

MESSAGE
FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
COMMUNICATING,

In answer to a Senate resolution of January 16, 1877, correspondence with diplomatic officers of the United States in Turkey in relation to the revolt in the Turkish provinces.

JANUARY 24, 1877.—Read and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit, in answer to a resolution of the Senate of the 16th instant, a report of the Secretary of State with its accompanying papers.

U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1877.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 23, 1877.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of the 16th of January instant, "That the President be, and he hereby is, requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to transmit to the Senate any correspondence which has taken place with the diplomatic officers of the United States in Turkey, or any information in the possession of the Government concerning the revolt in the Turkish provinces," has the honor to lay before the President a copy of a dispatch, No. 106, dated 21st November, 1876, from Mr. Maynard, minister at Constantinople, with its inclosures, among which is a report of observations on Bulgaria by Mr. Schuyler, secretary of legation and consul-general at Constantinople. These documents, with Mr. Maynard's dispatch No. 89, dated 10th August, 1876, which was transmitted to Congress at the beginning of the present session, with the papers accompanying message of the President, furnish the information called for by the resolution.

HAMILTON FISH.

To the PRESIDENT.

Mr. Maynard to Mr. Fish.

No. 106.]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Constantinople, November 21, 1876. (Rec'd Jan. 2, 1877.)

SIR: I have the honor to recall the following passage from my dispatch, No. 89, dated August 10, 1876: "In Bulgaria the insurrection which appeared the 1st of May was an inconsiderable affair, a local outbreak, and promptly suppressed with circumstances of cruelty which have made it one of the most melancholy paragraphs in the annals of the world. A more specific narrative is reserved for a future dispatch."

Although the scenes of violence are at no great distance and are reached by railroad, so slowly is intelligence communicated that little was known here of what had been going on until two or three weeks afterwards, and even then the information was fragmentary and imperfect, and in a shape that failed to secure general credence.

Of the persons instrumental at that time in bringing to the public a knowledge of the Bulgarian sufferings the Rev. Dr. George Washburn, the president of Robert College, and the Rev. Dr. Albert Long, professor of natural science, were probably the most efficient. For fifteen years Dr. Long had been a missionary to the Bulgarians from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and for seven years of the time had been stationed in Bulgaria. He had translated the Sacred Scriptures into the Bulgarian, and had published a newspaper in the same language, with which he is familiar. Many of the students of the college, and at least one of the professors, are Bulgarians. Hence they have a large acquaintance in Bulgaria, and are widely and favorably known there. Gentlemen of popular manners and active sympathies, the unfortunate and the wretched are naturally attracted toward them.

Although they had no connection with the insurgents or cognizance of their movements, they soon received letters and verbal communications unfolding the chapter of horrors which has since shocked the whole civilized world. The apparent attitude of the British government toward the Porte at that time suggested to them the British ambassador as the one most likely to effect the object they had at heart—the protection and redress of their friends, the outraged Bulgarians. They had sometimes officiated as chaplain at the embassy, which they visited on terms of personal friendship. They placed in the hands of his excellency Sir Henry Elliott much documentary and other evidence of the treatment to which the people of Bulgaria had been subjected, hoping for efficient interposition on his part. He does not appear to have thought it sufficiently authentic to communicate to his government, and he returned it.

Dr. Long then conferred with the late Sir Philip Francis, Her British Majesty's consul-general and judge, a man not unlike himself in some of the prominent traits of his character. Sir Philip warmly seconded his views, and suggested an appeal through the press to the people of England. This was in the first weeks of June. Dr. Long prepared a statement, from such information in his possession as was deemed reliable, which was adopted by the correspondent of the London Daily News, a barrister of excellent standing, personal and literary, as well as professional, and it appeared in that paper June 23, 1876. A copy is inclosed.

The startling narrative aroused the people of England as they have seldom been aroused. Her Majesty's ministers were questioned about it in both houses of Parliament, then in session, but had no information to impart. Indeed, one of them appears to have treated the matter in

a tone of levity. Meantime a special commissioner, Edib Effendi, was sent by the Porte into the district, and he made a report substantially denying every allegation of cruelty on the part of the Turks, and representing them as the victims of Christian ferocity. This report was published, and appears to have been industriously circulated.

An issue was now fairly made, to be decided upon the proofs. What followed has become so widely known that a general reference will be sufficient. The correspondent of the London Daily News transmitted confirmatory details, both by post and telegraph, which the Earl of Derby communicated to the British ambassador, for information as to their credibility. He replied that the excesses had inevitably been very great, but that "the details, coming almost exclusively from Russian and Bulgarian sources, are so monstrously exaggerated as to deprive them of much claim to attention." He also said that "the Turkish ministers invariably denied that the cruelties have been upon a scale at all approaching to what they are represented; they point out that the horrors committed on Turkish women and children are passed over in silence."

To clear up the disputed facts, the Earl of Derby instructed Sir Henry Elliott to send one of his officials into Bulgaria, to inquire and report. He sent Mr. Walter Baring, one of his secretaries. This was the 19th of July. In his dispatch communicating this intelligence to the Earl of Derby, he says, "The statements of the Daily News have been taken principally from information furnished by the American missionaries; and, before setting out, Mr. Baring went by my direction to these gentlemen, and obtained from them a memorandum of all the facts with which they are acquainted." This dispatch was made public, and thus the American name became for the first time involved in the controversy. It is due to the American missionaries, however, to say that they had little or nothing to do with it; excepting, of course, Messrs. Washburn and Long, who, though at one time missionaries, have not been such for several years. Before Mr. Baring set out for Bulgaria, I understand he called on Dr. Washburn, and received from him a memorandum, and it is to this that Sir Henry undoubtedly referred.

Mr. Schuyler, the newly-appointed secretary of legation and consul-general, arrived the 6th of July, from England, in the midst of the discussion. Having learned the state of it, and moved by a desire to ascertain the truth, he decided to visit Bulgaria in person and make inquiries on the ground. In a note to his excellency Safvet Pasha, I informed him of Mr. Schuyler's intended trip and procured for him a traveling firman.

While in Bulgaria Mr. Schuyler sent to the legation several messages, written and telegraphic, explaining the unwholesome condition of affairs and suggesting relief. These I communicated promptly to Sir Henry Elliott and to the minister of foreign affairs. The most important of them is dated the 10th of August, and was sent from Philippopolis. In an accompanying note he calls it a *résumé*, to be followed by his official report on his return. It found its way into print, and has had a wide circulation in England, and I believe in America, as "Mr. Schuyler's preliminary report." A copy is appended.

Since his return he has been busily engaged in the preparation of his report; and he has, at length, placed in my hands what, in the note which accompanies it, he denominates a "Report on the Massacres and Atrocities in Bulgaria," of which I transmit a copy.

It will be seen from his note that he contemplates a further report, to include an "account of the trials of the Bulgarians accused of insurrec-

tion; of the acts of the Turkish commissioners of investigation; of the trials of those guilty of the atrocities, and of the present state of the country." Before concluding this work, he contemplates another trip for a few days into Bulgaria. I need not say that his labors have attracted a large share of the public attention, and made him very conspicuous, favorably or otherwise, according to the point of view from which they are observed. That they have wrought powerfully to arouse the conscience of mankind, and to check the excesses of the present conflict, there can be no doubt.

After the return of Messrs. Schuyler and Baring from Bulgaria, the Porte sent out Blacque Bey, late Ottoman minister to the United States, to make investigation. His report is said to fully confirm the statements of those gentlemen, but I believe it has not been published, or even printed.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
HORACE MAYNARD.

[Inclosure No. 1, with dispatch No. 106.]

[Extract from the London Daily News of June 23, 1876.]

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 16, 1876.

Dark rumors have been whispered about Constantinople during the last month of horrible atrocities committed in Bulgaria. The local newspapers have given mysterious hints about correspondence from the interior which they have been obliged to suppress. I have hitherto refrained from mentioning these rumors, or from stating what I have heard; but they are now gradually assuming definiteness and consistency, and cruelties are being revealed which place those committed in Herzegovina and Bosnia altogether in the background. These cruelties have not been altogether (though they have in the main) confined to the side of the Turks; but that which throws the balance altogether against the latter is that the government has been either unable or unwilling to prevent its own employés—I am unwilling to use the word "soldiers," for the bashi-bazouks, by whom they have been committed, are altogether unworthy of the name—from committing these cruelties. While the attention of the European powers has been occupied with Herzegovina, the Berlin memorandum, and the deposition of Abdul Aziz, not merely have they allowed a great crime to be committed, but a great political blunder. It is a blunder because Bulgaria has always been the province most under Russian influence. Its inhabitants are more connected by sympathy with the people of South Russia than those of any other province, and the cruelties there committed cannot fail when they become known—as they probably are by this time in the dominions of the Czar—to arouse the indignation of the people to an extent which even the Emperor may have difficulty in controlling. The cruelties are, from all that I can learn, still continuing, and any one who wants to comprehend the Eastern question must take into account the effect which they are likely to have upon a neighboring and kindred people, when this people learns that their neighbors, whose only fault is that they are Christians, are being indiscriminately slaughtered.

When the insurrection broke out regular soldiers were sent, at first, to put it down. Turkish soldiers are always a rough, undisciplined lot, but they had to deal with men who were not very much better, and who were in rebellion. Leaving out of consideration the provocation and justification which the insurgents had for rebellion, the systematic oppression of years, the numerous cases of individual cruelties and hardships, the long imprisonments in the foul dungeons, which, out of the capital, serve as prisons of men unconvicted and untried, but suspected, it may be admitted that in any country a rebel takes his life in his hands, and has no great reason to complain if, when he fails, he has to pay the penalty of death. Mercy toward belligerents was never expected, and certainly never has been shown, in Turkish warfare. But the atrocities complained of are not the work of soldiers, but of bashi-bazouks. It will be remembered that in the Crimean war the reputation of more than one Indian officer was destroyed because it was found impossible by men, even with Indian experience, to keep order among these irregular troops. Military organization and discipline they can scarcely be said to have. Composed of the dregs of the Turkish and Circassian population, with gypsies and jail-birds let out for the purpose, and under no responsible command, they have been let loose upon a large portion of Central Bulgaria, to put down the insurrection in their own fashion. The result is what everybody acquainted with the materials composing such a force might expect—the plundering of all movable property, the burning of the

houses and villages of the peasantry, without the slightest regard to the question whether the occupants have taken part in the insurrection or not, and the almost indiscriminate slaughter of old men, women, and children. One of the most fertile and productive provinces of the Turkish Empire is thus being laid waste. It is estimated, by those who know the country well, that the district which has yielded to the government an annual revenue of about £300,000, will not be able this year, nor for years to come, to produce a quarter of this sum. It is too soon yet to attempt to ascertain, with any degree of exactness, the number who have been killed. An intelligent Turk, who has just arrived, estimates it at 18,000. Bulgarians speak of 30,000, and of the destruction of upwards of 100 villages. I pass over the stories of the burning of 40 or 50 Bulgarian girls in a stable, and the massacre of upward of 100 children in the village school-house, surprised by the bashis, because, though they are repeated everywhere in Constantinople, I have no sufficient authority to enable me to express an opinion on their truth. The places where these atrocities are said and generally believed to have occurred have been utterly destroyed, and, possibly, also the evidence of the cruelties which preceded their destruction. I have, however, trustworthy information of a number of other outrages, many of which are altogether unfit for publication. An intelligent Pole who has just succeeded in making his way through Bulgaria to Constantinople under the care of a guard of twelve bashi-bazouks, declares, though as a political refugee he hates Russia as much as a man can do, that the Cossacks are models of good behavior and of discipline in comparison to his guards and the company to which they belonged. On his way down they slashed at every Bulgarian whom they met. Even the Turkish boys, under the protection of these bashi-bazouks, were heard boasting how many infidels they had killed.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate statistics will be appreciated when it is remembered that immediately upon the outbreak of the troubles in Bulgaria the mails were placed under the strictest supervision. All letters coming from the district were opened at the Turkish post-office, and those containing objectionable information were suppressed. The local journals were forbidden to publish any correspondence from those districts. Restrictions were placed upon travel. The necessary passport to the capital or elsewhere could only be obtained by business men on showing precisely what was the nature of their business. The men who have got through are, as a rule, unwilling to give any particulars whatever as to the insurrection, suspecting a spy on every hand. Now, however, that news is coming in daily through other countries, these men are beginning to do more than drop mysterious hints, and more accurate information becomes possible.

I have made out the following partial list of names of villages which have been thus destroyed. When I have been able to obtain accurate information as to the number of houses in those villages, I have given the figures. District of Philippopolis, judicial subdistrict (Nahia) of Koyun Tepe, the villages Lishnik-Uzun, Geren-Kras-tovo, Saryavol, Nasva-Koyu, Yurundjili, Aivadjik, Pashtusha, Saradja, Perushtitsa, Yountchular, Ereli, Stavo-novo-Selo. In the judicial subdistrict of Gionsa, the villages Sindjirli and Klissura. In the judicial subdistrict Ruptchos, the villages Die-dovo, Boikovo, Zhdrribtchke, Yasakus. In the district of Pazardjik, the villages Dim-kata, 75 houses; Isernov, 70; Shallar, 65; Kalugirovo, 300; Lisitchovo, 65; Kalatch-ilar, 60; Djunaya, 50; Popintzi, 100; Butya, 45; Banya, 60; Vietren, 400; Batak, 600; Radilovo, 100; Alikotchovo, 60; Kozursko, 70; Pietritch, 60; Ichchanakdjevo, 60; Eshikli, 70. These thirty-seven names will suffice to give an idea of the horrible work which is going on. As to the number of women and children who have been massacred, one can only judge from the number of refugees, which is comparatively very small. One thing is very significant, not a girl over ten years of age is to be found among those who have escaped. In one of the abandoned towns, Perushtitsa, 1,500 persons, mostly women and children, are known to have been killed.

A letter from Philippopolis gives full particulars of the destruction of this last-mentioned village. It contained four hundred houses, and its wealth and prosperity have probably more than anything else brought about its ruin. Its inhabitants were all Bulgarians. Most of the villages round about were Turkish, and as is usually the case in Turkey the Christian village showed signs of prosperity which were altogether wanting in its neighbors, and which excited the jealousy of the latter. The Bulgarians were far outnumbered by their Turkish neighbors, and were anxious for peace. On the 6th of May the chief men of the village applied to the government at Philippopolis for aid. Their Moslem neighbors were threatening them. Neighboring villages had been attacked. All the Christians had been disarmed. Those who resisted had been burned. Next day the government sent two policemen to the village, who were then to go beyond to another village. Two days later more men were sent from the village to declare to the government that an attack was imminent.

The government simply took no notice whatever of the announcement. The bashi-bazouks of the Moslem village of Justina—that is to say, all the lowest roughs of the place—armed by government with full permission to kill, violate, and rob, determined to destroy Perushtitsa, unless its inhabitants would consent to surrender all the arms

and ten of the leading families as hostages. Hard as these terms were, the inhabitants offered at once to accept them, with the exception that they proposed to deliver their arms not to the Moslem villagers of Justinia, but to the government. The bashi-bazouks appear to have become afraid that the wealthy village was, by accepting the proposed terms, going to escape from them, and, therefore, as soon as the submission had been received, they marched in a body toward the doomed Christian village. No charge of disloyalty, still less any charge of open rebellion, had been brought against it. Its one offense was that it was Christian, and, in consequence, as compared with a Turkish village, rich. For this reason alone the armed Moslem rabble were let loose against it and its unoffending inhabitants. The village was surrounded and its inhabitants fired upon. Of course the latter, surprised though they were, defended themselves, remaining, however, in their houses. A portion of the Christians even now consented to give up their arms on being assured that they would not be injured, and a body of them unarmed, with women and children, and headed by two priests, went out to make submission. The two priests advanced to kiss the hem of the Turkish chief's robe, and one was killed on the spot for his submission; the other was wounded in the head, but managed to escape. The unarmed inhabitants were attacked. Some of them fled, others took refuge in the two churches of the village. On the 11th of May, Raschid Pasha arrived with a body of troops. He ordered the Christians to surrender their arms; they naturally requested to be allowed to retain them until the bashi-bazouks had withdrawn, fearing the fate of those who, having disarmed themselves, had submitted, and found how utterly untrustworthy are the promises of a Turk. Raschid at once took the part of the Turks, and ordered the villagers to give up their arms. He thereupon made an attack upon the church, and old men, women, and children were indiscriminately slaughtered. Every house in the village was burned, and on the 14th of May not a house existed. A certain number of women and children escaped, and are now refugees in Philippopolis, but a number of women were carried off as legitimate prizes by the bashi-bazouks.

These cruelties have made a great impression in the capital. I believe it is no secret that our ambassador has brought his influence to bear upon the government with a view to putting an end to them; but I venture to say that nothing but the most positive orders to the Turkish government will be sufficient to effect this object. The government which has to be dealt with is apparently unaware that such proceedings as it is adopting will be disconcerted abroad. Even now it is openly asserted by the Turks that England has determined to help the government put down the various insurrections. England, says a Turkish journal, will defend us against Russia while we look after our rebels. Our duty is, as it seems to me, clear; either non-intervention in its fullest sense, allowing the Turks and Christians to fight out the issue between them, and not giving support to Turkey, as we are now doing in various ways indicated in my last letter, or, if our interest requires us to give a certain support, then to exact as a first condition that the Christians shall be treated on an equality with the Turks. The thing, however, now to be done is to put a stop, without delay, to the massacre. England cannot afford to allow Russia to take credit for being the single friend of the Christian populations in this country, and our own interests, no less than the duty to an oppressed people and to humanity, require that no time should be lost before it becomes known to the Turks and the various Christian communities that the western nations will not tolerate any more of these barbarities.

[Inclosure No. 2, with dispatch No. 106.]

M. Schuyler's résumé of observations in Bulgaria.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, August 10, 1876.

SIR: In reference to the atrocities and massacres committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, I have the honor to inform you that I have visited the towns of Adrianople, Philippopolis, and Tatar-Bazardjik, and the villages of Stenimakho, Kadi-Keni, Kritshma, Perushtitsa, Peshtera, Radulovo, Batak, Kalaglari, Panagurishta, (Otluk-Kui,) Koprishtitsa, (Avrat-Alan,) and Klissura, (Persident or Dervent,) in the districts of Philippopolis and Bazardjik.

From what I have personally seen, and from the inquiries I have made, and the information I have received, I have ascertained the following facts:

During the last winter and spring agents of the Bulgarian committee at Bucharest made an agitation in Bulgaria for an insurrection against the Turkish government, and met with considerable encouragement among the younger part of the population. Owing to the betrayal of the plot, the insurrection broke out prematurely on the 1st and 2d of May in the villages of Klissura, Koprishtitsa, Panagurishta, Novo-Selo, Bellova, and perhaps one or two others. There was great alarm, and even a panic, at Tatar-

Bazardjik and Philippopolis; numerous telegrams were sent to the Porte for regular troops, which, after some delay, were refused. The beys of Philippopolis and Adrianople practically seized on the government and armed the Mussulman inhabitants of the towns and of the country, arms being sent for that purpose from Adrianople and Constantinople. These armed Mussulmans, called irregular troops, or bashi-bazouks, were then, together with the few regular troops at hand, sent into a campaign against the Bulgarian villages for the purpose of putting down the insurrection and of disarming the Christian population. But few Circassians seem to have been employed at this time. Their settlements are east of Adrianople. It was a *levée en masse* of the Mussulman villages against their Christian neighbors.

The insurgent villages made little or no resistance. In many instances they surrendered their arms upon the first demand. Nearly all the villages which were attacked by the bashi-bazouks were burned and pillaged, as were also all those which had been abandoned by the terrified inhabitants. The inhabitants of some villages were massacred after exhibitions of the most ferocious cruelty, and the violation not only of women and girls, but even persons of the other sex. These crimes were committed by the regular troops as well as by the bashi-bazouks.

The number of villages which were burned, in whole or in part, in the districts of Philippopolis, Roptchus, and Tatar-Bazardjik, is at least sixty-five, of which the names are as follows:

Names of villages.	Houses.	Churches.	Schools.
DISTRICT OF PHILLIPPOPOLIS.			
Sindjerli	200	1	1
Staro-novo-selo	300	1	1
Guleshintsa	90	1	1
Krastovo	100	1	1
Uzun-geren	70		
Ereli	200	1	1
Sary-gul	45		
Aivadjik	50		
Pashtusha	20	1	
Zdribtehka	90	1	1
Yasy-koria	140	1	1
Kozarsko	110	1	1
Tsaratsovo			
Perushtitsa	400	2	2
Uzunjak-kiresh			
Lishka			
Savadja			
Stubnitsa			
Rega			
Yunjular			
Kavak-tire			
Narisa-keni			
DISTRICT OF ROPTCHUS.			
Boikovo	60	1	1
Dadovo, houses burned	20		
Sitovo, plundered, not burned			
DISTRICT OF TATAR BAZARDJIK.			
Klissura, (Persiden Dervent)	700	1	2
Koprishtitsa, (Avrat-alan,) plundered, not burned			
Batak	900	1	3
Vietrona	600	1	1
Streltcha, (mixed)	440	1	1
Popintsa		1	1
Radulovo	160	1	1
Kara-musab		1	1
Slavovitsa		1	1
Akandjeivo		1	1
Tehanakcheivo		1	1

Names of villages.	Houses.	Churches.	Schools.
DISTRICT OF TATAR BAZARDJIK—Continued.			
Doganovo			
Ilshtitsa		1	1
Kalaglari, (mixed)	160	1	1
Jumaya		1	1
Kemli			
Galaka			
Deri-orman			
Syrt-orman		1	1
Tskyra			
Novo-selo			
Bega	60	1	1
Oldjulan		1	1
Ellidere		1	1
Eshi-kashli	80		
Liamovo			
Shiakhlar6		1	1
Kulata		1	1
Kasapli			
Tserovo	150	1	1
Hadjili			
Dinkata		1	1
Karesli			
Zlakatchen		1	1
Slchukovo		1	1
Kaloyerovo		1	1
Lusitchovo		1	1
Metchka		1	1
Petritch			
Leshnitsa			
Panagurishta	3,000	2	3

This list may not be entirely correct, as many towns have both Turkish and Bulgarian names, and they may be repeated in one or two instances. Some villages, too, are probably omitted. Owing to the absence of statistics, it is impossible exactly to ascertain the population of each village, and in many cases I have not been able to learn the number of houses. In general, as long as the patriarch or father of a family is alive his married sons live with him, so that there are frequently families of fifteen, twenty, and even of thirty-nine persons. The population of a village would be, therefore, larger than for the same number of houses in other countries. In the larger villages the lower stories of the houses are of stone, the roofs are tiled, the streets are paved, and there is a general air of comfort and well-being. Particular attention was given by the troops to the churches and schools, which in some cases were destroyed with petroleum and gunpowder. The altars were overturned; the pictures painted on the walls scratched and pierced, and the holy places defiled and desecrated.

Besides the villages, four monasteries were burned. Saint Teodor, near Perustitsa; the Panagia and the Brzsrabrinitsa, near Kretshma; and Saint Nicolas, near Kaloyerovo.

The Turks allege that many of these villages were burned by the insurgents for the purpose of compelling the Bulgarian inhabitants to join them. I am unable to find that such was the case in more than two or three instances, and even here the proof is very weak. At Bellova the insurgents burned the railway station, in which some zaptichks had taken refuge.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of Bulgarians who were killed during the few days that the disturbances lasted, but I am inclined to put 15,000 as the lowest for the districts I have named.

The manner in which the troops did their work will be seen from a few details gathered on the spot from persons who escaped from the massacre.

Perustitsa, a town of 400 houses and between 3,000 and 4,000 inhabitants, took no active part in the insurrection. Becoming alarmed at the attitude of the Turks in the neighboring villages, the inhabitants sent a deputation to Aziz Pacha, the Mites sarif of Philippopolis, for regular troops to defend them. He returned them a written message that he had no troops to send, and that they must defend themselves. When the bashi-bazouks appeared before the town they therefore refused to surrender, en-

trenched themselves in a church, retreating finally to another, and held out for five days until they saw the regular troops under Raschid Pacha, when the remainder gave themselves up. Many of the inhabitants escaped at the beginning of the struggle, but many were shot down. The church was bombarded and about 1,000 in all were killed, many of them women and children. The town was pillaged and completely burned; not a single house being now standing. Many women were violated. The floor of the church, the church-yard, and many of the gardens were dug up afterwards in search for buried treasure. The bashi-bazouks here were commanded by Ahmed Aga of Tamrysh, who was subsequently rewarded with a silver medal.

Klissura was nearly twice the size of Perustitsa and proportionately richer, as many of the inhabitants were engaged in the manufacture of attar of roses, and many were merchants traveling through the country. The insurrectionary movement began here on the 2d of May, but it was not until the 12th that the bashi-bazouks, under the command of Tussum Bey of Karlovo, attacked the place. A few shots were fired, when the villagers surrendered and fled to Koprishitsa and to the mountains. More than 250 Bulgarians were killed, chiefly women and children. The Turks claim that 14 Moslems (in part gipsies) were killed before and during the fight. As soon as the bashi-bazouks entered the town they pillaged it and burned it. Among other things 450 copper stills used in making attar of roses were carried to the Turkish villages. Subsequent parties carried off all that was left, even to the nails from the doors and the tiles from the roofs. The church was desecrated and blown up. Tussum Bey for this exploit was decorated with the Mejidi.

Koprishitsa, (Avrat-Alan,) although one of the first villages to rebel, was one of the last to be attacked. Warned by the fate of Klissura and Panagurishta the leading inhabitants themselves arrested the ringleaders of the insurrection and sent to Philippopolis for regular troops. In spite of this the bearers of submission were fired on, and one, the Priest Dantcho, was killed, the town was several times pillaged, many of the women were violated, and about 30 persons were killed. The town was not burned, and a general massacre was avoided by large presents of money paid by the leading inhabitants to the Turkish commanders. Three shots were, however, fired at the church, but did little damage. The villagers admit having killed 10 Turks and 40 gipsies, the latter being suspected of an intention to plunder the town. The Turks claim a total loss of 71.

Panagurishta (Otluk-Kui) was attacked by a force of regular troops, together with bashi-bazouks, on the 11th of May. Apparently no message to surrender was sent. After a slight opposition on the part of the insurgents, the town was taken. Many of the inhabitants fled, but about 3,000 were massacred, the most of them being women and children. Of these, about 400 belonged to the town of Panagurishta, and the others to nine neighboring villages, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge there. Four hundred buildings, including the bazaar and the largest and best houses, were burned. Both churches were completely destroyed and almost leveled to the ground. In one an old man was violated on the altar, and afterwards burned alive. Two of the schools were burned; the third, looking like a private house, escaped. From the numerous statements made to me, hardly a woman in the town escaped violation and brutal treatment. The ruffians attacked children of eight, and old women of eighty, sparing neither age nor sex. Old men had their eyes torn out and their limbs cut off, and were then left to die, unless some more charitably disposed man gave them the final thrust. Pregnant women were ripped open and the unborn babes carried triumphantly on the points of bayonets and sabers, while little children were made to bear the dripping heads of their comrades. This scene of rapine, lust, and murder was continued for three days, when the survivors were made to bury the bodies of the dead. The perpetrators of these atrocities were chiefly regular troops commanded by Hafiz Pasha. The Turks claim and the villagers admit the death of fourteen Moslems, two of whom were women, who were killed with arms in their hands during a conflict with a party that refused to surrender to the insurgents.

While pillage reigned supreme at Koprishitsa and lust at Panagurishta, at Batak the Turks seemed to have no stronger passion than the thirst for blood. This village surrendered without firing a shot, after a promise of safety to the bashi-bazouks, under the command of Ahmed-Aga, of Burutina, a chief of the rural police. Despite his promise, the few arms once surrendered, Ahmed-Aga ordered the destruction of the village and the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, about a hundred young girls being reserved to satisfy the lust of the conqueror before they too should be killed. I saw their bones, some with the flesh still clinging to them, in the hollow on the hill-side, where the dogs were gnawing them. Not a house is now standing in the midst in this lovely valley. The saw-mills—for the town had a large trade in timber and sawn boards—which lined the rapid little river are all burned, and of the 8,000 inhabitants not 2,000 are known to survive. Fully 5,000 persons, a very large proportion of them women and children, perished here, and their bones whiten the ruins or their putrid bodies infect the air. The sight of Batak is enough to verify all that has been said about the acts of the Turks in repressing the Bulgarian insurrection. And yet I saw it three

months after the massacre. On every side were human bones, skulls, ribs, and even complete skeletons, heads of girls still adorned with braids of long hair, bones of children, skeletons still encased in clothing. Here was a house, the floor of which was white with the ashes and charred bones of thirty persons burnt alive there. Here was the spot where the village notable, Trandafil, was spitted on a pike and then roasted, and where he is now buried; there was a foul hole full of decomposing bodies; here a mill-dam filled with swollen corpses; here the school-house where two hundred women and children, who had taken refuge there, were burned alive; and here the church and church-yard where fully a thousand half-decayed forms were still to be seen, filling the inclosure in a heap several feet high, arms, feet, and heads protruding from the stones which had vainly been thrown there to hide them, and poisoning all the air.

Since my visit, by orders of the mutissarif, the kaimakam of Tatar-Bazardjik was sent to Batak, with some lime to aid in the decomposition of the bodies and to prevent a pestilence.

Ahmed-Aga, who commanded at the massacre, has been decorated and promoted to the rank of yuz-bashi.

These atrocities were clearly unnecessary for the suppression of the insurrection, for it was an insignificant rebellion at the best, and the villagers generally surrendered at the first summons. Nor can they be justified by the state of panic, which was over before the troops set out on the campaign. An attempt, however, has been made, and not by Turks alone, to defend and to palliate them, on the ground of the previous atrocities which, it is alleged, were committed by the Bulgarians. I have carefully investigated this point, and am unable to find that the Bulgarians committed any outrages or atrocities, or any acts which deserve that name. I have vainly tried to obtain from the Turkish officials a list of such outrages, but have heard nothing but vague statements. I was told by Kiani Pasha that the insurgents killed the wife and daughter of the mudir of Koprishitsa; but this mudir had recently gone there, and had left his wife at Eski-Saara, where she still resides, and had no daughter. I was also told of the slaughter of the wife of the mudir of Panagurishta, but at the time mentioned that village had no mudir. I was referred for information to Hafiz Nuri Effendi, a leading Turk of Philippopolis. In a very careful statement made by him, he sets the number of Mussulmans (including gypsies) killed during the troubles at 155, of whom 12 are women and children—the word children taken to mean any one under twenty years of age. I have been able to obtain proof of the death of only two of these women—at Paranguishta—who certainly were not intentionally killed. No Turkish women or children were killed in cold blood. No Mussulman women were violated. No Mussulmans were tortured. No purely Turkish village was attacked or burned. No Mussulman house was pillaged. No mosque was desecrated or destroyed. The report of the special Turkish commissioner, Edib Effendi, contains statements on this point, as on every other, which are utterly unfounded in fact, and the whole report may be characterized as a tissue of falsehoods.

I am, sir, yours, very truly,

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

The Hon. HORACE MAYNARD,
&c., &c., &c.

[Inclosure No. 3, with dispatch No. 106.]

Note from Mr. Schuyler to Mr. Maynard, inclosing his report.

CONSULATE-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Constantinople, November 20, 1876.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose to you a report on the massacres and atrocities in Bulgaria last May. My account of the trials of the Bulgarians accused of insurrection, of the acts of the Turkish commissions of investigations, of the trials of those guilty of the atrocities, and of the present state of the country, I must defer to a subsequent report.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your very obedient servant,

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

The Hon. HORACE MAYNARD,
Minister Resident, &c., &c., &c.

[Inclosure No. 4, with dispatch No. 106.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Constantinople, November 20, 1876.

SIR: Leaving Constantinople on the 23d day of July, I remained one day at Adrianople, and then proceeded immediately to Philippopolis, the center of the disturbed district in Bulgaria. After visiting many of the villages in the district of Philippopolis and of Tatar Bazardjik, I went to the districts of Yamboli and Slivno, then, crossing the Balkans, I visited the districts of Yirnovo, Gabrovo, and Selvi, and returned to Adrianople by the way of Shipka, Kazanlyk, Eski-Zagra, and Tchirpan, arriving at Constantinople on the 29th of August.

In going from village to village, I always had an escort of two Zaptichs, that being the smallest number which the authorities would allow me to take. They usually offered me six or ten, and would not permit me to travel without Zaptichs, on the ground that they were responsible for my safety, as well as that politeness compelled them to escort me. The Zaptichs were useful for showing the road, but they were of slight value for purposes of protection, as they would probably have run away at the first approach of danger.

While paying all proper respect to the authorities, and being careful to fulfill the necessary formalities of visits, I avoided staying in Turkish houses, as I would thus have been prevented from having free access to the Bulgarians. I also refused to allow a guard to be placed at the houses where I staid.

I had as an interpreter an educated young Bulgarian, Mr. Peter Dimitroff, who, besides his own language, understood English and Turkish perfectly. I knew sufficient Bulgarian to be able to follow the conversations and to be able to control what he translated to me. Besides this I had for the most of my journey one and sometimes two other persons who thoroughly understood Turkish and Greek—one an Armenian, the other a Greek.

There were frequently great difficulties in obtaining exact information, arising partly from the action of the authorities, partly from timidity of the Bulgarians, and partly from the nature of the facts into which I was inquiring. I have had recourse to official documents, to statements made by Turks, officials as well as non-officials; by Greeks, who are usually somewhat prejudiced against the Bulgarians; by Armenians and Jews, the most disinterested of all; by Bulgarian Catholics and orthodox Bulgarians of all classes, as also to information given to me by foreigners. Naturally much of what I shall state rest's on the authority of Bulgarians, who were often the only persons able or willing to tell what had happened. I have endeavored by strict questioning, cross-examination, and comparison of statements to arrive as near as possible at the exact truth, but I am sensible that at times subsequent information may show some inaccuracies. As a general rule I have thought it needless to give the processes by which I have arrived at my facts; and as I set out with no intentions either of proving or of disproving any assertions or statement, I shall relate merely what I believe to have occurred.

PREVIOUS MOVEMENTS AND DISAFFECTION IN BULGARIA.

The condition of the Christian subjects in Turkey so appealed to the sentiments and the ideas of justice of the great powers during the Crimean war, that in 1856 the Sultan Abdul Medjid was induced solemnly to confirm the privileges and the reforms which he and his predecessors had granted, but which had never been carried out, and to grant some new ones by the Hatti Humayoun of that year, reference to which was made in the treaty of Paris. The delays, however, in carrying out the reforms granted and confirmed by the decree, the unequal taxes and the irregularities in collecting them, the continued refusal to accept Christian evidence when offered against Mussulmans in civil courts, the maintenance of the Christian in an illegally inferior position to that of the Mussulmans, the constant vexations and exactions of government officials, and the almost daily acts of murder and violence committed by the Mussulman population, excited the feelings of the Bulgarians to such an extent that in 1862 they revolted against the authority of the Porte. This rebellion was a very feeble one, and was speedily put down. Another broke out in 1867 in the province of the Danube, which was at once suppressed by the energetic action of Midhat Pasha, then the vali of that province. Nine or ten of the rebels were executed and fifty-four were sentenced to transportation to Diarbekir or to imprisonment with hard labor. Many young men, fearing to be compromised by the revelations extorted by torture, took refuge in Bucharest, and, not disheartened by the failure of that attempt, continued in active co-operation with the Servians in preparations for a new rebellion. The assassination of Prince Michael, of Servia, on the 8th of June, 1868, disturbed their plans, but in spite of the withdrawal of Servia from the undertaking in consequence of the change of government, the young Bulgarians refused to abandon their idea, and in June, 1868, a band of one hundred and fifty well-armed and well-disciplined men, called "The Bulgarian Legion," crossed the Danube at Vardim, near Sistof. Although this

was the shortest road to the Balkans, yet it lay through a province almost entirely inhabited by Circassians and Turks. Midhat Pasha again took energetic measures; "The Legion" was obliged to take refuge in the defiles of the mountains south of Gabrovo, and was destroyed to a man. In spite of the foolhardiness and of the want of forethought that characterized this attempt, Turks, as well as Bulgarians, give honor to the bravery and the courage of "The Legion."

Meanwhile the struggle for the independence of the Bulgarian Church and for freedom from the tyranny of the Greek patriarch and bishops was going on, and the system of national education—in great measure owing to the active exertions of Americans—was making great progress.

At last, in 1871—in spite of the influence which the fanar had brought to bear at the Porte, and of the efforts of Midhat Pasha and other leading Turks, who foresaw the result, and who tried to develop a tendency to unite with the Catholics rather than to become independent—a firman was granted re-establishing an independent Bulgarian Church. The natural and inevitable consequences of religious independence, of the higher education of the people, and of the liberal ideas which those young men were receiving who were sent to study abroad in Russia, Germany, and France, as well as those educated in the American schools and the higher establishments at Constantinople, was to create a far greater national feeling than had previously existed. People who before that time had spoken Greek no longer denied their nationality, and acknowledged themselves with pride to be Bulgarians.

With the exception, however, of a slight rebellion at Sophia in 1873, which was at once suppressed, and for which one young priest was hanged, and sixty persons exiled to Diarbekir, no real agitation was carried on in the country, and no attempt was made by the Bulgarians to take up arms to secure their rights. Even in spite of the exactions of the Turkish officials, the Bulgarians, owing to their energy, industry, and intelligence, were prosperous. The Bulgarian population was growing rich while the Turks were growing poor. This was especially noticeable in those villages which contained a mixed population. The oppression, however, of the Turkish authorities did not diminish, and the daily vexations suffered from them as well as from the Mussulman population were sufficient to inflame the minds of young men of any natural spirit, or who had ever been in a country which was ruled with the slightest regard for law or humanity.

THE ESKI-ZAGRA AFFAIR.

The impossibility of obtaining redress, and, indeed, in many cases, of bringing their troubles to the notice of the central government, finally brought the young Bulgarians last year to resolve on an armed demonstration which should gain for their wrongs the attention, not only of the central government, but of the great powers of Europe. This movement was organized by the Bulgarian committee at Bucharest, where a number of exiles—some professed revolutionists—had taken refuge during preceding years, and had devoted themselves for some time to the task of stirring up discontent and fomenting insurrection in their own country. The various members of this committee secretly crossed the Danube and took charge of the rising, forming committees in all of the larger towns and villages. The headquarters of this movement were at Tirnovo. Although the revolutionary leaders succeeded thus in forming a kind of organization, the people were without arms and unaccustomed to their use. I have been assured by persons connected with this movement that there was not the slightest idea of making any real opposition to the Turks; but it was thought that if the inhabitants of the towns and villages collected in the mountains they would thus make a sufficiently formal demonstration to compel the Porte to pay some attention to their demands. These demands were, briefly :

1. That the country should be governed by Christian instead of Turkish officials.
2. That the Bulgarian language should be recognized as official, or at least that all documents in Turkish should be accompanied by a Bulgarian translation.
3. That there should be a reform in the method of taxation and of collecting the taxes, which would put an end to the abuses from which the Christian population now suffer.
4. That the Christians should be allowed to enter the military service upon the same terms as Mussulmans. Most of these demands have been included in substance in the various reforms which have so often been given to the Christian populations of Turkey, in the Hatti Sheriff of Gul-Khané, and in the Hatti Humayoun. After this movement had been organized, and the day for the execution of the plan had been fixed, the chiefs resolved to defer it. Letters were accordingly written from Tirnovo to all the subdistricts postponing for some time the intended rising. Unfortunately, the letter intended for the committee of Eski-Zagra, on which depended Tchirpan, Haskeni, and some other towns, miscarried.

Accordingly on the 29th of September, 1875, twenty-one young men from Eski-Zagra and eighty peasants from the surrounding villages, armed, some with old muskets and

others with sticks and clubs, went toward the Balkans. Information having been given to the authorities by some one who was cognizant of the plot, a force was sent after them and overtook them in the village of Yassy-Veran, in the district of Kazanlyk, where all were either captured or dispersed, with the exception of three or four who were killed, two of whom were burned in a straw hut. Arrests immediately began and continued for a month, at the end of which time 415 individuals from the district of Tchirpan, Eski-Zagra, and Haskeni were put in prison. By the use of persuasions, threats, and tortures, some of the prisoners, especially two village-schoolmasters, were made to accuse some of the Bulgarian notables. Many more innocent people would probably have been arrested had not the vali of Adrianople, Hurshid Pasha, issued orders not to give the affair too much importance. Some days afterward Tassum Pasha, the mutessarif of Philippopolis, appointed a commission of five Turks and five Bulgarians to examine the prisoners. This pasha was not unwilling to turn the matter to his personal profit, and through his agent, Jakovaki, a Greek from Philippopolis, he began to extort money from the prisoners as a condition of their release. One man, who had been accused of selling arms to the insurgents, was obliged to pay seventy Turkish pounds, and another ten Turkish pounds. At this time, however, both Hurshid Pasha and Tassum Pasha were removed, and in their places Omer Fevzi Pasha, the present minister of police, was appointed vali of Adrianople, and Aziz Pasha mutessarif of Philippopolis, while Selim Effendi and Georgaki Effendi were sent on a special mission from Constantinople to investigate the matter, which they did by means of a commission composed of two Turks and two Bulgarians from Adrianople, Philippopolis, and Kazanlyk, severally.

Difficulties and delays were caused by disputes between Selim Effendi and Seid Aga, of Tchirpan, a relative of Abdul Kerim Pasha, who greatly tyrannizes over both Christians and Turks in Tchirpan, and has long been guilty of many nefarious practices. Each accused the other of extorting money from the prisoners. After three months' sitting this commission sent 75 persons to the prisons at Adrianople to await their final trial, while about 100 remained still without examination in Eski-Zagra. The rest were released. The 100 men left at Eski-Zagra were gradually released in consequence of orders from Philippopolis. Of those sent to Adrianople seven were hanged and ten released, while the remaining 53 continued in prison without trial until very recently.

THE INSURRECTION OF MAY, 1876.—PLANS AND OUTBREAK.

In consequence of the premature explosion at Eski-Zagra, the plan of an insurrection was abandoned for the winter, and the agents of the Bucharest committee returned to Roumania. It was resolved to see what could be done by petitioning the Sublime Porte. During the winter, therefore, the authorities at Constantinople received numerous signed petitions from every part of Bulgaria, all of which demanded the privilege of serving in the army and the abolition of the military exemption-tax.

This idea was one to which Midhat Pasha was violently opposed, and orders were therefore given to the newspapers not to publish any such petitions or even to state the fact that they had been sent or received.

The agents of the Bucharest committee, who came to Bulgaria during the winter, thought that nothing could be done by petitions, and came to the erroneous conclusion that the country was ready for an insurrection. On reporting this at Bucharest, twenty-five new agents were sent, who crossed the Danube on the 12th of March, and who each took charge of preparing and organizing a district. The most prominent of these was a young man from Koprivtchitsa, (Avrat-Alan,) where he went under the assumed name of George Benkofsky, who was practically the leader of the movement. Others were Vankof and Economof, both originally from Rustchuk.

In Macedonia, on account of the difficulties with the Greeks, no attempt was made at organization, except at Raslug; but throughout nearly the whole of the districts of Philippopolis and Slivno, and in part in that of Sophia, committees were appointed in each town and village to stir up the inhabitants, to collect arms, and to raise money. In all, about £1,450 was collected. Nine hundred pounds of this sum was sent to Constantinople, to merchants who had done like work on previous occasions, and who were to send arms by railway to Yeni-Zagra. These merchants, however, replied that, on account of measures taken to prevent the shipment of arms by railway, it was impossible to send any. The rest of the money was sent to Bucharest for the purpose of buying what old arms could be picked up, and it was expected that six thousand muskets could be brought into Bulgaria from that quarter. In point of fact, none were ever received.

Believing that their preparations were sufficiently advanced, the rising was fixed for the 30th of April, but in consequence of want of harmony between the districts, and partly, also, because there seemed no probability of an immediate declaration of war by Servia, at a meeting of some of the leaders and members of the committee, held at Panagurishta, (Otluk Keni,) on the 31st of March, the rising was postponed until after the middle of May. A new meeting was called at the village of Metchka, near Pana-

guishta, for the 30th of April, and word was sent to Bucharest that the rising was postponed. At the meeting at Metchka, where there were present about one hundred and twenty delegates from the different districts, it became evident that the plan had been betrayed to the government, and that a movement was going on among the Turks which would prevent its success. Instead, however, of disbanding, and of postponing any attempt at insurrection until the people were armed and were all informed of the day on which the rising was to take place—for the district of Slivno was not at that time in direct agreement with that of Tatar Bazardjik—Benkofsky and the other chiefs were so foolhardy as to decide upon beginning at once. Apparently they persuaded the villagers to this movement in part, by making them believe that all they would have to do would be to defend their villages for a few days, at the end of which time Servian and even Russian troops would advance to their assistance. Nothing indeed could be more foolish than the plan which the insurgents proposed. Instead of collecting a band of well-armed and well-mounted men, riding over the country burning the railway bridges, cutting the telegraph wires, and destroying the communications of the Turkish forces, which would have given them time to unite all the districts and might have caused great difficulties to the Turkish government, especially in view of the approaching complications with Servia, they limited themselves to throwing up intrenchments at a few villages, to burning the railway-station at Bellova, and, if we may believe the Turkish statement, to attempting to set fire to Philippopolis. The stupidity, both of this plan and of its execution, would almost seem to prove the statement made to me by some of the insurgents, that they had really no intention of attempting to gain anything by force of arms, but were desirous only of making such an armed demonstration as would draw the attention of the government to their demands. They had no idea of the cruel manner in which the insurrection would be suppressed, for in previous attempts of this sort the government had limited itself to the capture or dispersion of the armed bands, and the punishment of the ring-leaders.

The alleged plan of the insurgents, which was, it is stated, captured on one of the leaders who was killed in the mountains near Sophia, and which was published in the report of the tribunal at Philippopolis, is of too doubtful origin, and contains too many absurdities, to be looked upon as an authentic document.*

The day after the meeting at Metchka, the 1st of May, the insurgent leaders took possession of the villages of Klissura, Koprivtchitsa, Panagrishtsa, and Bellova, disarmed, and, in some cases, killed the Turkish officials, threw up intrenchments, and waited for the attack.

The same day the mutessarif of Philippopolis, Aziz Pasha, was informed of the meeting at Metchka, and of the probabilities of trouble. He therefore went at once by railway to Tatar Bazardjik, after telegraphing to Constantinople for regular troops. Having collected what troops he had—some were sent on from Eski-Zagra and Adrianople—he went to Panagrishtsa, but at the village of Kaloyerovo he met some frightened Turks, who advised him to retire, as they said the whole country was rising and more than 3,000 insurgents were under arms. He held a council, and decided to return. The Turks, however, who had given the information, reached Tatar Bazardjik before the pasha, and caused there a great panic by telling the inhabitants of the insurrection, and calling out to them, "Save yourselves and your families; the Russians are near." This was on Sunday, a market-day, and it is said that fully five thousand peasants from the neighboring villages had come to the town for the market. These peasants were as frightened as the Turks, and, abandoning everything, ran home to save their families. The panic is said to have been so great that Turks even ran away naked from the baths. In view of the prevailing anxiety the railway officials telegraphed to know how to act in order to save the railway property. They were told to submit, but to remain at their posts.

MEASURES TAKEN BY AUTHORITIES.—ARMING OF BASHI-BAZOUKS.

At Philippopolis, during the absence of the mutessarif, there was also a panic accompanied by great disorder. Aziz Pasha, who is a Bosniac, was not liked by the Turkish population. He had filled several situations with credit to himself, had been governor of Widden, and commander-in-chief of the troops which had put down the rebels in 1867. At Philippopolis he had been a good governor, and had incurred the displeasure of the Turks by being, as they thought, too favorable to the Christians. Attempts had been made long before to have him removed, and his authority was secretly undermined. Many weeks before the outbreak of the insurrection, owing to the discontented state of the Bulgarian population, he had written and telegraphed to

* I was shown by the authorities of Philippopolis a Turkish copy of this plan, said to have been translated from the original Bulgarian, which Selim Effendi told me had been taken to Sophia. I was afterward furnished with a French translation, which was practically the same as that which was published. It is in the nature of a catechism, and was apparently made up by some Turkish official. It was used as the basis for obtaining evidence during the trials.

Constantinople the state of affairs and had demanded regular troops to prevent an outbreak. These were not given to him, and when the insurrection finally broke out and he went to Tatar Bazardjik, his telegrams, both to Akif Pasha, the vali of Adrianople, and to the grand vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, remained without attention. During his absence in Tatar Bazardjik the leading Turks of Philippopolis, under the guidance of the influential beys, quietly armed the Turkish population, alleging as an excuse that some of the prisoners confined in the konak had endeavored to escape. They also telegraphed to Akif Pasha, at Adrianople, to be allowed to raise companies of bashi-bazouks. Akif Pasha replied, giving the permission, and sending one Rashid Pasha, formerly governor of Drama, and then living at Adrianople, to command them, promising also to supply them with arms. The population of Adrianople was at the same time armed through the influence of the beys.

Aziz Pasha found on his return that he was practically powerless. The Greek vice-consul, Mr. Matalas, who seemed well informed of what was going on, remonstrated with him about the formation of companies of bashi-bazouks and the indiscriminate arming of the Mussulman population. Aziz Pasha replied that he himself strongly disapproved of the measure, but could do nothing, owing to the suspicions entertained of him, for the local Turks accused him of sympathizing with the Bulgarians. Aziz Pasha remained nominally mutessarif for a few days, and was then replaced by Abdul Hamid Pasha, (the brother of Chefket Pasha.)

The vali of Adrianople, Akif Pasha, who acted with the full knowledge, if not under the orders, of Midhat Pasha and Hassan Avni Pasha, and who is mainly responsible for the arming of the bashi-bazouks, endeavored subsequently to excuse himself on the ground that there were no troops in the country, that Mahmoud Pasha, the grand vizier, refused to send troops, and that the arming of the Mussulman population was therefore a matter of urgent necessity. This, however, is not entirely true, for, among other evidence to the contrary, we know that the troops which were then at Eski-Zagra and Tchirpan were immediately sent to the locality of the insurrection. Further, we learn from the Levant Herald of the 5th of May that on the 4th of the same month a battalion of the line 800 strong was sent from Constantinople, and that four companies more were dispatched the next day. The same paper of the 9th May states that a special train left Adrianople on the 4th for Tatar Bazardjik with a detachment of 300 redifs; that a train with troops left Constantinople on the 6th, and that on the 8th 400 cases of muskets and 2,200 cases of ammunition were sent from Constantinople to Adrianople and Tatar Bazardjik. These arms were probably intended for the bashi-bazouks, who, apparently, were not then thoroughly organized. The Levant Herald of the 11th of May states that on the 8th of May five companies of bashi-bazouks, which had been organized by the authorities at Haskeni, went to Philippopolis, and adds, "Some excesses are said to have been committed by them on the way." *

Some troops were also brought down from the Servian frontier, for Hassan Pasha advanced towards the insurgent district from Nish with at least three battalions of infantry and a large body of cavalry.

The authorities had in this way collected about 5,000 regular troops before the campaign against the insurgents had really begun. The calling out of the bashi-bazouks was therefore clearly unnecessary, nor can it be justified by the state of panic which for a day or two existed in Tatar Bazardjik and Philippopolis.

The Mussulman population lost no time, however, in making use of the arms which had been distributed to them. On the 5th of May, Mr. Matalas, the Greek vice-consul, to whom I have before referred, went from Philippopolis to Tatar Bazardjik and saw the villages to the north of the railway already in flames. In these villages there had been no attempt at insurrection and no resistance. At Tatar Bazardjik he found the Turks all armed, but much frightened. As soon as troops began to arrive they recovered their courage, and on the 7th of May 400 bashi-bazouks went out, with the watch-word, "All glory for the Sultan, and pillage for us." They marched northward, passing the village of Alikotch, which they did not touch, as the inhabitants were there. Going further on, they came to the village of Radulovo, which had been abandoned by the terrified inhabitants, and which they, therefore, pillaged and burned, as also several more in the immediate neighborhood. The flames of these burning villages Mr. Matalas was able to see from Tatar Bazardjik. On returning from Radulovo, the bashi-bazouks found Olikotch also abandoned, and they then pillaged and burned that village. Mr. Matalas saw also the flames of many burning villages to the north of the river Maritza, on the 9th, as he was returning to Philippopolis.

All of this was before the attack either by troops or by bashi-bazouks on the insurgent villages, and the villages thus burned were entirely innocent. Ready excuses were found for pillaging and burning these villages on the ground that the Christians had hesitated or refused to give their arms, or in the allegation that not all the arms had been delivered up.

* The same newspaper gives details with regard to the outrages of the bashi-bazouks, especially of their having fired on Bulgarians employed on the railway.

THE REPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION.

Perushtitsa was a well-built, flourishing village, inhabited entirely by Bulgarians, and situated at the foot of the Rhodope, three hours south of Philippopolis. It had 400 houses and about 3,500 inhabitants, with two churches and two schools. It had recently founded an agricultural society, and had collected money to start an agricultural school. It was richer and more prosperous than any other town in that region, and had on that account excited the jealousy and envy of neighboring villages, inhabited by Pomaks or Bulgarians, who, at the time of the Turkish conquest, had become Mussulmans, to save their property, and who, although they speak Bulgarian, and know but little Turkish, are in character as well as religion thoroughly Mussulman.

Even were there a committee here there was no insurrection. The inhabitants, alarmed by the flames of the burning villages and the reports of pillage and murder, and frightened by the constant threats of massacre made by the inhabitants of Ustiuna and other Pomak villages, sent one of their tehorbadjis or notables, Rangel Gitchof, with three companions, to Philippopolis to ask the mutessarif Amiz Pasha for protection. Two Zaptichs were sent to the village with orders to tell the inhabitants to keep quiet and live on good terms with their neighbors. The Zaptichs were also ordered to go to Ustiuna and the other Mussulman villages to persuade the Mussulmans to make no attack on the Christians, and to urge them both to make some arrangement between themselves for their mutual protection. The Zaptichs, after staying a short time in Perushtitsa went on to Ustiuna and did not return. The inhabitants of Ustiuna insisted that the people of Perushtitsa should give up their arms and that a few of the leading men who had gone to Ustiuna for negotiation should be kept as hostages.

Affairs looking constantly more and more threatening, Rangel was sent on a second mission to Philippopolis, and came back with a message from Aziz Pasha that he had no troops to give them, and that they must defend themselves in case of attack. The people of Perushtitsa insist that this was contained in a letter from the pasha. This the Turks deny.

In the mean time bashi-bazouks from the mountains had made their appearance before the village, and their leader, Ahmed-Aga, of Tamrysh, had sent Deli Hassen and another of his men into the town with orders to prepare everything for him, as he was coming with a band of bashi-bazouks to protect them. The inhabitants replied that they wished none of his protection and were ready to protect themselves. The bashi-bazouks refused to take back this message, and a threatening altercation ensued, during which they were seized by some of the inhabitants. It is not certain whether they were killed with arms in their hands or after they had given them up; but the people of Perushtitsa had become excited by the stories of the deeds of the bashi-bazouks brought by men who had escaped from some of the other villages which had been attacked.

Rangel was then again sent to Philippopolis to tell the governor what the people had done and the imminent danger in which they stood. In order to arrive safely he took with him his daughter, who was very ill, under pretense of consulting a physician. He was this time arrested, and is still confined in prison, as I was told by the Turks, partly because he had not informed the government of the death of the two Pomaks, and partly because he had conveyed powder and shot to the inhabitants of Perushtitsa. The Bulgarians say that he is detained because the Turks desire to prevent him from giving evidence of the fact that the people at Perushtitsa were told by Aziz Pasha to protect themselves.

The bashi-bazouks, who appeared before Perushtitsa, had first endeavored to enter the Greek village of Stenimakho, (1,500 Greek houses, 300 Bulgarian houses, and 80 Turkish houses.) The Greeks of this town, through the influence of their compatriots in Philippopolis, obtained permission to keep their arms, and had received some powder and shot from Philippopolis. They were then able to protect themselves. This was done on the urgent representation of the Greek vice-consul, who had taken the responsibility of advising them to protect themselves, and had held the Pasha answerable if they were injured. In this they were in some degree assisted by Hadji Hamid, the mudir, by whose good will the town was saved. He succeeded in restraining the Turks of the place, who, in order to compromise the Christians, had gone to the churches in the night and endeavored to put powder in them.

After being prevented from entering Stenimakho, these Pomaks and bashi-bazouks went to the Bulgarian village of Liaskovo, which they completely pillaged, and then to Yabrovo, which they also plundered, killing one man.

On arriving at Perushtitsa, they were joined by the inhabitants of Ustiuna, Tamrysh, and other Mussulman villages. Before attacking Perushtitsa they sacked and burned the monastery of St. Teodor, on the hill above, as well as those of the Panagia, and Bezrebrinetsi, near Vuetshma.

Between six and seven hundred of the inhabitants of Perushtitsa fled for refuge to Philippopolis, and the rest resolved to put themselves in a condition of defense. For this purpose they took water and provisions into the two churches and school-houses,

cut loop-holes in the high and thick walls which surrounded the upper church-yard, and shut themselves up.

This was on Tuesday, the 9th of May. Some went out to surrender, but after giving up their arms they were immediately massacred. Others who fled to the fields were overtaken and killed. For three days the bashi-bazouks kept the people shut up in the churches, firing over the walls at any of them they could see, while they pillaged and burned the houses of the town.

Finally, on Thursday night, Rashid Pasha arrived with a battalion of redifs and some more bashi-bazouks from Philippopolis. It is said that he sent the insurgents a summons to surrender, but the inhabitants of Perushtitsa insist that no such message ever came, as they would at any time have been willing to surrender to regular troops. Having been informed by the bashi-bazouks of Ahmed Aga that Servian and Russian soldiers were defending the churches, Rashid Pasha immediately began bombarding them. During the night the people in the upper church on the hill-side decided to abandon it. They cut a hole in the rear wall and fled. Some of them went to Ustina and gave themselves up, and they were, I am happy to say, in most cases, well treated. Many of the others took refuge in the lower church.

Next morning, on finding the upper church abandoned, Rashid Pasha moved his artillery to bombard the lower. Several shells came in through the windows, killing many people. The defenders, however, still held out until Saturday morning, the 13th of May, when, for the first time, they saw some regular troops. They opened the doors, and a part of them went out to surrender, but they were immediately massacred by the soldiers. The rest resolved to defend themselves to the death. But finally two or three women started out alone, succeeded in attracting the attention of the soldiers, and, on their lives being spared, persuaded the rest to follow and give themselves up. At the beginning of the defense of the village, the girls all cut off their braids of hair and dressed themselves in boys' clothes in order that they might save their honor in case they fell into the hands of the Turks.

Toward the end of the struggle one man, Spaso Genoff, killed his two sisters, his wife, and his four children, rather than have them fall into the hands of the Turks, and then killed himself.

All of the inhabitants of the town who were captured, as well as those who had taken refuge in the Turkish villages, were sent under guard to Philippopolis and imprisoned. The women and children were subsequently released, but the men were retained for a long time.

After the capture of the place the churches were stripped and in part destroyed. The church-yards, as well as the gardens of many of the dwellings, were dug up in search for buried treasure. Some valuables were found over which the crops had been planted and were growing. This the Turks bring up as proof of preparations for revolt. It cannot, however, be really regarded in that light, because it is the habit of Bulgarians throughout the country to bury most of their valuables and property from fear of robbery and pillage, and this has been done especially since the insurrection in Herzegovina.

Perushtitsa was entirely destroyed; not a roof, and scarcely a wall except those of the churches, remained standing. Altogether, about 1,000 people perished. The dead bodies remained for a long time without being buried—a fact which was stated at the time in some of the newspapers of Constantinople—and it was only on the urgent representation of the consuls at Philippopolis, that a pestilence might arise, that the government sent persons to bury them.

Ahmed Aga, of Tamrysh, who was the leader of the bashi-bazouks at Perushtitsa, was rewarded with a silver medal.

A Frenchman, M. Gouzon, was killed by the bashi-bazouks at Perushtitsa. Becoming alarmed at the fate of a companion, and disregarding the remonstrances of his friends at Philippopolis, he went to Perushtitsa. He arrived there the night before the attack, and remained in the village about an hour, eating his supper. The inhabitants begged him to intercede with the authorities and with the bashi-bazouks for them, and to say that they had no intention of resisting the government, but only desired protection. He endeavored to re-assure them. Soon after leaving the village he fell in with a party of bashi-bazouks, who stopped him, took from him all his money and his horse, and ordered him to sit on the ground. He protested that he was a Frenchman traveling for his private business, and showed in proof his teskerch, or passport. This was read by the chief of the bashi-bazouks, who immediately ordered the party to fire upon him. He died at once. His hat was afterward found riddled with shot.

Although the French vice-consul obtained strong proof of the murder from persons who witnessed it, the mutessarif of Philippopolis, Hamid Pasha, endeavored to maintain that M. Gouzon was killed by the insurgents, and subsequently stated that his hat had been found in the church.

A part of the bashi-bazouks, after leaving Perushtitsa, went to the village of Diedovo, in the Rhodope Cabout, (100 houses,) the arms of the inhabitants of which had been refused to them on their onward march. The village now surrendered and the

inhabitants fled, whereupon it was immediately pillaged and burned by the brother of Ahmed Aga. Boikovo, a neighboring village, (of the same size,) was also burned. Katunitsa was attacked, but was saved by the courage of a Greek who had a large farm there. Satankeni, a large village of 100 houses, was plundered and the villagers were beaten. The regular troops and bashi-bazouks, under the command of Rashid Pasha, returned to Philippopolis.

I visited Perushtitsa, in company with Mr. Baring, the English commissioner, on the 27th of July, two months and a half after its destruction. At that time no houses had yet been rebuilt. Many of the inhabitants had returned to the place, and were living as they could, sleeping on the bare ground or under straw roofs thrown over corners of the walls. They had received no assistance from the government, and were unable to rebuild their houses, as they were afraid to go without a guard to the mountains for the purpose of cutting wood. Their crops were still standing, as they had no sickles with which to cut them, and had no money with which to hire reapers. In addition to this, nearly all of their cattle had been taken from them by the bashi-bazouks, and much of it was detained in Ustiina and other neighboring Mussulman villages. They told us an order had been issued by the governor of Philippopolis that the cattle should be restored if they could be identified; but to avoid this order the Mussulman neighbors had sold much of the cattle to persons coming from Haskeni, and even beyond.

At about the same time another large band of bashi-bazouks destroyed Klissura, (Turkish, Persiden Devent,) a town of 830 houses and about 7,000 inhabitants, situated on the southern slope of the Balkans, about 50 miles northwest of Philippopolis. This village contained a stone church and a chapel, two boys' schools, and one girls' school. Owing to its position in a narrow valley among the mountains, the population was less devoted to agricultural pursuits than most Bulgarian villages. They manufactured here much coarse cloth—aba and shayak. Many of the inhabitants are peddlers or traveling merchants, who sell the cloth throughout European Turkey, and even in Symrna and various parts of Asia Minor. Much attention is given to the cultivation of roses and to the preparation of attar. The attar of Klissura is particularly celebrated, the yearly produce being about 140 pounds, or 4 per cent. of the whole produce of attar in Bulgaria.

After the meeting of the insurgents at Metchka, a band of men, headed by Vankof, arrived at Klissura from Streltcha and Koprivtchitsa, and persuaded the inhabitants to throw up some earth-works, so as to command the roads leading into the town, telling them that the other villages were about to defend themselves, and unless they also did this they would be liable to be killed and have their village burned by the bashi-bazouks. In their defense the inhabitants were also helped by peasants, who had come on horseback from Sophia. In all, about 90 people of Klissura had arms. By the orders of Vankof, the kiatib, or clerk, was killed, and two zaptichs, who were caught by the insurgents outside of the town and refused to surrender, were shot. Several other Turks and Mohammedan gypsies were imprisoned, and two Turks and two gypsies were killed. The or bashi, who was one of my informants, with the other zaptichs, got on their horses and succeeded in escaping to Rahmanli, a Turkish village in the neighborhood.

Some days after, the bashi-bazouks arrived under the command of Tussum Bey, of Karlovo, but without either Circassians or regular troops. Mehmet Effendi, the kiragi of Rahmanli, refused to allow them to go farther, and sent a Christian as a messenger, who was detained by the insurgents. Two Turks were then sent, who stopped at a rivulet half an hour from the town, and held a conference with two of the insurgents. They asked them what the people of Klissura were intending to do, and why they had taken up arms. The villagers replied, "Go your way; in four days what will happen, will happen." The Turks returned, and two or three days after, on the 8th of May, Tussum Bey arrived with several hundred bashi-bazouks. He asked the villagers to come to him and bring their arms. They refused, and fired upon him, killing one bashi-bazouk. The small body of insurgents was soon overpowered by the bashi-bazouks and fled. The villagers immediately ran away to Koprivtchitsa. The bashi-bazouks released the prisoners, set fire to the prison, and partly burned the town. They went away, however, the next day, when others arrived, who remained six days in the town, which they thoroughly pillaged and destroyed. Subsequent parties took away even the nails from the burned beams and the tiles from the roofs. Among the other losses of the place were 485 copper retorts for distilling attar of roses, (worth from four to five Turkish pounds each,) which were appropriated by the Turks of the neighboring villages. Two hundred and thirty-two people were killed, of whom 58 were men and the rest women and children.* Their bodies lay unburied for two or three weeks, during which time many of them were eaten by the dogs. Many of these persons were killed with circumstances of great barbarity. A newly-born child was hacked to pieces before the eyes of its mother, who was put to

* Others state the number of killed at about 400.

death afterward. The wife of Nicolo Pentchov, and four boys, were shut up in a well, where they died. The inhabitants did not return to Klissura for 32 days, when they came back with Hafuz Pasha. The Turkish authorities at Philippopolis claim that 14 Turks were killed by the insurgents at the first outbreak and during the fight.

When I visited Klissura on the 5th of August, only one house had been rebuilt, and its proprietor had, with cynical philosophy, placed over the door this inscription in Bulgarian: "To-day this house is mine, to-morrow another's, and never belongs to any one."

The local Turkish authorities said that not more than 50 families were in a condition to rebuild their houses, and that the others, unless assistance was given, must remain almost without shelter. At that time the people were living in 130 tents, which had been furnished them by Hafuz Pasha at the time he brought them back.

The churches had not only been thoroughly destroyed, partly by the aid of petroleum and gunpowder, but had been desecrated; and the few frescoes of saints which remained on the blackened walls were pierced and scratched with bayonets and sabers. The silver vessels and other valuables of the church were taken by Tussum Bey, who made them into ornaments for decorating his saddle and bridle. As there was but little agriculture here, the distress of the people seemed greater than in many other places. According to the mudir and kiatib, an order had been issued from Philippopolis forbidding any one to leave the town. They had written three letters asking to have this order rescinded, so that the inhabitants might not only travel through the country and collect their debts and seek work elsewhere, but might be able to go into the mountains to bring wood and stone to rebuild their houses. No answers had been received. Very many wished to follow us to Koprivtchitsa, alleging that they would starve if they remained in the town. The kiatib seemed an excellent official, who was desirous of doing what he could to assist the people. The mudir, too, was good when he was sober, but his conduct when he was drunk gave rise to many complaints. Much difficulty was also experienced from the zaptichs, who beat the men and threatened the women. The mudir thought that the difficulty with them arose chiefly from the fact that they had not been paid for a long time, and were almost as famished as the villagers. For a week previous to my arrival the inhabitants had been prevented from working for themselves, and had been compelled by the officials to rebuild the earth-works which had been destroyed by the rain. This was at the command of Tussum Bey, who accompanied the English commissioner, and who desired that the earth-works should be restored in order that other foreigners who came there might see the evidence of the guilt of the insurgents. The band of Tussum Bey pillaged and destroyed several other villages. Tussum Bey, for this exploit, was decorated with the order of the Medjidié.

Adyl Pasha and Hafuz Pasha, having arrived at Philippopolis with eight battalions of regular troops and six mountain-guns of new model, took command of the forces there, and Hafuz Pasha, with several battalions and a large detachment of bashi-bazouks, marched against Panagurishta, (Otlukkeni,) which was regarded as the headquarters of the insurrection.

Another large force, under Hassan Pasha, who had come from Nish, marched in the same direction. Benkofsky, the chief of the insurgents, had taken command at Panagurishta on the 1st of May, the day after the meeting at Metchka, and, under his directions, a line of earth-works had been thrown across the slope of the hills crossing the main road going from Tartar Bazardjik, about two miles from the town. Another small wall had been thrown up near the edge of the town. Before this, Benkofsky had called the inhabitants together, and had made them a vigorous address, for it seems that he was an eloquent young man, which excited them to the greatest enthusiasm. They went to the church and forced one of the priests to bless their undertaking, and then compelled a young girl of nineteen, Raika, the daughter of a priest and a school-mistress in the village, to mount a horse and ride in a procession, carrying a silk flag, which she had previously been persuaded to embroider with the old Bulgarian lion and the words "Freedom or Death." This girl subsequently, after being taken prisoner, was nicknamed by the Turks, "The Queen of the Bulgarians," in reference to the part she had played on that day.

After this procession, when it seems that many of the insurgents were drunk, they attacked the konak, or government-house, and killed two Turkish tithe-collectors, who attempted to escape from the konak, and subsequently they killed the servant of a Turkish engineer from Philippopolis, who refused to give up his arms. Two zaptichs, another tithe-collector, a collector of beklik, or sheep-tax, and two pomaks were captured in the khan, and were imprisoned, and it is said that they were afterward put to death. A few days after the insurgents killed another zaptich, who had been exceedingly cruel and harsh, and was much disliked.

On the first evening a man coming from Tartar Bazardjik, who it was thought was a tithe-collector, was killed, together with the driver of his carriage, because they refused to surrender. The next day the insurgents at the edge of the village met two Turks with three women. On being summoned to surrender they fired, and the insur-

gents fired in return, killing the two Turks and one of the women. One of the remaining women seized a saber and endeavored to defend herself and wounded an insurgent. The others then fired and killed her also. The third woman was taken to the village and well treated. After the surrender of the village she was given up to the pasha, and at the time of my inquiry was living at Zlatitsa. Another tithe-collector, who was met on the plain and refused to surrender, was also killed. Ten Turkish workmen who were coming from Philippopolis met the insurgents on the frontier of the village and were ordered to surrender. They refused, and one was killed and one wounded. The wounded man was treated by a doctor, and the others, who were made prisoners, were well treated, and subsequently returned to Philippopolis on the surrender of the town. In all 12 (perhaps 17) Turks, two of whom were women, were killed. Most of them were killed with arms in their hands while resisting the insurgents. The killing of the tax-collectors, who had incensed the people by their injustice and tyranny, is easily intelligible.

On the 12th of May, Hafuz Pasha and his troops arrived from the side of Streletcha, coming down by the large church, where also some small earthworks had been erected. There were about seventy men, only thirty of whom were well armed. At the other fortifications there were 150 men, while Benkofsky and eighty well-armed Bulgarians were at a place in the mountains called Siva Gramada, by which he had expected the attacking forces to pass. The Bulgarians maintain that no summons to surrender was sent to them, although there was a report that a letter to that effect had been received by one of the officials, who concealed it from the rest. They say that when the regular troops came on the top of the hill overlooking the town they began to fire, and when nearer they bombarded it. The bombardment began at nine o'clock on the morning of the 12th of May, and lasted till about midnight. Some of the inhabitants succeeded in running away, but others were prevented by cavalry, and were either taken prisoners or were killed. The pillage of the town and the massacre of the inhabitants began on Friday night and continued till Tuesday night. On Saturday, Hafuz Pasha tried to stop the pillage, but in consequence of the discontent of the bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey and Tussum Bey the plunder was allowed to continue until Tuesday. Every house was pillaged, and about 400 out of the 3,000 houses of the town were burned. Panagurishta was a considerable commercial center, and the houses burned included the bazaar, the churches, all the schools except a girls' school, which, on account of its position, was not noticed. According to the best information I could obtain, by careful comparison of statements, over two thousand people were killed in and about the town. Of these, 769 (264 men, 288 women, and 217 children) were inhabitants of Panagurishta itself, as appears by a list of names in my possession. The others belonged to the nine villages of Dinkeni, Steherkovo, Elshitsa, Jumaya, Kalaglasi, Popintska, Ereli, Kepeli, Biata, and Shekhlar, who, partly owing to persuasions and the threats of the insurgents and partly through fear of the Mussulmans, had taken refuge in the village before the approach of the troops.

The capture and sack of this place, in which the regular troops took the chief part, were accompanied by the most fearful cruelty and barbarity. It would seem that scarcely a woman or girl in the place escaped violation. In general, it was extremely difficult to obtain evidence of acts of this kind, as from natural modesty the women were unwilling to state facts which they thought perhaps reflected upon their personal honor, and the men disliked to tell such things of their wives, sisters, and daughters. Added to this is the fact that such is the prevalent chastity and such the feeling of honor among the Bulgarians, that no woman who is known to have been violated or seduced can ever be married. Rape and violation, however, appeared to have been so common in Panagurishta that there seemed less objection there to telling the truth, and I had, unfortunately, the best evidence of every kind with regard to violations of women and girls of all ages. Nor were acts of bestiality perpetrated on the female sex alone.

Among other victims to the lust of the soldiers was Raika, the school-mistress of whom I have already spoken, who was repeatedly violated. Some time subsequently orders were given for her arrest, and she was confined for the night in the house of the mudir of Pangurishta, who then also violated her and maltreated her. This fact has been contradicted on the ground that the girl herself denies it. It is true that she denied it to me when interrogated in the presence of the doctor of the prisons and of several other persons, besides by-standers of the street. As she was confined in the harem of the imam of Philippopolis I was only able to see her in the street, where she was brought for the purpose. At a more private interview with her afterward she admitted that she had been violated, and her statement was confirmed to me, so far as the soldiers were concerned, by a woman who was present and saw it. That she denied it in court and offered to submit to medical examination, I am unable to believe. Statements were made to me to that effect, but always by persons who were not present at her examination; and Selim Effendi, the president of the tribunal, whom I asked about it, stated to me that no such thing had taken place in his court, and that

it was the first he had ever heard of it, adding that the question was not even asked her.

Among other acts of barbarity, Feodor Hadji Peof, an old man of 75, was violated on the altar in the church and then killed and burned. An old blind man, Dontcha Strigalof, was fastened up in his house and burned alive. Another old man, a public benefactor, whose charities had extended to Mussulmans as well as to Christians, Zvatko Boyadjeff, had his eyes put out, and was then killed and burned. The priest Nestor had his fingers cut off one by one in order to extort money. Four of the eight priests were killed. The churches were all destroyed, and the trouble taken to desecrate them showed the religious hatred of the Mussulmans. Under the altar and in the floor of the church of the Virgin were large holes, which had been dug in the hope of finding concealed treasure. The corpses of some children, which had been buried behind the church, were also dug up in the hope of finding treasure, and were eaten by the dogs.

Although the losses of the town were small as compared with some others, yet on account of the pillage the distress was and is very great. The industry of the place is for the time entirely ruined, and the inhabitants have, in spite of their losses, been compelled to pay ordinary taxes as well as the damages caused by the attacking party. In one of the granaries, grain belonging to the Turkish tithe-collectors was burned by the troops, and the inhabitants of the place were obliged to refund its value, £750.

Yussuf Aga and Raschid Bey, from Sophia, marched against Petritch, (339 houses,) which he burned.

Petricht defended itself against the bashi-bazouks for ten days, during which time the Turks, according to their own account, lost 15 men; according to the Bulgarian account, six. Of the Bulgarians 85 were killed, many of the children being put to death with fearful tortures. Hafuz Pasha, with his regular troops, also pillaged and burned the villages of Metchka, Mukhovo, Bania, Popinsa, Biata, Kakoutsa, and some others. Nearly all of the cattle and live stock belonging to the town were carried away.

Hassan Pasha, who came from Nish, arrived on Sunday, the 14th of May, in the de- file of Kapudjik. The Turkish authorities say that he had there a brush with the insurgents and completely routed them, killing many. The official account in La Turquie states the number left on the field as 200. On the 15th of May Hassan Pasha arrived at the town of Vetrovo, 18 miles west of Tatar Bazardjik, (according to the official account,) "without meeting the least resistance, and the villagers here submitted to him, and even kissed the cannons and the arms of the soldiers to show their submission." Notwithstanding this, he bombarded the village, burned the church and 156 out of 350 Bulgarian houses, and completely pillaged the remainder. After two days devoted to plunder and destruction Hassan Pasha sent word to the inhabitants who had taken refuge in Sestreno that they might return. About 40 persons, chiefly men, were killed. Hassan Pasha, after pillaging and burning Shekhlar, Dere Aman, Tese-rovo and Slavitsa, reached Tatar Bazardjik on the 16th of May. In the four villages just mentioned 86 persons are known to have been killed by the troops.

There are some very interesting details with regard to the operations of Hassan Pasha from a source which can hardly be suspected of exaggeration against the Turks. I refer to a letter from a Turkish officer dated Ichitman, May 26, inclosed in a dispatch of Mr. Blunt, the British consul at Salonica, well known for his Turkish sympathies, published in the English Blue-Book, "Turkey No. 3, (1876,) p. 324." "We had scarcely fired a few cannon-shot when the fort fell, and more than two thousand Bulgarians took to flight. We pursued them, firing at them both with guns and small-arms. Those who escaped our volleys received on the top of the mountain those of the other battalion. A small number only saved themselves by flight, the rest, including three priests, were killed. At 11 o'clock, without having lost a single man, we victoriously reached another Balkan Mountain. On the following day we resumed our march, burning without compassion several villages which we passed and seizing the live stock. We sent ten thousand to Sophia, an equal number to Tatar Bazardjik, without counting those which each battalion kept for its own use. After a march of eight days we reached Bellova with two guns, and there the insurgents surrendered without fighting and were made prisoners."

At Bellova, Hassan Pasha demanded 45,000 piasters in two hours under threat of bombardment. The women gave up their coin necklaces to make up the amount. Fifty-one prisoners were sent to Philippopolis, five of whom died on the road from bad treatment. Many prisoners were also taken to Sophia, including two priests, who were fiendishly tortured until they died.

From Tatar Bazardjik the force of Hassan Pasha went southward to Bratzigovo, which had defended itself for six days against the bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey and Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik, who had previously destroyed Radulovo, Alikotch, Biega, Kozarsko, and Zdrebitchta. As soon as the inhabitants saw regular troops they offered to surrender, but Hassan Pasha bombarded the village, which was but slightly damaged. Forty-five of the inhabitants were killed. After Hassan Pasha went to Philippopolis the village was thoroughly plundered by the bashi-bazouks.

Koprivtchitsa (Turkish Avrat Alan) is a large town of 2,500 houses and about 10,000 inhabitants, situated a little northeast of Panagurishta; and although it was one of the most guilty as far as the insurrection was concerned, from circumstances which will be hereafter mentioned it suffered but little in comparison to the others. The town was a rich one, many of the inhabitants being engaged in the manufacture and sale of coarse cloths. During the winter there was much discontent on account of the exemption-tax and disputes in collecting the sheep-tax. The agents of the Bucharest committee had succeeded in instilling ideas of revolt into some of the younger men, when finally some of the notables, fearing the result of an insurrectionary attempt, gave information of the state of things to the Mudir, and urged him to send to Philippopolis for zaptiehs. This was done, and Nedib Aga, the colonel of the rural police, and ten zaptiehs, soon after arrived at Koprivtchitsa. Nedib Aga arrested several persons who had been prominent in the sheep-tax disputes, telling them that he had orders to send them to Tatar Bazardjik, where the authorities desired to see them, although he knew not for what purpose.

On the 2d of May, as agreed upon at Metchka, the insurgents began their movement by tolling the church-bell to summon the villagers together, and then making an attack upon the Konak and demanding of Nedib Aga to release the prisoners. This was done. They then ordered him to surrender; but as he was a man of some military experience, and had served under Hungarian officers, he was able rapidly to put the konak in a state of defense, and after several hours' siege succeeded in escaping with his zaptiehs, losing only one man in the flight. Another zaptieh was subsequently killed outside of the town. The mudir of the village, following Nedib Aga's example, also tried to escape, but was pursued and killed near the river just as he was leaving the town. He had been there but a short time, and had left his wife at Eskizagra, where she is still living. He had no children with him. The untruth of the statement, several times made to me, that his wife and daughter had been killed at Koprivtchitsa is manifest.

There were living in the village about forty Mussulman gypsies. It had been rumored that Klissura had been burned by gypsies, and that these very men had had some share in it. They were, therefore, arrested by order of the insurgents, and, on searching their houses, arms, petroleum, and powder were found. After three days' arrest they were taken outside of the town by the insurgents and executed. Besides these men, several Turks were arrested in the village; but, of them, five or six were sent away the following day in perfect safety, and since the cessation of the disturbances, they frequently visit the town, the inhabitants of which were forced to pay them for the arms and oxen taken away from them.*

Osman Effendi, the resamat meymour of the place, was kept prisoner, together with his wife and seven children; but they were all released after the surrender of the town to the Turkish troops. (See official telegram from Sophia, published in the official newspaper, "The Danube," ^{9th} _{21st} May.)

The inhabitants of Koprivtchitsa admit killing, during the short period of the insurrection, forty gypsies and nine Turks. The Turks claim a loss of seventy-two; *i.e.*, sixty-six gypsies, five Turks, and one girl.

The population of Koprivtchitsa, during the insurrection, was greatly swelled by the inhabitants of the nine villages of Novo-Selo, Streletcha, Aivadjik, Krastovo, Uzun-geren, Eleshnitsa, Zeratsoro, Zingerli, and Klissura, who fled there partly at the instigation of insurgent emissaries, and partly through fear of their Mussulman neighbors.

In the mean time, the richer and more prominent men of the town had become alarmed by the frequent reports which had reached them of the burning and pillaging of villages by the bashi-bazouks, and of the slaughter of the inhabitants. They therefore arrested the young men who had stirred up the revolt, who were all of the village except two, who were also Bulgarians from other places. One, however, ran away to Panagineshtsa, and informed the insurgents of that place. A party, therefore, came to Koprivtchitsa, broke open the doors of the prison, rescued those who were detained there, and all ran away.

Fearing for the safety of the town, on the 11th of May the notables sent a letter to Philippopolis asking for regular troops, and on the 12th another letter was sent to the same effect.

That very morning, May 12, regular troops came, preceded by bashi-bazouks, all led by the mirali or colonel, Hassan Bey. The people of Koprivtchitsa sent out as their plenipotentiary the priest Dontcho, who was immediately fired upon and killed by the bashi-bazouks. Subsequently two men were sent, who offered the submission of the inhabitants, one of them the priest Stogan. Both were fired at and wounded. Hassan Bey then ordered the notables of the place to come to the camp, as well as the notables from the other villages, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge there. He said

* I saw the original receipt for the money so paid. It was attested by three witnesses, one of them being the bimbashi of the place.

he had just come from Constantinople, and was willing to spare the village if its submission were not delayed, but if it were delayed a quarter of an hour he would bombard the town. Part of the inhabitants he kept as hostages, and the rest he sent to bring in the arms, which filled seven carts. Among the arms were three wooden cannon bound with iron hoops, which had been made by the insurgents, although, to be sure, they were never fired, and in any case they were utterly useless.

The notables, who were collected on a hill outside of the town, were beaten and ill-treated by the bashi-bazouks, and the latter threw stones at the houses, breaking the windows, because at that time they were not allowed to pillage the place.

During the evening, Hassan Bey, for what reason it is not known, fired three times at the church, hitting it only once and killing no one. Several people, however, from the villages in the neighborhood were killed near the town. That night, Saturday, the 12th of May, the bashi-bazouks entered the town in spite of the efforts of the regular troops to keep them away. On Sunday morning they began pillaging. Hassan Bey came himself to the konak, and arrested several of the inhabitants, under the pretext that they had not given up all their arms. After the bashi-bazouks had well plundered the place, Hassan Bey went away with his troops, promising to send the regular troops back in two or three days.

On Tuesday, the 14th, he sent a bim bashi with regular troops, but these were redifs who had come from Asia Minor, and were, if possible, worse than the bashi-bazouks, for they also plundered the houses and killed twenty-five people.

The inhabitants then sent a letter to Hafuz Pasha, who came and remained there two days, leaving a bim bashi and two companies of soldiers, while he himself went to Zlatitsa. In four days, however, he returned, because he had heard that some arms were still concealed. He then ordered all the inhabitants to come to the konak, where he kept them all night, while the bashi-bazouks, under the pretext of searching the houses for arms, pillaged nearly everything that was left, and violated very many of the women.

The men whom I questioned generally denied that any violations had taken place; but the second day of my stay I received a deputation of the most respectable ladies of the town, who presented me with a letter, in which they stated that during the absence of their husbands at the konak they had been violated by the soldiers. This they had been ashamed to confess to their husbands.

The town was saved from destruction by the orders of Hassan Bey and Hafuz Pasha, who for his mercy was paid very large sums of money by the inhabitants. The houses were thoroughly pillaged, not only of money and valuables, but even of furniture, clothing, &c., so that in some literally nothing remained, and the floors, even, were ripped up lest something should remain concealed.

While the troops and bashi-bazouks sent out from Philippopolis were thus restoring order to the different sections of the province, Batak, a large village, situated in the mountains about 30 miles south of Tatar Bazardik, was destroyed by the bashi-bazouks, under command of Achmed Aga Aga of Burutina, or, as he is sometimes called, of Dospat (Dospat Balkan.) I have heard that he was sent there by orders of the medjlliss of Tatar Bazardjik, but was unable to assure myself of the truth of this statement.

A few bashi-bazouks had been seen round the town for three days, when finally, on St. George's day, (May 5th,) when the people were at church, Achmed Aga appeared in front of the village. The inhabitants, after consulting a little, went home, staid in their houses, and got their arms ready to defend themselves. They then sent to the Turks to know what Achmed Aga wanted. The first two messengers were killed. Achmed Aga then ordered the inhabitants to send out to him the chief men of the place for a conference. No one wished to go; but finally, Vranko, one of the tchorbadjis, or notables, offered himself as a messenger in case no one else would volunteer. He went out accompanied by his wife Sophia—who was one of the witnesses who appeared before me—his three children, and another tchorbadjji, Triandafil, with his son. Achmed Aga recalled to them that he was the natural protector of Batak, for it seems that for several generations he and his ancestors had claimed a sort of protectorate over this neighborhood. He told them to have confidence in him and give up their arms, and swore a solemn oath that none should be hurt or even a hair of their heads touched. Triandafil and his son remained as hostages while the rest went back to the village, and the arms were sent out on three carts. It was then arranged that the bashi-bazouks should be distributed in the houses of the village. At this time, Triandafil and Vranko were retained as hostages till the arrangements should be completed. While Vranko's wife was preparing a lunch for Achmed Aga, who was to stay in their house, the bashi-bazouks came and began to torture her to obtain money. After undergoing various tortures she fainted away, and remained in that condition for some time, her infant being torn from her arms and thrown into a stable. Some others came up and raised her by her hair, and she gave them 460 piasters, which was all she had. The bashi-bazouks, however, thought that she had more, undressed her, and found her husband's watch. She wanted them to kill her, but they gave her back her outside clothes, and carried her off and kept her for three days.

In the mean time, after getting what money and valuables they could from the villagers, the bashi-bazouks collected many of the prettiest young girls, and took them to a hill outside the town, where they were reserved to satisfy the passions of the ruffians. Indiscriminate slaughter now began. Women, girls, and children were killed in the houses and in the streets, while many men were taken to a log of wood and beheaded with sabers. Very few were able to escape the cordon of bashi-bazouks, and the majority of the inhabitants were killed under circumstances of great barbarity. Vranko's wife found the bodies of her husband and of Triandafil's son, with their heads cut off. Triandafil had been impaled alive on a wooden spit, and then roasted. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their unborn infants carried about on the bayonets of the bashi-bazouks. The school-house was burned with 200 women and children within. Other houses, in which 20, 30, and even 40 women had shut themselves up, were burned, together with the inmates. The remainder of the inhabitants sought refuge in the church and the church-yard, but the bashi-bazouks scaled the high walls, and all the villagers in the church-yard were killed. Petroleum, straw, and fire-brands were used to set fire to the wood-work inside the church, and sabers and muskets did the rest. The young girls who had previously been taken outside of the town were all violated, and then beheaded.

I visited Batak on the 1st of August. On entering the village, I passed through a small hollow on the hill-side, in which I counted more than a hundred skulls, which had evidently been cut off by a sharp instrument. From their small size and the braids of hair still clinging to them, they were beyond doubt the skulls of women. The dogs, which in large numbers had been gnawing the bones, were driven off at my approach.

Further on, the fields were full of skulls and skeletons.

In the town but one building, a mill, still retained its roof and walls, and its weir was full of swollen corpses. Everywhere through the streets I found bones of women to which shreds of female clothing hung. There were shirts with the heads and limbs protruding, the hands and feet having been cut off. There were skulls with braids of hair attached. There were even rotting and putrid corpses. Among the ruins could be seen fragments of charred human bones and half-buried bodies.

The church-yard was still worse. It was three feet deep with human remains, over which had been hurriedly thrown boards and heaps of stones, which but half concealed the corpses.

Passing over these with great difficulty, on account of the fearful stench, I saw protruding from the stones hands and feet with the flesh dried upon them, and human heads, one of which I noticed had an ear cut off. Making my way to the door of the church, I beheld a spectacle which it is impossible to describe. The ruined church was filled with decomposing bodies, many of which were half burned. I should think that in the church and the church-yard I saw the remains of fully 2,000 bodies, which in great part were still only half decayed.

After the massacre of Batak, the houses having been thoroughly pillaged, the bashi-bazouks retired, carrying with them very many children and young persons, whom they intended to bring up as their slaves and dependents.

About two weeks after the massacre, on the representations of the consuls and others at Philippopolis that a pestilence might arise, the government gave orders to bury the bodies, and persons were sent to Batak for the purpose. At this time, however—it was during the month of June—the stench was so overpowering that it was impossible to carry out the orders, but stones, bricks, and tiles were thrown over the church-yard walls in the hope of at least partially covering the bodies; and a report was made that the orders of the government had been executed. Had the bodies remained exposed to the open air, decomposition would have set in much sooner, but this covering of stones preserved them—preserved them for us to see the evidences of cruelty and barbarity, which otherwise we would have been loth to believe.

It is somewhat difficult to estimate the number of persons killed at Batak, as Turkish statements are notoriously very imperfect. It does not seem even to be known exactly how many houses there were in the place. The number was first given to me as about nine hundred. Subsequently I was told five hundred and eighty-seven; but Mr. Matalas, the Greek vice-consul at Philippopolis, who made inquiries *previous* to the massacre, on account of the lumber trade in which he was interested, places it at seven hundred and eighty. In general, in Bulgarian villages, the number of persons living in a house (according to my investigations) is from seven and a half to eight; but in Batak, the situation was peculiar. Here, more than in many thickly-populated villages, was it the habit for married sons, with all of their children, to live in their father's house. I frequently heard of families of from fifteen to twenty persons, and knew of one—that of Blajoi Christofski—which consisted of thirty-nine persons, of whom only nine are now living. It would seem necessary therefore to place the average number of persons in a house at Batak at ten at least. This would give the population of the village at between seven and eight thousand. According to the tax-bills which I saw, the number of *nufus*, *i. e.*, persons liable to military service, was one thousand four hundred and twenty-one. If this number were legally calculated on the male inhabitants

liable to military service between fifteen and sixty, it would come to about the same, and we know that generally the Bulgarian Christians were desirous, on account of the tax, of making their numbers as small as possible.

When I was at Batak, the number of persons surviving was stated at one thousand three hundred only. I have since heard of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one persons actually alive, and presume that about two thousand persons escaped. Five thousand persons, therefore, would appear to have been killed in the place. The survivors had lost everything, many even their clothes. At the time of my visit, they had only begun to return to their village, and many of them took advantage of my being there to return for the first time.

The harvest was still standing, but they were unable to cut it in consequence of the want of agricultural tools. Their cattle had all been stolen. The chief industry of the town was in timber and boards, in which they carried on considerable traffic, even with distant parts of the country. It is said that there were four hundred saw-mills in the district on the little stream running through the town, nearly all of which were destroyed.

More than this: the inhabitants were called upon for payment of taxes on houses which had been destroyed, and for the exemption-tax from military service for men who had been killed. The tax-bills which I saw demanded for the present year on immovable property, including *temetwad*, 64,767 piasters, and for the exemption from military service 39,472 piasters. The mutessarif of Philippopolis told me that, although perhaps the formality of presenting the tax-bills had taken place, yet the tax would not be demanded. Still, so late as the end of September, the grain, after being cut, was not allowed to be brought in until the tithes were paid. The inhabitants were also suffering greatly; for exposure to the weather and want of food brought the natural consequences of fever and dysentery. They were also in great fear of their Mussulman neighbors, and with some reason; for, at the time of my visit, I found sitting with the guardians of the village one Hadji Mehmed Iboeglu, who had extorted money from the inhabitants at the time of the massacre, as well as a certain Bektashi Akhmed, called Medus, one of the leaders of the massacre in the church.

Achmed Aga of Burutina, who commanded the massacre, was subsequently rewarded with a decoration of the Medjidié, and was promoted to be Yuzbashi.

THE INSURRECTION IN THE SANDJAK OF SLIVEN.

At the end of March, some young men of Sliven, excited by the vexing and unjust acts committed by the authorities, took refuge in the neighboring mountains. Their number gradually increased to twenty-four. Although up in arms against the government, they killed no one except a Buluk Bashi, who had been sent to negotiate with them. They were commanded by a certain Hilarion, surnamed "from Odessa," who was, however, not a Russian, but a Bulgarian, born at Rustchuk. This band was joined by some villagers from Shiramzia and Negovo; but on the 19th of May it was surrounded by three hundred regular soldiers, and some bashi-bazouks, who had been collected in the neighboring villages by order of the vali of Adrianople. After a short resistance, the insurgents surrendered. The villages of Medven and Zheravna were pillaged. Thirty-five were taken prisoners, while the others were killed and their heads exposed before the house of the governor of Sliven. Excited by this spectacle, on May 22 the soldiers stationed at the cloth-factory in Sliven killed two Bulgarians in the market-place, mortally wounded a third, and injured more or less grievously forty persons. It was with great difficulty that the mutessarif, Haidar Bey, aided by the Bulgarian bishop Serafim, succeeded in restoring order.

On May 25, when all was over, Shefket Pasha arrived from Philippopolis with three battalions of troops and with several thousand bashi-bazouks, whom he had collected in the neighborhood of Yamboli. On passing through that town, under pretext of collecting the arms of the Christians, which they had already given up to the authorities, Shefket Pasha allowed it to be pillaged. All the Bulgarian quarter and the greater part of the Christian houses in the Turkish quarter were completely sacked. The soldiers, the bashi-bazouks, and especially the Mussulmans of the town, incited by a certain Habib Bey, took away not only money and valuable objects, but even furniture, dishes, clothes, bed-coverings, &c. One officer especially, Izzet Aga, is known to have taken money. Notwithstanding the complaints of the inhabitants, who can point out the possessors of their property, nothing has been returned to them. The arrival of Shefket Pasha at Sliven, and the excesses of every kind committed in the neighborhood of this town by the irregular troops, created a great panic. On the reiterated and pressing requests of the bishop, orders were at last given to stop their depredations, but at the same time the Bulgarians were obliged to deliver up their arms to the authorities.

On the evening of May 28, called by a telegram from the Kaimakam of Yamboli, Shefket Pasha hastily marched to the village of Boyadjik. The next day this village was bombarded, pillaged, and then burned, only because the inhabitants had been

unwilling to receive into their village the bashi-bazouks who accompanied the Kaimakam, at whose hands they had already suffered greatly. The inhabitants of this village, about one thousand in all, came to meet Shefket Pasha, and laid down their arms. The pasha, however, sent them back, telling them to defend themselves, and ordering the troops to fire upon them. The villagers ran away in all directions without the least resistance, and were massacred during their flight. The official number of the victims is one hundred and seventy, of whom two were priests, eight women, and eight children. I saw human bones and skulls in the fields, and ascertained the fact that only twenty houses remained in this village, and that the school and church were destroyed afterward, this last, which was built of hard stone, not without much trouble. Several heads were brought to Yamboli, among others, by an official named Hadji Mulassim. Three heads were thrown into the street before the house of the consular agent of Italy at Burgas, then staying at Yamboli. He himself told me this fact. There is reason to believe that the destruction of Boyadjik was an act of personal vengeance on the part of Shefket Pasha, who was born in this village.

The inhabitants could not return for three weeks, for during all this time the bashi-bazouks were digging up the houses and the gardens to find objects which had been buried. All the cattle had been taken away, and at the time I visited the village, in company with Prince Tseretef, secretary of the Russian embassy, August 12, notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of the mutessarif to restore them, out of 1,500 oxen, cows, and horses, the villagers had only 300; and of 8,000 sheep scarcely a fourth part. The Kaimakam of Yamboli had taken his share. He had 60 cows at Uzum-Kupru and 60 at Salamanlar. The bashi-bazouks had come from the villages of Karadjam, Muradli, Karakurt, Gübel, Kurfali, Baly-Bunar, Kulta-Keni, Pandakly, Güyamli, Tchumleklar, Guleman, and Kaya-Burnu. There were also Circassians from Hanu and Tartars from Mikeniti and Arap Hodja. They were commanded by Selimeh Ghirei, surnamed "the Sultan of Pandakly," the terror of the neighboring villages.

Shefket Pasha left Boyadjik for the seven villages of Beshtepé, which he destined to the same fate. He produced as his authority a telegram from Adrianople, from the Serdar-Ekhrem, Abdul-Kerim Pasha, ordering the destruction of these places. It was again owing to the courageous intervention of the bishop Serafim that these villages were saved. He went to the camp of Shefket Pasha, made himself guarantee for the fidelity of these villages, and, after having experienced numerous insults, succeeded in obtaining the pardon of these people, who were truly innocent. Nevertheless, some villages were pillaged, &c. In the district of Musluk-Hodja, the church was pillaged and desecrated. In this place, out of 7,000 sheep there remained only 24. Even the local authorities admit that Shefket Pasha is alone responsible for the disorders and damage committed, and for the insecurity which since that time reigns in the country. As a recompense for his conduct, he was named marshal of the palace.

THE INSURRECTION IN THE SANDJAK OF TIRNOVO.

The long series of unjust acts, abuses, and cruelties committed against the Christians in this district, as well by the inhabitants as by the authorities, brought the Bulgarians to a state of exasperation which made them foresee a rising. Some young men, finding no other means of bringing their state of distress to the knowledge of the central government and of the Christian powers, took up arms, forming three little bands, one near Tirnovo, another near Trevno, and the third near Gabrovo. The first was chiefly composed of inhabitants from Vriahovitza, who had just been pillaged by their Mussulman neighbors under the pretext of disarming them. Conducted by a certain Pope Horiton, this band tried to get to the Balkans, but was pursued by the regular troops and the Mussulman villagers, and on May 11 took refuge in the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, near Drenovo, where it was surrounded. On being summoned to surrender, the insurgents demanded twenty-four hours to state their complaints, but this was refused them, and, on the arrival of Fazly Pasha from Shumla with two cannons, the monastery was bombarded. Under the cover of the night and of a heavy fall of snow, a part of the insurgents escaped. At break of day, seventy-five went without arms and with a white flag to surrender. They were all massacred by order of the pasha commanding, in a most cruel way. Some were cut to pieces, others had their limbs cut off or long strips of flesh torn from their bodies, and others were disemboweled. On arriving at the monastery, the troops killed there the mother of the prior, an old woman of eighty. The pillage was begun by the regular troops, and continued by the bashi-bazouks for fifty days. Profanation accompanied the pillage. The Turks used the holy vessels to satisfy their natural wants, and the coverings of the chalice and the sacerdotal vestments to wrap up their feet or to ornament their horses. Nine monks were killed. Part of the buildings were burned the same day, and the church some days afterward, by the aid of petroleum, which had been brought for that purpose from Drenovo. I found the monastery a mass of ruins, from which even the iron and wood had been taken away, and I saw human bones in the neighborhood. The mutessarif, on being informed of the pillage, took no measures to stop it, and even declared that

every edifice touched by a bullet became the property of the state, and that this monastery could not be rebuilt in a position strategically so important. The authorities maintain that the regular troops did not enter the convent, but I was able to ascertain that objects coming from the church were openly sold in Drenovo and Gabrovo by regular soldiers. Fazly Pasha went on to Trevno, plundering the villages on the road.

The band formed near Gabrovo was composed of thirty men, and was led by Tzanko Dustaban, a native of that town, who had studied at Paris, but was not acquainted with the use of arms. After having attacked a Turkish post on the road to Shipka, which, however, owing to the efforts of the chief, was left untouched, these young men came to the village of Novo-Selo, and passed three days there. On the approach of the Circassians and the bashi-bazouks, coming from Plevno and Selvi, the insurgents and the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge in the mountains. The chief of these irregular troops was Deli Nedjib, the Kaimakam of Plevno, aided by Saadullah Effendi of Selvi. On May 21, these troops burned and sacked Novo-Selo, and killed 691 persons, 350 of whom were women and children. Out of this number, 140 persons were killed in the village itself, the rest in the mountains and near Kalofer, where they were massacred by the band of Hadji Ibrahim of Oftchular, (Kaza of Kazanlyk.) The majority of the victims were old men, infirm people, and children, who were unable to save themselves. A child of five years, Yoakim, the son of Yose Popof, was killed and thrown upon a burning roof. I saw at Gabrovo a little girl, eighteen months old, with her skull fractured by a yatagan. The dead bodies were mutilated. About 100 young girls and women were violated, and some were kept several days in Turkish villages. In the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Novo-Selo, where there were 31 nuns, the bashi-bazouks massacred one of the nuns at the gate, and five others and the abbess in the church. Two of these first had their hands cut off. The bodies were stripped and burned in the church. I found among the ruins shreds of the clothes of the victims and half-burned human bones. Besides these seven nuns, the father of one of them and the priest were killed in the same convent. Some of the nuns were repeatedly violated, and two of them were kept for some days in a Turkish village.

The villages of Kravenik, Batoshevo, and Gabeni were also pillaged and in part burned. The churches of Kravenik and Batoshevo were destroyed by means of petroleum. In the Monastery of the Assumption, the best buildings were burned, and the church pillaged. Among the acts of cruelty committed in these villages, I limit myself to mentioning the massacre of thirteen shepherds at Kravenik, who were seized by the men of Hadji Ibrahim of Oftchular, had their hands tied, and were killed by sabre-cuts. The only one who escaped did so with the loss of an ear. He gave me the details of this affair. At Batoshevo an old man named Kole Ratchef was thrown alive into the flames.

It should be remarked that all these localities do not form compact villages, as on the south of the Balkans, but are rather composed of numerous hamlets of 15 to 80 houses, each of which has a distinct name, and, in fact, forms a distinct village. All of these hamlets have more or less suffered. The village of Kravenik had 120 houses burned, as well as 13 shops, 6 mills, a church, and a school; 42 men, 9 women, and 9 children were killed. In the village of Batoshevo, out of 600 houses, 60 were burned, besides 5 mills, the church, and the school; 43 men and 68 women and children were killed. Of the 1,200 houses which composed the commune of Gabeni 69 were burned, 336 pillaged, and 20 persons were killed. The bashi-bazouks and Circassians of the Kazas of Plevno and Selvi were subsequently assisted in their pillage by volunteers coming from the district of Kazanlyk, (vilayet of Adrianople,) commanded by Hadji Ibrahim Manaf Mustapha and Mustapha Effendi. They brought to the south of the Balkans a great quantity of cattle, only a small part of which has been returned to the villagers. At the time of my investigation, August 20, the losses in the four villages named amounted to 33,495 head of cattle, large and small. The applications of the inhabitants to the Kaimakam of Kazanlyk had remained without result.

The appearance of a small band near Trevno, conducted by a certain Todor, of Lovtcha, and the attack on the Shipka road, caused two battalions of regular troops commanded by Tefik Bey, of Tirnovo, to be sent on the 21st of May from Gabrovo to Gentchevo, Novo Mahallé, Etara, and Zeleno-Drevo. A certain Hafuz, a government scribe, joined this expedition and guided the pillage. These two villages, as well as those of the district of Selvi, are composed of distinct hamlets. Nearly all were pillaged, and in some the richest shops and houses were pointed out by Hafuz and burned. At Novo Mahallé, a school, the construction of which alone, without the materials, had cost 60,000 piasters, was burned, the church was pillaged, and sixteen villagers, nearly all shepherds, were killed in the neighborhood. In the hamlet of Zeleno-Drevo, the wife of Pentcho Tzanef was killed, and her child of four years old, whom I saw at Gabrovo, was wounded by a pistol-shot. In the hamlet of Staminetz, Kole Piperski, seventy years old, was murdered. The booty of this expedition, which was made exclusively by regular troops, was brought to Gabrovo on thirty-eight horses, ten of which were taken from Gabrovo for that purpose. Hafuz, enriched by the village—which is valued for the village of Novo-Mahallé, at 5,500 Turkish pounds—and by his preceding exactions, was rewarded for the services rendered to the government.

The following villages were wholly or partially destroyed by the regular troops, the bashi-bazouks, and the Mussulman population in the sandjak of Philippopolis :

Vetreno, (Hissardjik:) 350 houses, 1 church, 1 school; burned, 156 houses and school, with valuable books and manuscripts, by Hassan Pasha. Killed, 40.

Kara-Musal: 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school; by bashi-bazouks of Tatar Bazardjik and Ineli; all burned. Killed, 50.

Kara-Bunar: Plundered by volunteers going to Sophia.

Adjeli: 60 houses plundered; paid £150 to Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik, not to be burned.

Shekhililar: 60 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 43 houses burned by troops of Hassan Bey and by bashi-bazouks; 17 killed.

Kaloyerovo: 193 Bulgarian, 32 gipsy houses. Burned, 153 Bulgarian, 19 gipsy houses; 37 killed.

Tserovo: 170 Bulgarian, 20 gipsy houses, 1 church, 1 school. Burned, 63 Bulgarian, 4 gipsy houses; 45 killed. Twenty girls kept a long time by the soldiers of Hassan Pasha and violated.

Sert-Orman, (Bulgarian—Tserofsky Gumna:) 120 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 53 houses burned by Circassians and bashi-bazouks from Ishtimen; 27 killed.

Dere-Orman, (Bulgarian—Rietchné Gumna:) 30 houses; all burned and destroyed by Hassan Pasha; 3 killed.

Slavovitsa: 158 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 14 houses burned by Hassan Pasha; 29 killed.

Dinkata, (Dink-keni:) 60 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 55 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 32 killed.

Lesitchevo: 168 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 64 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 55 killed. Many girls were violated while being taken to Tatar Bazardjik.

Stcherkovo, (Turkish—Gildelar:) 73 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 45 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 5 killed.

Kalaglari, a mixed village: 143 Bulgarian, 15 Turkish houses. Burned, 112 Bulgarian, and 8 Turkish houses from their proximity to the others; burned by bashi-bazouks when the inhabitants were in Panagurishta; killed, 37.

Jumaya, a mixed village: 110 Bulgarian houses; the rest Turkish and gipsy. All the Bulgarian houses burned after the inhabitants had fled; 30 killed.

Bratzigovo: 450 houses; 10 burned by bashi-bazouks. Killed, 52.

Kormaya: 113 houses; all burned by Turks of neighboring villages; 67 killed. Very many violations and some abductions. One woman was forcibly made a Mussulman.

Radulovo: 158 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned by bashi-bazouks of Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik. Killed, 36.

Biega, a mixed village: 65 Bulgarian, 43 Turkish, and 7 gipsy houses, 1 church, 1 school; all the Bulgarian houses burned by the Turks of the same village. Killed, 9, including 8 children who had their hands and other members cut off.

Zdrebetchko, a mixed village: 90 Bulgarian, 40 Turkish, and 2 gipsy houses, 1 church, 1 school. All Bulgarian houses burned. Killed, 47.

Alikotch, (Turkish—Ali-Hodja:) 68 houses; all burned by bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey. Killed, 68.

Kozarsko: 95 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned. Killed, 47, the children with various tortures.

Popintsa: 125 houses, 1 church, 2 schools; 26 houses burned by Hafuz Pasha. Killed, 66.

Biata: 70 houses. Burned, 6; all the rest plundered. Church of St. George plundered by the Yuzbashi Halil, who had been sent to guard the village. Killed, 53.

Bania: 160 houses; 60 burned by Hafuz Pasha. Killed, 13.

Metchka: 120 houses; 80 houses, church, and school burned by Hafuz Pasha.

Petritch: 339 houses; 322 houses burned by Yussuf Aga, of Sophia. Killed, 85.

Streltcha, a mixed village: 350 Bulgarian, 50 Turkish houses. Burned—330 Bulgarian, 37 Turkish houses. Killed, 67 Bulgarians, with horrible tortures.

Koprivtchitsa: 2,500 houses. Burned, 5 mills; all houses pillaged. Killed, 52.

Klissura: 830 houses, 1 church, 2 schools; all burned by Tussum Bey. Killed, 232.

Sindjerli: 120 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned by Tussum Bey. Killed, 35. It is not true that this village was set on fire by its inhabitants, as Turks report. On the 28th June the huts rebuilt by the inhabitants were a second time burned by the Turks.

Staro Novo-Selo: 300 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned. Killed, 106.

Elshitsa: 90 houses. Burned, 52. Killed, 6.

Uzun-Geren: 120 houses; all burned. Killed, 13.

Krastovo: 80 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 70 burned, remainder ruined. Killed, 12.

Aivadjik: 60 houses; 53 burned. Killed, 4.

Ereli: 122 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned by Tussum Bey. Killed, 38.

Kepeli: 88 houses. Burned, 49. Killed, 42.

Sary-Gul: 64 houses. Burned, 49. Killed, 31.

Poitbrena: 336 houses, 294 other buildings in neighborhood. Burned, 199 houses, 140 other buildings. Killed, 13.

Panagurishta: 3,000 houses, 3 churches, 3 schools. Burned, 2 churches, 2 schools, 400 houses. Killed, about 2,000, of whom 769 belonged to the town.

Perushtitsa: 400 houses, 2 churches, 2 schools; all burned. About 1,000 killed.

Bellova: 158 houses, 2 schools, 2 churches; partly burned by Turks. Railway station burned by insurgents.

Batak: 780 houses, 1 church, 3 schools; all burned. Killed, 5,000.

Boikovo: 59 houses; 55 burned; school burned; church robbed; 13 killed.

Diedovo: 100 houses; all plundered. Burned by brother of Ahmed Aga.

Sotir: Burned; 4 killed. One schoolmaster killed and body burned.

Liaskovo: Plundered; 1 killed.

Eleshnitsa: 123 houses, 1 church, 1 school. Burned, 119. Killed, 21.

Pastutcha: 20 houses; all burned.

Yassy-Koria, (Yasa-Kushla:) 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned.

Doganovo, mixed village: 70 Turkish houses, 10 Bulgarian houses. All Bulgarian houses burned.

Kasapli: 30 houses; all burned.

Eshi-Kasli: 80 houses; all burned.

Elli Déré: 50 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned.

Saradja, (Sagyr-Hodja:) 34 houses; partly burned.

Golak: 25 houses; all burned.

Tekir: 21 houses; all burned.

Leshniko: 120 houses; all burned. Killed, 20.

Aladjalar: 20 Bulgarian, 5 gipsy houses; all burned.

Kara-IIias: 46 houses; all burned.

Kula: 16 houses; all burned.

Akadji: 58 houses; all burned.

Liakhovo: 47 houses; all burned.

Zeratsevo: 40 houses; nearly all burned.

Kavak-Déré: All burned.

I am told of three or four other villages besides, but I have been able to learn no particulars concerning them. Very many others were pillaged, and some completely sacked. In this district there were also pillaged and destroyed four monasteries: St. Feodor, near Perushtitsa; that of the Panagia, and that of the Bezsretrennitsi, (Saints Kosma and Damian,) near Kretshina, and that of St. Nicholas, near Kaloyerovo. In each of these there was some loss of life.

In the district of Sliven there was but one village destroyed.

Boadjik: 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school. All but 20 houses burned. Killed, 170, by official Turkish account; probably many more.

In the district of Tirnovo there were destroyed—

Novo Sela: 1,200 houses. Burned, 710 houses, 2 churches, 2 schools, and convent. Killed, 691.

Gabeni: 1,200 houses; 69 burned, 336 pillaged. Killed, 20; 3 gipsies killed in the neighborhood, probably by insurgents.

Batoshevo: 600 houses. Burned, 60, besides 5 mills, church, and school. Monastery sacked and partly burned. Killed, 111.

Kupen: 80 houses. Burned, 12 houses; all pillaged. Killed, 12.

Kravenik: 270 houses. Burned, 141 houses, church, and school. Killed, 60.

Gentchevo-Mahallé: 15 houses burned. Killed, 5.

Novo-Mahallé, (Yeni Mahallé:) 480 houses; 20 houses, 1 school burned; church and most houses pillaged. Killed, 17.

Estura, (Yantra:) 100 houses. Many plundered, including school; 4 burned. Killed, 2.

Dushovo: Village chiefly Turkish; 20 Bulgarian houses, all burned. Three killed.

In each of many small villages, such as Yoftchutsi, Gazurnitsi, Vartchoftsi, Zeleno-Drevo, &c., a few houses were burned and three or four people killed. Many shepherds in the mountains were also killed and their huts burned.

Besides the convent of the Holy Trinity, at Novo Selo, and the monastery of the Assumption, at Batoshevo, the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel, at Drenovo, was destroyed, when about 100 persons were killed. The Turkish authorities state that nine or ten soldiers and bashi-bazouks were killed during the siege. Some villages were destroyed and many people killed in other parts of the vilayet of the Danube and during the pursuit of the band of insurgents, coming from Roumania, that landed from the steamer Radetski near Kaslandi. Many more were killed and many houses plundered, but, as I made no local examination, I am unable to give details concerning these occurrences.

In many districts of Macedonia, notably those of Seres, Nevrokop, and Raslug, the Bulgarian villages were plundered by bands of bashi-bazouks.

Of the state of affairs in the vilayet of Sophia, which has been represented to me as very bad, I have been able to get little exact information. The following villages, all in close proximity to Koprivtchitsa and Panagurishta, suffered greatly:

Rakovitsa: 223 houses; 212 burned by Hafuz Pasha. Killed, 36.

Kamenitsa : 53 houses ; 20 burned ; many children missing.

Smolsko : 280 houses ; 27 burned. Killed, 13.

Mukhovo, (Tafon :) 230 houses ; 160 burned by Hafuz Pasha. Killed, 59.

Raslovitsa : 150 houses ; all burned.

Bielitsa : Burned.

In the district of Pirot, (Shahrkeni,) I am informed, from a very credible source, that forty-two villages were destroyed, chiefly at the time of the insurrection, though the work of murder and pillage continued for months after. Thirty-two of them are Tzervinchivo, Koumanovo, Tzernoklischté, Vranische, Sinetze, Tzerchiantzi, Osmo-kovo, Linbatovitsa, Kilné, Dol, Moklischte, Kine, Dolmi, Dolna Glama, Babine-Kam, Koza, Vitanovitz, Mirinoditzi, Paege, Orla, Bazovine, Pagodéche, Tzerovo, Chougrime, Mirkovitz, Roudene, Zasnovitzi, Galovine, Izvor, Chestigabère, Kaina, Baltoberilovitzi, Toplidol, and Zaskovitzi. The convent of Tmiski was also destroyed.

In the districts to which I paid particular attention, *i. e.*, those of Philippopolis, Sliven, and Tirnovo, and the neighboring part of the province of Sophia, there were therefore seventy-nine villages wholly or partially burned, besides very many pillaged. At least 9,000 houses were burned, and taking the average of eight to a Bulgarian house, 72,000 persons were left without roof or shelter. According to the figures I have given above, 10,984 persons were killed. Many more were killed in the roads, in the fields, and in the mountains, of whom there is no record or count, and I think, therefore, I am not wrong in estimating the total number of killed at about 15,000. Many more died subsequently from disease and exposure and in prison.

The violations of women and the instances of cruelty and barbarity were so numerous that it has been impossible for me to do more than hint at them. There is scarcely one of the villages in the above list that could not show, on a small scale, what occurred at Panagurishta on a large scale.

The burning of these villages and the murders and atrocities committed were clearly unnecessary for the suppression of the insurrection, for it was an insignificant rebellion at the best, and the villagers generally surrendered at the first summons. Nor can they be justified by the state of panic, for, as I have shown, that was over before the troops set out on their campaign. An attempt, however, has been made, and not by Turks alone, to defend and palliate these acts on the ground of previous outrages, which it is alleged were committed by Bulgarians. I have carefully investigated this point, and am unable to find that the Bulgarians committed any atrocities or outrages or any acts which deserve that name. I have not been able to find that (as was stated) the insurgents set fire to Bulgarian villages for the purpose of inciting the inhabitants to revolt; nor, except in two cases, have I found that the insurgents set fire to villages inhabited by Turks. One of these was Streltcha, where the Turkish authorities alleged that the band from Panagurishta set fire to some of the Turkish houses for the purpose of overpowering the Turks, and also to the Bulgarian houses for the purpose of rousing the Bulgarians. The proof of this is very weak; but still it is possible. The other village to which I referred was that called Urutsi, divided into the four quarters (mahallés) of Duyvanla, Orutchlu, Oktchulu, and Jaffarla, comprising in all 155 houses and a little over 500 inhabitants. This village, inhabited exclusively by Turks, was partly burned, and the Turks state that five of the inhabitants were killed. The Bulgarians say that Benkofsky, with some of his band, went from Panagurishta to Urutsi and burned five of the houses at the very outbreak of the insurrection, but that the others were burned by the bashi-bazouks from Tatar-Bazardjik, in order to induce the inhabitants of Urutsi to join them. This statement of the Bulgarians seems about as plausible as the statement of the Turks that the insurgents burned some of the Bulgarian villages, and no more.

I vainly tried to obtain from the Turkish officials a list of the outrages which they said were committed by the Bulgarians at the beginning of the insurrection, but I could hear nothing but vague statements, which, on investigation, were never proved. I was told by Kiani Pasha that the insurgents killed the wife and daughter of the mudir of Koprivtchitsa; but this mudir had no daughter, and his wife had remained at Eskizagra, where she still resides. I was also told of the murder of the wife of the mudir of Panagurishta, but at the time mentioned this village had no mudir. The stories that a Turk at Klissura was burned alive and then stoned, that a boy was flayed, that a Mussulman was burned at Oktchula, and that fearful outrages were perpetrated on a woman at Bratsigovo, all rested on no foundation. In general, on the spot where such occurrences were said to have taken place, it was impossible to find any evidence in support of them, even from the Turks. I found that the further I went from the disturbed district, the greater and more exaggerated became the stories of the outrages committed by the Bulgarians. I heard far more about them even in Adrianople than in Philippopolis, and in Constantinople than in Adrianople. The report of the special Turkish commissioner, Edib Effendi, contains statements on this point, as on every other, which are utterly unfounded by fact, and the whole report may be characterized as a tissue of falsehood. I was referred for information with regard to these outrages to Hafuz Nuri Effendi, a leading Turk of Philippopolis. While

he mentioned two or three outrages, he evidently did not believe in them, and he admitted that they had never been proved to him. He placed the number of Mussulmans, including gypsies, killed during the troubles at 153, of whom 12 were women and children, the word "children" being taken to mean any one under twenty years of age. The highest number fixed for the Mussulmans killed, as stated to me in different places by Mussulmans, before and during the insurrection, is 174. I have myself been able to obtain proof of the death of only 115, as in the following table:

Place.	Turkish statement.		Proved to me.
	Men.	Women and children.	
Perushtitsa	3	-----	2
Klissura	14	-----	14
Panagurishta	12	2	12
Koprivtchitsa	71	1	49
Sindjuli	26	4	20
Staro Novo Selo. {	2	-----	2
Bellova	6	3	-----
Kaloyerovo	-----	2	2
Bratsigovo	5	-----	-----
Letositchevo	2	-----	-----
Radulovo	4	-----	5
Tchanaktchi	3	-----	-----
Batak	5	-----	-----
Urutsi	9	-----	9
Drenovo	-----	-----	-----
	162	12	115

I was unable to assure myself that more than two Mussulman women had been killed at Panagurishta, and these were killed in fight. Neither Turkish women nor Turkish children were killed in cold blood. No Mussulman women were violated. No Mussulmans were tortured. No purely Turkish village, with the exception of Urutsi, was attacked or burned. No Mussulman house was pillaged; no mosque was desecrated.

The Turks, who were most guilty of these massacres and outrages, and who richly deserved the severest punishment, a punishment which might have very salutary consequences for the order and quiet of the country are as follows:

* * * * *

It has been claimed that the massacres and outrages in Bulgaria were not ordered by the Porte, and that it even had no knowledge of them.

* * * * *

However that may be, it is certain that nearly all those who particularly distinguished themselves for their cruelty and barbarity were rewarded, decorated, or promoted by the Porte, or have since held high positions in the army. On the contrary, an attempt has been made to punish some of those who did their best to act in a legal manner and to spare innocent men.

I am, &c.,

EUGENE SCHUYLER.



