his own hands. The palace superseded the Porte. The cabinet officers became hardly more than the Sultan's secretaries, the two essentials for their continuance in office being ability and subservience. Professing no admiration for European institutions, he emphasized his headship of the Moslems as their caliph. The most personal of personal governments ruled and still rules at Yildiz Kiosk. But inherent in it are all the radical and fatal evils of absolutism.

"Laborious but ill-informed," the Sultan, though shutting himself in Oriental seclusion, has been successful in controlling or outwitting the foreign ambassadors who were in the habit of domineering over his predecessors. For a few years he seemed to incline to France; then to Great Britain during the days when Lord Dufferin and Sir William White were British ambassadors; since 1891 to Russia. The example of frugality and economy, set by the Sultan, is in marked contrast to all past Ottoman history. Reorganized by German officers, the efficiency of the army has been greatly increased. The Ottoman Empire is to-day stronger and more formidable, despite its loss of territory, than it has been at any time since the battle of Navarino, seventy-one years ago. But the Ottoman parliament ended its brief existence with its second session (1880) and there is little discussion of "reforms."

XII

THE BALKAN STATES

(1848–1898)

The Five States, Roumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, Greece. — These have all been carved during the present century out of the Ottoman Empire. Montenegro indeed always asserted her independence, but was none the less reckoned a subject territory by the Sultan. Greece achieved national existence by the revolution which began in 1821 and lasted seven years. In 1848 the three other states were in different stages of subjection. Bulgaria was hardly more than a tradition. Her boundaries had been blotted out and her people utterly reduced when she was added to other Ottoman conquests in the fourteenth century. Servia was an autonomous province, with a native prince, but paying tribute and kept in check by Turkish garrisons. Roumania is the present name of what was then the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, including all the Turkish possessions north of the Danube. All five were adherents of the Eastern Orthodox, or Greek Church, but were of different races. The Roumanians were the mixed descendants of Dacians and Romans, the Greeks were Hellenic, and the Montenegrins, Servians and Bulgarians were Slavs. Thus there were three ethnic layers, the northern or Latin, the central or Slavic, and the southern or Greek. Though partakers in the common distress, brought on by the civil and religious despotism under which they lived, they looked on one another with jealousy and aversion rather than sympathy and kindly feeling.

Roumania. — Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1848, were both under the tyrannical rule of hospodars, appointed by the Sultan. The shock of the French Revolution reached even the Black Sea. Both the provinces rose and drove out their governors. The Turks marched in from the south to put down the rebellion, whereupon the Russians entered from

the east. War seemed inevitable between Turkey and Russia. It was averted by the convention of Balta Liman, which stipulated that the hospodars in future should be named for seven years by the Sultan and Tsar conjointly, and that the provinces, while vassals of the Sultan, should enjoy the protection of the Tsar. Tranquillity existed until the Crimean War, after which, by the treaty of Paris, a collective guarantee of the great Powers was substituted for the Russian protectorate, and the provinces reverted to the control of the Sultan. A portion of Russian Bessarabia was annexed to Moldavia, so that the Russian frontier should nowhere touch the Danube.

Disappointed in their hopes of independence, Moldavia and Wallachia were clamorous for union into a single state. Their desire was encouraged by France and Russia, but opposed by Turkey, Great Britain and Austria, who were unfavorable to any measure tending to increase the strength of the provinces. A plebiscite resulted in an almost unanimous declaration for union. After tedious negotiations, occupying several years, the great Powers agreed that one central committee should be empowered to enact common laws for the two, but that otherwise they should exist apart, each choosing its own provincial assembly and prince. But in 1859 the two elected the same candidate, Colonel Alexander Couza, whom they proclaimed "Alexander I, Prince of Roumania." The Sultan interposed every objection, but finally (1861) recognized him "for life," granting investiture, and receiving the same tribute as before. In 1862 the two provincial assemblies fused in one common national assembly, at Bucharest. Thus, in defiance of diplomacy, union was achieved.

The Roumanian nobles were so many petty despots, while the peasants possessed almost no civil rights. The wealth of the country was in the hands of numerous opulent monasteries. Couza abolished feudal privileges, proclaimed universal suffrage and confiscated the property of the monasteries to the advantage of the state. Thus the nobility and clergy became his deadly foes. The nobles, in return for an indemnity, were obliged to abandon a large part of their lands, which was divided among the peasants. But by declaring tobacco a governmental monopoly he alienated popular support. His beneficent measures were mixed with tyranny. Surprised in his bedchamber by a band of conspirators, he was forced to abdicate (February, 1866). Abandoned by all, he went into exile.

The Chambers chose Prince Philip, of Flanders, brother of the king of Belgium, as his successor. On his declination a plebiscite of the whole country elected Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (April 20). A European conference at Paris declared the election void, but Prince Charles was advised by Bismarck to ignore its decisions. Traversing Austria in disguise, he received an enthusiastic welcome at Bucharest (May 22). The Turks had watched the progress of events in Roumania with anxiety, but had always been dissuaded from action. The Powers had likewise confined themselves to formal expressions of dissatisfaction. This time Sultan Abd-ul Aziz determined on war. Omar Pasha massed a formidable army on the Danube. But the victory gained at Sadowa by Prussia, of whom Charles was the protégé, and the troubles in Crete, prevented interference. He was formally recognized as Prince of Roumania by both the Sultan and all Europe (October). His marriage with the Princess of Wied, in 1869, seemed to confirm his dynasty.

On the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, Roumania proclaimed herself independent (May 21, 1877). The development of her army had been carefully pursued by her new ruler, and she was able to offer Russia valuable aid. At the siege of Plevna, where Prince Charles was commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, her troops distinguished themselves for gallantry, and materially contributed to the capture of Osman Pasha and his entire command. In 1881 the representatives of the nation declared Roumania a kingdom, under Charles I as king. Disappointed of issue, his nephew, Prince Ferdinand, in 1888, was decreed his successor, with the title of Prince of Roumania. Though Queen Elizabeth had given her husband no heir, her pronounced Roumanian sympathies and popular ways have materially strengthened his throne. Under her pseudonym of "Carmen Sylva," her stories and poems have added to the reputation of Roumania abroad. Save during one brief period of glorious war, the reign of Charles I has been devoted to the peaceful solution of internal questions and to internal progress.

The position of Roumania, midway between Russia and Austria-Hungary, upon the lower Danube, on the road to

Constantinople, has given her a marked strategic importance. To Hungary she is a constant menace. Over 2,500,000 Roumanians are subjects of the Hungarian crown. To reunite them all under one flag is the ambition of "Roumania irredenta."

Montenegro. — In 1848 the name Montenegro, or Czrnagora, was applied to a territory of less that 1500 square miles, a mass of rocky and lofty mountains west of Albania, inhabited by 107,000 human beings. The history of the country has been one long, ferocious heroism. Such of the Servians as would not submit had, after the fatal battle of Kossova (1389), taken refuge in its fastnesses, and there maintained an invincible resistance to the Turks. Their ruler, the vladika, or prince bishop, had the right of appointing his successor, whom he chose from among his nephews. He was aided in administration by a council of twelve persons chosen by himself. On the death in 1851 of Peter II, who had been an able warrior and statesman, his nephew, Danilo, became vladika. In the great charter of 1852 he divested himself of his episcopal functions, asserted his right to marry, and made the succession hereditary. Soon afterwards the Sultan sent Omar Pasha to attack him. Mirko, the elder brother of the prince, in a three months' campaign slew in battle 4500 Turks and captured 900 prisoners. Again attacked in 1858 by vastly superior forces, the Montenegrins gained the decisive battle of Grahova, where more than 3000 Turks were killed. Two years afterwards Danilo was assassinated. Leaving no son, his nephew, Nicholas I, succeeded. Another war with the Turks (1862) was no less honorable to the mountaineers.

Thus far every Montenegrin was an armed volunteer, little susceptible to military discipline and poorly armed. The fourth Turkish war in the space of the last fifty years began in 1876. Everywhere successful, though against desperate odds, the independence of Montenegro was acknowledged by the Sultan in 1878. In the preliminary treaty of San Stephano, Russia obtained such concessions for the heroic little country as would have trebled its territory and doubled its population. Though these gains were largely reduced by the treaty of Berlin, it eventually acquired the port of Dulcigno on the Adriatic, with a seaboard of almost thirty miles.

Prince Nicholas I is still on the throne. During his reign

of thirty-eight years his country has made marked progress in civilization. Himself educated in Europe, he has rendered education compulsory, and carefully encouraged agriculture among his warlike people. The marriage of his daughter, Helena, to the Prince of Naples, the heir of the Italian throne, is supposed to insure Montenegro an ally against Austria-Hungary, who, far more than the Ottoman Empire, is the chief enemy of Montenegrin independence. Since the days of the Tsar Peter, a peculiar attachment has existed between Montenegro and Russia. This attachment has at no time been stronger than to-day.

Servia. — The patriot swineherd, Kara George, gave to a part of Servia a political existence early in the present century. Defeated, he fled from the country, and the insurrection was headed for fifteen years by Milosch Obrenovitch. Worn out by the persistence of the insurgents, Sultan Mahmoud (1830) erected the revolted territory into an autonomous hereditary principality, and appointed Milosch its governor. Kara George returned, but Milosch succeeded in having him assassinated. Since then the feuds of the rival Karageorgevitch and Obrenovitch families have been a main factor in Servian history. Alternately members of the two houses expelled each other from power until 1859, when Alexander Karageorgevitch was a second time deposed and Michael Obrenovitch a second time placed in control. Michael was assassinated in 1868. Alexander in his absence was declared guilty by the criminal court of complicity in the crime.

None the less great progress had been made meanwhile in shaking off the Turkish yoke. During the Cretan troubles of 1867 the Sultan, to propitiate the Servians who threatened to join the Greeks, withdrew his garrison from the citadel of Belgrade. Michael had armed his people and imposed military service on all able-bodied men. He had also endeavored to introduce some civil reforms among his people, and had occasionally convoked the Skoupchtina, or legislative body. His wise measures were well seconded by M. Garashanine, who showed more ability than any minister whom Servia has produced.

Milan, the successor of the murdered ruler, was only fourteen years of age. The regency of three persons, which ministered affairs during his minority, proceeded to promulgate a liberal constitution (1869). While confiding all

ordinary power conjointly to the prince and a Skoupchtina of 120 members, it provided for an extraordinary or great assembly of 480 members in cases of emergency. Prince Milan was declared of age in 1872. Though in consequence of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878 the independence of Servia was acknowledged by the Sultan, and the state in 1882 proclaimed itself a kingdom, his reign was filled with disgrace and disaster. Nothing but the intervention of Russia saved Servia from destruction by the Turks in 1876. But the chief humiliation was received from the hands of the Bulgarians at Slivnitza (1885). This time she was delivered from the consequences of a shameful defeat by the intervention of Austria. The scandalous conduct of the king toward Queen Natalie, who was idolized by the common people, still further increased his unpopularity. Finally he obtained a divorce of questionable validity (1888), which was annulled by both parties in 1894.

The public debt had enormously increased in spite of excessive taxation. Radical measures to propitiate the masses, such as the granting (1888) of a still more democratic constitution than that of 1869, did not allay the universal discontent. The choice seemed to lie between abdication and deposition. Milan chose the former. He appointed a regency and proclaimed his son Alexander, then a boy of twelve (1889).

The young king has shown courage and energy. Before he was seventeen years old he arrested, at his own table, the regents who were to govern during his minority. The next day he declared himself of age and has since held the reins. In the following year, by a coup d'état, he abolished the constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. He has also shown a desire for amicable relations with Bulgaria and Montenegro.

Servia has for more than twenty years been tormented by the ambition to act the rôle of a Slavic Piedmont. But she has presented no Servian Cavour, nor has she shown such qualities in war or peace as to indicate her fitness for leadership. A large portion of old Servia is still under the Sultan, or included in the principality of Bulgaria. Meanwhile the bitter contentions of the three parties, the radicals, the progressists and the liberals, waste her energies and paralyze her progress.

Bulgaria. — The last fifty years have brought marvellous

changes to Bulgaria. In 1848 there seemed no hope of political resurrection. Nowhere did the Turkish rule press more absolutely and cruelly, yet the diffusion of the Mussulmans all over the country, and its peculiar strategic features, rendered successful revolution unlikely, even if insurrection were attempted. Lost in a mass of nameless rayahs, many Bulgarians were ignorant of their own race and supposed themselves Greeks. Their ancient literature had been destroyed and schools had hardly begun to exist. Nor did they have that strong Eastern bond of union and guarantee of continued national existence which is found in the possession of a national church. Their church had been blotted out, and they were dependent upon the Greek patriarch at Constantinople.

But here and there the people were stirring. Bulgarian revolutionary committees began to be formed across the Danube, in the Roumanian towns of Bucharest and Yassy. The bishops in Bulgaria were almost exclusively Greeks. A determined effort was made to confer their sees upon Bulgarians. The Turkish government was entreated to recognize the Bulgarian Church. After contention lasting twenty years, this project, obstinately fought against by the Greeks, was approved by the Porte (1870). A Bulgarian exarchate was created, but the exarch was required to reside at Constantinople. There had been no change of creed, but the Greek patriarch excommunicated all persons connected with the new religious organization.

Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador, looked with apprehension upon every indication of awakening life which might ultimately weaken the Ottoman government. On his suggestion over 500,000 wild Tartars and Circassians from the Crimea and the Caucasus were quartered in Bulgaria to keep the people in check (1859). Midhat Pasha governed the country four years. Under his stern but enlightened rule roads were constructed, agriculture protected and the general condition improved. But each amelioration only revealed to the Bulgarians how wretched was their lot.

At last came the awful massacres of 1876. It was the time of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian insurrection. The Mussulman government and people were suspicious of the slightest movement of the Christians. Petty outbreaks convinced the panic-stricken grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, that all Bulgaria was rising. He let loose the Cir-

cassians and Bashi Bazouks to plunder and slaughter without restraint. For three months there was a carnival of death in the vain attempt to exterminate a people. Over 20,000 persons were butchered. The consequence was the Russo-Turkish war, in which on many fields Bulgarians fought like heroes. The treaty of San Stephano made Bulgaria a powerful state, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean. The treaty of Berlin greatly reduced its size, and by unnatural division cut it into parts: Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, and Eastern Roumelia on the south. The former, a vassal tributary state, was to elect its own prince, who should be confirmed by the Sultan with the assent of the Powers. The latter was to remain under the Sultan's direct control. He was to appoint over it a Christian governor for a term of five years, with the assent of the Powers.

A Constitution was adopted at Tirnova by an assembly of notables (1879). It provided for a Sobranié, or legislative assembly, elected by popular vote. A voter must be thirty years of age and able to read and write. The prince was to be commander of the army. The ministers named by him were to be responsible to him only. Sophia was made the capital. The election of a prince was entrusted to an extraordinary or Grand Sobranié, which is convened only on special occasions. It chose Prince Alexander, of Battenburg, then an officer in the Prussian army. He took the oath at Tirnova, on July 9, 1879, and the Russian army of occupation evacuated the country one week later.

Thus Bulgaria had arisen from the tomb of centuries, and stood forth a state among the nations with a sovereign and Constitution of her choice. Her people had no experience in the art of self-government, but their patience and practical common sense were to stand them in good stead. There was no proscription of Mussulmans in their midst, despite the vivid memory of recent atrocities.

The overbearing arrogance of the Russians made the Bulgarians forget their great services. Russians crowded the higher offices of civil and military administration and treated the Bulgarians with contempt. The Russian diplomatic agent, M. Hitrovo, acted like a master. The liberals, antagonists of Russia, obtained a large majority in the Sobranié and their leader, M. Zankoff, became prime minister. Prince Alexander, by a coup d'état, suspended the

Constitution (1881) and made the Russian general, Ernroth, prime minister. Two years afterwards he restored it and called Zankoff to power.

By a sudden revolution in eastern Roumelia (September 18, 1885) the governor, Gavril Pasha, was expelled, and the union of the two Bulgarias proclaimed. Great Britain approved the act. It was denounced by Russia, who recalled every Russian officer in the Bulgarian army. Servia looked with a jealous eye on the creation of the Bulgarian principality. Its union with eastern Roumelia roused her to exasperation. Believing the moment opportune, while the troops of her rival were without superior officers, she declared war and crossed the frontier. The Bulgarians rose as one man. Alexander proved himself an able leader. The enemy was hurled back. Then followed the three days' battle of Slivnitza, the most glorious event in modern Bulgarian history. The Servian capital, Belgrade, was rescued from capture only by the intervention of Austria.

A miserable intrigue deposed and exiled the prince the following year. Recalled to the throne, he abdicated soon afterwards (September 7, 1886), through dread of the Tsar Alexander III, who was his personal enemy. The Tsar sent General Kaulbars to win back the friendship of the Bulgarians. The unwise and brutal conduct of the envoy incensed the people, until at last he and all the Russian consular agents withdrew. Finally the Grand Sobranié elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the grandson of Louis Philippe. Russia was still hostile, so he could obtain recognition neither from the Sultan nor the Powers.

For more than seven years after the deposition of Prince Alexander, M. Stambouloff, first as president of the regency and then as prime minister, was the real ruler. The dominant idea of his policy was the independence of Bulgaria, not only from Turkey, but from the diplomatic interference of Europe, and specially of Russia. His rule was vigorous and despotic, often violent and unjust, but never wavering. His chief success was in securing from the Sultan the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia. But he wore out all his early popularity and became intolerable to the prince. An angry letter of resignation, the acceptance of which he did not anticipate, was the means of his fall (May 31, 1894). A year later he was assassinated in the street. Dr. Stoïloff, a highly educated and patriotic states-

man, a typical Bulgarian of the worthiest type, has been prime minister since 1894. Under him difficulties with foreign nations have been smoothed away, the prince has been recognized by the Sultan and the great Powers, and the country has tranquilly gone on in the path of progress.

The principality does not include all the Bulgarians. Many are found on the west and south under the rule of Servia or Turkey. In Macedonia the majority of the inhabitants are Bulgarians, and the ultimate fate of that province is disputed by Bulgaria, Servia and Greece.

Greece. — It was the misfortune of Greece that, after her emancipation from Turkey had been recognized (1830), she was compelled to organize her entire administration in accordance with the exigencies of the great Powers, and with no regard to the wishes of her own people. Though desiring a republican form of government, she was forced to accept a monarchy, and Prince Otho, a Catholic and a Bavarian, was imposed as king (1833). For ten years he ruled as a foreign despot by means of a Bavarian ministry and Bavarian army. There was no legislative assembly and no constitution. On September 15, 1843, a peaceful revolution extorted the promise of a constitution and of a national Chamber, and compelled the retirement of the Bavarian Cabinet and the appointment of Mavrocordatos, a Greek, as prime minister. The Powers did not interfere.

The constitutional assembly met in November. It elected as its president a revolutionary hero, Panoutsos Notaras, then 107 years old. On March 16, 1844, a liberal Constitution received the royal signature. It provided for ministerial responsibility, a Senate named by the king and a Chamber of Deputies, or Boule, elected by universal suffrage.

The restoration of the Byzantine Empire has always been a Greek dream. When the Crimean War broke out, Greek enthusiasm believed the moment of realization near and prepared to attack the Sultan. In consequence a British and French fleet blockaded the Piræus. A sufficient force was sent on shore to overawe Athens. It occupied the country from May, 1854, to February, 1857.

King Otho and his haughty and childless queen, Amelia, had never been liked by the Greeks and grew daily more unpopular. While they were absent on a pleasure trip in the Ægean a general insurrection broke out, the throne was declared vacant and a provisional government appointed

(October, 1862). On their return the royal travellers were not allowed to come on shore and departed at once for Bavaria. Prince Wilhelm of Denmark was elected "King of the Hellenes," nominally by the national assembly, but really by the Powers (1863). If the Greeks were doomed to have a foreign king, no wiser choice could have been made. Great Britain marked her satisfaction by the cession to Greece of the Ionian Islands, which she had held ever since the Napoleonic wars. The marriage of the young sovereign and of the Grand Duchess Olga, niece of the Tsar Alexander II, indicated the good-will of Russia.

George I at once showed himself democratic in his manners and sympathies. The new Constitution of 1864, which received his full approval, was even more liberal than its predecessor of 1844. It abolished the senate and established entire freedom of the press. Parliamentary majorities have ever since determined the composition of the cabinet and the foreign policy. While modern Greece has possessed several statesmen of ability, the two most prominent have been MM. Tricoupis and Delyannis. During the seventeen years subsequent to 1881 they alternated with each other in the premiership, M. Tricoupis being prime minister four times and M. Delyannis three.

The relations of Greece and Turkey have given rise to the most delicate and involved complications. The unsatisfactory and unjust boundaries, assigned after the revolution, left the majority of the Greeks still rayahs of the Sultan. Their blood had been lavished without reward. The bond between these rayahs and their emancipated kinsmen has even grown stronger with time. Every disturbance on the mainland or in the islands has caused a sympathetic outburst among the free Greeks. But European diplomacy has been harder to deal with and more dreaded than the military strength of the Turks.

During the Cretan insurrection of 1866–1868 the Greeks welcomed and cared for more than 50,000 Cretan refugees, and were only prevented by the interference of France and Great Britain from themselves taking up arms in behalf of their brethren. A similar pressure kept them quiet during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, their army crossing the frontier only after the preliminary treaty of San Stephano had been signed. France, at the Congress of Berlin, urged the claim of Greece to rectify her frontiers, and the signa-

tory powers proposed the assignment to her of all Thessaly and the southern half of Epirus. Turkey skilfully evaded compliance, ceding only a fragment of Epirus and southern Thessaly (1881).

The fifteen following years were in the main peaceful despite the heat of party politics. But ineffectual armaments against Turkey had been costly, and public works, such as the construction of railways and canals, destined to ultimately increase the wealth of the country, had drained its resources and exhausted its credit. Still commerce and agriculture advanced. Whatever change occurred in the general condition was for the better.

Then began the saddest chapter in the story of modern Greece. In Crete the fight for liberty had again burst forth with fury. The again-repeated and familiar promises of reform were laughed at by the insurgents. On February 8, 1897, when almost the whole island was in their possession, they proclaimed its union to Greece. The news came upon the Athenians like a spark upon gunpowder. The king despatched Prince George with a torpedo flotilla to Crete (February 10) and Colonel Vassos with 1500 men (February 14). The Powers protested and occupied Canea, the Cretan capital. Their fleet bombarded the Greeks and Cretans whenever they came in range. In a joint note (March 2) they declared that "in present circumstances" Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that it should be endowed "with an absolute autonomy" under the suzerainty of the Sultan. This declaration was satisfactory to neither Turk, Greek nor Cretan. More than 40,000 Cretan refugees had fled to the Piræus and excited compassion.

The Greek and Turkish troops approached the Thessalian frontier. Provoked by incursions, Turkey declared war April 17. The vastly superior number of her troops, their splendid discipline and the generalship of their commander, Edhem Pasha, decided the result in a three weeks' campaign. The Crown Prince Constantine, the commander of the Greeks, showed little courage or capacity. His small army, supplied only with enthusiasm, was as badly equipped as it was poorly led. The prime minister, M. Delyannis, resigned. His successor, M. Ralli, sued for peace (May 8). The conditions of the treaty were terrible for the vanquished. Greece was to withdraw her troops from Crete, to pay a war indemnity of $20,000,000 and to submit her

finances to international control. Her frontier was also to be rectified to Turkish advantage. It was understood that Crete was to enjoy an autonomous government "with reforms."

Thus Greece had staked her existence and been temporarily crushed. In 1854 or 1867 or 1878, or even in 1881, other conditions were more favorable, and she might have succeeded, but in 1897 she was hampered in every way, and the Ottomans given not only a free hand, but moral support by the concert of Europe. Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Servia, who might also have risen against Turkey, were strictly enjoined to remain neutral, and the two latter states were rendered responsible to prevent outbreak in Macedonia.

Yet it must be remembered that the course of the Powers was determined, partly, indeed, by hostility to Greek ambition, but above all by a common dread of a general European war. No conflagration spreads so fast as successful rebellion. Crete and Greece were sacrificed on the altar of an ignoble peace.