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THE BULGARIANS AND ANGLO-SAXONDOM

BY

CONSTANTINE STEPHANOVE, M.A.
(FELLOW OF THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY)

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WITH MAPS

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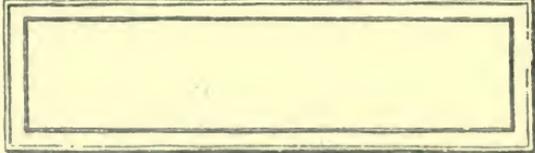
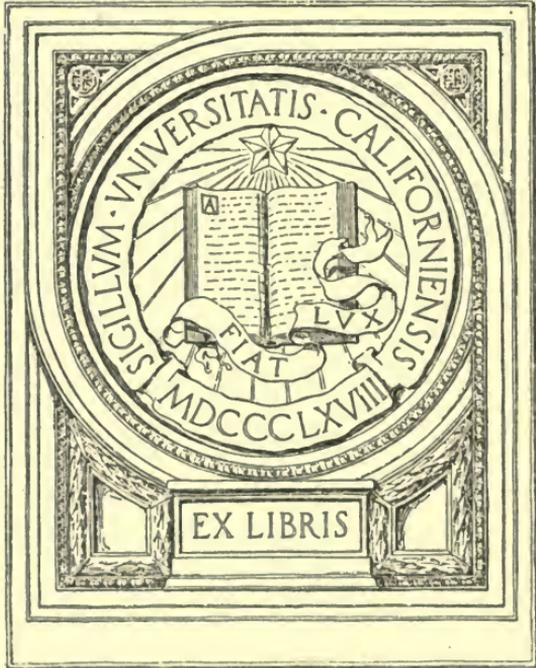
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The Bulgarians are the Yankees of the Balkans. (*General saying.*)

Mr. Robert founder of Robert College died without knowing he had played an important part in founding a new state in Europe. *George B. Washburn, D. D.*

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THE BULGARIANS AND
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TO VINT
ALBONIA

PREFACE

The present volume is an enlargement of the author's memorandum notes on the subject, somewhat systematised. The aim in view has been to bring to the reader's notice some salient events, datas, and facts connected with the historic march towards awakening, independence, and race union of a nation—the Bulgarian—looked upon chiefly through the eyes of English and American authorities. It is surprising what an extensive literature exists in English on the question treated. The writer, of course, has not been in a position to draw from all Anglo-Saxon sources extant, but so much as has been at his command is believed to be sufficient to prove as legitimate the territories in the Balkan Peninsula, occupied and claimed by the Bulgarians, to which they are entitled historically, ethnographically, linguistically, geographically, and morally.

The Author.

J. SCHENK et FILS, BERNE
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I

A NATION'S CLAIMS TO REUNION

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again".

— Wordsworth.

The history of Bulgaria is a long, continuous, and most desperate struggle for national existence and self-assertion. For more than thirteen centuries the Bulgarian nation was fated to fight out its way to life against such overwhelming political, social, and racial obstructions and even calamities, that on many occasions it looked as if it were completely crushed and blotted out of the face of the globe. It was by means of his sword that the original Volga man cleared his way in South-Eastern Europe, by means of his sword he was able to maintain his position on the Balkans for hundreds of years, and when he awoke up from his centuries old political and social lethargy, it was again by dint of arms that he rose against his tyrants, and through a series of bloody revolutions which attracted the attention of the world, and the sympathy of Alexander II of Russia, his subsequent liberator, in particular, he was able once more to resume his place among the living nations, though, unfortunately, in an amputated and crippled form, as we shall see later on.

After it had, in the course of six centuries, established itself on a solid footing on the Balkan Peninsula, during which period it had succeeded in becoming a powerful political and cultural state, the Bulgarian race was condemned for nearly five hun-

and the Greek patriarchs to crush in it every sign of national spirit and self-consciousness. "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again", the prophetic words of Wordsworth came out too true in the case of the revived Bulgar people. The American statesman, Daniel Webster, has still more graphically elucidated the rebirth of a nation with the famous passage of his Bunker Hill Oration: "If the true spark of civil and religious liberty be kindled, it will burn; human agency can not extinguish it; like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time, the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down, but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and in some time or other, at some place or other, the volcano will break down and flame up to heaven".

That is exactly what happened in the central part of the Balkans towards the early seventies of the last century.

It was not a matter of accident, therefore, that in December 1878, an Ambassadorial Conference was convened in Constantinople, whose chief object was to devise a way out of the threatening political volcano. The whole Bulgarian people was in a state of stormy agitation. It was just on the eve of the greatest Bulgarian insurrection which ended in the terrible Turkish atrocities of Batak, Peroushtitsa, etc.

Europe through its representatives at Constantinople tried to disburden itself from a heavy responsibility. A Protocol accompanied with a map was almost involuntarily drawn up in which future Bulgaria was delineated in conformity with historical facts, traditions, and actualities, corroborated by scholars versed in the question, and particularly in accordance

with the recent investigations of the German professor Kiepert.

The Constantinople Conference resuscitated Bulgaria in practically its main ethnical boundaries. Dobroudja with its chief city of Toultscha, Bulgarska Morava with its chief city of Nish, Thrace with its chief city of Philippopolis, and Macedonia with its chief cities of Skopie on the north, and Bitolia on the south, were solemnly recognised as Bulgarian. And though the Great Powers, distracted by selfish interests, did not impose their draft upon the Sultan, one thing, however, remains certain, and that is, the international sanction of the general boundary lines of Bulgaria. We shall touch upon this subject again when coming to deal with America's rôle in Bulgaria's regeneration.

What the European Concert of Powers failed in 1876, Russia tried to effect alone in the following year. In his manifest to the Russian people Emperor Alexander stated that the chief motive for declaring war on Turkey was her failure to execute the decisions of the Ambassadorial Conference, providing for the final emancipation of the Bulgarian people.

Gladstone's bitter philippics against the Turkish misrule silenced the opposition of the Conservative Party in England, and the Russian armies found their onrush across the Danube unopposed by other than Turkish troops. Turkey was crushed and compelled to sign the San Stefano Treaty which was drawn up in practically the same lines decreed by the Constantinople Conference the autumn before.

The San Stefano Treaty was another and more solemn recognition of the Bulgarian legitimate claims to national reunion.

England, Germany, and Austria, however, jealous of Russia's political preponderance in the Near East, and fearing that the creation of a strong Bulgarian state in the Balkans would prove a mere Russian vanguard towards the Dardanelles, intervened in behalf of Turkey, and caused to be convoked the Berlin Congress for the revision of the San Stefano Pact.

At Berlin Europe went back on its word and rescinded its decisions taken by its representatives at the Constantinople Conference. Thus a noble undertaking was undone because of the rival designs cherished by the various members of the Concert of Europe.

In this manner Bulgaria was sacrificed at the altar of the selfish interests of a suspicious Europe. According to the testimony of the best authority on the subject, "*The Treaty of San Stefano had created a Bulgaria essentially on the lines agreed to by the Powers at the Conference of Constantinople. The Treaty of Berlin divided Bulgaria into five sections, giving one part (Nish, Piro, etc.) to Servia, one (Dobroudja) to Roumania, one to an autonomous province called East Roumelia, one (Macedonia) to Turkey, and one to constitute the Principality of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Sultan; and it was England especially that insisted upon this and also upon the right of Turkey to occupy and fortify the range of the Balkans all with the object of making it impossible for the Bulgarians to form a viable state which might be friendly to Russia. The Englishmen who knew Bulgaria, all our friends, understood the folly and wickedness of this at the time. All England has learned it since. Thus far the results have been the*

*revolution of 1885, which resulted in the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, the war with Serbia, the insurrection in Macedonia and the Province of Adrianople, and all the massacres and unspeakable horrors of the last thirty-nine years in Macedonia, to say nothing of what Bulgaria has suffered from the intrigues of foreign Powers ever since the Treaty of Berlin. The awful massacres and persecutions from which the Armenians have suffered since 1886 have been equally the result of this treaty."*¹⁾

And we may complete the list by adding the Balkan wars of 1912, 1913, and indirectly, the present world conflict.

Most writers on Balkan affairs are unanimous in supporting the above view on that historical injustice done to a whole people. Perhaps it may be worth while to quote the opinion of one or two more. Thus Prof. H. P. Judson of Chicago University has this to say on the point: "English jealousy of Russia thus severed Bulgaria which was one in race and sympathy, and in the same time left under the Turkish yoke the Christians of Macedonia. The latter provision was simply a calamity for the unfortunate Macedonians. As to Eastern Roumelia, a revolution in 1885 threw off the authority of the Sultan, and the province was at once annexed to Bulgaria. This aroused the jealousy of Serbia which made foolish war on Bulgaria. The latter country was completely victorious and only the intervention of Austria kept the Bulgarian army from entering Belgrade."²⁾

English writers themselves have been candid enough to admit and condemn the mistakes com-

¹⁾ Dr. G. B. Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, pp. 183-4.

²⁾ *Europe in the 19th Century*, pp. 275, 277.

mitted by the English and European diplomacy in taking the side of Turkey and causing the noble work of the Constantinople Conference to be shattered at the Congress of Berlin. The insurrection in Macedonia in 1902-1903 had rendered English conscience uneasy, and the London Balkan Committee was the result. Among the distinguished men who composed it was Mr. James Bryce, now Lord Bryce, who was chosen its president. In one of the booklets which were published by the Committee, entitled *The Macedonian Crisis*, we find the following significant passage:

"The responsibility which England has explicitly assumed for the government of Turkey is set forth in the writings and speeches of leading statesmen of the last half-century."

"There has been", said the late Duke of Argyll, "a certain more or less persistent policy pursued by Great Britain on the Eastern Question ever since the second quarter of the present century.... It has been the policy of protecting Turkey, with a view to the repulse of Russia from an exclusive and dangerous domination over the East of Europe."

"In 1878, at the close of the war, induced by the Bulgarian massacres of 1876, the Treaty of San Stefano, concluded between Russia and the Sultan, took away from the Turks by far the larger part of the territory we call Macedonia, and made it part of the new Principality of Bulgaria. Great Britain objected to that Treaty as unduly weakening the Turkish power, and the view of the British Ministry was expressed by Lord Beaconsfield in a speech delivered by him as the trusted representative of Great Britain at the Congress of Berlin. The events of the

War," he said, "and especially the Treaty of San Stefano, had led the Greek people into the belief that the time for the partition of Turkey had finally come. This belief was also not confined to the Greeks. This was a complete mistake, since the object of the British policy had long been, as everybody ought to have known, *to strengthen Turkey as much as possible.*"

"The British Ministry procured the meeting of the Congress of Berlin, and at that Congress it was their action which procured the substitution for the Treaty of San Stefano of the Treaty of Berlin, which handed back to the Turks by far the larger part of Macedonia (including the districts now in insurrection). By thus substituting the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano at the instance of Great Britain, the Concert of Europe assumed directly the responsibility which Russia had formerly taken upon herself. . . . Into the whole history of that troublous period we need not enter. It is sufficient to say, however, that the Treaty of San Stefano which Lord Beaconsfield vetoed, created a greater Bulgaria than the state now bearing that name, and that the subsequent Treaty of Berlin handed back to Turkey the very province which, speaking roughly, is now struggling so violently to retrieve its deliberate enslavement by Great Britain. Whatever "Peace with Honour" meant for Englishmen in 1878, it has brought untold misery, oppression, and outrage to the population thereby sacrificed."

In another pamphlet, *Austro-Russian Reforms*, published by the same venerable body of conscientious English citizens, we find the following still more explicit statement:

"If the Treaty of San Stefano, to which Turkey and Russia agreed in 1877, had been allowed to stand, the bulk of Macedonia would have been created into an autonomous state, enjoying the same freedom which was given to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. *It was Great Britain who stood for the integrity of Turkey*; and through her conduct at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Macedonia was handed back to the Turk."

"The despair is our work. We forbade Russia to liberate Macedonia in 1878, we have refused to execute the programmes of reform which Lord Beaconsfield made at Berlin. The insurgents are fighting only for their legal treaty rights. Where now the balance of criminality lie? Perhaps with Europe."

The claims of the Bulgarian race to the reunion of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Dobroudja, Bulgarian Morava, and Thrace are based on ethnographical, historical, and geographical grounds, as has been corroborated by all serious and impartial scholars versed in the matter, such as the Frenchmen, Cousinery, Pouqeville, Reclus, Dejardin, Ami Boué, Lejean, Cyprien Robert, Blanqui, Ubcini, Louis Léger, Bérard, etc.; the Germans, Griesebach, Kiepert, Weigand, Hoffmann, etc.; the Russians, Gregorovitch, Makousheff, Hilferding, Kondakoff, Derjavine, Milyukoff, Teploff, Tchitchatcheff, Bashmakoff, etc.; the Belgians, d'Hally, Squarr, Heuschling, Crousse, Laveleye, etc.; the Greeks, Cameinate, Skylitzes, Acropolite, Aravantinos, etc.; the Croatian, Bradashka; the Swiss, Lecomte; the Austro-Hungarians, Kanitz, Karl, Hahn; the Techechs, Shafaric, Zach, Erben, Niederle, Iretchek, Oblak, Sis, etc.; the Serbians, Karadjich, Brkitch, Verkovitch, Davidovitch, as well as by a host of learned Englishmen

and Americans of whom we shall speak in detail in the succeeding chapters.

All these various writers are unanimous in admitting the Bulgarian character of these lands, and in justifying the desire of the Bulgarians for their racial unification. All of them have pointed out the moral bonds which have held together these sister provinces from time immemorial to the present day. In order to get a glimpse of the indissoluble ties which have kept the Bulgarians of these lands linked in one, it is necessary to have in mind the following historical facts :

As early as 679 (A.D.) the original Bulgarians under their brave leader, Asparouch, established themselves in the Balkans. From that time on commenced the grouping together of the various Slavic tribes settled on the Peninsula. Under Asparouch's equally mighty successors, Tervel and Kroum, the Bulgarian state was greatly extended and strengthened. In the reign of Boris I (852—884) Bulgaria had become the strongest state in south-eastern Europe. Byzantium trembled at its approach. Boris had succeeded in bringing together the various Slavic tribes and in laying the foundation of the First Bulgarian Kingdom. In 855 Boris accepted Christianity and thus Bulgaria paved the way for the new religion among the other Slavic countries. It was in Boris' time that the great Slavic apostles, Cyril and Methodius, laid the foundation of the old Bulgarian alphabet and literature which subsequently were adopted by Russia and other Slavic lands. The kingdom of Bulgaria during Boris included Macedonia (with Bitolia, Castoria, etc.), part of eastern Serbia with Belgrade, and part of Roumania, etc.

The unification process of the Slavs, started so energetically and successfully by Boris, was resumed and carried on with even greater intensity by his illustrious son and successor, Simeon (893—927), known as the first Bulgarian Tsar. Under the latter the frontiers of Bulgaria reached the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, the Danube, and touched the Adriatic. They included entire Macedonia and Thrace. Simeon's is considered the golden period in the history of the Bulgarians. Education, literature, and other arts flourished in this epoch. Politically, religiously, and economically, Bulgaria under Simeon reached its fullest development and power. All foes to this greatest of Slavic states at that time, Byzantium, Russia, Hungary, Serbia, and the barbaric tribes of the North, were rendered powerless. Bulgarian unity and independence were fully established. Simeon who was endowed with an extraordinary talent for organisation had no difficulty in uniting to himself all the Slavic tribes in the Balkans. The Empire he created was thoroughly Bulgarian. It was so strongly Bulgarian, that the ethnical, lingual, and moral ties that were established between Bulgaria and its sister provinces Macedonia, Moesia, Thrace, and Morava were able to survive all the vicissitudes of subsequent ages down to our day. Sofia (Sardica), Philippolis, Ochrida, Nish, etc., were Bulgarian. Adriannople, too, was long in Bulgarian possession.

In 996 (A. D.) there ascended on the Bulgarian throne Samuel, another of the great unifiers of the Slavs in the Balkans. Under him rose the so-called Second Bulgarian Kingdom, or the Kingdom of Ochrida. He became master of most of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Morea. Vodena, Prespa, and Ochrida

were in turn made capitals of his Kingdom. Once more the Bulgaria of Simeon the Great was revived, with Macedonia as the centre of Bulgarian learning, religious awakening, and social reforms. From Samuel's days onward Macedonia retained the intellectual and moral leadership, and as it will be seen, the Macedonian Bulgarians proved no less able, patriotic, and successful pioneers in the Bulgarian Renaissance which took place some hundred years ago. Samuel was the founder of the Bulgarian National Church with Ochrida as its permanent seat.

In 1018 the Bulgarian Empire was shattered. After a series of most bloody wars, Basil II of Byzantium finally got the best of Samuel. Bulgaria was made subordinate to Constantinople. But its existence as an autonomous state, the ethnic unity of the four provinces it constituted, as well as its National Church, were recognised by Byzantium through treaty stipulations. The seat of the Bulgarian Church remained at Ochrida, while Skopie was the capital of the Byzantine *strategos* or Viceroy who ruled Bulgaria.

The Byzantine nominal domination lasted some one hundred and fifty years. An end was put to it in 1186 when under the leadership of the brothers Assen and Peter, descendants of the last King Shishman, Bulgaria rose against the Byzantine ruler and drove away his garrisons. Under the tsars Assen and Kaloyan Bulgaria was able to maintain its power as a strong state in the Balkans, retaining its hold upon Macedonia, Dobroudja, Thrace, and extending its sway clear to Belgrade on the Danube. Thus rose the so-called Third Bulgarian Kingdom. Assen II (1216—1240) is, perhaps, Bulgaria's great-

est and noblest Tsar. Under the guidance and leadership of this pious and wise ruler, the Bulgarian people was able to reach its fullest national unity. In his reign Thessaly and Salonica were subordinate lands of Bulgaria. It became a centre of civilising agencies. Arts, letters, and commerce were in a flourishing state. The country enjoyed an unprecedented wealth and prosperity which were guaranteed by peace and political security. Tirnovo, the capital of the Empire, attained an unheard of opulence and embellishment. Tsar Assen, being a religious person and a lover of education, encouraged the building of churches, monasteires, and schools. Assen II is the most popular and dearly loved ruler in the whole Bulgarian history, for he is the embodiment of Bulgarian national unity and ideals.

After Assen's death, however, Bulgaria became the victim of numerous attacks on the part of Tartars, Byzantines, Serbians, and others. Besides, the country was rent assunder by internal dissensions and civil strifes which rendered it an easy prey to alien onsets and invasions. Servia under Neman and Stephan Doushan (1331—1355) became master of the entire Balkan Peninsula. Servia's Empire was, indeed, of a short duration, but Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, and even Thrace, fell in the hands of the mighty Doushan. Immediately after his death, however, these subject provinces broke apart. Doushan's Empire simply facilitated the process of disintegration in the Balkans, which cleared the path for the arrival of the Turk. Two small states were formed in Macedonia — the Prilep Kingdom and that of Velbudge. In Bulgaria proper, there sprung the kingdoms of Tirnovo and that of Viddin. In the North the despot

Dobroditius founded another independent Bulgarian kingdom called Dobroudja. With the defeat of the Serbians at Kossovo there came an end to all the petty Bulgarian kingdoms also.

But though Bulgaria was shattered to pieces, the various minor states which grew out of the great Bulgarian Empire of Assen II preserved their Bulgarian character to the last. The most competent authority on the subject, Prof. Edward Freeman, touching this point, says: "*From that time (the time of Samuel 1018) to the Turkish conquest, one or more Bulgarian states always existed, and throughout the thirteenth century, the Bulgarian Kingdom, though its boundaries were ever shifting, was one of the chief powers of the south-eastern Peninsula.*"¹⁾

In another place of his great work we find this statement emphasising the ethnical affinity connecting the Bulgarians, Macedonians, and the other Slavic tribes around them. "During the four hundred years between the division of the Empire and the Frank Conquest of the East, the geographical history of the Eastern Empire has mainly to deal with the shifting of its frontiers toward the Slavonic powers. These fall into three main groups: *First, in the north-western corner of the Empire, are the Croatians and the Servian settlements* whose history is closely connected with that of the Kingdom of Hungary and the commonwealth of Venice. *Secondly, there are the Slavs of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.* Thirdly, the great Bulgarian Kingdom comes between the two. *Those two last ranges gradually merge*

¹⁾ *Historical Geography of Europe*, Vol. I, p. 492.

into one; the first (the Croats and Servians) remain distinct throughout."

It is evident, therefore, that prior to the Ottoman conquest Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bulgarian Morava, Thrace, and Dobroudja, no matter what form of political existence they maintained, preserved their Bulgarian character to the last. This is an important fact which some authors are prone to overlook.

In 1393, then, when the Ottoman lords became full masters of the Balkan states, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bulgarian Morava, Thrace, and Dobroudja were incorporated in the Ottoman Empire as *Bulgarian* lands. During the long Turkish dominion, lasting until 1878, though the Bulgarian population inhabiting them was condemned to endure the political bondage of the Mussulman and the religious oppression of the Phanar Patriarchy, its national conscience and national character were, as we pointed out, able to survive all trials and persecutions throughout, so that when the era of national awakening affected Europe, it awoke *Bulgarian*, such as the world had known it centuries back, — or in the words of Macedonia's greatest bard, Jinziphoff, who, as early as 1862, when the work of Hellenization was at its greatest intensity and fierce determination in an effort to obliterate the Bulgarian race and tongue, wrote:

O Macedonia, wondrous Land,
 Thou never, never Greek shalt be;
 Thine woods and heaths, and varied strand,
 Thine lakes and brooks that gush from thee;
 Thine birds and fish, thine every stone,
 Both man and beast, nay, spirits gone —
 To all the world one chorus swell:
 "I Bulgar am, here Bulgars dwell!"

Just about that period Lord Strangford who had made a special study of the Balkan races, caught, it as were, the echo of this song and exclaimed:

*"The Greek can not overcome the Bulgarian, nor lead him, nor incorporate him."*¹⁾

And again:

*"The Serbs or certain Serbian circles believe and wish us to believe that they have the power and the moral right to annex, if not all, at least certain Bulgarian lands. They would neglect nothing in their efforts to work upon the Bulgarians and make them see things as they see them."*²⁾

And in order that he may be well understood by all those of his countrymen who were thinking defferently, Lord Strangford desired to make clear the truth he had discovered:

"The vast and homogeneous majority of the Christian population in European Turkey," as I have said, *"consists of Bulgarians; neither Greek, nor Servian has any authority to set himself up and be trusted as their spokesman."*

And again:

*"The entire mass of the rural and non-Mussulman population of Turkey in Europe, with the exception of Bosnia, Thessaly, Albania, the Chalcidic Peninsula, and a very narrow belt of the seaboard, consists not of Greeks, or Slavs, but of Bulgarians."*³⁾

Sir Arthur Evans, the greatest champion of the Yougo-Slav movement to-day, was more explicit still, when he gave vent to the following statement made in behalf of a people whom he had a splendid op-

¹⁾ *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic*, London, 1864, p. 351.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 314.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 316.

portunity to study on the very spot. That was in 1903, after the great Macedonian revolution.

"The fact is", declares he, "that even in this country — largely owing to interested efforts to disguise the true situation — *the great preponderance of the Bulgar element in Macedonia is only imperfectly realised*. I can only say, as my personal experience after exploring almost the whole interior of the province, that outside the fringe already referred to, and some small urban centres, *practically the whole mass of the population is Slavonic, speaking characteristically Bulgarian dialect*. The Bulgarian shibboleths, such as placing of the article after the word, extend even to the Uskub region, sometimes claimed by the Serbs, whose real speech only begins North of the Shar range. Whereas in certain small towns, such as Castoria, where the Greek element was in the majority, it was far outweighed by the populous Bulgar villages around. *This great preponderance of the Bulgar element is a fundamental factor in the present situation, which has been obscured by statistics drawn from Greek sources.*"¹⁾

Bulgaria's Ethnical Boundaries Universally Recognised

But the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian race have been firmly established as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The impetus to scientific investigation prompted by the French Revolution had largely contributed to the settlement of the racial limits of the Bulgarians. Long is the list of Continental investigators, archeologists, ethnographers, geographers, and learned travellers, who

¹⁾ *The Times*, Sept. 30, 1903.

had visited the south-eastern part of Europe and had availed themselves of the opportunity to study up the Balkan peoples, their conditions, and mode of life on the very spot. The work of investigation undertaken and carried on by such men of science and learning was, therefore, done at a period when Bulgaria was still groaning under the heavy yoke of the Turks, and when, moreover, her neighbouring countries, Roumania, Serbia, and Greece were practically freed. In those days, during which the Bulgarian people was just showing signs of revival, and was cumulating its national strength, these historians, geographers, and travellers were among the first to recognise the natural and ethnical area of the Bulgarians, which, as is evident from their conclusions, exactly correspond to that occupied by them in the past, a truth corroborated by their Anglo-Saxon colleagues, as will be seen later on in this work.

It is not within the scope of this book to give a detailed review of the scientific data obtained by Continental authors who had made the Balkans their special object of study, but the utilisation of the evidences of a few of them would not be found superfluous.

The eminent French writer, T. Pouqueville, may be mentioned among the earliest pioneer scholars and travellers of the last century, interested in the study of the Balkan Peninsula. These quotations from his works devoted to that part of Europe clearly specify the boundary lines between the Bulgarian, the Greek, and the Albanian peoples, as early as 1805:

“We stopped at Piaco or Doupari, a village not far from the lake of Costour (Castoria). As far as

here I travelled in a known country, because I could speak to and communicate with the inhabitants of the country, but here the scene was changed. *I entered the country of the Bulgarians, and I was obliged to use the few Slavic words I had picked up during my sojourn in Ragusa.*"

And again:

"In the valley of Prespa there are about 46 Bulgarian villages. In the district of Ressen are 26 Bulgarian villages... *The river Drin with its right bank forms at this distance the dividing line between the Bulgarian language and that of the Shkipetari-Gheghi Albanians.*"¹⁾

The Russian historian, V. Gregorovitch, who had traversed the Balkans in the thirties of the last century, has this to say about the race character of southern Macedonia:

"The villages between Salonica and Enidje-Vardar are inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians. The villages in the districts of Enidje-Vardar, Voden, Lerin, Bitolia, as well as those between Bitolia and Ochrida, *are inhabited exclusively by Bulgarians*, intermingled here and there with Koutzo-Wallachs and Turks."²⁾

Such an international authority as the learned French scholar, Ami Boué, whose work *La Turquie d'Europe* is one of the few thorough books on the Balkan Question, contributes this signal statement about the ethnical physiognomy of southern Macedonia:

¹⁾ T. Pouqueville: *Voyage de la Grèce*, Paris, 1826, Vol. II, p. 517, Vol. III, p. 59.

²⁾ *Esquisse de voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, par V. Grégorovitch, Moscou, 1840, p. 107.

"*The Bulgarians compose the main kernel of the population of Macedonia, with the exception of the south-western part, from Costour (Castoria) and Bistrizza. The mountains between the basin of Lerin (Florin) and Costour (Castoria), between Cagliari and Satishta, between Ostrovo and Ber (Berea), and between Voden and Niegoush, separate the country where only Bulgarian is spoken, from that in the south, where the Greek is the language of the peasants.*"¹⁾

In one place he says: "*Uskub is pre-eminently a Bulgarian city,*" and "*Resna and Prespa are mainly inhabited by Bulgarians.*"

A third French author, no less known and exhaustive on Balkan matters, is Cyprien Robert. The following quotation from his writings is confirming the investigations obtained by his colleagues:

"Neglecting to mark the march and the transference of peoples, *geographers continue to put Thrace, Macedonia, and Albania as boundaries of the Bulgarian people. This people in reality constitutes the main kernel of the population of Macedonia* — from the mountain lines between Cagliari, Satishta, Ostrovo, and Ber (Berea), as far as the valleys of Niegoush and Voden; only south of this line is to be found the Greek peasant."²⁾

Ubicini, another Frenchman, an equally renowned Balkan scholar, makes this categorical statement about the Bulgarian boundaries:

"Among the populations of the Slavic race, direct subjects of the Porte, *the Bulgarians hold the first*

¹⁾ *La Turquie d'Europe*, par Ami Boué, Paris, 1840, Vol. II, p. 5.

²⁾ *Les Slaves de la Turquie*, par Cyprien Robert, Paris 1814. Vol. II, p. 230.

*place. Divided by the Balkans, the Bulgarians touch the Black Sea and the Archipelago through Burgas and Salonica; they extend on the west as far as Albania and reach Danube on the north from Fet-Islam (Kladovo) to Silistra."*¹⁾

The unanimous testimonies of these and other historical writers on the ethnical character of the Balkan Peninsula during the first half of the nineteenth century have been further strengthened by a host of other ethnographers and geographers, as may be judged from the following conclusions taken from their works.

The French writer G. Lejean, in his book entitled the *Ethnography of Turkey in Europe*, published in 1861, at a time when Bulgaria was still a Turkish province, and possessed neither its own National Church, nor its own schools, wrote:

"To-day the Bulgarian people is almost bounded by the Danube, the river Timok, with a line passing by the towns of Nish, Prizren, Ochrida, Niegoush, Salonica, Adrianople and Sozopol, the Back Sea and Burgas. The *Bulgarians occupy almost the whole of Macedonia and their compact mass gradually pushes the Greeks to the sea*, where the latter hold their ground in a narrow strip of land between Platamona and Kolakia. From the Struma to the Maritza the Greek territory forms a very narrow zone inhabited by seamen and fishermen, while the Bulgarian, pre-eminently agriculturist, occupies the heights that dominate the sea-coast. Outside of this perimetre there are Bulgarian foreposts or remnants of the Bulgarian people among Albanians,

¹⁾ *L'Empire Ottoman*, par H. Ubcini, Paris 1854, p. 634.

Wallachs, Greeks, in the Dobroudja and even in Asia." ¹⁾

The late Prof. K. Iretchek, perhaps the greatest Tchech historian of modern times, is the author of one of the best history of the Bulgarian people. In his treatise he gives the following delineation of the ethnical limits of the Bulgarian race :

"The settlements of the Bulgarians are found in the ancient provinces of Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia, or according to recent Turkish administrative division, in the Danube, Adrianople, Salonica, and Bitolia vilayets. The boundary line of the provinces, inhabited by the people speaking Bulgarian, runs north to the Lower Danube from its mouth down to Viddin; farther on this line extends to the river Timok, runs along the Serbian frontier which it rarely crosses and turns southward only along the river Toplitza by the town of Procuplie. Climbing along the heights on the right strip of the Morava, it passes the town of Vrania, comes to the Tchernogorie, extends as far as the Shar mountain, passes the upper Debir, and reaches its end on the right bank of the Ochrida and Prespa lakes, at the village of Lin. The zone, south of these lakes, the valley of Coritza and that of the river Dievol have a mixed population — of Albanians, Bulgarians, and Wallachs. Farther on the frontier line runs from Dievol through the lake of Costour (Castoria), the town of Wallachian Klissura, the towns of Niegoush, Salonica, Seres, and reaching the environs of Drama, passes the southern slopes of the Rhodope mountains; thence it approaches the towns of Dimotica,

¹⁾ *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*, par G. Lejean, 1861, pp. 28, 29.

Ouzoun-Kiupriu, Bunar-Hissar, and Little Samokov, and thence on to the Black Sea." 1)

Hilferding, a Russian scholar, is another of the earlier writers on Balkan questions. Among other things he states, as a matter of course, the following fact concerning the ethnical delimitation between Serbians and Bulgarians:

"Shar Mountain stops the further movement of the Serbian element and serves as a frontier line between Serbians and Bulgarians. The latter occupy Macedonia and part of Albania. The Serbian language of Prizren already approaches the Bulgarian dialect." 2)

A. Synvet, a professor of Geography in the Imperial Lyceum in Constantinople, in his text-book, *General Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, in speaking of the Bulgarians, says:

"The Bulgarians of Ougrian origin were Slavicised in Europe. Their chief branch settled south of the Danube and formed an important kingdom which was conquered by Nicephorus in 1017. After the battle of Varna (1444) their kingdom was vanquished by the Ottomans and became part of their Empire. *That race is to-day bounded by the Danube, the Timok river, and a line passing through Nish, Prisrend, Ochrida, Castoria, Salonika, Adrianople, and Razgrad. Bulgarians are also found in Albania, Thrace, and Bessarabia.*" 3)

The well-known Belgian historian, Emile de Laveley, has expressed himself in an unmistakable

1) *Bulgarska Istorija*, Tirnovo, 1888, p. 718.

2) *Oeuvres complètes*, Hilferding, Vol. III, page 141.

3) *Traité de géographie générale de l'empire ottoman*, par A. Synvet, Constantinople, 1872, page 72.

manner when in touching the ethnical complexion of Macedonia he says: "*The whole central and eastern part of Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians, who extend as far as Salonica and Seres. According to the well-informed authors Roolus, Kiepert, Ubcini, Lejean, Crousse, the great majority of the population of Macedonia is Bulgarian.*"¹⁾

Louis Léger, the French professor and distinguished authority on many subjects, is one of the few European scholars who possess a thorough mastery of the Balkan race intricacies. Among the many of his important works may be mentioned, his *Cyril and Methodius* (1868), *A Collection of Slav Popular songs* (1882), *The Save, the Danube, and the Balkan* (1884), *Russians and Slavs* (1890), etc. Because of his erudition on Balkan matters he was made one of the co-editors of the *Grande Encyclopédie*. From his article on *Bulgaria* we will here cite the passage which defines the ethnical limits of the Bulgarian race: "Under the name of Bulgaria," says that eminent historian, "is meant: 1) The Principality of Bulgaria created by the Berlin Treaty between the Danube and the Balkans, with Sofia as capital; 2) The group formed by this Principality and the autonomous province of East Roumelia, united in consequence of the successful Philippopolis revolution in September 1885. Of this group we shall treat here; *but it is well to remark that it does not embrace all the Bulgarians. It leaves out of its limits: the Bulgarians in Macedonia and western Thrace, destined in all propability to unite some day with their free brethren: those of Dobroudja left by*

¹⁾ *La Péninsule des Balkans*, par Emile de Laveley, Paris 1888, vol. III, p. 204.

*the Berlin Treaty under Roumania; and those of the districts of Pirot, Nish and Vranja, which the Berlin Treaty gave to Serbia."*¹⁾

It seems that the particular zeal with which so many Frenchmen had taken upon themselves the task of studying up the Balkan racial questions is due to their spirit of democracy, and largely, no doubt, to the fact that in Elsass and Lorraine they had a Macedonian question of their own. The literature concerned with Balkan history, written by Frenchmen, is at once extensive and exhaustive. What constitutes an important feature about that literature is, as the readers have already had a glimpse of it, the fact that the assertions of all well-grounded and unbiassed French scholars, are in accord with the conclusions obtained by other Continental investigators of unimpeachable integrity and depth. The author may be pardoned for quoting from two more French writers who had made the Balkans their special study.

Léon Lamouche, a French military captain of great erudition, has had a rare opportunity of coming in close contact with the various peoples of south-eastern Europe, and with the Bulgarians in particular. Two books on the Balkans have been the fruit of his efforts to master up the Balkan Peninsula from a historical, ethnographical, statistical, and military point of view. In his volume consecrated to Bulgaria it is worth while to compare with the views of other writers on the subject the following statements made by him:

"The Bulgarian people in reality occupy that part of the Balkan Peninsula, known in antiquity

¹⁾ *La Grande Encyclopédie*, p. 400.

*under the names of Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia.”*¹⁾

“The San Stefano Treaty signed on the 3rd of March, 1878, fully responded to the expectations of the Bulgarian people. *It guaranteed an almost complete independence to the Turkish provinces in which the Bulgarians comprised the majority of the population.*”²⁾

On March 14, 1917, that is a year ago, when France was passing through one of the most critical periods of her existence, the Paris Sociological Society had invited Georges Bousquet, Honorary State Secretary, to deliver under its auspices a lecture on an ally of France's direst enemy. Mr. Bousquet who has spent many years in the Balkans is an authority on this subject. Truth being the guiding principle in his life and labours, he thrilled his audience of distinguished compatriots, the majority of them filled with a most bitter hatred for the country treated, with such hard facts as these:

“Happy Bulgaria! happy Europe too, if the European Powers had adhered to that treaty (of San Stefano), and had allowed the Bulgarian people to normally develop itself in this large territory, which was their historical boundary, watered with the blood of their ancestors and peopled by their children! We would have been spared many convulsions, and the present conflict would probably not have arisen, at any rate, not in its actual form and extent. But the evil genius of the XIXth century was on the wake. Bismarck was able to persuade Europe that this Bulgarian reconstitution was nothing

¹⁾ *La Bulgarie dans le passé et le présent*, Paris, 1892, p. 53.

²⁾ *Ibid*, p. 110.

but a Russian aggrandisement threatening the European equilibrium; he succeeded to persuade even Russia that in creating at her door a young and powerful empire she was eventually preparing a dangerous support for the enemies who might wish to attack her on that side; *and the Berlin Treaty, in 1880, destroying the logical and harmonious work of San Stefano, divided Bulgaria into three parts: Macedonia in the South, which was left in Turkish barbarism; North the mutilated Principality of Bulgaria, which was declared independent under the vague suzerainty of the Sultan, and the strip of intermediary land, for which a new designation had to be invented, East Roumelia, and which was to enjoy an administrative autonomy under the political sovereignty of the Porte.*

“Now this patriotic enthusiasm has one concrete, definite object, proclaimed since the emancipation of Bulgaria in 1878, constantly re-echoed ever since the spoliation of the Berlin Treaty, namely: to recover the Bulgarian part of Macedonia from the mouth of the Maritza to Bitolia. And now imagine the despair of the people: this object the Bulgarian attained at the price of his blood in 1913. He drove out the Turks. He let his horses drink of the water of the Vardar. He entered Seres which is his Mulhausen! He entered Drama which is his Strassburg! He entered Salonica which was his Metz! And then as a result of a mean aggression of his transdanubian neighbours, he lost everything and the treaty of Bucharest renewed the iniquity of Berlin.

“This treaty the Bulgarian never accepted in his inmost soul, no more than we accepted the

treaty of Frankfurt; he swore that he would go with him who would tear it up.

“Ah! how he wished we might be that people! And how easy it would have been, if we had known how to speak and act in time in order to draw to us the Bulgarian people, all the scholars of whom speak our language, and their army, who were taught by our officers to manage the Creusot cannons, which we sold to them. But we failed to do all that. And now justice requires that we secure to Bulgaria these very territories which in their secret conventions in 1912, their allies acknowledged to belong to them. To this solution the Entente will have to come, because it is right, it is logical, it is the normal and unalterable application of the principle of nationalities, for which we are fighting. Woe to us! Woe to our descendants, if under the walls of the European fortress which we are to erect to-morrow, was buried the one Bulgarian desire. Be sure the Bulgarian would blow up that fortress.”

Not less categorical are the evidences derived from Serbian sources. The student of history will have discovered that prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century all Serbian writers and the Serbian people in general took it for granted that the District of Nish, as well as Macedonia, are Bulgarian lands. President Kupfer of the Collège de Morges in Switzerland tells us that, as early as 1771, the Serbian writer Basil Brkitch in his work, *A Description of the Turkish Provinces and of the Christian Peoples Inhabiting Them, and Chiefly the Serbian People*, says this about the District of Kavalla: “It is a wonderfully rich land where are to be found many wealthy Turks. *The country is inhabited by*

Bulgarians and Turks, but since the Bulgarians are more numerous throughout Macedonia, all Turks speak Bulgarian."

In 1821 there appeared in Vienna the *History of the Serbian People* by D. Davidovitch, which book was reprinted in 1848 under the auspices and at the expense of the Serbian Government. These lines contained in it speak for themselves: "The limits of the territories which the Serbs inhabit are, *Bulgaria on the east, Macedonia* and part of the Adriatic coast on the south, the Adriatic Sea on the west, and Hungary on the north."

In April 1867 there was concluded a secret treaty between the Serbian Government and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Organisation. Article 2 of that document reads as follows:

"The Empire of the Yungo-Slavs will be made up of Serbia and Bulgaria. The latter includes the provinces of Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia."

One of the most noted Serbian authors of the past century is Verkovitch of Bosnia. He had made a special study of the *Bulgarian Popular Songs in Macedonia*, which were published by the Serbian Literary Society. In his introduction the Serbian scholar declares "*the Slav population in Macedonia speaks the purest Bulgarian dialect.*"

The Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912, in which Serbia most concretely recognised the Bulgarian claims to Macedonia as far as the Shar Mountains, is the newest and most solemn Serbian evidence touching the ethnical physiognomy of that country.

Another striking proof strengthening the Bulgarian legitimate rights over Macedonia is the fact that the Serbian historians and writers never considered

Macedonia inhabited by Greeks, while on the other hand, the Greek authors in speaking of that land never considered it peopled by Serbians. The entire Greek and Serbian literature on the ethnical character of Macedonia, until very recently, or until the Berlin Congress of 1878, is filled with documental evidences which completely vindicate the claims of the Bulgarians and Macedonians to be one and the same people.

Among the Greek authors on the subject we may here mention P. Aravantinos who in his Historico-Geographical work published in 1856-1857 among other things establishes the following facts:

“*Pelagonia*. Ancient city and territory in Macedonia. In that country is situated the new town of *Bytolia*, also called *Monastir* and peopled by 20,000 inhabitants . . . *Its Christian inhabitants speak chiefly the Bulgarian language.*”¹⁾

The reader will be interested to compare the above statement of these learned and honest Greek men of letters with the memorandum of the American Missionary staff of Turkey-in-Europe sent by them in 1913 to Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Ministers of the other Great Powers, and find out for himself the striking concord between the Greek and the American views.

The same Greek author speaking of the ancient Macedonian town which occupies a central position of that country says:

“*Prilep* . . . a Macedonian town . . . Its inhabitants to-day count some 1200 families, Mohammedans and

¹⁾ Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου τῶν τε ὁμόρων ἐλληνικῶν καὶ ἰλλυρικῶν λαῶν, συντάταγμένη ὑπὸ Π. Α. Π. ἐν Ἀθήναις 1856—1857, II, pp. 401—402.

Christians: *the latter are of Bulgarian or Vlach race.*"¹⁾)

As early as 1255 Georges Acropolite in his memoirs dealing on the subject of Macedonia states explicitly that the town of *Vodena*, Prilep, Veles, Shtip, etc. are "*inhabited by Bulgarians.*"²⁾)

As a curiosity we may be allowed to cite the following example of unwilling admission of the Bulgarian character of southern Macedonia on the part of the Greeks. In 1915, while the Venizelists were canvassing that region in behalf of their leader, they addressed the Bulgarian population in this language:

"If you vote for us, and if Venizelos come to power, we will cede to Bulgaria not only *Serres*, *Drama*, and *Cavalla*, but also the whole Slavophone territory, that is, as far as *Castoria.*"³⁾)

German historical literature, as in all other branches, so in the field of Balkan research contains a rich collection of works. Very interesting is the book of travel by Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian, whom the Turks made prisoner at the battle of Nicopol (1396). As a captive of Sultan Bayazid from 1394-1427, Schiltberger had a rare opportunity of collecting a very valuable information concerning the lands he visited. In his work is to be found this striking passage about Bulgaria:

"Among these lands I visited above all *three Bulgarias*. The first lies over against Hungaria, as far as the Iron Gates, its capital is called Pudem (Viddin). *The second Bulgaria lies opposite Wallachia*, its capital is Tirnovo (Ternau). *The third is*

¹⁾ Ibid, p. 137.

²⁾ G. Acropolita, *Historia*, Ed. Bonnæ, p. 125.

³⁾ Τὸ Φῶς, May 24, 1915.

*found along the mouth of the Danube; its capital is Kallacerka (Kaliacra)."*¹⁾

Thus this German author corroborates the recognised boundaires between Roumania and Bulgaria, as were existing at the time he traversed the Balkans.

A. Griesebach, professor at the University of Göttingen, made an extensive journey through the Balkan Peninsula during the year 1839. He spent a considerable time in Macedonia and his notes on the conditions of that country at that period are a precious contribution to history. Statements like the following throw abundant light on many questions connected with Macedonia and its people:

"In front of the Vardar Gate," he writes from Salonica, "we met *many groups of peasants in Bulgarian costumes*, who were coming to sell their produce in the city. West of Salonica one hears no more the Greek language, *as the territory from here, as far as the Albanian mountains, is inhabited by the Bulgarians.*"²⁾

Professor Griesebach in making this assertion simply reiterates what other learned travellers have expressed in regard to the race and language limits between Greeks and Bulgarians in south-western Macedonia.

This author, too, has indirectly pointed out that Macedonia is peopled chiefly by Bulgarians, as is evident from this passage:

"His authority (of the Turkish Governor) extends over fourteen districts, embracing one half of northern Macedonia, as well as a narrow strip of land

¹⁾ *Reise des Joh. Schiltberger*, München, 1857, p. 93.

²⁾ *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*. Göttingen, 1841, II. Band, p. 65.

of northern Albania. These districts with their chief towns are: *Skopie, Katchanik, Tetovo, Kitchevo, Dibra, Kustendil, Melnik, Stroumitsa, Radovish, Shtip, Kratovo, Koumanovo, Kriva-Palanka, and Kotchani. The major part of this territory consists of fertile and well-cultivated plains, inhabited by Bulgarians.*"¹⁾

On the ethnical character of the same country, Macedonia, I shall limit myself to the testimony of the German scholar Prof. Weigand of the Leipzig University. In his noted work *Die Nationalen Bestrebungen der Balkanvölker* he makes these statements:

"When asked about their nationality, the *Slavs of Macedonia say they are Bulgars . . . The language of the population of southern and northern Macedonia is unquestionably Bulgarian . . . Bulgarian is the language of Ochrida, Dibra, situated north of that city, at Monastir (Bytolia), Prilep, Scopie, as well as in the localities lying farthest north in Serbia, namely, in the vicinities of Vrania.*"²⁾

A very valuable information concerning Dobroudja may be obtained from Paul Georgitch of Ragusa, who had lived a long time in Bulgaria, toward the latter part of the sixteenth century. In his work *Il Regno di Bulgaria* the author has to say the following in regard to Dobroudja and the Bulgarians in general:

"Il regno di Bulgaria," says he, "is divided into three provinces. The first is called *Dobrudja, extending from the mouth of the Danube to Varna. In this province I have lived a long time and traded. The littoral of Dobrudja is inhabited by Christians.*

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 233.

²⁾ *Die Nationalen Bestrebungen der Balkanvölker*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 19.

The following towns are found there: Kiustenje, Mangalia, Baltchik, Varna, Corbis (Garvan), Eihorna, Franga, Novo-Selo, and Galata. In the interior of the Dobrudja are the towns of Tultcha, Babaa (Babadag), Caraso (Tchernavoda), Cassasui (Kassapkiou), Pas-sarghi, and Pravadia. In Cassasui Babasi *the Christians are more numerous than the Turks. The Turks in these places are all from Asia, they are not fit for military service, but the natives are brave, and from them could be recruited a good battalion, though they have no other weapons than swords, bows, and arrows.*"¹⁾

Among the many Italian historical evidences touching Near-Eastern questions we will mention the history of the journey made by Lorenzo Bernardo who had traversed the Balkans about the same period Paul Georgitch did. It is very interesting to read his description of the various Macedonian towns he had visited over three hundred years ago. Here are a few specimens:

"*Strouga*. Some call it a town, but in reality it is a village, the *first locality in Bulgaria*. It is being cut through by a small river which derives its source from the Ochrida Lake, and which is the beginning of the river Drin. On leaving the Strouga plain one comes across *the boundary-line between Albania and Bulgaria*. *The Bulgarians speak the Slav language, but profess the Greek religion.*"²⁾

Monastir (Bytolia) *is a Bulgarian town* counting some 1500 houses, with 200 Jews . . . From Vodena they entered upon a wide plain which the Turks

¹⁾ See the *Works of Prof. Drinoff*, p. 533.

²⁾ *Relazione del viaggio fatto da Lorenzo Bernardo nel 1591* (Rad CXXXVI), p. 31.

call Vardar-Ova, and the Bulgarians—*Slanitsa*. Thence they wended their way towards Salonica, passing through a wooden bridge spanned over Vardar which runs from Scopie on the north... *This bridge is the limit between Bulgaria and Thessaly.*"¹⁾

Three hundred years later, in his noted work *Origine ed evoluzione storica delle Nazioni balcaniche*, the Italian professor Angelo Pernice rendered this noteworthy characterisation on Macedonia:

"The frontiers given to Bulgaria by the Congress of Berlin could not be considered final, because *the Bulgarians occupy the territory extending from the Danube to the Aegean, and the Black Sea to Ochrida*. The struggle for the reunion of Eastern Roumelia and the Principality was resumed immediately; that for the occupation of Macedonia is forthcoming. Macedonia which diplomacy gave back to Turkey is considered by the Bulgarians a purely Bulgarian land, the centre of their Fatherland. Here are found the cities of Ochrida and Skopie which during the nineteenth century took the initiative in the conflict with the Phanar clergy whose aim was the Hellenisation of the Bulgarian people. . . *Europe, guided by its interests, may impose its will on the now helpless Bulgarians, but she will not be able to stifle the national self-consciousness in them, nor to prevent the ultimate triumph of their sacred cause.*"²⁾

These are but a few examples of irrefragable assertions as to the Bulgarian ethnic boundaries, derived from a voluminous literature on the subject come from the pen of able, exhaustive, and

¹⁾ Ibid, p. 93.

²⁾ Angelo Pernice, *Origine ed evoluzione storica delle Nazioni balcaniche*, Milano 1915, pp. 229-230.

truthful European scholars and lovers of positive knowledge.

The object of the author of these pages in introducing them to the reader is to facilitate the latter in appreciating the verdict of English and American authorities on the same subject.

In the succeeding chapters of this book we shall dwell in detail on those Anglo-Saxon evidences, as well as on the fact, that both the English and the American historians, publicists, learned travellers, missionaries, and educators, who possess genuine and veracious acquaintance with the Balkan peoples, are at one with all Continental scholars as to the national claims of the Bulgarian race to self-assertion, self-determination, and reunion.

Down to the Congress of Berlin that claim of the Bulgarians was, one might say, universally recognised, and since then solemnly sanctioned and confirmed at several international transactions and conventions.

Civil and Religious Liberty Kindled

As we have already remarked, the first real public and foreign recognition of the ethnographical limits of the Bulgarians was the Turkish *Firman* of 1870 by which the Sublime Porte had decreed the existence of the Bulgarian National Church, or rather sanctioned the resuscitation of the ancient Patriarchy of Tirnovo, and later on of Ochrida, under the modest name of *Bulgarian Exarchy*. Indirectly the recognition of the Bulgarian National Church by the Sultan of Turkey was also a recognition by the foreign Powers represented at Constantinople, with

whom in the course of time the Exarchate entered into regular communications.

The recognition of the Bulgarian National Church meant everything to the Bulgarian race, for the Imperial decree, at one stroke of the pen, sanctioned the moral, racial, language, and historical ties that had held together the various Bulgarian lands, and had preserved the Bulgarian throughout the darkest and most critical periods of his existence for centuries past.

The revival of the Bulgarian National Church, then, signified in a most unmistakable and categorical way the rebirth of the Bulgarian race. Naturally enough, it was the general awakening of the Bulgarians, which began with the venerable Monk Paissi (1672), the Father of Bulgarian history, and which made inevitable the restoration of their national institutions.

The Bulgarian Exarchy is the life of the Bulgarian people. The continuity and unity of the Bulgarian National Church, though in 1767 through the intrigues of the Constantinople Patriarchy formally interrupted, have always existed. The Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ochrida, it will be remembered, was able to retain its independence even after the Turks had become masters of the Peninsula. It continued so from 1371 until 1767. The Eastern Church, seeing the ominous signs of race self-consciousness manifesting themselves among the Bulgarians during the latter part of the eighteenth century, resorted to all sorts of devices for stifling them. Its policy of keeping the Bulgarians in ignorance about their origin, past history, literature, and traditions, was greatly stimulated by the secular

dream of the Greeks for the resuscitation of the ancient Byzantine Empire. In this they were receiving not inconsiderable encouragement from Orthodox Russia whose diplomacy believed that the realisation of such a project would enhance in an enormous degree Russia's prestige in the East, and particularly among the Balkan peoples. Russia was convinced that a new Byzantine Empire would be simply a tool in her hands, and that she would thus be the virtual lord of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, the Aegean Sea, the Balkans, and Asia Minor.

As late as the beginning of the last century the Constantinople Patriarchy had absolute control of the ecclesiastical administration and schools of the Bulgarian lands. Having a complete mastery of the psychology of the Turk, and its hierarchical system being entrusted to faithful and skilful staff of officers and clerks, the Oecumenical Patriarchate was thus not only the most potent spiritual organisation in the Ottoman Empire, but it was in a position to play the second political factor in it. In virtue of the tremendous prestige which the Patriarchy enjoyed under the sultans, it had practically its own way, not merely in *matters religious*.

The Hellenisation of all alien races, and the large, compact, and stubborn Bulgarian people, in particular, was the greatest aim of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1767, finally, it had succeeded in stamping out the Bulgarian Ochrida Archbishopric — its influence with the Sultan Mustapha was so powerful that the hasty, feeble, and nervous Monarch was unable to withstand its demand for the abolition of the long-detested Ochrida see, the heart of Bulgarism.

That period coincides with the epoch of Empress Catherine of Russia, the great patron of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the fiery champion of a new Byzantine Empire to be restored with the arms and under the ægis of the Russian Monarchy. Another important event connected with this wild vista for the restoration of Byzantium was the treaty of alliance concluded in 1764 between Catherine and Frederick the Great who until then was an outspoken friend of Turkey.¹⁾ A direct result of the understanding arrived at by Catherine II, Frederick the Great, and the Oecumenical Patriarchate, were the rebellions, which subsequently broke out in Morea, Montenegro, Georgia, Crimea, Serbia, Bulgaria, etc.

At that period, therefore, the Constantinople Patriarchy was at the zenith of its power and energy. The suppression of the Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ochrida in 1767 was the greatest triumph achieved over its direct, most hateful, and dangerous rival, as the latter was the embodiment of the Bulgarian race, — the mortal foe of Hellenism. At this date Bulgaria was "dead" both politically and religiously. The Bulgarians were thus deprived of the only official spokesman and defender. At that time the Patriarchy had succeeded in filling all the Bulgarian sees with Hellenic or Hellenised prelates. The whole of the Balkan Peninsula was now under its full ecclesiastical jurisdiction and domination. The Bulgarian church, school, social institutions, liturgy, literature, and even language, were passing through the most critical point of Bulgaria's existence. That is the darkest period in the history of the Bulgarian people.

¹⁾ *The Turkish Empire*, by Lord Eversley, London, 1917, pp. 212, 213.

The *entente*, however, between Catherine II and the Greek Patriarchy proved a blessing in disguise to the Bulgarians. For, as was to be expected, the dream of restoring the old Eastern Empire had for a direct result the subsequent Oriental Policy of Russia, the aim of which was the weakening and final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. From that period commences the aggressive attitude of Russia towards Turkey, which was expressed in the many conflicts that ensued between the two empires, ending with the present struggle. Under the plausible pretext of defending the Holy Orthodox Church, Russia never failed to occasion war with the sultans, whenever she found it fit to do so. At every defeat of the Ottoman arms Russia's prestige in the East was augmented. The treaties of Kainardji (1774), of Jassy (1792), of Bucharest (1812), of Adrianople (1829), were for Russia political successes of no small importance. Russia's renown was daily increasing in the East, especially among the Balkan peoples, who commenced to look upon the great Orthodox Empire with sure hope for deliverance from the tyranny of the Turks. Roumanians, Serbians, Greeks, and Bulgarians were given by Russia every possible encouragement towards an armed resistance and revolt against their common oppressor. By the first quarter of the last century all these states, with the exception of Bulgaria, had practically become independent. Bulgaria, owing to her central position, was condemned to remain in the clutches of the sultans for another half century. But though firmly held by the Turk as the last rich prey left in his hands, a great change had already taken place in the Bulgarian people, both religiously and politically.

Russian interference in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, though having the appearance of protecting the spiritual power of the Oecumenical Patriarchy, was in reality silently and gradually sapping its prestige and influence in the Balkans. Once feeling the strong arm of their Russian brothers back of them, the Bulgarians acquired sufficient stimulus to gather up strength in their efforts to resist both their political oppressors, the Turks, and their spiritual tormentors, the Greek priests. As early as 1800 with the same stroke, as it were, Russia had succeeded in weakening the grip on Bulgaria, both of the Sultan and the Patriarch. As early as that period the spark of civil and religious liberty was kindled among the Bulgarians; it only waited for a favourable wind in order to "flame up to heaven".

Restoration of the National Church

In 1829 the inhabitants of Skopie, Samokov, and other districts sent to Sultan Mahmoud a strong petition demanding that the Greek bishops be expelled from their Bulgarian dioceses, that "only prelates of Bulgarian nationality" and of "exemplary character" be allowed to occupy a Bulgarian episcopacy, and that "Bulgarian be the language employed in the Bulgarian churches and schools." That bold request on the part of the otherwise "quiet and faithful rayahs," as the Bulgarians were often called by the sultans, was the death-knell of both the Turkish power and the Patriarch's jurisdiction in Bulgaria. The religious revolt of 1829 was soon followed by the revolutionary uprisings of the Nish Bulgarians in 1836, 1841, 1846, the Dobroudja insurrections in the fifties and sixties, etc.

Bulgaria's religious revolt, led by the Skopians in 1829, found its final triumph on March 10, 1870, when Sultan Abdul Azis, placed in a dilemma, was compelled to issue his Imperial *firman* sanctioning the restoration of the Bulgarian National Church. Only three years before a "Central Bulgarian Committee" had presented the Sultan through his Vizier, Midhat Pasha, a petition containing the following two demands of the Bulgarians:

- 1) An Independent Administration for Bulgaria with the Sultan bearing the title of "King of the Bulgarians",
- 2) An Independent Bulgarian Church with its own Synod and Patriarch.

The wise Turkish Vizier counselled his stubborn master to grant at least one of the wishes of the agitated and determined Bulgarian people. To become "King of the Bulgarians" was at once an awkward, absurd, and impossible alternative for a Sultan, but the second one, that of issuing a decree for the creation of an "intangible" and "inoffensive" institution, such a thing as "Bulgarian Exarchy", was, no doubt, far the easier and the safer one for the mind of a Turk, so, by the stroke of the pen, the Bulgarians were made the recipients of the long-desired firman which provided for a national church of their own.

Thus this national institution of the Bulgarian people — the "lungs" of the Bulgarian race, founded by its glorious Tsar Boris in 865, firmly established in Ochrida by Tsar Samuel in 1019 under the name of the Ochrida Archbishopric, which was able to maintain its independence throughout the political changes of the subsequent ages, until 1767,

when at the instigation of the Greek Patriarchy it was closed by a weak sultan — showed its latent power once more in 1870, and proved that the Bulgarian most sacred organisation had actually never ceased to exist, that for over ten centuries it had always been a growing inspiration to the Bulgarian people, its true solace and encouragement, true bond that had kept together the Bulgarians during all their glorious as well as stormy periods of existence.

Thus in 1870 Bulgaria's religious claims received a legal and international sanction. Art.10 of the Imperial *firman* enumerated the sees which were thereafter to fall within the jurisdiction of the Independent Bulgarian Church. It included the districts of Silistra, Roustchouk, Tirnovo, Shoumen, Sofia, Vratza, Vidin, *Nish*, *Pirot*, Kiustendil, Samokov, Sliven, Sosopol, Philippopolis, Stanimaka, Veles, etc. As regards the other districts not stipulated in it, there was inserted the following clause:

“In other places, not enumerated here, if all or at least two thirds of their inhabitants manifest a desire to come under the authority of the Exarch, and if their demands were legally examined and approved, they would be permitted to pass over to the Exarchate.”

In virtue of this clause of the firman, the plebiscite guaranteed by it was in 1872 applied in Macedonia under the supervision of the Turkish authorities and the delegates of the rival Greek Patriarchy. The results were overwhelming: more than two thirds of the population of the Ochrida and Skopie districts voted for the Bulgarian Exarchy. The Patriarchy was dealt the severest blow in the Balkans. That event is one of the strongest argu-

ments confirming in an unambiguous manner the legitimate claims of the Bulgarians to Macedonia.

The Imperial firman of 1870, then, came to sanction the religious, and that means, the race reunion, of the Bulgarians in Danubian Bulgaria, Dobroudja, Thrace, and Macedonia. It was but one short step towards their political reunion.

In bringing about the realisation of this signal triumph of the Bulgarian Church Unity, it must be borne in mind that American and English factors and influences had no small share in this national movement. It is sufficient for the present to point out that back of that epochal Bulgarian undertaking stood:

1) The establishment of the Balkan Branch of the American Missionary Board, whose chief field became Bulgaria, as containing the central, largest, and most compact mass of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. The burden of this highly philanthropic exploit was entrusted in the hands of such pious, able, and fearless workers, as Drs. Long and Riggs, in Constantinople, Drs. H. C. Haskell, H. J. House, and James F. Clark in Bulgaria, and G. J. Baird and H. Bond in Macedonia.

2) The newly-founded American Institution of Robert College, inspired by two brothers, graduates of Yale University, and founded by the well-known American divines, Dr. Cyrus H. Hamlin, and his noble associates Dr. Albert S. Long, and Dr. Elias Riggs.

3) The translation of the Bible into Bulgarian by Drs. Long and Riggs in co-operation with the Bulgarian prelate Neophyte of Rilo, a native of Macedonia, and the Bulgarian greatest poet, Slaveykoff.

4) The foundation in 1862 of the American Missionary organ, *Zornitza*, in the Bulgarian tongue, which soon became the most popular paper throughout the Balkans.

5) The presence in the Turkish capital of Lord Stratford as British Ambassador, a man of great character, ability, and humanity, and a firm believer in justice and reforms.

As it will be seen elsewhere, prominent Englishmen and Americans, found under one or another capacity in Constantinople and other parts of European Turkey, were most sincere and active sympathisers and collaborators of the Bulgarians in their struggle for national reunion.

Rôle of the Ochrida Patriarchy

The Ochrida Patriarchy of Tsar Samuel, unquestionably, has played the greatest rôle as a unifying agency in the whole history of the Bulgarian people. From the tenth century down to 1870 it was the centre of Bulgarian spiritual awakening, national self-consciousness, racial enterprise, and culture. Through it were kept intact the links which connected the Bulgarian dioceses of Bishop Ivan, who even under Basil, the Bulgar-slayer (1020), held firmly to his see composed of the districts of Ochrida, Dristar, Vidin, Nish, Skopie, Prizren, Liplian, Monastir, Kastoria, etc., and the dioceses, enumerated and stipulated in the firman of 1870, which were practically the same ones now resuscitated. The Ochrida Patriarchy in the course of a period extending some thousand years performed its pastoral part as leader of a whole people in a most worthy and effective manner, seldom recorded in the annals of history.

A "kindly light amid the encircling gloom," that is what that great institution was for the Bulgarian race for centuries. Fearlessly and intrepidly it led that people through its ages-long wanderings, trials, and struggles, as Moses led the Israelites through the Egyptian wilderness and valley of death to the Promised Land. The great Macedonian apostles Cyril and Methodius, Clement, Gorasd, Angelarius, Father Paissi, Neophyte of Rilo, etc., are ever vivid witnesses of the exalted rôle Macedonia and the Patriarchy of Ochrida, in particular, have played in keeping uninterrupted the moral bonds and ethnical unity of the Bulgarians on the Balkans. The Ochrida Patriarchy is the embodiment of the religious and race continuity of the Bulgarian people, which found a most eloquent expression in the revival of the Bulgarian Exarchy in 1870, and in the decisions of the Ambassadorial Conference of 1876 and the San Stefano Treaty of the same year.

In following up the history of the Bulgarian religious regeneration and emancipation which were crowned with the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchy, these things should be had in view:

- 1) The Bulgarian Exarchy was the direct result of the united efforts initiated by the Macedonian Bulgars.

- 2) The great ecclesiastical movement which brought it into existence, though strong in many other Bulgarian localities, like Tirnovo, Philippopolis, Sofia, Roustchouk, Toultscha, Nish, etc., was originally conceived and later on most energetically taken up and supported by the Macedonian Bulgarians, the Ochridans, Skopians, Bytolians, and Razlogans, in particular. The ablest and most resolute leaders in it, like Father Paissi, Neophyte of Rilo, Miladinoff

Brothers, Purlitcheff, Jinziphoff, etc., are all natives of Macedonia.

3) It is a continuation of the Ochrida Patriachy, and is, therefore, the purest and most sacred Bulgarian national product.

4) Since the establishment of the Exarchy in 1870, down to the Balkan war of 1913, it continued to be more intimately connected with Macedonia than with Bulgaria proper.

5) The Macedonians in their signal activities manifested in this, as well as in all other popular movements, have time and again shown that the Bulgarian spirit is no less strong in Macedonia, as has already been asserted by many European and Anglo-Saxon writers who possess an accurate knowledge on the question.

The San Stefano Treaty

That striking circumstance explains the fact that when, as a result of the repeated uprisings and threatening attitude of the Bulgarian population during the subsequent seventies, the Ambassadorial Conference was convoked by Lord Derby, in 1876, Macedonia, with Uskub, Bytolia, and Ochrida were included in the future boundaries of Bulgaria, as a matter of course. So were Dobroudja and the Nish and Pirot districts, as is clear from the Third Protocol of the Conference annexed to Report 8, which runs as follows:

BULGARIA — PROJECT FOR AN ORGANIC STATUTE.

1. Out of the territories designated below there will be formed, conformably with the annexed map, two Vilayets (Provinces) which will be administered in the forms set forth in detail below.

The *Eastern Vilayet*, which will have Tirnovo for capital, will be composed of the sanjaks of Roustchouk, Tirnovo, *Tultcha*, Varna, Sliven, Philippopolis (except Sultan Yeri and Achir-Tchelebi), and of the kazas of *Kirk-Kilisseh*, Mustapha Pasha, and Kizil-Agatch.

The *Western Vilayet*, with Sofia for capital, will be composed of the sanjaks of Sofia, Viddin, *Nish*, *Uskub*, *Bitolia* (except two kazas of the south), a part of the Sanjak of Seres (three kazas of the north) and the kazas of *Stroumitza*, *Tikvesh*, *Veles*, and *Castoria*.¹⁾

The project embraces ten long articles regulating the organisation and administration of Bulgaria.

In the first session of the Constantinople Conference — from 11—23 of December, 1876, attended by the representatives of the seven Powers, Turkey, Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, and Russia, after the opening speech of the President, Savfet Pasha, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the speeches of Marquis of Salisbury, Count Ignatieff, and Count Zichy, the extraordinary envoy of France, Count Chaudordy presented the projects of the foreign representatives with an explanatory speech, of which we take the following passages, —

The motives of the Conference are:

“The Conference aims to prevent great and important complications, and will strive to give to the consolidation of peace a *practical and equitable solution*. In order to facilitate the purpose of our governments, we have set forth in these projects all the measures fit to secure the success of our work.”

The nationality principle was strictly observed, as is evident from the following passage:

¹⁾ *Blue Book, Turkey*, N° 2, 1877, p. 153.

"The Conference could not comprehend under the name of Bulgaria districts in which the Bulgarian population does not predominate, nor regions which were not subjected to the bad administration giving rise to the excesses committed last summer."

These quotations clearly show that in preparing the project for future Bulgaria the corresponding literature and documents had been consulted by the members of the Conference.

Count Chaudordy answers: *"In the drawing up of these documents, previous documents on the subject were consulted, and also notes exchanged among the Powers."*

The Austrian representative, Count Zichy, says: *"Most of the motives will be found in the Austrian note (of Count Andrassy) of December 30, 1875, which all the Powers received."*

The ethnical boundaries for Bulgaria drawn up by the Ambassadors composing the Constantinople Conference are based, as has been pointed out by learned persons conversant with the subject, such as Louis Léger, Bousquet, Dr. G. B. Washburn, Mil-yukoff, Niederle, Sir Arthur Evans, etc., on historical, ethnographical, philological, and geographical datas, and on the actual state of things. It is a noteworthy fact that Bismarck, who was one of the principal members of the Berlin Congress which for political reasons diminished the frontiers of Bulgaria to a minimum, possessed a very definite knowledge of the ethnic area occupied by the Bulgar race. That may be judged by the following statement elicited from him in the German Reichstag itself through an interpellation as regards the condition of things in the Balkans made by Bennigsen, leader of the national Liberals.

"The ethnographical situation of Bulgaria," says Bismarck, "as I know it from authentic sources, and as it appears in the best map I know — that of Kiepert — is this: *The boundaries of the Bulgarian nationality descend on the west, almost without any mixture, even beyond Salonica, and reach, in the east, with a very small admixture of Turkish elements, as far as the Black Sea.* The Constantinople Conference, however, as may be seen from its decisions, has stopped in East Bulgaria a little to the north of the Bulgarian nationality, and, in exchange, it may be, it has in the west added to Bulgaria more territory inhabited exclusively by Bulgarian population."

The French diplomat, Adolph Avril, has made Bismarck's words ring with greater resonance and authenticity by commenting upon them in the following manner:

"We have hitherto known the Chancellor in many forms, but Bismarck as ethnographer has a great interest of its own. In the first place, it is well to show his green competitors and his ripe rivals, that the Chancellor of the Empire has felt bound to know, and, therefore, to investigate the Bulgarian question. And so, he is well acquainted with his Kiepert. *Secondly, an ethnographic declaration from Bismarck is more than an opinion, it is an event.* This declaration has a special weight independently of its inherent value. Let us observe, in passing, that the Chancellor of the German Empire admits, speaking ethnographically, the great Bulgaria of the Constantinople Conference and of the San Stefano Treaty."

Mention of Kiepert is here made both by Bismarck and Avril. Not only Kiepert's historical works and

maps had been had in view at the Constantinople Conference, but the entire literature on the subject. The French Ambassador Count Chaudordy's own testimony made at the Conference is that "*in drawing up of these documents, previous documents on the subject were consulted.*" Prof. Kiepert's labour had come out fresh from the press just in time to be of service at the Conference. But the distinguished diplomats must have surely had on their table all previous ethnographical works and maps, such as that of the Tchech Shafarik (1842), the Serb Davidovitch (1848), the Frenchmen Ami Boué (1847), and Lejean (1861), the Serbian Professor Desjardins (1853), the Austrian Hahn (1861), the Russian ethnographical map exhibited at the Slav Congress in 1867, the map of Mackenzie and Irby, the one prepared by the Tchech, Erben, the French map of E. Reclus, etc. All authoritative ethnographers and maps since are in accord with these historically established documents and evidences as to the ethnic limits of the Bulgarians. It is sufficient here to refer to the Map of G. Campbell (1877), showing the distribution of the Christian races in European Turkey; the English Ethnological Map of Ed. Stanford (1877), the monumental Geographical Work and Atlas of Prof. Edward Freeman (1881), the Ethnographical maps published by the Agostini Geographical Institute, Italy (1916-1918), the Ethnographical Map published by the London Graphic (January 1918), the maps of L. Dominian, published by the American Geographical Society of New York (1917), those of the German professors Kettler (1917), and Schäfer (1918), the Map edited by G. Gabrys, Secretary of the General Union of Nationalities, Lausanne (1918), etc.

The Russo-Turkish war in 1877 was declared in order to execute the decisions and programme of the Ambassadorial Conference. Because the decisions of the Great Powers were founded upon historical facts, actual realities, and necessity, the action on the part of Russia was greeted with universal approval. All nations clearly saw that it was a war of liberation, and the world since then knows Alexander II of Russia as Bulgaria's Liberator.

Tsar Alexander, then, was simply the executor of the mandate of the Great Powers worded by their representatives at the Constantinople Conference. The San Stefano Treaty, though modified in certain lines, corresponded in its essentials to the ethnical confines of future Bulgaria, drawn up by the Conference. It was one more international sanction and solemn recognition of the historical and legitimate ethnical claims of the Bulgarian people. The decisions on the race limits of the Bulgarians, specified by the members of the Constantinople Conference, were founded on justice and realities, as has been pointed out by all students familiar with that question. Had the Bulgaria delineated by the Great Powers at the Constantinople Conference been realised, in the Balkans would have been formed a state sufficiently strong to hold the key between Europe and the East, and to frustrate the imperialistic designs of any Power, great or small. As Dr. George B. Washburn has convincingly shown, had Europe stuck to her word and to historical necessities, it would have been saved from all those political disturbances, insurrections, and wars, which have persisted in the Balkans ever since.

II

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN ITS FATALITY

Lord Disraeli's "Defensible Frontier"

Unfortunately, the work of the Constantinople Conference and the San Stefano Treaty, thanks to the initiative of England, had to suffer a radical modification. The Berlin Congress was convoked not because England or any of the other members of the Power's Concert was against the resuscitation of Bulgaria in its legitimate ethnical extension, or against a strong Bulgaria, but owing to the fear of a Bulgaria which might prove a new Russian *gubernia* in the Balkans, and thus act as a *corridor* of the great Slav Empire in its burning desire to swoop upon Constantinople — a fear which, as subsequent events have shown, was entirely groundless. The old rivalry between England and Russia at this juncture was brought to a clash once more, now with a greater force, which narrowly averted the repetition of the Crimean war. English jealousy of Russia compelled Lord Disraeli to assume a determined attitude against the "White Bear". That British statesman, who returned from the Berlin Congress exulting over his success in obtaining the revision of the San Stefano Treaty, which circumstance really meant the preservation of the integrity of Turkey and the signal defeat of Russia's Oriental policy, little imagined that forty years later his successors

would become the signatories to a treaty which solemnly guaranteed to the same Russia the possession of the same Bosphorus and the Black Sea!

At the Congress of Berlin the Bulgarian race was politically crucified, and that international injustice was done at the instigation of Lord Disraeli, of England. "The British Ministry procured the meeting of the Congress of Berlin," declared the Balkan Committee of London, in 1912, "and at that Congress it was their action which procured the substitution for the Treaty of San Stefano of the Treaty of Berlin. . . . The despair is our work, we forbade to *liberate* Macedonia," is another courageous declaration of Lord Bryce and his colleagues who formed that body of patriotic Britishers. At the collapse of Turkey last October, the entire English press was one in emphasising the sad truth that Turkey's durability was possible to this day, thanks to a persistence on the part of the English diplomacy in the past to champion the principle of Ottoman integrity. Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the able and perspicacious editor of the London Daily News, has accurately expressed the English public sentiment of to-day when on the occasion he wrote: "The story of Britain's relations with Turkey, both in diplomacy and war, is the story of a series of mistakes for which a high price has invariably been paid. The supreme mistake is to be found in the obduracy of British diplomats on the Turkish question for more than half a century. We fought Russia and backed Turkey in a bad cause in 1854; *we buttressed her up, in common with Continental diplomatists in 1878, when Gladstone with unerring judgment demanded that she be expelled from Europe*

bag and baggage."¹⁾ How wrong was, in truth, Lord Disraeli, the real author of the fatal Berlin Treaty, when in 1878 after its realisation he wrote: "*The political outposts of Russian power have been pushed back to the regions beyond the Balkans; the Sultan's dominions have been provided with a defensible frontier!*" General history which deals with mere facts has this to say on the part England played in bringing about the destruction of Bulgaria's efforts towards reunion. "It was in short the contention of the English Government that while Russia, in the pretended emancipation of a great part of European Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano, had but acquired a new dependency, *England by insisting on the revision of Bulgaria, had baffled this plan.*"²⁾

Like all other political treaties, the Berlin Pact was conceived through jealousy, prejudice, hatred, and rivalry, it was based on flagrant injustice, and, therefore, could not but prove fatal in its consequences. "The Englishmen who knew Bulgaria, all our friends, understood the folly and wickedness of this at the time. All England has learned it since. Thus far the results have been the revolution, which resulted in the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, the war with Serbia, the insurrection in Macedonia and the Province of Adrianople, and the massacres and unspeakable horrors of the last thirty-nine years in Macedonia, to say nothing of what Bulgaria has suffered from the intrigues of foreign Powers ever since the Treaty of Berlin."³⁾

At the Conference of Berlin, British diplomacy secured just the opposite of what it had in view.

¹⁾ *London Daily News*, Dec. 12, 1918.

²⁾ C. F. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, p. 1050.

³⁾ See p. 6.

It did by no means guarantee a "defensible frontier" for Turkey, for it was particularly since then that the Ottoman Empire became most vulnerable, and that in Europe. Anarchy, misgovernment, insurrections, massacres, international insecurity and conflicts on the Balkans, and in the world, instead of order, peace, and tranquillity, which it professed to inaugurate and safeguard, enmity, mutual jealousies, and bloody strifes, not only between the great Powers, but also between the Balkan states were far more intensified, especially after the conclusion of Lord Beaconsfield's diplomatic "success". Disraeli was, as the events subsequently proved, greatly mistaken in believing that Bulgaria was to play the pawn of Russia or any other Power. Had he lived to-day he would have been shocked to witness how that same little nation in 1915 turned its bayonet against Tsarism, because a secret treaty had awarded the possession of the Dardanelles and the control of the Balkans to it, as has been pointed out by so many English writers ever since. Mr. Frank Fox in his book on Bulgaria, touching this feature of Balkan history, has aptly characterised the situation in the following plain language: "The way in which, by the Congress of Berlin, the Treaty of San Stefano was changed illustrated well the fact that, as regards the Balkan Peninsula, Europe was far more concerned to advance the ambitions of the Western Powers, than to ameliorate the condition of the Near Eastern peoples under Turkish government. The other Powers' jealousy of Russia vetoed the creation of the big Bulgaria suggested then, because it was feared that Bulgarian gratitude to the Power which had been responsible for her liberation would make

the new Kingdom a mere appanage of Russia. When it was manifest afterwards that Bulgarian gratitude was not of that high and disinterested quality, and that the young Bulgarian nation was, though semi-Eastern in origin, sufficiently European to play for her own hand, and her own hand only, in national affairs, Europe had a spasm of remorse." ¹⁾

Roumano-Bulgarian Friendship Ruined

Until the Congress of Berlin Roumania and Bulgaria were living as good neighbours and friends. Many common ties united the two peoples in the past. For nine hundred years the intellectual life of the Wallachians and Moldavians was Slav. The Bulgarian apostles Cyril and Methodius together with Christianity introduced among them the Slav letters and literature. From the ninth century down to the eighteenth all the ecclesiastic books and most of the official documents issued by the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodas were written in the old Bulgarian tongue. ²⁾

The first Roumanian chronicles were written in Slavic. Their authors were monks. In general, the Slavic language was considered sacred by the Roumanians, as was the Latin to the Germans and the French, and Hellenic to the Greeks. The earliest printed books of the Roumanians were in the Slavic tongue. And even when Bulgaria succumbed under the Turks the Slavic language continued to flourish in the Roumanian churches and monasteries. The first to raise a cry against the attempt to introduce

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, by Frank Fox, London, 1915, pp. 193, 194.

²⁾ J. Barboulescu, *Relations des Roumains avec les Bulgares et les Serbes*, Jassi, 1912.

the Wallachian language in public worship were the very clergy and boyars, not only in Wallachia and Moldavia, but in Transylvania also. It was considered an act of profanity by them to pray to God in the yet unrecognised and uncultured Roumanian dialect. Prayers should be offered in a sacred tongue. Such, however, to them was the Slavic.¹⁾ The Bulgarian language was the official medium of Roumania as late as the reign of Couza (1864), when for the first time its employment in the churches and in official acts was prohibited. But notwithstanding all that, Slav influences are still felt in the Roumanian culture, language, and customs. The whole Roumanian life was dominated by those influences. To this day the Slav language is being used in the Orthodox churches in Transylvania. It was during the régime of the Phanar princes that those Danubian provinces commenced to encourage an opposition against the Bulgarian language.²⁾

Throughout the revolutionary period preparatory to the great struggle of 1876, the Bulgarian patriots found in Roumania a most hearty welcome and encouragement. Braila, Bucharest, Galatz, Jassi, etc., had become great centres for Bulgarian intellectual and insurrectionary activities. Turkish persecution had driven thousands of Bulgarians to Roumania. Hundreds of Bulgarian students flocked across the Danube. In Braila was founded the Bulgarian Literary Society which later on was moved to Sofia and was developed into the Bulgarian Academy of

¹⁾ A. D. Xenopol, *Histoire des Roumains* vol I. pp. 177, 460.

²⁾ *La Roumanie Inconnue*, par A. F. Issacenco, Berne 1917, pp. 25, 26.

Sciences. In 1867 a secret agreement was concluded between the Roumanian Government and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Organisation for joint action against the Turks. In 1877 by capturing the Gritviza Redoubt the Roumanians, as allies of the Russians, had won a great military renown and the eternal gratitude of the Bulgarian people. Danube for ages past was a most convenient natural boundary that separated the two peaceful neighbours. Their relations were so harmonious and amicable, that when in 1878, towards the close of the Russo-Turkish peace negotiations, King Charles of Roumania was notified by the Russian Government of its intention of retaining Bessarabia in exchange for which Roumania was to receive Dobroudja, he wrote to Tsar Alexander a touching letter of protest ending with the words, "The friendship of a nation is more precious than a piece of territory."

Once Roumania in possession of Dobroudja, on the other side of the Danube — the historic and natural boundary line between her and Bulgaria — an end was put to the good relations between the two countries. From now hence Roumania commenced to be uneasy about her unlawful acquisition, and feeling insecure there because of the discontent created in the hearts of the Bulgarians, one of the first anxieties of every Roumanian Government was how best to protect Dobroudja from a future attack on the part of the Bulgarians. How pernicious seemed to the Roumanians the decisions of the Berlin treaty may be surmised from the fact that at its sitting on June 28, 1878, the Roumanian National Assembly passed a resolution teeming with intense resentment and disgust, which

ended with the words: "*An annexation to Roumania of a territory found on the other side of the Danube is not in the interest of Roumania which does not wish to become the cause for future disturbances, and, therefore, she under no circumstances would agree to the annexation of Dobroudja.*" What, however, could a small country like Roumania do against the declared will of an imperialistic Europe? Russia, having been assured of the consent and sanction of England, despatched her general Ehrenroth with the instructions to occupy Bucharest. Thus Lord Beaconsfield in trying to establish a defensible frontier for Turkey, that was indefensible and unnatural, ruined the traditional friendship of two countries which nature had provided with a frontier at once defensible and natural. Since then the relations between Roumania and Bulgaria grew worse day by day. Having been, so to speak, "kicked" across the Danube, Roumania, obviously enough, began to be deeply interested in the internal development and progress of the Danubian Principality, its suspicion and jealousy commenced to get gradually more conspicuous until she conceived the idea that in order to insure the safety of her trans-Danubian possessions, she needed a greater hinterland south, which desire was subsequently crystalised in her ambition to become the owner of the Roustchouk-Varna-Shoumen "triangle". That dream led to the unprovoked aggression and invasion in 1913, and to the treaty of Bucharest, according to which Roumania wrested from Bulgaria another slice of territory. The Roumano-Bulgarian conflict of 1916 was another disastrous sequel of Roumania's imperialistic policy inculcated in her by the Powers signatories to

the Berlin Compact. The climax of that nation's territorial appetite was reached when it became an open secret that a clandestine agreement between her and Russian Tsarism guaranteed her, besides the acquisition of the long-coveted "triangle", a free commercial outlet to the Aegean! How different this transaction from the declarations of General Ignatieff who when the condition of the San Stefano Treaty were published, sent to the Dobroudja Bulgarians a secret letter which General Belotcherkovitch read to the Toulcha notables and delegates of the Province at a secret meeting held in the hall of the Literary Society. In that letter Count Ignatieff says:

"The cession of Dobrudja to Roumania is dictated by state necessity and in order to justify the annexation of Bessarabia to Russia. It need not, however, scare or alarm the Dobrudja Bulgarians, as *it is provisional, and Dobrudja in the near future will again be united with free Bulgaria.*"

Such is the sad history of the Roumano-Bulgarian relations ever since 1878, when an evil fate decreed that Dobroudja, the cradle of the Bulgarian race, the land of Asparouch, Kroum, Simeon, the Assenides, of Dobroditius after whom it was christened, the country which for more than seven centuries had been known to history as Black Bulgaria, Maritime Bulgaria, Danubian Bulgaria, — Dobroudja, should be dealt with as chattels, and that the firm friendship of the two young states be ruined merely for a "peace of territory."

All this was a direct result of the Berlin Treaty.

Had it not been for the evil designs of the Great Powers, which were given a concrete form at Berlin 1878, Roumania and Bulgaria would have

to this day remained the best of friends and a model of neighbours, and the Balkans and Europe would have been spared so much of unnecessary turmoil, conflicts, and bloodshed.

Serbo-Bulgarian Brotherhood Ended

The decisions taken at the Berlin Congress proved equally disastrous to the brotherly feelings that united the two small Slavic peoples, the Serbians and the Bulgarians. Until then Serbs and Bulgars had taken part side by side in all the struggles directed against Turkey, whether in the ranks of Austrian, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Russian, Transylvanian French, or Papal armies, or single-handed. It is sufficient to point out to the European coalitions of 1594, 1612, 1661, 1688, 1699, 1718, 1739, 1791, and the various Russo-Turkish wars of 1806, 1811, 1829, 1852, 1854, 1876, in which Serbians and Bulgarians had taken a most active part. Bulgarian and Macedonian contingents have always responded to the revolutionary movements of Serbians, Greeks, and Roumanians. In 1862 a Bulgarian Legion under its noted chief, Rakovski, composed of tried Bulgarian fighters come from Bulgaria and Macedonia, proved a great auxiliary reinforcement to the Serbian troops that attacked the Turkish garrison stationed at Belgrade.

The purely Bulgarian uprisings of Pomoravia, 1806-1809, of Pirot in 1830, of Nish in 1841, of Vidin 1851, were always treated as such by the entire Serbian press, government, and public opinion, and when in 1867 there was concluded the secret agreement between the Serbian Government and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Organisation, the territories

of Bulgaria proper, Bulgarian Morava, and Macedonia were never considered other than Bulgarian lands.

Until the Berlin Treaty, Pomoravia was recognised by all as part of *Bulgaria irredenta*. The religious and political struggles of the inhabitants of this territory were always in unison with the general efforts of the Bulgarians at large for their regeneration and emancipation.

The Berlin Conference, however, which had turned over Dobroudja as a "compensation" to Roumania, in 1878 gave in the same way to Serbia the District of Nish with Pirot, Leskovets, and Vrania, in spite of the repeated protests¹⁾ of its wide-awake and patriotic Bulgarian population. From that fatal date begin the fratricidal frictions, conflicts, and wars between the two Slavic peoples which are so closely related in many respects. From that day the eyes of the Serbians were fixed towards south. The Serbs, too, were induced to look for more "stable" boundary lines in order to be sure of the retention of the new territories which they knew were alien to them in point of spirit and traditions.

What abetted Serbia's policy in a southerly direction when her legitimate national interests were found north-west, in the Serbo-Croatian lands under the yoke of the Habsburg Monarchy, is the fact — another result brought about by the ill-omened Berlin

¹⁾ In one of the protests sent to Alexander II of Russia, April 18, 1878, the inhabitants of the District of Pirot among other things beg of their Great Liberator "*not to abandon them under the yoke of the Serbians*", for "*we are all to this day pure Bulgarians, children of Bulgarian forefathers; we entreat you to have pity on us, as your most humble children, and to unite us with our own Bulgarian people, with Bulgaria our Mother Country.*"

Congress — that according to a secret treaty Russia, in 1878, with the purpose of gaining the goodwill of Austria in her own acquisition of Bessarabia and other tracts of territory wrested from the Turk, had sanctioned the latter's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That was, indeed, a deadly blow to the race aspirations of the Serbians. The latter would have preferred those kindred provinces to have remained under the domination of the sultans rather than to have been transferred to another though more refined rule. The agony felt throughout Serbdom knew no bounds. And yet, the Serbians themselves in virtue of the certain stipulations decreed by the creators of the Berlin Treaty, had become the masters of several districts inhabited by Bulgarians whose crying protests were heeded neither by them, nor by selfish Europe, nor even by Russia, their liberator from the Asiatic despots. In fact, Bosnians and Herzegovinians had little to complain against an Austrian régime under which they were allowed to have their own churches and schools, to use their own language, and to enjoy a communal autonomy. How different was the lot of the unfortunate Bulgarian lands which were forcibly incorporated into the Principality of Serbia! Ever conscious of its own weakness and of the strong race spirit of the Pomoravians, the Serbian Government employed all possible means and methods for smothering the last vestige of Bulgarianism among them. ¹⁾ A revolt of these people was quenched in cold blood by the Serbians.

¹⁾ The protest of the inhabitants of the Pirot District, addressed to the Russian Civil Administrator of Bulgaria, contains such painful passages as these: "*It is known the world over that the Pirot District is peopled by Bulgarians, so-called Shopes. . . The vexations and persecutions of the Serbians against the Bulgarians are*

Hundreds of the leading citizens were imprisoned, forced to flee to Bulgaria, or were shot as "rebels".

These events, obviously enough, were of a nature to foster unfriendly feelings between the two Slav and neighbouring states. The Bulgarian Principality reduced in area to a minimum was too young and too weak to come to the rescue of its oppressed kindred, not only in Serbia, but also in Roumania and in Macedonia, whose lot now was getting to be more cruel and unbearable than ever. Patiently and silently the Bulgarian people endured provocation after provocation heaped upon it on all sides from its covetous and envious neighbours. The Serbians henceforth could not be looked upon by the Bulgarians in any other light than as oppressors and enemies of the Bulgarian race.

The above facts will help one to understand why in 1885 at the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia — two sister provinces severed at the Berlin Congress — King Milan of Serbia, under the pretext of maintaining the balance of power, rushed with a regular and tried army towards Sofia, expecting to reap a rich territorial crop at the expense of a small and inexperienced state, as Bulgaria then was. Russia who in the short period of seven years had found out that Bulgaria, contrary to her expectations, would never play a Tsarist vanguard in the Balkans, ordered her military instructors and officers to abandon the Principality to its fate, firmly believing that a Turkish reoccupation of it would

innumerable . . . They are trying to supplant the Bulgarian books with Serbian in our schools; they do not permit the use of the Bulgarian language. They threaten to radically extirpate our nationality and language, saying they have obtained our land by conquest."

present her another opportunity for a rescuing expedition in the Near East. Fortunately for Bulgaria, her lieutenants and subalterns — there existed but a few native officers holding the rank of captain — were able in a short space of time to drive back the intruder. Only the threats of Austria prevented the victorious Bulgarian militia from entering Belgrade.

Revolutionary Struggle in Macedonia

Turkey, on the other side, would have quickly hurled her army against Bulgaria, had it not been for the stern counsel given her by England, who, ever since she discovered how greatly her Premier, Lord Beaconsfield, had in 1878 underestimated the love for self-independence of the Bulgarian, has been the staunchest friend and promoter of Bulgarian reunion. The *coup d'état* of 1885 proved a success only because of the support of the British Government effectively manifested through Sir William White, its worthy representative at Constantinople.

If the convocation of the Berlin Congress at which Bulgaria, Roumelia, Macedonia, Pomoravia, and Dobroudja were cut off from their bigger sister, Bulgaria, was the work of a mistaken British diplomacy, the union of Roumelia and Bulgaria in 1885 was also effected by British statesmen who were now anxious to repair the evil done to the Bulgarians seven years earlier.

It was not difficult to guess that the real instigator of the fratricidal war between Serbians and Bulgarians was no other than Austria whose aim was to distract the attention of the Serbians with visions of territorial acquisition everywhere else ex-

cept northwest. How skilfully the Vienna Government managed its *protégé* may be gathered from the fact that already in 1880 Austria had, on the strength of a secret agreement concluded between her and Serbia, succeeded in inducing the latter to renounce her claims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in return for which Austria pledged herself to support a Serbian policy in Macedonia. Thus under the patronage of the Habsburgs there was laid the foundation of a strong Servian propaganda in that ill-fated land which ever since the conclusion of the Berlin Treaty has been an arena where the hostile interests of Greeks and Serbians clashed with the aspirations of the preponderating and compact Bulgarian population trying to unite with its brethren of free Bulgaria, as the Eastern Roumelians did in 1855.

The sublime Porte found it advantageous to encourage, now the one, now the other faction, believing the principle of *divide et impera* to be the only expedient in maintaining in Europe its existence which was artificially prolonged at the Berlin Congress by means of Lord Disraeli's political injections. The historical enmities between Greeks and Bulgarians now augmented by a determined Serbian campaign, alternately manipulated by Turkey, Austria, and Russia, converted Macedonia into a veritable hell. The Bulgarian population being the most formidable element in the Province became the target for attack on the part of all other nationalities inspired and instigated from Belgrade, Athens, and Constantinople, which in turn were receiving their directions either from Vienna or Petrograd. Though according to Art. 23 of the Berlin Treaty certain administrative reform measures for

the amelioration of the lot of the Macedonians were promulgated, neither Abdul Hamid, nor the Powers directly responsible for their execution exerted any efforts to redeem their promises so solemnly made. Instead of seeing their condition bettered, the Macedonian Bulgars found themselves hemmed on all side by inimical camps whose only aim was the weakening of Bulgaria's preponderating strength, and the ultimate annihilation of her claims to Macedonia.

What happened? As soon as the Macedonians discovered themselves in 1878 abandoned by Christian Europe and once more under the clinched fist of the Turk, the only avenue of redress left to them was an armed resistance, the guerrilla and revolutionary method of defence. In October 1878, that is barely two years after the fatal Treaty of Berlin, bloody revolts broke out at Kresna, Razlogue, and other places, and in 1880 at Ochrida, Prilep, Demir-Hissar, Kroushevo, Ressen, Dibra, etc. These outbreaks, as was to be expected, were put down by the Turkish Government and soldiery in a most cruel and sanguinary manner always in vogue in Turkey. Thousands of Macedonian Bulgarians who where unable to escape in Bulgaria met a most cruel death at the hands of an unbridled soldiery, fanatical mob, and the irresponsible Turkish authorities. These repressions on the part of the tyrannical Turkish régime had no other effect than to intensify in the Macedonian people the determination towards a free and honourable existence even at the cost of terrible sacrifices and untold misery. The Macedonian Bulgars, therefore, resumed their noble cause with redoubled force, and did all in their power to compel the realisation of the promises for reform stipulated in

Art. 23 of the Berlin Compact. But all their efforts were in vain. Their Masters proved as harsh and inhuman as ever, and the Powers signatories to the Treaty did little or nothing towards forcing the Turkish Government to execute the programme of reforms agreed to. The only solace and succour they received came from English and American charitable institutions. The Macedonian inhabitants will never forget the untiring efforts and the spirit of self-sacrifice of those American and English philanthropic men and women who volunteered to come to the Balkans and distribute relief to the thousands of wretched people left entirely destitute, crippled, and forlorn. The American missionaries, in particular, who were there already and were familiar with the hardships and unbearable state of things inherent with the Turkish administration, proved real ministering angels to the hard tried Macedonian population. The future League of Nations would call upon no more faithful, honest, and sincere witnesses in regard to the terrible trials and bitter experiences of the Macedonian Bulgarian, nor better authorities on Macedonia's ethnical character. The majority of them have spent the larger part of their life always in closest touch with the common people and their families, and are thoroughly acquainted with the native language, literature, traditions, customs, and aspirations.

Seeing that they could obtain no redress for their sufferings either from the Ottoman Government or from the Concert of Europe, the Macedonians, subsequently joined by the Bulgarians from the Province of Adrianople, thereby set themselves at work to find a way of their own for putting a stop to a most shameful and degrading bondage. In 1893

there came into existence the powerful Interior Revolutionary Organisation which welcomed to it all Macedonians without distinction of race or faith, men, women and children, all united in one purpose to prepare for the day of a general uprising against the Turk.

The motto of the new and general revolutionary movement was "Autonomous Macedonia" or "Macedonia for the Macedonians". This insurrectionary undertaking was most enthusiastically received among the Bulgarian population in Macedonia, as well as in Bulgaria proper, where it was given the heartiest and most generous encouragement and support. The Bulgarian Government on its part had repeatedly approached both the Serbian and the Greek Governments with the object of gaining their cooperation in working for an autonomous Macedonia. These two countries, however, declared themselves against such a scheme, for they feared that as the bulk of the Macedonian population was Bulgarian, an autonomous régime might give Macedonia a Bulgarian physiognomy, in which case a union with Bulgaria would be a question of time only. The Greek and Serbian propagandas henceforward redoubled their energy and set at work with all available means of hindering and frustrating the fulfilment of such a project. The adherents of the Serbian and Greek propagandas went even so far as to act as informers and tools of the Turkish authorities in their determined effort to stamp out the dangerous Bulgarian element. The prisons throughout Turkey were overcrowded with Bulgarian political suspects, mostly innocent and peaceful folk. In the eyes of the Turks all Bulgarians, men or women, were *comitadjis*.

The Bulgarian Governments, in the face of the exterminating process to which the Bulgar element in Macedonia was exposed, made several attempts to come to some agreement with the Greeks and Serbians in order that some thing beneficent and efficacious be found for putting an end to the terrible state of affairs in European Turkey. Bulgaria several times had proposed that an Autonomous Macedonia would be the best solution of the difficulty.

In 1897 she had made a formal proposition to this effect, but both Serbia and Greece received the project with contempt and hostility. Both Serbia and Greece, dreading the consequences for their cause in Macedonia in case the Bulgarian element was given an opportunity to freely manifest its numerical ascendency which would be guaranteed under an autonomous government, always insisted on the partition of Macedonia. To this scheme neither Bulgaria, nor the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation would ever consent. This recalcitrancy on the part of Serbians and Greeks, which clearly betrayed their real designs in Macedonia, rendered the Bulgarians more desperate. From that moment on the revolutionary movement resumed its work with greater determination. The whole of Macedonia was netted with revolutionary bands. The Macedonians took the matter of deciding the fate of their country in their own hands, and commenced to make the preparations for a great uprising, which, even if it might again fail as a military undertaking, would at least cause certain European complications which would of necessity invoke the interference of the European Powers.

The revolution long planned by the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation broke out in 1903. The insurrection lasted about a month. It was most desperate in the Bitolia Vilayet. The Turkish Government greatly encouraged by Germany and Austria brought over large enforcements from Constantinople and Asia Minor. The revolted regions were finally run over by the infuriated Turkish hordes which succeeded in suppressing the revolts with their wonted cruelty and barbarism. Over two hundred Bulgarian villages were burned or destroyed. Some 5000 insurgents fell in this grand Macedonian struggle for autonomous rights. A terrible persecution followed this so-called *Illinden Insurrection*. Imprisonment, exile, torture, and death awaited thousands of the unfortunate Macedonians, the majority of whom had taken no part whatever in the movement. A bitter winter found nearly 200,000 of them without homes, food, or shelter.

The Macedonian Insurrection of 1903, though barren of any beneficial results for the ill-fated country, had at least evoked the Austro-Russian Mürzteg Reform Plan for Macedonia, which was intended simply to deceive the world and retard the liquidation of the Eastern Question until a moment favouring their political designs.

The Macedonians finding their hopes frustrated anew had no other alternative left but a continuation of the guerilla warfare against the Turks.

The situation in the Balkans due to the unrest and insurrectionary activities in Macedonia and the Province of Adrianople grew worse. In England and America there was created a great movement in behalf of the Macedonians. Hundred of mass-meet-

ings were held there condemning the apathy of Europe and the inactivity of the Great Powers. The interest manifested in England induced King Edward to broach the Macedonian Question with Emperor Nicholas of Russia, and in 1908, at their meeting at Reval, there was drawn up another Reform Programme for Macedonia. Germany again stepped in and strengthened the hands of Abdul Hamid to resist the scheme of the English King and the Tsar of Russia, so that this programme of reforms also remained a dead letter.

It should be remembered that Bulgaria in the meanwhile made another attempt to convince Serbia in the advisability of demanding of Turkey an autonomy for Macedonia. Serbia again gave an evasive answer, at the same time intimating that should the Skopie District be recognised as part of Old Serbia such a project would be "considered". This suggestion was greatly resented by the Macedonians themselves. Obviously enough, neither could any Bulgarian government give its sanction to a partition scheme. Serbia's Macedonian policy was daily receiving a firmer support from Vienna to the detriment of Serbo-Bulgarian relations.

The lot of the Macedonian people during that interval was becoming more deplorable from year to year. In 1908, however, all of a sudden there broke out the Young Turk revolution. The inauguration of a constitutional régime in the Ottoman Empire was, indeed, greeted with enthusiasm by nearly all peoples found under Turkish dominion, especially by the Bulgarians, who believed that under guaranteed government they would no more be exposed to persecution and extermination, and would be al-

lowed to assert their racial unity and strength. Their hopes and joy, however, were of a very short duration. The Young Turks soon proved a more dangerous foes to national self-consciousness and race separatism than were the old Turks. The *Hurriet* of the exalted Ottoman reformers soon betrayed its true hue. It was discovered that the proclaimed constitutional rule was a sham, and that the leaders of the new Turkish party had no sincere desire of regenerating the Empire. The traditional system of espionage, persecution, repression, and wholesale murder was now employed with more refined and concerted methods. In various places soon ensued local revolts which were suppressed in the usual Turkish way. An era of unheard of terror followed, which brought to nought all hope for bettering the condition of the Christians, and particularly of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The Young Turks who knew that the most dangerous element in Turkey was the Bulgarian acted accordingly, namely, they turned their whole energy towards its elimination as a preponderating race, and its final assimilation or annihilation. They were especially intent on getting rid of the Bulgarian educated class. Once more the Bulgarian Macedonians were fated to go through a most terrible ordeal.

In the face of this danger which aimed at the complete effacement of Macedonia's ethnical character, the Bulgarian Government in 1911 was constrained to make another effort towards an agreement with Serbia. The reign of terror instituted by the Young Turks had become so unbearable and destructive, that it was believed, should its infernal work be allowed to continue, all Christian races in

the Ottoman Empire would run the sure risk of being thoroughly denationalised, or exterminated. Under these circumstances Bulgaria's ouvertures with Serbia in 1912 found the latter responsive, as a result of which the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of that date became a fact. An understanding with Greece and Montenegro for joint efforts against the Turks followed with no serious hitch.

As is known to all, the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty was another official recognition by Serbia of the Bulgarian character of Macedonia. The jealousy, and hatred, however, of her neighbours, abetted by the intrigues of some of the Great Powers, shattered the noble results achieved by the Balkan Alliance. From a war of liberation, it degenerated into a war of self-extermination. While yet the war with Turkey was going on and the Bulgarian armies were engaged in fighting the Sultan's forces at Tchataldja, the Serbs and the Greeks who had occupied the larger part of Macedonia treated it as a conquered territory, and its Bulgarian population was insolently and harshly dealt with, and in many places was punished with death, because of its stubbornness to stick to its nationality. As has been conclusively described in the Report of the Carnegie Balkan Investigation Commission, the Macedonian Bulgars under the Serb and Greek Occupation were handled in some respects more harshly than was the case under the Turks. All Bulgarian churches and schools were closed, and the Bulgarian priests, teachers, and *intelligenzia* were driven away from their homes. Many of them were foully murdered. The second Balkan war was rendered inevitable. Bulgaria was compelled to engage in a second armed conflict, now against its former

allies, for the freedom of Macedonia, for which she had plunged in the risky and unequal struggle against the Ottoman Empire.

Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and later on Roumania and Turkey arrayed against her, she had to bow to superior forces, or as the *Times* then aptly put it, to *force majeure*.

At the Bucharest Treaty Macedonia was wrung from Bulgaria by Serbs and Greeks. Turkey recovered Thrace with the city of Adrianople, while Roumania succeeded in snatching part of her old territory. Thus all the efforts of the Country which bore the brunt of the Turkish war and had entered the fight explicitly for the liberation of its kindred in Macedonia, were in vain.

Bulgaria's Third War for Reunion.

When the great war broke out in 1914, barely a year after the last Balkan war, and the two belligerent groups were doing all they could to win the Balkan states on their side, public opinion in Bulgaria was decidedly for a strict neutrality. All its parties had declared their adherence to this principle, and while the Radoslavoff Cabinet was maintaining close relations with the Central Powers, because of the loan the latter had granted it (which had previously been refused by the Entente Governments), and because of the industrial and commercial dependence of Bulgaria on the Germanic countries, the sympathies of the people in general were, nevertheless, decidedly with the Entente. And though there were Russophobes and Germanophobes, there were only Anglophiles in the Land.

Radoslavoff himself was one of the colleagues and followers of Stambouloff, the founder of the great party bearing his name, the outspoken policy of which was to further an English Anti-Russian diplomacy in the Near East.

If in 1878 the clash between the English and the Russian interests had occasioned the drafting of the Treaty of Berlin which proved so fatal to Bulgaria, the Balkans, and to Europe, in 1914 the Alliance of England and Russia created a dilemmatic situation for Bulgaria no less fatal in its sequels. Only several months earlier Tsar Nicholas in reviewing the Fifth Roumanian Cavalry Squadron which had invaded Bulgaria during the war of the former Balkan allies, had gone so far as to salute it and to speak of the soldiers as "heroes that had recently covered themselves with fresh glory". That incident sent a thrill of undescribable disgust in the heart of every Bulgarian. The Bulgaro-Russian relations, bad as they were then, became all the more stringent. Russia's conduct during that period was exceedingly provocative and insolent. England and France could not have committed a more serious mistake than they did by entrusting the management of the Entente diplomacy in the Balkans in the hands of Russian agents. The success of the Central Powers in having Bulgaria on their side was not due to their popularity in that thoroughly democratic country, but rather to the tactlessness of the Entente diplomacy which imagined that Bulgaria could be won by means of a *Cossack knout*. Not that Russophilism was extinguished among the Bulgarians; far from such a thought. Russia of Alexander II, the Liberator, will always be popular in Bulgaria. It was the Russia

of Alexander III and Nicholas II that was intensely disliked in the Country owing to the repeated encroachments of their bureaucratic governments upon Bulgaria's independence and sovereignty.

In the meanwhile the condition of things on the Peninsula was not bettered in the least. Macedonia was now suffering a blood-blind violence in the hands of an irresponsible Serbian régime. All Bulgarian schools and churches were closed, all Bulgarian priests, schoolmasters, and prominent men were driven abroad or put out of the way. Mr. H. N. Brailsford thus described the deplorable state of that country under the Serbians in 1913. "The situation grows more and more unbearable for the Bulgarians — a perfect hell. I had opportunity of talking with peasants from the interior. What they tell us makes one shudder. Every group of four or five villages has an official placed over it, who, with six or seven underlings, men of disreputable antecedents, carries out perquisitions, and on the pretext of searching for arms steals everything that is worth taking. They indulge in flogging and robbery, and violate many of the women and girls Bands of Servian terrorists (*komitadjis*) recruited by the Government swarm all over the country. They go from village to village and woe to any one who dares to refuse them anything."¹)

Throngs of Macedonian refugees with haggard faces and tattered apparel crowded the cities and towns of Bulgaria, a most ominous warning to those who advocated an Entente policy which demanded of the same wretched people to take up arms side by side with their cruel oppressors — the Serbians! Dr. Ed-

¹) *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 8, 1913.

ward B. Haskell, a well known American Missionary, who had been a witness of Bulgaria's passing through these excruciating trials, on returning to the United States has painted the picture in its true colours, when in speaking on this point he says: "It must be admitted that the Entente made a stiff demand upon Bulgarian idealism in asking her to help save Serbia without substantial rectification of the Bucharest Treaty of 1913. But even so the sympathies of the masses were so strongly Anglo-Russian, that a referendum would have enlisted the Bulgars on our side. When the Bulgarian mobilisation was effected the Bulgarian officers at the outset had to quiet their men by telling them that they were to fight none but Serbs, and that if ordered against the English or Russians they might throw away their arms." Dr. Haskell was able to penetrate into the secret of the Entente's failure to gain the hearts of the Bulgarian people, as is made plain by the following statement:

"This background is necessary to an understanding of Bulgaria's attitude in the present war — her determination to unite the Bulgarian race under one flag, her offer to join our Allies, and help them capture Constantinople if they only would grant her the Bulgarian-speaking part of the Balkan Peninsula. Had England been free to conduct the negotiations, Bulgaria would have taken her natural place with the world's democracies. *But England was in the anomalous position of "fighting for the freedom of the small nations" as a partner of Russia, then the most tyrannical autocracy extant.* The irony of this situation was keenly realised in Bulgaria. And Russian autocracy would consent to no step toward

righting Bulgaria's wrongs save the vague promise of a small patch of Macedonia after the war." ¹⁾

Add to this the exasperating attitude, manoeuvrings, and threats of invasion, on the part of the Serbians, and one may complete the picture delineating those agonising stages previous to her being *thrust*, that is just the word, into the bosom of Germany. The Bulgarians though admirers of German iron discipline, German educational system and learning, nevertheless did not in the least intend to join Germany in her struggle against England. In fact, as soon as Great Britain broke relations with Kaiser Wilhelm's Empire, it was felt throughout the Country that the vital interest of Bulgaria dictated to keep away from the European tangle. But could she, though, remain deaf to the cries of agony coming from her kindred in Macedonia, and continue to be an insensible witness of the systematic persecution and extermination of the Bulgarian population there, which an iniquitous treaty forced under a new yoke, a bondage that in point of discrimination and cruelty vied with the worst epochs of Ottoman tyranny? Nay, the Serbian and Greek rule in Macedonia was far more dangerous to the Bulgarians, for while the Turkish oppression was due to ignorance, indolence, and wanton misgovernment, that of the new masters was a well-premeditated policy aiming at the utter annihilation of the Bulgarian element.

"We can endure it no longer!" was the piercing shout of an immense throng of Macedonians — mostly wretched victims of Serbian and Greek inhuman

¹⁾ *The Truth About Bulgaria*, Oberlin Alumni Magazine, Nov. 1918.

treatment — which had gathered around the rampant statue of Tsar Alexander II, Bulgaria's Liberator, in front of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

One of the throng mounted the steps and in a stifled voice addressed the mournful gathering:

“Brethren, across the Rilo Mountains our kindred are daily being crucified and done to death by our former allies. The Bulgarian Government does those martyrs eternal injustice in delaying to rescue them from shame and death.

“Posterity will brand the Bourbon (pointing at Tsar Ferdinand's palace), and his “coterie” of ministers as traitors to their race if they should still persist in their policy of *non-possumus*, thus allowing the complete destruction of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia. By the time they get ready to act for the deliverance of that sorely tried and martyred Bulgarian land, there will be left no Bulgarian to liberate. Are we to show ourselves less patriotic than the Greeks in 1897, who though hoping against hope in their grapple against the Turks, nevertheless, hurled themselves in an uneven combat. They lost, in truth, as every body knew they would, their defeat, however, saved Crete from the bloody claws of the Asiatic.”

During that eventful summer of 1915 the political atmosphere was strongly electrified throughout Bulgaria; it needed the tiniest spark to enkindle it and create a mighty explosion.

It should be had in mind, that in the Radoslavoff Ministry, as in all Bulgarian Cabinets, there were several Macedonians. The chief of Staff (Jostoff) was a Macedonian. The ablest and most popular cavalry general (Taneff) is a Macedonian. The Mace-

donian movement in Bulgaria had at its back energetic and most powerful representatives in the Government, the army, the press, the university, the church, the trade, etc. The Macedonian Benevolent Association was a mighty factor, which exercised a deciding influence upon the course of events. "Macedonia delivered" was the watchword of all except a few far-sighted individuals who predicted that the war would be a long one, and that Bulgaria, as a small country, could not hold long.

"Cowards," exclaimed the crowds. "How selfish and pusillanimous to think of what would happen to Bulgaria when Macedonia is dying an agonising death!"

At this juncture fifty thousand Macedonian revolutionary veterans were waiting only for the signal to join the army of liberation.

The Government and the King, though favouring a Bulgaro-German alliance, hesitated long before taking a decision. The Opposition was composed of five parties out of eight, the remaining three making the Government. Thus strong and led by able and tried chiefs, with the grand old statesman Gueshoff at the head, it was strictly against an adventurous undertaking.¹⁾

The people and army were, indeed, willing to hurl themselves against the Serbians and Roumanians, but what if Russia the Liberator appeared back of the Serbians and Roumanians?

"No, we will never lift our hand against our liberators," was the cry heard from many quarters.

An ambitious King and a weak Government were placed in a very dilemmatic situation. A war of liberation against Bulgaria's Liberator, certainly, would be a very dangerous enterprise.

¹⁾ The Opposition had secretly requested England to land troops in Macedonia.

In the meanwhile Serbia's conduct towards Bulgaria was becoming exceedingly intolerable, and her administration in Macedonia was pursuing its policy of extermination with unabated vigour. The Entente representatives were given to bargaining with Bulgaria while the Macedonian population was exposed to a life of dishonour and ignoble death. "Macedonia completely liberated from the Serbians," was the answer on all sides given to the Entente emissaries. "Free Macedonia, and the whole nation will gladly join your forces in the war. No more promises, but tangible proofs; Macedonia free is the only "tangible proof", the only inducement for the Bulgarians to embark into a third war. That could be effected through an occupation by English, French, and Italian troops." So argued the Bulgarians before the advocates of the Entente Powers.

To these pleadings of a mortally wronged people the Entente gave vague and evasive answers, or no answer at all. Savinski, the Russian minister at Sofia, assured the Bulgarian Government that at the end of the war, if victorious, the Entente would see to it that Macedonia is given to Bulgaria. Serbia would have no objection to this then as she would be richly recompensed at the expense of Austria.

"Yes, but the Macedonia you are going to hand us over by that time would be a wilderness," was the blunt reply the Russian diplomat received.

One day late in August of the fatal summer of 1915, Mr. O' Berne, the British Minister to Bulgaria, in talking to two of his Bulgarian friends said: "Gentlemen, I see your point, it is just, but, alas, it is too late. Nobody understands you. Our diplomacy has blundered."

By this assertion Mr. O'Berne simply wanted to say that the Entente diplomacy had *blundered* in authorising Russia to have *carte blanche* in dealing with the Balkan States.

While the negotiations between the Entente and Bulgaria were going on, Germany was not staying idle. She must have been laughing in her shirt sleeves in witnessing how everything was coming to her liking. It was her excellent opportunity to act, and she acted accordingly. Besides promising Bulgaria a loan, the means of carrying on an eventual war on her side, etc., she promised best of all Bulgaria's reunion. No doubt, the Bulgarians in Macedonia would have far more preferred to welcome as liberators English rather than German troops, but fate had decreed differently. They were perfectly sure that had even a small contingent of Entente forces come and occupied Macedonia and thus guaranteed the country against the unbridled and arbitrary Serbian authorities, the action would have been greeted in both Macedonia and Bulgaria with an unbounded enthusiasm, which would have stifled every vestige of Germanophil tendencies in the mind of the over-ambitious Tsar Ferdinand and his no less zealous First Minister.¹⁾

¹⁾ The present writer was the person delegated to England by the Macedonian circles in Sofia, in Sept. 1915, with the instruction to inform the British Foreign Office of the fact that an English immediate occupation of Macedonia would best solve Bulgaria's difficulty. Such an action would produce a magical effect in favour of the Entente both in Macedonia and Bulgaria, that no King or Government would be able to remain in their places one day in any other capacity except as friends and allies of the Entente Powers. At all events, Bulgaria's war party would have been deprived of its strongest and most plausible weapon. The writer of these lines, with the knowledge and encouragement of Mr. O'Berne, the British Minister at Sofia, arrived in

“Should England and her big Allies effect such a beautiful plan, I and my colleagues would be the first to welcome them as liberators. We would go with him who would help us free Macedonia. But that has to be done quickly for the condition of things in it under the Serbians and Greeks admits of no delay.”¹⁾

The discovery of a Serbian plan of invading Bulgaria, thus opening the way to Constantinople was adding oil to the fire. There had come to pass many other events and incidents which were of a nature to strengthen and facilitate the Germanophil policy of Tsar Ferdinand and the willing Radoslavoff Cabinet. A mobilisation order would have been a risky business any time before August 1915, for though the clamour for the liberation of the Macedonians was strong, the people in general were averse to another experience of war horrors. The ghastly sights of the recent Balkan struggles were still fresh in the memories of the nation. Many warnings against war were sent to the Government from various parts of the country. Certain regiments had openly declared they would throw away their arms should they be mobilised. The patriots, however, prevailed. As we remarked, the series of events helped the Government which seems chose the psychological moment to issue the call for general summons

London in due time and disburdened himself of the important secret at the proper quarters. History will one day reveal why that suggestion and entreaty on the part of the Macedonians were not complied with by England and her Allies, which would have changed the whole course of the war.

¹⁾ These are exactly the words of Premier Radoslavoff, spoken to the present writer, prior to his starting for England to ask her intervention in behalf of Macedonia.

of the country's military forces. The mobilisation was effected quickly and without a hitch. Riots, indeed, had occurred in some quarters, but nothing happened which hindered the mobility of the armies. 1)

Those who are acquainted with the real facts connected with that Bulgarian mobilisation, will testify, that though the Bulgarian King and Government had resorted to that measure according to a secret agreement concluded between Bulgaria and the Central Powers, King Ferdinand and his Cabinet, nevertheless, entertained a last hope that Serbia would thus be frightened to terms and be compelled to evacuate Macedonia. 2) The Serbian Government and General Command, however, greeted the Bulgarian mobilisation with derision, insolence, and a clenched fist. This conduct on the part of the Serbians helped to stir up the disgust of even the least warlike spirits among the Bulgarians. Then came the rash and peremptory Russian ultimatum which in a way differed but little from Austria's note to Serbia a year before. The Russian ultimatum, Sept. 23, in which Bulgaria was treated as a Russian satrapy touched the nation to the quick. "Down with Tsarism and Absolutism," "Long live free Macedonia," was the exultant echo heard throughout, which was simply the alarm signalling Bulgaria's

1) It should be remembered that two weeks before, Bulgaria's mobilisation was preceded by a call for general drill of all Macedonian legions, to the number of 50,000 able-bodied and fiery men, which event was received with great enthusiasm.

2) The future historian would some day also make mention of a plan much discussed and recommended by influential circles in Bulgaria, providing for a sudden dash of the Bulgarian army into Macedonia, after the liberation of which, backed by a *fait accompli*, Bulgaria was to turn to the Entente and offer its services to its Cause.

march to Macedonia's aid. The opposition leaders, Gheshoff, Daneff, Ghenadieff, Stambol'yiski, Sakizoff, Malinoff, did all they could to induce the Government and King to abstain from a conflict which was bound to be a fatal one. They even resorted to threats, but it was too late. Patriotism got the best of prudence. It was a case of "For my Country if it's right, but my Country right or wrong." In this case the country and its cause were in the right, only the road and the allies it chose were the wrong ones. But, "You can fool some of the people all the time, you can fool all the people some of the time, *but you can never fool all the people all the time,*" are the prophetic words of the greatest American President and statesman, which apply fitly to the Bulgarians in those critical and unsettled times. Europe had deceived them so many times since it despoiled them in 1878. It failed to execute its promises solemnly incurred at the Congress of Berlin, it failed to see put in practice so many of its pledges given to them ever since. In 1912—13 the Tsar of Russia failed to redeem his signature affixed to the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty. The Petrograd Protocol settling the Roumano-Bulgarian territorial disputes was flagrantly trampled upon with the connivance of some of the Great Powers. The London Peace Treaty between Turkey and the Balkan Allies was soon shattered to pieces, no matter if it was drawn up under the auspices and sanction of Russia, England, and France.

In July 1913, when Turkey, too, had the courage to reoccupy Thrace, in spite of the London Treaty stipulations and the threats of Sir Edward Grey that "the Porte's action was done at her own risk,"

and that "Europe would not tolerate her violation of Europe's will," were heeded by none. The Daily Chronicle, the English *officieux* at that time, wrote the following scathing editorial on the shameful treatment accorded Bulgaria by the Powers responsible:

"Europe comes very badly out of this affair. She held Bulgaria back by a promise at a time when Ferdinand's troops could have captured Constantinople; when the tables turned, and the promise had to be redeemed, she made shabby, unconcealed default. Bulgaria has lost heavily by deferring to her; Turkey and Montenegro have gained heavily by defying her. The Concert which has put such a premium on disobedience to its mandates cannot expect anyone to comply with them in future. Bulgaria has for years pursued a policy of avowed and acknowledged deference towards the wishes of the Great Powers. Her correctness and readiness to oblige, paralleled by no other Balkan State, have got them round not one, but half a dozen dangerous corners. Her reward is to be thrown by the Chancelleries to the other minor States as a bone for them all to gnaw at. The lesson will not be lost upon her or upon anybody else. It will make it infinitely difficult in the future for the Concert of Europe to get any of its recommendations listened to, or any of its promises believed. Every minor State must recognise that the way to get on is to make difficulties for the Concert. In this way the Concert comes out of the long tangle vastly, perhaps fatally, weakened, and incalculably less capable of overcoming any similar tangle in future than it was until two months ago. It is a very real disaster,

and goes far to remove the legitimate satisfaction which we have all felt over the preservation of Europe's peace. Diplomacy has saved us for the present, but blunted its strongest peace-weapon for the future. In the crucial instance three Powers seem to have been chiefly responsible — Germany, France, and ourselves; each of whom was and is bargaining with Turkey for Asiatic advantages, and to please the Porte threw over the obligation of Europe.”¹⁾

The Entente's failure to win the most *ententophil* Bulgaria on its side was that it had fooled it too many times in the past. Its greatest mistake in the fatal year 1914—1915 was that it resorted to more promises and they were proffered by no other than Tsar Nicholas of Russia, who as the same English officiose then declared, “*by not fulfilling his word pledged on the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, is the real cause of the second Balkan war.*”

“No more promises, but deeds we want,” was the answer given by the Bulgarians to all pourparlers of the Great Powers with the distrustful Bulgarian people. — “We will go with him who would free Macedonia, or help us free it ourselves.”

While Macedonia was groaning under *exceptional laws*,²⁾ most draconian in their wording and application, the Entente, through its unhappy mandatory, Russia, resorted to *promises*, and thereby

¹⁾ *Daily Chronicle*, Sept. 3, 1915.

²⁾ Miss Edith Durham, the well known English authoress, as well as many other English and American publicists, who have written a great deal concerning the *exceptional régime* inaugurated in Macedonia after the Bucharest Treaty, recently in *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 3, 1919, in again referring on that subject in her defence of Albania, writes: All of us who have studied the terribly severe regulations passed by Serbia for her conquered territories in 1913 — regulations in which the statement of the police was

blundered. Emperor Nicholas, in truth, was a Pandora of promises never fulfilled. In many respects he used to recall Byron's famous description of his great-grand-father and namesake, Nicholas I:

"Resplendent sight! Behold the coxcomb Czar,
The autocrat of waltzes and of war!
A Calmuck beauty with a Cossack wit;
And generous spirit where'tis not frost-bit;
Now half dissolving to a liberal thaw,
But harden'ed back when'er the morning's raw;
With no objection to true liberty,
Except that it would make the nations free.
How well the imperial dandy prates of peace?
How fain, if Greeks would be his slaves, free Greece?
How nobly gave he back the Poles their Diet,
Then told pugnacious Poland to be quiet!"¹⁾

The English bard and patriot, who in the early part of the nineteenth century felt disgusted with the underhanded manœuvres of certain of the Great Powers, because of using Greece as their cat's paw, was constrained further to exclaim:

"Will Gaul or Muscovite redress ye? No!
True, they may lay your proud despoilers low;
But not for you will Freedom's altars flame.
Shades of the Helots! triumph o'er your foe;
Greece! change thy lords, thy state is still the same;
Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thy years of shame."²⁾

Perspicacious Bulgarians, and even Russophils themselves, bitterly regretted that the Entente's diplomacy in the Balkans was entrusted in the hands of

to be sufficient evidence of guilt of the accused; in which a man who was acquainted with a malefactor and did not denounce him was liable to five years' penal servitude; and numbers of others similarly drastic and unjust — feel that while an annexed Slav would have an easy time under Italy, the annexed Albanian or Bulgar would have scant reason for admiring the manner in which the Jugo-Slavs "circulate President Wilson's aims."

¹⁾ Byron, — *The Age of Bronze X.*

²⁾ *Childe Harold*, II, LCXVI.

thoroughly incompetent, awkward, and irresponsible individuals. The Tsarist agents tried in turn the Oriental methods, backing them with moral suasion varied with corruption. Failing in all these, they finally resorted to bullyism and threats. An English statesman attributed Bulgaria's national catastrophe in 1913 to the fact, that Dr. Daneff, the ideologue of Russophilism in Bulgaria, "trusted Russia too far." As a matter of fact the great Slav Empire during the last years of its existence was distrusted by all the Balkan States, Greece and Bulgaria in particular. Greece was able to take possession of the Cavalla Region, thanks to her brother-in-law, the German Kaiser, who according to his own words, "fought like a tiger for it." The second Balkan war was mainly due to Tsar Nicholas' lack of seriousness, tact, and firmness. Both Serbia and Bulgaria had become the spoiled children of 'Mother Russia'. Add Austria as their 'Step-mother', and the nucleus of a political imbroglio is formed. Serbia and Bulgaria played the pet in succession until 1913 when the latter paid the penalty of the hide and seek game that was in vogue for years in the Balkans.

Russia's blunders and mismanagement of the Entente's interests in Sofia was Germany's great and long-sought-for opportunity. The Bulgarian delegates come to Paris for the purpose of concluding a loan were told out of courtesy for the Great Northern Ally, "The road to a loan leads via Petrograd." Bulgaria's financial sores and pressing necessities compelled her to swallow the bitter pill and turn even to Russia for aid. Her representatives were brusquely informed in Petrograd, "You are a thoroughly exhausted country, you have no more an army, you

can obtain no loan with us." London gave a civil but also a negative answer.

Russia had misled the Entente, and "some one blundered".

Germany's agents in the meanwhile had scoured the Country and had quickly found out that the economic and material resources of the Land were good and that Bulgaria could still muster the best army in the Balkans. Germany, therefore, acted accordingly. She gave the little nation all she needed, only to gain it on its side. And, as was hinted before, she guaranteed Bulgaria the attainment of her historic and most sacred dream — her full national reunion. And, it should be remembered, that among the Balkan states Germany had the reputation of an ideal nation, all powerful, learned, severe, and disciplined, and, besides, at that period she was winning victory after victory which was a most effective preaching. Russia had deceived Roumania in 1878, had sold Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria, and though Tsar Nicholas had affixed his name to the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, he signally failed to fulfil his solemn obligation. Germany, on the other side, though not bound with an oath, was nevertheless, able to realise a gently requested wish of small Hellas. No Balkan state, therefore, would have been willing to trust its fate to Russia, while all of them both revered and dreaded Bismarck's Germany. But on the other side there were England, and France! The democratic Bulgarian always cherished a great fascination and admiration for England's constitutional form of government, model institutions, and social structure. Besides, England ever since 1878 had been Bulgaria's best and strongest friend. And yet,

how was it that that same democratic England had to ally herself with tyrannous and bureaucratic Russia, and that, in a union which guaranteed her the possession of the Bosphorus and the control of the Balkans? Moreover, English statesmanship and press since the fiasco of the London Treaty 1913, when Sir Edward Grey's warning to Turkey failed to elicit a true support either in Paris or Petrograd, preached that England would not undertake anything for the Balkans alone. The practical Bulgar had been fooled, lied to, imposed upon, disappointed, and intrigued against so often by the Great Powers, that now in his last and most desperate effort he was to make for his race unification he had decided to join the devil himself in order to effect his burning national desire.

General Jostoff, the Chief of Staff of the Bulgarian army during the war, prior to Bulgaria's entry into the conflict had said: "We hate Austria, and though we admire Germany for her great organization, discipline, and learning, there is little that unites us with the German people. It is far preferable that, if we are to fight, we should fight on the side of England. But if England's "monstrous" alliance with Tsarism will have in store for us nothing but catastrophes as of yore, then we shall be compelled to clasp hands this time with the "Schwabs", and do or die in the struggle. We tried the Entente in 1912, and the result was the second Balkan war, the Bucharest Treaty, and another Turkish invasion. Over the Rilo mountains our brethren with outstretched arms and stifled voices are entreating us not to prolong their agonies. They are repeating to us the words of Damy Groueff, the great revo-

lutionary hero and martyr, "It is better to have an end with horrors than horrors without end." England and France, it seems, do not understand our national woes. England or Germany are for us the question of "To be, or not to be" of Hamlet, which must be solved by us without much delay. Though our Government and *Dvoretsa* (the court) seem to have caught the German bait, it will be a race between England and Germany as to who would reach the Balkans — us — first. Would to God that England and Bulgaria could fight shoulder to shoulder."

General Jostoff, in concert with all other Macedonian military leaders who in reality were the greatest factors and inspiration towards an immediate action, had, as was already stated, duly apprised England of the fact that an English occupation of Macedonia would solve the Eastern question, win the Bulgarian people on its side, and save Bulgaria from another bloody conflict. In so doing the general conflagration might be arrested and shortened. "*He (the Bulgarian) swore that he would go with him who would tear up that treaty (of Bucharest)*", to repeat the words of Mr. Georges Bousquet. "*Ah, how he wished we might be that people! And how easy it would have been, if we had known how to speak and act in time in order to draw to us the Bulgarian people.*"

It is a strange fact that while so many Entente writers and publicists were calling attention to the great rôle Bulgaria could play on either side in case she joined the war, the Entente Governments did so little to win her over. For a time the Bulgarians had commenced to believe that England, France, and Russia were simply jesting with her.

The Entente had greatly underestimated Bulgaria. Once in the fray, however, everybody was astonished at the vigour and dash manifested by the Bulgarian army which the Tsar's courtiers styled "no more an army", thinking the last two Balkan wars had thoroughly sapped its vitality, cohesion, and mobility. It, however, proved exactly what Mr. A. G. Hales had described it in *John Bull*, only ten days before its trumpets announced the letting loose of the dogs of Mars. Mr. Hales knew what he was talking about, for he had lived in the Country, and had studied the Bulgarian military organisation at close quarters. He is one of those Britishers who had seen revolutionary life in Macedonia in company of regular guerilla fighters. Here are his prognostic words about the sturdy Bulgars whom he would have liked to be his companions in the world's struggle:

"The moments are pregnant with great events. The hand of the little kingdom of Bulgaria is on the dial-plate of destiny. This small Power may decide the whole course of the war. It is not so much the 400,000 superb soldiers who will fight under the Bulgarian flag that makes the Bulgar friendship, or enmity of such grave moment, as the geographical position of the kingdom. Situated as she is, Bulgaria's 400,000 men are worth two millions in almost any other theatre of the war. Will the Bulgars march in step with us? I pray it may be so, for then the fall of Constantinople and the rounding up of the Turkish army will be well within measuring distance, for Bulgaria can sweep behind the Sultan's forces and paralyse them, and so set our fine army in the Gallipoli Peninsula on the move; and the fall of the Turkish forces, with the

swiftly following opening of the Dardanelles, will mean the death-knell of Germany. If, however, the present mobilisation of Bulgarian troops means that at a given moment they strike at us on behalf of Germany, the scales of fate are going to swing for a time at least in the Kaiser's favour. Fighting on our side, Bulgaria will prove the last straw that breaks the camel's back, and the Kaiser knows it. Fighting against us, the Bulgarians are going to provide at least another year's breathing space for our foes. They are so situated that they can strike Serbia in her weakest spot, or they can help her. They can wound Turkey to the death, or pull her out of the fire, and they can let German munitions go freely into the Sultan's keeping, or they can prevent supplies from getting there at all. They can hold up an Austrian army, or they can help it on to conquest.

"Let us look at the Bulgar squarely, whether we have to count him friend or foe, and let us remember that 400,000 does not represent nearly his full fighting capacity, for as soon as the war drum beats, the Bulgar-Macedonians, who are all warriors, will join in. They are mountain-bred, and better men never faced steel on the field of battle. I know them, for I have fought with them, and if they come on our side, I'd be happy if I could make my third visit to their rugged mountain strongholds as comrade and friend. The Bulgarian regular soldier has no superior in Europe; he is dauntlessly brave, superbly trained, hardy as a wolf, and a fighter to his finger-tips. The Bulgarian officer is simply superb. He eats, drinks, and dreams the First Napoleon's atmosphere. You may find many of them who know

nothing of Cæsar's Commentaries, but you won't find one who does not know Napoleon's military code backwards. They love their work and live for it and in it, and make no bones about dying for it. They carry the map of Europe in their heads, from the Bosphorus to Berlin, and they know by personal contact and exploration every mountain and mountain pass in and adjacent to their own territory. If they come into the war against us, they will bring genius, experience, hardihood, and daring of a high order to bear against us. They loathe the Turk, despise the Austrian, and distrust the German, but they consider we and our allies robbed them of victory in the last war with Turkey.

“How will the Bulgars go? Possibly God knows, but I doubt if anyone else does, even the Bulgars themselves. They are out to make the best terms they can for themselves; but a mere frontier incident, the outbreak of an old feud may, and very possibly will, decide their course for them. A few shots fired, a wild hour or two with the steel may put the fat in the fire, and bring the fiery nation to its feet with a spring that will overleap all the councils of their leaders, for they are a passionate breed, and often act on impulse. Such an incident may arise on the Turkish borders, where their old-time enemies are watching with all their eyes. Then all would be well for us. But unfortunately, there is a danger equally great threatening on the Serbian frontier, for they have not forgotten that Serbia took them by the gullet when they were weak from Turkey's heavy wounds. So the vexed problem stands; it may unravel itself any hour, but I doubt if any living man can say with certainty in which

direction. In the history of the world little nations have often held the balance of power in their hands as Bulgaria does to-day; it is no new situation. Geography is a greater factor sometimes in world-shaking events than millions of armed men, and so it will be to the end. But this is not a time to philosophise — this is the hour for swift and far-reaching action. We have not much time to look now, for *armed neutrality is an impossible position for Bulgaria.*

“Unarmed neutrality was dangerous enough; armed neutrality is equivalent to a man looking with a lighted fire stick for a lost needle in a bale of gun cotton. On which frontier will the torch and gun cotton come together, the Turkish or the Serbian? The man who finds that out can measure the distance to a mile between our troops and Constantinople.”

That is exactly the rôle Bulgaria played in the war. Everyone can easily surmise how diametrically different would the results have been if the sturdy, well-disciplined, and highly patriotic Bulgarian army had joined issue with the Entente phalanxes with which it was in sympathy. Unfortunately, during those pivotal moments the Entente forces failed to rise to the supreme occasion. Though it had repeatedly condemned the iniquitous Bucharest Treaty and had recognised the condition of the Macedonian population as unsupportable and inhuman, it, nevertheless, showed a deaf ear to the supplications for relief constantly sent forth from that martyred land. It failed to respond to the united appeals for help of the most democratic people in the Balkans. Bulgaria's case at that critical juncture was explicit.

Premier Radoslavoff, no matter how great his shortcomings and diplomatic inaptitude were, made the position of his country plain, when on the eve of Bulgaria's entry into the world conflict he made to the Entente the following declaration: "We will fight but for one goal, — to extend our frontiers until they embrace our oppressed kindred folk. But that end must be guaranteed to us beyond all doubt. If we are to fight alone, we are ready to do so. If we are asked to fight side by side with Greece, Serbia, and Roumania, in a new Balkan Alliance on the side of the Allies, we are equally ready to do the same. To the Entente we say, "Give us back Macedonia, and we will fight your battles with our utmost zeal and determination."

The appeals of the Bulgarian race directed to their best friends were not heeded by the latter. The Entente showed that it could not prevail upon the Belgrade factors to redress the wrongs done to Bulgaria in 1913. "They cannot prevail in Belgrade now when Serbia is face to face with defeat, how can they prevail upon it in the future when victorious? Tsar Nichola's word was impotent in the capital of King Peter in 1913." That was the logical conclusion arrived at by the practical Bulgar. That circumstance tipped the scale in favour of Austria, which was no less detested by the Bulgarian people than was Russian Tsarism. Bulgaria in virtue of her central position could not long remain neutral, she was bound to join the war. She had to choose between the prospect of becoming a political dependency or cat's paw of Russian autocracy, and a corridor of the German economic imperialism embodied in the "*Drang nach Osten*" policy. It was, indeed, a case

of Scylla and Charybdis. The Bulgarians chose a German economic dependence to the ignoble thralldom of a Russian *moujik*.

The die was cast, the Rubicon passed — the Bulgarian people was called to embark into a third bloody conflict for the liberation of its kindred in Macedonia, and for its national reunion. Whatever its faults, it proved faithful to man's noblest impulses, that it is never criminal or out of season to spring up to the rescue of one's own children and effect their deliverance from the ravisher and oppressor.

On Sept. 18, 1915, the Macedonian legions in Bulgaria, over fifty thousand strong, were called to a regular military drill. It was a rare historic event.

On Sept. 23 there took place the general mobilisation of the Bulgarian army.

On Oct. 13, after Serbia's defiant rejection to evacuate Macedonia, the Bulgarian Tsar issued his manifest signed by all the ministers, in which the Bulgarian forces were ordered to "clear and liberate Macedonia from the enemy."

The Bulgarian people and army, no matter what their various convictions had heretofore been, were now, when summoned by the war trumpet to fulfil their sacred duty and liberating mission towards their oppressed brethren, filled with enthusiasm, and united in an exalted resolve. If the American war with Spain in 1897 for the deliverance of the Cubans — an alien race — was a popular war, though the opposing voices were many and powerful, then Bulgaria's action in 1915 in behalf of its kindred could not be anything but an intensely popular movement. If the sinking of the *Maine* was an incident which occasioned the conflict, there were

a hundred incidents between Serbia and Bulgaria, far more real and provoking, which made the second clash between the two countries inevitable. For the Bulgarians the new conflict was another war of liberation. It was a last and supreme effort towards the freedom and unification of the Bulgarian race:

"Behold the day, behold the hour,
 Let every slave awake.
 Behold the day, behold the hour,
 Let every tyrant quake,
 Five centuries' oppression cease
 And this eternal shame,
 Behold the day, we raise the flag
 In holy freedom's name.
 Macedonia, Martyr Mother,
 'Gainst the foes are comrades calling,
 Macedonia, there no further
 Shall thy sons base yoke endure!"¹⁾

Once with rifle in hand and face turned towards the Macedonian highlands, where they knew their brethren were breathlessly waiting and listening to hear their blessed steps, the Bulgarians felt the magic thrill of the liberating mission they were performing, the enchanting feeling of being *liberators*. Those who assert that Bulgaria's third war was not undertaken with the enthusiasm and full support of the people, are simply playing the politician. It is true that the Bulgarian people was exceedingly averse to another bloody conflict. It is true that the Bulgarians distrusted both their King and Government because of their leanings towards the Central Powers, and particularly, Austria and Turkey, the Powers that had been the greatest enemies of the Bulgarian race in the past.

¹⁾ Macedonian revolutionary song.

It is true that Tsar Ferdinand and his first Minister, Radoslavoff, were continually threatened with having their heads rolling in the streets of Sofia if they should drag the people into another war. It is also true that there took place numerous anti-war demonstrations, disturbances, and riots in many localities throughout the country. But all these manifestations lasted while the nation was thinking only of itself, of its own interests and immediate future, and was considering the terrible risk it was making by plunging into a new bloody conflict. As soon, however, as the Bulgarian heard the bugle calling all to the ranks of the *Osvoboditelna Armia* (the Army of Liberation), he was completely transformed. The thought of being a rescuer, liberator, saviour, and that of his own brother, had made a new man of him. Those who accuse the Bulgarian that he entered into the war for selfish ends and for territorial aggrandisement, are uttering blasphemies upon a people who now a third time sacrificed everything at the altar of freedom. No other people joined this huge conflict out of more nationalistic motives, with greater spirit of self-sacrifice and abnegation, and thereby with more furious dash, than did the Bulgarians hand in hand and heart to heart with their Macedonian and Dobroudjan brethren. Perhaps the soul of their King and rulers may not have been clean in the manner the liberating action was conceived, managed, and carried on, the people, however, once stretching its saving hand to its down-trodden kin, did its sacred duty as nobly, bravely, and thoroughly, as has seldom been recorded in the pages of history. The Bulgarian felt he was called to perform a supernatural mission, he could not describe it what.

He knew that thousands upon thousands of his best countrymen had laid their bones in the long struggle for the rights, liberty, and independence of the Bulgarian race. In his memory revolved the names of so many ideal men and even women who had given their lives for the noble cause. He could not help being enraptured with the thought he, too, now has the opportunity of enrolling himself in the ranks of the glorious host marching towards liberation and death. He was caught in the whirlwind of patriotism, carried away by the thought that he must not fall behind of the heroes who had already filled a patriotic grave, who had fulfilled their noble task as valliant men, —

“Departed spirits of the heroes long before us gone,
 To glorious strife are us exhorting our lives to atone;
 Stand bravely, strike, or bravely fall, e'er facing death with mirth;
 'Tis sweet to die for God, for Home, and Land that gave
 us birth.”¹⁾

Only in the light of such a psychological condition of mind may one account for the phenomenal dash and military exploit of the Bulgarians, also in this their third war for reunion. In less than a month they had become masters of the situation in Macedonia. The Macedonia guerilla phalanxes had scoured the country in advance of the regular army, had broken all important telegraphic and railroad communications, while the native population, long yearning to embrace their brother-liberators, had done everything to facilitate their march. Hundreds of local revolutionary bands had overrun the country, hindering and bewildering the enemy at every step. Nish, Skopie, Shtip, Veles, and soon Mo-

¹⁾ Macedonian revolutionary song.

nastir and Ochrida, the heart of the Macedonian revolutionary movements, were wrested from the grip of the stubborn enemy. There were many heroes of the soil that the Macedonian population fervently awaited to greet and embrace. The colonels Protogheroff, Drangoff, Darvingoff, Theodore Alexandroff, the 'silent general' in plain garb, all of long revolutionary fame, and the greatest of them all, General Boyadjieff of Ochrida, whose march through Macedonia, now cleared of the last enemy soldier, was a veritable triumphal procession worthy of any monarch.

At his native town of Ochrida the population was in extasy over "our general". It was an exceedingly touching welcome. The people had strewn the streets with flowers, green twigs, and their most precious tapestry. As the hero-general was passing on to his own home, he was stopped by an imposing grey-haired man:

"General," he said looking fixedly at the warrior, "the desire long burning in my heart is fulfilled — Macedonia is free. Now I may die." That man was not the only one to die of joy for witnessing his land finally delivered.

"Christ is Risen," for lack of a more appropriate expression, were the words of welcome and of congratulation uttered throughout Macedonia by its people who now for the first time after a serfdom lasting nearly five centuries was able to test liberty again.

If Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the eminent English writer and author of *Macedonia, its Races and Their Future*, one of the very few masterly works on the subject, had happened to be among the Mace-

donians during those happy days when they felt to be themselves, he would have easily discovered the secret of why in 1903 when in asking a group of Ochrida shepherd boys "what are you?" they had answered him "we are Christians." Those Christians, however, failed to respond with the significant greeting of "Christ is Risen" in 1912, 1913, though they at first gladly greeted the arrival of the troops of Bulgaria's allies, Serbia and Greece. Only when their real kin, the Bulgarian liberator, made his appearance among them did the Macedonian "Christian" welcome him with "Christ is Risen." The German soldiers who were the comrades of the liberators and living witnesses of that strong feeling manifested by the Macedonian population towards their Bulgarian brothers, were amazed at the fraternal bond linking the two together. The correspondents of European and American papers had at the time turned the attention of their readers to that wonderful fact.

It is sufficient to point to the vivid description of the welcome the Bulgarian army of liberation found in Macedonia, made by L. E. Brown, an American publicist and in 1913 special correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* with the Serbian and Entente armies. His account is all the more valuable for all his articles published in that paper were conspicuous for their Ententophil tendencies and an inborn hostility towards the Central Powers and Bulgaria. Being a daring man, he risked many a journey which brought him in contact with the advancing Bulgarian troops, and thus enabled him to come into intimate touch with the kindred affection existing between the Macedonians and the Bulgarian army.

After describing the joy and exultation of the local population at the approach of the Bulgarian forces, he wrote these remarkable lines in the *Chicago Daily News*:

"Serbia, thanks to the second Balkan war, became mistress of foreign territories the population of *which in its great majority is Bulgarian*. That circumstance placed it in the position of a child which, having swallowed up a large number of apples, could not digest them."

But on mingling with the people and, like Mr. Brailsford, asking them of what nationality they were, Mr. Brown received the abrupt reply:

"We are Macedonians."

"Why do you answer me in Bulgarian," he inquired, "when I am asking you in Serbian?"

"The priest, a man of colossal stature and now almost doubled with age, replied: 'Because *Bulgarian is the language of all the Slavs in Macedonia.*'"

"At Bitolia," continues Mr. Brown, "we found several American physicians. One of them told me: 'I have been in nearly all the villages of western Macedonia in order to distribute relief to the population which in certain localities was infected with spotted fever and diphtherite. Three of the gendarmes who accompanied us were killed by the population. *If the local inhabitants can have their way, they would destroy everything Serb in Macedonia. I cannot say how many Macedonians are armed. If a large number of them are able to procure arms, and if the Bulgarians cross Vardar, a big revolt will surely break in Macedonia; I have tended thousands of those humble villagers. They are very grateful, and would tell you of the eventual revolt with*

an unconcerned frankness. The Serbians are not ignorant of this state of mind existing among the population, so most of them have taken flight to Old Serbia or Greece.'

“Another American physician who happened to be in Veles when the Bulgarians arrived told us, ‘*The Bulgarian army will find in Macedonia every support on the part of the population.*’”¹⁾

And, indeed, that is just what the liberators come from Bulgaria found in Macedonia. Them it welcomed as seldom an army was ever welcomed. To them the Macedonian population disclosed its ages-long aching heart and unconsciously greeted with its wonted endearing term of mingled piety and patriotism: “*Christ is Risen!*”, which in ordinary language means, “God be thanked, we now are free!”

Those superficial politicians and philosophers, both abroad and in Bulgaria itself, who declare that Bulgaria’s third war for reunion was not a popular one, forget that “blood is thicker than water”, that the ways of kith and kin are not as the ways of their stiff-brained kings and princes, and smooth-tongued diplomatists.

While the Entente statesmen were preaching that they were fighting for the rights and freedom of the small peoples, the Bulgarians were already putting these same precepts in practice in Macedonia, though on the side of the Germanic Powers, whom nothing but the desire of freeing their oppressed brethren had induced to join. Bulgaria, formally on the side of Germany, was in reality fighting the battles of

¹⁾ *The Chicago Daily News*, Nov. 24, 1915.

the great Western democracies. In plunging in a third terrible war she was animated by no other motives than the desire to see applied the great Entente principles of nationalities and self-determination to her down-trodden brethren in Macedonia and later on in Dobroudja, whose population in point of origin, language, history, traditions, and conscience has been recognised both by the Entente and the Central Powers as Bulgarian.

That is why the Christian of Macedonia and Dobroudja greeted the Christian of Bulgaria who came to break his shackles of bondage with "Christ is Risen."

It stands to reason that when a man is freed from centuries-long life of basest and most calamitous thralldom he should feel like resurrected, and should sing the joyous song of "Christ is Risen." Vazoff, the most popular poet among the Bulgarians, being the incarnation of his race in all its long struggles, sufferings, feelings, ideals, and aspirations, gave vent to a thrilling poem written on that extraordinary moment when his people found itself once more free and reunited. This is a typical stanza:

"Away yonder over Pirrin's snowy peaks,
For ages long has groaned an ancient race,
Its land of prisons, graves, one vainly seeks
The paradise of yore to find. Those days
Are gone, a Brother-Saviour's come! Behold,
A heavenly joy, exultant cries untold
Are bursting forth from him that has arisen —
"Christ is Risen!"

Those were glorious days for the Bulgarian people who had thrown themselves once more with might and main, heart and soul, in a reckless

struggle for the emancipation of a brother whom a selfish and scheming Europe had condemned in the light of the twentieth century to endure a monstrous and barbarous bondage. For centuries Europe had tolerated a state of things in the Balkans, which was a disgrace to its civilisation. Macedonia was the last victim of its sinister designs, and as such it was, in the language of Byron, still:

"The desolated Land, the ravaged isle,
The fostered feud encouraged by beguile;
The aid evaded and the cold delay,
Prolonged but in the hope to make a prey."

That martyred corner of Christian Europe, according to Mr. Noel Buxton, was by the aid of the Bulgarian arms in 1912 suddenly changed for the better. "The blight that had lain on the Balkans was healed, the fog dispelled A great and notable nation had obtained recognition through the war. Its persistence, its purpose, its deep reserve now stood revealed, added to the world's stores of national character. For centuries the Bulgarian refused to compromise with the Turk. Other nations sought to lighten the weight of the yoke by taking service with the tyrant or bowing the head. The maxim 'The sword never strikes the head that is bowed', undermined the soul of other nations, never his. Influence and wealth went to others; all seemed lost by the policy of defiance. Bulgarians would not balance advantages. A kind of faith made them ready to pay even death for ultimate gain. *The spirit wins at last, and the indomitable spirit of the Bulgars has come by its just reward.*"¹⁾

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, by Frank Fox, London, 1915.

In 1915 the Bulgarians in their patriotic yearning and even hypnosis for national unification little cared whether the motives of the great belligerent nations were pure and unselfish, so long as they were sure their own motives in liberating their oppressed brethren were clean and sincere. Firmly convinced in their liberating action, that no nation had the right to turn them aside in their determination to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of their terrorised brothers in Macedonia and Dobroudja, they plunged ahead into a gigantic undertaking. "If the Germanic Powers are struggling for their self-preservation, as they claim, so are we for the preservation of the Bulgarian race from a wholesale extermination. The Entente Nations proclaim they are engaged in the conflict for the freedom of the world, for the principle of nationalities and self-determination, well, that is just what we ourselves have been and are doing for the last forty years, risking our very existence in this last attempt." So argued the impetuous Bulgarian patriot.

By the end of 1916, thanks to the spirit of an army moved by the liberating idea, the Bulgarian race saw itself once more united. Macedonia, Dobroudja, Bulgarian Morava once more clasped a sisterly hand with the Mother-Country. The claim of these Bulgarian provinces to be one, has, as we have seen, and as we shall be told in detail by Englishmen and Americans in the coming chapters, always been recognised by Europe and America. An enemy though Bulgaria had to be of the Entente Powers, they had never questioned her right of reunion within these legitimate ethnical limits. To the sober minds in England, and America in particular,

the justness of Bulgaria's cause has generally been admitted. The following excerpt from an editorial published in the English weekly, *The Nation*, soon after Bulgaria's capitulation, breathes thoughts which are typical of Anglo-Saxon fair-play and love for facts:

"Bulgaria has surrendered unconditionally in the military sense. The whole territorial question in the Balkans remains for the Peace Conference to settle. Mr. Wilson has preached to us from the hard text that we must learn to be just even to those to whom we do not wish to be just. *We have no doubt that impartial justice would assign the greater part of Macedonia, including the western area, rather to Bulgaria than to Serbia. Serbia herself admitted the justice of this claim when she signed the treaty of alliance and partition in 1912. She admitted it again when at the last moment she consented in 1915 to cede Macedonia. She admitted it most eloquently of all when, on annexing the country, she withheld the parliamentary vote from the Macedonians, and governed by martial law. It would be fairly safe to say that all the foreigners who had lived in Macedonia before 1912, whether consuls or American or French missionaries, would say with virtual unanimity that the Slav population was Bulgarian by intense conviction. The minority, oddly enough, looked rather to Greece than to Serbia. Serbian pretensions are of recent origin, and date from the moment when Serbs began to despair of winning Bosnia. When Austria closed that outlet, Serbia, seeking for a road to the sea, turned her gaze first to Albania, and then to Macedonia. Her just claims to a port must be satisfied, whatever the ultimate solution*

may be. But *we doubt whether any peace can be permanent in the Balkans which leaves Macedonia under Serbian rule by mere right of conquest.* The desire of the population ought to be the determining factor, and means must be found to ascertain its will. It had two years of Serbian rule. It has since lived for nearly three years under mixed Bulgarian and German sway. Neither period was one of happiness, and it is possible that the Bulgars have done much to alienate the original sympathies of the population. The Serbs now have their chance to win those whom as yet they had only conquered. When the moment comes for a Conference, we would suggest that a small Commission of expert American and European investigators be sent to ascertain, under every guarantee for free speech, the real desires of the population. When those are known it will rest with the Conference to give them effect, with this stipulation, that minorities shall either be protected or assisted to migrate, and that the roads and ports shall be opened to every neighbouring State. Serbia needs, and for long will need, the most generous aid which we can give her, *but it would be a false kindness which helped her to rule over an unwilling population, under the constant threat of a revanche.*"¹⁾

The editor of the Nation has tackled the Balkan problem squarely. A mature statesman and diplomat cannot escape coming to the same conclusion. The Balkan questions, and the Macedonian in particular, are touchstones on which the great Peace Conference of Paris will try its mettle. The "impartial

¹⁾ *The Nation*, Oct. 5, 1918.

justice" of President Wilson does not mean one thing to France in the case of Elſace-Lorraine which was wrung from her in 1870, ſimply becauſe France is a great Power and is to-day one of the factors that are ſhaping the "new order of things" in the world, and another thing to Bulgaria which in 1878, eight years later, was deprived of Macedonia, Bulgarian Morava, and Dobroudja, which are more Bulgarian than Elſace and Lorraine are French.

The *World Magna Charta* of President Wilson either ſtands or falls according to the ſucceſs of its application. The principles of nationalities and ſelf-determination realised along historic lines, which are guaranteed by the Wilsonian programmes, approved by all nations and now adopted by the Peace Conference, can not fail to bring about the ages-longed-for alleviation of the world's racial woes. The true application of theſe principles in the Balkans will inevitably lead to a legitimate reunion of the various rival peoples inhabiting it. To that ſolution the Bulgarians, the moſt democratic people in ſouthern Europe and the moſt ardent and ſincere ſupporters of the Entente's peace programme, lay their laſt hope for their national unification. "*To that ſolution the Entente Powers will have to come, becauſe it is logical, and becauſe it is the normal and unalterable application of the principle of nationalities for which we are fighting,*" to again quote the ringing words of the French writer Georges Bousquet.

President Wilson, who it ſeems has a deeper knowledge of the Balkan conditions and history than many Continental ſtateſmen, has through the *Washington Poſt*, the *officioſe* of the preſent Ame-

rican government, very clearly pointed out the proper way by which permanent peace among the Balkan states may be obtained. Under the headline of *The Balkan Problem* that paper recently wrote editorially these significant words:

"It was only natural that during his visit to Rome the speeches of President Wilson should be scanned with the closest attention, as it was known that the thorny question of the Balkans was one of the chief themes of his conversations with Italian statesmen.

"The difficulty of the Balkan problem has been," says President Wilson, "that these states were always accessible to secret influence, that they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another." This is the Balkan question in a nutshell. The affairs of the peninsula for a century past have been a source of anxiety to European statesmen. But, though it sounds like a paradox, there never really was a Balkan question. That is to say, if the Balkan states had been left to themselves, they had no differences that they could not have settled by common consent. Nor have they to-day.

"The Balkan problem was a purely artificial product. *It was due not to an essential conflict of interests of the states themselves, but to the conflict of interests of the great powers surrounding them. Germany, Austria and Russia each desired to dominate the Near East. The route to the Orient lay through the Balkans. Each of the opposing powers took one of the Balkan states under its wing and played it off against the others. Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and in a lesser degree Roumania were each in turn the catspaw of the rival powers. Great*

*Britain and Italy had no interests in seeing either Germany, Austria or Russia triumph in its ambitions, and aided Turkey to resist the 'drang nach osten' of the Teutons."*¹⁾

That is exactly what the Balkan question has been in the past. The fatality of the various European treaties was due to the "conflicts of interests of the Great Powers that prompted them." Now that Germany, Austria and Russia's intrigues are eliminated, the Peace Conference's first duty is to rectify those iniquitous compacts brought to existence through selfish designs, imperialistic ends, and political interests. Specifically for Bulgaria the wrongs done to her by the Congress of Berlin must be righted. Great Britain, through whose initiative it was convoked, now has both the reasons and the moral duty to see that fatality rescinded.

The impartial chronicler will some day write down of Bulgaria, that

1) She entered into the world conflict — her third war — explicitly for the liberation of her oppressed kindred, and for the reunion of the Bulgarian race.

2) She did not array herself against the Entente, but only against the persecutors and exterminators of her unredeemed brethren.

3) If Roumania's and Italy's attack on Austro-Hungary, their ally, in behalf of their *terra irredenta* is considered just and plausible, Bulgaria's action against Serbia and Roumania should be considered far more justifiable and patriotic, for while the Roumanians and Serbians under Austria were allowed greater freedom and more cultural privi-

¹⁾ *The Washington Post*, Jan. 5, 1919.

leges than their compatriots enjoyed in the mother-countries, the Bulgarians under Serbia and Roumania were ground down under *exceptional régimes* and condemned to maintain a most wretched existence — “a veritable hell” — as Mr. Brailsford and other eye-witnesses have fitly characterised it.

4) *During the war she did not send a single of her soldiers outside of her ethnic frontiers*, in spite of the demand and even the threats of the Central Powers, and thus remained faithful to her declaration that *her's was again a war of liberation, not of conquest*.

5) Though she was helped in many ways by her allies, Bulgaria accomplished the liberation of Macedonia, Morava, and Dobroudja almost single-handed.¹⁾ The Balkan war too, against Turkey in 1912 was won, as all military critics admit, at Lule-Burgas and Koumanovo by the Bulgarians.

6) America who had a true knowledge of the Bulgaria's situation, her actual intentions, did not consider it justified to break relations with her whose struggle for independence and reunion so closely resembled that of the United States, in spite of the great pressure applied at Washington by some of the Entente Nations.²⁾

¹⁾ At Skopie a German general was filled with such an admiration for the Bulgar army's bravery and exploits, that he exchanged his own boots for a pair of sandals of a Bulgarian soldier and sent it as a Christmas present to friends in Germany with the inscription: “These won the victory.”

²⁾ Mr. R. H. Markham, M. A., an American educator, and director of the American Gymnasium at Samokov, a man of strong convictions and independent thinking, prior to his leaving Bulgaria on his return to his native country, wrote in *Mir*, Sept. 11, 1917: “Bulgaria's history is a repetition of America's history . . .” But America does not know that. Who has told it her? Hundred of voices are assuring her that Bulgaria is in the struggle for booty and conquest.”

7) The territories occupied by the Bulgarian army during the war have been recognised as her legitimate possession historically, ethnographically, geographically, and morally.

The above facts speak for themselves.

With few exceptions, all serious European writers that have studied the racial conditions in the Balkans are agreed that Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgarian Morava, and Dobroudja are Bulgarian lands. We will show in the following chapters that most Anglo-Saxon scholars, writers, travellers, missionaries, and educators have done their share in confirming Bulgaria's just claims to those lands.

III

ENGLISH AUTHORITIES AND EVIDENCES

The Verdict of Scholars, Historians, Learned Travellers, etc.

The frequent conflicts between Russia and Turkey which took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped a great deal to attract the attention of the western nations to the pitiful lot of the Christian peoples of the Balkans. Not only Continental, but also English and American publicists, scholars, and historians ventured to traverse the Balkans and the Near East with a view to acquainting the world with conditions entirely unknown to it. The results of the investigations made on the spot by various English, and later on, American pioneers, constitute an exceedingly precious contribution to the history of the countries and peoples treated.

It must be borne in mind that nearly all the authors, historians, educators, etc., who visited the Balkans with the purpose of studying up the various peoples inhabiting it, were, by virtue of their classic training, Greekophil. Many of them, too, were greatly elated over the Serbians because of their heroic and desperate struggles against the Turks. There was also, and not an insignificant body of Westerners, particularly Englishmen, who professed a great liking and preference for the Turk. Certain authors,

like St. Clair and Brophy, for example, always spoke extremely disparagingly of the Bulgar race.

Nevertheless, nearly all serious authors, Englishmen and Americans included, were agreed on one point, namely that the Bulgarians form the most numerous and compact element in European Turkey. The ethnical delimitations of the several peoples dwelling in the Balkans have been adequately and, in general, quite accurately delineated by Anglo-Saxon writers, such as W. Arrowsmith,¹⁾ Edward Gibbon,²⁾ Leake,³⁾ Walsh,⁴⁾ Keppel,⁵⁾ Urquhart,⁶⁾ Spencer,⁷⁾ Paton,⁸⁾ Denton,⁹⁾ Lord Strangford,¹⁰⁾ Tozer,¹¹⁾ Clarke,¹²⁾ Mackenzie and Irby,¹³⁾ Freeman,¹⁴⁾ and many others.

John Burbury, Gent., 1671

Morava Serbo-Bulgarian Boundary Line

One of the earliest English books dealing on the Near East is the volume written by John Burbury. It is the result of a journey through the Balkans made by Lord Henry Howard, as is evident from the inscription on its front page, which reads:

“A Relation of a Journey of the Right Honourable My Lord Henry Howard from London to Vienna, and thence to Constantinople in the Company of his Excellency Count Les-

¹⁾ *Europe*, London, 1798.

²⁾ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1784.

³⁾ *Researches in Greece*, London, 1814.

⁴⁾ *Travel in Turkey and Constantinople*, Paris, 1828.

⁵⁾ *A Journey Across the Balkans*, London, 1833.

⁶⁾ *Turkey and its Resources*, London, 1833.

⁷⁾ *Travels in European Turkey*, London, 1850.

⁸⁾ *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic*, Leipzig, 1861.

⁹⁾ *The Christians in Turkey*, London, 1867.

¹⁰⁾ *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic*, London, 1864.

¹¹⁾ *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, London, 1869.

¹²⁾ *Turkey*, New York, 1876.

¹³⁾ *The Slavonic Provinces in Turkey in Europe*, London, 1877.

¹⁴⁾ *Historical Geography of Europe*, London, 1882.

ley, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, Councillor of State to his Imperial Majesty, etc., and extraordinary Ambassador from Leopoldus Empereur of Germany to the Grand Signior Sultan Mahomet Han the Fourth written by John Burbury, Gent., London 1671.

The historical evidence, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, is found in the following passage taken from p. 125 in which is said :

“From Lagodina we got across the light wooden bridge of *Morava which separates Serbia from Bulgaria.*”

As early, then, as 1671 it was considered as a matter of fact that the river of Morava was the boundary line between the two Slavic states Bulgaria and Serbia.

The above statement is rendered doubly more significant and authentic from the commentaries made upon this book in 1897 by the Servian statesman and publicist, Stoyan Novakovitch, who in his own words reiterates the same fact thus :

“From Lagodina they passed over the light wooden bridge of *Morava which separates Serbia from Bulgaria.*”¹⁾

The same Servian authority whose love for veracity, evidently, had not been tainted by political considerations, makes the following commentary on the next page :

“*Thence they came to Musan-Pasha-Palanka*, where the writer describes how the *Bulgarian women* came out to meet the diplomatic body, throwing in their path small pieces of butter and bread, and wishing the Ambassador great success in his mission.”²⁾

¹⁾ *Notes on the Travels in the Balkan Peninsula during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, in Godishnitsa, edited by N. Tchoupitch, XVII, 1897, p. 84.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 85.

Edward Gibbon, 1784

The Great Bulgarian Insurrection in 1195 (A. D.)

When the monumental work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, of Gibbon, the great English historian, appeared in 1784, Bulgaria was groaning under the yoke of the Turks, and the outside world little knew and little cared to know of the Bulgarian race. Perhaps Gibbon himself little imagined that a hundred years hence that same race to which he had devoted not a few of his precious pages would again rise up and reclaim its proper place among the modern nations, which it occupied centuries back.

Two passages from his history, bearing on ancient Bulgaria, are particularly important and instructive. The Bulgarians have often been stigmatised as uncultured and barbarian. Gibbon's historical information, however, has prompted him to make the following noteworthy assertion in regard to Bulgaria's status as early as the tenth century:

“During the reign of Simeon 893—927 *Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilised powers of the earth.*”¹⁾

Gibbon has also established the fact, which later on has been corroborated by other English historical writers, namely, that a close affinity had existed between Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia even during the early period of their existence. He has this to say about the great Bulgarian insur-

¹⁾ *Gibbon's Rome*, Collier's Edition, vol. V, p. 518.

rection against the Byzantine Empire under the reckless rule of its profligate Emperor, Isaac Angelus, during the twelfth century :

“The honour of the Monarchy and the safety of the capital were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. Since the victory of the second Basil, they had supported, above a hundred and seventy years, the loose dominions of the Byzantine princes By the command of Isaac, their sole means of subsistence, their flocks and herds were driven away, to contribute towards the pomp of the royal nuptials; and their fierce warriors were exasperated by the denial of equal rank and pay in the military service. Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs, of the race of the ancient (Bulgarian) kings, asserted their own rights and the national freedom; their demoniac impostors proclaimed to the crowd, that their glorious patron, St. Demetrius, had for ever deserted the cause of the Greeks; *and the conflagration spread from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace.* After some vain efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; and the imperial troops were soon discouraged by the bones of their fellow-soldiers that were scattered along the passes of mount Haemus. By the arms and policy of John, or Jøannices, *the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established.*”¹⁾

Ever since that great political event, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Thrace have been one in all political and religious movements for their emancipation from an alien yoke. Such was the case recently with their revolutionary struggle against the Turks, the Balkan war against the Ottoman dominion in 1912, the second Balkan war between the allies in 1913, and the Bulgarian-Serbian war in the world conflict in 1915.

¹⁾ *Gibbon's Rome*, Henry G. Bohn, London, 1855, vol. VI. p. 532, 533.

A. Arrowsmith, 1798

Serbo-Bulgarian Boundary Line

In his work entitled *Europe* this writer comes to confirm the fact established by his predecessors on the question of Morava being the boundary line between Bulgaria and Serbia, as is manifest from the following quotation:

“The Western frontier of Bulgaria runs along Timok, follows Stara-Planina, traverses Nishava between Palanka and Pirot, thence bends westward towards Nish, crosses Morava which it cuts below Leskovetz, leaving Vrania in Serbia. Skopie, Koumanovo and Shtip are in Macedonia. *Servia occupies the territory north of Serbian Morava.*”

William Martin-Leake, 1814

Extent of the Bulgarian-Speaking Districts

Some glimpses into the true ethnic character of Macedonia may be gathered from the work of Mr. William Martin-Leake who had spent a considerable time in the Balkans, and Greece in particular, with scientific mission. As a classic scholar and one devoted to scientific investigation in Greece proper, his views, though tinged with Greekophil tendencies, are based on facts. This passage reveals a good deal as to the preponderance of the Bulgarian element in South Macedonia:

“The most southern Districts of Greece, *where the Bulgarian language is in common use*, are: On the West side of Macedonia some villages in the vicinity of Koritza, and on the Eastern the hills bordering the great plains of Thessalonica, Pella, and Edessa. The former district is insulated among Greeks and Albanians, *but the latter may be considered*

*as the Southern extremity of the modern Bulgarian dialect, extending from thence with scarcely any interruption through all the Northern part of Macedonia proper, as well as its acquired provinces of Peonia, Pelagonia, etc., and from thence throughout the whole of Mæsia, and the interior of Thrace, as far as the Danube, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. All the great towns in Macedonia, however, and even some entire districts in the southern part of this province, are occupied chiefly by Turks, who have displaced both Greeks and Bulgarians, and have colonised in this and the neighbouring province of Thessaly in greater force than in any other part of Greece."*¹⁾

Robert Walsh, 1828

The Danube Bulgaria's Northern Frontier

This writer gives an emphatic answer to the question what constitutes the northern confines of the Bulgarian race. In specifying the Danube as Bulgaria's boundary on the north he simply confirms a well-established truth that the Province of Dobroudja is a part of Bulgaria. In his book we find the following passage which throws sufficient light on this point:

"The vilayet of Bulgaria extends from the mouth of the Danube, as far as Timok, below Viddin. The river Danube forms its northern frontier and the range parallel to the Balkan mountains forms its southern limit But the Bulgarian population spreads beyond these confines: it has penetrated into the mountain chains, and it occupies a considerable territory in Roumania, as well as in the country on the other side of the Balkan mountains, where it has replaced the inhabitants of that region, which have disappeared in the conflicts between Turks and Greeks. The number of these peaceful

¹⁾ *Researches in Greece*, London 1814, p. 375.

and industrious peasants is continually increasing and one may prophesise that in a short time the entire deserted and fallow land found south of the Balkans between the mountains and the sea will be peopled by them." ¹⁾

Major George Keppel F. S. A., 1830

The Bulgarians Cultivators and Proprietors of the Land

Some interesting sidelights as to the ethnical physiognomy of Thrace may be obtained from the work of this British officer, which was prepared from notes taken during his travels through the Balkans. Here are some characteristic passages:

"The Bulgarians are a fine healthy looking race, and very industrious in their habits, they cultivate the land, tend their flocks, rear cattle for sale, carry to market butter, cheese, and poultry, and cut wood in the forest. *At Adrianople and Philippopolis* they are occupied in several works of handicraft."

"Generally speaking the *Bulgarians are proprietors of the land they cultivate.*" ²⁾

"Eski Pylos, Petra, and Koombalari belong to a cluster of Greek villages, the first we had seen since our departure from Adrianople, *the inhabitants we met with having been always either Turks or Bulgarians.*"

The Greeks and Bulgarians differ:

"In many respects there is a great contrast between the Greek and Bulgarian and this is the more remarkable seeing that they inhabit the same country and profess the same religion.

"They speak different languages, and do not intermarry with one another. The Greek is vain, noisy, fond of innovation

¹⁾ *Travel in Turkey and Constantinople*, Paris, 1828, pp. 147, 148.

²⁾ *A Journey Across the Balkans*, in II vols., London, 1833, p. 310.

and anxious for improvement. The Bulgarian is modest, quiet devoutly attached to his national habits." ¹⁾

"By eleven at night we reached the Bulgarian village of Chokcheh-kieu (southern Thrace), and notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, were immediately admitted." ²⁾

At Adrianople:

"The Adrianople flock had caused him the (Greek bishop) considerable anxiety, *and especially the Bulgarians*. He had after divine service entreated them to remember that though the Russians were in temporary possession of Adrianople, it was to the grand Seignior only that they owed allegiance." ³⁾

How the Russian *bratoushkas* (brethren) were received by the Bulgarians at Adrianople:

"The Russian soldiers (marching to Constantinople) had a song which was "*Paidom Tzarigrad*", which song became so general, that it was caught up by the Bulgarian children in the streets." ⁴⁾

"*The affairs of the Bulgarians are referred in each village to a junta of old men*, who may be considered in the absence of the Turkish authorities, as a sort of provisional government for the time being." ⁵⁾

David Urquhart, 1833

Thrace, Macedonia, the District of Nish Bulgarian Lands

In this British writer we have one of the best authorities on the questions concerned with the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire of his day, and therefore, of the various Christian peoples comprised in it. His long and careful study of the Eastern Question has enabled him to speak with

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 42, 43.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 139.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 215.

⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 233.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 307.

great positiveness and accurateness seldom manifested by other writers.

Those who assert that Bulgaria's claims to Macedonia and other Bulgarian lands are of very recent origin will find themselves at a loss to explain or refute the irrefragable testimony of a thorough and conscientious investigator such as the books of David Urquhart have revealed him to be.

The circumstances which prompted Urquhart to undertake a series of studies and investigations in Turkey are these: towards the early part of the nineteenth century and as was the case throughout the last hundred years, England's policy was conspicuous for its friendly attitude towards the Empire of the Turks, firmly believing that the integrity of Turkey was a necessity for the maintenance of safe communications between India and the Mother-Country. England, therefore, was anxious to see Turkey regenerated and invigorated. It was felt that its anarchical administration could be remedied and improved if its economical conditions were properly studied up and the proper cure discovered. It was under the auspices and direct charge of the British ruler himself¹⁾ that Urquhart sailed for Constantinople in

¹⁾ Urquhart's first work "*The Resources of Turkey*" contains the following interesting dedication:

"To His Majesty, the Most Gracious William IV,
Sire,

It is with pride and pleasure that I avail myself of your royal permission to dedicate this volume to your Majesty.

I am glad that an opportunity is presented me not only to show my loyal esteem of my Sovereign, but also to bear testimony of the highly dignified and humane feelings which the English Monarch is manifesting in the regeneration and welfare of the Country concerned.

I am Sir,

Your Majesty's most devoted and grateful servant,
DAVID URQUHART."

London, May 20, 1833.

1829. He was given a royal welcome at Stamboul as personal representative of the English King, and when setting out at work to study up the economic and social conditions of the Ottoman Empire, he was accorded the greatest facilities and co-operation on the part of the Turkish authorities. The dedication to the English King of his greatest book entitled *Turkey and Its Resources*, published in London, 1833, reveals its almost official character. Urquhart, therefore, was bound to be Turkophil of the genuine order, since his mission was to find out a true remedy for the internal disintegration that was preying upon the friendly Ottoman Empire. Under this circumstances his views on the ethnic questions connected with the various races of which the Turkish Empire was composed are of great importance. There could be adduced many passages from his three books dealing on the East — the one already cited, the second being *The Spirit of the East*, 1838, and the third, *The Mystery of the Danube*, 1851, but for our purpose which is to show that all thorough and impartial authors who have made the Near-Eastern Question a special study are agreed that the ethnic character of the Balkans is chiefly Bulgarian suffice to point out to the following two excerpts which we find in his first work. These striking instances will open the eyes of many of those who are addicted to believe that the Bulgarian aspirations towards a national reunion in Macedonia, Dobroudja, and the District of Nish, are merely a fancy of sick chauvinists:

“The portion of the Bulgarians that have conformed to Islamism occupied the mountainous and remoter parts of the country. *The portion that maintained their creed was inhabi-*

*ting the plains of Macedonia, Epirus, Bulgaria, and Thrace, in the vicinity of Monastir, Salonik, Joanina, Nyssa, Sofia, Philippopolis, Adrianople and Constantinople itself, and consequently subject to overwhelming power and unceasing oppression. But among them the communal system originated, as I have above described, in the total inability to resist the Turkish sway."*¹⁾

As early, then, as 1829, according to the testimony of a British scholar who had studied up the matter on the very spot, Nish, Monastir, Adrianople, and even part of Epirus itself, are mentioned as inhabited by Bulgarians.

It is interesting to read what Urquhart says about the occupation and character of the Bulgarian people :

*"The Bulgarians", says he, "are an agricultural, patient, industrious people, consisting almost entirely of cultivators and labourers. The Bulgarians predominate in the country districts of Bulgaria and Thrace, on both sides of the Balkan Mountains."*²⁾

*"The Bulgarian is stately, robust, patient, stubborn, a man of primitive virtues; The Bulgarian women are of high stature and beautiful, with small hands and feet, the most beautiful race I have seen in Turkey."*³⁾

Such was the Bulgarian people and such was the ethnic area it occupied at the commencement of the last century. Such it also has been depicted by many other competent and disinterested authorities, like Blanqui, Cyprien Robert, Louis Léger, Laveleye, Venelin, and other continental writers. And the racial boundaries of this peaceful, honest, and sober nation delineated by Urquhart and other contemporary authors exactly correspond with the claims and aspirations of the Bulgarians of to-day.

¹⁾ *Turkey and its Resources*, pp. 77 and 78.

²⁾ *Ibid.* vol. I p. 193.

³⁾ *Ibid.* vol. I p. 438, note 64.

Edward Spencer, 1850

The Great Insurrection of the Nish District, 1841

This British writer who had spent a good many years in the Orient with the object of studying up the eastern peoples and their ways is the author of the following well-known works: *Travels in European Turkey in 1850*, *Travels in Western Circassia*, *Travels in Circassia*, etc. The first book deals on the Yougo-Slav peoples. Chapters XII—X of this volume are entitled "Bulgaria", in which the writer gives a vivid description of the last Bulgarian insurrection, the chief centres of which were the cities of Nish and Zaitchar. Thus one is permitted to have indirect proof of the fact that in the past Nish, Zaitchar, Pirost, Leskovets, Vrania, etc., of the Bulgarian Morava had been closely identified with the general struggle for liberty carried on by the Bulgarian race. This is what the author has to say on the subject:

"Their (Turkish) depredations were confined to upper Mœsia extending from Nissa to the plains of Macedonia. The towns of Vrania and Leskovetz were sacked and every valuable belonging to the Christians carried off. The churches were burnt, the clergy shot or dispersed and the unhappy woman who was unable to fly for protection to the Haiducs of the mountain was treated with the most revolting barbarity, and as if fate had willed that there should be no refuge for the rayah but the fastnesses of the Haiduc, the *heartless Prince of Servia close his frontiers against the fugitives who were shot if they attempted to pass into Servia.*"¹⁾

"Encouraged by success, the insurrection may be said to have only now commenced, several towns and isolated forts successively fell into the hands of the insurgents. *Sofia and Nissa together with many other important towns in Bulgaria were*

¹⁾ *Travels in European Turkey*, London 1850, p. 150.

again besieged, and even Stamboul was not secure, since the revolt had now spread into Macedonia, Thessaly and Candia, and it may with truth be said that the fate of the Ottoman Porte trembled in the balance, while the humiliated sovereign to preserve his rule, saw himself obliged to seek the mediation of the Patriarch of Constantinople and also of the Russian Ambassador." 1)

"The mediators between the sovereign and his people in effecting a reconciliation were aided by the *industrious habits of the Bulgarian tribes whose love for home and smiling fields prevailed over the excitement of glorious war and they were again induced by many promises of ameliorating their social condition to give up the contest.*" 2)

"Mustapha, the Pasha of Nissa, was sent into banishment and his nephew the primary cause of all this mischief was never more heard of. *An Osmanli Commissioner, Bey Teifik, respected by the Bulgarians for his high probity and conciliatory disposition, was sent by the Divan, invested with full powers to grant the insurgents a general amnesty and redress their grievances, but as these demands involved in some instances the right of the Sultan and the interests of the Osmanli grandee, the Bulgarian commissioners were invited to accompany the Bey to Stamboul, that the treaty might be considered and receive the ratification of the Sultan.*" 3)

"*With Mile's death, the insurrection of the Bulgarians ended, having gained but little by their protracted and sanguinary contest. The future fate of this people who shall tell!*" 4)

This purely Bulgarian land known as the Bulgarian Morava, which had so often hoisted the banner of revolt against the Turk and had always taken a most prominent part in the general movement of the Bulgarian people for religious and political emancipation was in 1878 turned over to the Serbians, as Dobroudja was given to the Rouman-

1) Ibid. p. 151.

2) Ibid. p. 151.

3) Ibid. p. 152.

4) Ibid. p. 153.

ians, with which countries these provinces had no race or moral affinities whatever. It was treated as chattels and incorporated with Servia whose ruler and government in those days of sorrow, distress, persecution, and death not only failed to manifest a most elementary feeling of sympathy, but on the contrary, denied them even the hospitality of their country, drove the thousands of Bulgarian refugees back to the tender mercy of their oppressor, and thus became accomplices with the Turk in his diabolic work of extermination.

All this shows that the District of Nish is a Bulgarian land so unmistakably recognised by the Serbians themselves in many different ways. In speaking of the great Nish insurrection of 1841, the entire Serbian press of that time called it "the Insurrection in Bulgaria", as may clearly be seen from this one instance of a thousand. The then official organ *Srebské Narodné Noviné* commences thus its description of that Insurrection:

"*In Bulgaria*. Belgrade, May 9 (1841). The causes which compelled the Christian people of Nish, Pirot, Leskovatz and Prokople nahies to rise against the Turks, their oppressors, are, as we learn, manifold." ¹⁾

About the same period the great French scholar and historian, Ami Boué, published his well-known work on Turkey which contains this plain sentence about Nish:

"*Nish is a big Bulgarian town comprising some 16,000 souls, about 6000 of whom are Mussulmans . . . Nish is the seat of one of the smaller Pashas, which*

¹⁾ *Srebské Narodné Noviné*, vol. IV, p. 141, 1841.

consists essentially of a Christian Bulgarian population The valleys and the tributaries of the Bulgarian Morava facilitate the populous region with an abundant crop in due season. The warlike Albanians of Toplitza and of upper Albania always molest the Serbians and stifle every Bulgarian revolt.”¹⁾

The English writer Edmund Spencer, then, in harmony with actual facts, is describing the great and most bloody Bulgarian uprising of the Bulgarian Morava. The claims of the Bulgarians to the Nish District are legitimate, at least as legitimate as are Roumania's claims to Transylvania, Bucovina, etc. or Serbia's to Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, etc.

In 1878, however, the Great Powers, notwithstanding the many protests of its inhabitants, transferred it to Serbia.

George Finlay, 1854

Ochrida Capital of Bulgaro-Slavonic Kingdom

Prof. J. M. Bury in his work, *The History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, states that during the ninth century “the Slavs of Bulgaria spoke the same tongue as the Slavs of Macedonia.” Gibbon indirectly informed us that when in 1195 the Bulgarians rose against the Byzantine Empire, the insurrection spread throughout Macedonia and Thrace, thus strengthening the conclusion that the three provinces were not only kindred in race and language, but in spirit as well. These truths will make clear the following description of the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel's Kingdom

¹⁾ *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienne, 1854, pp. 60, 61, 76.

with Ochrida as its centre — which shows that Macedonia was then a Bulgarian national stronghold, as it has been ever since — taken from the *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empire* of George Finlay, the great English authority not only on ancient Greece, but on modern Hellas as well, in whose revolutionary struggles he took an active interest, and where he preferred to live and die :

“Samuel, King of Bulgaria, at the end of the tenth century established the central administration of his dominions at Achrida. The site was well adapted for rapid communication with his Slavonian subjects in Macedonia, who furnished his armies with their best recruits. As a military position also Achrida had many advantages: it commanded an important point in the Via Egnatia, the great commercial road connecting the Adriatic with Bulgaria, as well as with Thessalonica and Constantinople, and afforded many facilities for enabling Samuel to choose his points of attack on the Byzantine towns of Macedonia, Hellas, Dyrrachium, and Nicopolis. *Here, therefore, Samuel established the capital of the Bulgaro-Slavonic kingdom he founded.*”¹⁾

A. A. Paton, F. R. G. S., 1861

The Greater Part of Turkey in Europe Composed of Bulgarians

In 1851 there was published at Leipzig the work entitled *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic*. Mr. Paton, its author, a prominent member of the Royal Geographical Society, thus contributed his share in disseminating true information concerning the Near East. This book contains a comparative study of the various south-eastern peoples found in Austro-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. His ob-

¹⁾ *Finlay's History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, Collier's Edition, 1893, vol. I, p. 438.

servations and investigations were obtained from his extensive travels which took place during the period from 1850—1856.

As do all other English authors who had closely and unbiassedly studied up the conditions in the East, Mr. Paton among other things lays stress upon the fact that the Bulgarians form the bulk of the Christian population on the Balkans, as may be judged from these passages taken from his volume already referred to:

“In spite of this indisposition towards European science, education and civilisation, on the part of the Turks, I hold that it would be unwise to disturb Ottoman supremacy, even if present treaties did not exist — for there is no race in the land fit to take their place — certainly not *the Bulgarians who are so numerous and who extend all through Macedonia and almost touch the gulf of Salonica* — they being utterly deficient in the courage and capacity to carry on the business of an Empire. *The Greeks* are equally unfit to take the place of the Turks, — for they *have a very feeble numerical basis in Turkey, except in Thessaly and Epirus*, and even there have easily been put down; their rule, moreover, would be utterly unacceptable to the Slavic population forming the *great majority of Turkey in Europe.*” ¹⁾

What is that Slavic population which forms the great majority of Turkey in Europe? On this point all those who wish to find a positive statement may obtain it from the following quotation taken from Mr. Paton’s book:

“*The greater part of Turkey in Europe is composed not of Greeks with idle dream of a Byzantine Empire, but of Bulgarians who hate the Phanariot supremacy in church and state.*” ²⁾

¹⁾ *Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic*, Leipzig, 1861, vol. II, p. 348.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

It is interesting to notice that throughout his two large volumes, Mr. Paton does not say a word about the Serbians in connection with the solution of the Turkish problem in Europe, though, on the other side, he devotes a large part of his work on the Serbian race of which he always speaks with admiration. Having a splendid opportunity of acquainting himself with both the Serbian and the Bulgarian peoples, his opinion on their character is all the more valuable and authentic.

“*The Bulgarians differ from the Servian,*” he says in one place. ¹⁾

In what does the Bulgarian differ from his neighbour? The answer he gives us is this:

“The Bulgarians are an agricultural people. The Bulgarian does not possess neither the warlike spirit of the Serbian, nor the mercantile energy and ability of the Greek. The Bulgarian is a shepherd and cultivator in the villages; in the cities he is an artisan or small manufacturer, and rarely a capitalist on a large scale.” ²⁾

“The Bulgarian,” asserts Mr. Paton on another page, “has not given evidence of those intellectual qualities which manifest themselves after years of political organisation or as a result of a long material prosperity, but he is not devoid of those household virtues which help to enrich a state and render impossible the propagation of vice and misery — the great defects which eat away the European society life. His love for work and thrift constitute the principal resources of the Ottoman Empire; the Bulgarians are the chief producers of those rich agricultural products which fill our ships and our magazines; it is they who furnish our Glasgow and Manchester working class with wholesome food.” ³⁾

¹⁾ Ibid, p. 289.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 290.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 352.

This is what Mr. Paton prophesises for the Bulgarian :

“His modesty, his generosity, and his nobility of character will not fail to recommend him to his European fellow-brothers, who I believe will not delay to defend his rights sanctioned by the Hattisherif of Ghul-Hané.”¹⁾

Rev. William Denton, M. A., 1862

Statistics of the Various Christian Races in European Turkey

The English clergyman, William Denton, undertook in 1862 and 1863 a journey through south-eastern Europe and the Balkans with the purpose of obtaining a truthful knowledge of the Christian peoples composing the Ottoman Empire. As a result of his scientific tours he published his work called *Servia and the Servian People* which is an authority on the subject. His description of the Serbian race reveals in him a thorough and conscientious investigator. He, too, cherishes a great sympathy for that Slavic people. But he, being a divine, is sincerely concerned with the fate of all the oppressed states and does not conceal his desire to plead their cause before the European nations.

In 1867 he published a pamphlet dealing on the conditions of things on the Balkan Peninsula. In 1876 he published a second edition of it in which we find the following statistics concerning the various peoples subordinated to Turkey:

Bulgarians	4,540,000
Serbians of Bosnia, Herzegovina, etc.,	2,030,000
Albanians	1,150,000
Greeks outside of Greece proper	1,048,700
Armenians, Georgians, etc.,	420,000
Wallachians	225,000

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 251.

The number of Turks and other Mussulman tribes he estimates at 11,583,700, while the total number of Christians he places at 10,643,000.

Of the two chief Balkan peoples, the Serbians and Bulgarians, he has this to say:

“The Serbs of Turkey, as distinguished from the people of Slavonia and Austrian Croatia, occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Principality of Servia, and a tract on the south-west of that state known by the name of Old Servia The population of the Principality is, according to official return, 1,338,505.”¹⁾

This is what he says of the Bulgarians:

“*Bulgaria is not only the home of the Bulgarian people, as in the case of Servia, the territory is more limited than the race. As the Serbs occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Old Servia, as well as the Principality of that name, so the Bulgarian people not only inhabit the province of Bulgaria, but make up a considerable part of the population of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and even Albania.*”¹⁾

Having in mind that the Vilayet of Bulgaria, or Tuna Vilayet, as the Turks called it, included the whole of Dobroudja and the District of Nish, Mr. Denton's description of the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian people conform with actual facts. Hence the national aspirations of the Bulgarians to-day according to this author, too, are in accord with history.

Another interesting fact given by this author are his statistics about the number of the Bulgarians found in the Ottoman Empire:

“The numbers of the Bulgarians,” says he, “are estimated at 4,500,000, though some think that their true number is

¹⁾ *The Christians of Turkey*, London, 1876, p. 35.

nearer 6,000,000. Those who live in the Province of Bulgaria are stated on the Turkish official authority to amount to 1,837,053.”¹⁾

According to this, only about two millions, or one third of all the Bulgarians lived in Bulgaria proper, the remaining four millions, therefore, lived in the provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, Dobroudja, and the Bulgarian Morava, which statement exactly corresponds with the truth.

In regard to the character and education of the Bulgarian race the eminent English pastor is in accord with all other authors versed in the life and ways of the Balkan peoples. In his opinion, too:

“The Bulgarians are distinguished for their industry, honesty, domestic virtues, and submissiveness. Recently a great awakening to the advantage of education has taken place, and almost every village has its school, supported by a rate voluntarily paid by the inhabitants. In the towns which I have visited their schools are large, well built, and supplied with good school apparatus.”²⁾

Lord Strangford, 1863

The Bulgarians and Their Future

Lord Strangford, the staunch Greekophil, after visiting the Balkans on several occasions and coming into intimate touch with the different peoples of south-eastern Europe in 1863 snapped the following bold declaration at the faces of the English public which heretofore had been accustomed to consider the Balkan Peninsula as Turkish, Greek, and even Servian or Russian, but seldom Bulgarian:

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 35.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 35.

“As for the Bulgarians, whether they remain yet awhile under the Turkish rule or free themselves from it in our own time, as they must ultimately do sooner or later, it is in them alone that one can see any really hopeful prospect, on taking a broad general view of the probable future of these countries. *This is afforded by their numerical preponderance*; their utter primitiveness, which has learned nothing and has nothing to unlearn; their industry and thrift, their obstinacy, and their sobriety of character.”¹⁾

Those of the English people who like Catherine II of Russia believed in the resuscitation of the ancient Byzantine Empire were not a little chagrined to hear Lord Strangford's warning words:

“The Greek cannot overcome the Bulgarian, nor lead him, nor incorporate him.”²⁾

And these are his reasons:

“But the limits of the Greek race — however they might have extended themselves thirty years ago — are now defined and fixed by that uprising of the Bulgarian nationality.”³⁾

Lord Strangford is particularly severe against the Greeks and their supporters, against their chauvinistic tendencies, incurable megalomania and menaces, and especially against their passion to parade as the pioneers of Christianity and civilization, the champions of liberty and progress in the Balkans. He hastens to warn his compatriots not to be duped by the Hellenic Propaganda which has always aimed at the annihilation of other races, and particularly the Bulgarian.

“To the eye of the Turk and the conservative diplomatist,” he asserts, “who stand on antique ways, to the tourist and the

¹⁾ *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic*, London, 1863, p. 320.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 351.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 350.

trader, the Bulgarian is merely a Greek Christian like another, only with a vernacular patois of his own; he is one of the '*Rum Milet*' or 'Greek Nation', spiritually and intra-nationally administered by the Patriarchate, and nothing more. Yet it is antipathy to that Greek administration which has called his sense of nationality into existence and which is the very breath of his life. He insists on having bishops and clergy of his own race and speech; he will not tolerate an alien priesthood who are so often both the originators and the instruments of oppression and tyranny; he seeks to obtain the established use of his language as an instrument of prayer and education."¹⁾

And, as if he had made a signal scientific discovery he assures his countrymen of the fact that:

*"The entire mass of the rural and non Mussulman population of Turkey in Europe, with the exception of Bosnia, Thessaly, Albania, the Chalcidic peninsula, and a very narrow belt of the seaboard, consists not of Greeks and Slavs, but of Bulgarians. They are not true Slavs, nor do they as yet think of themselves as such, whatever they may end by doing under strong influences."*²⁾

And again, lest he be misunderstood, he declares:

*"The vast and homogeneous majority of the Christian population in European Turkey, as I have said, consists of Bulgarians; neither Greek, nor even Servian has any right or authority to set himself up and be trusted as their spokesman."*³⁾

The illustrious English lord and scholar is not less vehement against the Serbians and Russians who under the plausible name of Yougo-Slavia had in view the absorption of the Bulgarians as a distinct people, as is evident from this quotation:

"The Servians, or certain parties in Servia, believe, and wish us to believe, that they have both the power and the

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 316.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 314.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 310.

moral right to annex to their own rule some, if not all, of the country inhabited by Bulgarians; they are sparing no effort to work on the Bulgarians, and induce them to see the fitness of things in the way they do themselves; it is possible, nor is it undesirable, that with time and trouble they may succeed in so assimilating them; but in the meanwhiles, they seek to represent the relationship of the Bulgarians with themselves as ready-made kinship already existing, and amounting to virtual identity. The Bulgarian is not akin to the various fragments of the Illyrian, Servian, or true South-Slavonic family, in the same degree they are connected with one another. In origin and descent he is different from them, though on this no stress be laid, so long as the ethnologists know nothing of his forefathers, and even if they did, are all conjecture and no fact as regards the precise nature and value of hereditary transmitted aptitudes. In condition, habits, and character, he is widely different; and he is hardly less so in language. He speaks a Slavonic dialect, it is true, which, according to modern German criticism, is one of the two sole living descendants of the old Cyrillic tongue."

"But it is not the Servian's Slavonic dialect; it stands apart from it; it has lost its declensions; it has a different phonetic character, partly by corruption, partly by archaic retention; it uses a definite article, and postfixes it to its noun; and its structure is more analytic than the synthetic structure which made Niebuhr call the Servian the honestest language in all Europe. In fact, his language differs from the Servian in nature as well as in analogy — though hardly so much in amount — exactly as the Danish differs from German." ¹⁾

During the latter half of the last century the Servian, Greek, and Russian propagandas were assuming such an aggressiveness among the Bulgarians that Lord Strangford and his friends in England feared that the Bulgarian national self-consciousness would be unable to cope successfully with them. As co-editor of the *Pall-Mall Gazette*, Lord Strang-

¹⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 310, 311.

ford, repeatedly expressed his apprehension about the future of the Bulgarian people.

Iv. Ev. Gheshoff, the former Prime Minister of Bulgaria, who was in the sixties a student of Owens College, Manchester, sent a letter to that paper in which he begged to reassure English public opinion of the existence of a strong national feeling in his country, which was difficult to stifle. Mr. Gheshoff's letter was soon followed by an editorial in the Pall-Mall Gazette, written by Lord Strangford, which ran thus:

"We are exceedingly glad to hear of at least one Bulgarian who is satisfied to call himself Bulgarian and nothing more. It is a different matter, however, whether on the authority of one person we shall be justified in correcting our belief that in Bulgaria there does not exist a party or a school which sees in the fusion of the Bulgarians with the Serbians or Russians the only solution of its future destiny. Russians and Serbians, now for a long time, have set themselves at work for the Serbisation and Russification of the unhappy Bulgarians, and that in their own country, while their emissaries in Europe, at the same time, are doing all they can to persuade the world that such a Serbisation or Russification has always existed or that it was a *fait accompli*. If per chance we have exaggerated the results of the effort of these propagandas, it is not difficult for us to point out to authoritative evidences which will show that these agencies have succeeded in totally effacing the national conscience among the Bulgarians of being a distinct people . . . Notwithstanding all this, it must be painful from Bulgarian point of view to read article after article full

of inaptitudes about a certain new Byzantine Empire which would be set up as a rampart against Russia. The most ingenious invention of the Greeks, undoubtedly, is that they shall be the soul of the newly-constituted organism of Eastern peoples. What would the Bulgarian say of the perspective of a soul hellenized? The Bulgarian, besides, must awaken up with a soul Wallachian, because the Danube connects him with Wallachia." ¹⁾)

This is a remarkable document which throws abundant light upon that epoch during which the neighbours of Bulgaria believed to have succeeded in obliterating it from Europe. Lord Strangford's experience and researches in the Balkans, however, had led him to the conclusion arrived at by all persons familiar with the conditions in that part of the world, namely, that the Bulgarians are a very difficult people to curb or efface, which, as he clearly points out, is due to "*their numerical preponderance, their utter primitiveness, which has learned nothing and has nothing to unlearn, their industry and thrift, their obstinacy and their sobriety of character.*"

In giving expression to the above truth, Lord Strangford has made the discovery of the secret which has made it possible for the Bulgarian race to be able to emerge safe through five centuries of a most desperate effort on the part of the Turks to convert it to Mohammedanism, or on the part of the Oecumenical Patriarchy to hellenize it. Lord Strangford, therefore, in 1865 knew more about the real character of the Bulgarians than did Lord Beaconsfield in 1878, whose fears lest Russia should convert future Bulgaria into a Russian satrapy

¹⁾ Iv. Ev. Gheshoff, *Spomeni*, pp. 40, 41.

caused the convocation of the Congress of Berlin at which the national boundaries of the Bulgarians were reduced to a minimum. The far-sighted English writer, were he alive to-day, would give vent to no better and saner description of Bulgaria's self-assertive tendencies than is found in this passage written by him over fifty years ago:

"But Bulgaria — by which I mean a great deal more than the map-maker's misleading conventionality of the country north of the Balkans so called — though she very properly makes use of the cognate Russian language as a means and standard whereby to cultivate her own, *refrains from Russian political work and dances but sluggishly to the piping of Pan-slavists, and Yougoslavists, and Danubianists.*"¹⁾

And to make the picture complete, it may not be out of place to add the following two quotations which are no less applicable to the present condition of things in the Balkans:

"The Wallachian is the bravest warrior in the world, because he is descended from the Romans, to say nothing of the Dacians. So says Madame Dora d'Istria."²⁾

"The Servian, who knows the value of sacred bards, and is uppermost over here just at present, is an eager fiery warrior of the Cross, athirst for civilization, and anxious to help the Greek in carrying the torch of liberty."³⁾

G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, 1863

Ethnical Limits and Character of the Bulgarian Race

Among the authoritative works devoted to the Balkan Question must be mentioned the two large volumes come from the pen of the illustrious Eng-

¹⁾ *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic*, p. 323.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 325.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 325.

lish travellers and writers, the ladies Mackenzie and Irby. Their labours are the result of an extensive and prolonged journey in the Balkan Peninsula during the years 1862 and 1863. Their work was first published in 1867, but a second edition followed ten years later containing in addition a study of Bosnia made by Miss Irby, between the years 1875 and 1877. Their being women and possessing a mastery of the local idiom of the countries they were visiting made it possible for them to penetrate into the most remote corners of the Balkans, and to come in touch with the most intimate life of the Balkan peoples. The reader is at once filled with the conviction that he is being offered no second-hand information. Their description of the character, manners, and ways of the people is vivid, thorough, and based on personal observation. In order to have their knowledge of the country studied well, rounded, they would apply to everybody, and cross-examine every individual, both native and foreigner, men of the same religion or race, or adherents to a different creed of hostile faction, — Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Serbians, consuls, foreign missionaries, alien residents, all were resorted to for information. They were among the very few European writers to understand the causes of the religious quarrels between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. Their desire to get into the reality of the Greeko-Bulgarian religious quarrel led them to institute a sort of inquiry of their own. The leading prelates representing the Oecumenical Patriarchy, as well as the most prominent religious spokesmen of the Bulgarians were interrogated. This difficult talk the two English women performed with a sincere im-

partiality and love for truth, which is evident in every page of their work. They would readily praise the Serbian, or Bulgarian, or Greek for the noble traits they had discovered in either of them, but they would spare no one whenever his ugly side of character presented itself to them. They were great admirers of the Bosnians, and of the Serbian race in general. The intellectual superiority of the Greeks, too, is often alluded to whenever a comparison is to be made between the Hellene and his neighbours. In a nutshell, the work of Mackenzie and Irby is a mirror of the life and conditions of the Balkan peoples, such as they appeared to them, no more, no less. Here and there a speck might dim certain parts of the description, the picture on the whole, however, is a true reflection of the original, as far as it was possible for the eye and the mind of the author to encompass it.

The book of Mackenzie and Irby was written with such a vividness, such a faithfulness in the presentation of details, and such an aptitude for narrating historical datas and facts, that the great Gladstone enthusiastically honoured it with a preface, and thus rendered the work doubly more valuable. What Gladstone thought of it may be gathered from the following memorable lines taken from his preface:

“No diplomat, no consul or traveller has furnished us, up to the present, with a book so valuable on this question, as that of the Misses Mackenzie and Irby concerning the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey. I don't know of any publication which gives us an account so comprehensive, so real and impartial, of the actual state of the oppressed peoples,

of their relations with the Government and with each other." ¹⁾

As far as Bulgaria is concerned the work of these English authors constitutes one of the most precious and authentic contributions to its more recent history. It is accompanied with an ethnological map which helps to better elucidate certain facts of no little importance. According to their map the western frontiers of the Bulgarians commence from beyond the Bulgarian Morava and the District of Nish, embrace Skopie, and stretch down to the Tcherni Drin, southwest of Gramos Mountains. Dobroudja and part of South-Bessarabia are included within the limits of the Bulgarian race.

Like their predecessors, Mackenzie and Irby consider it most essential to specify the race limits of the Bulgarian people. Here is a significant passage touching this feature:

"By Bulgaria we understand not that insignificant portion of the same termed the Turkish Province of Bulgaria, but the whole tract of country peopled by Bulgarians." ²⁾

In their chapter entitled *Bulgaria Viewed from Salonica*, we find this statement:

"We have said that *Salonica is geographically Bulgarian*; in other words, it is one of the ports of that country with a Slavonic-speaking population which stretches from the Aegean to the Danube. Indeed, Salonica itself forms a point on the ethnographical boundary which, in this part of Turkey in Europe, divides the Slavonic population from the Greek. To a certain extent this frontier coincides with *the line of the old Roman road between Salonica and the Lake of Ochrida*;

¹⁾ *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, with a Preface by Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. Second Edition Revised. London, 1877, p. IX.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 68, 69.

nevertheless, some miles of country, inhabited by *Bulgarians*, stretch south of the Via Egnatia, Greek colonies lie to the north of it, and in the towns the population is mixed, in part consisting of Osmanli Turks. The other boundary cities are Monastir, Vodena and Yenidjé, in all of which dwell few or no Greeks, whereas in Salonica itself there are only about 500 families of Slavs.”¹⁾

And again :

“The mountain chains of the Balkan and the Rodope divide Bulgaria into three sections — northern, central, and southern.”

“*Central Bulgaria* is that which lies between the ranges of the Balkan and the Rodope. Here we visited the schools of *Adrianople, Philippopolis, Samokove, Sophia, Nish*, — supported and managed by the Christian communities without pecuniary aid from the government or bishop.”

“*Southern Bulgaria* lies, as we have already indicated, between the Rodope and the frontiers of ancient Greece. Such schools, as we there visited, were smaller and poorer than elsewhere, but we did not see those of Istib and other towns lying on the more northerly route between Salonica and Skopia.”²⁾

“Throughout the places we have hitherto mentioned, the Greek Bishop contents himself with ignoring the Bulgarian school, or from time to time expelling an energetic teacher.”³⁾

That is what these authors say about the character of the Bulgarians :

“The Bulgarians are distinguished in all essentials from their neighbours the Greek, the Rouman, and the Turk; they differ in a few points of character from their own western kindred, the Croato-Serbs. The chief of these latter points is a deficiency in what is called *esprit politique*, and a corresponding superiority in the notion of material comfort. Unlike the Serb, the Bulgarian does not keep his self-respect alive with memories of national glory, nor even with aspirations of glory to come; on the other hand, no amount of oppression

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 65.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 81.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 82.

can render him indifferent to his field, his horse, his flower-garden, nor to the scrupulous neatness of his dwelling."

"How strongly difference of race can tell under identical conditions of climate, religion, and government is exemplified in towns where Greeks have been dwelling side by side with Bulgarians for centuries. The one is commercial, ingenious, and eloquent, but fraudulent, dirty, and immoral; the other is agricultural, stubborn, and slow-tongued, but honest, cleanly, and chaste. . . . A lady told us that in the society of Greeks she could not be three weeks without becoming the confidante of a *chronique scandaleuse*, among the Bulgarians she had lived for months, and never heard a single story.

"The Christian Bulgarian is reproached as being timid, but at least his is the timidity of shrinking, not of servility, he hides from those he fears, he does not fawn on them."¹⁾

Here are several interesting details about some of the Macedonian towns visited:

"*Yenidje* numbered about 6,000 homes, half Bulgarian, half Turks . . . the only Greeks being the bishop and the school-master. The principal men speak Greek for commercial purposes, but none of the women know it."²⁾

"Above on the rock, at the head of the cascade, its glittering minarets seeming to rise besprayed out of the river, stands *Vodena*, the Bulgarian "City of Waters", once the Macedonian Edessa."³⁾

"The population of the town and district of *Prilip* is Bulgarian, and one of the most prosperous places in southern Bulgaria."⁴⁾

"The books stored at *Veles* and escaped destruction during more than 400 years of subjection to the Ottoman; it was his Christian middleman, the Greek bishop, who ordered the bonfire that consumed them on the market place."⁵⁾

"At *Nish*, a town on the Serbian frontier, the (Greek) bishops anticipated an inimical demonstration by accusing the

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 68.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 70.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 94.

⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 96.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 128.

elders of the Bulgarian community of a plot to join the Serbs. The elders were called before the Pasha, and without a hearing, without being allowed to say farewell to their families or to send home for extra clothing, they were hurried into carriages and sent off into banishment." 1)

"Any arrangement which would disincumber the thrifty and well-disposed Bulgarian of the yoke of his present barbarous master would certainly prove a gain to civilization, and in one respect especially to ourselves. Its immediate result would be the development of the resources of the country and, among others, of its resource of cotton. The vast desert plain of Salonica is stated to be peculiarly adapted for the growth of Sea-Island cotton; and a neighbouring district, not far from the town of Seres, is so favourable to the culture, that a man who planted the third of an acre with cotton realized a profit of L 60. *This cultivation is in the hands of the Bulgarians.*" 2)

What is the secret power that had preserved the Bulgarian people from extinction during ages-long political and religious bondage? "The Bulgarians," declare Mackenzie and Irby, "may thank *their united family life if they have preserved at once their nationality and their purity of manners while living under the yoke of strangers, and often side by side with people the most depraved.*"

The above selections from the monumental history of the Balkan peoples will no doubt give one an adequate idea of the character, geography, and race rights and aspirations of the Bulgarians. In unison with all conscientious authors versed in the history of the Balkan Peninsula, the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian people according to these English writers, too, extend from the Danube to the Aegean Sea, and the Drin on the Albanian border

1) Ibid. p. 138.

2) Ibid. p. 66.

to the Black Sea, and including the cities so intimately connected with the past and recent history of the Bulgarians, viz., Nish, Skopie, Bitolia, Ochrida, Castoria, Vodena, Enidje, Serres, Drama, Adrianople, Toultscha, etc.

The book of Mackenzie and Irby was translated into several languages. Into Serbian it was rendered by no lesser a personage than Tcheda Miato-vitch, the well-known Serbian statesman and many times a Serbian Minister, who in his preface gives it a most rousing praise and recommends it to his countrymen as a *just and impartial authority* on the countries and peoples treated.

We should not omit to state this memorable event which took place in the very same year the first edition of the book of Mackenzie and Irby was published. In the same year, 1867, in the month of April was concluded a treaty between the Serbian Government and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Organization, the Art. 2 of which reads as follows:

“The Empire of the Yougo-Slavs is composed of Serbia and Bulgaria (Bulgaria is to include Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia).”¹⁾

R. Arthur Arnold, 1867

Dobroudja Bulgarian

In his book *From the Levant*, which he published after he had traversed the Balkans and Asia Minor, during the year 1867, Mr. Arthur Arnold in speaking of Dobroudja considers it for granted that it is a Bulgarian land, and that the Danube is the northern

¹⁾ Prof. P. Milyukoff: *The Bulgarian Relations and the Macedonian Question*. Perioditcheski Pregled, Vol. V, p. 63.

boundary-line between Bulgaria and Roumania. The following quotations need no commentaries:

"The Danube widened as the waves of the Kilia waters were joined to our course, and just above this junction the Turkish Bulgarian town of Toultscha rose upon the *terra firma of Bulgaria*. Below Issaktcha, the second Danubian town in Bulgaria, on a range of sloping hills, there is a conspicuous tumulus raised by the Rumanians during their inglorious war." ¹⁾

And again:

"North of the Danube Turkey possesses Moldavia and Wallachia united under Prince Charles of Prussia. *The people of those provinces are separated by the Danube from Bulgaria*, one of the finest provinces of Turkey." ²⁾

When in 1878 the Congress of Berlin ceded Dobroudja to Roumania in order to compensate the latter for her loss of Bessarabia to Russia, the entire public opinion violently protested against this arbitrary deed. It is sufficient to cite what *Timpul*, one of the leading Roumanian papers, declared on this occasion on January, 28, 1878:

"Roumania is situated on the left bank of the Danube; but by the proposed territorial exchange we must follow along this bank as far as Gallatz, and there cross over to the right bank, in order to get possession of *a piece of land from Bulgaria, which will ever remain an object of envy and regret for the new state (Bulgaria), and later on be probably taken back by her*; for whatever is unnatural, cannot be lasting. Of all that is offered to us, it is in our interest to get only what naturally belongs to us, what was always ours, and *which is neither Bulgaria, nor Dobroudja*."

A month after this, in February 24, 1878, the Roumanian government handed a memorandum to the Powers, in which it is said:

¹⁾ *From the Levant*, London, 1868, Vol. II. p. 224.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 127.

“The exchange proposed is *disastrous to Roumania*. The loss of Bessarabia will make very hard and painful to the Roumanian government the possession of Dobrudja, separated as it is from Roumanian territory by a large and wide river. Thus the exchange of Bessarabia for Dobrudja, *not taking into account considerations of historical character and of legal and political nature, but only the material, economic, and administrative interests of the state, will have for Roumania dangerous results, for the acquisition of Dobrudja without Bessarabia only constitutes a complication, a heavy burden, and may be, a constant peril.*”

These declarations made by the Roumanian government, parliament, and press, supported by the entire Roumanian public opinion are in perfect harmony with the assertions of the English writer from whom we excerpted the preceding two passages, that Dobroudja is a Bulgarian land, and that the Danube is the natural boundary-line between the two countries divided by it.

H. Sandwich, 1865

Statistics on the Balkan Peoples

In the year 1865 there appeared a booklet entitled *Notes on the South Slavonic Countries in Austria and Turkey in Europe*. It contains historical and political information in addition to a paper read at a meeting of the British Association of Bath, 1864. The work also includes a coloured *Map of the South Slavonic Countries* in which are delineated the areas occupied by the various Balkan races, in accordance with the following statistical datas: ¹⁾

¹⁾ *Notes on the South Slavonic Countries*, Edinburgh and London, 1865, p. 66.

1. In Turkey

Bulgarians variously stated from 4,000,000 to	6,000,000
Croato-Serbs	2,633,000

2. In Austria

Croato-Serbs	2,757,602
Slovenes	1,171,754
Bulgarians	22,000

H. F. Tozer, 1869

The Bulgarians "the Largest Element"

*"The Bulgarians, who form the largest element in the Christian population from Salonica to the confines of Albania, are a very interesting people, and are highly spoken of for industry and honesty. They are the most numerous of all the nationalities inhabiting European Turkey, and are estimated at between five and six millions."*¹⁾

*"Struga Close by the same church is a large school for Bulgarian children. There were 200 of them there, and very clean and orderly they looked as they sat at their desks, very much in the style of an English school. The master was a Bulgarian; and the children are taught to read and write both Greek and Bulgarian, two days in the week being devoted to the latter language."*²⁾

Encyclopedia Britannica, 1875

The Province of Bulgaria.

It was mainly upon data drawn from the writings of those authors that was published in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1875, the well known article on Bulgaria. In its detailed description of the Tuna Vilayet, as Bulgaria was called by the Turks, the

¹⁾ *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, London, 1869, p. 176.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 199.

Encyclopedia contains the following characterisation of the then Turkish Province of Bulgaria :

“The Province (of Bulgaria or Tuna vilayet) is politically divided into the Sandjaks of Rustchuk, Nissai, Widdin, Tirnova, Sofia, Varna and Tultcha. Its principal towns are Widdin, Nikopoli, Sistova, Rustchuk, Rassova, and Hirsova along the Danube, Kustendil, Baltchik, and Varna on the coast, and Babadag, Bassarjyk, Shumna, Tirnova, Lovats, and Vratza No inconsiderable number of Bulgarians are to be found beyond the province that bears that name. They form a much or less important element in the whole region, from the Danube to the Aegean, and from the Black Sea to Eastern Albania.”¹⁾

“Slavs and Turks”, London, 1876

The Limits of the Bulgarian Race.

In 1876 *The Illustrated London News* published a series of articles touching the Balkan races, which later on were printed in book form under the title of *Slavs and Turks*. On p. 93 we find the following passage dealing on Bulgaria :

“Thus far we have spoken of Bulgaria proper and the inhabitants peopling this Province. *The territory, however, which is inhabited by Bulgarians is much more extensive than the country so called Bulgaria The Bulgarians are scattered throughout the territory from Danube to the Aegean, and from the Black Sea to Albania and modern Greece.* They count some five to six millions of people, and *are the most numerous race in European Turkey.*”

G. Campbell, 1876

Campbell's Handbook and Map on the Balkans

This is the author of the well-known *Campbell's Handbook of the Eastern Question*, and the *Camp-*

¹⁾ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Edition, vol IV. p. 516.

bell's Map of European Turkey. In Chapter I we find this passage which emphasises the Bulgarians as the predominating element in Turkey in Europe:

“There is no reliable census of the population of European Turkey. The best estimates put it at about 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, excluding the tributary states. I should think that including Constantinople it is probably more. The estimates would give about 3,500,000 Mohammedans, and 5,500,000 Christians in a population of 9,000,000. *Looking to the extent and populousness of the Bulgarian country, I should say that these cannot be less than from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 of Bulgarians, possibly more.* Then if we take all the Greek towns, country, and islands of the Aegean, they can scarcely be under (rather, I should say with Crete over) 2,000,000; add to the Greeks the Christian Albanians and the Jews — that would give say 4,000,000 of non-Mohammedans or with the Bulgarians from 8,000,000, to 9,000,000 altogether.”¹⁾

The London Geographical Magazine, 1876

Balkan Racial Statistics

During that period the European press manifested an unusual interest in Balkan events and conditions. *The London Geographical Magazine*, edited by C. R. Markham, published a lengthy statistical account dealing with the various Balkan peoples.

Among other things the Magazine included this item about the number of inhabitants in European Turkey and in Roumania, Serbia, and Greece:

“Some statistical information on the populations of that part of Eastern Europe which is now devastated by the Turkish hordes will prove acceptable at the present time. It is scarcely necessary to state that no regular census of the population has ever been taken. There have been enumerations, more or less trustworthy, on the male inhabitants,

¹⁾ *A Handbook of the Eastern Question*, with a Map, London, 1826, pp. 23, 24.

and the figures we give below are therefore merely approximations to the truth. We have largely availed ourselves of the results of Dr. Yakshity's researches, some of which have appeared in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*." ¹⁾

The population of this part of Europe are as follows:

Provinces still under the Turks	8,207,000
Servia	1,340,000
Roumania	4,300,000
Montenegro	125,000 ²⁾

The Magazine throws some light on the large Bulgarian element found in both Serbia and Roumania, as is clear from this passage:

"The populations of Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro are comparatively homogeneous. In Servia there are about 155,000 Rumanians, 150,000 *Bulgarians*, 17,000 gipsies, 400 Jews, and a few hundred foreigners."

"In Rumanian there are, in addition to 3,640,000 Rumanians or "Valakhs", 350,000 *Bulgarians*, 15,000 Rumanians, etc." ³⁾

From which it follows that in Serbia and Roumania proper at that time there were found more than *half a million Bulgarians*.

Major A. Campbell 1876

Morava Bulgarian Land

The English Blue Book of 1877, among other documents, contains an article on the subject "Military News" written by Major A. Campbell, British military Attaché with the Turkish General Staff during

¹⁾ *The Geographical Magazine*, Edited by Clement R. Markham, London, Vol. III, p. 259.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 260.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 260.

the Serbo-Turkish war in 1876. The General Headquarters of the Ottoman forces at that time, Aug 25, 1876, were at Nish. In one of his reports to Sir Henry Elliott, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Major Campbell wrote the following from Nish:

“We met on the way a group of Circassians and bashibozouks driving before them sheep, goats, and other booty. On arriving in the city we found out that the military authorities of the (Turkish) General Headquarters had given *sauf conduits* to the venders of the booty stating that it had been taken from the enemy and *not from the Bulgarian population.*”

This is another though indirect proof that the population of Morava is Bulgarian.

E. G. Ravenstein, 1877

Statistical Datas About the Balkans

The Journal of the Statistical Society of London, published in that year a detailed and careful description of the numerical strength of the various peoples found in Russia and Turkey.

In the chapter allotted to Turkey, there is to be found the following note which will help one to form an adequate opinion of the race ascendancy of the Bulgarians:

“*Note.* — Turkey has been divided into ten divisions, according to the *predominating* nationalities. *The Dobruja includes the Sanjaks of Tulcha and Varna. Bulgaria includes the Sanjaks of Adrianople, Philippople, Sofia, Sliven, Ruschuk, Turnov, Vidin, Nish, Uskub and Monastir (Bitolia), in all of which the Bulgarians predominate.*” ¹⁾

¹⁾ *The Populations of Russia and Turkey*, Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 1877, vol. 40, p. 449, Table I.

The following statistics are categorical confirmation of Bulgaria's legitimate claims to Macedonia, Thrace, Dobroudja, and the Nish District:

“Table II. — *Turkey. Details of Area and Population.*”

<i>Vilayet of Adrianople</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Preponderating Nationality</i>
Constantinople	685,000	365,000 Turks
Adrianople	357,000	162,000 <i>Bulgarians</i>
Philippople (Filibe)	512,000	303,000 »
Sofia	347,000	286,000 »
Sliven	168,000	80,000 »
Rodosto	99,000	53,000 Greeks
Gallipoli	138,000	60,000 »
Total		1,615,000 855,050 <i>Bulgarians</i>
<i>Vilayet of the Danube</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Preponderating Nationality</i>
Tulcha	194,000	104,000 Turks
Varn	124,000	80,000 »
Ruschuk	604,000	327,000 <i>Bulgarians</i>
Turnov	382,000	265,000 »
Vidin	385,000	322,000 »
Total		1,689,000 803,000 <i>Bulgarians</i>
<i>Vilayet of Kossova</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Preponderating Nationality</i>
Nish (Nissa)	313,000	224,000 <i>Bulgarians</i>
Uskub	234,000	130,000 »
Prisrend and Prishtina	389,000	310,000 Albanians
Total		936,000 455,000 Albanians
<i>Vilayet of Saloniki</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Preponderating Nationality</i>
Saloniki	163,000	59,000 Greeks
Seres	223,000	100,000 »
Drama	112,000	60,000 Turks
Monastir (Bitolia)	385,000	234,000 <i>Bulgarians</i>
Divra	245,000	237,000 Albanians
Korytza	154,000	119,000 »
Total		1,282,000 456,000 Albanians
<i>Turkey in Europe</i>	9,661,000	2,575,000 <i>Bulgarians</i> against 4,247,000 Mohammedans.” ¹⁾

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 450-451.

When one takes into consideration the fact that the Bulgarian adherents to the Greek Patriarchy are considered as "Greeks", and the Bulgarian Pomaks as Turks, the preponderancy of the Christian Bulgarian element in European Turkey becomes all the more apparent. The author has also given us a table of statistics of the Dobroudjan population, which, it should be noticed, does not mention the Roumanians at all. Thus, according to Table IV, in Dobroudja there are :

Turks	184,000
Greeks	11,000
Bulgarians	57,000 ¹⁾

According to the same authority there are, or were, in Albania 35,000 Bulgarians.

The Blue Book, Turkey No. 2, 1877

The Constantinople Conference

This English Blue Book contains the discussions, conclusions, projects, and protocols of the European Conference of Ambassadors which was convened in Constantinople in December, 1876, at the invitation of Lord Derby, the then British Foreign Secretary. The distinguished diplomats who constituted it were Marquis of Salisbury, special British Delegate, Sir Henry Elliott, British Ambassador, Baron Werther, German Ambassador, Count Zichy, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Baron Calice, special Austro-Hungarian Delegate, Count Bourgoing, French Ambassador, Count Chaudordy, special French Delegate, Count Ignatieff, Russian Ambassador, Count Corti, Italian Ambassador, and others.

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 460-477.

The great uprisings in Bulgaria had compelled the European Concert of Powers to hasten the introduction of an autonomous rule in the "affected regions", in which "the Bulgarian population was predominating", in order to prevent the recurrence of similar outbreaks which endanger the peace of Europe. Marquis of Salisbury in the course of the discussions and in reply to the opposition of the Ottoman delegates declared:

"The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have complained that there was nothing in the English programme to authorise the new administrative delimitations that have been traced. But this manner of proceeding was a necessary condition of the task we were called to perform. *We were charged to furnish guarantees against the bad administration in Bulgaria.* The word "Bulgaria" does not indicate a region, the geographical limits of which have been definitively traced. In giving it a practical interpretation, the Plenipotentiaries had to keep account of the origin of the word and even of the sense in which it is actually used. The limits of the functions of the Plenipotentiaries have thus been indicated. *The Conference could not comprehend under the name of Bulgaria districts in which the Bulgarian population does not predominate.*"

The Italian Ambassador, Count Corti, further rendered plain the aims of the Conference by saying:

"Were the Plenipotentiaries of the protecting Powers really preoccupied solely to secure a privileged position to the Bulgarian element, it would have been more convenient to constitute only one single Province; but in making these changes in the administrative districts, *they have no other aim than to unite and group together the various regions which were the theatre of sad events, against which public opinion was strongly roused,* and which proves the impossibility of continuing the present order. It is owing to this, that the sanjaks of Sliven and Philippopolis, and some kazas have been detached from the Vilayet of Adrianople, as well as other districts from the

Vilayets of Salonica and Bitolia. Hence it was natural to proceed to a totally new organisation of these countries. In proposing this organisation in their project, *the Plenipotentiaries have striven to group together as much as possible Christian and Mussulman elements*. This is a measure, the practical character of which cannot be disputed. It is sufficiently justified by the peculiar conditions of the Ottoman Empire."

In the first session of the Constantinople Conference, from 11—23 of December, 1876, attended by the representatives of the seven Powers: Turkey, Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, and Russia, after the opening speech of the President, Savfet Pasha, the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs, and the speeches of Marquis of Salisbury, Count Ignatieff, and Count Zichy, the extraordinary Envoy of France, Count Chaudordy, presented to the foreign representatives six projects, the third of which is the project for the Organic Statute of Bulgaria, having the following form:

"Bulgaria — Project for an Organic Statute."

"Out of the territories designated below there will be formed conformably to the annexed map two Vilayets (provinces) which will be administered in the forms set forth in detail below.

"The Eastern Vilayet, which will have Tirnovo for capital, will be composed of the sanjaks of Rustchuck, Tirnovo, *Toulcha*, Varna, Sliven, Philippopolis (except Sultan Yeri and Achitcheleby), and of the kazas of *Kirk-Kilissa*, *Mustapha Pasha*, and *Kizil-Agatch*.

"The Western Vilayet, with Sofia for capital, will be composed of the sanjaks of Sofia, Vidin, *Uskiub*, *Nish*, *Bitolia* (except two kazas of the south), the three northern kazas of the *Seres* sandjak, and the kazas of *Strumitsa*, *Tikvesh*, *Veles* and *Castoria*."

The project embraces ten long articles regulating the organising and administration of Bulgaria.

In presenting this draft delineating the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian people again in revolt, Count Chaudordy emphasised the fact that:

“The Conference aims to prevent great and important complications, and will strive to give to the consolidation of peace *a practical and equitable solution*. In order to facilitate the purpose of our governments, we have set forth in these projects all the measures fit to secure the success of our work . . . *In the drawing up of these documents, previous documents on the subject were consulted and also notes exchanged among the Powers.*”¹⁾

At its session held on January 4, 1878, Savfet Pasha, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, made the following declaration which was an unwilling Turkish official recognition of the ethnical area covered by the Bulgarian race which Europe now through its Ambassadorial Conference was trying to deliver from Turkish oppression and misgovernment:

“In reading the first article it is evident that the plan of the proposed delimitation will have no other result than *the grouping into two vilayets of all the Bulgarians found in the European Turkey*, in order to form two administrative divisions *in which the Bulgarian element exclusively predominates*. Such a scheme is unacceptable to the Imperial Government Independently of that which concerns the Mussulman population, living in the sandjaks and cazas of which the two Vilayets are to be made up, as also independently of the grave inconveniences which will be caused to the Christian Bulgarian population through the formation of a vilayet extending from Viddin down to the ports of Salonica, the attention of the Conference must be called to another circumstance, namely, that under the proposed territorial division *according to which the Bulgarian element will have an exclusive predominance, there will be incorporated certain parts inhabited by Greeks.*”²⁾

¹⁾ *The Blue Book*, Turkey No. 2, 1822, p. 324.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 325.

The Blue Book, therefore, which contains the work done by the eminent members of the Constantinople Conference, constitutes a *bona fide* international document which has solemnly recognised the just and proper racial extension of the Bulgarians, to which they have been striving ever since.¹⁾

Edward A. Freeman, 1880

Extent and Continuity of the Bulgarian Ethnical Limits

The historical works and maps of Prof. Freeman are known all over the world. In getting out his *Historical Geography of Europe*, in two volumes, 1881, he was assisted in many ways by such eminent scholars as Prof. Pauli of Göttingen, Prof. Steenstrup of Copenhagen, Prof. Romanos of Corfu, J. B. Galiffe of Geneva, Dr. Paul Turner of Budapest, Prof. A. W. Ward of Manchester, Rev. H. F. Tozer, Prof. Morfill, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Sir Arthur Evans, and others. After his death his works were re-edited by Prof. E. B. Bury of Cambridge University, perhaps the greatest Byzantine scholar to-day, and the third edition of Prof. Freeman's labours appeared in 1903 *With an Atlas to the Historical Geography of Europe by Ed. A. Freeman, Edited by E. B. Bury, London*. Thus Prof. Freeman's literary productions were given an unusual sanction. Their authentic value, therefore, is difficult to question.

As far as Bulgaria is concerned, one can find in them quite a comprehensive study of its origin and historical development clear to our own day. His maps in which the growth and extension of the ancient

¹⁾ See pp. 48—53 of this book.

Bulgarian Kingdoms are drawn up greatly facilitate the efforts of the student. No other historian has succeeded to so fully portray the progress of the three Bulgarian Kingdoms of old, particularly the epochs of Tsar Boris (852), Tsar Simeon (910), Tsar Samuel (1000), the Byzantine Domination (1180), and the period following the death of Tsar Kaloyan (1210). According to Prof. Freeman, Bulgaria under its great rulers Boris, Simeon, Peter, Kaloyan, Ivan Assen II, etc., not only comprised Serbia in its possession, but had a far greater extension and longer duration than the Serbia at its zenith under the short reign of its mightiest Tsar, Stephan Doushan. As will be seen, Prof. Freeman establishes the fact that the two Slavic groups inhabiting Macedonia and Bulgaria were united, blended together, while the northern groups consisting of Serbians, Croatians, etc., remained distinct from these other Slavic tribes. Prof. Freeman also confirms the truth that throughout the various historical changes which had taken place in the Balkans the Bulgarian people always maintained a distinct existence, and managed to survive all national cataclysms. According to this authority, it is evident that Bulgaria even when subject to the Byzantine Empire (1018-1184) retained its name, its character, its autonomy, and geographical boundaries. The same country was subdued by the Turks as Bulgarian land, was ruled by them under the name of Bulgaria, and was re-established as such by the Treaty of San Stefano, 1876.

From the works of the historian Freeman one can easily see the racial, lingual, geographical, and moral ties that have always existed between the various provinces inhabited by Bulgarians, viz.,

Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Dobroudja, and Morava. Freeman says the following on the affinity between Bulgaria and Macedonia:

“During the four hundred years between the division of the Empires and the Frank conquest of the East, geographical history of the Eastern Empire has mainly to deal with the shiftings of its frontier towards the Slavonic powers. These fall into three main groups. First, in the north-western corner of the Empire are the Croatian and Servian settlements, whose history is closely connected with that of the kingdom of Hungary and the commonwealth of Venice. *Secondly, there are the Slavs of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. Thirdly, the great Bulgarian Kingdom comes between the two. These two last ranges gradually merge into one; the first remains distinct throughout.* Serbia, Croatia, and Dalmatia will be best treated of in another section, remembering that, amidst all fluctuations, the claims of the Empire over them were never denied or forgotten, and were from time to time enforced. It was towards the Bulgarian Kingdom that the greatest fluctuations of the Imperial frontier took place.”¹⁾

The First Bulgarian Kingdom:

“The conquest of Sardica early in the ninth century marks a stage of Bulgarian advance. At the end of the century, after the conversion of the nation to Christianity comes the great era of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, the Kingdom of *Peristhlava*. The Tzar Simeon established the Bulgarian supremacy over Servia, and carried his conquests deep into the lands of the Empire. In Macedonia and Epeiros the Empire kept only the sea-coast, Ægean and Hadriatic; Sardica, Philippopolis, Ochrida were all cities of the Bulgarian realm. Hadrianople, a frontier city of the Empire, passed more than once into Bulgarian hands. Nowhere in Europe, save in old Hellas, did the Imperial dominion stretch from sea to sea.”²⁾

¹⁾ *The Historical Geography of Europe*, by Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., L. L. D., in Two Volumes, Vol. I, London, 1881, p. 373.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 376.

The Second Bulgarian Kingdom:

“A large part of the conquered land soon revolted, and a second Bulgarian Kingdom, *Macedonian* rather than Moesian, arose. The Kingdom of *Ochrida*, the Kingdom of Samuel, left to the Empire the eastern part of the old Bulgaria between Danube and Hæmus, together with all Thrace and the Macedonian coast. But it took in all the inland region of Macedonia; it stretched down into Thessaly and Epeiros; and while it nowhere touched the Euxine or the Ægean, it had a small seaboard on the Hadriatic.”¹⁾

The Third Bulgarian Kingdom:

“Meanwhile the Empire was again cut short to the north by a new Bulgarian revolt, which established a Third Bulgarian Kingdom. The new Kingdom took in the old Bulgarian land between Danube and Hæmus, and it presently spread both to the West and to the South. The Bulgarian revolt was followed by other movements among the *Thracian* and *Macedonian* Slaves, which did not lead to the foundation of any new states, but which had their share in the general break-up of the Imperial power. The work of Basil and Manuel was now undone, but its undoing had the effect of making the Empire more nearly a Greek state than ever.”²⁾

“The oldest Bulgaria between Danube and Hæmus was the first to throw off the Byzantine dominion, and the last to come under the power of the Turk. But the new Bulgarian power grew fast, and for a while called back the days of Simeon and Samuel. Under Joannice the frontier stretched far to the north-west over lands which gradually passed to Servia, taking in Skupi, Nish, and even Belgrade. Under the Tzar John Assan the new Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Tirnovo, reached its greatest extent. The greater part of *Thrace*, *Philippopolis*, and the whole land of *Rhodopè* or *Achridos*, *Hadrianople* itself, *Macedonia* too stretching away to Samuel's *Ochrida* and to *Albanon* or *Elbassan*, were all under his rule. If his realm did not touch the Hadriatic or the Ægean, it came very near

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 382.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 377.

to both; but Thessalonike at least always remained to its Frank and Greek lords." ¹⁾)

"We have seen the origin of the third Bulgarian Kingdom which won its independence of the Empire in the last years of the twelfth century. *From that time to the Turkish conquest, one or more Bulgarian States always existed. And throughout the thirteenth century, the Bulgarian Kingdom, though its boundaries were ever shifting, was one of the chief powers of the south-eastern peninsula.*" ²⁾)

Dobroudja one of the "Three Bulgarias":

"An attempt at extension of the north by an attack on the Hungarian Banat of *Severin*, the western part of modern Wallachia, led only to a Hungarian invasion, to a temporary loss of *Widdin*, and the assumption of a Bulgarian title by the Magyar King. Presently a new Turanian dynasty, this time of Cuman descent, reigned in Bulgaria, and soon after the Kingdom passed for the moment under a mightier overlord in the person of Nogai Khan (1280). In the fourteenth century the Kingdom broke up. The despot *Dobroditius* — his name has many spellings — formed a separate dominion on the seaboard, stretching from the Danube to the Imperial frontier, cutting off the King of Tirnovo from the sea. Part of his land preserves his memory in its modern name *Dobroucha*. Presently we hear of *three Bulgarias, the central state of Tirnovo, the sea land of Dobroditius, and a north-western state at Widdin*. By this time the Ottoman inroads had begun; Philippopolis was lost, and Bulgarian princes were blind enough to employ Turkish help on a second attack on Severin, which led only to a second temporary loss of Widdin. The Turk now pressed on; Sofia was taken: the whole land became a Turkish dependency." ³⁾)

Bulgaria's amputation by the Treaty of Berlin:

"Lastly, while Servia and Roumania have been wholly freed from the yoke, a part of Bulgaria has been raised to *that po-*

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 382.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 429.

³⁾ Ibid. pp. 430, 431.

sition of practical independence, which she formerly held. The Russian treaty of San Stefano (1878) decreed a tributary principality of Bulgaria, whose boundaries came most nearly to those of the third Bulgarian Kingdom at its greatest extent. But it was to have what no Bulgarian state had had before, a considerable Ægean sea-board. This would have been the effect of splitting the immediate dominion of the Turk in two. It would also have had the fault of adding to Bulgaria some districts which ought rather to be added to free Greece. By the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the Turk was to keep the whole north coast of the Ægean, while the Bulgarian nation was split into three parts, in three different political conditions. The oldest and latest Bulgarian land, the land between Danube and Balkan, forms, with the exception of the corner ceded to Roumania, the tributary Principality of Bulgaria. The land immediately south of the Danube, the southern Bulgaria of history — northern Roumelia, according to the compass — recieves the diplomatic name of Eastern Roumelia, a name which would more naturally take in Constantinople. Its political condition is described as 'administrative autonomy', a half-way house, it would seem, between bondage and freedom. Meanwhile in the old Macedonia land for which Basil and Samuel strove so stoutly, the question between Greek and Bulgarian is held to be solved by handing over Greek and Bulgarian alike to the uncovenanted mercies of the Turk." 1)

C. A. Fyffe, M. A., 1881

Hellenisation a Failure in Bulgaria — The Constantinople Conference — The Congress of Berlin

Almost simultaneously with the works of Freeman there appeared in England the historical productions of another great British author, those of C. A. Fyffe. In the *History of Modern Europe*, we find this statement in which is emphasised the fact pointed out

1) Ibid. pp. 454, 455.

by Lord Strangford and others, viz., the inability of the Greek Patriarchy to 'overcome, lead, or incorporate', in other words, to hellenise the Bulgarians, inspite of five centuries of unceasing efforts with the connivance and under the patronage of the Turk.

"The influence of the Greeks, great as it appeared to be, did not in reality reach below the surface, except in Epirus. The bishops were felt to be foreigners and extortioners. There was no real process of assimilation at work, either in Bulgaria, or in the Danubian Provinces. The slow and plodding Bulgarian peasant, too stupid for the Greek to think of him as a rival, preserved his own unchanging tastes and nationality, sang to his children the songs which he had learnt from his parents, and forgot the Greek he had heard in the Church when he re-entered his home."¹⁾

The Constantinople Conference in 1876 at which the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarians were drawn up and given international recognition *was convoked at the initiative of England*. Once Britain assured by Tsar Alexander II himself that Russia had no territorial designs in the Balkans and no intentions of acquiring Constantinople, its suspicions of the great Slav Empire subsided.

"Lord Derby," writes Fyffe, "then Foreign Secretary, immediately expressed the satisfaction with which the Government had received these assurances; and the following day an invitation was sent from London to all the European Powers proposing a Conference at Constantinople, on the basis of a common recognition of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, accompanied by a disavowal on the part of each of the Powers of all aims at aggrandisement or separate advantage."²⁾

¹⁾ *History of Modern Europe*, New York, 1887, vol II, p. 250.

²⁾ *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 520.

It was England, therefore, that was responsible for the so-called European Conference which resuscitated Bulgaria in its national limits.¹⁾

English suspicion of Russia's actual designs in the Near East was, after the latter's signal successes on the battlefield, aroused anew, and *the Congress of Berlin was the result, again at the initiative of Great Britain*. The English motives for the convocation of the Congress of Berlin according to Fyffe, as well as all other historians, were these:

"The new Foreign Secretary had not been many days in office when a Circular, despatched to all the foreign Courts, summed up the objections of Great Britain to the Treaty of San Stefano. It was pointed out that *a strong Slavic State would be created under the control of Russia*, possessing important harbours upon the shores of the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and giving to Russia a preponderating influence over political and commercial relations on both those seas."²⁾

And further on:

"It was, in short, the contention of the English Government that while *Russia, in the pretended emancipation of a great part of European Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano, had but acquired a new dependency*, England, by insisting on *the division of Bulgaria* had baffled this plan and restored to Turkey an effective military dominion over the country south of the Balkans."³⁾

"Lord Beaconsfield," says Fyffe, "returned to London, bringing, as he said, peace with honour. It was claimed, in the despatch to our Ambassadors, which accompanied the publication of the Treaty of Berlin, that in this Treaty the cardinal

¹⁾ See pp. 48, 51 of this book for detailed account of the decisions of the Constantinople Conference.

²⁾ Ibid. vol. III, pp. 514, 515,

³⁾ Ibid. vol. III, p. 520.

objections raised by the British Government to the Treaty of San Stefano had found an entire remedy. 'Bulgaria,' wrote Lord Salisbury, 'is now confined to the river-barrier of the Danube, and consequently, has not only ceased to possess any harbour on the Archipelago, but is removed by more than a hundred miles from the neighbourhood of that sea. On the Euxine the important port of Bourgas has been restored to the Government of Turkey; and Bulgaria retains less than half the sea-board originally assigned to it, and possesses no other port except the roadstead of Varna, which can hardly be used for any but commercial purposes. *The political outposts of Russian power have been pushed back to the region beyond the Balkans; the Sultan's dominions have been provided with a defensible barrier.'*"

Bulgaria was thus sacrificed because it was feared she might prove a "Russian outpost". All English writers since have admitted the fallacy of the British diplomacy that brought about the dismemberment of the Bulgarian people. Fyffe aptly concludes:

*"Lord Beaconsfield's ideas, purposes, and anticipations, in so far as they related to Eastern Europe, have hitherto been contradicted by events."*¹⁾

James Samuelson, 1888

Sisterly Feeling between Bulgaria and Macedonia

We have seen Gibbon, Finlay, Bury, and other English historical writers testify of the close affinity which had existed between Bulgaria and Macedonia in the earlier periods of their existence. We have been assured of the same fact time and again by Anglo-Saxon authors dealing with the renaissance

¹⁾ Ibid. Vol. III. p. 523.

era of the Bulgarian race. James Samuelson, the author of *Roumania, Past and Present*, in his valuable work, *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, too, has in an inderec manner demonstrated the intimate relationship of the two Provinces. In speaking of the Philippople revolution which brought about the reunion of North and South Bulgaria or East Roumelia, he thus explains why Turkey did not send her armies to occupy the vassal state:

“At the Conference they (the Russians), supported by Germany and Austria, urged the Porte to occupy Eastern Roumelia with an armed force; but her statesmen, besides distrusting advice from such a hostile quarter, knew that she *would have to reckon, not with the Bulgarians alone, but with Macedonia, where a rising was imminent.*”¹⁾

William Miller, M. A., 1896

Bulgaria, Macedonia, Dobroudja, Nishava, etc., Parts of a Whole

Among the modern English historical writers on the Eastern Question, William Miller occupies a very prominent place. He is the author of a number of scholarly books dealing with the Eastern peoples, two of his best known being *The Balkans*, published in 1896, and *Travels and Politics in the Near East*, published in 1902. The first has already seen two editions and two second impressions. Having travelled a good deal in the countries treated he was thus enabled to offer to his readers a first-hand information elucidated in a clear and masterly manner. He is in love with his task, and he is equally fair to, and sympathetic with all the Balkan races. Impar-

¹⁾ *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, London, 1888, p. 82.

tiality and penetration are two distinguishing features of his writing. His book *The Balkans* is devoted to a vivid narration of the history of Roumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro. Like most of his countrymen and fellow-historians, he has demonstrated in unmistakable terms Bulgaria's claims to the lands which have always been considered Bulgarian. Thus one cannot help observing this noteworthy fact incidentally pointed out by him. In his chapters devoted to Bulgaria in tracing the origin of the Bulgarian race he says :

“It was not until the year 679 that the Bulgarians crossed from Bessarabia and established themselves in the region south of the Danube. At first *they were concentrated on the shore of the Black Sea, in the Dobrudja and at Silistria.*”¹⁾

In this manner Prof. Miller confirms the general assertion that Dobroudja is the cradle of the Bulgarian people.

In discussing the territorial transactions resorted to by the framers of the Treaty of Berlin, and in deploring the unmerited treatment accorded to Roumania by depriving her of Bessarabia in order to satisfy Russia, he says this of the barter the Province of Dobroudja was exposed to :

“The Treaty of San Stefano signed March 3, 1878, justified the suspicions of the Roumanian people. While, on the one hand the Porte formally recognised the independence of Roumania Russia, on the other, acquired from Turkey the district between the Danube and the Black Sea, known as the Dobrudja, with the object of exchanging it for the southern part of Bessarabia *The extra piece of land awarded to Roumania was taken not from her (Russia), but from Bulgaria.*”²⁾

¹⁾ *The Balkans*, Second edition, 1908, p. 124.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 116.

Thus this writer, also, recognises Dobroudja as Bulgarian homeland.

In his estimation Macedonia is closely connected with the history of the Bulgarian people. This is what he says about Tsar Samuel and his Kingdom the center of which was Macedonia, at the beginning of the tenth century:

"The Empire to which Samuel succeeded was Macedonian rather than Bulgarian . . . *At first, indeed, he fixed his residence at Sofia, the present capital: but he soon moved to Macedonia, and established himself in a rocky and beautifully-wooded island in the lovely lake of Prespa.* The travellers who have seen the place have still been able to trace the ruins of his castle, or *Grad*, from which the island derives its present name. Amid the cluster of the vine and the glow of the pomegranate, the columns of four churches still rise in silent grandeur; while a second island, called *Mali Grad*, or „little castle”, testifies alike by its title and carved stones upon it to the past glory of the Bulgarian Tzar. Yet nearer the Adriatic did Samuel penetrate, for above the lake of Ochrida two ruined fortresses still remind the natives of their ancient lord. Further westward the Albanian town of Berat owned his sway, while in the south Joannina, the present Albanian capital, and the coast opposite Corfu were parts of his empire. *In the north his dominions included Nish and Belgrade; in the east he held most of the towns on the Struma and the Vardar and thus connected Macedonia with Sofia and the east of Bulgaria.*"¹⁾

How closely the fate of Bulgaria was allied to that of Macedonia may be judged from these lines written in connection with Tsar Samuel's sad end:

"*With him perished the last hope of Bulgaria . . . Basil flushed with his success, refused all offers of peace, and pressed on into Macedonia. But the Bulgarians, fired by Gabriel's example, disputed every position with the Greeks.*"²⁾

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 152—154.

²⁾ Ibid. pp. 156, 157.

So we see how as early as the eleventh century the population of Bulgaria and Macedonia was Bulgarian, fighting for the same cause, for their common fatherland and independence.

Miller also, in unison with most other historical writers, attests the fact that the Bulgarian lands during the Byzantine bondage (1018-1188), preserved their Bulgarian spirit and character, as is evident from the following passage:

“From the testimony of Greek writers themselves we learn that their countrymen behaved like ‘robbers’ to the helpless *Bulgarians* entrusted to their care. Above the *strategi*, who resided in the chief towns such as *Ochrida*, *Prespa*, *Durazzo*, there was a Governor-general whose seat was at *Skopie* in *Macedonia*. Under the Greek rule the *Bulgarians* had a foretaste of the coming Turkish domination.

“One national institution was allowed to retain much of its former independence. *The Bulgarian Church had always been closely connected with the life of the people... Ochrida thus became the centre of Greek influence in Bulgarian lands...* The territorial jurisdiction of the Church was, however, the same as under the old Bulgarian Czars. The “golden bulls” of the Emperor Basil enumerated no fewer than *thirty bishoprics of the Bulgarian community*, with six hundred and eighty-five priests in their respective dioceses, which included *all Macedonia*, parts of *Albania*, and *Thessaly*, *Sofia*, *Vidin*, *Prisrend*, and even *Belgrade*, between them. In short, the network of the Bulgarian hierarchy was, even under the Greek Emperors, fully as widespread as the temporal dominion of Simeon or Samuel had been.”¹⁾

The Bulgarian National Church, as we have already pointed out in the First Chapter of the present volume, though formally suppressed in 1767, was in reality ever a living force which kept to-

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 159—161.

gether the Bulgarian race through all the vicissitudes of its national existence. Another evidence of the Bulgarian character of Macedonia, Nishava, etc., alluded to by William Miller, is the following:

“At the close of the twelfth century, the newly-established Second Empire of Bulgaria accordingly included a wide extent of country. Belgrade, Nisch, and all the present Kingdoms of Serbia east of Morava were Bulgarian, and the Tsar’s dominions stretched from the mouth of the Danube to the Struma and the Vardar. *In Macedonia, too, a Bulgarian noble, named Strez, established himself as an independent prince.*”¹⁾

This is what the author says of the extension of Bulgaria’s boundaries in the reign of the great Bulgarian Tsar Assen II who ascended the throne in 1218 :

“His Empire reached the Black Sea, the Aegean, and the Adriatic. Bulgaria proper, part of Serbia, including Belgrade, all Macedonia, all Albania as far as Durazzo obeyed his command.”²⁾

Towards the second half of the fourteenth century, on the eve of the Ottoman invasion, there existed several Bulgarian Kingdoms. According to Miller,

“Shishman III reigned in Tirnovo, Sracimir in Vidin, while a third independent prince, Dobrotitch, established himself in the low-lying region of Dobroudja, which still bears his name,”³⁾

which once more confirms the fact that the province of Dobroudja succumbed under the Turks as Bulgarian land.

According to Miller, the Congress of Berlin inflicted a great injustice upon the Bulgarian people

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 170.

²⁾ Ibid. pp. 175, 176.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 187.

which had been resuscitated by the Constantinople Conference and the San Stefano Treaty. Through the nefarious provisions of the Berlin Treaty,

“Not only were the Bulgarians in Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia separated from their kinsmen in the new principality, but the Bulgarian-speaking district of Pirost was handed over to Serbia.” ¹⁾

Space does not permit to make use of other quotations from Prof. Miller's historical works. The above given evidences are explicit enough at that. The following passage from his big volume, *Travels and Politics in the Near East*, may be found timely and appropriate. In speaking of Macedonia he says:

“Of all the Christian races of the Balkans, the Bulgarians at present hold the strongest position in this debatable land. Historically there is little doubt, despite the endeavours of Greek and Servian writers to minimize their claims, that various times in the days of the old Bulgarian Tsars Macedonia was almost entirely under their sway.” ²⁾

Sidney Whitman, 1899

Roumania and Dobroudja

The Reminiscences of the King of Roumania, Edited from the Original by Sidney Whitman, is one of the most valuable historical works on Roumania and, indirectly, on the various Balkan questions. Its contents embody the late King Carol's own information, and are “a truthful record of what had been achieved in Roumania in his own time.” A more authentic book on Roumania's recent history than this one there does not exist. It is the noble,

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 213.

²⁾ *Travels and Politics in the Near East*, London, 1908, p. 273.

genial, and well-informed King that speaks in every page. In reality King Carol is its author, it being only penned by the hand of a trusted friend and writer.

According to the testimony of the former Roumanian King, entire Roumania was filled with consternation at being informed by the Russian representative that the Russian Government had decided to retain Roumanian Bessarabia in exchange for which she was to receive Dobroudja.

To the remonstrances of the Roumanian minister, Ghika, General Gortchakoff retorted:

“Whatever arguments you employ, they cannot modify a decision, which is unalterable. You are opposed by a political necessity.”¹⁾

As we have pointed out in Chapter II, the relations between the Roumanian and the Bulgarian people until then were the most affectionate possible. Neither the good King Carol, nor his Government, people, or press desired the political deal which was to be imposed upon them, and the Roumanians did all they could to oppose the transaction. In the first place, because Bessarabia was part of their own flesh, and secondly, because *Dobroudja was not*, while “the friendship of a nation is more precious than a piece of territory,”²⁾ as is seen from this passage:

“The Congress was at length opened by Prince Bismarck at Berlin on June 13, 1878, after Count Shouvaloff had succeeded in making terms with England, whereby Russia was

¹⁾ *Reminiscences of the King of Roumania*, New York and London, 1899, p. 304.

²⁾ See. p. 60 of this book.

allowed to annex Bessarabia and Batoum *in return for the division of Bulgaria.*"¹⁾)

That is how this news was received in Roumania:

"As soon as the Articles referring to Roumania became known, the greatest consternation arose, and even the most peaceful of the people declared they would rather not acquire independence at such a price . . .

"The territory on the right bank of the Danube is not given to us in exchange for Bessarabia; we take it simply as a war indemnity, and because Europe gives it to us."²⁾)

Dobroudja for Roumania is an *alien territory*. It was given to her, forced upon her, and the Roumanians took it as *war indemnity*, as an outcome of the *division of Bulgaria* decreed by the Congress of Berlin, and because "it was impossible to resist Europe."

From that fatal decision on, the Roumanian and the Bulgarian peoples from best of friends turned the direst of enemies.

Here is the reason why. Once on the other side of the Danube, Roumania felt exposed to the ire and attack of the wronged neighbour from whom Dobroudja was wrested. Therefore, Roumania from the very beginning desired to be protected against such an eventuality. Thus the Roumanian delegates at the Congress of Berlin were instructed, since Bessarabia was lost to Roumania:

"To endeavour to obtain the greatest possible territorial compensation on the right bank of the Danube, possibly even as far as the line Roustchuk-Varna."³⁾)

What more eloquent proof that Dobroudja is an integral part of Bulgaria!

¹⁾ *Reminiscences of the King of Roumania*, pp. 317, 318.

²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 320, 321.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 318; also see pp. 58—63 of this book.

English Pro-Macedonian Manifestations, 1903

Public Protests in Behalf of Macedonia

In July 17, 1903, there broke out the so-called *Illinden Insurrection*, the greatest uprising ever known in Macedonia. It was a purely popular movement led by the powerful Central or Interior Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation and the Exterior Macedonian Committee. After these representative bodies of the Macedonian population had in vain implored the aid and intervention of the European Powers against Turkish anarchy and misrule, and after they had repeatedly warned them of the terrible condition of things in Macedonia which had driven its inhabitants to exasperation, and was compelling them to resort to arms in self-defence, they on that date proclaimed a general Macedonian uprising in a supreme effort for autonomous rights and final deliverance from the tyranny of the Turks. The gigantic revolutionary undertaking which made the Ottoman Empire quake was rendered futile because the bloody hand of the *Red Sultan* was secretly encouraged by plotting Germany, Austria, and even Russia, who feared the rising up of a strong and stubborn Bulgaria, for all the world knew that an autonomous Macedonia meant another East Roumelia. The *Illinden Insurrection* in reality was a *Bulgarian* movement, as were all other popular enterprises in Macedonia, since the bulk of the Macedonian population is Bulgarian, and in spirit even more nationalistic than that of Bulgaria proper itself. It should be noticed that *there never was a Serbian or Greek insurrection in Macedonia*. The foreign

press and public opinion always treated the Macedonian uprisings as Bulgarian.

The greatest sympathy for the Macedonian Bulgars in their heroic struggle for human rights and freedom was evoked in England and the United States. Hundreds of mass-meetings took place throughout those countries, highly protesting against the anachronism of Turkish rule in Europe and earnestly calling upon their respective governments and upon Europe to take the necessary steps for putting an end to a shameful rule tolerated at the very door of Christian nations.

In August 17, 1903, at St. James Hall, London, there took place one of the most notable gatherings in behalf of Macedonia. It was presided by the Bishop of Worcester. Mr. James Bryce, now Lord Bryce, introduced the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

“Resolved :

1) That the long-continued and incurable misgovernment in Macedonia, and the failure of all attempts to introduce reforms under Turkish control, have made it necessary that the direct rule of the Sultan should cease in those provinces, and be replaced by an administration directed by persons not amenable to or dismissible by the Turkish Government.

2) That *the action taken by Great Britain in 1878, and her obligations under the Treaty of Berlin*, require her to take such steps as may be in her power to arrest the massacres and devastations now proceeding in Macedonia, and make it her duty in the first instance, to urge upon the other Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin, the advantages of such policy as that suggested in the foregoing resolution.

3) That having regard to the imminent danger of famine among the homeless refugees of Macedonia, relief is urgently called for, and that the Balkan Committee be requested to organise a fund to meet the prevailing distress.”

Besides the numerous mass-meetings held all over England, various distinguished personages raised their voice of protest in the *Times* and other papers.

The Bishop of Hereford in a letter published in the *Times* wrote:

“How long will our Government remain silent and do nothing but look on in apparent acquiescence? . . . The people of England have, indeed, been far too patient in this matter. The younger generation of Englishmen have not realised how great is English responsibility in regard to it. *But for the action of our representatives Macedonia would have been free from the miseries of the Turkish misrule during the last quarter of a century. What a responsibility was incurred when with a light heart and a cynical temper this province was handed back to the tender mercies of the Turks.*”

Preaching at Christ Church on Sunday, Sept. 13, 1903, the eminent English divine, Rev. F. B. Meyer, delivered a scathing sermon, branding as criminal Europe's and England's passivity towards the terrible ordeal the Christians were undergoing, all through the fault due to the selfish interests of the Great Powers.

“What has happened to Great Britain,” he asked, “that her voice was dumb and her hand not upraised in defence of the helpless? *We have much to regret in our action when the Treaty of San Stefano was signed, that we had thrown Macedonia and other districts back to the mercilessness of the Turk.*”

At the *Trade Union Congress* held in September the same year, the Standing Orders were specially suspended in order to pass the following resolution:

“This *Congress* views with horror the fact that the Turkish Government has again allowed the massacre of a *large number of Bulgarians, and calls upon His Majesty's Ministers to at once take such steps as will prevent the continuation of such outrages.*”

The *Pilot*, Sept. 12, 1903, wrote:

"The news from Macedonia, even allowing for exaggerations, transcends in horror any passage of history since the great Asiatic invasions of Europe . . . The most shocking feature of the whole situation is that the massacres are absolutely preventable . . . The truth is, we are afraid, not merely that the Central European Powers shrink from a great war, which is an excusable fear, but that they, as well as the smaller Balkan States, are glad to get the Bulgarian Macedonians out of the way."

The *Speaker*, Sept. 12, 1913, wrote:

"The real risk at present lies in procrastination. *Bulgaria certainly does not desire war, but she cannot remain for ever idle while her brethren are exterminated*; and Turkey, secure in the immunity she has hitherto enjoyed, is not improbably preparing to push her repressive operations across the Bulgarian frontier. These risks would vanish on the first announcement that Europe had decided to send a fleet to Salonica, and to place the administration of Macedonia under a European Governor."

The *Daily Chronicle*, Sept. 16, 1903, wrote:

"In plain English, if the Powers do not immediately intervene, *Bulgaria will declare war. From every point of view she will be perfectly justified.* It may mean the destruction of the Bulgarian State and the ruin of the people. *Even then she has counted the cost, and will fall in the noblest of all possible causes.* For the moment she appears to have inspired some sense of shame even in Russian and Austrian diplomats. They have now turned their 'very serious representations' to the Porte, and even to Yildiz. They have protested to the Sultan against the 'horrible excess' in *Monastir and Adrianople.* Such protests are useless. The only language the Sultan understands is the appearance of battleships. To that kind of protest he has never yet failed to listen. And we too, have a fleet — *we who by the Treaty of Berlin are more responsible than either Russia or Austria for the present*

abominations. It is late, but if our fleet moved there might yet be time. Or is our Prime Minister still weighing 'the balance of criminality'?"

The London Balkan Committee, 1903

British Responsibility

It was the Bulgaro-Macedonian great insurrection of July 17, 1903, that gave rise to that organisation composed of leading British citizens, such as Mr. James Bryce, its distinguished president, Lord Fitzmaurice, Lord Stanmore, Bishop of Worcester, Hon. Herbert Gladstone, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. Noel Buxton, and others.

In one of their appeals to England entitled *Our Duty to Macedonia*, the Balkan Committee gave utterance to the following truths:

"The massacres and outrages which are now devastating Macedonia could *never have taken place but for the action of Great Britain twenty-five years ago.*

"If the *Treaty of San Stefano*, to which Turkey and Russia agreed in 1877, had been allowed to stand, the bulk of Macedonia would have been created into an autonomous State, enjoying the same freedom which was given to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. It was *Great Britain who stood up for the integrity of Turkey*; and through her conduct at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 *Macedonia was handed back to the Turk.*

"The six Great Powers, led by this country, undertook the responsibility of re-instating Ottoman rule in Europe. By Clause LXII. of the Berlin Treaty, it was clearly set forth that Christians were not to suffer from disabilities on religious grounds. It is notorious that this clause has been repeatedly broken; and that the present mode of suppressing the insurrection is nothing less than a crusade against the Christians of the Bulgarian Church.

"The duty of calling Turkey to account for her breach of the Treaty, and for her brutal contempt of civilised methods, belongs jointly to the six Powers. But it belongs especially to Great Britain, who championed the cause of Turkey twenty-

five years ago. *The oppressed Christians of Macedonia, who are being rapidly exterminated, have every right to demand of Great Britain that she should take the first place in demanding their freedom, as formerly she took the first place in restoring them to misrule.*

“The despair is our work. *We jofade Russia to liberate Macedonia in 1878.* We have refused to execute the promises of reforms which Lord Beaconsfield made at Berlin. *The insurgents are fighting only for their legal treaty rights.* Where does the balance of criminality lie?”

In its booklet bearing the title of *The Macedonian Crisis*, published in London, 1903, the same venerable body of English citizens addressed their countrymen with these appealing words:

“The responsibility which England has explicitly assumed for the government of Turkey is set forth in the writings and speeches of the leading statesmen of the last half-century. ‘There has been,’ said the late Duke of Argyll, ‘a certain, more or less persistent policy pursued by Great Britain on the Eastern Question ever since the second quarter of the present century. . . . It has been the policy of protecting Turkey, with a view to the repulse of Russia from an exclusive and dangerous domination over the East of Europe.’

“In 1878, at the close of the war, induced by the Bulgarian massacres of 1876, the Treaty of San Stefano, concluded between Russia and the Sultan, *took away from the Turks by far the larger part of the new Principality of Bulgaria.* Great Britain objected to that Treaty as unduly weakening Turkish power.

“The British Ministry procured the meeting of the Congress of Berlin, and at that Congress it was their action which obtained the substitution for the Treaty of San Stefano of the Treaty of Berlin, which handed back to the Turks by far *the larger part of Macedonia (including the districts now in insurrection).* By thus substituting the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano at the instance of Great Britain, the Concert of Europe assumed directly the responsibility which Russia had formerly taken upon herself.

“Indeed, we did our utmost during the seventies to curb Russia’s genuine desire to enforce upon the Porte the necessity of keeping his Sublime promises. Into the whole history of that troublous period we need not enter. It is sufficient to say, however, that the Treaty of San Stefano, which Lord Beaconsfield vetoed, created a greater Bulgaria than the State now bearing that name, and that the subsequent Treaty of Berlin *handed back to Turkey the very province which, speaking roughly, is now struggling so violently to retrieve its deliberate enslavement by Great Britain.* Whatever ‘Peace with Honour’ meant to Englishmen in 1878, it has brought untold misery, oppression, and outrage to the populations thereby sacrificed.”

Sir Arthur J. Evans, 1903

Who the Macedonians are

This learned English archeologist and ethnographer was one of the persons chosen by the London Balkan Committee as member of the British Relief Party charged with the task of visiting Macedonia and distributing aid to the victims of Turkish soldiery called out from the East to crush the insurrection.

In the columns of the *Times*, Sept. 30, 1903, he published this article touching the Macedonian Question:

“Sir,—As one who has had exceptional opportunities for studying the Macedonian problem from the inside, I may perhaps be permitted to point out some of the most essential conditions of the present situation. *I have traversed Macedonia at different times in almost every direction—from the Ægean side, from Albania, from the Kossovo vilayet, from Servia, and from the Bulgarian Principality.* I have spent months there engaged in archæological researches in the most out-of-the-way districts, and though my main objects were scientific and not political, I had perhaps all the better opportunity for forming an unbiassed judgment on the condition

of the country. Nor, perhaps, do these impressions lose in value from the fact that they were formed before the beginning of the actual insurrectionary movement.

No Macedonians, but *Bulgars*:

“Let me begin by correcting an almost universal fallacy. *There are no “Macedonians.” There are Bulgars.* There are Roumans—the relics of the Latin-speaking provincials of Rome’s Illyrian provinces, who still hold their own in the Pindus range and in the neighbouring towns. There are Greeks, including more or less superficially Hellenized Roumans. There are “Turks,” including Mahomedan Bulgarians, and some true Turkish villages in the Vardar valley representing a settlement earlier than the Ottoman conquest. There is an infusion of Skipetars or Albanians on the western and northern fringe. Finally, there is the large Spanish Jew population in Salonika. But there are no “Macedonians.”

The Greek claim to Macedonia a dream:

“*It is an unpleasant duty to have to tell one’s friends home truths, but the Greek claim to Macedonia, at least as regards the greater part of the interior of the country, is a dream.* In some of the towns there is a fair Greek population, but even in that case, as in Monastir, for example, the statistics rest on an artificial basis. The truth is that a large number of those described as Greeks are really Roumans. Till within recent years Hellenism found a fertile field for propaganda among the representatives of the gifted Romance-speaking race of the Pindus region. To-day Janina has quite forgotten its Rouman origin, and has become a centre of Hellenism. Athens, the nearest civilized centre, offered natural attractions to the quick-witted mercantile element in the towns. But, for good or evil, the tide has turned. A counter propaganda, of which Bukarest is the centre, has made itself felt, and the Rouman civic element east of Pindus is probably lost to Hellenism notwithstanding the fact that much money is expended by Greek committees in the endeavour to gain recruits for Greek nationality. Parents are actually paid to send their children to the Greek schools.”

What the "Bulgarophone Greeks" are:

"One of the most comic results of this competitive ethnography was a map published some years ago under Athenian auspices and circulated in this country. According to this Macedonia was for practical purposes divided into two elements—the Greeks and the 'Bulgarophone Greeks'—as if some Celtic enthusiast should divide Britain between the Welsh and the 'Anglophone Welsh!' Macedonia, indeed, is full of artificial distinctions, the true lines of ethnic demarcation being continually crossed by classifications founded on religious adherence (for the time being) to the Greek Patriarch or to the Bulgarian Exarch. A Bulgar village may for political purposes be bribed or coerced into accepting allegiance to orthodox Greek ecclesiastical superiors. Its inhabitants are then complacently described by those who effected their spiritual transfer (which 'spiritually' means nothing) as the Hope of Hellas. But these artificial annexations do not go very far. *The language of the villagers remains Bulgar*, and the deep underlying instincts of race are only held in temporary suspense. The friends of Greece can only regret that she should be misled by such artificial pretensions; that she should grasp the shadow and lose the substance which might have been found in an understanding, on a reasonable basis of give and take, with her Slavonic neighbours. The late M. Tricoupi, to my personal knowledge, saw things much more clearly. He was well aware that, *except a narrow fringe to the south and some sporadic centres of no great magnitude in the interior of the province, the Greek element had no real hold on Macedonia*. His chief anxiety, for which he had solid grounds, came, indeed, from that direction, but not from the Bulgarian quarter. That cool political observer would certainly have refrained from qualifying, as did the present Greek Premier, an exceptionally industrious and peaceful population who for fifteen centuries have been tillers of the Macedonian soil, and only now owing to indescribable oppression have been goaded into revolt, as 'Bulgarian wolves', apparently recent intruders into a Greek fold! The brigands of Pindus and Olympus have been rarely recruited from the Bulgar element. I myself was once dogged for nearly ten days by a brigand band along the Pindus border, but they were not Bulgars."

The great mass of the Macedonian population
Bulgars :

“The fact is that even in this country—largely owing to interested efforts to disguise the true situation — *the great preponderance of the Bulgar element in Macedonia is only imperfectly realised.* I can only say, as my personal experience after exploring almost the whole interior of the province, that outside the fringe already referred to, and some small urban centres, *practically the whole mass of the population is Slavonic, speaking characteristically Bulgarian dialects. The Bulgarian shibboleths, such as the placing of the article after the word, extend even to the Uskub region, sometimes claimed by the Serbs, whose real speech only begins north of the Shar range.* Where, as in certain small towns such as Kastoria, the Greek element was in a majority, *it was far outweighed by the populous Bulgar villages around. This great preponderance of the Bulgar element is a fundamental factor in the present situation,* which has been much obscured by statistics drawn from Greek sources. It is liable to be very imperfectly realised by foreigners and even by Consuls whose experience of Macedonia has been mainly confined to towns like Salonika or Monastir.”

The British Parliament, May 5, 1914

Sessions Devoted to the Macedonian Question

The *Illinden Insurrection* in Macedonia, in 1903, frightened Europe into action, and the *Mürzsteg Reform-Programme* was the result. The very fact that Russia and Austria were selected its mandatories was a sufficient guarantee for the failure of bringing any amelioration in the lot of the Macedonian population. Things in Macedonia remained unchanged. The activities of the Revolutionary Organisations on that account were resumed. The situation assumed an ugly aspect and presaged no good for the peace in the Balkans or in Europe. It was feared that Bul-

garia would not be in a position to restrain the indignation of its people at the incessant persecution and avowed determination of the Turkish government to exterminate the Bulgarians in Macedonia and the province of Adrianople.

Europe, Bulgaria, and Macedonia were the three factors involved in the solution of the Macedonian problem. The Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation had demanded autonomy for Macedonia, the Bulgarian government had given it its greatest support, and England, as will be seen from the discussions in Parliament, manifested its unreserved sympathy for such a measure. It, however, was chiefly a Bulgarian question posed for solution before the Western Powers. The other Balkan states stood aloof, and were inimically disposed to the introduction of local self-government in that ill-fated Province.

It was felt throughout Europe that Russia and Austria had failed abominably in their reformatory action, that the Balkan political volcano was at the point of another irruption and the peace of Europe again at stake.

At that juncture the Macedonian Question imposed itself upon the attention of the British Parliament itself. It occupied the two Houses of Parliament. The sitting of the House of Lords on May 5, 1904, was devoted wholly to the discussion of the Austro-Russian Reform action and the deplorable state of affairs in Macedonia. *The Times*¹⁾ gave a detailed account of the speeches delivered by various members of that House on the subject of *Macedonia*, parts of which were produce below :

¹⁾ *The Times*, May 6, 1904.

“*Earl of Spencer* rose to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the independence from interference by the Turkish Government of the European officers appointed to reorganize and direct the *gendarmarie in Macedonia* has been duly secured, and what powers have been placed in their hands, and what progress has been made by the civil agents appointed by the Austrian and Russian Governments to supervise the improvements in the civil administration of the Macedonian provinces which have been promised. He said, — *This matter, which is one of great importance, has already occupied the attention of both Houses of Parliament during the present Session; but I think the time has come when it is desirable to get an authoritative declaration from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the existing state of affairs in Macedonia. We have had two discussions upon this matter in your lordships' House, and on both those occasions the noble marquis made exceedingly important statements.* What had happened at that time was that two of the Great European Powers, with no doubt, the consent, and I suppose the approval, of the other Great Powers, were proceeding to carry out, and tried to carry out, *certain important reforms in Macedonia.* Those reforms were intended to improve the ordinary administration of law and justice and to effect a reorganization of the constabulary. At that time there was considerable hope that the reforms would be effected, and if they had been effected we might have looked forward to peace being maintained in Macedonia and to an end being put to the *disastrous troubles there.* The scheme of reform of the administration was accompanied by a proposal that two European civil assistants should be appointed to see that these reforms were properly carried out. *I think this proposal was made at the instance of the noble marquis; and I am sorry to think that he made it an alternative to a much greater and, as it seems to me, a much better proposal—namely, that the government of Macedonia should be under the control of one Christian Governor.* From that we hear of the work of these two civil assistants, I am afraid that *very little has been done.* So far as we know the two civil assistants have remained where they landed and have been *altogether useless.* With regard to the question of the *gendarmarie*, which is exceedingly important, it was proposed that a European officer

should become the head of the *gendarmerie*; that he should have the complete control, as we understood it, of the police in Macedonia, and that he should have sufficient power to carry out his duties. It was a long time before anything was done, but after a time a distinguished Italian general—General de Giorgis—was appointed, and he proceeded to Constantinople. There he remained for many weeks endeavouring to get the arrangements for his administration carried out. After a time he succeeded to a certain extent, and went to Macedonia to commence his duties. We learn that the *proposals* that were intended to be carried out *have really been almost unavailing, or at any rate so minimized that it will be impossible for the Inspector-General to carry out his work effectively.*

“... I should like to know, further, whether the Inspector-General has effective power. We are told in another place that he has the power to order and control the European officers under him, but we do not hear whether the European officers under him have the power to order and control the Turkish officers and the men under them. It seems to be a prevalent idea that they, and even the Inspector-General, will be mere reporting officers and will really have *no effective control over the police and the administration of justice.* I should like to know whether we are correctly informed, or whether the noble marquis can say that this scheme will be effective in its operation. We are told, and we know, that this scheme which Austria and Russia were to carry out is the *minimum* that would be acceptable. On previous occasions the noble marquis has made some very important statements on this matter. On the first occasion he said:— ‘*We have made it perfectly plain to all concerned that, if this scheme should fail to produce the desired result, we reserve to ourselves the full liberty to take into consideration and to propose alternative measures.*’ Speaking on the motion of my noble friend Lord Newton, on February 15, he said:— ‘I do earnestly hope that the experiment now being tried, to which we are to some extent committed, will be given a fair trial, and if, having received such a trial, it fails to produce the result we anticipate, then I think noble lords will be amply justified in asking the Government *to carry out the pledges*

they have given and calling upon them to put forward more drastic measures of reform.' What will the noble marquis now say? I fear from what we hear that *these schemes have failed*. If they have failed, we may call upon him to fulfil his pledges and to take some further steps in order to secure peace and quiet in these districts. It is of immense importance that this should be done now. We have passed the trying winter, when it is almost impossible to carry on warfare, and now is the time when *there is great fear that there may be a recurrence of those terrible encounters which resulted in so much bloodshed during last year—encounters in which many lives were lost, great cruelty was perpetrated on the unfortunate inhabitants of the country, villages were destroyed, and all the horrors of civil war were present*. I fear there is now great alarm lest these encounters should recur. The only hope is that the population may rely on these reforms being carried out effectively, that *they may rely on what the Powers may do*. I think it was said in another place that it was evident in the country that there was an inclination on the part of the population to rely upon the assurances and the sincerity of the European Powers instead of exposing themselves once more needlessly to the perils and sufferings of a perfectly useless struggle. That is an important statement; and I cannot help thinking, from what I hear, that there is a great deal of force and truth in it—that *the population do rely upon the Great Powers, and rely a great deal more upon the influence and interest of this country than, possibly, upon those of any other country*. This throws a heavy responsibility on all the Great Powers, and among them, no doubt, on Great Britain and the noble marquis who so ably presides over the Foreign Office. I most earnestly and sincerely hope, in the face of the difficulties which exist in these districts, the terrible suffering that is going on, and the obstinate determination of the Sultan to refuse these reforms or any change of government unless he is absolutely pressed, that the noble marquis will consult with the Great Powers and see whether they cannot support and give greater effect to the mandate which has been issued and received by Russia and Austria, and really bring pressure to bear on the Sultan in order that these reforms in Macedonia may take place. (Cheers.)

"Lord Newton said that without usurping the function of the Foreign Secretary, he should like to answer one of the questions which the noble lord had placed on the paper, (Laughter.) He could say without the slightest hesitation that no progress whatever had been made by the civil agents, and he did not see any prospect of progress being made by them in the future. These two gentlemen, who represented the collective wisdom of Europe, had been established for something like four months at Salonika. They had never left that town, and they were the objects of the mingled pity and contempt of all the Europeans in the neighbourhood. With reference to the general situation, he gathered from the noble earl that he thought everything could be put right if sufficient pressure was put upon the Turkish Government. He would remind the House that this work had been taken out of the hands of Turkish Government and *had been delegated by Europe to the Austrian and Russian Governments. Their action had been as nearly as possible a complete failure.*

"It was generally taken for granted in official circles that everything was going to end in a favourable manner; but every independent person took an extremely gloomy view of the future, not only because of the incapacity and unwillingness of the Turkish Government, *but because of the profound distrust universally felt as to the attitude and intentions of the Austrian and Russian Governments—a view not surprising, for no instance could be mentioned in which either Government had shown the slightest disposition to improve the condition of Turkey in Europe or in Asia.* The object of Russia was to weaken the Turkish Government as much as possible and to keep the country in an unsound condition for very obvious reasons. As a matter of fact the situation in Macedonia was very little better than it was a year ago and little removed from a state of war. He deprecated isolated action by this country, and suggested an international conference representing the various interests concerned, in which the interests of both Mussulman and Christian populations should be considered. *Such a conference or congress would have the immediate effect of restraining the revolutionary bands and would have the best possible effect in the future.* (Hear, hear.)

"The *Marquis of Lansdowne*. — I do not know whether the noble earl will be content with the answer my noble friend so kindly volunteered on my behalf, but it is perhaps necessary that I should supplement it by a few words. With some of the observations he addressed to your lordships I certainly do not disagree. Let me say at once that he will not find me in the ranks of the incurably optimistic officials of whom he has spoken. I am, on the contrary, one of those who regard with great apprehension the condition of things in the Balkan Peninsula, and think, with my noble friend, that we have too much reason to be disappointed with the progress which has up to the present time been achieved in the carrying out of the scheme of reforms; and I feel, as he does, that if the rate of progress is not accelerated we shall be confronted with a situation giving rise to the gravest anxiety. In one or two of my noble friend's observations I certainly do not concur. I do not, for example, agree with him when he tells your lordships that the intervention of Austria and Russia has had the effect of relieving the Porte from all responsibility in this matter. I do not think that is the case. We all know that, however promising may be the measures of reform put forward for the acceptance of the Turkish Government, and however readily those reforms may be accepted, there is always left a great deal of room for the exercise of those arts of delay and obstruction in which I am afraid it must be said the Turkish officials are usually found to excel. Again, I do *not agree with my noble friend in his belief that the agreement which has been concluded between Turkey and Bulgaria* is not worth the paper on which it is written. In my belief that agreement is likely, at any rate, to lead to some useful result; and it will have this result amongst others, that it will greatly strengthen the hands of the Bulgarian Government in checking the insurrectionary movements which have used Bulgarian territory as a base of operations, and which the Bulgarian authorities have had great difficulty in restraining.

"*Lord Tweedmouth* said that on the last occasion when the noble marquis spoke on this subject he suggested that the *Government might be assisted in the future by action being taken by members of both Houses to encourage them and*

strengthen their hands. What was the situation to-day? Their lordships had heard the statement of a member of their House, who certainly had not the character of being an anti-Turk. They had heard what he had seen during his recent visit to the Balkan provinces, and they had heard him describe the imminent danger of massacre. Exactly the same thing was hinted at by *The Times* Correspondent in that day's paper. The snow had gone, and now was the time when an outbreak was likely to occur. In face of that, could they accept the statement they had just heard from the noble marquis as satisfactory, or say that it seemed to indicate any great hope of successfully battling with the situation in these countries? He fully acknowledged the difficulties of the situation and the difficulties which the Government had to face. Still it seemed to him that the speech of the noble marquis was almost a confession of impotence. All the Great Powers were agreed that the present situation should be put an end to. The duty of carrying out the views of the Powers had been entrusted to Russia and Austria. He thought *it was an unfortunate thing that these two Powers should be the very Powers which had the greatest interests in these territories. It was also an unfortunate thing that one of those Powers should at this moment have its hands very full elsewhere.* Was there no hope that the other Great Powers might be able to bring some influence to bear upon them to force them to take some action?"

H. N. Brailsford, 1906

"The Bulgarians Strong in all Three Vilayets."

The author of the *Broom and the War-God* and other literary productions is one of the greatest authorities on Balkan matters. Up to 1903 he was a favourite with the Greeks because of the stand he took in behalf of the Cretans then struggling to throw off the tyranny of the Turks. During 1903, as a member of the British Relief Fund, he spent a considerable time in southern Macedonia, chiefly in the Bitolia Vilayet, where he was engaged

in the philanthropic work of distributing relief to the unfortunate victims of Turkish savagery in consequence of the great July revolution. He was thus offered a very rare opportunity to become familiar with the ethnography of the country and with the conditions of things prevailing there. Because of his knowledge of the Balkan Question he was one of the original members of the London Balkan Committee, and in 1913, when America took the initiative in investigating the conduct of the Balkan states during the first and second Balkan conflicts, he was selected as the British member of the Carnegie International Inquiry Commission.

His book *Macedonia, Its Races and Their Future* is a masterly written volume in which it becomes evident from the first page that the author is thoroughly versed in the subject, and that he is speaking from the very scenes he is describing and through the very persons and nations he is discussing.

We shall limit ourselves to a number of passages from his *Macedonia* which will help to illustrate his views on various phases of the life and conditions of the country dealt with, chiefly with reference to Bulgaria's claims to Macedonia.

When, therefore, one comes across such a categorical statement as this, he will understand that it was not made at random:

“*The Bulgarians are strong in all three vilayets (Salonica, Monastir, and Skopie).*”¹⁾

Mr. Brailsford had witnessed the enthusiasm with which the greatest Bulgarian national holiday, that of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, is celebrated in

¹⁾ *Macedonia, Its Races and Their Future*, London, 1906, p. 7.

Macedonia. According to him what excited fear and dread in the Ottoman realm was

“Perhaps the festival of Saints Cyril and Methodius when the *Bulgarians remember that they are a nation.*”¹⁾

Like most other writers he has discovered what Macedonia and the backbone of its population actually are:

“One is compelled to write of “Turks” in dealing with Macedonia, but really the term has no ethnological meaning, as little as that other term “Greeks”. The first step is to realise that roughly in Macedonia proper—the *Macedonia which revolts, which claims to be a unity and asks for autonomy—there are neither Greeks nor Turks This Macedonia is an agricultural country The townsmen are parasites.*”²⁾

These truths are further elucidated by passages like these:

“*Slav (and particularly the Bulgarian dialect) is the one language with which no native of the northern and central districts can dispense.*”³⁾

The *real Macedonia* is the *rural Macedonia*, a land of village communities, where we may ride for weeks without encountering so much as a hamlet, whose native language is *other than Bulgarian* or Albanian.”⁴⁾

The Bulgarian ethnical claims are indirectly defined by such excerpts as these:

“As for the Greeks they are nowhere a village people north of Castoria, save in the peninsula of Chalcidice, the island of Thasos, and along the coastline of the Aegean.”⁵⁾

“*Macedonia was never Greek*, but such Hellenic civilisation as it possessed was ruined long before the coming of the

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 37.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 80.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 86.

⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 87.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 88.

Turks, and long before the rise of the Servian and Bulgarian Empires. It was ruined by an unconscious conspiracy between the Byzantine Empire and the barbarians." 1)

In agreement with the assertions made by other English scholars on the subject, Mr. Brailsford reiterates the fact that it was under the sway of the Bulgarians that the southern Slavs became an organised entity, viz.,

"The purely Slavonic races whether they were called Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, or Antai, had undoubtedly peopled Macedonia by the end of the seventh century. But they pretended to no national cohesion, and were not politically a menace to Byzantium. They were rather settlers, not conquerors. It required the infusion of non-Slavonic blood to fire them with political ambitions and to organise them into a *rival to the Eastern Empire*. This impulse came from the Bulgarians (Volga-men), a non Aryan people." 2)

Some such assertion as this will throw light on the Bulgarian spirit and self-consciousness which exist in Macedonia:

"History and ethnology and comparative philology may take what side in the controversy they please. *The Macedonians are Bulgarians to-day*, because a free and progressive Bulgaria has known how to attract them. Servia did not exercise an influence so compelling, and the Servian cause in Macedonia proper is in consequence a negligible and artificial movement. It exists only so far as it pays its way, and in so far as the Turks encourage it as a counterpoise to the manacing Bulgarian agitation. The very fact the Turks smile upon it is a proof that it is innocuous and doomed to futility. As things are to-day, the Servian consuls are about as likely to win the Macedonians, as the American missionaries are to convert them to Protestantism." 3)

1) Ibid. p. 94.

2) Ibid. p. 95.

3) Ibid. p. 103.

The "real mother" of the Macedonians may be guessed from these lines :

"There is this difference between the rival propagandas, that while *the Bulgarians are working for the autonomy of Macedonia*, the Servians and the Greeks aim only at its annexation to their own country. The result is that their activities seem to be for the profit of their own land, while the Bulgarians are undoubtedly creating a spirit of local Macedonian patriotism. The Servian movement is a purely official agitation, guided and financed in Belgrade; whereas despite the sympathy of Sofia, *the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee is a genuine Macedonian organisation.*"¹⁾

What are the Greek claims to Macedonia?

"*The legend that Macedonia is a Greek province, like Crete and Cyprus, a true limb of Hellas Irredempta, is firmly planted in the European, and especially in the English mind. Lord Salisbury advanced this curious argument in the crudest form against the Treaty of San Stefano... The Greeks are not a Macedonian race, though they have a powerful Church and a considerable party in Macedonia. If one takes the linguistic text, there are practically no villages in European Turkey whose mother tongue is Greek, save along the coasts of the Aegean and the Black Sea, in the peninsulas of Chalcidice, and the Thracian Chersonnese, and in the extreme south of Macedonia near the Thessalian frontier.*"²⁾

No better argument for the principle of self-determination in favour of the Bulgarian may be advanced than what Mr. Brailsford says of the revolutionary movement in Macedonia :

"*The insurgent movement is in reality a genuine movement, prepared by Macedonians, led by Macedonians, and assisted by the passionate sympathy of the vast majority of the Slav*

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 376.

²⁾ Ibid. pp. 105, 106.

*population. There is hardly a village that has not joined the organisation. In the larger towns, like Monastir, there are few Bulgarians who are not active and willing members."*¹⁾

A better and more veracious description of the moral ties that unite the people of Macedonia and Bulgaria can hardly be found:

"The Treaty of San Stefano, which closed the Russo-Turkish war, brought a momentary and elusive hope of liberty to Macedonia. If we could but dismiss the habits of thought of twenty years, see the map of the Balkans without the artificial lines which diplomacy has traced upon it, and think away the political suggestions conveyed by such purely geographical terms as 'Bulgaria' and 'Macedonia', *there is no reason in history or in the nature of things why these two regions should have been subjected to such different fates.* In both the population is predominantly Slavonic, and in both there is a minority of Turks and Greeks. Both took up arms to co-operate with the liberating Russian invader. *Both had revolted from the Greek form of Orthodoxy and freely joined the Bulgarian Exarchist Church.* When the Berlin Congress, influenced by the dread which England entertained of creating a great Bulgaria that might have been a powerful ally of Russia, ordained that Bulgaria should return to Turkish rule, a reckless despair seized the abandoned population which had just seen its liberties won by blood and ratified by treaty. Their first instinct was one of protest. *Two districts of the Struma valley rose in arms,* seized passes, and for some days defied the Turkish troops. *At Ochrida* a more ambitious conspiracy was revealed to the authorities, but Europe had given its decision. . . . It was a period of much suffering, in which progress was slow and painful. The Greeks were active and hostile, persecuting any teacher who dared to propagate the Bulgarian language, and opposing the extension of the 'Shismatic' Bulgarian Church with the familiar weapons of bribery and denunciation."²⁾

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 113.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 114.

The above is a merited slap at those superficial or interested individuals who brand the Macedonian population as devoid of nationality, self-consciousness, and will to self-determination, liberty, and reunion. How was it possible for a people lacking national feeling to be capable of starting a native political movement on so large a scale and with so thorough an organisation, discipline, and equipment?

That the Macedonian revolutionary movement was a native product, and that it was chiefly a Bulgarian enterprise may be judged from the following quotation:

“It was in 1893 that a group of influential *Macedonian Bulgarians* met together in a certain house in Resna (southern Macedonia), and founded the *Internal Organisation*.¹⁾ Year by year the Committee became more and more a genuinely *national* organisation The Organisation included the cautious peasant with his habit of compromise and guile, the wealthy merchant of the towns, and the educated professional man, as well as the younger and hotter heads It had its correspondents in every centre, its couriers, its treasurers, its experts for explosives, its medical service, its hired agents among the Turks, its archives, and official records.”²⁾

“While the Committee was a secret society within the borders of Macedonia, in free Bulgaria it established itself openly as a political organisation. There is in Bulgaria an immense population of Macedonian origin. It numbers perhaps as many as two hundred thousand persons, and it forms half of the population of Sofia The Committee naturally made the most of the opportunities which it possessed in Bulgaria. *It found Macedonians in every service and profession, officers priests, journalists, diplomatists, teachers, and even university professors.* It formed branches of its organisation among them. *It made the Macedonian question the chief political issue in Bulgaria.* It has its newspapers, its deputies in the

1) Ibid. p. 115.

2) Ibid. p. 117.

chambers, and there have even been ministers of Macedonian origin. It holds mass meetings openly and presses its claims at every election." ¹⁾

It is remarkable with what minuteness Mr. Brailsford has portrayed the origin, character, and extensive influence of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement. It is more than convincing that it was a real local conception and local undertaking. Their brethren in Bulgaria, naturally enough, accorded it its unstinted support and encouragement. But its greatest aid and stimulus abroad they received from the large number of Macedonian exiles and refugees. The greatest number of such people were found in Bulgaria.

Why did there exist in Bulgaria such a strong sympathy for the Macedonians has been well accounted for by Mr. Brailsford:

"The Macedonians are their kinsmen and their neighbours, and if they should wish to shut their eyes and repress their sympathies, they are constantly met by the sight of the broken refugees of Turkish oppression, who crowd over the frontier in time of crisis and tell their tale of suffering in common tongue. The ties of blood are no weaker in Bulgaria than elsewhere." ²⁾

In spite of the strong race, language, and moral ties that bind the two countries, Mr. Brailsford is anxious to emphasise the significant fact that:

"Important as the activities of the Macedonian Committee have been and may again be in Bulgaria, they have never gone so far as to compromise the genuine Macedonian character of the movement. It had its origin not in Sofia, but in the little town of Resna. It is led not by Bulgarians, but by Mace-

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 117, 118.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 119.

*donians*¹⁾ . . . The fact that their bands are often equipped in Bulgaria, and some times led by Macedonians long resident in Bulgaria, in no way robs the Committee of its *local character*. *The Greek and Servian movements in Macedonia are, on the other hand, the creation of the Greek and Servian Governments, and they are directed with very little disguise, from the Greek and Servian consulates. The unique feature of the Bulgarian (Macedonian) Committee is that it is a democratic organisation, whose policy and programme are directed by Macedonian public opinion.*"²⁾

Why the revolutionary movement of Macedonia is initiated, maintained, and carried on by the Bulgarians is further explained by the circumstance that

"The other Macedonian stocks *are not peoples of the soil*. The Albanians are recent invaders. The Vlachs are nomad herdsmen, wandering carriers and cosmopolitan merchants, whose families are scattered all over the Levant. The Greeks are townsmen, reared on abstractions, who care nothing for the soil of Macedonia and very much indeed for Hellenism."³⁾

As for the Serbians, Mr. Brailsford does not even mention them as a distinct race in Macedonia. The peoples spoken of in his book as constituting Macedonia are the *Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Albanians, and the Vlachs*.

According to Mr. Brailsford, too, the real Macedonian is the Bulgarian. Any history of Macedonia is in fact a history of the Bulgarian race. The Bulgarian Macedonian is the man that revolts, that raises revolutions, that works and pleads the Macedonian cause, fights and dies for Macedonia. This truth has been most adequately illustrated by that profound observer. To the race that has been playing the

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 120.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 121.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 122.

hero in all the struggles which had for their aim the realisation of an autonomous and free Macedonia, the eminent English authority devotes these characteristic lines :

“The Bulgarians of Macedonia are to be judged not by the standard of morality and civilisation they have attained, but by their courage and their determination in striving for better things. The history of their ten years’ struggle is their title to our sympathy. If they lack some of the dignified and gracious virtues which their Albanian neighbours possess, let us remember that the honour of the Albanian stands rooted in unfaithfulness. He renounced his religion, and received as his reward the right to bear himself erect, to carry weapons and to hector it, an overman amid a race of serfs. *The Bulgarian held to his faith which the centuries had bequeathed to him, bowed himself to his daily task and his habitual sufferings, learned to lie before men that he might be true to God, and acquired the vices of a slave that he might keep the virtues of a martyr.*”¹⁾

G. P. Gooch, M. A., 1911

The Treaty of Berlin

The author of *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, and *Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, etc., in his more recent work, *History of Our Time*, has presented the reader a general view of important historical events. Cold facts dispassionately treated are the feature of his book.

This historian in speaking of the Treaty of Berlin simply confirms what so many other historical scholars have said on the subject :

“The Treaty of Berlin,” he asserts, “while diminishing the possessions of the Sultan in the Balkan peninsula, *left abundant material for future disturbances*; and the history of the years that have followed is the record of the attempt of his

¹⁾ Ibid. pp. 170, 171

Christian subjects to complete their emancipation. *The first step was taken in 1885.* Though the Treaty of San Stefano had given Bulgaria the major part of Macedonia, the Berlin Congress confined her to the north of the Balkans, and replaced Eastern Roumelia under the Sultan. *But the desire for reunion was too strong for treaties.* The Governor-General (of Roumelia) was seized and Prince Alexander of Battenberg marched south to Philippopolis. The Sultan loudly protested, and the Tsar recalled his officers; but when Lord Salisbury approved the union, the danger of war passed away. The bloodless triumph of Bulgaria whetted the appetite of Servia. Milan declared war on Bulgaria . . . Alexander led his troops to victory at Slivnitsa. When the road to Belgrade lay open, Austria stopped his advance by an ultimatum." ¹⁾

In regard to the second Balkan war, 1913, the author says the following:

"Scarcely was peace signed with Turkey than the Allies began to quarrel. *Servia declined to abide by the treaty of Macedonian partition concluded before the war,* and King Ferdinand in an evil moment, attacked his late comrades. While locked in struggle with Servia, and Greece, Bulgaria was invaded from the north by Roumania, and the Turks recaptured Adrianople." ²⁾

That is the verdict of the historian which exactly corresponds with facts.

Prof. J. B. Bury, 1912

Bulgarian and Macedonian Slavs Spoke the same Language

J. M. Bury, Regius professor of Modern History at Cambridge University, perhaps the greatest Byzantine scholar living, in his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* has shown the many ties that existed

¹⁾ *History of Our Time*, London, 1911, pp. 121, 122.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 131.

between Bulgaria and Macedonia in their earlier history. Among other things this passage is of particular interest:

“The Christianisation of Bulgaria was an idea which must have been present to Emperors and Patriarchs for years before it was carried out, and Constantine must have entertained the conviction that the reception of his religion by the Bulgarian Slavs would be facilitated by procuring for them Scripture and Liturgy in their own tongue and in an alphabet which was not Greek. That he had some reason for this belief is shown by the resistance which Glagolitic offered in Bulgaria to the Greek (Cyrillic) alphabet. *In the tenth century the Slavs of Bulgaria spoke the same tongue as the Slavs of Macedonia, and it was for them, in the first instance, that the new literature was intended.*”¹⁾

Prof. Bury has also assured us that it was Macedonia, not Bulgaria, which was the cradle and centre of Bulgarian religious and cultural awakening. The Bulgarian religious books were written in the Macedonian vernacular which was the same as the one in vogue in Bulgaria proper, as is evident from the preceding as well as the following passages:

“He (Constantine) translated the Scripture *into the dialect of Macedonian Slavonic* which was entirely different from the Slovak tongue spoken in Moravia. It is true that the Macedonian was the only dialect which he knew.”²⁾

Further evidence of the close affinities existing between the Slavs in Bulgaria and those in Macedonia may be seen from this quotation taken from Prof. Bury's narration of Tsar Kroum's expedition to Salonica, as early as 836 (A. D.):

¹⁾ *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, p. 399.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 398.

“We have no evidence as to the object of the expedition to Thessalonica, but it has been conjectured that *the Macedonian Slavs, infected by rebellious movements of the Slavs in Greece*, were in a disturbed state, and that *the Bulgarian Monarch seized the opportunity to annex to his own kingdom by peaceful means these subjects of the Empire*. In support of this guess it may be pointed out that not many years later his power seems to have extended as far west as Ochrida, and *there is no record of a conquest of these regions by arms.*”¹⁾

The Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition

Bulgarian Lands and Ethnical Limits

As we pointed out on p. 44 of this volume, the Imperial *firman* of 1870 which sanctioned the independence of the Bulgarian Church specified fifteen dioceses. Those dioceses are ethnically Bulgarian, for as Mr. H. Charles Woods asserts, “the Turks never recognised the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Church in districts where the great majority of the population did not demand it.” The Encyclopædia Britannica in its latest edition in touching upon this point confirms the generally established fact, that the *firman* given out by the Sultan in 1870 had created a Bulgarian National Church or Exarchate,

“with jurisdiction over fifteen dioceses, including *Nish, Pirot* and *Veles*, the other dioceses in dispute to be added to these in case two thirds of the Christian population so desired.”²⁾

We saw that in 1872 this last clause was applied to the Skopie and Ochrida districts which gave more than two thirds majority in favour of the Exarchy.

¹⁾ *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 371.

²⁾ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 781.

The following passage attests the validity of the evidences brought out by so many individual authorities introduced heretofore :

“The victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the treaty of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878), which realised almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian race. All the provinces of European Turkey in which the Bulgarian element predominated were now included in an autonomous principality, which extended from the Black Sea to the Albanian Mountains, and from the Danube to the Ægean, enclosing Ochrida, the ancient capital of the Shishmans, Dibra and Kastoria, as well as the districts of Vrania and Pirot, and possessing a Mediterranean port at Kavala. The Dobrudja, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Roumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia; Adrianople, Salonica and the Chalcidian peninsula were left to Turkey. The area thus delimited constituted three-fifths of the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants. The great powers, however, anticipating that this extensive territory would become a Russian dependency, intervened; and on the 13th of July of the same year was signed the treaty of Berlin, which in effect divided the ‘Big Bulgaria’ of the treaty of San Stefano into three portions. The limits of the principality of Bulgaria as then defined, and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, have been already described.”¹⁾

At the Congress of Berlin, therefore,

“The remaining portions (of San Stefano Bulgaria), including almost the whole of Macedonia, and part of the Vilayet of Adrianople, was left under Turkish administration. Vrania, Pirot and Nish were given to Serbia, and the transference of Dobrudja to Roumania was sanctioned. This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence.”²⁾

¹⁾ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IV, p. 772.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 782.

H. M. Wallis, 1914

The Serbo-Greek Policy of Extermination
in Macedonia

This English writer was one of the eye-witnesses of the terrible events which took place in the Balkans after the first war in 1912. Prof. Will S. Monroe in his book *Bulgaria and Her People* in speaking of him says, "Mr. Wallis spent six months in the Balkans, distributing relief on behalf of the *Society of Friends of England* to the victims of the first Balkan war. He had recently made a study of the region devastated by the Greeks during the Second Balkan war. He expresses the conviction that Macedonia is one of the most beautiful and fruitful parts of Europe. It is the seat of one of the most ancient civilisations but little known to-day. For five centuries it was vilely governed by the Turks. Since 1887 it has been the cockpit of the rival sectaries, patriarchists Greek and Bulgarian exarchists. It was traversed by the Turkish army in the first Balkan war, but it suffered surprisingly little. It was ruled by the Bulgarians for six months (to June, 1913). The conquerors paid for what they took; discipline was rigid; no looting was allowed. There was some local friction, due to fanatical Greek ecclesiastics. The skirmishes at Pangaion and Nigritta were the consequences of Greek troops intruding upon districts under Bulgarian administration." ¹⁾

In describing the terrible devastations, extermination, and suffering in the regions covered by him, that venerable gentleman in a long article published in the *Quarterly Review*, ²⁾ throws plenty of

¹⁾ *Bulgaria and Her People*, Boston, p. 374.

²⁾ The *Quarterly Review*, April, 1914, vol. 220, pp. 506—523.

light on many questions in regard to which the world is still in the dark.

In connection with the disappearance of the *Macedonian Bulgars in Eastern Macedonia*, Mr. Wallis declares :

“So far as human agency can effect it, they have been obliterated. By shot, shell, and bayonet, by torture and fire, by proscription, imprisonment, and forcible exile, the whole non-Greek element has been destroyed or chased out. Nor have destruction and proscription stopped at Bulgarians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, and a mixed multitude of Turks, Kutzo-Vlakhs, and Jews have been impartially maltreated, robbed, and expelled at the point of the bayonet.

“Whither? *into Bulgaria.*”

Who were the chief authors of such a destructive policy ? This is the answer given by Mr. Wallis :

“The Greek method was to send ahead of their army seeming-friendly emissaries, often wearing Bulgarian dress, who warn the country people to remain in their villages. Next day the cavalry arrive; a cordon is drawn around the doomed hamlet or town; the men are summoned to surrender their arms, then rounded up and shot; search for money and valuables follows; then the pillagers give themselves up to an orgy of rape. Last comes an indiscriminate killing of women, children and elders. This was common form, not in one valley, or in the path of this or that regiment, but over the entire area of the war from a little north of Salonika to Petritch on the Bulgarian march. It was extended to outside districts outside of the line of fighting. It was meted out to non-Bulgarian races. The Kutzo-Vlakhs are docile, wooden-faced, slow-spoken breed, hereditary herdsmen, and of no particular politics. But they are not Greeks!

“Such were the methods; what was the object? The extermination of the non-Hellenic elements in the population of New Greece.”

The same policy of extermination employed by the Greek Government in southern Macedonia was resorted to by the Serbians in *Northern Macedonia*:

“Slav Macedonian,” says Mr. Wallis, “— a euphemism designed to conceal the existence of *Bulgarians in Macedonia*. And their acquisitions under the treaty of Bucharest went beyond their most extravagant pretensions. They took advantage of the Bulgarians’ need to conclude peace at any price to deprive them of territories to the east of the Vardar, for example, Chtipe and Radovish, where *Bulgarian patriotism glowed most vividly* and where the sacrifices accepted by the Bulgarian patriots for the sake of freeing Macedonia, had always been exceptionally great. This was adding insult to injury.”

“Mr. Skérlits, a Serbian deputy and member of the opposition, closed his speech in the skuptchina on Oct. 18, 1913, with these memorable words: ‘We do not regard territorial results as everything. Enlarged Serbia does not spell for us a country in which the number of policemen, tax-collectors, and controllers has been doubled. New Serbia, greater Serbia, must be a land of greater liberty, greater justice, greater general well-being.’”

Mr. Wallis considered it fit to reprint the notorious Serbian decree on public security introduced in Macedonia, saying “this document is so characteristic and so important that, despite its length, we quote it *in extenso*.” The decree ends with the words, “Executed at Belgrade, Sept. 21, 1913, — Peter.”

The author then lets the Serbian sober minds themselves characterise the *exceptional régime* thus created for the unfortunate Macedonians ‘liberated’.

“In the words of the socialist Serbian paper *Radnitcké Noviné*,” continues Mr. Wallis, “If the liberation of these territories is a fact, why then is this exceptional régime established there? If the (Macedonian) *inhabitants are Serbians, why are*

they not made the equals of all the Serbians? Why is the constitutional rule not put in operation according to which "all Serbians are equal before the law"? If the object of the wars was unification, why is not this unification effectively recognised, and why are these exceptional ordinances created, such as can only be imposed upon conquered countries by conquerors? Moreover, our constitution does not admit of rules of this nature."

"As a matter of fact," goes on the British writer, "if one did not know what Macedonia is, one might guess it from the publication of these ordinances. *Clearly Macedonia was not 'old Serbia' unified, since the population is treated as 'rebels in a perpetual state of revolt.'*"

The above statements coming from a person of highest probity, of unimpeachable character, and who has seen with his own eyes the horrible effects of a draconian governmental policy aiming at the complete annihilation of the compact and dangerous Bulgarian element in Macedonia — are as veracious as they are convincing.

The exceptional régime inaugurated in Macedonia in 1912 could last only until the autumn of 1915. It was the real and only cause for the third Serbo-Bulgarian war following within a period of less than three years.

The London Daily Chronicle, 1915

Macedonia Bulgarian in Point of Race, Language, Religion, and Feeling

It must be admitted that the English press in general, even during the war, in discussing the Balkan questions, was not carried away by sentimentalism. Fairplay and love for facts have been conspicuous characteristics of British writers and public opinion even when dealing with the enemy.

Whatever English authors might say against the foreign policy of the various Bulgarian cabinets, they have invariably admitted the rights and claims of the Bulgarian race to national reunion.

The iniquity created by the Bucharest Treaty, 1913, was most strongly emphasised in Great Britain. The following quotation from the editorial of the *Daily Chronicle*, June 12, 1915, is a typical one. It cried its timely warning as to the evil consequences that Treaty was sure to produce, which unfortunately, came out too true:

“Through the Bucharest Treaty large tracts of Macedonia which are Bulgarian in respect to race, dialect, religion, and national sympathies, were annexed to Serbia and Greece. Serbia received the major part of them; and because of the brutal methods by which she administered them up to the breaking out of the war, she created a great desperation among its population. *The causes of that hopelessness may be eliminated only by means of a certain exchange of territories, and until that is effected, Serbia and Greece, on one side, and Bulgaria, on the other, in the course of whole generatious will never be good neighbours. A feeling of revenge would continue to exist and paralyse every action of the Balkan states, as it has been paralysing it since the month of August.*”

The London Daily News, 1915

Bulgaria's Claims Legitimate

No less explicit and unbiassed is this statement of the *Daily News* published almost at the same time:

“It is plain to all that the difficult situation in the Balkans is due to the fact that thus far the co-operation of Bulgaria has not been secured. As long as Bulgaria stands aloof, all will keep aloof. Her stand and her claims are known to every-

body. Slav in its very bones, she has risked and done much for the freedom of Slavdom. She is ready to risk and do as much more for the same sacred cause, but one must first treat the question with her. Her claims should be fairly treated and it is not beyond the powers of diplomacy to bring about an understanding which would *guarantee the moderate and legitimate Bulgarian aspirations.*"¹⁾

The Common Cause, 1915

Macedonia Should be Returned to Bulgaria

The *Common Cause* of April, 1915 published an article from the pen of Mr. H. N. Brailsford in which that well-known English authority on the Balkan Question described what he saw in Macedonia under Serbian rule, and thus points out to the real cause of the coming Serbo-Bulgarian conflict:

"It is an ungrateful task," writes he, *"to describe the lot of Macedonia under the domination of the Serbians.* The details are narrated in the Report of the Carnegie International Commission of which I was a member. To-day we prefer to recall only with what bravery the Serbians have been fighting against far more superior forces, and how much they are suffering of typhus to-day at the moment of victory. We, nevertheless, are bound to speak out the facts as they are. *They have abolished the Bulgarian Church; they have driven away the Bulgarian bishops and teachers; they have appropriated the churches and schools of the Bulgarians, and have forced the notables of the villages, under the threat of exile, to declare themselves loyal Serbian subjects, Serbs by race and choice. They are governing by a sort of military law the parallel of which is difficult to find in the annals of contemporary militarism.* If Serbia as a result of this war is to obtain from Austria extensive Serbian territories and an Adriatic littoral, *she should return to Bulgaria the uncontested part of Macedonia, with the cities of Bitolia and Ochrida. I say to*

¹⁾ *The London Daily News*, March 13, 1915.

'return', because in 1912 in its 'scrap of paper' — the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty — Serbia recognised those territories as Bulgarian and renounced all rights over them. . . . Macedonia has played the principal rôle in the birth of the present world war. It will continue to menace the peace for another generation, if a definitive régime in the Balkans do not give satisfaction to its nationalistic wishes.'"¹⁾

The Westminster Gazette, 1915

The Bulgarians Striving for Unification

In July, 1915, almost a year since the world conflict had begun, that paper published a lengthy article about Bulgaria which among other common-sense thoughts contained the following lines which show how well-informed their author was on the actual situation in the Balkans:

"It becomes more evident day by day, that since the Bucharest Treaty was not revised *to satisfy the ethnical requirements in the Balkans*, there is little hope for lasting peace or co-operation in the Near East. As a manly nation which has confidence in its future, *the Bulgarian people is striving for its unification*, and without any doubt would not be satisfied until it realises it. Its ideal boundary line established by the Treaty of San Stefano was so rectified as to cover a great and unified Bulgaria. Whatever divergences of opinion may exist on this point, it is a fact, that the *Macedonians of the Exarchist eparchies* (since it is a question of religion, race, and language) *to-day demand* as they did forty years ago, *their union with their brethren of the Kingdom.*"²⁾

Frank Fox, 1915

Bulgaria in the First Balkan War

This British writer is the author of a series of popular books, like *England, Switzerland, Italy*, etc. His work entitled *Bulgaria* is another very valuable

¹⁾ *The Common Cause*, July 9, 1915.

²⁾ *The Westminster Gazette*, July 5, 1915.

contribution to *Balkanica* literature. It is a direct result of his visit to the Balkans during the first Balkan war against the Turks in the capacity of correspondent of the *London Morning Post*.

Mr. Fox's book is written in a very unaffected style, and its contents are an impartial portrayal of the events, states, and individuals treated. He tells us in his introduction that unlike most of his contemporaries he is no respecter of nations or persons, neither *pro*, nor *anti*, his object being to delineate both the good and bad sides of the Bulgarian people. Needless to say, the author has remained throughout the book true to his resolve to present a faithful description of what he saw and experienced in the Balkans during those memorable stages of Balkan history.

It is interesting to read what his mental attitude was before setting out on his journalistic mission in the Balkans, and his subsequent impressions:

"The view of the man of the street was my view... The feelings of a man with some interest in flocks of sheep on hearing that war had broken out between the wolves and the jackals would represent fairly well the attitude of mind in which I packed my kit."¹⁾

The following passage, too, gives us a glimpse of his attitude towards the Bulgarians in particular:

"It is well to put on record that mental foundation on which I built up my impressions of the Balkans generally, and of the Bulgarians particularly, for at the present time (1914) I think it may safely be said that the Bulgarian people are somewhat under a cloud, and are not standing too

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, London, 1915, pp. 4, 5.

high in the opinion of the civilised world. Yet, to give an honest record of my observations of them, I shall have to praise them very highly in some respects. Whilst it would be going too far to say that the praise is reluctant, it is true that it has been in a way forced from me, for I went to Bulgaria with the prejudice against them that I have indicated. And — to make this explanation complete — I may add that I came from the Balkans not a pro-Bulgarian . . . but with a feeling of general liking for all the peasant peoples whom a cruel fate has cast into the Balkans to fight out their national and racial issues, some of which are older than the Christian era." 1)

This is his opinion of the Bulgar race:

"They are kept so miserable and yet naturally are really so amiable, those little peoples. The Bulgarians in particular I learned to regard with something of affection. Their good temper and their industry, and their patience recall Tolstoy's pen-pictures of the Russian peasants." 2)

"The Bulgarian peasants are indeed very close to the Russians of the south . . . *Simple, laborious, religious, frugal*, they deserve better than to be food for powder." 3)

The following incident is a typical one of the real character of the Bulgarian, and constitutes a strong evidence against the assertion that the Bulgarians are cruel and barbarous:

"We eat our simple meal of goat's flesh stewed with rice. Then, smoking cigarettes made of the tobacco of the district, Colonel Tchobanoff and I talk over the position as well as my bad French will allow. He is sincere and cheerful. His chief care is to impress upon me the fact that in making war the Bulgarians had not been influenced by dynastic considerations nor by military ambition. It was a war dictated not

1) *Bulgaria*, pp. 5, 6.

2) *Ibid.* p. 205.

3) *Ibid.* p. 206.

by a court circle or a military clique, but by the irresistible wish of the people.

"Whilst we were talking the sound of a rifle shot came up from the village. A junior officer was sent out to make inquiries. Soon he returned with two soldiers leading between them a Turkish prisoner.

"I learn the facts. The Turk has tried to rush past a sentry standing guard over the ammunition park. The sentry had fired, had not hit the man, but had grappled with him afterwards and taken him prisoner.

"I nerved myself to see the Turk shot out of hand. The rules of war warranted it. He had tried to rush a sentry on guard over an important military station. But the Bulgarian officers decided to hear his story, and a kind of informal court-martial was constituted. The proceedings, which were in Turkish, were translated to me, as I was acting in a way as friend of the accused to 'see fair play'.

"The Turk story was clear enough. He had lived in Arjenli all his life and was not a soldier. When the Turkish army had evacuated the district he had not left with them, but had stayed in his old village. That night he had gone out of his hut to the village well. Returning, a sentry had challenged him, and he had become frightened and tried to run away.

"It was clear that the man was telling the truth. The Bulgarians believed him, and let him go with a warning. This showed justice and courage, and a good 'nerve' to. In some armies, I suspect, the Turk would have been shot, or hanged first and left to explain afterwards, if he could. And this was among the Bulgarians, who some insist are a blood-thirsty, cut-throat race with no sense of justice or of mercy!"¹⁾

The simplicity of the Bulgarian Commissariat, and the extremely frugal ration of the Bulgarian soldier would explain in favour of the Bulgarians many complaints and accusations of alleged maltreatment of war prisoners :

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, pp. 117, 118, 119.

"The extraordinary simplicity of the commissariat helped the Bulgarian generals a great deal. The men had bread and cheese, sometimes even bread alone; and that was accounted a satisfactory ration. When meat and other things could be obtained, they were obtained: but there were long periods when the Bulgarian soldier had *nothing but bread and water*, (The water, unfortunately, he took where ever he could get it, by the side of his route, at any stream he could find. There was no attempt to ensure pure water supply for the army.) I do not think that without the simplicity of the commissariat it would have been possible for the Bulgarian forces to have got as far as they did. There was an entire absence of tinned foods. If you travelled in the trail of the Bulgarian army, you found it impossible to imagine that any army had passed that way; because there was none of the litter which is usually left by an army. It was not that they cleared away their rubbish with them; it simply did not exist. Their bread and cheese seemed to be a good fighting diet." ¹⁾

Mr. Fox has this to say on the conduct of the Bulgarian army:

"Now, with regard to the conduct of the troops. Much has been said about outrages in this war. I believe that in Macedonia, where irregular troops were at work, outrages were frequent on both sides; but in my observation of the main army there was a singular lack of any excess. The war, as I saw it, was carried out by the Bulgarians under the most humane possible conditions. At Chundra Bridge I was walking across country, and I had separated myself from my cart. I arrived at the bridge at eight o'clock at night, and found a vedette on guard. They took me for a Turk. I had on English civilian green puttees, and green was the colour of the Turks. It was a cold night, and I wished to take refuge at the camp fire, waiting for my cart to come. Though they thought I was a Turk, they allowed me to stay at their camp fire for two hours. Then an officer who could speak French appeared, and I was safe; the men attempted in no way to molest me during two hours. They made signs as of cutting throats, and so on, but they were doing it humour-

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, pp. 94, 95.

ously and they showed no intention to cut mine. Yet I was there irregularly, and I could not explain to them how I came to be there." ¹⁾

The nefarious work of the Berlin Treaty is thus described by Mr. Fox :

"At first an attempt was made by the Powers to exert peaceful pressure upon Turkey, so that her Christian provinces should be granted local autonomy. The project of the Powers for Bulgaria proposed that the *districts inhabited by Bulgarians* should be divided into two provinces: the Eastern Province, with Tirnovo as capital, was to include the Sandjaks of Roustchouk, Tirnovo, Toultscha, Varna, Sliven, Philippopolis not including Sultan-Eri and Achir-Tchelebi), the kazas of Kirk-Kilisse, Mustapha Pasha, and Kasilagatch; and the Western Province, with Sofia as capital, the Sandjaks of Sofia, Vidin, *Nish, Uskub, Monastir*, the three kazas of the north of Seres, and the kazas of Stroumitza, Tikvesh, Veles and *Kastorta*." ²⁾

"The position after the Treaty of Berlin in the Balkans was this: four virtually independent small nations held old Turkish provinces, and each desired eagerly, and claimed on historical grounds, extensions of their territory at the expense of one another. Each was tempted to try the means to its end of intrigue with one of the great Powers. These Powers, still keeping in view their own ambitions, looked upon and treated the Balkan States as instruments to be used or to be discarded without reference to the happiness of the Balkans and with sole reference to the 'European situation'. Put a group of hungry and badly trained boys in a cakeshop; set over them as a Board of Appeal unjust, selfish, and intriguing masters; and you may not expect peace. That has been for nearly a century the position in the Balkans." ³⁾

Like most other close students of the Balkan Question, Mr. Fox has hit at the root of the real cause of the Balkan conflicts when he says the intrigues of selfish Europe ruined the Balkan Alliance;

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, pp. 93, 94.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 67.

³⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 194, 195.

the following quotation characterises well the real aims Europe had in the Balkans:

“If Europe had had an unselfish interest in the Balkans it would have welcomed the Balkan League and made every effort to consolidate its unity. True, the Balkan League had as its first task the robbing of Turkey of her European provinces. But Turkey was herself in the position of a robber; and it had come to be a matter of practical agreement among the European Powers that the Christian provinces of Turkey would soon have to pass from under the rule of the Sublime Porte. The only question left was ‘how’? The Balkan League offered to answer that question in a way satisfactory to all unselfish interests. But the selfish interests of Europe were not served by the League. Austria, dreaming of one day marching down to the Aegean, saw that that hope would be shattered if a strong Balkan Federation held the Balkan Peninsula.”¹⁾

In unison with so many other profound students of the conditions in the Balkan Peninsula, Mr. Fox has drawn the conclusion that the Balkan states, if let alone by European interested quarters, would easily find a way to an amicable understanding and a friendly settlement of their respective difficulties:

“Agreed that these peoples of the Near East are very cantankerous and very prone by nature to ply at one another’s throats, still I maintain that if western Europe ceased from interference, there would be a better chance of peace in the Balkans, and if she interfered benevolently and unselfishly, she could make the certainty of peace.”²⁾

Europe, an unselfish Europe, if she had wished, she could have saved the Balkan alliance:

“It would be perhaps too much to say that if the European Powers had been benevolently neutral to the Balkan

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, p. 195.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 202.

League it would have survived and set firm foundations of a Balkan Federation. But it is reasonable to believe that an actively benevolent Europe, acting with firmness and impartiality and without seeking to serve any selfish aims, would have succeeded in keeping the League together and saving the series of fratricidal wars which began in 1913 and will be continued as soon as the present exhaustion has been relieved. Instead of an actively benevolent there was an actively malevolent Europe.”¹⁾

H. Charles Woods, 1917

Bulgarian Hegemony Imaginary Danger ; the Proper Solution of the Macedonian Question

The author of the *Cradle of the War*, one of the few authorities on the Balkan Question, wrote in the *Near East* of May 5, 1917,²⁾ an article in which he called attention to the causes of the conflict in the Balkans, and the territorial rights of the Bulgarians. It will be remembered that Bulgaria at that period had to be treated as *enemy*.

“At the beginning of 1913,” says Mr. Woods, “and before the end of the Balkan war, Serbia and Greece had concluded at Salonika a secret convention stipulating that the Greeks would not raise any objection against the appropriation by the Serbians of Monastir (Bitolia), a city ceded to Bulgaria by the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912, on the condition that the Belgrade Government recognised the possession of Salonika by Greece. That agreement was followed by a more explicit pact between Serbia and Greece, *which was the cause of the second Balkan war*, ending with the Peace of Bucharest. That treaty which, unfortunately, was lauded in all the countries now allies of England, was explained by a desire for the maintenance of equilibrium in the Balkans and

¹⁾ *Bulgaria*, p. 197.

²⁾ *L’Echo de Bulgarie*, 2 Juin, 1917.

for the warding off of an imaginary danger of *Bulgarian hegemony*, a *non-existing danger*, since the Serbs and Roumanians with their kinsmen of the Danubian Monarchy would always be *numerically superior to the Bulgarians of Bulgaria and Macedonia together*.

The Bucharest Treaty simply postponed the solution of the Eastern Question:

“However, instead of attaining the end it had in view, the Treaty of Bucharest and the events which followed it simply postponed the solution of the many questions of the Near East which had suddenly shaken the foundations of the Concert of Europe. It was evident that the losses suffered by Bulgaria filled her with a determination to avail herself of the first occasion for the restitution of the territories ardently desired in Macedonia, and probably in Thrace, whether by means of *pourparlers* or by dint of arms.”

Fairplay toward Bulgaria is Mr. Wood’s warning:

“The Allies have declared themselves in favour of the principle of nationalities. If this declaration is maintained, and we should think it will be honourably maintained, that signifies that when the hour comes, the peoples of Europe, *the Bulgarians included*, would obtain all that they merit and would be united with the countries to which they belong.”

According to this writer, the Macedonian Question would be best solved thus:

“In the case of all Macedonia and above all in what concerns Serbia and Bulgaria, there are three ways of settling the question of nationalities: *the language*, *the plebiscite*, and *the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty*. If one should choose the first of these methods, he is bound to have recourse to measures determining the spheres in Macedonia where are employed the forms of speech characteristically Bulgarian or Serb. The information furnished us on the subject by *Balkanicus* in his Serbian work, *Bulgaria’s Aspirations*, is of considerable

importance, because he admits the use of the article in the Macedonian idiom. And though the author makes efforts to minimise that fact, his testimony is decisive, as *the Bulgarian language is the only Slav idiom which employs the article at the end of words.*

“Theoretically the *plebiscite* would be a satisfactory means of reaching a solution. *It is certain that the Serbians would be the losers by a great unanimity.* Should they wish to try it, they would easily discover it in the concessions which the late Sultan and his predecessors had made to the Bulgarian Exarchate; for *the Turks never recognised the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Church in districts where the great majority of the population did not demand it.*

“The third and last manner of deciding the Macedonian Question is the simplest and the easiest for adoption. The Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912 gave to Bulgaria much less than was adjudged her by the Treaty of San Stefano. The Serbians would certainly secure more advantageous conditions by means of that Treaty than by any other solution of the question on the basis of language or plebiscite.”

Mr. Woods certainly has expressed the conflict between Serbia and Bulgaria in a most real and concrete form. The facts could not be stated any better or more unbiassedly.

Arnold Toynbee¹⁾

The Majority of the Macedonian Population Bulgarian

Here we have a writer noted for his extreme Yougo-Slav leaning. Politics with him has the precedence over other considerations. Yet he, too, could not help making the following significant statement touching the Balkan problem :

“The settlement of Bukarest practically *excluded Bulgaria from Macedonia, although the majority of the Macedonian population is Bulgar in nationality.*

¹⁾ *Nationality and the War*, London, pp. 237—342.

"By extending her sovereignty down the Vardar from Uskub to Yevyeli, Serbia committed a crime against the principle of nationality which can only be atoned by the retrocession of the whole territory in question to Bulgaria.

"This line would leave to the South-Slavonic Federation both Uskub itself and the railways that connect Uskub with Mitrovitza, Nish, and the Egri Palanka Pass: to Bulgaria it would assign Ochrida, the Basin of Monastir, the middle course of the Vardar, and all the country between the Vardar and the Struma."

Mr. Toynbee is one of the few foreign writers who has gone so far as to affirm that Uskub is "as Serbian as Nish." Evidently he is ignorant of the testimony of the best authorities on the subject, like Ami Boué, Ed. Spencer, Washburn, and others, who have never considered either Skopie or Nish other than purely Bulgarian centres.

This is his view :

"The Vardar rises on South-Slavonic soil, and Uskub, at the junction of its head-waters, is as truly a Serb city as Nish or Belgrade. Below Uskub, however, the whole basin of the river is occupied by a Bulgar population which extends as far westward as the Albanian frontier. The nationality of this population is not in doubt; it is as Bulgar in sympathy as in dialect, and it regards the Serbian regime as a foreign domination."

Noel Buxton, M. P., 1917

Impartial Justice to All Balkan States; Bulgaria not
Guilty of Perfidy

The author of the books, *With the Bulgarian Staff*, 1913, *The War and the Balkans*, 1915, which he wrote conjointly with his brother Roden Buxton, has been

noted as the most energetic member of the London Balkan Committee. His efforts have always been directed towards bringing about a mutual understanding among all of the Balkan states. He went so far in his desire to see the Balkans regenerated, that in 1908 he did all he could to encourage the premature constitutional régime of the Young Turks, believing that a renovated Turkey would become a worthy member of a Balkan Alliance. The Young Turks, unfortunately, soon showed that they were in reality but the old Turks in a new garb and with a cropped beard. His great interest in the Balkan peoples had induced him to visit the Balkans nearly every year, so he has been thoroughly versed in the actual conditions of things in that part of Europe. During the memorable year 1915, he was unofficially delegated to the Balkans by Sir Edward Grey's Cabinet with the object of winning Bulgaria on the side of the Entente. He, therefore, is well posted on the real political hitches and obstacles which stood in the way of such a mission. He is *persona grata* among all the Balkan peoples, and particularly with the Bulgarian Macedonians, for the freedom of which he has been an earnest and indefatigable worker. When negotiating with the Bulgarians he discovered that the Macedonians were a most important factor in bringing the transactions to a successful issue. He found out that the condition *sine qua non* for winning the Bulgarians' co-operation in the war was an immediate evacuation of Macedonia by the Serbians, thus putting an end to the Serbian exterminating crusade against the Bulgarian element there. As we have pointed out elsewhere, a mere

occupation of Macedonia by English troops would have solved the difficulty and gained the hearty and not negligible aid of the Bulgarian people.

It was in the light of these facts that Mr. Buxton wrote his article in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century*, 1917,¹⁾ that is, nearly two years since Bulgaria had been compelled to strike at Serbia, and thus inevitably join the side of Germany:

“It would be a new and grave mistake, on the part of the Entente,” writes Mr. Buxton, “if it should for particular reasons wish to solve the Balkan question by favouring or punishing this or that Balkan people. The Balkan question must be considered as a whole and not in the spirit which the events of the war might create at a given moment. It should be solved with a view not only of the future of Europe but of the entire world. America is in a position to better understand this than the belligerents of Europe. The American point of view on the subject of the Near East because of its missions should serve as the directing principle to the Allies.”

In the following lines Mr. Buxton poses as a true diplomat, guided by a wide survey of actualities:

“Some believe that the policy called pro-Bulgarian is anti-Serb; in reality, a policy in favour of the Bulgarians is the only way of favouring the Serbians The British Minister for Foreign Affairs, though warned more than once, that if we do not satisfy Bulgaria, she would throw herself in the arms of Germany, which would result in the annihilation of Serbia, hesitated, being under the influence of two currents, and abstained from making a decision.”

Besides the fault of vacillation, Mr. Buxton attributes to the Entente diplomacy the inability to comprehend the great strategic importance of the Balkans:

¹⁾ *L'Echo de Bulgarie*, Août 1, 1917.

"At first little attention was paid to the Balkans, because it was believed that the enemy should be beaten where it felt strongest, and the Entente should not scatter its forces. That is why in the beginning the Allies contented themselves with furnishing war material to Serbia. Later on, Sir Edward Grey hoped to prevent the other Balkan states from mixing into the conflict. Those familiar with the Near East knew that that policy was condemned to failure."

Mr. Buxton further lays stress upon the method which should be adopted for solving the Balkan problem according to the principle that no particular state should be favoured to the detriment of its neighbours:

"The Powers of the Entente held in their hands all the avenues of success, for every one of the Balkan states hoped to realise its unity with their support and at the expense of Austria and Turkey . . . Their sole faith was in the decision of England, Russia and France to impose upon the Balkan states a policy of compensations. Serbia and Roumania were to extend on the north, Greece in Asia Minor, and *Bulgaria was to obtain all the territories to which she had rights.*"

It seems Sir Lloyd George was of the same opinion, for that reason the author appealed to him for the espousal of such a course of action:

"But," continues, Mr. Buxton, "*the Entente diplomacy did not care to take a decisive step. As an inevitable consequence of that attitude, it let slip the only favourable opportunity of shortening the war. Since that chance was lost through the fault of our diplomacy, it was very natural to assert that Bulgaria was from the very first allied with our enemies. That all along it was believed possible to gain the co-operation of Bulgaria is now made entirely clear from the documents contained in the Report of the Dardanelles Inquiry Commission. The assertion that Bulgaria was acting perfidiously is maintained by those who have lost their touch with Balkan matters and have forgotten the interests of Great Britain.*"

The Quarterly Review, 1917

"The Final Settlement in the Balkans"

Under the above title that well-known British review published an anonymous article, written by a man whose name may be guessed at by all who are familiar with his style and his detailed knowledge of the Balkan questions. Its every page breathes erudition and reveals a masterly grasp of Balkan conditions, of the relations affecting the various Balkan states, and the ethnical, lingual, geographical, strategical, and economic difficulties to be encountered in the path to a final and lasting solution of the long-mooted Balkan enigma. A more comprehensive, sincere, and impartial treatment of this subject is difficult to find. The author introduces his article by these impressive paragraphs :

"We shall not pause or falter until we have secured for the smaller states of Europe their Charter of Independence, and for Europe itself and for the world at large their final emancipation from the reign of force."

"These memorable words were addressed *urbi et orbi* by the head of the British Government on Nov. 9, 1915, when the war had already lasted more than a year and three months. Other British statesmen have been equally emphatic in their declarations both in the earlier and later periods of the war. Especially noteworthy in regard to the Balkan Peninsula are the words spoken on Sept. 28, 1915, by the then Foreign Minister in the House of Commons.

"Our policy," said Sir Edward Grey, 'has been to secure agreement between the Balkan States which would ensure to each of them not only independence but a brilliant future based as a general principle on the territorial and political union of kindred nationalities. To secure this agreement we have recognised that the legitimate aspirations of all the Balkan States must find satisfaction . . . The policy of the Allies

is to further the national aspirations of the Balkan States without sacrificing the independence of any of them.'

"It is unnecessary to add to these quotations. The words which appear at the beginning of this article were spoken a few weeks after the rupture with Bulgaria, and show that the noble programme with which we undertook the war has not been modified, as indeed it could not be, by that unfortunate event. Whatever may have been the attitude of the Kings and Governments of Bulgaria, Greece and the other Balkan States in the course of the war, we are absolutely pledged to maintain the independence of all these states at its close and to ensure to each and all just settlement based 'on the territorial and political union of kindred nationalities'. In other words, we are solemnly bound to carry out a complete readjustment of frontiers which will assign to each of these states the regions which rightly belong to them, in accordance with the sacred principle which we inscribed on our banner when drawing the sword." 1)

The author then turns attention to the important fact that:

"The first and fundamental principle, in arriving to an adequate settlement of the various Balkan conflicts, is the principle of nationality. . . . Economic and commercial considerations take the second place.

"Thirdly, respect should be shown for the more recent decisions of Europe.

"Fourthly, natural features." 2)

The author further elucidates his plan of a Balkan territorial delimitation, saying:

"Proceeding generally on these lines, we may venture to sketch the main features of a possible Balkan settlement. In making this attempt it is best to discard statistics; on the one hand, the relative dimensions of the several states matter nothing; on the other, no trustworthy statistical data exist in regard to the populations of the regions under dispute. The

1) *The Quarterly Review*, London, 1917, p. 353.

2) *Ibid.* p. 356.

old Turkish *nufuz-tefteri* and *salnamés* are worthless; the figures adduced in the controversial literature on the subject are as little deserving of notice as the data provided by the propagandist publications which have appeared in London and Paris since the beginning of the war. The best sources of information are the works of impartial and conscientious travellers who have spent some time in the regions they describe, more especially those who in recent years have made a study of the various populations, languages and dialects for purely scientific purposes, in regard to Macedonia, some of the former consuls of the disinterested powers and some of their military officers who spent years in the heart of the country engaged in the application of the Mürzsteg reforms—among them may be mentioned especially Capt. Léon Lamouche, an excellent linguist and a careful student of the subject—are competent authorities in regard to local racial conditions. Sometimes it is possible to obtain a sidelight from statistics not intended for the outer world, such as the figures quoted in R. von Mach's '*Der Machtbereich des bulgarischen Exarchats*' (Leipzig, 1906), which were compiled for ecclesiastical-administrative purposes only." ¹⁾

The Roumano-Bulgarian boundary-line is given thus:

"To begin with Rumania. *The natural boundary between the Ruman and the Bulgar is the Danube from Vidin to its mouth.* To the north-west of Vidin, however, the Ruman population overlaps the Danube, extending to the Timok and spreading far into Serbia (the Kraina district). There are also Rumanian colonies on the south bank of the Danube near Rahova, Nikopolis and Sistova, and numerous settlements in the Dobrodja, many of recent date. On the other hand, there are considerable Bulgarian settlements in Rumania, in the neighbourhood of Craiova and Oltenitza, and even round Bucarest. The natural boundary, however, cannot be maintained as regards the lower Danube from Silistria to the sea, inasmuch as special treatment is necessary for the Dobrodja.

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 356, 357.

"The Dobrodja, apart from its Rumanian colonists, introduced for the most part since 1878, is inhabited by Turks, Tartars, and Bulgarians, with a mixture of Gagaous (Turkish-speaking Christians of Kuman descent) in the south and with several isolated Russian colonies in the north. If it be true that in the portion of the country assigned to Rumania in 1878 the colonists now constitute more than half of the entire population, no objection can be raised against the retention of this region by Rumania. In any case it is necessary that Rumania should have full access to the sea, and that the channels of communication should be entirely Rumanian. This is not the case with regard to her ports on the Danube—Braila and Galatz—inasmuch as the lower course of the river from Reni to the apex of the delta is subject to Russian control. It is, therefore; desirable that Sulina, Constanza and Mangalia should continue to be Rumanian; Rumania has already incurred great expense in providing Constanza with a harbour and with railway access to the interior." ¹⁾

The author would leave Northern Dobroudja to Roumania because it is necessary that the latter should have access to the sea. Now, however, with Bessarabia in her possession, that necessity is satisfied, and the friendship of the two countries, Bulgaria and Roumania, requires that Danube again become their old, traditional, and natural barrier. In regard to southern Dobroudja he says:

"It is otherwise with the southern portion of the Dobrdoja, assigned to Bulgaria by the Berlin Treaty, but appropriated by Rumania in 1913. The Bulgarian element in the Dobrodja is divided into two groups, the northern and the southern. The northern group, extending from a little north of Constanza to Tulcha, is isolated by Turkish and Tartar strata from the southern, which extends south and south-west in compact masses from near Mangalia to Baltchik and Dobritch, where it again encounters the Moslem element. Baltchik, Dobritch and Kavarna should obviously be returned to Bulgaria; and the best arrangement, from every point of view,

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, London, 1917, p. 357,

would be a return to the decision of the European Conference at Petrograd in March, 1913, which accorded Silistria (mainly a Turkish town) to Rumania, together with a small circumjacent territory, and drew a line thence to the seacoast a little south of Mangalia. This arrangement would give back to Bulgaria a district which is mainly Bulgarian, wherever it is not Turkish, and would revive a European decision which ought not to have been set aside by the Treaty of Bucarest." ¹⁾

The Southern Bulgarian frontier :

"Proceeding southwards, we encounter the problem of the future Bulgarian frontier in Eastern Thrace. Putting aside the question of Constantinople, there is, for this frontier, a recent European decision at hand. The Treaty of London (April 1913) traced the frontier line from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos on the Ægean. All the Great Powers signified their approval and agreed to appoint a commission to carry out the delimitation on the spot. But the war between the Balkan Allies followed; and the Young Turks determined to tear up the treaty, the ink of which was scarcely dry, and to filch from Bulgaria, now beset on all sides, the portion of Eastern Thrace assigned to her by its provisions and, above all, Adrianople. That they were secretly encouraged by the Powers which connived at, if they did not instigate, the invasion of Bulgaria by Rumania, is more than probable in view of what followed. The sequel forms one of the darkest pages in the history of European diplomacy. The same Powers, after blindly facilitating at Bucarest the preparation of an arrangement which sowed the seeds of permanent discord in the Balkans, which threw Bulgaria into the arms of Germany, and laid the mines for the great European explosion, with all its calamitous consequences for Serbia and Rumania, now proceeded to accept from the Young Turks certain stipulated concessions and other favours in return for their acquiescence in the violation of the Treaty of London. The Treaty was sold for Turkish *bakshish*; and the chink of money, as a well-known journalist wrote at the time, was heard within the precincts of the Sublime Porte and in the Embassies at Constantinople.

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 357, 358.

“The Enos-Midia line is perhaps the best that can be drawn in the circumstances, and hardly deserves the animadversions of its Greek critics. There is a Greek fringe on the Black Sea and Ægean coasts, but the Hellenic population is nowhere found in considerable numbers in the interior except on the western side of the Maritza valley, that is to say in western Thrace, where it extends from the sea to Soflu and Demotika, and even to the neighbourhood of Adrianople. But the greater portion of the interior between the treaty-line and the Maritza is inhabited by Turks and Bulgars; the Turks, by common consent, must disappear from Europe, and the Bulgars will remain the only considerable population in this territory. In the north the districts of Lozengrad (Kirkkilissé) and Malo Trnovo, extending to the old Bulgarian frontier, are almost exclusively Bulgarian. From the Maritza to the Mesta, which is generally recognised as the boundary of Macedonia, apart from the Greeks already mentioned, the mountainous interior is inhabited by Pomaks (Mahometan Bulgarians, who under pressure from the Turks embraced Islam, at various periods, in the 17th century and who still speak Bulgarian), Turks and Christian Bulgarians; further west, the valley of the Mesta is almost exclusively Bulgarian to within a few miles of the sea.

“From the estuary of the Mesta to that of the Struma the Greek fringe on the seacoast is interrupted by compact Turkish populations in the districts of Sari-Shaban and Pravishta. The population of the interior is almost entirely Bulgarian, except at Melnik, where there is an isolated Greek colony; the Bulgarian element approaches the coast in sporadic groups near Kavala. That port must become Bulgarian if it is to fulfil its evident destiny as the outlet and inlet for the commerce of the Bulgarian and Rumanian back-country, the central region of the Peninsula. The necessity for this would be increased if Constantinople fell into non-Turkish hands, as the trade of the Bulgarian and Rumanian ports on the Black Sea and the Danube would be at her mercy. We may look forward to a time when the lower Danube will be spanned by several bridges, and when the Danubian States, members of the future Balkan Confederation, will make commercial arrangements in their mutual interests. The hope of attaining

free access to the Ægean is already entertained in the Rumanian commercial world. Again, if Salonika must remain Greek, Kavala will largely take the place of that port as the distributing centre for the Bulgarian populations of central and even western Macedonia. Greece can never possess the back-country of these important ports; and, if she is allowed to retain one of them, it is the most she can hope for. Furthermore it should be remembered that British and other foreign trade, which Germany and Austria-Hungary hope to oust from the Peninsula, will be excluded from these regions unless the Macedonian seaports are left in the hands of the state which controls the interior. The creation of a Greek Dalmatia on the Ægean coast would be alike injurious to the prospects of western commerce and to the prosperity of these ports and of the regions which derive their supplies from them.

“The coast-line would therefore be Bulgarian from Enos to the mouth of the Strymon. The Greek boundary would begin here. The river, which broadens into Lake Tachyno, would form a convenient frontier, the boundary turning off to the west at the head of the lake so as to include Nigrita, which is a Greek town; it would then pass to the south of Kukush, which, before its destruction by ex-King Constantine, was inhabited by some 7000 Bulgarians; the surrounding district, also devastated by that monarch, was partly Bulgarian, partly Turkish. Conceivably the boundary might be carried over the head of Lake Tachyno so as to include the town of Serres, which is partly Turkish, partly Greek (the former Bulgarian minority here is probably extinct); but in that case the free navigation of the river should be guaranteed to Bulgaria. From below Kukush the frontier would deflect slightly to the south-west, leaving Yenidjé-Vardar and Vodena to Bulgaria, while Neausta and Verria would fall to Greece. Yenidje-Vardar is a strong Bulgarian centre, possessing also a considerable Turkish population; while Vodena, the ‘Water-Town,’ so called from its beautiful cascades, is Bulgarian in population as well as in name. Neausta, on the other hand, is mainly Greek, though the surrounding district is partly Vlach and partly Bulgarian, while Verria is Turkish and Greek. The frontier, continuing westward, would traverse the Turkish district of Kailar, the greater part of which, with the town

of that name and Koshani, would fall to Greece, would advance in the direction of Lake Castoria, leaving Vlach-Klisura (a Vlach town) with Zagoritchané and Mokreni (both Bulgarian) to the north, and before reaching the lake would deflect to the south-west, so as to separate the Bulgarian district of Khrupishta from the Greek Anaselitza, eventually meeting the Albanian frontier in Mount Grammos close to the source of the Devol. As in the case of Serres, a loop might be made at some sacrifice of symmetry so as to give the town of Castoria, where the Greeks predominate, to Greece.

“The frontier thus indicated is perhaps the best possible ethnical boundary between the Greeks and Bulgarians in Macedonia, always assuming that Salonika is to remain Greek. It does not differ materially from the line offered by M. Venizelos at the time of the London Conference, which extended from the Gulf of Orfano to the southernmost point of Lake Prespa. At this time the intention of Serbia to repudiate the treaty of 1912 had not been disclosed; and M. Venizelos, concluding that central and western Macedonia would be Bulgarian in accordance with its terms, said to the writer that he fully admitted the Bulgarian claim to access to the Ægean, but that he could not give up Salonika; he was ready, however, to yield the other ports, which he believed would make a tolerable commercial substitute for the great Macedonian emporium.

“The principle of nationality is not involved in the question: Is Salonika to be Greek? In this case, as in that of the other seaports, the paramount claims of the back-country take the first place. The Bulgarian peasant element, speaking a dialect which presents the nearest approach to the old Slavonic, the language of SS. Cyril and Methodius, descends to the sea-coast west of the town; but the fact, which was recognised by the Treaty of San Stefano, possesses no significance unless central and western Macedonia accrue to Bulgaria. Greece is already abundantly provided with seaports and can never possess the Macedonian interior, on which Salonika depends for her future prosperity. A customs barrier must prove a serious drawback to that prosperity, which, in any case, Greece will hardly be disposed to encourage at the expense of Piræus. In the future, commercial rivalry

between the Jews and Greeks will result in the impoverishment of the Hebrew element, hitherto by far the wealthiest in the city. The population was Jewish, Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, in the order named, before the Balkan wars; to-day, under Greek rule, the Turkish population has diminished, the Greek has increased, and the Bulgarian has been almost exterminated. The Jewish still remains the first in wealth and numbers, but its prosperity has declined; Greeks and Jews, as is well known, do not live happily together. The ideal solution would be a Jewish republic and a free port under the protection of the Powers.

"We return to the Greek frontier, which, after reaching Albanian soil on Mount Grammos above the source of the Devol, now becomes the Greco-Albanian boundary from that point to the coast of the Adriatic opposite the northern end of Corfu. For this the line drawn by the London Conference of 1913 may be accepted, with certain modifications introduced by the report of the International Commission issued at Florence in the winter of that year. This line, which leaves Koinitza and Jannina to Greece, and Kortcha (wrongly assigned to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano), Argyrokastro and Delvino, with its port Santi Quaranta, to Albania, on the whole satisfies ethnical conditions. There is a Greek minority in Argyrokastro; and Khimara, with a few other villages on the coast, has been more or less Hellenised; but, on the other hand, the Albanian element extends sporadically as far south as Parga.

"Returning once more to the source of the turbulent Devol, where Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian territories would meet, we may follow the northward trend of the Albanian frontier as traced by the London Conference. No change seems requisite till we reach Dibra. This town is mainly Albanian with a considerable Bulgarian minority, and should, with a portion at least of its *kaza*, which forms a salient in Albanian territory, be restored to Albania. The existence of a strong Bulgarian element here was recognised by the Turkish Government in the creation of a Bulgarian archbishopric, and was further indicated by the numerous contingents of volunteers from this place which joined the Bulgarian army in 1912. But there can be no question as to the predominantly Al-

banian character of the town. Down to the middle of the last century the Drin might have been regarded as the natural eastern boundary of Albania; but the Albanians, encouraged by the Turkish Government, have pressed forward towards the north-east, and existing conditions must be taken into consideration." ¹⁾

The Serbo-Bulgarian frontier:

"It remains to trace the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier. Had this task been undertaken some forty or fifty years ago by an impartial committee of experts, they would probably have drawn their line from the western end of the Shar range, at the junction of the Black and White Drin, continuing it along the watershed and the course of the 'Bulgarian' Morava to a point (near Alexinatz) a little above its confluence with the 'Serbian' Morava. The popular names of these rivers betray the nationality of the dwellers on their banks. A line would have been drawn from this point to the confluence of the Timok and the Danube. The Timok valley, where it is not Rumanian, is Bulgarian. The Treaty of San Stefano gave Nish to Serbia, but otherwise closely followed the above hypothetical line. The San Stefano boundary, if it could be restored, would still make the best and most symmetrical frontier. But we must take into account the process of Serbisation which has taken place during nearly forty years in the regions east of this line given to Serbia by the Berlin Treaty. A new generation has sprung up, which regards itself as Serb. The line of the Berlin Treaty from the Danube southwards may therefore stand, except, perhaps, as regards the district of Pirot, which forms a salient into Bulgarian territory and should be restored to Bulgaria. At Mount Golem, a little west of Kustendil, the frontiers assigned by the Treaty of Berlin to Bulgaria, Serbia and Turkey met; and from this point the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912 drew the lines including the 'contested zone' left for Russian arbitration. The lines, as will be seen from the map of the secret annexe attached to the treaty, met at the northern end of Lake Ochrida. The treaty was set aside by Serbia owing to the disappoint-

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 360-365.

ment of her hopes elsewhere, but those hopes will now be fully realised. In the circumstances, Russian arbitration would hardly be reverted to; and the best treatment of the 'contested zone' would probably be an equal division, effected by a line drawn from the westernmost point of the *Dibra kaza* to Mount Golem. This would give Kalkandelen, Usküb and Kumanovo to Serbia, Kichevo and Kratovo to Bulgaria.

"The other frontiers of Bulgaria have been already defined. They would include the genuinely Bulgarian element in the kingdom, in Macedonia, in Thrace, and in southern Dobrodja. Whether Bulgaria would rank third or fourth in the list of Balkan States would depend upon the treatment which Greece will receive at the hands of the future Congress. If Greece obtains her legitimate expansion in the islands of the Levant and on the coast of Asia Minor, she may take the third place. Room may be found for her repentance; and the concessions in these regions unwisely refused by King Constantine might be allowed to M. Venizelos. Albania, the youngest state and the oldest nation in the Balkan family, would come fifth on the list. She would receive a new dynasty and a cantonal system of government which would correspond best with the peculiar diversity of her local traditions and usages. Little Montenegro, enriched with her natural seaboard and a considerable increase of territory, would come last. All the Balkan States would be provided with abundant access to the sea, and their commercial future would be assured. Their frontiers would, in the main, be identical with ethnical limits, and would largely coincide with the boundaries furnished by natural features, while respect would be shown to recent European decisions." ¹⁾

The article concludes with these warning lines:

"Justice must prevail in the work of reconstruction in the Balkans. The principal obstacle to a sound and just arrangement will probably be found in the existence of certain preliminary compacts which have been made under the stress of circumstances and in the pressure which will be brought to bear on the future Congress for the satisfaction of vindictive

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 175, 176.

and predatory aims. The preliminary compacts cannot be discussed at present; we must only hope that in some respects they will be found capable of modification. With regard to the other difficulty, we must trust to the firmness and statesmanship of our representatives and to the chivalrous sense of justice which will inspire the diplomacy of the Allies. 'Before we attempt to rebuild the temple of peace,' said the present Prime Minister at the Guildhall last January, 'we must see that the foundations are solid. . . . Henceforth, when the time for rebuilding comes, it must be on the rock of vindicated justice.' There can be no other basis for a permanent settlement in the Balkans." ¹⁾

The Quarterly Review, 1918.

In its July issue of 1918, that periodical published another lengthy article on the Balkan problem, entitled *The Four Treaties of Bucharest*, written evidently by the same hand that had penned the preceding scholarly discussion on the future Balkan boundaries. In this article in reality there is nothing new; its author has simply reiterated old historical truths in a clearer and more concise form. Thus in speaking of the Berlin Treaty he declares:

"It is unnecessary to dwell upon the consequences of that fatal act. Not one of the statesmen who signed the Treaty can have believed in his heart that *the tripartite division of the Bulgarian race would be a permanent arrangement*. It could only serve for the nonce as a check to Russian designs. . . . For some years the Christian populations, exhausted by the war and hoping against hope for the realisation of the promised reforms, remained quiescent. *The first shock to the artificial structure raised at Berlin came in September, 1885, when Eastern Rumelia proclaimed its union with Bulgaria*. All the world expected that the Sultan would crush

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, p. 703.

the revolt, and Turkish troops assembled on the frontier. But *the Bulgarians were aided by British diplomacy* which had executed a complete *volte face* under the able direction of Sir William White; and that remarkable man, though opposed by all his colleagues, induced the Sultan to stay his hand. The danger to Bulgarian union came from the West, not the East. While Prince Alexander was hurrying all his forces to the Turkish frontier, *King Milan* of Serbia suddenly declared war and invaded Bulgaria.”¹⁾

Here he simply refreshens one's memory on the verdict of general history to which we have had recourse on so many occasions.

In regard to the causes of the second Balkan war the author says:

“The Turkish Empire in Europe was overthrown, but the splendour of this great achievement was soon dimmed by sordid disputes among the victors. The Central Powers, in confident anticipation of the defeat of the Balkan Allies, had refrained from interference; but Austria in pursuance of her usual policy, now began to foment their mutual jealousies...

“It soon appeared evident that Bulgaria, whose central position exposes her to encroachment on every side, would be expected to satisfy all claims; and in these circumstances her wisest course would have been to buy off Rumania, who demanded a considerable slice of her territory, although the question between the two nations had already been settled by the Protocol of Petersburg. As between Serbia and Bulgaria, all possibility of a conflict had apparently been eliminated by a treaty (March 13, 1912) which minutely defined the territorial claims of both nations, reserving the final disposal of a certain contested area for the decision of the Tsar. *But Serbia repudiated the treaty; and the opposition orators in the Skupshtina at Belgrade were still denouncing Russian arbitration and advocating an appeal to the sword when the war party at Sofia broke away*, and General Savoff, without the knowledge of his Government, gave orders to attack the Serbian and Greek armies. *This rash step*—of which the more immediate causes were the fear of the officers that the

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 166, 167.

peasant soldiers would insist on going home for the harvest, *and the exasperation of the Macedonian chiefs at the forcible denationalisation of their kindred by the Serbian and Greek authorities—put Bulgaria out of court and gave her enemies their chance.* Two days later the troops were recalled and General Savoff was dismissed, but it was too late. The armed forces of Rumania, Turkey, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro closed around the culprit State as the champions of order and the sanctity of treaties; Bulgaria was crushed; and in the first week of August, 1913 the delegates of the victorious allies, together with a number of military officers fresh from the battlefield, met at Bucarest for the division of the spoil. In the space of eight days a complete re-arrangement of territories in the Balkan Peninsula was announced to an astonished world. Had General Savoff stayed his hand *the result would hardly have been different, for the military coteries surrounding King Constantine and the Serbian Crown-Prince were determined on war.* Three days before General Savoff's adventure King Constantine had left Athens for the front *taking with him the declaration of war already drawn up.*"¹⁾

The third Treaty of Bucharest, the chief cause of the Balkan conflict in 1915 and 1916, is thus being characterised by the author of the *Article* :

*"The third Treaty of Bucarest (August 10, 1913) is of the old-fashioned type. It is based on the venerable principle *Victoribus spolia*, and, like most of its predecessors, e.g. the Treaties of Vienna and Berlin, takes no account of nationalities. It assigns practically the whole of Macedonia to Serbia and Greece, the greater part falling to Serbia, and hands over to Rumania a considerable portion of *Bulgarian territory* to which she has no ethnological or geographical claim. Of the conquests made by the Balkan allies in 1912, Macedonia, which the verdict of the scientific world declares to be mainly *Bulgarian*, is handed over to alien rule, while a portion of Thrace, which the Greeks themselves declare to be mainly Greek and Turkish, is left to Bulgaria. Nothing could be more inconsistent or more likely to engender future trouble."*¹⁾

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 169, 170.

²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 170, 171.

The Treaty of Bucharest 'obsolete':

"To criticise in detail the unjust territorial arrangements of the third Treaty of Bucarest would be to flog a dead horse. Like the Treaties of Vienna and Berlin, it is already obsolete. According to the Carnegie Commission, it registered the 'illegitimate pretensions of victorious nationalities'; according to Mr. Asquith, it has been the especial source of continued discord in the Balkans. It has found a champion, however, in Principal Burrows, who in the last number of this Review classes it with 'recent European decisions', and asks why any superior moral validity should be attributed to the Treaty of London and the Protocol of Petersburg? The answer is that those arrangements possess the sanction of Europe, while the Treaty of Bucarest has no better claim to general respect than the *fiat* of the Kaiser, which as yet at least, is not equivalent to a European decision. He regards as 'suspect' the suggestion of a future Balkan settlement imposed 'from above' (i.e. by Britain, France, Italy and the United States on the conclusion of the war) and prefers in its stead the 'compromise' between Serbia and Greece embodied in the Bucarest Treaty, which 'still forms the only solid basis for our hopes of a Balkan Confederation.' In other words, these two States only—for Rumania disappears from the scene—are to regulate at will the future situation in the Balkans. Dr. Burrows forgets that Serbia made a 'compromise' with another neighbour which she quickly discarded when the opportunity occurred of obtaining larger gains by other means. An excuse for setting aside her treaty with Bulgaria (1912) was discovered in the doctrine *rebus sic stantibus*—that a treaty is binding only so long as circumstances remain unchanged. This elusive principle, by which Germany might have triumphantly defended her attack on Belgium, will henceforth be frequently invoked in the Balkans unless we find a higher sanction for the ultimate settlement than the Greco-Serbian 'compromise' and the Treaty of Bucarest. A very competent writer has said that—

'The settlement of Bucarest was imposed against the teachings of equity, of ethnography and of experience in professed pursuance of a Balkan balance of power The Balkan wars and the Treaty of Bucarest have left an aftermath of

wars of extermination, and the seeds of future wars of annexation.'"* 1)

The question of Monastir:

"The Powers, Dr. Burrows truly asserts, contributed nothing to the formation of the Balkan League; and the friends of Greece and Serbia consequently maintain that they should be superseded by those States as the arbiters of the future Balkan situation. Greece, he thinks, has shewn its fitness for this high vocation by its noble spirit of self-sacrifice—it has cheerfully acquiesced in the loss of Monastir, 'the watchword of its Irredentism, the test case for the argument that town should weigh more than country in determining ethnology.' This thoroughly Hellenic town, Hellenic it seems *par excellence*, was visited by Sir Valentine Chirol, a high and impartial authority, in 1881. 'With the exception of the Archbishop and the Hellenic Consul,' he writes, 'there is scarcely a family in Monastir that can lay claim to pure Greek blood.' Another eminent authority, Sir Arthur Evans, whose Serbophil sentiments are well known, declares that *the population of the town is predominantly Bulgarian and that Bulgarian is the language of the market*. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, who spent a long time in the Monastir district and who speaks Greek and Bulgarian, writes: 'The so-called Greeks of Monastir are Vlachs to a man.' The writer, who has frequently visited Monastir, can add his testimony to these pronouncements. The population of Monastir is Turkish, Bulgarian and Vlach; the genuine Greeks are few; until the Serbian occupation, when the era of colonisation and forced conversions began, there were practically no Serbs in the town." 2)

The question of Kavalla:

"The fate of Monastir is indeed a 'test case,' not only of Greek magnanimity, but of the vaunted equity of the Treaty of Bucarest. Another instance of both is to be found in the fate of Kavalla. Not twice in three years, as Dr. Burrows

* *Nationalism and War in the Near East*, p. 356.

1) *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 171, 172.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 121.

supposes, but thrice was M. Venizelos ready to concede that port to Bulgaria as a necessary outlet and inlet for the commerce of the interior and a set-off to the retention of Salonika by Greece. Dr. Burrows regards ethnology as a bar to the admission of Bulgaria to Kavalla, a town which before the war was pre-eminently Turkish and is now perhaps rather 'Hellenic' than Monastir. In the 'Quarterly Review' of last October the present writer, while insisting on nationality as the fundamental principle of the Balkan settlement, adduced certain considerations which must also be taken into account in the interests of the various populations and the law of Europe. Among these was the right of all the nations to sufficient access to the sea; this was insisted upon in the case of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Bulgaria, and it has been recognised by the leaders of the Entente Powers in the case of Poland. The more or less cosmopolitan character of the principal seaport in the Balkan Peninsula, which is noticed by Sir Thomas Holdich in his recent work, will not be denied by those who, like the writer, have resided in most of them."¹)

This is a verdict of scientific investigation about Macedonia:

"The third Treaty of Bucarest, which embodies the Serbo-Greek 'compromise' for the division of the spoil, can only be cleared of the imputation of injustice by the production of proof that Macedonia is mainly a Serbian land and that whatever is not Serbian is Greek. *With regard to Macedonia a voluminous literature has appeared since 1913. Since the outbreak of the great war practically all this literary activity has been on one side, as was only to be expected; and it would be strange indeed if it had not influenced the public mind to a large degree. But partisan literature and partisan statistics cannot prevail against facts. For the scientific world the Bulgarian character of Macedonia is a chose jugée: it has been established by the testimony of a long series of eminent and impartial travellers and scientific investigators such as Leake, Pouqueville, Ami Boué, Cyprien Robert, Lejean, Tozer, Macken-*

¹) *The Quarterly Review*, p. 173.

zie and Irby, Irecek, Lamouche, Weigand, Victor Bérard, Evans, Chirol, and a host of others, all writing before the war and some even before the outbreak of any national controversy.

"After pointing out—what most persons know—that there are 'Bulgares' and 'Valaques grécisants' in Macedonia, Dr. Burrows proceeds to 'join issue' with what he incorrectly describes as my 'main argument'. *The existence of these non-Greek 'grécisants' is of course due to the ecclesiastical and educational monopoly which the Greeks enjoyed for centuries in Macedonia.* Had they employed better instruments for their propaganda, their privileged position would have enabled them to hellenise the whole ignorant Christian population. With the disappearance of this monopoly the numbers of their partisans among the non-Greek populations has enormously declined. A word only need be said with regard to the 'official Greek figures for 'East Macedonia', compiled in 1915, while that region was under Greek rule, which afford an amusing instance of how deftly the Bulgarian element is eliminated on paper as well as by other means. The Greeks, who are represented as the great majority, are divided into 'Greek-speaking Greeks' (169,290) and 'Non-Greek-speaking' Greeks (16,627); of the former a considerable number are unquestionably Patriarchist Bulgarians, who, in the region to which these statistics apply, are generally bilingual, Greek being the language of commerce. The 'Non-Greek-speaking Greeks,' a singular category, are practically all Patriarchist Bulgarians, inasmuch as there are scarcely any Vlachs or Christian Albanians in this part of the country; these Bulgarians till recently were styled 'Bulgarophone Greeks,' but the adjective 'Bulgar,' even in a compound, is now anathema. For the same reason the Exarchist Bulgarians are put down as 'Slavs' (33,255). Lastly of the so-called 'Turks' (145,857) at least half are 'Pomaks'—the Moslem Bulgarians of the Rhodop slopes."*)¹⁾

*) In this case there is some excuse for the misnomer, as Mahometans of all nationalities, e. g. the Moslem Greeks of Crete, are commonly described as 'Turks.' The Serbians have similarly banned the tell-tale adjective 'Bulgarska' by which the eastern confluent of the Morava has been known from time immemorial.

¹⁾ *The Quarterly Review*, pp. 173, 174.

T. W. Greenstreet, 1918

Bulgarian Soldiers' Artistic Exhibition

During May, 1918, the spacious lecture hall of the beautiful Military Club building at Sofia was converted into an art gallery where the Bulgarian soldiers from the front had sent various articles of skill worked out by them in the trenches during leisure hours. It was wonderful how deadly weapons, shrapnell cups, broken fragments of various destructive missiles were turned into most exquisite ornamental pieces by the Bulgar fighters. All kinds of artistic labour was represented in that extraordinary exhibition. Painting, too, constituted a feature of the art collection. It was an unusual event, and proved the most unique display of national handicraft in the history of the Country. To all foreigners it demonstrated the fact that the Bulgar is as good an artist as he is a fighter.

Among the throng of alien visitors were noticed many war prisoners. Lieutenant T. W. Greenstreet of the British army of Salonica was one of them. He is professor of literature at the London University. That Britisher was so fascinated by the soldiers' exhibition that he sent to the *L'Echo de Bulgarie* the following, letter in which he described his impressions :

"Sir, in my visit to the exhibition of Military Art I spent two hours of absorbing interest aroused by the fine artistic sense shown in the majority of the exhibits. The choice of subject was uniformly very good and most pleasing.

"Whether the work of the trained or the natural but untrained artist, and the work of the latter was present, the

whole showed a keen appreciation and a healthy understanding of the purpose and power of art.

"The pictures portraying the accidents and incidents of a soldier's life were good indeed, showing knowledge and skill, though often the full skill of the artist was unexpressed by reason of hurried execution.

"The modelling was in most cases of merit some exceedingly good. Here and there was a lack of expression, but in the main this was finely shown.

"Another thing worthy of praise was the decorated album covers, with generally an adherence to what I understand is purely Bulgarian. The artists succeeded in producing most effective designs.

"What pleased me most was the water colour exhibits. Here was shown, very frequently, quite a remarkably accurate appreciation of and fidelity to nature. Truth in colour, softness of light, absence of hardness, but occasionally too much economy of shade.

"In all classes of work was evidence of good teaching and thoughtful and enthusiastic study and execution.

"The offers for the various works were not, in several cases, a mark of their value as works of art. Many good things were little noticed. Sentiment in that laudable virtue, charitable generosity which I have found is a Bulgarian characteristic, had moved many in their offers, so I hope those artists whose good works add only a mite to the fund will rejoice in what deserves to be a highly successful issue to a most generous effort.

"That work of such quality in such quantity can be done at such a time says much for the virility of Bulgarian art.

"Had I not seen these things it would have been difficult for me to believe that so young a nation had travelled so far on the road to high art.

"Everything I saw graciously impressed me. *Sincerity and service* seemed to be the motto of all,

Advance Bulgaria!

T. W. Greenstreet,

*Lieutenant Royal Irish Fusiliers."*¹⁾

¹⁾ *L'Echo de Bulgarie*, May 29, 1918.

M. E. Durham, 1918

Serbian's Vain Claim to Macedonia

Miss Durham is an authority on Balkan matters. She is one of few Britishers who possesses a thorough knowledge in regard to the Balkan Peninsula, Montenegro, Albania, Epirus, and southern Macedonia in particular. She has traversed the Balkans repeatedly and during the first Balkan war was engaged in relief work in Albania and Macedonia. Up to 1913 she was an ardent admirer of the Serbians, especially of the Montenegrins. The terrible atrocities, however, perpetrated by the Serbs and Montenegrins in Albania alienated her strong affection for the south Slav peoples. Since then she has been the champion and ideologue of the Albanian race hemmed on all sides by enemies intent on stifling every vestige of Albanian nationality. The Bulgars, too, have not been spared by her, but in the following instance, being irritated at a flagrant perversion of truth, she has indirectly raised her voice in behalf of the Bulgar cause in Macedonia. This is her blunt answer to the question "*What to do with Bulgaria*", asked and discussed by the editor of the London *Nation*, being provoked to write it by a Serbian contributor. Her letter speaks for itself:

"Sir,—A correspondent, Mr. Yovan Tanovitch, in to-day's issue of *The Nation* states: "Macedonia is Serbian land, Ochrida, Prilep, and Skoplje are to the Serbian people what Canterbury, & c., are to the British.

"Are they? In the spring of 1904 I lived for rather over three months in Ochrida superintending a hospital for Slav peasants who had been wounded in a revolution which they had made for the purpose of being united with Bulgaria. They called themselves Bulgar, and their aspirations were Bulgar.

The majority of the Christian villages both in that neighborhood and around Resna and Monastir had been burnt and pillaged by the Turks because their inhabitants also had all revolted. The bands of revolutionaries all, when possible, took shelter not in Serbia but in Bulgaria. This is only fourteen years ago.

“At this time I was learning Serbian, and tried to buy Serb books in Monastir but could find only very elementary schoolbooks because the Serb propaganda was then in its infancy. At Ochrida a Serbian schoolmaster, one George Tassitch from Serbia proper, was struggling to run a Serbian school. On the feast of St. Slava, February, 1904, I was invited to a little party given at the schoolhouse, and all the Serbs of the town were said to be present to celebrate the Slava. We were photographed in a group which included the Serb schoolmaster and his family and all the schoolchildren and myself, consisting of about fifty people. This photograph is now in the possession of Mr. Noel Buxton, and remains as a striking piece of evidence.

“In 1913 I again visited Ochrida. It was a melancholy spectacle, and looked like a crushed rather than a liberated town. The large Bulgar school, the biggest building in the place, was closed. Forcible Serbizing appeared to be the order of the day. When, may I ask has Canterbury ever revolted in order to belong, say, to France, and had to be conquered and have its French schools closed, its French priests dismissed? The comparison is ludicrous. A just comparison would be Calais. If we now, having got into Calais, insist on staying there, on making the population learn English and adopt the English Church the case would be similar. We lost Calais many centuries ago. The Serbs lost Ochrida. Neither of us have any claim. Next to the Bulgars the claim of the Albanian certainly comes. The writer referred to Rizov as Bulgarian Minister to the Court of Berlin. Reznov, whom I know, is most enthusiastically Bulgar. He comes from Resna, not far from Ochrida. Is in fact a Macedonian Bulgar. Had Serb propaganda begun a hundred years ago it is possible that the Slav population would have been Serbized. *It owes, however, its entire education to Bulgaria. The dialect spoken*

is not that of Serbia. And the physical type is certainly more Bulgar than a Serb. Rizov is a typical Bulgar. — Yours etc., M. E. Durham." ¹⁾

Prof. Ramsay Muir, 1918

Macedonia "Should Form Part of Bulgaria"

Prof. Muir of Manchester University in his recent book *Nationalism and Internationalism*, though with sympathies naturally on the side of "our little ally", Serbia, which, however, never went so far as to overshadow the truth about the ethnical character of the Balkans, in one of the remarkable passages found in this work says the following as regards Macedonia:

"Serbia naturally desired a compensation. She also demanded for its commerce an outlet independent of Austrian control. She obtained Macedonia which is traversed by a railroad line reaching Salonica.

"But that territory inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians should form part of Bulgaria." ²⁾

J. A. R. Marriott, M. P. 1918

The Eastern Question is a very recent historical work come out of the pen of this prolific writer. The book which in less than a year passed through a second edition, is a very comprehensive and highly suggestive volume dealing with the various phases of the Near-Eastern problem. Though on the whole the author is not favourably disposed towards the Bulgarians, his book is crowded with passages revealing well-established facts in regard to the real character, claims, and aspirations of the Bulgarian

¹⁾ *The Nation*, London, Nov. 2, 1918.

²⁾ *Nationalisme et Internationalisme*. Paris, 1918, p. 157.

race. Speaking of the Philippopolis revolution for the Union of northern and southern Bulgarias, which were artificially severed by the Berlin Congress of 1878, Prof. Marriott says:

“It was otherwise in 1885. The Bulgarians had found themselves. They had not learnt the art of parliamentary government, but what is more important, *they knew the meaning of nationality.*”¹⁾

England in 1885 was different from England of Beaconsfield in 1878; this is the reason why:

“The policy of England in 1885,” continues the author, “was inspired by a different motive. ‘It you can help to build these people into a bulwark of independent States and thus screen the ‘sick man’ from the fury of the northern blast, for God’s sake do it.’ Thus wrote Sir Robert Morier from St. Petersburg to Sir William White in Constantinople at the height of the Bulgarian crisis in December, 1885. *Bulgaria*, it will be observed, *was to come into being not as the cat’s-paw of Russia, but as a barrier against her advance towards Constantinople.* Could anyone have foreseen such a possibility in 1878? . . . ‘*A Bulgaria, friendly to the Porte,*’ said Lord Salisbury in December, 1885, ‘*and jealous of foreign influence, would be a far surer bulwark against foreign aggression than two Bulgarias, severed in administration, but united in considering the Porte as the only obstacle to their national development.*’”²⁾

Such, indeed, Bulgaria has been striving to be ever since she came into existence. In so doing she has been pursuing exactly the policy outlined by Lord Salisbury to be a barrier to Russia’s advance to Constantinople, and not to be hers or anybody else’s cat’s-paw.

¹⁾ *The Eastern Question*, Second Edition, Oxford, 1918, p. 354.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 355.

The author thus describes Serbia's traitorous action in her desire to frustrate the reunion of the Bulgarians in 1885:

"The chance to stab a friend and a rival in the back was too tempting for a Balkan kinglest to refuse. The question of the union of the two Bulgarias, though answered with emphasis by the Bulgarian people, still hung in the diplomatic balance; the Bulgarian army, thanks to the action of the Tsar in the withdrawal of his Russian officers, was left at a critical moment without instructors; such officers as remained were raw and inexperienced; the prince's own position was exceedingly precarious." ¹⁾

During those trying times it was again the Macedonians who proved to their free brethren in Bulgaria the brothers "in need" as they were the brothers "in deed". In the words of Prof. Marriott:

"His peasant subjects rallied superbly to his support; *Bulgarians from Macedonia flocked* to the assistance of their kinsmen, and in a three days' battle at Slivnitza (Nov. 17—19) they inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Serbians." ²⁾

We have shown repeatedly elsewhere that in every national movement the Bulgarians and the Macedonians have been one, have struggled together, fought, suffered, and rejoiced together.

The historian Marriott, discussing the Greek claims to Macedonia, declares:

"*The Greek claim to a Hellenised Macedonia rests partly upon Byzantine past, and partly upon the possibility of a Byzantine future; but in the present it is mainly ecclesiastical.* 'Hellenism', writes a close observer, 'claims these (Macedonian) peoples, because they were civilized by the 'Greek Orthodox' Church . . .'" ³⁾

¹⁾ *The Eastern Question*, p. 357,

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 357.

³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 410.

While the author does not deny the pretensions of the Serbians in Macedonia, he nevertheless, makes this conclusive statement about them:

“Serbian pressure towards the south is due rather to the denial of access to the Adriatic than to the hope of reviving Dushan’s Empire.”¹⁾

Like all other historical writers, Prof. Marriott, too, emphasises the intimate ties linking Macedonia and Bulgaria:

“The success of the Philippopolis revolution in 1885 and the subsequent union of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria again rendered acute the Macedonian situation. The events of 1885 seemed once more to bring within the sphere of practical politics the realisation of the dream of Greater Bulgaria actually defined at San Stefano.... *Geologically and geographically Bulgaria is drawn towards the Aegean.* . . . A good commercial harbour on the Aegean is essential to the full economic development of Bulgaria.

“*Ethnographically also her claims are strong.* It is perhaps rather too much to say, with a distinguished American authority, that the ‘great bulk of the population of Macedonia has by the educational efforts of the Bulgar people, been to a very large extent Bulgarised in its sympathies in recent years. The people have ‘for a quarter of a century been educated as Bulgars; *have fought as Bulgars in 1895, 1903, and 1912; were annexed (as Bulgars) to Bulgaria by the Russians in 1878, and by the Serbs in 1912; were assigned to the Bulgar Church by the Turks in 1872 and 1897, . . .*”²⁾

Here it must be added that this author forgets to state that not only in the days of the ancient Bulgarian kingdoms, but ever since, and particularly during the Ottoman dominion, it was Macedonia that was the centre of Bulgarian religious and in-

¹⁾ *The Eastern Question*, Oxford, 1918, p. 413.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 411.

tellectual awakening, that Bulgaria's greatest teachers and reformers during the last two hundred years were Macedonians. This intimate relationship between the people of Bulgaria and Macedonia has been corroborated by all historians who have made this feature their special study.

Bulgaria's rôle in Macedonia is set forth thus :

"In 1895 Bulgaria stood forth as the avowed champion of the oppressed peasantry of Macedonia." 1)

These passages from Mr. Marriott's book are worth reading, for they throw light on two most important facts explaining how Bulgaria was drawn into the conflict on the side of the Central Powers :

"What more natural than that when German avalanche descended upon Serbia in the autumn of 1915 Bulgaria should have co-operated in the discomfiture of a defested rival?" 2)

"Serbia was anxious to attack Bulgaria in September, while her mobilisation was still incomplete. It is generally believed that the Allies intervened to restrain the Serbian attack." 3)

Marion I. Newbigin, D. Sc., 1919

Bulgaria's Need of the Aegean Coast

In her new labour, *Geographical Aspects of Balkan Problems*, Miss Newbigin, has presented to the public a scientific treatment of that question, thus filling a long-felt gap.

Like Prof. Marriott, this author, too, emphasises the geographical necessity of Bulgaria for a free outlet on the Aegean, *viz.*,

1) *The Eastern Question*, p. 415.

2) *Ibid.* p. 497.

3) *Ibid.* pp. 497, 498.

"An important feature of the Bulgarian part of the road, from Trajan's Gate onwards, is the difficulty of communication southwards over the Rhodope with the Aegean seaboard. The Struma valley, despite the elevation of the land through which it flows for a part of its course, is best marked natural line of communication here, a point which has also much influence on Bulgaria's policy." ¹⁾

This is an interesting passage showing that even a purely scientific writer could not abstain from calling one's attention to certain political per-versions in connexion with the Macedonian question:

"Still farther south, *i. e.*, beyond Uskub, we come to a region which was recognised by Serbia in her secret treaty with Bulgaria of March, 1912, as falling into a Bulgarian zone, but which is nevertheless now partly Serbian and partly Greek, Bulgaria receiving in 1913 an insignificant part of what was once Macedonia. Not unnaturally, Serbian authorities now find that "Macedonian Slavs" is as much more appropriate name for those peoples than "Bulgarians", while the Greeks have suggested that "Bulgarian" is not a race name at all, but merely means "countryman", as contrasted with "town-dweller!" ²⁾

Miss Newbigin corroborates the fact so generally stated by other Balkan scholars, namely:

"*The history of Greece generally has not been the history of Macedonia*, because the Greek peasant could not escape by water. . . . In the peninsula generally only the Slav or Slavified Bulgar can, it would seem, keep through centuries of Turkish oppression an unabated passion for the arable land of the inland basins." ³⁾

The following two passages contain valuable hints as to the proper solution of the Greeko-Bulgarian conflicts:

¹⁾ *Geographical Aspect of Balkan Problems*, New York, 1919, pp. 97, 98.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 141.

³⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 167, 168.

"The Greek tends, as we have seen, to follow the coast where the Mediterranean mode of life is possible, and can extend a certain distance inland into the 'continental' area, especially where his own plants can thrive. But here comes a time when, as Greek, he cannot compete with the Slav cultivator, and he must either become Slavified, or return to the land which is climatically and agriculturally his." ¹⁾

On that account, urges the author, "It is another matter whether Greece was wise in insisting on her new boundary with Bulgaria including so much arable land in South Macedonia, land in which the characteristic Greek mode of life is not possible, *whose present occupants will not be easily reconciled to Greek rule and which are scarcely likely to attract Greek settlers.*" ²⁾

James D. Bouchier, M. A., F. R. G. S., 1919

"Justice and Conciliation in the Balkans"

The former distinguished English professor of classics whom a mere chance drew to the journalistic career, soon became no less distinguished as correspondent of the *Times* in the Near East. He is undoubtedly the greatest authority on Eastern matters, and especially on the Balkan Question. His powerful mental grasp and large heart have enabled him to penetrate into the knotty and ugly Balkan puzzles with a rare success. Suffice it to say that the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is indebted to him for its positive information in regard to the Near-Eastern problems. He knows more about the Balkan states' history than do their best

¹⁾ *Geographical Aspect of Balkan Problems*, New York, 1919, p. 184.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 180.

scholars. He was one of the chief factors for the creation of the Balkan Alliance. He is no less a friend of Mr. Gueshoff than of Mr. Venizelos, and had his advice been heeded to, the Alliance would have been preserved, to the general good of all parties concerned.

The Contemporary Review in its February number published an article by him entitled "Justice and Conciliation in the Balkans", which is a master-piece on the subject treated. It is a timely warning to the creators of "a new order of things in the world" now gathered in Paris. The Balkan Question was mismanaged at Berlin 1878, at Bucharest 1913, will it be mismanaged again now by the Paris Peace Conference?

Here is Mr. Bouchier's statesmanlike counsel and recommendation for a rational and lasting solution of the Balkan problem based on "justice and conciliation", based on hard, cold facts:

"The arrangement of Bucarest," declares he, "cannot be allowed to stand, not only because it is unjust, but because it will inevitably lead to fresh conflicts in the Balkans and possibly to another European war. We want a lasting peace, says Lord Phillimore, but we want a just peace. We want it because no peace but a just peace can be counted upon as lasting, but also for higher reasons. In what sense do we speak of a just peace? Is it retributive justice or distributive justice, the *suum cuique* of the Roman jurists? Retribution there should be, he says, in order to prevent powerful States from wantonly engaging in war, but it should not take the form of deprivation of territory without regard to the wishes of the population of that territory. 'The justice which should be the principal object in the (future) treaty is distributive justice, justice to nations, peoples, and races.' In this sense we must reply to those who tell us that Bulgaria by her treachery and ruthlessness has 'forfeited' all claim to Mace-

donia. It is not a question of punishing Bulgaria, even if she is guilty of all the enormities of which her foes (of whose misdeeds we never hear) accuse her; with regard to the 'balance of criminality' some strange surprises may be in store for us when another Carnegie Report appears. *It is a question of punishing the Macedonian Bulgars by severing them permanently from their kith and kin and subjecting them to the merciless processes of compulsory assimilation applied by their bitterest enemies.*

"No right anywhere exists," said President Wilson in his message to the Senate in January, 1917, "to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. That is what has been done by the Treaty of Bucarest. The greater part of *Macedonia has been handed over to the Serbians, who, even thirty years ago, never made any ethnic claim to its possession.* At the time, and for many years later, nothing was heard of a Serbian movement. The Serbians never discovered that they had any interests in Macedonia till 1885, the year of King Milan's unsuccessful attack on Bulgaria; the new propaganda was encouraged by Austria in order to divert popular attention from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was welcomed by Turkey as a counterblast to the more dangerous Bulgarian movement. During the writer's visits to Macedonia in the nineties little was heard of it beyond amusing stories of the good pairs of boots, suits of clothes and even dinners which the poorer class of Bulgarian peasants obtained by sending their children to the Serbian schools; the children learned to read and write Serbian, and after leaving school found the knowledge they had acquired was more or less useful for reading and writing Bulgarian.

"Meanwhile, what has happened in the country itself during these thirty years? In 1878, as soon as the Bulgarian population in the Vardar and Struma Valleys heard of the decision of the Powers at Berlin, it revolted, but was induced to lay down arms by a European Commission. For a time, under the statesmanlike guidance of Stamboloff and the Exarch Joseph, it remained quiet, awaiting the realisation of the promised reforms. But the Turkish yoke grew more and more intolerable, and the younger generation lost patience. In 1895 came a partial outbreak in the Melnik district, and in

1902 revolts in the districts of Monastir and Razlog. Lastly, in 1903, came the great insurrection in Western Macedonia, repressed, like its predecessors, with the utmost barbarity by the Turks, who were in many cases aided by a number of Greek bands. More than one hundred Bulgarian villages were burnt, and some 80,000 peasants were homeless in the mountains at the approach of winter. The Powers intervened with ineffective reforms; the Young Turks then tried their hand, and their blind and indiscriminate severity brought about a Balkan combination and the extinction of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

"In the sad history of this period one fact stands out: *all the efforts to shake off the Turkish yoke were made by the Bulgarians*, all the sacrifices were theirs. As Lord Bryce observes, there is no poetic justice in history, yet it seems hard to believe that for those who made those sacrifices there is no better fate in store than subjection to their deadly foes, no hope of national unity. Some 18,000 young Macedonians fought by the side of their kinsmen at Lule Burgas; when the survivors sought to return to their homes they had to choose between renunciation of their nationality or perpetual exile. It would have been better for them had Lule Burgas been lost, for the victorious Turkish army would have occupied Macedonia, and whatever horrors might have ensued the prospect of eventual liberty would not have been destroyed. Most of them might have perished, but 'better an end with horrors,' says the Bulgarian proverb, 'than horrors without end.'"

Why Macedonia is Bulgarian :

"To those who know the country it may seem superfluous to insist on this fact, which was generally admitted in years past, but since the war the public has undoubtedly been much misled on this point by a voluminous and unrebuked partisan literature. Efforts are even made to deny that the language of the people is Bulgarian; with regard to this, it is enough to quote Weigand, a very high authority: '*All linguistic specialists*,' he says, '*are unanimous that it is Bulgarian, and the politicians cannot alter the fact.*' The language in the north-west naturally approximates in some respects to Serbian,

but even here it possesses all the distinctive features of Bulgarian. Language is not a necessary test of nationality; the Albanians in Attica, for instance, may be regarded as politically Greeks though the language of the home betrays their Albanian origin. The best test of a man's nationality is what he believes himself to be. *In Turkish times the Macedonian Slav peasant when asked as to his nationality invariably replied, 'I am a Bulgarian.'* To-day he would be afraid to make such an avowal, but his national consciousness remains the same.

"Another indication almost equally convincing is to be found in *the reluctance of the Bulgarians to consent to any division of Macedonia*. The Serbians and Greeks have always demanded partition, the Bulgarians have consistently opposed it, declaring that rather than hand over a portion of their kindred to alien rule they would welcome the creation of a Macedonian autonomous State and renounce all claim to annexation. The difference of aims more than once prevented an arrangement in the past. In 1897 Greece could have had the aid of Bulgaria against Turkey had she been willing to consent to Macedonian autonomy. *In 1912 Bulgaria only agreed to a delimitation with Serbia in case autonomy should prove impossible*; could she induce the Congress to maintain the integrity of Macedonia and to grant it autonomy, she would now resign all her claims, like the real mother who besought King Solomon to spare her child.

"In regard to the geographical distribution of the Bulgarian element in Macedonia the following official documents possess unquestionable importance: —

(1) The firman of February 29th, 1870, establishing the Exarchate, in accordance with which the *exsequatur* was granted to seven Bulgarian metropolitans, whose dioceses covered the greater part of Macedonia. These bishops have all been expelled by the Serbs.

(2) The establishment of the two autonomous "Bulgarian" vilayets by the Constantinople Conference in 1876. The southern vilayet, with its capital at Sofia, embraced the greater part of Macedonia.

(3) The Treaty of San Stefano, which included all Macedonia in the "Big Bulgaria."

(4) The Reform area laid down by the Mürzsteg programme in 1904 (after the Bulgarian revolt of the previous year). This excluded "Old Serbia" and the Greek districts in the extreme South.

"The opportunity which now presents itself for a settlement of the Balkan question in accordance with the principle of nationalities is unique. The three great Empires which held portions of the Balkan races in bondage and whose ambitions were a constant menace to their independence are in liquidation. It will now be possible for Rumania, Serbia, and Greece to attain the full measure of their legitimate expansion. Rumania will probably become a State numbering 15,000,000 inhabitants, Serbia will number 12-13,000,000, Greece about 8,000,000, Bulgaria, if justice is done, will count about 5,000,000 or at most 5,500,000. Had such an arrangement been possible in 1913 the lamentable war of that year would hardly have taken place, for the three first-named States would have been satisfied with the much greater and legitimate gains within their grasp and would hardly have grudged Bulgaria the smaller portion which is her due. Is it not possible that today, influenced by the hope of a lasting pacification if not by a higher motive, they may "turn away from the savagery of interests to the dignity of the performance of the right"? Once the legitimate aspirations of each of these States have been realised, the true aim of statesmanship will be to attain a permanent peace and to reconstitute the Balkan Alliance, no longer with a military programme, but with a view to joint progress and mutual aid. *So long as Macedonia remains a Bulgarian Alsace-Lorraine there will be an open sore in the bosom of the Peninsula and no real peace.*"

AMERICA'S RÔLE IN BULGARIAN REGENERATION

American Missions a Salient Factor

"Accept our deep and heartfelt sorrow at the death of your husband who fifty years ago with unexampled self-sacrifice came to Bulgaria, then enveloped in darkness, with the high and noble mission to bring to her light and love."

— P. PESHEFF.¹⁾

"Bulgaria is the only country in Europe in which the United States has played an important rôle in the development of a State."

— Prof. W. S. MONROE.

"The difference between a Bulgarian and an American is the difference between a man of simple culture who does not question the justness of the laws of his community, and consequently does not violate them, and one living in a community with varied, complex laws, written and unwritten, which he believes he should respect and which he does respect so long as they do not interfere with his happiness or prevent him from gaining the sort of distinction which his fellow men call success."

— Prof. G. A. DORSEY.

It would not be far from the truth to say that in no other country has America exerted a more powerful influence for good than in Bulgaria. Though thousands of leagues apart, the United States seem to have been in a closer and more intimate touch with that Balkan state than with any other country on the American Continent itself. In no other land in the world have American ideas and principles been more sincerely studied and espoused than in Bulgaria.

¹⁾ Bulgarian Minister of Education in a letter to the widow of the late and distinguished American missionary and educator in Bulgaria — Rev. Dr. H. C. Haskell.

A number of most potent American factors had been brought into play on the Peninsula, during the last seventy years, and, it seems, Bulgaria, thanks to her spirit of toleration, has proved the greatest attraction to them, thereby making the best of the opportunities thus offered her to come into contact with Western and American ideas and culture.

It was in the fifties of the last century that in Constantinople there followed a series of events which, though of international character and importance, had nothing to do with diplomacy, then the omnipotent medium of dealing between nations. All foreign institutions and organisations in the Orient, religious establishments included, were in reality but more mild and unobtrusive political agencies, encouraged, supported, and protected by the several Great Powers of the West. Austria, France, Italy, and Russia were vying with each other in promoting the progress and welfare of such societies and missions which, because of the intense rivalry governing their activities among the various peoples, and their sectarian zeal, were aptly called *religious propagandas*. People in the Balkans in general conceived a prejudice against similar organisations, and looked upon them with no small suspicion and even enmity. The prestige of those 'inspired' religious propagandas depended on the influence of the respective countries, which was exerted upon the Porte in Constantinople. Even the most benighted peasant of the Near East knew, as a matter of course, that back of these organisations stood politics, and back of politics diplomacy, and behind diplomacy were arrayed the armies and navies, always on the alert to defend the ever-in-

creasing privileges and prerogatives of the different European propagandas.

About the year 1860, however, there arrived and settled in Turkey a foreign representation which was a purely religious body of men whose chief aim was to enlighten and save humanity, and vindicate truth wherever found. It was in the thirties of the last century that America had sent its first missionary workers in the Balkans. The Crimean war had attracted the attention of even the United States towards the Near East. Then for the first time foreign correspondents were allowed to the scenes of action. English and American newspaper men considered themselves happy to be able to survey at short distance the bloody Sebastopol charges. England's prestige in consequence of Russia's defeat in that war of 1854 was enormously enhanced in the East and in the Ottoman Empire in particular. She thus became the decisive political factor in the capital of the sultans. Together with Englishmen, Americans, too, became *persona grata* with the Porte. Even to-day people in the East make no great distinction between the one and the other. Intuitively they take them for the same people. And in reality are they not both of them Anglo-Saxon?

The American Episcopal Church and the American Board of Foreign Missions could find no more propitious moment for the establishment of new stations of their philanthropic work. And from that period on begin the noble endeavours of American religious organisations in south-eastern Europe, the history of which is intimately connected with the history of Bulgarian regeneration. Seventy years ago, therefore, was laid the foundation of the Balkan

branch of American Missions. A religious lighthouse was planted at the Golden Horn and Bosphorus from which commenced to radiate spiritual gleam, truth, service, and self-abnegation, virtues almost forgotten in that part of the globe which had once been the centre of Christianity, and the seat of the greatest of empires.

The establishment of a branch of the American Missions in the Balkans was not a welcome event in the eyes of Orthodoxy. It was received inimically by the various representatives of the Eastern Church, especially by the Greek Patriarchy. The Russian Synod, as well as the Russian Government, looked upon it as an indirect enhancement of English influence in the Orient, and, on that account, treated it as another hostile agency. Even the leaders of the Bulgarian clergy were warned to beware of the allurements of the American Protestant 'agents', which could 'bring nothing but evil and perdition to one's soul.' And if we are to speak the facts, until very recently the general mass of the Bulgarian people, though by nature the least bigotted race in the East, considered the American missionary but a disguised English political forerunner, whose aim was the destruction of 'Holy Orthodoxy', its native religion, besides the ruin of "Mother" Russia, the great protectress of Slavdom. The interest of the two greatest world powers came into a clash, that of Orthodox Russia against that of Protestant England. The sympathies of all the Christian races in the East, as Orthodox, were, naturally enough, on the side of Russia. Nevertheless, English diplomacy, tact, and iron will, always got the best of Tsardom. The duel for supremacy at Stamboul invariably ended

in favour of the *Bluejacket* who was ever on the watch at the Dardanelles.

But though the American religious pioneers in the Balkans did not at first find a warm reception in their new field, they, nevertheless, set at work with their wonted indefatigability, earnestness, and determination.

One noteworthy fact in connexion with the opening of the Balkan field of the American Missionary undertaking was the circumstance that when the first group of missionary workers arrived in Constantinople they little imagined that their greatest and most successive work would be developed among the Bulgarians. In fact, some of them had not even heard of that name before. It is related that when they reached in Constantinople they were astonished to hear of the existence in the Balkans of a "compact, very industrious and sober race, and the most populous in the Peninsula." Some of them had been disappointed at discovering that European Turkey was not inhabited by Hellenes, whose language they had studied in school preparatorily to their coming to work among them.

In 1856 Dr. Albert S. Long, one of the first missionaries, a distinguished classical scholar and author, had made a tour through Bulgaria, and on returning to Constantinople was filled with enthusiasm and hope, as he had discovered a rich and exceedingly promising field for missionary work, among a people "burning for knowledge and education." That was the signal for starting up a noble enterprise, and for the establishment by the American Missionary Board of one of its most important branches in the world. The able and energetic

American religious apostles come in the Balkans at that period, Rev. G. Merriam, Rev. Drs. J. F. Clarke, G. L. Marsh, J. W. Baird, J. H. House, and others, successively established themselves in Bulgaria and some of them, later on, in Macedonia, where their work was daily prospering, in spite of the stubborn opposition of the Bulgarian Exarchate and clergy. By 1890 the American Missions in Bulgaria could claim to their credit a well-equipped Collegiate and Theological Institute, and a modern Girl's Boarding School, at Samokov, one boarding school for girls at Lovetch, and another at Monastir (Macedonia), not to mention the springing up of Protestant primary schools in nearly every important city and village throughout the Balkans. Protestant churches were found in many centres, with the result that thriving Congregational parishes, at first under Missionary supervision, were built up at Bansko, Radovish, Monastir, etc., in Macedonia, and at Sofia, Philippopolis, Lovetch, Samokov, and other places, in Bulgaria proper. The Bansko, Sofia, Philippopolis, Varna, and Lovetch Protestant communities are the largest of their kind in the Balkan Peninsula.

Though the Evangelical parishes and followers have generally been looked upon with disfavour by their Orthodox brethren, chiefly because the Bulgarian cherishes a traditional fondness for the unity of his national Church, the consensus of opinion is that the Missionary converts are people of strong convictions, profoundly religious, and irreproachable in their dealings.

The prestige of the Protestant communities was particularly increased during the Macedonian revolutionary movement and Balkan the Wars. The

Macedonian leaders soon discovered that the Protestant members of the revolutionary organisations were noted for their exceptional devotion, zeal, and loyalty. It was found that the Evangelical centres proved the strongest and most buoyant revolutionary agencies. Gotse Deltcheff, the founder of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, repeatedly told friends that he wished all the Macedonians were Protestant. The revolutionary poet Yavoroff once wrote: "The Evangelical families and communities in Macedonia are the best educated class of the people. You can tell a Protestant family the moment you enter the house. A row of books is always to be found in a conspicuous corner. The Protestants are intelligent, earnest, and faithful 'workers'. Thus far there has not been known a Protestant member of the Organisation to have betrayed the Cause."

In 1903, John Macdonald, the English writer, undertook a tour through Macedonia. One Sunday he happened to visit the Bansko Evangelical church. To his great surprise he found the spacious church building overcrowded with people who, he learned, constituted the regular Protestant community. Men, women, and children pressed to greet him, and to inquire "when would England come to liberate Macedonia?" His astonishment knew no bounds when he discovered that the entire congregation, including old men, old women, and children from seven years up belonged to their respective revolutionary branches, each one regularly and joyfully bringing his weekly dues to the local treasurer. Such a perfect organisation he found to exist throughout Macedonia.

It happened again at Bansko that the same Mr. Macdonald one mid-night had the opportunity of seeing a revolutionary band composed of young men belonging to the Protestant quarter. Their intelligent and earnest faces, and their martial bearing moved him to tears. He was unable to restrain himself from kissing each one of them, saying, "I have never seen such a fine and disciplined revolutionary organisation. Macedonia is worthy of freedom."

The Turkish Government in the course of time commenced to accuse the missionaries and their schools and churches as being one of the principal causes for the insurrectionary disturbances in Macedonia and throughout its domains. The Turk was right, only he had to learn too late the truth that "if the true spark of civil and religious liberty be kindled, it will burn."

As a matter of fact, the American missionaries, on account of their guarded attitude in regard to political movements, have, as a rule, suffered not a small measure of odium on the part of the Christian peoples in the East. Many a hot-headed youngster had to be expelled from missionary schools because of an overflow of patriotism which could not be tolerated in such strictly religious and neutral institutions.

Whatever may be said against the American missionaries in general, one thing is certain and that is, that they are the least tainted class of people in the world. They are perhaps the only body of men who, no matter what their shortcomings and deficiencies, are sincere devotees of truth. They are to-day, as in the past, recognised, even by their worst opponents, as the uncontaminated conscience

of nations. They may be accused of everything else but distortion of facts. Down-trodden humanity owes much to the Missionary, and especially the American Missionary, for acting as the spokesman and pleader of its cause, and the fearless denunciator of its oppressors. Whenever the native of Congo is ground down by an unheard of treatment at the hands of his European masters, it is the Missionary that would raise the cry of "Congo Horrors". When the heathen commences to feel the sting of a civilising bondage, it is again the voice of the Missionary that is raised in his behalf. When the great Christian nations take to parading with high-sounding policies purporting to be directed to the betterment and reformation of their colonies, the Missionary turns to them and yells, "Yes, Sir, but not by means of your infernal weapons, the opium, the rum, and the gun-powder!"

When in 1876 an English Government, pledged to uphold the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, declared there were "no massacres" of Bulgarians, three American missionaries were courageous enough to controvert a British Prime Minister's statement, and the world since then knows that, in truth, there were massacres, which led to Gladstone's famous philippics and Tsar Alexander's liberating dash across the Danube. Gladstone and Alexander of Russia, indeed, have always been getting the credit for saving Bulgaria from the grip of the sultans, but those who are versed in the actual facts know that the great American apostles and educators, Rev. Dr. Long and President Washburn in Constantinople, and Rev. Dr. J. F. Clarke in Stara-Zagora and at the very scenes of bloodshed and carnage, are the men whose

prestige was risked in their decision to brave the world by speaking out the ugly facts, and thereby save a nation.

Such edifying examples of manfulness may be multiplied by the thousand. The American missions, if destroyed, should have to be invented, for they have proved an organic necessity for the defence of truth and the preservation of man's conscience.

The world-rôle played by the American missionary organisations is well characterised, and that by no other than a former secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchy in Constantinople, one of the greatest enemies to foreign religious propagandas, the American missionary societies included. Mr. D. Misheff, a distinguished Bulgarian writer, deputy, and member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in one of his recent productions, touching the Bulgaro-American relations, makes the following portrayal of the American missionary:

“American and English pioneers, some with their speech, others with their pen, third by means of their enlightened influence and authority, prepared the Bulgarian war of liberation in 1877, and paved the way for the rush of the armies of Alexander II across the Danube in pursuit of the Ottoman hordes. These men were: Gladstone, Schuyler, McGahan, Dr. Long, President Washburn, Sir Edwin Pears, and others. Without the initiative of these philanthropic men, Tsar Alexander of Russia would have found his decision blocked by the *veto* of suspicious Europe.

“But it must be remarked here that much earlier than the time of the insurrections of 1875—76 and the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878, did the Bulgarians commence to waken up religiously, educationally, and politically, *thanks to the influence of American factors in the Balkans. The translation of the Bible in 1864 was an exploit of Americans, headed by the*

learned scholar, Dr. Riggs, and assisted by the Bulgarian prelate, Neophyte of Rilo, and the Bulgarian poet, Slaveykoff. Among the most prominent Bulgarian workers for the regeneration of Bulgaria were alumni of American and English schools at Constantinople and Malta. The American professors and missionaries in European Turkey had the best opportunity of studying and acquainting themselves with the Balkan peoples. They know the Balkans better than do the Russians. Prior to Bulgaria's independence no Russian lived in Bulgaria. This was due to political causes. The American missionaries and educators are the only foreigners who have made their residence in Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia, and mingled freely with the people. They not only employed the Bulgarian language in their churches and schools, but published books and periodicals in the Bulgarian language, which were read throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The oldest Bulgarian paper to-day, *Zornitsa*, was founded by an American. Among its noted editors may be mentioned the eminent scholar Robert Thomson, and A. Tsanoff, a graduate of Amherst College. Bulgarian literature owes a large number of its best productions to American authors. In nearly every Bulgarian house throughout the Balkans one will find such books which have been handed down from generation to generation as a precious inheritance. *Zornitsa* is older than the Bulgarian Exarchy. It was edited in Bulgarian because the American religious workers had discovered that the compact mass of inhabitants in the Balkans was composed of Bulgarians. For the same reason the schools they opened there were known as Bulgarian schools, in which teaching was carried on in the Bulgarian or vernacular tongue.

"In general, no other alien organization has worked so long and so disinterestedly among the Bulgarian people as have the American missionary societies. No other strangers have been able to so intimately acquaint themselves with the everyday life of the Balkan nations, in general, and the Bulgarian race, in particular, as the American religious representatives, missionary workers, and educators. They have seen the Bulgarians while in bondage and in freedom, in time of affliction and in time of joy. They have lived and mingled with them, speak their language, have become familiar with their home and public life, their manners and customs, their

temperament, their mind and soul. According to their testimony, there doesn't exist, and not only in the Balkans, another people more modest, more quiet, more industrious, more democratic, and more tolerant. *Preachers of the Gospel, of truth and true culture, the missionaries live and act in view of what is just and in harmony with their religious precepts. Whatever they say or do, the truth is their guiding principle. They hold allegiance to no party, serve no individual, and are bound to no creed but their own spiritual convictions.* In view of such irrefragable evidences corroborating the important part Americans have taken in the regeneration of the Bulgarian people, *are we not justified in admitting that Bulgaria owes its revival and independence no less to America than to Russia?* Taking into consideration her democratic bent of mind, her democratic institutions, her spirit of toleration, her personal initiative of founding and maintaining her own schools, *Bulgaria is a faithful pupil of her great American teacher.* All those who love truth cannot disregard this mighty testimony: Having spent their lives in Bulgaria, the American missionaries and educators are the most competent persons to refer to, as to whether the Bulgarians are an intolerant people, and whether they are capable of the atrocities and crimes of which they are being accused. They are living witnesses of the national catastrophes of the Bulgarians during 1913, 1914 and 1915, and as such, they best know, that though the Bulgarians had done all in their power to come to an understanding with their neighbours, in 1915 they were compelled to enter the war, not to fight their Liberator Russia, nor to array their bayonets against England and France, neither for any territorial conquest, as ill-intentioned people persist in asserting, but chiefly to free their oppressed brethren, and realise the reunion of their race." ¹⁾

One of the first duties of the original American workers who founded the Balkan missionary branch was to controvert the long-existing theory advanced by the Oecumenical Patriarchy and other interested quarters that the Balkans are inhabited mainly by Greeks.

¹⁾ *America and Bulgaria*, Bern, 1918, p. 9—13.

The late Dr. J. F. Clarke, as we said, was one of the first American missionaries in the Balkans, having begun his missionary and educational work in 1857. He had traversed and lived in various parts of Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia, and had a good mastery of the Bulgarian, Turkish, and Greek languages. As early as 1874, writing from Monastir, Macedonia, he says:

“Of the Christians, about 2,000 are known as Bulgarians, the rest being called Greeks, though, as a matter of fact there are scarcely any Greeks in the city. This place is the centre of considerable population of decided and earnest Bulgarians, but a large part of the Christian population are Hellenised Bulgarians of pure origin. These latter, like the Bulgarians in and about Philippopolis, during the past few years, are increasingly proclaiming their true nationality, and glorying in it.”

Prior to the revision of the San Stefano Treaty at Berlin, the same authority wrote to one of the editors of the missionary organ, *Zornitsa*, the following letter, dated January 30, 1878:

“During my stay in the districts of Razlogue and Djoumaya I was able to notice a complete absence of a Greek element among the population. Some of the inhabitants of these places are merchants who frequently go to Salonica and who have acquired a good use of the Greek language, they, however, themselves declare that they are, as they are, pure Bulgarians. Their households are not at all familiar with the Greek tongue. I often recall to my mind the assertions of one of my colleagues in Philippopolis that the majority of the inhabitants of that city were Greeks, because they used the Greek language. A census, however, that was subsequently taken, showed that four fifths of them were Bulgarians and that a large percentage of the rest were of Bulgarian descent. Having lived ten years in Philippopolis, and possessing a good knowledge of the conditions of things here, I confess this to be a fact, at least prior to the construction of the

railroad line after which a number of Greeks from other places came and settled in the city. I am also convinced that the Greek population in Macedonia is very small compared with that of the Bulgarians. . . . Among the Macedonian refugees 4,000 are found in Djoumaya, 3,000 of whom have been registered by me. About nine tenths of the men can talk Greek, nevertheless, they are genuine Bulgarians. It seems that the large number of the Greek merchants who come from Janina and other parts for carrying on trade in these places have induced some foreigners to conclude that the population is Greek. The *chans* upon the highways are usually run by them. Such Greeks I found to be the inkeepers at Batak two years ago when the ruined village was being rebuilt. These Greeks generally come alone, returning to their families every two or three years."

About the same time we hear of another American educator and author, Edson A. Clark, who had devoted his life and ability in behalf of the Balkan races. In his book, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, he gives a detailed account of the Greeks and the Serbians. In the small space allotted to the Bulgarians, however, of whom he speaks as long-forgotten people, but now quickly recuperating from the Hellenising hypnosis, there are found passages which are of vital significance to the student of history.

He, too, considers it highly important to warn his readers of the fact that

*"The Bulgarians are the most numerous of all the Christian peoples at present within the limits of the Turkish Empire."*¹⁾

In other words, the author is anxious to impress upon the world the fact, that not Hellenes, but Bulgarians, constitute the bulk of the population in European Turkey.

¹⁾ *Clark's Turkey*, Collier's Edition, New York, 1898, p. 152.

The reasons given for the inability of Hellenism to assimilate and thus eliminate the Bulgar race in the Balkans are :

“This long, weary, but at last successful struggle was of a singular and peculiarly Bulgarian character. There was no violence, no outburst of popular fury. It was the passive but most stubborn display of steadfast determination of the Bulgarian people.”¹⁾

Thus spoke the truth through the mouth of an impartial observer and historian in behalf of a down-trodden and forelorn race which in those dark days had no other defender but truth.

It was that “singular and peculiar character” and “most stubborn display of steadfast determination”, that later on gave birth to the Bulgarian National Church in 1870, and Bulgaria’s political independence in 1878.

When in the Congress of Berlin the Bulgarian lands were dismembered for fear lest Russia should convert them into her vanguards to Constantinople and to suit the imperialistic designs of some of the European powers, the missionaries of the European Turkey Station who had spent years in the Balkans and knew the real facts, were among the first to protest against the political crucifixion of a people long enough a martyr.

Rev. Dr. J. H. House, as we remarked before, is also one of the missionary pioneers and founders of the Balkan branch of the American Board for Foreign Missions. He is a noted scholar, preacher, and a rare organiser. He has passed most of his life in the Balkans, chiefly among the Bulgarians.

¹⁾ *Clark's Turkey*, Collier's Edition, New York, 1918, p. 152.

He is to-day continuing his noble work in Macedonia as director of the Salonica Industrial Institute founded by him.

In a letter addressed to one of the editors of the *Zornitsa*, which was dated March 20, 1879, he says :

"All the evidences which I was able to collect make it clear that the *majority of the population in Macedonia delineated by the Treaty of San Stefano is Bulgarian. Those of the inhabitants who style themselves Greeks are either Vlachs, or Hellenized Bulgarians.*"

Another missionary authority on the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian people is Rev. Dr. J. W. Baird, also a veteran American religious worker in the Balkans. Having spent most of his active years in Macedonia, he had the opportunity to master the native Bulgarian tongue as few foreigners have done. He is a classical student and one of the translators of the Bulgarian Bible.

Dr. Baird in a letter addressed to the editors of *Zornitsa*, dated March 23, 1879 says :

"If you take as a basis the home language, I dont think that among the non-Mussulman population of the Kaza of Bitolia there could be found more than 125 genuine Greek households. I doubt whether in the Kaza of Prilep there exist more than 10 Greek households. In that of Tikvesh there possibly may be counted about 12 households (nearly all of them new settlers) . . . *The District of Vodena is wholly Bulgarian*, though the majority of them are *Greekomans* (Grecicized Bulgarians). In the city of Velessa the number of Greek families is about 10, while at Istib there are found some 25 of them. As far as Radovish, Stroumitza, and Doiran are concerned, you know that *in them the Bulgarian population is predominating.*"

"Should one reckon as Greeks the Hellenes, the Albanians, and the Vlachs, then their member will be larger, and yet *very small again in comparison with that of the Bulgarians.*"

In 1873 the American Board having decided to extend its field also to Macedonia, Monastir was selected as chief centre. Because of the existence of several nationalities in that province, the missionaries had first to ascertain the language most in use in which they could carry on their work most successfully. The question was long discussed by both the Americans and the native representatives. This is the way the difficulty was finally solved, according to the testimony of Rev. Dr. J. W. Baird:

"We chose a committee composed of us Americans with one native member representing the Bulgarian, Greek, and Vlach population. It was unanimously adopted by the committee thus constituted that the best way of settling the problem would be for its members to tour the city on a market day when people from the whole district flocked into it. In the evening, at the close of its arduous labor, it was confessed by all, that the language most known and spoken by all, Greeks, Vlachs and Turks included, is the Bulgarian. Hence, we adopted this as the language in our schools and churches which we opened in Macedonia."

In 1913 when Macedonia was occupied by the Serbs and Greeks all the Bulgarian schools and churches were closed. At first the Serbians hesitated to disturb the American institutions, but finding them to be strong Bulgarian centres, they finally decided to close them too.

"In the name of King Peter, I inform you that your establishment must be shut up, unless the Serbian language is exclusively taught," declared one day the Serbian Commandant to Rev. W. P. Clarke, in charge of the American mission at Monastir.

"With the greatest pleasure," replied the Missionary," but how can that be done when we have no Serbian students among us?"

"That makes no difference," retorted the Commandant, "such are my orders."

Finding their work blocked by the new masters of Macedonia, the members of the American Balkan Mission were finally compelled to send the following note of protest to Sir Edward Grey, as well as to the prime ministers of the other Great Powers, dated Aug. 5, 1913:

"Sir, — It is a well known fact that for more than fifty years American Protestant missionaries have carried on religious and educational work in various parts of the Balkan Peninsula. In this work they have been without political purposes or political alliances, and, on principle, have consistently avoided all interference in political affairs. In view of these facts, a brief statement as to the places where this work has been conducted, the people among whom it has been conducted, and the manner of conducting it, may be of value at this time when the fate of large portions of the Balkan Peninsula is about to be decided.

About the middle of last century the attention of American missionaries in Constantinople was attracted to the *Bulgarian peasants in and about that city*, and the impression made by them was so favourable that it was decided to investigate the region from which they came. This investigation was made in the late fifties, and its result was that religious societies in Great Britain and the United States of America decided to inaugurate missionary work in the Balkan Peninsula, mainly among the Bulgarians. The Methodist Episcopal Church of North America, took as its field the region between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, and began its work in 1857; while the region south of the Balkans was assigned to the Missionary Society of the Congregational Churches of America, which society sent out its first missionaries in 1858.

These missionaries located at Adrianople. Others followed them, and in turn, Stara Zagora, Philippopolis, Sofia and Samokov were occupied before 1870. The work was extended to the Razlog district, and in 1871 the first Bulgarian Protestant church was organized in Bansko.

In 1878, after a tour of investigation, the city of Monastir was selected as the most favourable centre for work in Macedonia, and in the fall of that year two missionary families were located there. From this centre the work was extended all through Macedonia, and churches or preaching stations were established in Monastir, Ressen, Prilep, Vodena, Vardar Enije, Kafadartsi, Velles, Skopia, Prishtina, Radovish, Raklish, Strumitsa and its villages, Velusa and Monospitovo. In 1894, after the opening up of the railway lines which converge upon Salonica, that city was made a new centre of work with supervision over the outlying districts, from Mitrovitsa on the north-west and Mehomia on the north, to Drama on the east. New preaching stations were established in Koleshnitsa, Doiran, Koukoush with its villages Todorak and Mezhdurek, Gurmen (Nevrokp district), Drama, Tetovo and Mitrovitsa.

Although it was originally the plan of the Mission to work among the Mohammedans of European Turkey as well as among the Bulgarians, as a matter of fact the work has been confined, with the exception of the recently established Albanian branch, almost exclusively to the Bulgarians. *The Bible was translated into modern colloquial Bulgarian, and has been circulated all through Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace. Over six hundred hymns and sacred songs have been prepared in Bulgarian for the use of the religious communities connected with the Mission in Bulgaria and Macedonia. The literature of the Mission is prepared in Bulgarian. The language of preaching in all the places of assembly, except Prishtina and Mitrovitsa, where Servian is used, is Bulgarian. Schools of gymnasium rank have been established in Samokov and Monastir, and an Agricultural and Industrial Institute in Salonica. Primary schools have long been maintained by the Mission in many cities and villages in Bulgaria, and in the following places in Macedonia: Monastir, Todorak, and Mezhdurek (Koukoush district), Vardar Enije, Koleshino, Monospitovo, and Strumitsa, Drama, Bansko, Banya, Mehomia, and*

Eleshnitsa in the Razlog district. In all these places the language of instruction has been, and is, Bulgarian, although English has also been introduced of late years in the Girls' Boarding School of Monastir.

After years of acquaintance with Macedonia, either through residence or travel, or both mingling with the people and living in their homes, we are fully convinced that the great bulk of the population in the region which we have indicated as the Macedonian field of our work, is Bulgarian in origin, language, and customs, and forms an integral part of the Bulgarian nation.

We desire to call your Excellency's attention to this simple statement of facts with the hope that it may be of some assistance in securing a just and righteous solution of the momentous problem of Macedonia's future; and we also hope that, whatever the solution may be, the necessary measures will be taken to guarantee full religious liberty for all under the new administration of the country, and to insure the same freedom to carry on religious and educational work which has been enjoyed in the past.

A statement identical with this has been sent to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of all the Great Powers.

Signed : —

J. F. CLARKE, D. D.

Missionary in European Turkey, for 54 years.

J. W. BAIRD, D. D.

Missionary in European Turkey, for 40 years.

ROBERT THOMSON, of Edinburgh,

Missionary for 30 years in Constantinople and European Turkey.

Historicus in his work, *Bulgaria and her Neighbors*, in speaking of the Missionary evidences concerning the ethnical character of the Balkans says:

“Mr. Jenny, after living eight years in Macedonia, writes in 1882: ‘Not one in twenty of the Christian population in Macedonia is a Greek, or uses the Greek language. *The large majority are Bulgarians.* Next in numbers come the Wallachians and Albanians, and last of all the Greeks. Some of the Wallachians use the Greek. Few of the women can more than pass the compliments of the day in tha

language. These are all counted as Greeks by the Greek party. Two thirds of the so-called Greek party would leave the Greek church and join the Bulgarian if they dared to. The declared aim of the Greek party is, by fair means and foul, to require the Greek language to be used in all the churches and schools, so as to make a stronger claim before the Powers that Macedonia should be ceded to Greece. *This nine-tenths of the population do not desire.* It is understood in many places that if one expresses a strong desire for Bulgarian school he will be accused of being an insurrectionist, and sent, if possible, to exile To escape this tyranny of the Greek bishops many, as in several of the cities and villages near Salonica, have joined the Catholic party, so as to secure the aid of the Austrian and French consuls." ¹⁾

In the fall of 1913, when after the national catastrophe of the Bulgarians, their jealous neighbours in adding insult to injury, were spreading broadcast stories of atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Bulgarian army and authorities, the New York *Commercial Advertiser* published an interview obtained from the Rev. L. D. Woodruff, a missionary just come from the Balkans where he had been an eye-witness of the terrible events that had transpired there. The interview which elucidates many points runs thus :

"Fresh from the Balkans, where he served under the Red Cross with the Bulgarian army, the Rev. L. D. Woodruff, an American missionary from Cleveland, in an interview with a Globe representative to-day denied reports of Bulgarian atrocities and laid to the door of the Greeks the massacres and outrages described frequently in press despatches as the work of the Bulgarian army.

Regarding the cabled statement of M. Pierre Loti to a London newspaper, alleging that the Turkish prisoners had been starved and later slaughtered by the Bulgarians follow-

¹⁾ *Bulgaria and Her Neighbors*, by Historicus, New York, 1917, p. 63.

ing the fall of Adrianople, Mr. Woodruff stated that as he had been appointed by the British consul chairman of the committee which had charge of the relief among Turkish prisoners at Adrianople he was in a position to deny Loti's charges.

"I was the first non-combatant to enter Adrianople after the bombardment," the missionary said. "After conferring with the British consul I was put in charge of the work of relief among the Turkish prisoners, who had been confined on an island in the river. I found the prisoners in a bad way. During the siege we ran out of food and the majority of the prisoners almost died of starvation. This condition, however, was in no way attributable to the Bulgarians, who did everything possible after the fall of the city to relieve conditions.

"I was given carte blanche by the Bulgarian commander to draw on the Bulgarian military supplies for anything I considered necessary for the wellbeing of the prisoners. The statement of Mr. Loti that the prisoners were compelled to eat bark is absurd, for starving men cannot eat solids at all. We were compelled to feed the prisoners on liquids for days before it was safe to give them meat. The Bulgarians released all the Turkish doctors from confinement, and allowed them to work under me.

"Mr. Loti says again that the prisoners, after being starved, were slaughtered, the Bulgarian soldiers cutting their throats. This is a lie. There was no wanton killing in Adrianople after the Bulgarians had captured the city. I was there throughout those long, terrible months, and I know."

In support of his contention that it was the Greeks and not the Bulgarians who committed a majority of the atrocities during the second Balkan war, Mr. Woodruff showed the originals and translations of more than a dozen letters written by Greek officers and men to their parents or families. One of these said: "From Serres to the frontier we have burned all the Bulgarian villages." This was from J. C. Tsigarides, of the Seventh Division, Nineteenth Regiment, Twelfth Squadron, at Rhodope.

Another, from a sergeant, proudly tells of the writer's feat in massacring fifty Bulgarian peasants who had been committed to his care to be transferred. The other letters all tell of similar atrocities committed by the Greek troops.

"The cause of humanity and civilization has been set back many decades in the Balkans," the missionary said. "*Bulgaria is the only country in the Balkans that has religious freedom and treats her subject people with tolerance. The Turks are treated so well in Bulgaria, that their number is steadily increasing.* A monthly salary is paid by Bulgaria to the Turkish mufti, the Jewish chief rabbi, and the Armenian high priest to give religious instruction to their own people in their respective faiths. And yet, by the craven intervention of Roumania and the intrigues of the great powers, Bulgaria is defeated. *Servian and Greek oppression holds the Macedonian Bulgarians in suffering, compared with which Turkish misrule would be a welcome relief.*

"The Servians demanded that the Bulgarian teachers and priests sign a paper stating that they were Servians. The teachers refused and were exiled. The priests were told that if they refused to sign away their nationality, their wives and daughters would be turned over to the Greeks, and the argument won the signature of most of the priests.

"While the Bulgarians were for months bearing the white man's burden in the trenches of Chataldja, the Servians and Greeks busied themselves with a military occupation of four-fifths of Macedonia, an aggression that constituted an act of war on Bulgaria. These aggressions were directly inspired by some of the great powers, who devoutly wished for the overthrow of the Balkan federation.

"As a result of the indolence and the intrigues of the great powers, the Macedonian question is still unsolved and 150,000 Macedonian refugees have sought shelter in Bulgaria. The suffering of these people during the coming winter will be acute; they cannot return to live under Greek oppression. Bulgaria is impoverished by three wars and is looking to the American people for help for her people." ¹⁾

Of the younger American missionaries, none is better qualified to give opinion on Balkan matters, and especially on Macedonia, than Rev. Dr. Edward B. Haskell, the son of the late Rev. Dr. H. C. Haskell,

¹⁾ *Commercial Advertiser*, New York, Sept, 14, 1913.

one of those religious and intellectual representatives of the American Board that would have done credit as professor of Theology to any University in America or elsewhere. Dr. Haskell, junior, entered his missionary career in the Balkans in 1891, where he devoted twenty-one laborious years among the Macedonians, that is from 1894 till 1914. Thus he was thrown in touch with the everyday life of that unhappy people during one of the most troublous periods of its existence — when the revolutionary movement was passing through a phase of highest intensity and desperation. His work of looking after the spiritual, educational, and material needs of the population necessarily required of him to scour the country from one end to the other. Being a classical scholar of the Phi Beta Kappa order, he found it an easy task to learn the language of the bulk of the people which is the Bulgarian tongue. Very few Bulgarians possess such a thorough knowledge of the ethnical, philological, geographical, political, and social features of Macedonia. He is an independent thinker and whatever he says or writes is dictated from the store of data he has been accumulating during his long experience in the Balkan Peninsula. The last four years he spent in Bulgaria and is, therefore, well familiar also with the important political events which took place in that country since. He left Bulgaria soon after America declared war on the Central Powers, and his statements, made public through the press of the United States, on that account carry still more weight :

“For twenty-one years,” declares Dr. Haskell, “I scrambled over her mountain trails and mingled with her people, dipping from the common dish at their low tables and sleeping

on the earth floors of their huts. Back from the coast *I found them everywhere supposing and calling themselves Bulgarians, speaking dialects which differ no more from the language of Sofia and Philippopolis than the differences between Maine, Ohio, and Kentucky.* Our own Immigration Commission, after careful investigation, made its report to the U. S. Senate (Senate Document No. 662) in 1911 in the form of a "Dictionary of Races or Peoples". On p. 27 it says: '*Of Bulgarian dialects the most important to mention is the so-called Macedonian.*' Some have claimed that there is an independent Macedonian language and therefore race or people. But this would appear to be one of the patriotic misrepresentations not unknown amongst the partisan philologists of this region.

"Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler vouches for the non-partisan character of the 'Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars,' issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. On p. 24 it tells us how plebiscites were taken by imperial order, in the Uskub and Ochrida districts in 1872, in which 'more than two-thirds' (in reality nine-tenths) of the non-Moslems declared themselves Bulgarians, and accordingly were granted Bulgarian bishops. How the Serbs drove out those bishops is told on p. 165. Everyone wishing really to understand the Balkan situation should read this report, with its description of the measures taken to denationalize the Bulgarian population during and after the Balkan Wars pp. 158-207." ¹⁾

Here is another no less convincing and documented statement about Bulgaria's ethnical surface:

"The missionary hasn't the nerve to differ from the imposing array of experts who have written on Macedonia. Says the Britannica article: "Almost all independent authorities (not of the native races) agree that the bulk of the Slavonic population of Macedonia is Bulgarian." The "Dictionary of Races or Peoples" in volume 5 of the American Immigration Commission reports, published in 1911 as Senate document No. 662. Among other material on pages 25-28 we find the state-

¹⁾ Oberlin Alumni Magazine, Nov. 1918.

ment: "In fact, all of central (European) Turkey is Bulgarian in population down to the Aegean sea, excepting a narrow strip along the coast." So confident is Leon Dominian on this point that he uses the word "Macedonians" in his great book, "Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe", issued by the American Geographical Society, 1917, "to denote the Bulgarian-speaking element in Macedonia."

And to be still more explicit he continues:

"Let us dwell a moment on this point. The Serbian has no definite article at all. The Bulgarian has it and has it post-fixed. Moreover, every Bulgarian word ending in a consonant has affixed a silent letter called yer-golem or yer-maluk (big or little yer) to show gender or euphony. The Serbian dispenses with this silent letter. All Slavs from the Shar mountains and Lake Ochrida on the west, to the Black sea, use the post-fixed, definite article and write their consonant-ending nouns with the silent letter affixed when they can write at all. Here are two decisive "shibboleths" between Serb and Bulgar. There is a third which an American will not catch without explanation. This is the ending of surnames. Such names are a recent innovation among the Bulgars and are formed by the possessive ending *ov* (off), *ev* (eff), or the adjective ending *ski* (sky). Wishing to designate the Ivan (John, pronounced *eevahn*) of whom you were speaking you said, "the blacksmith's Ivan" or "Paul's Ivan," that is Ivan Kovatchov or Ivan Pavlev. If it was a woman you used the feminine possessive ending and she was Ivanka Pavleva (or Pavlova). It is well known that all Serbian surnames end in *itch*. Hence the name ending is an absolute criterion between Bulgar and Serb. I have scoured the country from the Drin river and Shar mountain to Adrianople without discovering a native Slav with any but the Bulgar name ending, unless he were a paid agent of the Serbian propaganda—and then his father's name ended in *off*.

American Macedonians are a case in point:

"But it is not necessary to take my testimony. At this moment there are thousands of men in this country who were born in the districts of Monastir, Ochrida, Kastoria, etc. I con-

stantly see their names and business advertisements in Bulgarian publications issued here—all names in off. If one advertises in the Bulgarian language a meeting for the Bulgarians, say of Granite City, Ill., half his hearers will be men from parts of Macedonia now held by Serbia and Greece. The folly of the Bulgarian king and government in joining Germany, and our consequent sympathy for the other two claimants to Macedonia, have not changed the nationality of the Macedonians nor their aversion to being ruled by alien races. Let a referendum be taken of the Macedonians in and about Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Steelton, Buffalo, etc., and the result will be decisive.”¹⁾

In touching the question of American influences in Bulgaria, Dr. Haskell makes the following revelations :

“It is generally conceded that Robert College and mission influence was what decided Bulgaria to withstand the tremendous pressure of her big allies to break diplomatic relations with the United States. There are some other indications that not all the seed has fallen “on stony ground”. A British “diplomatist,” on page 96 of “Nationalism and War in the Near East,” Oxford, 1914, says : “The short quarter century following Bulgarian emancipation had been made use of in making up arrears of progress at a pace such as can be paralleled only in the development of newly-opened reservations in the western states.” On page 21 of the preface he calls Bulgaria “the most progressive” Balkan democracy. One element in the progress is not unrelated to American influence. In 1912 Bulgaria spent for education exactly double, per inhabitant, the amount spent by any other Balkan state. In 35 years of independence she reduced the illiteracy of her non-Moslem population to 35 per cent., while that of Rumania stood at 65 per cent, after 50 years of freedom, and that of Serbia and Greece at 83 and 57 per cent., respectively, after 80 years of freedom. In religious tolerance and readiness for temperance work, the Young Men’s Christian Association movements for social betterment, and the like, Bul-

¹⁾ *Springfield Republican*, Nov. 8, 1918.

garia so far outdistances any other Balkan state as to be in a class by herself. I never heard of a Balkan missionary who did not heartily sympathize with every effort of the other Balkan races to emulate the Bulgars on these lines.

"Nor did I ever hear of a missionary who did not heartily sympathize with the legitimate political aspirations of every Balkan state; who did not wish Rumania to recover Bessarabia and Bukovina, Serbia to gain the Sandjak of Novi Bazar, Bosnia, Herzegovina and any other Jugo-Slav territory whose people wish to unite with her, Albania to regain her autonomy, Bulgaria to secure Bulgarian-speaking Macedonia, and Greece to annex the remaining Greek islands and those parts of Asia Minor whose inhabitants are Greek."

Dr. Haskell gives a truthful answer to those who could not understand why the democratic Bulgarians failed to join their traditional friends in this war:

"In judging Balkan states we must get their point of view. To them this war was a struggle between Austria and Russia for hegemony of the Balkans. A Bulgar charged with 'taking side of autocracy' might retort: 'Yes, Austrian autocracy against Russian autocracy.' When the Russian czar was dethroned, the Serbs interned in Bulgaria sorrowfully avowed that Serbia had lost her best friend. Practically all Anglo-American experts on Balkan matters condemned the 1913 Bucharest Treaty, which put a million Bulgars under Rumanian, Greek or Serbian rule, as unjust. How easy it would have been, simply by remedying injustice, to have renewed the Balkan league, saved Rumania, Greece and Serbia the woes of the past three years, and ended the war by the summer of 1916! Why was it not done? Because blind Russian autocracy backed local chauvinism instead of co-operating with British democracy in its efforts to remedy injustice. British business men, journalists and members of legation, who were in touch with the negotiations at Sofia before Bulgaria mobilized, frankly affirm this to be true. And even then King Ferdinand and the small Radoslavoff parliamentary majority, elected previously on other issues, with difficulty overcame the Anglo-Russian sympathies of the mass of the nation."

In regard to the question of barbarous acts of which the Bulgarians are being again accused, Dr. Haskell says :

“Dr. Boddy of the American Red Cross, who was at Nish when the Bulgars took it, told me that they kept perfect order. Conspicuous posters warned the troops that any man caught looting or laying hands on a woman would be hanged, and a big gallows was erected to be ready for the first offender. When the Germans reached the town, however, they did not impose the same restrictions on their troops. At night the Bulgar quarters would be still and dark while the German quarters were ablaze with light and resounding with dinking songs and carousal.”¹⁾

As the Carnegie Inquiry Commission in 1913 proved that the “accusers were found more guilty than the accused,” Dr. Haskell warns his countrymen to be on their guard in regard to the repeated charges of cruelties hurled against the Bulgarian people. The following passages elucidate many obscure points :

“There is a wide-spread feeling to-day that American Christian influence has amounted to nothing in Bulgaria because she took the wrong side in the war and because she committed atrocities. It scarcely is just to condemn a whole people for the action of a Bourbon King, and it is only right to remind ourselves that a willingness on the part of Bulgaria’s neighbors to rectify the iniquities of the 1913 Bucharest Treaty would have made it impossible for the King to enlist her against them. As to atrocities—most of them did not happen. When Balkan races vilify one another the old resident among them discounts their charges about 75 %. I have learned, for instance, that a horrible “hymn of hate” attributed to a Bulgar was not written by him and has not appeared in any Bulgarian publication. It is part of a “fabricated” slander campaign, such as those races fabricate easier than we fabri-

¹⁾ *Bulgaria Points the Way*, published in the November issue of *Asia*, 1918.

cate ships. Bulgaria is as unable now as in 1913 to get any reply to the charges against her circulated outside her borders, and unsportsmanlike advantage is being taken of the situation in order to influence the coming Peace Congress.

My own quarter century of mission life has mostly been spent in Macedonia, where I have formed warm friendships with members of all the Balkan races. I realize that the period of work among them has been too short, and the human and financial forces employed too inadequate, to transform the national life. *The Bulgars have proved the most responsive to American Christian influence of any Balkan people.* Yet it would be presumptuous to claim that all their progress is due to it. It has had some share however, in producing the following results:

A religious tolerance unapproached elsewhere in the Levant.

In Bulgaria most of the ecclesiastics, as everywhere, are intolerant and desirous to persecute. They have instigated sporadic outbursts of mob fanaticism, and cases of official injustice. But I never knew of a prosecution or an imprisonment on a religious accusation. Bulgaria alone of the Balkan States recognizes the legality of marriages performed for its subjects by Protestant pastors, exempts such pastors from military service the same as Orthodox priests, and frees their church building from taxation.

The temperance cause has made great progress in Bulgaria. Many temperance societies have been organized, which publish a monthly organ, and an extensive literature created. The Ministry of Education co-operated with the late Dr. J. F. Clarke in sending this literature to every school in Bulgaria and Macedonia. From 1907 to the end of 1910 Dr. Clarke published 350,000 copies of temperance tracts with 4,422,200 pages. Undoubtedly Bulgaria will be the first Balkan State to adopt any temperance legislation."¹⁾

All these are eloquent and incontestable facts, brought out by a divine whose whole life has been devoted to spreading spiritual light, truth, justice, and brotherhood.

¹⁾ *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, 1919.

In connexion with American missionary activities in the Balkans, one should call attention to one more noteworthy fact very clearly pointed out by *Historicus*:

“... the American missionaries in their reports from 1874 to 1914 as they appear in the “Missionary Herald,” *make no mention of any Serbians* in Macedonia, although they speak of Bulgarians, Greeks, Vlachs and Turks. As the American Missionaries are not men of any political bias or working for any political propaganda, their testimony is of great value, for they are not passing travellers, but permanent residents in the country, whose language they are acquainted with, and with whose people both in town and in villages they are in constant contact. It is worthy of notice that in 1880 the A. B. C. F. M. announced that as by the Berlin Treaty Bulgaria was divided into three parts — Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, and Macedonia — for the future instead of European Turkey Mission, the Board would employ the term “Mission to the Bulgarians.” Up to 1891 Missionary work in Macedonia was carried on entirely in the Bulgarian language.”¹⁾

This is one of the strongest historical evidences of Bulgarian preponderancy in the Balkans. By virtue of their numerical superiority, the Bulgarians imposed their language on the American and other missionary establishments in the Balkans, which subsequently ended in converting the “European Turkey Mission” into *the American Missions to the Bulgarians*.

The American Schools

As has been hinted elsewhere, the task of the American missionaries was not narrowed down to mere preaching of the Gospel. In Bulgaria their educational work has been one of the most precious assets of

¹⁾ *Bulgaria and Her Neighbors*, p. 25.

the American Board. To the credit of the American religious toilers must be attributed the existence of the two model schools at Samokov, now a Boy's Gymnasia and a Girl's Gymnasia, enjoying full recognition of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and the University. In their fifty years of continual growth these two schools have done no small share in the general education of the Bulgarians throughout the Balkans. Next the American Colleges in Constantinople, these two institutions are the best organised foreign schools in south-eastern Europe. They virtually are colleges, for they are recognised by the Government on the same footing as Robert College and the American College for Girls.

Both of them have a great future before them. Samokov with the American schools is to Bulgaria what Northfield with Moody's institutions is to the United States, and probably more.

"Nearly all pastors and preachers connected with the Protestant mission work in Bulgaria and Macedonia have received their training in this school; . . . A considerable number of former students occupy important positions in the public and private life of Bulgaria. . . . Through the example and instruction of its teachers, an uncscious influence is exerted for the building of character. Spiritual culture is more ideal and more solid at Samokov than anywhere else. . . . The American School for Girls at Samokov is another institution that has exerted large influence in Bulgaria. It was opened at Stara-Zagora in 1863, and was the first school of its rank in the country for the education of girls. This institution has been directed from the first by the finest type of American college women . . . the graduates occupy important posts as teachers in the national schools, nurses, and religious and social workers. The wives of most Protestant pastors in Bulgaria and Macedonia have been educated at the Samokov school. Throughout the Kingdom Samokov graduates are distinguished for social service. . . . It is the testimony of competent Bulgarian critics

that the school has rendered significant service to the nation not only in preparing teachers of superior character, but fitting Bulgarian women to become home-makers, housekeepers, and intelligent mothers." ¹⁾)

The other American institutions, the Girl's Boarding School at Lovetch, the Girl's Boarding School at Monastir, and the Industrial School at Salonica have each in its own way been exceedingly useful as elevating agencies in the education of the Bulgarian people.

American Missionary Literature

This is another very important factor in the civilising rôle played by the United States in Bulgaria. Here in the first place should be mentioned the translation of the Bible into Bulgarian as early as 1864. The Bulgarian Bible is the first vernacular work in the Balkans. Rev. Dr. Elias Riggs, the noted American linguist, had long contemplated to satisfy the crying need for a purely Bulgarian Bible. Until that period the Bulgarian churches employed old Slavic and Greek both of which were unintelligible to the common people. Providence had decreed that to the American missionary scholars should also go the chief glory of giving to the Bulgarian race just awakening from its centuries-long political and religious lethargy a standard translation of the Scriptures in its spoken language. After several years of arduous but sweet labour exerted by four pious and inspired men, two American divines, Rev. Dr. Riggs and Rev. Dr. Long, and two Bulgarian learned representatives, the prelate Neophyte of Rilo

¹⁾ *Bulgaria and Her People*, by W. S. Monroe, Boston, 1914, pp. 339, 340.

and the Bulgarian foremost poet, P. Slaveykoff, the Mission presented the Bulgarian race with a Bible of its own and understood by all. That exploit is an epochal event in the history of the Bulgarian people, and it alone was sufficient to create a powerful moral bond between America and Bulgaria. To this day the "Protestant Bible" or the "American Bible", as it was derogatively called by a hostile clergy, remains the Bible of the people. The revised edition attempted by the Holy Synod in 1912 was declared a failure by most Bulgarian scholars. Though the language of the revised one is in many respects more polished and modernised, it lacks the inspiration and the simple dignity of the original. Bibles, like poets, are born, not made.

The American Bible proved a godsend to a nation that was fast recuperating from the effects of a double bondage. It is difficult to point out to another country in which the Bible has played so striking a rôle in the regeneration of a nation. It proved once more its heavenly mettle and telling force it had in the glorious days of Luther, Calvin, Wickliffe, Huss, etc. The Bulgarian Bible meant the resuscitation of the Bulgarian nation from the fetters of Hellenism, the triumph of the Bulgarian language, Bulgarian National Church and schools, over the deadliest and secular enemy of the Bulgarian race. From the Danube to the Aegean, and the Black Sea to the Albanian highlands, the Bulgaro-American Bible and literature soon became an indispensable medium which indirectly bespoke the spiritual, lingual, and ethnical union of the Bulgarians.

If the character of a people may be judged by the place the Holy Writ occupies in it, then the Bul-

garians are to be ranked as a class in themselves in south-eastern Europe. There is hardly a Bulgarian family without its Bible, or at least parts of the Scriptures. It is estimated that biblical literature which had been issued by Americans in Constantinople, Samokov, Lovetch, Salonica, is five times more voluminous among the Bulgarians than in the other Balkan states put together. All those familiar with the use of the Bible and its veneration by the Bulgarian family will testify that it is a unique instance in the East where it is usually being considered only a priest's and church property.

The translation of the Bible into Bulgarian popular language was followed by the introduction among the people of many valuable religious works, such as, the *Evidences of Christianity*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Bible Dictionary*, *Sunday School Lessons*, a rich collection of selected hymns, etc., besides numerous other selected books and tracts.

The amount of English literature brought into the country to supply the increasing demand of the American schools, their graduates, and friends, is almost astounding. The American missionaries have thus been instrumental in supplying the country with a large stock of English books, both originals and translations. It is chiefly through the American missionaries, their stations, and institutions, that the Bulgarian has had the rare opportunity of coming into close touch with English literature and the American and English daily press and periodicals. The Bulgarian Evangelical communities have not been lacking in responsive efforts either, and a series of very instructive books, and as many as half a dozen periodicals, etc., stand to their credit.

The service of having so enriched the literary store of the country is sufficient to morally repay the noble efforts of the American missionary and his home patrons.

Zornitsa

When the European Turkey Mission was founded and its success surpassed the expectation of its originators, it was soon felt that a missionary organ would greatly facilitate the work of the new field. The Mission indeed was established in Constantinople, but its area of activity gravitated towards the central part of the Balkans, chiefly in the territories inhabited by Bulgarians. The fact that the Turkish provinces of, Bulgaria proper, Thrace, Macedonia, Dobroudja, and Bulgarian Morava, were Bulgarian lands, in which the Bulgarian language predominated, necessitated the American Mission to adopt that language as the official medium not only in its preaching but also in its publications, chief of which was *Zornitsa*. The paper was founded in 1862 by no other than Rev. Dr. Albert S. Long, later on for many years professor in Robert College, and has continued its existence almost uninterruptedly to this day. It is sufficient to mention the names of its subsequent editors, such as Rev. Nehemiah Byington, Robert Thomson, Andrea Tsanoff, and others in order to have an idea about the eminent staff of which its editorship was made up. *Zornitsa* as an organ of the European Turkey Mission, besides becoming a most important means for spreading of knowledge among the people, came out to be a categorical proof of the ethnical preponderance of

the Bulgarian race in the Balkans. It was but natural for a foreign body of men whose principal aim is the *sumum bonum* of the people whose lands they had chosen for their activities to publish its official organ in the most popular tongue.

Why was not the organ of the American Mission in Turkey in Europe published in the language of Hellenism which had never ceased to claim the Balkans as the heirloom of ancient Byzantium, or in the language of the Turks, the rulers and masters of the Peninsula, or in that of the Serbians whose dreams of a renewal of the Doushan's empire has lately been revived, but in the dialect of the most oppressed, most backward, and detested race—the Bulgarians? The answer is plain. *Zornitsa*, in order to prove a useful and successful paper, had to be edited in the Bulgarian language, because as we have seen, the great majority of the people inhabiting the territory of the American Balkan Mission was Bulgarian.

It is a very significant fact then that *Zornitsa* was started up by the Americans as a Bulgarian monthly, and that in Constantinople, the very seat of the Oecumenical Patriarchy which did all in its power to frustrate the project. For a time, indeed, it looked as if the Patriarchy was going to succeed in bringing about its suppression, because it had succeeded in gaining the support of the Russian and Armenian spiritual authorities, and even of the Russian Government. Its most convincing argument was the great danger *Zornitsa* presented to Orthodoxy. "Beware of the Anglo-Saxon snares," "Beware of Protestantism," was its incessant cry to all adherents of the Eastern Church.

The Turkish Government was finally scared into taking a decision to stop the sheet, for it was further warned that the spreading of such a publication among the Bulgarians would create a general awakening among that peaceful and submissive *rayah*. On that account only five numbers of it saw the light. More than a year elapsed before the sixth number followed, thanks to the perseverance and firm determination of Dr. Long, its able founder and editor. That the Porte really feared the existence of a paper in the language of its most faithful and numerous Christian subject race is evident from the following incident. Mr. Brown, the Secretary of the American Legation in Constantinople, in the course of a conversation with Ali Pasha, the Grand Vizier, turned to him with the question:

"Sir, how about the permit in regard to that little missionary paper — why is it delayed so long?"

"Because it is a political organ, Sir," replied the Vizier.

"Not at all, Sir," resumed Mr. Brown, "that is a purely religious newspaper, I assure you."

"Yes, but what religion," inquired the wily Turk.

"The Protestant," answered the American diplomat.

"But Protestantism is republicanism, Sir," exclaimed the Pasha.

The apprehensions of the Turks in regard to the danger from the "little newspaper," indeed, came out too true. But for that neither the American Legation, nor its editors, are to blame. The missionaries in publishing it never failed to maintain its strictly religious character. The paper, sure enough, preached true religion and morality, which,

of course, meant spiritual protest. And if Protestantism in England, America, and other lands meant revolution, freedom and independence, it could produce nothing else among the Bulgarians. *Zornitsa* in disseminating Gospel truths and religious freedom among a down-trodden people, simultaneously infused in them the associated ideas of civil and political emancipation. The kindling of civil and religious liberty was an inevitable result. From Toultscha in Dobroudja and Nish in Morava to the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea to Ochrida and the Shar Mountains, *Zornitsa* was a messenger of good tidings. It was impatiently awaited by a large multitude of readers. It was indeed a "Protestant paper", but it was printed in the *Bulgarian* language which heretofore had been forbidden by the Porte and anathematised by the Greek Patriarch. The opposition of the Bulgarian priesthood was too weak to check the temptation of the great mass of people to read a Bulgarian paper, no matter by whom edited. To be sure, there were a number of Bulgarian papers run by the natives themselves, but they were subject to constant interruption and persecution on the part of the Turkish authorities. *Zornitsa*, being a Missionary paper and enjoying the protection of the American Legation, had a steady circulation, besides, it offered a substantial and serious reading matter. Every Bulgarian parish, reading society, or office, used to receive it. Many individuals who could afford it used to take pride in being its subscribers. It was passed over from hand to hand. Its popularity had created such a reputation for itself, that as Dr. Haskell has pointed out, the name of *Zornitsa* in many places came to be employed as a synonym of "newspaper".

The important mission of *Zornitsa* among the Bulgarians became all the more conspicuous after the fatal Congress of Berlin when Macedonia was again given back to Turkey and thus separated from Bulgaria, its sister province. The Porte from now hence introduced a severer censorship and would allow no Bulgarian papers in Macedonia. The Missionary *Zornitsa* was the only newspaper in Bulgarian which the Turkish Government dared not proscribe. Therefore, that historic journal grew to be one of the most vital mediums of communication between the Bulgarians in Macedonia and those in Bulgaria and elsewhere. Through its columns the Bulgarians throughout the Balkans were able to keep in touch with each other and to maintain the ties that linked them together. How strong a unitive influence it exerted upon the Bulgarian race may be judged from the fact that the Serbians, after Austria had in 1881 succeeded to turn their attention from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Macedonia, in finding out what *Zornitsa* meant to the Bulgarian people, tried to buy it over. The following letter of Mr. Robert Thomson of Scotland, one of its former editors, is self-explanatory:

“While I was editor of *Zornitsa* in Constantinople,” says Mr. Thomson, “one day came to me the first secretary of the Serbian Legation there. I cannot recall the exact date, but it was, I think, in 1895. It at any rate was prior to the appearance of *Novini*, the Exarchist paper, because until then *Zornitsa* was the only paper which the Turkish authorities admitted to Macedonia.

The Secretary informed me that if I should agree to publish an edition of *Zornitsa* in Serbian, the Serbian Legation would guarantee all its expenses. I at once suspected his motives, but told him that I would present the question to my colleagues for consideration. After a deliberation my col-

leagues and I concluded that the plan of the Serbians was to show the world that the managers of *Zornitsa*, finding out that it was not received everywhere in Macedonia, were compelled to publish a Serbian edition, from which there could be derived a particular conclusion.

When the Secretary came to see me again, and I informed him of the impossibility of complying with his request, he asked me "Why". I replied that his proposition concealed a political motive, that our paper was being sent everywhere in Macedonia, and that we did not wish to become instruments in the hands of others.

During that epoch we had subscribers in all the cities and many of the villages in Macedonia and Thrace, from the Albanian frontier on the west, to the Black Sea and the Marmora on the east, and from San Stefano, Dede-Agatch, Salonica and Vodena on the south, to the Bulgarian frontier on the north. Only in the region so-called "Old Serbia," north-west of Shardagh, we had no subscribers." ¹⁾

Zornitsa continues to come out to this day, now published in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, and is the oldest Bulgarian paper in existence. It, however, is prohibited in Macedonia under its new masters who have banned not only all Bulgarian books and literature, but the use of the Bulgarian language itself.

Robert College

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the American European Turkey Mission, the translation of the Bible into Bulgarian, and the starting up of *Zornitsa*, there were laid the foundations at the Bosphorus of another American institution whose promoters little imagined that their tiny undertaking was soon to blossom up into a mighty factor in the education and upbuilding of the various races

¹⁾ *Zornitsa*, Sept. 16, 1917.

comprised in the Ottoman Empire, and particularly of the Bulgarian people for the resuscitation and regeneration of which it was to play a singular and most potent rôle.

The first idea for the opening of an American institution of learning in the beautiful capital of the sultans had been launched and encouraged by James and William Dwight, graduates of Yale University. That was away back in 1857. An American merchant of philanthropic propensities had visited the Balkans and had been favourably impressed with the project of raising up a non-sectarian American school in Constantinople where the youth of the Eastern peoples may secure a solid Christian education. Mr. Christopher R. Robert of New York and Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the first principal of the newly created boarding school at Bebek (Bosphorus), in laying its corner-stone had in view the education chiefly of Levantines, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, etc. The obscure Bulgarians were not reckoned as an element upon which the school might depend, much less as rivals in the intellectual field which was just opening up for all. "Neither Dr. Hamlin nor Mr. Robert ever thought of the Bulgarians as students of the College, and Mr. Robert died without knowing that he had played an important part in founding a new state in Europe." ¹⁾ So writes Dr. Washburn, the late and venerable educator, for forty years president of Robert College, and for fifty years its most worthy professor and inspirer. The professors of Robert College were greatly surprised to see such a considerable number

¹⁾ *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, by George Washburn, Boston and New York, 1909, p. 39.

of Bulgarian pupils at its very start. In the years 1869—70 in the College were enrolled 41 Bulgarians to 17 Greeks, 11 Armenians, and 11 of other nationalities. At that period no other higher institution of learning abroad counted as many Bulgarian students.

The Bulgarian youngmen, fired by an extraordinary zeal for education, soon gained the sympathy of their instructors and won an enviable reputation as scholars and men. Because of their numeric superiority and efficient scholarship they obtained ascendancy in many respects in the life of the College, which did not delay to evoke the jealousy of their Greek rivals. Greeks and Bulgarians always hostile competitors in politics were no less so on the College premises. Unable to devise any other means to counteract the increasing popularity of the Bulgarian students at Robert College, the Greeks resorted to intrigues, and President Washburn himself admits in his book, that "*the Greeks considered our establishment as a Bulgarian College, and they hated the Bulgarians.*"¹⁾

Notwithstanding the terrible experience through which the Bulgarians were fated to go prior to their independence, their number in the College always surpassed that of the other nationalities. It is a remarkable fact, that during more than twenty-five years of its history the Bulgarians constituted the majority of its students. That circumstance gave the professors and the authorities of the Institution a real encouragement, particularly as the quality of the work done in the class-room was not of an

¹⁾ *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 257.

inferior kind. The prestige of the College grew day by day, as did the reputation of the Bulgarians with their friends and patrons, especially with Americans and Englishmen.

Here it should also be said that since 1871, side by side with Robert College, there commenced its enobling activities at Scutari on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, one more American institution, equally significant as a civilising agency — the American School, now College, for Girls, at present moved to Arnout-kuey. As far as the Bulgarians are concerned, it proved no less a blessing to them as a nation than did its sister institution for boys. Prof. Monroe has well expressed its dignified rôle in Bulgaria's regeneration when saying :

"Another American institution that has exercised large influence in Bulgaria is the American College for Women in Constantinople. Like Robert College it has drawn its students from numerous nationalities of the Near East; and like Robert College, Bulgaria has been most largely represented in its student body, and the Bulgarian graduates have exerted the largest measure of influence. About twenty-six per cent. of the total number of alumnae have been Bulgars, and many other Bulgarian women have pursued courses in the college and taken the courses in the secondary school. All these women have exerted a strong influence among their people . . . The Bulgarian women who have studied in Constantinople College have rendered most efficient social service in their country as teachers, nurses, and social workers. Many of them have married prominent statesmen and publicists. The Constantinople College has been well characterized by the Bulgarians as 'the institution that trains the mothers of our statesmen and leaders.'" ¹⁾

What a great historic rôle Robert College, and later on, the American College for Girls, have

¹⁾ *Bulgaria and Her People*, pp. 335-337.

played in the rebirth of the Bulgarian race may be judged from the recent voluminous work of Dr. George B. Washburn, for half of century its most worthy president and professor. In his book, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, one may see for himself the phenomenal fact that the history of the College is intimately associated with the history of the Bulgarian people. A glimpse of it may be gathered from this passage :

“For twenty years,” says President Washburn, “the great majority of the graduates were of this nationality. During the previous decade the Bulgarians had awakened from the sleep of centuries. They had thrown off the yoke of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople and had begun to dream of escaping from that of the Turk. It was a nation of peasants, held in ignorance by a double yoke. When they began to seek enlightenment, their attention was first directed to Robert College by Dr. Long, then an American missionary in Bulgaria and later a professor in the College.”

And again :

“Through the long, hopeless years before the dawn of independence, young Bulgarians were fitting themselves there under Christian and American influence to be leaders of their people out of the bondage of serfdom into the freedom of self-government. When the opportunity came, they were ready for it.”¹⁾

It was mainly due to the efforts and inborn diplomacy of President Washburn and Prof. Long that Bulgaria was saved from the Turkish barbarous rule. Here is the noble mission America played during those eventful days, as sketched out by Dr. Washburn himself :

¹⁾ See *Bulgaria and Her People*, by W. S. Monroe, p. 329, 330.

"While these things were happening in Constantinople, the reign of terror continued in Bulgaria, and we communicated information about it to Sir Henry Elliott and to our friends in England. The Turkish Government denied the truth of these statements to Sir Henry, and in the confusion which prevailed here at that time, it is very likely that the government really knew very little of what was going on in Bulgaria. It was under Abdul Azis that the massacres were planned and commenced. But we had to face a more serious difficulty. It was to be expected that the Turks would deny everything; but Mr. Disraeli, the English Prime Minister, declared in Parliament that the reports for which we were responsible, and which he must have known came from us were "mere coffee house babble", and without any foundation — that he had official information to this effect. We begged Sir Henry Elliott to send one of his own secretaries to Bulgaria to investigate and report to him. After excusing himself for some time he sent for me one day and told me that he had at last received orders to do so, and that he would send Mr. Baring down to see me before he started, which he did. But before that I had learned from Sir Henry himself that he was not only sending his youngest secretary, who knew but little of the country and none of the languages, without any interpreter who knew Bulgarian, but that he was to get his information from the Turkish authorities, and to be in the country only two or three days. I protested in vain, although Mr. Baring agreed with me. Sir Henry told me that he was acting under instructions from home. This made it clear that there was to be no real investigation, and what was wanted by Mr. Disraeli was an official report to confirm his statements that nothing serious had happened in Bulgaria. There was nothing left for us to do but to defend our honor and our veracity."¹⁾

It was a duel between an English Prime Minister and a group of highly philanthropic American citizens whose only incentive in their firm determination to face even a Lord Disraeli was their complete knowledge of the actual facts. Lord Beaconsfield was finally defeated, and here is how it happened:

¹⁾ *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, pp. 108, 109.

This controversy "brought us into specially intimate relations with England, with statesmen of both parties, the press and embassy. It was a unique position. We had no favors to ask for ourselves, and we were believed to have a better knowledge of what was going on in Turkey than any one else. On the other side our relations with the people were such that they had confidence in our wisdom and our devotion to their interests. Both parties sought our advice and aid. They did not always follow our advice, but in the case of the Bulgarians we were able to be of great service to them in some of the most critical periods of their existence. We came into conflict with English government only once. That was when Disraeli was prime Minister, and the Turks were massacring the Bulgarians. It is too long a story to be told here, but having first appealed privately to England in vain, we appealed to the world, and Mr. Disraeli denounced our statements in parliament as "coffe-house babble". It was then that Horace Maynard, our ambassador, came to the rescue and sent Consul General Schuyler's report which first moved Mr. Gladstone to enter upon the campaign which aroused the indignation of Europe and led to the Conference of Constantinople, the Russo-Turkish war and the independence of Bulgaria. As our graduates came to the front in the organization and development of the country it was natural for them to seek our advice and aid." ¹⁾

This is a most precious document in regard to America's unofficial intervention in behalf of the Bulgarians, for which the latter feel eternally indebted, as vouchsafed by Dr. Washburn's testimony:

"The Bulgarians are a grateful people, and they never fail to count us among the founders of the kingdom. It will be seen that American influence in Bulgaria was chiefly moral and only incidentally political."

That was the first grand and humane action on the part of Robert College in favour of a people

¹⁾ See *Bulgaria and Her People*, by W. S. Monroe, p. 334.

whose only defence was truth which the leaders of that institution had determined *coûte que coûte* to investigate and proclaim to the world. The revelation of the actual facts by these intrepid men in connexion with the Batak and other massacres in Bulgaria in 1876 thrilled the world, drove Europe to action, and brought about the independence of one more Christian state in the Balkans.

But the interest of Robert College did not stop there. Very few people know that the famous Constantinople Conference convoked in the autumn of the same year was again the work chiefly of President Washburn, and his great friend, Sir Henry Elliott, the able British Ambassador in Turkey at that time. The detailed reports of that British diplomat containing evidencies collected by his American friends induced Lord Derby, the then British Foreign Minister, to convoke an Ambassadorial Conference in order to devise a radical plan of reforms in Turkey, and particularly for Bulgaria. At that international conference, as has already been discussed elsewhere, the ethnical boundaries of the Bulgarian people were drawn up, which have always been recognised by dependable authorities.¹⁾

The motives which were prompting the leaders of Robert College in their efforts to bring about the Ambassadorial Conference have clearly been defined by President Washburn thus:

"This Conference was for many reasons a matter of the greatest interest to the College. If successful, it would insure a long period of peace to Turkey and quiet and peace to the

¹⁾ See pp. 48—53 and 162—166 of the present volume.

European provinces. It would check any advance of Russia, and give the Bulgarians a chance to educate the nation. *We were brought into somewhat intimate relations with it by the fact that England had been a leader in the plan of the Conference and that her representatives believed that we knew more of the people and the situation in Bulgaria than any one else in Constantinople.* Lord Salisbury and sir Henry Elliott were the English delegates." ¹⁾

The Constantinople Conference, at which the racial boundary lines of the Bulgarians were solemnly delineated, was inspired and initiated by Americans and Englishmen. It is, therefore, mainly the result of the united efforts of Anglo-Saxons, most enthusiastically supported by General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, whose desire to see another brother nation freed from Turkish oppression led to the war of liberation in 1877.

It should moreover be noticed that the lands recognised as Bulgarian by these Anglo-American authorities have, ever since their dismemberment at the Congress of Berlin, been incessantly struggling for reunion with Bulgaria, their mother country.

The diplomats and statesmen into whose hands lie the destinies of the Balkan States and Balkan peace can ill afford to disregard the words of warning given out by President Washburn, than whom can be found no more competent authority on the question. For fifty years the history of the Bulgarian people, past and present, had been ever vivid before him. Few knew better than him the ethnographical extension of the Bulgarians with whom Robert College was thrown in most intimate contact.

¹⁾ *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, pp. 116, 117.

The following passage, parts of which have already been referred to, will ever serve to proclaim the iniquity done to Bulgaria at the Congress of Berlin, and to demand its rectification:

“The treaty of San-Stefano was of course a hard one for Turkey, but it would have been better for England and for all the people of European Turkey if it had been allowed to stand.

The Sultan himself had no reason to thank England or Austria for their intervention. The secret convention by which England acquired Cyprus was a little better than a theatrical trick of Lord Beaconsfield's. The treaty of Berlin which was signed July 13, 1878, was one of the most important events of the nineteenth century in European history, but it was not made in the interest of anyone in the Turkish Empire. I do not know that it professed to be, although Lord Beaconsfield congratulated himself on having “consolidated” the Empire, an euphemism for having reduced the size of it. Each Power sought only to further its own interests and ambitions, and for the people chiefly concerned the result has been a succession of wars, revolutions and massacres down to the present day.

. . . . This is not the place to discuss the treaty, but we may take a single illustration from the people in whom the college was most interested at that time, the Bulgarians. The treaty of San Stefano had created a Bulgaria essentially on the lines agreed to by the Powers at the conference of Constantinople. The treaty of Berlin divided the Bulgarians into five sections, giving one part to Servia, one to Roumania, one to an autonomous province called East Roumelia, one to Turkey (Macedonia), and one to constitute the Principality of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Sultan; and it was England especially that insisted upon this, and also upon the right of Turkey to occupy and fortify the range of the Balkans all with the object of making it impossible for the Bulgarians to form a viable state, which might be friendly to Russia. The Englishmen who knew Bulgaria, all our friends, understood the folly and wickedness of this at the time. All England has learned it since.

Thus far the results have been the revolution of 1885, which resulted in the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, the war with Servia, the insurrection in Macedonia and the province of Adrianople, and all the massacres and unspeakable horrors of the last thirty-nine years — in Macedonia, to say nothing of what Bulgaria has suffered from the intrigues of foreign Powers ever since the treaty of Berlin. The awful massacres and persecutions from which the Armenians have suffered since 1886 have been equally the results of this treaty.”¹⁾

In 1885 during the Philippopolis revolution for the union of Northern and Southern Bulgaria, Robert College acted once more the saviour of Bulgaria. The desire of the Bulgarians for reunion was not to the liking of Tsar Alexander III of Russia. It is said he even urged the Sultan to invade Eastern Roumelia, and in order to expose its stubborn protégé, recalled all Russian officers from the country, thus severely handicapping the military resistance of the young Principality. Happily for Bulgaria, her old American friends in Constantinople were paternally watching over her destinies. Fortunately, too, as English Ambassador in Turkey at that time was the well-known diplomatist, Sir William White, a man of large heart and a great friend of President Washburn. Sir William White, though single-handed, for nearly of all his colleagues were on the side of Russia, warned Turkey that any rash act on her part might cost her her existence. The Sultan was awed and dared not to move, and thus the day was won for Bulgaria and her reunion realised.

How great an influence Robert College exerted upon the Bulgarian national policy at that period may be gathered from the declarations of President

¹⁾ *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, pp. 183-184.

Washburn who says, "the Russian press attributes the anti-Russian movement in Bulgaria to the influence of Robert College; a Russian newspaper went so far as to declare that I have expended two and a half millions English pounds to realise that success. It is an incontestable fact that the influence of Robert College represented a serious factor in Bulgaria against the intrigues of Russia."

But the civilising mission of Robert College was not limited to this or that people with which its professors and promoters came in touch. "In our College work," says Dr. Washburn, "we did nothing for the Bulgarians which we did not do for other nationalities." In the case of the Bulgarians, however, Robert College demonstrated most conspicuously its regenerating force. For years it kept on supplying the young nation with its best manhood, and had well merited the exalted reputation of being "the nursery of Bulgarian statesmen", as the American College for Girls was the "institution that trains the mothers" of its "statesmen and leaders". Robert College in many ways has done more for Bulgaria, than Oxford or Cambridge for England, or Yale or Harvard for the United States, and that is not putting it too strong. There has seldom been a Bulgarian ministry without its Robert College graduate and there have been cabinets with nearly half of its members being alumni of that institution, while the number of Robert College graduates occupying important posts in the country is a very large one. On this point the historian William Miller says: "To Robert College were turned the eyes of the young Principality for its future officials, and in a large measure thanks to that institution that

Bulgaria, after a bondage of five centuries, was able to assume its place among the independent states. I have before me the full list of the graduates from Robert College, and it is remarkable how many of them have risen to high posts in Bulgaria. To begin with Dr. C. Stoiloff, the present Prime Minister, the classmate of St. Panaretoff, professor at the same college, and one time special envoy to England. Most all judges, editors, educators, have obtained their training in that American seat, and it is not an exaggeration to state that "Robert College created Bulgaria." ¹⁾

Mr. George Freeman has also very adequately described the significance of that institution as an educator of young Bulgaria. "But no notice of the religious or educational institutions in Turkey would be complete," says he, "without a few words on that admirable offspring of American thought, the Robert College at Constantinople, on the western shore of of the Bosphorus and once described by a Russian as the greatest enemy of Russia in Turkey. From it came some of the men who may be said to have created modern Bulgaria, working in conjunction with other European countries. The present prime minister of Bulgaria, Mr. John Gueshov, was a graduate of Robert College, as was Mr. Stoilov, one of his predecessors, now dead, and many others who sprang to the front when the young nation needed leaders and organizers. Others of the various Christian races of Turkey derived their inspiration and education from the same source, and when the time comes will no doubt be found serving their people and country as the Bulgarians have theirs." ¹⁾

¹⁾ *Travels and Politics in the Near East*, London, 1898, pp. 414,415

Perhaps no other person can speak with more authority on this matter than Sir Edwin Pears, who, like President Washburn, spent nearly all his life in Constantinople, and as a lawyer and correspondent of the London Daily News was able to wield a great influence in behalf of the oppressed races in the Ottoman Empire. He was a particular friend of the American professors and missionaries throughout Turkey, and was the first to publish a report on the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria. This is what he says on Robert College: "Two influences must be noted as having great importance from that time to the present upon Bulgarian history, the first is that England steadily supported the independence of Bulgaria and opposed the Russian intention to force its people to accept her yoke

"As my readers have probably noticed, the United States has never declared war upon Bulgaria; the explanation is that Bulgaria has received from America more aid in finding her soul than from all other countries. This influence came mainly from the great American institution known as Robert College in Constantinople. The late Dr. Washburn, the Principal of that College for nearly forty years, was a man of magnetic influence, resembling that of Arnold, of Rugby. Every year saw a number of graduates in the College of various races, but notably Bulgarian, who were hard students, and whose minds had been trained to accept the ideals of America. Stambuloff, though not himself there trained, spoke in very high terms of the value of its work. His

¹) *The American Review of Reviews*, November, 1912, p. 568.

successor, Stoiloff, was a graduate, and a man greatly respected both in Bulgaria and in England. He was one of the earliest graduates, and with him was Mr. Panaretoff, who since the commencement of the world war has been the able representative of Bulgaria in Washington. Clear-headed and thoughtful, but strictly straight in his diplomatic and private conduct, he has earned the respect of all in America who take an interest in Eastern politics."¹)

One cannot fail, therefore, to imagine how great and world-wide influence Robert College, together with its sister institution for girls, has been exerting in South-Eastern Europe and Asia. They, indeed, have been playing a phenomenally useful and ennobling rôle for the enlightenment of the Eastern world. They have been faithful interpreters of American ideas, principles, and culture. The twin Colleges looming up dominantly upon the shore of the Bosphorus may justly be said to be America in the East.

Bulgaria, where American influence has been particularly strong and effective, has often been spoken of as resembling rather a part of the United States than of Europe. In no other country in the East has there been formed such a nobility of character of the Anglo-Saxon type as in Bulgaria. In no other country in the Balkans is there such an aversion to sham, frivolity, chauvinism, and national depravity. What the Bulgarians would have succeeded in making of themselves, had they been allowed to develop freely within their natural ethnical boundaries, has often been pointed out by competent writers. Nat-

¹) *Contemporary Review*, November, 1918, p. 486.

ional adversities and calamities due to political blunders and foreign intrigues, at all events, have not been able to stifle their democratic spirit, their sobriety, and their yearning for education and progress.

Robert College, the American College for Girls, in Constantinople, and the various American schools and institutions in the Balkans and the United States, have during the last several decades greatly facilitated the spreading of Anglo-Saxon ideas among the Bulgarians.¹⁾ English literature and language have been advancing among them at an unbelievable fast pace. English is spoken by more people in Bulgaria than is the case anywhere in South-Eastern Europe and the East.²⁾ It may only be a story, but when William J. Bryan visited Belgrade in 1912, and wished to see the Serbian King, he had to be informed: "His Majesty is sick and therefore unable to avail himself of the honour of meeting your Excellence," because no interpreter could be found. The various American factors operating in Bulgaria proper have helped to increase the study of the English

¹⁾ It is enough to mention that in 1912 there were six ministers graduates of American colleges. The president and the secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are of Anglo-Saxon education. The president of the Supreme Court is a Robert College graduate. Alumni of Pennsylvania, Chicago, Harvard, and other American universities founded the English-Speaking League at Sofia, perhaps the only society of this kind in the East. The pastor of the First Evangelical Church in the Bulgarian capital, the largest in that part of the world, is a graduate of Princeton. A Yale man occupies the chair of English at the Sofia University. The list of Bulgarians who have obtained their education in the United States is a considerable one.

²⁾ Sir Charles Eliot in his work, *Turkey in Europe*, London, 1918, p. 356 says: "I was entertained by a Bulgarian who spoke excellent English. This is a result of the education given at Robert College on the Bosphorus, which is much frequented by the Bulgarians, many of whom after leaving rise to prominent positions. Among the higher officials at Sofia English is spoken more commonly than French."

language and literature. English has long been introduced in the University and in some of the gymnasias. A considerable English library has thus been brought to existence in the land. English literature is very popular among the Bulgarians. It is being read mostly in the original, but a good many of the English classics have been translated. Most of the productions of Shakespeare have long been rendered into Bulgarian. Though the majority of the translations is imperfect, nevertheless, it is a phenomenal fact that of Shakespeare's plays, like Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice, Coriolanus, etc., have each more than three different translations, while Hamlet has gone through five.

American Manifestations in Behalf of the Macedonians

Public Appeals and Protests

During and after the great Macedonian revolution of 1903, in the United States, as well as in England, public sentiment was greatly aroused against the terrible persecution and slaughter to which the Macedonians were exposed. Public meetings were held in many places at which strong protests were made against the misrule of the Turks and the passivity of the European Powers. Petitions were sent to the American Government urging it to use its good offices in concert with England and the other great nations for putting a stop to the unbearable state of affairs in Macedonia.

In September of that year a double committee composed of leading Americans was constituted who issued the following appeal:

The Cry from Macedonia.

What Paul saw in the spirit, the vision of the man of Macedonia, who called to him for help for his country, we have before us in the flesh. The suffering and destitution, resulting from insurrection in Macedonia, are extreme. Forty thousand Macedonians have managed to cross the border into Bulgaria. Several times that number remain in Macedonia, homeless, their herds and crops destroyed, perishing of cold and starvation. Everyone is familiar to some extent with the conditions which have prevailed in that unhappy country for the last two years and more, the active agitation of the Macedonian revolutionists, the rising in rebellion of a portion of the Macedonian people, the attempt of the Turkish authorities to suppress the revolution with the utmost severity by overwhelming force. With the rights and wrongs of the Macedonians we are not now concerned, but we cannot help being concerned with the relief of fellow human beings and fellow Christians, of innocent women and children, who are perishing by the hundred, and will perish by the thousand, most cruelly, unless Christian Europe and Christian America come to the rescue.

The New York Committee.

Signed,

Hon. SETH LOW, Ex. Mayor
of New York
Rt. Rev. H. C. POTTER, D.D., LL.D.
BISHOP EDWARD S. ANDREWS,
D.D., LL.D.
C. C. CREEGAN, D.D.
HENRY O. DWIGHT, LL.D.
CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D.
JOHN P. PETERS, D.D.
WM. HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D.
DAVID J. BURRELL, D.D.
J. ROSS STEVENSON, D.D.
MORRIS K. JESUP
ROBERT S. MACARTHUR, D.D.
JOHN S. KENNEDY
GEO. W. WICKERSHAM
EVERETT P. WHEELER

The Philadelphia Committee.

Signed,

Rt. Rev. O. W. WHITAKER,
D.D., LL.D.
Rt. Rev. A. MACKAY-SMITH, D.D.
BISHOP CYRUS D. FOSS, D.D.,
LL. D.
FLOYD W. TOMKINS, D.D.
CHARLES WOOD, D.D.
KERR BOYCE TUPPER, D. D.,
LL. D.
MERVIN J. ECKELS, D.D.
JAMES CRAWFORD, D.D.
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, L.H.D.
Hon. JOHN WANAMAKER
JOHN H. CONVERSE
LEWIS H. REDNER
RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG
E. FRANK CARSON

The Pan-American Conference of Bishops, held in Washington during the month of October of the

same year, at which over hundred delegates from the United States, West Indies, Canada, and other places were present, at a session devoted to the discussion of the conditions and sad plight of the Macedonians, passed the following resolution :

Resolved, That this council desires to put on record an expression of its horror and indignation at the wholesale atrocities that have been and are still being perpetrated upon our fellow Christians in the Province of Macedonia. We offer them our profound sympathy in the fiery trials through which they are passing, and we pray God in His mercy to send them deliverance. We would further express the hope that the moral influence of the government of this great republic may be thrown into the scale in favor of such reforms as may give to the Macedonian people the protection of law against injustice and oppression. And where those who survive these terrible persecutions are now perishing from disease, cold and hunger, we commend to all Christian people the prompt and energetic employment of whatever measures may contribute to the succor of this afflicted people, and especially such contributions as may relieve their sore necessities.

The following resolution bearing the names of some of the most prominent citizens of the State of Connecticut, including its Governor, was addressed to Congress, in February, 1914 :

To the Congress of the United States :

We, the undersigned citizens of the state of Connecticut, desire to express our horror and indignation of the shocking atrocities that have been and still are being perpetrated upon our fellow-Christians in Macedonia, by the forces of a government with which our country holds diplomatic relations, and would, furthermore, most respectfully urge upon the Congress of these United States, through its chief executive, that it use its good offices, in co-operation with the other Christian nations, England, France and Italy, toward the speedy fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, which guarantees to those

Christians humane rule and protection from lawlessness and traditional outrages.

Signed,

Abiram Chamberlain	Newman Smyth
O. Vincent Coffin	George P. Fisher
Morgan G. Bulkeley	John P. Studley
Bishop C. B. Brewster	Ezekiel G. Stoddard
Rev. Joseph H. Twitchell	Eli Whitney
Timothy Dwight	Pierce N. Welch
Norris G. Osborn	Henry P. Wright
George M. Gunn	Henry Wade Rogers
Arthur F. Eggleston	Charles H. Smith
John R. Buck	Livingston W. Cleaveland
Charles E. Perkins	George B. Martin
Arthur Perkins	Andrew W. Phillips
W. O. Atwater	Lewis N. Welch
J. M. Van Vleck	Russel H. Chittenden
B. P. Raymond	Edward L. Curtis
C. J. Winchester	William P. Baldwin
A. R. Cruttenden	C. W. Pickett
M. B. Copeland	Alexander Troup
Theodore Munger	etc.

Another almost similar petition addressed to Congress was signed by such eminent Americans as Bishop Brewster of Hartford, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, Prof. G. P. Fisher of Yale University, Morris K. Jesup, Bishop Potter, and others.

The Bulgarians from Macedonia and Bulgaria living in the United States to the number of twelve thousand sent a petition to Congress in which they asked the United States Government to exert its benignant influence in behalf of their countrymen, stating that hundreds of them had been massacred by the Turks, that thousands of them were filling the Turkish prisons, many of them were driven into exile or perishing from hunger and exposure, while those who had managed to escape had fled to Bulgaria in a destitute condition.

All these manifestations of sympathy in America were evoked by the Macedonian population in revolt.

As has been made plain by the historian at so many occasions, Macedonia that revolts is always *Bulgarian Macedonia*. That great armed struggle against Turkish tyranny, in 1903, was again undertaken by the Macedonian Bulgarians no longer able to endure an unbearable régime that aimed at their annihilation and that of their national aspirations for freedom and reunion with their kith and kin in Bulgaria.

In that year the Central Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation sent to America a special delegate who made several visits to the State Department. President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay were greatly in sympathy with the Macedonians struggling for liberty, and according to their own assurances the United States Government had informed England that she could count on America's moral support in any attempt on the part of Great Britain for bringing about the fulfilment of Art. 23 of the Berlin Treaty which guaranteed to Macedonia a local autonomy.

The attitude of the President of the United States was in itself a great encouragement to the Macedonians, and did a great deal to stimulate England in taking the initiative for the drawing up of the reform programmes subsequently undertaken in behalf of Macedonia.

The American Macedonians

Their Loyalty to Bulgaria, their Mother Country

The periodical persecutions of the Bulgarians in Macedonia under Turkish régime, which assumed a worse aspect under Serbian and Greek occupation

drove thousands of the unfortunate natives abroad, chiefly to Bulgaria and the United States. In America, though about the newest of the many colonies of Europeans, they already have their own independent establishments, organisations, and newspapers, brought to existence no more under, but completely isolated from the poisonous Balkan partisan atmosphere and influences.

The American Macedonians under the free and beneficent guidance of the United States have time and again manifested their loyalty and race feeling to the Bulgarian cause. At their last convention held at Chicago in December, 1918, and consisting of some 201 delegates representing over 40,000 Macedonians, they passed the following significant resolution sent to President Wilson, the importance of which no political monger would dare to minimise:

RESOLUTION

of the Macedono-Bulgarian Convention, Held at Chicago, Illinois, on December 1-6, 1918, for the Freedom of Macedonia and the Unity of the Bulgarian People.

Honorable WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.

PARIS, FRANCE.

Mr. President,

We, the undersigned, authorized by the two hundred and one delegates, representing 40,000 Bulgarians from Macedonia, now residing in various places throughout the United States of America, and assembled in convention in Chicago, Illinois, December 1st-6th 1918, for the purpose of exchanging views about the future fate of our land and people, consider it, before all, our sacred duty to express our profound gratitude to the great American people for the kind hospitality shown us from the day of our arrival in this country — as asylum for the oppressed.

Furthermore, we would wish to lay emphasis upon the invaluable services of the American pioneers and missionaries and the splendid influence of their institutions among our people during the past seventy years.

We take the liberty so submit for the earnest consideration of the President of the United States of America, the following facts :

First : We were born, raised and brought up in the various towns and villages of Macedonia, such as Skopie (Uskub), Tetovo Dibra, Ochrida, Kostur (Kastoria), Lerin, Vodena, Bitolia (Monastir), Prilep, Veles, Ghevgeli, Doiran, Kukush, Radovish, Shtip, Maleshevo, Kotchane, Kratovo, Kumanovo, Palanka, Demir-Hissar, Seres, Drama, Salonika, Ressen, Struga, Tikvesh, Enidje-Vardar and their respective districts, all of which are at the present under Greek and Servian yoke. Driven out of our homes by the terrible Turkish misrule and oppression, we found refuge in America, the land of liberty, where we enjoy freedom and justice. Yet, we cannot forget the land of our fathers where we have left our wives and children and our homes — this being the most sacred duty of every man.

Second : We, who for more than half a century have struggled against the Turks and fought for liberty, lived to see our ideals frustrated by the terms of that ignominious treaty of Bucharest (1913), against the injustice of which we immediately raised a voice of protest from America. This treaty as an act of violence brought new painful complications in the Balkans and when the great war broke out threw Bulgaria on the side of Germany against Servia, a circumstance that benefited for the time being Germany alone.

Third : We are a part of that people whose fathers and forefathers struggled against the yoke of the Greek church and long before the commonwealth of Bulgaria was brought into existence were the founders and builders of our church organization — the Bulgarian Exarchate in Constantinople.

Fourth : We, the Macedonian Bulgarians, living in the United States of America from only a small part of 1,200,000 Bulgarians in Macedonia, who speak nothing but Bulgarian, *but we wish it be known that our will is expressed herein free of any foreign influence and pressure whatsoever.*

Fifth: We shall say nothing herein whatever relative to the opinions of scientists, travelers and ethnographers who have ascertained the Bulgarian nationality of the Slavic population of Macedonia, but we take the liberty to declare that it would be absolutely unjust to leave us under Servian and Greek yoke now after the principle of *self-determination and national unity* has been so solemnly proclaimed.

In view of all the above facts, the Convention adopted the following

Resolution :

In the name of the great principles which the President of United States of America has proclaimed and has made the basis of his world policies, the Convention most respectfully begs the President of the United States of America to kindly exercise his best efforts at the Peace Conference so that our native land, Macedonia, be included within the future boundaries of our common fatherland—Bulgaria, and prevent from accomplishing a great injustice those who again will try to break up our land and subject us to foreign domination.

The Convention places its implicit confidence in President Wilson and trusts that he will gladly defend a just cause, it being one of his sacred purposes to secure freedom for every nation and thus insure a safe and lasting peace for the future generations.

The Convention sincerely believes that the President of the United States of America will take a firm stand in behalf of our freedom and national unity and wishes him success in his great mission.

Respectfully submitted,

Rev. D. NACKOFF,
President of the Convention.

ALEXANDER BELIEFF,
Secretary of the Convention.

On Jan. 15, 1919 the Macedono-Bulgarian Committee sent to the Peace Conference a Memorandum which begins and ends thus :

MEMOIR

Respectfully submitted by the Macedono-Bulgarian Central Committee, representing forty thousand Bulgarians from Macedonia in the United States of America, to the President of the United States of America, and to the Governments of the Allied and Neutral Powers of Europe, and their representatives at the Peace Conference, Paris.

As a supplement to the resolution of the Macedono-Bulgarian Congress held in Chicago, December 1—6th, 1918, and attended by two hundred and one delegates, representing the forty thousand Bulgarians from Macedonia, at present refugees throughout the United States of America—and in support of the just and lawful demands therein, the Macedono-Bulgarian Central Committee in Chicago considers it to be a sacred duty to bring to the attention of the world the cause of the Macedonian Bulgarians through the medium of this Memoir.

The members of this Committee do not doubt that the facts herein represented will help in the enlightenment of American, as well as European public opinion, and be of assistance to the Delegates of the Peace Conference in a just settlement of the Macedonian question. The publishing of this Memoir was made so much more imperative through the circumstance that while all oppressed and enslaved peoples will be represented at the Peace Conference, we the Macedonian Bulgarians alone, will be deprived of proper representation; but we wish to emphasize that if small democratic Bulgaria, who until recently enjoyed the sympathies and support of all great democracies, lost those sympathies, it was through no fault of her own.

It was our suffering under foreign yoke that made Bulgaria align herself with Autocratic Germany (who as representative of brute force was never popular with the Bulgarian people) in a time when the Democracies of Europe failed to give proper support to the just appeal of the free Bulgarians in favor of their consanguineous brethren in Macedonia. Bulgaria was in duty bound to enter the great conflict, and, in our opinion, it is unjust to blame her for going in with the side which, although in the wrong, promised her support in the realization of her ideals. Who would dare, for instance, to find fault with France for sacrificing herself that Alsace-

Lorraine might be free; Italy for her Irredenta, etc.? Who would dare blame England, who in order that Belgian independence be safeguarded, threw her might into the great struggle, risking her all?

We, the Macedonian Bulgarians, who have suffered so much during a half century of struggle for liberty against the Turks, raise our voices in behalf of the union of the Bulgarian people, in the name of the great principle of National Unity, for which so much blood has been shed on the battle-fields of Europe since the seventeenth century, and which was so solemnly proclaimed by the President of the United States of America. This principle was the guiding element of the world's democracies in the recently ended war against German Autocracy. It is in the name of this same Principle that the Peace Conference is assembled in Paris.

It was the ignominious treaty of Bucharest of 1913, which in spite of all known facts and existing treaties divided our country and subjected the greater part of us to foreign domination, that brought Bulgaria into the war.

The impartial investigation of the Carnegie Commission after the second Balkan War show the terrible situation of Macedonia under Servian and Greek domination. Schools were closed. Teachers and clergymen were maltreated, killed, hanged. Everything Bulgarian was destroyed. People were compelled to change the Bulgarian suffixes to their names; they were forbidden to sing their national ballads. Efforts were made to kill the national consciousness by all means. The terror became so unbearable as to compel Bulgarians and Turks to forget the centuries old national hatred for each other and at some places unite for the purpose of secretly fighting their common oppressors.

Having in mind the above mentioned facts, the Macedono-Bulgarian Central Committee holds that a great injustice will be done to us, the Bulgarians in Macedonia, if to punish official Bulgaria, Europe would partition our country and subject us to foreign domination. We entertain no doubts whatsoever that the Representatives of the Great Powers at the Peace Conference, as well as all well informed circles, could not help but see the essential difference between the pure and just ideals of the Bulgarian people and the selfish aspirations and dark

plots of irresponsible factors and the Bulgarian Court which in many instances has trifled with the sentiments of the people and traded with the national ideals for their own self-aggrandizement.

We cannot refrain from raising our voice in protest against all such transactions of the Crown and the Bulgarian Bureaucracy, especially that—at the time the treaty between Bulgaria and Servia was secretly signed—designating the purely Bulgarian districts of Skopia, Kumanovo, Tetovo and Dibra as “disputed zone” and leaving it for the arbitration of the Russian Emperor.

The roots of the evil, however, lie deeper. The chief offending factors for the anomalous political situation in the Balkans were Imperialistic Germany with Austria-Hungary and Bureaucratic Russia. After the failure of Servia in her attempt in 1885 to prevent the union between the then Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, Austria-Hungary in order to turn the attention of Servia away from the Servian speaking peoples within its boundaries, by means of generous gifts and medals bestowed upon the powerful in Belgrade, succeeded in artificially creating a movement in Servia for annexations in Macedonia. This movement later found full support in Russia after the latter realized that the Bulgarian people will never allow her to use them for the accomplishment of her own selfish aims of expansion. On the other hand, Greece, animated by her so-called “Megali Eadea” (Great Idea) for restoring the Byzantine Empire, in which she was encouraged by Germany, has always been working toward undoing whatever understanding and good-will was possible between the Balkan Nations. Such were the offending factors responsible for the anomalous situation in the Balkans which made it possible for the forces of reaction to silently agree on various arrangements by means of which the misled peoples were exploited and their lawful interests traded upon.

No, we cannot but declare once more that it is unjust to identify the pure ideals of the Bulgarian people with the selfish aspirations of the Court, and sincerely hope that the present Peace Conference will not repeat the gross mistake of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, after it was so solemnly

declared that might is not right, that brute force and secret diplomacy will be no more, that secret treaties and aggressive alliances will be no longer tolerated.

We appeal to the President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Italy, and all the Delegates to the Peace Conference to kindly exercise their influence in behalf of our just cause, and decide the Macedonian Question according to the Principle of Nationalities. The Committee cannot believe for a moment that the great American people would fail to hear our sincere appeal; that France, the birthplace of civilization and the mother of liberties, will forget her heroic and glorious past and fail to raise her voice for the freedom of the Macedonian Bulgarians; nor can we think that England would betray her traditions as a friend to all the oppressed.

We firmly believe that the Delegates to the Peace Conference will rise above all considerations to please, and in the name of humanity conscientiously cast their vote in behalf of the enslaved Macedonian people.

Perhaps some interested parties will make an effort to question the Bulgarian nationality of the Slavic population in Macedonia in spite of all the facts herein presented. To these efforts we submit the proposition of a plebiscite taken under the control of the Great Powers after eliminating all external pressure over the population, and after a chance is given to all Bulgarians from Macedonia now refugees in foreign countries to return back home . . .

Macedonia, the cradle of Bulgarian national consciousness, the birthplace of Slavic Letters and Literature, separated from the Commonwealth of Bulgaria and eking out a miserable existence under foreign yoke! Macedonia, which through centuries long and bitter struggle has cherished the ideals of the Bulgarian as a mother cherishes her offspring, hoping and praying for a glorious future; Macedonia, the mother of Bulgarian genius, who has patiently laid stone by stone the foundation for an enlightened and independent Bulgarian nation; this Macedonia of the brave people who courageously fought in the gigantic struggle, true to their national covenants, could never have been, or ever shall be either Greek or Servian! Macedonia ought to be Bulgarian in order that

the Principle of Nationalities may find its full application among the nations of the Balkans.

“We have learned the lesson of time, and we know three things of worth ;

Only to sow and sing and reap in the land of our birth.
And what shall you gain if you take us, and bind us and
beat us with thongs,

And drive us to sing underground in a whisper, our sad
little songs ?”

*Respectfully submitted, this 15th day of January, 1919, by
the Macedono-Bulgarian Central Committee (Chicago, Ill.)*

REV. D. NACKOFF
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C. D. KAPIDANCHEFF
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REV. N. PAVLOFF
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American Authorities on the Bulgarians Bulgarian Character and Racial Aspirations

American literature, though young, has nevertheless contributed a considerable number of valuable works on the Balkans and the Bulgarians. Space does not permit for a review of all of those productions. A large number of them are concerned mostly with the Macedonian question, as for example, E.L. Curtis' *The Turk's Lost Provinces in Europe*, Sonnichsen's *Confessions of a Macedonian Bandit*, Tsanoff's *Pawns of Liberty, Bulgaria*, by Historicus, *The Carnegie Balkan Report*, Dominian's, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, etc. Prof. Monroe's vivid and authoritative work, *Bulgaria and Her People*, is also largely concerned with the various features and conditions in Macedonia during 1913. It is profusely illustrated and is a most interesting American book on the subject. Sloane's *The Balkans* is another serious discussion on the question. The conclusions drawn by the authors of these volumes, as well as by other writers, dealing with the Eastern

question are essentially the same arrived at by the majority of European writers. They all consciously or unconsciously admit the race affinity between Macedonia and Bulgaria. Most of them have described the Bulgarians as the most democratic, tolerant, and progressive people in the Balkans. Mr. Herbert L. Bridgman, Prof. G. A. Dorsey of Chicago University, and others who had studied the question on the spot, have, been particularly won over by the homely but wholesome virtues of the Bulgarian. Prof. Dorsey goes so far as to consider the average Bulgarian more moral than the average Ohioan.¹⁾ He was greatly impressed by the Bulgar's greatest virtue — his love for his land and his industriousness²⁾, unparalleled anywhere, and thus discovered the mystery of the Bulgar's power of tenacity which had saved the race in the past and cannot fail to guarantee it its merited place among the most progressive peoples of Europe.

¹⁾ "The average man in Bulgaria to-day," says Prof. Dorsey, "is probably as honest as the average man in Ohio. He is at least as moral. He drinks less, he smokes less, he does not gamble . . . He is a moral man . . . The more I see of them the more I am impressed with their sobriety, earnestness and honesty (*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 1910).

²⁾ The secret power that had preserved the national character of the Bulgarian people from Turkish oppression and Hellenism is found in this typical Bulgarian folk-song:

"The Tsar (Sultan) to Peter turned and spake:
 O thou Peter, first boyar,
 A single request have I with thee,
 And thou should'st frankly answer it,—
 How came it thou shouldst boyar be,
 A boyar and head-tchorbadji?
 People say a better boyar thou art
 Than I, and my illustrious Vizier.
 — O Sire, o most blessed Tsar,
 Since thou begst I needs an answer give,
 How a boyar I came to be,
 A boyar and head-tchorbadji:

Perhaps no other writer has analysed so well the staying and masculine powers of the Bulgarian peasant citizen as Theodore Roosevelt, who seems to have studied him more closely than most Continental politicians and public men. His portrayal of the awaking Bulgarian is at once a true description, a warning, and a prophecy. These passages taken from his masterly *Outlook* editorial on *The Story of the Balkans*, published during the Balkan-Turkish war, 1912, are typical Rooseveltian:

“But it soon became evident to keen observers that the furnace of centuries had toughened the Bulgarian into a man of marked and forceful type. No other nation has traveled so far and so fast as Bulgaria has traveled in the last third of a century. Americans have just cause to feel proud that Robert College gave to many of the leading Bulgarian citizens their education, so that it has played a peculiar part in the making of the Bulgarian nation. The dreadful experiences through which the Bulgarians had passed for more than twenty generations seemed to have purged the dross from their natures, and to have left nothing but tempered steel behind. They possessed great sobriety and steadfastness of character, and in an unfortunate little war with Servia early showed that they were also of an unexpectedly good military type. They were very patriotic. Every Bulgarian, even the

Nine sons have I,
 And nine daughters-in-law,
 When to the fields we go,
 Nine ploughs we take with us,
 Mine added to them, makes them ten;
 When to the vineyards we wend our way,
 Nine hoes we carry in our hands,
 Mine added to them, makes them ten;
 Hence why am I now a boyar,
 A boyar and head-tchorbadji.
 The Tsar to Peter these words spake:

— O thou Peter, boyar chief,
 May thou long thy wealth enjoy,
 Since with thy brow's sweat has it been earned.”

poorest, felt the keenest devotion to his country. Moreover, it must be remembered that patriotism with the Bulgarian did not mean a mere emotion to be appealed to by a Fourth of July oration, nor even the emotion of a higher type which makes good men and good women try to do their civic duty. To the Bulgarian patriotism meant a fierce intensity of conviction, a passionate clinging to independence and national success as the one alternative to the most frightful slavery. For many centuries the Bulgarian had crouched hopelessly under the Turkish whips. Anything he earned beyond a bare living was usually taken from him by his oppressors. And when at long intervals a few of his number, like maddened slaves, rose in aimless revolt, the vengeance wreaked on the whole nation was terrible, and that vengeance fell with appalling cruelty upon women and children quite as much as upon men. It is but thirty-five years since the Bulgarians submitted to atrocities such as in America have never been endured except by victims of Indian outbreaks. Every Bulgarian, rich or poor, became a soldier, carefully drilled, well trained, commanded by men who made military science a study of the most practical kind

Under these circumstances the whole Bulgarian nation was an army, and an army of the most formidable kind. There was in the national character both a toughness and a sobriety that rendered the people willing to take a long look ahead, and carefully and laboriously prepare as their foresight demanded. Patient, self-reliant, possessing prudent caution in preparation, great speed and decision in action, and iron resolution—no wonder that the Bulgarian people has borne itself so wonderfully, that the Bulgarian army has shown such extraordinary qualities.

*"Not the rise of Japan itself has been more striking and unexpected than the rise of Bulgaria. Whatever may be the decision of the European Powers regarding the Balkan war—a decision which it is too much to be feared will probably be governed largely by selfish political considerations—the sympathy of the people of both Europe and America ought to be wholly with the people of the Balkans in their heroic struggle for liberty."*¹⁾

¹⁾ *The Outlook*, Nov. 23, 1912.

Such a laudatory statement about the Bulgarians made by a former president of the United States must assuredly rest on truthful datas. That Mr. Roosevelt knew what he was talking about may be gathered from the fact that in the year his article was published the general status of progress in that new country stood very high in comparison with that of its long emancipated neighbours.

The educational institutions of a nation, such as the number of schools, scholars, teachers, etc., go a great deal towards determining the intellectual high water-mark of that nation. The figures are a most impartial and eloquent witness of true progress:

Budget for Public Instruction

<i>State</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Fr.</i>
Bulgaria	1912	25,272,948
Serbia	1912	7,538,545
Greece	1912	11,908,389
Montenegro	1912	606,000
Roumania	1912	22,875,008

Thus, it appears from the above items, that Bulgaria spends nearly twice as much for the education and the intellectual uplifting of her people as do all the rest of the Balkans, i. e., Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro put together.

The exact number of schools, teachers, and scholars, for Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Roumania in 1912 was:

<i>State</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Bulgaria	5,301	12,715	504,879
Servia	1,337	3,059	146,396
Greece	3,796	5,811	306,481
Roumania	5,252	11,532	598,888

That means that per thousand inhabitants, the average number of pupils was, for Bulgaria 121, Greece 116, Roumania 88, Serbia 51.

It is evident that Bulgaria, even in this domain, holds first place. The combined figures of the schools, scholars, and teachers of both Greece and Serbia fall very much lower than the school figures for Bulgaria.

In the education of the woman, too, Bulgaria holds first place. Thus the average number of schoolgirls per thousand is, for Bulgaria 47, Greece 34.5, Roumania 29.5, Serbia 10.8.

The difference in literates among the conscripts in the army of these various states is also great.

In Bulgaria, out of every 100 conscripts during 1906, 74.81 per cent of the youngmen had primary school education. A large number of these are high school and university graduates.

In Greece, during 1909, only 55 per cent could read and write and in Serbia during 1906 only 47.87 per cent.

"Anyone," says Dr. Haskell, "can verify from encyclopedia and year books, as I have done, the statements of Prof. W. S. Monroe on pp. 235, 236 of *Bulgaria and Her People*, Boston, 1914. He shows that in 1913, when Serbia and Greece had been free from Ottoman rule more than 80 years, Roumania more than 50, and Bulgaria only 36, the illiteracy of new recruits in the Greek army was 30 per cent, in the Roumanian 41, and in the Bulgarian 5. Serbian army statistics were not given, but the illiteracy of the whole Serbian nation was 83 per cent. In 1912 Bulgaria spent for education ₹ 1.20 per capita, Serbia 60 cents, Greece 50 cents, Montenegro 40 cents."

Prof. Monroe does not mention Roumania which at that date was spending 65 cents per capita for the education of her citizens.

Unlike most other countries, Bulgaria consists of small independent farmers who comprise over 80 % of the total population. As has been asserted by all authorities on the question, the Bulgarians form the strongest agricultural element of the Balkan Peninsula. And that, in truth, is their greatest claim to hegemony among the Balkan peoples. As such the Bulgarians dislike a military career and officialdom in general. For this reason the growth of the professional and industrial schools in the country has been extraordinary, as may well be judged from the fact that in 1912 Bulgaria had 102 such institutions, Roumania 83, Switzerland 27, Greece 1, while Serbia none. The majority of the students of the Sofia University take law as it guarantees them a more independent future.

From an economical standpoint, Bulgaria is better off than are the rest of the Balkan States. On April 1, 1914, the total Bulgarian public debt came up to 1,288,589,579 francs and 73 centimes, or an average per capita of 259 francs and 27 centimes.

The Greek public debt before the war, not counting the debts incurred since the war, amounted up to 393 francs per capita. The Servian public debt was 245 francs per capita, while Roumania had 358 francs per capita. Thus, at the end of two tremendous wars, the Bulgarian public debt was less than even the public debts of the other states before the war.

Bulgaria has largest area of her land under cultivation and Greece the least. Only 33 per cent. of the land in Greece is under cultivation.

The production of grain and cereals in Bulgaria is large enough to take care of her own people and

plenty to spare for exportation to Turkey, Greece, and Belgium. During the summer of 1910, the Bulgarian soil produced over 600,000,000 bushels of grain, or over 40,000,000 bushels more than the entire output of Turkey and Servia combined.

In time of good crops, Servia is able to export between 10 and 15 million francs' worth of grain. While during normal years, Bulgaria exports grain for from 70 to 80 millions of francs. To Greece alone Bulgaria used to sell over 10 millions of francs' worth of grain yearly.

Live stock breeding is quite extensive in Bulgaria. Prior the war she had 538,271 horses, or 184,719 more than are raised in Greece, Servia and Montenegro combined.

Another point of interest is to compare the length of the railroad lines in each one of these Balkan States. That will show the care which each state has taken in raising the commercial and the economical high water-mark.

Bulgaria	1912 . .	1,205 miles
Servia	1911 . .	578 »
Greece	1909 . .	978 »
Montenegro	1911 . .	11 »
Turkey (in Europe)	1909 . .	965 »

There are actually over 1,382 miles of railroads in operation in Bulgaria, while Greece, with more than half a century longer period of her political independence than that of Bulgaria, has a much more inferior network of railroads than has "uncivilised" Bulgaria.

It is a noteworthy fact that culturally the Bulgarians throughout the Balkans even prior to Bul-

garia's liberation stood higher than their free neighbours. Mr. J. A. McGahan, the eminent American correspondent, who visited the Balkans in 1876, at the time of the Batak massacres, wrote this about the schools in Bulgaria then:

"In England and in Europe in general people have a very wrong opinion of the Bulgarians. I had always learned, and to be frank, I myself until recently believed that they were savages no superior in point of civilization to the American Indians. You can conceive my amazement, however, when I discovered that almost every Bulgarian village had its school, and those that had escaped destruction were in a flourishing state. They are being maintained by a voluntary tax, without any Government encouragement, but, on the contrary, in spite of innumerable obstacles created up by the very state authorities. Tuition in the schools is free, education is equally available both for rich and poor. It would be difficult to find a single Bulgarian child who cannot read and write. In general, the percentage of literacy in Bulgaria is not smaller than that existing in England or France."¹⁾

Mackenzie and Irby as early as 1863 were surprised to find so many Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. And, in truth, the following educational status of enslaved Macedonia and free Serbia is highly instructive:

The Bulgarian population in Macedonia numbering some 1,200,000 people, and Serbia with a total population of 2,800,000, had during the year 1908—1909:

	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Serbia</i>
Schools	1,359	1,336
Teachers	2,873	3,069
Scholars	78,519	146,540
Primary schools	1,258	1,304
Progymnasias	86	—
Secondary schools	15	25 (including 11 Gymnasias and the University.)

¹⁾ J. A. McGahan, *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria*.

It has been established that the Bulgarian population of Macedonia proportionally counts more men of higher education, physicians, lawyers, diplomats, teachers and professors, officers, merchants, divines, etc., than free Serbia, Greece or Montenegro. There has been no Bulgarian cabinet without its Macedonian member. As high as 30 per cent of the officials and intellectual class in Bulgaria are of Macedonian origin.¹⁾

Notwithstanding the above facts, the Greeks and Serbians whose national education falls below that of the Macedonians, are to-day Macedonia's political masters, and which once more recalls the famous words of derision uttered by Lord Strangford from the Balkans in 1863: "The Serbian who knows the value of sacred bards, and is uppermost over here just at present, is an eager fiery warrior of the Cross, athirst for civilisation, and anxious to help the Greek in carrying the torch of liberty."²⁾

The Carnegie Balkan Inquiry Commission in 1913

Bulgaria the "Least Offender"

Ethnical and Moral Affinity Between Bulgaria and Macedonia

One of the noblest decisions ever made by America in behalf of truth was during 1913, when the enemies of Bulgaria, after despoiling her of the fruit of her victories, resorted to a calumniatory crusade against her, accusing her of unspeakable barbarities.

¹⁾ Suffice to say that to-day there are two Macedonians (Lyaptcheff and Djidroff) in the new coalition Ministry, four ministers holding diplomatic posts (S. Radeff, Kosseff, H.-Misheff, G. Radeff), the Rector of the Sofia University (Gheorgoff) is a Macedonian, the president of the Supreme Court (Karandjouloff), a Robert College graduate, is from Macedonia, etc.

²⁾ See p. 146 of this volume, etc.

Crushed, robbed, isolated, and humiliated, she had no other recourse left to her defence but an appeal to humanity by requesting the constitution of an international committee for the investigation of the conduct of all the belligerents.

When Dr. Ghennadieff, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, begged for the formation of such a commission, America through the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* promptly responded to Bulgaria's ardent entreaty. The members composing the Carnegie Balkan Commission were among the ablest, most competent, and honest men that could be found, *viz.*, *N. M. Butler*, President of Columbia University, Director of the Commission; *Baron d'Estournelles de Constant*, Senator of France, and a Member of the Hague Conferences, assisted by *Victor Bérard*, *Francis de Pressensé*, *Justin Godart*, Lawyer and a Member of the French Chamber of Deputies; *Dr. Joseph Redlich*, Professor of Public Law at the University of Vienna; *Dr. Walther Schücking*, Professor of Law at the University of Marburg; *Francis Hirst*, Editor of the "Economist", London, *Dr. H. N. Brailsford*, the well-known British author; Professor *Paul Milyukoff*, Member of the Douma, and the best Russian authority on European questions; *Dr. Samuel T. Dutton*, Professor of Columbia University.

In spite of many obstacles raised in its path, the Carnegie Commission succeeded in performing its great and difficult task diligently and faithfully. President d'Estournelles in his introduction to the Report says: "Not the slightest doubt can be cast upon its impartiality... I should not have accepted the responsibility of organising a mission of

whose disinterestedness and justice I had not been fully assured . . . I am to-day presenting the Report which has been drawn up in truth, independence, and complete disinterestedness."

Mr. Herbert Bridgman, editor of the Brooklyn *Standard-Union*, who visited the Balkans during those terrible times, in speaking of the *Report*, says, "By that act Bulgaria rose high above its opponents, and by taking the initiative for a general investigation deserves the respect and approval of all the world. Bulgaria waited long for her vindication and has finally succeeded in obtaining it." The *Independent* said: "The accusations fall most heavily upon the Greeks who not only caused the second war, but committed the worst atrocities over the defenceless population in Macedonia." The *New York Sun* wrote: "Atrocities have been committed by all, but the Bulgarians have been the *least offenders*."

The verdict of the *Carnegie Report* is that "the Bulgarians committed atrocities only under provocation," that "*Bulgaria is the victim of her treacherous allies and of the intrigues of some of the Great Powers.*" In the *Report* the "unfounded claims of the Serbians and the Greeks on Macedonia are revealed with overwhelming objectivity and impartiality, *as well as Bulgaria's right to Macedonia.* In the opinion of the members of the Commission who carried on the inquiry, *Macedonia is a Bulgarian land.* In the book, the first of its kind in the literature of the world, Europe and America in the utterances of their most illustrious men are unanimous in their opinion and conviction. In this work science, enlightenment, righteousness, humanity and civilisation all speak to us. In it the truth

about Macedonia is brought to light. The members of the International Commission investigated Macedonia in all the periods of her history, namely, the period before 1878, after the Berlin Treaty, during the time of the cultural and ecclesiastical struggle with the Greeks, during the time of the uprisings and wars with the Turks, the Greeks and the Serbians, at the time of the Balkan wars, and after the dismemberment of Macedonia at Bucharest. All of the qualities which characterise the consciousness and ethnic physiognomy of a people are revealed. The actors and leaders in all of the above-mentioned periods are described. *These warriors, always of one and the same nationality, always equally zealous and self-sacrificing, are Bulgarian Macedonians.* They struggle in behalf of their language, their schools, their church, their ethnic identity, their unity and the rights of their fatherland. They wage war on the Turks and the Greeks separately, and fight against the united prowess of Turks, Greeks, and Serbians. They carry on the struggle in Europe also with the pen and the spoken word. They offer up whole hecatombs for national justice and for the freedom of their fatherland. The members of the Carnegie International Commission of Inquiry in their *Report* do not point out one single victim given by the Greeks and Serbians in their propaganda with arms, nor do they mention any uprising of the Greek or the Serbian Macedonians for the sake of the liberation of Macedonia, in spite of the fact that both Greece and Serbia claim that Macedonia is inhabited by their fellow-countrymen.

“After the treaty of Bucharest, when the north-western part of Macedonia was joined to Serbia and

the southwestern part to Greece, the soldiers of these two countries discovered with horror that the people in the annexed provinces were neither Greeks, nor Serbians,¹⁾ as they had been taught at school or mistakenly led to believe by their press, *but Bulgarians*. Such being the case, the Greeks and the Serbians began a new struggle with the Bulgarians in Macedonia, by inaugurating a persecution of the Bulgarian teachers, priests, and prominent citizens. After they had freed the villages and cities of these intelligent Bulgarian elements, they began to violate the conscience of the defenceless population by compelling them in whole masses to declare that they were either of Greek or Serbian origin."

As in 1876, when a secret and independent American Commission proved to the world the truth about the Batak and Peroushtitsa massacres persistently screened and minimised by Turkey's European protectors, and thus brought about Russian intervention, so by the *Carnegie Balkan Report* America laid before the world the bare facts in connexion with the conduct of the Balkan belligerents showing that the accusers of Bulgaria were in

¹⁾"The Servian soldier, like the Greek," says the *Report*, "was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriots, men who could speak his language and address him with *jivio* or *zito*. He found men speaking a language different from his, who cried *hourrah*! He misunderstood or did not understand at all. The theory he had learned from youth of the existence of a Servian Macedonia and a Greek Macedonia naturally suffered; but his patriotic conviction that Macedonia must become Greek or Servian, if not so already, remained unaffected. Doubtless Macedonia had been what he wanted it to become in those times of Douchan the Strong or the Byzantine Emperors. It was only agitators and propagandist Bulgarians who instilled into the population the idea of being Bulgarian. The agitators must be driven out of the country, and it would again become what it had always been, Servian or Greek. Accordingly they acted on this basis" (see pp. 50, 51)

reality greater sinners. In this way Bulgaria's moral prestige before the world was saved.

It also vindicated the strong desire of Macedonia and Bulgaria to reunion.

The *Carnegie Balkan Report*, particularly Chapter First, brought out by most distinguished experts of both continents, will forever constitute one of the greatest documents of the ethnical claims of the Bulgarian race to Macedonia.

The American Geographical Society of New York Bulgaria's Ethnical and Linguistic Area Defined

Under the title of *Frontiers of Language and Nationality of Europe* by Leon Dominian, the American Geographical Society has presented the world with an authoritative and up-to-date work, undoubtedly the best of its kind that has been produced in the United States. It has arrived just in time to greatly facilitate the enormous task devolved upon the Peace Conference. It comes from the pen of an author, who, besides his other qualifications as a scholar, is a Robert College graduate, and a pupil of Dr. Washburn, its late and very distinguished president. He has thus had the opportunity of obtaining a first-hand information concerning the various racial and philological questions of Europe and the south-eastern part of it in particular.

The publication of the book by the *American Geographical Society* is, moreover, a sufficient guarantee for its unbiassed character and scientific importance. The framers of any treaty of peace which will have as its object a final, rational, and lasting solution of the nationality problems on the Continent, will not fail to find in it a most

indispensable help and inspiration. The author himself has made plain one of the chief aims of his comprehensive production. It was prepared by him "in the earnest belief that the application of geographical knowledge could provide an acceptable settlement of the Eastern Question. Never has it been realized better than at present time that an ill-adjusted boundary is a hatching-oven for war. A scientific boundary, on the other hand, prepares the way for permanent goodwill between peoples."

Chapters IX and X are devoted specifically to the study of the Balkan Peninsula, its inhabitants, and language problems.

In speaking of the geographical and economical necessities which are prompting the various Balkan states in formulating their national policies, Mr. Dominian has this to say in regard to Serbia and Bulgaria:

"The seaward thrust of Serbia towards the Adriatic is naturally directed along the narrow Drin valley, cutting across the long chain of the Dinaric Alps . . . *Bulgaria's trade and industrial development is likewise hampered by the lack of a favorable issue towards southern seas.*"¹⁾

In regard to the territory covered by the Serbian language, the author does not deviate from the verdict given by all learned linguists and ethnographers:

"The Serbian language predominates everywhere from the Adriatic coast to the Drave and Morava rivers as well as up to the section of the Danube comprised between its points of confluence with these two rivers. Serbian in fact extends slightly east of Morava valley towards the Balkans slopes lying north of the Timok river, where Roumanian prevails as

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality of Europe*, New York, 1917, p. 180.

the language of the upland. To the south contact with the Albanian is obtained."

"*The area of Serbian speech,*" says he, "thus delimited includes the independent kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia. Within the territory of the Dual Monarchy it is spoken in the provinces of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia." ¹⁾

The above passage serves to indirectly delineate the language boundary between Serbia and Bulgaria.

According to the same authority the Macedonians

"Occupy a distinctive area formed by the twin valleys of the Vardar and Struma and surrounded by a mountainous bulwark assuming crescentic shape as it spreads along the Balkan ranges and the mountains of Albania and the Pindus... East and south of the mountains Bulgarian speech predominates in districts peopled exclusively by Macedonians. The Greek element is practically entirely absent here; the Serbian begins to appear in small numbers." ²⁾

Subsequently Mr. Dominian gives a detailed description of the inhabitants of Macedonia:

"The inhabitants of Macedonia," says he, "may be divided into four groups according to their vernaculars. The number of individuals in each group is estimated as follows:

Bulgarians .	1,172,136	or	81.50%	of the total Christian population				
Greeks . .	190,047	»	13.22%	»	»	»	»	»
Roumanians	63,895	»	4.44%	»	»	»	»	»
Albanians .	12,006	»	0.84%	»	»	»	»	»

The Bulgarians form a compact mass containing slight admixture of alien elements in northern and central Macedonia. Many of the occasional Greek communities encountered within this area are former Slav or Albanian centers having passed under the sphere of the Greek religious propaganda which has been actively carried on as means of increasing

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, pp. 181, 182.

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 204.

the Hellenic domain. The instrument of Hellenization was the Patriarchate at Constantinople. The Patriarchs, bearing the title of Oecumenical considered themselves as apostles of the Greater Greece idea. After the fall of Byzantium, and notably after the closing of the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Okrida, the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople was the only official church established in Turkey for Christians. Its influence, directed through schools and churches, aimed above all to Hellenize Christians. The clergy was directed to convert to Orthodoxy the greatest possible number of Christians of alien denomination and, at the same time attempt to enforce the use of Greek speech among non-Mohammedans." ¹⁾

What is the language of the Macedonians ?

"The language of the Macedonians is intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian. *Its affinity with the latter*, however, is sufficiently pronounced to have led generally to merging. Travelers in the land of the Macedonian Slavs soon learn that a knowledge of Bulgarian will obviate difficulties due to ignorance of the country's vernaculars. Serbian, however, is not as readily intelligible to the natives. This relation has favored the Bulgarian side whenever controversy arose and *compilers of linguistic or ethnographic maps have generally abstained from differentiating the Macedonian from the Bulgarian area*. The impossibility for Bulgarians to regard the terms of the treaty of Bucarest as final is, therefore, obvious. *Extension of the Rumanian boundary to the Tutrakan—Black Sea line was also an encroachment on soil where Bulgarian was the predominant language.*" ²⁾

The border line between the Greek and Bulgarian language is :

"The area of Bulgarian speech awarded to Greece by the treaty of Bucarest in 1913 attains the Albanian boundary near Lakes Prespa and Kastoria. The upper valley of the Bistritza river crosses a region peopled by Macedonians. The former Turkish caza of Kastoria contained a majority of Bulgarian

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, p. 205.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

speaking inhabitants. The domain of Greek speech begins south of Lapsista and extends eastward halfway between Kailar and Kochana. Greek predominance is maintained around Karaferia. The environs of Salonika contain a slight excess of Greek inhabitants over Bulgarians, but *the Greek element is not as closely attached to the land as the Bulgarian. The line of lakes on the north of the Chalcydic peninsula forms the boundary between Greeks and Bulgarians, the latter element extending north of these inland waters to the present Bulgarian frontier.*"¹⁾

The Kavalla District is peopled mainly by Turks and Bulgarians:

"In the first half of 1913 negotiations between the Greek and Bulgarian governments were in progress for the division of lands conquered from the Turks. At that time the Greek government was willing to recognize Bulgarian sovereignty over the cazas of Kavalla, Drama, Pravista, Serres, Demir-Hissar and Kukush. This was done on Mr. Venizelos' understanding that these districts were sparsely inhabited by Greeks, and that Kavalla was natural seaport of the districts of Strumnitza, Melnik, Jumaya, Nevrokop and Razlog.

"Many of the districts thus offered to Bulgaria were peopled mainly by Turks. According to Turkish statistics the caza of Kara-Shaban does not contain a single Christian village. Its population consists almost entirely of Turks numbering about 15,000. The caza of Kavalla, having a population of 30,000, is likewise largely Turkish. The Greek element is reckoned at about 4,000, while some 3,500 Pomaks or Bulgarian Mohammedans are scattered in many villages."

The population of the Drama and Serres districts is 'overwhelmingly Bulgarian':

"Of the 50,000 inhabitants of the caza of Drama fully one-half were Turks, the number of Greeks hardly attained 4,000, while the *Bulgarian element consisted of 20,000 inhabitants divided into equal numbers of Exarchists and Pomaks.* In the caza of Serres, *the Bulgarians number approximately 40,000,*

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, p. 207.

while the Greek population comprises 27,000. The *caza* of Demir-Hissar contains 33,000 Bulgarians out of a population of 50,250. The Greeks number about 250. In Kukush there are no Greeks at all. The population of this *caza* consists mainly of 20,000 Turks out of a total of 23,000 inhabitants. It should be remembered that the Turks emigrated en masse from this district after the treaty of Bucarest, and that, barring forcible expulsion by the Greeks, *the population of all this section of southeastern Macedonia is now overwhelmingly Bulgarian.*"¹⁾

Turkish historians and authorities on the Bulgarian character of the region:

"After the Turkish conquest *Turkish historians* particularly Evlia Tchelebi and Sa'asddin, *constantly refer to the Macedonians as Bulgarians*. This belief was held by the Turks until the end of their rule of the province. The first Bulgarian bishop authorized by the Turkish government was appointed for the diocese of Uskub and southern districts. This appointment followed census-taking in the district which indicated Bulgarian predominance."²⁾

Southwestern Macedonia mainly Bulgarian :

"*In southwestern Macedonia the inhabitants of the districts of Kastoria, Florina and Kailar are generally Bulgarians. Even in the Mohammedan villages, as, for example, Grevena and Nedilia, nothing but Bulgarian is heard. The fundamental Bulgarian character of the entire region is furthermore established by place names which are Bulgarian in spite of secular infiltrations of Greeks, Albanians and Turks.*

"This portion of Macedonia along with the Vodena, Yenije-Vardar and Salonica districts which were lately allotted to Greece, constitute an interesting linguistic zone. *Here alone, of all Bulgarian speaking regions, have been preserved forms peculiar to the old Bulgarian language.* The speech of the inhabitants of Kastoria in particular reveals antiquated styles which are found only in the first manuscripts prepared for the use of Christian Slavs.

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, pp. 207, 208

²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 210.

"At the Ambassadorial Conference of Constantinople in 1870 the cazas of Kastoria and Florina were included within the boundaries of the proposed autonomous province which was to have Sofia as its capital. The treaty of San Stefano likewise comprised the districts under the newly created Bulgaria. *These considerations suffice in themselves to demonstrate the Bulgarian nationality of the inhabitants of the present northern confines of Greece.*"

Serbian claims rest on 'occupation':

*"The Serbian claim on portions of Macedonia acquired after the Balkan war of 1913 rests largely on a relatively short term of military occupation at the height of the Serbian might in the fourteenth century. This is made the basis of an historical plea. The crowning of Dushan, their most renowned ruler, in the city of Uskub however did not change the national character of the inhabitants of the city or the districts surrounding it."*¹⁾

The Bulgarian character of Macedonia recognised by the Serbians themselves:

"Only in recent years have Serbian claims on Macedonia been set forth by Serbian scholars. Historians like Raitch, Solaritch and Vouk Karadjitch formerly concurred in setting southern Serbian frontiers at the Shar mountains. In 1860 Serbian scientific societies had joined in the publication of Macedonian songs collected by Verkovitch under the title of 'Bulgarian Songs'. Serbian writers of the period around 1870 describe inland inhabitants of Thrace, Rumelia and Macedonia as Bulgarian, while they recognized the coast dwellers as Greeks."²⁾

Of Salonica the author says:

"Salonica itself is by no means a Bulgarian city, but an excellent type of the polylingual cities of the Near East. Out of a population of 160,000 inhabitants, it contains 20,000 Greeks and an equal number of Europeans and Turks res-

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, pp. 210, 211.

²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 211, 212.

pectively. Its Bulgarian population is negligible. The most numerous element is made up of Jews who, it is estimated, constitute about one half of the population. Next to Constantinople, Salonica is the best harbor in the Balkans. It is coveted by the Bulgarians on the plea that the population of the country environing Salonica is mostly Bulgar." ¹⁾

The valley of Maritza 'mainly Bulgarian':

"The extreme southeastern angle of the Balkan Peninsula, east of the Maritza river, is probably the most polyglot region in Europe. *The valley of the Maritza is mainly Bulgarian.* Numerous colonies of Greek settled along the coast between the Dardanelles and the Black Sea entrance of the Bosphorus ply their trade as fishermen or sailors. The pretty coastwise traffic is almost entirely in their hands. The Bulgarians are mainly farmers. Their properties are scattered east to the very walls of the world-metropolis which brings fame to the region. Within Constantinople itself truck gardens are generally owned and exploited by Bulgarians. Bulgarian and Greek languages are therefore common in this peninsula extremity of Europe. The latter however is in constant use by most of the inhabitants, whereas Bulgarian is restricted to the Slavic element." ²⁾

Why Thrace should fall to Bulgaria:

"We have in this a factor which may exert greater weight than language in the eventual formation of an independent political unit comprising the elongated zone of coastland inclosing the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. A convenient boundary for this territory in the Balkans might start at the Gulf of Saros, and, coinciding thence with the heights overlooking Rodosto, might reach the course of the Chorlu. From here to the Black Sea coast the administrative boundary of the vilayet of Constantinople might be converted into an international frontier. This delimitation would leave the valley of the Maritza in Bulgarian hands. This award is justifiable not because the beauty of the river banks is pro-

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, p. 213.

²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216.

claimed in the Bulgarian national hymn, but *rather on the grounds of Bulgarian linguistic preponderance in this valley*. Substantial coincidence between Bulgarian political and linguistic boundaries on the southeast would then have been obtained." ¹⁾

Mr. Dominion, as a Robert College alumnus, was in a position to become familiar with the race confines of the nationalities represented at that great American institution. The Robert College teaching staff and authorities could not help acquiring a thorough acquaintance with the ethnical extension of the various peoples in the Near East. In describing the efforts made to establish the racial boundaries of the Bulgarians, Mr. Dominion is confirming the opinion of his learned professor, Dr. G. B. Washburn, *viz.* :

"Several attempts have been made in the past to create a Bulgaria *which would extend as far as the country's language was spoken*. Towards the end of 1876 an international conference was held in Constantinople to put an end to the intolerable condition of the Christians inhabiting this portion of the Balkan Peninsula. The delegates decided to form two new Turkish provinces, *the boundaries of which would coincide with ethnographic limits of the Bulgarian people*. Sofia and Tirnovo were selected as the chief towns of the new provinces. The Sultan's government succeeded in blocking the execution of this project. War with Russia followed and Russian victories forced Turkey to sign the memorable treaty of San Stefano on February 10, 1878.

"*The boundary then decided upon was practically identical with that provided by the Ambassadorial Conference of Constantinople*. Bulgaria however obtained in addition a band of territory in Thrace and access to the Aegean through the seaport of Kavalla, and the *Principality lost Dobroudja to Roumania and a portion of the sanjak of Nish with the towns of Nish and Leskovatz to Serbia*. Russia at San Stefano had,

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, p. 220.

therefore, merely enforced execution of the agreement reached jointly by the representatives of European powers. The treaty she imposed on the Porte was from the linguistic standpoint an improvement on the ambassadorial plan elaborated at Constantinople." ¹⁾

The Bulgarian struggle for reunion is thus being recognised by the author :

"Unfortunately for Bulgaria, the unity of the nation failed to receive the sanction of Europe at the treaty of Berlin in spite of the sound scientific basis on which it rested. Political and strategic considerations, on the plea of which many international blunders have been committed, prevailed. After this act of injustice Bulgarians organized themselves to reclaim the land of which they had been despoiled. On February 19, 1913 Bulgar guns and bayonets, backed by Bulgar determination, had almost reestablished the national unity for which they had striven. This new effort was not crowned with success. Only in the winter of 1914-1915 were the Bulgarians able to occupy with their arms the territories of Bulgarian speech which had been allotted to Serbia by the treaty of Bucarest." ²⁾

So speaks the scholar, the scientist, and the historian. Bulgaria's case could not be stated more truthfully, concisely, and dispassionately. The Bulgarians would not wish for a clearer presentation of their national claims.

America has by means of its various factors done its duty in defining the legitimate demands of the Bulgarian people whose whole history is a veritable martyrology in an attempt to realise its national unity. In its long effort to that end America and England have been its greatest and most sincere supporters and inspirers.

¹⁾ *Frontiers of Language and Nationality*, pp. 214, 215.

²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 214, 215.

America and Bulgaria in the War

How Bulgaria was Conquered

Bulgaria was recently fated to go through another national crisis. The Entente's declaration and assurances, however, at the time of the armistice, that all territorial questions in the Balkan Peninsula will be deferred till the convocation of the General Peace Conference which alone will be competent to solve them justly, conforms with the wishes of the entire Bulgarian nation, as it does with the interests of the Balkan peoples in general. Bulgaria has always been a strong supporter of the idea for the creation of an International Tribune for the solution of the Balkan ethnical conflicts.

Had America entered the war from the very first, and the famous fourteen points of President Wilson been known at a much earlier period, the Bulgarian nation would have never plunged into the world conflict. One cannot imagine how greatly the mind of the people and the army were affected by America's interference on the side of the Entente. Throughout the country it was felt that Germany must be on the wrong side to have arrayed herself against all the world, and that she had committed the greatest blunder by provoking America, too, to take up arms against her. By losing America's neutrality and friendship, Germany simultaneously lost Bulgaria. The following dispute took place between a Bulgarian statesman and a German professor who was visiting Sofia at the time the United States declared war on Germany. In the course of the discussion the Bulgarian frankly turned to the learned Teuton and said:

“My dear Sir, let us be honest with ourselves, your diplomacy by exasperating America too against you has completely alienated Bulgaria from you and has doomed the Central Alliance. The final victory is with the Anglo-Saxons.”

The German professor said not a word to this.

Once the principles of nationalities and self-determination enunciated by President Wilson, the Bulgarians felt a continuation of the fight on their part entirely useless. That was perhaps the severest blow the Radoslavoff Cabinet received, and it was plain even to the Germans, that public opinion in the little country was radically affected. The Opposition consisting of six parties against the two that formed the Radoslavoff Cabinet became bolder in demanding that the Government declare to all the belligerent nations, that since the Country was fighting for exactly the same principles America stands for, it sees no justifiable reason for continuing the war simply for Germany's sake. Germany was frightened, and since then she did all she could to compel Bulgaria to break off relations with America. Just about that time several of the leading opposition papers, like *Mir*, *Narode*, *Preporets*, managed to elude the censorship authorities and let out their papers to the public which eagerly devoured them. In strong and patriotic language they urged for the necessity of putting a stop to the war, and insisted on the fall of the Radoslavoff Ministry and the recall of another which would liquidate the war and enter into an understanding with the Entente Powers. The papers were confiscated by the police, but thousand of copies reached their destination.

In the meantime Germany was applying a great pressure both upon King and Prime Minister for a rupture with America. On February 27 last, word was spread throughout Sofia that the insistence from the Central Powers was so great and their attitude so threatening that the Ministerial Council was that night to be convoked, all said, to comply with the request of Bulgaria's allies.

Those were moments of great suspense for the nation. It was known, however, that none of the ministers, even the Premier himself, wished to deprive Bulgaria of the friendship of the American Republic. Pesheff, the Minister of Education, and the backbone of the Cabinet, had the courage to declare to his colleagues that he would resign should such a decision be taken. His stand was followed by nearly all of the other ministers. In the morning, to the relief of the whole nation, it was announced that the Ministry had decided for the maintenance of its traditional friendship with America. Of course, it should be pointed out here that public opinion throughout the land was deadly against rupture. Robert College graduates and other graduates of American and English universities, whose name is legion in Bulgaria, did their best to strengthen the hands of the Government in withstanding the intrusion.

It should also be pointed out here that, luckily for both Bulgaria and the United States, in Sofia America's representative was Mr. D. I. Murphy. Even the German officials had often confessed their admiration of his tact, good common sense, and geniality. At any rate, they could not hate him as a man. He managed to be always on good terms with every-

body, and certainly, his gentlemanly conduct deservedly earned him the reputation of being the *persona grata* even with the enemies of his country. No better person could have been selected as mediator in behalf of the Bulgarian Government, and he, it was, who was entrusted with the difficult mission of negotiating for peace in September last.

The American representative at Sofia will have kept his Government in touch with the series of events preceding the armistice. He must have, no doubt, told Washington how on several occasions the Bulgarian people and army apprised both their Government and the Central Powers that they would not continue the war simply for war's sake or to please any of their allies, they that had entered the war implicitly for the liberation of their race, and since according to the declaration of President Wilson, all ethnical questions will be decided at the general Conference, they considered it absurd and even a crime to keep on the struggle.

The crash of the Radoslavoff Government under these circumstances was inevitable. The arrival of the democratic cabinet of Mr. Malinoff filled the army with sure hope for a speedy end of the war. The new Cabinet, however, which declared that its chief duty was to work for a speedy peace, found its realisation a most difficult and dangerous task, because of the presence in the country of German, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish forces. It appeared not to be acting fast enough and the troops on the front finally carried out their threats.

The army literary threw away its rifles and turned homewards. The I Division which showed

a temporary resistance was also induced to abandon its positions and join in the general retreat.¹⁾

At present all is calm in Bulgaria. The people is filled with the hope for a rational solution of the Balkan conflicts, according to the stipulation contained in the Wilsonian programme, and as guaranteed by the various declarations made by the Entente Powers. The entire nation has an unbounded faith in the assurances given out by England, France, and Italy, and particularly, by America through the voice of President Wilson. It firmly believes that all ethnical disputes in the Balkans will not be mismanaged or their solution influenced by the selfish interests of this or that great power or group of powers, as has always been the case in the past, but that the Peace Conference would see to it that every race be allowed to live within its legitimate ethnographical boundaries, and be accorded the freedom to choose its own form of government.

Those who clamoured against President Wilson for not declaring war on Bulgaria must now feel very uncomfortable in their little selves. President Wilson, undoubtedly, must have been thoroughly posted on the true condition of things in Bulgaria to have remained firm to the last in his determination to preserve his friendship for the country which, as Sir Edwin Pears recently put it, America has ever considered as its creation. By this action, it is now plain to all, President Wilson has once more proved the far-sighted statesman he is. He

¹⁾ The Roumanian Bureau of the Press in urging the Entente to send them reinforcements against the Bolshevist movement, stated that such a danger "was coming also from Bulgaria, where Bolshevism (*sic*) had existed during the war and to which in reality was due Bulgaria's military defection in September."

alone is responsible for the turn of events in Bulgaria, which shortened the terrible world slaughter, and proved a great blessing to sickened humanity.

History repeats itself. What America accomplished for Bulgaria in 1876, she has performed again to-day.

America has remained faithful to her conviction that Bulgaria, no matter who her rulers may be, or what outside intrigues may represent her aims to be, is struggling for the liberation of the lands which have been recognised as Bulgarian and sanctioned as such by so many international acts, in which America, though tacitly and indirectly, has played a leading part, as are, for example, the Protocols of the Constantinople Conference of the Great Powers in 1876, the Reports on the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, prepared by the American Commission of Inquiry, the Carnegie Inquiry Commission of 1913, etc.

If Bulgaria was lost to the Entente in 1915 through a highly blunderous diplomacy,¹⁾ through a similar short-sighted dealing Bulgaria would have

¹⁾ On this point Mr. Noel Buxton writing in the *London Daily News* (April 30, 1919) says:

"Whereas it is now denied that Bulgaria was at any time willing to join the Allies, there are incontrovertible witnesses to the contrary; for instance:

a) The Dardanelles Commission Report, which contains sufficient evidence that the co-operation of Bulgaria was expected, and was considered obtainable.

b) Ambassador Morgenthau's recent book.

c) Mr O'Beirne, who was appointed our Minister at Sofia in the spring of 1915, and whose tragic loss (along with Lord Kitchener) was such a heavy one to the Diplomatic Service. He insisted that even up to Sept. 6, 1915, a few days before Bulgaria mobilised, the Bulgarian Government had refused to sign the agreement with Turkey; that the intention to fight against the Allies had not been formed; and that it arose only when the ultimatum was sent to Bulgaria by Russia."

been completely lost in 1876, had it not been for the interference of the United States.

What the diplomacy of Europe has failed to accomplish in the past, the Peace Conference and the future League of Nations are bound to realise, if permanent tranquillity is to cheer the hearts of the oppressed. As far as the Balkans is concerned, President Wilson, has found the sure panacea for its sores. The 11th point of his programme of January 8 contains the necessary and explicit formula:

“The relations of the several Balkan nations to one another should be determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.”

And the 3th and 4th points of his programme of Feb. 11 last is no less explicit:

(3) “Every territorial settlement must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment for compromise of claims amongst rival states.

(4) “All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely to break the peace of Europe, and consequently, of the world . . .”

These are the real weapons with which Bulgaria was conquered and which are conquering the world. With his *World Magna Charta* President Wilson won the affection and the confidence of the Bulgarian people and army. By it he has most clearly shown in what manner may lasting peace, a neighbourly spirit, and mutual understanding

between the several Balkan states be established on a firm foundation, and future differences, conflicts, and bloodshed be prevented. Thus only will the beautiful and rich Balkan Peninsula be converted into a land of progress and culture — a land of paradise.

Under the above conditions can an ideal state of things be created, not only in the Balkans, but in the world at large; under these conditions alone all national conflicts would be solved, and the grand idea of the "Federation of the Word" become a possibility.

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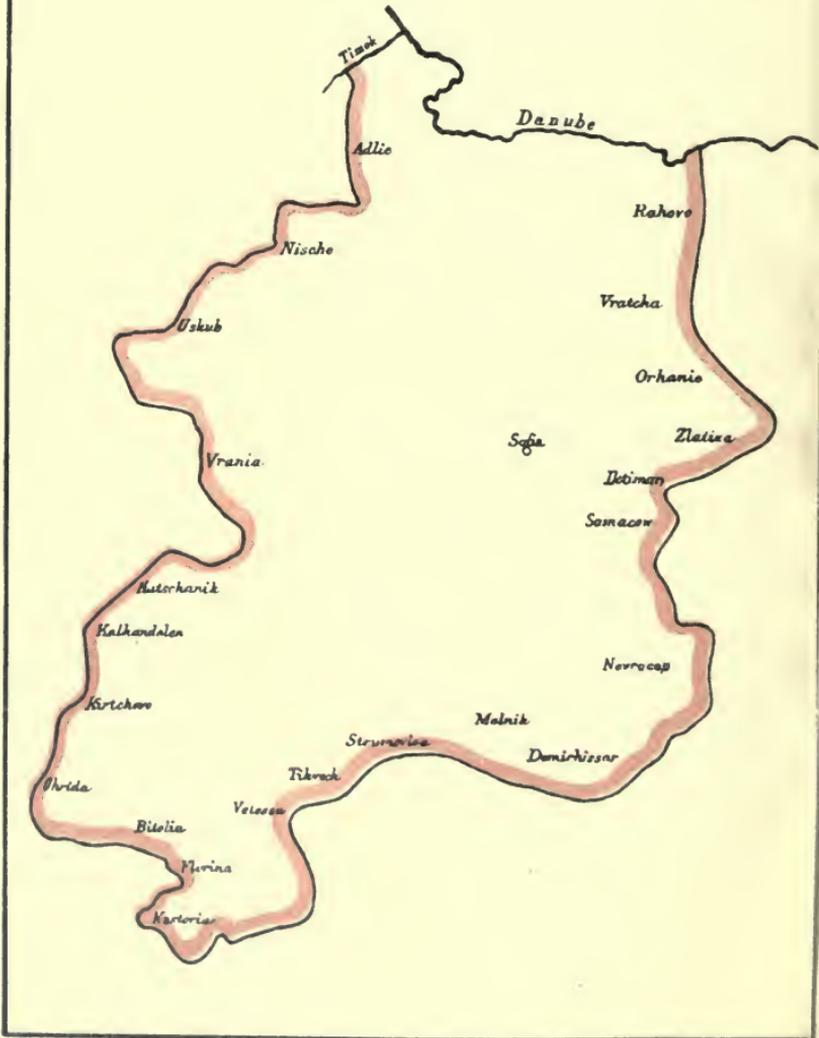
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«	10	«	14	figthing — fighting
«	14	«	13	monasteires — monasteries
«	17	«	15	defferently — differently
«	17	footnote		London, 1864 — London, 1863
«	25	line	31	propability — probability
«	28	«	7	Treaty in 1880 — Treaty in 1878
«	39	«	3	receiving not inconsiderable — receiving no inconsiderable
«	45	«	23	Clark — Clarke
«	67	«	21	which Bulgaria, Roumelia, — which Roumelia,
«	72	«	17	ascendeney — ascendancy
«	75	«	18	particulary — particularly
«	106	«	23	L. E. Brown — L. E. Browne
«	123	«	30	Ottoman dominian — Ottoman dominion
«	124	«	28	vicinity or Koritza — vicinity of Koritza
«	139	footnote		London, 1876 — London, 1867
«	147	line	33	talk — task
«	153	footnote		<i>The Bulgarian Relations — The Serbo-Bulgarian Relations.</i>
«	155	line	16	preceeding — preceding
«	156	«	28	descriptian — description
«	157	«	7	Kustendil — Kustendji
«	159	«	18	In Rumanian — In Rumania
«	165	footnote		1822 — 1877
«	171	line	18	recieves — receives
«	175	«	4	inderect — indirect
«	179	«	22	severel — several
«	181	headline		1699 — 1899
«	184	line	27	staps — steps
«	192	paragraph		headline May, 5, 1814 — May 5, 1904
«	193	line	29	of affairs — of affairs
«	195	«	23	justice — justice
«	197	«	13	could be be put — could be put
«	203	headline		1606 — 1908
«	206	line	22	tail — tale
«	208	«	10	prosess — possess
«	222	«	27	good 'nerve' to — good 'nerve' too
«	224	«	17	Kastorta — Kastoria

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« 236	line 27	Dobrodoja — Dobrodja
« 241	« 9	do not not live — do not live
« 247	« 40	aftermaht — aftermath
« 251	« 29	exibits — exhibits
« 252	« 32	belive — believe
« 253	« 2	Britishers who possesses — Britishers who possess
« 267	« 5	fifthy — fifty
« 286	« 39	in tha — in that
« 295	« 12	dinking — drinking
« 296	« 13	prograss — progress
« 303	« 33	inceasant — incessant
« 305	« 14	wasi ndeed — was indeed
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« 357	« 29	pratically — practically
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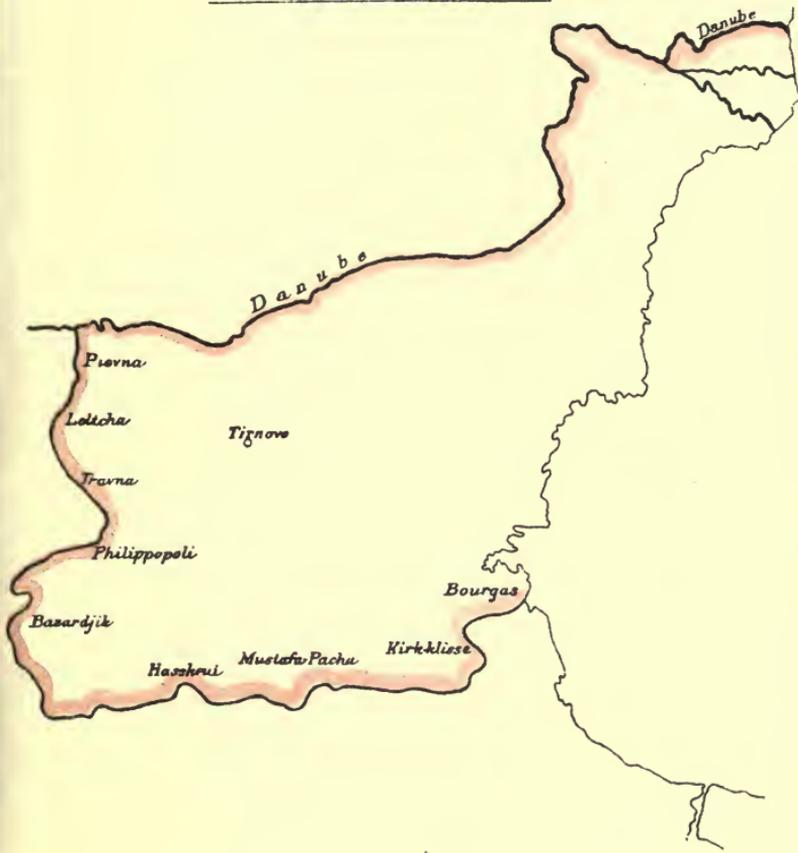
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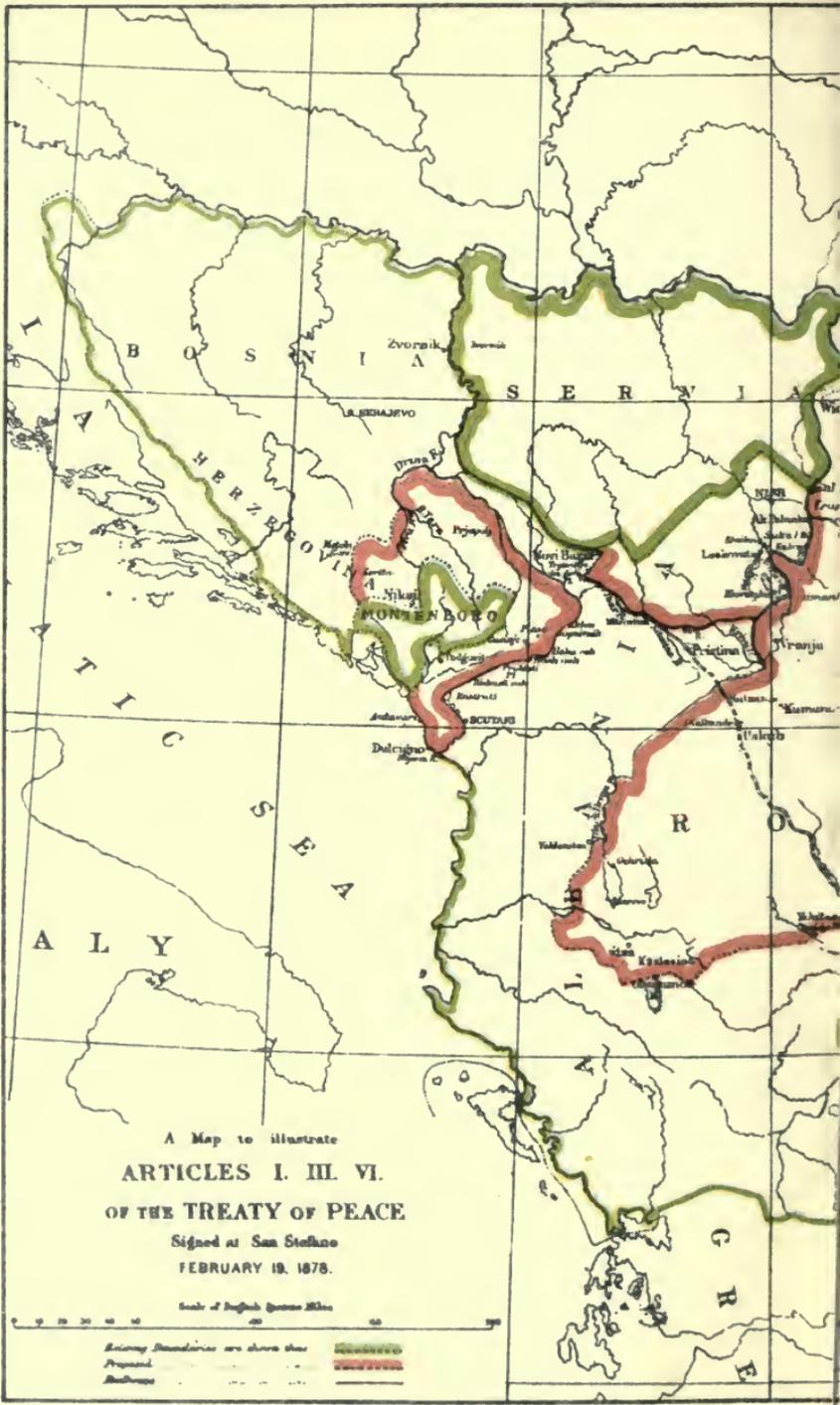


Plano 1/4 1878/80

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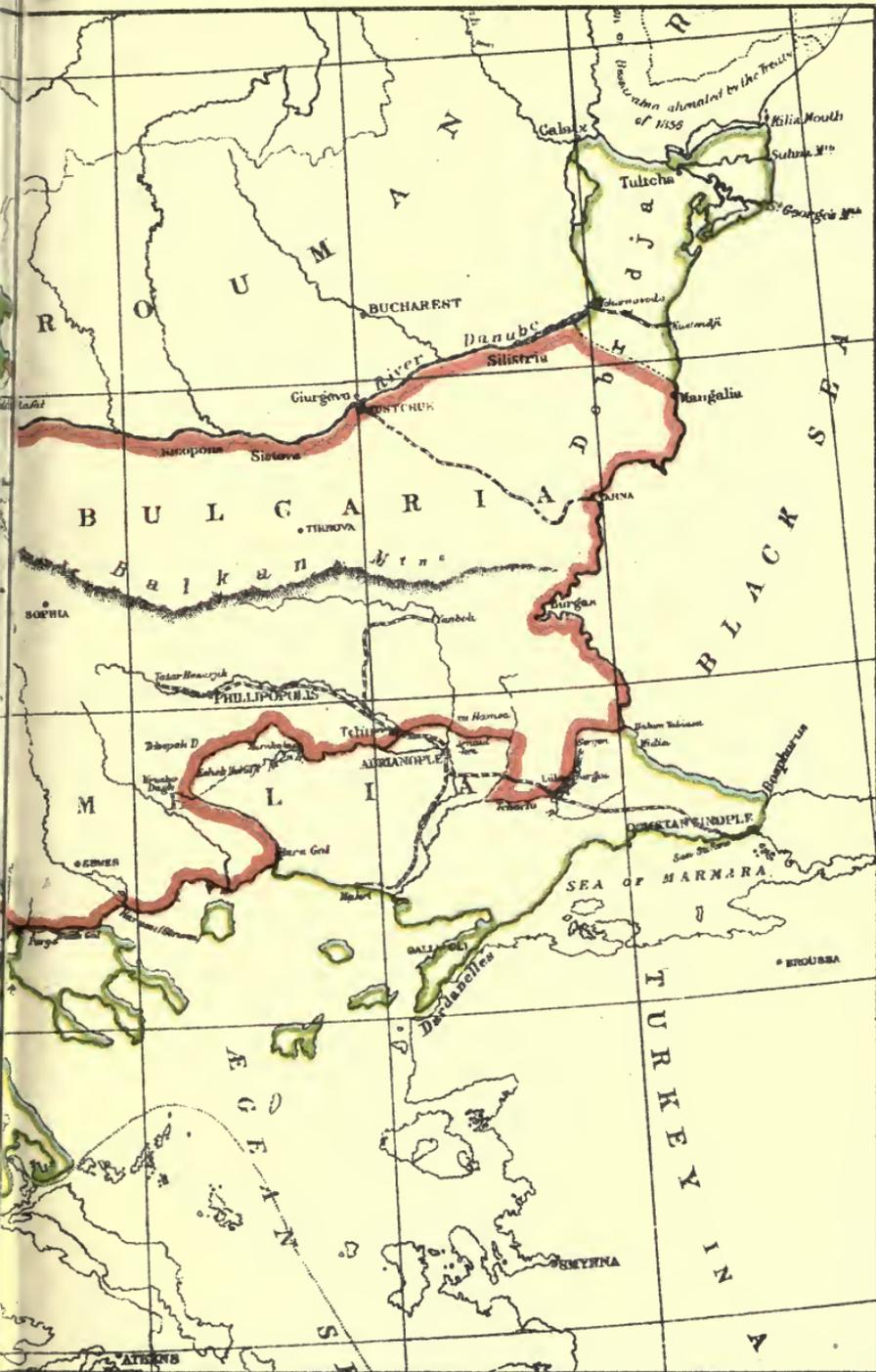


A Map to illustrate
ARTICLES I. III. VI.
OF THE TREATY OF PEACE
 Signed at San Stefano
 FEBRUARY 19, 1878.

Scale of English Statute Miles

Existing Boundaries are shown thus
 Proposed
 Railroads

BULGARIA ACCORDING TO



THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO



Ethnographical Map
of the
SOUTHERN SLAVS

In 1913

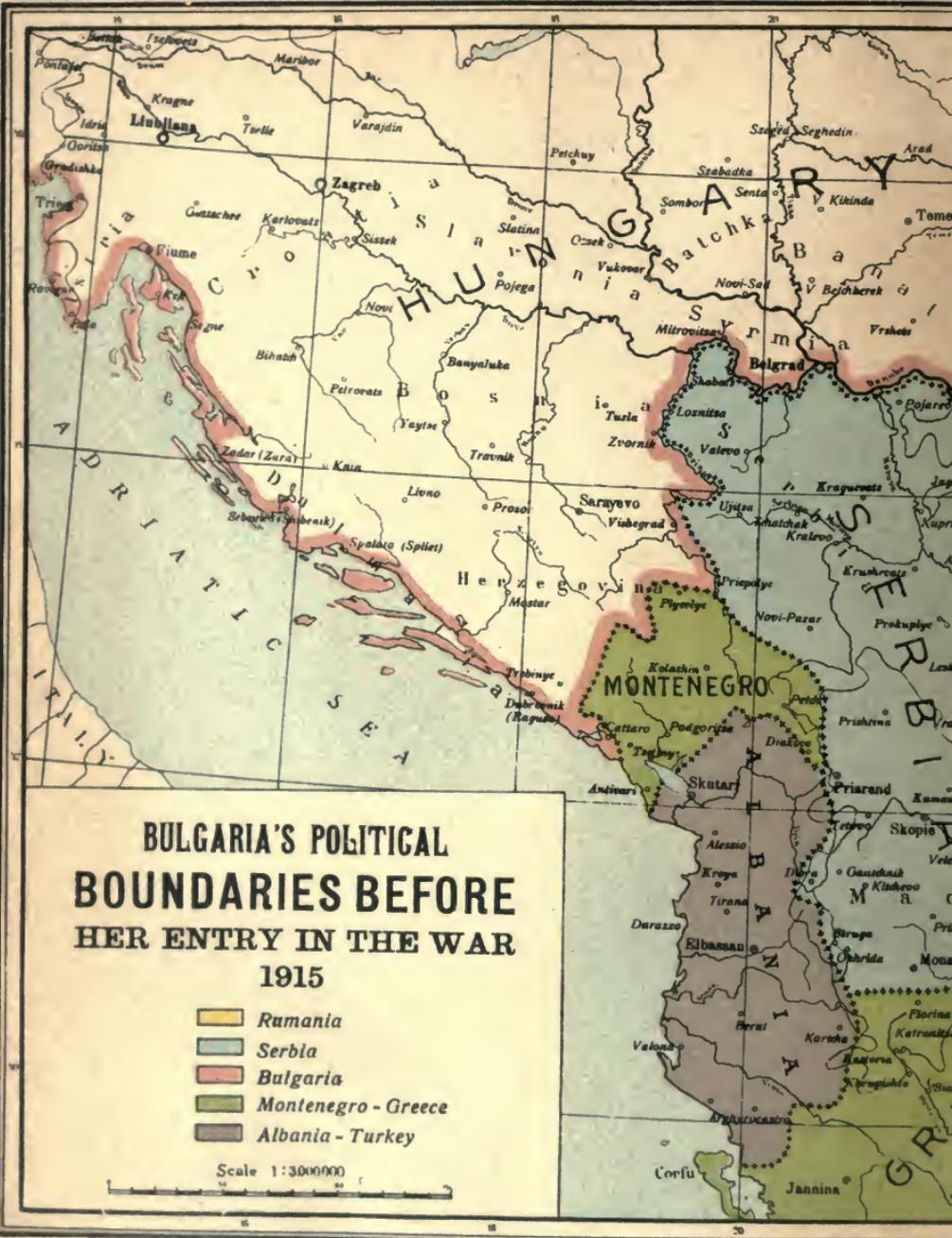
According to J. Ivanoff

- Slovenes
- Serbo-Croatians
- Bulgarians

A - Albanians; G - Greeks; T - Turks;
R - Rumanians; Rs - Russians

Scale 1:3,000,000





**BULGARIA'S POLITICAL
BOUNDARIES BEFORE
HER ENTRY IN THE WAR
1915**

- Rumania
- Serbia
- Bulgaria
- Montenegro - Greece
- Albania - Turkey

Scale 1:30,000,000



J. Schenk et fils, Berne (Suisse)

PART OF EUROPE

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having political significance.

based on sheet N°12 c (Sept 1911) Debes' Handatlas and other sources

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 Italian	 Dutch	 Slovakian
 Rumanian	 Flemish	 Slovene
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 Greek	 Russian & Ruthenian	 Bulgarian
 Swedish	 Polish	 Finnish
 Norwegian	 Wend	 Hungarian
 Danish	 Lettish & Lithuanian	 Turkish & Tatar

----- political boundaries linguistic boundaries



EUROPE

in 1815.

----- political boundaries
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