

BULGARIA

BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Armistice Convention, Signed September 29, 1918¹

MILITARY CONVENTION REGULATING THE CONDITIONS OF SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND BULGARIA

(1) Immediate evacuation of the territories still occupied by Bulgarians in Greece and Serbia; no cattle, cereals, or provisions to be exported from such territories, which must be left undamaged, the Bulgarian civil administration will continue to function in the parts of Bulgaria actually occupied by the Allies.

(2) Immediate demobilization of the entire Bulgarian Army, with the exception of a fighting force comprising 3 divisions of 16 battalions each, 4 regiments of cavalry, which will be employed, 2 divisions for the defense of the east frontier of Bulgaria, and of the Dobrudja and 1 division for guarding the railways.

(3) Surrender at points designated by the high command of the armies of the east of arms, munitions, and military vehicles belonging to the elements demobilized, which will be stored by the Bulgarian authorities and under the control of the Allies. The horses also will be handed over to the Allies.

(4) Restitution to Greece of the material of the Fourth Greek Army Corps, taken from the Greek Army at the occupation of eastern Macedonia, in so far that it has not been sent to Germany.

(5) The elements of the Bulgarian troops now at the west of the meridian of Uskub will lay down their arms and will be considered, until further order, as prisoners of war; the officers will be allowed to keep their swords.

(6) The Bulgarian prisoners of war in the East will be employed by the allied armies until the peace without reciprocity as concerning the prisoners of war of the Allies. These last will be immediately surrendered to the allied authorities and deported civilians will be wholly free to reenter their own country.

(7) Germany and Austria will be allowed a delay of four weeks to withdraw their troops and military organizations from Bulgaria.

¹ Reprinted from S. Doc. 147, 66th Cong., 1st sess., p. 24. A copy of the French text of the Armistice with Bulgaria certified as authentic by M. Pichon, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, may be found under file No. 763.72119/6664. For correspondence concerning the Bulgarian armistice negotiations, see *Foreign Relations*, 1918, supp. 1, vol. I, pp. 321-331, 476-480.

The diplomatic and consular representatives of the Central Powers, as well as their citizens, must withdraw in this same period. The orders for the cessation of hostilities will be given at the time of the signature of the present convention.

Gen. FRANCHET D'ESPEREY
 ANDRÉ LIAPTCHÉW
 Gen. LOUKOFF

MILITARY COVENANT REGULATING THE CONDITIONS OF THE SUSPENSION
 OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND BULGARIA

SECRET ARTICLES

(1) The eventual passage of the Allied military forces over Bulgarian territory, as well as the utilization of railways, roads, waterways, and harbors, will be the object of a special covenant between the Bulgarian Government and the High Command of the Army of the East. Some negotiations to this effect will begin in about eight days at the most. They will concern, also, the control of telephone, telegraph, and the stations of T. S. F.

(2) A certain number of strategical points in the interior of the Bulgarian territory will be occupied by the great allied powers. This occupation will be provisional, and will serve purely as a guaranty. It will not give way to coercion or arbitrary requisition. The General in Chief of the armies gives assurance that unless unusual circumstances arise, Sofia will not be occupied.

(3) The General in Chief reserves for himself, in case of necessity, the right to demand absolute cessation of every relation between Bulgaria and her former allies.

(4) The opening of Bulgarian ports to the vessels of allied and neutral powers.

Gen. FRANCHET D'ESPEREY
 ANDRÉ LIAPTCHÉW
 Gen. LOUKOFF

763.72116/603 : Telegram

The Special Agent at Corfu (Dodge) to the Secretary of State

CORFU, November 14, 1918—6 p. m.
 [Received November 15—11:50 a. m.]

Foreign Office circular note states that Servian Government has decided to create international commission to investigate violations of the Hague Conventions in view of the great number violations by

Bulgarians, Austrians and Germans and requests the Government of the United States to appoint a member of the commission. Servian Government trusts the Government of the United States will accede to this request which is especially urgent.

Another circular note incloses three official documents enumerating violations international law especially by Bulgarians. The atrocities described are appalling. Copies by next mail.²

DODGE

763.72/12326 : Telegram

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

ATHENS, November 21, 1918—1 p. m.

[Received November 22—10:48 a. m.]

610. The following from Murphy for Secretary of State :

"186, 20th. Yesterday afternoon Prime Minister was informed by General Chrétien, Chief Entente military mission Sofia, that 'by order of French Government' Bulgarian army must evacuate Dobrudja. Order violates armistice signed 29th September last, paragraph 2 of which provided for immediate demobilization of Bulgarian army except 'three divisions of 16 battalions each, 4 regiments of cavalry, which will be employed, 2 divisions for the defence of the eastern frontier of Bulgaria and of the Dobrudja and 1 division to guard the railroads'. Cabinet immediately resigned, but King holds matter in abeyance. The order has created deplorable situation, for change of Government may lead to resuscitation Bolshevism. Cannot United States intervene and bring about revocation of order? Murphy."

DROPPERS

763.72/12342 : Telegram

The Minister in Greece (Droppers) to the Secretary of State

ATHENS, November 22, 1918.

[Received November 25—5:15 a. m.]

612. Forwarded at the request of Murphy. Trust I am complying with regulations of the Department in forwarding it.

"Number 187, 21st. Following yesterday's telegram number 186. The Prime Minister replying note Chief Entente Mission said :

'It is clear that the evacuation of Dobroudja does not figure in the conditions of the Convention of September 29 which conditions the Royal Government adheres to and has loyally fulfilled in all respects; proof of this is not lacking. Considering therefore the impossibility of fulfilling a new condition imposed

²Not printed.

contrary to the convention and not being able either to admit of the interpretation given to the Convention the Bulgarian Government has handed its resignation to the King.'

The King will hold resignation Cabinet in abeyance for some days. Large majority Parliament insist upon Cabinet remaining and are indignant violation terms armistice. People generally of same mind. Plainly speaking, French are intriguing overthrow Government, but if attempt succeeds, revolution inevitable. What must be done to save Bulgaria is to revoke order French Government directing Bulgarian troops leave Dobroudja and have freedom Entente and Americans come here investigate and make truthful report to Versailles. British Officers and Italian General here in accord with my views and already have telegraphed their Governments. French disturbing tranquility of the country by their intrigues and may bring about renewal of Bolshevikism order. Situation demands prompt action. Please advise President. Murphy."

DROPPERS

763.72116/603 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Special Agent at Corfu (Dodge)

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1918—3 p. m.

Your November 14, 6 p. m. In view of the fact that American forces did not participate in the military campaign in the Balkans, this Government does not feel that it can properly accept the invitation of the Serbian Government to appoint a member to an international commission to investigate Bulgarian atrocities. A similar reply has been made to a like invitation from the Greek Government.

LANSING

763.72119/2842 : Telegram

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State *

SOFIA, November 29, 1918.

[Received December 1—4:58 p. m.]

190. Prime Minister informs me Roumanian troops crossed river Danube last night, search-lights having been used on Roumanian side. As population Toulcha greatly disquieted, Prime Minister asks that United States intervene that terms armistice be strictly adhered to.

MURPHY

* Forwarded to Colonel House as Department's telegram No. 132, Dec. 6, 1918, 3 p. m.

763.72/12428 : Telegram

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State

SOFIA, November 30, 1918.

[Received December 4—5:55 a. m.]

192. Situation Dobroudja improved. Roumanian troops withdrawn by order and recrossed river. So far as can be ascertained no excesses and no damage. Bulgarian civil administration will remain in charge railroads, posts and telegraphs.

MURPHY

763.72/12435 : Telegram

The Consul General at Sofia (Murphy) to the Secretary of State

SOFIA, December 3, 1918.

[Received December 5—12:05 p. m.]

193. Situation changed for worse. Bulgarian civil administration in Dobroudja which it was promised should continue now ordered leave. Roumanian troops are to occupy territory and Theodoroff Cabinet may resign as protest. Country much disquieted. Bulgarian population Dobroudja fearing renewal cruel treatment will probably flock en masse to Bulgaria. Neither food nor fuel to supply them. Bulgaria asks only that English and French troops occupy Dobroudja and that neither Roumanian military nor civil authorities be permitted there pending settlement by Peace Conference.

MURPHY

763.72119/2969 : Telegram

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

SOFIA, December 10, 1918—noon.

[Received December 12—12:40 p. m.]

33 [3?]. Reports have reached me from French, English, Greek and American Red Cross sources that Bulgarian officials are rendering repatriation of Greeks as difficult as possible and subject them to great and unnecessary hardships making them pay railroad fare and other expenses. Another report less well confirmed as coming only from Greek sources is that Bulgarians in emigrating eastern Macedonia are taking with them all horses, cattle, flocks, et cetera, which is in distinct violation of terms of armistice. French commander in chief whom I saw in Salonica and who is expected here shortly told me that he intends to speak energetically to the Bulgarian Government regarding these two points. Above repeated to Paris.

WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 874.00/13 : Telegram

*The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)*⁵

SOFIA, December 10, 1918—1 p. m.

[Received December 15—2:15 p. m.]

2. Had long talk with Mr. Theodoroff, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He received me most cordially [and] expressed great admiration for President Wilson and the United States, a feeling which he assured me was shared by practically all, then went on to say Bulgaria owed much to the United States in the past and that now in the darkest moment of its history she looked to the United States as the only country which could save her practically from annihilation. The Minister then undertook to justify and explain and excuse entrance of Bulgaria into the war on the side of Central Powers which he characterized as a crime on the part of his country. He claimed however that the Bulgarian people had always been against joining the Central Powers and that it was due to the ex-King, a small band of unscrupulous politicians in the pay of Germany, as well as intrigues on the part of Greece and Roumania. He stated that the army had been opposed to the war and that it had been necessary to adopt a very severe coercion with heavy punishments in order to keep proper authority in the army fighting unwillingly against the Allies. The Prime Minister stated that when the Radoslavoff Government fell and Malinoff Government of which he was Minister assumed power, it was decided to seize the first opportunity to break with Germany. This opportunity came when Germany refused to send troops at Bulgaria's request. Bulgaria then immediately proposed an armistice although Germany then used every promise and threat to hold her. The Minister hoped that the Allies would take this action of Bulgaria into consideration for it is realized that Bulgaria must suffer for her part in the war but nevertheless [her] demand for an armistice had been the beginning of the end of the war, for the Bulgarian army was not by any means at the end of its power and could have prolonged the war for at least some months longer. He especially hoped that the United States would appreciate these facts. He said that Bulgaria would never have gone into the war if it had realized that it would have to come into conflict with England and the great powers; that all countries except Serbia and Roumania had declared war on Bulgaria, not Bulgaria on them. The Minister referred to the very effective propaganda work being carried on in the Allied countries by Serbia, Greece, Roumania and

⁵The last two paragraphs of this telegram have been supplied from the text transmitted to the Department by the Ambassador in France in telegram No. 6345, Dec. 17, 1918. 6 p. m. (763.72119/3040)

deplored fact that Bulgaria was not allowed to send agents to the Allies to explain her position and counteract some of the accusations made against her. He asked me to renew previous requests that Bulgaria be allowed to send representatives official or unofficial to Paris to present to the Allies the Bulgarian side of the case. He spoke of the action of the Allies in Dobrudja which he claims is in violation of the terms of the armistice signed with the Allies and which has caused considerable internal unrest in the country. It was as a protest [to this] alleged violation that Malinoff the former prime minister resigned and the position of his successor is made difficult and precarious. The Minister next spoke of Bulgarian aspirations in Macedonia stating that according to the principles of nationality recently declared by President Wilson, Bulgaria is bound to receive that part of Macedonia which was recognized as Bulgarian in the secret annex to the treaty between Bulgaria and Servia of 1912⁶ before the [first] Balkan war. The Minister finally spoke of the food situation. He said that in country districts the situation was not so bad and population could probably get through winter but in Bucharest especially and other towns supply of wheat sufficient for 40 days. He said that America was the only country to which Bulgaria could look and ask for support and their appeal for 20,000 tons wheat would be sufficient to tide over the situation. Food riots and disorders were brooding [*brewing?*] and he could accept no responsibility for outcome which might bring Bulgaria to conditions resembling conditions now in Russia.

Next had conference with Minister of War Liaptchew. He was Bulgarian delegate who signed armistice with the Allies. He spoke with considerable bitterness on the subject of the alleged violations of the armistice as to Dobrudja. He complained of the high-handed acts of the Allies in [apparent omission] and in Bulgaria, saying that it was sometimes difficult to decide who was governing the country. He further stated that it looked to him as if, insofar as the Balkans were concerned each state would at the end of the war be armed to the teeth to protect itself against its neighbors. I replied that as far as the United States was concerned this was the exact situation which it desired and intended to do away with after the war.

This morning Prime Minister made me visit of an hour and went into Dobrudja question in great detail. This is evidently the question most on his and the public mind at the present moment and its effect upon internal situation of the country may be unfortunate as bringing about disorders which might upset present Ministry. At this moment, however, it seems as if a temporary solution satis-

⁶ For text, in French, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. cv, pp. 941, 942.

factory to Bulgaria has been reached. What Bulgaria feared was that the civil administration might be given into the hands of the Roumanians, but he is now assured that it will be in hands of Allied Military authorities to which Bulgaria has no objection. The Minister fears, however, that this agreement like former ones may not be kept too strictly. I think that Bulgaria is going to adopt the role of posing as a victim having been dragged into the war against the real wishes of the country and people and on that ground appealing to the magnanimity and generosity of the great powers, especially the United States, at the Peace Conference at the same time appealing to principle of nationalities as set forth by President Wilson to secure the return of the Dobrudja and certain territory in Macedonia. The above sent immediately Department of State.

WILSON

763.72119/2971 : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, December 12, 1918—10 a. m.

[Received 7:40 p. m.]

250. I have conferred with General Bliss but he says that he sees no remedy for conditions of the sort described in your telegram¹ which are apparently local and temporary. He states that if conditions at Toulcha are really serious they will be subject of earnest consideration at the Peace Conference.

EDWARD HOUSE

Paris Peace Conf. 874.00/12½

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

SOPIA, December 12, 1918.

MY DEAR GREW: I beg to enclose herewith a copy of a telegram² which a number of the missionaries of the American Board, residing in Bulgaria, requested me to telegraph to the President. I did not feel justified in sending a telegram, but informed them that I would transmit their communication to you in Paris in case you should find it possible and proper to bring it to the notice of the President through the proper channels.

In connection with this communication I would point out that all the American missionaries in this country are strongly pro-Bulgarian

¹ No. 132 of Dec. 6, 1918; see footnote 4, p. 244.

² Not attached to file copy of this letter.

and strong partisans of Bulgarian territorial ambitions. I understand that during the war they have carried on a considerable propaganda work in the United States, especially with a view to preventing a declaration of war against Bulgaria, and they are now continuing this propaganda in a more intense form in the hope that Bulgarian aspirations for increased territory will receive favorable consideration at the Peace Conference, and especially secure the support of the American delegation. I have been informed on good authority that two American missionaries (one named . . .) recently left Bulgaria for the United States for propaganda purposes, their expenses being paid by the Bulgarian Government.

The Prime Minister, and the Ministers of War and Finance have all requested me to secure permission from my Government for some of the American missionaries in Bulgaria to go to Paris, officially or un-officially, to place before American and other allied public men Bulgaria's position and aspirations for increased territory.

One, and the chief reason of the strong pro-Bulgarian sentiment among American missionaries in this country is due to the fact that Bulgaria is the only Balkan state where their efforts have met with any success. In Greece, Servia and Roumania, even if they are permitted to carry on their work at all, they have been entirely unsuccessful in proselytizing. On the contrary the establishment of American missionary schools in Bulgaria has been encouraged and welcomed by the Bulgarian Government and people, and they have met with considerable success in making converts.

This explains the attitude of the American missionaries in Bulgaria, who by carrying on propaganda in favor of that country in the United States, hope to arouse in certain circles a feeling of sympathy which will influence the American members of the peace conference, so that Bulgarian territorial aspirations will receive favorable consideration.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES S. WILSON

763.72119/2988 : Telegram

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

SOFIA, December 12, 1918—11 a. m.
[Received December 14—2:38 p. m.]

6. Referring to conversation I had with Captain Lippmann, in Paris, I fail to find in Bulgaria any special interest in Thrace or any indication that she would consider expansion in that direction as compensation for parts of Macedonia. On the other hand talking with

Greeks and others, it appears that Greece has almost unlimited ambitions and aspirations in Thrace. The most burning question for Bulgaria is to secure the return of Dobrudja, and next comes the acquisition of that part of Macedonia granted to Bulgaria by the secret annex to the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty of 1912 before first Balkan War. Bulgaria looks to Peace Conference and especially influence of United States there, to secure for her these two bits of territorial expansion of which she claims she cannot be deprived, if the principle [of] nationalities is honestly carried out. Regarding a second inquiry of Captain Lippmann as to the possibility of Bulgaria in the course of time joining or being absorbed into a strong Yugoslav State, I have had many conversations on the subject with various persons of different nationalities, diplomats and others. They all agree that the idea is most improbable and practically impossible. The only exceptions have been a number of Yugoslav officers who think it is possible. I gather that this is a scheme launched and fathered by the Yugoslavs, who of course desire it, but I do not think it will receive the slightest consideration or favor in Bulgaria. Above sent Paris.

WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 874.00/16 : Telegram

*The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Ambassador in France
(Sharp)*

SOFIA, December 16, 1918—12 a. m.

[Received December 19—12:30 p. m.]

6. The Prime Minister called on me yesterday to request that I convey to the President of the United States, in the name of the Government of Bulgaria, and its people, congratulations upon his arrival in Europe. He said further that this was to Bulgaria an event of prime importance as Bulgaria looked to the President of the United States to save Bulgaria from annihilation: He also renewed request already made several times that Mr. Cueshobeluga [*Gueshov?*], former Minister Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, and Mr. Vladimartzanoff, graduate of Harvard, and former Associated Press correspondent at Petrograd, and officer in both Balkan and late wars, who is now attached to Ministry of War, be allowed to proceed to Paris to lay Bulgarian cause unofficially before the President of the United States, and the American peace delegation. Similar requests have been made to British and French Governments to send two other prominent Bulgarians to each of these countries. Kindly repeat to Department.

WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 871.0144/2

*The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Ambassador in France
(Sharp)*

SOPIA, December 16, 1918.

[Received December 30.]

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith, for transmission to the American Peace Delegation, a copy of a despatch to the Department⁹ transmitting (1) an article from the *Echo de Bulgarie*, the official government organ, of December 13, 1918, containing the reply of the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs to an interpellation in the Chamber concerning the situation in the Dobrudja, and (2) a copy of a communication addressed by the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs to General Chrétien, Commander of the Allied armies in Bulgaria, on the same subject.⁹

I am [etc.]

CHARLES S. WILSON

[Enclosure—Translation]

Article From "L'Echo de Bulgarie," December 13, 1918

In reply to an interpellation of M. D. Kiortcheff, a Liberal Deputy, M. Th. Theodoroff, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, made important declarations concerning the Dobrudja in the session of the Sobranie on Wednesday (Dec. 11, 1918.)

After stating that the Government will publish the full text of the armistice concluded at Salonika, the President of the Council spoke of the evacuation of the Dobrudja. By a note dated November 19th, he said, we were required to withdraw Bulgarian troops from that part of Dobrudja which belonged to Roumania in 1913, in virtue of the treaty of Bucharest of 1913.¹⁰ After the retreat of our troops, or rather at the moment this demand was made, there was no question of our administration which then existed in that country. It continued to remain there provisionally, until the allied governments should pronounce on the subject. When the question was settled by a note dated December 5th, the withdrawal of our administration was also demanded. This note refers to the recall of officials who had been sent from Sofia. Here is the text of the passage:

"The civil administration, under the authority of the allied troops of occupation, shall be entrusted as to details to the native authorities of the Dobrudja. The officials sent from Sofia may not remain. The evacuation of Bulgarian officials is arranged to take place after the occupation of the country by allied troops. This evacuation

⁹ Not printed.

¹⁰ For text, in French, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. CVII, p. 658.

will take place progressively under the following conditions. It must be finished in the Department of Constansa by December 8th; Department of Toultscha, December 13th; Department of Silistrea, December 18th; Department of Dobritch, December 23rd”.

In demanding the departure of the officials sent from Sofia, and of the administration authorities, the matter was not definitely settled of replacing them, and whether this substitution would be composed of Roumanian officials appointed from Bucharest, or by officials appointed by the military forces of occupation, that is by the High Command of the allied armies in the Dobrudja, entrusted as it is known to General Berthelot, Commander of the Danube Army.

On account of lack of clearness on this point, steps were taken by the Government, and on December 8th we received an explanation signed by General Chrétien, Commander of the allied troops in Bulgaria, of which the following is the conclusion :

“It is decided from the preceding that the administration of the Dobrudja will be placed under the direct order of General Berthelot. This will be a military administration having full powers, which will continue until the conclusion of peace. It is an allied and not a Roumanian administration. It goes without saying that the local administration will be native so far as possible, in conformity with the orders of the Allied Governments.”

Such is the actual situation, and the Bulgarian Government considers that after the withdrawal of the Bulgarian troops and the officials sent from Sofia, the Dobrudja is occupied by the allied armies—English and French. The French will occupy the north—including the Cernavoda—Constansa railway and the English the south. The troops which occupy the country will administer it, appoint and dismiss officials, take all measures for maintaining order and feeding the population and in general doing everything pertaining to a good administration. There will be no Bulgarian troops, but neither will there be Roumanian troops or officials.

The Dobrudja is placed in the hands of the allied armies which will take charge of its administration. It is clear that in this respect the Dobrudja has not the same fate as the territory which we were obliged to evacuate in virtue of the convention of September 29th, by which we were obliged to purely and simply turn the territory over to the states to which it had belonged before—part to the Servians and part to the Greeks. Here we cede nothing to Roumania.

We are evacuating this province under certain conditions which I have described, leaving it under the occupation of the allied troops and under an administration which they will set up under their own responsibility. We have received a formal written declaration that Roumanian troops will not be admitted in any case or in any way.

The tranquility of the population of the Dobrudja will be assured in an efficacious manner by the military authorities which occupy the country.

Consequently all the complaints which may be made until the conclusion of peace, should be addressed to the military authorities charged with the maintenance of order and tranquility in the country. The most formal assurances have been given us that the properties, lives, and tranquility will be guaranteed to Roumanians, Bulgarians, Tartars, Russians, and all elements living there. At the same time we have been assured that the occupation does not prejudice in any way the question as to whom the country will belong. This question—it is stated in the communications, will be definitely settled at the peace conference.

This, Gentlemen, is the reply I must make concerning the Dobrudja. I do not think this moment propitious for an appreciation or a discussion of the existing situation. It is even less opportune to inquire whether these acts are regular or not, and to look for the responsibility of the government, if there is such responsibility. I believe that parliament should be satisfied at present by knowing the facts, especially as very soon, it will have the text of the convention. I consider it however my duty to add that this new situation does not inspire us with uneasiness, and that our national work is not exposed to danger. The question of knowing to whom the Dobrudja shall belong remains open; as before the occupation. It will be settled, not on the basis of the effective occupation, for the Dobrudja is occupied by the allied troops, but on entirely other considerations, on the subject of which we have already had occasion to express ourselves. These considerations will be set forth at the conference, in which we may say entire humanity will participate. Confiding in this conference which will pronounce upon all our national claims, convinced of the justice, I might say of the sacredness of our cause and of our right to realize the unity of our people, we do not lessen in any way our chance of receiving satisfaction in the Dobrudja, as well as eventually in Macedonia and Thrace, within the limits where our aspirations extend. We must be calm and have full confidence in the conscience of humanity and in the spirit of justice of the great people and the great powers which will pronounce on all the questions which concern our future in such an intense manner. We must not allow ourselves to be impressed by isolated incidents nor draw hasty conclusions. I am convinced that parliament will act calmly and in full confidence toward the great powers, who are obeying in this case considerations which do not concern us. It is from them that we await the determination of our fate, and it is upon them that we must base our hopes. I am convinced that in

so acting we shall obtain what is due us and that we shall not have to regret our attitude.

We must avoid everything of a nature to raise obstacles to our task. Our defense will not be based on hatreds, recriminations or bitterness. It will be reasonable, and I believe that it will be worthy of the attention of the great men who govern the great nations. It will be an appeal to the conscience of humanity. (Applause).

763.72119/3443

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

No. 6

SOPIA, December 19, 1918.

[Received January 18, 1919.]

SIR: During the first ten days of my stay in Bulgaria, I have had occasion to talk with a considerable number of persons, Bulgarians and others, including the King, the Bulgarian Ministers, various leaders of political parties, the heads of the British, French, Italian, Greek and the Servian Military Missions, American Missionaries and others and the following report is the result of some of the conclusions drawn therefrom.

There is no question in my mind but that both the Bulgarian people and Government are today pro-Ally, glad to be free of German control, glad to have the Allied Armies in the country, at least for the present, and regretting sincerely that they entered the war on the German side. This regret is not entirely owing to the fact that they misjudged the situation and must suffer for being on the losing side, but also to the fact that Bulgaria allowed herself to be drawn into the war by the King and a few agents of Germany against the will and contrary to the sentiments of the Bulgarian people as a whole.

Their point of view is, however, peculiar in regard to their participation in the war on the side of the central powers. They realize that they committed a "crime", as the Prime Minister called it, but once having admitted this fact, they seem to think that this is an end of the matter, and cannot seem to understand why there should be any hard feeling or resentment among the Allies towards Bulgaria, or why there is anything to prevent Bulgaria from resuming her pre-war position as "The Spoiled Child of the Balkans". The Prime Minister is almost the only one who does not adopt this attitude.

This feeling is especially strong in regard to the United States, for whom Bulgaria has always had the warmest feelings, and the fact that Bulgaria and the United States have not been at war makes it

apparently impossible for the Bulgarians to understand that American public feeling is not so cordial towards their country as before the war. Every Bulgarian with whom I have spoken looks to the United States to espouse the Bulgarian cause at the Peace Conference, and states that they have the most absolute confidence in President Wilson and his theory of nationalities, which they expect will fulfill all their aspirations for territorial expansion. I have not spoken to a single Bulgarian who has not told me that no pressure could have induced Bulgaria to side with Germany if she had believed that the United States would enter the war. It is also a fact that Germany used every argument and threat to induce Bulgaria to declare war on the United States and that the latter refused even at the risk of a break with her allies.

From England also the Bulgarians seem to expect support at the peace conference. Up to the time of the war, England had always been more favorably disposed to Bulgaria than to the other Balkan states, and I understand that even now there is [are] a number of prominent Englishmen, both in Parliament and out, who favor a lenient treatment of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria further counts upon Italian jealousy of the Yougo-Slavs and a greater Serbia to bring Italy to use her influence at the conference to secure for Bulgaria a slice of Macedonia, in order to prevent it from being joined to Serbia.

In fact France is the only one of the great powers from whom Bulgaria seems to fear great hostility at the peace conference. Every Bulgarian whom I have met has asked me anxiously, "Is the feeling in France against us terribly bitter"? It is believed that the Yougo-Slavs are the special protégés of France, who at the peace conference will use all her influence to increase the Yougo-Slav state, especially at the expense of Bulgarian territorial aspirations in Macedonia.

There is also a much less friendly feeling in Bulgaria for the French troops forming the army of occupation than for the English and Italian. The latter especially seem to get on excellently with the Bulgarians with whom they have to deal and are as a matter of fact a fine lot of troops.

The Bulgarians too seem satisfied with the English troops and say that those parts under English jurisdiction have no cause of complaint and are well administered.

There does not seem to be the same cordial feeling for the French forces in the country. This is due largely to the fact that the whole army of occupation is under French command, and that naturally all orders, unpopular or otherwise, emanate from the French. Also, perhaps, the French troops in Bulgaria are not quite of such a good class as the English and Italians. The fact that many of them

are colored is resented by the Bulgarians, and there is furthermore no doubt but that the feelings of the French, both officers and men, is [*are*] less friendly to Bulgaria than those of other nations. General Chrétien, the French officer at the head of the Allied forces is an excellent man for the place. He is able to understand the Bulgarian point of view and desires and works for strict justice for Bulgaria.

Colonel Napier, head of the British Military Mission, goes even further and is in my opinion decidedly friendly towards the Bulgarian people even to sympathizing with their aspirations for increased territory.

As to Bulgaria's feelings for her Balkan neighbors, these still remain intensely bitter towards Greece and Roumania, as she feels that it was largely owing to these two countries that she was tricked into going into the war with the Germans, and she still remembers her loss of territory to them both after the second Balkan war. On the contrary all Bulgarians with whom I have talked about Servia seem to look forward to a *rapprochement* with that country, and to closer relations, at least commercial ones. There is some vague talk of Bulgaria and Greater Servia making some sort of a union sometime in the indefinite future, but I am not inclined to give much weight to this idea, especially as far as Bulgaria is concerned, though I believe it is favored by the Yougo-Slavs and Servians.

There is no doubt but that a Servia with ports on the Adriatic would have a strong attraction for Bulgaria, and would tend to increase commercial relations and possibly political ones as well, and there is a possibility that if Bulgaria is given no increase of territory by the peace conference or worse still should be reduced in territory, she would of necessity be absorbed by a Greater Servia, and completely lose her individuality as a separate nationality.

The difference in feeling towards Greeks and Servians is shown by what is taking place in the repatriation of civilians of those two countries from Bulgaria. The Chief of the Servian Military Mission tells me that everything is going smoothly so far as the Servians are concerned, while there is no doubt that efforts to make the repatriation of Greeks hard and painful are in some degree intentional.

I have been unable up to the present time to form any opinion on Bulgarian relations with Turkey, present or future, beyond the fact that every Bulgarian cherishes a profound hatred for the Turks. A few days ago the Bulgarian Minister and staff from Constantinople and the Bulgarian Consuls in Turkey arrived in Sofia. The official newspapers stated that the Entente had obliged Turkey to expel them as according to the terms of the armistice Turkey was to break relations with her former allies. Sweden has taken charge of Bulgarian interests in Turkey.

As reported in my telegrams the burning question for Bulgaria is the Dobrudja which is now under Allied Military jurisdiction. To this temporary arrangement the Bulgarian Government has no objection, provided that this district be restored to Bulgaria by the peace conference. Next to this comes Macedonia, or rather that part of it which Serbia, in the secret annex to the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912, acknowledged as purely Bulgarian, and without interest for Serbia. If these two bits of territory are awarded to Bulgaria I believe that she will be satisfied and cease to be a source of trouble in the Balkans. If, on the other hand, Dobrudja is awarded to Roumania and the above-mentioned part of Macedonia to Serbia and Greece, Bulgaria will never accept the decision as final, and sooner or later trouble will again begin in the Balkans. Bulgaria has, I firmly believe, abandoned her chauvinistic ideas and exaggerated territorial pretensions in Macedonia and would be fully satisfied with the rather modest increase referred to above. And even more important for future peace is her regaining possession of the Dobrudja. In view of the large territorial acquisitions which it seems likely will be granted Serbia and Roumania, it is to be hoped that they will not grudge these two bits to Bulgaria, as such a settlement will surely strengthen the chances of a lasting Balkan peace. As to Thrace, Bulgaria seems, in spite of the large Bulgarian element in the population there, to have largely disinterested herself. In any case she would not in my opinion, consider the acquisition of territory there as compensation for her claims of the Dobrudja and a part of Macedonia.

A copy of this despatch has been sent to the American Embassy in Paris for transmission to the American Peace Delegation.

I have [etc.]

CHARLES S. WILSON

763.72119/3132 : Telegram

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, December 21, 1918—11 a. m.

[Received 2:55 p. m.]

6414. Following from Saloniki from Sofia with request to repeat to Department:

“Number 5, December 15, 10 a. m. Had audience of hour and half with King yesterday most of it spent in general conversation. He was very cordial and expressed pleasure that United States had sent a diplomatic representative at present critical time. He inquired anxiously as have all persons I have met here what I found the attitude of France towards Bulgaria. It is clearly believed here that while

United States, England and Italy will be favorable to Bulgaria or at least not hostile, France will be very decided and favor Yougo-Slavs at Bulgaria's expense.

His Majesty inquired whether I believed the reports were true that the enemy countries would not be represented Peace Conference but merely called in to ratify decisions concerning themselves arrived at by the allies. He remarked that this hardly seemed in accord with previous statements of the allies and the policy of justice declared by President Wilson; and that decisions reached in this way would never be accepted as final by the states who were not allowed to be represented at conference. Like all others I have met here he referred to the unfair treatment Bulgaria in not being allowed to send agents to Paris to ruin [*present?*] her case and refute some of the calumnies repeated against her by Greeks, Roumanians and Servians. His Majesty spoke with admiration of President Wilson and the United States and concluded by saying that Bulgaria placed her whole reliance of receiving just treatment in the United States whose attitude has been expressed so fully and clearly by President Wilson. The King expressed some apprehension in regard to Bolshevism but said that he did not especially fear an outbreak in Bulgaria unless it should become epidemic in Europe generally in which case Bulgaria would be attacked like all other countries. He said that he felt the break up of Austria was unfortunate and dangerous and increased the likelihood of dispute and war among the numerous newly created nations. The King struck me as young and boyish, but intelligent and very frank and honest in expression of his views. It is generally understood that he has always been pro-Allied in his sentiments and opposed to the pro-German policy his father the ex-King, by whom however he was entirely cowed. Wilson, Chargé d'Affaires. Horton."

SHARP

Paris Peace Conf. 874.0144/2

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

No. 8

SOFIA, December 21, 1918.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith clippings from the Bulgarian press of December 17th and 18th, and to especially call attention to the article from *L'Echo de Bulgarie*, of December 18, 1918,¹¹ containing extracts from a speech of the Prime Minister concerning Bulgarian territorial aspirations which it is hoped the Peace Conference will take under favorable consideration.

I have [etc.]

CHARLES S. WILSON

[Enclosure—Translation]

Article From "L'Echo de Bulgarie," December 18, 1918

THE HOPES OF BULGARIA

Last Sunday Mr. Theodoroff, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, pronounced at a meeting of the

¹¹ Of the clippings enclosed, only one article is printed.

National Party a masterly discourse, of which the *Mir* gives the substance. We borrow from this paper the part of Mr. Theodoroff's speech dealing particularly with the international situation of Bulgaria. The President of the Council said:—

"All our friends, American, English, French, or Italian tell us frankly what they expect of us:—

'Do you wish to gain our sympathy and our confidence? Keep quiet, maintain order and calm in your country, let us finish quietly our common work. We do not ask you to become our allies, to flatter or glorify us. Do you wish to inspire us with confidence? Show yourselves a peaceful and reasonable people; be an industrious people and not Utopians and people carried away by passions.'

"If I have anything to recommend as a principle of conduct, an appeal to your love of country, it is to give full support to the government, which will enable us to maintain until the peace, order and calm in the country. For this is the condition *sine qua non* upon which we shall secure the peace which the people desire. The Government which directs affairs at this time includes six different parties and represents the crushing majority of the Bulgarian people. It has no desire or interest in injuring anyone and is inspired solely with a desire to conduct Bulgaria to a safe port. There may be differences of principle in the parties forming this 'bloc', but the interests of the country bid us all to unite and work together. The armistice outside ought to be followed by an armistice within.

No doubt but that the question of the chances of Bulgaria at the peace conference deeply interests you all. I must, however, tell you that at this moment this matter is not clear. To name a lasting and eternal peace all circumstances will be weighed, and the necessary measures taken to remove all danger and obstacles.

Words fail me to show you how much a peace favorable to us depends on our good conduct and on our attitude as an element of peace and order in the Balkans. It does not suffice alone to have the right on our side in our claims on Macedonia, Thrace and the Dobrudja. We must prove that we are a people which can create all the conditions of a peaceful life towards progress and not capable only of alarms and disputes with our neighbors. The Justice of our cause is so clear that it has no need to present exceptional proofs. All intelligent men understand and share it. We are accused of having failed in gratitude towards our benefactors and of not having known who were our true friends, and this under the reign of a sovereign such as Ferdinand whose abdication was a blessing for Bulgaria; but the most horrible is the accusation that during the war we have committed atrocious crimes. Our adversaries are trying now to prove that in order to assure order and security of life and property in the Balkans it is necessary to entrust the direction of affairs in the Balkans to people more civilized, less barbarous. However if in fact there have been crimes the responsibility does not fall upon the whole Bulgarian people, nor upon the Bulgarian army; the guilty are isolated individuals who must and shall expiate their crimes, of this I can assure you most formally. Bulgaria reached an independent existence as a result of cruelties of this kind committed against our people—cruelties which are actually imputed to us. But we will not leave

unpunished the crimes by which those isolated individuals have caused the gravest harm to our people which is by nature peaceable and not vindictive.

All this does not indicate that I have not faith in the great nations who will be called upon to pronounce their judgement upon us. On the contrary I am convinced that the justice of our cause, supported by our dignified attitude will be respected and sanctioned by the congress which will unite the representatives of all humanity. I am convinced that the great nations which will take part in the peace conference will not allow themselves to be influenced by sentiments of vengeance and punishment toward the Bulgarian people, but will accomplish a lasting work of peace in conformity with the principles of right and justice which they have always loudly proclaimed.

I am firmly convinced that the great people of America led by the noble Mr. Wilson who has already arrived in Europe and is at this moment in Paris, will intercede energetically in favor of the application of the lofty principles that he has himself proclaimed. Among these principles the first place is held by that of nationality, of respect for the will of peoples. This principle leads us to believe that the map of Bulgaria will be drawn in such a manner that we shall realize in full the unity of the Bulgarian people and lands.

The great British, which nation has always given us its precious support in our struggle for liberty and unity, which first spoke of our sufferings through the mouth of the immortal Gladstone (which led the Russians to freeing us), who again lent us their aid in 1885, at the time of the reunion of the two Bulgarias, who supported our efforts at the Treaty of London in 1913¹²—this great nation cannot at this moment also refuse us its precious support, knowing that our participation in the present war took place under influences foreign to our people.

France, that country of humanity and progress which has always eagerly embraced lofty ideas and has never ceased to profess fraternity and liberty in its struggle for its sons in Alsace and Lorraine, cannot oppose the realization of our national claims, especially at this time when our neighbors can dispose of what belongs to them.

Italy, which like us is struggling for her unity, who has always been kindly disposed toward us and has never shown the least hostility toward us, cannot fail to declare herself as truly sympathetic toward our national cause.

I hope that that great Russia, the country to which we owe our freedom, will, if possible, by a diplomacy which will have consideration and influence at the international congress, be the first to intervene in favor of Bulgaria.

I hope also that the other Slav countries, Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, with whom we have had no quarrels, and for whom we have only sympathy, will also consider us with justice. I believe that they will exercise their influence upon the feelings of their sister Serbia, with whom we could at this time more easily come to an understanding in order to avoid hostile competition and live in future as good neighbors.

I believe that Greeks, Serbs and Roumanians will be more conciliatory and will be inspired with the idea of a good future and peace between the Balkan people.

¹² For text, in French, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. CVII, p. 656.

I have tried to show you that Bulgaria has every reason to await quietly the world congress, where, as more than once in the past, she may count on just judges among the great nations. A nation, sound, reasonable and industrious, such as ours, has the right to hope that everyone will recognize that it possesses all the conditions to become a factor of peace and progress in the Balkans and to a greater extent than it has been up to the present".

Paris Peace Conf. 871.0144/3 : Telegram

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Chargé in France (Bliss)

SOFIA, December 24, 1918—10 p. m.
[Received December 26—11:30 p. m.]

For Ammission. Referring to portion of Legation's telegram number 2, December 10, 11 a. m. [1 p. m.] regarding Dobrudja, learn that in further acknowledged violation of armistice and in spite of recent assurances given Bulgaria by Allies, Roumanian officials, gendarmes and even troops are being introduced into Dobrudja. Bulgarian Government has acceded to all Allied demands regarding this province on understanding that upon withdrawal of all Bulgarian Civil and Military Officials it should remain under strictly allied military administration and especially the Roumanian administration should not be permitted until status of Dobrudja definitely settled by Peace Conference. French Generals commanding Allied Forces and Adjutant, chief of British military mission agree with me that trouble is being stirred up unnecessarily by introduction of Roumanians into Dobrudja at the present time and that it is in violation of armistice. Understand they have so reported to their Governments, but present action is due to orders from Paris. I fear entry of Roumanians into Dobrudja may not only cause fighting there between them and natives, but may have unfortunate effect on internal situation in Bulgaria proper, even possibly to extent of causing fall of present ministry which question signal for revolution.

Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that Greek troops have crossed Bulgarian frontier near Druma. Greeks deny this, saying boundary not clearly marked at this spot. French Commander sending mixed commission of French, Bulgarian, and Greek officers to investigate. He says he can say with some truthfulness that he believes Greeks would like to provoke collision with Bulgarians, throwing blame on latter in order to exhibit themselves [*sic*] to Allies on eve of Peace Conference as trouble breeders in the Balkans. Please repeat above to Department.

WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 874.00/16 : Telegram

*The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Consul General at
Saloniki (Horton)*

PARIS, December 27, 1918.

3. Your 18th to Embassy Paris transmitting number 5 [6] from Sofia.¹³ Kindly inform Mr. Wilson that President desires an expression of his thanks conveyed to Bulgarian Prime Minister for his congratulations, and say to Mr. Wilson that other matter mentioned in his telegram must of necessity in present circumstances await action of French Government on the request addressed to it.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 185.4124/16

Professor Olive Day to Mr. William C. Bullitt

[PARIS,] December 28, 1918.

Re: Violation of the Armistice in the Balkans.

The American charge d'affaires in Sofia reports that Rumanian officials, gendarmes, and troops are being introduced into the Dobrudja in violation of the Armistice.

The Bulgarian government acceded to Allied demands regarding the Dobrudja on the understanding that, upon the withdrawal of all Bulgarian civil and military officials, the Dobrudja should remain under strictly allied military administration and especially that Rumanian administration should not be permitted until the status of this province had been definitely settled by the Peace Conference.

This is only a further instance of a policy now becoming prevalent among the Balkan nations. The effort to affect the final settlement (1) by occupying as much debatable territory as possible, (2) by trying to incite an opponent to action prejudicial to his cause and reputation, may lead to deplorable international relations and make more than ever difficult a lasting and amicable solution in the Balkans.

The President could do much to stabilize conditions, pending the approaching settlement, if he would notice the danger in one of his public addresses, and give formal warning that the Commissioners of the United States will not recognize a change in the status effected by violence or acts contravening the Armistice.

[File copy not signed]

¹³ See *ante*, p. 250.

Paris Peace Conf. 183.9 Bulgaria/2 : Telegram

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

SOFIA, December 30, 1918—11 p. m.

[Received January 3, 1919—10 p. m.]

5. 6, December 16, 11 a. m. [*12 a. m.?*], to American Embassy Paris. Would be grateful if some reply could be made to Bulgarian request for permission to send delegates unofficially to Paris. Am in receipt of daily inquiries from Bulgarian Government as to decision of my Government.

WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 874.00/20 : Telegram

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

SOFIA, January 1, 1919—10 p. m.

[Received January 4—7:20 p. m.]

8. In Parliament yesterday Prime Minister stated he had received telegram from Mr. Hoover indicating possibility of Bulgaria securing flour from the United States. Announcement received with unanimous applause all parties. Leader of opposition (the papers in the case which brought Bulgaria into war on German side) [*sic*] took floor and paid glowing tribute to United States and President dwelling on fact that there had not been war on land of Bulgaria and United States and on fairmindedness and justice of American market [*sic*]. Parliament then voted unanimously to thank American Government in name of Bulgarian Government, Parliament and people for its possible willingness to send flour wherewith Vice-President of Parliament directed to communicate to me above vote. He called upon me today for this purpose. He has been during war one of the strongest leaders of the pro-German party as his speeches and telegrams to Kaiser show. He stated to me, however, that he was not pro-German but only interested in welfare of Bulgaria. He predicts [*praises?*] United States and President in whom he said that all the hopes for Bulgaria for justice were centering. I confined myself to thanking him for the cordial expressions towards the President and the United States as evidenced by the vote of Parliament and his perpetual peace remarks which I promised to report to my government. Please repeat Department.

WILSON

763.72119/3712

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

No. 23

SOFIA, January 9, 1919.

[Received February 8.]

SIR: I have the honor to refer to previous telegrams and despatches of the Legation in regard to the situation in the Dobrudja, where apparently all pretense of keeping to the terms of the armistice between Bulgaria and the Allies has been thrown aside by the latter.

As the Department is aware, the armistice which was signed on September 29th between the representatives of Bulgaria, and General Franchet d'Esperey, representing the Allies, provided in the first two articles as follows:

"Art. I. . . . The Bulgarian Administration shall continue in those parts of Bulgaria actually occupied by the Allies.

"Art II. Immediate demobilization of the whole Bulgarian army except the continuance on a war footing of a group of all branches of the army consisting of:

3 Divisions of 16 battalions each

4 Regiments of cavalry,

which shall be used, two divisions for the defense of the Eastern frontier of Bulgaria and the Dobrudja, and one division to guard the railways."

In spite of this formal agreement all Bulgarian troops were shortly afterwards ordered to leave the Dobrudja, but at the same time the French High Command gave written assurances that the Bulgarian civil administration should continue under existing Bulgarian officials. A little later however, practically all these civilian officials, appointed from Sofia, were ordered to leave the district, but a further written engagement was made that the strictly local Bulgarian officials would be allowed to remain (this would include, mayors of towns, local police, and priests), and that the rest of the administration would be a purely inter-Allied military one. It was especially and chiefly understood that no Roumanian officials whatsoever should be introduced. Next, however, came an order ordering practically all Bulgarian officials to leave the Dobrudja, including school-masters, priests, and local police, although mayors were to be allowed to remain if "not pro-Bulgarian in sympathy". The police and other officials were however to be Roumanian, though under control of the Allied Military forces. It was even then distinctly understood that no Roumanian military forces were to be allowed in the district. As a matter of fact however, Roumanian gendarmes immediately entered the Dobrudja and I learn that these are only nominally gendarmes, but are actually part of the Roumanian regular army, and though I cannot vouch for the truth of the statement I am told that actually Roumanian regiments have also arrived.

The Bulgarian Government did not fail to protest to the French at each of these violations of formal agreements, but without effect, and they are now trying to make the best of the situation imposed upon them. The Government is also endeavoring as much as possible to keep the true situation in the Dobrudja from the knowledge of the public, fearing lest public opinion may become excited and internal disturbances occur which will prejudice Bulgaria in the eyes of the world. Little reference, therefore, is made to the Dobrudja in the Press.

The Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Theodoroff, and the Ministers of War, Interior, and Finance have all spoken to me within the last few days with the greatest bitterness of the manner in which the Allies have failed to respect their agreements. They have said that they had supposed that written agreements were looked upon as "scraps of paper" by the Germans only, but that they have learned to their cost that the Allies have exactly the same ideas on this subject. I regret to say that the good name and prestige of the Allies have suffered a blow in Bulgaria from which it will be difficult for them to recover.

The French, British, and Italian military commands in personal and confidential conversation with me have not hesitated to express their dislike of the orders which they have been obliged to carry out by commands received from higher authorities, and they state that Bulgaria has every right to complain of her treatment in this matter by the Allies. They also appreciate fully the loss of prestige suffered by the Allies.

The following extract from a personal letter from an English officer of the British Military Force in the Dobrudja voices the general opinion of the French, British, and Italian military officials in Bulgaria with whom I have spoken:

"The situation in the Southern Dobrudja is fantastic and would be ludicrous if it did not verge on the tragic.

"The Roumanian officials have returned though the Bulgar mayors are to remain, the gendarmes (soldiers in reality) have also arrived in considerable numbers. In the towns they are more or less under our protection, but are of course quite powerless as the people have formed their own civil police; something in the nature of special constables who wear a white armlet. In the villages the people will not let them enter at all, and are prepared to prevent their coming by force. In some cases we have planted them in a village despite this, by sending a strong force of British soldiers, but in such cases we have to have a detachment in the village to look after them.

"The way this question has been handled by the Allies is ridiculous and very stupid. One might think they wanted to create disorders in the Balkans instead of bring peace. All British officers who have been in the Dobrudja are unanimous in their conviction that the country is Bulgar."

Even in conversation with the Greek and Servian military missions, who are of course delighted with what is actually taking place in the Dobrudja, it is clear that their belief in the honesty and fairness of the Allies is shaken, and that they distrust what may happen in their own countries, where also the word of the Allies may become a "scrap of paper" as with the Bulgarians.

Personally I believe the person chiefly responsible for the present situation in the Dobrudja is General Berthelot, Commander of the French forces in Roumania. He is, as is natural, strongly pro-Roumanian and consequently anti-Bulgarian. His reports, also quite naturally, have influence with General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander of the Allied forces in the Orient. Having fought against the Bulgarians this officer is also naturally anti-Bulgarian, . . . The reports of these two high military officials have of course great influence on the French High Command in Paris, from which are issued the orders concerning Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. The reports from French officials in Bulgaria do not seem to have much weight there.

The French are in supreme command in Bulgaria, and apparently action is taken by them without consulting the British and Italian Military Missions, which is resented by the latter, and is partly the cause of the lack of cordiality and cooperation, not to put it stronger, existing among the Allies in Bulgaria, to which I have had occasion to refer before.

In the above report I am not in any way holding a brief in favor of Bulgaria. However, in this country the United States is popularly considered as one of the Allies, and therefore in a way a party to the Bulgarian-Allied Armistice. As the influence of the United States is firmly believed in Bulgaria to be binding on all the Allies, a failure on its part to urge observance of the Allied-Bulgarian Armistice of September 29, 1918, reflects on the United States as well as on the actual signatories.

A copy of the above despatch has been forwarded to the American Peace Mission in Paris.

I have [etc.]

CHARLES S. WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 871.0144/7

The Chargé in Bulgaria (Wilson) to the Acting Secretary of State

No. 24

SOPIA, January 10, 1919.

SIR: Referring to the Legation's confidential despatch No. 23, of the 9th instant, in regard to the situation in the Dobrudja, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a *memoire* presented to the Brigadier General commanding the British forces of Silistra, signed by the Mayor of that town in the name of the inhabitants.

I would call attention to the fact that Silistra is the largest town in the Southern or Bulgarian portion of the Dobrudja.

A copy of this *memoire* has been sent to me by the Mayor of the town in a letter, copy of which is enclosed herewith,¹⁴ of which I have merely acknowledged the receipt.

I have [etc.]

CHARLES S. WILSON

P. S. A copy of the above despatch has been forwarded to the American Peace Mission, Paris.

[Enclosure]

The Mayor of Silistra to the Officer Commanding the British Forces in Silistra

SIR: Yesterday the proclamation signed by General Berthelot was made known to the inhabitants of our town, by which the population of Dobrudja is notified that in virtue of the decision of the Inter-Allied Council, the Bulgarian civil administration will be replaced by Roumanian civil administration throughout the Dobrudja, under the protection and control of the Allied Troops. We obey the decision of the Inter-Allied Council with full confidence that the ruling of the Roumanian authorities, being under the control of the Allied Forces, will not degenerate into a real injustice, to the like of which we were witnesses in the course of 3 years.

Pointing out our faith in the efficacious control which will be exercised by the British Troops, we wish at the same time to call your attention upon the following questions in which our people are very much concerned and which cannot be considered as settled by the proclamation in favour of the Roumanian point of view for a full replacement of the authorities in general.

I. According to the proclamation, to the occupied Dobrudja may come only civil Roumanian authorities and not military. In our case we see that a general, a military person, comes as a prefect. The Chiefs of the gendarmery are military persons, and the very gendarmery is according to the Roumanian laws a pure military institution, recruited by active soldiers.

II. Dobrudja is an occupied territory by the Anglo-French Troops, the fate of which will be decided at the peace conference. Neither Bulgaria, nor Roumania have sovereignty over it. The Roumanian judicial and financial authorities do not have *raison d'etre*, because through the lack of Roumanian sovereignty no justice could be administered and no taxes imposed. The judicial and financial authorities cannot work and their presence is unnecessary burden to the population.

III. The municipal authority is a local authority and is absolutely independent and free from any state authority. Each interference of the State Authority is a violation to the principle of the self-government of the municipalities, therefore the interference of the Rou-

¹⁴ Not printed.

manian state authority in the proceedings of the municipalities must be removed. The privilege of a separate policy belongs to the municipalities.

IV. In the proclamation is expressly pointed out that no inhabitant, no matter what his nationality, may be, should be, deprived of his rights in any way. The right to learn and pray in our mother language is the most sacred privilege of each individual. We see already the coming in of teachers who are preparing themselves to replace the Bulgarian teachers and take away the Bulgarian schools built at the expense of the local Bulgarian citizens, for which we have also formal documents. The times of 1913 are being repeated. Then the Bulgarian schools were taken away by the Roumanian authorities and the schoolboys were compelled to leave their homes in the course of 3 years in order that they may continue their education in their mother language. We beg for your guarantee of our rights; in the town and district. There are no Roumanian inhabitants in order that the coming of the Roumanian teachers be justified.

V. The Committee for food-supply is in a very critical state. Any change of the present state will expose the inhabitants to starvation, that is why we beg of you the preservation of its present state and take it under your protection.

By pointing out the above facts, we request you, Sir, for intercession.

For the population of Silistra

L. RIBATCH
Mayor of the town

Paris Peace Conf. 871.0144/9 : Telegram

The Chargé in France (Bliss) to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, January 14, 1919—6 p. m.

6738. Following joint telegram from Allied Ministers at Jassy, dated Army of the Danube, January 10th :

"The Roumanian Government and public opinion are extremely affected by the attitude of the Allies in Dobroudja. It is observed that the invasion of this part of the national territory the integrity of which we have guaranteed is the result of Roumania's intervention on our side and the Entente should therefore have purely and simply handed this territory over to the Roumanian Government. On the contrary the Allies have requested Roumania not to make a military occupation in Dobroudja and their local agents have even opposed the sending of Roumanian custom officers giving as an excuse 'the opposition of the Bulgarian Government.' This state of affairs is aggravated by the fact that the Allied officers fraternize with the Bulgarians and give the impression that they are granting preferential treatment to the enemy to the detriment of its [*their?*] Ally, Roumania, concerning the affairs of the latter. The sovereigns themselves have voiced to us their complaints on this attitude as well as their grave apprehension as to the consequences that such attitude can lead to in the extremely difficult situation in which the country finds itself."

BLISS