

Some Considerations in the Romanian Press regarding the Situation and the Future of Macedonia (1900-1903)

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These several extracts from the Romanian press in the first years of the 20th century, which are presented to those interested researchers, are illustrative, in my opinion, for the awareness of the public opinion in Romania regarding the ethno-linguistic, cultural and economic situation from the Ottoman Macedonia. Since the last decade of the 19th century and until 1913, in the Romanian press – independent newspapers, party newspapers, cultural magazines, scientific magazines – hundreds of articles have been published (comments, editorials, extracts from the foreign press, correspondence and letters), articles regarding the complex situation regarding the Ottoman area of the Balkan Peninsula, especially Macedonia.

This was natural, because – together with Slavs, Greeks, Albanians, Turks, Jews – there were also many Aromanians (who since 1905 are recognized by the Ottoman Empire, by the edict of May 9/22, as having the Romanian nationality), and in this way is explained the interests of the authorities and of the public opinion in Romania.

These ten articles included in this documentary study are interesting for an objective researcher; they are a testimony of the fact that it was presented to the Romanian public opinion a balanced and multi-informal image, especially regarding the situation of nationalities; personalities of the public opinion were – like the scientist Constantin Rădulescu-Motru (1868-1957), future president of Romanian Academy – showing that “Still, Macedonia can not belong to any nationality, while the national aspirations are imprecise in the consciousness of its inhabitants. First of all, it must be prepared to enter

among the European countries, and it must be then able to define itself a national ideal"; according to the publicist Zamfir C. Arbore (1845-1933), he revealed to the Romanian readers, with obvious sympathy, the ethno-linguistic specificity of the "Slovenians", which is not identical with that of Bulgarians, "Humanitarian view, we join with all my heart"; according to the professor and scientist Teohari Antonescu (1866-1910), in a volume published in 1903 – with the comments of a well-known Romanian literary critic and social-political ideologue Garabet Ibrăileanu (1871-1936) – there are necessary "measures able to determine the free development of the local life by the administration of some councils elected from the middle of nationalities, taking into account their numerical importance".

The general idea with which the Romanian society was familiarized, regarding the political future of the ottoman province of Macedonia was that this region should be of "the Macedonians" or should be organized as an autonomous state or confederation. This is the keynote of the Romanian press after 1903, shared also by the public opinion and by broad political circles.

The Macedonian Question

*–Vital question for Romanians. –The Bulgarian propaganda. –The Serbian propaganda.
–The Russian propaganda. –The Romanian action¹*

It seems that the Balkan wound was opened again and started to bleed. The telegraph announced that new riots of the Albanians, who fight for the official recognition of their language and faith, the two foundations of a people's nationality.

In Prizrend, by the intrigues of the Catholics, it was named a Catholic bishop among the Albanians. This fact aroused their legitimate indignation and they have not stopped fighting until they obtained what they wanted.

Almost every single great power has its agents who scour Macedonia, making a powerful propaganda. This means that the Macedonian question represents the highest concern for the European diplomacy, because the one which will have the preponderance in the Balkan Peninsula is *the Turkey's natural heir*.

¹ „România jună”, II, no. 231, August 2, 1900: 1.

Therefore, it is necessary for us, the Romanians, to deal very close to this question, because, beside the fact that Macedonia is inhabited by our brothers and also by a much less dubious Latinity than the Latinity of many Romanians from the Kingdom, the strengthening of the Romanian element in Macedonia means, for the Romanians, the creation of a powerful arrear-guard which will be very useful in the future, once Bulgaria will start its expansion towards Thessaloniki.

By the willing or not willing gravity of Bulgaria, we are between two fires, vulnerable between Prut and Danube. That would be a powerful counterbalance of the Slav influence in the Balkans, a so fatal influence for us.

Besides Macedonia, there are also more than 500,000 Romanians in Serbia, much more in Bulgaria, 200,000 in Thessaly, and also in Greece. These compact masses, with no connection with those from center, are meant to perish in the middle of the other nations' influences. They will become Slavs and Greeks if we don't help them by awaking in them the consciousness of their nation.

Then, all these regions could represent for us powerful outlets for the products of our country, while now Austria is the master over almost all the markets of the Balkan Peninsula.

Thus, the political, economic and social importance of the question is very significant and it is necessary to be required an urgent action regarding the Macedonian problems.

The Bulgarian propaganda

The Bulgarians were the first who understood the importance of dominance in Macedonia, and for this, since 1850, when the Hungarians still lay in bondage, they started their action in Macedonia, action led with tact, courage and obstinacy, and today the Bulgarians are having the best position regarding influence in Macedonia.

Huge amounts of money are spent every year for the Macedonian propaganda, the most determined and enlightened people are sent there. The teachers from Macedonia are considered real apostles of pan-Bulgarian current, who fight with the word, with the feather, with the sword for the success of their idea.

It is often necessary that the teachers should led their communities in order to strongly reject the attacks of the other nations.

In Thessaloniki, the director of the Bulgarian high school from there is a former minister, and all that is cult and brightest in Bulgaria is sent in Macedonia. The Bulgarian propaganda is making its own followers by any means. If the eloquence can not convince, then they appeal to resounding arguments and, finally, to brute force. The Bulgarians have weapons in each village inhabited by them. The inhabitants are exercising the shooting for being ready when necessary.

The Serbian propaganda

This is more recent, because it dates for almost ten years. But the Serbians knew to do a lot meanwhile. Such as the Bulgarians, the Serbians have also brilliant teachers in Macedonia. They are very carefully chosen among absolutely worthy people. The young Macedonians are educated by the Serbian State, in the normal school, specially founded with this goal. These young teachers are then coming back as the most fanatical propagators regarding the pan-Serbian ideas.

In Cruşova, city of the Romanianism current in Macedonia, a Serbian teacher, recently arrived, has already 170 pupils in his school, while the Romanians, who have schools from over twenty years, have just 200 pupils.

The propaganda of these two rivals, the Serbian and the Bulgarian, would be even more powerful if they would not be enemies and if they would not look to annihilate one another. There are daily conflicts between Serbians and Bulgarians at the border of Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia.

The Russian propaganda

Those two propagandas are happily used by the Russian. Because he helps the Bulgarian in his agitation, Russia required the concession that the church service in Bulgaria and in the Bulgarian churches from Macedonia to be accomplished in Russian.

The major objective of Russia is to take control over the Patriarchate from Constantinople, because, in this way, the moral feudalization of the Balkan Peninsula will be achieved. They create for themselves safe locations from where they can dominate the entire terrible struggle from the Balkans. Thus, Montenegro is absolutely Russian. The Athos Mountain is full of Russian monks who are the most terrible pan-Slavic agents.

Under the pretext that they want to build monasteries, Russia constructed at the Athos Mountain real cities with barracks, guns, rifles and enough ammunition.

The Romanian action

While all the nations are strongly fighting for the achievement of the preponderance in Macedonia, in this case Serbia and Bulgaria becoming a great power, while the English people and the Germans are not remaining indifferent to these struggles, the Romanians have done little for the strengthening of the national element in Macedonia. It seems that we are not at all interested in this question of which it may depend our security in the future.

The Greeks have done much more, even if they are less. The Romanians have not enough schools, especially on the border of those three countries where is the most dangerous area. Those who are going to fight in Macedonia have not the necessary training, nor enough funds.

The Greeks have to every ten villages a bishop, while the Romanians have no pure and rich Romanian villages, no churches, no priests.

The Greeks bishops persecute those who dare to talk with a Romanian priest. The lecture in Romanian is considered a mortal sin.

Because of this, the Romanians are threatened to become Greeks, because they have not this moral support in the struggle in which the church is part. The third generation begins to forget the Romanian language, and they learn Serbian or Greek. In Bitolia, the most powerful Romanian center, no one is concerned with the national question. All these have to stop soon if we do not want the Macedo-Romanians to become a simple memory.

Sergiu

The Macedonian Question. The Situation of Turkey

—Slippery question. —The policy of different nationalities. —The Turks. —Their Empire, past and present. —The withdrawal in Asia. —The administrative corruption. —The Armenian massacre. —Young Turks' Party. —The population?

Albano-Macedonia represents for Europe, for some time, a *slippery question*. Indeed, it is here a boiling volcano which threatens to erupt.

On the territory of Albano-Macedonia meet, and clash sometimes, the propagandas of small states as Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro,

² „România jună”, II, no. 232, August 3, 1900: 1.

which have ethnic elements in some of the six governments which form Albano-Macedonia: Shkodra, Ianina, Kosovo, Monastir, Thessaloniki and Adrianople. These small states, some of them by their own, others based on the support of bigger states, have obvious hostile feelings regarding the Ottoman Empire and they hope to cut a piece from its territory for their own benefit.

Also on the territory of Albano-Macedonia we must remember the institution of the Romanian State, founded 37 years ago, for the awaking of Macedo-Romanians' national consciousness – pure cultural institution, with no political ideal; we must also remember the Albanians who, loyal subjects of the Ottoman Empire, seek to resist, often with weapons in their hands, to the trends of denationalization from Slavs and Greeks.

In the series of published articles regarding Albano-Macedonia we will briefly describe all these propagandas, their role and position, showing, at the same time, the desires of the great European States to conquest Turkey.

Of course, we will insist on the Romania's action, presenting all that it was done until now and what should be done in the future.

But in today's article we will show, for the moment, the role occupied by the Turks in Macedonia and in Europe, in general, their habits and aspirations and also the causes of their state of decadence.

The Turks. – Their Empire, past and present.

For almost 500 years, since the Turks are ruling in Europe, they have written pages of truly great bravery in the human history.

Who does not remember the history, the times when the western world was trembling with fear for not being overruled by the Mohammedan storm? It was a time when almost half of Europe was over Turkish domination. For a hundred years now, the European Turkey decays, one by one there were taken parts of its body, and today we seem to assist to a closer end of their domination in Europe.

Of the vast empire of yesteryear, today the Turks dominate in Europe only the Constantinople and the Albano-Macedonia, a real nest of eternal struggles and agitations.

The withdrawal in Asia

It seems that Europe gave Turkey the occasion of this last war with the Greeks (1898), a warning for the withdrawal in Asia. Indeed, how can be

explained the fact that, after completely defeating the Greek army, the Turks remained without Crete, this being given to the Crown Prince of Greece.

The distinguished German general von der Goltz, who was for a long time instructor and organizer of the Turkish armies, in one of his articles published in the magazines in Berlin, entitled "The force and the weakness of the Ottoman Empire", is pleading for the consolidation of the empire in Minor Asia, leaving Europe.

The causes of the empire's weakness

There are many causes, but we should mention first the *Koran*. It is the source of all evils. The Koran, or the sacred book, is not confined in dictated only the moral advice or the religious practice for the subjects of Islam, but it also includes the entire legislation of the Mohammedan rule; for this reason, the Turks are in the same state as in the beginning, they swim in a bigotry and an absolute reactionarism. Refractory because of the religion to any civilization, the Turkish state is in a great disequilibrium compared with the other European states.

The Sultan and the camarilla which is around him and which flatter him are real despots. Especially the turning to the most pronounced absolutism of the Sultan Abdul Hamid Chan II brought the most important disadvantages for the empire. In its surrounding are only intriguers and villains who, arrived in important positions, are following only their personal interests and the achievement of their most bizarre cravings. The policy of the current Sultan is limited to tyranny inside and to humiliation outside. Especially Russia took advantage of the Sultan's weakness. There were given important commercial concessions to the great European powers in Asia.

The administrative corruption

The venality of the great dignitaries of the empire is so great that, according to a expression of an important Turkish patriot, "they are able to sell also the Prophet's tomb!", foreign elements being present even in the most important positions. Thus, the Mohammedan Bulgarian Dervisch Pasha, named great Vizier and father by the current Sultan, went so far that he sold the interests of Turkey ceding the city of Dulcinogi and other Albanian villages to the Principality of Montenegro in 1881.

The Armenian massacre

The massacre of the unfortunate Armenians, work of a intriguing Russia, which can not stand to see the commercial progress of this hard-working people, crowns the transgressions and the perversion of the Sultan's camarilla.

Over two hundred thousands Armenians have been killed in 1894 and 1896 in Asia and in Constantinople. Only in the district Van from Armenia in a few days have been murdered 60,000 Armenians. The streets of Constantinople were covered with innocent blood. A criminal hand was protecting the massacres and the robberies in Armenia, with all the protests of England, France and of the entire western civilized world. The prey was significant, and the miserable Sultan decorated the chiefs of devastations and assassinations.

Administration and justice

What we could say about the administration of this country? It is very good characterized by the word *pashalic* which is used by almost all the nations of Europe when someone wants to show an anarchic state of things. The province is controlled by governors who do what they want, without nobody's control, breaking many times the direct orders which came from the ministers in Constantinople. The officials receive their position by paying large amounts of money to the powerful ones in Constantinople.

The one who pays more receives the position wanted. These amounts and gifts should be given during the period in which the position is occupied, because the official is replaced by another who offers more. The salaries, otherwise too small, are not paid for months, and of course the officials remain to steal everyone in order to be able of living with their families and to recover the amounts of money paid for the occupation of these positions. The same thing in the justice, where the magistrates are replaced each year.

Young Turks' Party

Because of all these evils which hunt the Turkish State, it was formed, several years ago, a very large party of the Young Turks, who led a vigorous campaign against the existent state of things and who ask for the European reorganization of the State and also for the granting of rights for the nationalities in the Empire. The Young Turks remarked that the Ottoman State is going to ruin the way it started, and that compared with the progresses made

by the rest of the world, the existence of the actual Turkey is an anachronism in Europe.

Badly advised by his camarilla, the Sultan started a campaign for exterminating the Young Turks.

Many of them have been murdered and their fortunes confiscated. Some of them who succeeded in escape, are refugees in England, Switzerland, France, Greece etc. Among these latter is also present Mahmud Damat Pasha, the brother-in-law of the Sultan, together with two sons of him, who publish in Geneva a newspaper, entitled *Osmanli*. In this newspaper it is shown the entire program of necessary reforms for Turkey and all the iniquities and the abuses of the empire's current administration. Being very powerful, the Young Turks' Party represents the hope which will determine a healthy current in the Mohammedan world and the desire that it will soon succeed in making the Sultan to surrender and to implement the reforms promised since his arrival to the throne. The success of the demands mentioned by the Young Turks would completely transform the situation; a new life would be born, a life which would have as result the enforcement of the empire, today so rickety, ending the ambitions of other nations regarding the conquest of the European Turkey. The western world, especially England, strongly supports the action of the Young Turks, for counterbalancing Russia, whose supreme ideal is to rule over Constantinople.

The army

In the middle of so many problems which hunt and vitiate the body of the Ottoman State, there is a single good thing: *the army*. The Turkish governments, seeing the danger that threatens the State from all sides, made great financial sacrifices in order to strongly organize the army and to procure the necessary ammunition.

The more distinguished German generals such as von der Goltz Pasha, Rumkorf Pasha, Grumkof Pasha and Kampföwener Pasha stood for years in Turkey instructing the army corps. Many young Turkish officers have been sent in Germany to finalize their military education and instruction. Today Turkey has an admirable army staff, in front of which shines the general Seyfulak Pasha, the hero in the Greek-Turkish War in 1898. It was also achieved the enforcement of the border between Greece and Bulgaria.

The population

The vast majority of the Turkish population is in Asia (Anatolia), and in Europe are not more than 1,200,000 souls.

The Bulgarians in Macedonia

– *Slavic ideals.* – *Russia.* – *The Bulgarians and the Russian politics.* – *The first movements.*
 – *Russia's agitations.* – *The emancipation of the Bulgarian Church.* – *The union with the Latin Church.* – *The national Church.* – *Bulgaria's revival.* – *The Macedonian Bulgarians.*
 – *The Bulgarian schools*³

Slavic ideals

Starting with Peter the Great, Russia had other interests than the union of Slavic populations this is the ideal of the Russian politics. All the Slavs from the subjugated countries sought and seek to identify themselves with the aspirations of the pan-Slavic policy. In this way there can be explained the permanent agitations and struggles of Czechs in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. the Slovaks in Hungary have the same feeling.

Ivan Kollar, with Slovak origins, describes with tender accents, at the end of the 18th century, in his 350 poems, the misfortunes of the “gentle Slavic people”, so much chopped and bowed.

Kollar is pleading for the unity of the Slavic language, deploring this state of things, that the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Serbians, Croatians and Slavs along the Elbe have different languages.

Towards the sunset of his life, after long trips worldwide, he reached the conclusions that all Slavs in the world should give their hand for the achievement of political unity!

Russia

The strong unification of the Russian State in the modern period increased the Slavic hopes. The entire activity of Russia is directed towards the south of Europe, for reaching this ideal regarding its foreign policy: to take the control over Constantinople and to consolidate in this way the power of Slavs in south.

³ „România jună”, II, no. 233, August 4, 1900: 1.

All that happens in the Balkan Peninsula since 1850, all the struggles at which we assist, represent the work of Russia. Russia never spoke directly, wanting a fair fight, on the contrary, it worked always after the curtain.

The Bulgarians and the Russian politics

In the Balkan Peninsula, the Russian politics discovered the right tools at the Bulgarian nation which seconded it in all its actions. The Bulgarians, although they are Tatars from the ethnic point of view, but talking a Slavic language which, according to philological researches, do not present big differences between the Polish one, and from the contact with the Slavs being almost entirely mixed, have been the most devoted agents of the pan-Slavic policy. The Russian diplomacy directed its action towards them and permanently helped them since 1850 to escape from the Turkish yoke and from the Greek Church, under the authority of which they were.

The first movements

The resurrection of Bulgarians is dating since 1850. Efforts have been made in the forefront for the Bulgarian nation from today's Principality and from Macedonia, to escape from the authority of the Phanariot clergy and at the same time a number of young Bulgarians to be prepared for taking the role of organizers and leaders of the people.

Russia's agitations

Russia went in charge of the execution of both needs. Its agents, spread in a large number among the Bulgarians, started a febrile activity in order to awake the national consciousness showing them the disaster which will be present after their emancipation from under the authority of the Greek Church and promising them the entire support of great Russia for the achievement of the Bulgarian-Macedonian independence. At the same time some young Bulgarians have been sent in Russia to study. The schools in Moscow, Kiev and Nikolayev, were the first centers with national Bulgarian agents, who after returning in the country, developed a great activity on the field of the national awaking.

The emancipation of the Bulgarian Church

Under the influence of the propaganda, the Bulgarian nation begun to move. Since 1857, at the assembly of provincial delegates called by the Patriarchate, the Bulgarians, under the Russian impulse, ask for the separation of

their church from the Greek one and the freedom to form for themselves separate communities. The opposition of the Patriarchate has been intense during a period of ten years. However, the success of Bulgarians was anticipated; the robberies and the iniquities of the Greek priests must stop. The nation was deeply disgusted and, seeing that Turkey does not granted the required rights, started to look kindly the Catholic propaganda which was established in Bitolia.

The union with the Latin Church

Thousands of Bulgarians formed a union with the Latin Church between 1859-1860 and 1861; even the Sublime Porte, recognized in June 9, 1861, the unite Bulgarian community led by the Bishop Sobolski, with Polish origin.

Then Russia, which was not agreeing with this current of union with the Latin Church, doubled its powers and, by its agents, announced the Bulgarian nation that it will make great efforts in order that the Bulgarian nation to receive its rights, and on the other side it took measures not to suppress the already formed current. One month after the recognition of the unite Bulgarian community, the bishop Sobolski disappeared with all Papal documents and acts of the Sublime Porte, and in this way Russia ended the action regarding the unification of Bulgarians with the Latin Church.

The national Church

A vigorous action is required from Russia. The repeated approaches made at the Sublime Porte have been successful. The edict of the Porte on March 10, 1870, grants the separation of the Bulgarian Church from the Greek Church under the authority of an exarch. The Patriarchate protests in vain because eventually it was forced to be happy only with the excommunication of the new church, declaring it schismatic. Although the separation of the Bulgarian Church in 1870 was made in the limits of today's Bulgaria, excluding Macedonia, a huge step was still made, it was a great benefit.

Bulgaria's revival

Under the influence of the national Church, of Bulgarian patriots came for national awareness, and of the powerful support of Russia, it was born a new life. Schools were opened everywhere and the nation was getting ready for the events that came. Frequent conflicts occurred between Bulgarians and

Turks until the Russian-Romanian-Turkish war in 1877-1878, after which the present Bulgarian Principality was founded.

The Macedonian Bulgarians

A great advantage for today's Bulgarian propaganda in Albano-Macedonia results from the context that the Bulgarian populations from there and from today's Bulgarian Principality fought together for so long time, establishing a strong link of national aspirations. In all these events which happened during 25 years for the success of Bulgaria's unification, the Macedonians took also part.

The same sacred fire and the same ideal animated them and for this reason the Bulgarians from the Principality who enjoy freedoms, have never forgotten that they have the duty to work hard for the success of Bulgarians' unification under one scepter.

All the sacrifices have been made for the achievement of this ideal, spending large amounts of money for the maintenance of the schools in Macedonia, which sooner or later, as they want to believe, must return to the Bulgarian state.

The Bulgarian schools

Therefore, together with the cultural development in Bulgaria, it is also developing in Albano-Macedonia a series of national schools, it is made a great propaganda, they try hard for the Bulgarian idea to penetrate in the most distant corners where compatriots are present.

Encouraged by Russia, the Bulgarians are crossing the entire Albano-Macedonia and direct the target of their propaganda towards Thessaloniki. There is maintained a permanent agitation, thanks to Bulgarian agents and to teachers well prepared in the schools from the Principality. They spread all over the place and entering in contact with the Bulgarian officials from villages, they convince them to stay apart from Greeks and to embrace the Bulgarian cause. The Greek schools start to remain without any activity and Bulgarian schools are created instead, schools which are populated with hundreds of pupils. Moreover, all Greek teachers and priests are sent away by the Bulgarians, and those who try to resist are persecuted because the pan-Bulgarian anger has no limits.

The Bulgarian-Macedonians, who always had the doors opened in the Principality and many arrived in important positions and at highest dignities, prepare the public spirit in

the Principality by presenting sad images about the situation in Turkey and the persecutions endured by their compatriots!

Under the influence of such suggestions, screams of pain are coming from the Bulgarian chests. Their newspapers are daily describing, to inflame the people, all kind of attacks made by Turks over the Bulgarian Christians from Macedonia, and urge the nation to make sacrifices for releasing their brother from under the Turkish yoke!

The Secrets of the Macedonian Committee

– The founding of the committee. –Its objectives. –Means. –High officials in the committee. –The secret organization. The terrorization. –Bloody riots. –The excesses of Bulgarians. –The preparation of revolution in Macedonia. –The attempt of revolution in 1896. –The Greek-Turkish War. –On the eve of a great revolution. –The preparations of Turkey⁴

The founding of the committee

The secret Bulgarian committees always existed since 1860. But in 1884 it is created the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee in Sofia, for the proclamation of revolution in Macedonia. Its presidency is entrusted to Kitancef, a Bulgarian-Macedonian from Resna.

Its objectives

The Committee, with the agreement of the great Russia, should supervise from now on the national movement in Macedonia; it will conduct the battles for supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula; it will collect funds and it will manage the necessary amounts of money for schools and churches; it has as objective the introduction of weapons and ammunition in Albano-Macedonia in order that all to be prepared for revolution. All the Bulgarians, no matter the party from which they come, are part of this committee, and the governments have to protect it because also the ministers give their mite to the committee.

Means

Since the founding of this committee, the Bulgarians abandoned the legal procedure in their propaganda. It is mentioned in the statutes the fight

⁴ „România jună”, II, no. 234, August 5, 1900: 1.

by any means against the enemies. The Bulgarian committee is currently led by the lieutenant in reserve Sarafoff, under whose authority are from a while committed banditries and murders.

High officials in the committee

The majority of the Bulgarian officials is part of this committee, as well as the highest officials. Even the adjutant of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, the general Nicolaieff, is the honorary president of the committee.

The secret organization. The terrorization

It has two sections: a secret one and the other such as the nihilist societies from Russia. There are subcommittees all over the principality and in Macedonia, which are led by Bulgarian officials and professors. The watchword given by this central committee to all its branches in Macedonia is the terrorization of those who are against them, their suppression by murder. For this reason, since its founding, in Macedonia, the Bulgarians are not acting peacefully. And what stops them to kill people in Turkey, when they have as protectors the Russian ambassador and consuls who intervene at the government when a Bulgarian agitator is caught instilling to population hostile feelings against the Turkish empire or even murders, and the government always releases them?

Bloody riots

In 1890 the Bulgarians from Perpele revolted against the Turkish authorities. The army was sent; the insurgents resisted with the weapons in their hands. Most of them have been hidden by the fanatic Bulgarian inhabitants of the city. Three of them were armed and had taken refuge in a house from where they did not want to leave. The house was fired and they burned as mice. There are also bloody conflicts between the Bulgarians and the Greeks or Serbians; with the Greeks to send them away from the Bulgarian villages and to take their schools and churches, and with the Serbians because they, starting their propaganda in Macedonia, come later, in the villages which are already occupied by the Bulgarian propaganda, to open the schools, corrupting with money to important people for creating the Serbian party.

The excesses of Bulgarians

The excesses of Bulgarians are many. Some examples. The last autumn they killed the Greek metropolitan Drama, who was not agreeing with the opening of schools in his diocese.

In *Ghevgheli*, they anointed with oil several Greek priests and burned them. The Greek bishop from Florina, threatened with death by the Bulgarians, ran away from home last year, leaving his diocese and staying four months in Thessaloniki, not daring to return in Florina. Also in the last year, the Serbians tried to open a school in Veles, where the Bulgarians are controlling the situation for along time.

Because the Turks supported the opening of the Serbian school, the Bulgarians killed the Serbian officials with axes, and when the government arrested some of them, there were noisy demonstrations on the streets of Thessaloniki, threatening with revolution, so those arrested have been released. To mention all the murders committed by Bulgarians in Macedonia under the influence of the committee from Sofia, murders remained unpunished, we should write to much lines in the newspaper; for this we presented only some examples.

The preparation of revolution in Macedonia

The first activity of the committee in Sofia was to introduce weapons in Turkey. There are, especially in the Bulgarian monasteries in Albano-Macedonia, large deposits of weapons and ammunition. The official newspaper of the committee in Sofia, *Les Réformes*, mentions that the Bulgarians are ready to fight in Albano-Macedonia.

Some of the Macedonian-Bulgarians, such as Kapceff from Ohridam, who is now in Geneva, have launched a manifest expressing the opinion that a European congress should be convoked regarding the adjustment of the Macedonian question. The most important leaders of the committee in Sofia never agreed this opinion because they know that the Bulgarian aspiration regarding the control over Albano-Macedonia are exaggerated compared with the rights of other nationalities. Thus, they do not see another way of ruling over Albano-Macedonia than by a war with the Turks, a war in which they should be helped by Russia, like many times before.

The Bulgarian Culture in Macedonia

– *The Bulgarian schools.* – *The national education.* – *Manifests of rebellion in schools.* – *Kindergartens.* – *The teaching staff.* – *Towards Thessaloniki.* – *New schools.* – *The Bulgarian churches.* – *The fight against the Greek Church.* – *The conquest of the metropolitan seat in Ohrida.* – *Death blow to Greeks.* – *The religious language is not Bulgarian.* – *The statistics of Bulgarians in Macedonia.* – *The struggle between Bulgarians and Serbians.* – *The economic situation*⁵

The Bulgarian schools

The Bulgarian schools spread in the villages Cosova, Monastir, Thessaloniki, Adrianople, reach the number of 250 and they have over 20,000 pupils. There are secondary schools for boys in: *Prilip, Usküb, Veles, Vodena, Ohrida, Resna, Florina, Kitcevo, Dibra, Kalkandeleu, Monastir, Adrianople, Thessaloniki and Constantinople*, from which these last four localities, have also complete high schools. There are five school districts depending on the number of Bulgarian Episcopal residences: *Ohrida, Dibra, Veles, Monastir and Usküb*. The schools are maintained with the support of the Bulgarian communities and with the amounts of money provided by the Bulgarian government and mentioned in the State's budget. The administrative organization is in force as it is in Greece. The control of primary education is made by school inspectors, the general management and supervision of all schools being the task of the director who manages the high school in Thessaloniki. Bulgaria's commercial agents (consuls) are still interfering in the schools' management as in Greece, regularly reporting any irregularities would happen in order that correcting measures to be taken. The primary and secondary education in the Bulgarian schools is better than in the Greek ones, but still it can not be said that their schools are the best.

The national education. – *Manifests of rebellion in schools*

It is especially insisted on educating the generations to have nationalist feelings; it is very important the study of history, of vocal music, being selected patriotic songs, and it is planted in the pupils' hearts hatred against the rulers.

⁵ „România jună”, II, no. 235, August 6, 1900: 1.

Last year, the Turkish authorities in Adrianople doing researches at the Bulgarian high school, discovered manifests of rebellion printed in Sofia and sent to the director for being shared to the population. Although from these papers it was obvious the Bulgarians are working against the Turks, there was no measure taken against the professors, of course, because of the intervention of the Russian ambassador in Constantinople.

Kindergartens. —The teaching staff

In Macedonia the Bulgarians were also concerned about the education of children under seven years old, founding kindergartens for the use of their propaganda. The teaching staff, rewarded with modest salaries, is recruited from the graduates of high schools or normal schools in Bulgaria, or from those of high schools in Macedonia.

Towards Thessaloniki. —New schools

In terms of education, the Bulgarians, having a very good situation in the cities of Cosova and Monastir, tried from several years now to increase the number of schools in the city of Thessaloniki.

They were focused here because their political ideal is to have the control over Thessaloniki. The Bulgarian newspapers from the Kingdom announced that this year there will be open several schools among which are also mentioned the villages of Boboștița and Drenova, in Albania.

The Bulgarian churches

The unity of action between the Bulgarians from the Principality and those from Macedonia for such a long period, made the Bulgarian-Macedonian population to aspire to the same goal. We have shown in a previous article how the Bulgarians from the Principality could achieve an autocephalous Church, separating themselves from the yoke of Greeks.

The fight against the Greek Church

In the same year, 1872, when the Porte was giving the Berate for the Bulgarian diocese of the Principality, with the residence in Constantinople, the inhabitants who depended on the Greek bishops in *Veles, Usküb and Ohrida* from Macedonia, claimed with majority of votes their annexation by the Bulgarian Church. The Turkish government and especially Midat Pasha, the great vizier, were against this. Although they did not obtained episcopates in Macedonia, the Bulgarians were prepared to work hard and they spread all over religious books printed in Slavic language, and in many villages the Gre-

ek priests have been removed and replaced with Bulgarians. This consumption of energy should have sooner or later favorable results.

The conquest of the metropolitan seat in Ohrida

In 1890, the Greek metropolitan seat in Ohrida becoming vacant, the Bulgarians, who together with the Romanians form a small number of Christians, stated to be agitate, claiming that the new Metropolitan to be Bulgarian.

Indeed, the Bulgarians ceased long ago to recognize the Greek Metropolitan and to pay any money to tax authorities. There were made requests in Constantinople with the Sublime Porte, being established the *ad-antique* rights of Bulgarians regarding the metropolitan seat in Ohrida. Finally, on August 4, 1890, the Sultan gives the edict for the recognition of Ohrida as residence of a Bulgarian Metropolitan of Macedonia, in the person of *Sinesius*, who receives also the right to take ownership of estates, vineyards, gardens, houses etc., which belonged before to the Greek Metropolitans.

Death blow to Greeks

The first step being made, the Bulgarians obtained the archiepiscopate in Uskub, and than, those from Bitolia, Veles and Dibra. Although it was declared schismatic, almost the entire Slav population of Albano-Macedonia, was annexed to the Bulgarian Church. This was a death blow given to Greeks whose actions are going bad, and who knows how many would have remained faithful to the Greek Church if also the Romanians would obtain a Metropolitan seat in Macedonia! Today the Bulgarians control a very large number of churches. Even in Constantinople, they raised a very beautiful church.

The religious language is not Bulgarian

In the Bulgarian churches in Macedonia the used language is the Slavic one. A trend represented by the professors from the high school in Bitolia and by the majority of the Bulgarian population that were claiming the introduction of Bulgarian language in church, provoked a scandal in June 1899. The people and the professors claimed, by noisy manifestations, that in church to be read in Bulgarian. Eventually they left the building because the Metropolitan did not allowed their request. The things were becoming quite by the punishment of some Bulgarian teachers.

The statistics of Bulgarians in Macedonia

The Bulgarians have claims over the entire territory between the following points: Prizrent, Upper Gminaia, Adrianople, closer to Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Servia (Selfigè), Hrupista and Coriça.

Great claims, indeed, especially because that majority of population included between these points is not formed by Bulgarians.

How many Bulgarians are there? That's a difficult question to answer! If we agree with Bulgarian writers as Ofeikov, then they are millions... , but if we adopt the numbers of those less interested, then the number of Slavs in Albano-Macedonia is not bigger than 850,000 souls. We call them Slavs because the population is not Bulgarian but it is in the same team with the Bulgarians because, before Serbians, they successfully worked on a virgin soil.

The struggle between Bulgarians and Serbians

Because of this, the greatest enemies of Bulgarians are the Serbians who have just started their own propaganda. The Serbians, taking into account that the population of Macedonia is Slavic and that it talks a similar language with the Serbian one, come to open schools in the villages which are already conquered by Bulgarians. The Bulgarian resistance is often so powerful that they arrive to commit the most barbarous acts, and they kill their enemies with the axes in broad daylight.

The real Bulgarian population is present at the borders with Bulgaria. Despite all these, the Bulgarian propaganda is good enough and the hearts of many Slavs are conquered by it.

The economic situation

The Slavs in Macedonia have the most difficult economic situation. The majority of the population is formed by land slaves, serfs. The Turkish or the Albanian nobleman controls their work. In the cities, some of them are traders with very good material positions, and the rest is swimming in the blackest poverty. Some of them are agricultural workers. But since the awakening of the Bulgarians, there is a relative economic prosperity. The houses of those who live in villages are miserable: inside – poverty and dirt.

Are there Bulgarians in Macedonia?
(Dedicated to the martyr Ștefan Mihăileanu)⁶

The famous Russian Slavist W. Grigorovici made a study voyage in Macedonia several years ago; he was very unsatisfied by the few results obtained in his trip but at the same time the Bulgarian statesmen together with the scientists from Sofia announced that Mr. Grigorovici established that Bulgaria, Macedonia and the Old Serbia use the Slav dialects. For being convinced about the lies recited in this regard by those from Sofia, the Bulgarians must read the lines written by Mr. P. Draganoff, man with Macedonian origin and judgement unharmed by the Bulgarian passion.

The father of Russian Slavic philology, the ingenious A.Ch. Vostokoff, in his researches for discovering the cradle of the antique Slavic religious language, established that there, in Macedonia, in the mother land of Slavic liturgy, it must still exist a survivor of Slavic Kirillo-Methodian language. But what Vostokoff felt only, Șaffarik discovered; the latter found the precious traces of the antique Slavic language in the dialect of the Macedonians.

W. Kacianowsky went further; he traveled through Macedonia and collected from thousands of villages a rich material for the support of his thesis regarding the old Slav dialect. This scientist concluded that the Slavs from Macedonia *are not at all Bulgarians, but Slav-Macedonians*, who have their own special language, with no connection with the Turkish or Tatar ones.

Finally, the last confession which establishes the ethnic scientific truth, that in Macedonia, *apart of few Bulgarians who live in border regions*, it exists also a nation by itself, entirely different from the Bulgarians – the Slovenians – is mentioned in the newspaper *Les Réformes* of Boris Sarafoff, but also in the articles printed in the newspaper of Dumitru Rizoff and Christo Botieff.

The same thing is also observed by the modern Macedonian writers such as Badjovici, Alexovici, Condovici, Vezencovici, Musevici, and others. However, Șaffarik was right one hundred years ago when he wrote that the Slavs live in Macedonia, not at all the Bulgarians.

The same thing was established in their writings by Slavists as Greznevski, Lamanski and Iaghici, who did not accept the *Pannonia* theory regarding the origin of the Slav religious language and who reject the Bulgarian theory of Hattala, Heitler and Miletici.

⁶ “Voința națională”, XVII, no. 4.656, August 22/September 4, 1900: 1-2.

The confirmation of those discovered in the Slavic scientific world within the political field is perfectly established today in the *recent ethnographic and statistical works* from Russia.

The Russian diplomats in Macedonia, and first of all Th. Lesevici, former consul in Skopje (Usküb) and Rostcovsky, the current Russian consul in Bitolia, declare that *the great majority of population in Macedonia, that is 1,032,530, is Slovenian and only 140,000 Bulgarians, the majority of the latter being Muslim.*

This assertion of the Russian diplomats irritated those in Sofia and, in order to escape, the Bulgarian scientists elaborated a special tendentious work which was recently published and which concludes that all the Slovenians in Macedonia are Bulgarian. According to this writing, Macedonia is inhabited by:

Bulgarians1,181,936
Turks499,204
Greeks228,702
Romanians80,767
Jews67,000
Gypsies54,000
Serbians2,000
Slavs4,000

This ethnographic picture would be true only if this ethnographic and statistical work would be corrected, replacing the word “Bulgarians” with the word “Slavs”. Modified in this way this table would be according to all the realities established by the Russian ethnographers and diplomats and even to the graphic tables of Mr. Căncioff from Sofia.

The Ottoman government officially confirms, on the basis of the demands received from the interested communities from Macedonia, that the ethnic majority in Macedonia is formed by Slavs, as it is mentioned by the scientists from Russia, and that the Bulgarian and Serbian communities are less numerous.

This is, in a concise and faithful resume, the answer given by scientists and ethnographers regarding the situation of Bulgarians in Macedonia. We quoted both the works and people from whom we collected our material, in order that those from Sofia, instead of injuriously respond us, as it is the Bulgarian custom, to be able to have a direct dialog with these great scientists

to be convinced or to defeat them by the same Bulgarian mean through which they defeated the journalist Ștefan Mihăileanu.⁷

Regarding the large majority of Slavs in Macedonia, which the Bulgarians from Sofia want to convert it, we present here the opinion of the Macedonian Draganoff, Slavacist professor from Russia. Here is this humanitarian view which we heartily approve, taking into account that we expressed our opinion about the Bulgarian character in our work about Bessarabia⁸, rewarded by the Romanian Academy:

“According to our personal opinion, *writes Mr. Draganoff*, to protect, at least from a moral point of view, this numerous nation (the Slovenians from Macedonia), that speaks a special Slav dialect and that possess its old history from the 6th century until the 15th century, a very interesting history, more interesting than that of Bulgarians and Serbians – would be a great justice. The Slavs from Macedonia are as Christian as the Bulgarians are.

These Slavs, according to the general opinion of all those who know them, are not intellectually or morally worse than the Serbians and Bulgarians; regarding the morality they are even better than the Bulgarians. The support of Russian and of the entire Christian Europe for all these Christian nations from Macedonia, among who the Slovenians are the most numerous, would be not only an act of political justice, but also a great work of provision, especially because the Congress of Berlin decided in a paragraph the autonomy of Macedonia and its population. Macedonia, as the tail of an ax for Bulgaria, is and will be a fire element in general in the Balkan Peninsula and even in the entire Europe. Not to forget that over Macedonia, asking its Condominium, there are claims from the Greeks, Albanians, Serbians and Romanians, and in fact, the most important are the Turks. The war is not in the interest of the

⁷On Ștefan Măhăileanu, see Stoica Lascu, *Problematica românilor balcanici în viziunea șefilor de partide și a liderilor de opinie (1878-1914)* [The Issue of the Balkan Romanians in the Vision of the Party Leaders and of the Opinion Leaders], Vasile Ciobanu, Sorin Radu (eds.), *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* (Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu. Facultatea de Istorie și Patrimoniu „Nicolae Lupu”), vol. IV. Sibiu: Techno Media, 2009, 17-18.

⁸ See Zamfir C. Arbure, *Basarabia în secolul al XIX-lea*. Operă premiată și tipărită de Academia Română [Bessarabia in the nineteenth century. Volume awarded and printed by the Romanian Academy], Institut de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, București, 1898 /824 pp./.

Great Powers and especially in that of Russia. For Russia and Russians it is interesting not the opinion of the Macedonians, who betraying their nationality they have sold themselves to Bulgarians, but the opinion of these Slav Macedonians, who put their interests and their own language above all, because their nation is the persecuted one.”

So, this is the situation of Bulgarians regarding the conversion of Macedonia; this is the entire question regarding the Bulgarians’ claims over Macedonia.

It is obvious that, according to those things written by the Russian and Bulgarian scientists, in Macedonia the pure Bulgarian element *is in minority*; that the Bulgarians from the Bulgarian Principality, *with money*, as it was proved by the former Bulgarian minister, Mr. Sloveicoff, formed in Macedonia, from Slavs, a Bulgarian people under pressure, that this artificial nation formed by the Macedo-Bulgarian committees in Sofia possess a proverb which, with its oriental cynical frankness, is as we have already mentioned it.

This is what we have stated. If these would be added to those established by the construction of the murder from Linistei Street, we would have the following natural conclusions.

For having money, the Bulgarians resorted to blackmail and extortion of money from the Romanian traders by threatening them. With money they buy the consent of Macedonians of being Bulgarians, and for being able to mask this national reckless work they assassinate a journalist who dared to be against those who in the 20th century afford the luxury of being so wild in a civilized Europe. Some more words and we will end.

I personally met many Bulgarians who once worked for the present free Bulgaria, I met Zaharia Stoianoff, who, when he was coming in Romania, he was kissing the land and was saying:

– For us, the Bulgarians, Romania is a sacred land!

I met also Racovsky, Christo Botieff, etc. All these Bulgarians had an endless veneration for Romania and the Romanian people.

I know Bulgarian songs in which the Bulgarians call Romania: “Sacred land!”.

And I hear now that at the meeting in Vidin the crowd vociferated: “Death to Romanians!”. I saw here, in Bucharest, that a Bulgarian killed in the middle of the night a Romanian patriot. And this murder was commanded in Sofia!

How can we reconcile what it was with what it is? For figure it out I assume that there, in Bulgaria, *something is rotten*. Something is rotten in the Bulgarian principality, where during 20 years are made declarations, rebellions, people are killed in daylight on the streets of Sofia, all is stolen and divided!

And the final conclusion that should be mentioned: that the Bulgarian nation was not prepared to achieve a beautiful ideal, dreamed by its people as Liuben Caraveloff, Racowski, Zaharia Stoianoff. The Bulgarian principality is a mistake of the Congress of Berlin; the Bulgarians may have to stay still after five centuries of slavery under the tutelage of a civilized people.

A state can not be created by lies, violence and murders – with revolver, dagger, ax and poison.

The assassinations and blind hatred are not the cements for the founding of a nation.

The love is sufficient for becoming a free man. Christ crowned with the crown of thorns from under which twenty centuries are dripping innocent blood which flushes on the pale face of the crucified, Christ who gave us the command: to love one another. He commanded us: to be merciful, pure-hearted and ready to sacrifice us for the justice!... sacred words which are whispered by our consciousness and burning like the stars in the sky in the darkness of human ignorance in the midst of exhortations to hatred, murder and violence!

Zamfir C. Arbore

The Greek-Romanian Policy in Macedonia⁹

The consolidation of friendly relations between Romanians and Greeks will be surely followed by a change of policy that these two nations apply in Macedonia. However, this change is natural and is even more desirable because between Romanians and Greeks there were no serious reasons of enmity: there have been only simple misunderstandings provoked by rush or by the exaggerated distance between them. Today, when the social and political situation of Macedonia is very well-known, it's time for the misunderstan-

⁹ „Epoca”, VII, no. 1.788-243, September 6, 1901: 1.

dings to disappear and in the two nations' consciousness to be increasingly deeper affirmed a conciliatory policy for the interests of each part, and at the same time, a *provident* policy against the common danger.

The Romanian statesmen had, and the majority have also today, a wrong conception about the political and social organization of Macedonia. They imagined this country according to the pattern of their own country – some of them according to the pattern of Western Europe, – and then they made plans according to their imagination, but not to reality. Taking into account that the reality is only one and the imagination, subjective by nature, is multiple, the work of the Romanian statesmen is necessary to have no continuity. From here, adventures, ephemeral successes, “Long life the Sultan!”, deceptions and illusions, and finally the slogan of the club agitator: accusation of treason. On this basis it was also preserved the enmity between Romanians and Greeks.

But now, after the experience of so many years in which we learned to know better Macedonia, it is a happiness to see that the road prescribed to the Romanian policy in the future is identical with that indicated by the feelings of those two nations: the road of brotherhood between Romanians and Greeks.

The misunderstandings from the past must disappear and until their disappearance, they must to be sincerely recognized by both sides.

The first mistake which attracted all the shortcomings of the Romanian policy in Macedonia was the election of the criterion according to which it was made the difference between enemies and brothers of our nation. The criterion was the idea of nationality, idea which for us, and especially in Transylvania, has a deep meaning, but which is completely imprecise in the consciousness of the nations in Macedonia.

These nations, in their past, were used to establish a friendly relation especially according to religious confessions, than to nationalist aspirations. Especially in the old times, when the interest of Romanians for Macedonia started, the nationalist aspirations could not have any power of attraction. They slowly impose themselves and only by culture. The Romanian element was divided in two parts. One part, let's call it the conservative party, remained faithful to traditions, and the other part formed by pure nationalists, the radical party. However, because the imprecise idea could not completely justify the activity of some persons in the eyes of the others, it was normal that those who remained faithful to the Greek culture to apologize their other

brothers who, until recently, were spies and tools for the Orthodoxy's enemies.

The spark of discord once ignited, the situation is getting worse. The pure nationalists require and obtain the budgetary aid of the Romanian Kingdom; they create schools and employ professors.

But the number of professors is hardly overcoming the number of pupils even in the cities where everybody talks Romanian. The number of pupils from the Romanian schools is not increasing, but the nationalist and budgetary claims of the professors from the same schools are more and more important. Eventually, the question of the Romanian schools in Macedonia seems to be completely confused with the budgetary situation of those who are subsidized. . .

Meanwhile, the Bulgarian, more practical, is gaining the game. He starts as friend the Greek school and he finishes, with the help of the Greek culture, to identify between people with the same blood the love of nationality. The Bulgarian, already used with the local situation, asks few things and finally he gains the entire Romanian element, but he argues with everybody because part of him wants from the beginning to achieve the idea of nationality: not as it is understood in Pind, but as it is understood in the Carpathians.

We must admit that our strategy was inappropriate.

Another main mistake was the modality in which the financial aid was given for the schools in Macedonia.

Macedonia is not a country with a superior administration, or at least with a Romanian one, where the villages to be under the administrative control of the sub-prefectures, and these under the control of prefectures which are under the control of the Ministry of Interior; in Macedonia, is still in force the old Asia system, according to which each village has its own rules and administration, with its only duty to obey, when, necessary, the Sultan and his pashas. In such a system, the creation of a central school administration or the empowerment of a single person with the sharing of the budgetary subsidies, as we did, should give, in the best case, reasons of suspicion.

The Macedonians could not trust the sustainability of a work made against all their country's traditions and customs. This man, which was over their heads, distributing salaries and scholarships, might be considered a friend of the Sultan, spy for the enemies, but in any case a teacher. His enemies could very easily to compromise the sincerity of his intentions. And they did this.

Of course, the better way would be that indicated by the local contexts and interests. Everywhere the Romanian element is present, it should be admitted in the management of the communal administration and especially in the institutions which decide the educational organization; and this not with the goal of exclusively defending the interests of this element, but with the objective of achieving the general prosperity of Macedonia.

Because this prosperity should be the most important. Us, the Romanians from Danube, in terms of politics, have nothing to obtain or to share in Macedonia; the superior interest of the European culture brought us here; the intimate conviction that by helping the Romanian element which lives in Macedonia, this country can have a sustainable civilization, which could by then able to also enforce our national existence. We are not thinking to territorial annexations, but to the enlargement of our cultural influence. And this is the thing that should also concern the Greeks.

If this goal is not taken into account, then the misunderstandings start and the success of desires, from both sides, is endangered.

Still, Macedonia can not belong to any nationality, while the national aspirations are imprecise in the consciousness of its inhabitants. First of all, it must be prepared to enter among the European countries, and it must be then able to define itself a national ideal.

For this preparation it is necessary the collaboration between the Romanian and Greek elements.

From the establishment of a Greek-Romanian policy, Macedonia will have only benefits. It will find a strong guarantee for its future development and at the same time an indispensable defense against the tyranny of Bulgarian bands.

C.R. Motru

*Macedonia*¹⁰

This is a name that produces pleasure to some people and sorrow to others. The first of them want its conquest, the others its domination. A great diplomat sees this province of the Ottoman Empire – today's European Tur-

¹⁰ „Secolul”, IV, no. 1.099, February 5, 1903: 2.

key – as a beautiful girl with many pretenders. Indeed, it is the apple of discord for the Balkan states and for the great powers, which see in this the domination of Orient, this province, full of natural beauty, contains invaluable treasures. And nevertheless, it is true that the Turkish domination represents the dark and the obstacle of civilization. But we can still say that the Turkish domination is a necessary negative aspect. Because, who can dominate all the desires of pretenders, if not Turkey? Of course, reforms are necessary because the aspirations of Slavs, who disguise under the international question the ethnic aspect, are too high. This is a valid thesis also for the other states in the Balkans. They all want a part of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, if the whole of it is not possible. And they all have the same problem: the civilization and sometimes the protection of Christians, everything to put their hand on a piece of land.

This is the main point in which all those interested in the cause want to reach. How? We will explain in a moment. Before the occupation of Thessaly, the Greeks organized bands on their territory and send them on the Turkish territory where these bands brutally operated even against the Christian populations, forcing them to ally with them. The Turkish armies, responsible for guarding the provinces and for the establishment of orders, were led by incompetent people who, far from appeasing the inhabitants and conquering the necessary trust, were brutal and caused many discontents. The inhabitants, not knowing what to do, often helped these bands which were usually hiding under the mask of “Christianity” and not under that of the “Hellenism” as it was later seen. Not to talk anymore about the enmity between Turks and Christians. These actions and diplomacies gave good results, because Greece, without making any sacrifice, obtained also Thessaly, province mostly inhabited by Koutzovlachs.

The Greeks still carry these operations, but since the battle from Dromicos, their morale and credit are down. The populations from Epirus and Macedonia were disgusted with all these agitations which involve troubles and pains.

The strategy adopted by Greeks is today applied by Bulgarians, with the only difference that the latter are hiding themselves under the mask of the oppressing the populations from the Ottoman Empire. In fact, any person with common sense sees in this action the pan-Slavic ideas, a trend which wants anyway to dominate the Constantinople, the key of Orient. So, everyone is asking himself: what about the revolution in Macedonia, why the Otto-

man government is not able to put an end to these bands? I will try to answer to this question by some words.

The populations in Macedonia do not make a revolution because they do not dare to do this. It is true that the Turkish administration is not competent but, I repeat, the scimitar is better than the ax. In this action we must look for the followed objective and the pettiness that will be involved. The Bulgarian government, under the auspices of which these bands are organized and by the declarations of the president minister, looks for a pretext in order to fulfill its ideal. So, no matter what they say and despite anyone's indifference, you must be angry with the behavior of a neighbor towards Turkey which satisfied all the desires of the exarchate.

Do not forget that in this entire agitation Turkey is accused as the one that persecute the population intimidated by thieves especially sent with this purpose. The thieves and criminals are protected instead the Slavs' interest. This is the explanation for the behavior of Bulgarians in Macedonia. It is not hard to send poor people, by paying them something besides the robberies and the extortion of money from the traders under the mask of patriotism, to fight with the Turks.

They found on the street and they do not commit murders because the culture influenced them too.

Regarding the Bulgarians, those who do not work enter in the service of a brigand where they are educated for being tomorrow's good citizens (??). This is the revolution in Macedonia. Turkey could very easily quench the thieves but it is afraid of somebody else who, each time the thieves and the traitors are killed, protests with the pretext that the Christians are persecuted and mistreated by the authorities. Each state wants its people to respect the rules. The laws in Turkey are not very good respected but they do not give to others the right to endanger the existence of the state. I admit that reforms are necessary in Macedonia, but not reforms introduced by Bulgarians. I understand an international supervision but never a great Bulgaria for which is made this agitation.

*The Movement in Favor of Macedonia*¹¹

From Switzerland (private correspondence of *Universul*)
Geneva, March 14.

The Macedonian newspaper *L'Effort*, printed in French, and published in Geneva, contains in its last number, an article which includes a report regarding the Occidental movement, favorable to the Macedonian cause.

After this report, the opinion of the statesmen in France is already gained in favor of Macedonia and, if this country would succeed in declaring itself independent, then France and England would be the first countries which would recognize this independence. More than that, France would be an obstacle for those who will try to attack this independence.

On the other side, one of the most radical newspapers in Switzerland, *Le Genevois*, is often sacrificing its two columns to the Macedonian cause.

So, it's not a surprise that a quite powerful trend in favor of liberating Macedonia exists in the Swiss people.

The ceremonies prepared for the Macedonian victims produced an unexpected amount of money, and the future collections of funds have the success ensured.

In all these publications the name of the Vlachs-Tzintzars or an intervention from the Romanians are not mentioned.

The entire movement is in the hand of the Macedonian committee, which is formed by Bulgarians. In the corridors of the University from here, the Bulgarian students are those who led the propaganda, and part of them are born in Romania or have relatives between Danube and the Carpathians.

They speak Romanian very good, with the baccalaureate in the Romanian universities.

*Regarding the Question of Macedonia*¹²

The distinguished professor from the University of Jassy, Mr. Theohari Antonescu, gathered in a brochure¹³, the articles written about Macedo-

¹¹ „Universul”, XXI, no. 76, March 19, 1903: 1.

¹² „Epoca”, IX, no. 168, June 23, 1903: 1.

nia, and which form an interesting study about the future of this Balkan province.

It is undeniable that for us Macedonia has a great importance and so, solving the Macedonian cause should be a preoccupation.

There are more than 25 years since our governments are interested in the fate of the Macedo-Romanians, and for their national awakening we have made many sacrifices.

But the Romanians do not form the only nation in Macedonia even today, when we live the decisive moment for the fate of the Balkan Peninsula, when the bloody struggle started by Bulgarians enforce more than ever a solution for this problem, when we are forced to take it into account.

Mr. Theohari Antonescu says that the Macedonian problem is very hard to solve because of different interests met there. Each of the five nations that live there wants the preponderance. And it is not only a national question, but also a religious one. Five nations: Romanian, Greek, Albanian, Serbian and Bulgarian, each with special trend, temperament, ideal.

And the fight is so cruel and the interests are so different that, according Mr. Antonescu, there is not even possible the creation of a state as the Swiss one, in which the French, the Germans and the Italians, forgetting their special nationality, call themselves Swiss and they are proud with this new nationality created by circumstances and recognized through the understanding of common interest.

Of course, it is hard to talk about this aspect. Maybe the cruel fight between the Macedonian nations is much more the product of the external agitators, the emissaries of the brother from the free states, who fight for the conquest of the province.

We see that the revolutionary leader himself of the Bulgarian movement, Sarafoff, talks about an autonomous Macedonia, and in all the public declarations he presents himself as an enemy of the Macedonia's annexation to Bulgaria.

He calls himself Macedonian, as the French, the German and the Italian from Switzerland call themselves Swiss.

¹³ See Teohari Antonescu, *O problemă politică. Cestiunea macedoneană. Causale turburărilor și intervenția diplomației europene* [A political problem. Macedonian issue. European diplomacy and intervention Causale turmoil], Tipografia Națională, Iași, 1903 /48 pp./.

Why Sarafoff has this kind of speech? Is it because it finds the existence of this trend in Macedonia, to all people that live there?

Until now, nobody examined this aspect there, studying all the nations in Macedonia.

All the researches made have been started from different national interests, and all the writers established the proportion of different nationalities in Macedonia. And if a deep search is not wanted, if regarding the annexation of Macedonia to one of the limitrophe countries is not accepted by the pretenders, then which is the solution, taking into account that the current situation can not persist?

In an admirable manner, Mr. Theohari Antonescu shows the important economic future which this picturesque Macedonian province could have with its important port – Thessaloniki.

And he also observes that this economic importance itself, which can be so easily obtained by Macedonia, gives all those rivalries between the great powers interested in the Orient, which so terribly complicate the rivalries between the peoples of Macedonia.

He stands for measures able to determine the free development of the local life by the administration of some councils elected from the middle of nationalities, taking into account their numerical importance.

The study of Mr. Antonescu is very interesting from all points of view and it must attract the attention of our statesmen.

Ibrăileanu

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