع اوروزنہ



HAT. 954/40947

HAT. 0954



اولیعی وصول نفرینک تفرقه در ایالتی حکومتین محافظه ایده حکمرانی سوبور لر . بوشه بوشه خارج لموتینم حالده
 نرزانر زده المانی قطعاً اتمک از روزه دکنه . واسکی زمانده معنوس جنگجویانه فکر اوده . قلمش
 فرانس یه قاضی مدافعه ترتیب ایده . اتفاقاً شکست ساینده کسب قوه ایده اوستریا لیسره سائلده نیش اطله روده فی
 لطفه فرانس یه میل یکنده بونده ده روده فرانس اتفاقاً حصول ککله . بواکی اتفاقاً فوق سادی کوپور
 وایک طرفه هری قوتک ریکریل قوتی تقوئه ایده اولیعیته دوبر سالی دولت بنیخ اولیعیته برکای . نای
 نیای مخربس اذهار هشت دیر بکنده هر یک طرفه سولیک برکای . ظهوریه ویر دیر بکنده نیای قوتی واهرا
 اوده بلیو . هر هانک فرانس بوماده راکر قوتش در حال محاطات این المهر ایچونه عجبای بر س زیا
 قوتی المانی « دیر رسول اندیش برور ایدایک کوپور . فقط دیر بکنده بالاده فی عصبه اولیعیته
 کرک فرانس و المانی کرک اوده بانک سار لطفنده سولایزم و آتاشی وصل موبه فکر فی حلیه ضعیف
 ترتیبیته اولیعیته ایالتی حکومتیه سولایزم بر صورتی بولجی اودر س بعدا اوده واده محاربه ایچونه شرفه
 مسکنده بقه بر سبب قاضی مظهره . فقط دیر بکنده ده ساید سولایزم در حال حلیه چار کوسه سولایزم
 صدمای سولایزم کیده حلیه اودر س اینک بوی زوایک بر س ایدایم بوی الی الیاده معلومه در س و دغان
 مستزم چاره قلم فی بعد دکنه .

اینکه سولایزم (سولایزم و بلغارستان) مسکنده بولجی سولایزم ان زیاده جالب نظر دقت بر س فریادان تقوئه
 ماره ای اوجوب بولجی یه اوه زکی (اسک لورنه) مسکنده و اتفاقاً شکست ایده فرانس روده اتفاقاً نه محس اولیعیته در
 ریز فرانس روده یه سولایزم ایچونه ایچونه کدی نمایند و دوستی بر قوه کدی کدی بوشه ده فی روده نای
 افکار و آماند هاشا ایدیک دیر مظهره در لر . زاناکر اتفاقاً شکست کرک انگلر بر س لطفیه
 حکومتی لریخ اولیعیته و دولت عیدم ده بولکای اترکده بایس اولیعیته روده نای م خالصانه و تقوئه
 در شرط موافقتی حالده بلغارستان بولکای فی سولایزم اوده روه قاضی فی ایالتی و لریخ . فرانس نای

[illegible]

مقام نظارت حیدر خان صاحب ۱۸۷۵ تا ۱۸۷۶ مودره سفارت سنی طغنده وار و اولوہ نعلانامہ ملک ترجمہ سید

نور و ساربروی طغندہ کونڈیوہہ خیرات عومہ بہ جوبانری غوجا قونک دول معظمہ زونہ برلن نامہ سفارہ شدہ مالک طغوی تاخید
ایمال اشیخ اولیغی خیران آتشی روز انکلیج اولو دہ معلوم اولو عومہ الیہ برارنت اشیخ اولیغندہ فانیجہ برارنت
عصہ و فغندہ ابدار قلی نور و ساربرویک شدہ مالک ہی تاخید دول معظمہ زونہ برلن نامہ سفارہ کونڈیوہہ اولیغی خیرات
عومہ بہ نور و فغنی طغندہ تیغ انکلیج کمال قند مطالعہ و ترقیہ اولی خیرات مذکورہ در انکلیج دول ملک ایستاقوسہ عقد
اولیغی سفارہ علی معاہدہ سی حقہ اولو افکارینک سر و بیانجہ اولو سربئی افادہ قبول ایور برنکد برار انکلیج دول ملک
اعضا صانی یادہ فصل الیہ اصناع اشیخ برلن حالہ سرقہ کا حال حیرتی مالک علی حقہ انکلیج دول ملک افادہ و ویشہ مالک افکار
برلن کلیمہ خیرات مذکورہ در اولو اشیخ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ برلن حالہ حیرت اولو اشیخ دول ملک ایستاقوسہ
از و اشیخ برلن سرب اولیغی خیرات اشیخ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ دول ملک قونک حقہ اولو افکارینک دول ملک ایستاقوسہ
نور و ساربرویک طغندہ بیان افادہ اولو اشیخ طغندہ اشیخ برلن روس قایتوی ایستاقوسہ سفارہ علی معاہدہ سی حقہ
کند و طغندہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ دول ملک قونک دول ملک ایستاقوسہ
برلن طغندہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ دول ملک قونک دول ملک ایستاقوسہ
سرب اولو اشیخ برلن روس دول ملک روسی برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ دول ملک قونک دول ملک ایستاقوسہ
اشیخ خیران معوضہ برلن زونہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ برلن حالہ حیرتی مالک علی حقہ دول ملک قونک دول ملک ایستاقوسہ

مقام نفه ره جلیله: خارجه: (ع) سالیله تاریخچه و پان سفارده سیم سنده وارد اولور. تلفه اقسام نلک رجم سیده



نظاره و تصدیق
تجهیز و ثبت

براهیم بر موقوفه مجلسه الیوم معلومه کوره قوت اندر سیک اعنائیم قوللائی سانه معلومه زیاده شدتی امیه مایه
معا هده نلک هینت مجموعه سی موقت صورتیه دخی ده نموده استکاف ایلکده شقه اوستریانلک جمع بر صورت قبول ای میجکی
ماده ای سید تعداد ایلدر بیلک برنجی قره صغ و جری سانه حدودی نسیعا ویرلا اراضی انجمن روسیه نلک عکریجه
اونز احتلاطی ایچونه صوه ندرنده مرد ایلر حقی محاطه ایلی انجمن روسیه روسیه بلغارستان مدد فانی درنجی
بلغارستانلک حدودی انجمن ساری نلک استودی ماده لیدر

نظارہ تجلی عالمی عشرہ
ترجمہ و طبع

مستحقان کبریا بیخلافه افتاد به ابرام
 مورد در فایده کورس کجایه مشایخ لوله فایده نمودند مدعی بیاید برحسب اوقفتی که در قوفل از بهای و عمارت
 یا که برقی دکل باشد و جای اولین مورد عرصه و اقصی اختلاف برینین افتاد ایادی بول و از بهر چگونگی آن اگر اوج ابرام و کورس بنیدین اورا و سنی مذکور
 اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و قوفل مذکور است و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا
 وید سوا ایادیکه ساری ((با عاقلان و عید و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا
 ((معقول به ابرام)) اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا
 ((ایادیه و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا
 ((ایادیه و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا و اولی بعد است و اولی قرار کبریا بکبریا

وپردی

APPENDIX- II: Transliteration of the Documents from the Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry

Y.PRK.HR 3/88

Bugün Avrupa alem-i siyasiyyesini işgal eden iki mesele olduğu malum-ı hakayık-ı mevfur-ı hazret-i padişahidir. Bunlardan birincisi Fransa ile Almanya beynindeki Alsace-Lorraine eyaletleri meselesi ve ikincisi de ale'l-umum şark ve bunun müteferriatından olan Bulgaristan meselesidir. Alsace-Lorraine meselesi ittifak meselesi ve buna mukabil Fransa ve Rusya ittifakını vücuda getirmiştir. Fransızlar 1870 tarihinde eyaleteyn-i mezkurateyni kayıp ettiğinden beri bunları her nasıl olursa olsun ve her ne türlü fedakarlık icab ederse etsin tekrar elde edebilmek için nihayet derecede sarf-ı gayret ve mesai etmekte bulunmuşlardır. Ve asla ve kat'a işbu istirdad ceza-yı vatan fikrinden nükul etmeyecekleri içlerinde yaşamış olanlarca gün gibi aşikar bulunmuştur. Vakıa erbab-ı iktidari içinde hatta bütün Fransa bile Almanya idaresi altına girse müteessir olmayacak derecede fikr-i felsefeyi ileri götürüşleri ve ___ ve anarşist denilen güruhu içinde dahi silah altına davet olundukları vakit “Düşün vatan” diye bağırانları var ise de yine Fransa'nın heyet-i umumiyesi denilebilecek derecede bir ekseriyet-i azimesinin inzarı yekvücut bir insan gibi daima eyaleteyn-i mezkureteyne teveccüh etmekte ve hatta insaniyetperverlik ve uhuvvet-i beynelmilel fikirlerini esasi ittihaz ile sulh-ü ebedi maksadının husulüne her türlü vesaitle çalışan hayırhah beşeriyetin bile programlarının baş tarafında mesele-i mezkurenin Fransa'yı hoşnut edecek surette hal-i lüzumu gösterilmektedir. Fransa şairlerinden biri: Alsace- Lorraine meselesini daima düşünmeli fakat alsa kale almamalıdır demiştir ki bu söz bütün Fransızların efkarına muvafıktır. Diğer taraftan Almanya ise eyaleteyn-i mezkureteynin asıl Alman toprağı olup bundan iki asır evvel Almanya cemiyet-i hükümatına dahil bulunduğunu dermiyan ile Fransa'nın bu babda hiçbir hakkı olmadığını ve son neferlerinin telefne kadar eyaleteyn-i mezkureteyni muhafaza edeceklerini söylüyorlar. Yoksa bu mesele hariç

tutulduğu halde ne Fransa ne de Almanya kat'a harb etmek arzusunda değildir. Ve eski zamanlara mahsus cenkcüyane fikirler ortadan kalkmıştır. Fransa'ya karşı müdafaaten tertib edilen ittifak-ı müselles sayesinde kesb-i kuvvet eden Avusturya'nın şark meselesinde rakibi olan Rusya dahi li-menfaaten Fransa'ya meyl eylediğinden bundan da Rusya ve Fransa ittifakı husule gelmiştir. Bu iki ittifakın kuvveti müsavi görünüyor. Ve iki taraftan her biri kuvvetinin diğerinin kuvvetine tefevvukundan emin olmadığından ve böyle beş altı devlet beyninde olacak bir muharebenin netayıç-i muharebesi ezhana dehşet verdiğiinden her iki taraf şimdilik bir muharebe zuhuruna vesile vermekten begayet tevakkı ve ihtiraz üzere bulunuyor. Herhangi bir Fransız'la bu maddeye dair konuşulsa derhal muhatabının reyini almak için “acaba biz mi ziyade kuvvetliyiz Almanlar mı” diye bir sual-i endişeperver eylediği görülüyor. Fakat diğer taraftan balada dahi arz olunduğu vechle gerek Fransa ve Almanya'da gerek Avrupa'nın sair taraflarında sosyalizm ve anarşi ve sulh-ü müebbed fikirleri hayliden hayli terakki etmiş olduğundan eyaleteyn-i mezkureteyn meselesi hakkında bir suret-i tesviye bulunacak olursa badema Avrupa'da muharebe için şark meselesinden başka bir sebep kalmayacağı maznundur. Fakat diğer cihetten de şayet mesele-i mezkurenin sulhen çare-yi tesviyesi bulunamayıp da harben tesviyesi cihetine gidilecek olursa işin böyle zoraki bir işin böyle zoraki bir tesviye ile bitmeyip ilelebet muallak ve harb-ü degayi müstelzem bir halde kalması dahi baid değildir.

İkinci mesele olan Şark ve Bulgaristan meselesine gelince bu babda şimdilik en ziyade calib-i nazar-ı dikkat Prens Ferdinand'ın tasdik-i hükümeti maddesi olup bu ise yine öteki Alsace- Lorraine meselesinden ve ittifak-ı müselles ile Fransa Rusya ittifakından mütehassıs olmaktadır. Zira Fransızlar Rusya'ya yaranmak için etmedikleri nümayişler ve dostluklar bırakmadıkları gibi bu meselede dahi Rusya'nın efkar ve ameline mümaşat etmekten geri durmamaktadırlar. Zaten gerek ittifak-ı müselles gerek İngiltere prensinin tasdik-i hükümeti lehinde olduğundan ve devlet-i aliyye de buna iştirakta beis olmadığından Rusya'nın da halisane ve bila-kayd ve şart-ı muvafakatı halinde Bulgaristan işinin dahi şimdilik ortadan kalkacağı ümit olunabilir. Fransa'nın gerek şimdi vakt-i sulhte ve gerek

ilerde bir muharebe zuhuru halinde Devlet-i Aliyye hakkındaki hissiyat ve muamelatına gelince bu babda Fransa'nın Devlet-i Aliyye için bir kılını bile kımılatacağına itimat olunmamalıdır. Fransızlar Üçüncü Napolyon devri geçti diyorlar ve kendi zafiyetlerinden ve hususiyle Alsace-Lorraine meselesinden başka bir şey düşünmüyorlar. Bu meselenin hüsn-ü suretle tesviyesini yüzünden bekledikleri Rusya'nın ameline karşı nasıl olur da Devlet-i Aliyye'ye müzaheret edebiliyorlar? Kendileri eyaleteyn-i mezkureteyni alsınlar da varsın Rusya da istediği yere tecavüz etsin. Hatta birçok Fransızların ağızlarından "Biz Rusya ile beraber Almanya'ya karşı muharebe edeceğiz galiba edersek Alsas-Loren bize İstanbul da Rusya'ya" sözlerini ve bunun emsalini defaatle işittim. Hatta Fransızlar bir muharebe zuhurunda İngiltere'nin hiç olmazsa bi- Taraflılığını istihsal için onun Mısır hakkında olan ameline mümaşat edecekleri kaviyyen memuldür. Ama denebilir ki mademki ittifak-ı müselles ile Fransa ve Rusya ittifakının kuvvetleri muadildir. Devlet-i Aliyyenin hal-i muvazenette bulunan bir terazinin bir gözüne yine bir ağırlık atıvermesi kabilinden olarak tarafeynden biri tarafına geçmesinin büyük ehemmiyeti yok mudur? Evet burası doğru ve hatta bundan naşidir ki gerek Rusya gerek Fransa bizim de onların ittifakına dahil olmaklığımızı arzu ediyorlar ve bunun için riyakarane yüzümüze gülüyorlar. Fakat bizi kim temin edebilir ki? Biz Rusya ve Fransa tarafına geçtiğimiz ve bu halde Rusya ve Fransa ile beraber ittifak-ı müsellese galip geldiğimiz halde bir müddet sonra Avrupa'da dostumuz yalnız kendileri kalan Rusya ile Fransa küçük bir vesile ile bizi ezmeye kalkacaklar ve bu halde ma'azallah-ü teala düşmanlıklarını kazandığımız diğer devletlerin muvafakatlarıyla beynü'l- düvel taksimimiz cihetine gideceklerdir. Mağlub olduğumuz halde ise neticeten halin neye varacağı muhtaç-ı izah değildir. Mehasin-i hakikat arandığı halde şurasını saklamaya mahal yoktur ki Devlet-i Aliyye-yi Osmaniye'nin muhafaza-yı adem-i muhafazası hakkında rey verecek devletler adedinin mümkün mertebe çok olmasıyla onların beynlerinde uzlaşmalarının imkanı bulunamamasına mütevakıftır. Yoksa Devlet-i Aliyye ittifakat-ı mezkureden birine mühareket (*) edecek olursa galip geldiği halde bile mağlup olan devletlerin reylerini tamamen

kaybetmiş ve selametini ancak iki üç devletin uzlaşmalarına muhavvel kalınmış olur. Galebeden ise ne kazanmak memul olunabilir? Devr-ü istila ve fütühat geçmiş olduğu muhtaç-ı beyan değildir. 1870 senesinde bile Almanya Devleti istila için değil mahza Almanya heyet-i müttefikasını vücuda getirebilmek için Fransa'ya ilan-ı harb etti. Kılıçla alınan şeyler kılıçla redd-i iade olunacaklardır. Zaman ıslahat-ı dahiliye ve terakkiyat-ı medeniye zamanı addolunuyor. Bu halde esbab-ı ma'ruzaya göre Devlet-i Aliyyece haricen yapılacak şey ancak iltizam-ı bi-tarafı ile müdafaa-yı hukuk-u devlet ve düvel-i ecnebiye ile vikaye-yi hüsn-ü münasebat olabiliyor. Bununla beraber bu fikr-i sulh perverane tezyid ve ikmal-i kuvve-yi askeriye ve istikmal-i esbab-ı müdafaa fikriyle asla tezatta değildir. Cengaver Almanya imparatoru bile bir taraftan askerin maharet ve şecaat ve gayretlerine halel gelmesin diye dahilen cenkciyane nutuklar irad ettiği la-yenkati manevralar icra ettirdiği halde diğer taraftan haricen Fransa ile uzlaşıp esbab-ı muharebeyi ortadan kaldırmaya sulh-ü ebedi devrinin vürudunu tacile çalışıyor. Binaenaleyh Devlet-i Aliyyece en hayırlı cihet haricen muhafaza-yı bi-tarafı ile beraber arz-ı mehasin-i hazret-i hilafetpenahide küşad edilen tarik-i terakki ve füyuzatta devam olunmak ve diğer taraftan da asırlardan beri Devlet-i Aliyye'nin daima içinden mutazarrır çıktığı muharebatın sebeb-i yeganesi olan “teba” gayr-i Müslime-i şerhane tabirini ortadan kaldırmak mukteza-yı menafi-i mahsusen Saltanat-ı Seniyye'den olduğu Avrupaca olan istilaat neticesinden müstebat olmuştur. Islahat-ı dahiliye ve terakkiyat-ı medeniyyeye dair mesaile mevzu bahis olan meselenin haricinde olduğundan burada bundan bahise lüzum görülmemiştir.

Parisçe şahs-ı aleyhen hazret-i hilafetpenahileri hakkında olan hissiyat ve efkara gelince gerek gazeteler gerek kitaplar bu babda gerek sarf-ı gazez ve iftira olarak hakk-ı aliyyen cenab-ı şehinşahilerinde ve gerek saray-ı hümayunun cenab-ı mülükanelerine mensup bazı zevat hakkında olan neşriyatın efkar-ı umumiyece su-yı tesiri görülmemekte değildir. Bununla beraber abd-ı memlûkleri orada bulundukça mümkün mertebe tashih-i efkar hayrhahan Saltanat-ı Seniyyeye bezl-i makdur olunmuş olduğu maruzdur.

Y.PRK. HR. 2/75

Makam-ı Nezaret-i Celile-i Hariciyeye Fi 11 Nisan 1878 tarihiyle Londra Sefaret-i Seniyyesi Tarafından Varid Olan Telgrafnamenin Tercümesidir.

Lord Salisbury tarafından gönderilen tahrirat-ı umumiyyeye cevaben Prens Gorçakof'un düvel-i muazzama nezdinde bulunan süferaya şehir-i hali dokuzu tarihiyle irsal etmiş olduğu tahriratı Ajans Router İngilizce olarak malum olan ilave ile beraber neşretmiş olduğundan Fransızcaya bi't-tercüme arz ve takdimine ibtidar kılındı. Lord Salisbury'nin şehir-i Nisan'ın biri tarihiyle düvel-i muazzama nezdinde bulunan süferaya göndermiş olduğu tahrirat-ı umumiyyeyi Lord Loftus tarafıma tebliğ etmekle kemal-i dikkatle mütalaa ve tetkik olundu. Tahrirat-ı mezkurede İngiltere Devleti'nin Ayastefanos'ta akd olunan mukaddemat-ı sulhiye muahedesi hakkında olan efkarının serd ve beyanınca olan serbesti-i ifadeyi kabul ederiz. Bununla beraber İngiltere Devleti'nin itirazatını ziyade tahsil ile izah olunmuş bulduğumuz halde şarktaki hal-i hazırınca onun hali hakkında İngiltere Devleti'nin ilka ve derpiş eylemek efkarında bulunduğu teklifat-ı tahrirat-ı mezkurede aradık ise de bulamadık. Lord Salisbury İngiltere Devleti'nin istemediği şeyleri beyan ile iktifa edip arzu eylediği ne gibi şeyler olduğunu tasrih etmemiştir. Binaenaleyh hal-i hazır hakkında bir ittihad-ı kamil hasıl olmak için devlet-i müşarünileyhanın arzularını Lord müşarünileyhin lütfen tarafımıza beyanı faideli olacağını zannederiz. Ve İngiltere Devleti'nin kongre hakkında olan efkarına gelince Devlet-i İmparatorya'nın kendi tarafından bu meselede ittihaz eylediği mesleğe müracaattan başka bir şey yapamayız. Rusya Kabinetosu Ayastefanos mukaddemat-ı sulhiyesi muahedesi neticesini (*) bir harita-yı muvazzah ile beraber resmen devletlere tebliğ etmiş ve eğer ki kongre olacak olur ise orada bulunacak her bir devlet kendi efkar ve mutalaat ve faaliyetinde serbest olacağı gibi Rusya Devleti'nin dahi bu hakkı muhafaza edeceğini beyan ve ilave eylemiş olduğundan şimdi dahi bu ilanı tekrar ederiz. Binaenaleyh işbu tahriratı melfufuyla beraber nezdinde bulunduğumuz devlete tebliğ eylemeniz mütemennadır.

Y.PRK. HR. 2/61

Makam-ı Nezaret-i Celile-i Hariciyeye Fi 2 Nisan 1878 tarihiyle Viyana Sefaret-i Seniyyesinden Varid Olan Telgrafnamenin Tercümesidir.

Bu akşam mevsuk mahalden aldığım malumata göre Kont Andrassy'nin Ignatief'i kullandığı lisan-ı memulden ziyade şiddetli imiş. Müşarünileyhe muahedenin heyet-i mecmuasını muvakkat suretiyle dahi tanımaktan istinkaf eyledikten başka Avusturya'nın hiçbir suretle kabul edemeyeceği maddeleri bile tadad eylemiştir. Bunların birincisi Karadağ ve Sırbistan hududunu tavsien verilen arazi, ikincisi Rusya'nın askerine olan ihtilatı için Sava nehrinden mürur etmek hakkını muhafaza eylemesi, üçüncüsü Rusya ordusunun Bulgaristan'daki müddet-i ikameti, dördüncüsü Bulgaristan hududu, beşincisi Besarabya'nın istirdadı maddeleridir.

Y. PRK. HR 1/48

Makam-ı Nezaret-i Celile-i Hariciyeye 9 Mart 1878 Tarihiyle Londra Sefaret-i Seniyyesinden Varid Olan Telgrafnamenin Tercümesidir.

Şehr-i halin yirmisi tarihiyle telgrafnameyi aldım. Lord Derby ile görüştüğümde müşarünileyh Londra Kabinetosunun mukaddemini beyan-ı resmisi iktizasınca kendisi konferansa müsâlaha ahidnamesinde yalnız bir kısmı değil bi'l-cümle havi olduğu mevaddın arz olunması efkarının bulunduğunu ifade etti. Bunun üzerine çakerleri eğer üç imparator kendi beynlerinde uzlaşıp da müzakere olunacak esaslar evvelce kararlaştırılmış bulunur ve konferansın müzakeresi şerait-i muahedenin yalnız bir kısmına münhasır olması lazım gelir ise İngiltere böyle bir konferansa iştirak edecek midir diye sual eylediğimde müşarünileyh “Bab-ı Ali ile Rusya Devleti beyninde akd olunan ahidnamenin şeraiti Paris muahedesini imza eden devletlerin muvaffakiyetini hasıl etmedikçe hiçbir halde (*) mamul-bih olamaz. İngiltere Devleti elyevm konferansın teşkilinden evvel hangi esasların müzakere olunacağını bilmekiçin de düvel-i saire ve hususen konferansın içtima-i cümleden evvel teklif eyleyen Avusturya Devleti'yle muhabere etmektedir. Öğrenemediğimiz halde konferansa gitmeyiz. Fransa Devleti dahi konferansın müzakere edeceği maddeleri evvelce bilmek için ısrar ettiğinden o bile dahil olmayacaktır. İtalya'nın İngiltere ve Fransa'ya tabiyet etmesi aaleb-i ihtimaldir. Ve bu surette hiç konferans olmayacaktır” cevabını verdi.

APPENDIX- III: Turkish Summary

16. yüzyılda Dünya sistemi genel olarak Osmanlı Devleti, Avrupa Monarşileri ve onların sömürgeleri etrafında oluşmuştu. O dönemde Avrupa, Amerika kıtasına ulaşmış, zenginliği Avrupa'ya taşıma ve Dünya üzerindeki ticaret yollarında koloniler kurmaya çalışıyor ve bunda başarılı oluyordu. Avrupa yenilikle tanışıyordu. Bu dönemde Avrupa monarşiler ve prensliklerle yönetiliyordu. Kıtaya krallar hâkimdi ve bu krallar halk üzerinde mutlak bir güce sahipti. Aynı dönemde Osmanlı Devleti de en parlak çağını yaşıyordu. 16. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Asya, Avrupa ve Afrika'ya yayılmış, Asya ve Akdeniz'in en önemli ticaret yollarına sahip, Avrupa kıtasında da Doğu Avrupa'ya kadar ilerlemişti. Orta Doğu da imparatorluğun sınırları içindeydi. Bu durum 17. yüzyılın sonuna kadar devam etti, Osmanlı Devleti ilk toprak kaybını 1699 Karlofça Anlaşması ile kaybetmiş oldu. Fakat Yeniçağda Osmanlı Devleti Avrupa'nın en güçlü devletlerinden birisiydi. Ancak ilerleyen yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti'nin git gide güç kaybettiği hem çevrede hem de Osmanlı Devleti'nde hissedilmeye başlanacak ve reformlar yapılmaya başlanacaktı. Bu reformlar siyasi, askeri, ekonomik, vb. alanlarda yapılmıştı. 3. Selim'in 1789'da tahta çıkmasıyla bu dönemde bu reformlar daha da hıza kavuşmuştu.

16. ve 17. yüzyıllarda Avrupa daha önce de belirtildiği gibi mutlak monarşi ile yönetiliyordu. Bu durum bir savaştan ve anlaşmadan sonra değişmeye başlayacaktı: Otuz Yıl Savaşı ve ardından imzalanan Vestfalya Barışı (1648). Otuz Yıl Savaşı, Fransa ve Almanya (Kutsal Roma Cermen İmparatorluğu) arasında yapılmıştı. Bilindiği gibi, Avrupa bu dönemde dini açıdan da hareketlilik yaşamıştı. Almanya'da Protestanlık üstün gelirken, Fransa Katolik olarak hayatına devam ediyordu. Bu durum iki ülke arasında gerginliğe sebep olmuştu. Belki de bu savaş dini sebeplerden çok siyasi sebepler yüzünden ortaya çıkmıştı. Savaş sadece bu iki ülke arasında yapılmamıştı, prenslikler ve diğer ülkeler de savaşa

dâhil olmuşlardı. Bu durum savaşın adından da görüldüğü üzere otuz yıl boyunca sürdü. Savaşın sonucunda Vestfalya Anlaşması imzalandı. Vestfalya Anlaşması kendi egemenliğine sahip olan devletlerden oluşan uluslararası modern bir sistemin başlangıcı sayılabilir. Bu anlaşma ile devletler “self-determination” yani özgür irade, hür irade, kendi kendinin kaderini tayin etme hakkını kazandılar. Bu durum da devletlerin kendi güçlerinin ve milletlerinin isteklerinin farkına varmalarına sebep oldu. Avrupa’da yeni bir sistem doğuyordu, bu yeni devlet sistemi (state-system) bir sonraki yüzyılda Avrupa’da etkili olacak yeni hareketlerin habercisiydi. Avrupa ve Osmanlı Devleti artık eskisi gibi olmayacaktı.

18. yüzyıla gelindiğinde, Avrupa’nın durumu şöyleydi: İngiltere’de hem kral hem de meclis vardı. Habsburglar güçlü bir monarşi olarak Orta ve Doğu Avrupa üzerinde etkiliydiler. Fransa da yine Batı Avrupa’da güçlü bir devletti. İspanya, Danimarka ve Portekiz de diğer önemli monarşilerdi. Doğu Avrupa tarafında da Osmanlı Devleti önemli bir konuma sahipti. Genel olarak bakıldığında 17. Ve 18. Yüzyıllarda en güçlü devletler: İngiltere, Fransa, İspanya, Portekiz, Hollanda, Avusturya, İsveç, Rusya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu idi.

Monarşiler 19. yüzyılın gerektirdiği ve küreselleşmenin ürünü olan güçlü yönetimleri kuramadılar ya da devam ettiremediler. Bunu ancak Ulus-Devletler yapabiliyordu. Avrupalı insanlar artık uluslararası siyasetin kral veya prenslerin değil, insanların temsil eden devletler tarafından yapılması gerektiği görüşündeydiler. Bu görüşler liberalizmi ve milliyetçiliği doğuruyordu.

18. yüzyılda Avrupa’nın genel durumu böyleydi. Fakat daha önce bahsedilen liberalizm ve milliyetçilik düşünceleri ilk önce Amerika’da kendini gösterdi (1776 Amerikan Devrimi ile). Amerika’dan sonra ise bilindiği gibi Avrupa 18. yüzyılın sonunda Fransız Devrimiyle sarsıldı (1789). Avrupa’dan Amerika’ya giden liberalizm düşüncesi Avrupa’ya tekrar dönerek Fransız Devrimi’nin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuştur.

Fransız İhtilali 1789 yılında patlak verdi. Bu ihtilal deęişim ve süreklilik güçlerinin çarpışması sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Fransız halkı ekonomik zorluklar çekiyordu ve halk vergilerini ödeyemiyordu. Kralın halk üzerinde kurduğu despotizm de onların üzerinde büyük bir baskı oluşturmıştu. Bu nedenlerle halk isyan etmişti. Fransız İhtilali Avrupa ve dünyaya eşitlik, özgürlük ve adalet gibi kavramları yaymıştı. Fransa ve hatta Avrupa için Fransız Devrimi ve sonrasında etkili olan kişi Napoleon Bonapart idi. Napoleon devrim sırasında ün kazanmış daha sonra da ilk konsül olarak gücüne güç katmıştı. İmparatorluğunu da ilan ettikten sonra Avrupa üzerinde hayal ettiği planları uygulamaya koymuştu. 19. yüzyılın başından itibaren diğer Avrupa devletleri koalisyonlar oluşturup Napoleon Bonapart’a karşı savaşlar yapmışlardı. Bu tezin konusu olan ittifaklar da başta Napoleon Bonapart’ın plan ve aktivitelerini durdurmak ve Avrupa’da huzur ve barışın korunması için yapılmıştı. Denilebilir ki, Napoleon Bonaparte 19. yüzyıl Avrupa Tarihinin belki de en önemli aktörüydü. Fransız Devrimi yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi eşitlik, özgürlük ve adalet gibi kavramları ortaya çıkarıp bunların yayılmasını sağlamıştı. Osmanlı Devleti de bu düşüncelerden etkilenen devletlerden birisiydi. 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti de bu düşünceler etrafında oluşan çerçevede Osmanlılık, İslamcılık, Türkçülük gibi fikir akımlarıyla devleti kurtarma yoluna gidecekti.

Bu tezin giriş bölümü birinci bölümdür. Giriş bölümünde konuya genel bir bakış açısı sağlanmıştır. Hangi bölümlerde hangi konulardan bahsedileceği belirtilmiştir. Tezin konu bütünlüğü bu bölüm sayesinde ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu sayede de tezin hangi konularda nasıl ilerlediği belirtilerek bir anlam bütünlüğü de sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Yukarıda anlatılan olaylar tezin ikinci bölümünde işlenmiştir. Çalışmanın konusu her ne kadar 1815 Viyana Kongresi’nden 1878 Berlin Kongresi’ne kadarki dönemde Avrupa politikasında deęişen ittifaklar olsa da, bu döneme nasıl ve ne şartlar altında gelindiğini açıklamadan devam etmek bu araştırmanın öncesinde bir boşluk yaratabilir. Bu yüzden, tezin ikinci bölümünde Otuz Yıl Savaşı ve Vestfalya Barışı’yla başlanarak, Avrupa’nın 17. ve 18. yüzyıllardaki genel

durumu hakkında bilgi verilerek, Avrupa'nın nasıl Fransız Devrimi'ni yaşadığı anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, yine ikinci bölümde, Osmanlı Devleti'nin 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllardaki genel durumu üzerinde durulup, Doğu Sorunu'nun ne şekilde ortaya çıktığı hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Bunun nedeni, çalışmanın kapsadığı dönem içerisinde Avrupalı güçlerin politikalarının genellikle Osmanlı Devleti üzerinde oluşmasıdır. Bu durumun benzer şekli de “Doğu Sorunu” diye tanımlanmıştır. Doğu Sorunu, Avrupalı devletlerin Osmanlı Devleti'nin zayıfladığını fark ederek, bu durumun nasıl değerlendirilebileceğini görüşmeleri ve bu durumdan nasıl faydalanabileceklerine karar vermeleri olarak tanımlanabilir. Sonuç olarak söylenebilir ki, ikinci bölüm bu tezin asıl konusu için bir giriş niteliği taşımaktadır. Daha sonraki kısımlarda bir boşluk oluşmaması için, ikinci bölüm açıklayıcı özelliğe sahiptir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü Viyana Kongresi'nden (1815) Kırım Savaşı'na kadar olan süreci açıklamaktadır. Bu bölüm Fransız Devrimi ve Napolyon ile başlamaktadır, çünkü Viyana Kongresi'nin toplanma sebebi de zaten Fransız Devrimi'nin Avrupa'da yarattığı karışıklık, meydana gelebilecek diğer düzensizlikler ve Napolyon'un Avrupa'da korkuya neden olmasıdır. Avrupalı büyük güçler Avrupa'da huzur ve güveni sağlamak için koalisyonlar oluşturup Napoleon Bonaparte'a karşı birçok savaş yapmışlardır. Aynı zamanda ittifaklar da bu dönemde oluşmaya başlanmıştır. 1814 yılı ittifakların başlangıç yılı olarak sayılabilir. 19. yüzyıl Avrupa siyasi tarihinde ittifaklar çok önemli bir yer tutar, hatta denilebilir ki 19. yüzyılda Avrupa tarihini yöneten sistemi ittifaklar oluşturmuştur. Buna Avrupa'da kongre sistemi, Metternich sistemi de denilir. Bu sisteme Metternich sistemi denilmesinin sebebi Metternich'in Avrupa üzerinde kurmaya çalıştığı muhafazakâr ve korumacı yapısıdır. Metternich Avusturya başbakanı idi ve çok etkili bir devlet adamı idi. Avusturya da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu gibi bir imparatorluk olduğu için, Metternich ülkesini milliyetçi hareketlerden korumaya çalışmıştı. Her zaman da Avrupa'yı savaşıtlardan koruma, isyanları büyümeden bastırma ve Avrupa'nın sorunlarını oturup birlikte çözme yoluna gitmekten yana idi. Buna karşın İngiltere Dışışleri Bakanı Lord

Castlereagh ise devletlerin içişlerine karışmama fikrini benimsemişti. Bu yüzden de çoğu isyan olayına genellikle karışmamaya çalışmış, kendini geri çekmişti. Tabi ki diğer devletlerin olduğu gibi İngiltere'nin de başbakanı veya dış işleri bakanı değiştiğinde uyguladığı politikalar da değişiklik göstermişti. Bu nedenlerle, bu bölümde ilk önce Fransız Devrimi'nin nedenleri ve ortaya çıkışı anlatılmış, daha sonra Napolyon Bonapart'ın devrim sırasında ve sonrasında nasıl yükseldiğinden ve nasıl Avrupa tarihini değiştiren bir imparator olduğundan bahsedilmiştir. Daha sonra, Viyana Kongresi hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.

Viyana Kongresi birçok Avrupa Devleti'nin katılımıyla 1815 yılında gerçekleşmiştir. Bu kongrenin önemi ise güçler dengesi, Avrupa uyumu gibi kararlara varılmasıdır. Aynı zamanda devletler, Avrupa ile ilgili herhangi bir sorun olduğunda toplanılıp birlikte karar verilmesi üzerinde anlaştılar. Bu kongreye bu yüzden Viyana Düzeni de denilmektedir. Viyana Kongresi'nden sonra Avrupa Devletleri kendi aralarında çeşitli ittifaklar kuracaklardı. Bu ittifaklarla ilişkilerini devam ettirmişlerdir. Bu ittifaklar devam ederken, Avrupa yeni bir devrim dalgasıyla karşı karşıya idi. Fransız Devrimi'nden sonra Avrupa milliyetçilik ve liberalizm fikirleriyle çalkalanmaya başlamıştı. İlk önce Amerika'da daha sonra da Fransa'da başlayan bu devrimler 1830 ve 1848 yıllarında iki kez Avrupa'nın genelini vurmuştu. İkinci bölümde bu devrimlerin nasıl ortaya çıktığı ve hangi ülkeleri etkilediği hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Bütün bu olaylar anlatılırken ise devletlerin hangi durum karşısında nasıl bir tutum aldığı açıklanmıştır. 1830 ve 1848 devrimlerinden önce de Osmanlı Devleti'nde milliyetçi ayaklanmalar baş göstermişti. Sırp Ayaklanması ile başlayan süreç, Yunan İsyanı ile devam etti. Bu isyanlar Osmanlı Devleti'ni ekonomik, politik ve sosyal yönlerden olumsuz olarak etkiledi. Avrupalı büyük güçler de bu dönemde kendi çıkarlarına uygun olarak politikalar uyguladılar. Aslında dışarıdan Osmanlı Devleti'ni destekler gibi görünseler de kimi zaman isyancıları destekledikleri söylenmektedir. Hatta Rusya'nın uyguladığı politika diğer devletlere göre biraz daha açıktır. Bu iki isyandan sonra Osmanlı Devleti 1830lu yıllarda Mehmet Ali Paşa İsyanı ile çalkalanmıştır. Mehmet Ali Paşa Yunan İsyanı esnasında Osmanlı

Devleti'ne yardım etmiş, daha sonra ise devletin gücünün azalmaya başladığını fark edip birçok plan yapıp ve kendisi ve oğlu için farklı isteklerde bulunmaya başladı. Bu durumun sonucunda Osmanlı Devleti Avrupalı güçlerden destek istediğinde Rusya bu isteğe karşılık verdi ve bundan sonra Osmanlı Devleti üzerinde Rusya etkisi artmaya başladı. Bu tezde Osmanlı Devleti'nin bunun gibi iç problemlerinden bahsedilmemiştir, fakat 19. yüzyılda bu isyanların Avrupa ve Osmanlı politikalarındaki önemi de çok büyük ve önemlidir. Çünkü bu politikalar ve ilişkiler bütün yüzyılı ve daha sonraki dönemleri de büyük ölçüde etkilemiştir. 1815'te başlayıp neredeyse otuz yıl devam eden bu süreç Osmanlı Devleti için zorlu geçmişti, Avrupa'da ise yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi bir düzen oluşturulmaya çalışılıyordu.

Dördüncü bölümde ise Kırım Savaşı'ndan başlanarak Osmanlı Devleti ve Rusya arasında 1877-1878 yıllarında meydana gelen (93 Harbi olarak da bilinen) savaşa kadarki süre içerisinde Avrupa devletlerinin kendi aralarında, Doğu Sorunu üzerinde uyguladıkları politikalar ve yaptıkları ittifaklar açıklanmıştır. Kırım Savaşı başta Kutsal Yerler problemi olarak kendini göstermişti. Bu problemin iki tarafı Fransa ve Rusya idi. Kudüs'teki Kammame Kilisesi'ne bakım yapılması gerektiğini ileri süren ve kimin bu bakımı yapacağı bir sorun haline gelmişti. Bilindiği gibi Rusya Ortodoks ve Fransa ise Katolik bir ülke idi. Kudüs üzerinde de böyle bir problem yaşanması tamamen bu iki devletin üstünlük çabası ile ilgiliydi. Kudüs bir Osmanlı toprağı olduğu için bu durum Osmanlı Devleti'ni de doğrudan etkilemekteydi. Bunun yanında, Rusya Osmanlı Devleti üzerinde baskı ve otorite kurup Akdeniz'e inme politikasında ısrarlıydı. Bu plan ve ısrar bu dönemde daha da çok ortaya çıkmıştı. Kırım Savaşı böylece başlamış oldu. Bu savaşta Osmanlı Devleti yalnız değildi. Rusya'nın yukarıda bahsedilen planlarından diğer Avrupalı devletler rahatsız olmuşlardı. Bu devletlerden en önemlisi, daha doğrusu en rahatsız olanı, tabi ki İngiltere idi. Rusya'nın Akdeniz üzerinde egemen olması İngiltere'nin sömürgelerine giden yollarını tehlikeye sokabilirdi. Bu nedenle İngiltere, Rusya ile başta problem yaşayan Fransa ile bir ittifak oluşturmuş ve Osmanlı Devleti ile birlikte Rusya'ya karşı savaşmışlardır.

Rusya uzun süre dirense de bu üç devlete karşı koyamamıştır. Bu savaşın sonucunda da Paris Barış Konferansı toplanmıştır. Büyük Güçler bu konferansta Osmanlı Devleti'ni de Avrupa Devletler Topluluğu üyesi olarak aralarında saymış ve burumu böyle kabul etmişlerdir. Kırım Savaşı sırasında Osmanlı Devleti Avrupalı devletlerden ilk defa borç almıştır. Bu savaşın da Osmanlı mali sistemi üzerinde önemi büyüktür. Fakat daha da önemlisi Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa Devleti olarak kabul edilmesidir ki bu durum Osmanlı siyasi hayatı için çok önemli bir gelişmedir.

1856 yılından 1870li yıllara kadar devam eden süreçte Avrupa'da yeni iki devlet oluşmuştu, daha doğrusu birliklerini tamamlamışlardı. Bu devletler İtalya ve Almanya idi. Bu iki devletin Avrupa sahnesine katılması de bundan sonraki süreci önemli bir şekilde etkilemişti. Artık Avrupa'nın geleceğinde söz sahibi olacak bu iki devlet birçok isyan ve uğraşının sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştı. Aynı zamanda bu dönemde Avrupa üzerinde en hareketli bölge Balkanlardı. Balkanlarda yaşayan milletler de Fransız İhtilali'nin getirdiği milliyetçilik düşüncesinden etkilenmiş ve bağımsızlıklarını kazanmak için isyana başlamışlardı. Yunan ve Sırp isyanları onlar için örnek teşkil etmişti. Aynı zamanda da bu milletler Osmanlı Devleti'nin eski gücünün kalmadığını anlamışlar, kendileri için toprak kazanma yoluna gitmeye başlamışlardı. Bu süreçte de Avrupalı güçlerden açıkça destek beklemişlerdi. Fakat Avrupalı büyük güçler direkt yardım etmemişler, onları o topraklarda reformlar yapılacak diye durdurmaya çalışmışlardı. Bu teklifi ne Osmanlı Devleti ne de Balkan milletleri kabul etmişlerdi. Bu yüzden belirtilen dönemde birçok Balkan toprağında savaşlar ortaya çıktı. Daha sonra bu savaşlar sırasında Rusya'nın düşmanca politikası tamamen ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu savaş hem Balkanlarda hem de Kafkasya'da yapılmıştır. Bu savaşta da Avrupa büyük güçleri açısından yine bir problem vardı, çünkü Osmanlı Devleti'nin toprakları ve Akdeniz yeniden Rusya tarafından tehdit ediliyordu. Fakat bu savaş sırasında Avrupalı büyük güçler taraf olmamışlar, sadece Osmanlı Devleti ve Rusya arasında arabuluculuk yapmaya çalışmışlardı. Rusya Edirne'ye kadar ilerlemeyi başarmıştı ve Osmanlı Devleti dayanamayacak bir duruma gelmişti. Bu savaştan

sonra Osmanlı Devleti ile Rusya arasında 1878 yılında Ayastefanos Anlaşması imzalanmıştır. Bu anlaşmanın şartları çok ağır olduğundan dolayı diğer Avrupa büyük güçleri de bu anlaşmayı uygun bulmadılar. İngiltere için bir diğer sebep de Kıbrıs'ın İngiltere'ye verilmesinden dolayı Osmanlı Devleti'ne destek sağlamaktı. Bu savaşın ve anlaşmanın sonucunda da Berlin'de Otto von Bismarckın önderliğinde Berlin Kongresi yapılmış, bu kongre de Avrupa Tarihinde bir dönem noktası olmuştur. Kongreden sonra Berlin Anlaşması imzalanmıştır. Bu anlaşmayı imzalayan devletler İngiltere, Fransa, Rusya, Avusturya- Macaristan, İtalya, Almanya ve Osmanlı Devletidir. Bu döneme genel olarak bakıldığında olayların Rusya'nın planları çerçevesinde geliştiğini görmekteyiz. Belirtilen süreçte daha da alevlenen Avrupa siyasi dünyası, yine olaylara toplu bir bakış gerektirmiş, ittifaklar da yine her devletin çıkarına göre şekillenmiştir. Bu bölümde de fikirlerin ve açıklamaların desteklenmesi için üçüncü bölümde olduğu gibi bu bölümde de Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nden resmi belgeler de kullanılmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, bu tezde 1815 Viyana Kongresi'nden 1878 Berlin Kongresi'ne kadar Avrupalı devletlerin politikalarındaki değişen ittifaklar ele alınmıştır. Bu ittifaklara genel olarak Doğu Sorunu çerçevesinden yaklaşılmıştır. Kronolojik bir sıralama izlenerek, olaylar ve o olaylara karşı Avrupa devletlerinin aldıkları tutumlar ve yaptıkları planlar açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışma ile yakın tarihimizde yaşanan olaylar ve devletlerin bu olaylara karşı tutumları karşılaştırma yapılarak incelenmiştir. Buradan da yola çıkılarak şöyle bir sonuca varılabilir. İkinci bölümde açıklandığı gibi Otuz Yıl Savaşlarından sonra imzalanan Vestfalya Anlaşması Avrupa'yı yeni bir uluslararası düzenle tanıştırmıştır. Bu anlaşmadan sonra devletler ve insanlar ön planda olmaya başlamıştır. Monarşilerin önemi git gide azalmıştır. Liberalizm ve milliyetçilik bundan sonra ön plana çıkmıştır. Zaten bu durum da Fransız Devrimi (1789) ile kendini göstermiştir. Fransız Devrimi de Amerikan Devriminin bir yansımasıdır. Dünya 18. Yüzyılın sonundan itibaren devrimlerle çalkalanmış, bağımsızlık hareketleri her yeri sarmıştır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi Fransız Devrimi ile Napoleon Bonaparte ön plana çıkmıştır. Kendisi çok başarılı bir komutan olup kısa sürede önemli mevkilere gelmiştir.

Sonunda imparatorluğunu da ilan etmiştir. İmparatorluğunu ilan ettikten sonra ise planları ve diğer ülkelere yaptığı saldırılar Avrupalı büyük güçleri korkuya düşürmüştür. Söylenbilir ki, 19. Yüzyılın başlarında oluşmaya başlayan ittifaklar bu korku yüzünden oluşmuştur ve Avrupa’da barış, huzur ve güveni sağlamak Avrupalı büyük güçlerin en önemli ihtiyacı haline gelmiştir. Bunun bir nedeni de hem kendilerini hem de kendi çıkarlarını korumaktır. Tezin bütün kısımlarında da görüldüğü gibi Avrupalı büyük güçlerin herhangi bir ittifaka katılma veya bir politika uygulama nedeni daha çok kendi çıkarlarını korumak içindir. Bu yüzden söylenbilir ki, belki de 19. yüzyıl boyunca yapılan bu ittifaklar devletlerin kendilerini koruma sebepleri idi. Yani, devletler bu ittifakları kendilerine kalkan olarak kullanmışlardı. 1. Dünya Savaşı’na kadar ve hatta bu savaş sırasında da ittifaklar bu yönde şekillenmişti. Fakat bu tezin kapsadığı yıllar 1815 Viyana Kongresi’nden 1878 Berlin Kongresi’ne kadar geçen süreci içermektedir. Bu durumun sebebi de 1815 yılında Viyana Kongresi ile oluşturulan sistemdir. Bu sistem çeşitli olaylar ve kişiler tarafından sürekli bir değişim göstermiştir. Fakat teker teker bakıldığında Avrupa’nın bütün büyük güçlerinin birer planı olduğu ve çıkarları doğrultusunda bu planları uygulamaya çalıştıkları ve ittifakların da bu sayede ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Örneğin İngiltere 19. Yüzyıl boyunca kolonilerine giden yolları koruma yoluna gitmiştir. Bu yüzden genel olarak Osmanlı Devleti’nin toprak bütünlüğünü savunma ve Rusya’nın aktivitelerini sınırlama gibi bir tutum izlemiştir. Kendi iç işlerine karışılmasını istemediği için “self-determination” yani kendi kendinin geleceğini tayin etme ilkesine de sadık kalmıştır. 1878 Berlin Kongresi sırasında ve sonrasında bu politikasından vazgeçmiştir. Bunun sebebi, Almanya ile Osmanlı Devleti’nin yaklaşması olduğu kadar bir de Osmanlı Devleti’nin artık kurtarılamayacak kadar zayıfladığı düşüncesidir. Fransa ise 19. Yüzyıl boyunca Napoleon Savaşları’ndan sonra ortaya çıkan birçok zararını kapatmaya çalışmıştır. Bu yüzden kendini yenileme yoluna gitmiştir. Bunun için de genellikle İngiltere ile birlik olmuştur, çünkü İngiltere görüş ve güç açısından Fransa’nın yaklaşabileceği ve ortak politikalar güdebileceği bir devlettir. Avusturya’ya bakacak olunursa, Avusturya da Osmanlı

İmparatorluğu gibi bir imparatorluk olduğu için 19. Yüzyıl boyunca sınırlarında milliyetçilik düşüncesinden kaynaklanan isyanları durdurmak ve ortaya çıkan isyanları da bastırmak yoluna gitmiştir. Metternich'in etkisi 19. Yüzyılın ortalarına kadar görülebilir. Almanya da siyasi birliğini sağlayana kadar birçok sorunla uğraşmış, siyasi birliğini sağladıktan sonra da Otto von Bismarck'ın etkisiyle daha da güç kazanarak büyük devletler arasında yerini almıştır. Siyasi birliğini sağlayamadan önce de genellikle Avusturya'nın ve Rusya'nın etkisinde kalmış ve sessiz bir politika izlemiştir. Rusya ise bu devletlerden farklı olarak genellikle politikalarını Osmanlı Devleti üzerinde yoğunlaştırmıştır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi Akdeniz'e inmek ve ticari faaliyetlerini artırmak isteyen Rusya Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı genellikle düşmanca bir politika izlemiştir. Çoğu zaman da bu duruma karşı çıkan İngiltere ve Fransa ile savaşmıştır. Fakat Berlin Kongresi ile Ayastefanos Antlaşması ile kazandığı birçok avantajdan vazgeçmek durumunda kalmıştır. 1877-78 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı'nda kazanmayı umduğu ve beklediği birçok durumdan Berlin Kongresi ve Berlin Anlaşması ile vazgeçmiştir. Berlin Kongresi ile Avrupa yeni bir safhaya geçmiştir. Bazı tarihçiler ittifaklar sisteminin 1. Dünya Savaşı ile ortadan kalktığını söylese de bazıları Berlin Kongresi ile bu sistemin sonuna gelindiğini belirtmektedirler. Berlin Kongresi'nden sonra Osmanlı Devleti de hem kendi iç sorunlarıyla uğraşmış hem de Avrupalı büyük güçlerin baskıları ile karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Bu durum 1911 Trablusgarp Savaşı, 1912 ve 1913 yıllarındaki Balkan Savaşları ve 1914 ve 1918 yılları arasındaki Birinci Dünya Savaşı ile görülebilir.

Bugüne kadar dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde veya Türkiye'de Avrupa'nın siyasi tarihi, Osmanlı Devleti ve Avrupa devletlerinin ilişkileri tarihçiler tarafından çalışılmıştır. Bu tezin diğer siyasi tarih çalışmalarından farkı Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri kullanılmış olmasıdır. Bu sayede 19. Yüzyılda meydana gelmiş olayları Osmanlı Devleti açısından da görebilmekteyiz. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa'nın herhangi bir yerinde meydana gelmiş olan olaylara kayıtsız kalmadığını ve diğer Avrupa şehirlerinde görevli olan (genellikle konsolosluk memurları) memurlar sayesinde biraz geç de olsa olaylardan ve meydana gelebilecek gelişmelerden

haberi olduđu aşikârdır. Belgelerden de anlaşıldığı üzere Avrupa'daki olaylar Osmanlı Devleti'ni yakından ilgilendirse de ilgilendirmese de her zaman takip edilmiştir. Fakat yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi aradan neredeyse birkaç ay geçtikten sonra Avrupa'da yaşanan olaylar hakkındaki resmi yazılar, mektuplar ve buna benzer şekilde gelen çeşitli tercümeler de Osmanlı Devleti'ne ulaşmıştır. Sonuç olarak söylenebilir ki, bu tezde 1815 Viyana Kongresi'nden 1878 Berlin Kongresi'ne kadar olan dönemde Avrupa'da kurulan ve değişen bu ittifaklar Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nden elde edilen belgelerle, 19. Yüzyıl Avrupa Siyasi Tarihini inceleyen kitaplar ve makalelerle birlikte karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiş ve açıklanmıştır. 19. Yüzyıl Avrupa ve Osmanlı Tarihini etkileyen birçok gelişme ittifaklar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır.

APPENDIX-IV: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü

☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Keyvanoğlu

Adı : Merve Cemile

Bölümü : Tarih

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Shifting Alliances in Europe from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the Congress of Berlin (1878)

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

☐

Doktora

☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: