THE TRUTH ABOUT MACEDONIA

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THE TRUTH ABOUT MACEDONIA AND ITS CHRISTIAN POPULATION

The German socialist and deputy, Hermann Wendel, may be a good Marxist and a splendid tribune in parliament, but in his articles on Macedonia published in «Die Glocke», «Arbeiter-Zeitung» and «Vorwärts», he showed himself very ill-informed, not to use a stronger term, in regard to Balkan questions. His articles are so superficial and as devoid of any scientific basis, as they are rash. Hermann Wendel ignores the works of competent learned men who have written on Macedonia as far back as the beginning of the last century, when there was no Balkan question, nor any odious chauvinistic rivalries between Serbians and Bulgarians or between Greeks and Bulgarians; he also ignores international conferences, which have sanctioned with protocols and maps the ethnical feature of Macedonia. But the most important thing is, that Hermann Wendel ignores also all that the very population of Macedonia itself has done by its schools, its struggles for ecclesiastical independence and by its political revolutions designed to safeguard its national and political rights. For the schools, the struggle for ecclesiastical independence and the revolutions for political freedom speak very strongly in favor of the national consciousness of Macedonia — a fact which Wendel unreservedly denies.
We purpose to bring out, underscore and call to mind all these efforts and struggles of a martyred population, which with the deepest consciousness and an unparalleled self-abnegation has fought for its self preservation, and which leaves far behind it all that other downtrodden nations of Europe have done for the preservation of their ethnical individuality and their religious and political independence. The quotations given below were first published in a special book in 1905, whence we borrow them\(^1\).

**Statements of learned travelers**

The ethnical feature of Macedonia was fixed further back in the first half of the last century. The investigations of archeologists, geographers, ethnographers, and learned travelers who have traversed the Balkan Peninsula with a scientific object, have very largely contributed to this. All this was done at a time when the national sentiment of the Christian peoples in the Balkans was not yet developed and when there were no chauvinistic animosities. It is just this fact which gives a scientific character to the investigations of these men.

Pouqueville was the first to mark out in 1805 the boundaries in the Balkan Peninsula, separating the Bulgarians from the Greeks in the south, and from the Albanians in the west. Crossing the Pindus mountains and entering the district of Castoria or Costour, he finds Bulgarian villages.

« We stopped », he writes, « at Piaco or Doupari, a village not far from the lake of Costour (Castoria). As far as here I travelled in a known country, because I could speak to and communicate with the inhabitants of

\(^1\) *D. M. Brancoff «La Macédoine et sa population chrétienne.»* Paris, Librairie Plon et Co, 1905.
the country, but here the scene was changed. I entered the country of the Bulgarians, and I was obliged to use the few Slavic words I had picked up during my sejourn in Ragusa.

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

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

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

Lejean: «To-day the Bulgarian people is almost bounded by the Danube, the river Timok, with a line

4) « Ethnographie de la Turquie d’Europe », par Lejean, 1861, pages 12—29.
passing by the towns of Nish, Prizren, Ochrida, Niegoush, Salonica, Adrianople and Sozopol, the Black Sea and Burgas. The Bulgarians occupy almost the whole of Macedonia and their compact mass gradually pushes the Greeks to the sea, where the latter hold their ground in a narrow strip of land between Plataforma and Kolakia. From the Struma to the Maritza the Greek territory forms a very narrow zone inhabited by seamen and fishermen, while the Bulgarian, pre-eminently agriculturist, occupies the heights that dominate the sea coast. Outside of this perimetre there are Bulgarian foreposts or remnants of the Bulgarian people among Albanians, Wallachs, Greeks, in the Dobrudja and even in Asia.

Ubicini\(^1\): «Among the populations of the Slavic race, direct subjects of the Porte, the Bulgarians hold the first place. Divided by the Balkans, the Bulgarians touch the Black Sea and the Archipelago through Burgas and Salonica; they extend on the west as far as Albania and reach the Danube on the north from Fet-Islam (Kladovo) to Silistra.»

V. Grigorovitch\(^2\): «The villages between Salonica and Enidje-Vardar are inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians. The villages in the districts of Enidje-Vardar, Voden, Lerin, Bitolia, as well as those between Bitolia and Ochrida, are inhabited exclusively by Bulgarians, intermingled here and there with Koutzo-Wallachs and Turks.»

Hilferding\(^3\): «Shar Mountain stops the further movement of the Serbian element and serves as a frontier line between Serbians and Bulgarians. The latter have crossed the south-eastern mountains and occupied Macedonia and part of Albania.»

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\(^2\) «Esquisse de voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe», par V. Grigorovitch, Moscou, 1840, pages 107 et 109.
\(^3\) Oeuvres complètes Hilferding, Vol. III, page 141.
K. Jireček: «The settlements of the Bulgarians are found in the ancient provinces of Mysia, Thrace and Macedonia, or according to recent Turkish administrative division, in the Danube, Adrianople, Salonica, and Bitolia vilayets. The boundary line of the provinces, inhabited by the people speaking Bulgarian, runs north to the Lower Danube from its mouth down to Vidin; farther on this line extends to the river Timok, runs along the Serbian frontier which it rarely crosses and turns southward only along the river Toplitza by the town of Procuplie. Climbing along the heights on the right strip of the Morava, it passes the town of Vrania, comes to the Tchernogorie, extends as far as the Shar mountain, passes the upper Debir and reaches its end on the right bank of the Ochrida and Prespa lakes, at the village of Lin. The zone, south of these lakes, the valley of Coritza and that of the river Dievol have a mixed population — of Albanians, Bulgarians and Wallachs. Farther on the frontier line runs from Dievol through the lake of Costour (Castoria), the town of Wallachian Klissura, the towns of Niegoush, Salonica, Seres, and reaching the environs of Drama, passes the southern slopes of the Rhodope mountains; thence it approaches the towns of Dimotica, Ouzoun-Kiupriu, Bunar-Hissar, and Little Samokov and thence on to the Black Sea.»

A. Synvet: «The Bulgarians, of Hungarian stock, were Slavicized in Europe. This people is bounded today by the Danube, the Timok, and a line passing through Nish, Prizren, Ochrida, Costour (Castoria), Salonica, Adrianople, and Sozopol, the Black Sea and Burgas. One meets them also in Albania, Thrace and Bessarabia.»

2) Traité de Géographie générale de l'Empire ottoman, par A. Synvet, Constantinople, 1872, page 72.
V. Teploff: «There is a great controversy in regard to the question, whether the Bulgarians or the Greeks form the majority of the population in Macedonia. Travelers and impartial learned men, such as Lejean and Kiepert have proved, that the Greeks inhabit only the sea-coast of this province (Macedonia), and the remaining part is inhabited by Bulgarians. In the 26 Macedonian districts: Kukush, Razlog, Gornia-Djumaia, Nevrokop, Demir-Hissar, Melnik, Petritch, Doyran, Tikvеш, Strumitza, Veles, Scopie Koumanovo, Kratovo, Tetovo, Kriva-Palanka, Radovish, Kotchany, Shtip, Bitolia, Prilep, Kitchevo, Ochrida and Lerin, he finds three christian peoples: Bulgarians 940,000, Greeks 2,616, and Kutzo-Wallachs 38,778.»

Crousse: «In Thrace and Macedonia the Greeks are greatly scattered, with the exception of some towns: Constantinople, Adrianople and Philippopolis, so that all along the sea-coast they form very important groups.»

A. T. Rittich: Macedonia gives us to-day the following proportion of Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish population: Bulgarians 1,121,281, Greeks 59,933, Turks 360,628.

Arthur J. Evans: In all Macedonia throughout its length and breadth — I use this as a convenient term, embracing the limit of the frontiers of Epirus and Albania as far as those of East Roumelia and the present Principality of Bulgaria — the Bulgarian element widely predominate. Only in some of the towns in the extreme

1) Question ecclésiastique gréco-bulgare, par V. Teploff. 1877, pages 239 et 240.
2) La Péninsule gréco-slave, par Franz Crousse, Bruxelles, 1876, page 169.
3) Le Monde Slave (Slavensky Mir) par A. T. Rittich, St-Petersbourg, 1885, page 116.
southern districts the Greek element is seen, but even here it is neutralized, and taking into account the number of Greeks, the Greek element is entirely submerged by the Bulgarian population in the rural districts. In Salonica, the one really great town of Macedonia the predominant element is neither the Greek, nor the Bulgarian, but the Spanish-Jewish and the Mohamedan. In Bitolia, however, the town population is pre-eminently Bulgarian, and the Bulgarian is the language spoken in the bazar. Prilep, Skopie, Shtip, Kratovo, Palanca, Strumitza, Muglen, Lerin, and other towns in the interior are pure Bulgarian towns. I do not affirm this on hearsay, but on the ground of personal knowledge of the country. I say, that a traveler can traverse the whole of Macedonia — from the Pindus as far as the Bulgarian boundaries without meeting a single Greek.»

Emile de Laveley\(^1\): «The whole central and eastern part of Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians, who extend as far as Salonica and Seres. According to the well informed authors Roolus, Kiepert, Ubicini, Lejean, Crousse, the great majority of the population of Macedonia is Bulgarian.»

We could not come to a close were we to cite all the authors who have treated the ethnographic history of Macedonia and who categorically assert that that province is mostly inhabited by Bulgarians. We shall confine ourselves and say that the following authors make similar statements and come to the same conclusion as the authors cited above: They are: Hahn, Greisebach, Henschling, Mackenzie and Irby, Robert Pertmann, Dr. Müller, Dumont, Florinsky, Golubinsky, Obroutcheff, Makousheff, Boudilovitch, Stein, Kolb, Sirku, Buch, as well as the more recent but not less eminent authorities, viz: Weigand,

Miliukoff, Victor Bérard, Max Choublier\(^1\), Bashmakoff, etc . . .

Yastreboff, Goptchevitch, Draganoff and Rostovsky\(^2\) speak of a Slav population in Macedonia, which, they say, is neither Serbian nor Bulgarian, with the exception of the first two, the one Russian, and the other Serbian, who consider the greater part of this Slav population Serbian.

II.

THE GREAT POWERS SANCTION THE BULGARIAN FEATURE OF MACEDONIA

The investigations of learned men about Macedonia and their written statements concerning it were sanctioned by the Constantinople Conference in 1876. The Bulgarian feature of Macedonia was recognized in the protocol No. 1, containing the conclusions arrived at by the Conference on Dec. 11/23, 1876. This protocol enumerated one by one the sanjaks, kazas (districts), inhabited by Bulgarians. Annexed to the protocol is a map of the Bulgarian provinces: the eastern with Tarnovo as capital, and the western with Sofia.

The following is the full text\(^3\) of the third protocol of the Constantinople Conference annexed to report No. 8\(^4\) which traces the boundaries of Bulgaria.

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\(^2\) La Question d’Orient depuis le Traité de Berlin, Max Choublier. Paris, 1899, page 283: «It can now be affirmed that Macedonia, with the exception of a few places where there are Greeks and Koutzo-Wallachs, is pre-eminently inhabited by Slavs. All are now generally agreed to regard these Slavs as Bulgarians.»

\(^3\) D. Brancoff, pages 24—33.

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

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

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

The Turkish plenipotentiaries in the Constantinople Conference declared against the defining the boundaries of Bulgaria. They had no confidence in such a step and declared that the newly constituted provinces aimed at the union of the Bulgarian element, scattered all over the Balkan peninsula, in order to give it thus predominance over the Turkish and Greek elements. Count Corti, Envoy Extraordinary and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Italy replied: the former objected in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers, and the latter — in his own name:

Count Corti: «As touching the administrative regime, the Sublime Porte declares it is not able to account for the reasons given for the change of the existing districts and the creation of two Vilayets — eastern and western. It thinks that the new division has for its result, if not for its aim, the uniting of all Bulgarians scattered throughout European Turkey in two great administrative units, where
the Bulgarian element will predominate exclusively, and it dreads the violent opposition which this combination will not fail to provoke on the part of the Musulman and Greek population intermingled with the Bulgarian population.

"Were the Plenipotentiaries of the protecting Powers really preoccupied solely to secure a privileged position to the Bulgarian element, it would have been more convenient to constitute only one single Province; but in making these changes in the administrative districts, they have no other aim than to unite and group together the various regions which were the theatre of sad events, against which public opinion was strongly roused, and which proves the impossibility of continuing the present order. It is owing to this, that the sanjaks of Sliven and Philippopolis and some kazas have been detached from the Vilayet of Adrianople, as well as other districts from the Vilayets of Salonica and Bitolia. Hence it was natural to proceed to a totally new organization of these countries. In proposing this organization in their project, the Plenipotentiaries have striven to group together as much as possible Christian and Musulman elements. This is a measure, the practical character of which cannot be disputed. It is sufficiently justified by the peculiar conditions of the Ottoman Empire.

As regards the pretended difficulties to be raised on the part of the Greek element in the new provinces, it is necessary in the first place to bring forth the contradiction existing between this remark and the preceding statement, that it was our wish to unite only the Bulgarians under one administration. It suffices to say, that the Greek population will enjoy the same rights and the same advantages granted to all populations without distinction of cult or religion.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers believe that the opposition between the various nationalities will tend
to disappear with the system of cantonal autonomy, which the Greeks will be first to profit by. «The cruel strife», which the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries appear to dread, can be only an electoral struggle. We may be permitted to hope that it will be gradually confined to the legal competition of the ballot\(^1\).

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

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

The Plenipotentiaries were thus presented from applying their recommendations to a large part of the Vilayets of Adrianople, Salonica and Prizren. The necessity of excluding these regions from the operation of these regulations obliged them to trace new lines of demarkation. Had they not done this, they would have incurred justly the reproaches of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries,

\(^1\) Blue Book, Turkey, pages 324, 325. VI\(^e\) protocole, séance du 8 janvier 1877.
who could have complained that the Conference was
deviating from the English programme by granting
guarantees against the bad administration of Bulgaria in
regions not forming a part of Bulgaria.

Having considered all the points in which the Ottoman
Plenipotentiaries thought the Conference had passed the
legitimate limits, I think I have sufficiently demonstrated,
that the propositions made by the Plenipotentiaries of
the six great Powers have scrupulously confined themselves
within the limits of the English programme.

The Berlin Congress labored methodically to undo
the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty, and if it tore away
from it Macedonia, it did it in order to prevent the union
of the Bulgarians, and not for the purpose of favoring the
freedom of the Greek population. The first protocols of
the Congress sittings contain unconditional proofs of this.

Salisbury: « The Greek people who inhabit many
places in new Bulgaria, will be subjected to a large Slavic
majority, with which it is not in friendly terms, as I have
already had occasion to state; it is possible that the Greek
language will disappear and the Greek people be absorbed.

Besides the admission on the coast of the Aegean Sea
if a new naval power is received with a lively sense of
regret by the neighboring Powers of the Mediterranean.

In my opinion a remedy should be found against the
dangerous results of a change of membres, to which our
attention has been drawn. If, instead of extending to the
Aegean Sea and the Lake of Ochrida, Bulgaria were to be
confined in the south by the line of the Balkans, and the
remaining part be left under the rule of the Sultan, these
perils, if not altogether removed, would be greatly reduced.

In such case there will be no new naval power on the
coasts of the Aegean, and a comparatively numerous

1) Blue Book, Turkey, page 330, VI° protocole du 8 janvier 1877.
Greek population, which is threatened to be absorbed in new Bulgaria and be subjected to a Slavic majority, will be left in the political position it occupies to-day, while the Porte will have a strategical frontier, which it will be able to defend against any future invasions.

In his book «Commentary on the Berlin Treaty»\(^1\) Brunswick underscores these words: «Bulgaria has not the extent that the San Stefano treaty had prepared for her: *strategical and political* considerations induced the Congress to out off her frontiers in the south and west and to leave out of her rule a considerable number of her fellow-countrymen.»

We have also the authoritative sanction of Prince Bismark of the ethnical features of Macedonia. To a question put to him in the Reichstag by Bennigsen, leader of the national liberals, concerning the events in the Balkan peninsula, Prince Bismark made the following declarations:

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

This declaration of Bismark is very important. Adolphe Avril, a French diplomatist, calls it an event.

\(^1\) Le Traité de Berlin annoté et commenté par Benoît Brunswick. Paris, 1878, pages 18 and 45.
«We have hitherto known the chancellor» he says, «in many forms, but Bismark as ethnographer has a great interest of its own. In the first place, it is well to show his green competitors and his ripe rivals, that the chancellor of the empire has felt bound to know, and therefore to investigate the Bulgarian question. And so he is well acquainted with his Kiepert. Secondly, an ethnographic declaration from Bismark is more than an opinion, it is an event. This declaration has a special weight, independently of its inherent value. Let us observe, in passing, that the chancellor of the German Empire admits, speaking ethnographically, the great Bulgaria of the Constantinople Conference and of the San Stefano Treaty.»

The ethnical feature of Macedonia which Wendel, even to-day, refuses to admit, though he has the word of the iron chancellor for it, in the latter's parliamentary speeches, is very plainly and categorically defined: Macedonia, in accordance with the testimony of learned men, of European statesmen, on international conferences, congresses, and acts, is Bulgarian in population.

III.

THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE OF THE SLAVIC POPULATION OF MACEDONIA

Learned travelers in their books, statesmen in their speeches, and the Great Powers in the Constantinople Conference and in the Berlin Congress speak of Bulgarians, Greeks, Kutzo-Wallachs, Turks, Albanians, and Jews in Macedonia, but not once do they ever mention Serbians. In their books and map travelers dwell on the fact that the Bulgarians compose the majority of the population in Macedonia and surpass numerically all the other ethnical
elements taken together. But along with these authoritative and overwhelming witnesses in favor of the ethnical feature of Macedonia, there is another concrete and lively witness — that of the Slavic population itself inhabiting Macedonia. The Slavic people themselves show what they are. They know they are and call themselves Bulgarians, as so many learned travelers testify, and that before the Bulgarian exarchate was constituted, and before the formation of the Bulgarian Principality and even before the opening of any Bulgarian school during the last century.

The so called Slavs of Macedonia have always called themselves Bulgarians. So also the Sublime Porte in its official documents always calls the Slavs of Macedonia Bulgarians. Their own neighbors — Turks, Albanians, Wallachs and Jews—remember them, know them to be and call them Bulgarians. Of the 46 districts of Macedonia, the Bulgarians inhabit 36, out of 53 towns they inhabit 36 and 2239 villages out of 27041).

Had Wendel known the history of the regeneration of the Balkan peoples, had he compared the conditions in which the awakening of each people began, had he known the hard fight it cost the Bulgarians and the martyrs they gave for the right to have their own schools and receive Bulgarian education in Macedonia, he would have spoken with respect and reverence of the national revival of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and of all they have accomplished for their education under constant persecutions, imprisonments, banishment, and even the gallows.

It is a fact that the first man who raised his voice in favor of the national Bulgarian sentiment and the popular awakening was Païssee, a monk of the monastery

1) See the Statistical Tables in which are given the names of the towns and villages in Macedonia with the number and nationality of the inhabitants in Brancoff's Macedonia, pages 17—19; 98—268.
of Hilendar, of Mount Athos. This monastery is claimed by the Serbians. In 1762, this pious monk in his famous history describing with great enthusiasm the ancient Bulgarian Kingdom, the Bulgarian Tzars, and the glorious past of Bulgaria, appeals to his countrymen to rouse from their deep slumber and show other people that they too love their country and their mother tongue. He hurls fiery philippics against the Greeks who had enslaved the Bulgarians spiritually, robbing them on the pretext of ministering to their religious wants. He does not spare the Russians and Serbians who taunted the Bulgarians for their rudeness and illiteracy. His example was followed in the beginning of the last century in Thrace and North Bulgaria by the Bulgarian priest Stoyco Radoslavoff, subsequently Bishop Sophrony of Vratza, and in Macedonia by Joachim Kirchovsky of Kitchevo, and by Kyril Peychinovitch of Teartsi, district of Tetovo. These were the first Apostles of Bulgarian enlightenment and education, the first who taught children to read Bulgarian and Church Slavic books.

When in the beginning of the last century and even earlier there were in Tarnovo, Sofia, Vidin, Svishtov, Philippopolis, Sliven, Kotel, and other towns only Greek schools crowded with young Bulgarians, in Macedonia — in the monasteries of the Ochrida, Debr, Prilep districts and in the Rilo monastery there were schools in which children were taught to read and write in Bulgarian and Church Slavic. In 1810 a Bulgarian school was opened in Veles in the house owned by the Rilo monastery.

And again in Macedonia, in a Macedonian town, was raised for the first time the cry in favor of conducting in Bulgarian Churches the services in Church Slavic, and of having Bulgarian bishops appointed to Bulgarian eparchies (dioceses). It was the Bulgarians of Scopie, who in 1832 were the first to demand this right. The example
of Scopie was followed by Veles, Samokov, and later on by Vidin, Sofia, Ochrida, Prilep, Shtip, Philippopolis, Kukush, and still later by Tarnovo, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, until the movement embraced all the towns of North, South and West Bulgaria, i.e. Mysia, Thrace, and Macedonia, and brought about the conflict with the Greek patriarchate and the Sublime Porte.

Already in the second quarter of the last century in most of the towns, hamlets and villages Bulgarian schools were opened. Besides primary there were also a few secondary (similar to the modern progymnasia) schools. Such schools were opened in Veles, Scopie, Kukush, Prilep, Shtip, Tetovo, Bania, Mehomia, and other towns. In 1840 in Veles was introduced the Ben-Lancaster method of teaching and a special commercial school was also opened. In 1845 in the village of Bashino near Veles a Bulgarian school was opened which had a seal reading in Bulgarian: Bashinskoto Bulgarsko Uchilishte — (The Bulgarian School of Bashtino). In 1850 the scholars in the Bulgarian schools of Veles numbered more than 700. About 1865—68 in almost all the towns, hamlets, and large villages Bulgarian schools had taken the place of the Greek schools. In some towns the Bulgarian schools stood much higher than the Greek. Such were the schools in Kukush, where K. Miladinoff and Jinzifoff taught; in Ochrida, where Purlicheff taught, who graduated from the University of Athens and was awarded a gold medal by the same university for a Greek poem of his; in Veles, where in 1868 at the head of the teachers was Vassil Popovitch, a graduate of a Russian theological seminary and an eminent writer and critic; in Shtip, where in 1868 Yossif Kovatcheff was the principal of the Bulgarian schools. He also was a graduate of a Russian theological seminary and a conspicuous Bulgarian educator. In the days of Kovatcheff and during his management the Bulgarian school of Shtip
stood high above all other schools in Macedonia, Thrace and Mysia. It was the first Normal School in the Balkan Peninsula — the Greek Normal Schools were opened later in Salonica and Seres — in 1871–72. Kovatcheff was the first to introduce within the bounds of the Turkish Empire the so-called vocal method of teaching which was substituted for the Beni-Lancaster method. In Shtip students flocked from all parts of North Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia in order to learn the new method of teaching. Even teachers came from Gabrovo, which with its model schools was then considered one of the first Bulgarian centres of culture — the Bulgarian Heidelberg.

All the schools in North Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia were supported by the people, directed by freely elected communal councils and assisted by the guilds. The schools were managed by School Trustees elected from among the members of the guilds. Almost all the schools were supported by voluntary contributions from the churches, by subsidies from the guilds and a voluntary school tax paid by the people in towns and villages. Each school had a seal with the inscription in Bulgarian: Bulgarian school in town . . . . or village . . . . Along with schools for children there were also opened schools for illiterate adults, and also Chitalishtas — literary societies and Women's literary societies. The towns of Pripet, Veles, Kukush, Voden, Scopie, Shtip, and other towns had such societies.

The period of the hard struggle for school and church rights in North Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia, that is, the struggle for the right to open and support Bulgarian schools and to have an independent Bulgarian church, for the official recognition of the Bulgarian Church and communal councils — a right which Greeks, Armenians and Jews enjoyed — closed in 1870. In this memorable year signalicing the most remarkable stage in the Bul-
Bulgarian regeneration was solemnly sanctioned the national right of the Bulgarians, and with a firman from the Sultan was restored the ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria in the constituting of the **Bulgarian Exarchate**. The ethnical limite of the Bulgarians in the Balkan Peninsula were also sanctioned. Is there any need to repeat here, after all that has been said, the self-evident truth, that it was not the Exarchate which created Bulgaria, but rather the Exarchate itself was created by the united efforts of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, Thrace and North Bulgaria; that it was not the Exarchate which gave a name to the Slavs in Macedonia, but that these Slavs who are Bulgarians gave it its name; that it was not the Bulgarian Exarchate and the former Principality of Bulgaria that opened Bulgarian schools in Macedonia, for such schools existed long before the Exarchate and the Principality of Bulgaria were constituted.

It has often been asserted that Macedonia assumed its Bulgarian features in 1870. No greater untruth has ever been uttered. Against this assertion and this untruth rise up a host of Bulgarian public men in Macedonia, a great number of Bulgarian teachers, who many years before the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate took the trouble to go from Macedonia in Thrace and North Bulgaria in order to rouse the national sentiment and promote the cause of education. Such were the first teachers of Bulgaria; the Bulgarians from Macedonia, the monk Païsse, Neophitus of Rila from the Razlog region of Macedonia, the first teacher in the Gabrovo school, and the first to introduce in North Bulgaria the Ben-Lancaster method; the Macedonian Bulgarians Christaky Pavlovitch and Vaskidovitch, teachers in Svishtov, Pleven, and in other towns. Such Macedonian Bulgarians were the most active public men and teachers in Macedonia itself. Some of them were physicians, university men,
authors, folklorists, clergymen. Such are Dr. Mishaikoff of the village of Puteleh, educated in Athenes; Parteny of Polonia, Debr district, Nathanael, metropolitan Bishop of Philippopolis of the village of Kuchovitza, Scopie district, Methody, metropolitan Bishop of Stara-Zagora, all three of them graduated of a theological academy in Russia; the Miladinoff Brothers of Struga, educated in Athens, one of them with a university education, both of them eminent folklorists; Jinzifoff of Veles with a university education, professor and poet; Josif Kovatcheff, a graduate of a theological academy in Russia and an eminent educator. How is it, all these educated men did not call themselves Greeks or Serbians, but cast their lot with their people and called themselves Bulgarians? Had they really been Greeks or Serbians, they certainly would have borne the name of their respective peoples, for it was highly creditable to bear the name of a cultured and free people, such as the Greeks were then, or of a free people, such as the Serbians were, than to pass as a son of a mass of a downtrodden, debased, despised, and enslaved people, such as the Bulgarians were then. What made these men call themselves Bulgarians and bear the cross of persecution and suffering to which the Bulgarians were exposed and to which the Miladinoff brothers succumbed? What made Purlitcheff of Ochrida, the Miladinoff brothers and scores of their colleagues call themselves Bulgarians and expose themselves to a life of hardship and suffering?

The Exarchate! — is the answer given from Athens and Belgrade.

Duty, the national conscience, answers in protest the truth.1)

Hermann Wendel does not heed this protest. He does not see national sentiment and conscience in the

1) See Brancoff's Macedonia, pages 49—52; 60—62.
martyred Macedonian population; he does not see anything of the kind in the self-denying public men, the eminent Bulgarians of Macedonia whose peaceful rest we are disturbing. If this be a matter of conscience, let Wendel in the name of human conscience point out, during the period in question, at least one or two Serbians like the Païssees, Neophite, Miladinoff, Kovatcheoffs, Mishai-koffs and many others. If he does not know any such let him consult the history of the regeneration of the Balkan peoples and let him ask the help of professor Zwitich. He is bound to do that. This in conscience will expect of him not only the socialists but the enlightened public opinion which he treat with such levity and disrespect.

IV.

WHAT FOREIGNERS SAY OF BULGARIAN SCHOOLS IN MACEDONIA

Learned travelers who have traversed the Balkan countries up to 1870 speak of the national schools in Macedonia; they describe Bulgarian, Greek and even Roumanian schools, but not Serbian schools.

V. Grigorovitch\(^1\) (1848), says: Speaking of schools in Macedonia and Bulgaria Grigorovitch says: «There are primary and class schools. In both until 1833 the teaching was conducted in the Greek language; since that date the Bulgarians have been striving to replace the Greek with their own language. This is a noble effort, for one sees that the thirst for knowledge is the motive actuating the Bulgarian people. The schools in which the Bulgarian language is taught are 26 in Danubian

\(^1\) V. Grigorovitch, Esquisse, Moscou, 1844, pages 109—131.
Bulgaria, 16 in Thrace and 9 in Macedonia, namely in Nevrokop, Veles, Kustendil, Bania (Razlog district) Dupnitz, Djumaia, Rila and the Rilo Monastery.

Cousinery\(^1\) (1828), says: «The Bulgarians are easily assimilated by the Greeks in towns in which Greek bishops reside and which have Greek schools. They consider themselves more respectable when they study in Greek schools.»

Cyprien Robert\(^2\): «Very little can be said about the Bulgarian schools. Everywhere in the East the work of teaching is left with the clergy; but the clergy are as ignorant as the people . . . . The clergymen are Greeks, who do not know the language of the people to whom they minister. The people of Sofia speak with pride and consider a good sign the fact that their young bishop knows Bulgarian. In many schools such as those of Sofia, Lozengrad and other towns the \textit{mutual didactic} method of teaching has been introduced.»

Ubicini\(^3\): «The Greek schools in Pera, Scutari and the Prinkipi Islands do not differ from those that in the following year were shown me in Bulgaria and Macedonia. Their aspect is one and the same. He who sees one school knows all. The first thing that catches the eys as one enters the school hall is the portrait of the Russian Emperor.»

Mackenzie and Irby\(^4\): «In the town of Prilep there are three Christian schools: one of them belongs to the Koutzo-Wallachs, where their children study Greek, and the other two are Bulgarian. The latter have more than 400 children.


\(^2\) Les Slaves de la Turquie, par Cyprien Robert, pages 284—287.


"In Veles there are three Christian schools — two Bulgarian schools with 500 scholars and a Koutzo-Wallachs school with 30—40 scholars.

In Scopie there are three Bulgarian schools; the two have about 60 scholars each, and the third, the largest of the three, has more than 100 scholars.

These schools are supported by the Bulgarian communities . . . We did not see the schools in Shtip and in the other towns on the highroad between Salonica and Scopie, Voden, Enidje-Vardar etc. In these towns the Greek bishops from time to time meddle in school affairs for the purpose of driving away some capable Bulgarian teachers."

J. Clarke, J. Baird and R. Thomson\(^1\) . . .: "The Bible has been translated into modern Bulgarian and has been sold and distributed throughout Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace. The language in which Protestant missionaries preach in all mission stations and points where they have established work — with the exception of Mitrovitza, where Serbian is used — is Bulgarian. The missionaries have opened schools (gymnasia) in Samokov and Bitolia, and in Salonica an agricultural and an industrial school has been opened. Primary schools are also supported by the Mission in many towns and villages in Bulgaria and in some places in Macedonia; Bitolia, Koleshino, Mejurek (Kukush district), Enidje-Vardar, Todorak, Monospitovo, Strumitza, Drama, Bansko, Bania, Mehomia, Eleshnitza (Razlog district). In all these places the teaching has been and is still conducted in Bulgarian, and English has only recently been introduced in the Girls' Boarding School in Bitolia."

\(^1\) Memorandum to the English Minister of Foreign Affairs Sir Edward Grey and to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Great Powers. See the Bulgarian weekly periodical "Sedmichen Pregled" No. 3, 1917.
Now why does not one of the above cited authore mention Serbian schools? Had there really been such schools in Macedonia, then surely these Serbian schools would have been mentioned by Mackenzie and Irby who knew the Serbian lands well, and who in their book describe in detail the Serbian schools in Prizren and Ipek. Nor would the American Missionaries Clarke, Baird and Thompson have, in that case, failed to mention the Serbian schools in Macedonia, for they have a high regard for justice and truth.

In 1866—1867 the Serbs only had government agents as teachers in some villages and towns in Macedonia, but teachers without a Serbian population and without scholars. And much later — in 1895—1910—when the Serbian propaganda was favored by the Turkish government and by the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople and developed the greatest activity, the Serbs had schools and teachers in many towns and villages of Macedonia, but no scholars. In 1896 there were in Egridere-Palanca, a small town, 3 Serbian teachers with only 1 scholar. But in order not to draw on ourselves the suspicion of partiality on this point, let us cite the confession made in the secret protocole in a conference of Serbian Ministers held in 1905. In the protocole of the sitting of the conference held on the 28th of August, 1905, in Belgrade, the following minute is recorded:

«The sitting is attended by all the members of the conference (the Minister of Foreign Affairs Yovan Yo-vanovitch, the president of the ministerial council L. Stoyanovitch, the Minister of Internal Affairs Sava Grouitch and A. Nicolitch; the plenipotentiary ministers: Gheorghi Simitch, Vouitch, Milovanovitch, Milichevitch, Vesnitch, and Sveta Simitch). Yovan Juyovitch presided.

«Mr. Yovan Juyovitch sets forth the question of our (Serbian) educational work in Macedonia, and pointing
to the fact that there were schools with very few children, and places where there were no Serbian houses, asks whether it would not be well to restrict our work in that direction.

«In the discussion which followed and in which G. Simitch, S. Grouitch, Yov. Avakoumovitch and Sveta Simitch took part, the fact was established that our educational work had extended considerably; that there were schools with 2—3 scholars; and also schools in which the number of teachers was not in proportion to the number of scholars; that the schools were not well supplied with school-books; that the support of these schools cost more than the results obtained; that schools were not always opened in places where the interests of the propaganda required they should be opened, etc.»

These frank confessions of Serbian statesmen render all comments superfluous. The Serbian schools in Macedonia till 1876 and even till 1910 were subsidized by the Serbian government. These schools had teachers, but no Serbian population and no scholars. These schools were alien to the Slavic (Bulgarian) population of Macedonia. The Bulgarians had their own schools opened and supported by them. The number of these schools in 1875 was 350. What was the number of Serbian teachers (Serbian agents) sent and supported by the Serbian Government? The Serbian regent and minister of Foreign Affairs Christitch gives us the figure. It was 61 schools, and that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kossovo, Morava, Nishava and Macedonia.

Now all that Hermann Wendel, who denies the national consciousness of the Slavic population, has to do is to compare these figures, draw the necessary conclusion and, as a man, who loves the truth, come out and correct his hasty conclusions and judgements in regard to Macedonia and its Slavic population. In order that his judgements and conclusions may be more objective, let him have
also before his eyes the figures below which were underscored: in 1865 in the Principality of Serbia there were in all 318 schools\textsuperscript{1}) and in 1875 there were in Macedonia 350\textsuperscript{2}) Bulgarian schools. The former were opened in Serbia and supported by the Serbian government, and the latter by the Bulgarian population in Macedonia which Wendel treats as a mass without national consciousness.

V.

**BULGARIAN AND SERBIAN EDUCATIONAL WORK IN MACEDONIA IN FIGURES**

The Bulgarian Exarchate founded by a firman in 1870, was received inimically by the Balkan States and by some of the Great Powers. A very strong opposition was manifested against the Exarchate, especially after the official plebiscite taken in the Scopie and Ochrida dioceses in 1873, on which occasion the whole population of these dioceses declared itself Bulgarian and in favor of the Exarchate. The Greeks, avowed enemies of the ecclesiastical independence of the Bulgarians, were at first joined by the Serbians, and later by the Wallachs, Turks and Albanians. When the Principality of Bulgaria was created by the San Stefano Treaty, the opposition against the Bulgarians was led by England and Austro-Hungary, assisted by France, Italy and other Powers. The opposition was, properly speaking, directed against Russia, which, without any ground in fact, was thought to be the promoter of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical question to which a political solution was also given by the Russo-Turkish

\textsuperscript{1}) Ubicini: Les Serbes de Turquie, 1865, page 83.
\textsuperscript{2}) D. Misheff, Bulgaria in the Past, page 321.
war. The Principality of Bulgaria, being limited by the Berlin Treaty to the Balkans, Serbia was directed to look southward towards Macedonia. In 1881 Serbia concludes a secret treaty with Austro-Hungary. In paragraph 7 of this treaty Austria-Hungary formally declares she will support Serbia before the other Powers in striving to extend to the south, with the exclusion of the Sanjak of Novi Pazar. In 1889 this treaty was renewed and in it Macedonia is spoken of in plain terms. In exchange for Bosnia and Herzegovina Austria-Hungary promises to help Serbia to take possession of the valley of the Vardar, where the population, as all admit, even the Serbians themselves, was in the years 1860—1870 declared to be Bulgarian. The Sublime Porte adhered to the policy of Austria-Hungary and Serbia. From 1894 and on the Sublime Porte begins openly to favor the Serbians. About this time was formed a sort of a coalition of Greeks, Serbians, Wallachs and Turks against the Bulgarians in Macedonia and the Vilayet of Adrianople and their educational work1).

In Macedonia the Sublime Porte took the Serbian propaganda under its protection. It helped the Serbians in every way to open Serbian schools on this side of the Shar planina (Shar mountain), in Macedonia, while at the same time it labored against the Serbians and the work on the other side of the Shar mountain — in Stara Serbia. In Macedonia the Turkish valis (governor), mutessarifs and kaimakams (prefects and sub-prefects) imposed Serbian schools in purely Bulgarian towns and villages. Let one out of many instances suffice. In 1896 the vali (governor) of Scopie, Hafiz Pasha, discharged the kaimakam (sub-prefect) of Shtip for not imposing a Serbian school in that town, where there was no Serbian, Greek or ad-

herent of the Greek patriarchate. The vali himself, after the discharge of the kaimakan, took the Serbian teacher to Shtip and tried to force him on the people, but meeting with a very strong opposition on the part of the Bulgarians in Shtip, he was obliged to leave the town with the Serbian teacher. The same vali opened by force Serbian schools in some villages in the districts of Koumanovo, Kotchani and Kratovo1). The Serbians were also supported in Macedonia by the Russian consuls. We shall not set forth in detail the educational struggle in Macedonia, in which the Bulgarians displayed great energy, tenacity, perseverance and lively self-consciousness, striking with astonishment both friends and foes. In spite of all the violent proceedings of the authorities, in spite of the coalition of Greeks, Serbians, Wallachians, Turks and Albanians against the Bulgarian educational work, the Bulgarian schools increased in number and were greatly improved, as we shall see from the appreciations given by competent foreigners. Here is the energy, tenacity, perseverance and self-consciousness of the Slavic population in Macedonia in figures, which speak convincingly and overwhelmingly in favor of the ethnical feature of Macedonia.

In 1895—96 there were in Macedonia 843 Bulgarian schools with 1306 teachers and 43,432 scholars, as against 77 Serbian schools with 118 teachers and 2,873 scholars2).

In 1910—11 there are 1359 Bulgarian Schools with 2203 teachers and 78,519 scholars. Of the Bulgarian schools 86 are progymnasia for boys and girls, two elementary theological seminaries (for priests), 11 gymnasias, for boys and girls, a higher theological seminary and a commercial school.

1) Brancoff, pages 79 and 80.
2) Dotation Carnegie, page 8.
What the standing of the Bulgarian schools is, the readers will learn from the appreciating words of a competent foreigner, not altogether favorably disposed towards the Bulgarians, namely Victor Bérard, a renownred French author, professor and editor of the *Revue de Paris*.

"One has only," says Berard, "to compare the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia with their rivals, to see the difference.

The Greeks, imbued with our old methods, shaped on the routine with which we have now broken, still instill in their gymnasia in Macedonia this literary culture, this impartial culture, which gave France in the XVII century and her people «honest men»; but which now fills the museum of Greece with glib talkers and politicians, physicians, deputies and lawyers-ministers. Altogether different are the Bulgarians gymnasia of Macedonia. Modeled on the German, the Bulgarian gymnasia interest the young Bulgarians in Macedonia in scientific and useful knowledge, which enables them to understand the present world and be concerned about realities; they prepare these young men to be citizens of the XX century, capable to earn an honest living and to be useful to society.

In the first visit of the two schools — Bulgarian and Greek — the difference strikes the eye at once; for where the Bulgarian school puts into the hands of the scholars a testtube, the Greek thrusts a copy of Demostenes and makes the scholars swear on the fallen heroes in the battle of Marathon.

The Greeks treat the Bulgarian pupil of Macedonia with the same contempt with which aforetime the «classical» gentlemen of our lyceums treated «the new workers». For the Greeks the Macedonian is always a Thracian, devoid of culture, a barbarian, with incoherent speech, coarse, slave. Strange contempt, which for a long time will weigh heavily on the future of hellenism.
The Greeks imagine that in the eastern world they will ever have a monopoly of culture and ideas. They think, they are the sole promoters of the work of civilization and progress. They imagine, that they alone can be the bulwark of Europe against Asia. They see in the Bulgarian only that what he was twenty-five years ago—a rival of the Cossack, his equal in ignorance and barbarism. Sure of this imaginary monopoly, the Greeks are wheedled by these fascinating hopes. . . . When their good friends (among whom I rightfully place myself) recommend to them to give heed when others talk to them of Bulgarian culture and of the Macedonian question, they only answer with a shrug of the shoulder or with insulting doubts. If in speaking to the Athenians of to-day of a Bulgarian (I know this from experience) you do not add the epithet rude, savage, you are, of course, «bulgarophil » or «traitor ».

We give this quotation for the benefit of Hermann Wendel. Let him read it and let him see, how far he is right in esteeming the Slav population of Macedonia to be nothing but an unconscious mass of people, who can submissively become Bulgarian or Serbian. He considers this population to be like a flock of sheep which neighbors and diplomats can buy and mould as they will. We know of no more unjustifiable and insulting terms than these. Against these terms we have a long protest. Wendel insults a people in Macedonia having 1359 schools and 2203 teachers, all born in Macedonia, with the exception of 15 from Bulgaria and a few other foreigners, while in the kingdom of Serbia, where Wendel sees culture and self-consciousness in the Serbians, there were in all 565 primary schools and 5 progymnasia in 1885). Hermann Wendel insults the Bulgarian «intelligentsia» of Mace-

donia, who number in their midst professors of the university of Sofia, members of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, and of other academies abroad, diplomats in European capitals, physicians, engineers, architects, artists, authors, publicists, lady physicians, and doctors of philosophy etc. . . . This Bulgarian «intelligentsia» of Macedonia has given more than 500 officers in the Bulgarian army and more than 600 teachers in the Kingdom of Bulgaria. Leaving this «intelligentsia» to protest against this insult, if they deem it necessary, we find that the strongest protest in the concrete case would be the percentage of Bulgarian scholars in Macedonia, which surpasses by far that of Serbian and Greek scholars in the very kingdoms of Serbia and Greece.

This percentage was published as far back as 1905 (in the book «La Macédoine et sa population chrétienne»1) and compared with the number of scholars in all the states of Europe. The author cites the whole statistical table of Professor E. Lavasseur2). A leader of the German socialists and a tribune in the German parliament like Wendel, who treats of the Balkan peoples and their educational system ought certainly to be acquainted with the work of the eminent French professor and statistician bearing on the national education, as well as with the works, treating of Macedonia, of the population and ethnic feature of which he himself writes. As far back as 1902 the Bulgarians of Macedonia had 6 scholars for every hundred inhabitants (6 %), where, according to the statistical table of Lavasseur, the Serbians in the Kingdom of Serbia had 4 scholars for every 100 inhabitants (4 %), the Greeks in the Kingdom of Greece had 3,7 scholars

1) D. M. Brancoff, pages 74 and 75.
for every 100 inhabitants (3.7 %), and the Bulgarians in the Principality of Bulgaria had 9.5 scholars for every 100 inhabitants (9.5 %). According to the statistical table inserted entire in the book «La Macédoine» etc., Saxony holds the first place in national public instruction in Europe with 18.8 % scholars, and next to it come Baden with 16.6 % scholars, Prussia with 16.4 %, England and Belgium with 14.5 %, France and Switzerland with 14.3 % etc. In 1910 the percentage of Bulgarian scholars in Macedonia rose to 9 %, and in the Kingdom of Bulgaria to 10.5 %.
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