

Conclusion

THE ONSET OF Ottoman rule in Macedonia brought with it a process of colonisation of Turks and Turkic peoples from Asia Minor and Islamicisation of a part of the Christian population. This modified the ethnic and religious make up of Macedonia and was to have far-reaching consequences that are still felt in Macedonia at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Settled along important trade routes, colonists established new settlements as well as moving into existing Macedonian Christian settlements. A process of Islamicisation – a gradual process that continued with various intensities throughout Ottoman rule – of a part of the Christian population followed.

Early Ottoman Turkish documents detail the arrival of colonists from the fifteenth century in the Reka districts of the Debar region. Ottoman documents reveal important demographic information for the region and provide an insight into the nature of early colonisation and Islamicisation. For instance, by utilising Ottoman documents the writer has been able to identify patterns of colonisation and Islamicisation in the Reka districts – these include topographical locations of colonised villages, the settlement of subsequent colonists, villages where Islamicisation occurred and population increases and decreases of specific villages. Ottoman documents have proved to be an invaluable source providing an understanding of early colonisation and Islamicisation as well as an awareness of the origins of the Turkish and Albanian populations in Macedonian territory.

Affected by Islamicisation (not colonisation), the Mala and Dolna Reka districts (the Debar region) at approximately 1900 reveal patterns of Islamicisation according to topographical considerations and along the main road through the Dolna Reka valley. There are distinguishing characteristics within different districts in the Debar region; some were affected only by Islamicisation, others by Islamicisation

and colonisation, and yet others were Albanianised. Contemporary Serb and Bulgarian commentators form the basis of this data, as well as an important document compiled by a local villager (S.T. Chaparoski) from Dolna Reka at the end of the nineteenth century.

From the end of the eighteenth century, Albanian Muslim colonists, more hostile and violent than the Ottoman Turks, commenced moving into Macedonia and over the coming centuries, to the end of Ottoman rule, were notorious persecutors of the Christian population. Although a limited number of historians have acknowledged that Albanian persecution of Christians resulted in Christians emigrating from western Macedonia, the Albanian role in the Islamicisation of the Macedonian Christian population has been largely unnoticed by historians.

Islamicisation can be viewed as a strategy aimed at securing Ottoman rule. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the Empire was in a process of decay, and the Ottomans were attempting to prolong their rule in the land, they claimed that the Muslim element constituted the majority element in Macedonia. The numerical importance of Islamicised Macedonians saw them incorporated into the overall Turkish/Muslim population figures.

Contemporary and modern accounts of the political rivalry of late nineteenth-century Ottoman Macedonia fail to examine the position of the Macedonian Muslim population. Ottoman Macedonia is too often viewed only from a Christian perspective - in relation to the struggle of the Balkan States for the adherence of the Macedonian Christian population. In contrast, the present work has considered Macedonians of the Muslim religion in terms of perceptions of their own identity. Furthermore, Macedonian Muslim perceptions of Macedonian Christians are of vital importance to the overall aims of this thesis. Evidence obtained indicates that Macedonian Christians were viewed as the same people, but of a different religion,

and not as 'Bulgarians', 'Greeks' or 'Serbs'. Macedonian Muslims of the sample Reka district had no concept or understanding of the terms 'Patriarchists' and 'Exarchists' as labels for Macedonian Christians.

A tradition of loose labels used to designate categories of people in the Ottoman Empire saw expressions of Macedonian national identity poorly grasped by nineteenth century commentators. Of significance is a popular term of identification used in everyday language by Macedonians of the Christian and Muslim religions: the terms *nash* or *nashi* (literally meaning 'ours' or 'one of ours') were widely used to express belonging to the Macedonian group and denoted separateness from other groups.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, each of the Balkan States maintained territorial pretensions over Macedonia. They published ethnographic maps and statistical data in support of their claims. Criteria differed to suit predetermined outcomes and, due to opposing interests, contradictions abounded between interested parties. The advocating of inflated figures for respective ethnic groups had become a widespread trend and, if each were separately defined and their numbers totalled, 'Turkey would be a country with the densest population in Europe; and yet it is true and well known that this is far from the case'.¹ Claims, counter claims, ethnographic maps, statistical surveys and academic commentators from Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria engaged in a purely political rather than scientific discussion.² Together with the associated interests of their patrons, the European Powers, Macedonia was transformed into a territory of dispute in anticipation of 'who will fill the vacuum left by the Ottoman Turks when they leave'? At the end of

¹ F. Kanitz, *Dunajska Bolgaria i Balkanski polyostrov. Istoriski, Geograficheska i Ztnograficheska putevije 1860-1875*, as cited in V. Bozhinov and L. Panayotov, editors, *Macedonia Documents and Material*, Sofia, 1978, p. 331.

² E. Pears, *Turkey and its People*, London, 1911, p. 229. The object of the studies on Macedonia by those from the Balkan States has not been to discover the truth but rather to support the position of their respective national positions. Pears recognised that Macedonia had been, and will continue to be, the battlefield of writers and 'may become at no distant date the battle field of contesting states'. pp. 228-229.

the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Macedonia was to become one of the most contested states of modern times.

As a reaction to the web of confusion created by conflicting data, it was proposed at the International Orientalist Congress in Rome in 1899 that an international inquiry be conducted into the ethnography of the Balkans. It was planned that an ethnographic map be produced on a scale of one in a million. Unfortunately the proposal was not adopted. The European Powers were probably not interested in an accurate ethnographic inquiry being undertaken. They certainly did not favour liberation for Macedonia, nor did they insist upon Ottoman implementation of Article 23 of the Congress of Berlin that was designed to grant reforms in the country.

Favourable conditions undertaking a national census could only occur following the creation of an autonomous Macedonia, according to the editors of the *Avtonomna Makedonija* journal in 1905.³ The notion of 'freedom first, then a census' was promoted and the editors condemned ethnographic statistics on Macedonia compiled in an environment of Balkan rivalry 'as hypocritical and false' and that they had no significance to 'the cause of liberation'.⁴

Notwithstanding the conflicting ethnographic data, general conclusions can be drawn regarding the true ethnic make up of Macedonia. Firstly there is no dispute that Turks, Vlachs, Jews, Greeks, Albanians and a small number of Gypsies inhabited

³ *Avtonomna Makedonija*, 12 October 1905, Year 1, Number 1, p. 1. The journal was published in Belgrade by the Macedonian Club and serviced the Macedonian emigrant community. The editors of the journal were Grigorie Tashkovich from Voden and Giorgi Gerdzhikovich from Gevgelija. The newspaper *Makedonski Pregled* (1905, Number 1, p. 10) similarly commented that a national census could only be conducted in a fair manner upon the liberation of Macedonia. '*Vo sekoj sluchaj, zavershuvaat statistjata, tochna statistika na naselenieto vo Makedonija teshko mozhi da se sostavi, a rano e i da se misli za nea, pred zemjata da ja dobia onaa sloboda koja edinstveno e vo sostojba da go garantira slobodnoto nacionalno samoopredeluvanje na oddelenite individui i da gi odstrani site pritisoci koji doagaat odozgora poradi drzhavni i drugi motivi.*' As cited in M. Pandevski, *Nacionalnoto Prashanje vo Makedonskoto Osloboditelno Dvizhenje 1893-1903*, Skopje, 1974, p. 55.

⁴ *Avtonomna Makedonija*, op. cit., p. 1. After several issues the Serbian authorities banned further publication of the journal.

Macedonia. There is a general consensus on this matter. The central point of contention was the ethnic identity of the dominant element to which the bulk of non-Balkan commentators agree constituted over 50 percent of the total population. Non-Balkan European ethnographers and commentators generally perceived the dominant group as constituting the Bulgarian 'nationality' in the second half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. This data generally corresponded to early twentieth century Bulgarian data as expressed by the ethnographers V. Kanchov, D.M Brancoff and I. Ivanoff, whereas European views of Greek and Serb estimates of their own people in Macedonia are essentially opposed. Subsequently Bulgarian estimates of 'their population' were largely accepted by the rest of Europe, that is, the statistical data were accepted as accurate as well as the ethnic designation of the dominant group. The fact that V. Kanchov and D.M Brancoff were the only Balkan commentators to publish their data on a village-by-village basis no doubt gave their figures added credibility. Although Bulgarian figures are accepted as being largely accurate, a wide range of evidence indicates that the ethnic designation applied ('Bulgarian') was not.

Attributing Greek, Serb or Bulgarian nationality to Macedonians was projected towards an eventual territorial division of Macedonia. Greece and Serbia developed a common understanding over their respective claims to Macedonia and were at odds with Bulgarian aspirations. Bulgarian concessions were to eventuate in the secret treaties and conventions signed with Serbia and Greece prior to the Balkan Wars in 1912–13. William Gladstone's famous statement 'Macedonia for the Macedonians' was of no consequence to the Balkan States, as according to their views there was no such thing as a Macedonian and the bloody foray into Macedonia was justifiable because they were 'liberating their own people'. For over thirty years the Balkan States advocated their positions on Macedonia in the European arena through population statistics and ethnographic maps. The Ottoman Turks engaged the rivals against one another skilfully, and manufactured their own population data aimed at

prolonging Ottoman survival in Europe.⁵ Strategic Macedonia was destined to become a battle-ground of young nationalist states.

Europe disregarded the natural rights of the Macedonians – potentially an independent Macedonia with a Christian government would have seen the majority of Turks return to Asia Minor. Similarly before Bulgarian and Serb independence, ‘both those countries contained a numerous Turkish population, which has slowly but steadily decreased since they were separated from Turkey’.⁶ With the return of Macedonian emigrants from the Balkan States, particularly Bulgaria (where some claim there were as many as 500,000 Macedonians), Macedonia’s population may have appeared more homogenous than her Balkan neighbours.

Unlike other works, this thesis provides detailed ethnographic, topographical and land status data on a village-by-village basis for the Bitola region. The in-depth analysis of the Bitola region villages, and the differing economic and social environment of villages grouped according to topographical zones has seen this thesis treat the region as three separate zones (the Bitola Pelagonia plain, the upper villages and the Mariovo zone), rather than the one unit which typically occurs in the writings of contemporary commentators and historians. Each of the three zones had distinct political, ethnic, religious, and economic characteristics. Although this thesis is primarily focused on Macedonian village life, Bitola, the urban and Ottoman administrative centre of the region and *vilayet*, has been examined in order to provide

⁵ The Turks created the antagonistic rivalry in Macedonia, and through it made both Churches reliant upon the Porte for concessions and advancement of their respective causes. As mediator and supreme authority, the Ottoman Turks maintained their rule over Macedonia whilst plunging the land and people into chaos from 1870 to 1912. Macedonian unity was the direct casualty of competing Greek, Serb and Bulgarian nationalism and the Sultan's hold on Macedonia was strengthened and prolonged by the aspirations of the Balkan States. The contemporary commentator, C. Eliot, stated that the Sultans hold on Macedonia was maintained by ‘the dissensions between the Exarchate and Patriarchate Church’. Regarding Russian pressure on the Porte to establish the Exarchate, Eliot is of the opinion that apart from external pressure the Turks had their own reasons to grant the formation of the Exarchate. It was ‘a practical exemplification of the maxim *divide et impera*’. C. Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, London, 1965 (1900), p. 259.

⁶ L. Villari, *Races, Religions and Propaganda's*, New York, 1905, p. 132. See also J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1995.

a balanced view of the region, highlighting the vastly contrasting environment in which foreign interests operated within.

As detailed in previous chapters, Bitola was far more ethnically and religiously mixed in comparison to the rural villages, and was the seat of both the Exarchate and Patriarchate church and educational organisations, as well as nine foreign consulates, including the Greek, Bulgarian and Serb consulates. Importantly, it was one of the most contested regions in Macedonia during the late nineteenth century. There are a multitude of indirect and secondary considerations to be taken into account in order to gain a clear understanding of the period of late Ottoman rule and the environment under which rival forces engaged one another aiming for the adherence of the Macedonian Christian population. This thesis explored the make up of Bitola from several perspectives. The examination of town quarters (*maali*), gives an insight into ethnic and religious co-existence, as well as highlighting the location of respective churches. As an important commercial centre - chapter three presents an economic view of Bitola. Utilising nineteenth century Ottoman taxation data, the thesis tracks the transition of business and trade away from Turkish domination in the early part of the century, into Christian hands by the end of the century.

Typically, accounts of the political conflict in Macedonia during late Ottoman rule fail to delve deeply into the everyday life of the Macedonians. This thesis differs in that it provides a detailed representation of village life in the Bitola region, and recognises the adaptability of this largely illiterate people.

Constituting the dominant ethnic element in the Bitola region, Macedonians were the principal group subjected to the Ottoman feudal land system, known as *chiflik*. Whereas commentators and historians typically provide a very general description of the *chiflik* land system, this thesis analyses everyday life in a *chiflik* village. Issues probed include the heavy taxation burden, and the characteristics of

feudal landlords (*begs*) and their representatives (*kaaite*) in the villages during certain periods. Even though the *chiflik* land system was widespread throughout Macedonia, and was representative of backward Ottoman rule, it is extremely rare for a contemporary source (or historian) to identify in their accounts of village life that there existed a small percentage of private land ownership (approximately 10 percent of villagers) in *chiflik* villages known as *rayatsko* land. It is evident that contemporary travellers and commentators in late nineteenth century Macedonia did not travel far beyond the security of large urban centres, and when they did so, they were often led by an interested party from one of the competing protagonists.

Chiflik villages were often ruled in a totalitarian manner by despotic *begs*, however, ironically the village headman (*kmet*) was often appointed by a democratic process. Commentators have typically failed to recognise this form of Macedonian village republicanism. The French commentator, E. Bouchie de Belle is an exception, however his account of Macedonian village life was compiled immediately after Ottoman rule, in 1914.⁷

A common language, culture, belief system and social structure were shared by Macedonians and largely compiled through oral accounts in the Bitola region villages, revealing a rich and unique cultural heritage. Religious rituals and celebrations, many with pre-Christian pagan roots, remained untouched by centuries-long Ottoman rule and the assimilatory intentions of the Exarchate and Patriarchate churches.

Seeking work abroad, known as *pechalba*, was a widespread custom in western Macedonia. Deteriorating political conditions and economic exploitation through a corrupt tax system saw the tradition become a widespread movement at the end of the nineteenth century. Initially men travelled within the Ottoman Empire in search of work, and later to distant overseas destinations such as the United States. The

⁷ E. Bouchie de Belle, *Makedonija i Makedoncite*, Skopje, 1992 (Macedonian translation). Original title *La Macedoine et les Macedoniens*, Paris, 1922.

significance of the process of *pechalba* in late Ottoman Macedonia has been largely disregarded by commentators and historians. Income earned from *pechalba* enabled men to purchase *chiflik* land which was increasingly being sold by departing Turks who anticipated the collapse of Ottoman rule in Macedonia. *Pechalba* is too often narrowly viewed from an economic perspective only. Indeed, it did bring about economic changes to the landscape of western Macedonia, but it also brought about direct and indirect changes in the political landscape. Apart from new skills and experiences, *pechalbari* often returned to Macedonia politicised.

The religious struggle in Macedonia was a purely political contest directed at presenting to Europe further evidence of the supposed ethnic make-up of Macedonia. Religious jurisdiction was linked to territorial aspirations, paving the way for the future dismemberment of the land. The commentator J.F. Fraser assessed the competing nature of the Balkan States as being afflicted with 'land hunger'.⁸ The expansion of Balkan churches had no connection to Christian values, as the race for religious dominance over Macedonia was supported by armed government-funded paramilitary bands which aimed at ensuring maximum expansion of religious jurisdiction in line with the territorial ambitions of their respective states.

The successful expansion of the Exarchate from 1870 to 1912, following over one hundred years of unhindered Patriarchate domination, was testament to the non-Greek character of Macedonians and their determined opposition to and rejection of hellenisation. The conquering nature of Exarchate expansion and the desire to voluntarily join the Exarchate cannot simply be viewed as embracing Bulgarianisation, but rather, as one interviewee pointed out, 'there was a natural attraction to the Exarchate due to similarity of language'.⁹ In the Bitola region, patterns of religious jurisdiction emerged from this study, indicating that *chiflik* villages along the Bitola Pelagonia plain were overwhelmingly orientated towards the

⁸ J.F. Fraser, *Pictures from the Balkans*, London, 1906, p. 6.

⁹ Trajan Micevski (born 1930 in Novaci, Bitola region), interview conducted 22 March 2000 in Novaci.

Exarchate. The central factor is that a greater sense of security existed on the plain, as villagers were unlikely to be exposed to the terror of armed bands that could not freely move about on the openness of the flat terrain. In contrast, villages in the upper village and Mariovo mountainous areas were subjected to the intimidation and violence of Greek bands and subsequently Patriarchate jurisdiction and often village Patriarchist orientation were more prevalent in these areas.¹⁰ Interviewees recognised that the plain was predominately 'Exarchate' whilst the upper district and Mariovo was more likely to contain 'Patriarchist' villages.¹¹

Although this general trend reflected a topographical relationship to religious orientation, it is interesting to note that 'actual village religious jurisdiction' was often at odds with village 'orientation'. Particularly apparent along the Bitola Pelagonia plain, there were numerous villages that had no inclination towards the Patriarchate, but found themselves unable to discard Patriarchate jurisdiction due to a combination of Ottoman policy and what was perceived as 'the powerful and rich Patriarchate church'. Subsequently, data outlining religious jurisdiction must be viewed with some caution. In the case of the Bitola region, according to Bulgarian sources, in 1902 in the Bitola Pelagonia eparchy there were a total of 156 churches with 14 monasteries. In the Bitola kaza of the eparchy, the Exarchate held jurisdiction in 31 churches and 1 monastery, whilst the Patriarchate held jurisdiction over 50 churches and 4 monasteries.¹² Clearly these data refer to actual jurisdiction, and contemporary accounts and historians rely too heavily upon such data. On the other hand if one counted villages according to 'actual orientation' a differing outcome would come as

¹⁰ Greek bands exerted considerable pressure on villages in western Macedonia. Dakin outlines a list of villages where principal actions were undertaken in the spring of 1906. Twelve villages have been identified as belonging to the Bitola region. Of these four were from the upper village district (Krstoar, Brusnik, Bukovo and Bareshani), four from the Bitola Mariovo district (Polog, Rapes, Chegel, and Iveni) and four from the Pelagonia Plain (Gnilesh, Optichari, Lisolaj and Lopatica). D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Thessaloniki, 1966, pp. 256-257.

¹¹ In the sample village there were no instances of male villagers joining the foreign bands, yet there were those who joined the IMRO.

¹² K. Bitoski, *Dejnosta na Pelagonskata Mitropolija 1878-1912* [English translation, *The Activities of the Pelagonia Archiepiscopal diocese 1878-1912*], Skopje, pp. 109-110. Note: K. Bitoski cites an Exarchate church newspaper *Crkoven Vestnik*, Year II, Number 48, Sofia, 16 March 1902.

no surprise. Bitola was situated approximately 120 kilometres from the Greek border, 200 kilometres to the Bulgarian border and 170 kilometres to the Serbian border; yet was one of the most heavily contested regions and towns in Macedonia. Freedom to choose village religious jurisdiction in the Bitola region was clearly restricted. One can only imagine the pressures exerted on villages by armed bands along the border regions of each respective interested Balkan State.¹³

The Ottomans were renowned for playing the Balkan States and their respective churches in Macedonia against one another in a strategic attempt to prolong their rule. Overall, the Greek Patriarchate enjoyed favour from the Ottoman Turks to a greater degree and there is considerable evidence, documented in contemporary and historical accounts, indicating that obstacles were placed before villages intending to transfer jurisdiction away from the Patriarchate to the Exarchate. Importantly, this thesis explores a fresh viewpoint of the Patriarchate church opposing the loss of adherents – specifically the Macedonian Protestant experience in Koleshino village (Strumica region), as well as similar experiences in the Bitola upper zone Vlah village of Gopesh. Both accounts have been compiled via oral histories.

Interested observers, particularly those from the Balkan States, viewed Patriarchate or Exarchate jurisdiction in a village as implying Greek or Bulgarian nationality to that village. However, priests in Patriarchate and Exarchate churches in the Bitola region villages were invariably local Macedonians. According to oral accounts compiled in the Bitola region, it was unlikely that the priest was a speaker of the Greek or Bulgarian languages, services were most often conducted in Macedonian, he certainly communicated with his co-villagers and the local population in Macedonian and didn't interfere with or attempt to modify the Macedonian

¹³ In relation to the Greek-Macedonian border, numerous British Consul reports speak of Greek bands crossing the frontier into Macedonia. Letter dated October 2nd 1896 by Consul General Blunt outlines that Greek bands regularly cross into the Grevena region and that they are 'organised by the revolutionary committee in Larissa to invade Turkish territory in small detachments 40 at a time'. Public Record Office 373 FO 294/22. (Microfilm 326 - in the Macedonian National Archive).

traditional way of life in the region. An incentive to not be seen as overtly propagating the position of Athens, Sofia or Belgrade was the threat of harm from paramilitary bands or even the disruption to village harmony.

It was not unusual for commentators and historians to speak of the rival Balkan church organisations working towards the creation of Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs respectively. However this is done so in general terms without explicitly illustrating the process outside of religious jurisdiction over villages. An important example drawn in this thesis involves the period immediately after the Ilinden Uprising in 1903 when the rival parties provided 'humanitarian aid' to the population. Oral accounts revealed that the people perceived this assistance as a form of bribery, political in nature rather than humanitarian. Assistance was typically handed out through the respective church organisations, seeking to strategically record recipients and their villages as belonging to the Greek, Bulgarian or Serb race respectively. A 1903 Serb consular report outlined a full list of recipients' names in Krushevo – all were recorded as distinctly Serb (ending in 'ich') in a town where there were no Serb inhabitants. Utilising local knowledge in Krushevo, ten recipients of Serbian aid have been identified and were of the Macedonian or Vlah nationality.

The evidence of oral histories is crucial in order to obtain a more comprehensive and balanced view of certain issues such as naming systems. Relying solely on historical literature or archival documents can provide a misleading perception of the identity of individuals based upon the ethnic classification of their name. For instance in the Bitola region village of Suvodol, the interviewee Aca Kotevska, born in 1911, was christened in the Patriarchate church with the Greek name 'Altmina'. However, in everyday language, in her family home and in public, she was exclusively known by her Macedonian name 'Aca'. Similarly, in Macedonian Muslim villages in the Reka district, children were given Muslim names at birth, while at home and within the village Christian equivalents were used. For instance, a

Macedonian Muslim may have been Ismail before Turks and other Muslims, however, at home he remained Ilija.

A large sample of male Orthodox Macedonians, 23 in all, from the Bitola region and born before 1940, were interviewed as a part of this study. In every instance their parents and grandparents, (the majority born during Ottoman rule), had typical Macedonian names.¹⁴ Yet if baptismal records were available for each individual, such documentary evidence would probably reveal these people as belonging to another ethnicity.

The significance of religious jurisdiction in villages was often overstated by contemporary commentators who viewed the presence of a particular church from a one-dimensional political perspective. Religious jurisdiction in late Ottoman Macedonia did not necessarily represent an expression of political allegiance. In contrast, even in villages where there was Greek, Bulgarian or Serb political influences, they usually emanated via a small number of interested individuals. Otherwise, customs, traditions, religious rituals, language and marriage systems remained unchanged, regardless of the religious jurisdiction present in the village.

In the Bitola region, as in Macedonia generally, educational rivalry was principally between Greek Patriarchate and Bulgarian Exarchate schools (and, on a smaller scale, between Greek Patriarchate and Vlah-Romanian schools). The establishment of a particular school was dependent upon corresponding religious jurisdiction existing in a village, and jurisdiction often depended not upon the will of the people, but on other factors such as foreign armed bands and the attitude of the Ottoman authorities. Influence exerted upon the Ottomans by the Patriarchate made both religious and educational emancipation from the church difficult for both

¹⁴ Twenty-three male Orthodox Macedonians born before 1940 were from the Bitola region. In three instances there is insufficient data collected by the writer in regards to names of parents and grandparents. A further seven interviews were conducted with male Orthodox Macedonians born outside the Bitola region. The names of their parents and grandparents are distinctly Macedonian.

Macedonians and Vlachs alike. As this thesis has shown, in the Bitola region (countryside sample villages) the villagers typically did not identify with the school (and church) in their village, but felt powerless to change the situation. In these circumstances people often felt that any education was better than none and nevertheless hoped their children would have a better existence. Attendance at a particular ethnic school did not necessarily imply loyalty to the state in question.

Ethnographers and academics from the period (and afterwards) incorrectly employ the 'language of the school' (and the number of schools) as a measuring tool alongside church jurisdiction to determine the ethnic composition of the Macedonian population. Balkan commentators in particular subscribed to this view. According to the historian S. Papadopoulos, 'the establishment of the schools and other associations is the foremost evidence to determine the nationality of the inhabitants of the region, because that testifies to their unhindered (national) declaration'.¹⁵ If the principle of ethnic identification according to school enrolment is accepted, then what becomes of those whose children attended Catholic or Protestant schools? And what of those who received their instructions in the French or Italian language? Are they to be considered as being of the French or Italian nationality? Utilising educational data in the form of student enrolment and number of schools in Macedonia to prove the ethnic character of the people is misleading and manipulative. Educational statistics for Macedonia were sometimes for European Turkey and there was a political incentive for all the competing parties to claim higher figures. The motivation behind establishing foreign schools in Macedonia was based upon respective foreign policies and territorial designs. Balkan governments poured substantial finances into education in Macedonia, and the enormity of the undertaking was demonstrated by the fact that Greece 'spent more money in proportion to population on schools in the so-called unredeemed territory than they

¹⁵ As cited in S. Kiselinovski, *Grčkata Kolonizacija vo Egejska Makedonija 1913-1940* [Greek Colonisation in Aegean Macedonia 1913-1940], Skopje, 1981, p. 24.

did in Greece proper'.¹⁶ Athens, Sofia and Belgrade intended that their respective educational institutions would operate as assimilatory instruments, creating Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs of Macedonian children.

It is evident from archival documents and oral histories that schoolteachers in the Bitola region villages were typically local Macedonians. Regardless of whether the school was administered through the Greek Patriarchate or Bulgarian Exarchate (there were no Serb schools in the Bitola region villages) the language of instruction was Macedonian. The effectiveness of the schools to equip children in foreign languages is questionable. Interviewees were unaware of family members or other older folk in their villages being fluent in foreign languages as a result of attending Patriarchate or Exarchate schooling in the village. Interestingly, the second language that people in villages were most familiar with, according to oral histories, did not stem from foreign school systems in Macedonia, but rather, it was Turkish, the language of the ruler.

Greek and Serb sources highlight that their school inspectors in Macedonia at the end of the nineteenth century recognised that their teachers did not understand the Greek and Serb languages respectively. Subsequently, village schools were often perceived as Macedonian, particularly Exarchate schools.

Typically foreign education in Macedonia is examined in the form of statistical data regarding the number of schools and students. In this manner commentators generally view the surface of foreign education in Macedonia. Utilising Bulgarian Exarchate school records, this thesis presents in-depth schoolteacher data – including age, marital status, gender and remuneration – and draws a comparison between village schoolteachers with urban schoolteachers in Bitola. Similar detailed data are provided for students in Bitola Exarchate schools. Of particular significance is the

¹⁶ L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1966, p. 521.

drop out rates of students identified through official Exarchate records (and a published Serb document). Exarchate school documents include a category for students (in Bitola) who fail to complete the school year – the category is recorded as *chuzhda propaganda* ('foreign propaganda') – and indicates that there existed in Bitola open competition, between the rival school systems, for schoolchildren (this was not the case in the villages where it was rare for a village to have more than one school). The interviewee Hristo Dimitrovski (born 1893) was a student in Bitola at the end of the nineteenth century and confirmed that competition existed between the rival school systems for the attraction of students. Initially a student with the Exarchate school system, Hristo advised that coming across a schoolteacher from an opposing school could be a hazardous experience. Teachers were known to physically force children to attend their respective schools – Hristo had attended both Greek and Vlah schooling in this manner and he explained that it was not unusual for this to occur.¹⁷

A common fallacy expressed by commentators and historians alike, and intended to illustrate the depth of political division in Macedonia to the most basic unit, the family, has proved to be a misconception. It has been widely reported that fathers sent each of their three sons to Greek, Serb and Bulgarian schools respectively and that subsequently the sons professed Greek, Serb and Bulgarian nationality respectively. Contrary to this widely held view, it was rare for a father's sons to attend opposing school systems, particularly in a village environment where it was unusual for a village to have more than one school. The notion that a father's three sons would become Greek, Serb or Bulgarian as a result of attending the respective schools is to underestimate the cleverness of the people living in a hostile political environment. Instead, the 'enrolment of three sons' at opposing schools is another representation of self-preservation strategies, similar to the self-preservation

¹⁷ Hristo 'Caki' Dimitrovski (born 1893 in Bitola), interview conducted 21 March 2000 in Bitola.

techniques adopted in villages designed to guarantee security from the violence of armed bands.

Maximum student enrolment figures claimed by the various educational institutions in Macedonia at the beginning of the twentieth century, combined, total 8.7 students per 100 inhabitants – a staggering figure considering that the liberated Balkan lands of Greece had 3.7 students per 100 inhabitants, Serbia 4.0, Romania 5.9 and Bulgaria 9.3.

Culturally, customs and traditions maintained by Macedonian Muslims were largely indistinguishable from those celebrated by Macedonian Christians in the Bitola region, regardless of Patriarchist or Exarchist religious jurisdiction. Celebrations and rituals, including weddings, funerals, Holy days and other celebrations are investigated. Comparisons drawn between the two religious groups (Muslim and Christian) revealed that similarities were sustained over centuries of Ottoman rule and that although the Ottomans engaged in religious conversion in the Reka district, they did not engage in linguistic, cultural or ethnic assimilation in the Reka villages. In contrast, historical evidence suggests that assimilation did occur in urban centres.

There were a number of similarities in the two sample areas considered in this thesis that justify emphasis. For instance *oji* in the Reka district, particularly local Macedonian *oji*, made no attempt to alter or modify the age-old customs practised by Macedonian Muslims, even though a number of these were distinctly Christian in origin. There was a significant level of tolerance displayed by Muslim clerics in the district. Similarly, in the Bitola region villages, priests serving with the Exarchate and Patriarchate churches made no attempt to suppress uniquely Macedonian cultural traits and introduce Bulgarian or Greek culture.

Foreign education in both sample regions failed to produce fluent speakers of new languages. However, the most popular second language after Macedonian was Turkish, and knowledge of the language was typically gained via a variety of methods, often through *pechalba*. Interestingly, the destinations *pechalbari* travelled to was one of the few factors where there was a distinct divergence between Macedonian Christians from the Bitola region and Macedonian Muslims from the Reka district. Popular *pechalba* destinations for Macedonian Christians were the neighbouring liberated Christian lands, whereas Macedonian Muslims generally did not journey beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire.

As this thesis has demonstrated, a distinctive feature of shared Macedonian Muslim and Macedonian Christian villages in the Reka district and wider Debar region was that the two religious groups did not live in segregated parts of the village. In the four sample villages shared by Macedonian Christians and Turkish Muslims, the two peoples lived segregated from one another in only one village.¹⁸ In contrast, shared Macedonian Christian and Albanian Muslim villages saw the two groups typically segregated from one another. Although working with limited samples, drawn from oral histories and local knowledge, it appears that segregation within a village environment was not based upon religious factors, instead the determinant appears to have been based on ethnicity.

There is evidence of Macedonian Muslims developing self-preservation techniques similar to those encountered in the Bitola region where villagers adopted strategies to prevent continued harassment and intimidation by foreign armed bands. Macedonian Muslims continued to use Christian-based first names instead of Muslim names, as outlined in chapter four. Furthermore, the ethnographer N. Limanoski

¹⁸ Similarly, in the sample Macedonian Christian and Turkish Muslim village of Petoraci in the Lerin region, the two groups were not segregated.

provides examples of tactical self-preservation techniques utilised as a form of protection against continued tyranny from Albanian Muslim bandits.¹⁹

Whereas Macedonians of the Muslim religion were examined as the religiously converted, Turks living in shared villages with Macedonian Christians were viewed as a foreign colonising element. Although understood by Macedonians as belonging to the empire and that the sultan was 'theirs', there were many common elements of lifestyle shared by Macedonian Christians and Turkish Muslim villagers. Both were often *chiflik* workers, were required to work hard in a primitive manner and were economically exploited.

The examination of mixed Macedonian Christian and Turkish Muslim villages provided a human face to the average Turkish villager; not to do so would have given an unbalanced view of Turks as the colonial power. Turks were not exclusively *begs* (feudal landlords) and Ottoman officials, but lived in villages alongside Macedonians. They played together as children and maintained some understanding of each other's language. Macedonian interviewees believed that the inter-ethnic communication was primarily in the Macedonian language, however Turkish women were publicly isolated and were not presented with developing an understanding of the Macedonian language. Although generally there was little to distinguish Turks from Macedonians living in shared villages, in the social order of things Turks were in the dominant position and their authority was expressed from a religious perspective, such as abhorrence and denial of Macedonians right to keep pigs.

Begs typically resided in Bitola, though the sample village of Lazhec was unusual in that three *begs* were full-time residents of the village. Oral accounts of the main village *beg*, Alush, provided a detailed insight into how he was perceived by the

¹⁹ See N. Limanoski, *Izlamizacijata i etnickite promeni vo Makedonija* [Islamicisation and ethnic changes in Macedonia], Skopje, 1993.

Macedonian Christian inhabitants and reveal that although he favoured the Turkish inhabitants, he was capable of even-handed rule on occasion.

As a contested space, Macedonia in the late nineteenth century reflected the political, religious and paramilitary incursions made upon the local population by the neighbouring nascent states and the disappearing Ottoman State. Territorial claims were concealed behind ethnographic maps and statistical population data. Interested commentators viewed Macedonia in accordance to government policy and presented their studies as academic and scientific, even though clearly political in nature. The European powers maintained their own pretensions and acted as patrons of the small Balkan States. Although churches, schools and paramilitary bands were the primary instruments of the Greek, Bulgarian and Serb states, expansion into Macedonia was ultimately achieved by a full military mobilisation when the combined armies of Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia marched into Macedonia in October 1912 and drove out the Ottoman Turks. Disagreements soon arose regarding partition of the land. Bulgaria had suffered three quarters of the casualties during the war and rightly believed that Greece and Serbia intended to share the spoils amongst themselves. She launched a surprise attack upon the Greek and Serbian armies in Macedonia on 29 June 1913, but was herself attacked by Turkey and Romania. The Second Balkan War lasted for six weeks before Bulgaria was defeated. The Treaty of Bucharest (10 August 1913) awarded the bulk of Macedonia to Greece (52 per cent) and Serbia (38 per cent), with Bulgaria compensated by approximately 10 per cent of Macedonian territory. The territorial division of Macedonia and claims upon the Macedonians have continued to be a matter of contention between the Balkan States into modern times. The recognition by the United States in November 2004 of the republic as 'Macedonia', in place of 'Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia' (FYROM) and the ensuing diplomatic protests from Greece (The Age, 5 November 2004, p.11) show that contestations over Macedonia remain a live issue into the twenty-first century.

Interviews conducted

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Table 1: List of Interviewed Male Christian Orthodox Macedonians Born in the Bitola region

Name	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Interviewed	Date of interview
Dimitrovski, Hristo 'Caki'	1893	Bitola	Bitola	21 March 2000
Petrov, Vasil	1911	Bitola	Bitola	1 April 2000
Trajcevski, Stefan	1913	Dolno Orehovo	Dolno Orehovo	1 April 2000
Altiparmak, Vasko	1913	Bitola	Bitola	30 March 2000
Atanasovski, Petko	1913	Makovo	Makovo	14 March 2000
Jovanovski, Cvetan	1914	Novaci	Novaci	10 March 2000
Najdovski, Ilija	1920	Suvodol	Novaci	28 March 2000
Petkovski, Stojche	1920	Makovo	Makovo	18 March 2000
Todorovski, Mihailo	1921	Dolno Orehovo	Dolno Orehovo	30 March 2000
Jankulovski, Vlado	1921	Novaci	Novaci	11 March 2000
Spasevski, Stojan	1922	Graeshnica	Melbourne	18/02/02 and 30/03/99
Kotevski, Atanas	1923	Vrajnevci	Bitola	12 March 2000
Giorgioski, Nikola	1927	Gorno Aglarci	Gorno Aglarci	17 March 2000
Vasilevski, Atanas	1928	Vrajnevci	Bitola	16 March 2000
Dimovski-Colev, Giorgi	1929	Bitola	Bitola	13 March 2000
Dimovski, Zivko	1929	Gorno Aglarci	Gorno Aglarci	17 March 2000
Markovski, Kosta	1930	Suvodol	Bitola	20 March 2000
Micevski, Trajan	1930	Novaci	Novaci	22 March 2000
Veljanovski, Todor	1930	Dolno Aglarci	Bitola	2 April 2000

Kleshtev, Mihailo	1934	Gorno Aglarci	Melbourne	1 November 1999
Tancevski, Vane	1935	Lopatica	Melbourne	6 March 2002
Vasilevski, Stojan	1937	Kukurechani	Melbourne	4 March 2002
Popovski, Trajan	1939	Lazhec	Lazhec	14 March 2000
Ilievski, Slobodan	1943	Bitola	Melbourne	15 January 2002
Josevski, Ilija	1947	Brod	Melbourne	21 January 2002
Slavevski, Vasil	1954	Dolno Orehovo	Dolno Orehovo	31 March 2000

Table 2: List of Interviewed Female Christian Orthodox Macedonians Born in the Bitola region

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Place of interview	Date of interview
Cvetkovska, Bosilka	1910	Dedebalci	Dedebalci	2 April 2000
Kotevska, Aca 'Altmina'	1911	Suvodol	Novaci	10 March 2000
Stankovska, Ljuba	1923	G. Aglarci	Dedebalci	15 March 2000
Tanevska, Vera	1924	Bitola	Bitola	24 March 2000
Talevska, Trajanka	1925	Vrajnevci	Novaci	10 March 2000
Tanchevska, Mara	1933	Sekirani	Melbourne	6 March 2002
Kleshteva, Dragica	1934	Vrajnevci	Melbourne	1 November 1999

Table 3: List of Male Muslim Macedonians Interviewed from the Reka and Gora districts

Name	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Place of interview	Date of interview
Asani, Asan	1911	Velebrdo - Dolna Reka district	Velebrdo	25 March 2000
Rejep, Asani	1915	Velebrdo - Dolna Reka district	Velebrdo	25 March 2000
Odzheski, Abdula	1945	Zhirovnica - Dolna Reka district	Zhirovnica	26 March 2000
Muslioski, Redzho	1946	Dolno Kosovrasti - Dolna Reka district	Dolno Kosovrasti	27 March 2000
Bojda, Ismail	1953	Brod - Gora region (Kosovo)	Skopje	7 March 2000

Table 4: Other interviews - Macedonians Born Outside of the Bitola Region and Interviewees of Non-Macedonian Ethnicity

Name	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Ethnicity and religion	Place of interview	Date of interview
Metovski, Justref	1908	Resen – Prespa region	Albanian – Muslim	Bitola	23 March 2000
Spirova, Velika	1911	Krpeshina – Lerin region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	19 January 2002
Stojanovski, Vasil	1915	Rakovo – Lerin region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Geelong	19 June 2001
Foudoulis, Andon	1919	Armenoro – Lerin region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	2 November 1999
Nicha, Konstantin	1919	Bitola	Vlah – Orthodox	Bitola	30 March 2000
Jovanovska, Jelena	1924	Tearce – Tetovo region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	15 February 2002
Eftimov, Kole	1924	Carev Dvor – Resen region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Bitola	20 March 2000
Simonovski, Simo 'Hemtu'	1925	Bitola	Vlah – Orthodox	Bitola	30 March 2000
Duakis, Kocho	1934	Petoraci – Lerin region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	20 January 2001
Risteski, Dragutin	1935	Vrboec – Krushevo region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	6 October 1999
Petrovski, Jovche	1939	Chelopek – Tetovo region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	27 March 2002
Kalcovski, Vancho	1942	Brajchino – Prespa region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	2 November 1999
Izev, Jovan	1943	Koleshino – Strumica region	Macedonian – Protestant	Melbourne	4 June 2002
Tilev, Vasil	1952	Balgarchevo – Gorna Dzhumaya region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	20 January 2002
Nedelkovski, Bogdan	1960	Blace – Tetovo region	Macedonian – Orthodox	Melbourne	7 October 1999

Table 5: Records of Interview

Name	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Place of discussion	Date of discussion
Derusevski, Mile	1927	Kuratica – Ohrid	Melbourne – Australia	1 December 2001
Naumovski, Tale	1929	Optichari – Bitola	Novaci – Macedonia	28 March 2000
Dimovska, Zora	1935	Krushevica – Mariovo (Prilep)	Melbourne – Australia	21 January 2000
Micevski, Cane	1938	Novaci – Bitola	Novaci – Macedonia	22 March 2000
Misevski, Sime	1943	Lazhec – Bitola	Melbourne – Australia	8 September 2000
Domazetoski, Goce	1950	Dragozhani – Bitola	Melbourne – Australia	11 June 2002
Muslioska, Aysha	1950	Velebrdo – Dolna Reka	D. Kosovrasti – Macedonia	27 March 2000
Temelkovska, Morpha	1950	Bitola	Skopje – Macedonia	3 March 2000
Toseski, Trajche	1956	Bonche – Prilep	Melbourne – Australia	10 January 2002
Ristevski, Lazor	1963	Dolno Orehovo – Bitola	Dolno Orehovo – Macedonia	31 March 2000
Boiceski, Fr Ruben	1968	Krivogashtani – Demir Hisar	Melbourne – Australia	21 January 2002

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(1775-1810)], Skopje, 1980

G. Todorovski editor

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Sources on the History of the Macedonian People 1912-1914],
Skopje, 1979

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*Izveshtaj od 1903-1904 Godina, na Avstriskite Prestavnici vo
Makedonija* [Report of 1903-1904, of Austrian Representatives in
Macedonia], Skopje, 1955

Archive of Serbia

K. Dzhambazovski editor

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V. Bozhinov and L. Panayotov editors

Macedonia: Documents and Materials, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 1978

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H. Andonov-Poljanski editor

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University of Cyril and Methodius, Skopje, 1985

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Kanuni i Firmani [Cannons and Firmans], Misl, Skopje, 1990

4. Unpublished documents

Archive of Macedonia

FUND: 491 - Pelagonska (Exarhiska) Mitropolija - Bitola

1898-1899

KUTIJA 1

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0101 / 0319-0319

Dated: 17 October 1898

A request by the villagers of Meglenci to the Bitola Valia to prevent the Greek Patriarchate from taking jurisdiction in the village.

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0155 / 0513-0520

Dated: 01 January 1899

Student data in Bitola town and the Bitola region.

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0296 / 0930-0930

Dated: 01 April 1899

Exarchate school established in Brusnik 1899

Document Number: 01.0491.001.0204 / 0681-0681

Dated: 14 September 1899

Marko Cvetkov from Bitola appointed teacher in Dolno Charliya.

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0235 / 0721-0721

Dated 14 October 1899

C. Nikolov from Dobrushevo appointed teacher in Ribarci.

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0233 / 0719-0719

Dated: 14 October 1899

Todor Stojanov from Radobor appointed schoolteacher in Dobrushevo.

Document Number: 01.0491.0001.0156 / 0521-0547

Dated: 28 October 1899

Educational data.

FUND: 491 - Pelagonska (Exarhiska) Mitropolija - Bitola

1900-1912

KUTIJA 7

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0162 / 0687-0691

Dated: 04 October 1900

Five baptismal records (Bitola)

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0164 / 0714-0718

Dated: 06 December 1904

Five wedding certificates (Bitola)

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0165 / 0734-0738

08 December 1905

Five wedding certificates (Bitola)

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0163 / 0712-0713

Dated: 04 March 1909

Two baptismal records (1909 and 1901)

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0006 / 0015-0035

Dated: 17 May 1909

Statistical data for schools in Bitola. Suburbs of Dolni Eni Malo, Bela Cheshma, Kyrta Deres, Mechkar Mala, Dolni Bair, Gorni Eni Malo, Arnaut Malo and Gorni Bair.

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0060 / 0183-0186

Dated: 15 October 1909

Letter from Pelagonska Mitropolija to the Exarchate in Constantinople referring to Klabuschishta village as a Bitola village.

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0062 / 0189-0190

Dated: 04 November 1909

List of people murdered by Greek bands in Beshica and Manastir (Mariovo district) in 1907/1908 (to renounce the Exarchate).

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0108 / 0417-0426

Dated: 11 November 1909

15 copies of the book "Zemjotresi vo Bugaria" (Earthquakes in Bulgaria) ordered for distribution to schools.

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0098 / 0352-0352

Dated: 13 February 1910

Villagers in Nevoljani village (Lerin region) forced to contribute towards Ottoman navy (new tax).

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0070 / 0222-0223

Dated: 05 May 1910

Individual from Dragosh village did not have enough money to buy back his life from the Turks.

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0151 /0660-0661

Dated: 01 January 1911

List of 43 schoolteachers, data includes birthplace, age, etc.

Document number 01.0491.0007.0140 / 0643-0647

Dated: 01 January 1911

Villages of Ivanec, Oleveni and Metimir send a joint petition to the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople declaring that they reject the Patriarchate and seek to come under Exarchate jurisdiction.

Document Number: 01.0491.0007.0141 / 0648-0648

Dated: 01 January 1911

Appeal by villagers from Papradishte to recommence services in village church previously closed by Turkish authorities.

Archive of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences

Shtiljan Trajanov Chaparoski

Mesnost (ite) od Debarskoto okruzhie [Places in the Debar region]

Catalogue Number NR54

Autobiographical notes of Stojan Srbinov

Stojan Srbinov was born in Buf (Lerin region) in 1920. He migrated to Australia in 1936. A prominent Macedonian activist for many decades, he was an instrumental figure in the establishment of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, Saint George, in Fitzroy, Melbourne, in the late 1950's. The autobiographical notes were written in 1983. Stojan Srbinov passed away in Melbourne, Australia, in 1990.

Vrajnevcı village (Bitola region) - School teachers record book 1957-1962

Letopisna kniga na osnovното chetiri godini uchilishte 'Kiril I Metodi',

Selo Vrajnevcı.

56 pages.

First several pages contain information for the Ottoman period - collected by the village schoolteacher, Todor Chorbovski, during the period 1957-59.

Ottoman Turkish issued land titles - Gorno Aglarci village (Bitola region)

Volume 52, Document 20, Number 91

Dated 21 July 1906

Volume 52, Document 29, Number 100

Dated 21 July 1906

Volume 52, Document 31, Number 102

Dated 21 July 1906

Volume 52, Document 34, Number 105

Dated 21 July 1906

Volume 52, Document 38, Number 109

Dated 21 July 1906

5. Land titles office - Bitola, Macedonia

Gorno Aglarci, Kat Opshtina Broj 22

Razmera 1:2500

1932

Novaci, Kat Opshtina Broj 23

Razmera 1:2500

1932

Makovo, Kat Opshtina Broj 100

Razmera 1:2500

1932

Lavci, Kat Opshtina Broj 58

Razmera 1:1000

1930

6. British Foreign Office Documents 1896 -1897

Archive of Macedonia

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt:

Re: the removal by the Vali of Monastir of a boy from his adoptive Christian family.

Dated: 9 February 1896

FO 294/22

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt

Re: foreign political propaganda attempting to detach Christians from one Church to another.

Dated: 18 August 1896

FO 294/22

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt

Re: Greek bands crossing into Macedonia under the leadership of Greek army officers.

Dated: 13 September 1896

FO 294/22

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt

Re: Patriarchate Archbishop of Bitola ordering children not be sent to Bulgarian Exarchate schools and threatening excommunication.

Dated: 27 September 1896 (Letter number 35)

FO 294/22

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt:

Re: bands organised in Larissa (Greece) to invade Turkish territory in small detachments 40 at a time.

Dated: 2 October 1896

Public record Office 373 - FO 294/22

Letter by Consul General Charles Blunt

Re: non existent Serbian community in Bitola town.

Dated: 6 April 1897

FO 294/22

7. Newspapers

Makedonija

21 October 1888, Issue Number 1

Glas Makedonski

5 January 1897, Year IV, Number 9.

The New York Times

18 October 1901

Avtonomna Makedonija

12 October 1905, Year 1, Number 1

Vjesti

27 January 1910, Constantinople, Year XX, Number 61

Iskra

1911 - Issue 1,

1912 - Issue numbers 4, 6, 11 and 12

Makedonski Golos

Published St Petersburg, Russia

1913 - Issue Numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8

1914 - Issue Numbers 9, 10 and 11

Makedonsko Sonce

Number 263, Dated 9 July 1999

Bitolski Vesnik

29 March 2000 Issue