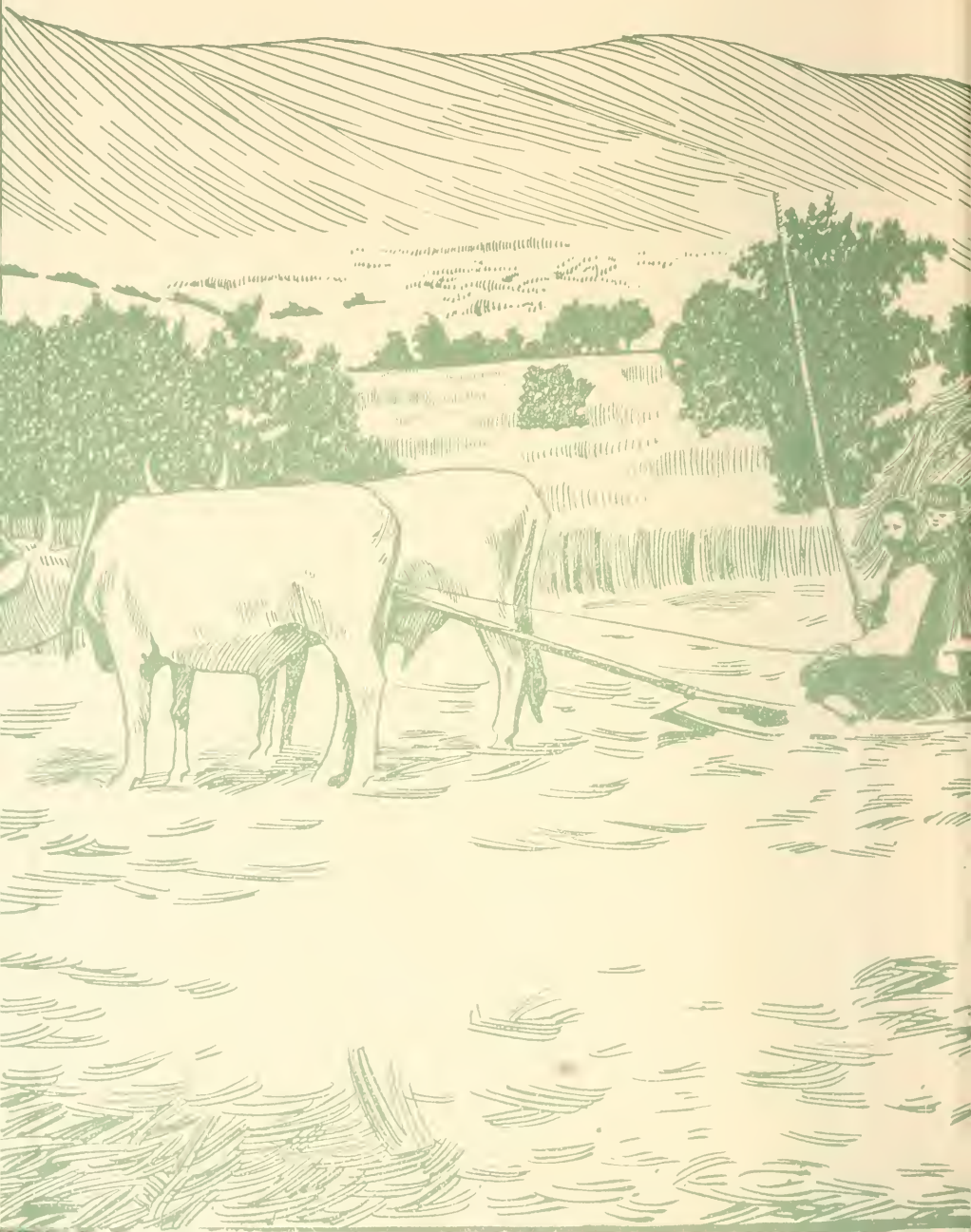
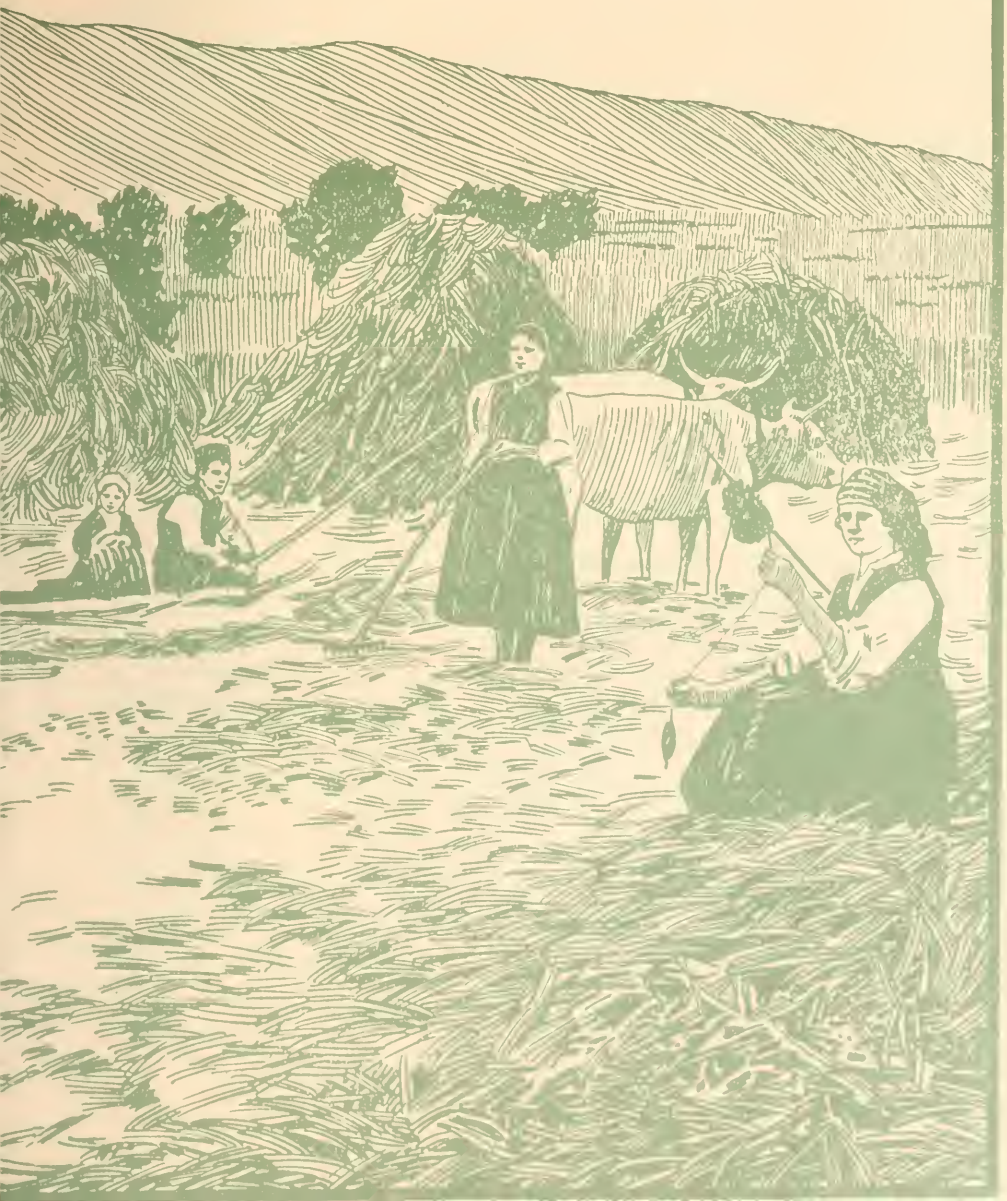


BULGARIA AND HER PEOPLE



WILL · S · MONROE







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QUEEN ELEANORA OF BULGARIA.

Bulgaria and Her People

With an Account of the
Balkan Wars, Macedonia, and the
Macedonian Bulgars

By

Will S. Monroe

Author of "Turkey and the Turks," "In Viking
Land," "Sicily, the Garden of the Mediter-
ranean," "Bohemia and the Cechs,"
"Europe and Her People," etc.

Illustrated



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DR. LOUIS N. WILSON,
CLARK UNIVERSITY,
WORCESTER, MASS.,
U. S. A.

BULGARIA AND HER PEOPLE

Works of
PROFESSOR WILL S. MONROE



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53 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

FOREWORD

THIS is the first general book of travel and description, treating of the rejuvenated Bulgarian kingdom, to be published in the English language. Of all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula, the Bulgars are least well known in Europe and America; and yet it is the universal testimony of the few foreigners who have learned to know them intimately that the inhabitants of "the peasant state," although more recently liberated from the oppressive Turkish rule than the other races of the peninsula, have outdistanced the Greeks, the Rumanians, the Servians, and the Montenegrins in most of the matters that make for social progress and civilization. Illiteracy, for example, is distinctly lower in Bulgaria than in the other Balkan states. The Bulgars spend twice as much per inhabitant on elementary education as the Servians, two and a half times as much as the Greeks, and three times as much as the Montenegrins.

As this book is intended for the general reader, the author has stressed the human side of the subject, and treated of a reasonably wide range of general topics, — geography, history, religion, education, ethnic types, agriculture, industry, commerce,

literature, painting, sculpture, music, — that throw light on and lend interest to the developing civilization of the new kingdom.

Considerable space is devoted to the two recent Balkan wars and to the authoritative report of the Carnegie commission. The author was in Bulgaria during the second Balkan war, and his personal investigations into the nature of and the responsibility for the second Balkan war are in entire accord with the findings of the Carnegie commission.

Bulgaria was betrayed, attacked, and traduced by her treacherous allies. She accomplished most and lost most in the Balkan wars. The charges of atrocities against Bulgarian soldiers were in the main false. On the other hand, the barbarities committed by the victorious Greeks and Servians, and notably by the former, — the torture of the wounded, the murder of prisoners of war, the firing on Red Cross and neutral flags, the violation of women, — have shocked humanity. The report of the Carnegie commission is a crushing indictment of the Greeks and the Serbs and their shameful behaviour during the recent wars.

The author is under a large debt of gratitude to a score of people in Bulgaria, who have aided him in the collection and the verification of the facts in his book; but they must be passed over with a blanket statement of thanks. Four friends, however, must be named: Mr. Ivan A. Karastoyanoff, the artistic photographer at Sofia, for many of the illustrations used in this volume; the Reverend Elia K. Kutukchieff, of Haskovo, Bulgaria, who

accompanied the author in his arduous travels in Bulgaria during the second Balkan war; and Professor Radoslav A. Tsanoff, formerly of Clark University but now of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, and Professor Amos W. Farnham, late of the Oswego Normal School, who submitted to the drudgery of reading the proof sheets.

W. S. M.

JUNE 1, 1914.

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BULGARIA AND HER PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY OF BULGARIA

Physiography of the country — Nature of the Balkan mountains — Divisions of the Stara Planina — The mountains of southern Bulgaria — The Rilos — The Rhodopes — Mountain streams — The Maritza river valley — Picturesque features of the southern Rhodopes — Lakelets and mineral springs — Climate of Bulgaria — Rainfall — Flora and fauna — Area and population of the country — Bulgarians in the United States.

THE kingdom of Bulgaria forms a part of the mountainous Balkan peninsula. The physiography of the country presents a combination of mountain chains encircling broad and fertile mountain valleys. The average elevation of the kingdom is 1,411 feet above sea-level. The character of the country is determined by the mountain systems. Structurally four well defined sections may be noted: the Danubian table-land in the north, the long chain of the Balkan mountains extending west-east the entire length of the country, the high and elevated mass of the Rilo-Rhodope mountains in the south, and the elevated plains between these two great parallel mountain systems.

The Balkan mountains, or Stara Planina as they

are called by the Bulgars, extend from the Timok river in the west to the Black sea in the east, a length of 375 miles, the average width being about 20 miles. They are really a continuation of the Carpathian system. The Balkans have been formed by horizontal pressure from the south. They have neither abrupt projections nor rocky peaks, but many rounded domes which, for the most part, are the remains of ancient volcanic cones. The higher parts have a core of granite and metamorphic rock. The northern slopes of the Balkans present a succession of terraces, which are so gentle that one may approach the crest from the Danube river without coming in sight of mountains. The southern slopes, on the other hand, are very abrupt, with numerous narrow and tortuous defiles.

There are three well marked divisions of the Balkan, or Stara Planina, system. The western division, a continuation of the Carpathian mountains, extends from the Servian frontier to the gorge of the Isker river; the central division from the Isker to the Demir Kapia; and the eastern division from the Demir Kapia to the Black sea.

The western Stara Planina is flanked north-south along its entire length by parallel lines of peaks abruptly cut into rough shapes. This is the most rugged part of the Balkans and is extremely difficult of access. It has only two passes—the Sveti Nicola (3,916 feet above the sea), through which leads the highway between Lom Palanka and the Danube regions to the Nishava valley in Servia, and the Ginci pass (4,737 feet elevation), with the high-

way from Lom Palanka to Sofia. The steepness of the slopes and the narrowness of the defiles through which the streams flow have combined to make railway and highway construction matters of costly engineering.

The central Stara Planina also has a number of peaks north of the main ridge. The Isker river pierces through this section of the Balkans on its way to the Danube, forming the most picturesque gorge in the entire system. Two other passes serve as highways over the central section of the Stara Planina — the Baba Konak (3,200 feet), through which passes the road from Plevna to Sofia, and Shipka pass (4,300 feet), with a military road leading from Gabrovo to Kazanlik. Yumrukchal (7,790 feet), the highest peak in the Balkan system, is in the middle section of the Stara Planina.

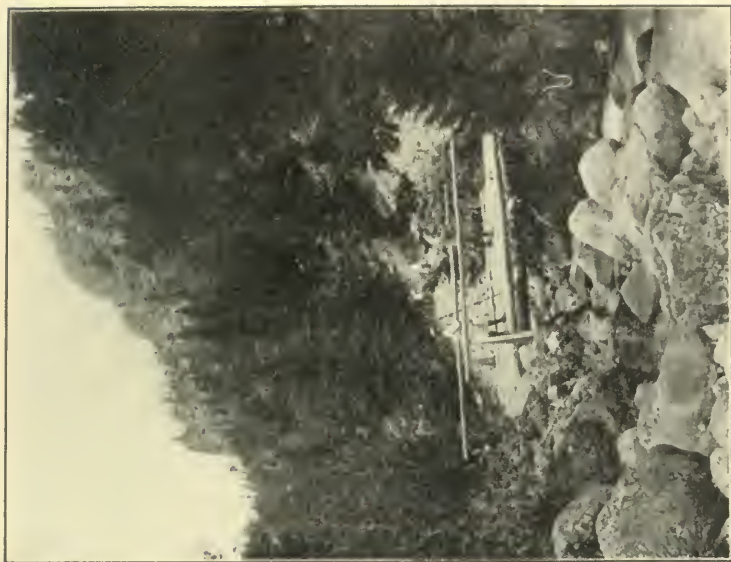
The eastern Stara Planina is composed of broken-down ridges, which gradually merge in the coastal plains on the shores of the Black sea. South of the Stara Planina, and extending parallel with it, is the Sredna Gora. The Ichtiman range connects the Sredna Gora with the Stara Planina, and is the watershed that separates the Isker and the Maritza basins. The fertile plains of Zlatitza, Karlovo, Kazanlik, and Sliven are between the Balkans and the Sredna Gora. These are the famous rose valleys of Bulgaria, with hundreds of great damask-rose gardens that produce the world's supply of attar of roses.

The western section of the Stara Planina is connected with the Rilo mountains by the Verila Pla-

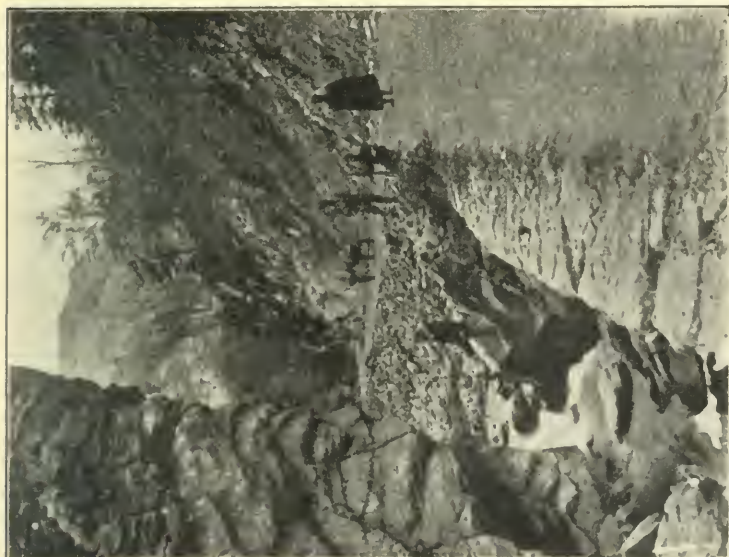
nina and the Vitosha, thus forming the watershed between the Isker and the Struma river systems. Between the high mountain ridges of western Bulgaria are numerous plains, such as Sofia, Samokov, Kustendil, Dubnitsa, and Radomir, which are beds of extinct lakes.

Southern Bulgaria is crossed by the Rilo-Rhodope mountains. They present a central mass with various branches stretching out in all directions and with huge cliffs cut by deep valleys. The jagged summits of the Rilo mountains contrast strikingly with the rounded summits of the Balkans. They have much of the character of the Swiss Alps. The Rilo mountains are the highest in Bulgaria. They contain the loftiest peak in the Balkan peninsula—Mt. Mussalla, whose altitude is 9,588 feet. They form the southern buttress of the Sofia plain; their upper slopes are dotted with numerous lakes inclosed among rocky cliffs; and their lower slopes are well forested with pine, larch, and beech. The Rilo mountains do not have a continuous covering of snow, as the highest peaks do not reach above the snow-line; but recent investigations in the upper valley of the Isker and on the slopes of Mt. Mussalla have established the fact that the most southern point in Europe, where traces of the ice age have been found, is in the northern slopes of the Rilo mountains.

The Rhodopes, a confused net-work of mountain groups, are a continuation of the Rilo mountains and extend through southern Bulgaria a distance of 180 miles. They are highest in the west; in the



RHODOPE MOUNTAINS.



RILO MOUNTAINS.

east they are split up into several chains extending in different directions, which gradually sink into the shores of the Ægean sea.

Many streams have their rise on the northern slopes of the Rhodopes and emerge from narrow valleys into the wide plain of the Maritza. The largest of these streams is the Arda, which has its rise in the central part of the range and flows between two lines of hills, finally escaping through a narrow gorge to join the Maritza near Adrianople. The streams that rise on the southern slopes are for the most part small, the largest being the Jardimula, which traverses the wide cultivated plain east of Gumuljina.

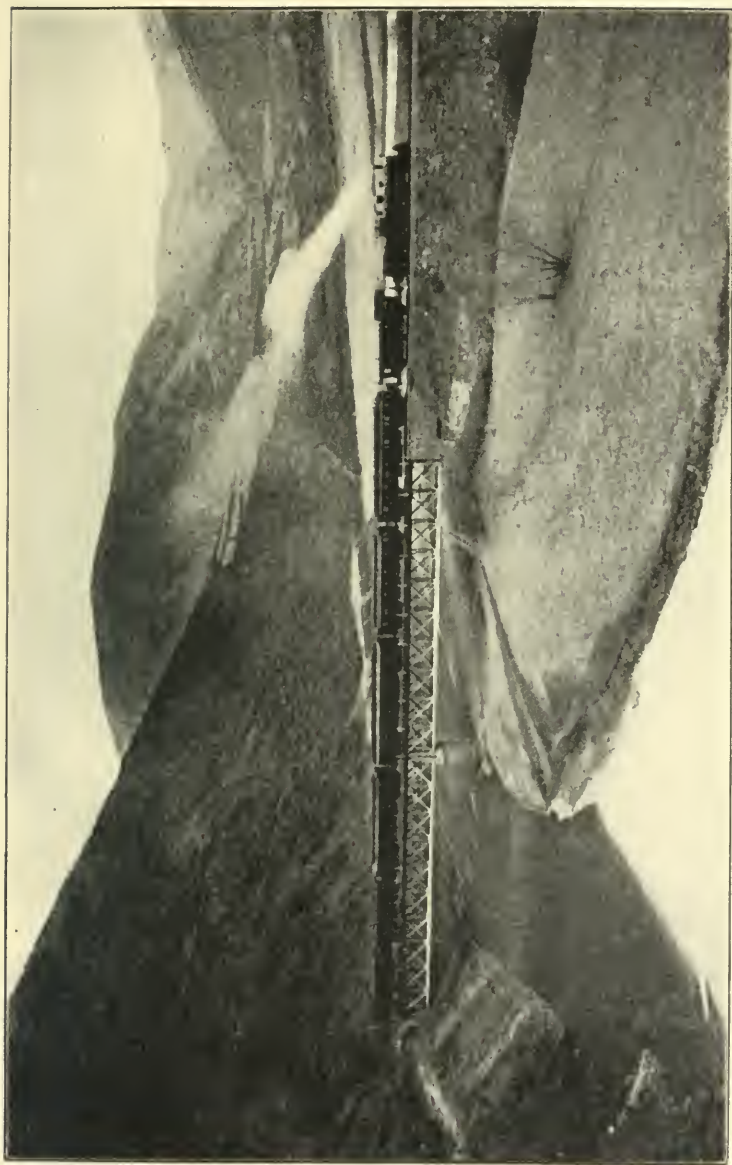
On the western side of the Rhodopes is the wide basin of the Mesta, which rises in the Rilo mountains. It flows through the deeply cut valley of the Razlog district and enters the plain of Nevrokop, but resumes the character of a mountain torrent before it reaches Drama on its way to the Ægean. There are no peaks of striking grandeur in the Rhodopes, the two most important being the Ibar (8,747) and the Sivry Chal (8,671 feet). The chief beauty of these mountains consists of the pineclad summits and slopes, and the picturesque upland valleys. The northern spurs of the Rhodopes terminate abruptly above the plain of the Maritza.

Concerning the beauty of the scenery of the southeast slopes of the Rhodope mountains, the Hon. James Bryce writes: "One part of the southeast Rhodopes, the part which lies between Xanthi and Drama, contains one of the most beautiful pieces of

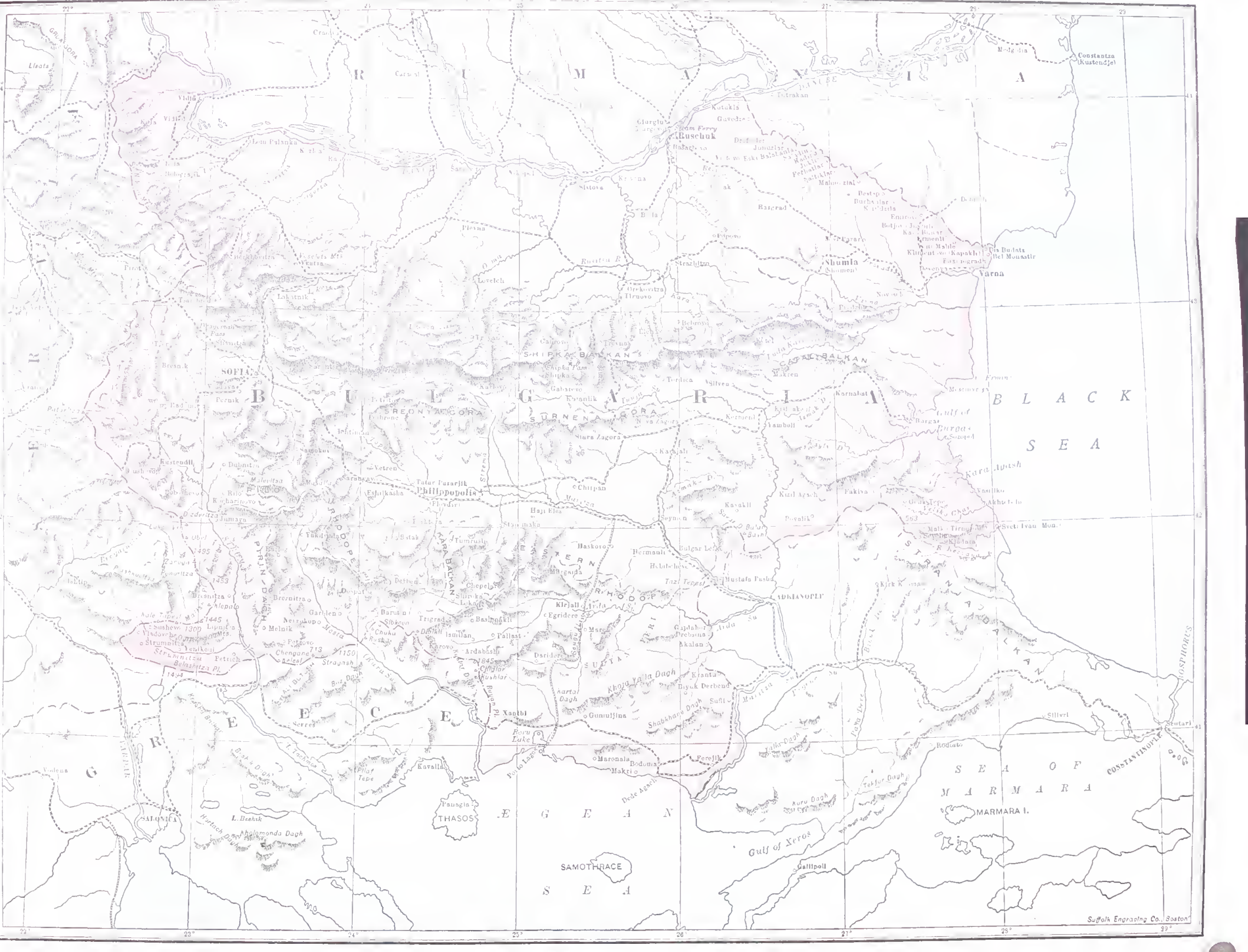
scenery I have ever seen. It is a valley something like thirty miles long, traversed by a river, where the railway has been run along the edge of the stream. Mountains rise from two to three thousand feet above the stream; they are in part richly wooded, and break in splendid crags down into an excessively narrow valley, along which there is no passage except the railway. The winding gorge, with its limestone crags towering above it, is wonderfully picturesque. There is hardly a more beautiful piece of railway scenery in Europe, or perhaps in America either, and it can be seen in perfect comfort in travelling along the line."

The most elevated and rugged part of the Rhodopes is in the west. Here the formation is of old crystalline rocks, granite and gneiss, and the abrupt slopes of the mountains are richly forested. A fine carriage-road is being constructed by King Ferdinand over this section of the Rhodopes to Macedonia. It crosses the ridge at an elevation of nearly eight thousand feet.

The peculiar manner in which Bulgaria is broken up into mountain ranges makes it impossible for the streams to mingle, hence there are no consequential rivers in the country. Those draining to the north and joining the Danube are the Isker, the Lom, the Vid, the Ogosta, and the Yantra. All of them, excepting the Isker, have their rise in the Stara Planina, and are, therefore, short. The Isker rises in the Rilo mountains and breaks through the Stara Planina in a magnificent gorge. All these streams furnish excellent water-power.



THE ISKER RIVER.



The Maritza river drains the great valley between the Balkans and the Rhodope mountains. It is 329 miles long and its basin has an area of 20,790 square miles. It takes its rise in the Balkans and flows southeast to the Ægean sea. It is navigable for small boats to Adrianople, but beyond that point it is obstructed by rocks and sand-bars. It is an important fertilizing agent to the plains of Philippopolis. Its tributaries from the Stara Planina are swift and deep during the rainy season in winter and spring, but nearly dry during summer and autumn; while the tributaries from the forest-covered Rhodope mountains on the south have nearly the same flow throughout the year. The two largest tributaries of the Maritza are the Tundja from the Stara Planina and the Arda from the Rhodopes. Both join the Maritza near Adrianople. The Struma, in southwestern Bulgaria, has its rise on the slopes of Vitosh, near Sofia, and flows west and then south to the Ægean.

There are no large lakes in Bulgaria, although on the higher slopes of the Rilo and Rhodope mountains there are more than one hundred small lakelets very similar to the "sea eyes" in the Carpathian mountains. There are more than two hundred hot and mineral springs in the country.

The climate of Bulgaria is relatively severe as compared with other parts of Europe in the same latitude, due in the main to the general physiography of the Balkan peninsula. North of the Balkan mountains the plain is exposed to the bitter north winds, and the thermometer sometimes falls as low

as twenty-four degrees below zero (Fahrenheit). But the summer heat is less intense because the same range shuts out the hot winds from the south. The Sofia tableland, although covered with snow in winter, has a more equable climate than most other parts of the kingdom. The air is bracing, the summer nights are cool, and the maximum temperature is seldom higher than eighty-six degrees or the minimum lower than two degrees. The eastern part of the country, however, suffers from both the extremes of heat and cold. The Black sea sometimes freezes over at Varna, and the eastern coastal plain is exposed to violent winds. The sheltered plain of the Maritza has a comparatively mild winter, although the summers are hot. January is the coldest month in Bulgaria, and July is the hottest month.

The heaviest rainfall is in the spring, and the mean annual rainfall for the country is about twenty-seven inches. In the less favoured regions on the shores of the Black sea the average is less than eighteen inches. Generally speaking Bulgaria is a healthful country, the only unhealthful regions being the marshes along the Danube and on the shores of the Black sea.

The flora of Bulgaria is both rich and varied. On the broad and gentle northern plain of the Stara Planina the spring flowers are very like those found on the steppes of Russia — crocuses, orchids, irises, and tulips; and both the Rilo and the Rhodope mountain regions are rich in indigenous plants that are representative of the flora of the Alpine regions. The jasmine grows wild on the southern slopes of

the Balkans, and the lilac through the Rilo and Rhodope mountains. Among the wild flowers of the plain are the salvia, the pink campion, the ragged robin, and the yellow lupin.

The northern slopes of the Balkans are liberally wooded, but the southern slopes are comparatively bare. Portions of the Rilo and Rhodope mountains are forested. The principal trees are oak, beech, ash, pine, poplar, and juniper. The pines are similar to those found in the Himalayas. The plains of the country are for the most part treeless, barring scrub oak, sumac, thorn, and elder. During the long period of Turkish misrule the forests of the mountains were largely destroyed. By a law of 1889 deforestation is prohibited, and the forests of the kingdom have been placed under the supervision of state foresters.

Wild animals are abundant in Bulgaria. Eagles, vultures, kites, owls, and smaller birds of prey are found in all parts of the kingdom; although song birds are less abundant. The principal song birds are the nightingales, the golden orioles, and the hoopoes. Wild geese, swans, pelicans, and herons haunt the marshes of the Danube and the lagoons of the shores of the Black sea. Woodcock, quail, and partridge are in the forests on the slopes of the Balkan and Rhodope mountains. The crane hibernates in the Maritza valley. The stork everywhere in Bulgaria adds a picturesque feature to village life. Small brown bears are numerous in the Rhodope mountains. Roe deer and chamois range the forests of both the Rhodope and the Balkan

mountains and lynx are in the Sredna Gora. Wild boar, badger, and otter inhabit the marshes.

The area of the kingdom of Bulgaria, before the recent Balkan wars, was 36,188 square miles. By the conditions of the treaty of Bucharest, 2,969 square miles in the Silistria-Baltchik district were ceded to Rumania, but she received 8,851 square miles in Macedonia and Thrace as her part of the former Turkish possessions, so that the present area of the kingdom is approximately 43,310 square miles.

The population of Bulgaria before the recent wars was 4,329,108 people. There were 286,000 inhabitants in the district ceded to Rumania; and, with the addition in the new territories, the present population of the kingdom is about 4,700,000. The country is sparsely settled, there being only forty-five inhabitants to the square mile.

The number of Bulgarians in the United States is not large. It probably does not exceed thirty-five thousand, including Bulgarians from Macedonia. Between twelve and fifteen thousand returned to the homeland during the Balkan wars, some of whom were killed and many wounded. The largest Bulgarian settlement is on the Illinois side of the Mississippi river opposite the city of St. Louis. It includes the towns of East St. Louis, Collinsville, Madison, and Granite City. These towns have altogether about seven thousand Bulgarians. They have their own churches, publish newspapers in the Bulgarian language, and possess other national institutions. The Bulgarians are regarded as sober, in-

dustrious, and law-abiding people. Elsewhere in the United States there are smaller Bulgarian communities. It is to be regretted that our Bulgarian immigrants so generally find their way to steel mills rather than to farms, since in their own country they make excellent agriculturalists.

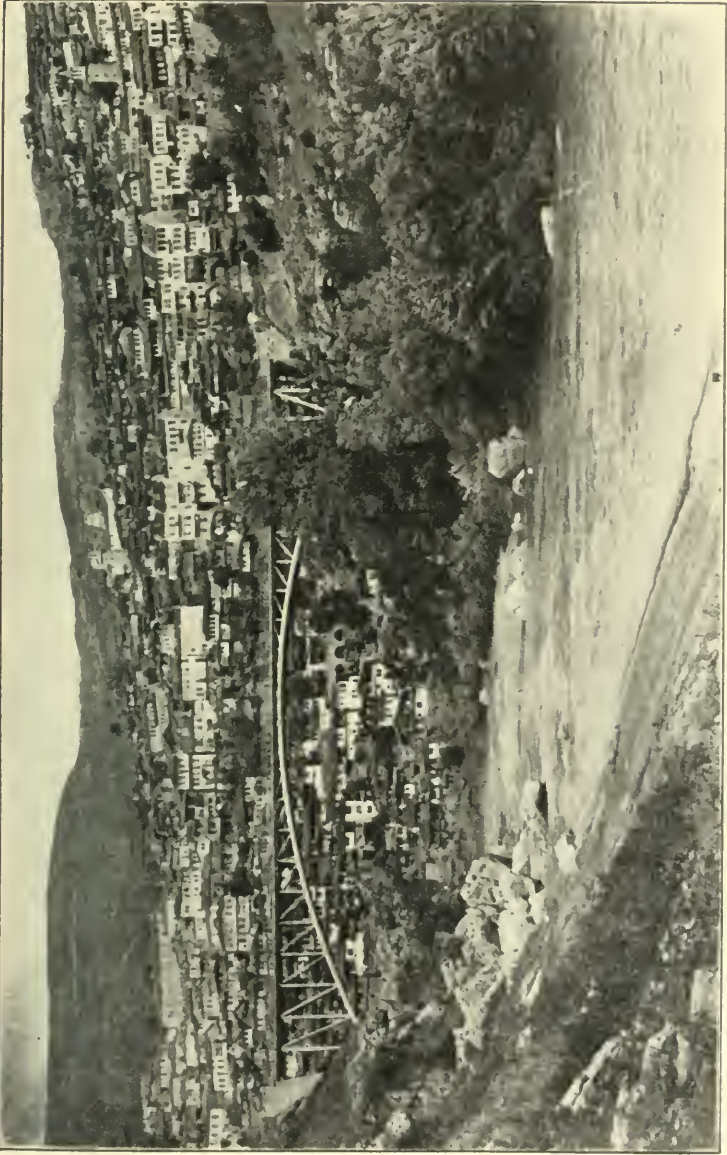
CHAPTER II

THE OLD BULGARIAN KINGDOM

Earliest inhabitants of Bulgaria — The ancient Thracian-Illyrians — Reign of Philip of Macedon — Arrival of the Bulgars — Their subjugation of the native Slavic tribes — The rule of Asparuh and Krum — Prince Boris and the adoption of Christianity — Reign of Simeon — The royal palace at Preslav — Golden age of Bulgarian literature — Conflicts with the Byzantine emperors — The Bogomil heresy — Their doctrines and persecution — Bulgaria a part of the Greek empire — The house of Asen — The new capital at Tirnovo — The fate of Baldwin, the Frankish emperor — Discord in Bulgaria — Conquest of the country by the Turks.

LITTLE is definitely known concerning the early history of the Bulgars. The country that they occupy to-day was inhabited at the dawn of the Christian era by ancient Thracian-Illyrian tribes. They were an agricultural people, governed by democratic local institutions, without national leaders or central organization, the political unit being the tribe. Herodotus wrote concerning them that "if they were only ruled by one man, and could only agree among themselves, they would become the greatest of all nations." The ancient Illyrian speech is probably represented to-day in Albania.

Philip of Macedon brought the warring tribes of the Balkans under his control and federated them into the Macedonian empire. But the union was short-lived; and upon the death of Alexander the Great they "returned to the congenial business of flying at one another's throats." For a century the



TIRNOVO, CAPITAL OF THE OLD BULGARIAN KINGDOM.

Thracian and Illyrian warriors struggled with the Roman conquerors, but the country was finally brought under Roman influence. Shortly after the Roman conquest, hordes of wild and uncouth warriors began to pour into the peninsula. The Goths first ravaged the country; the terrible Huns followed; and in many parts of the Balkans the entire native population perished at the hands of these barbarians.

The Bulgars arrived in the seventh century. Their origin is a vexed question. Recent ethnographic and anthropological investigations suggest that the Bulgars originally belonged to the Turanian race and that ethnically they were related to the Tatars, the Finns, and the Huns. We first hear of them as wild, fierce horsemen occupying a tract of land between the Ural mountains and the Volga river. They crossed the Danube in the year 679; subjugated the Slavic tribes, and advanced to the gates of Constantinople. The Byzantine empire was forced to cede them large grants of land in the Balkan peninsula and to pay them an annual tribute. The Bulgars welded the scattered Slavic tribes into a compact and powerful state; they assimilated the language, customs, and institutions of the Slavic tribes which they conquered, and in reality became themselves Slavs. For several centuries they played an important rôle in the history of southwestern Europe, and on several occasions they threatened the very existence of the Byzantine empire.

According to Bulgarian traditions, Asparuh was

the first Bulgar warrior to leave the ancient home on the Volga, where the ruins of Bulgari, their former capital, are still pointed out to the traveller. He crossed the Dniester and the Dnieper, and settled at a place called Onklos between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube. By the seventh century his followers had occupied the country that bears their name to-day and absorbed the native races. One of the earliest Bulgar rulers, concerning whom we have authentic information, is Krum, who, to borrow Gibbon's phrase, "could boast the honour of having slain in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine." He captured Sofia, the present capital of the country, in the year 809, and occupied large parts of what are to-day the kingdoms of Servia and Rumania. The Byzantine emperor, in an attempt to drive Krum out of the Balkans, was himself killed and the entire imperial army was annihilated. The victorious Bulgars then marched into Thrace and laid siege to Constantinople. The Byzantine rulers made terms with Krum, offering him a large yearly tribute, quantities of fine clothing, and a fixed number of Greek maidens. Krum conquered the Struma valley, and when he died his rule extended from Adrianople to the Carpathian mountains.

The next Bulgarian ruler concerning whom we have reliable information was Omortag. He made an expedition against the Franks, his neighbours on the northwest, and conquered the Drave and the Save river valleys. An inscription on a pillar in the recently destroyed Church of the Forty Martyrs at



Painted by Ivan V. Mirkvieka.

PRINCE BORIS (852-884).

Reproduced by permission of the artist.

Tirnovο tells of his execution of Christian missionaries and of his fruitless efforts to prevent the adoption of Christianity by his people.

The Christian religion had been spread throughout Bulgaria by the large number of captives, many of whom were priests and bishops, that Omortag and his successors had brought from the Byzantine empire. Bulgaria was, moreover, surrounded by nations that had been converted by the teachings of the two great Slavic missionaries and scholars, Kyril and Method; hence Prince Boris (852-884), for purely political reasons, decided to adopt the religion that had been proscribed by his predecessors. By a formal edict the Christian religion was adopted in Bulgaria in 964 and Prince Boris was baptized by the Byzantine emperor Michael III.

Soon after the adoption of Christianity in Bulgaria, the great schism broke out between the eastern and the western churches, and Boris wavered for a long time as to which branch of the church he would offer the allegiance of his country. But the refusal of the pope of Rome to recognize an independent national church in Bulgaria, led him to cast the lot of his country with the Greek patriarch. The independence of the Bulgarian national church was recognized; and this concession had special historical significance in the separation of the national church of Bulgaria from the Greek Orthodox church in our own day. He secured the rights of the Bulgarian primates to the title of patriarchs, whose sees were successively at Preslav, Sofia, Voden, Prespa, and Ochrida. Boris retired to a monastery

in 888. He was succeeded first by his son Vladimir and later by his son Simeon.

It was during the reign of Simeon (893-927), as Gibbon points out, that "Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth." This period was the golden age of Bulgarian history. The kingdom extended from the Adriatic to the Black sea, and from the Save river and the Carpathians to Thessaly. Simeon's title was "tsar of all the Bulgars and the Greeks," and his title was recognized by the pope of Rome. He had been carefully educated at Constantinople and had studied "the masterpieces of ancient eloquence and philosophy with so much zeal that his comrades called him half Greek. But his acquaintance with Greek literature did not dispose him to look with favour upon the Greek empire." He encouraged literature, art, and industry; and Preslav, his capital, rivalled Constantinople and its splendour excited universal admiration. John the Exarch, a contemporary of Simeon, gives this account of the palace at Preslav: "If a stranger coming from afar enters the outer court of the princely dwelling, he will be amazed, and ask many questions as he walks up to the gates; and if he goes within, he will see on either side buildings decorated with stone and wainscoted with wood of various colours. If he goes yet further into the courtyard, he will behold lofty palaces and churches decorated with marbles and frescoes without and with silver and gold within. If he perchance espy the prince sitting in robes covered with pearls, with chains of coin about his neck, bracelets on his wrists,

girt about with a purple girdle and a sword of gold at his side, then will he say when he returns home ‘ I know not how to describe it, for only thine own eyes could comprehend such splendour.’ ”

While Slavic literature had gradually developed since the days of Kyril and Method, the reign of Simeon is remembered as the golden age of Bulgarian letters. He was himself an author of no mean ability and he gathered at his court, Preslav, the ablest writers and thinkers of his age. John the Exarch wrote a descriptive account of the creation of the world which he dedicated to Simeon. The orations of Athanasius were translated into the vernacular; Gregory, a Bulgarian monk, wrote a life of Alexander the Great and compiled a Bible history; an encyclopædia of contemporary learning was translated from Greek authors; and several notable treatises were composed on Slavonic philology.

Simeon was succeeded by his son Peter (927-969) whose long reign marked a decline in Bulgarian statesmanship. His marriage with the daughter of the Byzantine ruler brought him under the evil influence of the Greek court. The Magyars invaded his country five times and caused great damage; and his kingdom was menaced by an alliance with Russia. Sviatoslav, a Russian chief, arrived with ten thousand men at the mouth of the Danube; Silistria was conquered, and an alliance with the Byzantine ruler averted the calamity of the capital of Bulgaria falling into the hands of the Russians. While the country was thus menaced, Serbia, which had been added

to Bulgaria during the reign of Simeon, regained her independence.

The Bogomil heresy added to the dissensions that prevailed during the troubled reign of Peter. Similar heresies had appeared among the Waldensians and Albigenses of France, but the teachings of Bogomil, the author of a number of mystical books, found readier acceptance among the Bulgars than similar doctrines had hitherto found among other peoples in Europe; for the decadence of the country, under Greek influence, had been as marked in religion as in letters and political affairs. The new religion was at bottom a protest against the immorality and autoeracy of the Orthodox clergy.

The Bogomiles denied the divine birth of Christ. His miracles they interpreted in a spiritual, not a material sense. They likewise denied the validity of sacraments and ceremonies; baptism was reserved for adults only, and their church organization was purely congregational in character. They selected their ministers, women as well as men, from their own members, and ordination was conferred by the congregation. They declared Christ to be the son of God only through grace, like the other prophets. The bread and wine of the eucharist they held as merely symbolical, and not transformed into flesh and blood. Images of the cross they regarded as idols and they characterized the worship of saints as idolatry. They regarded bloodshed with horror; forbade participation in warfare, and denounced capital punishment. The Orthodox church persecuted them with fire and sword, as the Roman church

had persecuted the Waldensians and the Albigenses. The empress Theodora is said to have hanged or drowned more than one hundred thousand. The persecution of the church in Bulgaria was so great that many fled to Servia, where they continued to reside until expelled by King Stephen at the end of the twelfth century. With the coming of the Turks to the Balkan peninsula, their persecutions were at an end, and they continued their individual existence down to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the few survivors were taken into the Roman Catholic church.

The political distractions and religious dissensions of the reign of Peter had resulted in a division of the Bulgarian kingdom. Shishman, a Bulgarian nobleman of Tirnovo, founded a western Bulgarian empire that included most of Macedonia and parts of Albania. His descendants continued to rule western Bulgaria for nearly half a century after the eastern kingdom had fallen under the Byzantine yoke.

Boris II succeeded Peter as ruler of eastern Bulgaria. But the Greeks took advantage of an invasion of the Russians, and in 971 Boris was deposed. The western part of the kingdom under Samuel (976-1014), however, rose to importance. He conquered most of the Balkan peninsula and was undisputed ruler from the Danube to the Morea. The Byzantine emperor, Basil II, a ferocious tyrant who concealed the most detestable vices under the mask of rigid piety, and who had conquered the territory of Boris II, found in Samuel a foeman worthy of

his steel. A historian of this period writes of Basil II: "From his early years this heartless ascetic seemed to have but one desire, the complete subjugation of the Bulgarian race. It took him forty years to accomplish his task, but at last he succeeded, and is now chiefly known by the epithet of 'the Bulgar slayer,' which his cruelties and his victories won for him."

Basil conducted two unsuccessful campaigns against Samuel. In a third campaign against the Bulgars he captured fifteen thousand soldiers and "with a refinement of cruelty unparalleled even in the annals of that barbarous age, Basil had their eyes put out, allowing every hundredth man to retain one eye, in order that he might be able to guide his comrades to the headquarters of their sovereign." When Samuel beheld the atrocities of his protagonist, he fell into a swoon and died ten days later. His son Gabriel succeeded him and for a few years kept at bay the blood-thirsty Greek emperor; but he was murdered by his cousin in 1018, at the instigation of the emperor, and western Bulgaria became a dependency of the Byzantine empire.

During the one hundred sixty-eight years (1018-1186) that Bulgaria was an integral part of the Greek empire every effort was made to stifle the national feelings of the people. Although Basil proclaimed that he would maintain the rights of the conquered country, he divided it into provinces, over which he placed governors with civil and military authority. These officials rarely held office for more than a year; and as they had paid dearly for their

posts, they had to recoup themselves promptly, with the result that "scarcely had one official been satiated than another hungry placeman appeared in his stead." William Miller quite truly remarks in this connection: "Under the Greek rule the Bulgarians had a foretaste of the coming Turkish domination. The men were different, but the methods were very much the same."

The religious liberties of the Bulgars were also curtailed. Basil substituted the title of archbishop for that of patriarch of the national Bulgarian church; Greeks were appointed to fill this and all other important ecclesiastical posts; Bulgarian church books were burned, and, whenever possible, the Greek liturgy was substituted for the Slavie.

The long misrule of the Greeks was brought to a close by the rapaciousness of the emperor Isaac Angelus. In order to meet the enormous expenses connected with the marriage of his daughter to the king of Hungary, and after extorting the last farthing from the sullen Bulgars, he ordered their flocks and herds to be seized. This was the last straw. Under the leadership of Ivan and Peter Asen, who were descended from the Bulgarian king Shishman, an insurrection broke out; the Greek officials were driven from the country, and with such grace as he could command, the feeble emperor was forced to recognize the independence of Bulgaria. Ivan Asen was crowned tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks, and Tirnovo was made his capital.

The reign of Ivan Asen covered only nine years (1186-1195). During his reign the boundaries of the

rejuvenated kingdom were established; successive armies sent against him from Constantinople were repulsed, and a period of prosperity was inaugurated. He fell at the hands of an assassin and was succeeded by his brother Peter, who had been associated with him in the insurrection that liberated his country from the oppressive Greek yoke. Peter also fell as Ivan had fallen, and the crown was seized by Kaloyan (1197-1207). He formed an alliance with the Greeks against the crusaders and won a great victory over Baldwin in a battle near Adrianople on the 15th of April, 1205. The Frank emperor was taken captive to Tirnovo and his fate is one of the mysteries of history. It is known that he was imprisoned in a ruined castle there, and nothing more. Whether he met with a violent death or was treated kindly at the hands of his captor has never been established. Years after the battle a false Baldwin appeared in Flanders, although it was generally held that the Frankish emperor had long before this died. Upon the death of Kaloyan the throne was occupied by his nephew Boril, and after much internal disturbances he was deposed and Ivan Asen II (1218-1241), the greatest of the rulers of the Asen dynasty, succeeded him. His reign was one of peace, and a contemporary wrote of him: "He has neither drawn his sword against his own countrymen, nor disgraced himself by the murder of Greeks, and all other nations loved him." He was a man of great enlightenment, and governed his country with justice, wisdom, and moderation. Bulgaria attained an unprecedented degree of prosperity under his

rule; literature, the arts, and commerce flourished; Tirnovo was enlarged and embellished; many schools, churches, and monasteries were founded, and under his wise leadership Bulgaria became the first state in the Balkan peninsula.

At his death in 1241 the crown of Ivan Asen II passed in rapid succession to his sons, mere lads, who died violent deaths. Then it passed to their cousin Kaliman II, who likewise died a violent death, and in default of a lineal descendant, the Bulgars elected Constantine of Servia as their ruler. His marriage with a Greek princess brought great disaster to the nation. The Greek wives of Bulgarian rulers, notes an English historian, have left evil records behind them, but Constantine's consort was the worst of them all. "She made her husband's severe illness an excuse for seizing supreme power for herself in the name of her boy Michael. By intrigues she 'removed' all the most dangerous of the Bulgarian nobles. Meanwhile the empire lay open to the attacks of the Tatars, who, after over-running Rumania, had begun to cross the Danube. In this extremity, with a disabled tsar and a designing woman on the throne, Bulgaria threw itself into the arms of a restless adventurer, named Ivajlo, who had abandoned the profession of a shepherd for the more congenial one of a brigand."

Ivajlo told the Bulgars that the holy saints of their country had appeared to him in dreams and had prepared him for the great mission of driving the Tatars from the kingdom. The people flocked to his standard; he had remarkable success in his

campaigns against them, but Constantine was killed, and his crafty widow became the wife of the conqueror. A rival for the throne, however, appeared, George Terterii, who was sprung from an old Bulgarian family. His aristocratic connections led the Bulgars to prefer him to the humble shepherd with the scheming Greek consort. Ivajlo fled to the court of the chief of the Tatar horde. Terterii was not able to stem the tide of the Tatar invasion; with the death of his son the Bulgarian empire gradually went to pieces. The Bulgars elected Michael, a descendant of the old Kumanian aristocracy, as their ruler in 1323. But conflicts with Servia and the appearance of the Turks soon caused the fall of the old Bulgarian kingdom.

Stara Zagora and Philippopolis fell into the hands of the Turks in 1362; Sofia was soon captured; and with the fall of the kingdom of Servia on the plain of Kossovo, the 15th of June, 1389, the Balkan peninsula was doomed to five centuries of Turkish oppression.

Concerning the factors involved in the fall of the old Bulgarian empire, Mr. William Miller, the English historian of the Balkan states, writes: "The old Bulgarian system was concentrated in an aristocracy which, except under the iron hand of a strong tsar, was rarely united. The masses, degraded to the level of serfs and chained to the soil, had no common interests with their lords. The clergy, instead of striving to raise and influence the people, wasted their energies in hair-splitting theories or passed their lives in monkish seclusion. Their in-

tolerance drove the Bogomiles of Bulgaria, as of Bosnia, into the arms of the Turks, who seemed to the persecuted heretics more generous than their Christian oppressors. Morally, Bulgaria was slowly but surely undermined by its intercourse with the Byzantine empire. The nobles and the priesthood were most affected by this sinister influence, and it is noticeable that in the old as in the new Bulgaria the ablest men have usually sprung from the virgin soil of the peasantry.”¹

¹ *The Balkans*. By William Miller. New York, 1907, pp. 476.

CHAPTER III

UNDER THE TURKISH YOKE

The Turkish conquest of Bulgaria — Dark ages of Bulgarian history — Turkish political oppression and Greek ecclesiastical tyranny — The corrupt Phanariotes — Extinction of Bulgarian learning — Why the movement for the Hellenization of the Bulgars failed — Origin of the Pomak republic — Efforts of the Bulgars to throw off the Turkish yoke — Influence of the literary and historical revival — Labours of the monk Païssy — The school at Kotel — Beginnings of revolutionary movements — Services of Venelin — The school at Gabrovo — Re-establishment of the Bulgarian national church — Turkish oppression following the Crimean war — Work of revolutionary committees in Rumania.

TURKISH troops ravaged the Maritza valley in 1340; Thrace was occupied twenty-one years later; Ichtiman, Samokov, and Kustendil were captured in 1370; and Sofia fell in 1382. The battle of Kossovo in 1389 decided the fate of the Bulgars, although Tirnovo, the capital of the country, did not capitulate until the 17th of July, 1393. The fate of Ivan Shishman III, the last of the Bulgarian tsars, is not known. Tradition represents him as perishing in the battle of Samokov. The occupation of Bulgaria by the Turks was completed by the expulsion of Ivan's half brother from Vidin in 1398.

The five centuries that separate the fall of Tirnovo and the fall of Plevna have been aptly characterized as the dark ages of Bulgarian history. For five hundred years the Bulgars bore the double yoke of Turkish political oppression and Greek ecclesiastical tyranny. The Turks carried fire and

sword throughout the kingdom. They laid waste towns and villages. Churches and monasteries were sacked and burned. Fertile plains were converted into desolate wastes. Peasants fled to the mountains or crossed the Danube and found refuge in Russia. Some of the nobles embraced the Moslem religion and were rewarded with place and power for their apostasy. Highways were neglected. Khans and caravanseries fell into ruin. The flower of Bulgarian youth was carried to Constantinople to be trained for the janissaries. The fairest of the maidens of the land were seized to grace the harems of their Turkish masters. Every Christian above the age of fourteen years had to pay a poll tax; there was a tax on every head of cattle, and a tenth of all the products of the soil was claimed by the Ottoman government. Regular payment of taxes was greatly augmented by the irregular extortions of Turkish governors, who were allowed to recoup themselves for the bribes they had paid for their jobs. And worst of all, the peasants were fixed to the soil and required to work a certain number of days each week on the estates of their feudal lords.

But the political and economic bondage of the Turks was scarcely less irksome than the religious and intellectual bondage of the Greeks. The entire spiritual government of the Bulgars was turned over to the Greek Phanariotes of Constantinople, for handsome financial considerations, of course! Less than a year after the fall of Tirnovo the venerable Patriarch Eumenius was expelled and the

Bulgarian see was subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople. Greek bishops displaced Bulgarian bishops. Bibles in the Slavic tongue were replaced by the Scriptures in Greek. All offices within the church were for sale, and we hear of Greek barbers and restaurant keepers holding posts as bishops; and the ecclesiastical rulers from Constantinople, like the political, having paid dearly for their offices, had to recoup themselves at the expense of their parishioners. "The art of extortion among Greek bishops and priests," wrote a contemporary German traveller in Bulgaria, "has been reduced to a system, so that between Greek ecclesiastics and Turkish governors the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is a hard one." The Greek liturgy replaced the Slavic throughout the country, and all Bulgarian books and manuscripts were committed to the flames. So late as the year 1823 the metropolitan Greek Phanariot Hilarion, in repairing the cathedral at Tirnovo, discovered a closed chamber that contained numerous relics and the ancient libraries of the Bulgarian patriarchs, including the library of Eumenius. The relics he sold in Rumania, and the Bulgarian books and manuscripts he solemnly committed to the flames.¹ Schools, such as existed in the country, were conducted by Greek priests; the Greek alphabet and Greek books were used, and the Kyrillic alphabet of the Bulgarians was entirely forgotten. "The Greek clergy ended what the Turks began," remarks William Miller, and he adds,

¹ *Histoire de la Bulgarie*. By R. P. Guérin Songeon. Paris, 1913, pp. 480.

“ but the spiritual tyranny of the Phanariotes was even worse than the political tyranny of the Turks. For the Turks were not bigots, the Phanariotes were.”

The Hellenization of Bulgaria was never quite complete. Although the Slavic language was no longer taught, it continued to be spoken by the peasants. Mr. Brailsford in his authoritative work on the *Races of Macedonia* attributes this persistence of the Bulgarian language to the failure of the Greeks to make any sort of provision for the education of Bulgarian women. He writes concerning the growth of Greek influence after the advent of the Turks in Bulgaria: “ It depended almost entirely upon the church, and it must have been immeasurably stronger in the Balkan peninsula after the coming of the Turks than ever before. It embraced not merely Macedonia, but Rumania, Bulgaria, and even Servia as well. The few Slavs in the interior who were educated at all were taught to regard themselves as Greeks, and the very tradition of their origin was in danger of dying out. Two fatal errors alone wrecked what was nothing less than a scheme for Hellenizing the Balkan peninsula. The women were not educated; and for all the Greek schools might do, every Slav child learned his own despised tongue at his mother’s knee. The peasants also were neglected. The Greeks regarded them with the unmeasured and stupid contempt which a quick town-bred people instinctively feels for a race of cultivators. They were barbarians, beasts of burden, men only ‘ in the catalogue.’ The

Greeks denied the rights of men to the Slav peasants and refused to accept them as brethren. The consequence was that the peasants never quite lost their sense of separation, and a certain dim consciousness of nationality remained, rooted in injuries and hatred. The nemesis came at the beginning of the nineteenth century.”¹

Many of the Bulgars who inhabited the wildest parts of the Rhodope mountains became converts to the Moslem religion during the reign of Mohammed IV (1648-1687). They retained the habits, customs, and language of the Bulgars, but were henceforth known as Pomaks. The adoption of the creed of Islam made them a privileged class in the conquered country. They received special concessions from the sultans and acquired a large measure of self-government. They were ruled by beys elected from their own ranks; had their own police and law courts; paid no taxes, and furnished no regular recruits to the Ottoman army.

In return for these favours they furnished the government of the sultans with special contingents of soldiers during times of war. Thus there developed what was known as the Pomak republic. Several sultans during the eighteenth century attempted to curtail the privileges of the Pomaks and force them to pay taxes, but with little success. “It was an evil day for any Turkish tax-collector,” remarks Mr. Bourchier, “who ventured within the Pomak territory, for the highlanders were armed to the

¹*Races of Macedonia.* By H. N. Brailsford. London, 1906, pp. 340.

teeth, and taught the intruders a lesson which they were not likely to forget. It was thought prudent to overlook these acts of vigorous self-assertion, and so it came to pass that the little community of the Rhodope enjoyed the sweets of self-government unmolested and unhindered; and though not recognized by diplomatists, they possessed all the privileges of independent membership in the European family.”¹

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Pomaks attracted the attention of western Europe. They were ruled at that time by Hassan Aga, who was the recognized chief of thirty villages and twenty thousand people. He was succeeded in 1860 by his son Achmet Aga, the leader of the terrible massacre of Christian villages in Bulgaria that precipitated the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. Some ethnologists regard the Pomaks as the purest Bulgar stock, for the reason that their adoption of the Moslem religion preserved their women against the license of the Turkish conquerors.

The acceptance of the Mohammedan religion did not prevent them from clinging to many of the religious customs of their Christian forefathers. Mr. Bourchier wrote of his visit to the Pomaks in 1893: “They still celebrate some Christian holidays; they still attend the consecration of a Christian sanctuary; they will even invite the prayers of a Christian priest in cases of illness. The women

¹ *Pomaks of Rhodope*. By J. D. Bourchier. *Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1893. Vol. 60, pp. 509-532.

lament over the graves of their departed relatives, using the old Christian prayers *mutatis mutandis* to suit their present creed. At the feast of Bairam the maidens dance the Bulgarian horo — unveiled this once; for it is then that the Pomak youths select their brides; the young men may not dance, but stand at a becoming distance and take stock of their future partners for life.”

With the aid of Michael of Wallachia, Aaron of Transylvania, and Sigismund of Hungary, the Bulgars made an attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke, but the revolution of Tirnovo of 1595 ended in defeat at Nicopolis. Beginning with the eighteenth century, and the period of marked decline of Ottoman power, the spirit of revolt became more apparent. Organized guerilla warfare was carried on against the Turks in the Balkan and Rhodope mountains by outlaws whose exploits have been idealized in the rich literature of Bulgarian folk-song. These brigand chiefs, like Robin Hood in the English ballads, were regarded as the protectors of the rights of the people against the aggressions of the Turks.

Hellenized as they had been by the unscrupulous, rapacious, and corrupt Phanariot clergy; disheartened by ages of Turkish oppression; isolated from Christendom by their geographic position, and cowed by the proximity of Constantinople, the Bulgars took no collective part in the revolutionary movements that ultimately resulted in the liberation of other parts of the Balkan peninsula. But the long dormant national spirit was at last awakened

in Bulgaria, as in Bohemia and other oppressed countries in Europe, by the influence of a literary and historical revival.

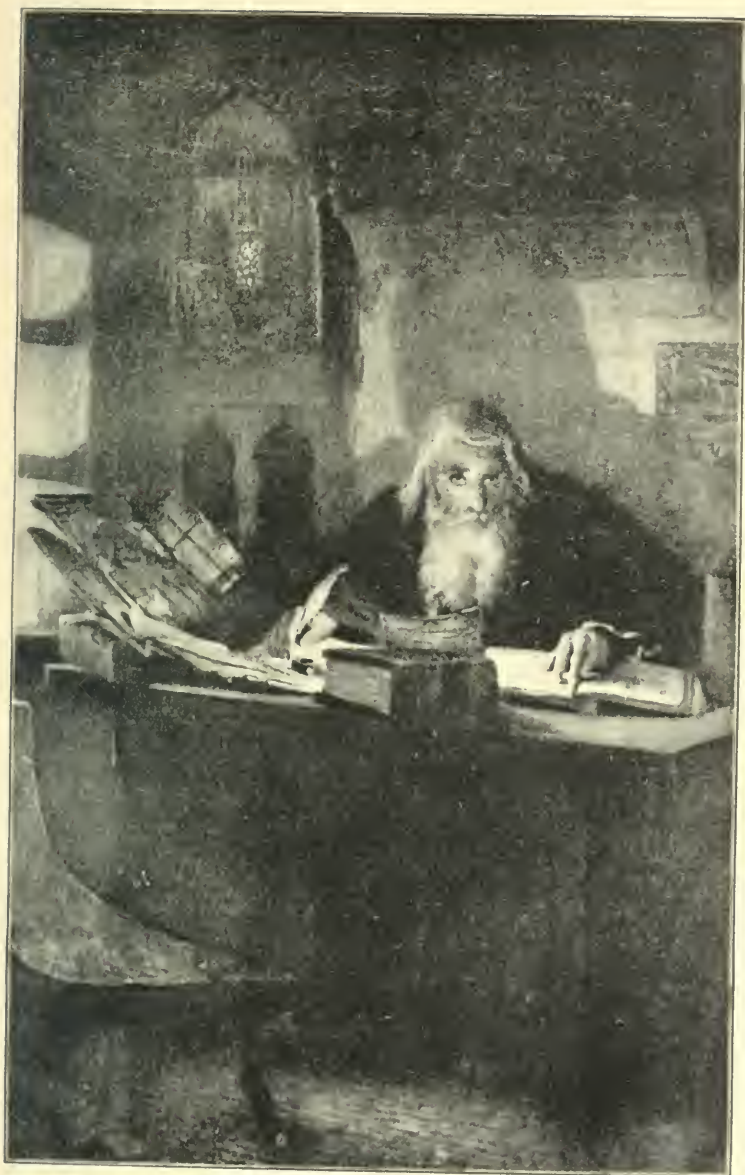
This movement was inaugurated by a monk in the monastery at Mount Athos, who, in 1762, published a history of the old Bulgarian kingdom. Father Païssy's book marks the beginning of a literary revival in Bulgaria that culminated a century later in the liberation of his country from the spiritual oppression of the Greeks and the political tyranny of the Turks. He was born at Samokov in 1720 and educated in the monasteries at Hilandar and Mount Athos. In the preface of his book he tells us that he had frequently been insulted by the assertions of Greeks and Servians that the Bulgars had no national history and that his country had never produced any political or spiritual leaders of consequence. He travelled widely in Bulgaria, Austria, and Russia, and searched carefully all historical documents that he could find; and his *History of the Bulgarian People with Accounts of their Tsars and Saints*, written in simple but graphic style, was the spark that roused the dormant patriotism of the Bulgars.

The Bulgar whom Païssy's book most deeply influenced was Stoïko Vladislavoff (1739-1815), better known as Bishop Sophroni. Vladislavoff was twenty years in charge of a school for peasant boys at Kotel, where George Mamartchhoff and most of the other leaders in the revolutionary movement were trained. He later became bishop of Vratza, but his advocacy of the cause of the Bulgars aroused the

hatred of both the Turkish officials and the Greek Phanariotes, and he was condemned to death. He fled to the mountains and subsequently escaped to Bucharest, where he devoted the closing years of his life to literary labours. His writings were among the first to be printed in the new Bulgarian language. He directed his patriotic efforts, as he tells us in his *Memoirs* (1804), chiefly to the peasants, since by virtue of their very ignorance they had been less influenced by Greek ideas and culture, and it was easier to interest them in the glorious past of their country than the Bulgars who had been tainted with cosmopolitan ideas.

Another important writer in the movement that ultimately liberated the Bulgars was the Ruthenian historian Juri I. Venelin (1802-1839). His *Bulgars of Former Times and To-day* (1829) was a work of recognized historical scholarship and recalled not only to the Bulgars but to the historical students of Europe the splendid place which this race once occupied in the history of the Balkan peninsula. He also published numerous documents bearing on Bulgarian history; made a collection of folk-songs and legends, and published a Bulgarian grammar. In gratitude for his service to their nation the Bulgars have erected a tomb to Venelin at Odessa with this inscription: "He recalled to memory the forgotten but once mighty Bulgarian nation."

The work of Venelin inspired two Bulgarian merchants at Odessa to found a Bulgarian school at Gabrovo in 1835. Neophyte Rilski, a famous Slavic



Painted by Ivan V. Mirkvicka.

THE MONK PAISSY.

Reproduced with the artist's permission.

scholar in the monastery at Rilo, was chosen director of the school. This school and similar ones established at Karlovo, Svishtov, Koprivshitzza, and elsewhere, brought the national spirit squarely face to face with the spiritual domination of the Greek Phanariotes, and inaugurated the long and bitter struggle that ultimately resulted in the reestablishment of the national Orthodox church in Bulgaria. The literary movement was pushed with great vigour. School books, novels, plays, and popular songs in the vernacular were printed; a translation of the New Testament was made, and in 1844 there appeared at Smyrna the first newspaper published in the Bulgarian language.

The patriots that were trained under the influence of the new literary movement believed that the safest and quickest way to political freedom was through the restoration of the national church, and a bitter struggle followed. The Greeks, more farsighted than the Turks, argued with the Ottoman authorities that the reestablishment of an independent Bulgarian church would unquestionably lead to the awakening of the Bulgarian national spirit, and that Turkey would thus raise up for herself an enemy in her own house. But as the settled policy of the Sublime Porte was to create divisions among the Christian subjects, the struggle led to the reestablishment of an independent Bulgarian church in 1870.

The Bulgars sought more than deliverance from their spiritual oppressors. They desired political not less than religious autonomy. As early as 1836

a revolutionary movement was inaugurated at Tirnovo under the leadership of George Mamartchoff, who was a pupil in the famous peasant school at Kotel that gave so many patriots to Bulgaria. The Greek metropolitan at Tirnovo learned of the organization, informed the Turkish authorities, most of the leaders were executed, many sympathetic peasants were massacred, and many Bulgars fled to Bessarabia.

After the Crimean war many thousands of Moslem Tatars and Circassians from the Crimea were settled on lands belonging to Bulgarian peasants, who were not duly compensated for the expropriation of their property. The new settlers were lawless and were the cause of renewed discontent among the Bulgarian peasants with the Turkish government. The discontent of the people found expression in the revolutionary committees organized in Rumania during the dozen years that preceded the Russo-Turkish war. The refusal of the sultan of Turkey to recognize Prince Charles as the rightful ruler of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia facilitated the activities of revolutionary bands of Bulgarian emigrants that crossed the Danube and tried to induce the Bulgarian peasants to revolt against the Turkish government. Such agitation, with the avowed object of complete emancipation and independence from Turkish rule, gradually extended throughout Bulgaria. Many of the agitators were arrested and executed or sent to prisons in Asia Minor, but their places were promptly filled. The severities practised by the Turks in the sup-



CHRISTO BOTEFF, LEADER OF THE REVOLT AGAINST TURKEY

pression of revolutionary movements did not in the least lessen the enthusiasm and spirit of emulation of the members of the revolutionary bands.

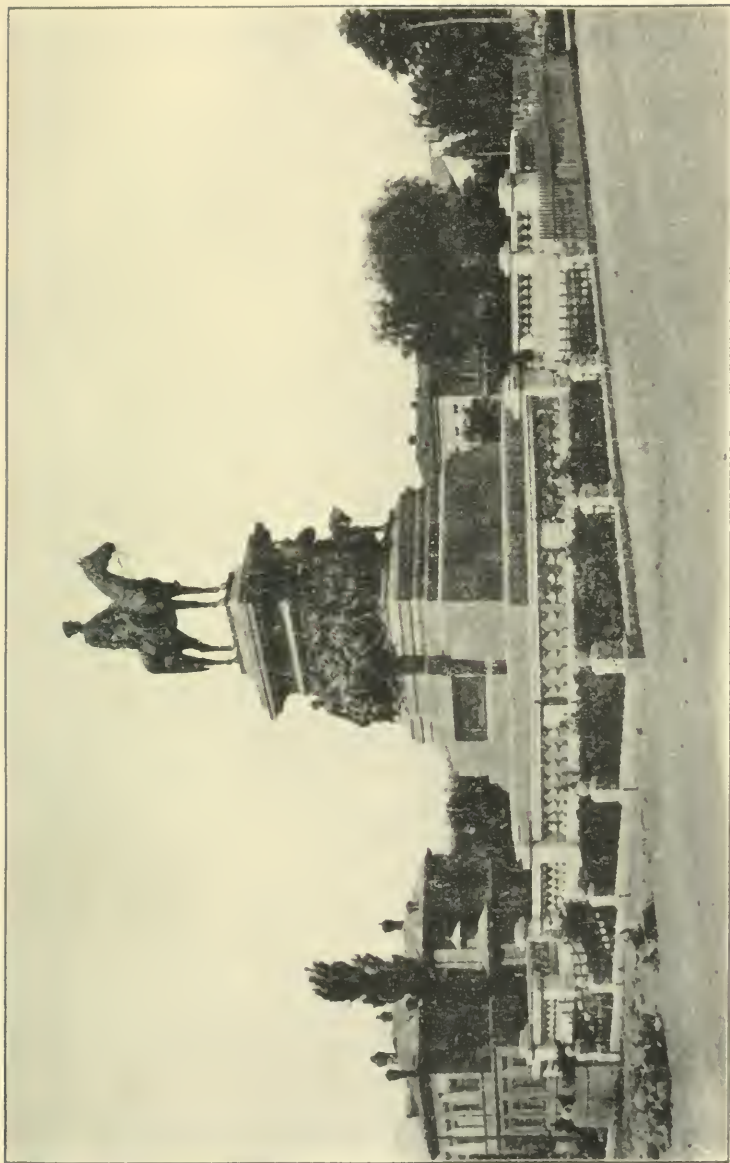
CHAPTER IV

LIBERATION OF BULGARIA

Beginning of the end of the Turkish rule — Massacres of the bashi-bozouks — Responsibility of England for conditions in Turkey — The Crimean war — Russia and the oppressed Bulgars — The massacre at Batak — Mr. Gladstone on the Bulgarian "horrors" — Outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 — Russian successes — How the Bulgars cooperated with their liberators — The treaty of San Stefano — Anger of England — The congress of Berlin — The cunning of Abdul-Hamid — Macedonia, Albania, and Thrace given back to Turkey — Creation of the principalities of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.

THE year of 1876 marks the beginning of the end of Turkish rule in Bulgaria. The activities of the patriots in agitating for governmental reforms in their country led the Turks to retaliate with the most oppressive measures. Whole villages were slaughtered; and the Ottoman government justified the action of its savage soldiers and the brutal bashi-bozouks on the pretext that they were simply putting down rebellion and restoring peace by armed force. The cruelties in the Balkan peninsula became so glaring that Russia asked England and the other members of the European concert to force Turkey to grant some of the reforms demanded by the revolutionists, and to compel her to cease the brutal massacre of innocent men, women, and children.

The responsibility of England for conditions in the Balkans cannot be passed over in silence. As early as 1791 England grew conscious of the fact



MONUMENT OF THE TSAR LIBERATOR AT SOFIA.

that Turkey was in the clutches of Russia. She formed a tripartite alliance with Holland and Prussia and tried to make Catherine disgorge some of her Turkish conquests, which the proud and self-sufficing empress refused to do. The House of Commons was asked to furnish the sinews of war to bring Catherine to terms, but the opposition of Burke and Fox defeated the measure. The overweening power which Russia acquired by her share in the overthrow of Napoleon caused a popular feeling of dislike for her in Great Britain. "For then came the new spirit breathed into our foreign policy by George Canning," remarks the Duke of Argyll, "and especially our national and popular antipathy to the Holy Alliance. Russia was the head and front of that offending. That she should be allowed to seat herself on the throne of Constantinople — to make the whole Black sea a Russian lake, to command the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and to issue from them into the Mediterranean with fleets powerful in action and inaccessible in retreat — this would indeed be a menace and a danger to the western world. To avert this danger, or at least to postpone it, the easiest plan was to keep up the Turkish empire as long as possible."¹

But it is not entirely fair, as some writers have done, to interpret the alliance of England with Turkey during the Crimean war as British approval of the oppression of Christian races in the Balkans. William E. Gladstone, the honest and sturdy cham-

¹ *Our Responsibility for Turkey.* By the Duke of Argyll (George Douglas Campbell). London, 1896, pp. 196.

pion of national rights and personal liberty, was one of the English statesmen directly responsible for this alliance. The Duke of Argyll, who, with Gladstone, was a member of the Palmerston cabinet, wrote years afterwards in defence of the policy: "On my own behalf, and on behalf of colleagues who cannot now vindicate their own reputation — on behalf, too, of a whole generation of British people in whose name we acted — I emphatically deny that such was our conduct or our position in the war of 1854-55, or in the treaty of 1856. For myself, indeed, I never did believe in the regeneration of Turkey; I doubt if any of my colleagues did — even Lord Palmerston. But we did hope that her government might at least be rendered tolerable for a time, if it could be made to feel its dependence on a united Europe instead of on Russia alone, and if some time were given it to initiate and carry into effect certain reforms which might be of a very simple character, but which, nevertheless, might be far reaching. I see now that it was a gross delusion to believe even this. But, at all events, this is the idea on which we did actually proceed, and which did underlie the whole policy both of the war and the treaty. We never did, even for a moment, entertain the iniquitous policy of strengthening a government irredeemably vicious, corrupt, and cruel, without caring at all for the sufferings it would inflict on millions of subject populations."

Fearing that Russia might carry out her threat to declare war against Turkey, a congress of the powers was called at Constantinople, which drew

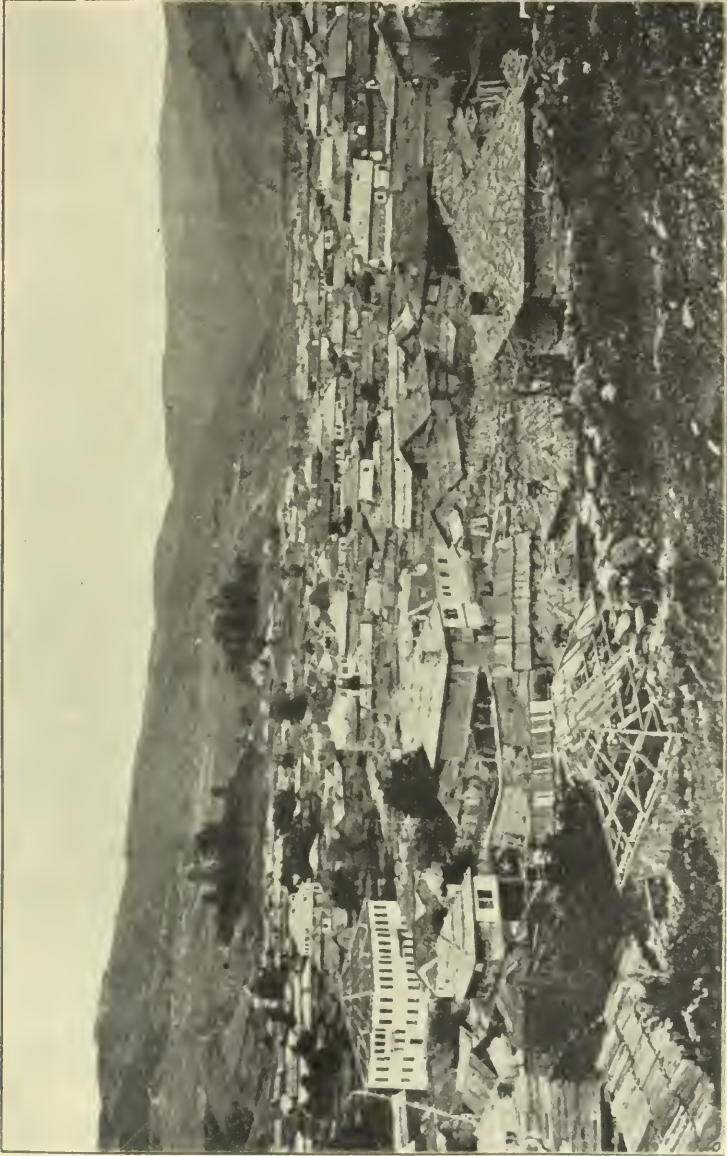
up certain reform measures that the sultan was asked to put into operation in the rebellious provinces; but Abdul-Hamid, sensible of the strong feeling in England against Russia, assumed that the government of the tsar would be held in check by the English, promptly consigned the recommendations of the powers to the waste-basket. Bashi-bozouks, irregular Turkish soldiers, were let loose upon the helpless Christian population, and within two months from the time the congress had made its recommendations, fifty-eight villages in Bulgaria had been destroyed, five monasteries had been demolished, and fifteen thousand people had been massacred.

Januarius A. MacGahan (1844-1878), an American Irishman, who was correspondent of the *London Daily News*, visited Batak, one of the villages whose inhabitants had been massacred, and sent his newspaper a graphic account of what he saw. He reported that the bashi-bozouks, under the command of Achmet Aga, a regular Turkish army officer, came to the village, and after a desultory struggle, the commander assured the inhabitants upon his word of honour that not a hair of their heads would be touched if they would lay down their arms. They complied with his terms, "only to be butchered like sheep." Some took refuge in the church. The roof was torn off by the Turkish soldiers, who flung burning pieces of wood and rags dipped in petroleum down upon the poor wretches within. Torture was applied to those who escaped death in order that they might reveal to the Turkish soldiers where

their treasures were hidden. Out of a population of seven thousand, only two thousand survived; and Achmet Aga, the Pomak leader who directed these terrible orgies, was decorated by the sultan for bravery!

MacGahan's description of the blood-bath at Batak came to the notice of William E. Gladstone. He demanded an immediate official inquiry on the part of England. An investigation conducted on the spot confirmed the terrible story that MacGahan had published in the London *Daily News*. The commissioners reported that when they visited Batak, nearly two months after the massacre, they found the stench of the still unburied corpses overpowering. "Skulls with grey hair still attached to them, dark tresses which had once adorned the heads of maidens, the mutilated trunks of men, the rotting limbs of children" — such were the scenes that met the eyes of the British commissioners.

Mr. Gladstone wrote in his famous pamphlet on *Bulgarian Horrors*: "There has been perpetrated, under the immediate authority of a government to which all the time we have been giving the strongest moral, and for part of the time even material support, crimes and outrages so vast in scale as to exceed all modern examples, and so utterly vile as well as fierce in character, that it passes the power of heart to conceive, and of tongue and pen adequately to describe them. These are the Bulgarian horrors. As an old servant of the crown and the state, I entreat my countrymen, upon whom far more than upon any other people in Europe it de-



BATAK.

pend, to require and to insist that our government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of matron, of maiden, of child; to the civilization that has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large.”¹

The celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone provided Russia with an excellent cause for aggression against Turkey, and on the 24th of April, 1877, she declared war. Abdul-Hamid relied confidently upon the assistance of England in case of war, and but for the effect of Gladstone’s pamphlet this assistance would have been forthcoming. The British government was forced to inform the sultan that “it had now become practically impossible—owing to the state of public feeling—for us to intervene.”

Russia formed an alliance with Rumania, the latter declaring her independence of Turkey, and the Danubian provinces were invaded. Mukhtar Pasha retained Kars for a time against the siege of the Russians; but defeats soon began to come “thick

¹ *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.* By William Ewart Gladstone. London, 1876, pp. 64.

and fast"; Lootsk was stormed by the Russians the 3rd of September, 1877; Nixsic was won by the Montenegrins five days later; Plevna was stormed the 11th of September; Mukhtar Pasha suffered a severe defeat at Aladja Duga the 15th of October; Gurko, the leading Russian general, stormed Gorin Dubrik the 24th of October, and four days later he captured Telish; Kars was successfully stormed the 18th of November; the army of Osman Pasha was nearly annihilated and forced to surrender Plevna the 10th of December; and the same month Gurko crossed the Balkans to continue the war in central Bulgaria.

The year 1878 opened with the capture of Sofia by Gurko on the 4th of January; an army composed of Russian and Bulgarian soldiers crossed Shipka pass the 7th of January and captured a large body of Turkish troops; Nish and Antivari surrendered the 10th of January; seven days later the army of Suleiman was completely routed near Philippopolis; and Adrianople fell the 20th of January. Within a week the Russian troops were marching towards the undefended Turkish capital. The sultan sued for peace; an armistice was declared, and the treaty of San Stefano, signed the 3rd of March, 1878, brought the Russo-Turkish war to a close. Both sides had lost heavily; for, in the taking of Plevna alone, the Russians had sacrificed 50,000 men.

Concerning the coöperation of the Bulgars with their liberators, Mr. William Miller, the English historian of the Balkans, writes: "Bulgaria, disorganized by nearly five centuries of Turkish rule,



SHIPKA PASS.

could do little but provide a theatre for the war. It was upon Bulgarian soil that the chief struggle took place, and the siege of Plevna and the occupation of Shipka pass attracted the eyes of the whole world to this remote corner of the map of Europe. To the best of their abilities the peasants helped the Russian forces; wherever the tsar's legions went the natives welcomed them; not because they wished to exchange the Turkish for the Muscovites' domination, but because they regarded them as instruments for the liberation of their country. Their local knowledge was placed at the disposal of the invaders; Bulgarian guides directed the Russian army through the mazes of the mountains; Bulgarian boys carried water to the Russian soldiers in battle at the risk of their lives; volunteer corps were formed to fight by the side of the Russian and the Rumanian regulars; and five thousand Bulgarians accompanied General Gurko in his operations in the Balkans, and won the praise of their allies by their gallant defence of the Shipka pass, and by their conspicuous bravery at Stara Zagora, where four-fifths of the Bulgarian combatants were left dead upon the field."¹

The chief feature of the treaty of San Stefano was the rehabilitation of the old Bulgarian kingdom. The big Bulgaria that it created extended from the Danube to Thessaly and embraced most of Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace. Rumania received the region of the Dobrutja; Servia was granted the dis-

¹ *The Balkans.* (Story of the Nations Series.) By William Miller. New York, 1907, pp. 476.

trict southeast of Nish; and Montenegro benefited by portions of Bosnia and Albania. The big Bulgaria created by the treaty of San Stefano was based essentially on ethnic lines. The people were chiefly Bulgars. Much of the bloodshed of the past thirty years in the Balkan peninsula might have been avoided if this treaty had been allowed to stand.

England, influenced by the dread which she entertained of the creation of a great Bulgaria that might become a powerful ally of Russia, was angered; thirty million dollars were voted for armaments; troops were ordered from India, and Russia was informed that the treaty of San Stefano must be torn up, and that the whole matter must be submitted to a congress of the great powers. Russia did not object to a congress, in spite of the fact that she had fought the war of liberation of the Bulgars without the aid of any of the powers, and that it had cost her millions of dollars and the loss of the lives of many thousand of her soldiers.

The congress of the powers met at Berlin the 8th of June, 1878, and a month later they announced the division of the big Bulgaria into five sections, one of which was to be given to Serbia, one to Rumania, one given back to Turkey, and two created into autonomous provinces under the suzerainty of the sultan of Turkey. Of the two autonomous provinces that were created, one was to be known as Eastern Rumelia and the other as Bulgaria. "It was England especially that insisted upon this arrangement," writes Dr. Washburn, "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 understood the folly and wickedness of this at the time, and all England has learned it since. Thus far [1909] the results have been the revolution of 1885, which resulted in the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, the war with Servia, the insurrection in Macedonia and the province of Adrianople, and all the massacres and unspeakable horrors of the last twenty-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

Nine days before the meeting of the congress of Berlin England had concluded a secret treaty with Turkey in which she promised to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman empire in Asia, and in consideration for this service she was permitted to occupy the island of Cyprus and hold the same in fee for the sultan. In the treaty of San Stefano Turkey had agreed to the maintenance of a Russian army in Armenia as a guarantee against the slaughter of Armenians by Moslem Kurds and Circassians; the retention of certain Asiatic provinces which she had wrested from Turkey by hard fighting, and the free access to the Black sea to all nations both in time of war and in time of peace.

¹ *Fifty Years in Constantinople.* By George Washburn. Boston, 1909, pp. 319.

It delighted the cunning of Abdul-Hamid to make this deal with Lord Beaconsfield rather than permit Russia to protect his Christian subjects in Armenia. The Duke of Argyll remarks in this connection: "The Turk could see at a glance that, whilst it relieved him from the dangerous pressure of Russia, it substituted no other pressure which his own infinite dexterity in delays could not make abortive. As for the unfortunate Armenians, the change was simply one which must tend to expose them to the increased enmity of their tyrants, whilst it damaged and discouraged the only protection which was possible under the inexorable conditions of the physical geography of the country."¹ The awful butchery of thousands — probably more than a hundred thousand — of innocent men, women, and children in Armenia, and the burning of more than forty Armenian towns and villages are some of the direct consequences of the substitution of the treaty of Berlin for the treaty of San Stefano.

The treaty of Berlin provided for the small principality, that it had created, a Christian government subject to the sultan of Turkey. The prince was to be freely chosen by the Bulgarian people, with the approval of the sultan and the great powers. The treaty provided that differences of religious views should form no hindrance to the exercise of civil and political rights and the holding of public office. Commercial treaties that had been made by Turkey were binding on Bulgaria, and she was not per-

¹ *Our Responsibilities for Turkey.* By the Duke of Argyll (George Douglas Campbell). London, 1896, pp. 196.

mitted to make any changes in the same without the consent of the power concerned. No transit duties could be charged on merchandise passing through Bulgaria; Bulgarians travelling in Turkey were subject to the Turkish authorities; Bulgaria was required to pay tribute to Turkey, and to take part in her debts.

Such were the conditions linked with the half-hearted freedom that the great powers granted to the Bulgars after five centuries under the oppressive Ottoman yoke. A constitutional assembly met at Tirnovo on the 10th of February, 1879, and adopted a constitution for the kingdom, which, with slight modifications, is still in force. On the 29th of April, 1879, the Bulgars unanimously elected Alexander of Battenberg prince of their country.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW BULGARIAN KINGDOM

Administrative affairs of Bulgaria in the hands of Russians — The new constitution adopted at Tirnovo — Election of Prince Alexander of Battenberg as ruler of Bulgaria — The Russophil party — The *coup d'état* — Arrogance of the Russian officials — Restoration of the suspended constitution — Departure of the Russian officials — Union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria — Appearance of Stefan Stamboloff — The war with Servia — Russian intrigues — Kidnapping of Prince Alexander — His return to Bulgaria — Abdication of the prince — What Prince Alexander had done for Bulgaria.

THE congress of Berlin had made provision for the occupation of Bulgaria by an army of fifty thousand Russian soldiers and the administration of the country by an imperial Russian commission until such time as a prince might be secured and a constitution adopted and put into force. Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff was the Russian officer selected by the tsar to head the commission, and the administrative affairs of the country, both civil and military, were placed in the hands of Russians.

A constitutional assembly met at Tirnovo the 10th of February, 1879, to pass upon the new constitution that had been drawn up by Professor Gradovsky and General Domontovitz, under the direction of the provisional Russian government. The assembly was composed of two hundred and thirty-one members, of whom one hundred and five were appointed from the Russian officials holding posts in



PRINCE ALEXANDER.

Bulgaria; eighty-nine, chiefly peasants, were elected by popular suffrage, at the rate of one member for every ten thousand male inhabitants; and twenty-one members represented the religious organizations of the country, Orthodox, Moslem, and Jewish. The constitution which was passed on the 16th of April, 1879, provided for a national assembly (*sobranje*) to consist of a single chamber, elected by manhood suffrage, to which any citizen who had reached the age of thirty and could read and write was eligible. The constitution provided that the members of the cabinet should be nominated by the ruler of the country and responsible to him only, regardless of opposing majorities in the *sobranje*. The civil list of the ruler was fixed at one hundred twenty thousand dollars a year and the princely dignity was made hereditary in the male line. Provision was made for liberty of the press, universal conscription, and compulsory education.

On the 29th of April, 1879, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a cousin of Tsar Alexander of Russia, was elected the first ruler of the new kingdom of Bulgaria. He was twenty-two years old at the time of his election and occupied a subordinate post in the German army. He accepted, after some hesitation, the office, and took the oath to the constitution at Tirnovo the 9th of July, amid great enthusiasm and with the confidence of the European powers, and notably of Russia, whose nominee he had been.

Concerning the qualifications of the young ruler for the difficult post that he had been selected to fill William Miller writes: "The first prince of Bul-

garia is one of the most romantic figures in the history of our time. His career borders on the marvellous, his character has something of the heroic about it. His frank and open bearing, his social charms, and his military prowess on behalf of his adopted country on the field of Slivnitza, endeared him to the cold hearts of a people which is seldom enthusiastic. He was essentially a soldier, and was the best possible ruler of a country like Bulgaria in time of war. But he was lamentably deficient in the arts of a statesman. A diplomatist, who knew him intimately, has described to the writer the obstinacy and singular incapacity which he showed in matters of business, while he committed indiscretions of speech which proved that he had, like some other sovereigns, never mastered that aphorism of Metternich, that 'a monarch should never talk.' He had a singular knack of quarrelling with his advisers, which once drew upon him a sharp rebuke from the tsar. He was not a great administrator or a clever politician; but if he had had an old and experienced statesman to guide him he might have succeeded. Unfortunately, he estranged first the liberals, who included all the ablest men in Bulgaria, and then the Russians, and when the latter desired his fall, he fell."

At the suggestion of the Russians, who had secured him his throne, Prince Alexander selected the members of his cabinet from the conservative, or Russophil, party, which represented a very small minority of the voters. As the first national assembly was overwhelmingly liberal in politics, a dead-

lock ensued, and the prince was forced to dismiss his Russophil cabinet and nominate Dragan Zankoff, then the chief antagonist of Russia in Bulgaria, as prime minister. A brief experience with the belligerent government, convinced the prince that he could not work with the national assembly; he executed a *coup d'état*, and on the 27th of April, 1881, he suspended the constitution.

He made General Ernroth, a Russian, his prime minister, and threatened to resign the throne unless he was given absolute power for a period of seven years. The constitution was suspended, and the government was again turned over to the hands of Russians. So long as Tsar Alexander II lived the relations of Prince Alexander with Russia were most cordial; but Tsar Alexander III disliked his cousin heartily, and the Russian officials soon made it evident to the prince that they took their orders from St. Petersburg.

Alexander chafed under the arbitrary rule of his Russian masters, who were not at pains to spare the feelings of the ostensible ruler of the country or the Bulgarian people. It has frequently been remarked by travellers that of all the races in the Balkans, the Bulgars are the most thrifty and economical and the most suspicious of foreigners. Yet the Russian government not only monopolized such offices as president of the national assembly, minister of war, chief of police, governor of Sofia, and several hundred of the most lucrative posts in the army, but the officials that came from St. Petersburg were "men who had proved either failures or firebrands

wherever they had been employed, and spent money — the peasants' money — right and left.”

These conditions induced the prince to surrender the irresponsible power in 1883; he restored the constitution, and the Russians in indignation left the country. A plot to kidnap the prince was discovered, also proclamations announcing his expulsion from Bulgaria, and the formation of a provisional government. Subsequent investigations implicated Generals Kaulbars and Soboleff and other Russian officials and established conclusively the complicity of Russia in the plot. The liberals returned to power and during the next ten years Russian influence in Bulgarian affairs was reduced to a minimum.

In an earlier chapter attention was called to the creation of Eastern Rumelia by the congress of Berlin. The inhabitants of this province were almost entirely Bulgars, and early in the reign of Prince Alexander they sent deputations to Sofia asking that they might be united with that principality. Russia had originally favoured this union, but the growth of an independent national spirit in the rejuvenated nation caused her to change her policy; and after the departure of the Russian officials from Bulgaria she opposed the union vigorously. Alexander was not able, in consequence, to comply with the wishes of the inhabitants of Eastern Rumelia.

In September, 1885, the liberals of Eastern Rumelia took matters into their own hands. They took the governor of the province captive, and without

the loss of a drop of blood they proclaimed the union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria. Even then Prince Alexander hesitated to further incur the hostility of Russia. Stefan Stamboloff, who was later to play such an important rôle in the history of the young principality, was president of the national assembly, and he is reported to have told Prince Alexander that he had reached the cross-roads in his career. "One road," he said, "leads to Eastern Rumelia and as much further as God may lead; but the other to the Danube and back to Darmstadt." The prince chose the former, and on the 20th of September he issued a proclamation which declared the union of the two provinces.

War with Turkey was apprehended, and it is well known that Russia advised the Porte to resist this act of alleged aggression. But Turkey was momentarily crippled; and Sir William White, the British ambassador at Constantinople, strongly supported the Bulgarian cause. England and Russia had exchanged places in their respective attitudes toward Bulgaria. Seven years earlier at the congress of Berlin Russia had favoured but England had opposed the union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria.

Greece and Serbia were both indignant because of this increase of territory by a sister state, but the former was prevented from declaring war by a naval demonstration of the powers. King Milan of Serbia ordered the mobilization of the Servian army the day of the official declaration of union of the two Bulgarias. His army of seventeen thousand soldiers crossed the Bulgarian frontier, where it

met a Bulgarian force of eleven thousand and encountered a most humiliating defeat. In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian army had only recently been deprived of all its chief officers by the exodus of the Russians, the courage of the prince and the skill of the Bulgar soldiers triumphed everywhere against the Serbs; and Belgrade, the capital of Servia, would have been occupied but for the intervention of the Austrians. Austria informed Prince Alexander that if his army marched any further it would have to encounter an Austrian army allied with the Servian.

The Bulgars were forced to yield to superior force; and through the machinations of Austria and Russia, Servia escaped unpunished for her war of aggression, for the Bulgars did not get an inch of land or a cent of war indemnity. Eastern Rumelia, however, was secured to her by the war.

In spite of the honours showered upon Prince Alexander as the "hero of Slivnitza," and the growing independence of the Bulgarian people, Russia continued her intrigues. Shortly after the close of the Servian war, a plot was discovered at Burgas to carry off the prince, or if necessary, to kill him. Another plot was soon hatched by the Russophil party in Bulgaria. In the early morning of the 21st of August, 1886, a party of conspirators forced entrance into the palace at Sofia and at the point of a revolver the prince was forced to abdicate and leave the country. The leading conspirators were Clement, the intriguing metropolitan of the Orthodox church, Bendereff, acting minister of



ROYAL PALACE AT SOFIA, ERECTED BY PRINCE ALEXANDER.

war, and Grueff, principal of the military academy. The prince with an armed military escort was hastily driven to the Danube, and from the Danube taken to Russia.

The metropolitan Clement formed a cabinet of his Russian partisans and issued a proclamation assuring the people that order would promptly be restored and promising them the protection of the tsar of Russia! Stefan Stamboloff, as president of the national assembly, and Colonel Mutkuroff, as commander of the military forces in the newly acquired province of Eastern Rumelia, issued a counter proclamation; Clement and his colleagues were denounced as traitors, and the Bulgarian people were urged to rally in defence of the throne. The provisional government of Clement and his conspirators was dissolved; a regency was formed until the prince could be found and induced to return. The conspirators had taken him to Lemberg, where the Russian authorities had released him. The regency telegraphed him to return at once and resume his post as the rightful ruler of the principality. The prince accepted the offer before the Russian commissioner could forestall him. He returned to Rustchuk, where he was met by the local Russian consul. At the suggestion of the latter he sent a telegram to the tsar of Russia thanking him for having restored to him the throne of Bulgaria. The servile message read: "Russia gave me my crown; I am ready to return it into the hands of her sovereign." This caused the undoing of the prince. The tsar replied: "Cannot approve of your return to

Bulgaria. I shall refrain from all interference with the sad state to which Bulgaria has been brought so long as you remain there."

He was forced by Russia to abdicate. Stamboloff urged him in vain to remain and defy the threats of the tsar, but he declined to keep the throne against the wishes of the powerful Russian sovereign, and he promised to abdicate provided Russia would consent to allow the Bulgars to elect his successor. To this Russia consented; and on the 7th of September, 1886, he made public his abdication, and the appointment of Stamboloff, Karaveloff, and Mutkuroff as regents until such time as the people might select a prince as his successor.

"The next day," notes a historian of the period, "sadly and sorrowfully the prince bade farewell to Bulgaria for ever. He summoned the chief men of Sofia to the palace; told them how the welfare of his adopted country had been his sole desire, and confessed that he had failed because of the great opposition that he had met. And then he set out with Stamboloff, amidst the tears of his subjects, sorry to leave them, yet glad to be freed from the responsibilities of a Balkan throne. His memory lived, and still lives after his death, among the people of his adoption. Under the name of Count Hartenau, happily yet humbly married, he tried to bury the prince in the simple Austrian officer. But long after his departure there were men in Bulgaria who hoped for his return. His faults — and they were many — were forgotten; it was remembered that in seven brief years he had created an army,

led a nation to victory, and united the two Bulgarias together. And when he died in 1893, many a peasant in his humble cottage mourned for the soldier prince, the hero of Slivnitza.”¹

¹ *The Balkans*. By William Miller. New York, 1907, pp. 476.

CHAPTER VI

BULGARIA UNDER KING FERDINAND

Alienation of the Bulgarian sympathies by the intrigues of the Russians — Election of Prince Ferdinand by the national assembly — Refusal of the powers to recognize the election — Non-recognition a distinct advantage — Stamboloff and the friendly relations of Bulgaria with the governments of Europe — Intriguing Russophil ecclesiastics — How Stamboloff disciplined them — Birth of Prince Boris — Friction between Ferdinand and his great minister — The downfall of Stamboloff — Sinister Russian influences again in evidence — Dedication of the Russian chapel at Shipka pass — Independence of Bulgaria from Turkey — What King Ferdinand has accomplished — Popularity of Prince Boris — His rebaptism to the faith of the national Orthodox church.

THE constitution of Bulgaria provided that in case the throne should become vacant, elections to the grand sobranje for the choice of a successor should take place within one month from the date of such vacancy. Accordingly the regents made arrangements for a general election in accordance with constitutional requirement. The tsar of Russia, with the avowed object of "assisting the Bulgars in their difficulties," sent General Kaulbars to Sofia. "To the action of this man more than to any other cause," writes William Miller, "may be attributed the antipathy of Russia which has grown up in the country which she helped to liberate."

Kaulbars came to Bulgaria "with a knout in his hand." First he attempted to postpone the elections to the grand sobranje, and failing in this he conducted an extremely indiscreet campaign

throughout the country, in which by very questionable means he endeavoured to secure the election of an assembly with Russian sympathies. But Stamboloff and the liberal party secured an enormous majority, and then Kaulbars attempted to nullify the returns by the allegation that violence had been used and that the verdict did not represent the will of the majority of the Bulgarian electors. Violence had been employed, but it was the violence incited by the Russian consular agents and the Russophil party. Disgusted with his humiliating defeat, General Kaulbars, accompanied by all the Russian consular agents in Bulgaria, left the country and returned to Russia.

The grand sobranje met at Tirnovo the 10th of November, 1886, and unanimously elected Prince Valdemar of Denmark as successor of Prince Alexander. Prince Valdemar was a son of the king of Denmark, brother of the princess of Wales and of the dowager empress of Russia. It was felt that the election of so near a relative of the tsar would not be opposed by Russia. But Tsar Alexander III refused to recognize the election as valid, and Prince Valdemar declined the crown.

Europe was ransacked for a candidate, and it was not until the following summer that a royal cadet was found who was willing to accept the crown of the uncertain Bulgarian principality. The grand sobranje met at Tirnovo the 7th of July, 1887, and elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha as the sovereign of their country. He accepted the throne, and five weeks later (the 14th of August)

took the oath of office at the ancient capital of the Bulgarian tsars.

Prince Ferdinand was the youngest son of Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Princess Clementine of Bourbon-Orleans, a daughter of King Louis Philippe of France. He was born the 26th of February, 1861. He married (first) the 20th of April, 1893, Princess Maria Louise, eldest daughter of the Duke of Parma. Four children were born to them: Prince Boris, born the 20th of January, 1894; Prince Kyril, born the 17th of November, 1895; Princess Eudoxia, born the 17th of January, 1898, and Princess Nadejda, born the 30th of January, 1899. The Princess Maria Louise died the 31st of January, 1899, and Prince Ferdinand married (second) the 28th of February, 1908, Princess Eleanora of Reuss-Köstritz.

The hostile Russians hounded Prince Ferdinand and his government. The treaty of Berlin had stipulated that the election of the ruler of Bulgaria by the national assembly must be confirmed by the great powers. Russia refused her consent to the confirmation on the ground that the national assembly which selected Ferdinand had not been legally elected. Desirable as formal recognition may have been to the sense of propriety of the prince, it did not matter a pinch of snuff to the Bulgarian people; and amid enthusiasm, the new sovereign assumed the responsibilities of his crown. "Indirectly," writes an English historian, "the non-recognition of Prince Ferdinand had this advantage, that there was no Russian agent accredited to his



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court, and consequently no Russian agency always at work to undermine his throne."

Stefan Stamboloff, whose conspicuous services to his country have been mentioned in a previous chapter, was chosen prime minister by Ferdinand, the 1st of September, 1887, and this position he occupied without intermission till his fall the 31st of May, 1894. The first effort of the prime minister was to establish friendly relations with Turkey, which averted the interference of the Ottoman government with the practical independence of Eastern Rumelia. To this friendly relation was due the establishment of two additional Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia and permission to organize a large number of Bulgarian schools in different parts of the Turkish empire where there were considerable colonies of Bulgars.

Early in 1889 Clement, the metropolitan of the national Orthodox church at Sofia, preached a sermon at Tirnovo in which he attacked the prince and his government in violent terms. It was well known that the Russophil metropolitans had been plotting against the Roman Catholics in Bulgaria; and it was rumoured that at a meeting of the Holy Synod to be held at Sofia an anathema was to be pronounced against the prince, and this was to be the signal for a Russophil uprising against the liberal government.

When the Holy Synod was convoked at Sofia only three of the five metropolitans attended — Clement, the notorious intriguer, who was a member of the brief provisional government that followed the *coup*

d'état, described above; Simeon, who had been suspended by the regency of Stamboloff a year for sedition, and Constantine, whose connection with the Russian intriguers was notorious. Two of the metropolitans, who were friendly to the government, did not attend the convocation.

The prelates were invited to pay their respects to the prince, the prime minister, and the minister of public worship. This they refused to do on the ground that Ferdinand had encouraged the Roman Catholic religion to the detriment of the national Orthodox church, and that he and his ministers had repeatedly infringed on the canons of the state religion. Stamboloff promptly informed them that the government could have no relations with them and they were ordered to return to their respective dioceses within three days. They regarded the order merely as a threat, assuming that no ministry would dare use violence against the heads of the established church. But they omitted the dogged nature of Stamboloff in their calculation. At the expiration of the three days the recalcitrant ecclesiastics were waited upon by the police and accompanied to their respective bishoprics.

The sympathy of Orthodox fanaticism against the prince was enlisted; and some of the Russophil statesmen, who later played leading rôles in the government of King Ferdinand, petitioned the exarch at Constantinople to redress the indignity that had been heaped upon his metropolitans. But the shrewd exarch waste-basketed the petition.

Cordial relations were also established with Ru-

mania and other European powers, and a needed loan on very favourable terms was secured from foreign financiers. The marriage of Prince Ferdinand presented a difficult political situation. The Duke of Parma insisted that a condition of the marriage of his daughter with the prince would be a promise to rear the children that might result from this union in the faith of the Roman Catholic church. The Bulgarian constitution specifically stated that the heir to the throne must belong to the Orthodox national church. For political reasons Stamboloff consented to the demands of the duke; the constitution was changed, and Boris, the first-born, was baptized a Roman Catholic. Two years later, and after the fall of Stamboloff, the prince was rebaptized in the Orthodox national church. It was the belief of Prince Ferdinand that if the heir apparent to the Bulgarian throne should be converted to the faith of the Orthodox church, it would be the means of bringing about a reconciliation of his country with Russia; and more important, his legal recognition by the tsar. It was argued, and with reason, that the future ruler of the country should profess the same faith as the great majority of his subjects. The Holy See at Rome was petitioned to grant the change of the faith of the young prince; but, as the petition was denied, the conversion took place without the consent of the authorities of the Roman Catholic church.

Friction between Ferdinand and his prime minister developed shortly after the marriage of the prince and the birth of an heir, and on the 31st of

May, 1894, Prince Ferdinand dismissed Stamboloff from his counsels. In a subsequent chapter the significant services of Stamboloff in behalf of his country will be pointed out. In this connection it is only necessary to indicate the justification of the prince in the dismissal of his prime minister. An English historian well states the cause of the rupture: " Prince Ferdinand's marriage and the birth of an heir strengthened the dynasty but weakened its great minister. From that date the sovereign became increasingly impatient of control, until at last on the 31st of May, 1894, the world learned with surprise that he had dismissed the ' Bismarck ' of Bulgaria from his counsels. His alliance with a Bourbon princess had greatly increased his desire for recognition, and he regarded his minister as the chief obstacle in the way. There were intriguers at the prince's elbow, old colleagues whom Stamboloff's growing arrogance had alienated, who poisoned their sovereign's mind against the premier. Relations between the two men became worse; conversations at the palace were faithfully reported to the minister, who was not backward in telling his master to his face what he thought of his conduct. Stamboloff twice offered to resign; the prince declined to accept his resignation, fearing that the great popularity, which his minister had just gained by the appointment of the second batch of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia, would make him even more dangerous in opposition than in office. A domestic scandal, in which one of Stamboloff's most trusted colleagues was involved, gave the prince his oppor-

tunity. He pressed for the nomination of a favourite of his own to the vacant portfolio, and carried his point by threatening to abdicate rather than yield. The presence of an enemy within his cabinet embarrassed the premier and emboldened the prince and the opposition to further attacks." In a moment of rage Stamboloff wrote a hasty letter of resignation to his sovereign, which the prince promptly accepted.

Dr. Stoïloff, an able lawyer who had served as private secretary to the prince, became prime minister, and the policy of the new government was one of conciliation towards Russia. With the rebaptism of Prince Boris into the faith of the Orthodox national church, on the 14th of February, Russian influence became more apparent at Sofia. Financial disorders caused the fall of the Stoïloff ministry. A new cabinet was organized with Grekoff as premier, but his failure to secure a foreign loan frustrated his efforts to improve economic conditions. Ministries were formed and dismissed in rather rapid succession. The efforts of Karaveloff, who became prime minister for the third time in March, 1901, to improve financial conditions in the country, were abortive; and in June, 1902, a new cabinet under Dr. Daneff was formed. Russian influence now became predominant, and this influence brought the kingdom to the verge of ruin in the second Balkan war.

Late in the summer of 1902 the Russians dedicated a handsome chapel at the foot of Shipka pass in the Balkan mountains to the memory of the Rus-

sian and Bulgarian soldiers who fell in the famous encounter at this place in the war of liberation. Many distinguished Russians were present; and with a Russophil-Bulgarian cabinet in power, it looked for a brief time as though the Bulgars had quite forgotten the long years of Russian intrigue against the independence of their country.

The ardour of the Bulgars for Russia, however, was soon dampened. The interference of the tsar's government in Macedonia in an attempt to place a Servian prelate in a Bulgarian see, the efforts of the Russians to get control of the Bulgarian army, and the discovery of an alleged plot to make Burgas and Varna Russian ports caused a cabinet crisis in May, 1903; the Russophil ministry fell, and the Stambolovist, or liberal party, with General Petroff as the prime minister, came into power.

On the 5th of October, 1908, Bulgaria declared her independence of the suzerainty of the sultan of Turkey, and Prince Ferdinand assumed the title that had been used by the rulers of the old kingdom of Bulgaria, that of tsar. The Porte protested to the powers, but Russia proposed to advance an indemnity, and the powers finally ratified the complete independence of the country. Barbarities committed by the Turks against the Bulgars in Macedonia brought the country to the brink of war with the Ottoman empire several times in recent years. These disturbances will be described in later chapters on Macedonia.

Under the rule of King Ferdinand Bulgaria has

made enormous progress in matters of culture, industry, trade, and agriculture. His services to his adopted country have been both varied and effective. Writing of Ferdinand in 1891, Mr. J. D. Bourchier, the veteran and distinguished correspondent of the *London Times* at Sofia, says: "He had embarked upon what seemed an almost hopeless adventure; he was confronted with the hostility of a power (Russia) which knew no scruple in the prosecution of its designs; he had come into a country honeycombed with the workings of Oriental conspiracy; he had to deal with an army tainted with mutiny, and with a hierarchy that had sold itself to the enemies of Bulgarian freedom. All Europe stood aloof; even Austria-Hungary scarcely ventured to offer a word of encouragement; in England the undeserved misfortunes of Prince Alexander had excited a national indignation which seemed to exclude all sympathy with his successor."

Against all these odds Mr. Bourchier wrote: "Prince Ferdinand has held his ground amidst the snares and pitfalls of political life in a distracted and still half-civilized country. He has learned and is still learning to accommodate himself to the peculiarities of Bulgarian character; he has mastered the Bulgarian tongue; he has found means of acting in harmony with a minister (Stamboloff) of autoeratic disposition, whose great ability, courage, and patriotism render him indispensable to the national progress. He possesses not only diplomatic tact in reconciling hostile elements, but he also knows how to yield at a proper time — a lesson

which all constitutional sovereigns must sooner or later learn; while his energy and tenacity of character enable him to grapple firmly with innumerable difficulties.

“ Prince Ferdinand’s devotion and self-sacrifice are beginning to meet with their reward. The internal development of the country, its excellent financial condition, the spread of education, the construction of railways, the improvement of the capital, the negotiation of treaties of commerce with foreign powers, the practical recognition now accorded by the latter to the existing régime, the recent diplomatic success with Turkey — all point to advancement at home as well as abroad; one by one the magnates of Europe have sounded the note of praise and last, but not least, the Man of Blood and Iron (Bismarck), who once so brutally expressed his indifference to the fate of the young principality, has uttered words of approbation and encouragement. There is no resisting the logic of facts. Bulgaria under Prince Ferdinand has been a success.”¹

Subsequent chapters will recite the development of education, industry, and the arts during the more than quarter-century reign of King Ferdinand, and Bulgarians are themselves cognizant of this advancement and the large measure of credit that belongs to their sovereign. And if, as M. de Launay remarks, “ the king is not popular in the ordinary sense of that term as the royal head of the nation,

¹ *Arrival of Ferdinand.* By J. D. Bouchier. *Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1891. Vol. 55, pp. 82-101.



PRINCE BORIS.

certainly the practical Bulgars appreciate his value as the president of a crowned republic.”¹

Prince Boris, the heir apparent to the Bulgarian throne, is a young man of promise and is highly esteemed by his subjects. As already mentioned, the young Boris was originally baptized in the faith of the church of his father and mother, in accordance with the wishes of the latter and her father. Stamboloff, for reasons of state, secured an alteration of the constitution that these wishes might be carried out. But the Bulgarian people resented the change. After the reconciliation with Russia, Ferdinand wrote Tsar Nicholas his determination to have the prince rebaptized. The tsar was much pleased with the decision. John MacDonald writes in this connection: “Looked at as a clever move in the diplomatic game, the infant prince’s conversion at this particular time was far more effective for the prince’s conciliatory purpose than an Orthodox baptism at birth would have been. The early rite would have been universally regarded as a matter of course. It would have made no impression on the obdurate Tsar Alexander III. But the lost sheep’s return to the fold — the lost lamb’s — was an impressive event. . . . The 26th of February was the appointed day for the Orthodox rite. The place was the historic town of Tirnovo. The selection of the old capital was another manifestation of the prince’s talent for mastership of the ceremonies. The scene was almost as imposing as Prince Fer-

¹ *La Bulgarie d’hier et de demain*. By Louis de Launay. Paris, 1912, pp. 494.

Ferdinand's advent there nine years before to inaugurate the rebuilding of the Bulgarian state. Great companies of country people, singing their old national songs, displaying banners with patriotic mottoes, filled the roads converging to the city. The house fronts of Tirnovo were decorated with trophies of Russian and Bulgarian flags combined. The streets resounded with the Russian and Bulgarian national hymns. It was a Russian festival as well as a national one."¹

¹ *Czar Ferdinand and his People*. By John MacDonald. New York, [1913], pp. 344.

CHAPTER VII

STAMBOLOFF VS. RUSSIAN INTRIGUES

The early life of Stefan Stamboloff — His Russian experiences — Connection with the Bulgarian revolutionary committee — Leader of the uprising at Stara Zagora — President of the national assembly — His rôle in the union of the two Bulgarias — Prime minister to Prince Alexander — How he met the attacks of Russia against Bulgarian independence — The regency — Prime minister under Prince Ferdinand — Was his rule despotic? — How he punished Macedonian brigands — His quarrels with the prince — Resignation from the ministry — Cruel persecution by the Russophil government — His murder — Pen picture of the great statesman — Estimates of his services — Connection of Russia with his downfall and murder — His faults and his virtues.

STEFAN STAMBOLOFF, who for eight years was the practical dictator of Bulgaria and who carried to a successful issue the long and bitter struggle that prevented the absorption of his country by the Russian empire, was one of the half dozen greatest European statesmen of the last half of the nineteenth century. And when it is recalled that he was murdered at the early age of forty-one years, the extraordinary career of this national patriot and statesman is little less than marvellous. "He was a man who saw what he wanted done, and did it," remarks Henry Crust. "He rescued an old country, and made a new one. And he was destroyed by the very lowest and most monstrous thoughts, words, and deeds of which human nature is capable."

Stamboloff was born at Tirnovo the 31st of January (old style), 1854. He attended an elementary school up to the age of fourteen, when he was apprenticed to a tailor. Later, when Shishmanoff, a Bulgarian scholar who had studied at Paris, opened a commercial school at Tirnovo, Stamboloff resumed his studies. The political and religious agitation in the late sixties over the reëstablishment of the Bulgarian Orthodox church interested him keenly. He decided to study for the priesthood, and in June, 1870, was granted a scholarship at Odessa that had been founded by the emperor of Russia. He spent two years in study at Odessa, but with keener interest in the nihilistic teachings of his fellow students than in the theological doctrines of his spiritual instructors. Of the two hundred students in the seminary at Odessa, he tells us, there were certainly not more than thirty or forty who were free from the taint of nihilism. Not only Stamboloff but all the Bulgarian students at Odessa and elsewhere, "panting for freedom and intoxicated with the breadth and grandeur of the new ideas, threw themselves into the arms of the Russian nihilists."

The secret police of Odessa made a sudden raid on the seminary and the students were arrested *en bloc*. The Bulgars, as Turkish subjects, were given twenty-four hours in which to leave Russia. Stamboloff made his way to Tirnovo. In August, 1874, he represented his native town at a general revolutionary conference held at Bucharest. During the following year he shared with Christo Boteff the leadership of the revolutionary committee. In the



STEFAN STAMBOLOFF.

capacity of a peddler he travelled about Bulgaria forming revolutionary committees. He organized and managed the uprising against Turkey at Stara Zagora in 1875; joined the Russian staff in the war of Servia against Turkey in 1876; and served with the Bulgarian irregulars in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

After the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke, Stamboloff took up the practice of law at Tir-novo. He was elected to represent his native city in the first national assembly and was chosen vice-president. After the fall of the Zankoff ministry he was chosen president of the assembly and held this post during two critical years. It was entirely due to his tact and energy that the two Bulgarias were united in 1885. To the indecision of Prince Alexander as to the advisability of recognizing the union of Eastern Rumelia with the principality of Bulgaria, Stamboloff is reported to have said: "Sire, the union is made — the revolt is an accomplished fact past recall, and the time for hesitation has gone. Two roads lie before Your Highness — the one to Philippopolis and as much farther as God may lead; the other to the Danube and Darmstadt. I advise you to take the crown the Bulgarian nation offers you." The prince replied: "I choose the road to Philippopolis, and if God loves Bulgaria He will protect me and her."

With characteristic courage and promptitude he restored Prince Alexander to his throne after the notorious conspiracy the 21st of August, 1886. He frustrated the conspiracy of General Kaulbars, men-

tioned in a previous chapter; quelled a military conspiracy that had been hatched by Russia at Silistria and Rustchuk, and secured the election of Prince Ferdinand to the Bulgarian throne against the unscrupulous opposition of Russia. The new prince selected him as prime minister, and for eight years he ruled Bulgaria with an iron hand; but he accomplished great things for his country.

Without doubt Stamboloff's greatest service to Bulgaria was the preservation of its independence against the powerful and insidious influence of Russia. After the treaty of Berlin, the Bulgars were given to understand that the primary cause of the war of 1877-78 was not the liberation of their country against the oppressive Ottoman rule, but the establishment of a Russian advance post on the road to Constantinople. The pretensions of the Russians, that the liberation of the principality from Turkey constituted a claim to eternal gratitude and submission, did not appeal to the hard-headed Bulgars, and least of all to Stamboloff and the other liberal statesmen in the new country. The Bulgars have been charged with ingratitude towards their Russian benefactors; but it should not be forgotten that it was the autocratic and brutal policy of the Russian officials sent to Bulgaria that estranged the people and aroused the opposition of the patriots. It was the thinly veiled intention of crushing out the national idea of independence and the policy of brutal interference with internal affairs that alienated the affections of the Bulgars for the Russians. And it was Stamboloff who saved the young state

from the menace of domination by Russia. Under his régime Russia had no representation at Sofia.

He kept Prince Ferdinand on his throne against the active opposition of Russia, and he taught his half-hearted countrymen to believe in Bulgaria. His brief but stirring life was a living negation of the charge of the Russophil party in Bulgaria that "we cannot live without the guidance and support of Russia." He shamed his countrymen out of the belief in this treacherous declaration. He established excellent relations with European powers — Russia excepted — and best of all, he saw the great political value of friendly relations with Turkey and Rumania.

'At home, as Henry Crust has remarked, "he planted and watered, and the increase came. Treaties of commerce, railways, education, and all that we call civilization, prospered apace. Europe was more than friendly; and if the powers failed by convention to recognize Ferdinand, they recognized Stamboloff, and they recognized Bulgaria."'¹

The charge has been made that the despotic rule of Stamboloff did not meet the approval of the Bulgarian nation, and that he held power by the pressure which the liberal party used at the polls. Foreign students who knew both Stamboloff and the character of the Bulgars of the first generation of independence pronounce this charge false. They assert that he was in complete sympathy with the Bulgarian people; that he shared their ideals and

¹ *Stamboloff*. By Henry Crust. *Eclectic Magazine*, Oct., 1895. Vol. 125, pp. 563-569.

their prejudices; that he was simple in his tastes and mode of life; that he was accessible to everybody, and knew how to speak to his countrymen after their own fashion. "He was an ideal ruler of a half-civilized community of small peasant farmers," remarks an English writer.

A system of political assassination, which resulted in the murder of two of his ministers and the numerous attempts on his own life, forced him to bathe his hands in blood in the punishment of his countrymen who had been tempted by the intrigues of Russia. One of the victims was Olympi Panoff, an old friend and one of the heroes of Slivnitza; and in the enforcement of measures for the maintenance of order in the country and keeping Prince Ferdinand on his throne against the ill-will of Russia and the political activity of the Russophil party in Bulgaria, the closing years of his ministry amounted to little less than a reign of terror.

He punished severely the brigands, many of whom were Panslavists in the service of Russia and were members of the Macedonian revolutionary bands. Some of these brigands were refugees from Turkish oppression. Others were Bulgarians who could not shut their eyes and repress their sympathies for their kinsmen in Macedonia. It was the conviction of Stamboloff, however, that a revolution in Macedonia would give Russia an opportunity to interfere with no disinterested motive; and he urged that patience and friendly relations with Turkey would in the end help Macedonia most. Many of the acts of brigandage were directed against wealthy for-

eigners; and by clearing Bulgaria of brigands he certainly won the approbation of foreign countries, even though he incurred the enmity of the Macedonian brigands and their revolutionary friends.

The ultimate downfall of Stamboloff was brought about by his tension with the prince, his severe punishment of political opponents, whom he regarded as the tools of Russia, and the growing political importance of a group of statesmen with strong Rusophil and mild clerical ideals and aspirations. This group included Gueshoff, Madjaroff, Velitchkoff, Daneff, and Bobtcheff — men who were at the head of affairs in Bulgaria during the two decades that followed the fall of Stamboloff and the close of the fatal war of the allies.

Attention has been called to the fact that after his marriage and the birth of an heir, Prince Ferdinand desired the recognition of the legal status of his election; but Stamboloff felt that this recognition would mean disaffection and intrigue against the established order of things that would follow with the return of the Russian minister and the Russian consuls. Non-recognition by the powers entailed constant slights and rebuffs; the prince felt, and rightly, that his desires were not unreasonable. Stamboloff, on the other hand, apprehended that recognition would bring calamity to Bulgaria. There grew up in consequence a divergence of policy between the prince and his prime minister. The two men became incapable of understanding each other's point of view, and it is not easy for foreigners to disentangle the motives of their quarrels. That the

prince had long chafed under the tutelage of his arrogant and pig-headed minister, and that the latter had assumed a rough and insulting tone towards his sovereign are facts that the most partisan admirers of Stamboloff admit; but they argue as an extenuating circumstance, his great ability, courage, patriotism, and lasting service to his country in thwarting Russian aggressions.

The incidents attending the final resignation of Stamboloff are too painful to recite in this connection; and the subsequent venomous attack on Prince Ferdinand, published as an interview in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, was unworthy of the great statesman who for eight years had so ably steered the unsteady Bulgarian ship of state among uncertain whirlpools of Russian intrigue into reasonably smooth waters. In making this attack he committed the greatest blunder of his life. His English biographer remarks in this connection: "Stamboloff, by this outburst, committed what was worse than a crime — a mistake. There can be no real excuse made for it. It may be urged that he was smarting under great provocation, as he doubtless was, but how much worthier and more dignified it would have been to show himself superior to such petty revenge by silence."

The subsequent persecution of Stamboloff by the party that came into power after his fall was equally unworthy; for, in spite of shameful attempts to pillory the sovereign of Bulgaria in a foreign newspaper, it must not be forgotten, as Mr. Beaman very properly insists, that it was Stamboloff who



A PEASANT CITIZEN.

had consolidated the union of Eastern Rumelia with the principality; who had held the country single-handed against the kidnappers of Prince Alexander; had ruled Bulgaria as regent in the teeth of Russia; had driven out the intriguing Russian commissioners and consuls; had brought in a new prince and kept him on his throne through a series of plots and dangers from within and without; had reconciled the church and the state; and had closely drawn the ties between Bulgaria and her suzerain, the sultan.

Political and personal enemies were not satisfied with his downfall; they clamoured for his disgrace and punishment; and the responsible government tacitly sanctioned a cruel and unjust persecution that was certain to be attended with fatal consequences. He was not only subjected to indignities and persecution; his property was confiscated, and he was denied a passport that he might visit Bohemia and recuperate his shattered health. It had repeatedly been asserted in government circles that so long as Stamboloff lived the desired reconciliation with Russia and the recognition of the election of Prince Ferdinand were out of the question. He was brutally attacked and mutilated the evening of the 15th of July, 1895, and died three days later. To the lasting shame of a really fine people, it must be recorded that the Bulgarian government did absolutely nothing to ferret out the instigators of this appalling crime and to punish them.

Mr. Beaman, in his admirable English life of Stamboloff, gives this pen picture of the great

statesman: "His portrait gives some idea of his face, but it fails entirely to reproduce the character of the mouth and eyes. Looking at the photograph, you see a somewhat heavy, sleepy-looking countenance, giving no indication of the restless energy and indomitable spirit of the man. In repose these are not so very marked, but as soon as he touches upon a subject of interest, Mr. Stamboloff's whole mien changes. The heavy brows arch or contract, and the drooping lids lift under the searching flash of his eyes, which glow like live coals. The thick full lips form themselves into kindly smiles or sarcastic twists with equal facility, and now and again they draw back into a grim thinness in front of the white teeth, while the close cropped hair bristles and stands stiff over the massive forehead. In stature he is short and thick-set, and in spite of continued bad health, and a ceaseless hacking cough, which scarcely gives him a moment's respite, he holds himself erect, and walks with a firm, decided tread. His early life of hardship in the open-air has toughened his frame, and his fondness for outdoor exercise, particularly for shooting, has probably enabled him to withstand the attacks of insidious diseases aggravated by the intense mental strain which he has undergone."¹

Mr. Stoyan K. Vatralsky, a Bulgarian publicist, after the murder of Stamboloff, wrote in an American review concerning his great countryman: "Built after the pattern and of the stuff of which

¹ *Stamboloff*. (Public Men of To-day Series). By A. Hulme Beaman. London, 1895, pp. 240.

nature builds greatness, his strength and his weakness, his virtues and his vices, were alike great. Judged by a high standard of Christian civilization he can indeed be condemned; but compared with his antagonists he appears not only great, but noble and upright. True, he was arbitrary and fierce, but he plotted or committed nobody's murder. He had traitors shot without mercy, but only after they had been sentenced in an open court. He was no coward. He struck right from the shoulder, and stood in the light of day like a man; the whole world knew where he stood and what he was about. The very reverse was the case of the Russophiles who opposed him. They skulked in the dark; with rebellion in favour of a foreign power, fraud and assassination were their chief weapons. 'The fiendish temper of Russophilism, which he fought and held in check for so many years, is now well known by the exhibition it made of itself at Stamboloff's murder. During the hours he was writhing, from the fifteen terrible wounds it had dealt him, Russophilism broke forth with exultant rejoicing over his agony; when he died, it insulted his remains, and at his burial it danced around his grave.'¹

Russia has never forgiven Bulgaria for the independence which she permitted Stamboloff to manifest during the years that he directed the ship of state. She was able to sip from the cup of revenge when Bulgaria was dismembered by treacherous allies during the second Balkan war. *The Nation*,

¹ *Study of a Notable Man: Stamboloff.* By Stoyan K. Vatralsky. *Forum*, Nov., 1895. Vol. 20, pp. 317-333.

the ably edited, and certainly the best informed English weekly journal on Balkan questions, said in a leader in its issue of the 19th of July, 1913: "It is said that Bulgaria began this shameful and disastrous war. Technically, that is true. Morally, it is meanly false. The war was begun by Serbia and Greece, who, as far back as May, concluded between themselves a treaty of alliance against Bulgaria, by which Serbia secured Greek help for the seizure of regions which only a year before she had by a no less solemn treaty of alliance acknowledged as Bulgarian.

"The Bulgar armies did, indeed, march upon these regions. It was the Servians who committed the real aggression by holding them. But the real reason for this shameful dismemberment is hardly concealed. Bulgaria has become too strong. Six months ago the whole of Europe was lost in admiration for the victories, more wonderful as moral than as physical achievements, which this peasant race was enabled to win by the self-discipline and labour of one generation of freedom. To-day, after her first misfortunes, all that is forgotten, and official persons talk solemnly about the balance of power. The jealousy of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania is intelligible; each of them will gain directly by her dismemberment.

"But the real author of this concerted crushing of Bulgaria is Russia. She it was who first encouraged Servian pretensions, and then failed, if, indeed, she sincerely tried, to impose her mediation. It is admitted even by her apologists that she incited the

Rumanian invasion, and thereby tore up the settlement which she herself negotiated. It is even suspected that she has prompted the Turkish northward march, meanly backed by Bulgaria's allies in the work of emancipation. Bulgaria's real offence has been her habit of independence, her refusal to imitate Serbia and Montenegro in grovelling deference to the leading Slav power. This may be a reason why St. Petersburg should crush her."

This painful chapter—the most painful in the whole history of the Bulgarian people, if we except the fratricidal war of 1913—may fittingly close with a brief quotation from the pen of an English publicist who knew intimately the great statesman and the period of his country's existence when he achieved his extraordinary triumphs. Mr. Edward Dicey writes: "In judging Stamboloff's life, the western critic must take into consideration the surroundings amongst which he was bred and lived. If he ruled roughly, it was a rough people he had to deal with. He was a young man, in almost absolute power over a young nation. At the age when most of our youths are wielding the oar and the cricket bat, he was a leader in the forlorn struggle of Bulgaria against Turkey. Taught in the hard school of want and adversity, his nature was rugged as the mountains which were his youthful home and refuge. He was blamed, when in power, for behaving with unnecessary rigour towards his opponents; but politics in Bulgaria is not what it is in western Europe. Political passions are so fierce that every party looks upon the other as an actual physical foe,

to be dealt with in a manner to cripple it and disable it for ever. In Stamboloff we see the strong man defending his house. Amidst plots and conspiracies, surrounded by uncertain friends and open enemies, he was often obliged to strike swiftly. And when he struck, his hand was undoubtedly heavy.”¹

¹ *The Story of Stamboloff's Fall*. By Edward Dicey. *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1895. Vol. 64, pp. 391-404.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BALKAN LEAGUE

Responsibility for Turkish misrule in Macedonia — Guiding principle of Ottoman statecraft — The revolutionary movement and its consequences — Turkish massacres — Attempts of Russia and Austria to inaugurate reforms — The Young Turk party — Attempts to Ottomanize Macedonia — Why the Macedonians revolted against Turkish rule — Early attempts to form a Balkan league — Why Stamboloff rejected the overtures of the Greeks — Venizelos and the Balkan league of 1912 — Provisions of the league for the reform of Macedonia — Bulgarian conventions with Greece, Servia, and Montenegro.

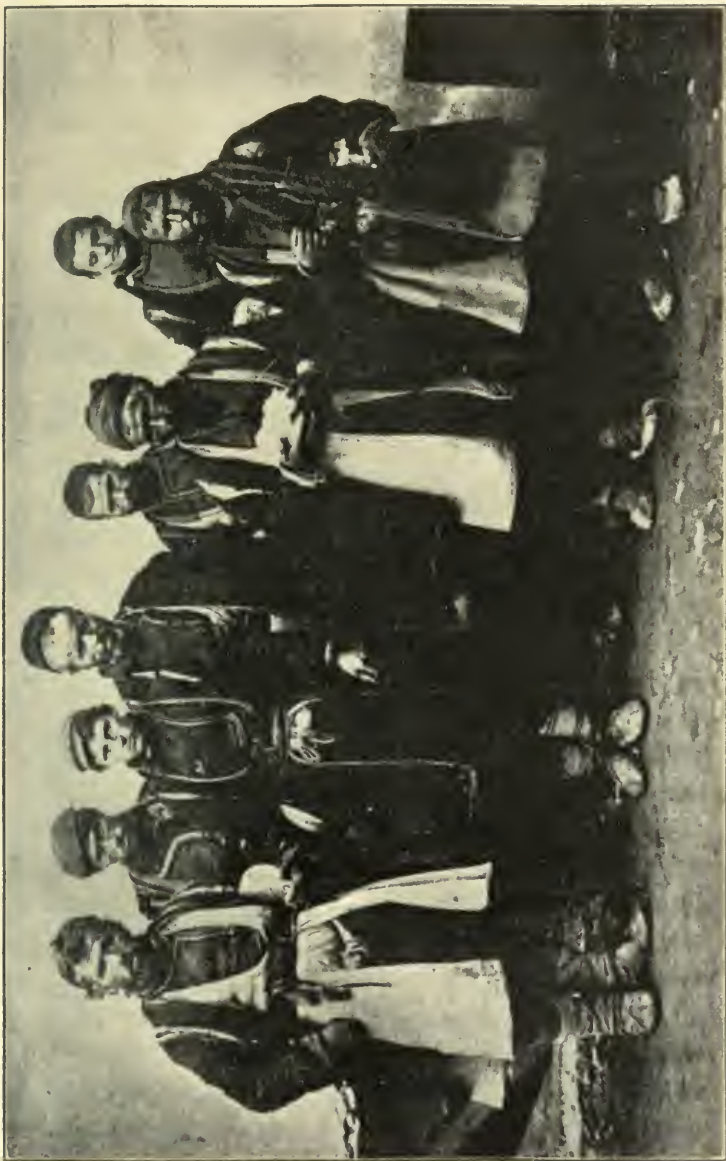
THE revision of the treaty of San Stefano was the direct cause of the Balkan wars. By its terms Macedonia was included in the newly constituted state of Bulgaria. But largely because of the jealousy of England that treaty was torn up. Disraeli, then premier of England, vigorously opposed the liberation of Macedonia from Turkish oppression because he feared that a great Bulgaria would strengthen Russia's power in the Balkan peninsula. The treaty of Berlin dismembered Bulgaria and gave Macedonia back to the Turks. "In the devilish ingenuity with which the powers placed every obstacle in the path of racial unity," remarks Cyril Campbell, "with which they traded on interstate jealousy and played off people against people, can be traced the cause of the sullen animosity so appar-

ent in the long discord of the next three decades, and for this the treaty of Berlin must be held responsible.”¹

The reforms promised to the Macedonians by the treaty of Berlin never materialized. Turkey devised a cunning system of decentralization that prevented the growth of local opinion and checked the development of ethnic consciousness. The guiding principal of Ottoman statecraft was the application of the *divide et impera* rule, which played off the Macedonian races against each other. Throughout the reign of Abdul-Hamid (1876-1909) the use of the word Macedonia was forbidden. The province was divided into three administrative districts or vilayets — Monastir, Uskub, and Salonika — which corresponded to no natural division either racial or geographic. More than half the people in the three vilayets were Bulgars, a fifth were Turks, and the remainder were Greeks, Servians, Vlacks, Albanians, Jews, and gypsies; but the boundaries of the vilayets were so drawn that no one race might attain undue prominence. The Bulgarians were strong in all three vilayets; there were Servians and Albanians in Uskub; and the Greeks were well represented in Salonika.

Any display of national aspirations on the part of any one of these races was punished by persecution and massacre, while special favours were bestowed upon its rivals. Thus, the Bulgarians were favoured by the creation of several new bish-

¹ *The Balkan War Drama*. By Cyril Campbell. New York, 1913, pp. 206.



MACEDONIAN VLACKS.

oprics in Macedonia as a punishment to the Greeks for the war of 1897. But when the Bulgarians of Macedonia rose in rebellion against misrule in 1903, the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Vlacks were overwhelmed with official favours. "In this way," notes Cyril Campbell, "the first impulse was given to the Greek campaign of proselytism and terrorism in the vilayets of Monastir, Kossovo, Salonika, and Adrianople, which must remain as an indelible disgrace in Greek history, and which to the lasting dishonour was aided and abetted or at least allowed to continue by Ottoman officials."

The Greeks were active and hostile, and in their warfare against the Bulgarians they used their familiar weapons — treachery and bribery. Internal conflicts followed; and, as the recent Carnegie commission well states, "from this time there was no more security in Macedonia. Each of the rival nations — Bulgarian, Greek, Servian — counted its heroes and its victims, its captains and its recruits, in this national guerilla warfare, and the result for each was a long martyrology. By the beginning of 1904 the number of political assassinations in Macedonia had, according to the English Blue Book, reached an average of one hundred per month. The Bulgarians naturally were the strongest, their bands the most numerous, their whole militant organization possessing the most extensive roots in the population of the country. The government of the Bulgarian principality had presided at the origination of the Macedonian movement in the time of Stefan Stamboloff. There was, however, always a diver-

gence between the views of official Bulgaria, which sought to use the movement as an instrument in its foreign policy, and those of the revolutionaries proper, most of them young people enamoured of independence and filled with a kind of cosmopolitan idealism.

“ The revolutionary movement in Macedonia has frequently been represented as a product of Bulgarian ambition and the Bulgarian government held directly responsible for it. As a matter of fact, however, the hands of the government were always forced by the Macedonians, who relied on public opinion, violently excited by the press, and the direct propaganda of the leaders. There certainly was a ‘ Central Committee ’ at Sofia, whose president was generally some one who enjoyed the confidence of the prince. This committee, however, served chiefly as the representative of the movement in the eyes of the foreigner; in the eyes of the real leaders it was always suspected of too great eagerness to serve the dynastic ambitions of King Ferdinand. It was in Macedonia that the real revolutionary organization, uncompromising and jealous of its independence, was to be found. For the origin of this internal organization we must go back to 1893, when, in the little village of Resna, a small group of young Bulgarian intellectuals founded a secret society with the clearly expressed intention of ‘ preparing the Christian population for armed struggle against the Turkish régime in order to win personal security and guarantees for order and justice in the administration,’ which may be translated as the

political autonomy of Macedonia. The 'internal organization' did not aim at the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria; it called all nationalities dwelling in the three vilayets to join its ranks. No confidence was felt in Europe; hope was set on energetic action by the people. To procure arms, distribute them to the young people in the villages, and drill the latter in musketry and military evolutions — such were the first endeavours of the conspirators. All this was not long in coming to the notice of the Turks, who came by accident upon a depot of arms and bombs at Vinnitsa. This discovery gave the signal for Turkish acts of repression and atrocities which counted more than two hundred victims. From that time on, there was no further halt in the struggle in Macedonia. The people, far from being discouraged by torture and massacre, became more and more keenly interested in the organization. In a few years the country was ready for the struggle. The whole country had been divided into military districts, each with its captain and militia staff. The central 'organization,' gathering force 'everywhere and nowhere' had all the regular machinery of a revolutionary organization; an 'executive police,' a postal service, and even an espionage service to meet the blows of the enemy and punish 'traitors and spies.' Throughout this period of full expansion, the people turned voluntarily to the leaders, even in the settlement of their private affairs, instead of going before the Ottoman officials and judges, and gladly paid their contributions to the revolutionary body. Self-confi-

dence grew to such a point that offensive action began to be taken. The agricultural labourers tried striking against their Turkish masters for a rise in wages, to bring them up to the minimum laid down by the leaders of the 'organization.' They grew bolder in risking open skirmishes with the Turkish troops; and the official report of the 'organization' records that as many as 132 (512 victims) took place in the period 1898-1902. At last European diplomacy stirred. The first scheme of reforms appeared, formulated by Russia and Austria in virtue of their entente of 1897. The Austro-Russian note, of February, 1903, formulated demands too modest to be capable of solving the problem. The result was as usual; the Porte hastened to prevent European action by promising in January to inaugurate reforms. The Macedonian revolutionaries were in despair. A little group of extremists detached itself from the Committee to attempt violent measures such as might stir Europe; in June bombs were thrown at Salonika. On July 20 (old style), the day of St. Elie (Ilinjah-den), a formal insurrection broke out: the *rayas* saw that they were strong enough to measure themselves against their old oppressors.

“ It was the climax of the 'internal organization' and that of its fall. The heroism of the rebels broke itself against the superior force of the regular army. The fighting ratio was 1 to 13, 26,000 to 351,000; there were a thousand deaths and, in the final result, 200 villages ruined by Turkish vengeance, 12,000 houses burned, 3,000 women outraged,

4,700 inhabitants slain and 71,000 without a roof.”¹

The Macedonian uprising and the barbarities and tortures that followed reminded Europe of the promises made more than a quarter of a century before by the treaty of Berlin; and the great powers, however reluctantly, were compelled to intervene. England took the initiative and through Lord Lansdowne proposed the following reforms: (1) The nomination of a Christian governor for Macedonia; (2) the nomination of European officers to reform the gendarmerie; (3) withdrawal of all bashi-bozouks from Macedonia; (4) each of the great powers to send six officers to accompany the Ottoman troops and thus exercise a restraining influence and secure reliable information, and (5) the distribution of relief.

Two selfish and interested members of the concert — Russia and Austria — were invested with power to devise and supervise reform measures in Macedonia. Their schemes were half-hearted and their reforms remained a dead letter. The great powers, largely from financial motives, were unwilling to put any pressure on Turkey, because no individual member of the concert was willing to prejudice its own interests or jeopardize future concessions by taking the initiative in the matter of Macedonian reform. The matter dragged on until the insurrection of the Young Turks in 1908.

¹ *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Effects of the Balkan Wars.* Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington, D. C., 1914.

The overthrow of the autocratic rule of Abdul-Hamid was hailed by the powers as the rainbow of promise of Turkey's regeneration and the solution of the Macedonian question. In the final overthrow of the sultan in April, 1909, and the revival of the Turkish constitution, which had been "suspended" since the days of Midhat, races yesterday on terms of irreconcilable hostility, embraced one another as brothers. The Young Turks announced that they would entirely reconstruct the Ottoman empire. They promised the Macedonians to solve all difficulties and to pacify all hatreds; to substitute justice for arbitrary rule; and to ensure complete equality among the different races. The Macedonian revolutionists laid down their arms and returned from their hiding-places in the Rilo and Rhodope mountains to the towns.

The dream of the Macedonians, that they could become good Ottoman patriots while still faithful to their national ambitions, was soon shattered. Far from satisfying the reawakened nationalism of the various races in Macedonia, remarks the report of the Carnegie commission, "the Young Turks set themselves a task to which the absolutism of the sultan had never ventured: to reconstruct the Turkey of the Caliphate and transform it into a modern state, beginning by the complete abolition of the rights and privileges of the different ethnic groups. These rights and privileges, confirmed by firmans and guaranteed by European diplomacy, were the sole means by which the Christian nationalities could safeguard their language, their beliefs, their

ancient civilizations. These barriers once down, they felt themselves threatened by Ottoman assimilation in a way that had never been threatened before in the course of the ages since the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. This assimilation, this 'Ottomanization,' was the avowed aim of the victor, the committee of 'Union and Progress.'

"Worse still: the assimilation of heterogeneous populations could only be effected slowly, however violent might be the measures threatening the future existence of the separate nationalities. The men of the Committee had not even confidence in the action of time. They wished to destroy their enemies forthwith, while they were still in power. Since national rivalries in Macedonia offered an ever-ready pretext for the intervention of the powers, they decided to make an end of the question with all possible celerity. They were sure—and frequently stated their assurance in the chamber—that the *ancien régime* was to blame for the powerlessness it had shown in Macedonia. They, on the other hand, with their new methods, would have made an end of it in a few months, or at most a few years.

"Nevertheless it was the old methods that were employed. A beginning was made in 1909 by violating the article of the constitution which proclaimed the liberty of associations. The various ethnic groups, and especially the Bulgarians, had taken advantage of this article to found national clubs in Macedonia. As the 1908 pre-revolutionary

organizations had been dissolved by their heads, in their capacity of loyal Ottoman citizens, they had been replaced by clubs which had served as the nucleus of an open national organization. Their objective was now electoral instead of armed conflict; and while secretly arming there was nevertheless a readiness to trust the Ottoman parliament, to leave it to time to accomplish the task of regeneration and actual realization of constitutional principles. The Bulgarian revolutionaries had even concluded a formal agreement with the revolutionaries of the Committee of Union and Progress, according to which the return home of the insurgents was regarded as conditional only, and the internal organization only to be disbanded on condition that the constitution was really put in force.

“ The committee once in power saw the danger of these national political organizations and entered on a systematic conflict with its allies of yesterday. From the spring of 1909 onwards, the partisans of the Committee caused the assassination one after another of all those who had been at the head of revolutionary bands or committees under the previous régime. In the autumn of 1909 the final blow was aimed at the open organizations. (The Union of Bulgarian constitutional clubs included at that moment sixty-seven branches in Macedonia.) In November, the chamber passed an Association law which forbade ‘ any organization based upon national denomination.’ An end was thus successfully put to the legal existence of the clubs, but not to the clubs themselves. Revolutionary activity

began again from the moment when open legal conflict became impossible.

“ The Christian populations had good reasons for revolting against the new Turkish régime. Articles 11 and 16 of the revised constitution infringed the rights and privileges of the religious communities and national schools. The Ottoman state claimed to extend the limits of its action under the pretext of ‘ protecting the exercise of all forms of worship ’ and ‘ watching over all public schools.’ The principles might appear modern but in practice they were but new means for arriving at the same end — the ‘ Ottomanization ’ of the empire. This policy aimed at both Greeks and Bulgarians. For the Greeks, the violent enemies of the Young Turkish movement from its beginning, it was the economic boycott declared by the Committee against all the Greeks of the empire in retaliation for the attempts of the Cretans to reunite themselves with the mother-country. It was forbidden for months that the good Ottomans should frequent shops or cafés kept by Greeks. Greek ships stopped coming into Ottoman ports, unable to find any labourers to handle their cargo.

“ Even more dangerous was the policy of Turki-
zing Macedonia by means of systematic colonization,
carried out by the *mohadjirs* — emigrants, Mos-
lems from Bosnia and Herzegovina. This measure
caused discontent with the new régime to penetrate
down to the agricultural classes. They were almost
universally Bulgarian tenant-farmers who had cul-
tivated the *tchifliks* (farms) of the Turkish beys

from time immemorial. In the course of the last few years they had begun to buy back the lands of their overlords, mainly with the money many of them brought home from America. All this was now at an end. Not only had the purchase of their holdings become impossible; the Turks began turning the tenants out of their farms. The government bought up all the land for sale to establish *mohadjirs* (Moslem refugees from Bosnia) upon it.

“ This was the final stroke. The leaders of the disarmed bands could now return to their mountains, where they rejoined old companions in arms. The ‘ internal organization ’ again took up the direction of the revolutionary movement. On October 31, 1911, it ‘ declared publicly that it assumed responsibility for all the attacks on and encounters with the Turkish army by the insurgents in this and the previous year, and for all other revolutionary manifestations.’ The Young Turkish government had not waited for this declaration to gain cognizance of revolutionary activity and take action upon it. So early as November, 1909, it had replied by an iniquitous ‘ band ’ law, making the regular authorities of the villages, all the families where any member disappeared from his home, the whole population of any village harbouring a *komitadji*, responsible for all the deeds and words of the voluntary, irregular associations. In the summer of 1910 a systematic perquisition was instituted in Macedonia with the object of discovering arms hidden in the villagers’ houses. The vexations, the tortures to which peaceful populations were thus subjected, can-

not possibly be enumerated here. In November, 1910, Mr. Pavloff, Bulgarian deputy, laid the facts before the Ottoman parliament. He had counted as many as 1,853 persons individually subjected to assault and ill treatment in the three Macedonian vilayets, leaving out of account the cases of persons executed *en masse*, arrested and assaulted, among whom were dozens killed or mutilated. Adding them in, Mr. Pavloff brought his total up to 4,913. To this number were still to be added 4,060 who had taken refuge in Bulgaria or fled among the mountains to escape from the Turkish authorities.

“ The year 1910 was decisive in the sense of affording definite proof that the régime established in 1908 was not tolerable. The régime had its chance of justifying itself in the eyes of Europe and strengthening its position in relation to its own subjects and to the neighbouring Balkan states; it let the chance go. From that time the fate of Turkey in Europe was decided beyond appeal.

“ This was also the end of the attempts at autonomy in Macedonia. To realize this autonomy two principal conditions were required: the indivisibility of Turkey and a sincere desire on the part of the Turkish government to introduce radical reforms based on decentralization. No idea was less acceptable to the ‘ Committee of Union and Progress ’ than this of decentralization, since it was the watchword of the rival political organization. Thenceforward any hope of improving the condition of the Christian populations within the limits of the *status quo* became illusory. Those limits had to be

transcended. Autonomy was no longer possible. Dismemberment and partition had to be faced."

The idea of a Balkan league to drive the Turks out of Europe and divide the Ottoman possessions among the victors was suggested to Bulgaria by Trikoupis, prime minister of Greece, in 1893. But Stamboloff declined to become a party to such an alliance. He recognized that the raw and untrained peasant levies, which were all that the Balkan states would be able at the time to muster, would be no match for the trained soldiers of Turkey. He likewise recognized that Bulgaria, as the nearest belligerent, would have to bear the brunt of the conflict. The Ottomanizing policy of the Young Turks already referred to finally brought the Bulgarian and the Greek to an understanding.

Venizelos, prime minister of Greece, proposed to Malinoff, the prime minister of Bulgaria, in 1910, that the two governments should coöperate and bring pressure to bear on the Turkish government. But no agreement was reached, because of differences with reference to the delimitation of spheres of influence. The Bulgars were unwilling to hand over Kavala, Seres, Voden, Kastoria, and Lerin to the Greeks. After the fall of the Malinoff cabinet and the appointment of a Russophil ministry under Gueshoff, *pourparlers* between the responsible heads of the Bulgarian and the Greek governments on the question of a defensive alliance were resumed. A treaty between the two countries was signed at Sofia the 29th of May, 1912. Peace was declared to be the object of the alliance; but the document states



EX-PRIME MINISTER GUESHOFF.

that this object can be best attained by a defensive alliance, by the creation of political equality among the different nationalities in Turkey, and by the careful observation of treaty rights. To this end the contracting parties agreed to coöperate to promote correct relations with the Ottoman government and to consolidate the good will already existing between Bulgarians and Greeks in Turkey. It was furthermore agreed that if either was attacked by Turkey, they would aid each other with their entire forces, and conclude peace only by reciprocal agreement. Both states were to use their influence to reconcile animosities with kindred populations in Macedonia, and to offer reciprocal assistance that they might conjointly impress on Turkey and the great powers the importance of the performance of treaty obligations. The treaty was to run three years, and for a fourth unless denounced six months in advance, and was to be kept absolutely secret between the two contracting parties.¹

Bulgaria had already (the 13th of March, 1912) concluded a treaty with Servia. The fundamental point of the treaty was "the delimitation of the line of partition 'beyond which' Servia agreed 'to formulate no territorial claim.'" A highly detailed map of this frontier was annexed to the treaty. Bulgarian diplomatists still wished to keep an open door for themselves. That is why they left the responsibility for the concessions demanded to the tsar of

¹ For an interesting account of the Balkan league, see the series of articles by J. D. Bouchier in the *London Times* for June 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, and 13th, 1913.

Russia. 'Bulgaria agrees to accept this frontier,' they added, 'if the emperor of Russia, who shall be requested to act as final arbiter in this question, pronounces in favour of the line.' Their idea was that the emperor might still adjudge to them the 'disputed zone' they were in the act of ceding, between the frontier marked on the map and Old Servia, properly so-called, 'to the north and west of Shar-Planina.' 'It goes without saying,' the treaty added, 'that the two contracting parties undertake to accept as definitive the frontier line which the emperor of Russia may have found, *within the limits indicated below*, most consonant with the rights and interests of the two parties.' Evidently 'within the limits indicated below' meant between Shar-Planina and the line marked on the map, 'beyond which Servia agreed to formulate no territorial claim.' That was the straightforward meaning of the treaty, afterwards contested by the Servians. The line of partition of which the treaty spoke corresponded fully with the ethnographic conclusions of the learned geographer, Mr. Tsviyitch; conclusions which made a profound impression on the Tsar Ferdinand at the time of his interview with Mr. Tsviyitch. It was these conclusions probably which made the tsar decide to accept the compromise. Mr. Tsviyitch was also the first to communicate to the world, in his article of November, 1912, in the *Review of Reviews*, the frontier established by the treaty. The reason why Bulgarian diplomats decided on making a concession so little acceptable to public opinion is now clear. They did more.

After deciding on eventual partition they reverted to the idea of autonomy and laid it down that partition was only to take place in case the organization of the conquered countries 'as a distinct autonomous province,' should be found 'impossible' in the 'established conviction' of both parties. Up to the 'liquidation,' the occupied countries were to be regarded as 'falling under common dominion — *condominium*.' Finally the treaty was to remain defensive purely, until the two parties 'find themselves in agreement' on 'undertaking common military action.' This 'action' was to 'be undertaken solely in the event of Russia's not opposing it,' and the consent of Russia was to be obligatory. Turkey had been expressly designated as the objective of 'action' in the cases forecast, but included was 'any one among the Great Powers which should attempt to annex * * * any portion whatsoever of the territories of the peninsula.' Such were the precautions and provisions designed to guarantee Bulgarian diplomatists against abuse. All, however, were to fall away at the first breath of reality.

“The Bulgarian military convention, foreshadowed by the treaty, was signed as early as May 12. Bulgaria undertook in case of war to mobilize 200,000 men; Servia 150,000 — minimum figures, since there could be no thought of conquering Turkey with an army of 350,000 men. Of these 200,000 men, Bulgaria was to dispatch half to Macedonia, and half to Thrace. At the same time the convention took into account the possibility of Austria-Hungary's

marching upon Servia. In that case Bulgaria undertook to send 200,000 men to Servia's assistance.

“ The basis of the Græco-Bulgarian military convention was different; it was concluded almost on the eve of general mobilization, October 5. Bulgaria promised, in case of war, an effective army 360,000 strong; Greece, 120,000. Bulgaria undertook to take the offensive ‘ with an important part of its army ’ in the three Macedonian vilayets; but in case Servia should take part in the war with at least 120,000 men, ‘ Bulgaria might employ the whole of its military forces in Thrace.’ Now that real war was about to begin and the main Turkish force was directed hither, it was high time to contemplate war in Thrace, which had been left, in the hypothetical agreements, to Russia's charge, as Mr. Bouchier assumes. This made it necessary to change, define and complete the military agreement with Servia of May 12. The document was now more than once remodelled in consonance with new agreements arrived at between the heads of the general staff of the two armies — such agreements having been foreshadowed in Articles 4 and 13. The special arrangements of July 1 provides that the necessary number of troops agreed upon might be transported from the Vardar to the Maritza and vice versa, ‘ if the situation demands it.’ On September 5, the Bulgarians demand to have all their forces for disposition in Thrace, the Servians make objections and no agreement is reached. At last, three days after the Greek military convention (September 28), an understanding was arrived at. ‘ The

whole of the Bulgarian army will operate in the valley of the Maritza, leaving one division only in the first days on the Kustendil-Doupnitsa line.' But if the Servian army repulsed the Turks on the Uskub line and advanced southward, the Bulgarians might recall their division to the theatre of the Maritza to reinforce their armies, leaving only the battalions of the territorial army in Macedonia. Later, as is known, it was the Servians who sent two divisions with siege artillery to Adrianople. The Servians were later to declare the arrangements made by the two general staffs forced and not binding, and to use this as an argument for treaty revision."

The Balkan alliance was completed by the inclusion of Montenegro. As early as 1888 King Nicholas of Montenegro had memorialized Russia on the subject of such an alliance. The Montenegrins, it will be recalled, took the initiative in declaring war. Mr. Bouchier writes in this connection: "Montenegro had been at peace for thirty-four years, a period unprecedented in its history. The mountaineers were spoiling for a fight; their yatagans were rusting in their scabbards; and the intervention of Europe, with a scheme of Macedonian reform, threatened to deprive them of their heart's desire. The liberation of the Macedonian rayahs was only a secondary consideration from the Montenegrin point of view; the main object was to obtain a 'place in the sun,' and in order to achieve it, King Nicholas determined to force the hand of his allies."

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST BALKAN WAR

Immediate causes of the war — Inefficiency of the great powers — Demands of the allies — Turkey's refusal — Declaration of war — Composition of the Bulgarian army — General Savoff — Kutincheff, Ivanoff, and Dimitrieff — General Fitcheff — The battle of Kirk Kilissé — Bulgarian successes at Lule Burgas and Bunar Hisar — Before the Tchatalja lines — Expediency of the attack — The siege of Adrianople — Armistice and peace conference — Resumption of hostilities — Capture of Adrianople — The part Bulgaria took in the first Balkan war — Tribute to the splendid qualities of her soldiers.

THE immediate causes of the first Balkan war were the weakened condition of the Turkish military forces due to the war with Italy; rivalry and discord among the army leaders; the uprising in Albania; the powerlessness of Europe to impose on constitutional Turkey the reforms which she had attempted to introduce when Turkey was an absolute monarchy; and the consciousness of increased strength among the Balkan states which the alliance had given. But the concentration of the Turkish troops at Adrianople was the final cause of provocation.

The thread-bare shibboleth of *status quo* of the great powers was displayed with pathetic inefficiency. Montenegro, in defiance of the powers, declared war against Turkey the 8th of October, 1912. The army of the little mountain kingdom promptly captured Detchich, Tuzi, and Raganj. It entered the sanjak and took Byelopolye. The other three



FATHER AND FOUR SONS WHO FOUGHT IN THE FIRST BALKAN WAR
(THREE OF THE SONS WERE KILLED).

Balkan allies sent to Turkey the 13th of October an ultimatum in which they demanded (1) the administrative autonomy of European Turkey; (2) the recognition of ethnic principles in the determination of provincial boundaries; (3) the appointment of Swiss or Belgian provincial governors; (4) the reorganization of the Ottoman gendarmerie; (5) freedom in the matter of organizing and supervising schools; (6) the application of reforms to be under the management of a board to be composed equally of Christians and Moslems, and the supervision of the reforms to be under the control of the ambassadors of the great powers at Constantinople *and the ambassadors of the four Balkan states*; and (7) the immediate demobilization of the Ottoman army.

Turkey professed sublime contempt for the ultimatum, and four days later Bulgaria and Servia declared war. The Bulgars at once occupied Mustapha pass, and the 24th of October they captured Kirk Kilissé. There were two separate theatres of war during the Balkan struggle — eastern Thrace and western Macedonia. The former was the chief centre from the very outset; here all the hard fighting was done, and the battles won by the Bulgars in Thrace decided the results of the war.

The Bulgarian main army, with most of the troops from the first, second, and third military districts, won the victories in Thrace. The first army was under General Kutincheff; the second, under General Ivanoff, and the third, under General Dimitrieff. Detachments from the sixth division were concentrated at Kustendil to coöperate with the Ser-

vians. General Savoff, the military adviser of King Ferdinand, was the generalissimo of the Bulgarian forces.

General Savoff, who played such an important rôle in the two Balkan wars, was born at Haskovo the 14th of November, 1857. He studied in the military school at Sofia, where, upon the completion of his course, he received a commission as lieutenant in the artillery. He was stationed for a time in Eastern Rumelia, but subsequently pursued a course of training at the military academy at St. Petersburg and studied military matters in France and Austria. He served as captain in the Servian war of 1885 and at its close was promoted to the rank of major. He became minister of war in the Stamboloff cabinet, and applied himself with great zeal and efficiency to the reorganization and development of the Bulgarian army. After five years in the ministry, he spent several years in private life, devoted chiefly to travel in Europe. Upon his return he was appointed principal of the military academy at Sofia, which he directed for eight years and made it one of the most effective schools of its type in Europe. He entered the cabinet of Petroff in 1903 as minister of war. Large expenditures for heavy artillery, shells, and other articles of war caused opposition in the sobranje to his policy and he resigned in 1908. With the outbreak of the war with Turkey he was by common consent chosen as the adviser of the king to direct the Bulgarian forces.

General Kutincheff was born at Rustchuk the 25th of March, 1857. He was graduated from the mili-



GENERAL SAVOFF.

tary academy at Sofia; commanded a battalion in the Servian war, and distinguished himself at Slivnitza. He was in command of the first army in the Balkan war and rendered admirable service to General Dimitrieff on his right flank.

General Ivanoff was born at Kalofer the 18th of February, 1861; was graduated from the military academy at Sofia and received a sub-lieutenant's commission in 1879. He served in the Servian war; distinguished himself for bravery, and was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. He was minister of war in the Stoïloff cabinet.

General Radko Dimitrieff was born at Gradetz the 24th of September, 1859; was educated in the military academy at Sofia; studied at the military school at St. Petersburg; and was with the famous left wing that won the decisive battle against the Servians at Slivnitza in 1885. He spent ten years in exile in Russia but returned to accept appointment under the Stoïloff government.

General Fitcheff, joint officer with Savoff in the Bulgarian campaign in the Balkan war, is probably the ablest of the younger officers in the Bulgarian army. He was born at Tirnovo the 15th of April, 1860; was educated in the secondary school at Tirnovo and at the military academy at Sofia; was made a lieutenant on the eve of the outbreak of the war with Servia, and showed great ability as a commander in the repulse of the Servians at Vidin. He was sent to Italy to study in the military academy at Turin. Upon his return he was appointed director of military education. He is a quiet, mod-

est man of scholarly tastes and the author of two able works on military subjects — *Theory of Mountain Warfare* and *The Siege of Vidin*. Noel Buxton writes of him: “Fitcheff’s bright eyes conceal a reserve impenetrable even for a Bulgar; but on one subject he opens out — the wrongs of a people worthy of freedom.”¹

The first signal success of the Bulgarian forces against the Turks was at Kirk Kilissé. Malko Tirnovo had fallen into the hands of the Bulgarians on their march from Mustapha Pasba. On the 23rd of October the Bulgars were in close contact with the Turkish forces at Kirk Kilissé. The town lies in a hollow and is commanded by two forts that stand on high ground. The Bulgarian infantry were launched on the 24th in a continuous and successful assault. The Turkish rear-guard was taken by a direct frontal attack. Mahmud Mukhtar with seventy thousand Ottoman troops was defeated. General Radko Dimitrieff was the leader of the victorious forces at Kirk Kilissé. It was not the most important battle of the war, but its moral significance was very great.

Mr. Noel Buxton, who was with the Bulgarian staff, writes: “It was a thrilling experience for one who had visited Kirk Kilissé in bygone years to enter it now with the victors. The superficial appearance of the town, which I had visited in the Turkish epoch, was of itself sufficient to indicate the liberation that had taken place. Every man had

¹ *With the Bulgarian Staff*. By Noel Buxton. New York, 1913, pp. 165.

discarded with delight the red badge of servitude and adopted a European hat. A well-known Christian, who had been a member of the Turkish court of appeal, apologized suddenly, while talking to me, for wearing his hat. He had forgotten, he said, that it was a hat and not the irremovable fez. The streets wore quite a changed aspect in another way. They had never before been full of women and girls. One could not forget that for every good-looking woman, thanksgiving was due for the present freedom from danger. It was not only happiness but virtue which suffered from Turkish rule; and this became more than ever evident when the Christians were free to show themselves and express their views. The licentious habits of the Turks, which have always degraded the general standard in regard to purity, meant at war time the rape and disappearance of girls on an unprecedented scale.”¹

The first and third Bulgarian armies advanced from Kirk Kilissé to Lule Burgas, where they encountered the main Turkish army with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers under the command of Abdullah Pasha. The Bulgarian army made an extraordinary dash the 29th of October. The fighting was continuous for forty-eight hours. By noon of the 31st of October it was apparent that the Turks were no match for the Bulgars, and by evening retirement became general and degenerated into a rout. The Turks retreated in the direction of Tchorlu. Another engagement took place at Bunar

¹ *With the Bulgarian Staff.* By Noel Buxton. New York, 1913, pp. 165.

Hissar, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Turkish troops. Then the Turks retreated behind the Tchatalja lines. In the fighting at Lule Burgas, Bunar Hissar, and Tchorlu the Turks had lost in killed forty thousand and the Bulgars about half that number.

The entrenched lines of Tchatalja stretch from the Black sea to the sea of Marmora, a distance of about twenty-five miles. The actual front to be defended, however, is only fifteen miles, as lakes and arms of the sea that encroach upon the land reduce the distance about ten miles. The line follows a ridge and takes its name from the village of Tchatalja, which lies in front of the main line of defence. The line is strongest in the central and southern sections and weakest in the northern wooded part. Behind these lines the Turkish troops were strongly intrenched, with abundant opportunities of bringing up food, ammunition, and troops from Constantinople.

The expediency of the attack of the Tchatalja lines has been seriously questioned by military experts. Lieutenant Wagner of Austria, who was with the Bulgarian army, writes concerning this question: "From the military point of view it might be said that even the most complete victory would give no further advantage than had already been won, for the positions already held by the Bulgarian army in front of the Tchatalja lines were amply sufficient for the military protection of the territory that had been conquered, and the retention of these positions by the army would entail no losses worth mention-

ing. But from a political point of view a victory over the Turkish army would undoubtedly break down the resistance of the Porte and compel the sultan's government to make peace on terms dictated by the Balkan states."¹

The siege of Adrianople was one of the most dramatic chapters in the first Balkan war. The city had quite recently been strongly fortified, and the construction of new forts of concrete and armour plates had made it practically a defensible fortress. The Turkish forces of the city were commanded by Shukri Pasha, one of the ablest generals in the Ottoman army. General Ivanoff was in charge of the Bulgarian forces.

The Bulgarian army had crossed the Turkish frontier and occupied Kurt Kalé the 18th of October. The Turkish troops were also driven from the Arda valley at Ortakeui and Seimenli. The bombardment of Adrianople was begun the 28th of October on the northwest front of the fortress. The southeast and southwest forts were invested the 8th of November. It was recognized that the capture of the fort would incur large losses of troops; so, as the fortress was reported badly provisioned, it was determined to starve out the city by a close blockade. This decision, however, did not diminish the fierceness of the fighting, which continued to the moment of the armistice.

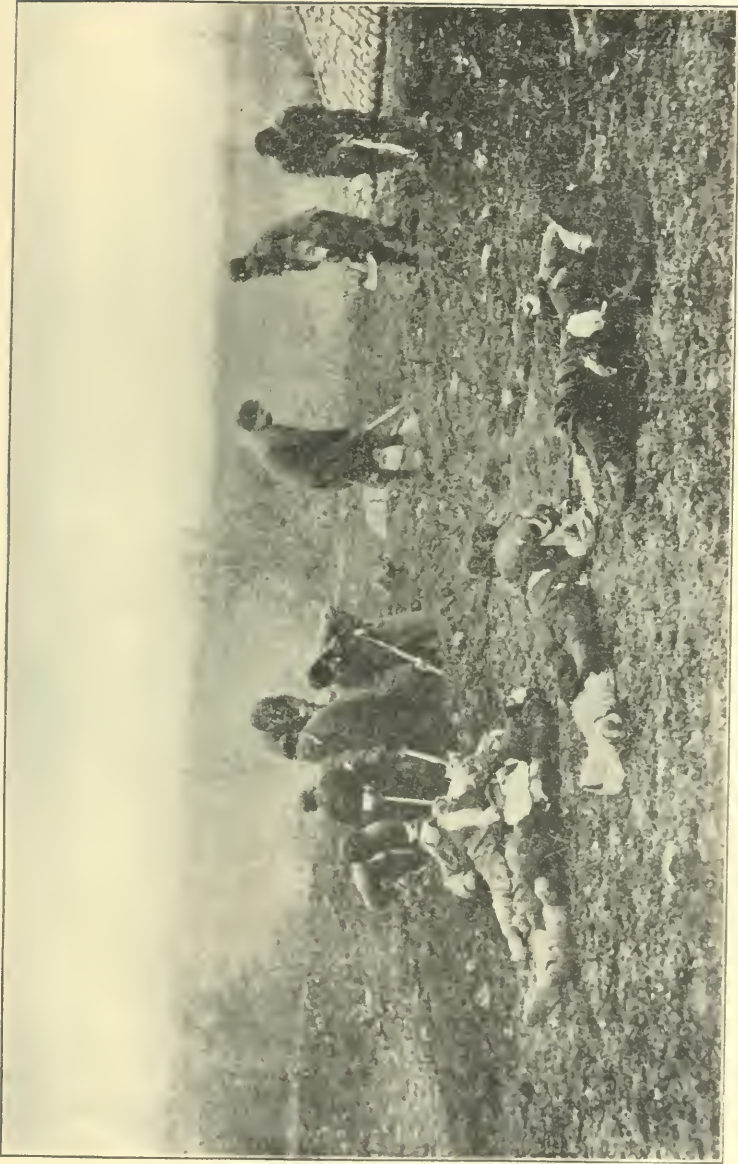
The peace conference convened at London the 16th of December, 1912; but the dilatory tactics of the

¹ *With the Victorious Bulgarians.* By Hermenengild Wagner. Boston, 1913, pp. 273.

Turks caused the powers to send a note to the Ottoman government on the 17th of January, 1913, advising the cession of Adrianople to the Balkan states. The council of the sultan's government accepted the suggestion; but Enver Bey, the hero of 1908, caused a revolution in Constantinople that overthrew the council. The Young Turk party returned to power and promptly repudiated the action of its predecessors. The Balkan states declared the negotiations at an end and the armistice terminated. The attack on Adrianople was resumed and the city fell into the hands of the Bulgars the 26th of March, 1913. This brought to a close the first Balkan war.

Bulgaria had borne the brunt of the war. She had done practically all of the hard fighting. A nation of a little more than four million inhabitants had put into the field a total army strength (including line of communication) of a half million troops. Fifteen per cent. of the total population of the kingdom fought in the first Balkan war; a proportion never reached by any other nation, not even France during the reign of Napoleon. Lieutenant Wagner remarks in this connection: "Of the four allied Balkan states, Bulgaria was the one to whose lot fell the most serious task of all. She was to shatter the shield of the enemy and then deal him the death stroke. And in the main, Bulgaria had to accomplish this task alone, and without direct support from any of the allies."

Foreigners who were eye-witnesses of the fighting during the first Balkan war have borne abundant testimony to the fine qualities of the Bulgarian sol-



FIRST BALKAN WAR: BURYING THE DEAD.

diers. "They were human beings of a fine type," wrote Noel Buxton, "peasants of pure blood, remarkably free from immoral diseases, of courage and endurance that has made them renowned as fighters throughout Europe, with qualities of mind and body unique among the peasants of the world." The same author calls attention to the entire absence of love of show. There was no display of pride in the marvellous victories that they had won over the Turks. The quality of coolness, which the Bulgars possess in such large measure, is not a trait of the other races of the Balkan peninsula. Mr. Buxton remarks that at no time during and after the war did he see any sign of excitement. "It is enough for a Bulgarian that he knows what he has to do and is carrying it out. He has no mannerisms; deep feeling would not be expressed by noise; the whole instinct is towards reality. If a Bulgarian utters an emotional aphorism he does it with studied calm."

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

Causes of the second Balkan war — Conduct of the Greek and Servian armies in Macedonia — Attempts to disintegrate Bulgarian social and national life — Maltreatment of Bulgarian bishops and teachers — Secret understanding between Greece and Servia before the close of the first Balkan war — Vacillating policy of the prime minister of Servia — Violation of the conditions of the Balkan league by Greeks and Servians — Efforts of Russia to prevent war — Gueshoff and Pachitch in conference — Outbreak of hostilities — Plan of General Savoff's campaign against the Servians — Greeks attack the Bulgarian garrison at Salonika — Retreat of General Ivanoff — Invasion of Bulgaria by Rumania — Turkey reconquers Thrace — The peace treaty of Bucharest — Why the Balkan question is not settled.

THE causes of the second Balkan war, the fratricidal war of July, 1913, among the allies, are extremely complex and little understood in America and Europe. The recent report of the Carnegie commission is so thorough and impartial in its discussion of the factors that brought about the conflict between the allies, that the author has thought best to give in résumé the findings of the commission.

The report calls attention to the fact that "there had long existed germs of discord among the Balkan nationalities which could not be stifled by treaties of alliance. Rather the texts of these treaties created fresh misunderstandings and afforded formal pretexts to cover the real reasons of conflict. There was but one means which could have effectually prevented the development of the germs — to maintain

the territorial *status quo* of Turkey and grant autonomy to the nationalities without a change of sovereignty. This could not have been, it is true, a definitive solution; it could only be a delay, a stage, but a stage that would have bridged the transition. In default of an issue which Turkey rendered impossible by its errors, Europe by its too protracted patience and the allies by their success, the change was too abrupt.

“ We find this struggle in Macedonia from the first days of the Servian and Greek occupation onwards. At first there was general rejoicing and an outburst of popular gratitude towards the liberators. The Macedonian revolutionaries themselves had foreseen and encouraged this feeling. They said in their ‘ proclamation to our brothers,’ published by the delegates of the twenty-five Macedonian confederacies on October 5, 1912, *i. e.*, at the very beginning of the war: ‘ Brothers:— your sufferings and your pains have touched the heart of your kindred. Moved by the sacred duty of fraternal compassion, they come to your aid to free you from the Turkish yoke. In return for their sacrifice they desire nothing but to reëstablish peace and order in the land of our birth. Come to meet these brave knights of freedom therefore with triumphal crowns. Cover the way before their feet with flowers and glory. And be magnanimous to those who yesterday were your masters. As true Christians, give them not evil for evil. Long live liberty! Long live the brave army of liberation!’ In fact the Servian army entered the north of Mace-

donia, and the Greek army the south, amid cries of joy from the population. But this enthusiasm for the liberators soon gave place to doubt, then to disenchantment, and finally was converted to hatred and despair. The Bulgarian journal published at Salonika, *Bulgarine*, first records some discouraging cases, whose number was swollen by the presence of certain individuals, chauvinists of a peculiar turn, who gave offence to the national sentiment of the country by the risks they ran. 'It is the imperative duty of the powers in occupation,' said the journal, 'to keep attentive watch over the behaviour of irresponsible persons.' Alas! five days later (November 20) the journal had to lay it down, as a general condition of the stability of the alliance, that the powers in occupation should show toleration to all nationalities and refrain from treating some of them as enemies. Four days later the journal, instead of attacking the persons responsible, was denouncing the powers who 'in their blind chauvinism take no account of the national sentiments of the people temporarily subject to them.' They still, however, cherished the hope that the local authorities were acting without the knowledge of Belgrade. The next day the editor wrote his leader under a question addressed to the allied government: '*Is this a war of liberation or a war of conquest?*' He knew the reply well enough; the Greek authorities forbade the existence of this Bulgarian paper in *their* town of Salonika.

"The illusion of the inhabitants likewise disappeared before the touch of reality. The Servian

soldier, like the Greek, was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriots, men who could speak his language. 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 Dushan 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.

“ Who were these agitators who had made the people forget the Greek and Servian tongues? First, they were the priests; then the schoolmasters; lastly the revolutionary elements who, under the ancient régime, had formed an ‘ organization ’; heads of bands and their members, peasants who had supplied them with money or food, — in a word the whole of the male population, in so far as it was educated and informed. It was much easier for a Servian or a Greek to discover all these criminal patriots than it had been for the Turkish authorities, under the absolutist régime, to do so. The means of awakening the national conscience were much better known to Greeks and Servians, for one thing, since they were accustomed to use them for

their own cause. Priests, schoolmasters, and bands existed among the Greeks and Servians, as well as among the Bulgarians. In Macedonia the difference, as we know, lay in the fact that the schoolmaster or priest, the Servian *voyévoda* or Greek *antarte*, addressed himself to the minority, and had to recruit his own following instead of finding them ready made. Isolated in the midst of a Bulgarian population, he made terms with Turkish power while the national Bulgarian 'organizations' fought against it. Since the representative of the national minority lived side by side with his Bulgarian neighbours, and knew them far better than did the Turkish official or policeman, he could supply the latter with the exact information. He learned still more during the last few years of general truce between the Christian nationalities and the growing alliance against the Turk. Almost admitted to the plot, many secrets were known to him. It was but natural he should use this knowledge for the advantage of the compatriots who had appeared in the guise of liberators. On the arrival of his army, he was no longer solitary, isolated and despised; he became useful and necessary, and was proud of serving the national cause. With his aid, denunciation became an all-powerful weapon; it penetrated to the recesses of local life and revived events of the past unknown to the Turkish authorities. These men, regarded by the population as leaders and venerated as heroes, were arrested and punished like mere vagabonds and brigands, while the dregs were raised to greatness.

“ This progressive disintegration of social and national life began in Macedonia with the entry of the armies of occupation, and did not cease during the eight months which lie between the beginning of the first war and the beginning of the second. It could not fail to produce the most profound changes. The Bulgarian nation was decapitated. A beginning was made when it was easiest. The openly revolutionary elements were gotten rid of, — the *komitadjis* and all those who had been connected with the movement of insurrection against the Turkish rule or the conflict with the national minorities. This was the easier because in the chaos of Macedonian law there was no clearly drawn line of demarcation between political and ordinary crime.

“ To combat the Bulgarian schools was more difficult. The time was already long past when the schoolmaster was necessarily a member of the ‘ interior organization.’ The purely professional element had steadily displaced the apostles and martyrs of preceding generations. But the conquerors saw things as they had been decades ago. For them the schoolmaster was always the conspirator, the dangerous man who must be gotten rid of, and the school, however strictly ‘ professional,’ was a centre from which Bulgarian civilization emanated. This is why the school became the object of systematic attack on the part of Servians and Greeks. Their first act on arriving in any place whatsoever was to close the schools and use them as quarters for the soldiery. Then the teachers of the village were collected together and told that their services were

no longer required if they refused to teach in Greek or Servian. Those who continued to declare themselves Bulgarians were exposed to a persecution whose severity varied with the length of their resistance. Even the most intransigent had to avow themselves beaten in the end; if not, they were sometimes allowed to depart for Bulgaria, but more usually sent to prison in Salonika or Uskub.

“The most difficult people to subdue were the priests, and above all the bishops. They were first asked to change the language of divine service. Endeavours were made to subject them to the Servian or Greek ecclesiastical authorities, and they were compelled to mention their names in the liturgy. If the priest showed the smallest inclination to resist, his exarchist church was taken from him and handed over to the patriarchists; he was forbidden to hold any communication with his flock, and on the smallest disobedience was accused of political propandism and treason. At first an open attack on the bishops was not ventured on. When Neophite, bishop of Vélès, refused to separate the name of King Peter from the names of the other kings of the allies in his prayers, and used colours in his services which were suspected of being the Bulgarian national colours, Mr. Pachitch advised the military powers at Uskub (January, 1913) to treat him as equal to the Servian bishop and with correctness. This ministerial order, however, did not prevent the local administrator of Vélès, some weeks later, from forbidding Neophite to hold services and assemblies in his bishopric, to see priests outside of

the church or to hold communication with the villages. As the bishop refused to take the veiled hints given to him to depart for Bulgaria, an officer was finally sent to his house accompanied by soldiers, who took his abode for the army, after having beaten his secretary. In the same way Cosmas, bishop of Debra, was forced to abandon his seat and leave his town. It was even worse at Uskub, where the holder of the bishopric, the Archimandrite Methodius, was first driven out of his house, taken by force, shut up in a room and belaboured by four soldiers until he lost consciousness. Cast out into the street, Methodius escaped into a neighbouring house, in which a Frenchman dwelt, who told the story to Mr. Carlier, French consul at Uskub. Under his protection, Methodius left for Salonika on April 13, whence he was sent to Sofia. The commission has in its possession a deposition signed by the foreign doctors of Salonika who saw and examined Methodius on April 15, and found his story 'entirely probable.' The Bulgarian leaders, intellectual and religious, of the revolutionary movement, having been removed, the population of the villages were directly approached and urged to change their nationality and proclaim themselves Servian or Greek."¹

It will thus be seen that while the Bulgarian forces were still fighting at Tchatalja and Adrianople, the Greeks and Servians, who were merely holding Macedonia for the allies, had already determined to

¹ *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Effects of the Balkan Wars.* Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C., 1914.

retain permanently the territories they occupied, in entire disregard of treaty obligations. That there was a secret understanding between Serbia and Greece, subsequent events clearly indicated. The Russophil Gueshoff and Daneff cabinets professed to believe in the sacredness of treaty obligations. But Serbia and Greece cared very little about such obligations and when the time for arbitration came they openly denounced the treaty and made it clear to Bulgaria that they would retain with the sword what they held. The partition treaty had, accordingly, been violated months before General Savoff issued the order that is usually supposed to have been the direct cause of the second Balkan war.

Another causal factor in the second Balkan war was the greed of Serbia and the vacillating policy of Mr. Pachitch, her prime minister. The creation of an autonomous Albania was certainly a great disappointment to Servian ambition; and this disappointment, it has been generally supposed, was what led her to form an alliance with Greece against her Slav neighbour. But the recent report of the Carnegie commission shows that "On September 28, 1912, that is to say, six and a half months after the conclusion of the treaty, and twenty days before the beginning of the first Balkan war, Serbia's representative received a secret circular demanding the incorporation in 'Old Serbia,' beyond the agreed frontier, of the towns of Prilep, Kitchevo and Ochrida. With the victories of the Servian army, the list of concessions demanded rapidly lengthened. Mr. Pachitch was still only talking of Prilep, the



SECOND BALKAN WAR: TROOPS MARCHING TO THE FRONT.

town of the legendary hero, Marko Kralievitch, when the army was asking for Monastir. When he asked for Monastir, the army insisted on a frontier coterminous with Greece. The government ended by accepting all the conditions laid down by the country, conditions that grew more and more exacting. The military party was powerful; it was led by the hereditary prince; and it invariably succeeded in overriding the first minister, always undecided, always temporizing and anxious to arrange everything pleasantly. The demands presented to the Bulgarians by Mr. Pachitch were as vague and indecisive as his home policy. He began in the autumn of 1912, by offering a revision of the treaty in the official organ. Then in December, in a private letter to his ambassador at Sofia, he informed Mr. Gueshoff, the head of the Bulgarian cabinet, that revision was necessary. In January his ideas as to the limits within which the said revision should take place, were still undecided. In February he submitted written proposals to the Bulgarian government, and suggested that revision might be undertaken 'without rousing public opinion or allowing the great powers to mix themselves up with the question of partition.' At this moment Mr. Pachitch could still fancy that he had the solution of the conflict in his hand. He was to lose this illusion. His colleague was already writing his 'Balcanicus' pamphlet, in which he took his stand on the clause *pacta servanda sunt*, with the reservation *rebus sic stantibus*, and pointing to the changes in the disposition of the allied armies between the two theatres

of war, as infractions of the treaty which must lead to revision. In his speech of May 29, Mr. Pachitch ended by accepting this reasoning. At the same time the military authorities in Macedonia had decided to hold on. On February 27, 1913 they told the population of Vélès that the town would remain in Servia. On April 3rd Major Razsoukanoff, Bulgarian attaché with the general staff of the Servian army at Uskub, told his government that his demands were not even answered with conditional phrases. 'This is provisional, until it has been decided to whom such and such a village belongs.' Major Razsoukanoff learned that at the instance of the general staff the Belgrade government had decided on the rivers Zletovska, Bregalnitsa and Lakavitsa as the definite eastern limit of the occupation territory. The interesting correspondence published by Balcanicus in his pamphlet refers to the forced execution of this resolution in the disputed territories during the month of March. We have here, on the one hand, the Bulgarian *komitadjis* begging, according to the advice of the above letter, for the arrival of the Bulgarian force, and trying in its absence, to do its work, well or ill; on the other, the Servian army, setting up Servian administration in the villages, closing the Bulgarian schools, driving out the *komitadjis* and 'reëstablishing order.' Between the two parties, contending in a time of peace, stood the population, forced to side with one or the other and naturally inclining to the stronger."

The Rumanian green book confirms the fact that

there was an agreement between Servia and Greece long before the outbreak of hostilities. As early as the 24th of March, 1913, the Servian ambassador at Bucharest proposed to Rumania a treaty of alliance against Bulgaria, and on the 2nd of May the Greek ambassador made the same proposition. It is now known that Greece and Servia entered into an alliance against Bulgaria as early as the 9th of March, although the convention was not concluded until the 16th of May. In the meantime the Servian general staff employed the time in fortifying the central position at Ovtché-Polé; and the Greeks, after increasing their Macedonian army by the addition of the regiments released by the capture of Janina, also tried to take up advanced positions in the area of the Bulgarian occupation at Pravichta and Nigrita. These steps were taken while the peace congress was still in session in London!

The Carnegie commission reports as follows concerning the next step taken by Servia: "On May 25, Mr. Pachitch finally despatched to Sofia propositions relative to the revision of the treaty. He justified the new Servian demands by two classes of reasons. First, the clauses of the treaty had been modified in application; secondly, external circumstances not foreseen by the treaty had profoundly changed its tenor. The clauses of the treaty had been violated by the fact that the Bulgarians had not given the Servians military assistance, while the Servians for their part had aided the Bulgarians. The refusal to leave the Adriatic on the part of the Servians, and the occupations of Adrianople and

Thrace by the Bulgarians, constituted two new violations of the treaty. Serbia then was entitled to territorial compensation; first, because the Bulgarians had not rendered the promised aid; second, because Serbia had assisted the Bulgarians; third, because Serbia had lost the Adriatic littoral while Bulgaria had acquired Thrace. This time Mr. Pachitch was in accord with public opinion. This same public opinion had its influence on the Bulgarian government. Since the treaty of February 29 remained secret, the public could not follow the juridical casuistry based on a commentary on this or that ambiguous phrase in the text. The public renounced the treaty *en bloc* and would have nothing to do with the 'contested zone.' If the Servians transgressed the terms of the treaty in their demands Bulgarian diplomatists greatly inclined to act in the same way. If the Servians demanded an outlet on the Ægean as a necessary condition of existence after the loss of their outlet on the Adriatic, and insisted on a coterminous frontier with Greece to secure it, M. Daneff left the allies and contravened the terms of the treaty when he laid before the powers in London a demand for a frontier coterminous with Albania in the Débra region. At the same time Mr. Daneff went against his ministerial colleagues and followed the military authorities in refusing to hand over Salonika. Russia appeared to have promised it him, after promising the Vardar plain to Serbia. Thus on the one hand complications and broils were being introduced by the perversion to megalomania of the National Ideal: on the other (this was the

standpoint of Gueshoff and Theodoroff), there was the endeavour to safeguard the alliance. With Serbia drawing near to Greece, Bulgaria had to join hands with Rumania if it were not to find itself isolated in the peninsula. This was what Austria-Hungary wanted, and it favoured the policy. Rumania accepted, but on condition of receiving the recompense assured it by a secret convention with Austria in the event of war with Bulgaria: annexation of the Tutrakan-Baltchik line. On these conditions Rumania would remain neutral; it even promised military assistance against Turkey! But Turkey was defeated and the ministry pretended not to desire war with the allies. Why then sacrifice the richest bit of Bulgarian territory? Austria's effort broke against these hypocritical and formal — or too simple — arguments. At bottom war was believed to be inevitable and Russia, it was thought, would do the rest. Russia threatened Bulgaria with Rumanian invasion, if it came to war. By the end of May, Russian diplomacy made a final effort to avoid conflict. While agreeing to play the part of arbiter within the limits of the alliance, Russia gave counsels of prudence. Go beyond the Servian demands for compensation, they said: despite the implicit promise the Servians made you of demanding nothing beyond what the treaty gave them, agree to cede some towns outside the 'contested zone,' 'beyond' the frontier which they had promised not to 'violate.'

“ This Russian solution, which could not satisfy the Servians, had not much chance of being accepted

by the Bulgarians. The attitude taken by Russia filled the opposing parties with some doubts as to the impartiality of its arbitration. The Servians were sure that Russia had not forgotten the Bulgaria of San Stefano and the Bulgarians could not use Macedonia as a medium of exchange on the international market. On both sides the conviction was reached that the issue must be sought in armed conflict."

Russia supported the lead of Bulgaria in the Balkan league so long as she regarded the alliance as an instrument against Austria. She evidently expected Turkey to win in the struggle; and then under the pretext of "saving the Balkans," she could fix her price for the service. But the success of Bulgaria in the first Balkan war disappointed her, and she accordingly determined to crush the independent upstart. Russia and Austria were as one as to the undoing of the Balkan league. Russia crushed it by crushing its heart — Bulgaria.

Gueshoff and Pachitch, the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Servia, at a meeting at Tsaribrod made one further effort to avert war; but nothing came of the conference. The tsar of Russia made a final effort to bring the two countries to a friendly solution of their difficulties. "On May 26, he sent a telegram to the kings of Servia and Bulgaria in which, while noting the suggested meeting at Salonika and its eventual continuation at St. Petersburg, he reminded them that they were bound to submit their findings to his arbitrament. He stated solemnly that 'the state which begins the war will



SECOND BALKAN WAR: OX TRAIN WITH WAR MATERIALS.

answer for its conduct to Slavism.' He reserved to himself entire freedom to decide what attitude Russia would take up in view of the 'possible consequences of this criminal strife.' The secret diplomatic correspondence explains this threat. If Serbia will not submit to Russian arbitration 'it will risk its existence.' If it is Bulgaria that resists, 'it will be attacked, in the war with the allies, by Rumania and Turkey.' "

Neither Serbia nor Bulgaria really cared for the intervention of the tsar of Russia. He was distrusted by both of the contestants. Mr. Gueshoff had resigned as prime minister of Bulgaria the 17th of May; and while the Daneff ministry was still engaged in *pourparlers* with Russia and the ex-allies, hostilities were precipitated by General Savoff by the provocation of the Servians. The military spirit was strong at both Sofia and Belgrade, and neither Mr. Daneff nor Mr. Pachitch possessed the qualities of which great statesmen are made. They yielded to an irresistible public pressure that reopened the bloody strife. As the report of the Carnegie commission well remarks in this connection: "A war of liberation became a war of conquest for the satisfaction of personal ambition: but its causes, too, lay in strategic necessities; in legitimate tendencies implicit in the traditional national policy; in the auto-hypnosis of a people which had never experienced a reverse and was intoxicated by successes, justly recognized by all the world for their military glory; in a misjudgment of their opponents based on well known facts in the past and

ignorance of the present; in a word in that profound belief in their cause and their star which is a part of the national character.”

General Savoff's plan of the second Balkan war was to surprise the Servians by throwing the principal weight of the Bulgarian army against the Servian home territory by the passes leading from northwest Bulgaria through the Balkan mountains. His aim was to cut off Servian forces in Macedonia from their base. After the attack had been ordered, the Russian government tried to stop the movement of the armies; and Daneff, in obedience to the wishes of St. Petersburg, ordered the retreat of the Bulgarian troops. The delay was fatal. Servia learned the direction of the Bulgarian march; hastily fortified the passes, and effected a union with the Greek army in Macedonia. At first successful, the Bulgarian army was checked and then thrown back by the reënforcements that Servia was able to push forward by railways and highways. Bulgaria had only the use of rough mountain roads. The Bulgarian troops were thrown on the defensive, and the operations assumed the character of a stationary holding contest, which prevented them from turning in force against the Greeks, the Rumanians, and the Turks.

On the 1st of July the Greeks fell upon the Bulgarian garrison at Salonika, massacred some of the soldiers and took the others prisoners. General Ivanoff commanded the Bulgarian forces in the south against the Greeks. His army was composed of thirty-three thousand soldiers, most of them un-

trained local levies who had enrolled eight weeks before. He was compelled to face a Greek force of one hundred twenty thousand troops. Finding himself outnumbered by nearly four to one, he prepared to retire from his base, when he was attacked at Kukush the 2nd of July. He drew in his extended wings and made an orderly retreat. He was two hundred miles from the Bulgarian frontier and nearly three hundred miles from his base of supplies, with no prospects of reënforcements for a month.

Seeing that matters were going badly with the Bulgars, Rumania decided to strike them in the back. She mobilized with great celerity the 5th of July, crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats and occupied Nikopol. Cholera and the rising of the river prevented her army from joining the forces of Servia, Greece, and Montenegro. The Bulgarians made no resistance to the invading Rumanian army. On the 12th of July the Turks took the offensive and began the reconquest of Thrace. Lule Burgas and Kirk Kilissé were taken the 21st of July and Adrianople recaptured the 22nd.

It was apparent that Bulgaria could not meet successfully the combined armies of five nations—Greece, Servia, Montenegro, Rumania, and Turkey. King Ferdinand appealed first to Europe and then to the tsar of Russia to mediate. Mr. Daneff, who had brought the country to the brink of destruction, resigned. An armistice was declared and negotiations were opened at Bucharest the 30th of July. The peace of Bucharest, signed the 10th of August,

brought to a close the war of Bulgaria with Servia, Greece, Montenegro, and Rumania; and peace with Turkey was concluded the 29th of September.

By the conditions of the treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria was forced to cede to Rumania 2,969 square miles of territory, containing 286,000 inhabitants, all but fifty thousand of whom are Bulgars. The wheat alone from this territory yields eight million dollars a year. Practically all of Macedonia was lost to Greece and Servia; and the treaty which was signed a few weeks later with Turkey deprived her of most of Thrace. The Bulgars were forced to accept these wicked and unjust treaties under *force majeure*, opposed as they were on all sides by enemies. But it must be the endeavour of the Bulgarian nation to annul at the earliest possible moment the unfair and humiliating treaty her delegates were forced to sign at Bucharest. Had Servia yielded Kotchana, Ishtip, and Radovishta, and Greece Kavala, the Bulgars might have regarded the Balkan question as closed. But the extreme coveteousness betrayed by her former allies at Bucharest makes reasonably certain a third Balkan war. For the moment the Bulgars accept their humiliation in grim silence, but they nurse with none the less determination a spirit of revenge for the manifest wrongs they have been forced to bear.

CHAPTER XI

ALLEGED BULGARIAN ATROCITIES

The press campaign of King Constantine of Greece — Isolation of Bulgaria during the second Balkan war — Personal experiences of the author — Testimony of refugees — What he saw in the Rilo and the Rhodope mountains — Accounts of atrocities published in *Le Temps* and the retraction — Bishops reported killed by the Greeks found alive by the Carnegie commission — How the Greeks forged the signature of an American missionary — Bulgaria demands the appointment of an international commission to investigate the atrocities of all the belligerents — Action of the Hague tribunal — Report of the Carnegie commission — Its findings at Doxato, Seres, and Demir Hissar — Responsibility of the Greeks — Charges by the Greeks of mutilation of bodies by Bulgarian soldiers pronounced false by the commission.

EARLY in July, 1913, a few days after the outbreak of hostilities between the Bulgarians and their former allies — the Greeks, the Servians, and the Montenegrins — King Constantine of Greece took the press of the world into his confidence and made grave and specific charges of atrocities against the soldiers in the Bulgarian army. In a dispatch addressed to the Greek legations in the capitals of Europe he threatened reprisals, and authorized his ministers to make his intentions known. During the month of fighting in the second Balkan war the animosity of the Greek troops was kept at a fever heat by the belief that the population of certain Greek towns had been subjected to pillage, outrage, and massacre by the Bulgars. At the time these charges were made Bulgaria was isolated and her telegraphic communications cut.

During the whole of the month of July Bulgaria was completely out of touch with the rest of the world. But from the 2nd of July the Greek press agents kept the newspapers of Europe and America supplied with letters and photographs that completely alienated the sympathy of civilized nations for the Bulgars. Unlike the Bulgarians, the Greeks welcomed war correspondents and every resource of publicity was placed at their disposal. As has been shown by the retractions that certain European journals have been forced to make, the foreign correspondents were spared the trouble of gathering and writing the alleged charges of Bulgarian atrocities. Greek press agents generously did this work for them.

It was not until after the termination of the second Balkan war that the Bulgars knew anything about the charges that the Greeks had made, as the five nations with whom they were at war — Greece, Servia, Montenegro, Rumania, and Turkey — cut off all postal communications. While there were practically no war correspondents in Bulgaria at the time, there happened to be a few Americans and Europeans who were spending the summer in the country. The author was one of these foreigners. He had reached Bulgaria the week before the outbreak of hostilities and he was one of the few non-combatants who succeeded in penetrating to the theatre of the war. He was with the Bulgarian army and was in sight of the Greek army; and both before and after the armistice that terminated the second Balkan war he visited parts of Macedonia that



MACEDONIAN REFUGEES IN THE MOUNTAINS NEAR ICHTIMAN.

had been occupied by both the Greek and Bulgarian forces.

The author found that in those parts of Macedonia through which the Greek army had marched the country was devastated. Grain-fields, vineyards, and all other sources of livelihood had been destroyed. In his travels in Bulgaria and in excursions in the Rilo and Rhodope mountains he met thousands of refugees who told him they were fleeing from the atrocities of the Greek army. Most of the refugees were women and children; they had walked through the mountains for many days, some of them for twenty-five days; most of them fled with only the clothing on their backs. He met a party of refugees in the mountains near Ichtiman. It numbered one hundred and five persons when they started from Macedonia, but in a march of twelve days, twenty-five of the children and one old man had died.

Bulgaria is separated from Macedonia by steep and rugged mountains that are crossed only by mountain trails and rude roads. This is a scene that the author was forced to witness practically every day that he spent in mountain travel during July and August: A party of refugees, old men, women, and children, pausing in their weary journey to put into the earth the body of a companion that had died of exhaustion; a trench a few feet deep was dug; tattered garments that could be spared by some members of the party served as shroud and casket; a few handfuls of earth covered the body; two twigs tied together with grass or roots provided the cross

that was left to mark the grave, and the homeless pilgrims resumed the hard march towards Bulgaria.

The author interviewed hundreds of these refugees. Their descriptions of atrocities committed by the Greeks were heartrending, and would have been incredible, but for the overwhelming testimony on all sides. This is the gist of the stories they told the author: We were urged not to leave our homes, that the Greeks would do us no harm. But when we lingered until the Greek troops arrived, our villages were surrounded, the cavalry in many places being employed for the purpose, and all those who attempted to escape were indiscriminately sabred, men, women, and children. In cases where seeming-friendly emissaries sent by the Greek army persuaded the villagers to linger, no mercy was shown. The men were compelled to give up to the Greek soldiers any arms that they possessed, after which they were shot. The pillagers gave themselves up to orgies of rape, which were terminated by the murder of the Bulgarian women they had ravished. A few escaped to tell the fate of the villagers that trusted to the promised mercy of the Greek emissaries. There was general agreement in their accounts of the fiendish conduct of the Greek soldiers. The narrators came from remote parts of Macedonia. They had left their villages by different routes and had crossed by passes in the Rilo and Rhodope mountains that were miles apart. Unthinkable as were the tales they told, collusion was even more unthinkable. The report of the commission appointed by the Hague tribunal to examine

the question of culpability for the atrocities committed in the second Balkan war verifies the tales told the author of this book by the hundreds of refugees that he interviewed.

Although the author had been in Bulgaria and Macedonia throughout the second Balkan war; had travelled freely about the country; and, as above related, had been told by eye-witnesses of outrages, tortures, and murders committed by the Greeks, his attention was first called to Greek charges of Bulgarian atrocities in August. He was visiting the Roman Catholic bishop at Rustchuk. A copy of *Le Temps* of Paris had somehow come into the hands of the prelate. It related with horrible reality the torture and murder of the Greek bishop of Doïran by the Bulgarian troops. The same journal gave an account of the murder of the Greek archbishop of Seres and of the terrible mutilation of the ecclesiastic. His ears and nose had been cut off; his eyes gouged out and other unmentionable mutilations had preceded his death. Correspondents of *Le Temps* stated that they personally participated in the military funerals that were given the two ecclesiastics by the Greek army; and that they had attended requiem masses said in repose of the souls of the bishop and the archbishop. *L'Illustration* of Paris reproduced photographs of the mutilated and murdered Greek prelates.

Through the quick wit of King Constantine and his press agents these and like charges of atrocities against the soldiers in the Bulgarian army were telegraphed to the leading newspapers not only of Paris,

but of Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, London, New York and scores of other large cities in Europe and America. In September *Le Temps* was forced to publish a retraction. A mummerly of the kind had really taken place for the benefit of its correspondents, but the ecclesiastics referred to in the published article in July were alive and well! The recently published report of the Carnegie commission says of the Greek bishop of Doïran: "We saw him vigorous and apparently alive two months afterwards" (that is, after the reported murder and burial); and concerning the torture and murder of the archbishop of Seres, the report remarks: "This distressing experience in no way caused this prelate to interrupt his duties, which he still performs." The murder of the bishop of Kavala was another tale of atrocity reported by the Greeks, and for the repose of whose soul requiem masses were celebrated. The Carnegie commission report says of him: "His flock welcomed him back to them while we were in Salonika."¹

The story of the archbishop of Seres, with a photograph of a murdered Bulgar stripped and re-clothed with Greek ecclesiastical vestments, was sent to several papers in the United States. The name of the Reverend E. B. Haskell, an American missionary at Salonika, was appended to the account as an eye-witness of the atrocities at Seres. The *Christian Herald* of New York published the ac-

¹ *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Cause and Effects of the Balkan Wars.* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington, D. C., 1914.

count. It was subsequently found that the signature of Mr. Haskell was a forgery. He had been induced by the Greeks to sign a petition for relief for the refugees, after which his signature was adroitly copied and appended to the article in question.

When Bulgaria learned of the charges that had been made by King Constantine and the newspaper correspondents that were with the Greek army she asked for the appointment of an international commission to make investigations of all atrocities committed by the belligerents in the second Balkan war. The Hague tribunal offered to select such a commission and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to finance it. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, senator of France and the French representative to the first and second Hague conferences, was selected as chairman of the commission of inquiry. His associates on the commission were Dr. Joseph Redlich, professor of jurisprudence in the University of Vienna; Dr. Walther Shucking, professor of law in the University of Marburg, Germany; Dr. Henry Noel Brailsford, editor of *The Nation* (London) and the best European authority on the races of Macedonia; Professor Paul Miloukov, a member of the Russian duma; Professor Samuel Train Dutton, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City, and Francis W. Hirst, editor of *The Economist*, of London.

The report of the Carnegie commission has just been published (May, 1914). Herbert L. Bridgman in an editorial in a leading American journal says of it:

“ The report of the Carnegie Balkan Commission is masterly and convincing. For many reasons it will make a profound impression throughout the world and become historic. Bulgaria has waited long for her vindication; but, at last, it has come and is emphatic. Betrayed, attacked, isolated and traduced by her treacherous allies, she asked investigation and confidently awaited the verdict, which rests upon exhaustive inquiry and bears every evidence that it is both competent and impartial. It should be borne in mind, too, that the commission presents the first opportunity to see the endowment in action, to witness the transmutation of ideas, theories and capital into actual results, and it may be frankly admitted that the outcome more than justifies the most sanguine hopes of its founders and friends and gives promise of a new and powerful force in shaping future events and opinions.

“ Here again Bulgaria overplayed her enemies, and by taking the initiative in a line of action altogether new and which may become an important precedent, commands universal respect and international good will. Greece slammed its door in the face of the commission on the ground that it had no jurisdiction. Servia gave it the ‘ frozen face ’ of scantiest courtesy and only in Bulgaria was it welcomed, and evidence of all sorts, official, secret and personal, placed at its command. Greek partisans and defenders, who have carried on in the press and capitals of Europe and America a campaign which for virulence and mendacity was a fit counterpart to the orgy of blood, lust, arson, and pillage in Macedonia, trans-

gressing even outward courtesy concerning the visit of Queen Eleanora of Bulgaria to America, will now have something else to engage their attention, and it will be interesting to see whether they can resist light and truth as violently as they defend and promulgate their opposites.

“ Interest in the report centres on two points — responsibility for the war of June and July between the allies, and for its consequent reign of terror in Macedonia — and on these the testimony is full and conclusive. That Serbia and Greece deliberately planned and negotiated to strike Bulgaria and to repudiate the treaties of 1912 is indisputable, and while Bulgaria did actually fire the first shot on the Bregalnitz, as did the Americans at Lexington, it has never been held against them that they brought on the Revolution. The report is particularly clear and explicit on this point and its narrative of the negotiations, for the first time plainly and consecutively set forth, are a most valuable contribution to history.

“ As to the Macedonian horrors the report is impartial and emphatic. In Seres, Doxato, Doïran and other towns during the interval between the withdrawal of the Bulgarian regulars and the Greek occupation riot and lawlessness prevailed, but when the Greek troops came the reign of terror began. To those who followed the tale, as it was reported at the time, it is sufficient to say that the commission, after personal examination, accepts as genuine the letters captured from the Greek soldiers, boasting of their unspeakable atrocities by order of their

officers, gives credence to the reports of barbarities to the wounded, murder of prisoners of war and brutalities to others, of firing on Red Cross and neutral flags, and, in short, declares that all the crimes which shocked humanity and challenged the credulity of the world are established by indisputable evidence. Details are given in abundance, not for the sake of sensational effect, but to demonstrate the awful, repulsive truth, and it will be impossible to break the force of this crushing indictment.

“ But the work of the commission and its report are much broader and deeper than disposition of the two immediate propositions which called it into existence. Balkan history, religions, politics, and social orders were all within its competent and impartial review; its report is a model of clear and logical discussion of these highly intricate and complex topics, and will at once take high and permanent rank as a masterpiece in this crowded field of literature. Besides its résumé of the past and analysis of the present it throws light forward, suggesting a commission to compel observance by belligerents of articles of war to which they have subscribed, repudiated and violated, as in the Balkan wars, and foreshadows the path of peace and prosperity in understanding and solidarity among nations antagonistic in race, religion, and social order. All these are vast and far-reaching questions, but the commission handles them with courage and sagacity, as men who are honestly striving to advance the day and establish peace on earth and good will to men. It is not



REFUGEES FROM SERES.

too much to say that the commission, the report and the endowment responsible for them have laid the world under large and lasting obligations.”¹

The Carnegie commission having shown that the charges made by King Constantine with reference to the torture and murder of the Greek bishops of Doïran and Kavala and the archbishop of Seres had no foundation in fact, it remains to ask what they found with reference to Greek charges of Bulgarian murder and pillage at Doxato, Seres, and Demir Hissar. For here, as in the charges with reference to the Greek prelates, names and dates are given; and as in the cases above examined, the charges are specific. It was the specific nature of the charges that led many Europeans and Americans to entertain the idea that the Bulgars must have pillaged, murdered, and raped as the Greek accounts charged.

The Carnegie commission made an exhaustive and impartial investigation with reference to alleged atrocities committed by Bulgarians at Doxato, Seres, and Demir Hissar. It says: “In forming an opinion upon the series of excesses which marked the Bulgarian withdrawal from southeastern Macedonia, it is necessary to recall the fact that the Bulgarians were here occupying a country whose population is mainly Greek and Turkish. The Bulgarian garrisons were small, and they found themselves on the outbreak of the second war in a hostile country. The Greek population of these regions is wealthy and intensely patriotic. In several Greek

¹ *Brooklyn Standard-Union*, the 18th of May, 1914.

centres insurgent organizations (*andartes*) existed. Arms had been collected, and some experienced guerilla chiefs were believed to be in hiding, and ready to lead the local population. All of this in existing conditions was creditable to Greek patriotism; their race was at war with Bulgarians, and the more enterprising and courageous among them intended to take their share as auxiliaries of the Greek army in driving the Bulgarians from their country. From a nationalist standpoint, this was morally their right and some might even say their duty. But it is equally clear that the Bulgarians, wherever they found themselves opposed by the armed civil population, had also a right to take steps to protect themselves. The steps which they elected to take in some places grossly exceeded the limits of legitimate defence or allowable reprisal."

With reference to the Doxato affair, the commission finds that five hundred persons (not two thousand as stated in the Greek charges) were killed. The depositions obtained "leave no doubt in the mind of the Commission that the Greeks had organized a formidable military movement among the local population; that Doxato was one of its centres; and that several hundreds of armed men were concentrated there. Provocation had been given not only by the wanton and barbarous slaughter by Greeks of Moslem non-combatants, but also by a successful attack at Doxato upon a Bulgarian convoy. There was, therefore, justification for the order given from the Bulgarian headquarters to attack the Greek insurgents concentrated in Doxato."

There was no doubt in the minds of the investigators that the massacre was the work of the Turks, and that the charges made by the Greeks that the Bulgars had given the Turks orders to massacre the Greeks were baseless. "But some part of the responsibility for the slaughter falls, none the less, upon the Bulgarian officers. They armed the Turks and left them in control of the village. They must have known what would follow. The employment of Turkish bashi-bozouks as allies against defenceless Christian villagers was an offence of which Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians were all guilty upon occasion. No officer in the Balkans could take this step without foreseeing that massacre must result from it.

"It is fair none the less to note that the Bulgarians were in a difficult position. They could not occupy the village permanently, for they were threatened by Greek columns marching from several quarters. To leave the Turks unarmed was to expose them to Greek excesses. To arm the Turks was, on the other hand, to condemn the Greek inhabitants to massacre. A culpable error of judgment was committed in circumstances which admitted only of a choice of evils. While emphasizing the heavy responsibility which falls on the Bulgarian officers for this catastrophe, we do not hesitate to conclude that *the massacre at Doxato was a Turkish and not a Bulgarian atrocity.*"

The findings of the commission with reference to the charges of Bulgarian atrocities at Seres are even more damaging to the Greeks. "Seres is the

largest town of the interior of eastern Macedonia. The tobacco trade had brought considerable wealth to its thirty thousand inhabitants; and it possessed in its churches, schools and hospitals the outward signs of the public spirit of its Greek community. The villages around it are Bulgarian to the north and west, but a rural Greek population approaches it from the south and east. The town itself is predominately Greek, with the usual Jewish and Turkish admixture. The Bulgarians formed but a small minority. From October to June the town was under a Bulgarian occupation; and, as the second war drew near, the relations of the garrison and the citizens became increasingly hostile. The Bulgarian authorities believed that the Greeks were arming secretly, that *andartes* (Greek insurgents) were concealed in the town, and that a revolt was in preparation. Five notables of the town were arrested on July 1 with the idea of intimidating the population. On Friday, July 4, the defeat of the Bulgarian forces to the south of Seres rendered the position untenable, and arrangements were made for the evacuation of the town. General Voulkoff, the governor of Macedonia, and his staff left on the evening of Saturday, July 5. The retirement was hastily planned and ill executed. There is evidence from Greeks and Turks, and from one of the American residents, Mr. Moore, that some of the troops found time to pillage before withdrawing. On the other hand, stores of Bulgarian munitions, including rifles, were abandoned in the town, and some of the archives were also left behind. We gather that there

was some conflict of authority among the superior Bulgarian officers.

“ The plain fact is that at this central point the organization and discipline of the Bulgarian troops broke down. Some excesses, as one would expect, undoubtedly occurred, but the Greek evidence on this matter is untrustworthy. Commandant Moustakoff believes that the notables who had been arrested were released. We find, on the other hand, in the semi-official Greek pamphlet *Atrocités Bulgares*, the statement that the bodies of four Greek notables were found outside the town killed by bayonet thrusts; among them was the corpse of the director of the Orient bank. For this assertion the authority of the Italian and Austrian consuls general of Salonika is claimed. The member of our commission who visited Seres had the pleasure of meeting this gentleman, Mr. Ghiné, alive, well, and unharmed, and enjoyed his hospitality. Such discoveries as this are a warning that even official Greek statements regarding these events must be subjected to careful scrutiny.

“ The main body of the Bulgarian garrison, with the headquarters, withdrew from Seres on Saturday, July 5. A panic followed, and a squadron of dismounted Bulgarian cavalry paraded the town to maintain order. The Greek irregulars and armed citizens were already under arms, and fired from some of the houses at this squadron. It camped that night outside the town, and entered it again on Sunday, but apparently without attempting to maintain complete control. On Monday, July 7 (if not on

Sunday), the effective authority passed into the hands of the local Greeks. The archbishop was recognized as governor of the town, and at his palace there sat in permanence a commission of the local inhabitants. Thirty armed Greeks wearing the *evzone* (highlander) uniform, who were, however, probably irregulars (*andartes*), had arrived in Seres, and one witness states that they were under the command of Captain Doukas. A Russian doctor in the Bulgarian sanitary service, who was left in the town, heard on Monday a Greek priest summoning the inhabitants to the bishop's palace, where arms were distributed, first to the Greeks, and later to the Turks. From Monday morning to Thursday evening these Greek irregulars and the citizen militia which they organized were in possession of the town. Thrice they were threatened by small Bulgarian detachments, which returned and skirmished on the hills outside the town and at the distant railway station. But these Bulgarian scouts were not in sufficient force to enter the town. A telegram dispatched on Thursday by the archbishop to King Constantine begs him to hasten to occupy the town, which is, he says, defending itself successfully against the attacks of the Bulgarians. He mentions that he is governing the town, and states that it has been abandoned for a week by the Bulgarian authorities. He fears, however, that the citizens' power of resistance may soon be exhausted. These rather aimless Bulgarian attacks must have contributed to excite the local Greeks, and to inflame a spirit of vengeance.

“The main concern of the archbishop’s Greek militia during this week was apparently to hunt down the Bulgarian population within the town and in some of the neighbouring villages. It is conceivable that this measure may have been dictated in the first instance by the fear that the small Bulgarian minority inside Seres would coöperate with the enemy who attacked it from without. An armed Greek mob followed a few uniformed men from house to house, threatening the Bulgarians and all who should assist them to hide. Their houses were pillaged and their wives ill treated, while the men were arrested and taken singly or in batches to the bishop’s palace; there they were brought before a commission of laymen over whom a priest presided. Whatever money they possessed was taken from them by this priest, and the only question asked about them was, whether they were or were not Bulgarians. This process was witnessed by Dr. Klugmann, and the testimony of this Russian doctor entirely confirms that of our Bulgarian peasant witnesses. From the bishopric the prisoners were taken to the neighbouring Greek girls’ high school. In the school they were closely confined in several rooms by fifties and sixties. Fresh batches arrived continuously from the town and from the villages, until the total number of imprisoned Bulgarians reached two hundred or two hundred and fifty. The gaolers were in part citizens of Seres, some of whom can be named, and in part uniformed irregulars. From the first they behaved with gross cruelty. The prisoners were tightly bound and beaten with the butt ends of rifles. The plan of

the gaolers was apparently to slaughter their prisoners in batches, and they were led two by two to an upper room, where they were killed, usually by repeated wounds in the head and neck inflicted with a butcher's knife or a Martini bayonet. Each of the butchers aimed at accounting for fourteen men, which was apparently the number which each could bury during the night. The massacre went on in this leisurely way until Friday, the 11th. The prisoners included a few captured Bulgarian soldiers, a few peasants taken with arms in their hands, and at least one local Bulgarian, Christo Dimitroff, who was known to be an active associate of the Bulgarian bands. The immense majority were, however, inoffensive tradesmen or peasants whose only offence was that they were Bulgarians. Among them were four women, who were killed with the rest. The only mitigating circumstance is that five lads were released in pity for their youth, after seeing their fathers killed before their eyes. We are unwilling to dwell on the detailed barbarities of this butchery, of which more than enough is recorded in the appendices.

“ We must here anticipate a part of the narrative to explain that in the early morning of Friday, July 11, a Bulgarian regular force with cavalry and light artillery reached Seres, engaged the militia outside the town, defeated it, and began toward noon to penetrate into the town itself. There were still sixty or seventy of the Bulgarian prisoners alive, and their gaolers, alarmed by the sound of cannon in the distance, resolved to finish their work rapidly. Two

at least of the Bulgarian prisoners contrived to overpower the sentinels and escaped. Some of them, however, were bound and others were too enfeebled or too terrified to save themselves. They were led to the slaughter by fours and fives, but the killing this day was inefficient, and at least ten of the prisoners fell among the heaps of corpses, severely wounded indeed, but still alive. They recovered consciousness in the early afternoon, to realize that their gaolers had fled, that the town was on fire, and that the Bulgarian troops were not far distant. Ten of them struggled out of the school, and eight had strength enough to reach safety and their countrymen.

“ The commission saw three of these fugitives from the Seres massacre, who all bore the fresh scars of their wounds. These wounds, chiefly in the head and neck, could have been received only at close quarters. They were such wounds as a butcher would inflict, who was attempting to slaughter men as he would slaughter sheep. The evidence of these three, given separately, was mutually consistent. We questioned a fourth witness, the lad Blagoi Petrov, who was released. We were also supplied with the written depositions, backed by photographs showing their injuries, of three other wounded survivors of the massacre, who had found refuge in distant parts of Bulgaria which we were unable to visit. Among these was George Beleff, a Protestant, to whose honesty and high character the American missionaries of Samokov paid a high tribute. The written depositions of the two men who escaped by

rushing the sentinels afforded another element of confirmation. Dr. Klugmann's evidence, given to us in person, is valuable as a description of the way in which the Bulgarian civilians of Seres were hunted down and arrested. The commission finds this evidence irresistible, and is forced to conclude that a massacre of Bulgarians to the number of about two hundred, most of them inoffensive and non-combatant civilians, was carried out in Seres by the Greek militia with revolting cruelty. The victims were arrested and imprisoned under the authority of the archbishop. It is possible that he may have been misled by his subordinates, and that they may have disobeyed his orders. But the fact that when he visited the prison on Thursday, he assured the survivors that their lives would be spared, suggests that he knew that they were in danger.

“ The last stage of the episode of Seres began on Friday, the 11th. Partly because they had left large stores of munitions in the town, partly because rumours of the schoolhouse massacre had reached them, the Bulgarians were anxious to reoccupy the town. Their small detachments had been repulsed, and it was with a battalion and a half of infantry, a squadron of horse and four guns, that Commandant Kirpikoff marched against Seres from Zernovo, and at dawn approached the hills which command it. He overcame the resistance of the Greek militia posted to the number of about one thousand men on the hills, without much difficulty. In attempting toward noon to penetrate into the town, his troops

met with a heavy fire from several large houses held by the Greeks. Against these he finally used his guns. From noon onward the town was in flames at several points. The commandant does not admit that his shells caused the conflagration, but in this matter probability is against him. One witness, George Belleff, states that the schoolhouse was set on fire by a shell. The commandant states further that the Greeks themselves, who were as reckless as the Bulgarians, fired certain houses which contained their own stores of munitions. It is probable that the Bulgarians also set on fire the buildings in which their own stores were housed. Both Greeks and Bulgarians state that a high wind was blowing during the afternoon. Seres was a crowded town, closely built in the Oriental fashion, with houses constructed mainly of wood. The summer had been hot and dry. It is not surprising that the town blazed. We must give due weight to the belief universally held by the Greek inhabitants that the town was deliberately set on fire by the Bulgarian troops. The inhabitants for the most part had fled, and few of them saw what happened; but one eye-witness states that the soldiers used petroleum and acted on a systematic plan. This witness is a local Turk who had taken service under the Bulgarians as a police officer while they were still at war with his country. That is not a record which inspires confidence. On the other hand, Dr. Yankoff, a legal official who accompanied the Bulgarian troops, states that he personally made efforts to check the flames.

“ The general impression conveyed by all the evidence before us, and especially that of the Russian Dr. Laznev, is that the Bulgarian troops were hotly engaged throughout the afternoon, first with the Greek militia and then with the main Greek army. The Greek forces advanced in large numbers and with artillery from two directions to relieve the town, and compelled the Bulgarians to retreat before sundown. Their shells also fell in the town. The Bulgarians were not in undisturbed possession for so much as an hour, and it is difficult to believe that they can have had leisure for much systematic incendiarism. On the other hand, it is indisputable that some Bulgarian villagers who followed the troops did deliberately burn houses, and that a mob comprised partly of Bulgarians and partly of Turks pillaged and burned while the troops were fighting. It is probable that some of the Bulgarian troops, who seem to have been, as at Doxato, a very mixed force which included some Pomak (Moslem) levies, joined in this work. The Bulgarians knew that the Greeks were burning their villages, and some of them had heard of the schoolhouse massacre. Any soldiers in the world would think of vengeance under these conditions.

“ To sum up, we must conclude that the Greek quarter of Seres was burned by the Bulgarians in the course of their attack on the town, but the evidence before us does not suffice to establish the Greek accusation, that the burning was a part of the plan conceived by the Bulgarian headquarters. But unquestionably the whole conduct both of the attack

and of the defence contributed to bring about the conflagration, and some of the attacking force did undoubtedly burn houses. There is, in short, no trustworthy evidence of premeditated or official incendiarism, but the responsibility for the burning of Seres none the less falls mainly upon the Bulgarian army. The result was the destruction of four thousand out of six thousand houses, the impoverishment of a large population, and in all likelihood the painful death of many of the aged and infirm, who could not make good their escape. The episode of Seres is deeply discreditable alike to Greeks and Bulgarians."

It remains to notice the charges of Bulgarian atrocities at Demir Hissar; and the finding of the Carnegie commission on this count is of special importance because Demir Hissar was used as a pretext for the reprisals of the Greek army at the expense of the Bulgarian population in accordance with the order from King Constantine already quoted. An extremely damaging bit of evidence brought out in the commission's report is the fact that the Greek atrocities against defenceless Bulgars "*began in and around Kukush some days before the Bulgarian provocation at Demir Hissar!*"

The commission concludes that excesses were committed by both Greeks and Bulgarians at Demir Hissar. "The Bulgarian army, beaten in the south, was fleeing in some disorder through Demir Hissar to the narrow defile of the Struma above this little town. The Greeks of the town, seeing their confusion, determined to profit by it, took up arms and

fell upon the Bulgarian wounded, the baggage trains, and the fugitive peasants. They rose too soon and exposed themselves to Bulgarian reprisals. When the Greek army at length marched in, it found a scene of carnage and horror. The Greek inhabitants had slaughtered defenceless Bulgarians, and the Bulgarian rear-guard had exacted vengeance.

“The case of the bishop has naturally attracted attention. Of the four Greek bishops who were said to have been killed in Macedonia, he alone was in fact killed. There is nothing improbable in the Bulgarian statement that he was the leader of the Greek insurgents, nor even in the further allegation that he fired the first shot. The bishops of Macedonia, whether Greeks or Bulgarians, are always the recognized political heads of their community; they are often in close touch with the rebel bands, and a young and energetic man will sometimes place himself openly at their head. The Bulgarians allege that the bishop, a man of forty years of age, fired from his window at their troops. The Greeks admit that he ‘resisted’ arrest. If it is true that he was found with a revolver, from which some cartridges had been fired, there was technical justification for regarding him as a combatant. The hard law of war sanctions the execution of civilians taken with arms in their hands. There is no reason to reject the Greek statement that his body was mutilated, dead or alive. But the Greek assertion that this was done by a certain Captain Bostanov is adequately met by the Bulgarian denial that any such officer exists.

“ Some of the men in the Greek list of dead were presumably armed inhabitants who engaged in the street fighting. Nine are young men of twenty and thereabouts and some are manual labourers. Clearly these are not ‘ notables ’ collected for a deliberate massacre. On the other hand, six are men of sixty years and upwards, who are not likely to have been combatants. These leaders of the Greek community were evidently arrested on suspicion of fomenting the outbreak and summarily ‘ executed.’ It was a lawless proceeding without form of trial, and the killing was evidently done in the most brutal way. We are far from feeling any certainty regarding the course of events at Demir Hissar. *There was clearly not an unprovoked massacre as the Greeks allege.* But there did follow on the cowardly excesses of the Greek inhabitants against the Bulgarian wounded and fugitives, indefensible acts of reprisal, and a lawless and brutal slaughter of men who may have deserved some more regular punishment.

“ The events at Doxato and Demir Hissar, with the burning of Seres, form the chief counts in the Greek indictment of the Bulgarians. The other items refer mainly to single acts of violence charged against individuals in many places over a great range of territory. These minor charges we have not investigated, since they rarely involved an accusation against the army as a whole or its superior officers. We regret that we were unable to visit Nigrita, a large village, which was burned during the fighting which raged around it. Many of the

inhabitants are said to have perished in the flames. We think it proper to place on record, without any expression of opinion, the Greek belief that this place was deliberately burned by the Bulgarians. We note also the statement made by a Greek soldier in a captured letter that more than a thousand Bulgarian prisoners were slaughtered there by the Greek army. We have also before us the signed statement of a leading Moslem of the Nigrita district to the effect that after the second war the Greeks drove the Moslems from the surrounding villages with gross violence, because they had been neutral in the conflict, and took possession of their lands and houses.

“ It remains to mention the charge repeatedly made by some of the diplomatic representatives of Greece in European capitals, that the fingers and ears of women were found in the pockets of captured Bulgarian soldiers. We need hardly insist on the inherent improbability of this vague story. Such relics would soon become a nauseous possession, and a soldier about to surrender would, one supposes, endeavour to throw away such damning evidence of his guilt. The only authority quoted for this accusation is a correspondent of the *Times*. We saw the gentleman in question at Salonika, a Greek journalist, who was acting as deputy for the *Times* correspondent. He had the story from Greek soldiers, and did not himself see the fingers and ears. The headquarters of the Greek army, which lost no opportunity of publishing facts likely to damage the Bulgarians, would presumably have published

this accusation also, with the necessary details, had it been capable of verification. Until it is backed by further evidence, the story is unworthy of belief.

“The case against the Bulgarians which remains after a critical examination of the evidence relating to Doxato, Seres, and Demir Hissar is sufficiently grave. In each case the Bulgarians acted under provocation, and in each case the accusation is grossly exaggerated, but their reprisals were none the less lawless and unmeasured. It is fair, however, to point out that these three cases, even on the worst view which may be taken of them, are far from supporting the general statements of some Greek writers, that the Bulgarians, in their withdrawal from southern Macedonia and western Thrace, followed a general policy of devastation and massacre. They held five considerable Græco-Turkish towns in this area, and many smaller places — Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Gumurjina, and Dedea-gatch. In none of these did the Bulgarians burn and massacre, though some acts of violence occurred. The wrong they did leaves a sinister blot upon their record, but it must be viewed in its just proportions.”

CHAPTER XII

GREEK ATROCITIES IN THE BALKAN WARS

Responsibility of the Greek press in inciting feelings of hatred against the Bulgars — The order of King Constantine for Greek reprisals antedated the alleged Bulgarian provocation — Sacking and burning Kukush by the Greeks — Tales of torture by Macedonian refugees — Catholic priests and Armenian doctors flogged for money — Attempts of Greek soldiers to violate nuns — Damaging evidence of the letters found in the Razlog district of Macedonia — Greek soldiers boast of their cruelties — One hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages burned by the Greeks.

THE Greeks were quite willing that the atrocities of the Bulgarian soldiers should be investigated by the Carnegie commission; but it was quite otherwise when the commission sought to investigate the atrocities that had been committed by the defenders of Hellenism. "It was a matter for wonder and for some reflection," writes Professor William M. Sloane of Columbia University, "when there began to emanate from Greek sources long telegraphic dispatches calling the attention of the civilized world to the atrocities permitted by Bulgaria. The question was, had the Greeks been practising the guile for which of old they were renowned, and taking a leaf from the Bulgarian book? The agents they dispatched with much publicity to investigate the shameful deeds of others about which there was no question, might possibly have been better employed in investigating their own kinsfolk and ending for



MACEDONIANS FLEEING GREEK ATROCITIES.

ever the activities of both the Greek and the Turkish *komitadjis* along the frontiers of the northeast.”¹

In spite of the veiled opposition of the Greek government to the investigation by the Carnegie commission of the atrocities of its soldiers, such an investigation was, nevertheless, made, and the findings of the commission are embodied in the following paragraphs: “It required no artificial incitement to produce the race-hatred which explains the excesses of the Christian allies, and more especially of the Bulgarians toward the Turks. Race, language, history, and religion have made a barrier which only the more tolerant minds of either creed are able wholly to surmount. It is less easy to explain the excesses of which Greeks and Bulgarians were guilty toward each other. The two races are sharply distinguished by temperament. A traditional enmity has divided them from the dawn of history, and this is aggravated in Macedonia by a certain social cleavage. But for a year the two races had been allies, united against a common enemy. When policy dictated a breach, it was necessary to prepare public opinion; and the Greek press, as if by a common impulse, devoted itself to this work. To the rank and file of all three Balkan armies, the idea of a fratricidal war was at first repugnant and inexplicable. The passions of the Greek army were roused by a daily diet of violent articles. The Greek press had had little to say regarding the Bulgarian excesses against the Turks while the facts were still

¹ *The Balkans: a Laboratory of History.* By William M. Sloane. New York, 1914, pp. 322.

fresh, and indeed none of the allies had the right to be censorious, for none of their records were clean. Now everything was dragged into the light, and the record of the Bulgarian bands, deplorable in itself, lost nothing in the telling. Day after day the Bulgarians were represented as a race of monsters, and public feeling was roused to a pitch of chauvinism which made it inevitable that war, when it came, should be ruthless. In talk and in print one phrase summed up the general feeling of the Greeks toward the Bulgarians, '*Dhen einai anthro-poi!*' (They are not human beings). In their excitement and indignation the Greeks came to think of themselves as the appointed avengers of civilization against a race which stood outside the pale of humanity.

“ When an excitable southern race, which has been schooled in Balkan conceptions of vengeance, begins to reason in this way, it is easy to predict the consequences. Deny that your enemies are men, and presently you will treat them as vermin. Only half realizing the full meaning of what he said, a Greek officer remarked to the writer, ‘ When you have to deal with barbarians, you must behave like a barbarian yourself. It is the only thing they understand.’ The Greek army went into the war, its mind inflamed with anger and contempt. A gaudily coloured print, which we saw in the streets of Salonika and the Piræus, eagerly bought by the Greek soldiers returning to their homes, reveals the depth of the brutality to which this race-hatred had sunk them. It shows a Greek *evzone* (highlander) hold-

ing a living Bulgarian soldier with both hands, while he gnaws the face of his victim with his teeth, like some beast of prey. It is entitled the *Bulgarophagos* (Bulgar-eater), and is adorned with the following verses :

“ ‘The sea of fire which boils in my breast
And calls for vengeance with the savage waves of my soul,
Will be quenched when the monsters of Sofia are still,’
And thy life blood extinguishes my hate.’

“ Another popular battle picture shows a Greek soldier gouging out the eyes of a living Bulgarian. A third shows as an episode of a battle scene the exploit of the Bulgar-eater.

“ As an evidence of the feeling which animated the Greek army these things have their importance. They mean, in plain words, that Greek soldiers wished to believe that they and their comrades perpetrated bestial cruelties. A print seller who issued such pictures in a western country would be guilty of a gross libel on its army.

“ The excesses of the Greek army began on July 4 with the first conflict at Kukush (Kilkis). A few days later the excesses of the Bulgarians at Doxato (July 13), Seres (July 11), and Demir Hissar (July 7) were known and still further inflamed the anger of the Greeks. On July 12 King Constantine announced in a dispatch which reported the slaughter at Demir Hissar that he ‘ found himself obliged with profound regret to proceed to reprisals.’ *A comparison of dates will show that the Greek ‘ reprisals ’ had begun some days before the Bulgarian ‘ provocation.’*

“ It was with the defeat of the little Bulgarian army at Kukush, after a stubborn three days’ defence against a superior Greek force, that the Greek campaign assumed the character of a war of devastation. The Greek army entered the town of Kukush on July 4. We do not propose to lay stress on the evidence of Bulgarian witnesses regarding certain events which preceded their entry. Shells fell outside the town among groups of fugitive peasants from the villages, while within the town shells fell in the orphanage and hospital conducted by the French Catholic sisters under the protection of the French flag. It is possible and charitable to explain such incidents as the effect of an unlucky chance. The evidence of European eye-witnesses confirms the statements of the Bulgarian refugees on one crucial point. These shells caused no general conflagration, and it is doubtful whether more than three or four houses were set on fire by them. When the Greek army entered Kukush it was still intact. It is to-day a heap of ruins — as a member of the commission reports, after a visit to which the Greek authorities opposed several obstacles. It was a prosperous town of thirteen thousand inhabitants, the centre of a purely Bulgarian district and the seat of several flourishing schools. The bent standards of its electric lamps still testify to the efforts which it had made to attain a level of material progress unusual in Turkey. That its destruction was deliberate admits of no doubt. The great majority of the inhabitants fled before the arrival of the Greeks. About four hundred, chiefly old people and children,

had found shelter in the Catholic orphanage, and were not molested. European eye-witnesses describe the systematic entry of the Greek soldiers into house after house. Any of the inhabitants who were found inside were first evicted, pillage followed, and then, usually after a slight explosion, the house burst into flames. Fugitives continued to arrive in the orphanage while the town was burning, and several women stated that they had been violated by Greek soldiers. In one case a soldier, more chivalrous than his comrades, brought a woman to the orphanage whom he had saved from violation. Some civilians were killed by the Greek cavalry as they rode in, and many lives were lost in the course of the sacking and burning of Kukush. We have received a detailed list from a Bulgarian source of seventy-four inhabitants who are believed to have been killed. Most of them are old women, and eleven are babies.

“ The main fact on which we must insist is that the Greek army inaugurated the second war by the deliberate burning of a Bulgarian town. A singular fact which has some bearing on Greek policy is that the refugees who took shelter in the French orphanage were still, on September 6, long after the conclusion of peace, closely confined as prisoners within it, though hardly a man among them is capable of bearing arms. A notice in Greek on its outer door states that they are forbidden to leave its precincts. Meanwhile, Greek (or rather ‘ Grecoman ’) refugees from Strumnitza were being installed on the sites of the houses which once belonged to Bulgarians, and in the few buildings (perhaps a dozen in number)

which escaped the flames. The inference is irresistible. In conquering the Kukush district, the Greeks were resolved to have no Bulgarian subjects.

“ The precedent of Kukush was only too faithfully followed in the villages. In the caza (county) of Kukush alone no less than forty Bulgarian villages were burned by the Greek army in its northward march. Detachments of cavalry went from village to village, and the work of the regulars was completed by bashi-bozouks. It was a part of the Greek plan of campaign to use the local Turkish population as an instrument in the work of devastation. In some cases they were armed and even provided with uniforms. In no instance, however, of which we have a record, were the Turks solely responsible for the burning of a village. They followed the Greek troops and acted under their protection. We have no means of ascertaining whether any general order was given which regulated the burning of the Bulgarian villages. A Greek sergeant among the prisoners of war in Sofia, stated in reply to a question which a member of the commission put to him, that he and his comrades burned the villages around Kukush because the inhabitants had fled. It is a fact that one mainly Catholic village (Todoraki), in which most of the inhabitants remained, was not burned, though it was thoroughly pillaged. But the fate of other villages, notably Akanjeli, in which the inhabitants not only remained, but even welcomed the Greek troops, disposes of this explanation. Whatever may have been the terms of the orders under which the Greek

met with a heavy fire from several large houses held by the Greeks. Against these he finally used his guns. From noon onward the town was in flames at several points. The commandant does not admit that his shells caused the conflagration, but in this matter probability is against him. One witness, George Beleff, states that the schoolhouse was set on fire by a shell. The commandant states further that the Greeks themselves, who were as reckless as the Bulgarians, fired certain houses which contained their own stores of munitions. It is probable that the Bulgarians also set on fire the buildings in which their own stores were housed. Both Greeks and Bulgarians state that a high wind was blowing during the afternoon. Seres was a crowded town, closely built in the Oriental fashion, with houses constructed mainly of wood. The summer had been hot and dry. It is not surprising that the town blazed. We must give due weight to the belief universally held by the Greek inhabitants that the town was deliberately set on fire by the Bulgarian troops. The inhabitants for the most part had fled, and few of them saw what happened; but one eye-witness states that the soldiers used petroleum and acted on a systematic plan. This witness is a local Turk who had taken service under the Bulgarians as a police officer while they were still at war with his country. That is not a record which inspires confidence. On the other hand, Dr. Yankoff, a legal official who accompanied the Bulgarian troops, states that he personally made efforts to check the flames.

“ The general impression conveyed by all the evidence before us, and especially that of the Russian Dr. Laznev, is that the Bulgarian troops were hotly engaged throughout the afternoon, first with the Greek militia and then with the main Greek army. The Greek forces advanced in large numbers and with artillery from two directions to relieve the town, and compelled the Bulgarians to retreat before sundown. Their shells also fell in the town. The Bulgarians were not in undisturbed possession for so much as an hour, and it is difficult to believe that they can have had leisure for much systematic incendiarism. On the other hand, it is indisputable that some Bulgarian villagers who followed the troops did deliberately burn houses, and that a mob comprised partly of Bulgarians and partly of Turks pillaged and burned while the troops were fighting. It is probable that some of the Bulgarian troops, who seem to have been, as at Doxato, a very mixed force which included some Pomak (Moslem) levies, joined in this work. The Bulgarians knew that the Greeks were burning their villages, and some of them had heard of the schoolhouse massacre. Any soldiers in the world would think of vengeance under these conditions.

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and of the defence contributed to bring about the conflagration, and some of the attacking force did undoubtedly burn houses. There is, in short, no trustworthy evidence of premeditated or official incendiarism, but the responsibility for the burning of Seres none the less falls mainly upon the Bulgarian army. The result was the destruction of four thousand out of six thousand houses, the impoverishment of a large population, and in all likelihood the painful death of many of the aged and infirm, who could not make good their escape. The episode of Seres is deeply discreditable alike to Greeks and Bulgarians.''

It remains to notice the charges of Bulgarian atrocities at Demir Hissar; and the finding of the Carnegie commission on this count is of special importance because Demir Hissar was used as a pretext for the reprisals of the Greek army at the expense of the Bulgarian population in accordance with the order from King Constantine already quoted. An extremely damaging bit of evidence brought out in the commission's report is the fact that the Greek atrocities against defenceless Bulgars "*began in and around Kukush some days before the Bulgarian provocation at Demir Hissar!*"

The commission concludes that excesses were committed by both Greeks and Bulgarians at Demir Hissar. "The Bulgarian army, beaten in the south, was fleeing in some disorder through Demir Hissar to the narrow defile of the Struma above this little town. The Greeks of the town, seeing their confusion, determined to profit by it, took up arms and

fell upon the Bulgarian wounded, the baggage trains, and the fugitive peasants. They rose too soon and exposed themselves to Bulgarian reprisals. When the Greek army at length marched in, it found a scene of carnage and horror. The Greek inhabitants had slaughtered defenceless Bulgarians, and the Bulgarian rear-guard had exacted vengeance.

“The case of the bishop has naturally attracted attention. Of the four Greek bishops who were said to have been killed in Macedonia, he alone was in fact killed. There is nothing improbable in the Bulgarian statement that he was the leader of the Greek insurgents, nor even in the further allegation that he fired the first shot. The bishops of Macedonia, whether Greeks or Bulgarians, are always the recognized political heads of their community; they are often in close touch with the rebel bands, and a young and energetic man will sometimes place himself openly at their head. The Bulgarians allege that the bishop, a man of forty years of age, fired from his window at their troops. The Greeks admit that he ‘resisted’ arrest. If it is true that he was found with a revolver, from which some cartridges had been fired, there was technical justification for regarding him as a combatant. The hard law of war sanctions the execution of civilians taken with arms in their hands. There is no reason to reject the Greek statement that his body was mutilated, dead or alive. But the Greek assertion that this was done by a certain Captain Bostanov is adequately met by the Bulgarian denial that any such officer exists.

“ Some of the men in the Greek list of dead were presumably armed inhabitants who engaged in the street fighting. Nine are young men of twenty and thereabouts and some are manual labourers. Clearly these are not ‘ notables ’ collected for a deliberate massacre. On the other hand, six are men of sixty years and upwards, who are not likely to have been combatants. These leaders of the Greek community were evidently arrested on suspicion of fomenting the outbreak and summarily ‘ executed.’ It was a lawless proceeding without form of trial, and the killing was evidently done in the most brutal way. We are far from feeling any certainty regarding the course of events at Demir Hissar. *There was clearly not an unprovoked massacre as the Greeks allege.* But there did follow on the cowardly excesses of the Greek inhabitants against the Bulgarian wounded and fugitives, indefensible acts of reprisal, and a lawless and brutal slaughter of men who may have deserved some more regular punishment.

“ The events at Doxato and Demir Hissar, with the burning of Seres, form the chief counts in the Greek indictment of the Bulgarians. The other items refer mainly to single acts of violence charged against individuals in many places over a great range of territory. These minor charges we have not investigated, since they rarely involved an accusation against the army as a whole or its superior officers. We regret that we were unable to visit Nigrita, a large village, which was burned during the fighting which raged around it. Many of the

inhabitants are said to have perished in the flames. We think it proper to place on record, without any expression of opinion, the Greek belief that this place was deliberately burned by the Bulgarians. We note also the statement made by a Greek soldier in a captured letter that more than a thousand Bulgarian prisoners were slaughtered there by the Greek army. We have also before us the signed statement of a leading Moslem of the Nigrita district to the effect that after the second war the Greeks drove the Moslems from the surrounding villages with gross violence, because they had been neutral in the conflict, and took possession of their lands and houses.

“ It remains to mention the charge repeatedly made by some of the diplomatic representatives of Greece in European capitals, that the fingers and ears of women were found in the pockets of captured Bulgarian soldiers. We need hardly insist on the inherent improbability of this vague story. Such relics would soon become a nauseous possession, and a soldier about to surrender would, one supposes, endeavour to throw away such damning evidence of his guilt. The only authority quoted for this accusation is a correspondent of the *Times*. We saw the gentleman in question at Salonika, a Greek journalist, who was acting as deputy for the *Times* correspondent. He had the story from Greek soldiers, and did not himself see the fingers and ears. The headquarters of the Greek army, which lost no opportunity of publishing facts likely to damage the Bulgarians, would presumably have published

this accusation also, with the necessary details, had it been capable of verification. Until it is backed by further evidence, the story is unworthy of belief.

“ The case against the Bulgarians which remains after a critical examination of the evidence relating to Doxato, Seres, and Demir Hissar is sufficiently grave. In each case the Bulgarians acted under provocation, and in each case the accusation is grossly exaggerated, but their reprisals were none the less lawless and unmeasured. It is fair, however, to point out that these three cases, even on the worst view which may be taken of them, are far from supporting the general statements of some Greek writers, that the Bulgarians, in their withdrawal from southern Macedonia and western Thrace, followed a general policy of devastation and massacre. They held five considerable Græco-Turkish towns in this area, and many smaller places — Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Gumurjina, and Dedea-gatch. In none of these did the Bulgarians burn and massacre, though some acts of violence occurred. The wrong they did leaves a sinister blot upon their record, but it must be viewed in its just proportions.”

CHAPTER XII

GREEK ATROCITIES IN THE BALKAN WARS

Responsibility of the Greek press in inciting feelings of hatred against the Bulgars — The order of King Constantine for Greek reprisals antedated the alleged Bulgarian provocation — Sacking and burning Kukush by the Greeks — Tales of torture by Macedonian refugees — Catholic priests and Armenian doctors flogged for money — Attempts of Greek soldiers to violate nuns — Damaging evidence of the letters found in the Razlog district of Macedonia — Greek soldiers boast of their cruelties — One hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages burned by the Greeks.

THE Greeks were quite willing that the atrocities of the Bulgarian soldiers should be investigated by the Carnegie commission; but it was quite otherwise when the commission sought to investigate the atrocities that had been committed by the defenders of Hellenism. "It was a matter for wonder and for some reflection," writes Professor William M. Sloane of Columbia University, "when there began to emanate from Greek sources long telegraphic dispatches calling the attention of the civilized world to the atrocities permitted by Bulgaria. The question was, had the Greeks been practising the guile for which of old they were renowned, and taking a leaf from the Bulgarian book? The agents they dispatched with much publicity to investigate the shameful deeds of others about which there was no question, might possibly have been better employed in investigating their own kinsfolk and ending for



MACEDONIANS FLEEING GREEK ATROCITIES.

ever the activities of both the Greek and the Turkish *komitadjis* along the frontiers of the northeast.”¹

In spite of the veiled opposition of the Greek government to the investigation by the Carnegie commission of the atrocities of its soldiers, such an investigation was, nevertheless, made, and the findings of the commission are embodied in the following paragraphs: “It required no artificial incitement to produce the race-hatred which explains the excesses of the Christian allies, and more especially of the Bulgarians toward the Turks. Race, language, history, and religion have made a barrier which only the more tolerant minds of either creed are able wholly to surmount. It is less easy to explain the excesses of which Greeks and Bulgarians were guilty toward each other. The two races are sharply distinguished by temperament. A traditional enmity has divided them from the dawn of history, and this is aggravated in Macedonia by a certain social cleavage. But for a year the two races had been allies, united against a common enemy. When policy dictated a breach, it was necessary to prepare public opinion; and the Greek press, as if by a common impulse, devoted itself to this work. To the rank and file of all three Balkan armies, the idea of a fratricidal war was at first repugnant and inexplicable. The passions of the Greek army were roused by a daily diet of violent articles. The Greek press had had little to say regarding the Bulgarian excesses against the Turks while the facts were still

¹ *The Balkans: a Laboratory of History.* By William M. Sloane. New York, 1914, pp. 322.

fresh, and indeed none of the allies had the right to be censorious, for none of their records were clean. Now everything was dragged into the light, and the record of the Bulgarian bands, deplorable in itself, lost nothing in the telling. Day after day the Bulgarians were represented as a race of monsters, and public feeling was roused to a pitch of chauvinism which made it inevitable that war, when it came, should be ruthless. In talk and in print one phrase summed up the general feeling of the Greeks toward the Bulgarians, '*Dhen einai anthropoi!*' (They are not human beings). In their excitement and indignation the Greeks came to think of themselves as the appointed avengers of civilization against a race which stood outside the pale of humanity.

“When an excitable southern race, which has been schooled in Balkan conceptions of vengeance, begins to reason in this way, it is easy to predict the consequences. Deny that your enemies are men, and presently you will treat them as vermin. Only half realizing the full meaning of what he said, a Greek officer remarked to the writer, ‘When you have to deal with barbarians, you must behave like a barbarian yourself. It is the only thing they understand.’ The Greek army went into the war, its mind inflamed with anger and contempt. A gaudily coloured print, which we saw in the streets of Salonika and the Piræus, eagerly bought by the Greek soldiers returning to their homes, reveals the depth of the brutality to which this race-hatred had sunk them. It shows a Greek *evzone* (highlander) hold-

ing a living Bulgarian soldier with both hands, while he gnaws the face of his victim with his teeth, like some beast of prey. It is entitled the *Bulgarophagos* (Bulgar-eater), and is adorned with the following verses:

“ ‘The sea of fire which boils in my breast
And calls for vengeance with the savage waves of my soul,
Will be quenched when the monsters of Sofia are still,
And thy life blood extinguishes my hate.’

“ Another popular battle picture shows a Greek soldier gouging out the eyes of a living Bulgarian. A third shows as an episode of a battle scene the exploit of the Bulgar-eater.

“ As an evidence of the feeling which animated the Greek army these things have their importance. They mean, in plain words, that Greek soldiers wished to believe that they and their comrades perpetrated bestial cruelties. A print seller who issued such pictures in a western country would be guilty of a gross libel on its army.

“ The excesses of the Greek army began on July 4 with the first conflict at Kukush (Kilkis). A few days later the excesses of the Bulgarians at Doxato (July 13), Seres (July 11), and Demir Hissar (July 7) were known and still further inflamed the anger of the Greeks. On July 12 King Constantine announced in a dispatch which reported the slaughter at Demir Hissar that he ‘ found himself obliged with profound regret to proceed to reprisals.’ *A comparison of dates will show that the Greek ‘ reprisals ’ had begun some days before the Bulgarian ‘ provocation.’*

“ It was with the defeat of the little Bulgarian army at Kukush, after a stubborn three days’ defence against a superior Greek force, that the Greek campaign assumed the character of a war of devastation. The Greek army entered the town of Kukush on July 4. We do not propose to lay stress on the evidence of Bulgarian witnesses regarding certain events which preceded their entry. Shells fell outside the town among groups of fugitive peasants from the villages, while within the town shells fell in the orphanage and hospital conducted by the French Catholic sisters under the protection of the French flag. It is possible and charitable to explain such incidents as the effect of an unlucky chance. The evidence of European eye-witnesses confirms the statements of the Bulgarian refugees on one crucial point. These shells caused no general conflagration, and it is doubtful whether more than three or four houses were set on fire by them. When the Greek army entered Kukush it was still intact. It is to-day a heap of ruins — as a member of the commission reports, after a visit to which the Greek authorities opposed several obstacles. It was a prosperous town of thirteen thousand inhabitants, the centre of a purely Bulgarian district and the seat of several flourishing schools. The bent standards of its electric lamps still testify to the efforts which it had made to attain a level of material progress unusual in Turkey. That its destruction was deliberate admits of no doubt. The great majority of the inhabitants fled before the arrival of the Greeks. About four hundred, chiefly old people and children,

had found shelter in the Catholic orphanage, and were not molested. European eye-witnesses describe the systematic entry of the Greek soldiers into house after house. Any of the inhabitants who were found inside were first evicted, pillage followed, and then, usually after a slight explosion, the house burst into flames. Fugitives continued to arrive in the orphanage while the town was burning, and several women stated that they had been violated by Greek soldiers. In one case a soldier, more chivalrous than his comrades, brought a woman to the orphanage whom he had saved from violation. Some civilians were killed by the Greek cavalry as they rode in, and many lives were lost in the course of the sacking and burning of Kukush. We have received a detailed list from a Bulgarian source of seventy-four inhabitants who are believed to have been killed. Most of them are old women, and eleven are babies.

“ The main fact on which we must insist is that the Greek army inaugurated the second war by the deliberate burning of a Bulgarian town. A singular fact which has some bearing on Greek policy is that the refugees who took shelter in the French orphanage were still, on September 6, long after the conclusion of peace, closely confined as prisoners within it, though hardly a man among them is capable of bearing arms. A notice in Greek on its outer door states that they are forbidden to leave its precincts. Meanwhile, Greek (or rather ‘ Grecoman ’) refugees from Strumnitza were being installed on the sites of the houses which once belonged to Bulgarians, and in the few buildings (perhaps a dozen in number)

which escaped the flames. The inference is irresistible. In conquering the Kukush district, the Greeks were resolved to have no Bulgarian subjects.

“The precedent of Kukush was only too faithfully followed in the villages. In the caza (county) of Kukush alone no less than forty Bulgarian villages were burned by the Greek army in its northward march. Detachments of cavalry went from village to village, and the work of the regulars was completed by bashi-bozouks. It was a part of the Greek plan of campaign to use the local Turkish population as an instrument in the work of devastation. In some cases they were armed and even provided with uniforms. In no instance, however, of which we have a record, were the Turks solely responsible for the burning of a village. They followed the Greek troops and acted under their protection. We have no means of ascertaining whether any general order was given which regulated the burning of the Bulgarian villages. A Greek sergeant among the prisoners of war in Sofia, stated in reply to a question which a member of the commission put to him, that he and his comrades burned the villages around Kukush because the inhabitants had fled. It is a fact that one mainly Catholic village (Todoraki), in which most of the inhabitants remained, was not burned, though it was thoroughly pillaged. But the fate of other villages, notably Akanjeli, in which the inhabitants not only remained, but even welcomed the Greek troops, disposes of this explanation. Whatever may have been the terms of the orders under which the Greek

troops acted, the effect was that the Bulgarian villages were burned with few exceptions.

“ Refugees have described how, on the night of the fall of Kukush, the whole sky seemed to be aflame. It was a signal which the peasants understood. Few of them hesitated, and the general flight began which ended in massing the Bulgarian population of the districts through which the Greeks marched within the former frontiers of Bulgaria. We need not insist on the hardships of the flight. Old and young, women and children, walked sometimes for two consecutive weeks by devious mountain paths. The weak fell by the wayside from hunger and exhaustion. Families were divided, and among the hundred thousand refugees scattered throughout Bulgaria, husbands are still looking for wives, and parents for children. Sometimes the stream of refugees crossed the path of the contending armies, and the clatter of cavalry behind them would produce a panic, and a *saue qui peut* in which mothers lost their children, and even abandoned one in the hope of saving another. They arrived at the end of their flight with the knowledge that their flocks had been seized, their crops abandoned, and their homes destroyed. In all this misery and loss there is more than the normal and inevitable wastage of war. The peasants abandoned everything and fled, because they would not trust the Greek army with their lives. It remains to inquire whether this was an unreasonable fear.

“ The immense majority of the Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria were never in contact with the

Greek army and know nothing of it at first hand. They heard rumours of excesses in other villages; they knew that other villages had been burned; they fled because every one was fleeing; at the worst they can say that from a distance they saw their own village in flames. It would be easy to ascribe their fears to prejudice or panic, were it not for the testimony of the few who were in direct touch with the Greek troops. In the appendices will be found a number of depositions which the commission took from refugees. It was impossible to doubt that these peasants were telling the truth. Most of them were villagers, simple, uneducated, and stunned by their sufferings, and quite incapable of invention. They told their tales with a dull, literal directness. In two of the more striking stories, we obtained ample corroboration in circumstances which admitted of no collusion. Thus a refugee from Akanjeli, who had fled to Salonika, told us a story of butchery and outrage which tallied in almost every detail with the story afterwards told by another fugitive from the same village who had fled to Sofia. While passing through Dubnitsa we inquired from a group of refugees whether any one present came from Akanjeli. A youth stepped forward, who once more told a story which agreed with the two others. The story of the boy Mito Koleff, told in Sofia, was similarly corroborated in an equally accidental way by two witnesses at Samokov, who stepped out of a crowd of refugees in response to our inquiry whether any one present came from the village in question (Gavaliantsi). We can feel no

doubt about the truth of a story which reached us in this way from wholly independent eye-witnesses. These two incidents are typical, and must be briefly summarized here.

“ Mito Koleff is an intelligent boy of fourteen, who comes from the Bulgarian village Gavaliantsi, in the Kukush district. He fled with most of his neighbours in the first alarm after the Bulgarian defeat at Kukush, but returned next day to fetch his mother, who had remained behind. Outside the village a Greek trooper fired at him but missed him. The lad had the wit to feign death. As he lay on the ground, his mother was shot and killed by the same cavalryman. He saw another lad killed, and the same trooper then went in pursuit of a crippled girl. Of her fate Mito, who clearly distinguished between what he saw and what he suspected, knew nothing, but another witness chanced to see the corpse of this girl. Mito's subsequent adventures were told very clearly and in great detail. The essential points are (1) that he saw his village burned, and (2) that another Greek cavalryman whom he met later in the day all but killed him with a revolver shot and a sabre cut at close quarters, while he spared a by-stander who was able by his command of the language to pass himself off as a Greek. The material corroboration of this story is, that Mito still bore the marks of his wounds. A shot wound may be accidental, but a sabre wound can only be given deliberately and at close quarters. A trooper who wounds a boy with his sword cannot plead error. He must have been engaged in indis-

criminate butchery. Of this particular squad of Greek cavalry, it is not too much to say that they were slaughtering Bulgarian peasants at sight, and that they spared neither women nor children.

“ The evidence regarding Akanjeli points to the same conclusion. In this Bulgarian village near the Lake of Doiran, refugees from many of the neighbouring villages, who are said to have numbered four thousand persons, had halted in their flight. A squadron of Greek cavalry, numbering about three hundred men, with officers at its head, arrived between 3 and 4 p. m. on Sunday, July 6. The villagers with their priest went out to meet them with a white flag and the Greek colours. The officer, in conversation with the mayor, accepted their surrender and ordered them to give up any arms they possessed. The peasants brought bread and cheese, and thirty sheep were requisitioned and roasted for the troops. Some sixty of the men of the place were separated from the others and sent away to a wood. Of their fate nothing is known. The villagers believe that they were slaughtered, but we have reason to hope that they may have been sent as prisoners to Salonika. While the rifles were being collected the troopers began to demand money from both men and women. The women were searched with every circumstance of indignity and indecency. One witness, a well to do inhabitant of Kukush, was bound together with a refugee whose name he did not know. He gave up his watch and five piastres and his life was spared. His companion, who had no money, was killed at his side. While the arms were being

collected, one which was loaded went off accidentally and wounded an officer, who was engaged in breaking the rifles. Two youths who were standing near were then killed by the soldiers, presumably to avenge the officer's mishap. Toward evening the soldiers forced their way into the houses and began to violate the women. One witness stated that violations were carried out quite publicly by the roadside and in the fields; he saw several cases.

“ Another witness, the butcher who roasted the sheep for the troops, saw two young women, whom he named, violated by three soldiers beside his oven. Infantry arrived on Monday, and shortly afterwards the village was set on fire. During Sunday night and on Monday morning many of the villagers were slaughtered. It is impossible to form an estimate of the number, for our witnesses were in hiding and each saw only a small part of what occurred. One of them estimated the number at fifty, but this was clearly only a guess. We have before us a list from a Bulgarian source of 356 persons from seven villages who have disappeared and are believed to have been killed at Akanjeli. Turks from neighbouring villages joined in the pillage under the eyes of the Greek soldiers and their officers. The facts which emerge clearly from our depositions are (1) that the village submitted from the first; (2) that it was sacked and burned; (3) that the Greek troops gave themselves up openly and generally to a debauch of lust; (4) that many of the peasants were killed wantonly and without provocation.

“ It would serve no purpose to encumber this ac-

count of the Greek march with further narratives. They all convey the same impression. Wherever the peasants ventured to await the arrival of the Greek troops in their villages, they had the same experience. The village was sacked and the women were violated before it was burned, and non-combatants were wantonly butchered, sometimes in twos or threes, sometimes in larger numbers. We would call attention particularly to two of these narratives — that of Anastasia Pavlova, an elderly woman of the middle class, who told her painful and dramatic story with more intelligence and feeling than most of the peasant witnesses. Like them, she suffered violation; she was robbed, and beaten, and witnessed the dishonour of other women and the slaughter of non-combatant men. Her evidence relates in part to the taking of the town of Gevgheli. Gevgheli, which is a mixed town, was not burned, but a reliable European, well acquainted with the town, and known to one member of the commission as a man of honour and ability, stated that fully two hundred Bulgarian civilians were killed there on the entry of the Greek army.

“ Another deposition to which we would particularly call attention is that of Athanas Ivanoff, who was an eye-witness of the violation of six women and the murder of nine men in the village of Kirtchevo. His story is interesting because he states that one Greek soldier who protested against the brutality of his comrades was overruled by his sergeant, and further that the order to kill the men was given by officers. It is probable that some hun-

dreds of peasants were killed at Kirtchevo and German in a deliberate massacre, carried out with gross treachery and cruelty. For these depositions the commission assumes responsibility, in the sense that it believes that the witnesses told the truth; and, further, that it took every care to ascertain by questioning them whether any obvious excuse, such as a disorderly resistance by irregulars in the neighbourhood, could be adduced. These depositions relate to the conduct of the Greek troops in ten villages. We should hesitate to generalize from this basis (save as to the fact that villages were almost everywhere burned), but we are able to add in the appendix a summary of a large number of depositions taken from refugees by Professor Miletich of Sofia University. While it can not assume personal responsibility for this evidence, the commission has every confidence in the thoroughness with which Professor Miletich performed his task.

“ This great mass of evidence goes to show that there was nothing singular in the cases which the commission itself investigated. In one instance a number of Europeans witnessed the brutal conduct of a detachment of Greek regulars under three officers. Fifteen wounded Bulgarian soldiers took refuge in the Catholic convent of Paliortsi, near Gevgheli, and were nursed by the sisters. Father Alloati reported this fact to the Greek commandant, whereupon a detachment was sent to search the convent for a certain Bulgarian *voivoda* (chief of bands) named Arghyr, who was not there. In the course of the search a Bulgarian Catholic priest,

Father Treptché, and the Armenian doctor of the convent were severely flogged in the presence of the Greek officers. A Greek soldier attempted to violate a nun, and during the search a sum of £T300 was stolen. Five Bulgarian women and a young girl were put to the torture, and a large number of peasants carried off to prison for no good reason. The officer in command threatened to kill Father Alloatti on the spot and to burn down the convent. If such things could be done to Europeans in a building under the protection of the French flag, it is not difficult to believe that Bulgarian peasants fared incomparably worse.

“ The commission regrets that the attitude of the Greek government toward its work has prevented it from obtaining any official answer to the charges which emerge from this evidence. The broad fact that the whole of this Bulgarian region, for a distance of about one hundred miles, was devastated and nearly every village burned, admits of no denial. Nor do we think that military necessity could be pleaded with any plausibility. The Greeks were numerically greatly superior to their enemy, and so far as we are aware, their flanks were not harassed, nor their communications threatened by guerillas, who might have found shelter in the villages. The Greeks did not wait for any provocation of this kind, but everywhere burned the villages, step by step with their advance. The slaughter of peasant men could be defended only if they had been taken in the act of resistance with arms in their hands. No such explanation will fit the cases on which we have

particularly laid stress, nor have any of the war correspondents who followed the Greek army reported conflicts along the main line of the Greek march with armed villagers. The violation of women admits of no excuse; it can only be denied.

“ Denial unfortunately is impossible. No verdict which could be based on the evidence collected by the commission could be more severe than that which Greek soldiers have pronounced upon themselves. It happened that on the eve of the armistice (July 27) the Bulgarians captured the baggage of the nineteenth Greek infantry regiment at Dobri-*nichte* (*Razlog*). It included its post-bags, together with the file of its telegraphic orders, and some of its accounts. We were permitted to examine these documents at our leisure in the Foreign Office at *Sofia*. The file of telegrams and accounts presented no feature of interest. The soldiers’ letters were written often in pencil on scraps of paper of every sort and size. Some were neatly folded without envelopes. Some were written on souvenir paper commemorating the war, and others on official sheets. Most of them bore the regimental postal stamp. Four or five were on stamped business paper belonging to a Turkish firm in *Seres*, which some Greek soldier had presumably taken while looting the shop. The greater number of the letters were of no public interest, and simply informed the family at home that the writer was well, and that his friends were well or ill or wounded, as the case might be. Many of these letters still await examination. We studied with particular care a series

of twenty-five letters, which contained definite avowals by these Greek soldiers of the brutalities which they had practised. Two members of the commission have some knowledge of modern Greek. We satisfied ourselves (1) that the letters (mostly illiterate and ill written) had been carefully deciphered and honestly translated; (2) that the interesting portions of the letters were in the same handwriting as the addresses on the envelopes (which bore the official stamp) and the portions which related only personal news; (3) that no tampering with the manuscripts had been practised. Some minor errors and inaccuracies are interesting, as an evidence of authenticity. Another letter is dated by error July 15 (old style), though the post-bags were captured on the 14th (27th). We noted, moreover, that more than one slip (including an error of grammar) had been made by the Bulgarian secretary in transcribing the addresses of the letters from Greek into Latin script — a proof that he did not know enough Greek to invent them. But it is unnecessary to dwell on these minor evidences of authenticity. The letters have been published in *fac-simile*. The addresses and the signatures are those of real people. If they had been wronged by some incredibly ingenious forger, the Greek government would long ago have brought these soldiers before some impartial tribunal to prove by specimens of their genuine handwriting that they did not write these letters. The commission, in short, is satisfied that the letters are genuine.

“ The letters require no commentary. Some of



TURKISH EXILES FROM MACEDONIA.

the writers boast of the cruelties practised by the Greek army. Others deplore them. The statements of fact are simple, brutal, and direct, and always to the same effect. These soldiers all state that they everywhere burned the Bulgarian villages. Two boast of the massacre of prisoners of war. One remarks that all the girls they met with were violated. Most of the letters dwell on the slaughter of non-combatants, including women and children. These few extracts, each from a separate letter, may suffice to convey their general tenor:

“ ‘ By order of the king we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages, because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Seres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages. We have shown ourselves far more cruel than the Bulgarians. We have violated all the young girls whom we met. * * * ’

“ ‘ Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children. * * * ’

“ ‘ We took only a few [prisoners], and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received.’

“ ‘ We have to burn the villages — such is the order — slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children. * * * ’

“ ‘ What is done to the Bulgarians is indescribable; also to the Bulgarian peasants. It was a butchery. There is not a Bulgarian town or village but is burned.’

“ ‘ We massacre all the Bulgarians who fall into our hands and burn the villages.’

“ ‘ Of the twelve hundred prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and

everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race.'

“ ‘ We picked out their eyes [five Bulgarian prisoners] while they were still alive.’

“ ‘ The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where there are Bulgarians and massacres all it meets. * * * God knows where this will end.’

“ These letters relieve us of the task of summing up the evidence. From Kukush to the Bulgarian frontier the Greek army devastated the villages, violated the women, and slaughtered the non-combatant men. The order to carry out reprisals was evidently obeyed. We repeat, however, that these reprisals began before the Bulgarian provocation. A list of Bulgarian villages burned by the Greek army conveys some measure of this ruthless devastation. At Seres the Bulgarians destroyed four thousand houses in the conflagration which followed the fighting in the streets. The ruin of this considerable town has impressed the imagination of the civilized world. Systematically and in cold blood the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least sixteen thousand Bulgarian homes. The figures need no commentary.”

With reference to the Greek letters found in the Razlog district, it may be noted that some of the Greek journals pronounced them forgeries and declared that there were no persons in Greece with the names of the writers of the letters and no Greeks bearing the names of the persons to whom they were addressed. The Carnegie commission made a careful examination of the letters and pronounced them

authentic. Since the publication of the report, an investigation made in the United States with reference to the names and addresses given in three of the letters have been verified. These letters were to friends or relatives in New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. An investigation has located the Greeks bearing the names and living at the addresses given in the three letters in question.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF BULGARIA

Ethnically the Bulgars of Finnic stock — Physical characteristics — Mental traits — Industry and frugality — Peasant costumes — Standards of morality — The community home — Bulgarian language — Literacy of the people — Spirit of toleration — Jews in Bulgaria — Gypsies — Greeks — Their characteristic ethical defects — The Kutzo-Vlacks.

ALTHOUGH the Bulgars are usually classed as Slavs, the original ethnic stock came from the Finnic group of the Sibiric branch of the Turanian race in Asia. The forebears of the Bulgarians were kin to the Tatars, Finns, and Huns. We first hear of them in the fifth and sixth centuries, when they occupied tracts of land between the Ural mountains and the Volga river. In the seventh century they crossed the Danube, subjugated the Slavic tribes in the Balkan peninsula, and took over the language, customs, and institutions of the conquered Slavs.

Outwardly the Bulgars are not an attractive people, for the Turanian element in the physiognomy is too pronounced to be beautiful. They are somewhat below the medium in stature, broad-shouldered, wide-chested, strongly built, and have admirably developed legs. The face is round, the nose straight or slightly curved, the hair dark blond or black, the complexion muddy, the eyes slightly slanting, the eyebrows thick, and the cheek-bones and chin



A BULGARIAN FAMILY.

well developed. The expression of the face is serious and energetic. Vazoff's characterization of Marko in *Under the Yoke*, "he had a serious and somewhat stern expression even when he smiled," might be applied to the Bulgars in general.

The Bulgars are thrifty agriculturists and laborious husbandmen. They are practical and stolid and have inexhaustible powers of silence and self-restraint. They are hard-working and economical peasants "with all the peasant's meannesses and prejudices, but also with all the peasant's virtues of frugality and industry."

While uncommunicative and cautious, and inclined to be suspicious, the Bulgars are not boasters or agitators, and "they do not claim an imagined superiority or flaunt their nationality" like some of the other Balkan races. They fulfill their duties in life quietly and understandingly. While sensitive to foreign criticism, the author has always found them willing to discuss defects of the national character and institutions with characteristic frankness.

Professor Jiriček, the distinguished Bohemian historian, who lived in the country for many years, writes: "The Bulgarian is sober in every respect, careful in his expenditures, and hard-working. The energy he displays in the cultivation of the soil is remarkable. Under the exterior of peasant cunning and suspiciousness, the Bulgar conceals a shrewd and observant mind. Being both docile and conscientious, whether as student, soldier, artisan or trader, he identifies himself completely with the

work he undertakes. The whole mode of life of the people is simple and frugal.”¹

Foreigners who best know the Bulgar character credit it with patience, perseverance, and great power of physical endurance. An English author says of the race: “The Bulgarian is truly a son of the soil, wedded to the uncompromising earth whose very qualities he seems to have drawn into his being. Unequalled obstinacy and tenacity of purpose, combined with the most practical point of view, promise great things for his race. Frugal and taciturn, he has none of the thoughtless cheeriness of the Rumanian, the expansiveness of the Serb, or the dreamy unpractical idealism of the Russian. He resembles rather the Lowland Scot, and carries his many admirable qualities beneath an exterior which is not every one’s good fortune to penetrate.”

William Miller makes this contrast between the Montenegrin and the Bulgar: “Put the two in a drawing-room, and the Montenegrin, who has never bowed his neck to a foreign master, will look and behave like a gentleman, while the Bulgar will look and behave like a peasant. But put the two upon a waste plot of ground, the Bulgar will convert it into a garden of roses, while the Montenegrin will look on.” This is not to say that there are not many highly educated and refined people in Bulgaria. But taken as a whole, they are a nation of peasants.

There are neither rich people nor paupers in the

¹ *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien: seine Bodengestaltung, Natur, Bevölkerung, Wirthschaftliche Zustände, geistige Cultur, Staatsverfassung und neueste Geschichte.* Von Constantine J. Jiriček. Prag, 1891, pp. 573.



TYPICAL BULGARIAN COSTUMES.

country, and the peasant farmers have few wants that they themselves cannot satisfy. Even among those engaged in trade and commerce, life is simple. Luxuries scarcely exist. The people are temperate in both eating and drinking. There is no horse-racing and little card-playing. While markedly less emotional than the other races of the Balkan peninsula, the Bulgars are kindly, hospitable, and chivalrous.

Mrs. Stobart, who directed the Woman's Convoy Corps of England during the first Balkan war (her entire corps of physicians, surgeons, nurses, etc., being composed of women), pays this tribute to the Bulgarian peasant soldiers: "I was prepared for the possibility of annoyance from men who, in a Turkish environment, would be unaccustomed to seeing such work conducted solely by women. But Bulgarian men of all classes could give lessons to the men of most of the nations of Europe in their attitude towards women. Our doctors and nurses corroborated to their last day in the hospital the impressions gained at the first—that in qualities of courtesy, respect, and gratitude, no patients could surpass these Bulgarian peasant soldiers."¹

Bulgaria is essentially a peasant state and the peasant costumes continue to be more generally worn than in the other countries of Europe. Embroidery is an important feature of the dress of the women, and most of it is highly artistic. The garments of the women hang loosely from the shoulders and they

¹ *War and Women*. By Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. London, 1913, pp. 239.

are unfettered by corsets or belts. The skirts are narrow and short, and underneath there is a long white petticoat which reaches to the ankles, and which has beautiful insertion trimmings exposed below the skirt line. Colour plays an important part in the jackets and aprons, but the colours vary in different provinces. Coloured handkerchiefs are twisted into the plaits of hair that fall down the back. Gold and silver ornaments and strings of coins are worn about the neck.

The men in the district of Sofia wear white serge trousers braided in black, and less baggy than those worn in other parts of the country. The white shirts are embroidered with red, as is also the black jacket that comes to the waist and has a sort of a flap falling over behind. A red sash is worn about the waist and the outer coat is of sheepskin. The fez, so long worn by the men, has been abandoned for the kalpak or lambskin cap. Sheepskins and home-made woollen, linen, and cotton cloth provide the materials for the dress of the peasants.

Missionaries and other foreigners familiar with social conditions in the Balkans have repeatedly assured the author that the standard of sexual morality is higher in Bulgaria than in the other states of the peninsula. Illegitimacy is very rare. Marriage occurs early in life and families are very large.

The community home formerly occupied a prominent place in the family life of Bulgaria. The home community (*zadruga*) is a patriarchal institution that dates back to early times. Related family groups, sometimes ten or a dozen in number, dwell



A BULGARIAN PEASANT.

together on a farm and observe communistic principles. The property descends from generation to generation to the family group. The association is ruled by a house-father and a house-mother, who assign to the different members their respective tasks. Community groups are usually composed of grandparents with their married children and grandchildren. The recent adoption of a law of succession has tended to reduce the number of community homes by dividing the property among the various members of the family.

With the disappearance of the community home there has been marked development of coöperative associations. In 1900 there were only six coöperative societies in Bulgaria; to-day there are nine hundred thirty-one.

The language of the Bulgars belongs to the eastern branch of the Slavic family of tongues, but it has undergone more modifications than any other Slavic speech. The highly synthetic character of the Slavic languages is only slightly apparent in the Bulgar. It is the only Slavic language that has articles which are attached to the terminations of nouns and adjectives, and it is the only Slavic language that makes use of the infinitive. Cases have disappeared, and instead of declining the nouns, prepositions are used, as in English. Some of the dialects of remote sections, as well as a few of the old ballads, show traces of the inflection of nouns, thus proving the antiquity of the language. After the fall of the old Bulgarian empire, Greek was substituted for the literary language of the people, and

for nearly five centuries the native language was used only as an oral speech by the peasants. The Kyrillic characters are used in the written language, and the thirty-three letters of this alphabet make ampler provision for the representation of sounds than is the case with the Latin alphabet.

Although a nation of peasants, and more recently liberated from Turkish rule than the other Balkan states, education is more wide-spread in Bulgaria and the percentage of illiteracy is lower than in Rumania, Servia, Montenegro, or Greece. Education was practically denied the peasants during the five centuries of Turkish rule; and when they acquired independence thirty-six years ago, illiteracy was general. In 1880 the percentage of illiteracy among army recruits was 90; in 1910 it was 10 per cent., and in 1913 it was only 5 per cent. While an industrious and provident people, the keen sense of what is practical has given them a correct notion of the value of mental training, and they have voluntarily made large financial sacrifices for the speedy establishment of an efficient educational machinery.

Bulgars constitute four-fifths of the population of the kingdom. The non-Bulgar fifth is composed of Turks, gypsies, Greeks, Albanians, Vlacks, Armenians, and Jews; and the Turks comprise one-fourth of the non-Bulgar fifth of the population. The spirit of racial and religious toleration, which is a marked characteristic of the Bulgarian people, has averted the exodus of the Ottoman population that has taken place in all the other lost



GROUP OF PEASANTS.

provinces of the Turk. The Moslems and the Jews in Bulgaria have known nothing of the bitter race antagonisms that their compatriots in the other Balkan states have had to face. Jews and Turks are not only represented in the national assembly, but they occupy posts of honour in the civil service of the country.

Jews claim to have resided in Bulgaria since the days of Roman rule under Trajan. Krum, one of the earliest Bulgar rulers, is said to have brought large numbers of Jewish prisoners from Thessaly in the year 811. Many Byzantine Jews established themselves at Nicopolis, Sofia, Vidin and Silistria during the tenth century; and during the Asen dynasty a large number of Jewish merchants from Ragusa, Venice, and Geneva became identified with the business affairs of the country. During the centuries that the Turks were masters of the peninsula, the Jews were less persecuted than in any country in Europe.

With the organization of the rehabilitated Bulgarian principality the Jews were accorded full civil rights. They enjoy the privilege of suffrage; are eligible to all the elective offices in the country; are subject to military service; and enjoy the right of military promotion. Each Jewish community is governed by a special synagogical committee in all matters touching religion, and the national government makes special grants for the maintenance of the Hebrew clergy. The cities in which Jews are found in considerable numbers are Sofia, Rustchuk, Philippopolis, and Vidin.

Gypsies constitute about two per cent. of the population of the kingdom. They are scattered throughout the country, but have more settled abodes in Bulgaria than in the other countries of eastern Europe. The men are engaged in such occupations as black-smithing, horse-breeding, and horse hire. Poverty is less in evidence than among the members of their race in the other Balkan states. The men are tall, handsome fellows, and many of them are the finest physical types to be seen in the country. They wear long flowing trousers held at the waist by a sash, and the conventional Turkish fez. So far as they profess any creed at all, it is that of the Mohammedan church. The Bulgarian government has made strenuous efforts to bring the gypsy children within the pale of the compulsory education law, but with little success. Gypsy children are taught by their parents to beg as soon as they can walk, and when they grow older they are disciplined in the art of theft.

The Greeks of Bulgaria are found almost entirely in the larger cities of the interior and the maritime towns on the Black sea. They have strong aptitude for trade and possess great subtlety in monetary transactions, although they are regarded as markedly deficient in practical ethics as compared with the other races of the kingdom. "The cunning of the Greek," remarks a foreign writer in this connection, "comes very near fraud, and he lies in the most impudent manner. He is noisy, blustering, and obsequious. He has never been able to cure himself of cheating. If he is a sharp, intelli-

gent merchant, that is not to say he is an honest one.”¹

There are several villages of Vlacks in the province of Vidin and numerous Kutzo-Vlacks in the Rhodope mountains. The latter are a pastoral people with a shy preference for mountain dwellings. Their speech is a Latin tongue that has been cut off from Latin culture, and the enrichment of the language that has come to the other Romance tongues through direct study of the classical Latin literature. The Vlacks of Bulgaria are an unlettered folk; and, so far as their isolated and migratory life has permitted them to acquire any culture, it has been from the Orthodox church and the Greek literature. They are a timid people, living apart from the other races; and although professing the same religion as the Bulgars, they seldom intermarry with them. By occupation they are shepherds, inn-keepers, and carriers in the mountainous districts.

¹ *The Evil of the East*. By Kesnin Bey. London, 1888, pp. 327.

CHAPTER XIV

HOW BULGARIA IS GOVERNED

Fundamental principles of the Bulgarian constitution — Executive powers — The national assembly — How constituted — A unique electoral law — Representation of minorities — Charges of unfair elections — The grand sobranje — Sources of revenue — Local government in Bulgaria — Municipal councils — The judiciary — Bulgaria a well governed state — Political parties — Conservatives and liberals — Other parties.

BULGARIA was created by the treaty of Berlin the 13th of July, 1878. It constituted the country an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the sultan of Turkey with a Christian governor and a national militia. The treaty provided that the prince should be freely elected by the people and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the consent of the great powers. It further stipulated that no member of the reigning houses of the great powers should be eligible to the post. Bulgaria declared her independence from Turkey the 5th of October, 1908.

The fundamental principles of the Bulgarian constitution are (1) separation of governmental authorities into legislative, executive, and judicial; (2) perfect equality of citizens as regards civil and political rights; (3) inviolability of person, residence, property, and correspondence; (4) liberty of conscience, press, and public meetings; (5) direct and secret universal manhood suffrage, and (6)



THE SOBRANJE OR PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

local self-government. The constitution consists of one hundred sixty-nine clauses, grouped into twenty-two chapters.¹ It follows in the main the constitution of Belgium.

Bulgaria is a constitutional monarchy. Heredity descends in the direct male line. The king must profess the national Orthodox faith, only the first and second rulers being released from this obligation. Legislative power is vested in the king in conjunction with the national assembly (*sobranje*). The king of Bulgaria possesses larger powers than those exercised by most of the constitutional sovereigns of Europe. He appoints and dismisses the members of the ministry but he cannot retain permanently a cabinet which is not in harmony with the national assembly. He is the supreme head of the army, supervises the executive power, and represents the nation in its foreign relations.

The executive power is vested in a ministry of ten members, representing the following portfolios: Foreign Affairs and Public Worship, Interior and Public Health, Public Instruction, Finance, Justice, War, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Public Works and Communications, and Railways, Posts, and Telegraph. The cabinet is responsible only to the king.

The national assembly is composed of two hundred forty-five members elected by manhood suffrage in the proportion of one to twenty thousand of the

¹ For the English version of the Bulgarian constitution, see *Constitution of the Principality of Bulgaria*. Parliament Sessional Papers for 1878-79. Vol. 80. London, 1879.

population of the country. Candidates to the national assembly must be thirty years old and able to read and write. The compensation to members of the assembly from the city where it holds its sessions is three dollars a day; to the other members four dollars a day, including holidays and Sundays. Travelling expenses are also paid.

The following classes of male citizens are ineligible to membership in the national assembly: all those engaged in actual military service; members of the clergy; individuals having contracts with the government and those having pecuniary interest in such contracts; and all public officials (members of the cabinet excepted), mayors and assistant mayors, and other persons occupying public posts.

The electoral law of Bulgaria is unique. It provides for the representation of minorities in the national assembly, which makes the assembly truly representative of the political sentiments of the nation. The country is divided into electoral districts, but a candidate may stand for election in any one district in the kingdom, upon the petition of ten voters in that district. The ballots are on coloured papers, each party having its own colour, and the party colours are duly registered. The ballots contain the names of the candidates of a particular party. There are, however, blank spaces on the ticket, so that a voter may cross out the names of such candidates on the ticket of his party for whom he may not care to vote, and may add names from the tickets of other parties. These coloured ballots are placed in envelopes and deposited in the

election box. Bulgarians claim that their system makes casier the counting of the votes and more difficult efforts to tamper with the results.

The new election law of 1912 (amending article 120 of the election law of 1911) provides that within five days from the date of the election the district electoral colleges shall in public session tabulate the votes cast in their respective electoral districts. This tabulation shall include (1) the number of all voters registered in the district, (2) the number of votes actually cast at this particular election, (3) the number of valid ballots, (4) the number of spoiled or void ballots, (5) the number of votes cast for the ticket of each political party, and (6) the number of votes received by each individual candidate.

Upon the basis of the results, the respective electoral colleges determine the election of the candidates to the national assembly in the following manner: The total number of valid ballots cast is divided by the number of representatives to be sent from the respective electoral districts, plus one. If, for example, a given electoral district has a population of 425,000 inhabitants, it will be entitled to send twenty-one representatives to the national assembly, the basis of representation being one assemblyman for twenty thousand of the population. The electoral divisor being obtained by dividing the number of representatives from the district plus one by the total number of votes cast. Each party ticket sends as many of its candidates to the national assembly as that divisor is contained times in the total

number of votes cast for that particular party's ticket. If, after such distribution, one or more representatives should remain unallotted, then the first undistributed representative is given to the party receiving the highest average number of votes. In the same way any other undistributed representatives that may remain are apportioned. In case two tickets should have the same number of votes, the choice is determined by lot.

Perhaps the workings of the law may be made a bit clearer by the following example. Electoral district A, with a population of 425,000 inhabitants, is entitled to twenty-one representatives in the national assembly. In a given election there are seven tickets in the field, and each ticket, let us say, receives the following votes: liberals, 26,181; agrarians, 7,226; nationalists, 5,226; socialists, 4,985; democrats, 4,976; national liberals, 2,575, and young liberals, 2,041, with a total of 53,317 votes for the seven parties in the electoral district. Dividing 53,317 by 22 (21 plus 1) gives 2,423, which becomes the electoral divisor for this particular election. Since the young liberals received less votes than the electoral divisor, this party gets no representation from electoral district A in the national assembly. Dividing consecutively the number of votes cast for each of the other tickets by 2,423, the allotment of representatives stands as follows: liberals, 10 representatives; agrarians, 2; nationalists, 2; socialists, 2; democrats, 2; and national liberals, 2.

It will thus be seen that nineteen of the twenty-one representatives from electoral district A have

been allotted. The two remaining places are given to the parties having cast the highest average vote; and this average is determined by adding one to the number of assignments to each party for a divisor. The liberals had a total of 26,181 votes; dividing this number by 11, their average is 2,380. The agrarians received 7,226 votes; dividing this number by 3, the average is 2,408. The nationalists had 5,333 votes; dividing their allotment by 3 gives 1,177. The socialists received 4,985 votes; dividing again by three, their average is found to be 1,166. The democrats received 4,976 votes, and this number divided by two gives 1,658. It will thus be seen that the agrarians had the highest average, and the liberals the second highest average, and these two parties in consequence get each an additional representative.

The selection is made from the candidates who have received the largest number of votes. Thus, if in electoral district A the liberals had sixteen names on their party ticket the eleven receiving the largest number of votes are declared elected, and so with the other tickets that are entitled to representation in the national assembly. The system makes possible the representation of minorities in the *sobranje*, and these minorities often contain the ablest men in the country. Some of the really able statesmen in recent national assemblies have been chosen by insignificant parties. When, for example, Alexander Malinoff became prime minister his party numbered one other member in the *sobranje* besides himself.

If one should accept without examination the charges of corruption and violence at the polls, it would be easy to conclude that an absolutely free election had never been held in Bulgaria. The highly amusing account given by the Bulgarian humourist Aleko Constantinoff in his *Bai Ganio*¹ tends to confirm this suspicion. The pressure brought to bear on the elections by the government party in power may have been considerable in the days of the rule of Stamboloff and the corrupting influences of Russia. But in recent years elections have been quiet and the party in power has probably influenced very slightly the results of the returns. Even in Stamboloff's days, charges of governmental pressure were probably grossly exaggerated by the violent and rancorous Russophil press. Mr. Beaman, the English biographer of Stamboloff, remarks in this connection: "After every election the opposition invariably produces a long list of cases of maltreatment, and the government as regularly puts in a solemn and formal declaration that no force was ever used. It is, however, a part of the program in the elections, which everybody understands perfectly well, that some heads should be broken, and the complaints and lamentations of the defeated are never treated seriously. The main returns are not actually very much interfered with by these amenities, as it is only in particular strongholds of the opposition, as a rule, that the government inter-

¹ This chapter has been translated into English by Natalie D. Sonnichsen. See *The Independent* (New York) for Jan. 2, 1913. Vol. 74, pp. 31-35.

feres; and in the rest of the cases the majority bully the minority, because they are the majority, and therefore would elect their candidate, even without violence.”¹ Recent elections, it should be said to the credit of the political intelligence of Bulgarian electors, have been conducted with quiet, and few charges of irregularity have been made.

The duration of the national assembly is four years. It may be dissolved at any time by the king, but new elections must take place within two months from the date of dissolution. All legislative and financial matters must first be discussed and voted by the *sobranje* and sanctioned by the king. Through his ministers the king may initiate legislative measures, and he may issue regulations having the obligatory force of laws whenever the state is threatened with immediate internal or external danger. Such measures, however, must be adopted by the cabinet since they entail the collective responsibility of all the ministers; and they must be approved by the national assembly at its earliest session.

The national assembly chooses its own officers, consisting of a president, two vice-presidents, and secretaries. Debates and voting are public, but the chamber may decide to sit with closed doors. Any member of the assembly has the right to introduce bills if he is supported by one-fourth the members present. Bulgarian citizens have the right to petition the national assembly.

The national assembly consists of only one cham-

¹ *Stamboloff*. By A. Hulme Beaman. London, 1895, pp. 240.

ber. There is, however, a grand national assembly that meets by special convocation to decide on matters touching the revision of the constitution, acquisition of territory, election of a ruler, appointment of a regency, and authorization of the sovereign to accept the government of another state. Its members are elected in precisely the same way as the members of the national assembly, save that the electoral unit for twenty thousand inhabitants is two instead of one.

The state budget must be submitted annually for the approval of the national assembly, but it may not strike out or modify any feature of the budget without explaining the reasons which have determined its action. State loans may be contracted only with the consent of the *sobranje*.

The main source of revenue is a direct land tax of one-tenth the gross value of the products of any farm, calculated on the average yield of the four preceding years; tax levied on goats, sheep, and pigs, at the rate of twenty cents a head for goats and ten cents a head for sheep and pigs; and also direct tax on tobacco, spirits, and playing-cards. The indirect taxes come from import and export duties. There are also excise duties upon all tobacco grown in the country, and upon the manufacture of spirits and cigarette paper and the production of salt. The imposts are made up of fees charged for registration, legal certificates, passports, licenses to carry arms, fines levied by the courts, and profits from state railways, posts, telegraphs, and telephones.



THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (SOBRANJE) IN SESSION.

Local government in Bulgaria is under the control of the ministry of the interior. The kingdom is divided into administrative departments. At the head of each department there is a prefect appointed by royal decree upon the recommendation of the minister of the interior. He is the representative of the central government, and as such represents the executive authority of the kingdom. He is entrusted with the control of the towns and villages in his department. He is assisted by a departmental council, which meets in regular session one month each year to assess taxes in the towns and villages in the department, revise the accounts of the different institutions under its control, and consult on all matters relating to proposed construction of railways, roads, etc., in the department. Besides the departmental council there is also a medical council that superintends the sanitary conditions and public hygiene in the department, and an educational council that administers and supervises the schools in the department.

The departments are again subdivided into districts administered by sub-prefects, who act as judiciary police and are held responsible for the public safety of the district. Some of the more important centres, such as Sofia, Philippopolis, Rustchuk, and Varna, have in addition city prefects, who exercise within the limits of their respective cities the functions of chief of police.

Town government is the smallest unit in the administrative organization of the country. Every Bulgarian subject must belong to a commune and

figure in its registers, the laws of the country not tolerating the state of vagrancy. This law has had the effect of forcing upon the gypsies settled abodes. The administrative bodies in the cities, towns, and rural communities are the municipal councils. The members of the municipal councils are elected by universal suffrage in the same way and subject to the same regulations as the members of the national assembly. All members of the commune who are at least thirty years of age and can read and write are eligible to membership in the municipal council. Those electors who have completed a secondary school course may be elected at the age of twenty-five.

The term of service in the town municipal councils is three years and in the rural communities, two years. The council elects from its own members a mayor and two assistant mayors. The mayor represents the community in its relations with the other public departments of the government. In the city of Sofia the municipal council numbers thirty members, all elected at one time. The council controls the water system, electric lights, electric railways, public health, parks and recreation centres, public charities, elementary education, baths, and markets.

The judiciary power of Bulgaria is vested in law courts and magistrates who act in the name of the king. The civil and penal codes of the country are largely based on Ottoman law. The lowest civil and criminal court is that of the justice of the peace. Such courts are found in all towns of any consequence, and in Sofia there is a number distributed

between the various quarters of the capital. The justice of the peace may try cases involving civil and commercial disputes up to two hundred dollars, and criminal cases involving infractions and misdemeanours entailing an imprisonment up to six months and fines not exceeding one hundred dollars.

Departmental tribunals, or courts of the first instance, are found in the chief towns of the different departments. These courts have large powers; they may pass sentence of death, penal servitude, and deprivation of civil rights. In specified criminal cases the departmental tribunals are assisted by a jury of three persons chosen by lot from a panel of forty-eight citizens. The duty of serving on the jury is honorary and obligatory on all Bulgarian subjects with a secondary education who know the official language and pay at least one hundred dollars a year in direct taxes.

The verdict of the jury, when unanimous, is final, the only recourse being to the court of appeal, which examines afresh the whole affair and decides the case without the aid of a jury. The decision of the court of appeal is final unless taken to the supreme court of the kingdom. There are three courts of appeal in Bulgaria — at Sofia, Philippopolis, and Rustchuk.

The supreme court, or court of cassation, has its seat at Sofia. It has the power to reverse the judgments of all the other courts of the land on points of law or procedure. It is composed of a president judge, two vice-president, and nine other judges.

The judiciary is open to all Bulgarian male sub-

jects twenty-six years old, who have completed a full legal course of instruction, know the official language of the country, and have practised law in a departmental court for at least six months. No judge may at the same time practise law, serve as a member of the national assembly, or pursue such vocations as teaching, trade, or editor of a political newspaper. Judges in Bulgaria are poorly paid; and, as they may be removed by the government, changes are frequent and sometimes for inadequate causes.

In addition to the law courts, there are in the kingdom certain special tribunals. Matters touching marriage, divorce, and inheritance are under the direction of the Orthodox, the Mohammedan, the Jewish, and other religious organizations. There are consular courts that deal with all civil and commercial disputes arising between foreign subjects and not involving landed property in Bulgaria. Military courts pass upon all criminal cases involving persons in active service in the army.

In spite of the fact that Bulgaria officials received their political education in the two worst schools of political pedagogy in Europe — Turkey and Russia — it is the opinion of competent foreign critics that the country has been better governed than any of the other Balkan states. Frequent newspaper charges of graft and corruption of public officials carry little weight when one recalls the violence of the Sofia press and its rancorous abuse of political opponents. The officials who administer the affairs of state have sometimes blundered and blundered

grievously; but when one recalls the difficulties which they have had to face during the brief period of national existence, the marvel is that they have done so well in governmental matters. Mr. William Miller, an English writer, well voices the sentiments of the author in the statement: "With all their faults, and in spite of all their trials and temptations, the peasant statesmen have achieved great triumphs during the comparatively brief period of their country's existence as a practically independent state."¹

It is not easy for a foreigner to comprehend the principles upon which the political parties are founded, and for the obvious reason that most of them have been founded upon personalities. One hears, for example, much more often of the Gueshoff party, the Radosavoff party or of the Zankoff party than of the national party, the liberal party, or the progressive liberal party. During the first years of the principality there were two political parties. This division took place at the first constitutional convention at Tirnovo. The Dondukoff-Korsakoff project of a constitution for the Bulgarian people gave rise to warm discussions and the participants were ranged as conservatives and liberals. The conservatives were aristocrats and numerically in the minority. They followed the lead of Russia. Their leaders were Marko Balabanoff and Burmoff. The motto of the liberals was "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians." They opposed the autocratic rule of Russia, and sought to give expression to the will of

¹ *The Balkans*. By William Miller. New York, 1907, pp. 476.

the people. Their leaders were Petko Karaveloff and Dragan Zankoff, and later the great statesman, Stefan Stamboloff.

In Eastern Rumelia there were also two parties — the conservative “unionists” (Russophiles) and the radicals, scornfully called by their opponents *kazionni*, or treasure-hunters. Both parties in Eastern Rumelia favoured union with Bulgaria; but when Russia, after Bogoridi’s removal, turned against the union, the conservatives became anti-unionists. The radicals, however, under Zachary Stoyanoff, effected at Philippopolis the union of the two Bulgarias. After the union, the conservatives from Eastern Rumelia joined forces with those in Bulgaria; and as a result of the combination we have to-day what is known as the nationalist (*narodniak*) party under the leadership of Madjaroff, Velitchkoff, Ivan Vazoff, the Bobtcheffs, Todoroff, and Gueshoff. The nationalist party is mildly clerical and strongly Russophil.

Following the alienation of Prince Alexander from Russia in 1885, Dragan Zankoff, hitherto a leader in the liberal party, turned against the prince and cast his lot with Russia. This was the origin of the liberal Russophil or Zankovist party, which is to-day represented by Daneff and Ludskanoff under the name of the progressive liberal party. The traitorous conduct of Petko Karaveloff during the *coup d’état* of 1886 and the regency that followed caused the breach with Stamboloff and the formation of a new liberal party that is represented to-day by the democratic party under the leadership

of Malinoff and Takeff. When Dr. Radoslavoff, the present prime minister, became active in Bulgarian politics, differences between the other liberal leaders and himself caused a division in the party into liberals (Radoslavists) and national liberals (Stambolovists), the latter now led by Dr. Ghuena-dieff. Tontcheff later withdrew from the Radoslavist party and established the young liberal party. Recently the more radical members of the old Karavelist (democratic) party, together with men from other parties, have formed a party called the radical democratic. It will thus be seen that most of the political parties in Bulgaria are the result of splits in the liberal party. There are two sections of the socialist party in Bulgaria — the broad socialist party (shiroki), led by Sakuzoff, and the strict socialist party (tessni), under the leadership of Blagoeff. The most recent political party is the agrarian, organized in consequence of an agitation among the peasant farmers, and under the leadership of Stamboliski and Dragieff.

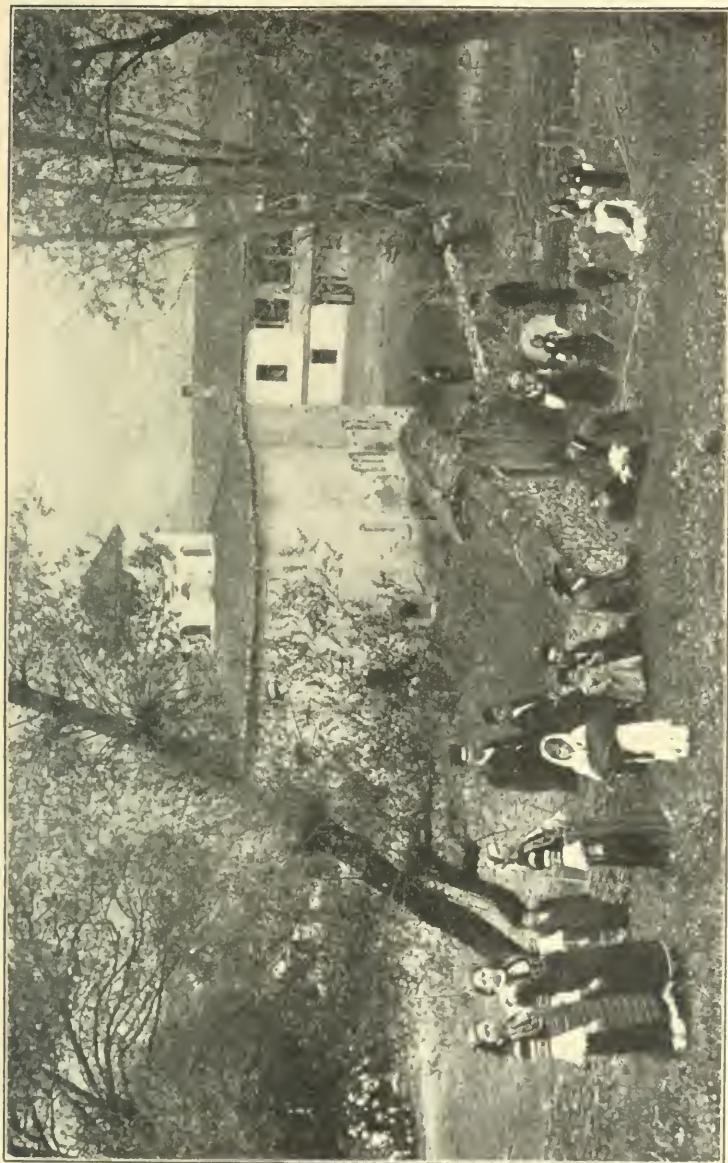
CHAPTER XV

RELIGION AND MONASTERIES

The national Orthodox church of Bulgaria — A static religion — Dearth of intellectual life among its priests — Language of the service — Place of fasts — Nature of church services — The confessional — Celibacy required only of monks — Religious toleration in Bulgaria — The Pomaks or Bulgarian Moslems — Monasticism — The famous Rilo monastery — Other monasteries — The Mohammedan church in Bulgaria — The Greek patriarchist church — Hebrews — Catholics and Uniates — The American Protestant movement in Bulgaria — Its educational influence — What Protestantism has done for the country.

THE national church of Bulgaria is the Orthodox, sometimes called the Greek Orthodox, because Christianity arose in the east and Greek was the language of the Scriptures and of the early services of the church. To-day, however, the Orthodox church includes nine independent branches, one of the less important branches being the Hellenic church of modern Greece. Russia, Servia, Rumania, Montenegro, and Bulgaria all have independent state organizations and employ the old Slavonic as the language of the service.

It will be recalled that in the time of Constantine the Christian church was divided into dioceses, over which a bishop ruled in ecclesiastical matters. Later the bishop in the chief city of a diocese rose to pre-eminence and received the title of exarch. In time the most distinguished exarchs received the title of patriarch. When the empire was divided there were



A MONASTERY NEAR SOFIA.

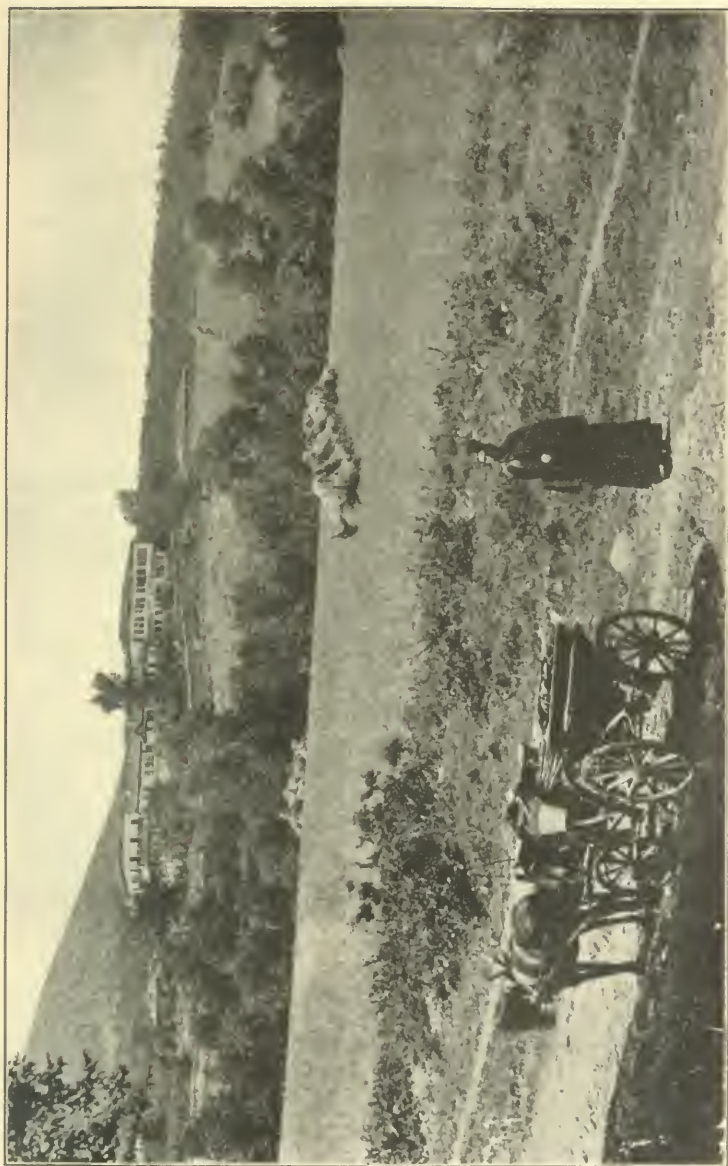
three patriarchs: one at Rome, one at Antioch, and one at Alexandria. Constantinople and Jerusalem were later made patriarchates in the eastern church. It thus happened that with four heads the Orthodox church never became a despotic monarchy governed from one centre. It became what it is to-day, an oligarchy of patriarchs. Each patriarch is within his own diocese what the pope is in the western church. He is not amenable to his brother patriarchs, but like them, he is within the jurisdiction of ecumenical synods.

“The attachment of the Bulgarian peasant for the national Orthodox church,” remarks Mr. Henry N. Brailsford, the most competent European authority on ethnic problems in the Balkan peninsula, “is not so much due to the religious instincts of the peasant as to his political conditions, which explain his passionate attachment to his church and the great part which it plays in his existence. His fidelity to his church has been through five centuries one continuous martyrdom. He has remained true to it not merely from a reasoned or traditional faith in its tenets, but simply because apostasy involved a fore-swearing of his nationality and a treason to the cause of his own race.”¹

It is never easy for a foreigner to pass judgment upon the worth and influence of an alien religion. One may, however, as Mr. Brailsford has remarked concerning the Orthodox church, draw some reasonably sure inference from certain glaring and quite

¹ *Macedonia: its Races and their Future*. By Henry Noel Brailsford. London, 1906, pp. 340.

obvious facts. "Nothing could be more remarkable," he says, "than the total absence of heresy among the Christians of Turkey and the Balkan states. The active speculation of the Greek mind and its preoccupation with religion produced an endless succession of more or less interesting heresies during the Middle Ages. With the Turkish conquest they abruptly ceased. A patriarch who had been educated in Germany played a little with Protestantism in the seventeenth century. I believe there is no other instance of any deviation from the monotonous path of official orthodoxy. There has been schism, it is true, but always on political and never on theological grounds. The explanation lies, I am afraid, on the surface. There is no heresy in the eastern church because there is no interest in religion. Turkish rule has crushed out every form of intellectual life, and in the feud of conqueror and conquered, Christianity has become no more than a sort of mental uniform in which one party has marched in a long and doubtful defensive warfare. The conquest did, in fact, destroy a peculiarly interesting heresy which flourished under the name of Bogomilism among the Slavs of Macedonia and Bosnia and also in Albania. It seems to have been Unitarian in its theology, Manichean in its metaphysics, and so stubbornly idealist, so certain that all matter and therefore all external forms are evil, that it rejected the sacraments. The little one knows of it suggests an affinity with some of the most spiritual of the Russian peasant heresies. But the modern Balkan peasant has neither the leisure nor the ease



MONASTERY OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

of mind to approach religion with any fresh and original insight. And here the Christianity of the eastern church compares unfavourably with Islam, which proves its vitality by not a little unorthodox speculation. . . . Indeed the Cross in the east has become so much a mere symbol of warfare that it is a little difficult to define Orthodox Christianity in any but negative terms. I doubt if it has any important bearing on conduct, and certainly in its traditions there is no longer a trace of that humanitarian spirit of mercy and love which the modern mind tends more and more to read into religion. The Moslem at least has a theory that he may atone for many sins by giving bread to the pariah dogs of the streets. There is no such sentiment as this among the Christians, and as little recognition of any duty to the poor and the sick.”

The Orthodox church has no creed in the sense in which the word is used in Roman Catholic and Protestant countries. But the doctrines of the church are found in the confessions of faith. Old Slavonic is the language used in the Orthodox churches in Bulgaria. It differs from the modern Bulgarian language about as much as the Anglo-Saxon of Chaucer differs from modern English.

Fasts in the Orthodox church are frequent and severe. Besides Wednesday and Friday, which are fast days, there are four fasting seasons during the year — Lent, Pentecost to Saints Peter and Paul, Feast of the Sleep of Theotoxos (the 1st to the 15th of August), and the six weeks’ fast preceding Christmas. Indulgences are not recognized. The Virgin

receives homage, but the dogma of her immaculate conception is not admitted.

Apart from the ikons of the saints and the crucifix, there are no "graven images" in the Orthodox churches. Singing plays an important part in the service, but there is no instrumental music. Prayers are offered standing, with the face towards the east. At Pentecost, however, the worshippers kneel. The celebration of the Eucharist is an elaborate symbolical representation of the Passion. Consecrated bread is broken into the wine and both elements are given in a spoon.

The confessional, which is still nominally an institution of the Orthodox church, is rapidly falling into disuse. Mr. Brailsford attributes this tendency to "the ignorance and degradation of the secular clergy. To go for ethical guidance to the average village priest would indeed be too ridiculous. The married priests outside the larger towns are for the most part totally uneducated, and lead the life of peasants, only adding the fees paid by their flock for marriages, baptisms, and funerals to the revenues of their fields. They can read enough to mumble through the ritual, and write sufficiently well to keep the parish registers; but there their superiority to the average peasant ends. Preaching is practically unknown. Their function is not that of the pastor or the teacher. They are simply petty officials who perform the rites appropriate to the crossing of the frontier between this world and the next. They bury and baptize for a consideration, much in the spirit of a customs' officer who takes

toll on the border of him who enters and of him who leaves.”

The clergy of the Orthodox church are divided into priests and monks. Priests must marry but monks are required to remain celibates. Only monks are eligible to appointment to bishoprics and the highest offices in the church. The clergy are paid by the state; they also receive fees for marriages, burials, etc. The compensation, however, is ridiculously small. Parish priests have very little education, and they are esteemed with indifference by their parishioners. The ignorance of the clergy is the weak spot in the Orthodox church. Roman Catholic priests and Protestant pastors in Bulgaria are distinctly superior to the Orthodox clergy in education, intelligence, and moral ideals.

The governing body of the Orthodox church of Bulgaria is the Holy Synod, which consists of four metropolitan bishops chosen for life by secret ballot of all the bishops. Laymen take part in these elections on the same footing as members of the clergy. The Holy Synod is presided over by the exarch, who is the nominal head of the national church. More than three-fourths of the people of Bulgaria are adherents of the Orthodox church.

No other country in the Balkan peninsula gives so large a measure of religious freedom as Bulgaria. The Servian government prohibits by law all proselytizing. The Greeks, although they welcomed the aid of Protestants of England and America in their war of liberation, have since enacted laws which make the labours of Protestant missionaries and

teachers in Hellas quite impossible. Mr. Herrick, an American missionary, remarks in this connection: "The circulation of the Bible in Greece in the language of the country is forbidden, and in Servia intolerance of missionary work is even more rigid than in Greece."¹

The tolerance in Bulgaria, however, has been due to enlightened statesmanship rather than to any spirit of forbearance on the part of the clergy of the Orthodox church. It may well be doubted whether the priests of the national church are less bigoted than their unenlightened confrères in Greece, Servia, and Rumania. On the few occasions when the Orthodox clergy of Bulgaria have had the chance to assert authority, it has not been in the direction of tolerance towards Moslems, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. Their attitude towards the Pomaks in the Rhodope mountains is a point in question. In the spring of 1913, after the Turks had lost this region in the Balkan war, Orthodox priests visited the Pomak villages and forcibly "converted" the inhabitants to the religion of the national church. After the recent war among the allies, upon the strong representation of the Moslem inhabitants of Bulgaria and Turkey, the Bulgarian government was compelled to repudiate the action of the Orthodox priests, and to forbid any further attempts by force to reconvert the Pomaks to the faith of the national church.

This stupid blunder is responsible for the charge

¹ *Peace as the World Giveth.* By George F. Herrick. *Missionary Review of the World*, June, 1913.

of intolerance against the Bulgarians. Rather it should be credited to the clerical Russophil Gueshoff-Danefff ministries and to certain leading ecclesiastics in the Bulgarian Orthodox church. Liberal-minded Bulgars denounced the efforts to forcibly reconvert the Pomaks to the faith of the national church as an outrage on humanity and a grave political error. Witness this published protest from the pen of Anton Strashimiroff, one of the leading Bulgarian men of letters: "Those who stand for the thought and the honour of our country ought to know that our authorities have, in the countries on the frontier inhabited by the Pomaks and recently liberated, acted in a way which is a disgrace to their country and to humanity. One aim alone was kept in sight — that of personal enrichment. Conversion was only a pretext. It did not save the poor Pomaks from atrocious treatment except where the priests with whom they had to deal were conscientious men. Such cases, however, were rare. The ecclesiastical mission was beneath criticism. High rewards were paid, but the priests sent to carry out this task in the Pomak villages were drunkards and criminals who could not be kept in Bulgaria. The behaviour of the police was monstrous. In Bulgaria no one has and no one can have any idea of the atrocities committed by prefects, heads of police, and priests. The device of the Pomaks now runs — 'Let any one take us, only not the "*Pisse hukumate Bulgar*" (the dirty Bulgarian government).' Yet at first these Pomaks showed the most absolute submission to our army. In the last two decades they had con-

ceived a hatred for Turkism. Their principal grievance was the defective condition of their mountain roads and the burden of annual duties. They knew that this state of things had been largely remedied in Bulgaria, and they held to the idea that the Bulgarian government would at least give them roads. At Dary-deri a Pomak, an officer in the reserve of the Turkish army, came before the authorities and had himself baptized because he was fired by the idea that the Bulgarians brought nothing but good with them. He was at last disillusioned, and he and his children were massacred by their neighbours.

“ Nevertheless the Bulgarian government is not ignorant as to the steps which should be taken to satisfy the population of the annexed region and secure their gratitude. It has itself declared in a manifesto addressed ‘ to the inhabitants of the newly liberated region, published the day after the conclusion of the treaty with Turkey, September 29, 1913.’ — most formal orders are given to the Bulgarian civil and military authorities to display the greatest kindness to the inhabitants of the annexed territories, to *respect their faith and their nationality*, to refrain from any attack on their personal liberty, and to maintain the inviolability of their houses and their property. The citizens of new Bulgaria are to enjoy, *without distinction of religion or nationality*, the same rights which are secured by the constitution of the kingdom to all its citizens. Respect for religious freedom and for education is enjoined, and also respect for the religious beliefs



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RILO MONASTERY.



COURT OF RILO MONASTERY.

and usages, the mosques, cemeteries, and other holy places of all citizens alike.”

Monasticism is an important feature of the religion of the Orthodox church. There are seventy-eight monasteries for men and forty for women in Bulgaria. Among the well known monastic institutions of the kingdom are St. John of Rilo in the Rilo mountains, St. Nicholas near Shipka pass, and Tscherepish at the northern end of the Isker gorge. The monastery of St. John is located in a gloomy ravine between the lofty ridges of the richly forest-clad Rilo mountains. Stupendous rocky summits surround and protect the monastery. The steep slopes of the mountains are covered with a primeval forest, and a foaming torrent dashes through the narrow gorge in which the great national sanctuary is situated.

Rilo monastery is to the Bulgars, as Professor Jiriček has well remarked, what St. Michael in Normandy and Grande Chartreuse in Dauphiny were so long to the French — the central point and focus of not only the national religion, but also of the national sentiment and aspiration. The monastery was founded by St. John of Rilo (Ivan Rilsky). He was born in 876; and after leading a holy life in trees and caves for many years he selected this wild and almost inaccessible spot in the Rilo mountains as the permanent place of his devotions. His great piety brought him great fame. It soon became known that he possessed unusual power of exorcising demons and curing bodily maladies. Four times a year devout pilgrims come to the monastery,

sometimes as many as fifteen thousand, to commemorate the life of the saint, offer thanksgivings, and seek fresh blessings.

Among other well-known monasteries in Bulgaria are the monastery of the Transfiguration, overlooking the narrow valley of the Yantra river; the Poganovsky monastery, near the Servian frontier, at the gateway of the wild gorge of the Jerma river; and the monastery of the Seven Altars, hidden in the heart of wooded hills. In earlier times the monasteries were the homes of the Slavic tongue and preserved some of the remnants of the old literature from complete destruction by the intolerant Greeks. During the revolutionary period patriots and leaders met at the monasteries to discuss plans and form organizations. To-day, however, they exercise very little political or intellectual influence in Bulgaria. Peasants still reverence them as places where miracles are worked, and where diseased souls and bodies may be made healthy. The monks for the most part are unlettered. They cultivate their vineyards, care for stock and flocks, distil spirits from fruits, and say perfunctory prayers. The monasteries own vast tracts of land, and the Bulgarian government has always respected their property.

The Mohammedan church ranks first in number of communicants among the non-conformist religious bodies of Bulgaria. It has about a fifth as many adherents as the national Orthodox church. The Moslem population of the kingdom is organized into religious communities which are administered by muftis, whose duties are entirely spiritual. The

muftis are freely chosen by the followers of the Prophet, and are confirmed by the government. Like the clergy of other denominations in Bulgaria they are paid by the state. There are thirty-six Mohammedan churches in Bulgaria, and they are administered by forty-two muftis. The mufti of Sofia is the head of the organization in the country.

The mufti at the head of each Mohammedan community is assisted by one or more secretaries (whose salaries are paid by the Bulgarian government) and an administrative council, the members of which are chosen by the Mohammedan population of the parish. The mufti deals with all questions touching divorce, property inheritance of his parishioners, care of mosques and other religious establishments; he also deals with the matter of taxes on all landed properties that have been bequeathed by Mohammedans for purposes of charity and for the needs of the Moslem churches. Most of the Mohammedans of Bulgaria reside in the northern and eastern provinces of the country.

The Greek church of Bulgaria is independent of the national Orthodox church. It is under the direct supervision of the patriarch of Constantinople. The membership of the Greek church is about sixty thousand. The religious communities are organized in the same way as the communities of the other faiths. The bishop is assisted by a council freely chosen by the Greek population to administer the affairs of the community and to decide on matters touching marriage, divorce, and parochial education.

The Greek bishoprics of Bulgaria are at Varna, Philippopolis, Sozopol, Anchialo, and Messemvria.

There are about thirty-eight thousand adherents of the Hebrew faith in Bulgaria. The spiritual chief of the Jews is the grand rabbi of Sofia. He is assisted in the direction of affairs touching religion by a synagogical committee. There are similar committees under the direction of rabbis in the towns with Jewish congregations. There are about fifteen thousand Gregorian Armenians in Bulgaria, with a bishop at Rustchuk. While the organization of the Armenian church is in a comparatively rudimentary state, its priests receive the same ecclesiastical rights and aid as the other denominations in the country.

The Roman Catholic church of Bulgaria numbers about thirty thousand communicants, who, for the most part, are descended from the Bogomiles, an heretical sect that endured the persecutions of the Orthodox church for several centuries. A writer in the *Catholic Times* calls attention to the large liberties enjoyed by Roman Catholics in Bulgaria as compared with those in Greece and in other states of the Balkans. "In Greece," he says, "Catholics are everywhere detested and considered rebels and hostile to the institutions of the country."

The diocese of Nicopolis, with the bishop's residence at Rustchuk, contains about thirteen thousand Latin Catholics, divided into fourteen parishes. There are parish schools for both boys and girls, as well as religious houses of the Passionist, Marist, and Assumptionist orders. The apostolic vicar of

Philippopolis contains about fifteen thousand Latin Catholics in thirteen parishes. There is a Catholic college at Philippopolis under the order of the Assumptionists, and numerous elementary and secondary schools under the direction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and other Catholic teaching orders. The intellectual status of the Roman Catholic priests of Bulgaria is distinctly superior to that of the priests of the Orthodox church.

An interesting ecclesiastical development in the Balkan peninsula is the Catholic Uniate church. It uses the language and liturgy of the Orthodox church; its clergy marry and wear the garb of the Orthodox priests, and in dogma as well as in ritual, it is practically indistinguishable from the Orthodox faith. But it recognizes the authority of the church of Rome. There are about thirteen thousand Catholic Uniates in Bulgaria, chiefly in districts that formerly were parts of Thrace and Macedonia. They are under the immediate jurisdiction of two Bulgarian bishops appointed by the Holy See at Rome.

The Protestant movement in Bulgaria is entirely due to the religious and educational labours of American missionaries. In 1857 the Methodist Episcopal church of the United States took as the field of its labours that part of Bulgaria that lies between the Danube river and the Balkan mountains. The work was carried on amid difficulties and was twice practically suspended; but in 1905, the Reverend Elmer E. Count, an able American Methodist clergyman, was sent to the field as resident superintendent

of the Methodist Episcopal churches in Bulgaria. Since that date the church has made remarkable progress and has to-day congregations at Plevna, Sofia, Rustchuk, Varna, Lom, Lovetch, Vidin, Tirnovno, Shumen, Voyvodovo, and nine other towns in the kingdom. The Methodists maintain a secondary school for Bulgarian girls at Lovetch, and publish a paper, *The Christian World*, at Sofia.

The Congregational churches of the United States occupied the territory between the Balkan mountains and the Ægean sea. Their first missionaries were sent to what was then European Turkey in 1858. They located at Adrianople. During the next dozen years American missionaries were sent to Stara Zagora, Philippopolis, Sofia, and Samokov. The Bansko church in the Razlog district was organized in 1871. This has become one of the chief centres of Protestantism in Bulgaria. Bansko is the birthplace of the Reverend Marko N. Popoff, who, for nineteen years, administered so efficiently the large Protestant church at Sofia, the Reverend D. N. Fornajieff, the present pastor of the Protestant church of Sofia, and other leaders of the Protestant movement.

The American Board of Foreign Missions of the Congregational church has been especially active in establishing churches and preaching stations in Macedonia. Beginning with 1873, stations were established at Monastir, Resen, Prilep, Veles, Skopié, Radovish, Doïran, Drama, Kukush, and at many other points in Macedonia.

Besides the religious work of the missions, many elementary schools were organized in Macedonia

and in what is to-day Bulgaria. At Samokov in Bulgaria there have been maintained for more than half a century Bulgarian secondary schools for girls and boys; and connected with the latter a theological institute for the training of clergymen for the work of pastors. Through the agency of the missions the Bible was translated into Bulgarian. More than six hundred hymns and sacred songs have been translated into the vernacular. *Zornitza*, the weekly journal published in Bulgarian by the Protestant churches of the kingdom, is the oldest newspaper published in Bulgaria.

There are about six thousand Protestants in Bulgaria, and the conspicuous part they have played in the public life of the nation is altogether out of proportion to their numerical strength. "If the American missionaries have not made large numbers of converts to Protestantism," remarks Mr. Brailsford, "they have made relatively well-educated men, who found the stagnation and oppression of the Turkish east completely unendurable. Their colleges and secondary schools were so largely frequented by native Christian lads that the eastern churches were compelled in self-defence to imitate them."

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION IN BULGARIA

Bulgarian culture effaced during the supremacy of the Greek Phanariotes — The revival of learning in Bulgaria — Education and the literary and historical renaissance — The secondary school at Gabrovo — Opposition of the Greek ecclesiastics — Views of the American missionaries — Mission schools conducted by Americans — The national school system — How elementary schools are supported — Course of study — Education of girls — Normal schools for the training of teachers — The university of Sofia — Special and technical schools — Rapid decrease in the percentage of illiteracy — Libraries.

DURING the dark ages of Bulgarian history, the period when the Bulgars were under the spiritual supremacy of the Greek church, schools in the vernacular never entirely disappeared. The bigoted Phanariotes did everything in their power to completely efface the native culture; and although their work at times seemed to have completely stamped out the old Slavic language, here and there the stubborn villagers maintained at their own expense primary schools where the mother tongue was the medium of instruction.

With the destruction of the Byzantine empire by the Turks and the assumption of temporal sovereignty of Bulgaria by the sultans, spiritual authority over the conquered Slavs was vested in the Greek patriarchate. "The patriarchate," remarks quite truly Mr. Brailsford, "was sold at frequent intervals and at a steadily rising price to any Greek adventurer who could buy his nomination. He re-

couped himself by selling the consecration of bishops, and they in turn, regarding this outlay as a legitimate investment of capital, proceeded to farm their dioceses. Out of this system there grew up a Greek aristocracy in Constantinople, grouped round the Phanar—as the patriarch's seat was called. The lay members enjoyed the confidence of the Porte, and bought offices of much profit and power."

The Phanariotes exploited the church, and set before themselves the task of crushing the Slavs of Bulgaria with the authority of the Ottoman government behind them. They extinguished the Bulgarian patriarchate, closed the higher Bulgarian schools, and burned the books in the Slavic language. The Greek language, both as a literary and a church language, was forced on the Bulgars. With Greek churches, Greek priests, and Greek cloister schools in their midst, it was impossible for the Bulgars to retain the spiritual power necessary to successfully resist the constant pressure of foreign supremacy, both material and spiritual.

Down to the opening years of the nineteenth century culture in Bulgaria was a close preserve for the Greeks. A few monks of the Slavic race preserved by discretion and dissimulation the memories of the days when Bulgaria was the most important kingdom in the Balkan peninsula. These monks were the real forerunners of the Bulgarian renaissance that made possible ultimate freedom from the intolerant and corrupt patriarchate and the oppressive and tyrannical sultans.

As related in a previous historical chapter, it was the Monk Païssy who started the literary revival that was to bring about the national independence. In 1762 he published his *History of the Bulgarian People*, "a work with no pretensions to scientific accuracy, but which aroused the dormant patriotism of the people where a coldly critical and impartial narrative would have failed." His pupil, Stoïko Vladislavoff (1739-1815), afterwards Bishop Sophroni, was the teacher in the school at Kotel that trained most of the leaders in the movement that led to the reëstablishment of the national Bulgarian church and the rehabilitation of the empire of the old Bulgarian tsars.

In the spring of 1834, Vassil Apriloff, a merchant at Gabrovo, visited Constantinople and secured from the Turkish government permission to open a secondary school in his native town, in which the language of instruction should be Bulgarian. He made appeals to his compatriots in Russia and Rumania, and received pledges of several hundred dollars towards the support of the school. Neophyt Rilsky, who had been connected with the monastic institution at Rilo from 1816 to 1828, was secured as principal teacher. He spent some months at Bucharest preparing text-books and plans for the school. He composed a Bulgarian grammar; translated from the Russian an arithmetic; secured copies of Beron's reading book; and returning to Bulgaria, opened a school at Gabrovo the 14th of January, 1835 — "the first Bulgarian secondary school," observes a historian, "and one that was destined to be-

come the nursery of the new Bulgarian education." The school was patterned after the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster. The system was both cheap and (comparatively) effective; only bare rooms were required; few teachers were needed for large numbers of pupils; and the cost of maintenance was reduced to a minimum.

The school at Gabrovo is one of the milestones in the history of Bulgarian education. Within ten years similar schools were organized at Sofia, Kotel, Rustchuk, Stara Zagora, Plevna, Kazanlik, Panagurishté, Shumen, and ten other towns in the country. The Greek priests strongly opposed the schools, but their opposition served rather to increase the zeal of the Bulgarians. Young men, at their own expense, or aided by benevolent persons, went abroad to prepare themselves for the work of teaching. The national spirit awakened with the education of the people and the struggle for religious emancipation from the tyranny of the corrupt Phanariotes began. The Greeks charged the Bulgars with being revolutionists and of attempting to throw off the Ottoman yoke. Turkey, as a result of the sinister charges of the Greeks, imprisoned many of the Bulgarian teachers and sent others into exile in Asia Minor.

The fate of the Miladinoff brothers was the fate of many Bulgarian schoolmasters at this period. Dimiter and Constantine Miladinoff were Bulgarian teachers, and the former was an ardent folk-lorist. Through the generosity of the bishop of Djakovo, they were able to publish their studies in *Bulgarian*.

This roused the indignation of the Greek metropolitan. Dimiter was denounced to the Turkish officials as a revolutionist; he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, where he was thrust into prison. His brother Constantine, in the hope that he might secure his release, made haste to follow his brother; "but no sooner had he reached the Turkish capital than he too was cast into prison, and one fine day a couple of corpses were thrown out into the sunlight. Joachim, the Greek patriarch, whose acquaintance Dimiter had made when he attended the Greek college at Janina, being anxious that Heaven should not grieve for the lack of two righteous souls, managed to procure for them the cup of Socrates. They sleep in an unknown grave, for the solitary witness of their burial, a fellow countryman, was the next day compelled to die. The brothers Miladinoff have their place in the roll of Bulgarian martyrs."¹

When Dr. Elias Riggs, an American missionary, made a tour of Bulgaria, in 1859, he was surprised to find so many Bulgarian schools that had sprung up in spite of the opposition of the powerful Greek church and the hostility of the Turkish government. He tells of a visit to a school at Sofia attended by four hundred boys and another for girls with an attendance of one hundred and twenty. "When we remember that we are in Turkey," he writes, "it is an interesting fact to notice that the Bulgarians do not limit their laudable endeavours for education to boys alone. This is a striking indica-

¹ *Shade of the Balkans*. By Pencho Slaveikoff, et al. London, 1904.

tion that they are training themselves to give the right place to women even at the very beginning of their educational system." At Stara Zagora he found a boys' school with eight hundred pupils and a girls' school with one hundred thirty-five; and he remarks that there are several schools in the neighbouring villages. He pays a high compliment to the Bulgarian teachers. He found them "men with gentlemanly manners, making great self-sacrifices, and working without hope of financial returns."

Dr. Byington, another American missionary, writing to the *Missionary Herald* from Bulgaria in 1862, says: "It is an encouraging fact that Bulgarian schools are found not only in the cities, but in many of the villages that I have visited, so that the nation in a short time will be able to rank as a nation that can read and write. The more intelligent Bulgarians simply make an idol of learning. I have heard them say that learning is the one thing of which they have need and that it will transform life and purify the heart."

The schools organized by the American missionaries in Bulgaria have also played an important rôle in the educational history of the country. In 1860 a collegiate and theological institute was opened at Philippopolis by the American Board (Congregational) of Foreign Missions. Ten years later the school was removed to Samokov. Up to June, 1910, when the school celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, eight hundred young men had been enrolled as students. Most of the pastors connected

with the Protestant missions in Bulgaria and Macedonia received their training, in whole or in part, at the Samokov school; and many of the former students occupy responsible positions in both the public and private life of the nation.

The high school for girls at Samokov, organized by the American Board in 1863, has also rendered admirable service in the promotion of the higher education of Bulgarian women. The Methodist Episcopal church of the United States has maintained an excellent high school for girls at Lovetch for many years. The very great influence of Robert College and the American College in Turkey on the development of education in Bulgaria will be discussed at length in a subsequent chapter.

The constitution of 1878 recognized primary education as an essential factor of the state, but it made no provision for the support of schools. The law of 1881 left the matter of primary instruction entirely in the hands of the individual communities, only in the case of very poor communes was the state authorized to aid in the maintenance of schools. When Ferdinand came to the throne the keen interest which he took in the matter of public education resulted in considerable augmentation in the matter of state expenditures for schools.

It was not until the organic law of 1891 was passed, however, that the state acquired supreme control of the schools of Bulgaria. Since that date, the growth of the national system of public schools has been remarkable. There is a ministry of public instruction in the king's cabinet that has entire



PRIMARY SCHOOL AT SOFIA.

control of the educational affairs of the country. Associated with the minister of public instruction are two directors — one of primary education and one of secondary education. There is also a corps of general inspectors who are the representatives of the ministry in their respective departments.

There are departmental councils of education, which exercise advisory and judicial functions; also local school committees that have direct charge of the schools, select the sites for buildings, and nominate the teachers, who must, however, be approved by the minister of public instruction. Women, provided they have completed a course in a secondary school, are eligible to membership on the local committees.

Two-thirds of the funds required for the support of the schools are supplied by the national government, and the other one-third by the local communities. Qualifications of teachers, courses of study, and school inspection are entirely in the hands of the state. The compulsory school period is from the ages of eight years to twelve. In country districts the school is in session six months and in the towns ten months. Many of the elementary schools are coëducational, and nearly two-thirds of the teachers in these schools are men.

The studies in the elementary schools include religion and morals, the mother tongue, arithmetic and geometry, geography, history, nature study, drawing, singing, and gymnastics. Religion gets two periods a week throughout the four years of the compulsory period. During the first and second

school years the children learn prayers and church ceremonies, and have stories concerning the life of Jesus and the saints; the Old Testament forms the basis of instruction in the third school year and the New Testament the fourth year. Families are entirely relieved of the religious education of their children.

There are higher elementary schools that continue the studies of the primary schools with the addition of French, old Slavic, physics, chemistry, and natural history. These schools supplement the education of those pupils who cannot take a complete secondary course.

The course of study in the secondary schools of Bulgaria covers five years. It is generally divided into three sections — modern language course, half classical course, and classical course. The difference in the courses is largely a matter of the number of foreign languages studied. In the modern course, for instance, French or German and Russian are studied; Latin is added to the half classical course, and Greek to the classical course. The Bulgars, however, are a very practical people, and they do not esteem highly the classical languages. Most of the students, therefore, in the secondary schools are found in the modern course. There are in Bulgaria seventeen secondary schools for boys and ten for girls.

The education of girls in Bulgaria is still behind that of boys; but it is far in advance of the education of girls in the other Balkan states. During the period of Turkish rule, such education as was

available to girls was obtained at the convents, notably at Kalofer and Samokov. Constantine Fotinoff (1780-1858), founder of the first Bulgarian newspaper, was an ardent advocate of the education of women. The first public schools for girls were opened at Stara Zagora in 1852 and at Gabrovo in 1862. Recently the Bulgarian government has given special attention to the subject, and there are now ten secondary schools for girls in the country with an attendance of 3,200.

Normal schools have been established for the training of teachers. There are four such schools for women and five for men. The course of instruction in the normal school covers four years and includes religion, Bulgarian language and literature, pedagogy and psychology, geography and history, mathematics, French or German, Russian, physiology and hygiene, natural history, agriculture, manual training, drawing, and singing. The remuneration of teachers in Bulgaria is still very low. In the Turkish days the teachers in the village (*kylien*) schools got from \$40 to \$60 a year; in 1887 the average annual salary was only \$120; to-day it ranges from \$250 to \$400 a year. There has been marked improvement in the qualifications of elementary teachers and the quality of the instruction.

The university of Sofia represents the higher educational interests of the country. It was organized with a faculty of philology and history in 1888; faculties in mathematics and physical science were added in 1889, and the faculty of law in 1902. Medical students receive their education in the uni-

versities of foreign countries, and theological students are provided for in denominational seminaries. Nearly sixteen hundred students are enrolled each year in the university of Sofia, about half of whom are in the law faculty. About a fifth of the students are women.

The university has some excellently equipped laboratories, but it does not have suitable permanent quarters. Many years ago a Bulgarian patriot left two and one-third million dollars for the erection of university buildings. The money was, however, to draw interest for a definite period before it was available for the erection of buildings. The fund has drawn more than \$120,000 a year interest for fifteen years and is now available. In the near future Bulgaria will have at Sofia a fine new home for its highest institution of learning.

Among the special educational institutions of the country may be named the excellent art and industrial schools at Sofia. The art academy, organized by Professor Ivan Mirkvicka, has departments of painting, sculpture, and ceramics. It has an able corps of instructors and has already trained a number of men who are making their mark as creative artists. There is also a conservatory of music at the capital, which up to 1910 was a private institution with a grant from the state; but since that date it has been taken over by the government as a national institution.

An institute of technology has recently been opened at Sofia; agricultural and horticultural schools have been organized at Sadovo and Plevna;



SECONDARY SCHOOL AT RUSTCHUK.



AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL AT PLEVNA.

and there is an excellent military academy at Sofia. Hitherto Bulgarian students in very large numbers have attended the universities, institutes of technology, and art schools of Germany, Russia, Switzerland, France, and Belgium. With the organization of special schools and the extension of facilities for advanced study at home, this number is already diminishing.

The expenditure for educational purposes during the year 1912 reached five million dollars. Bulgaria far exceeds the other Balkan states in the matter of national and municipal expenditures for the education of children. The amount spent for educational purposes in 1912 averaged \$1.20 per inhabitant. For Servia during the same period it was sixty cents per inhabitant; Greece, fifty cents; Montenegro, forty cents, and Turkey, twenty cents.

The most remarkable achievement in the history of Bulgarian education is the rapidity with which the percentage of illiteracy has been reduced. In 1887 the percentage of illiteracy in the kingdom was 89, and in 1905 it was 72. These figures, however, include more than six hundred thousand Moslem Turks, Tatars, and gypsies, among whom the percentage of illiteracy is 97. These people are in Bulgaria what the Indians and negroes are in the United States. The government has made heroic efforts to educate them, but with very indifferent success.

In order to measure the efficiency of the Bulgarian school system in terms of literacy, we must exclude the Moslem population and all Bulgars over thirty-

five years of age, since the country was not liberated until 1878, and the people beyond this age had no opportunity under the Turkish rule to learn to read and write. With these exclusions, the percentage of illiteracy for the year 1905 is 33 for both sexes, 22 per cent. for men and 43 per cent. for women.

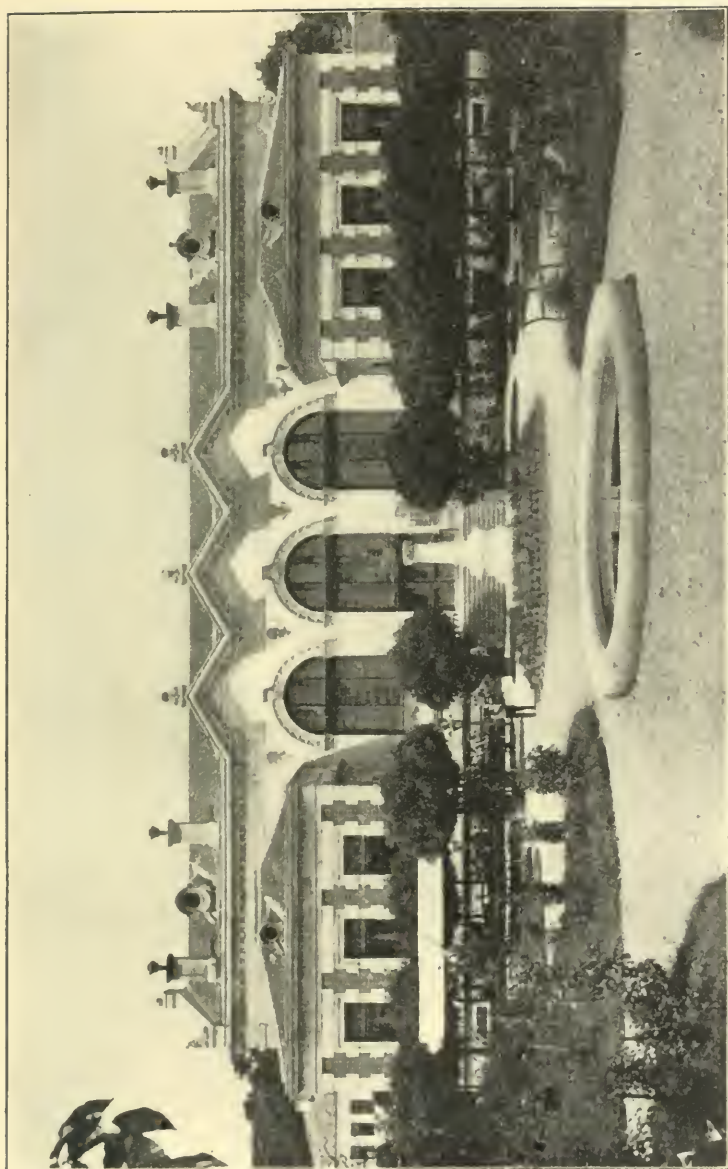
The military statistics of the country probably give the best index of the decrease in illiteracy. In 1878, when the army was organized, 90 per cent. of the recruits were illiterate; in 1888 the percentage of illiteracy was 70 per cent.;¹ in 1910 it was 10 per cent.,² and in 1913, only 5 per cent.³ When these figures are compared with the statistics of the older Balkan states, the result is even more striking. In Greece 30 per cent. of the army recruits are illiterate, and in Rumania 41 per cent. (*Statesman's Year-Book* for 1913.) The statistics for the army recruits of Servia are not available; but of the entire Servian population, 83 per cent. are illiterate. It should be noted in this connection that Bulgaria has a Moslem Turk and gypsy population of over 600,000; Servia, 14,000; Rumania, 40,000, and Greece practically none. Greece and Servia have been liberated from Ottoman rule more than four score years; Rumania more than half a century, and Bulgaria only thirty-six years.

There are national libraries at Sofia and Philippopolis, a university library at Sofia, and municipal

¹ *Das Bulgarische Bildungswesen*. Von W. Nikoltshoff. Leipzig, 1910.

² *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*. Par. F. Buisson. Paris, 1911.

³ *Bulgaria's Defence*. By M. Momtchiloff. *New York Times Analyst*, January 12, 1914.



PUBLIC LIBRARY AT SHUMEN.

libraries at Varna, Rustchuk, Shumen, and several other places. The national library at Sofia contains about fifty thousand volumes, and the one at Philippopolis about thirty-six thousand. Both are open to the public. Bulgaria, however, is much in need of public libraries, liberally administered, and made readily accessible to all the people. The Bulgars are serious-minded; and with the great increase of literacy among the peasants, libraries might be made a very valuable feature of the national educational system. Reading-rooms are found in many towns, but they contain little besides newspapers; and, as is elsewhere remarked, the Bulgarian newspapers have very slight literary value.

CHAPTER XVII

BULGARIAN FOLK - SONG AND MUSIC

Rich folk-poetry of the country — How these songs originated — Earliest efforts to collect the folk-songs of Bulgaria and Macedonia — Opposition of the Greek ecclesiastics — Song of Liuben the haiduk — Resemblance of the measures to Longfellow's *Hiawatha* — Ivan Popoff and the Fairy — Marko, the legendary hero — Mental traits of the lyrics — Relation of the folk-songs to national dances — The horo — Musical instruments used — Art music of Bulgaria — Works of modern composers — Musical societies.

AFTER the conquest of the Balkan peninsula by the Turks, many of the Bulgars took to the mountains and left the plains to be occupied by the conquerors and such of their kinsmen as had embraced the faith of Islam. It was among the mountain people that the national traditions, language, and customs were preserved; and it was here that the rich literature of folk-song had its birth.

Pencho Slaveïkoff, the foremost poet of Bulgaria, has given this account of the circumstances of the birth and development of the folk-poetry of his country: "Those things which were dear to the hearts of the people were preserved among such of the Bulgars as had taken to the mountains. Their lives were spent in the narrow circle of the family, conducted after the somnolent patriarchal fashion, so that they concerned themselves almost exclusively with the politics of a domestic world, as is faithfully and fascinatingly depicted for us in their songs. In that simple life of theirs it is not often that an event

occurs which is beyond the dull round of every day; there can, indeed, be nothing but what is coloured by their condition of servitude. The solitary gleams of light are the undying memories of the days of freedom — tales and dark legends of a time that has faded into hearsay, legends and tales that have long been meaningless, but are still remembered by the people because of the poetry that is in them.

“ The Bulgar did not look merely into himself; he went with open eyes and ears to make acquaintance with surrounding nature, felt that she was united organically with himself, and, being somewhat heathenishly inclined, he gave to her a catalogue of manners that were strange, original, and full of a marvellous poetry. He celebrated her as the sister of his grief and happiness, while in a similar way he listened to the mournful rustling of the woods around him, and of that everlasting sadness made the sadness of his songs.

“ These, in truth, are always with him through the changes of life, from the cradle to the grave. If he plows or if he sows or gathers in the harvest, there is no helpmate like a song; it is the royal comrade of his journey; when he lies on the bed of sickness it consoles him. The song usually lives in the voice of the singer; although at times one meets with the strange trio of violin, clarinet, and drum, while banquets and dances are made delightful with flute and fiddle and bagpipe. Only two of these instruments, the bagpipe and the flute, accompany the Bulgar at his work — when he guards his flocks in the pastures and when he traverses the bleak and

lonely plain, plodding on behind his caravan. Of these instruments, it is the flute which he loves the best, for it will sing to him more truly than all of them what the melodies contain of softness and of oriental sorrow.”¹

One of the earliest attempts to collect and preserve the folk-songs of Bulgaria was made by the Miladinoff brothers — Dimiter and Constantine. They published a volume of six hundred songs at Agram in 1861.² Constantine tells us in the introduction that the printed volume represents scarcely a tithe of the material collected. From one young girl he got one hundred fifty beautiful songs. The authors found Bulgarians who could neither read nor write but who could recite from memory hundreds of folk-songs, ballads, and proverbs.

The melancholy fate of the authors of this volume has been referred to elsewhere in this work. Because they had the temerity to publish their book in the Bulgarian alphabet rather than the Greek, they were accused of treason by the Greek authorities and thrown into Turkish prisons. Upon the representations of the Austrian and Russian consuls that the men had been falsely accused, the Ottoman government ordered their release. But when the order sanctioning their liberation reached Constantinople, both the brothers were dead. They had been killed by the intriguing Greek ecclesiastics. Constantine was under thirty and Dimiter a few

¹ *The Shade of the Balkans*. By Pencho Slaveikoff, *et al.* London, 1904, pp. 328.

² *Bulgarski Narodni Pessni* (Bulgarian National Songs). By Dimiter and Constantine Miladinoff. Agram, 1861, pp. 542.



BULGARIAN MUSICIANS.

years older. Such was the miserable fate of two really fine Bulgarian scholars and patriots. Hellenism forced them to drink the cup of Socrates for no other reason than the laudable purpose of preserving the folk-literature of their people.¹

Stefan K. Verkovitch, a clergyman from Bosnia, was another early student of Bulgarian folk-songs. His labours were largely confined to the Bulgarian peasants in Macedonia. His book was published in Servian, but a Bulgarian-Servian vocabulary was added. He relates that a woman in Macedonia recited to him two hundred seventy folk-songs, showing how many of the old songs were orally preserved by the people in a country where books did not exist. His collection contains some of the finest specimens of the Bulgarian folk-poetry. Verkovitch subsequently tarnished his fame by the fabrication of the *Veda Slovena*.

Among other early collections of Bulgarian folk-songs were those by Cholakoff² and Dozon.³ A few of the poems in Cholakoff's collection had already appeared; but Dozon's collection, published at Paris in 1875, was entirely new. Another ardent worker in this field was Petko R. Slaveïkoff, who made a collection of 17,441 proverbs, which contain "the most certain record of the independence of the soul of the people and of the philosophy which they cultivated. In these proverbs there is mirrored more

¹ For an excellent account of the life and labours of the Miladinoff brothers, see *Casopis Českého Musea* (Bohemian Literary Journal) for 1866.

² *Bulgariski Narodni Sbornik* (Bulgarian National Miscellany). Belgrade, 1873.

³ *Chansons populaires Bulgares*. By August Dozon. Paris, 1875.

clearly than elsewhere that extreme individualism which so sharply differentiates the Bulgar from his neighbours.”

Many of the Bulgarian folk-songs refer to the haiduks, brigands of the Robin Hood sort, whose exploits were idealized by the common people. Some of these songs, as Dozon has remarked, take a really high note and show something more than the coarse materialism of a life of thieving. The following is a literal translation of the haiduk Liuben :

“ Liuben, the young hero, cried out
 Of the summit of the old mountain.
 Liuben bade adieu to the forest,
 To the forest and mountain he spoke:
 ‘ Oh, wood! oh, green wood,
 And oh, cool spring,
 Dost thou know, forest, and dost thou remember
 How often I have wandered over thee,
 Have led my young heroes,
 Have carried my red standards?
 I have made many mothers weep,
 Deprived many brides of their homes.
 Even more have I made of little orphans,
 So that they weep, forest, they curse me.
 Farewell, forest, farewell,
 For I shall go home,
 So that my mother may betroth me
 To the daughter of the priest,
 The priest Nicholas.’
 The forest never spake to any one,
 And yet it spake to Liuben:
 ‘ Liuben, thou hero, Liuben!
 Enough hast thou wandered over me,
 Led thy chosen youth
 And carried thy red standard
 On the mountain, on the old mountain,
 By the cool thick shade of the trees,

By the dewy green grass.
Thou hast made many mothers weep,
Thou hast deprived many brides of their homes,
Thou hast left many little children orphans,
So that they weep, Liuben, they curse
Me, voivode, on thy account.
Till this time, Liuben,
The old mountain was thy mother,
The green forest was thy bride,
The grass gave thee a bed,
The leaves of the forest covered thee,
The clear brooklet gave thee drink,
The forest birds sang to thee;
For thee, Liuben, they spoke.
Rejoice, young hero, with thy comrades,
For the mountain is glad
And bidd'st thee adieu to the mountain.
For thou dost desire to go home
That thy mother may betroth thee,
May betroth thee and marry thee
To the daughter of the priest,
Of the priest Nicholas.' ”

This is one of the many really fine ballads in the rich Bulgarian folk literature. Surely, as an English writer remarks, “never were the sympathies between nature and man more beautifully expressed than in this delightful song, which has all the freshness of its native woods and mountains upon it. If we could only do away with the savage accessories, the cruel stories about widows and orphans, it might be taken as one of Wordsworth's pantheistic pictures. Something of the spirit of ‘The Excursion’ is in it and of that exquisite sonnet of sonnets, ‘The Brook’; and even more forcibly it reminds us of some of the fine lines of Emerson.”

Many of the selections in the collection by the

Miladinoff brothers resemble strikingly the style and composition of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. There is the same measure, the absence of rhyme, the repetition of words from the close of one line to the beginning of the next, and the repetition of entire lines in a question and its answer. The following lines from the Bulgarian folk-ballad *Ivan Popoff and the Fairy* suggests this resemblance:

“ Out he started, Ivan Popoff,
To go off on Easter Sunday,
Easter Sunday to his plowing;
He had gotten only half way
When there issued out a fairy,
A wild fairy of the mountains,
And she stopped the path before him.
' Turn you, turn you, Ivan Popoff,
Don't go forth on Easter Sunday,
Easter Sunday to your plowing.'
Ivan handsomely made answer:
' Get away, be gone, you fairy,
Or I'll down from off my courser,
By your flaxen hair I'll catch you,
And I'll tie you to my courser,
To the tail of my swift courser,
And I'll drag you like a harrow.'
Then the fairy she was angry,
And her flaxen hair she loosened,
And she tripped up his swift courser,
Longing his black eyes to swallow.
Then was angry Ivan Popoff,
And he caught the wily fairy,
By her flaxen hair he caught her,
And he tied her to his courser,
To the tail of his swift courser,
And he dragged her like a harrow,
Swiftly to his home he dragged her.
From afar he called his mother:

' Oh, come out, my dearest mother,
For a bride to you I'm bringing,
For a bride I bring a fairy,
To relieve you, dearest mother,
Wash the linen of my father,
Comb the hair of little brother,
Plait the tresses of my sister.'
Then he locked up her right pinion,
Locked her in a coloured casket.
For three years his bride lived with him,
And a little son she bore him.
Then they called a worthy sponsor
And the little son they christened.
Said the sponsor to the fairy:
' Fairy bride, now dance a little,
Let us see a fairy dancer.'
Thus replied to her the fairy:
' Let but Ivan Popoff give me,
Let him give me my right pinion,
Then I'll dance for you with pleasure.'
' Ah, but fairy bride, we doubt you.'
' If you doubt me, Ivan Popoff,
If you fear that I'll escape you,
Then the door securely fasten,
Fasten, too, the gate securely,
Then I'll dance for you with pleasure.'
So the door secure they fastened,
Fastened, too, the gate securely.
But as she began her dancing
Quickly she flew up the chimney."

The chief legendary hero in Bulgarian folk-song is Marko, an adventurer to whom nature gave great intellectual and physical powers, as well as frailties of character. He was, as Pencho Slaveïkoff has well said, a national god created by the people in their own image. His castle was supposed to be near Prilep, but his activities were shrouded in mystery. He was always accompanied in his exploits by his

faithful horse Sharko, "blue-grey with dark spots." He is usually represented in the songs as the champion of the oppressed Christians against the Turks. The following song which tells of the death of Marko is taken from Slaveïkoff's collection:¹

"There in the castle at the lofty battlement,
 With his friend of friends sat the king's son Marko,
 With his friend of friends, Philip the Hungarian,
 And the wife of Marko, the fair young wife attended them,
 Filling their cups with the noble wine.
 Then it was they gazed o'er the plain of Prilep,
 And unto Marko spoke Philip the Hungarian:
 'Knowest thou what has befallen in the world?
 Never dost thou sally forth beyond the threshold,
 As if the world had nought save the beauty of thy wife.
 And what befalls, of that thou knowest nothing.
 There is invented a death machine
 And inside it there is a little ball,
 Out it flies and strikes a man, and out flies his soul.'
 Then laughed Marko at the word of Philip,
 Marko laughed and his wife was smiling,
 And these were the words of the great-hearted hero:
 'Widely, forsooth, my friend, hast thou travelled,
 Too well thou knowest what happens in the world,
 Yet have I fears for thy understanding.
 How can a ball kill a noble hero?'
 Philip the Hungarian raised his voice and shouted,
 Shouted with his voice o'er Prilep's plain:
 'Shepherd, come hither, leave the sheep grazing,
 Young shepherd, come hither with your little gun.'
 Then Marko laughed till the castle quivered:
 'Now we shall see, now we shall be instructed.'
 When the shepherd came, Marko seized his gun,
 Throwing it about as if it were a feather.
 'And that you say can send a hero into darkness?
 Take your foolish gun, there is my hand for you.

¹ *Shade of the Balkans*. By Pencho Slaveïkoff, *et al.* London, 1904, pp. 328.

Let the ball fly forth and I will catch it.
The ball flew forth and bored through Marko's hand.
Then he grew pale, the old great-hearted hero,
Sitting there in silence with his arms upon the table,
And at nightfall he went forth but returned no more.

“ There is a story told by the people
That Marko hides between the lofty mountains,
Near to the chasm of Demir-Kapia,
Where the river Vardar winds like a serpent.
There in a cave he lies hidden,
There the hero slumbers through the ages.
In the earth before it he has plunged his lance
And against the lance his horse is fastened
Ever ready for the gallant Marko
When he rides again in pursuit of exploits.
Beyond the chasm winds a mountain path.
When the people go there they turn round and shout:
' Do you live, do you still live, father Marko? '
And it is to them as though they heard this answer:
' He lives, he still lives, the people's father Marko.' ”

Many of the lyrical pieces treat of human affections with considerable evidence of tenderness and not without elegance. Some of the songs relate to the Samovilas, mysterious beings who play an important rôle in Slavic mythology. The Samovilas of the Bulgarian folk-song are the sisters of heroes whom they are always prepared to help in times of need. They are beautiful maidens, with fair hair and blue eyes, and they wear white silken robes that are so long that their feet are not visible. Their habitat is in the deep forest or on the shores of mountain lakes.

In the ballad of the fair Strana and Samovila, Strana is represented as a beautiful young girl

dressing for the church service on the morning of Easter Sunday. Her mother warns her not to go to church before other people have arrived for fear that the young priest might make love to her. She is offended by the caution of her mother and goes to the garden to pout. There she meets a Samovila, who tears out her beautiful black eyes with the remark:

“ This is the way, fair Strana,
For thee to go to the Easter festival,
The Easter festival, the lucky day.”

One of the lays in Slaveïkoff's collection tells how a Samovila built her castle “ not in the sky, nor in the heaven, nor upon the hanging sky, but in the dark clouds.” The materials used in its construction were not stones and timbers, but brave warriors and fair maidens. For the foundation stones she took “ only warriors newly married ” and for mortar “ maidens with a face of whiteness.”

Dragons and serpents also figure in the Bulgarian folk-songs. Dragons fall in love with peasant girls and carry them off to the clouds. Birds likewise play an important rôle, and notably the falcon (*sokol*), which is regarded by the Bulgarians as the bird of heroes. One ballad tells of the transformation of a young wife into a swallow. After a severe punishment administered by her mother-in-law, she prayed that she might be transformed into a bird. The next day the old woman attempted to punish her with a pair of scissors, and instantly she was changed to a swallow and flew up the chim-



NATIONAL DANCE: THE HORO.

ney, but the scissors struck her before her escape, as may be seen by the shape of the tail of the swallow.

Many of these songs are sung in connection with the horo or national dance. An unlimited number of persons can participate in the horo. Each dancer places her hand either in that of her neighbour or upon the latter's shoulder. A step is taken sideways to the left and then three steps to the right. As the dancers move, they assume the form of a serpent, which coils and uncoils. There are several forms of the horo. The form most generally found is danced slowly, the music moving in two-quarter measure. Another form calls for great agility of leg movements. It is in quick tempo in the three-eighth measure. A third form moves in two measures and is not unlike the tempo of the gallop. The vocal music that goes with the horo is composed in plain motives without any variations or modulations, and the tunes in minor chords are expressive of the cries of an oppressed people.

The native musical instruments include the gaida, the gadulka, and the kaval. The gaida is not unlike the Scotch bagpipe. The gadulka is the Bulgarian violin. It is onion-shaped and strung with three horizontal strings. The fiddler plays the melody on one of the strings and the other two sound as a double cadenza. The gadulka reposes not underneath the chin of the performer but on his chest. The kaval is the national flute and is much used by shepherds. It is made of a hollow piece of wood twelve or fifteen inches long and consists of three

parts, of which the middle part has six holes and the other two parts one hole each.

The songs sometimes have a religious character, or they tell of the exploits of saints with monsters who inhabit the pools and the mountains. Most of the songs are in minor chords and express forcibly the wretched captivity in which the country so long groaned. Slaveikoff calls attention to the fact that among the thousands of Bulgarian folk-songs there exist only five or six in which the *motif* is consciously humorous.

With the inexhaustible treasures of folk-songs, the tone artists of Bulgaria have a wealth of original motives upon which to build a fine art music. Little has been done in this field. Dobrey Kristoff (born at Varna the 14th of December, 1875) is the composer of several musical works based upon folk-songs. His *Songs of the Balkans* is said to be a work of considerable promise and he is the composer of a music drama based on the first Balkan war that has been cordially received. Dimiter Hadji-Georgieff is the author of several notable operas and cantatas, as well as meritorious orchestral compositions. George Atanasoff has an opera based on one of the dramas of Ivan Vazoff, as well as several operettas dealing with fairy stories. Petko Naumoff has composed for the violin and the piano and is the author of a rhapsody that has been well received in Germany and other musical countries. Panyot Pipoff has composed a number of child operas and other compositions.

The Bulgarian National Theatre at Sofia produces

the music dramas of native composers, as well as the operas by Bohemians, Russians, and other foreign tone artists. There is a good orchestra at Sofia and a national school of music has recently been organized at the capital. The Rodna Pessen is the leading musical society at Sofia. It gives symphonic, choral, and chamber music concerts and aims to popularize art music. There are flourishing music societies at Philippopolis and in several other large towns in the kingdom.

CHAPTER XVIII

MODERN BULGARIAN LITERATURE

The literary revival and the movement for political liberty — Christo Boteff — Liuben Karaveloff — Zachary Stoyanoff — Petko R. Slaveikoff, the founder of modern Bulgarian literature — His political and educational activities — Collections of folk-songs — Translation of the Bible — Ivan Vazoff, poet, dramatist, and novelist — Early life and training — Connection with the revolutionary movement — Early verses — Under the Yoke — Other romances — Dramas — Vlaikoff — Stoyan Michailovsky, satirist — Aleko Constantinoff, humourist — Success of Bai Ganio — Pencho Slaveikoff, the foremost Bulgarian writer — Pen-picture of the poet — His art work — Lyrical compositions — His great epic — Petko Todoroff, poet and dramatist — Author of the finest Bulgarian prose — Velitchkoff — Minor poets — Political and philosophical writers.

ATTENTION has been called in previous chapters to the tenacity with which the Bulgars retained for centuries feelings of nationality in the face of the double yoke they were forced to bear — the political yoke imposed upon them by the Turks and the ecclesiastical and educational yoke imposed by the Greek church. The modern literature of Bulgaria had its birth in the *Culturkampf* that raged for a quarter of a century about the reëstablishment of the national church. The patriots who were the leaders of the movement against the corrupt Phanariot bishops in the struggle for the revival of the national church were the founders of the new school of Bulgarian letters.

The movement for ecclesiastical emancipation had nationalistic aims, and it ultimately led to the organ-

ization in Rumania of revolutionary bands of Bulgarian emigrants who advocated complete emancipation and independence. The dormant patriotism of the nation was aroused by the lyrics, ballads, pamphlets, collections of folk-songs, and romances of Christo Boteff, Liuben Karaveloff, Zachary Stoyanoff, and Petko R. Slaveikoff. Professor Alfred Jensen, the Swedish literary critic, remarks that, "while the liberators of the Serbs were nothing but warriors, the Bulgarian liberators were both warriors and poets; and they aroused their countrymen from their lethargy by their patriotic songs quite as much as by their patriotic acts."

The influence of Christo Boteff (1847-1876) on the younger writers of Bulgaria was very great indeed; and this influence has been considerable on the later verse-writers of the country. There was artistic intensity in his lyrics and ballads. "Of all the poets of the past," writes Pencho Slaveikoff, Bulgaria's greatest poet, "Boteff is the dearest to us; he comes nearest to our souls, because he never separated poetry from the life and feeling of the people."

Professor Radoslav A. Tsanoff characterizes Boteff as the Bulgarian Marlowe. "A torrential soul who perished at Marlowe's own age at the head of a band of patriotic desperadoes, who flung reason to the winds, and crossed the Danube to shatter the Ottoman empire." Again he remarks: "Boteff was a poet of Marlowe's intensity, if not of the latter's sweep of imagination — a genius that might have done wonders had he lived, judging from the handful of lyrics he left behind him."

Boteff with less than three hundred followers fell in the battle near Vratza in 1876. His head, remarkable for its beauty, was displayed by the Turks on a pole as a warning to insurgent Bulgarians. Hadji Dimiter, a revolutionary leader, had been slain not long before and his army shattered. Boteff's best poem is entitled *The Death of Hadji Dimiter*. It is full of fine poetic feeling and choice imagery. In this poem, as the English translator remarks, Boteff unconsciously foreshadowed his own death, so similar in all respects to that of the hero he brooded over with such intense affection. An English version of the poem by Lucy C. Ball will be found in the *World's Best Literature*.¹

Liuben Karaveloff (1837-1879) was poet, novelist, journalist, and statesman. He played an important rôle in the movement that culminated in the emancipation of the Bulgarian church and nation. For Karaveloff literature was chiefly a means of arousing the national consciousness of his countrymen; nevertheless, some of his character sketches — and notably his sketches dealing with Greek treachery and depravity and the descriptions of the peasant customs in his native village of Koprivshitzza — will long occupy an important place in the short story literature of Bulgaria. His work as a journalist and editor was also important in connection with *Liberty, Independence, Knowledge, and Banner*. Some of these publications he edited in collaboration with Christo Boteff.

¹ *World's Best Literature*. Edited by Charles Dudley Warner. Vol. 24. New York, 1897.

Zachary Stoyanoff (1850-1889) was another member of the revolutionary band that precipitated the insurrections that were the prelude to the liberation of the Bulgars from the rule of the Turks. His *Autobiography*,¹ an excellent English version of which has lately appeared, gives perhaps the best account of the spirit of emulation and enthusiasm of the activities of the central revolutionary committee at Bucharest and the sub-committees in Bulgaria.

Stoyanoff, in his *Autobiography*, describes his early life at Kotel, and gives an account of his peasant home, of his first occupation as a shepherd, and of his ardent desire for an education. He joined the revolutionary movement at Rustchuk; took part in the revolts of 1875 and 1876; was captured by the Turks, but escaped condemnation. After the emancipation he was associated with Stefan Stamboloff as the editor of *Svoboda* (*Liberty*). He held several official posts, one of which was that of president of the national assembly. Besides the *Autobiography*, he was the author of numerous works, most of which deal with the insurrectionary period. Mr. Potter, his English translator, says of his literary work: "His remarkable command of language and his great facility in describing humourously the events which he had witnessed lend to all his writings a peculiar charm."

The real founder of modern Bulgarian literature, however, was Petko R. Slaveïkoff (1827-1895). He

¹ *Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent*. By Zachary Stoyanoff. Translated by M. W. Potter. London, 1913, pp. 316.

was the son of an illiterate but musical copper-smith; and, after a brief course in the Turkish and Bulgarian schools, he was apprenticed to his father's trade. It was subsequently decided that he should prepare for the priesthood, and with this in view he studied for a time in a Greek school. He engaged instead in teaching and laboured for many years in different Bulgarian villages and towns. This was the period when the Bulgars were attempting to restore their ancient language by the organization of national elementary schools. The work of Slaveïkoff brought him into active opposition with the Greeks, then the spiritual rulers of Bulgaria.

Slaveïkoff was active in the movement that secured the emancipation of the Bulgarian Orthodox church from the domination of the Greek Phanariotes; he participated in the revolutions that ultimately freed his country from Turkish rule; he fought in the Turko-Russian war of 1877-78, and the Servian war of 1885; he was active in political life; served for a number of years as a member of the national assembly; and was twice a member of the cabinet — once as minister of public instruction and once as minister of the interior.

His son Pencho Slaveïkoff, the leading man of letters in Bulgaria, writes of his father: " His life, the life of a man of the Bulgarian renaissance, is of itself a legend. I need only mention that in the course of his variegated career he was relentlessly pursued by Turks and Greeks, was arrested by them some thirty times, and more than once by the gov-

ernment of his liberated fatherland. But never did his lucky star desert him; once indeed it saved his life when he was standing with his hands manacled upon the scaffold. His exploits and his services for the national awakening made him the most popular personage in Bulgaria, so that the people conferred upon him the title of 'Grandfather,' which the Bulgars are accustomed to bestow upon the men whom they most deeply reverence. It is not easy to measure the debt which literary Bulgaria owes to him, especially with regard to the language, the present literary language — seeing that he is to all intents its creator. In spite of the close personal attention which he gave to his profession and to the political movements of the day, there was apparently no lack of time for a great mass of literary work, which included the collection of folk-lore and of material for histories. It was only a small portion of the latter which saw the light, all the rest having been destroyed by the Turks in 1877. He is considered as the best among our poets — having been also the first among them to lay down laws for the technical side of Bulgarian verse.”¹

Slaveikoff's greatest service to the modern literature of Bulgaria was the reestablishment of the vernacular as a literary language. Greek had held the national literary spirit in fetters for more than four hundred years. He clearly saw that the surest road to the use of the Bulgarian as a literary language was to publish in the vernacular the proverbs

¹ *The Shade of the Balkans*. By Pencho Slaveikoff, *et al.* London, 1904, pp. 328.

and folk-songs which had been handed down orally for many generations. One of his first literary tasks was the collection of proverbs that were current among the peasants. This collection includes 17,441 saws and maxims that contain the soul of the people and the philosophy which they cultivated during the five centuries that they were under the political bondage of the Turks and the ecclesiastical bondage of the Greeks. "There is more clearly mirrored in these proverbs than anywhere else," remarks Slaveïkoff, "that extreme individualism which so sharply differentiates the Bulgar from his neighbours."

He was indefatigable in his efforts to secure the representative folk-songs of the Bulgarian peasants, many of which he printed; but after his death there was found among his papers an enormous number of unprinted folk-songs, many of which have since been published by Dozon, Rakovsky, and Bezsonoff. Most of the fragments of folk-songs given elsewhere in this volume are from his unpublished collection. He was the first to write down the old Bulgarian epics of Krali Marko, which the Russian Academy of Sciences published in 1855.

The excellent literary quality of the modern Bulgarian translation of the Bible, which was published by the American Bible Society, must be credited to the coöperation of Slaveïkoff. The publication of the Scriptures in Bulgarian has had an enormous influence in determining the character of the written language. During the centuries that the Bulgarian was used only as a spoken language among the peas-

ants, numerous dialects appeared; and many of the earlier writers of the modern renaissance made use of these dialects. Dr. Albert Long, an American missionary in Bulgaria, and later a professor in Robert College, wrote of Slaveïkoff at the time of his death: "A grateful nation will cherish his name as connected with some of the sweetest songs, most attractive stories, vigorous polemics, earnest patriotic appeals, and valuable folk-lore contributions made by any writer during the renaissance period of Bulgarian literature. But foremost among his literary contributions and his influence upon the language and the moral development of the nation, will ever stand his work upon the Bulgarian Bible."

Certainly the most popular author in Bulgaria to-day is Ivan Vazoff, poet, dramatist, and novelist. Vazoff was born at Sopot the 9th of July, 1850. Professor Radoslav A. Tsanoff writes of him: "His father was a prominent local merchant, an honest old style tradesman of devout orthodoxy and unflinching honesty. To his mother's literary taste Vazoff owes his early book culture. Old Vazoff wanted his son to master Turkish and modern Greek, the two dialects necessary for a merchant of that day. Ivan learned French and Russian, the two languages indispensable for a poet revolutionist."¹

The revolutionary movement of the early seventies forced most of the educated Bulgars to reside in foreign countries. Vazoff took up his residence

¹ *Ivan Vazoff, Balkan Poet and Novelist.* By Radoslav A. Tsanoff. *Poet Lore*, 1908. Vol. 19, pp. 98-110.

in Rumania and contributed to the *Periodic Review*, published at Braila, "that first tender leaf of the budding Bulgarian literary spirit." He was a member of the revolutionary committee that directed the insurrectionary movements against the Turks in 1875 and 1876. He returned to Bulgaria in 1877 to accept a government post at Svishtov under Prince Teherkasky after that town had been captured by the Russians. It was there that he learned the sad fate of Sopot—the complete destruction of the town and the murder of his father by the Turks.

During his years of exile he published three volumes of patriotic lyrics—*Sorrows of Bulgaria*, *Banner and Lyre*, and *The Deliverance*. In the first he voices the sorrows of his oppressed countrymen, and in the last their joys of deliverance from a long and oppressive yoke. After the independence of the country he was elected to the national assembly of Eastern Rumelia. He settled at Philippopolis, where he published his earliest prose works—*Not Long Ago*, *Mitrofan*, *Hadji Akhil*, and *The Outcasts*. To the same period belongs *Mikhalaki*, his first dramatic work. He published two collections of verses in 1883—*Gusla* and *Fields and Woods*—and the next year *Italy*, in which, as Professor Krsteff remarks, he struck a deeper and truer poetic note. "This work was the first book of poems in Bulgarian in which a native poet revealed to his countrymen the inmost recesses of his soul."

Vazoff was in the Servian war of 1885; and on the battle-fields of Slivnitza, 'Tsaribrod, and Pirot, amidst dying soldiers and within sound of the roar



IVAN VAZOFF.

of cannon, he sang the valour of his countrymen in dithyrambic strains in *Slivnitza* (1885). Some of the verses in this volume are of high merit and establish his claim to artistic rank as a poet.

Following the downfall of the Russian party in Bulgaria, Vazoff spent three years in exile at Odessa. Professor Tsanoff writes in this connection: "Vazoff has from the very first been a devout Russophil. His poetic adoration for the Tsar Liberator shut his eyes to the vile hypocrisy of the St. Petersburg diplomats. He could see nothing wrong coming from Russia. The word of the Great White Tsar had been the gospel of his father; it was a sacred truth to him. While others were paid for their services, Vazoff considered it a mere act of patriotism to 'stand pat' by Russia. But there was a man in Bulgaria, Stefan Stamboloff, the Bismarck of the Balkans, who succeeded in setting Russia's plotting to nought. While being himself a poet and respecting everything literary, Stamboloff was before all else a statesman. Vazoff was a friend of Russia, therefore, in the statesman's eyes, an enemy of the people. The bard of Sopot was exiled."

While in exile at Odessa he wrote *Pod Igoto* (*Under the Yoke*), the novel that was to make him famous. Upon his return to Bulgaria in 1889 it appeared serially in *Sbornik*, a literary review published under the auspices of the ministry of public instruction. This novel has been translated into all the languages of Europe and two of the languages of Asia. There is an excellent English ver-

sion, with a graceful introduction by Edmund Gosse.¹

In *Under the Yoke*, as Mr. Edmund Gosse has pointed out, Vazoff has concentrated in riper form than elsewhere the peculiar gifts of his mind and style. "The first quality that strikes the critic in reading this very remarkable book is its freshness. It is not difficult to realize that in its original form, this must be the earliest work of genius written in an unexhausted language. Nor, if Vazoff should live eighty years, and should write with unabated zeal and volume, is it very likely that he will ever recapture this first fine careless rapture. *Under the Yoke* is a historical romance, not constructed by an antiquary or imagined by a poet out of vague and insufficient materials accidentally saved from a distant past, but recorded by one who lived and fought and suffered through the scenes that he sets himself to chronicle. It is like seeing *Old Mortality* written by Morton or finding the autobiography of Ivanhoe. It is a history seen through a powerful telescope, with mediæval figures crossing and recrossing the seventies of our own discoloured nineteenth century. When the passion which animates it is taken into consideration, the moderate and artistic tone of *Under the Yoke* is worthy of great praise. In the episode out of the epic of an intoxicated nation, great extravagance, great violence might have been expected and excused. But this tale of forlorn Bulgarian patriotism is constructed

¹ *Under the Yoke: a Romance of Bulgarian Liberty.* By Ivan Vazoff. With an Introduction by Edmund Gosse. New and Revised Edition. London, 1912, pp. 301. First English edition, 1893.

with delicate consideration, and passes nowhere into bombast. The author writes out of his heart things which he has seen and felt, but the moment of frenzy has gone by, and his pulse as an observer has recovered its precision. The passion is there still, the intense conviction of intolerable wrongs, scarcely to be wiped out with blood. The strenuous political fervour of this romance is relieved by a multitude of delicate, touching, and humourous episodes."

The later romances of Vazoff include *New Country* (1896) and *The Queen of Kazalar* (1902), in which he has given a picture of the social life of his country since its liberation. But he has not reached the high mark of merit attained in *Under the Yoke*. Vazoff possesses remarkable powers of observation; but, as the Swedish critic, Professor Jensen, has remarked, "He knows little or nothing about racial psychology, and probably cares little about it." Vazoff has also tried his hand at drama. *Vagabonds* (1894), his most popular dramatic work, deals with the life and activities of the Bulgarian exiles in Rumania just before the liberation. *Over the Abyss*, a later drama, based upon ancient Bulgarian history, strikes a higher note and indicates better workmanship. *Ivailo* (1913), Vazoff's most recent dramatic piece, deals with the second half of the thirteenth century, just after the close of the glorious reign of Ivan Asen II in Bulgaria. Like his other dramatic compositions it makes a strong patriotic appeal. His dramas have received cordial reception at the National Theatre at Sofia; and it

is the opinion of capable critics that they are certain to hold a prominent place in the theatres of Bulgaria because of their effective situations.

The melodious character of Vazoff's lyrics makes him the favourite poet with children; the school readers of the country contain many of his poems, and he enjoys more popularity with the masses of his countrymen than any other Bulgarian writer. His poems have been translated into Russian, Slovenian, Servian, and Bohemian. The translation into Bohemian by Voracek (Prague, 1891) is said to be one of the best of the foreign versions. *The Pine Tree* appears in an English version, by Lucy C. Bull, in the *World's Best Literature*. Concerning the *Epic of the Forgotten Ones* Professor Tsanoff writes: "It appealed to the very noblest sentiments of a dauntless race. In a series of fire-breathing odes, swinging in a wildly torrential rhythm, Vazoff sings the glories of the fallen heroes. The language is steeped in passion. Eulogies of brave champions intermingle with almost savage anathemas at the tyrant Turks and the maliciously jealous Phanariotes." Some of Vazoff's latest publications are *A Wanderer's Songs*, *Under Our Sky*, *All Sorts of People*, and *Things Seen and Heard*. The first and second are volumes of verses, and the last two stories and sketches.

A novelist who has not reached the popularity of Vazoff, but who gave early promise of becoming a worthy competitor of the author of *Under the Yoke*, is Theodore Vlaïkoff (born in 1865). His material is drawn from the life of the Bulgarian

peasants, and his romances are adroitly constructed on psychological problems. *Slavtcho's Granddaughter* (1887) is a charming idyl of village life. Richer in human content and more acute in psychological analysis is *The Servant* (1892). In this story he describes the cares and sufferings that followed the disappearance of the frugal habits and patriarchal customs of earlier days. The interest of the story is directed not so much upon artistic effects as upon the thoughts and feelings of the characters. Probably his most effective novel was *The Officer's Servant* (1896), in which he describes the new life of his country. Exceptionally well drawn are the officer, his old mother, and his servant. The great artistic merit of this work aroused hopes for the future literary superiority of Vlaïkoff that have not been realized. Shortly after its appearance, he renounced letters for politics, and his later years have been entirely occupied with social, economic, and political matters.

Stoyan Michailovsky, satirist and polemist, was born at Elena in 1856; he studied in the French lycée at Constantinople, and later pursued courses in jurisprudence at the university of Aix in France. He became active in the literature of political journalism after his return to Bulgaria, and for some years he was professor in the university at Sofia. His first important publication was a dramatic poem entitled *The Song of Evil* (1882). It was a rather obscure work that dealt with the fall of man. A more significant work was *Suspiria de profundis* (1883), a mystical composition that deals with the

sorrows of the Slavs in the ages past and the rainbow of promise in the future. His most important work, a satirical poem, is *The Book for the Bulgarian People* (1897). It purports to deal with political affairs in Asia, but in reality it is a veiled attack on the early years of the reign of King Ferdinand and the government of Stamboloff.

Among the other writings of Michailovsky are *Novissima Verba*, *Lamentations and Tears*, *Philosophical and Satirical Sonnets*, *The Diary of a Lonesome Man*, and *Concealed Thoughts*. "These works," remarks Professor Krsteff, a candid but thoroughly judicious critic of Bulgarian literature, "bespeak a profound and contradictory character to whom the riddle of existence does not remain concealed. Michailovsky called himself a lonesome man and the statement is quite true. He has always been a poet among politicians and a politician among poets, and he has never been entirely at home in either camp. He has continued to be more or less a stranger in his own time and country. In his ideas and language, as in the artistic forms in which he has chosen to give expression to his political and social woes, he has clung rather closely to French models."

Most of the writings of Michailovsky have a common character. They abound with epigrams, aphorisms, and meditations inspired by love, duty, and the struggle of life, and are tinged with a gloomy religious mysticism that gives the tone feeling to so many of the creations of Slavic poets. In his satires he assails graft and corruption and boodle

in political life, and vice and hypocrisy and unbelief in social life. Pessimism is the dominant note; but it is not the pessimism of the sentimentalist, but the preaching of the social and political reformer. His prose writings are polemic, even vehement, full of invective and bitter harangue.

Aleko Constantinoff (1863-1897), a refined humourist, was an author of the first rank. He was born at Svishtov the 1st of January, 1863. He studied in the elementary school at Svishtov, and at the age of eleven entered the secondary school at Gabrovo. After the war of 1877-1878, he was sent to Russia to complete his education. During the seven years spent abroad in study, he wrote several small pieces for the theatre, a comic poem published in 1882, and published in collaboration with several friends a humorous review. He returned to Bulgaria in 1885 and received an official appointment as judge in the district court of Sofia. This post he soon lost, however, "through the most miserable of political motives."

He then took up the practice of law, and while waiting for clients turned his attention to literature. He made translations of the poems of Pushkin, Lermontoff, Nekrassoff, Francois Coppée, and Molière, and wrote literary criticisms for the papers of Sofia. He visited America in 1893, and upon his return to Bulgaria published his first book, *To Chicago and Back*. It was a notable book of travel and gave him a place of distinction among the writers of his country.

It was, however, the *Bai Ganio*, the Bulgarian

Tartarin, that established his fame. In this work he gives an account of the visit of a typical Bulgarian peasant to Bohemia. All the weak points in the character of the peasant citizen are laid bare; but merciless as was the veracity of the story, its humour was so calm and irresistible that even the Bulgarian peasants enjoyed it. *Baï Ganio* is one of the finest contributions to the literature of modern European humour, and it is to be regretted that it has never been translated into English. There is, however, a very satisfactory French version.¹

In 1894 he joined the ranks of the young democratic party under the leadership of Karaveloff and began the publication of a series of *feuilletons* in the newspapers of Sofia, which he continued up to the moment of his untimely death. "For these *feuilletons*," remarks Professor Krsteff, "he chose the simplest possible themes, but his language was so powerful, his style so forceful, and, withal, so charming, that they acted like war songs on the people. He controlled the literary world of Bulgaria and kept the people in breathless expectancy until his death in 1897."²

While carriage-riding in the mountains between Bulgaria and Macedonia, and accompanied by Mr. Takeff, minister of the interior in the Malinoff cabinet, Constantinoff received revolver bullets that

¹ *Baï Ganio*. Par Aleko Constantinoff. Traduit du Bulgare par Mateï Gueorguiev et Jean Jagerschmidt. Paris, 1911, pp. 245.

² *Die neue bulgarische Litteratur*. Von K. Krsteff-Miroljuboff. *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft Kunst und Technik*, 23rd January, 1909.



ALEKO CONSTANTINOFF.

were intended for his companion, and died almost instantly. At the spot where he fell there has been erected a monument to his memory which bears this inscription: " Travellers, tell to future generations that at this spot Aleko Constantinoff, poet-author, was assassinated by hired murderers, the 11th of May, 1897." A collection of his works, with an appreciative sketch by Pencho Slaveïkoff, was published after his death. (Sofia, 1901.)

There is, so far as the author knows, practical uniformity of judgment among competent European students of Bulgarian literature with reference to the name that stands at the head of the list of men of letters in the peasant state. Pencho Slaveïkoff (1866-1912), son of Petko Slaveïkoff, the father of modern Bulgarian literature, struck a higher intellectual note, employed more refined literary canons, and projected himself more effectively into the future than any of his contemporaries. Professor Jensen of Sweden says of him: " He brought the new poetry of Bulgaria into living relationship with European culture, while at the same time he jealously preserved its unique national characteristics. No Bulgarian poet has sung more effectively than he in honour of the martyr pioneers; yet no artist has more ruthlessly lashed the political and social shortcomings of the Bulgarian people than Pencho Slaveïkoff."

An English literary critic, who knew Slaveïkoff personally, gives this account of him: " He is the caged lion of Sofia. Great massive shoulders, a massive head, swarthy, with beard of black and

silver, a brow that sets one thinking, and eyes — eyes weary with the world's troubles, eyes of the twilight woods, then of a woodland faun, eyes that lure you and dance away from you, eyes that laugh at you and their owner, unbearable eyes. Slaveïkoff is the figure of revolt. As he walks painfully through the town — for his feet are unwilling travellers — he longs with a fierce desire to be where no man knows him. The passion of revolt is in his blood; it burns in the poems he wrote in Germany, whither the spirit of Nietzsche summoned him. In that series of remarkable poems he celebrates Beethoven, Lenau, Shelley, Nietzsche, Michael Angelo — men who wrong great things out of anguish.”

Pencho Slaveïkoff was the first Bulgarian poet who placed special emphasis both on the form and the content of his creations. His predecessors and contemporaries had been concerned primarily with the spiritual life of the people; but Slaveïkoff recognized that the poet must be an artist, and that his songs must be cast in forms that will bear the test of the highest canons of poetic art. The magical perfection of his phrasing, the classical purity of his language, and the appropriateness of his imagery may well serve as models for the younger poets of Bulgaria.

His first really great lyrical composition was the poetical cycle, the *Koledari*, so named in honour of the wandering folk-bards who at Christmas time went from place to place singing songs of well-wishing, for which they were paid with small gifts. Here, as in his other works, the diction is of a rich

and permanent texture; and the thrill of the properly chosen word, which gratifies at once the ear, the imagination, and the understanding, is more marked than in any other Bulgarian poet.

A melancholy note pervades *Epic Songs* (1896-1897), and *Dreams* (1898), *A Dream of Happiness* (1908), and *Island of the Blessed* (1910). They are brilliantly coloured shadows in a brilliantly coloured shadowland; and there is behind these songs, as Henry Bernard has remarked, "a living background of Bulgarian nature—the tawny-coloured plains, the vast pine-clad Rilo mountains, the celebrated rose-fields of Rumelia. Straggling hamlets of grey and yellow and at intervals a Turkish casement; dark, active-looking men, despite their bulging pantaloons; girls in gauzy robes of blue with ancient belts of silver-work, with coins and red and yellow flowers twined among their strands of hair; children, whose garment is often the sunlight, congregating in the dust of villages or about the little river which disports itself between the cobblestones of the tortuous main street—no phase of rural life which is unknown to our poet."

Slaveïkoff's masterpiece is *Kurvava Pessen* (A Bloody Song). It is a great epic, which was unfinished at the time of the death of the poet. Its central figure is no human being, but the genius of the Bulgarian race is personified by Father Balkan—the spirit of the vast chain of mountains that is inseparably connected with the life of the nation. The story of the sufferings of the Bulgarian people under the Turks and their deliverance by the Rus-

sians is unfolded in the epic manner with large inset episodes. In intellectual comprehension, moral sublimity, and rich description it takes high rank among the epics of modern European literature. It has an admirable Swedish version; and, but for the untimely death of the poet, would have secured him the Nobel prize.

Professor Krsteff, one of the most discriminating of Bulgarian critics, writes concerning the work of Pencho Slaveikoff: "His poetical development was determined in part by the Russian novelists and in part by the German lyric poets. He united the tender and dreamy soul of the Slav with the thoughtful and artistic mind of the Teuton. He was the first Bulgarian poet who combined lofty standards of form with virile content." He took the spiritual life of the Bulgarian people, as embodied in folk-song, and gave it new poetic energy and beauty. While Bulgarian literature is still in a state of transition, which makes it difficult for the foreign critic to pronounce with any finality what is better and what is best, there can be but one judgment with reference to the work of Pencho Slaveikoff: It is increasingly recognized that he reached the highest point which the authors of Bulgaria have attained in the field of letters. For Slaveikoff was more than a *Bulgarian poet*; he was a *poet*.

Petko Todoroff (born 1879), author of ballads, dramas, and essays, is probably the most significant of the younger living authors of Bulgaria. He is the most modern of the poets and approximates most nearly the high rank attained by Pencho Slave-



PETKO TODOROFF.



PENCHO SLAVEIKOFF.

ikoff. *Inconstant, Bewitched, Shadows, and The Marriage of the Sun* (all of which have been excellently translated into German by Dr. G. Adam) portray Bulgarian peasant life in all the freshness of its beauty and simplicity.

His dramas likewise are notable creations. In *The Masons* he describes the slow awakening of the national Bulgarian consciousness, with which he has admirably blended the religious feelings of the peasant folk. This is one of the popular pieces in the National Theatre at Sofia. *The First Ones*, a social drama, deals with the period of intellectual emancipation from Greek culture.

Todoroff's greatest dramatic achievement is *The Mountain Fairy*, in which the poet has attained a degree of poetic perfection not hitherto reached by other Bulgarian authors in the field of dramatic literature. It is a work of genuine poetic inspiration, as well as fine artistry in construction, and is certain sooner or later to find its way into the repertoire of European and American theatres.

All of Todoroff's writings display unusual imagination and suggest the idealistic philosophy that mirrors the author's fine personality. His sketches of folk-life and his prose writings are probably the finest that have been produced by any Bulgarian author.

Constantine Velitchkoff (1857-1897) is one of the minor poets of Bulgaria. He was born at Tatar Pazardjik; studied in the French lyc ee at Constantinople, and participated in the revolutionary movement against Turkey that preceded the war of

1877-78. He was captured and imprisoned by the Turks, and has since published *In Prison*, in which he gives his experiences during that stirring and dangerous period. After the liberation of Bulgaria he became minister of public instruction in the province of Eastern Rumelia. He has been a careful translator of many foreign poems into the Bulgarian — *Macbeth* of Shakespeare, *Inferno* of Dante, and *Misanthrope* of Molière. In 1889 he published a volume of sonnets, most of them in a melancholy vein, but all of them indicating poetic talent of no mean order. In his prose works, as in *Letters from Rome* (1895), he shows marked power of description and keen sense of appreciation of natural beauty.

Another minor poet is Kyril Christoff (born in 1875). He is the author of patriotic verses, erotic songs, and dramas. He was early in life a devotee of Italian poetry, and some of his poems of passion show unmistakable Italian influences. In a more recent volume, *Na Krustopot* (At the Parting of the Ways), he has shown finer feeling and a higher order of poetic genius. His *Selected Poems* (1904) show mastery of lyric verse forms. He has shown keen interest in working over folk-song motives and folk-ballads. He has achieved no marked success in dramatic literature, but his dramas have unmistakable elements of promise; and as he is a comparatively young writer, his best work in this field may lie in the future.

Payo Yavoroff (born 1877) is a lyric poet of recognized ability. His *Poems* (1901) showed the un-

mistakable influence of the revolutionary versifiers, and notably of Christo Boteff; but in a later volume, *Sleeplessness* (1907), there is independence of thought and marked growth in poetic power. He was a volunteer in the Macedonian revolutionary movement; and his recent volume of haiduk songs (1909) has both beauty of form and fine lyric sentiment. Many of the choice lyrics of this collection are richly coloured by the racial psychology of the Bulgarian people. Yavoroff's mastery of verse technique is remarkable. He has shown, as no one else, the rare flexibility of Bulgarian, both in rhythm and rhyme.

Anton Strashimiroff (born 1875), a symbolical and mystical writer, is the author of a number of novels and dramas that deal with the life of the Bulgarian peasants. A significant work of fiction by Strashimiroff is the novel *Troubled Times* (1899), which deals with political events in Bulgaria following the *coup d'état* of 1886. His later novels, *An Autumn Day* (1901) and *The Crossroad* (1904), deal with the social and political problems of sturdy village folks who have grown up in close touch with nature. His most important dramatic composition is *The Unmarked Grave* (1906).

The writer who knows most intimately the life of the Bulgarian peasant is Elin-Pelin (Demeter Ivanoff), a child of the common people, whose short stories are delightful *genre* pieces. His best known romance, *Guerachs*, portrays the hard realities of peasant existence during the period of transition; but the grim life of the obstinate old Guerach is

relieved by the penetrating humour and the keen observation of the peasant-author.

Reference should also be made to Tsanko Tserkovsky, born at Bela Tservka in 1869, the peasant poet par excellence of Bulgaria. He is a peasant poet not only in his choice of subjects, but in his point of view. He has tried to do with the Bulgarian folk-song what few others have done in Bulgaria: not modernize it, but catch its spirit, and in its spirit express the joys and sorrows of the present peasant life.

Among modern political writers may be named Simeon Radeff, journalist, historian, and essayist, author of the *Builders of Bulgaria*, and probably the ablest journalist in the country; St. Daneff, politician and lawyer, and author of works on jurisprudence and political science; Stephen S. Bobtcheff, diplomat and politician, and writer on legal and political subjects; and Vasil Zlatarsky, the historian.

In the field of literary criticism should be named A. Balabanoff, Ivan Shishmanoff, Boyan Penneff, and Constantine Krsteff. Authors in the field of philology and folk-lore include Jordan Ivanoff, Benu Tsoneff, Lubomir Miletitch, and A. Arnaoudoff; Peter Neukoff and Ivan Georgoff are the two leading writers on pedagogy and psychology; a really forceful and original writer in the field of philosophy is Dimiter Michaltscheff, and among notable scientific writers may be mentioned George Zlastarsky, Stephen Petkoff, and George Boncheff.

CHAPTER XIX

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

High rank of Bulgaria in painting — Earliest artists foreigners — Professor Ivan D. Mirkvicka — Wide range of his artistic activities — Studies of Bulgarian peasants — His historical paintings — Mural paintings in the Alexander Nevsky cathedral — Founder of the Academy of Fine Arts — Yaroslav Veshin — Pavlovitch and Dospevsky — Professor Anton Mitoff — Ivan Angeloff — Other painters — Sculpture — Collections of paintings — Art school at Sofia.

WHEN it is recalled that for a period of five hundred years the Bulgars were subjected to the misrule of the Turks, and that they have enjoyed freedom from the Ottoman yoke for less than thirty-six years, it will surprise even well informed people to hear that Bulgaria is already taking an honourable place among the culture-nations of modern Europe. The political and literary activity of the rejuvenated nation has reacted favourably on the art movement of the country, and already the young kingdom has a very satisfactory list of paintings and painters to her credit account.

The artist who has done most to win distinction for Bulgaria in the field of painting is Professor Ivan V. Mirkvicka, a Bohemian by birth but a Bulgar in spirit. After the freedom of Bulgaria from Turkish rule, a dozen artists flocked to the new country from Germany, Bohemia, Russia, and France; but most of them soon became discouraged

with the unfavourable conditions they had to face, and left the country. The conditions for art work were most adverse; there were no galleries or art collections or exhibits; even art materials and models were obtained with great difficulty.

But Mirkviecka became acclimated; the life of the young nation interested him. Writing in later life of his early experiences in Bulgaria he says: "At the school I tried my best to inspire my pupils with artistic taste and a love of art. As for myself I lived a very quiet life. The splendid scenery around me, and the characteristic faces I met at every step, aroused the artist within me, and made me long to put all these things on canvas. I devoted myself to the study of Bulgarian nature and to the national ethnic types, and in doing so derived great pleasure. Nowhere can one find such varied types and such interesting costumes as are to be found here. Things have kept the natural imprint, and neither the barbers nor the fashion papers have succeeded in giving the same appearance to every one. The *homme du peuple* has preserved his manner of wearing his clothes, of putting on his fur cap and belt, and of leaving his chest bare. All this has something individual about it."

Mirkviecka is an astonishingly productive artist. There is scarcely any branch of painting — genre pieces, landscapes, portraits, historical compositions, icons, mural paintings — at which he has not tried his hand and in which he has not attained extraordinary results. But it is the Bulgarian peasants that supply the groundwork of his best paint-



IVAN V. MIRKVIČKA.

ings. It is in genre pieces that he reaches the ripest maturity of his genius. And his Bulgarian peasants are full of dignity and beauty. He does not paint them "as darkened by the pall of an unremediable fatality, but as strong men and women fronting with strength the vicissitudes of their existence."

No other artist has given such a sympathetic and varied survey of the inhabitants of the peasant state. His genre pieces have grown out of and into the circumstances of peasant life in Bulgaria and Macedonia. They represent all the traits of a hardy peasant folk, the characteristic gestures, the heaviness of the motley dress, and an extravagance of colour that sometimes offends the western eye unfamiliar with life in the Balkans; but there is a beautiful humanity in all the paintings that tell the story of Bulgar life, and it is the humanity of the Bulgar nature.

A good example of this kind of work by Mirkvicka is "The horo in a Bulgarian khan." The horo is the national dance of the country, danced on holidays by the peasants attired in all their finery. There is a comprehension of details in this painting, as complete as that of the Dutch masters. You see the Turkish coffee-pot on the wall, the Bulgars in their highly coloured costumes, with the characteristic sandals, and lacings running up the home-spun woollen stockings. You feel as you look at the painting the absorption of the artist in the emotions of the dancers and his desire to give the whole affair faithful reproduction. This phase of Mirkvicka's work will have lasting value; for these

peasant types and customs are certain to pass away with time, and his pictures will come to have large historical significance.

Another interesting example of his genre work is "All Souls' Day in a Country Churchyard." Peasants have come to the graves of their departed kin with dishes of boiled wheat, baskets of bread and cake, flasks of oil and honey, and bunches of flowers. Black robed priests bless the food which the mourners place on the graves, at the same time chanting dirges which recount the virtues of the departed. It is a scene of exquisite refreshment to the spirit. "Burning of a Macedonian Village," "The Pursuit," and "The Rhodope Wedding" are other notable examples that deal with the life of the common people. "The Rhodope Wedding," owned by Mr. Charles R. Crane of Chicago, is big in life and art. The simple faith and habits of mountain peasants are represented with noble seriousness and a tenderness that is irresistibly appealing.

Mirkvicka has also achieved notable results as a portrait painter. In all his portraits there is an amazing suggestion of actuality. His painting of the Princess Maria Louisa, first wife of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, is executed in the old mosaic style and represents the princess as the founder of the new Bulgarian dynasty. She is seated on an antique throne and is garbed in the beautiful costume of mediæval Bulgarian queens. His portrait of King Ferdinand, also in the antique style, gives one a good notion of the artist's delicate schemes of



Painted by Professor Mirkvicka.

“THE RHODOPE WEDDING.”

Reproduced with the permission of artist and owner.

Owned by Charles R. Crane.

colour and the excellent adjustment of their values. Another interesting portrait is his conception of Païssy, the monk and scholar of the eighteenth century.

His historical paintings are full of tragic horror, but they give the actuality of the terrible events which always seizes his imagination, and one is pretty certain to discover in these historical paintings the fundamental note of humanity beneath his tragic actors.

The new Alexander Nevsky cathedral at Sofia contains some of Professor Mirkvicka's latest work. The cathedral was built, at a cost of more than one million dollars, as a token to Russia for the liberation of the Bulgarian people from the Turkish yoke. These mural paintings represent a rather wide range of historical and religious subjects, such as "Christ in the Temple," "The Seven Saints to the Slavs," "Holy Zlata," "John the Baptist," "Salome and Herod," and "Moses and Aaron." These mural paintings show breadth of picturesque style and a refined pictorial sense. They are adjusted with wonderful skill to the architectural spaces embellished.

Professor Mirkvicka was the founder of the Academy of Fine Arts at Sofia and its first president; he organized the first art exhibit held in Bulgaria, and has been the teacher of most of the men who are doing distinguished work in art in the country. His paintings were exhibited at Paris in 1900, at St. Louis in 1904, at Liège in 1905, and at Brussels in 1910. Most of his pictures are in the palaces and

public and private buildings in Bulgaria and Servia, although several adorn the home of that well-known American friend of Slavic art, Mr. Charles R. Crane of Chicago.

Yaroslav Veshin, also a Bohemian by birth, is another foreigner who has contributed to the development of the art life of the young kingdom. Veshin had studied in the art academies at Prague and Munich, and had acquired considerable reputation as a painter before he came to Bulgaria. He taught for a time in secondary schools and the art academy after coming to the country, and was later connected with the war department as official painter. His most important paintings take as subjects winter landscapes, hunting scenes, and old Turkish villages. "In his *genre* pictures," writes Protitch, "especially in his paintings of peasants, gypsies, and Turks, he introduces a sense of humour quite personal to himself. With his well-established style Veshin has exercised a profound influence on all his pupils."¹ Mihoff and Petroff, two of the Bulgarian artists who have attained distinction, were trained by Veshin.

The Polish artist Piotrovsky, who came to Bulgaria as correspondent and artist for various journals in 1885, painted a number of important war pieces. His most important work was "The Massacre in Batak." Protitch says of this historical painting: "It displays great mastery in individualizing crowds and in rendering events in a simple and easily comprehensible form: to the right, the

¹ *Fine Art in Bulgaria*. By Andrey Protitch. London, 1907, pp. 37.

burning village of Batak; to the left, mutilated, dying Bulgarians and the victors covered with their cheap glory — Circassians, bashi-bozouks, Turkish women, and gypsies revelling in the dreadful spectacle presented by the burning village.”

Among native Bulgarians the first to attain distinction in art were Nicholas Pavlovitch and Vladislav Dospevsky. Pavlovitch was born at Svishtov in 1835; studied in the art academies at Munich and Vienna, and travelled in Russia. He returned to Bulgaria in 1861 and endeavoured by means of paintings and lithographs dealing with the ancient history of the country to stimulate the patriotism and intellectual life of his compatriots. He also endeavoured to reform the icon paintings for the Orthodox church, but without appreciable results. He made two unsuccessful attempts to organize a school of painting. In 1867 he illustrated for the Turkish pasha at Rustchuk a history of the janisseries. After the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish rule he served for seven years as an inspector of schools (1878-1885).

Vladislav Dospevsky studied in Russia and was largely interested in church paintings. He joined with Pavlovitch in an effort to modernize church painting in accordance with the requirements of modern artistic technique, but without much success.

Professor Anton Mitoff, an associate of Professor Mirkvicka in the Academy of Fine Arts at Sofia, is also a painter of high merit. Mitoff is a Bulgar; he was born at Stara Zagora the 31st of March, 1862; graduated at the art academy at Florence,

and has passed his active life as a teacher and painter. He has exhibited at Rome, Venice, St. Louis, and Liège, and his pictures are to be found chiefly in public and private collections in Sofia and Belgrade.

There is a note of unmistakable force and independence in all of Mitoff's work, and it is sometimes tempered with fine poetic feeling. His pictorial sense is one of the sources of greatness in his art, and his best paintings represent the life of his people. "Market Scene at Sofia," "Lemonade Vendor at Stara Zagora," "Washing by the Brook at Plevna," and "Death of the Patriarch Eftimi" are full of significant suggestion.

Mitoff is also liberally represented in the new cathedral of Alexander Nevsky at Sofia. There is piquancy and virility in his conception of St. Method, St. Kyril, and King Boris; and fine feeling in the altar-piece, "Christ and the Virgin." The mosaics of the king's altar in the cathedral are from drawings by Mitoff. The superb decorations of the walls and ceiling of the council chamber of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank at Sofia are the joint labours of Mitoff and Mirkvicka.

Ivan Angeloff, who studied at Rome and Munich, is a Bulgarian artist of the Millet school. He has caught the spirit of the Bulgarian peasant, and his discrimination of light values links his art with that of the impressionists. His most notable painting is "Peasants Taking the Oath." Nicholas Petroff is a water-colour painter who shows unusual comprehension of the subtle qualities of rural life



ANTON MITOFF.

in his scenes on the banks of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Vidin.

Stefan Ivanoff, the most distinguished icon painter in Bulgaria, has done some creditable work with the methods of the impressionists. Marin Georgieff, a student of Mirkvicka, has some pleasing paintings of ancient church ruins; Alexander Moutafoff, some interesting melancholy subjects; Christo Berberoff, some fine bits of landscape; Nicholas Mihailoff, some excellent portraits; and Krali Marko suggests an artist's dream of atmosphere and colour in his representations from Bulgarian folk-lore.

Alexander Bojinoff, who is reasonably well known in Europe as a caricaturist, has a number of admirable symbolical landscape works in water colours and pastel. But his caricatures of village life in Bulgaria represent his best work.

Bulgaria has made less notable contributions to sculpture than to painting. Andrey Protitch is authority for the statement that this backwardness is due to the puritanical attitude of the Bulgarian people towards undraped figures. Andrea Niko-loff has made creditable busts of the artists Mirkvicka and Mitoff and the poet Vazoff, as well as heads of children. The historical monument at Kustendil is by him. There is an interesting group of miners in the national museum at Sofia by Alexander Andraeff; Marin Vassileff has a creditable bust of Alexander of Battenberg, and several pieces by Yeteho Spiridonoff have artistic worth. The workers in ceramics by young artists connected with

the school of painting at Sofia have done some altogether noteworthy pictorial work on vases.

The most important collections of paintings in Bulgaria are found in the royal palaces at Sofia, Varna, Philippopolis, Tcham-Koria, and Gorubli-nay. The Bulgarian Agricultural Bank at Sofia contains a number of mural paintings by Mirkvicka and Mitoff. The walls of the national assembly at the capital contain portraits of the Tsar Libera-tor (Alexander II of Russia), Prince Alexander of Battenberg, King Ferdinand, Princess Maria Lou-isa, and Prince Boris by Nicholas Mihailoff. The new cathedral of Alexander Nevsky and the palace of the Holy Synod, described elsewhere, also con-tain rich collections of paintings by modern Bul-garian artists. The national government has made a beginning in the matter of a collection of paint-ings representative of the art life of the nation. But this meagre collection, badly housed in the national museum at Sofia, gives a very inadequate idea of the present state of art in Bulgaria.

Several art exhibitions have been held in Bulgaria and Bulgarian artists have exhibited at most of the recent European expositions. Two societies of artists have been formed — “The Society of Bul-garian Artists” and “The Modern Art Society.”

In 1895 the national government organized a state school of art at Sofia for the training of students of plastic and fine arts; teachers of painting, draw-ing, and manual arts in the secondary and technical schools; and artists for the various art industries, such as icon painting, wood carving, goldsmiths’

work, and ceramics. Most of the leading artists of the country are or have been members of the faculty, and practically all of the younger artists have studied in the school.

CHAPTER XX

FARMS AND FORESTS

Agriculture the mainstay — Peasant ownership — Common pasture lands — Cereal products — Cultivation of roses — Orchard fruits — Growth of tobacco — Rearing of live-stock — Bulgarian Agricultural Bank — Need of agricultural education — Social life of the peasant farmers — Forests of Bulgaria — Government regulations — The forests of the Rilo and the Rhodope mountains.

AGRICULTURE is the mainstay of Bulgaria. Three-fourths of the people are farmers, and products of the soil are the chief source of wealth. The population of the country is sparse; capital is not abundant; the peasants are conservative, and agricultural methods are primitive. Fertilizers are not generally used; rotation of crops is little practised, and modern farming implements are rather rare. Water buffalo and oxen are the chief beasts of burden, although camels are still used to a slight extent in the northeastern part of the kingdom. The water buffalo are strong and patient animals, but they require much care. There are few horses in the country, but the Bulgarian horse, although small, is hardy and intelligent.

Peasant proprietorship is general. Farms are small, the average being about eighteen acres. To except the lands owned by the monasteries, there



PLOUGHING WITH WATER BUFFALO.

are no large estates in Bulgaria. Very few people in the agricultural districts work for wages. Each farmer cultivates his own small holding and depends for his livelihood upon the products of his own hands. The method of inheritance, adopted after the liberation from the Turkish yoke, has tended to make the holdings smaller and smaller. There are one hundred thousand farmers in Bulgaria with farms of two and one-half acres, and less than one hundred farmers with more than seven hundred acres.

The Bulgarian farmers as a class live roughly, even sordidly. They enjoy very few rude comforts, but they are independent and contented. Their industry is proverbial. Their power of endurance is remarkable. Poverty, in the sense in which the word is used in Europe and America, is simply unknown in Bulgaria; for the peasant farmers are not only industrious: they add to the capacity for hard work the virtues of temperance and frugality.

In addition to their farms, the peasants have certain pasture lands that are held in perpetuity by the communities. Farmers have the right of pasturing their domestic animals on these communal meadows. Certain forest lands are also held in common, from which wood for fuel may be taken. No taxes are paid on the lands held by communities. The house-community was until very recent times an important institution of farm life. Family groups lived together in patriarchal fashion. Sometimes as many as ten or a dozen families lived to-

gether on a large farm and observed communistic principles.

About forty-six per cent. of the area of Bulgaria is susceptible of cultivation. Three-fourths of the products of the soil are cereals; wheat, maize, barley, oats, and rye being the chief cereal products. The best wheat and maize lands are on the plains that border the Danube. From the Dobrudja region, which Bulgaria was forced to cede to Rumania as a result of the last war, the yield of wheat alone exceeded eight million dollars annually. The adoption of modern methods of agriculture would greatly augment the yield of cereals. The primitive wooden plough of Biblical days is still generally used. It does scarcely more than scratch the soil. Harrows are seldom used. The Bulgarian farmer makes little use of manures in his cultivation of cereals. Rape and hemp are also grown; the former for exportation and the latter for its fibre, which is made into rope in the large rope factories near Sofia.

The cultivation of roses is the chief occupation of one hundred fifty villages in a sheltered valley between the Balkan mountains and the Sredna Gora. The valley is eighty miles long and thirty miles wide, with an area of eighteen thousand acres devoted to the cultivation of roses. The world's supply of that expensive luxury known as attar of roses comes from this valley. The attar is obtained by the distillation of the rose petals. Damask roses are chiefly cultivated. The rose-fields are cultivated after the manner of vineyards. The petals are gath-



HARVESTING WITH CAMELS.



THRESHING WHEAT.

ered at the end of May or the beginning of June. They are taken from the rose-bushes in the early morning while the half-opened buds are still wet with dew, the rose being broken off just below the calyx. A wax-like substance sticks to the hands of the girls and women who gather the roses. This is scraped off from time to time and manufactured into a substance that is used for coating metal necklaces.

An acre of land will produce about four thousand pounds of roses, but it takes two hundred pounds of petals to produce a single ounce of rose oil. After the petals have been gathered they are taken to the distillery. In the process of distillation, the tiny yellow globules of oil come to the surface and are skimmed off with a feather. Kazanlik, Karlova, and Klissura are the chief distilling centres of the attar of roses.

The orchard fruits cultivated are plums, apples, peaches, and apricots. Figs and pomegranates are grown in abundance in Eastern Rumelia. The most productive orchard lands are the plains of Kustendil and Gabrovo. Quantities of nuts are grown, including walnuts, almonds, and hazel nuts. Anise, sesame, and colza seeds are produced in the southern parts of the country.

Tobacco is an important agricultural product. The tobacco regions are in the districts of Xanthi, Kustendil, Philippopolis, and Haskovo. Before the Balkan wars, the yield of tobacco exceeded eight thousand pounds a year. The tobacco lands in the Silistria district, however, have been ceded to Ru-

mania; but Bulgaria has acquired the rich tobacco lands in the Xanthi district, where the finest quality of Turkish tobacco has long been grown. With the acquisition of new tobacco districts in Thrace and Macedonia the acreage devoted to tobacco culture will be doubled, and the yield will probably reach twenty million pounds a year. The Bulgarian government encourages the growth of tobacco by distributing seed of a good quality free of cost to the planters, by placing a bounty on the tobacco exported, and by authorizing the Bulgarian National Bank to grant loans to the planters on surety certificates until they are able to dispose of their crops advantageously.

The cultivation of beet-root has recently been introduced in the country, chiefly in the province of Sofia, and there has been established in the suburbs of the capital a sugar refinery that utilizes the whole crop. There are vineyards on the slopes of the Balkans, the Sredna Gora, and the Rhodopes, and the yield of wine is considerable. Rice is grown in the provinces of Philippopolis and Kustendil, and beans are grown in considerable quantities in many parts of the kingdom. Some cotton is grown in the lower Maritza valley.

The rearing of live-stock constitutes an important branch of rural economy in Bulgaria. With the rapid agricultural development of the country that began twenty-five years ago, many of the pasture lands were brought under cultivation and the forage ranges of the shepherds accordingly greatly decreased. The government has attempted to help

the goat and sheep herders increase the quantity of food supply for their flocks by supplying them without cost lucern and vetch seed, and by exempting such pasture lands from taxation. There has been in consequence very great increase in the number of sheep and some increase in the number of goats and cattle. Poultry-raising and dairying are growing in importance, as are bee-culture and the growth of silk-worms. A beginning has been made in the matter of agricultural education. This is the imperative need of the hour.

The Bulgarian Agricultural Bank is an important adjunct of the farm interests of the country. It is located at Sofia and has eighty-five branches in cities and towns, and seventy-six agencies in villages. It is administered by a council which consists of a governor and four administrators appointed by the king. The capital amounts to \$8,000,000. The bank accepts deposits; advances loans guaranteed by mortgages or securities; lends farmers money for buying cattle, seed, or farming implements; opens uncovered accounts with farmers and coöperative societies; makes loans guaranteed by cattle and agricultural produce; buys farming implements, cattle, and seed for farmers; advances loans to departments and villages, when such loans are destined for public improvements; transfers and collects commercial bills. Agricultural banks pay 5 per cent. on deposits for five years; 4 per cent. for three years, and 3 per cent. for one year. One per cent. is paid on deposits left for unlimited periods. Six per cent. is charged on loans guar-

anted by the deposit of securities, 7 per cent. on mortgage loans, and 8 per cent. on personal guarantees.¹

The greatest need of the Bulgarian farmer to-day is agricultural education. The national government has made a beginning. There are state schools of agriculture at Sadovo and Rustchuk, with model farms connected with each, and a school of horticulture and viticulture at Plevna; but the immediate need could be met by the organization of brief courses in agriculture in the elementary rural schools. A beginning has been made in this direction in a few villages, and the subject of agriculture is now required in the state normal school. There is a national agricultural society; a journal is published devoted to the interests of the farm, and an attempt has been made to publish a few books, treating in a popular and elementary style practical agricultural subjects.

In spite of the mountainous nature of the country, there are many fine tracts of farming land in Bulgaria, and the peasants make excellent farmers. They are attached to the soil; they have enormous capacity for hard work, and are frugal and temperate in their habits. The rapidity with which illiteracy has diminished since the country was freed from the Turkish yoke indicates their desire for education and their capacity for training. In all these qualities they are unmistakably superior to the same class of workers in Greece, Rumania, and

¹ *Banque Agricole de Bulgarie* (Sofia, 1907) and *Compte-Rendu de la Banque Agricole de Bulgarie* (Sofia, 1912).

Servia. Already one of the most important agricultural countries in the Balkans, with the right sort of agricultural education, of an elementary and secondary sort, Bulgaria would soon outdistance all the other states in the peninsula.

An American, who knows rather intimately the life of the peasant farmer, writes: "Bulgaria is a nation constituted almost entirely of peasants, and while these peasants are faithful to their wives, they do not show them affectionate esteem or chivalrous regard. At a youthful age they marry the women selected by their parents, and without compunction permit them to engage in the roughest, coarsest, most disagreeable out-door work. Under such circumstances the men of Bulgaria have come to look with no little disdain on 'woman's work.' Moreover, the peasant of Bulgaria is extremely unappreciative, or if he does appreciate the efforts of others he is marvellously successful in concealing it. Again he, like the people in many rural communities, lives in a small world and is largely engaged in looking after his sheep, making his butter and cheese, tending his crops, and, in short, in fashioning him a dry and comfortable place — I have not said a soft and easy one — under his own vine and fig-tree. He spends no money for books or stereoscopic views, and reads the newspaper only once or twice a week. His tastes are simple and his aspirations limited. The young village belles would not know a corset from a coat of mail, and the young men feel much more fittingly bedecked when their abdomen is copiously encompassed by a bright red

belt two feet wide and twelve feet long than they would if an immaculate boiled shirt reflected the resplendent rays of shiny stones from their bosom. And one who had seen the human species bedecked in both habiliments would rather hesitate to condemn their judgment.

“ I by no means wish to belittle the worth of the Bulgarian peasants. They are farmers with the somewhat magnified defects of farmers. They have also in a magnified degree the virtues of farmers. They are healthy, strong, industrious, peaceable, reliable, and with a fortitude and endurance beyond all belief. They are literate, patriotic, ready to learn, and are more and more coming in touch with the great movements of the world. They own their own farms, live in their own houses, and the new machinery which they are continually buying belongs to them. Their youth are capable and ambitious, eager, indeed passionate, for an education, and very progressive. Still the great bulk of the Bulgarian nation lives in little uncouth villages more or less out of touch with the trend of events, and is altogether disinclined to support Sunday supplements or a swarm of illustrated magazines.”

The forests of Bulgaria occupy nearly one-third of the area of the country. The state owns one-third of the forests, communities one-half, and religious organizations and private individuals the remainder. Bulgaria possesses a great variety of deciduous and evergreen trees, those in the former class being the most abundant: oak, beech, common ash, elm, plane-tree, lime, willow, and poplar are

among the most important deciduous trees, and the pines and firs the chief evergreen trees.

When Turkey conquered Bulgaria more than five hundred years ago, the country was covered with virgin forests; but during the five centuries of Ottoman rule no control was exercised over the destruction of the forests, and no measures were taken for their preservation. Entire liberty was granted to the people to pasture their flocks and herds in the forests, and the right to cut wood upon the payment of a tax hastened the deforestation of the country. When Bulgaria won her freedom in 1878 the forests had largely disappeared.

One of the earliest enactments of the new government (1878) had for its object the protection of the forests. The measure provided for foresters, prohibition of the export of wood, and regulations with reference to forest areas that might be felled. But the measure met with obstinate resistance on the part of the peasants. Subsequent forestry legislation by the national assembly did not prove very efficacious.

It was not until 1890 that the government was able to secure the passage of laws that were really effective in preventing the deforestation of the country. A survey was made of the forest lands in the kingdom; nurseries for the growth of young trees were started, and a course of instruction provided for the education of foresters. Since that date great progress has been made in the matter of preserving the forests already in existence and in planting vast areas of waste land with young trees.

The superintendence of the forests of the kingdom is in the hands of the ministry of agriculture. The country is divided into forest districts under the control of expert foresters. The state fells the trees in its own forests and those belonging to the communities, and regulates the conditions under which private forests may be felled. The right of felling is disposed of by auction or sold in the form of a concession. The proceeds go to the national government, but all the revenues from the forests of villages are used for the development of the forestry interests of the particular communities from which the revenues come.

Communities situated in forests are obliged to afforest forty-five per cent. of their land; villages near forests, twenty-five per cent., and those in the open country, six per cent. Many communities falling short of these requirements have been active in recent years in the work of tree-planting. The fact that the soil of the country is rich in vegetable matter, young trees take root easily and grow vigorously. The forests are patrolled by special officials, those in state and parish forests being paid by the national government, but owners of private forests are required to pay their own keepers. In spite of the vigilance of the keepers, much damage is done to the forests by sheep and cattle, by fires, and by the theft of the peasants.

The finest forests of large trees are on the most inaccessible heights of the Rilo, the Rhodopes, the Sredna Gora, and the Stara Planina (Balkans). The forests belonging to the Rilo monastery are

especially valuable, and include the most valuable coniferous areas in the kingdom. The best beech forests are in the region of Berkovitzza, Vratza, Teteven, Klissura, and Staro Novo Selo. The best ash and elm forests are found along the Kamtchia river from Longosa to the Black sea. Bulgarian wood is distinguished by its numerous annual rings, its bright colours, and its relative flexibility.

Bulgaria exports considerable quantities of hard wood and imports soft wood. While the export trade has steadily increased since the government took charge of the matter of the forests, there has been a marked decrease in the import trade. The export of forest products is chiefly to Turkey, and the imports come from Austria-Bohemia-Hungary.

CHAPTER XXI

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Handicrafts — Decline in home industries — Textile industries at Sliven and Gabrovo — Silk-spinning at Tirnovo — Saw mills — Social and economical evils at the industrial centres — Legislative labour restrictions — Encouragement of industry by the national government — Special concessions — Mineral resources and mining — Numerous mineral springs in Bulgaria — Commerce — Its rapid growth — Exports and imports — Chief trading towns — Railways and highways — System of measurements — The Bulgarian National Bank.

UP to the time of emancipation from Turkish rule, the industries of Bulgaria were limited to handicrafts, most of which were carried on in the homes. Weaving is the oldest of the home industries, and from the earliest times down to 1878 it was widely spread in the country. Quantities of wool were produced and woven into coarse cloth, carpets, braids, and the like. Bulgarian woollen cloth was held in high esteem and was in constant demand not only in the Turkish empire but in Greece, Austria, and other countries. The cloth for the uniforms of the Ottoman army was entirely woven in Bulgaria. There were 2,500 weaving-sheds for coarse cloth at Stara Zagora and 700 at Pirdop at the time of emancipation.

Since 1878 there has been marked decline in the home industries of the country; and they retain their original character only in the more remote villages. With the freedom from Turkish rule large



FACTORY AT GABROVO.

estates were divided and the large patriarchal homes began to disappear. The population formerly was in villages and small towns. In recent years there has been marked growth in the population of large towns and cities. Before 1878 there were no railways and few public roads; and, in consequence, little or no commercial intercourse. In conformity with the spirit of the constitution of the rejuvenated kingdom, Bulgaria was declared open for trading purposes with foreign countries, railways were constructed, and the foreign products brought to the country modified markedly both the social and the industrial life of the people.

The textile industries are largely concentrated in Sliven and Gabrovo. Less important centres are Samokov, Karlovo, Kazanlik, and Kotel. Besides the fifty-seven large textile factories in Bulgaria, there are seventy-nine factories engaged in the preparation of food and drinks; twenty factories engaged with the manufacture of leather and leather products; fourteen chemical plants; nine devoted to the manufacture of wood and furniture; seven to metal wares; and various other industries are followed. The industrial development has been most rapid in the northeastern part of the country.

Silk-spinning has recently become an important industry at Tirnovo; work in leather at Shumen; brewing and distilling liquor from plums at Slivovitsa; sugar at Sofia; copper wares at Stara Zagora; and pottery and porcelain at Rustchuk and Trn. An excellent beginning has been made in native ceramics of a high order of artistic merit in

the art school of Sofia. This is an industry that might yield large returns to the country if encouraged by the national government.

There are many saw-mills in the central section of the Rhodope mountains. Primitive machinery is worked by water-power. The boards and planks are transported on the backs of mules to the coast ports. One of the interesting sights of mountain travel is the caravan of mules laden with lumber slowly wending down the steep and tortuous mountain trails. The finest logs are found in the forests at the source of the Metsa river. The chief timbers are Scotch firs, oak, birch, larch, and juniper. The firs are chiefly manufactured into railway ties, and a resin is extracted from the waste parts of the trees.

The decline in handicrafts, with the rapid increase in taxation for the development of the new government, brought distress to the peasant artisans and farmers. They found it quite impossible to compete with the cheap machine-made goods imported from Austria-Hungary. The government attempted by means of tariff measures to protect the peasant industries, but such artificial measures proved unavailing.

It was soon discovered that the industries of the country could no longer be carried on in a primitive fashion, and that the hand labour must in a large measure be replaced by machines. In consequence the old industrial *régime* has gradually been transformed during the past twenty years. New methods of production have been introduced; the mountain streams have been utilized for power purposes;

industries have been centralized in the towns; and foreign capital has been brought to the country.

The new industrial development, however, has brought in its train not a few social and economic evils. The working hours have been lengthened and the wages of the workmen decreased; large numbers of women and children have entered into competition with men as wage-earners. In the days of the peasant industries the workers spent a part of the year in the fields; to-day they live in towns and are confined to the direction of machines in factories that leave much to be desired from the standpoint of sanitation.

Since 1905 the government has seen the necessity of making some legislative restrictions to meet the growing social ills of the new industrial development. Laws have been passed regulating the employment of women and children, making provision for the inspection of sanitary conditions in factories, and the establishment of funds for the insurance of factory workers. Children under twelve years of age cannot be employed in factories and workshops; children under fifteen and women under twenty-one cannot be employed in mines, quarries, or other subterranean industries. Workers of either sex under the age of eighteen are not allowed in factories where the work is specially deleterious to health. The working day for children under the age of fifteen is eight hours, and for women, ten hours. Women and children must be given a period for rest after five consecutive working hours. Night work is forbidden to women and to children

under fifteen, and they are not allowed to work more than six days a week. This law, however, does not include the workers in home industries.

With a view to the encouragement of local industries and the attraction of foreign capital, the law of 1905 grants the following general privileges to all industrial enterprises: The use of water-power without payment, where this is not on private property; exemption from customs duties for such machines and parts of machines needful for the installation of industrial plants; exemption from customs duties for raw material, when it is imported in order to be exported again, after having been worked up; free grant of land belonging to the state or local community for the erection of factories, the land granted to be determined by the needs of the enterprise, but in no case to exceed nine acres; machinery, tools, and fuel to be carried by the state railways at a rate 35 per cent. below the lowest usual charge for such commodities. Public institutions are compelled to buy from home manufacturers, even though native commodities may be dearer (up to 15 per cent.) than similar articles manufactured abroad.

The enjoyment of special privileges is reserved for certain enterprises of at least five horse-power, employing at least fifteen workers for not less than six months a year, and with an investment in industrial plant of not less than \$4,000. The specially favoured enterprises are sugar and sugar products; the spinning and weaving of wool, cotton, silk, hemp, and jute; manufacture of pottery, water-pipes, and

brick; construction of vehicles; mining and cutting of marble, granite, and metals; milling of flour and preparation of foods; wood, paper, iron, glass, and chemical industries; tanneries and dye works; beer-brewing and the distillation of alcohol; silk-worm culture, and the installation of electric plants for motor-power. The special privileges enjoyed by these favoured industrial enterprises include exemption from customs duties for raw or partially wrought material, if such material cannot be obtained in the country; exemption from land tax, patent duties, and stamp taxes; coal needed for such enterprises may be obtained from the state mines at reduced rates; free use of state land to obtain stone, sand, gravel, clay, and other materials for purposes of building and manufacture, and the transportation of raw materials, things needed for the construction and equipment of factories, and manufactured products over state railways at a reduction of 35 per cent. of the usual tariff.

Formerly the government gave exclusive rights of manufacture of certain commodities in definite districts for periods of thirty years; but such concessions are now rarely made. In recent years the national government has attempted to regulate trade organizations and professional associations. No one can practise a trade without possessing a certificate granted by the syndie of his guild, after he has given proof of knowledge of and training in the trade he proposes to follow. One of the avowed objects of this law is the improvement in handicrafts by the foundation of vocational schools,

the establishment of industrial museums, and the organization of exhibits. The government has established a vocational school at Trn for training in the manufacture of Oriental rugs and carpets, and schools for training in woodwork at Koprivitza and Etropole.

Very little has been done as yet to develop the mineral resources of the country. While the mines of Bulgaria were of considerable consequence in ancient times, they were largely abandoned after the Turkish occupation. Recent researches in the region of Vratza, Sliven, and Burgas have brought to light pits, galleries, slag and other evidences of the mining of copper, lead, and zinc by the Romans.

To except the mines at Samokov, no mining operations were carried on after the coming of the Turks. At Samokov iron was obtained from magnetite ore found in the Vitosh mountains and smelted in charcoal furnaces. The industry survived the five centuries of Ottoman rule; but with the fall in the price of iron, due to the development of railways, it was not found profitable to continue the iron industry at Samokov.

In 1879 the government opened a coal mine at Mochino which yields a moderate quality of brown coal (lignite). Twelve years later another coal mine was opened at Pernik, and more recently coal has been discovered in the districts of Gabrovo, Stara Zagora, Sliven, and Lom. All the coal mines are the property of the state.

Copper is being mined in the provinces of Vratza and Burgas, manganese in the districts about Varna

and Yamboli, and lead in the provinces of Trn and Kustendil. Excellent potter's clay is found at Torlak, lime-stone at Lovetch, and lithographic stone at Negochevo. Several kinds of granite occur in quantities at Dubnitza and Kustendil, marble in the districts of Kazanlik and Vratza, brown building-stone in the districts about Rustchuk and Vratza, and a beautiful serpentine comes from the neighbourhood of Philippopolis.

Bulgaria has more than two hundred mineral springs. A few of them are operated by the state and a few by municipalities, but most of them are undeveloped. The national government has taken charge of the hot mineral springs at Meritschleri, Banki, Varshetz, and Hissar. Buildings have been erected and attempts have been made to convert these places into pleasure and health resorts. There are twenty-three hot mineral springs in the immediate vicinity of Sofia. Over the one in the heart of the capital the municipal government has erected a handsome public bath at a cost of one million five hundred thousand dollars. The water as it comes from the earth has a temperature of 84 degrees Fahrenheit. At Dolnia Bania, in the vicinity of Sofia, the temperature of the water is 110 degrees Fahrenheit. The baths at Hissar, near Philippopolis, are celebrated through the East. There are several hot mineral springs in the heart of the Rhodope mountains. The waters of the hot springs at Meritschleri have many of the reputed medicinal virtues of the famous Karlsbad waters in Bohemia. The hottest spring in Bulgaria is at Bania, near

Dubnitza. The temperature of the water is 148 degrees Fahrenheit. With the development of railway and hotel facilities, the hot mineral springs of Bulgaria might easily attract large numbers of tourists from western Europe and America.

There has been enormous growth in the volume of the commerce of Bulgaria during the last dozen years. Two years after emancipation (1880) the combined imports and exports amounted to \$16,268,368; in 1912 they reached \$65,397,800. The chief imports are cotton and cotton cloth, iron, machinery and farming implements, lumber and building materials, hides, skins, and leather. Bulgaria imports more from Austria-Bohemia-Hungary than from any other country. The other nations that rank high in the matter of imports are, in the order of importance, Germany, Great Britain, France, Turkey, and Belgium. From 1900 to 1908 the value of the exports exceeded the imports, but since that date the imports have been in excess of the exports.

Thirty-seven per cent. of the imports enter the country through the seaports at Varna and Burgas, the former being much in the lead. Many of the imports that entered the country by rail from Salonika, when that port was in the hands of the Turks, will now enter by the new Bulgarian seaports on the Ægean sea at Dedé Agatch and Porto Lagos. Twenty-seven per cent. of the imports enter the country through river ports on the Danube. The important river ports are Rustchuk, Svishtov, Samovit, Vidin, and Orehovo, the first being the most important. Importation by land and railway is

principally made through the customs houses at Sofia, Philippopolis, and Harmanly.

The chief articles of export are wheat, maize, live-stock, silk cocoons, hides, attar of roses, tobacco, and fruit. Belgium is the largest purchaser of Bulgarian products; Turkey ranks second; Great Britain, third; Germany, fourth; Greece, fifth; and France, sixth. Forty-six per cent. of the exports are by sea and twenty-seven per cent. each by land and river ports.

Bulgaria has twelve hundred miles of railway constructed by the state at a cost of fifty million dollars. Two hundred miles of railway are now in course of construction. A new line, one hundred ten miles in length, is soon to be constructed from the Maritza valley to Porto Lagos on the Ægean sea. The line will start at Kayadjik in the district of Philippopolis, pass near Haskovo, and cross the Rhodope mountains to the valley of the Arda. It will cost five million dollars, and about four years will be required for its construction.

In addition to the main railway line that connects Sofia with Europe and Turkey, there is another line that traverses the entire length of the country from Kustendil to Varna, which also passes through the capital. There are a half-dozen branches that connect Danube river ports with the latter line; also a branch from Philippopolis through Stara Zagora, Tirnovo, and Rustchuk, connecting this line with the transcontinental line. Rustchuk is connected with Varna on the Black sea, and there is a line from Stara Zagora that connects with Burgas, the other

Black sea port. The recently completed line between Stara Zagora and Tirnovo through the Balkan mountains was constructed at enormous cost and required great engineering skill. A line is contemplated from Sofia to Sliven that will pass through Karlovo and Kazanlik and the numerous villages in the rose valleys between the Balkan mountains and the Sredna Gora. The railway lines of Bulgaria are government property and are operated by the state. In spite of the enormous cost of construction and the relatively large cost of operation, the state railways of Bulgaria yield a net annual revenue of about two and one-fourth per cent.

The construction and maintenance of railways and public highways are under the direction of the ministry of public works, roads, and communications. There has been great development in the matter of public roads as well as railways during the past twenty-five years. As the country is very mountainous, the roads crossing the Balkans and the Rhodopes have been constructed at enormous cost. The new highway that crosses the Rilo mountains near Samokov is one of the finest and best built mountain roads in Europe.

The metric system has been officially adopted for Bulgaria, although the old Turkish measures are still considerably used in local trade. The Bulgarian monetary system is based on the double standard of gold and silver. The unit is the lev, nominally of the value of a franc (twenty cents in American money), with its multiple of one hundred stotinki

to a lev. For some years after the creation of the kingdom the government tolerated the circulation of foreign money, but the country was flooded with foreign coins; and in 1887 a law was passed prohibiting the circulation of Servian, Rumanian, and Russian coins. The coinage of Bulgarian money is in nickel, copper, silver, and gold, there being very little of the latter. The gold coins comprise pieces of one hundred, twenty, and ten levs; the silver of five, two, and one lev; and the copper and nickel pieces of twenty, ten, five, two, and one stotinka. The gold coins of the Latin monetary union are received at their nominal value.

The Bulgarian National Bank is a state institution. It enjoys the exclusive privilege of issuing bank notes, up to the triple of its capital and reserve fund, provided it has in its vaults bullion at least one-third of the value of the bank notes in circulation. Seven series of bank notes are in circulation, five, ten, twenty, and one hundred lev notes in gold, and five, ten, and fifty lev notes in silver.

The Bulgarian National Bank is located at Sofia, with branches at Rustchuk, Varna, Philippopolis, Tirnovo, and Burgas, and agencies at Vidin, Plevna, Svishtov, and Sliven. Branches of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank act as correspondents of the Bulgarian National Bank in the smaller towns. The administration of the National Bank is vested in a council appointed by the king, and consists of a governor and four administrators. The management of the branches is in the hands of boards of directors appointed by the king.

The Bulgarian National Bank accepts deposits from public institutions and private persons; it advances loans secured by mortgages to individuals, provinces, and communities; grants loans on goods and bills of lading; discounts and collects commercial bills; handles letters of credit; accepts on deposit all kinds of securities; receives the state revenues; and effects governmental payments to the extent of these revenues. The profits are distributed as follows: ten per cent. to the reserve fund, three per cent. as premiums to the bank officials, and eighty-seven per cent. to the national government. The bank pays interest on deposits.

CHAPTER XXII

QUEEN ELEANORA AND PHILANTHROPY

The Orthodox church not directly identified with philanthropic movements — Indifference of the clergy — Queen Eleanora at the head of philanthropic projects — The Florence Nightingale of the Russo-Turkish war — Her services in the two Balkan wars — Tribute of Miss Abbott — Pen picture by Professor Markham — The Clementine hospital and its needs — Dearth of orphanages in Bulgaria.

IN the chapter on religion in Bulgaria attention is called to the fact that the Orthodox church does not concern itself with humanitarian movements which form such important features of the activities of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in America and Europe. The spirit of mercy and love, if it ever formed a part of eastern Christianity has very largely, if not quite entirely, disappeared. There is in consequence little or no recognition of any duty to the poor and the sick and other unfortunate classes of society.

Europeans who have worked in the hospitals in the Balkan peninsula have noted the manifest indifference of the Orthodox clergy towards the sick and the wounded. A foreigner who served as a nurse in one of the Balkan wars related to the author the fact that there was an Orthodox priest connected with his contingent of the army, but that he never visited the suffering soldiers unless called upon to render official service. If patients wished to confess, he was always ready to hear their con-

fessions. If they died, he was on hand to conduct the burial service. But he seldom, if ever, visited the hospital voluntarily to offer religious consolation or render humanitarian aid.

Mr. Brailsford, who was in active service in Macedonia in connection with the British Relief Fund after the massacres of 1903-1904, writes in the same strain: "Both at Ochrida and Castoria we made several vain attempts to induce the Bulgarian clergy to visit the sick and wounded in our hospitals, to bring them some spiritual consolation, to read aloud to them, and at all events to cheer them with a kindly human word. But evidently ministrations of this sort do not enter into the eastern ideals of Christianity. The only concern the clergy displayed in our patients was a very keen anxiety lest we should encourage these miserable creatures, in need of every attention and nourishment, to break the terribly severe fasts which the Orthodox church imposes for thirty days before Christmas as well as during Lent."¹

Philanthropic movements, so far as they exist at all in Bulgaria are connected with the state, municipal organizations of a lay character, the missions of the Protestant and Catholic churches, and the royal family. Queen Eleanora is really the moving spirit in most of that which is best in the national philanthropy. She is at the head of the Red Cross movement in Bulgaria; she has been the leader in the movement for the reorganization of hospitals;

¹ *Macedonia: its Races and their Future*. By Henry Noel Brailsford. London, 1906, pp. 340.



QUEEN ELEANORA AS A WAR NURSE.

she has taken the initiative in the matter of the organization of special schools for defective, dependent, and delinquent children, and most of the other agencies in the kingdom that represent awakened social consciousness and rational coöperation.

Queen Eleanora is of the German house of Reuss-Köstritz; she is a Protestant; she served as a nurse in the Russo-Japanese war, and was acclaimed a Florence Nightingale on the blood-stained plains of Manchuria. Her marriage with King Ferdinand took place the 28th of February, 1908. Miss Inez L. Abbott, principal of the American School for Girls at Samokov, writes of the queen: "Her Majesty, Queen Eleanora of Bulgaria, the royal nurse of Europe, is one of the world's great philanthropists. That she has a heart of tender sympathy that goes out in a most practical way to every form of suffering known to her, there has been abundant evidence throughout her life. In her girlhood days near Vienna she received instruction in the rudiments of medicine-making from an old priest, and with the knowledge thus acquired she relieved the sufferings of many sick people who came to her from miles around. A little later the establishing of a hospital in the woods near Vienna for children who were the victims of rickets; the opening of day nurseries for the care of the babies of working women, and the formation of an organization for nurses — all these philanthropic agencies were the result of the initiative of the queen. These organizations are still in existence and they are still maintained by her majesty.

“ The regular training course for nurses, which she took in her young womanhood, fitted her to become the Florence Nightingale of the Russo-Japanese war. It followed naturally that in 1908, when she became the first lady of Bulgaria, that the kind of work to which her life had been devoted should continue to be her supreme interest. The erection of a new building for the blind and deaf in Sofia; the establishment of a brush factory in the same city where these unfortunates may find employment; the founding of a sanitarium for tubercular children on the shores of the Black sea; the reorganization of the hospitals, and the organization of the Good Samaritan Society, under whose direction nearly five hundred women have received a six months' training course in first aid to the injured, indicate the line of her majesty's activities in the land of her adoption.

“ It was, however, during the Balkan wars that the queen has done the best work of her life. The establishment and direction of military hospitals at her own expense; the services of competent surgeons and nurses that she was able to secure; visitation of the wounded on the fields of battle; expenditure of money for the relief of needy women in poor mountain districts, whose husbands were in the wars; personal care of thousands of refugees from Macedonia; and a thousand and one other ministrations of mercy have filled to overflowing the hours of Eleanora the Good and justly won for her first rank among the world's great philanthropists.”

The author bears willing witness to the tribute

of Miss Abbott. The efficient and continuous service of the queen during the second Balkan war was a matter of surprise to every foreign resident in the kingdom. She gave evidence of not only great energy but remarkable knowledge and skill in the matter of hospital work and the care of sick and wounded soldiers. Professor Markham, who is connected with the American Institute at Samokov, writes of Queen Eleanora: "Her manners are full of grace and elegance, and her general attitude is very dignified and serious; yet she never fails to put those about her at their ease, to charm them with her genial spirit, her simplicity, her extreme freedom from ostentation, and her interest in common things and common people. No one for a moment would venture to encroach upon her dignity, and yet one feels that if she were his neighbour he really wouldn't hesitate to ask her what to do when the baby got sick or to seek her opinion as to which gown would be most suitable to wear at the president's reception. When one has the honour of meeting her he rejoices that Bulgaria has such a handsome, shapely, and stately queen; but a still stronger emotion is his wish that he might have for a friend and counsellor just such a wise, thoughtful, and sympathetic person as she is. Her majesty combines to an unusual degree those two qualities which we so much admire in our American women, seriousness and unimpeachable dignity on the one hand, together with simplicity, sympathy, spontaneousness and a spirit of democracy on the other.

“ It is a common saying in Bulgaria, and unfortunately one well substantiated by facts, that a ‘ second mother ’ is a cause of pain and trouble. Queen Eleanora is a most pleasing exception to this rule. She is a second mother to four vigorous and promising children and to a whole nation of strange people, yet she is esteemed and loved by them all. Her majesty is a woman of extraordinary ability and the highest culture. She speaks English, German, French, Russian, and Bulgarian fluently. Her tastes whether in clothes or scenery or in the decorating of a house invariably reveal most excellent judgment. She dresses simply but most becomingly. Her appearance on all public occasions is stately and impressive. Her powers of conversation, of expressing herself in incisive original sentences, are brilliant. She is fond of horses and enjoys out-of-door life. Through the latest books and the standard magazines in three chief languages of Europe she keeps in close touch with the modern world.

“ During the years of her young womanhood she spent a great deal of time in Russia, where she has not a few relatives with royal connections. While there she took a course of training in the nursing of surgical and infectious diseases, at the end of which she received a diploma as a trained nurse. When the Japanese war broke out she offered her services and was placed in charge of a hospital train, where she often had to look after as many as five hundred wounded soldiers. Besides this she directed a field ambulance attached to the army of General

Kuropolitkin. The staff of helpers which she had under her consisted of no less than one hundred nurses. During her faithful and arduous service in this war, besides enduring daily hardships, she was sometimes placed in acute danger, being more than once actually under the fire of the enemies' guns.

“ Some time after this experience she entered Bulgaria as her princess, for in 1908 Bulgaria was not yet a kingdom. The fact, however, that she had become the first lady of a whole nation did not change in the least her interests and pursuits of former years. Her heart and mind were still with the unfortunate and the suffering. She at once became interested in an institution for the blind and deaf in Sofia, and herself secured money for a new building for the unfortunates sheltered there. She also lent her support to some four hospitals in four of the large cities of Bulgaria, and one of these she is having rebuilt. Besides all this she has herself founded and now oversees a beautiful and spacious seaside sanitarium for children afflicted with tuberculosis. Besides these institutions which she supports in part or maintains in full from her own limited resources, she organized a few years ago a ‘ Good Samaritan Society,’ through which she succeeded in giving a six months’ course of training in ‘ first aid to the injured ’ to not less than 450 young women. It was these ‘ good Samaritans ’ who did by far the greater part of the nursing during the recent wars in which Bulgaria has engaged.

“ Perhaps, however, the greatest service which

Queen Eleanora has rendered to Bulgaria was given during the recent wars. Her activities for almost a year after the outbreak of the war with Turkey were incessant. Surely very few generals in his majesty's service worked more indefatigably than did Queen Eleanora. She established and directed hospitals of her own and interested herself in not a few others besides. Nor did she by any means direct her operations from Sofia. The general staff safely protected itself in the heart of Bulgaria or on the secure border of the newly conquered territory, while her majesty was working untiringly in the very heart of Thrace. She oversaw hospitals, gave directions to workers, and even bound up the wounds of grimy, uncouth soldiers with her own hands. And in her treatment of her helpers and patients her thoughtfulness and good-will were remarkable. Every worthy helper felt that the queen was his particular friend, and hundreds of rude, brave peasants throughout Bulgaria will bequeath to their children the gracious words and the exquisite little presents given to them by her majesty while they were suffering for their fatherland in the war against Turkey. Her activities during the war with the allies were even more unwearying; her days in the palace in Sofia were still less.

“ To this her adopted people has Queen Eleanora devoted her life. Amid the turmoil and suffering, the hatred and ignorance, the uncertainty and insecurity of the Balkans, this brilliant woman of pure manners, rich culture, and broad interests scatters cheer and health and culture among a simple, worthy



CLEMENTINE HOSPITAL, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF QUEEN ELEANORA.

people. Political parties may rage, cabinets may rise and fall, Bulgaria's enemies may form every kind of a plot against her, but in the midst of it all her majesty, Queen Eleanora, offers hope to the blind, makes the deaf to rejoice, binds up the wounds of the maimed, gives health to the sick, provides sustenance for the widow and orphan, and with her life preaches the gospel of love, sympathy, and service to the whole nation."

The Clementine hospital at Sofia, which is under the immediate supervision of Queen Eleanora, is an international institution and one in which the American and English people should have a very direct interest. This hospital is under Red Cross management and is the only hospital in Bulgaria where foreigners may be received and get the kind of service found in the countries of western Europe and in America. The needs of the hospital are great, and generous people in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States should come to the aid of Bulgaria's philanthropic queen and provide her with the means to make improvements and the additions that are so urgently demanded.

The recent Balkan wars made painfully apparent not only the need of better hospital facilities, but the dearth of institutions for the care of orphans. The Protestant and Catholic church organizations in Bulgaria have done what they could to meet this situation; but they have been able to care for relatively few of the thousands of homeless orphans. Funds have been contributed by generous Americans through the agency of the *Christian Herald*

of New York that will care for a few of the children who were orphaned by the recent wars or by the barbarities of the Greek armies in Macedonia. Of the many thousands of Bulgars in Macedonia, who were forced to flee from the atrocities of the Greek soldiers during the second Balkan war, most of them were women and children, the husbands and fathers having been massacred by the Greeks or met death as soldiers in the war. The false and malicious charges of atrocities made by King Constantine and the press agents in the service of the Greek government served to dam the springs of charity. Charitably disposed persons in Europe and America, who otherwise would have contributed to the care of the orphans, have responded half-heartedly to the appeals for aid in behalf of worthy Bulgarian philanthropic enterprises. Now that the report of the Carnegie commission of the causes and effects of the Balkan wars has vindicated the Bulgars, and has made clear the enormous extent of atrocities committed by the Greeks, it is to be hoped that sympathy of a practical sort may be forthcoming in the near future.

CHAPTER XXIII

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN BULGARIA

Large influence of the United States in the intellectual development of the nation — Robert College — Work of Dr. Hamlin — Dr. Washburn and the college — What it has done for Bulgaria — Bulgarian statesmen educated at Robert College — Present condition of the college — Influence of the American College for Women at Constantinople — Work of the American missionaries — American Institute at Samokov — American School for Girls — The influence it has exerted through its graduates.

BULGARIA is the only country in Europe in which the United States has played an important rôle in the development of a state; but in Bulgaria American influence has been considerable, and the Bulgars gratefully recognize their obligation. In previous chapters attention has been called to the movement to check the Hellenization of Bulgaria, a movement that ultimately resulted in throwing off the ecclesiastical yoke of the Greek church. It was at this period that Americans found themselves in position to help a people struggling for religious liberty.

It was at the time of the conflict between zealous Bulgarian patriots and the intolerant and corrupt Phanariotes that American missionaries settled in the country. The Methodist Episcopal church of the United States sent its first missionaries to European Turkey in 1857 and the American Board (Con-

gregational church) a year later. The former was to confine its labours to the region lying between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkans); and the latter, from this geographic line south to the Ægean sea. This was the beginning of the missionary work in what to-day is Bulgaria.

About the same time there was planned the opening of a non-sectarian Christian college in Turkey under the auspices of Americans interested in mission work. Hitherto the only work of the missionary had been to preach the Gospel. But the time had come when some at least of the missionaries saw the necessity of a new departure. Mr. Christopher Robert, an American business man who had for many years been identified with the American Home Missionary Society, was the first man of means in America to see and appreciate this need.

The idea of founding in Turkey an institution after the pattern of American colleges was suggested to Mr. Robert in 1857 by James and William Dwight, graduates of Yale University and sons of an American missionary in Turkey. Funds were not forthcoming and the plan was abandoned. Mr. Robert had visited Constantinople during the Crimean war and was keenly impressed with the need of such an institution. In 1859 he wrote to the Reverend Cyrus Hamlin, then engaged in educational work in connection with the American Board of Foreign Missions, and proposed that he should join him in an effort to raise funds to establish a college at Constantinople, which should offer to young men, without distinction of race or creed, the opportunity

to secure a thorough education, equivalent to that obtainable in a first-class American college and based on the same principles.

Dr. Hamlin came to America during the summer of 1860; but it was not a favourable time to raise money for such a project. The country was absorbed in the conflict between the free and the slave states. The presidential election and the subsequent outbreak of civil war made it impossible to awaken interest and secure funds, and Mr. Robert and Dr. Hamlin were accordingly left to undertake the work alone. Dr. Hamlin returned to Turkey in June, 1861, to make such arrangements as might be possible for the erection of a building and the organization of the college.

There were delays in securing the necessary authorization from the Ottoman government, but these delays, according to Dr. Washburn, did not originate with the Turks. "If left to themselves," he writes, "they would probably have regarded it as a matter of very little importance in any way. The powers that he (Dr. Hamlin) had to contend with were France, Russia, and the Roman Catholic church. Their influence was pushed to the utmost to prevent the establishment of a college which would promote and extend the use of the English language and the influence of Protestant, English and American, ideas. They were formidable enemies because at that time our friends were weak. America, engaged in a great civil war, had little influence here; Prussia and Holland were friendly, but without much influence; England at the close of the Crimean

war had lost her dominant position at Constantinople.”¹

With these forces arrayed against the college it was not possible to secure at this time the necessary permission to erect a college building. It was accordingly decided to begin work in a rented house at Bebek on the Bosphorus, near Constantinople. Two American professors — H. A. Schauffler and G. A. Perkins — and four native tutors were appointed, and the institution was formally opened the 16th of September, 1863. The first class was graduated in 1868. It included an Armenian and a Bulgar: Hagopos Djedjizan, who has ever since been associated with the college as professor of the Armenian language and literature, and Petko Gorbanoff, who, up to his death in 1909, was in constant public service in his country after its liberation from Turkey. He was a member of the national Bulgarian assembly, and was for some time its vice-president; he served on the administrative council for the construction of the international railway; was general secretary to the Bulgarian minister of justice; and was assistant mayor of the city of Sofia.

There were six graduates in the class of 1869, all of them Bulgarians, and all of them have filled important posts in the government of Bulgaria. Theodor J. Djabaroff taught at Shumen and was prefect at Svishtov, Plevna, Varna, and Razgrad; he served as secretary of the commission of the state railways; was director of the Varna, Rusteluk, and Burgas

¹ *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College.* By George Washburn. Boston, 1911, pp. 319.

railway; member of the commission in the ministry of public works; and director of the national printing establishment. Jordan J. Economoff taught in a secondary school at Varna; studied theology at the Drew Theological Seminary in America, and engaged in the work of the Protestant ministry. Peter M. Mattheoff served as postmaster at Sofia; secretary to the governor-general of Eastern Rumelia; member of the Bulgarian national assembly; inspector of administration of the ministry of the interior; director general of Bulgarian posts and telegraphs; chief commissioner of the Bulgarian section of the St. Louis exposition; and Bulgarian diplomatic agent to Greece. Naiden Nicoloff has been administrator of the Bulgarian National Bank and held other posts of trust. Stefan Thomoff taught at Yambol; studied theology at Drew Theological Seminary; and engaged in the work of the Protestant ministry.

Only one person graduated in the class of 1870, and he was an Armenian. The graduating class of 1871 numbered five, all Bulgars, and all have held important positions in their country. Ivan E. Gueshoff, recently prime minister of Bulgaria, was a member of this class. He has served as mayor of Philippopolis; been a member of the national assembly; has been the representative of the Bulgarian government at Paris, Constantinople, and Vienna. Stefan Panaretoff has served as a special envoy of the Bulgarian government, and for many years he has been professor of the Bulgarian language and literature at Robert College. Ivan Slave-

ikoff was an instructor at Robert College and later at Philippopolis, Sliven, and Sofia; he was secretary of the Bulgarian legation at Bucharest; member of the national assembly; mayor of Sofia, and minister of public instruction of Bulgaria. Constantine Stoiloff was a member of the court of appeals at Philippopolis; president of the court of appeals at Sofia; member of the national assembly; minister of foreign affairs and prime minister of Bulgaria. Petko Taptchileshtoff was secretary of the Bulgarian cabinet and became merchant and banker. It will thus be seen that the class of 1871 furnished Bulgaria with two mayors, three ambassadors, four members of the national assembly, and three cabinet members, two of whom were prime ministers!

Of the eight graduates in the class of 1872, six were Bulgars. Constantine Caltehoff was a member of the national assembly; served as an envoy to the great powers; was vice-director of finance in Eastern Rumelia, and engaged in banking. Stefan M. Cambouroff was a lieutenant in the Bulgarian army and died ten years after graduation. Peter Dimitroff was first a teacher and later prefect at Philippopolis; served in the Bulgarian diplomatic service at Belgrade, Bucharest, Constantinople and Athens; was chief Bulgarian commissioner at the Paris exposition; and has served as secretary general to the ministry of foreign affairs. Dimiter Economoff was sub-prefect at Tulcea and Nicopol, and prefect at Varna and Shumen. Ivan D. Gueshoff was secretary of the Bulgarian diplomatic service at Belgrade and Constantinople; chargé

d'affaires at Belgrade; member of the national assembly; and until quite recently mayor of the city of Sofia.

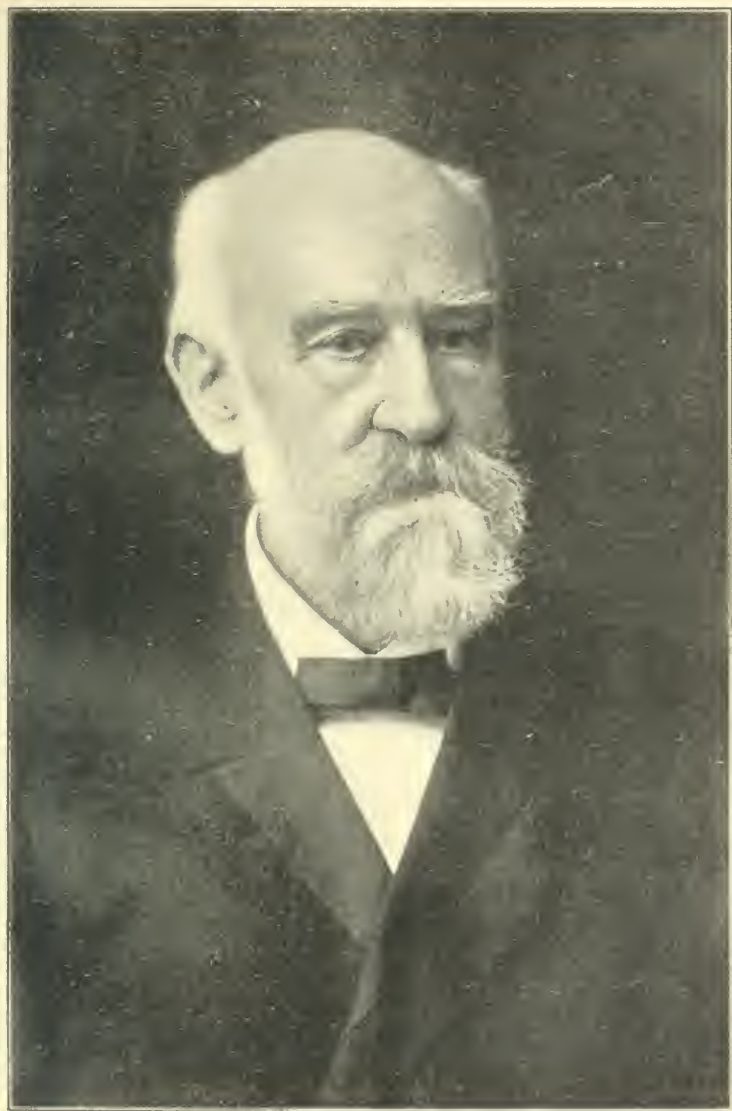
There was only one graduate in the class of 1873 and he was a Bulgar, John J. Sitchanoff, who taught in the American school at Samokov; was pastor of Protestant churches at Bansko and Panagurishtë, and is now the editor of a religious paper published at Sofia. All the members of the class of 1874 were Bulgarians. Ivan Bradinoff was chief engineer for the district of Sofia and principal of the Polytechnic School at Sofia. Dossi Eeonomoff was chief of the section of the ministry of justice; vice-president of the court of appeal, and president of the high judicial administrative committee of the ministry of public works. Peter Gobranoff was teacher at Shumen; prefect at Rustchuk, Tirnovo, and Philippopolis; and mayor of Elena. Peter Teherneff was under-secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs; diplomatic representative at Bucharest; member of the national assembly; and mayor of Sofia.

This list of the graduates during the first ten years of the work of the college gives some notion of the splendid service that the institution has rendered for the new Balkan state. The reader must have observed the preponderance of Bulgars among those completing the four years' course in the college. Dr. Washburn remarks in this connection: "For twenty years 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 bondage. When they began to seek for 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. Although Dr. Hamlin had interested himself in the Bulgarians in 1856 and used his influence to have missions established in Bulgaria, it does not appear from their correspondence that either he or Mr. Robert had ever thought of them as possible students in the college; and Mr. Robert died without knowing that he had played an important part in founding a new state in Europe."

It is interesting likewise to note the positions occupied by the Bulgarian students after their graduation from Robert College. Their records for public service are remarkable. Dr. Washburn, for so many years the distinguished president of the college, in the work from which the above quotation was made, mentions the fact that in the class of 1881 there were nine Bulgars, two Armenians, and one Greek. All of the Bulgars engaged in some form of public service — teaching, consular or diplomatic service, or as members of the national assembly or municipal government. One of the Armenians engaged in teaching, and the other took up the practice of medicine. *The Greek engaged in business.*

Robert College has furnished men for hundreds of important and responsible posts in Bulgaria — cabinet officers and members of the national assem-



DR. GEORGE WASHBURN, EDUCATOR OF BULGARIAN STATESMEN.

bly, ambassadors and consuls, mayors of cities and judges of courts, educators, physicians, clergymen, lawyers, librarians, journalists, army officers, and bankers. These men came in contact with the finest type of American manhood, educators of the fine quality of Dr. Hamlin and Dr. Washburn, the first presidents of the college, during their four years at the institution. They were instructed by professors with good training and high ideals from American institutions like Amherst, Bowdoin, Williams, Dartmouth, and Oberlin. And they have carried back to the fatherland a large measure of the spirit of service for which Robert College has always been so conspicuous.

As already noted, the college began its work at Bebek. It was removed to Rumeli Hissar in 1871. Dr. Hamlin continued president of the college until 1878, when he was succeeded by Dr. George Washburn. Dr. Washburn had graduated at Amherst College; taken a theological course at the Andover Theological Seminary, and had been a missionary in Turkey from 1858 to 1862. In 1862 he became one of the professors of Robert College; and from 1870 to 1878 he was acting president of the college. Upon the resignation of Dr. Hamlin in 1878 he was chosen president of the college, and this position he held until 1903, when he resigned and was made president emeritus. Dr. C. Frank Gates is now president of the college.

Under the presidency of Dr. Washburn, Robert College rose to recognized rank among the higher institutions of Europe. It is everywhere in the near

east regarded as a model Christian college; and in the development of manliness and the spirit of social service among its students, it probably stands in a class by itself among collegiate institutions in Europe. While its special eminence has been in the matter of the development of the finest social and spiritual qualities of its students, it has likewise taken high rank in the matter of scholarship, and many of its graduates occupy posts of honour in European and American colleges and universities.

The college occupies a beautiful site of fifty acres at Rumeli Hissar on the Bosphorus, a few miles from Constantinople. Through the generosity of American philanthropists, seven handsome college buildings and thirteen residences for professors have been erected on the grounds. The faculty includes thirty professors and thirty-six instructors. Six hundred students, representing nineteen nationalities, are at present enrolled in the college. There are about a hundred Turks, the same number of Bulgarians, and a considerable number of Armenians, Albanians, Greeks, Persians, and Jews. Through the generosity of Mr. Charles R. Crane of Chicago, six scholarships have been established for Albanian students.

Dr. Washburn writes concerning the unique service rendered Bulgaria by Robert College: "In our college work we did nothing for the Bulgarians which we did not do for other nationalities or which we might not have done for the Turks if any number of them had come to the college. It was not our

purpose to denationalize our students, to make Americans of them or cosmopolitans. We were cosmopolitan in the fifteen nationalities represented in the college, and we did our best to teach them mutual respect and good-will, but our purpose was to train each one to be a worthy member and a wise leader of his own nationality. It is true that English was the language of the college, but this was made necessary because we must have a common language where the students of many mother-tongues could meet on equal terms and because this language opened to them the learning and the literature of the world. At the same time we spared no pains to make them masters of their own language, literature, and history. Our curriculum was adapted as far as possible to their conditions.

“ It was in this way that Robert College became, as King Ferdinand has called it, a nursery of Bulgarian statesmen. 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. Graduates of other nationalities might have done as well, if a similar opportunity had come to them.

“ Another and quite unexpected line of influence was opened to Robert College by the fact that its establishment in Constantinople had attracted the attention of all the great powers of Europe and led to a long conflict between those who opposed and

those who favoured it. It brought us into specially intimate relations with England, with statesmen of both parties, the press and the embassy. It was a unique position. We had no favours 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 history. We came into actual conflict with the 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 'coffee-house babble.' It was then that Horace Maynard, our ambassador, came to the rescue and sent Consul General Schuyler to Bulgaria to investigate. It was Mr. Schuyler's report which first moved Mr. Gladstone to enter upon the campaign which roused 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. One of them, Mr. Stoïloff, was the private secretary and most intimate

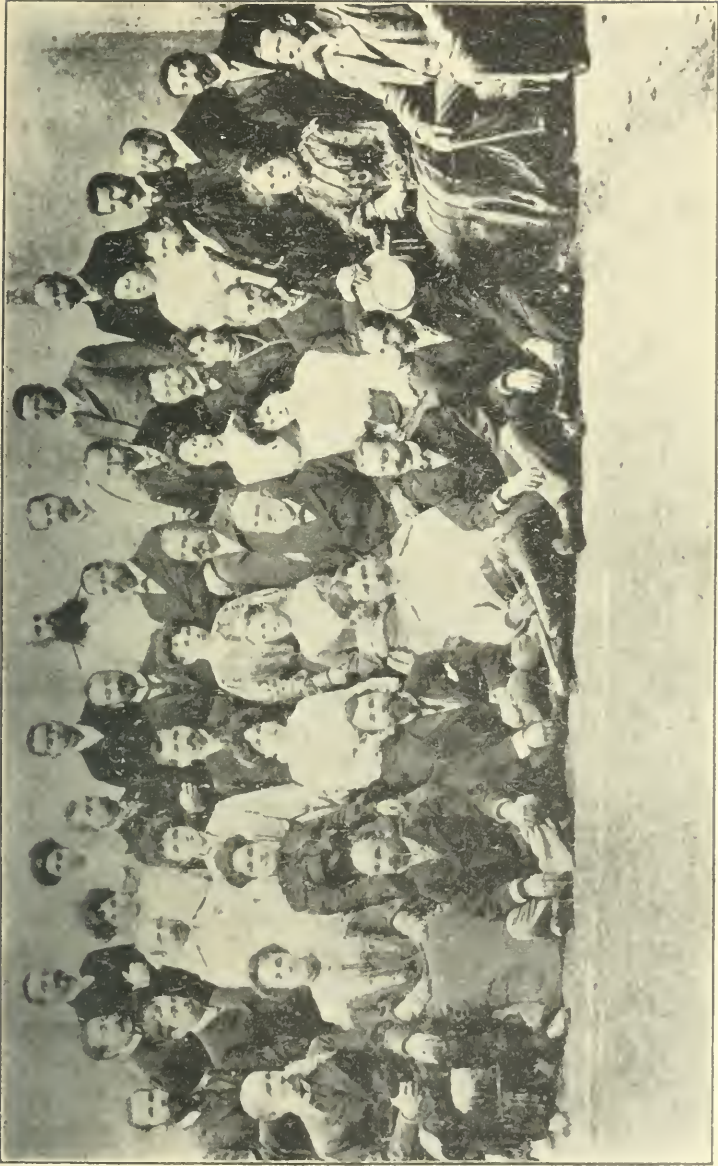
friend of Prince Alexander. Another, Mr. Dimitroff, occupied a similar position in Eastern Rumania, before the union of that province with Bulgaria. Others occupied important positions in the ministry and the national assemblies. Our confidential relations with them and with the English government, which was then dominant at Constantinople, enabled us to aid them in many ways, specially during the years when Russia, under Alexander III, was an active enemy of Bulgaria. The Russian newspapers at that time accused us of having spent half a million pounds of English money to overthrow their influence. It is an interesting fact that the Turkish government never accused us of plotting against it, and never complained of our relations with Bulgaria. I suppose that our well-known relations with the British embassy satisfied them that we had never in any way encouraged any revolutionary movements, which was true.

“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, but I think that it is true that without this influence Bulgaria would have been dominated by Russian ideals rather than American, and would never have been the free state which she is to-day. A small state, with a homogeneous population, untrammelled by traditions, she has made more progress during the last thirty years than any other country in the world.”

Another American institution that has exercised

large influence in Bulgaria is the American College for Women at Constantinople. It was established by the American Board of Foreign Missions in 1871 as a secondary school for girls. The aim of the school was to offer facilities for the higher education of women in a part of Europe where such opportunities did not exist. The school was first established at Scutari, a suburb of Constantinople, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. The institution was raised to the rank of a college in 1890; and in 1912 it was moved to its beautiful new quarters near Robert College and re-christened Constantinople College. It has a faculty of twenty-five professors and instructors in the collegiate department; fifteen instructors in the secondary department; and eight instructors in the school of music. Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, an American woman of recognized scholarship and administrative ability, has been president of the college for many years.

Like Robert College it has drawn its students from the 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 course in the secondary school. All these women have exerted a strong influence among their people. Bulgarian girls in large numbers entered the American school after the Russo-Turkish war. Ellenka Dimitrieva (now Mrs. Peter



BULGARIAN GRADUATES OF ROBERT COLLEGE AND THEIR WIVES.

Yencheff) was the first Bulgarian woman to graduate. Two of her daughters have recently been graduated from the college. The college graduated a class of twenty-three in 1912, eleven of whom were Bulgars. Through the munificence of Mr. Charles R. Crane of Chicago six scholarships have been established for Albanian girls. The Bulgarian women who have studied at the 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 Bulgarians as "the institution that trains the mothers of our statesmen and leaders."

Besides the influence of these two splendid American educational institutions, is that of the missionaries sent out by the Protestant churches of the United States. As already mentioned, the work of missionaries during the past half-century has not been confined to "the oral utterance of the Gospel in public or in private." Missionaries have engaged heartily in educational work in diverse forms. Besides the elementary and secondary schools that they established, the missionaries were instrumental in sending large numbers of young men to the United States to pursue courses in colleges and technical schools, and practically all such students returned to the fatherland and became men of mark in public and private life.

Dr. A. S. Tsanoff, the veteran editor of *Zornitza*, the oldest journal published in the Bulgarian lan-

guage, was educated at Amherst College forty years ago; the Reverend Marko N. Popoff, who for nineteen years was the pastor of the Protestant community at Sofia and made that church a self-supporting and highly effective religious organization, was graduated from Hamilton College; Stoyan K. Vatralsky, a publicist and writer, was graduated from Harvard University; Constantine Stephano, at the head of the department of the English language and literature in the University of Sofia and the author of the standard English-Bulgarian dictionary, was graduated from Yale University; the Reverend D. N. Furnajieff, pastor of the Protestant church at Sofia, was graduated from Princeton University. Scores of men in public life in Bulgaria — lawyers, judges, physicians, teachers, journalists, preachers, engineers — have been educated in American institutions. And these men, like the graduates of Robert College, have been active exponents of American ideals and culture. Americans of superior character like Elias Riggs, Albert N. Long, George D. Marsh, J. F. Clarke, and J. W. Baird have spent their entire lives in the mission work in Bulgaria. These men went directly after graduation from college to the Balkans, where they labored with a disinterested zeal that is found among no other class of workers.

The American Institute at Samokov, a secondary school for boys, organized fifty-three years ago by the American Board of Foreign Missions, has given an excellent secondary education to nearly a thousand Bulgarian youths. Nearly all the pastors and



SAMOKOV, SEAT OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS.

preachers connected with the Protestant mission work in Bulgaria and Macedonia have received their training in this school; and many of the Bulgars who have come to America for collegiate courses were prepared for college at Samokov. A considerable number of former students of the American Institute occupy responsible positions in the public and private life of Bulgaria. A Bulgarian writer pays this tribute to the work of the American Institute: "Through the example and instruction of its teachers, an unconscious influence is exerted for the building of character. Spiritual culture is more ideal and more solid at Samokov than anywhere else among us." The principal of the school is the Reverend L. F. Ostrander. The annual enrollment varies from seventy-five to a hundred students. A theological seminary, with a course covering two years, is affiliated with the institute. Graduates of the institute, who wish to engage in the work of the Protestant ministry, may receive their training here.

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 for the education of girls opened in the country. Eight years later, chiefly because of the more favourable climate, the school was moved to Samokov, a mountain town of ten thousand inhabitants near the Macedonian frontier. The school has been directed from the first by the finest type of American college women. Miss Esther Tappan Maltbie, of Oberlin College, was the

principal of the school from 1870 to 1906, and Miss Inez L. Abbott, of the University of Michigan, and later of the school for classical studies at Rome, has been principal since 1907. Miss Ellen M. Stone, Miss Mary M. Haskell, and Miss Agnes M. Baird have also rendered admirable service for the school.

More than eight hundred Bulgarian women have been students at the school, and the graduates occupy important posts as teachers in the national schools, nurses, and religious and social workers. The wives of most of the Protestant pastors of Bulgaria and Macedonia have been educated at the Samokov school. Throughout the kingdom Samokov graduates are distinguished for social service. Several graduates have taken up professional and business callings. The proprietor of the leading book-store at Sofia, for example, is a graduate of the American school at Samokov. It has also served as a fitting school for Bulgarian girls who have taken courses at the American College at Constantinople and various collegiate institutions in the United States. 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 in fitting Bulgarian women to become home-makers, housekeepers, and intelligent mothers. For the splendid work the school has done during the last fifty years and the large field before it for equally useful work in the future, it certainly merits the hearty support of philanthropic Americans.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOFIA, THE MODERN CAPITAL

The site of an ancient city — Sofia in the eighteenth century — Transformation since it ceased to be a Turkish town — The Djul-Dschamija mosque — The Buyuk Djamia — The Black Mosque — New cathedral of Alexander Nevsky — Bulgarian National Theatre — Palace of the Holy Synod — Public bath — Post-office — Statue of the Tsar Liberator — Public gardens — The suburbs of Sofia.

SOFIA, the handsome capital of the new kingdom, was an important town in pre-Roman days. The Shôp tribes of peasants who live in the mountains near by may be the descendants of the ancient Dacians who occupied the town when Diocletian made it the capital of Lower Dacia. It was a prosperous town when it was captured by Krum and his Bulgars in 809. He made it the capital of his kingdom. It was occupied by the Turks in 1383 and remained in their hands, save for a brief period when it was occupied by the Hungarians under John Hunyady in 1443, until they were driven out by General Gurko in 1878.

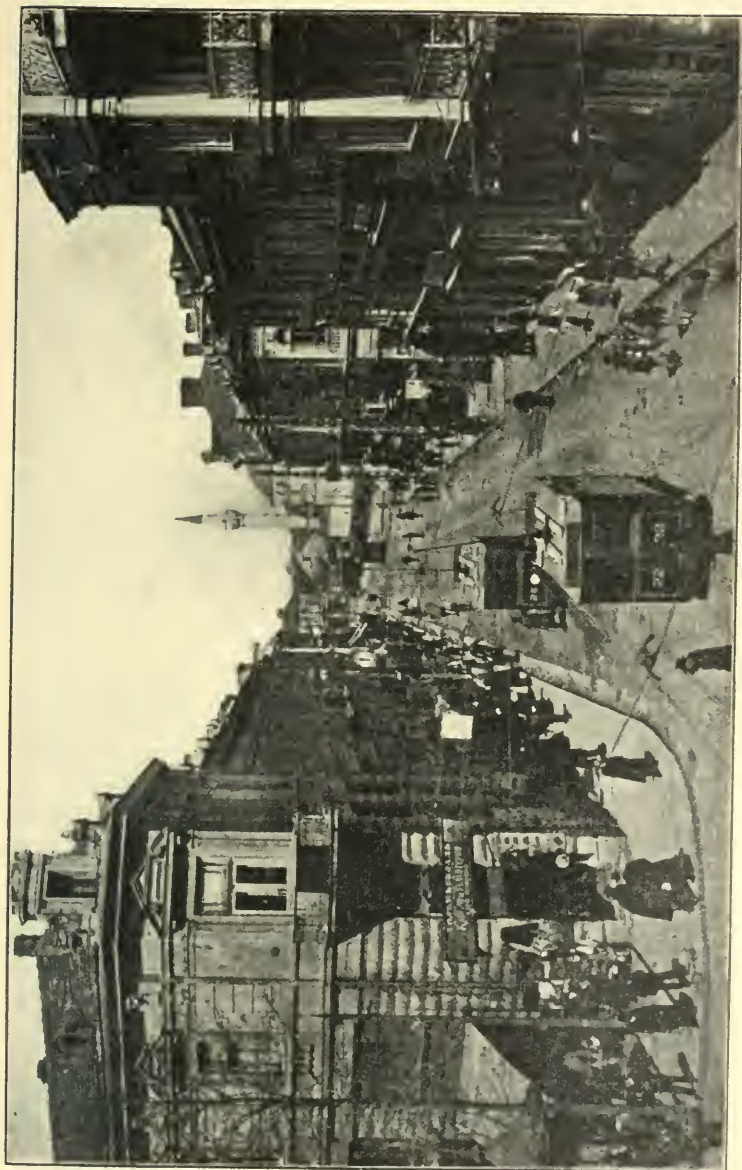
Lady Montagu of England tarried in Sofia a few days on her way from London to Constantinople in 1717. She tells us that Sofia is one of the most beautiful towns in the Turkish empire. Under Turkish rule Sofia was the residence of an Ottoman governor, and for many years it was an important centre for trade with Ragusa. It was the headquarters of Mustafa Pasha during the Turko-Russian campaign

of 1829. An English traveller who visited the city in 1860 calls it "a miserably poor place." The same traveller in 1890 writes: "Of all the cities of the east, Sofia has made the greatest improvement."

On the eve of liberation Sofia is described as "a concourse of mean, red-tiled little houses and cabins of wood and plaster. Its crooked, narrow lanes, leading nowhere in particular, were unpaved. In rainy weather they were no better than sewers. In Turkish Sofia no Christian woman dared venture out of the house after dark, or far from it in the day-time. There were no street lamps. No man went out of doors in the night-time without a lantern."

When the author visited Sofia for the first time fourteen years ago, it still retained the character of a Turkish town. But a great transformation has taken place during the last dozen years. A beautiful city has been created upon the ruins of the old squalid Turkish town. Handsome public buildings and private residences, broad and well-paved streets, tramways and electric lights, and all the appurtenances of a modern city are now found at the modern capital, which is the social and intellectual as well as the political centre of the new national life.

The process of transformation was begun under the reign of Prince Alexander of Battenberg. He built the royal palace and had constructed a number of public buildings. The royal palace is a solid rectangular edifice surrounded by high drab-coloured walls. The entrance to the palace is through massive iron gates. It can scarcely be called a handsome building.



SOFIA, THE MODERN CAPITAL.

When King Ferdinand got firmly seated on his throne he took up the matter of transforming his capital into a thoroughly modern city. Large parts of the old Turkish town were pulled down. Five-story houses, chiefly of brick encased in stucco, replaced the hovels of wood and mud. Narrow, dirty alleys were widened into broad thoroughfares and paved with macadam. The work of building the new city was interrupted by the Balkan wars, but it has been actively resumed during recent months.

The Djul-Dschamija, with its slender minaret, is one of the few reminders of the evil Turkish days. Parts of the mosque are said to have been erected by Trajan as a heathen temple in the Roman days. Constantine the Great consecrated it as a Christian church and dedicated it to Saint George. The Turks five hundred years ago transformed it into a mosque and added the minaret. It is still used as a house of worship by the Moslem residents of Sofia.

The Buyuk Djamia, with its nine metal cupolas, was the most important sanctuary during the days of Turkish occupation. To-day it houses the Bulgarian National Museum. The museum contains the beginning of a collection that will ultimately represent the historical development of the country from earliest Dacian times to the present day. A considerable number of monuments belonging to pre-historic times, as well as numbers of relics belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods of Macedonia and Bulgaria, have been secured. Many of the old Slavic inscriptions in stone have great historical value. The museum has notable collec-

tions of bas-reliefs, bronzes, and coins. Here also is found the beginnings of a national gallery of painting and sculpture. Such works of art as have been purchased by the national government are displayed in the museum. Bulgaria also has an interesting ethnographic collection at present housed in a private building. An ethnographic museum building is shortly to be erected at Sofia.

The Tscherna Djamia, or Black Mosque, is now used as a place of worship by the Orthodox church. The most significant religious monument in the city is the ruin of the church of St. Sofia, a basilica with three naves that dates from the year 1329. The cathedral or church of Sveti Kral, with three cupolas, is one of the least attractive public buildings in the city. It is a modern structure and is the chief place of worship of the state religion. It contains the remains of the Servian king Stefan Uros II.

The new cathedral of Alexander Nevsky, just completed at a cost of one and one-fourth million dollars, is the most important building in the city. It was erected as a memorial to Russian valour in the war of liberation. It is built in the Russian-Byzantine style. The general details of the church, such as the large central dome and many of the smaller bulbous domes, are distinctly Russian. The domes are gilded and produce a rather fierce and dazzling effect. The façade is of local white stone, and the marbles used in the interior decorations were brought from Italy, Brazil, and Africa. Quantities of Mexican onyx were also used in the decoration of the interior.

A Russian, Professor Pomerantzeff, was the chief architect, and the interior decorations were entrusted to Russian and Bulgarian artists. The walls and domes of the interior are covered with paintings of Scriptural and historical subjects and the chapels are ornate with mosaics and paintings. The thrones for the bishop and the king are especially rich in ornaments. One feels, however, a lack of intimate relation behind the forces that produced the great and costly cathedral—architect, artists, decorators, and building commission. Divided responsibility must account for some of the ill-adjusted relations. Instead of farming out the interior decorations to a considerable number of Bulgarian and Russian artists, it probably would have been better to have placed the matter in the hands of one artist and held him responsible for the harmonizing of details.

The paintings by Bulgarian artists are the best in the cathedral. There are some notable paintings by Mirkvieka, such as “The seven saints to the Slavs,” “The Virgin and Child,” “The prophets Moses and Aaron,” “The contest of Christ and the devil,” “God the Father,” and “Christ in the Temple.” Mitoff also has done some highly creditable work in the new cathedral. Among his paintings are Saints Kyril, Method, and Boris, the Patriarch Eftmi, “Ivan Rilsky,” and “Maria and the Child.” The frescoes over the right altar are by Mitoff, and the mosaics of the king’s throne were made from his drawings. “Christ with the Poor,” “St. George,” and several other saints are the work

of Stefan Ivanoff. There is an interesting series of holy men by Malinoff, Petroff, Berberoff, and Mihailoff.

The Bulgarian National Theatre, the home of opera and drama, is a handsome modern structure erected at a cost of four hundred thousand dollars. It has a competent corps of actors and singers and produces standard works by native and foreign dramatic and music composers. The theatre receives an annual appropriation from the national government.

Two other recent public buildings are the palace of the Holy Synod and the public bath, both the work of the Bulgarian architect Momtchiloff. All the decorations in the Holy Synod are the work of Bulgarian artists—Mirkvicka, Mitoff, and Ivanoff. Besides the paintings, there are some fine wood carvings and tapestries in the palace of the Holy Synod by native artisans.

The new public bath at Sofia is the finest institution of its kind in the world. It was erected at a cost of six hundred thousand dollars over a hot spring that has been famed for its mineral properties since the days of the Romans. The temperature of the water as it comes from the ground is 117 degrees Fahrenheit. The bath is not only a handsome structure in the Byzantine style of architecture, but its equipment is modern and commodious.

The new post-office is the work of the Bulgarian architect Jordan Malinoff, who has also planned many of the fine private residences of Sofia. He



ALEXANDER NEVSKY CATHEDRAL.



BULGARIAN NATIONAL THEATRE.

was the president of the commission that had charge of the cathedral of Alexander Nevsky. The chamber of commerce is the work of the Bulgarian architect Fingoff. The Bulgarian Agricultural Bank is an attractive modern building. It has interesting mural paintings in the council chamber by Mirkvička and Mitoff. The *sobranje*, or parliament house, is one of the older buildings of the capital, but it produces a good effect. The academy of arts when completed will be one of the striking public buildings of the capital, and costly new university buildings are shortly to be erected.

In the public square in front of the *sobranje* is the handsome equestrian statue of the Tsar Liberator, Alexander II of Russia, to whom Bulgaria pays willing homage. Among other monuments at the capital is one erected in memory of Vassil Levsky, a Bulgarian patriot, executed by the Turks in 1873, and another commemorating the services of the physicians and surgeons who fell in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.

There is a small but attractive public garden in the heart of the city, and a larger public garden in the suburbs, with its fine acacias, its fountain, and its miniature lake. The lion's bridge spanning the river that flows through the city is an interesting piece of work. The city is well drained; it has an excellent water supply that is brought from Mount Vitoshka; there are several broad and attractive avenues, and all the thoroughfares are well lighted.

Sofia is situated on a rolling upland plain that is encompassed in every direction by lofty mountain

ranges. Its elevation is 1,700 feet above the level of the sea. The plateau on which the city is built extends for miles in all directions, thus affording infinite space for expansion. The dilapidated Turkish town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants has grown in a quarter of a century to a handsome city of one hundred five thousand inhabitants. In the suburbs of the city are breweries, sugar-refineries, and cotton mills and silk mills. The climate of the city is healthful; and, overlooking the plain on which it is located, is the superb peak of Mount Vitosha.

CHAPTER XXV

OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS

Philippopolis, the capital of Eastern Rumelia — Principal quarters in the city — Nature of the population — Rustchuk — Tirnovo, the ancient capital — Historic church of the Forty Martyrs — Recent destruction of the city by an earthquake — Varna — Burgas — Shumen — Stara Zagora, Sliven, and Kazanlik — Dubnitza — Samokov — Rilo.

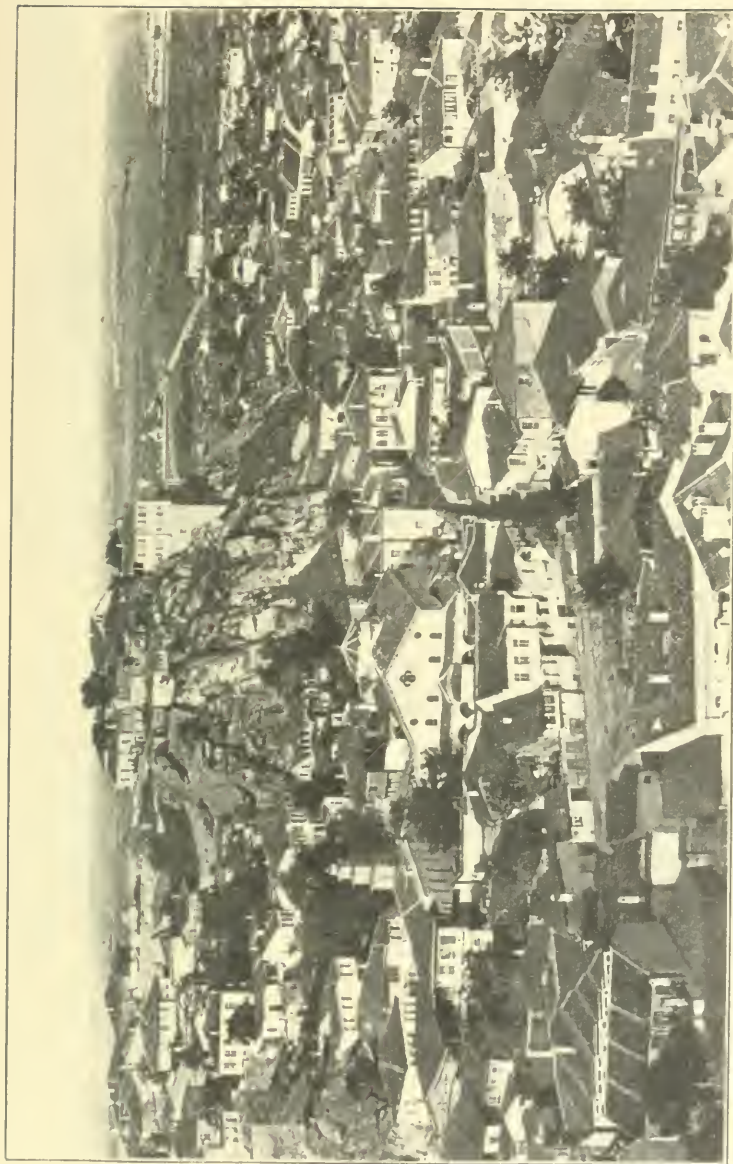
PHILIPPOLIS (Plovdiv), the capital of Eastern Rumelia before the two Bulgarias were united, is the second city of importance in the kingdom. It is situated in the valley of the Maritza in the midst of a vast fertile plain that stretches between the Balkans and the Rhodope mountains. Isolated crags emerge from the plain to the south of the city. Here and there the monotony of the plain is broken by the mammoth mounds scattered through the valley that mark the burial-places of ancient warriors.

The city is built on three granite eminences on the right bank of the Maritza. There are many comfortable homes on the hills built at all angles on the rocks. It is a very old city, having been captured and re-christened by Philip of Macedon in 342 B. C. The Franks held it from 1204 to 1235. It was occupied by the Turks in 1363; was destroyed by an earthquake in 1818 and suffered by a fire in 1846. It enjoyed a brief period of independent existence from 1878 to 1885.

The principal quarters of the city nestle between two crags, and from this centre it stretches in all directions into the plain. There are many well-built houses in the older part of the city. The great mosque at the foot of the hill is the centre of the industrial life. The broad avenue that leads from the railway station to the town is lined with substantial residences. The old national assembly house has been converted into a public library. It has a collection of forty thousand books. The city has an excellent water system, the water being brought from the Rhodope mountains, ten miles distant.

An exhibition park was laid out in 1892. Near by is the fine Djumaja mosque. On one of the hills is a monument erected by the Russians in commemoration of the war of 1877-78, and one of the other hills is crowned with a clock tower. There are numerous churches, schools, and colleges. The city has forty-eight thousand inhabitants, most of whom are Bulgarians. There are, however, small colonies of Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Jews, and gypsies in the city. There are about four thousand Catholics at Philippopolis. They are under the charge of parish priests. There is a Catholic college that is conducted by a French teaching order, and a hospital under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy of Agram. The orchards of Dermendere are near by, and not very distant is the ancient Orthodox monastery of Bachkovo.

Rustchuk, on the Danube, is the largest city in northern Bulgaria. It has forty-six thousand in-



GENERAL VIEW OF PHILIPPOLIS.

habitants and is growing rapidly. In the Turkish days it was a squalid village with a small European quarter facing the river. It is to-day a handsome city and teems with commercial activity. It has broad and well-paved streets that are lined with shops, banks, schools, and public buildings. It has factories for the manufacture of tobacco, soap, spirits, and pottery, and it is the chief wheat market in the country. Besides being the chief Danube river port, it is an important centre for traffic by rail.

Rustchuk was a city in Roman days. It was destroyed by the barbarians in the seventh century. The Russians occupied it twice before it was finally recovered from the Turks — in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-29 and 1853-54. It was a fortified city down to 1878.

Tirnovó is the capital of the old Bulgarian kingdom. It is situated on the Yantra river as it leaves the mountains and winds through an amphitheatre of steep bluffs on which the city is built. During the Asen dynasty Tirnovó was one of the chief cities of Europe. No other place in Bulgaria is so intimately associated with the life of the nation. Legends tell us that it was built by the hands of giants. For several centuries it rivalled Constantinople. "It witnessed the rise of Shishman and his doughty line. Within its walls Asen received the crown from the hands of the people; and in its modest inn the ill-starred Stamboloff, the ablest modern Bulgarian statesman, first saw the light. Here were the palace of the tsars and the residence of the head of the

Bulgarian church; here too was the great cathedral, long since gone."

The historic church of the Forty Martyrs, destroyed the 24th of June, 1913, by a terrible earthquake, was the burial-place of the tsars. The church was built by Tsar Ivan Asen II in 1230. An inscription in the church gives this chronicle of the founder's conquests: "In the year 1230, I, Ivan Asen, Tsar and Autocrat of the Bulgarians, obedient to God in Christ, son of the old Asen, have built this most worthy church from its foundations, and completely decked it with paintings in honour of the forty holy martyrs, by whose help, in the 12th year of my reign, when the church had just been painted, I set out to Rumania to the war and smote the Greek army and took captive the Emperor Theodore Komnenus with all his nobles. I have conquered all the land from Adrianople to Durazzo, the Greek, the Albanian, and the Servian lands. Only the towns round Constantinople and that city did the Franks hold; but these too bowed themselves beneath the hand of my sovereignty, for they had no other tsar but me, and prolonged their days according to my will, as God so ordained. For without Him no word or work is accomplished. To Him be honour for ever."

Tirnovο was the capital of Bulgaria from 1186 until it was captured by the Turks the 17th of July, 1394. It was occupied by the Russians in 1877. All the sessions of the grand sobranje have been held here. Here King Ferdinand was crowned and here Prince Boris was initiated into the faith of the na-



RUSTCHUK.



VARNA.

tional Orthodox church. Here Count Baldwin, who was elected to the imperial throne of Constantinople by the crusaders, was imprisoned in 1205 by the Bulgarian ruler Kaloyan. He was imprisoned in one of the towers of the city that is still known as Baldwin's tower, but the fate of the Frank emperor is one of the mysteries of history.

There are numerous ancient remains, many of which were badly damaged by the recent earthquake, which completely destroyed parts of the cities of Tirnovo, Gornia-Orechovitza, and Leskovetz. Besides the destruction of many of the most important ancient and modern buildings in the old capital, two hundred persons were killed and six hundred wounded. The greatest loss was the church of the Forty Martyrs. It contained the most ancient and valuable historical relics relating to the origin and rise of the Bulgarian people.

Bulgaria has two seaports on the Black sea — Varna and Burgas. While the transformation of Varna has been less rapid than at Rustchuk, there have been many improvements during the last fifteen years. The government has built at considerable cost a breakwater that permits vessels to lie at anchor within the bay with safety. Quays have also been constructed so that ships of large burden may load and unload without employing lighters.

The city has a large export trade in wheat, cattle, dairy products, and lumber. The vineyards in the neighbourhood produce considerable wine, and there are tanneries, breweries, and cloth factories in the city and suburbs.

Near by is the château of Euxinograd, one of the residences of King Ferdinand. The château itself possesses little architectural interest; but it is situated on a slightly cliff overlooking the Black sea and is surrounded by parks and gardens constructed after the models of those at Versailles and St. Cloud in France. The château contains a considerable collection of paintings. An immense aviary is one of the features of the grounds.

Burgas is at the head of a gulf with the same name. It is built on a low foreland between lagoons. It has a fine harbour five fathoms deep, and large vessels may enter without difficulty. Behind the town is Sozopolis, the ancient Appolonia, perched high on a picturesque rock and encircled by undulating downs. The seaport is surrounded by villages, vineyards, and fertile plains.

Shumen, fifty miles west of Varna, is built in a rugged ravine within a cluster of hills. A broad street and a rivulet divide the upper and the lower quarters of the town. In the upper part is the magnificent mausoleum of the Turkish pasha, Jezairli-Hassan, who enlarged the fortifications during the eighteenth century. Silks, embroideries, and copper and tin wares are manufactured in the town. There is also a large trade in wine and grain. Shumen was burned by the Emperor Nicephorus in the year 811; it was besieged by Alexius I in 1087 and surrendered to the Turks in 1388.

Stara Zagora, Sliven, and Kazanlik are also growing towns. Plevna, on the banks of the Tutchinitza, a branch of the Vid, is situated in a plain that is

surrounded by a series of hills a few hundred feet in elevation. At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war the town was occupied by sixty thousand Ottoman troops. It was besieged for five months and surrendered the 10th of December, 1877; but fifty thousand Russian troops were sacrificed in its capture. Plevna has many handsome modern buildings, including a town hall, schools, and a memorial church built with materials captured from the conquered Turks. In the suburbs is the Skobeleff park and public gardens.

Dubnitza is a town of ten thousand inhabitants. It is the birthplace of Yani Sandansky, the Macedonian brigand who captured Miss Stone, an American missionary, and held her for a ransom of sixty thousand dollars. It is a picturesque town, many of the buildings being made of lathes that are filled in and covered over with mud, after which they are given a coat of blue or pink whitewash. It has an imposing Orthodox church surrounded by granite pillars, and the ruins of a mosque that was destroyed in the Russo-Turkish war. The gypsy quarter is composed of one-roomed huts, but the brown-skinned nomads lend colour to the squalor of the hovels. Dubnitza is in the centre of a rich tobacco district.

Samokov, a town of ten thousand inhabitants, is located on the slopes of the Rilo mountains near the headwaters of the Isker river at an elevation of 3,075 feet above the level of the sea. In ancient times it was the centre of the iron industry, but the mines are no longer worked. Here are located the

schools and missions that direct the educational and religious activities of the American Board of Foreign Missions of the Congregational Church. An account of these schools is given elsewhere in this work.

A mountain trail leads from Samokov to the Rilo monastery, which is perched high in the mountains in a narrow gorge that is guarded by a natural gateway of rocks. The monastery is half palace and half fortress. The building is an irregular pentagon with a number of galleries that extend around it and open into a great court. The corridors are supported by stone arches which rise tier upon tier and form a series of picturesque arcades. The top-most gallery forms a veranda beneath a projecting roof resting on great oak beams. The masonry of the buildings is white and red. In the centre of the court is the gaudy Byzantine church, the most brilliant and variegated of the buildings. Its alcoves are filled with gorgeous frescoes. Near the church is an ancient and majestic tower, the oldest existing part of the monastery.

The interior of the church contains the body of St. John of Rilo (Ivan Rilsky), the founder of the monastery. The body is encased in gold leaf. One arm of the saint is visible for the adoration of devout pilgrims. The crude and weird frescoes that adorn the walls of the church represent gruesome scenes that depict the terrors of hell in truly Orthodox fervour. One of the frescoes represents the day of judgment. At the top sits God the Father with Christ and the Virgin. Groups of saints stand on

the clouds that are floating through the air. Heaven is represented as a court-yard, and the twelve apostles stand at the gate, Peter opening the portal with his great key. On another wall one gets a good notion of culture and ethics in the Balkans during the middle ages. Bulgarian rulers and saints are surrounded by angels, and below them the damned are suffering all the torments of hell. Brigands, impostors, law-breakers, fraudulent shopkeepers, dishonest millers, and the unchaste are suffering punishments appropriate to their transgressions.

In the ancient tower mass is celebrated once a month; and down in its dark dungeons the rings to which the insane were chained may still be seen. Here, in the dark ages of the history of lunacy, these unfortunates were allowed to beat out their brains. The library of the monastery is rich in ecclesiastical manuscripts, books, and relics. Ten thousand pilgrims may be entertained in the rooms of the vast dormitories that surround the court. The stables will accommodate a thousand horses, and there are outbuildings for the various crafts essential to the life of the monastery.

There is a grotto in the rocks near the monastery that is pointed out as the site of the original chapel of the founder. Through this narrow grotto pious pilgrims make their way. It is a difficult feat, even for those with slender bodies; but it is the belief of the devout that only sinners get caught in the crevice. The monastery suffered greatly during the centuries of Turkish rule. It stood innumerable sieges. Several times it was almost completely destroyed

by fire. It was often captured by brigands, who exacted heavy ransoms from the monks. As the home of Slavic culture it suffered frightful persecution at the hands of the intolerant Greek church.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BULGARS OF MACEDONIA

Why Macedonia was given back to the Turks after the Russo-Turkish war — Revolt in the Struma valley — Organization of the komitadjis — Revolution of 1902 — How it was suppressed by the Turks — The wrecking of the bank at Salonika — Capture of Miss Stone — Economic conditions in Macedonia — Methods of leasing the land — Physical and mental characteristics of the Bulgars of Macedonia.

IT was the fear of England that Bulgaria would be a mere vassal of Russia that tore up the treaty of San Stefano and brought to an end the momentary and elusive hope of the Macedonian people that they were to be liberated from centuries of Turkish oppression. The treaty of Berlin decreed that they must return to the Ottoman yoke. "There is no reason in the history or nature of things," remarks Mr. Brailsford in his authoritative work on Macedonia, "why these two regions should have been subjected to such different fates. In both the population is predominantly Slavic, and in both there is a minority of Turks and Greeks. Both took up arms to cooperate with the liberating Russian invader. Both had revolted from the Greek form of Orthodoxy and freely joined the Bulgarian exarchist church."¹

In the Struma valley the people revolted and seized the mountain passes. But Europe had given

¹ *Macedonia: its Races and their Future* By Henry N. Brailsford. London, 1906, pp. 340.

its decision. The Macedonian Bulgars must continue to endure the oppression of their Turkish masters. The revolting Macedonians were forced to submit to the decrees of the great powers. But they endured their fate sullenly. They turned their attention to education and sought to solve the problem of political servitude by intellectual development. Education made them even more conscious of the evils of the Ottoman political system and its enfeebling and crushing social organism.

Fifteen years after the signing of the Berlin treaty there was initiated by the Macedonia komitadjis a revolutionary movement with the ultimate object of the freedom of the country from Turkish rule. From this date down to the formation of the Balkan league (1912), the komitadjis waged a fierce guerilla warfare with knife, revolver, and bomb. Students, teachers, college professors, lawyers, physicians, and merchants to the number of twelve thousand were enrolled in the ranks of the komitadjis during the twenty years of its active operations. Major Panitza, who distinguished himself in the Servian war; General Nikolaieff, who later served in the Bulgarian cabinet in the Malinoff ministry; Traiko Kikantscheff, a gifted man of letters; Damian Grueff and Yani Sandansky, distinguished schoolmasters; Christo Tatarcheff, a leading physician, and other men of eminence were leaders in the revolutionary movement.¹

¹ For an excellent popular account of the work of the komitadjis, see *Confessions of a Macedonian Bandit* by Albert Sonnichsen (New York, 1909). Mr. Sonnichsen is an American man of letters who was connected with the work of the komitadjis for several years.

The great powers of Europe had obligated themselves by the conditions of the treaty of Berlin to protect the Christian races in Macedonia; but the scores of piteous appeals sent to them met with no response. In the autumn of 1902 General Tzoncheff, at the head of one branch of the Macedonian komitadjis, proclaimed a general uprising against Turkey. With a force of about four hundred men he carried on a gallant guerilla campaign for a month in the region of Djumaia and the Raslog. The enterprise did not receive the sanction of the united revolutionary committee and had to be given up. General Tzoncheff and his band returned to Bulgaria, and the peasants, who had taken little part in the uprising, were left to bear the brunt of Turkish vengeance.

Mr. Henry N. Brailsford, who visited the region shortly afterwards to distribute relief among the victims of Ottoman vengeance for the adventure, says that there was wholesale beating of the peasants, some torture, some violation of women, and some burning of houses. The terror that the Turks established in the district was general enough and serious enough to drive three thousand peasants in the rigour of a Balkan winter across the mountains of the frontier into the kindly refuge of Bulgaria. Mr. Brailsford writes: "Although the internal organization (of the komitadjis) had no share in these events, and tried to frustrate General Tzoncheff's wild enterprise, the Turks made no nice distinctions, and all over Macedonia the burden of the Turkish yoke grew heavier. Villages were searched

for arms, which means that all the peasants were beaten and tortured until they produced them, and if they really possessed no rifle they were often constrained to buy one in order to surrender it to the Turks.”

The uprising in the Djumaia and Raslog districts had the effect of calling the attention of the great powers to the serious nature of the Macedonian question. The powers, however, took the fatal step of allowing two interested members of the concert — Austria and Russia — to manage the affair as they pleased. The sultan of Turkey, anticipating intervention on the part of the powers, announced reforms of his own. But the reform measures of both Austria and Russia and of the sultan of Turkey remained dead letters. Their sole effect, writes Mr. Brailsford, “was to convince the Bulgarians that Europe would do nothing without some powerful stimulus, some bloody and sensational object-lesson, which would convince her that the mismanagement of Macedonia is an evil which calls for drastic remedy. But what form should that object-lesson take? Petitions, deputations, notes of protest and appeal from the friendly Bulgarian government attract no attention whatever. Partial revolts and brutal repressions result in nothing more than futile remonstrance and feeble counsels of reform. Europe acts with energy only when the lives and property of her own subjects are endangered. Then indeed the ironclads move, and the spectacle of cleared decks induces the sultan to yield to superior force. The younger men among the Macedonian

extremists were full of this idea, and wild plans for attacking the railways and the consulates were in the air. It was thought that if the insurgents could create a state of anarchy dangerous to European capital the concert would intervene."

Two episodes in the plans of the extremist wing of the komitadjis may be mentioned in this connection—the effort to destroy the Ottoman bank at Salonika and the capture of Miss Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary. The Ottoman bank at Salonika represented European capital. The revolutionists opened a small grocer's shop beside the bank. Steadily but secretly they mined under the bank for weeks, carrying away the earth from the tunnel in paper bags. The Turks had been warned of what was going on, but "nothing could induce them to interfere, and the inference is either that they were bribed or that they were clear-sighted enough and Machiavellian enough to allow the Bulgarians to discredit themselves in the eyes of Europe."

The bank was blown up in April, 1903. Salonika was plunged into panic and bombs were thrown at a number of public buildings without success. A French steamer in the bay was wrecked. Most of the revolutionists were killed, either in resisting arrest or by their own bombs. A massacre was averted by the energy of the Turkish vali, who managed to utilize and control his troops before more than sixty Christians had been done to death. This outrage shocked Europe and alienated the sympathies of the great powers, who were directly re-

sponsible for the conditions that made possible the acts of the terrorists. It was a grim commentary on the indifference of Europe. The measures which the Turkish officials adopted to suppress the komitadjis were drastic and wholesale. All the notables in the Bulgarian towns of Macedonia were thrown into prison. Schools were closed because the teachers that had not been herded into filthy Turkish jails had fled to escape arrest. Practically all the educated Bulgars in Macedonia were placed under arrest. Towns were in a state of siege, Turkish soldiers patrolled the streets, and the Bulgarian inhabitants were forbidden to stir abroad after sundown. The entire male Moslem population were called to the colours, reënforced by ragged Ottoman regiments from Asia Minor and undisciplined levies from Albania.

The author visited during the summer of 1913 Yani Sandansky, the Macedonian brigand and revolutionary, who was responsible for the capture of Miss Stone, the American missionary. Sandansky was a school-teacher before he joined the brigands. He had been condemned to death by the courts of Bulgaria. The revolutionary band with which Sandansky was connected was greatly in need of money to carry on its work. It was felt, moreover, that the capture of a prominent European would call attention to the conditions that existed in Macedonia. "Here were Turkish regular soldiers and irregular bashi-bozouks," said Sandansky to the author, "carrying off our wives and daughters daily; and although we had acquainted the great



THE CAPTORS OF MISS ELLEN M. STONE.

powers of the outrages again and again, a deaf ear was turned to our appeals. We thought we would see just how Europe might take the matter if we carried off one of your women." Miss Stone was captured at Bansko by Yani Sandansky, Christo Tchenopaeff, and Krusty Bulgarias. With a companion, Mrs. Gregory M. Tsilka, she was held in captivity in the mountains for six months. The original ransom demanded by her captors was one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. She was finally released for sixty thousand dollars, a sum that had been raised by American friends of mission work. It was the belief of Sandansky and his colleagues that the Turkish government would promptly pay the ransom to avoid complications with the United States and the great powers of Europe.¹

Economic as well as political matters grew worse rather than better after the treaty of Berlin; for the hand of the Turk was always raised against the intellectuals in Macedonia; and the social and economic conditions of the Christian farmers steadily deteriorated. The economic servitude of the Christians as conquered peoples had always been an axiom of the Turkish mind. The administrative efforts after 1878 tended to make the Christian races feel the weight of this servitude, and all the officers of the Ottoman government, from the highest functionaries to the humblest village policemen, worked

¹ For Miss Stone's account of her captivity, see her series of articles entitled "Six Months Among Brigands" in *McClure's Magazine*, June to October, 1902, Vol. 19.

towards that end. The means might vary, but the result was always the same — the impoverishment of the Christians. It was a regular system, skilfully planned and skilfully executed.

The economic state of the Christian races in Macedonia at the outbreak of the first Balkan war is one of the darkest pages in the Ottoman political organization. It condemned to a life of wretchedness a thrifty and industrious race like the Bulgars of Macedonia. The excessive labour of the farmer failed to ensure him a modest subsistence. The efforts of several generations, the toil shared by all the members of the family, children and adults, procured nothing but a shelter exposed to every act of violence and spoliation. This condition of affairs arose from two circumstances: (1) from the absence of government officials capable of restraining crying abuses and (2) from the social and economic relations of the dominant Mussulman minority with the unfortunate Christian serfs.

Agriculture is almost the sole means of livelihood for the Christian races of Macedonia, and particularly of the Bulgars who occupy the inland districts. Cattle-breeding is rare, as an exclusive means of subsistence, except in the regions of Prizrend, Guiliani, Florina, and Kastoria. In the eyes of the Ottoman law the Macedonian cultivators were classed as landowners, farmers sharing in the produce (*tschiftchis*), and labourers or farm servants. The landowners were the Mussulman beys. They were the masters of the Christian villagers, who worked their farms and shared the produce. The

farm servants also were Christians. There were a few Christian proprietors, but their estates were small. Christian farmers were largely represented by Greeks in the districts of Seres, Drama, and Salonika.

The system of leasing land at half profits was in operation over three-fourths of all the arable land of Macedonia. But this system was directly responsible for the frightful wretchedness of the Christian population of the villages. It made possible the permanent tyranny and abuses of the beys. Theoretically, the beys gave the farmers land, according to the size of the families. Free dwellings and seeds were furnished by the beys. The profits, after deducting the tithes, were divided into equal parts between the landlord and the labourer. This division brought the landlord an annual profit of from eighteen to twenty-five per cent. on his capital. But he was rarely satisfied with this profit; and as absolute master of the fate of the Christian farmer, whose work he exploited according to his own wishes, he generally succeeded in wresting from the farmer the better part of his earnings.

The farmer was further obliged to convey the bey's share of the produce to whatever point he might indicate. It often happened that the bey found it most profitable to sell his share of the produce in towns fifty or sixty miles away. The farmer must deliver it at its destination. The beasts of burden and the wagons the farmer was compelled to provide at his own expense. Each farmer was compelled to furnish his landlord with four cart-

loads of firewood a year. The farmer was obliged to work for ten days a year in fields reserved by the bey, no matter how distant these fields might be. If the bey owned a mill, as was usually the case, the operation and the maintenance of the mill fell to the farmer, in return for the right to grind his own grain. Rural policemen, with whose aid the beys terrorized the Christian farmers, were almost always paid by the farmers. There were other obligations which the caprice of a bey might impose upon the farmers.

Here for example is the substance of a contract imposed by a bey who enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best landlords in his district. The head of the family is a Bulgarian named Blajo. Sixteen members of the family are registered in the contract: Blajo, the head, fifty years old; his wife, Doitza, forty-eight years old; a son Christo, twenty-five years old; his wife, Stephana, twenty-five years old; their son Mitra, one year old; a second son of the head of the family, Anghel, twenty-two years old; his wife, Bira, twenty years old; their son Constantine, one year old; a third son of Blajo, named Christo, ten years old; a daughter Helena, eight years old; a nephew of the head of the family, Vassil by name, thirty years old; his wife, Sirma, twenty-eight years old; their son, Spasso, ten years old; another son, Pietro, one year old; a daughter, Stoïna, eight years old, and another daughter, Draga, one year old.

The contract provides that Blajo and all the members of the family must work for the bey. The



A PATRIARCHAL FAMILY.

entire family must work one day a week in the private fields of the bey — plow, dig, reap, carry wood, and convey the produce of the bey to such places as he may care to sell it. The house which serves as a dwelling-place for the family is built of sun-dried bricks, with a roof of tiles, and resting on a foundation of wood two and a half feet from the ground. The walls are of mixed earth and straw. The sleeping-rooms are about four by three feet, and from four to five persons occupy a room. The house includes an entry, a cellar for provisions, and a corridor. The whole building forms a quadrilateral in a court one hundred and thirty feet broad by three hundred and thirty feet long. In this court there is a small bread oven and two storehouses. There is a kitchen near the house; a small vegetable garden; and a fruit orchard. The average annual yield to this family of sixteen persons in chiniks is as follows: wheat, 150; barley, 80; oats, 80; rye, 50; maize, 50, and buckwheat, 100.

As elsewhere noted, the Bulgarians far outnumber all the other races in Macedonia. While racially they are of close kin to the people of Bulgaria, they represent a lower class intellectually because they have not had the same facilities for education as their kinsmen in the kingdom north of the mountains. Mr. Brailsford says of them: “A traveller’s first impressions of the Bulgarians of Macedonia are rarely favourable. It is a race with few external attractions; and it seldom troubles to sue for sympathy, or assist the process of mutual understanding. It is neither hospitable nor articulate.

The Slav peasant has no password to the foreigner's heart. He cannot point, like the Greek, to a great past; he cannot boast that his forebears have been your tutors in civilization. He leaves you to form what opinion of him you please, and shows himself only in the drab of his daily costume of commonplace. He will not call on you unbidden at your hotel, or invite you to his schools, or insist that you shall visit his churches. And, perforce, you study him from the outside. You find him dull, reserved, and unfriendly, for experience has taught him to see in every member of an alien race a probable enemy. He lacks the plausibility, the grace, the quick intelligence of the Greek. He has nothing of the dignified courtesy, the defiant independence, the mediæval chivalry of the Albanian. Nor has he physical graces to recommend him; and even the women are unprepossessing. He has no sense for externals, no instinct for display. If he is wealthy he hoards his wealth. If he is poor he lives in squalor and dirt. His national costumes are rarely picturesque, his national dances monotonous, his national songs unmusical. You may learn to respect his industry, his vast capacity for uninteresting work; but it is all the toil of the labourer, and the spirit of the artist and the craftsman is not in him."

And yet, as Mr. Brailsford admits, time and accident bring the clue to a different reading of his character. "The more one learned to know of the Bulgarians of Macedonia, the more one came to respect their patriotism and courage. These are no

flamboyant or picturesque virtues; they have grown up in the soil of serfdom among a reserved and unimaginative race. They are consistent with compromise and prudence. There is something almost furtive in their manifestations. And yet when the Bulgarian seems most an opportunist and a time-server, he still cherishes his faith in the future of his people, and still works for its realization. He has no great past to boast of, no glorious present to give him courage. He does not flaunt his nationality like the Greek, or claim an imagined superiority. He will risk no needless persecution for the pure joy of calling himself by the name of his ancestors. . . . And yet these men, when the occasion comes to throw away their lives for any definite purpose, are capable of an utterly reckless heroism. The komitadjis never found a difficulty in obtaining volunteers for such work as mining, bridge-wrecking, or bomb-throwing, which involved almost certain death. Education among the Bulgarians, so far from weakening the primitive tribal instinct of self-sacrifice, seems only to intensify it, instead of softening it with humanitarian scruples. . . . The Bulgarians of Macedonia are to be judged not by the standard of morality and civilization which in fact 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 the 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

¹ *Macedonia: its Races and their Future.* By Henry Noel Brailsford. London, 1906, pp. 340.

CHAPTER XXVII

MACEDONIA AFTER THE BALKAN WARS

Racial and religious elements of the population of Macedonia — Conditions of the province at the close of the first Balkan war — Disappearance of the population — The country laid waste by the Greeks — Work of pillage and murder — Verdict of Mr. Wallis — Conditions in the part of Macedonia occupied by the Servians — Report of the Carnegie commission — Oppression of the Bulgarian population — Tyrannical order of King Peter — Methods of coercion — The results.

THE majority of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Bulgarians. Greeks largely inhabit the southern coast, and there are Turks, Vlaxhs, Albanians, and Servians in various parts of the province. The population of Macedonia is about two million and a quarter. Of this number about eight hundred thousand profess the Mohammedan religion, seventy-five thousand the Hebrew, three thousand six hundred the Roman Catholic, two thousand the Protestant, and the remainder the Orthodox religion. Some of the Orthodox are affiliated with the Bulgarian national church and some with the Greek branch.

The story of the partition of Macedonia after the Balkan wars has been recounted in previous chapters in this work. It remains to note the manner in which heirs of Turkey treated their inheritance. Through the machinations of the Greeks and the Servians, the portion of Macedonia that fell to Bul-

garia was very small. Greece got the lion's share, although a considerable portion became the possession of Servia.

The conditions of eastern Macedonia (now New Greece) as they were last June before the second Balkan war, and as they are to-day, are carefully treated in a recent article by Mr. H. M. Wallis published in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1914.¹ Mr. Wallis spent six months in the Balkans in the winter of 1912-1913, distributing relief on behalf of the Society of Friends of England to the victims of the first Balkan war. He has 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 civilizations but little known to-day. For five centuries it was vilely governed by the Turks. Since 1887 it has been the cockpit of rival sectaries, patriarchist Greeks and Bulgarian exarxists. It was traversed by the Turkish army in the first Balkan war, but it suffered surprisingly little. It was ruled by the Bulgars 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 Nigrita were the consequences of Greek troops intruding upon districts under Bulgarian administration.

¹ *The Devastation of Macedonia*. By H. M. Wallis. *Quarterly Review*, April, 1914. Vol. 220, pp. 506—523.



A MACEDONIAN VILLAGE AFTER THE BALKAN WARS.

The population of eastern Macedonia was not homogeneous. The most important city in the province was predominantly Hebrew. The Chalkidic peninsula, the coast-line, and the trading towns were largely Greek. The rural population was solidly Bulgarian in the northern half of the territory and largely so to within a few miles of the Ægean sea. There were considerable Turkish districts and smaller settlements of Kutzo-Vlaks and gypsies. But the mass of the population from the Rhodope mountains to the sea were Bulgarians, speaking the Bulgarian language and worshipping according to the rites of the Bulgarian exarchist church. The people were consciously and ardently attached to their brothers in the kingdom of Bulgaria. They were courteous, industrious, and virile. They lived for the most part upon their own properties and produced wine, silk, cotton, tobacco, leather, and foodstuffs. Despite much discouragement from their former Turkish masters, they had educated themselves. The schoolhouse was a conspicuous object in a majority of the villages, and in all the towns the school-teacher was the leading man. Such was the condition of the Bulgarians in eastern Macedonia in June, 1913.

Where are these Macedonian Bulgars to-day? Mr. Wallis says they have disappeared. "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-Vlaks, and Jews have been impartially maltreated, robbed, and expelled at the point of the bayonet.

“ Whither? Into Bulgaria. At the present moment more than one hundred villages and several towns which were in June last as peaceable and prosperous as any in the Balkans, and in point of good order and education would have compared favourably with a similar number in the kingdom of Greece, lie wasted, roofless, and without inhabitants. This devastation, by whomsoever effected, was done during or immediately after the harvest, and with extreme severity. It appears that it was no part of the destroyer’s plan that the population should escape. Efforts were made to intercept escape, in many cases successful efforts. Those who saved themselves (and many thousands did so) fled at a moment’s notice, carrying children upon their backs, and dragging others by the hand. These fugitives, two-thirds of whom were women, were questioned by Englishmen and Americans as they entered Bulgarian territory. Most of them brought away nothing but the working summer clothes in which they stood at the moment, and in these garments, long since reduced to filthy rags, an enormous number are at this hour enduring the rigours of a Bulgarian winter. I believe that of approximately 130,000 refugees, who are now King Ferdinand’s guests, and are fed by his bounty and the bounty of the Bulgarians, there are about



MACEDONIAN BULGARS EXILED BY THE GREEKS.

100,000 whose homes were in what is now New Greece.

“ These are admitted facts upon which I ask judgment. Neither Greeks nor Bulgars deny that New Greece lies waste, or that this abominable and wholesale ruin was wrought within the space of about four months. Who did it and why? The Greeks lay it at the door of the Bulgarians; these accuse the Greeks.

“ First let us decide whether it was an act of war and can be defended as such. A hard-pressed force may plead justification for setting fire to the villages and towns through which it retreats. Nothing delays pursuit like this. The beaten Turks wasted Thrace as they fell back from Losengrad to Lule Burgas. The *Times* war correspondent held that ninety per cent. of the destruction visible south of Adrianople was their doing. The Bulgarians have never claimed this excuse for what they did or did not do. In the first place their retreat from Kilkis (Kukush) to the mountains was a leisurely movement. They covered about six-and-a-quarter miles a day, and except for a few hours on one day were never pressed; they had therefore no need to destroy the country behind them. They deny having done so; it belonged to their own people; nor will they admit for a moment having perpetrated massacres and compelled wholesale emigrations. Nor do the refugees accuse them; with one voice they accuse the Greeks. Is it reasonable to suppose that from party feeling, or any other conceivable impulse, an enormous multitude of women

and children, without means of collusion and isolated in widely-separated harbours of refuge, should all invent and adhere to the same mendacity?

“Observe, too, the circumstances under which their stories were first told. The depositions of very many were taken (for the most part at various points along the frontier, and before they had any opportunity of contact with Bulgarian officials, or others) by impartial foreigners, whose good faith cannot be doubted, who speak Bulgarian, questioned the refugees directly without the aid of interpreters, and took notes in common.¹

“How then shall I treat the mass of evidence which encumbers my desk? How make selection from Bulgarian official publications, private memoranda placed at my disposal, notes of conversations with eye-witnesses, letters from personal friends? I cannot deal with one per cent. of it. The merest catalogue of villages sacked and burnt, men flogged to death, women raped and mothers ripped, wounded slaughtered in hospital, prisoners of war tied to trees with telegraph-wire and burned alive, or buried to the neck and left, would occupy a score of pages. The advance of the Greek army has been held up to the admiration of military men as a miracle of speed. Its slowness is the fact which calls for explanation; two furlongs per hour is no Marathon race, but it is all King Constantine was able to exact from a force outnumbering its opponents by

¹ The author was one of the foreigners who took the depositions of hundreds of the refugees at various places along the frontier between Bulgaria and Macedonia. With one accord they accused the Greeks of the abominable and wholesale desolation of their grainfields, villages, and towns.

four or five to one. Why? Because his gallant boys had something else to do. From almost the first contact with the enemy, desertion became epidemic. The Greek, making away with his uniform, donned clothes looted from countrymen, and forewent the joy of battle and the crowded hour of glorious life to revert to his congenial, and shall we say ancestral, calling of thief. Regiments depleted, or encumbered with heterogeneous loot, make slow marchers and timid fighters. What went on behind the line of Greek advance no pen may tell. The maltreatment of Bulgarian women seems to have been a specialty of these dastards, who during their month of 'fighting' could never, as General Ivanoff assures me, be got to charge with the bayonet.

“What emerges plainly from this mass of evidence is a systematic plan. 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 Petrich on the Bulgarian march. It was extended to districts outside the line of fighting. It was meted out to non-Bulgarian races. The

Kutzo-Vlaks are a docile, wooden-faced, slow-spoken breed, hereditary herdsmen, and of no particular politics. But they are not Greeks! These thrifty, harmless folk were scattered sporadically in groups of little hamlets among the mountains. Uproot them! burn! kill! was the word; and whole settlements were obliterated with torch and sabre. Four villages at Oshen and Oshani went up in flame; the smoke of their burning was visible for many a mile, and was testified to by Bulgarians of another valley. The survivors tell of returning next day to find wife, child, stock and cottage lost, gone, or destroyed.

“ Such were the methods; what was the object? The extermination of the non-Hellenic elements in the population of New Greece. In certain instances this object was fully attained. In preparing the lists of voters for the recent elections, the Bulgarian authorities found that from some of the villages all the males had disappeared except some old men and children. The aim is openly avowed in the intercepted letters, from which we take the following as typical examples. Pericles Soumbilis writes to his father, G. P. Soumbilis, Megali Anastasova, Alagonia, Calamas: ‘ We have taken no prisoners, for such are our orders. Everywhere we burn the Bulgarian villages, so that that dirty race may never be able to recover itself. I embrace you, etc.’ ‘ By order of the king, we set on fire all the Bulgarian villages.’ ‘ We burn all the villages here and kill the Bulgarians, women and children.’ ‘ Our orders are to burn the villages and massacre the young,

sparing only the old men and children.' 'What we are doing to the Bulgarians is indescribable, as also to the Bulgarian villages — a butchery — there is not a Bulgarian town or village which has not been burnt.' 'Need I tell you, brother, that all the Bulgarians we take — and there are a good many — are put to death?' 'Of the 1200 prisoners we took at Nigrita only forty-one remain in the prisons, and wherever we have passed we have left no root of this race.' 'We burn all the Bulgarian villages that we occupy and kill all the Bulgarians who fall into our hands.' 'Not a cat escapes us.' 'We shoot them like sparrows.' But enough of these horrors. Inaugurated with a shriek for vengeance, the brief campaign was a pandemonium of lust, loot and blood, deliberately organized for political ends.

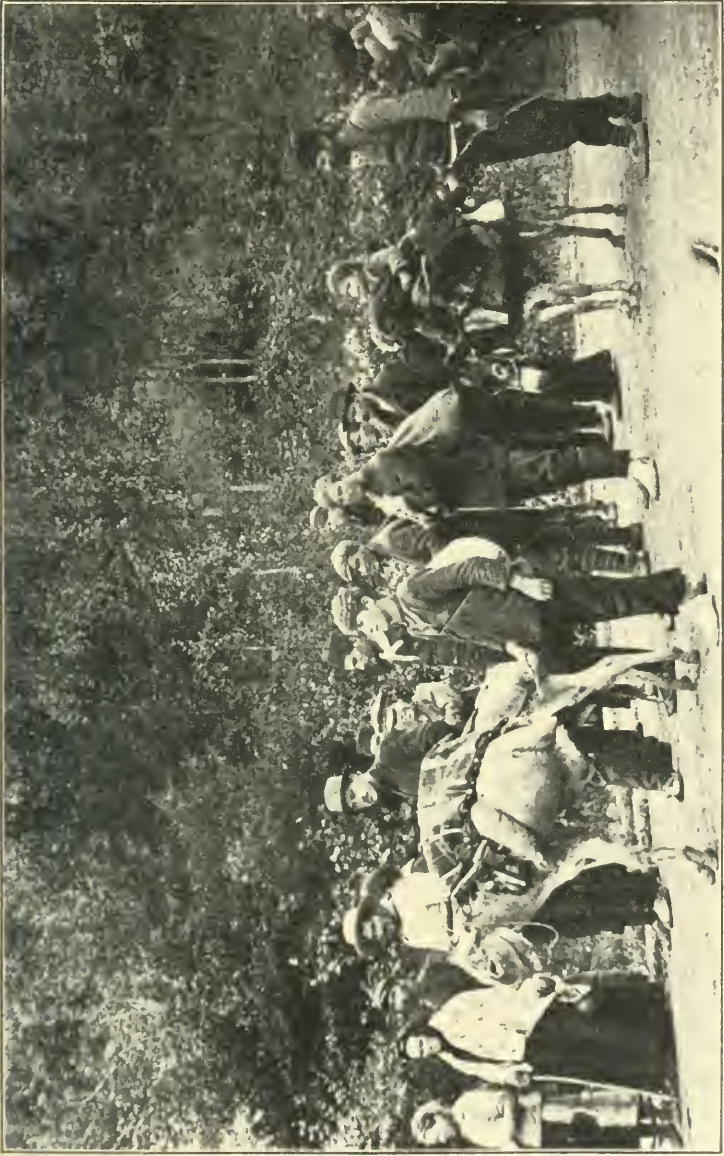
"King Constantine had a singular opportunity of proving to Europe the capacity, civilization and magnanimity of himself and his people. He preferred to play the rôle of Tamerlane; he has made a desert and calls it 'Greece.'"

So much for the part of Macedonia that the Bucharest conference awarded to Greece. But what about Servian Macedonia? Here the author prefers to let the Carnegie commission tell the present condition of affairs. The report remarks that the kingdom of Servia suddenly doubled its area by the addition of peoples described as "Slav-Macedonian — 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 advan-

tage 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 Radoviche, where Bulgarian patriotism glowed most vividly and where the sacrifices accepted by Bulgarian patriots for the sake of freeing Macedonia, had always been exceptionally great. This was adding insult to injury.

“ Mr. Skérlits, a Servian deputy and member of the opposition, closed his speech in the skuptchina on October 18, 1913, with these memorable words: ‘ We do not regard territorial results as everything. Enlarged Servia does not spell, for us, a country in which the number of policemen, tax-collectors, and controllers has been doubled. New Servia, greater Servia, must be a land of greater liberty, greater justice, greater general well being. May Servia, twice as great as she was, be not twice as weak but twice as strong.’

“ Unfortunately these generous words are but *pia desideria*. For some time the government hesitated. Nevertheless, Mr. Pachitch must have understood that the question whether Servia's acquisitions were to make her twice as weak or twice as strong depended on the policy pursued in Macedonia. During the days spent by the Commission at Belgrade the question was debated. There were two antagonistic views. One, represented by Mr. Pachitch himself, wanted a ‘ liberal ’ régime in Macedonia and the avoidance, at any price, of a ‘ military dictatorship.’ The population of the new territories was to be left to express its loyalty spontaneously;



MACEDONIAN BULGARS DRIVEN INTO EXILE BY THE SERVIANS.

to wait 'until it realized that its new lot was sweeter than the old.' Military circles, however, did not share this view. They were for a military administration, since a civil administration, in their view, 'must be incapable of repressing the propagandism sure to be carried on by the Bulgarians.' True, the 'liberal' régime as projected by Mr. Pachitch was not so liberal as the Bulgarian manifesto to the inhabitants of the annexed countries had hoped. The new citizens were not to possess the franchise for fear lest a new 'Macedonian' party should thus be brought into the skuptchina to upset all the relations between the contending parties in the kingdom and form the mark of common jealousy. Some sort of local franchise or self-government was considered. A kind of compromise was suggested in the shape of military administration with a civil annex and representatives of the departments at Belgrade, on the familiar plan employed in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the 1908 annexation. In any case, the question of the administration to be erected in Macedonia displayed so wide a divergence between the views of Mr. Pachitch and his colleagues, apart from the military group, that Mr. Pachitch's resignation was talked of.

"Mr. Pachitch neither resigned nor insisted on his own standpoint. Silence fell on such isolated voices as that of the president of the skuptchina, Mr. André Nicolits, who protested in the foreign press against the exceptional régime in Macedonia and asked for constitutional guarantees. The *Piemont*, the organ of the military party, declared that

such notions were 'opposed to the interests of the state,' and assured the Servian public that 'the population of Macedonia had never for a moment thought of elections, or communal self-government,' etc.; that 'nothing save a military régime could be entirely just, humanely severe and sufficiently firm to break the will of individuals or groups hostile to the state.'

"Such was the spirit in which the Servian government on September 21 issued a decree on 'public security' in the recently acquired territories, which amounted to the establishment of a military dictatorship, and called forth cries of horror in the foreign press. The document is so characteristic and so important that, despite its length, we quote it *in extenso*.

"ARTICLE 1. The police authorities are authorized, in case of a deficiency in the regular organization for securing the liberty and security of persons and property, to ask the Military Commander for the troops necessary for the maintenance of order and tranquillity. The Military Commander is bound to comply immediately with these demands, and the police is bound to inform the Minister of the Interior of them.

"ARTICLE 2. *Any attempt at rebellion against the public powers is punishable by five years penal servitude. The decision of the police authorities, published in the respective communes, is sufficient proof of the commission of crime. If the rebel refuses to give himself up as prisoner within ten days from*

such publication, he may be put to death by any public or military officer.

“ARTICLE 3. Any person accused of rebellion in terms of the police decision and who commits any crime shall be punished with death. If the accused person himself gives himself up as a prisoner into the hands of the authorities, the death penalty shall be commuted to penal servitude for ten or twenty years, always provided that the commutation is approved by the tribunal.

“ARTICLE 4. Where several cases of rebellion occur in a commune and the rebels do not return to their homes within ten days from the police notice, *the authorities have the right of deporting their families whithersoever they may find convenient. Likewise the inhabitants of the houses in which armed persons or criminals in general are found concealed, shall be deported.* The heads of the police shall transmit to the Prefecture a report on the deportation procedure, which is to be put in force immediately. The Minister of the Interior shall, if he think desirable, rescind deportation measures.

“ARTICLE 5. Any person deported by an order of the Prefecture who shall return to his original domicile without the authorization of the Minister of the Interior shall be punished by three years' imprisonment.

“ARTICLE 6. If in any commune or any canton the maintenance of security demands *the sending of troops, the maintenance of the latter shall be charged to the commune or the canton.* In such a case the Prefect is to be notified. If order is re-

stored after a brief interval and the culprits taken, the Minister of the Interior may refund such expenses to the canton or the commune. The Minister may act in this way as often as he may think desirable.

“ARTICLE 7. Any person found carrying arms who has not in his possession a permit from the police or from the Prefect, or who shall hide arms in his house or elsewhere, shall be condemned to a penalty varying from three months’ imprisonment to five years’ penal servitude. Any one selling arms or ammunition without a police permit shall be liable to the same penalty.

“ARTICLE 8. Any person using any kind of explosives, knowing that such use is dangerous to the life and good of others, shall be punished with twenty years’ penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 9. Any one who shall prepare explosives or direct their preparation or who knows of the existence of explosives intended for the commission of a crime shall, subject to Article 8, be punished by ten years’ penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 10. Any person receiving, keeping or transporting explosives intended for a criminal purpose shall be punished by five years’ penal servitude, except where he does so with the intention of preventing the commission of a crime.

“ARTICLE 11. Any person who uses an explosive *without any evil intent*, shall be punished by five years’ penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 12. (1) Any one deliberately harming the roads, streets or squares in such a way as to

endanger life or public health, shall be punished by fifteen years' penal servitude. If the delinquency be *unintentional* the penalty shall be five years. (2) If the author of the crime cited above causes danger to the life or health of numerous persons, or if his action results in the death of several individuals (and this could be foreseen), he shall be punished by death or twenty years' penal servitude. If the crime be unpremeditated the punishment shall be ten years.

“ARTICLE 13. Any attempt at damaging the railway lines or navigation, shall be punished by twenty years' penal servitude. If the attempt is not premeditated the punishment shall be for ten years. If the author of such attempt has endangered the life of several individuals, or if his action results in death or wounds to several persons, he shall be punished by death or twenty years' penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 14. Any person injuring the means of telegraphic or telephonic communication shall be punished by fifteen years' penal servitude. If the act is not premeditated the penalty shall be five years.

“ARTICLE 15. Generally speaking the concealment of armed or guilty persons shall be punished by ten years' penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 16. *Any one who knows a malefactor and does not denounce him to the Authorities shall be punished by five years' penal servitude.*

“ARTICLE 17. Those instigating to disobedience against the established powers, the laws and the regulations with the force of law; rebels against the

authorities or public or communal officers; shall be punished by twenty-one months' imprisonment up to ten years' penal servitude. If such acts produce no effects, the penalty may be reduced to three months.

“ARTICLE 18. Any act of aggression and any resistance either *by word* or force, offered to a public or communal officer charged with putting in force a decision of the tribunal, or an order of the communal or police public authority, during the exercise of his duties, may be punished by *ten years' penal servitude* or at least six months' imprisonment, *however insignificant be the magnitude of the crime*. Any aggression against those helping the public officer, or experts specially called in, may be punished by the same penalty. If the aggression offered to the public officer takes place outside the exercise of his official duties the penalty shall be two years' imprisonment.

“ARTICLE 19. Where the crimes here enumerated are perpetrated by an associated group of persons, the penalty shall be fifteen years' penal servitude. The accomplices of those who committed the above mentioned misdeeds against public officials shall be punished by the maximum penalty, and, if this is thought insufficient, they may be condemned to penal servitude for a period amounting to twenty years.

“ARTICLE 20. Those who recruit bands against the State, or with a view to offering resistance to public authorities shall be liable to a penalty of twenty years' penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 21. Accomplices of rebels or of bands

offering armed resistance to Servian troops or the public or communal officers shall be punished by death or by at least ten years' penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 22. Persons taking part in seditious meetings which do not disperse when ordered to do so by the administrative or communal authorities are liable to terms of imprisonment up to two years.

“ARTICLE 23. In the case of the construction of roads, or, generally speaking, of public works of all kinds, agitators who incite workmen to strike or who are unwilling to work or who seek to work elsewhere or in another manner, from that in which they are told and who persist in such insubordination, after notification by the authorities shall be punished by imprisonment from three months up to two years.

“ARTICLE 24. Any soldier or citizen called to the colours who does not follow the call, or who refuses in the army to obey his superiors, shall be condemned to a penalty varying from three months' imprisonment to five years' penal servitude. Soldiers who assist any one to desert from the army or who desert themselves, and those who make endeavours to attract Servian subjects to serve with foreign troops, shall be punished by ten years' penal servitude. In time of mobilization or war the penalty for this delinquency is death.

“ARTICLE 25. Any one releasing an individual under surveillance or under the guard of officials or public employees for surveillance, guard or escort, or setting such person at liberty, shall be condemned to penal servitude for a maximum period of five

years. Where such delinquency is the work of an organized group of individuals, each accomplice shall be liable to a penalty of between three and five years' penal servitude.

“ARTICLE 26. The Prefects have the right to prescribe in their name police measures to safeguard the life and property of those subject to their administration. They shall fix penalties applicable to those who refuse to submit to such measures. The penalty shall consist of a maximum period of three years' imprisonment or of a pecuniary fine up to a thousand *dinars*. The edicts of the Prefects shall come into force immediately, but the Prefects are bound to communicate them at once to the Minister of the Interior.

“ARTICLE 27. The crime set forth in the present regulations are to have precedence of all other suits before the judicial tribunals and judgment upon them is to be executed with the briefest possible delay. Persons indicted of such offences shall be subject to preventive detention until final judgment is passed on their case. Within a three days' delay the tribunal shall send its findings to the High Court, and the latter shall proceed immediately to the examination of this decision.

“ARTICLE 28. The law of July 12, 1895, as to the pursuit and destruction of brigands, which came into force on August 18, 1913, is applicable to the annexed territories, in so far as it is not modified by the present regulations.

“ARTICLE 29. Paragraphs 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 302 b, 302 c, 303 d (so far as concerns paragraphs b

and c), 304, 306, and 360, and Section III of the penal code which do not agree with the present regulation, are null and void.

“ARTICLE 30. The present regulation does not abolish the provisions of paragraph 34 of the penal military code, in connection with paragraph 4 of the same code, paragraphs 52 and 69 of the penal military code and paragraph 4 of the same, which are not applicable to civil persons.

“ARTICLE 31. The present regulation is in force from the day of its signature by the King and its publication in the Servian press.

“We order our Council of Ministers to make the present regulation public and to see that it is carried into effect: we order the public authorities to act in conformity with it, and we order each and all to submit to it.

“Executed at Belgrade, September 21, 1913.

PETER.”

“In the words of the socialist Servian paper *Radnitchké Noviné*, ‘If the liberation of these territories is a fact, why then is this exceptional régime established there? If the inhabitants are Servians why are they not made the equals of all the Servians; why is the constitutional rule not put in operation according to which “all Servians are equal before the law”?’ If the object of the wars was *unification*, why is not this unification effectively recognized, 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, if one did not know what Macedonia is, one might guess it from the publication of these ordinances. Clearly Macedonia was not ‘ Old Servia ’ unified, since the population is treated as ‘ rebels in a perpetual state of revolt.’ What the ordinances had in view were not isolated criminals, — they had accomplices and people who would hide them everywhere. To punish the culprit? That was not enough while his family remained; his family must be deported and the friends who were unwilling to ‘ denounce ’ the culprit, his ‘ associates,’ who seized the opportunity of ‘ setting him at liberty ’ when he was ‘ under surveillance, guard or escort ’ by officials or public employes — they must be deported too. In short, a whole population was ‘ recalcitrant,’ and to resist it there were only these ‘ public or communal officers ’ invested with extraordinary powers. What were they to do, when the population, not content with offering passive resistance, became ‘ aggressive.’ This population, called to the colours, refused ‘ to obey the call.’ When asked to ‘ work ’ on the ‘ construction of roads ’ or on any communal works, they struck, they preferred to work ‘ elsewhere or in some other manner.’ Finally, each one ‘ refused to give himself up as a prisoner,’ always holding himself ready to attack the public officers, ‘ to resist them if not by force at least by word!’ This last crime is punished by the ordinances by ‘ ten years’ penal servitude, or at least six months’ imprisonment *however insignifi-*

cant be the words or the deeds.' The hope openly expressed to the members of the commission from the first half of August onwards, was that thanks to these measures an end will be made of the resistance of the alien population in Macedonia in five or six years! "

A régime of anarchy prevails in Servian Macedonia. The condition of affairs is well summed up in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*. After citing the vicious Servian ordinances, already quoted in the extract from the report of the Carnegie commission, the English journal says: " This is the theory of Servian coercion. The practice is worse. Servia is not a country with a large educated population. It has indeed some eighty per cent. of illiterates. It has to supply rulers for a conquered territory which almost equals it in extent, and the abler men regard life in rural Macedonia as exile. Unworthy agents are invested with sovereign powers. The consequences are vividly, if briefly, described in a personal letter which arrived recently, and is translated below. The writer is a man of high character and a minister of religion — it is safer not to indicate his church. He is a native of the country, but has had a European education, and is not himself a member of the persecuted Bulgarian community:

“ “ The situation grows more and more unbearable for the Bulgarians — a perfect hell. I had opportunities 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. Tributes under the form of military contributions are arbitrarily imposed. One village of 110 families had already been fined 6,000 dinars (£250) and now it has to pay another 2,000 (£80). The priest of the village, to avoid being sent into exile, has had to pay a ransom of £T.50. Poor emigrants returning from America have had to pay from ten to twenty napoleons for permission to go to their homes. The officials and officers carry out wholesale robberies through the customs and the army contracts. The police is all-powerful, especially the secret service. 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. These bands have a free hand to do as they please, in order to serbise the population. Shepherds are forbidden to drive their flocks to pasture lest (such is the excuse) they should supply the Bulgarian bands with food. In a word it is an absolute anarchy. We shall soon have a famine, for the Serbs have taken everything, and under present conditions no one can earn a living. Every one would like to emigrate, but it is impossible to get permission even to visit a neighbouring village.' "

After five centuries of Turkish rule the Bulgars of Macedonia still retained their language, cus-

toms, and nationality. The brutal methods of denationalization employed by the Greeks and Servians merit the severe condemnation of all civilized nations. Servia, for example, has suppressed all Bulgarian books and newspapers; closed the schools and the churches; driven away the priests and the teachers, and forced the inhabitants to change their names, substituting the Servian *itch* for the Bulgarian *off*. A Bulgarian in Servian Macedonia who wants any legal document cannot obtain it unless he writes his name with the Servian ending. If he attempts to defend his Bulgarian nationality the police deal with him on some trumped-up charges, and he is sent to prison. Sixteen hundred teachers have been expelled from Servian Macedonia; and hundreds of priests, not only the priests of the Bulgarian national church but also those of the Catholic and Protestant churches have been driven into exile.

THE END.

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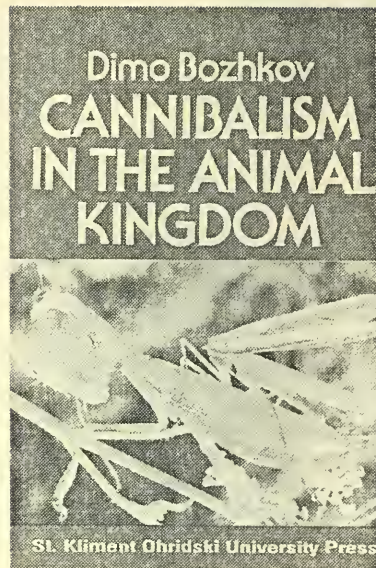
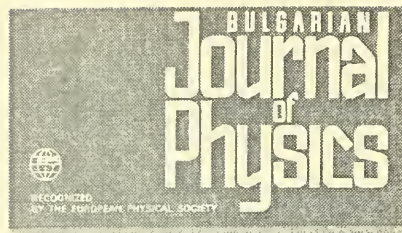
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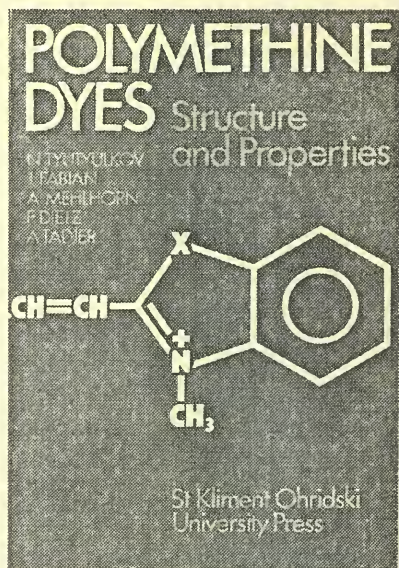
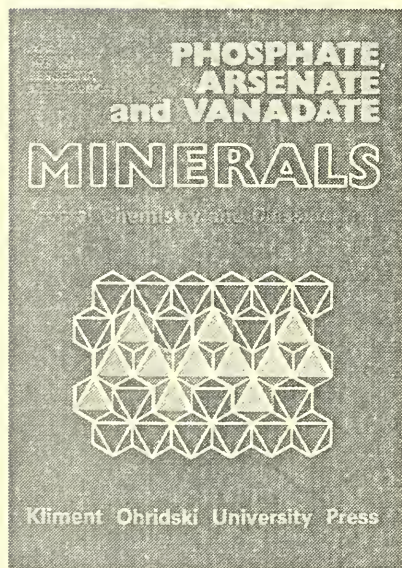
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