

Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	x
<i>List of maps</i>	xi
<i>Editor's foreword</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv

Introduction	1
The Problem: I – a sick man in a sick world	1
The Problem: II – reasons why?	4

PART ONE: The Setting

1. Western Questions – The Home Fronts	9
Europe's hegemony	9
Ways and means of production	10
Commerce and its ambitions	12
Finance and its limits	14
Governance: the western part of the West	15
Governance: the eastern part of the West	18
2. Western Questions – The Projection of Power	27
Formalities	27
The terrestrial balance	29
The maritime imbalance	32
The double standard of imperialism	34
The European system	36

Contents

3. The Eastern Question	40
Foundations	40
The Great Power breakthrough against Turkey (1767–1821)	41
Russia's further ascent (1821–33)	44
England's leap forward (1833–41)	46
The wider context: the Anglo-Russian 'Great Game' (to 1847)	48

PART TWO: The Sparks

4. Counter-revolution on the March (1848–50)	59
The contradictions of 1848	59
Great Power dilemmas and urges	61
Rescuing the Ottoman and Habsburg realms	62
Averting a war of German unification	66
The refugee crisis: dress rehearsal for 1853?	68
5. Holy Places, Profane Litigation (May 1850–March 1852)	75
The tense aftermath of the refugee crisis	75
Rival challenges to the status quo	77
The aborted mixed commission	81
The ulema's deft compromise and the sultan's ambiguous pledge	84
From sleight of hand to blatant fraud	87
6. The Return to Armed Diplomacy (April–November 1852)	91
Serious complications	91
French naval persuasion	93
Mounting uncertainties	94
A new 'Greek Project'?	96
The law's delay	97
7. Nativity (December 1852)	101
Montenegro's provocation: the first shots	101
Napoleon 'III' enthroned	102
The new Ottoman ruling and the Tsar's blank cheque	104
Towards a fateful decision	106
Mobilization	109

PART THREE: The Rupture

- 8. Preparations for Diplomatic Disaster**
 (January–February 1853) 115
 Turkey's strong move and London's strong hand 115
 The Tsar's hare-brained schemes 116
 Vienna's gamble: Count Leiningen's mission 120
 French positioning and other matters 123
 British admonitions, Russian blinders 125
- 9. Mission Impossible: I – Menshikov vs the Chargés**
 (March 1853) 131
 Fatal instructions 131
 Foolish intimidation 134
 Napoleon's reaction – Rose's sweet victory 136
 Menshikov's sound advice 140
- 10. Mission Impossible: II – Menshikov vs the Great**
Ambassador (April–May 1853) 146
 The 'Real Jockey' takes charge 146
 The 'Pig' without a 'String' 148
 The first ultimatum 151
 The return of Reshid Pasha 154
 The new team in action 156
 The final exchange: Stratford's real victory 158
- PART FOUR: The Twilight Zone**
- 11. Giant Steps (May–June 1853) 167**
 The logic of the situation 167
 Taking stock 169
 Escalations: Russia 170
 Escalations: Turkey 171
 Escalations: Britain 172
 Sitting pretty: Napoleon 174
- 12. Floating Projects (June–July 1853) 177**
 Imperatives for peace and war 177
 London: the English 'Convention' 178
 Paris: the Drouyn 'Note' 181
 Vienna: the Bourqueney 'Expedient' 182

Contents

St Petersburg and Constantinople: the second ultimatum	184
The embryo of the peace treaty	186
13. Sour Notes (July–August 1853)	190
The occupation of the Principalities and Europe's conservatives	190
The Porte's reaction: the unforeseen ' <i>Ultimatum</i> '	192
The Cabinet's tentative solution: the Vienna project	194
Strategies in conflict	197
The Turks dig in	199
14. Cutting Loose (August–September 1853)	204
Turkey: masterful modifications	204
Europe: anxious anticipations	206
Russia: resolute rejection	209
Britain: violent interpretations	211
Observations on the rise and fall of the Vienna Note	212
PART FIVE: The Passage to Arms	
15. The Outbreak of the Ninth Russo-Turkish War (September–October 1853)	219
Olmütz: the Tsar feigns retreat	219
Constantinople: the Turks declare	222
London: the Cabinet resolves	226
The fighting begins	228
16. Getting Down to Business (October–December 1853)	234
Russia and Britain: planning the inevitable	234
Britain and France: roping in Austria	237
Russia and Turkey: the guns of Sinope	240
Stratford vindicated: Napoleon strikes again	242
The Turks in tow and the die cast	243
17. Calculated Countdown (December 1853–April 1854)	250
Strategic planning	250
Blunt messages	252
Contingent neutrals	255
A tale of three emperors	258
From rupture to summons	261
Enabling alliances	263

PART SIX: Conclusions and Consequences

18. The Origins of the Crimean War	271
Personal responsibilities: I – the emperors	271
Personal responsibilities: II – the Englishmen	274
Less personal forces	279
Ideas	281
Atavism and medievalism	283
19. The Strange Sequel	286
The illusions of war	286
The logic of peace . . . or . . . another war averted	290
Nationalism and imperialism triumphant	293
Repercussions and legacies	296
The irony of 'Sickness'	301
<i>Bibliography</i>	305
<i>Maps</i>	323
<i>Index</i>	330