

*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 19*

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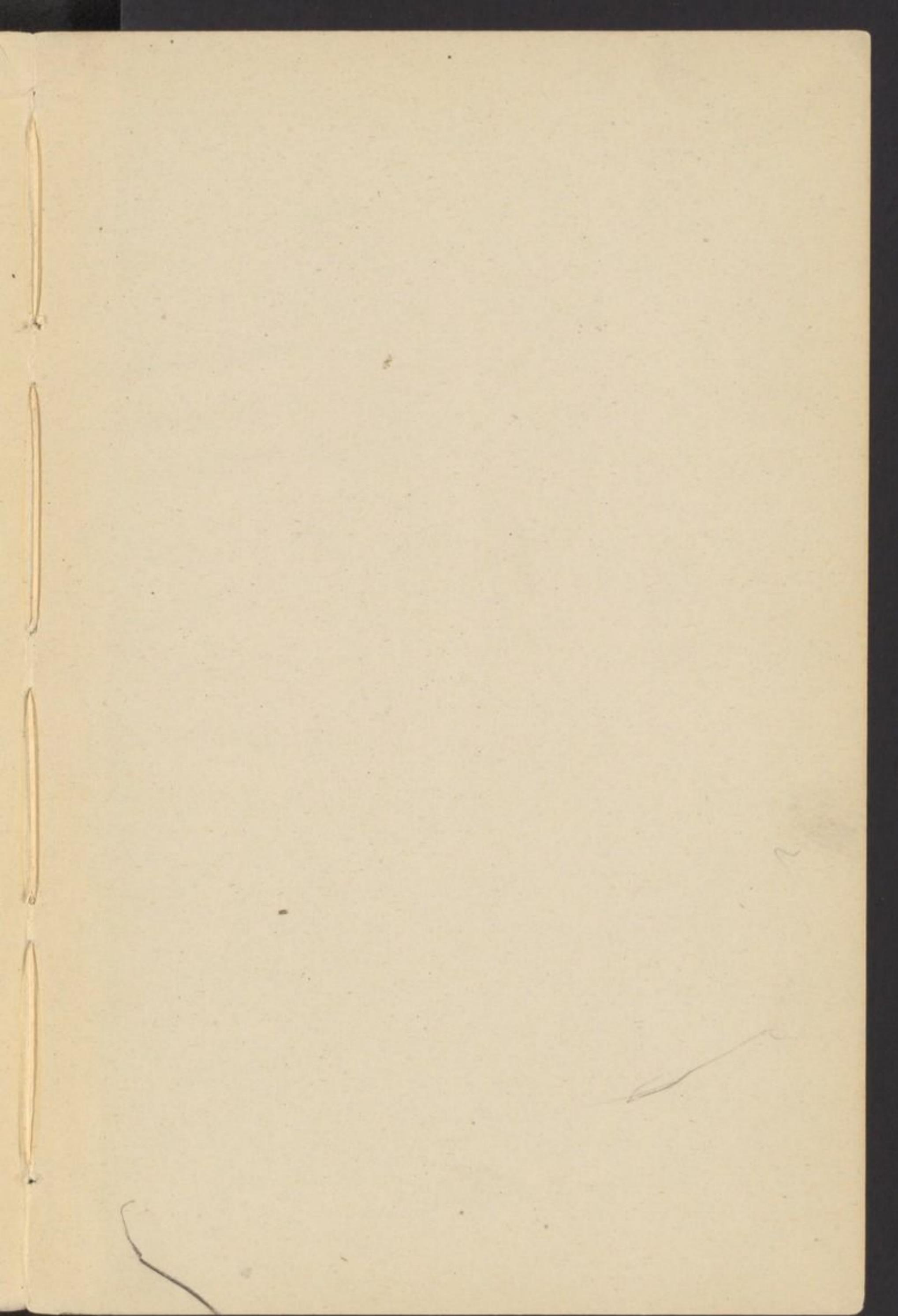
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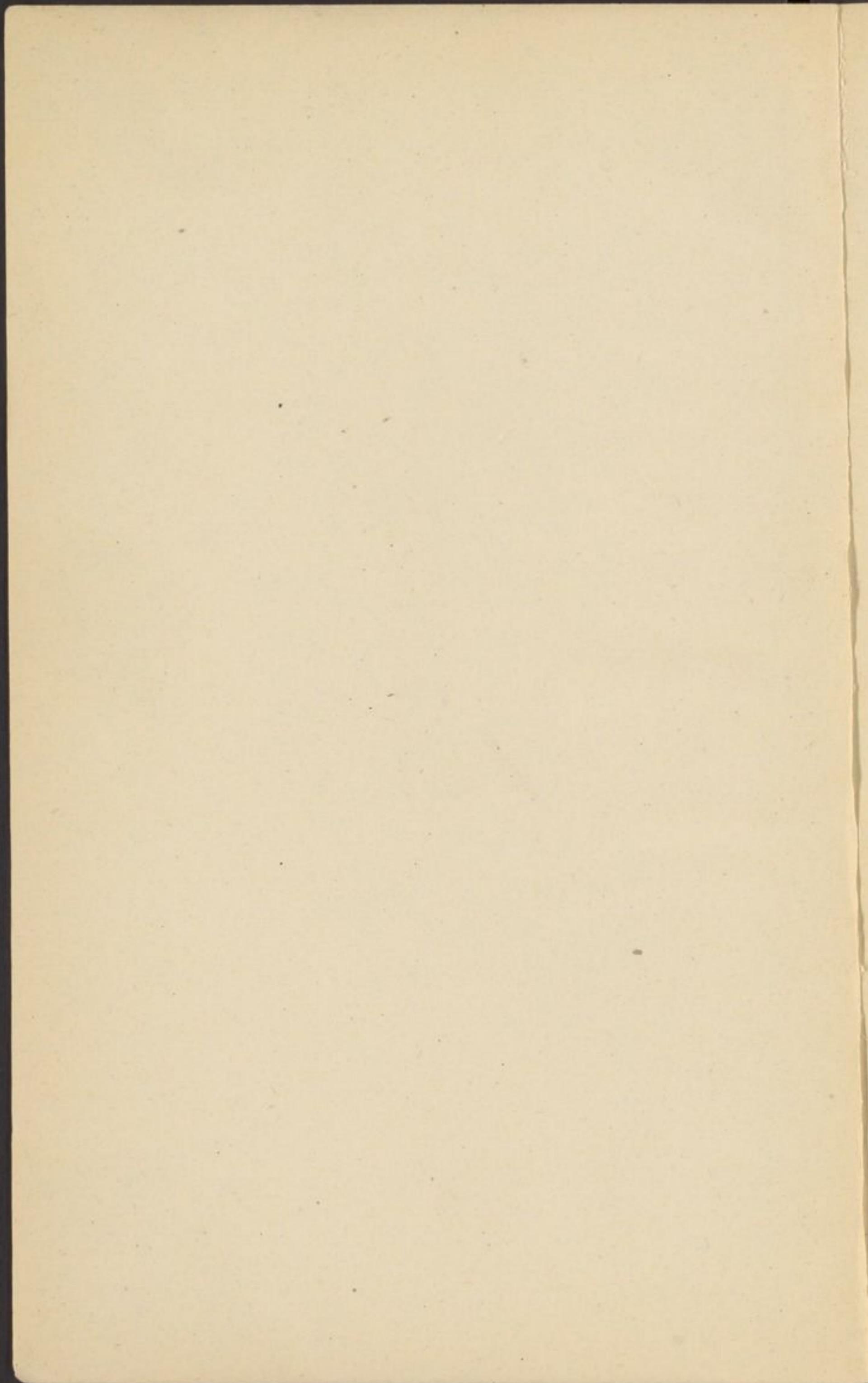


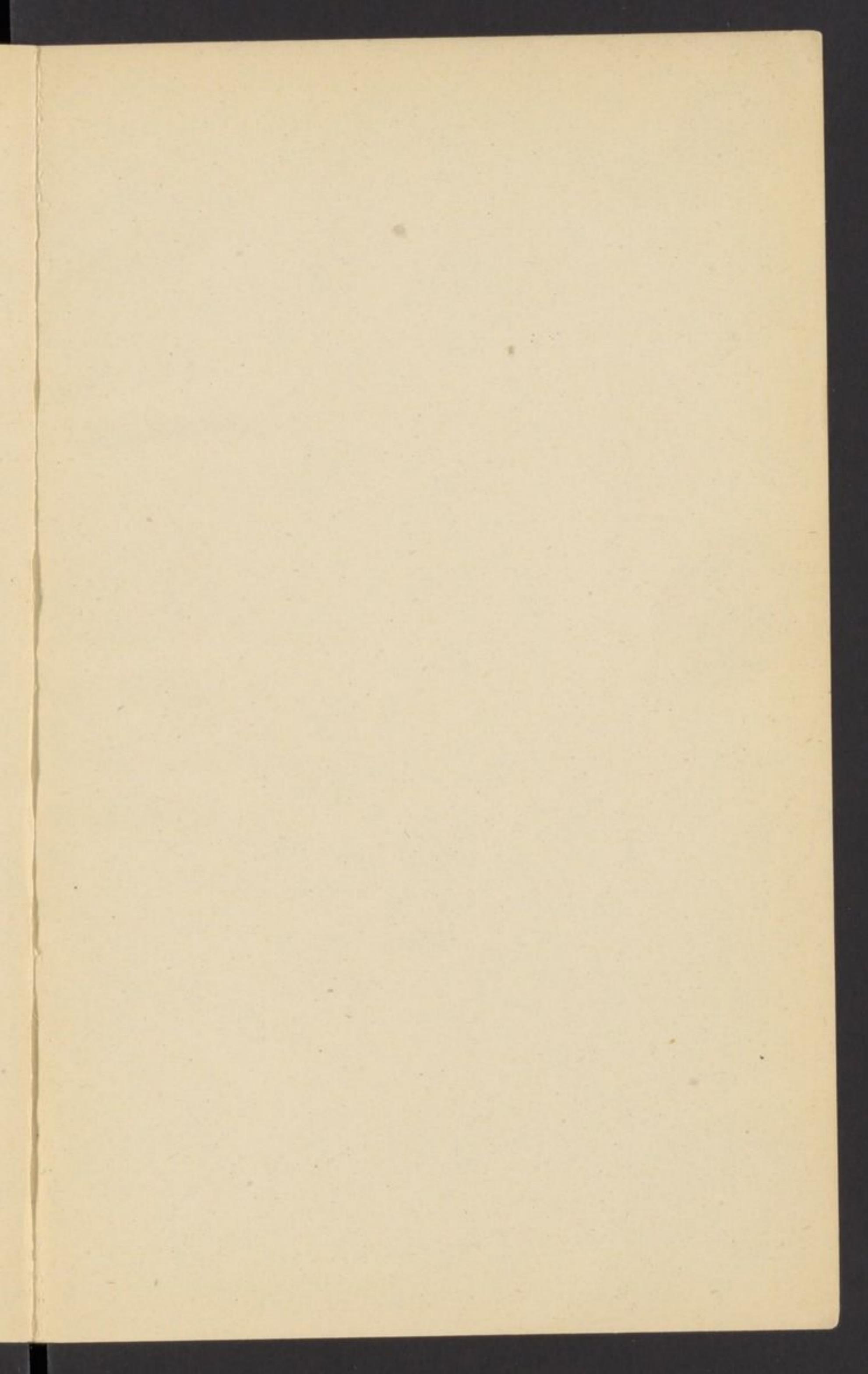


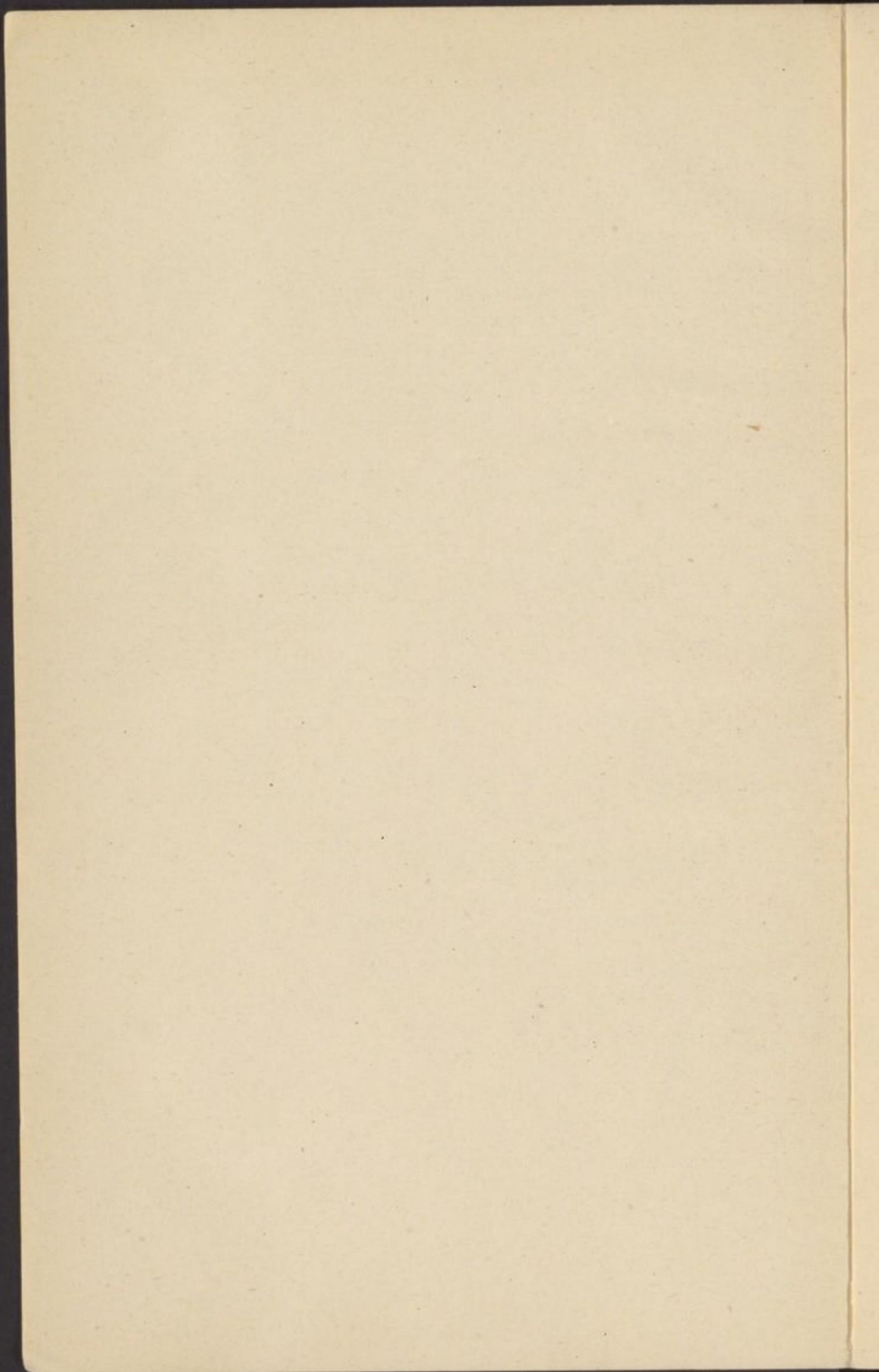
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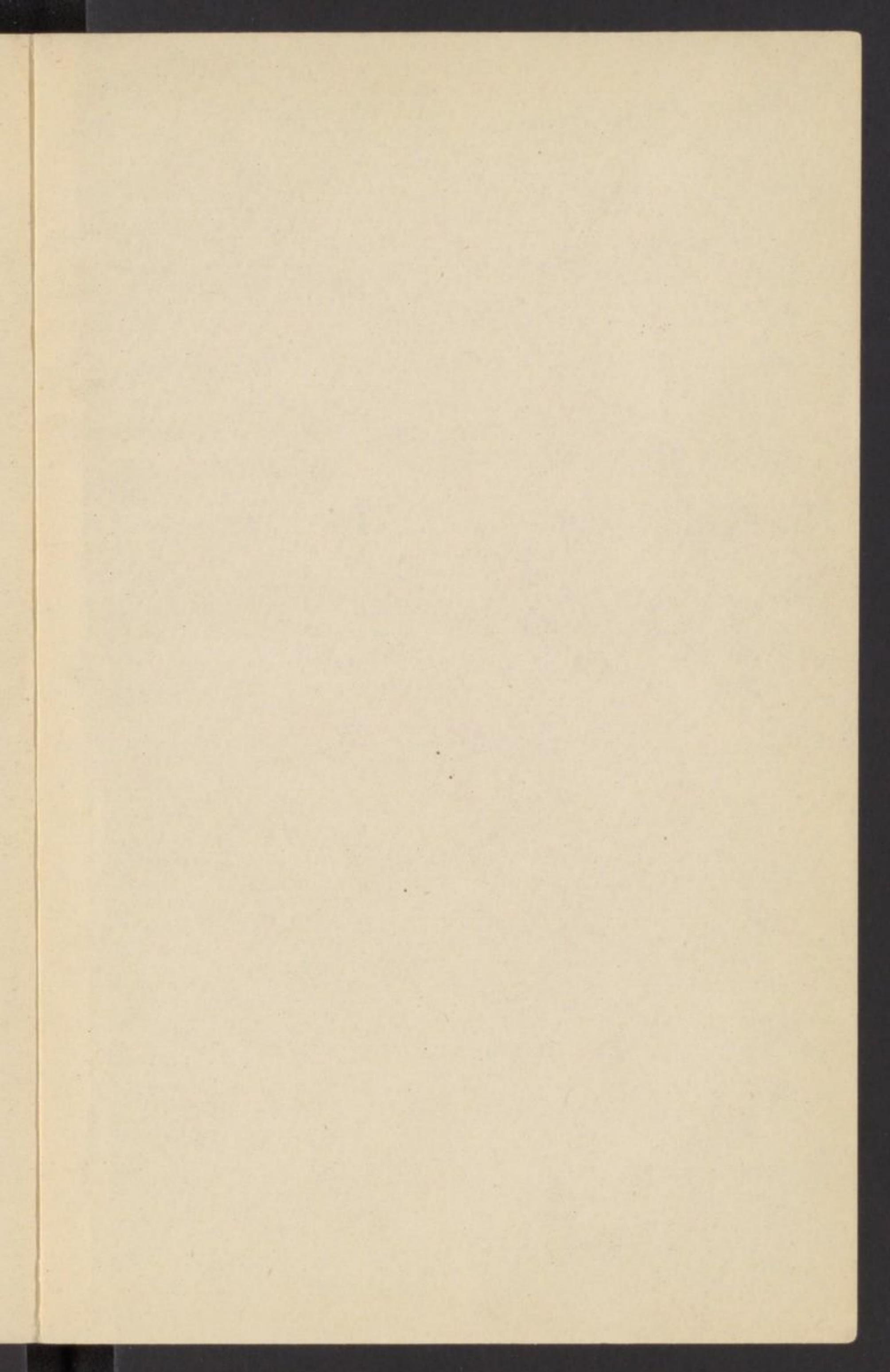
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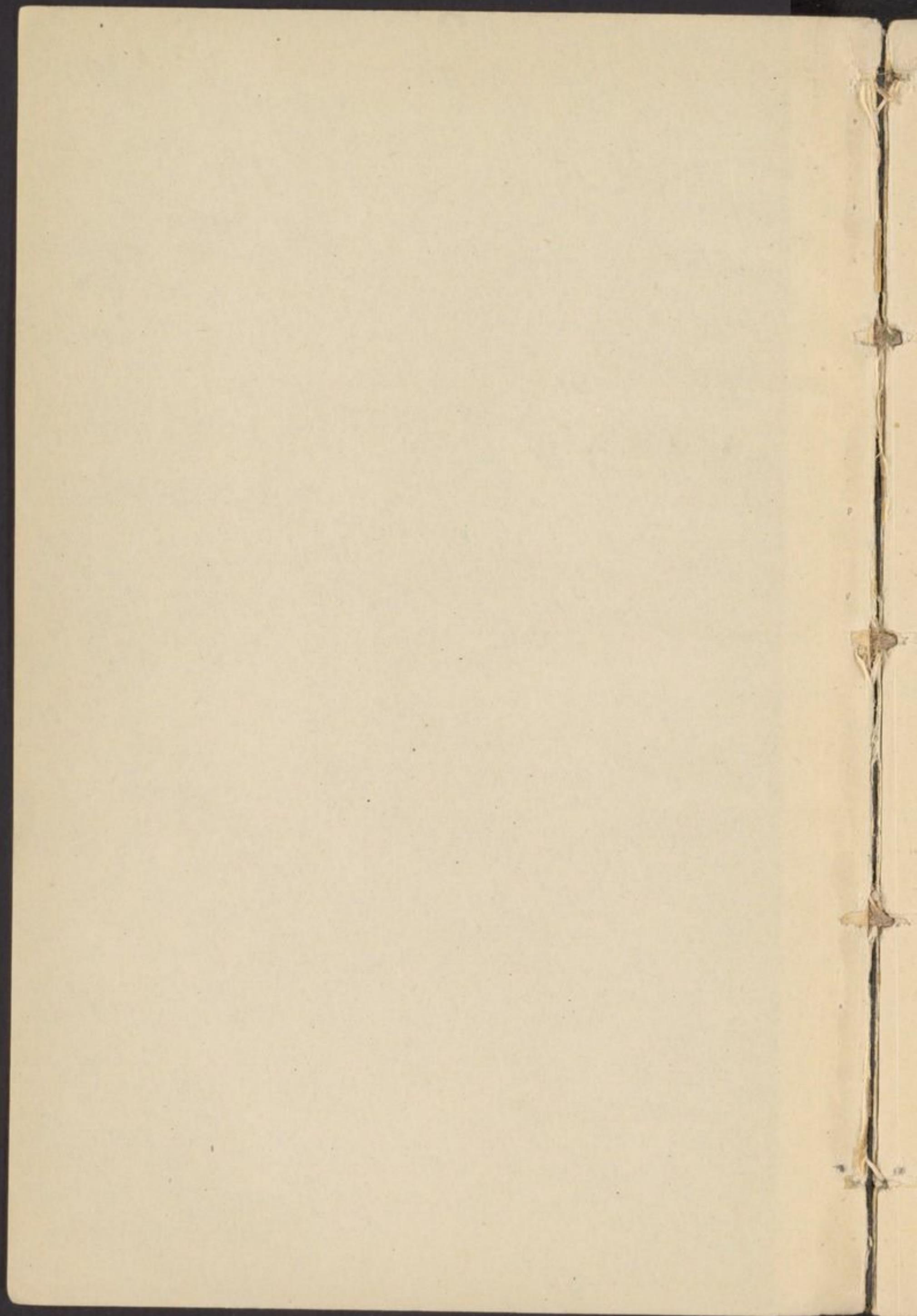












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EDITORIAL NOTE

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense ; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.*

January 1920.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

MONTENEGRO lies between latitudes $41^{\circ} 50'$ and $43^{\circ} 35'$ north and between longitudes $18^{\circ} 20'$ and $20^{\circ} 45'$ east, and has an approximate area of 5,600 square miles.

The neighbouring states are Serbia on the north-east and east, Albania on the south, and the Austro-Hungarian territories of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia on the north and west. Montenegro has an Adriatic seaboard of about 28 miles.

The boundary, which is intricate and in parts artificial, was fixed by the Treaty of Bucarest (1913). The mountain of Lovchen (5,771 ft.), which is included in Montenegro, overlooks the Bocche di Cattaro and completely commands Cattaro and its harbour, the frontier approaching within a mile of the town. The additions of 1913 include a substantial portion of the Sanjak of Novibazar, the long-disputed districts of Plava and Gusinye, the Metoya plain as far east as the White Drin, and the district north-west of the Hotit inlet on the lake of Scutari.

The heart of Montenegro is the Black Mountain, which gives its name to the whole country. This is the plateau east of the Gulf of Cattaro, on which stands the capital Tsetinye (Cetinje). The region has a distinct individuality, and throughout maintained its independence against the Turks.

The political frontiers of Montenegro have little relation to ethnic divisions. Between the Serbs and Montenegrins there is no ethnical distinction, for they are of the same race and speak the same language.

Similarly towards Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia no clear racial boundary can be drawn, since the inhabitants of these territories are practically all Serbo-Croats. Only towards Albania can there be said to be anything like an ethnical and linguistic frontier, though this does not everywhere coincide with the political frontier. The Christians of northern Albania are also distinguished from the Montenegrins by belonging mainly to the Roman Catholic Church.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

Montenegro is the meeting-place of the Dalmatian, the Bosnian, and the Albanian mountain systems. It falls into three main parts. The first of these is the Tsrna Gora or Black Mountain, which takes its name from the barren mass of Lovchen, and constitutes the southern portion of the kingdom. This may be regarded as a continuation of the Dalmatian coastal range. The second district is the Brda, north and east of the Zeta and west of the Tara, a larger area than Tsrna Gora itself, and connected with the Bosnian Mountains. A third region, including much of the territory added in 1913, is more closely associated with the Albanian hill country to the south. As a whole, the kingdom is wild and mountainous, yet it contains considerable variety of scenery in its bare rock, its splendid forests, its deep valleys, and fertile alluvial plains. The valleys and plains, however, cover only a small area in proportion to the mountains.

In Tsrna Gora and the Adriatic drainage area generally the important divisions are the plateau of Tsetinye, the valleys of the Moracha river and its chief affluent the Zeta, and the plain of Podgoritsa on the northern shore of Lake Scutari.

The plateau of Tsetinye, like others in Montenegro, is situated among wild limestone mountains. The valley of the Zeta, which has the most fertile ground in Montenegro, provides the main avenue of communication between the northern and southern divisions of the country, and is in consequence so important, both from an economic and military point of view, that in recent years it has even been proposed to transfer the seat of government from Tsetinye to Nikshich. The Zeta joins the Moracha just above Podgoritsa, which stands at the head of the plain bordering Lake Scutari, and is the most important road-centre in Montenegro. The plain extends along the north-eastern shore of the lake only, the opposite side being almost uniformly mountainous. Between the lake and the Adriatic lies the Sutorman range, the southernmost extension of the Dinaric Alps.

The Metoya plain falls mostly within the political limits of Montenegro, of which it forms the south-eastern portion. It is a fertile, grassy land, watered by the upper course of the White Drin, and contains the two largest towns in Montenegro, Ipek (Pech), and Jakova (Dyakovitsa).

Coast

Montenegro has a seaboard, somewhat under 30 miles in length, along the Adriatic, between Dalmatia on the north-west and Albania on the south-east. North of Dulcigno the level country by the shore is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles broad, and is backed by the Sutorman Mountains, which rise in Rumiya to a height of 5,226 ft. In this section the plain is broadest behind the port of Antivari. Between Dulcigno and the mouth of the Boyana the country is level and marshy almost as far inland as Lake Scutari.

The finest natural harbour in the eastern Adriatic,

and one of the finest in the world, is the Gulf of Cattaro. This lies completely within the Austrian territory of Dalmatia, but both town and gulf are dominated by Mount Lovchen, which is in Montenegro. Cattaro, which is situated at the south-east end of the gulf, is connected with Tsetinye by a splendid military road, and is the regular port for reaching the capital, the distance being about 27 miles. Cattaro is also connected with Antivari by a coastal road past Budua and Spizza.

River and Lake System

The rivers of Montenegro fall into two groups: those which flow towards the Adriatic and those which flow into the Danube. The Boyana, which carries the overflow of Lake Scutari, the Tsrnoyevitsa, the Moracha, with its tributary the Zeta, and the Tsiyevna or Zem, which all flow into the lake, and the White Drin, of which only the upper course is Montenegrin, belong to the Adriatic group; the Piva, Tara, and Lim, all tributaries of the Drina, and the Ibar, a tributary of the Morava, to the Danubian. The watershed between the two groups is roughly the line of the Brda Mountains and the North Albanian Alps.

The bed of the Boyana, the chief navigable river of Montenegro, is much affected by silting, since it receives, through the Drinassa channel, much of the water, and consequently much of the mud, brought down from the interior by the Drin. In consequence the Boyana is not capable of carrying all the drainage of Lake Scutari, and is subject to heavy floods in winter and spring. It is nowhere fordable at any time of the year.

Between Montenegro and northern Albania, and receiving a number of the rivers of each country, lies Lake Scutari, 27 miles long and 8 miles broad, with

a superficial area of about 134 square miles. At the south-eastern end is the Albanian town of Scutari; and here the Drin approaches within 8 miles of the lake, and is connected by the Drinassa channel with the Boyana just below its effluence.

The water, except close to the shore, is clear and drinkable. The level of the lake shows a slight rise from year to year, and the improvement of the channel of the Boyana, which affords its only outlet, is very desirable. Each winter the water rises 9-10 ft., and the town of Scutari itself is sometimes flooded.

(3) CLIMATE

Montenegro consists, in unequal proportions, of mountain, valley, plain, and coast-land; and the climate varies considerably between different places. On the high mountains the snow lies for nearly the whole year; the valleys, on the other hand, have a mild climate, as has also the plain of Lake Scutari. The climate of the coast is like that of central Italy.

On the whole the climate is rather colder than that of Serbian Macedonia. Tsetinye, which stands at a height of 2,068 ft. above sea-level, has a mean temperature of 28° F. (-2° C.) in January, rising to 71° F. (22° C.) in July. The mean for the year is 51° F. (11° C.). In winter the snow blocks the road, and sometimes makes the capital almost inaccessible. Throughout Tsrna Gora and the Brda the climate is bracing, and its effect is seen in the vigorous and hardy race which inhabits the country.

On the plain by Lake Scutari the mean monthly temperature ranges from 39° F. (4° C.) in January to 77° F. (25° C.) in July. Only at the northern end of the lake near Virbazar does ice occasionally form. Two local winds help to cool the air, the *danik*

blowing in the day from the east, and the *nochnik* in the evening from the north-west.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

In the summer malaria is common along the coast, around Lake Scutari, and in the lower Zeta valley. The unhealthiness of the southern district is increased by the tendency of the Boyana river to overflow.

Before the war there was a small but well-equipped and well-conducted hospital at Tsetinye; and the doctor at the head of this establishment was in charge of the health regulations of the whole kingdom.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

There are two races in Montenegro, the Serb and the Albanian. Exact figures are impossible to obtain, but the Albanians form much the smaller part of the population; they inhabit the district of Dulcigno, south-west of Lake Scutari, and are found in considerable numbers in the Montenegrin part of the former Sanjak of Novibazar and in the Metoya plain.

In race the Montenegrin Serbs cannot be distinguished from those of Serbia. They speak the same language and belong to the same branch of the Orthodox Church, though autocephalous and under separate organization. The Montenegrin has a rather finer physique than the neighbouring Serbian; he is a broad-headed, dark-haired man, tall in stature, and with a dignified bearing. The people of Serbia and Montenegro recognize their close kinship with each other.

The Albanians in Montenegro have preserved their racial purity to a less degree than their kinsmen farther south. Not merely have they intermarried with the Serbs, but they have introduced many Slavonic words into their tongue, so that they would

have some difficulty in understanding the Mirdites or men of the regions farther south. They use the Latin alphabet, and those who are Christian belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The northern Albanian is a tall man, with an extremely broad or round head and an aquiline nose.

(6) POPULATION

There are no exact figures for the population of Montenegro, but the number in 1914 was probably between 400,000 and 500,000. The average density of population was estimated at not more than 70 per square mile. Austrian calculations gave 60-70 per square mile. In Tsrna Gora, and in a somewhat less degree in the Brda, the population is very scanty. The capital, Tsetinye, has a population of only 5,500. The valleys of the Zeta and lower Moracha have a relatively dense population; the plain of Spuzh on the Zeta has 25,000 inhabitants, that of Podgoritsa 22,000. The Metoya plain from Ipek to Jakova is also fairly populous; Ipek has itself 15,000 inhabitants, Jakova 20,000.

The marked increase in the population of Montenegro before 1914 was due to the accessions of territory made in 1912-13. There are no statistics to show the birth and death rates. Between 1882 and 1900, a period when there were no territorial accessions, the population increased from 230,000 to 311,000.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- c. 1000–c. 1200. Kingdom of Dioklitiya (capitals Scutari and Cattaro) includes Montenegro.
- c. 1200–c. 1360. Montenegro a part of a Serbian State.
- c. 1360–1421. The Zeta (= Montenegro) an independent State (capital Scutari) under the Balsha family.
1396. Scutari sold to Venice.
1405. Scutari temporarily recovered for the Zeta.
- c. 1427–1516. The 'Black' or Tsrnoyevich Princes of Montenegro (capitals Zhablyak, Tsetinye).
1479. Scutari ceded to the Turks.
1484. Tsetinye made the capital.
- 1516–1696. Elective Bishops, or *Vladikas*.
- 1696–1851. Hereditary Bishops of Petrovich family—present reigning dynasty.
1711. First connexion with Russia.
- 1782–1830. The 'Great *Vladika*', Peter I.
1797. Austria, obtaining Dalmatia by the Treaty of Campo Formio, becomes Montenegro's neighbour.
1799. Turkish firman recognizes Montenegrin independence.
- 1807–13. French in the Bocche di Cattaro.
1813. Anglo-Montenegrin capture of Cattaro.
1814. Cattaro Montenegrin for 5 months.
- 1830–51. Peter II.
- 1851–60. Danilo II.
1851. Montenegro ceases to be a theocratic state.
1858. Battle of Grahovo.
1860. Danilo assassinated. Nicholas I succeeds.
1862. Turco-Montenegrin War.
- 1876–7. Turco-Montenegrin War.
1878. Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.
1880. Dulcigno demonstration.
1896. Marriage of Princess Elena to the present King of Italy.
1905. Montenegrin Constitution.
1908. Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1910. Prince Nicholas, on his Jubilee, takes title of King.
 1911. Maltsori insurrection.
 1912. First Balkan War.
 1913. Second Balkan War. Treaty of Bucarest.

VENETIAN COLONIES IN ALBANIA

Durazzo, 1392-1501.

Alessio, 1393-1478.

Drivasto (Drishti), 1396-1419 ; 1421-3 ; 1442-78.

Scutari, 1396-1479 (except for part of 1405).

Antivari, 1421-23 ; 1444-1571.

Dulcigno, 1421-1571.

Dagno }
 Satti } 1444-56 ; 1458-78.

Valona, 1690-1.

(A) INTRODUCTORY

(1) KINGDOM OF DIOKLITIYA MERGED IN SERBIA (c. 1100-1200)

THE present kingdom of Montenegro was in the Middle Ages a part of the Serbian States.¹ Originally, in the tenth and two following centuries, there were two of these, one comprising the inland district of Novibazar, the other including the South Dalmatian coast, the present Herzegovina, and modern Montenegro, then known as Dioklitiya, from the now ruined town of Doclea, near Podgoritsa. Scutari and Cattaro were the capitals of this latter State, whose rulers took the title of king, but were ultimately ousted by the less magniloquently styled great *Jupani*, or 'counts', of the more important inland region, then known as 'Rascia'. Thus early, then, there were two Serb States and two rival dynasties. But, when Stephen Nemanya created the powerful Serbian monarchy towards the end of the twelfth century,

¹ See *Serbia*, No. 20 of this series.

what is now Montenegro was included in it; indeed, his birth-place, the present Podgoritsa in Montenegro, was the nucleus of his State.

(2) PRINCIPALITY OF THE ZETA (c. 1360–1516)

Montenegro, or the Zeta, as it was then called, remained an integral part of the great Serbian State until the break-up of Stephen Dushan's vast empire after his death in 1355. The family of Balsha, formerly supposed to have been connected with the French house of Baux, but now believed to have been descended from the family of Nemanya, established themselves as independent princes there, instead of imperial Serbian governors, about 1360, governing a territory which stretched down to the Adriatic at Budua and Antivari, and which had Scutari as its capital—*principale eorum domicilium*,¹ as a document of 1369 expressly calls it. This is the basis of the present historical claim of the Montenegrins to Scutari as their old capital. In 1396, however, George II Balsha, hard pressed by the Turks, who had overthrown the Serbs at the battle of Kosovo in 1389, sold Scutari with the neighbouring castle of Drivasto (now Drishti) to Venice, then beginning her career of colonization in Albania. Venice retained Scutari, save for its momentary recapture by Balsha III, in 1405, till the Turkish capture in 1479. Upon the death of the last male Balsha in 1421 his chief towns were partitioned between Venice and the then Prince of Serbia.

A powerful local family, that of Tsrnoyevich, had already established its independence in the mountainous region round Nyegush (which about this time first began to be called Tsrna Gora in Serb and Montenegro in

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium Historiam illustrantia*, i. 261–3 (Rome, 1863).

Venetian, a name connected by some, though probably incorrectly, with that of this local clan). Venice, finding this family useful in her struggle with the Balshas, paid it a subsidy, and when one of its members, Stephen Tsrnoyevich, revolted from the Serbian prince's sovereignty, about 1427, appointed him her 'captain and *voïvode*' in the Zeta. In 1455 a pact was signed by Venice and the fifty-one communities which then composed Montenegro. Stephen hoisted the banner of St. Mark at Podgoritsa, and made his capital in the castle of Zhablyak, near the lake of Scutari. On his death, in 1466, his son and successor, Ivan the Black, was confirmed by Venice as her 'captain and *voïvode*' in the Zeta; but when, in 1479, she had to cede Scutari to the Turks, he was obliged to move his capital to a less vulnerable position, and in 1484 founded Tsetinye (Cetinje) as his new residence. He founded, too, at Obod a printing-press for liturgical books, and from it issued in 1493 the first books printed in Slavonic. The Tsrnoyevich dynasty lasted—save for a brief Turkish annexation¹—till 1516, when the then reigning prince retired to his wife's home in Venice, after transferring the supreme power to the bishop, or *vladika*, who was assisted by a civil governor, chosen from among the headmen of the Katunska district, in which Nyegush and Tsetinye were situated. The prince-bishopric was elective, until, in 1696, the dignity became hereditary in the present royal family of Petrovich, whose ancestors, two centuries earlier, had fled for refuge from Herzegovina to Nyegush. Thus Herzegovina is King Nicholas's ancestral land, while Scutari was the capital both of the ancient kings of Dioklitiya and of the Balshas.

¹ Sanudo, *Diarii*, ii. 372, 504; xii. 153; xviii. 397.

(3) PRINCE-BISHOPS, ELECTIVE (1516-1696) AND THEN HEREDITARY

The reason for the adoption of the hereditary system was that it seemed the only way to save the country from the Turks. But, as a bishop in the Orthodox Church cannot marry, the succession passed from uncle to nephew.¹ During this period Montenegrin history is one long record of warfare with the Turks; indeed, down to the practical cessation of the Turkish peril and the substitution of the Austrian for it in Herzegovina in 1878, Montenegro was engaged in a struggle for existence against Turkey.

Nature was on the side of Montenegro, where, as has been said, 'a small army is beaten, a large one dies of starvation'; while a Homeric state of society was exactly suited to a constant state of warfare. Danilo I, the first Petrovich prince-bishop, also, by the memorable 'Montenegrin Vespers' of Christmas Eve, 1702, rid the country of the no less dangerous internal foe—the renegades. Under him, too, in 1711, began the connexion between Russia and Montenegro, with the arrival of an envoy of Peter the Great at Tsetinye in order to stir up the Montenegrins against the Turks. Danilo and every one of his six successors visited the Tsar, and he received the first of the many Russian subsidies paid to Montenegro.

(B) RECENT HISTORY

(1) FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPE: PETER I AND II (1782-1851)

With the accession of Peter I, the 'Great *Vladika*', who reigned from 1782 to 1830, Montenegro entered

¹ There is, however, a well-accredited instance of a bishop not belonging to the Petrovitch family, in the case of Arseniye Plamenatz, before the accession of Peter I.

on a new era—that of contact with Europe. The cession of Dalmatia to Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 made the latter Power Montenegro's neighbour, instead of the moribund Venetian Republic. The temporary French occupation of Dalmatia, which made the Bocche di Cattaro French for six years, from 1807 to 1813, brought Montenegro into conflict with the troops of Napoleon, who threatened to make it Monterosso. This was the first time that the British fleet (in 1813) aided Montenegro—in the capture of Cattaro. For five months this old Serbian city, which had been Dushan's mint, and one of the capitals of Dioklitiya, was Montenegrin. But Russia, in 1814, bade Peter I hand it back to Austria, to whom (with the rest of Dalmatia) it has since belonged, despite the Serbian character of the *Bocchesi*. Thus Austria regained the finest harbour and the best seamen in Dalmatia; Montenegro remained landlocked till 1880. To set against this, a Turkish firman of 1799 recognized that Montenegro had never been a vassal of Turkey—a very important precedent.

Montenegro was, indeed, a continual source of trouble to the Turks. Peter I waged a successful campaign against the Governor of Bosnia in 1819; and the repulse of a Turkish invasion from the side of Albania during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–9 led to the recognition of Montenegrin sovereignty over the Piperi tribe. When, in 1830, Peter I ended his long reign of forty-eight years, he had the satisfaction of having united to his little State the three districts of the Piperi, the Kuchi, and the Biyelopavlich, so called after 'the son of Paul the White', a descendant of the famous mediaeval hero, Lek Dukajin. Not only had he nearly doubled Montenegro, but he had also given it a code, and obtained the payment of the long-discontinued Russian subsidy of 1,000 ducats, and the

delimitation of the boundary between Montenegro and her new neighbour, Austria.

Peter I, who is venerated as a saint by the pious pilgrims to his tomb in the monastery church at Tsetinye, was succeeded, according to the usual custom, by his nephew, who took the name of Peter II. The new prince-bishop, a combination of poet, historical dramatist, and statesman, not uncommon in the Petrovich dynasty, began by a series of reforms. He created a police force, founded a printing-press (the successor of that formed at Obod in 1493), established a paid permanent Senate (or *Soviet*) of twelve members and a president with deliberative and judicial functions, and divided the enlarged principality into eight districts (or *nahie*), of which the four on the other side of the Zeta valley, collectively known as the Brda (or 'mountains'), and including the three above-mentioned acquisitions of Peter I, gave to the ruler his second title. The population of the little State, thus reorganized, was estimated in 1846 at 120,000 souls. Peter II further abolished the dual system of government, which had prevailed since 1516. From that time the prince-bishop had always had at his side a lay official, known as the civil 'governor', and latterly always a member of the house of Radonich. A dispute arose between Peter and the civil governor, and the former settled the question in 1832 by decreeing the abolition of the office and the banishment of Vuko Radonich, its last holder. Thus, in Montenegro, as in Japan, the spiritual authority suppressed the temporal; and for the next twenty years Montenegro was a theocracy.

In vain the Sultan tempted the prince-bishop to recognize him as his suzerain by the offer of the city of Scutari, a frontage on the Adriatic, and a part of Herzegovina for himself and his heirs; the pride and sturdy independence of Peter II would not allow

him to accept a subordinate position such as that of Milosh in Serbia. Consequently, a fresh Turco-Montenegrin campaign took place in 1832, in which the Turks were worsted; in 1835 a body of Montenegrins seized the ancient Montenegrin capital of Zhablyak, which their ruler, however, thought it prudent to hand back to the Sultan; in 1840 a scheme for the capture of the still Turkish towns of Podgoritsa and Spuzh provoked another Turkish invasion. For several years, too, the indefinite status of the district of Grahovo on the Herzegovinian frontier involved the Montenegrins in conflicts with Turkey. A treaty signed in 1838 had declared Grahovo to be neutral territory, under an hereditary *voivode*, confirmed in his dignity by the prince-bishop and the governors of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and this transitory state of things was continued by subsequent agreements. Finally, in 1843, the seizure by the Turks of the islands of Lessandria and Vranina in the lake of Scutari, by interfering with the fishing, severely injured the adjacent district of Montenegro.

Several years of comparative peace with Turkey followed; but a sanguinary incident caused trouble with the other great neighbour. The Pastrovich clan, inhabiting the Austrian littoral from Budua to Spizza, had sold its lands to the Montenegrins, naturally anxious for an outlet on the sea. Austria objected to this virtual occupation of her territory by her neighbours, and offered to buy out the purchasers. The valuation, however, led to a fatal collision between the Austrians and the Montenegrins in 1838; and £40,000 barely compensated the latter for the loss of this strip of coast. More serious still was the civil war, a thing almost unknown in the history of Montenegro, which broke out in 1847, owing to the attempt of the Piperi and Tsrnichka districts to secede from

a principality which was afflicted by famine. The secessionists were subdued.

Montenegro, like Serbia, was stirred by the movement of the Austrian Serbs during the revolution of 1848. Peter II offered the aid of 10,000 of his subjects to Jellachich, the *Ban* of Croatia; but the latter declined to allow the Montenegrins to take part in the civil war between Hungarians and Croats. A series of frontier skirmishes between the mountaineers and their Turkish and Albanian neighbours provided, however, that military exercise which was the chief occupation of the *Vladika's* subjects. In these circumstances Peter II died, on October 31, 1851, the last ruler of the Black Mountain who united the chief ecclesiastical and political functions in his own person.

(2) DANILO II: CHANGE OF THE THEOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT (1851-60)

The dying *Vladika* had nominated his nephew Danilo, then absent in Vienna, as his successor, charging Pero Tomaso Petrovich, President of the Senate and likewise uncle of the young heir, with the duty of governing the country till the latter could arrive. Pero was, however, acclaimed by the war-party, which wished for a vigorous policy against the Turks; and, when his nephew reached Tsetinye, he found the usurper installed in his palace. Danilo promptly appealed to the people for the execution of the late ruler's testament, and his uncle was constrained to acknowledge him as his sovereign. Instead, however, of pardoning the bellicose chiefs who had endeavoured to rob him of his heritage, Danilo warned them that he would punish their disloyalty, thus from the outset creating a party against his authority.

The new ruler began his reign by changing the theocratic system of government, which had prevailed

in Montenegro since 1516. He wanted to marry; he desired to found a family; he had no calling for an ecclesiastical life. Already the late *Vladika* had shown, by moving his residence from the monastery to the so-called 'Billiard-table', that the separation of a Montenegrin sovereign's dual attributes was impending. Danilo sent a message to the Senate proposing this change in the ancient constitution. In 1852 Montenegro was declared to be an hereditary, temporal principality; the succession to the throne was to be by order of primogeniture in the male line; and another member of the Petrovich family or of the Montenegrin aristocracy was to be appointed head of the Church.

These changes were approved by the Orthodox Tsar; Austria had already been consulted; Turkey alone resented the erection of Montenegro into a secular principality, especially as her suspicions were aroused by this practical recognition of the Tsar as patron of the newly-created Prince. Omar Pasha, the Croatian who had been in the Lebanon and in the Principalities, but was then Governor of Bosnia, tried to detach the Piperi from the rest of Montenegro by the promise of fiscal exemption and a grant of lands; a band of Montenegrins again seized the ancient capital of Zhablyak by a *coup de main*; nor did its evacuation by the prudent prince prevent the indignant Turks, anxious for war, from invading the Black Mountain. Attacked simultaneously by five separate Turkish forces, Danilo begged Austria and Russia to intervene, while he held the Turks at bay. Austria, incensed against Turkey for her recent hospitality to Polish and Hungarian refugees, played the game of Slavonic Orthodoxy by supporting Montenegro. An Austrian envoy, Count Leiningen, informed the Sultan that the Austrian Emperor was bound as a Christian sovereign to intervene

on behalf of his Christian neighbours; the Sultan consented to desist from hostilities; and on March 3, 1853, peace was signed on the basis of the *status quo*, after the Turks had sustained serious losses. Austria had performed a service to the little State, which twenty-five years later came to regard her as a more dangerous foe than Turkey; and the Austrian envoy had insisted by a reference to the Turkish firman of 1799 that the Prince of Montenegro was not a vassal of the Sultan. Danilo personally thanked the Austrian emperor for his intervention; and, peace being restored, his own marriage, and the appointment of another member of the Petrovich clan as bishop, completed the change of the ancient constitution.

From Montenegro, at the time of the Crimean War, the Tsar had strong reason to expect support. Despite the fact that one war against Turkey was barely over, a considerable party at Tsetinye, headed by Danilo's uncle, George Petrovich, was anxious for another. Danilo, however, on the advice of Austria, which had just rendered him so considerable a service, again resolutely opposed a warlike policy, at the risk of his popularity and even of his throne. He protested that he could no longer restrain his subjects; and their discontent rose to such a pitch, that the Piperi, the Kuchi, and the Biyelopavlich districts of the Brda—comparatively recent and still unamalgamated acquisitions of the principality—proclaimed themselves, in July 1854, an independent state. Danilo was forced to take the field against his rebellious subjects; some fled into Turkish territory, others submitted, and were made to pay an indemnity for the civil war which they had caused. But, while maintaining neutrality, the Prince thought it prudent to conciliate both his subjects and the Tsar by ordering a three days' fast for the success of the Russian arms. The Catholic Mirdites,

on the other hand, under their Prince Bib Doda, father of the late Prince, followed Omar Pasha to the Danube, as they had followed him a year before against Montenegro.

At the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, Austria, in the 14th protocol, obtained from the Russian delegates a disclaimer of any such Russian protectorate over Montenegro as the Tsar had formerly claimed to exercise over the Danubian Principalities. Mutual sympathy was declared to be the sole bond of union between the Muscovites and the mountaineers; while Ali Pasha, on behalf of Turkey, stated that the Porte regarded the Black Mountain as an 'integral part of the Ottoman Empire'. This statement, in direct violation of the firman of 1799, of the Turco-Montenegrin treaties of 1838 and 1842, and of the hard facts of many a Turkish defeat at the hands of the mountaineers, was warmly repudiated by Prince Danilo in a memorandum addressed to the signatory Powers on May 31. He pointed out with considerable exaggeration that, with more reason, he might claim 'half Albania and all Herzegovina', on the ground that the Balsha dynasty, which ruled over the Zeta in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had once possessed those lands, while the Turks had never possessed Montenegro; that 'for 466 years', that is, since the battle of Kosovo, 'the Montenegrin people had never been subjected to any Power'; that 'for four and a half centuries it had waged continual warfare with Turkey'; but that, notwithstanding these services to Christendom, Montenegro, owing to the theocratic constitution which had only recently been abolished, had never been received officially within the family of European states. The Prince claimed the official recognition of Montenegrin independence, the expansion of the Principality at the expense of Albania and Herzegovina,

the delimitation of the Turco-Montenegrin frontiers, and the concession of the town and harbour of Antivari, which his predecessor, the *Vladika* Danilo, had tried to secure a century and a half earlier, and which was a commercial necessity for a people deprived by the loss of Cattaro in 1814 of all access to the sea.

In support of these claims, Danilo, who in 1855 had married Darinka Kuechich, daughter of a Serb merchant of Trieste, visited Napoleon III in 1857. The French Emperor, who two years earlier had established a French Vice-Consulate at Tsetinye and sent thither as his representative M. Hecquard, the well-known writer on Albania, received the Prince with the honours due to an independent ruler. But the only immediate result of this visit was a Turkish offer to bestow upon the Prince a part of Herzegovina with a civil list and a Turkish title, and to open all Turkish ports to his subjects, on condition that he did homage to the Sultan as his suzerain. Danilo, who in the previous summer had refused the wish of the people of Nikshich to become his subjects, from fear of provoking a fresh war with Turkey, was disposed to accept the Turkish offer, which his warlike people considered a disgrace. Nothing eventually came of the proposal; but Danilo's unpopularity, already demonstrated by another rising of the Kuchi against his tax-collectors, increased.

Despite Danilo's efforts to maintain peace with Turkey, another Turco-Montenegrin campaign marked the year 1858. The usual frontier incidents preceded the war; one or two villages on the Adriatic coast proclaimed union with Montenegro; and a Montenegrin senator seized for a moment the coveted fortress of Spizza on the Bay of Antivari, destined to such European notoriety 20 and 50 years later. Danilo appealed to Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg;

a French squadron and a Russian frigate arrived off Ragusa. Meanwhile, Hussein Pasha was ordered to occupy the territory of Grahovo, which by the compromises of 1842-3 had been declared neutral. There, in two engagements on May 12 and 13, the Prince's elder brother Mirko completely routed the greatly superior Turkish force; British medals, won by the Turks before Sebastopol, went to adorn Tsetinye; and Grahovo is justly regarded as the 'Marathon of Montenegro'. The Turks withdrew; and a conference of ambassadors at Constantinople led to a rectification of the Montenegrin frontiers, by which the districts of Grahovo, with the adjacent Rudine, Zhupa, and the upper Vasoyevich, were added to the Principality.

To Danilo's reign may thus be ascribed an increase of Montenegrin territory, as well as the secularization of the theocratic government; he had introduced in 1855 a new code, which punished brigandage, even when it was justified in popular estimation by being practised against the Turks, and severely reprobated theft; he had supplemented his predecessor's corps of *perianiks*, or body-guards, by establishing a regular system of conscription and a military hierarchy; and he had established a sort of college in his own palace, where he sometimes acted as professor. But he was not popular, and he met his end (August 13, 1860) by the not unusual fate of Balkan rulers—assassination. As he left only a daughter, the succession passed, as he had arranged, to his nephew Nicholas—for Mirko, the latter's father, was regarded as too bellicose and too destitute of European culture to govern Montenegro at so critical a time. The hero of Grahovo, whom people called 'the sword of Montenegro', patriotically stood aside in favour of his son, as nine years before he had acquiesced in the election of his younger brother, and was content to serve the new Prince as

President of the Senate, representing in his councils the old, exclusive Montenegrin spirit, which regarded with distrust French influences and European education, represented by the cultured and ambitious Princess-Dowager Darinka.

(3) TURCO-MONTENEGRIN WARS. ENLARGEMENT
OF MONTENEGRO (1860-80)

Nicholas I was not quite nineteen years old when he began his reign—the longest and most glorious enjoyed by any Montenegrin ruler. Over a young Prince, reared in her own home and educated in France, the Princess-Dowager hoped to exercise her sway; but the old Montenegrin party, which saw in the foreign marriage of the late ruler a cause of the national discontent with his rule, hastened the marriage of the new sovereign with Milena, the daughter of a native chieftain; and ere long the Princess-Dowager retired to Venice.

The Prince had been barely a year on the throne when the Herzegovinians rose once more against the Turks. The victory of their Montenegrin brethren at Grahovo had excited the Serbs of Herzegovina; and the Christians of the Sutorina, Nikshich, and other frontier districts, under the leadership of Luka Vukalovich, defeated in 1861 the troops of the redoubtable Omar Pasha. The Montenegrins were naturally filled with enthusiasm at the success of their kinsmen. But diplomatic considerations and the advice of the Powers constrained Nicholas to preserve, at the risk of his popularity at home and in the South Slavonic world, more than a strict neutrality; for, if his subjects daily joined the insurgents as volunteers, and the rumour of a violation of the Montenegrin frontier was eagerly welcomed as an excuse for war, he allowed the Turks to revictual the fortress of Nikshich by sending supplies from Albania across his own territory. None the less,

Omar Pasha, having put down the insurrection, blockaded Montenegro during the winter, and in the spring of 1862 invaded the Principality on the pretext of re-establishing order on the frontier. The Turkish plan of campaign was to take advantage of the unfavourable conformation of the little State, invading it at either end of the short Montenegrin funnel (then only 12 miles long) which connected Albania with Herzegovina, viz. through the Zeta valley and the Duga pass, while a third corps created a diversion in the Brda to the east of this passage. Although greatly outnumbered, Mirko with the Prince's father-in-law, Vukotich, held the Turks in check for two months, till they at last outflanked Vukotich, took Mirko between two fires, and compelled him to leave the fertile Zeta valley at their mercy. Montenegro was thus cut in two by the Turkish forces; but, while they ravaged the valley, Mirko reorganized the resistance in the mountains, and, when they resumed the offensive, defeated them at Zagarats and Kokoti.

Meanwhile, the Powers looked on at this unequal struggle. Omar Pasha again renewed the attack, this time along the Riyeka, which flows into the lake of Scutari. A long-disputed battle below the picturesque little town which takes its name from the river convinced the Montenegrins that further resistance was useless; and the Prince, who had providentially escaped assassination during the war, accepted the Convention of Scutari, dictated by the Turkish commander. The frontiers of 1859 and the internal administration of the Principality remained intact. Turkey allowed the Montenegrins to import and export whatever they pleased, except arms, through the haven of Antivari, and to rent agricultural lands in Turkish territory—concessions intended to remedy the two chief Montenegrin grievances, the

lack of access to the sea, and the want of arable land. In return, the mountaineers were to abstain from frontier raids, from the support of insurrections of Turkish subjects, and from erecting frontier forts.

For five years more, till his death by cholera, Mirko, the bard and warrior of the nation, remained by his son's side. These years were devoted to repairing the ravages of the war, while the Prince, in 1866, almost succeeded in achieving the greatest aim of Montenegrin policy for half a century—a seaport, Novasella near Spizza.

The insurrection in Herzegovina in 1875 was obviously bound to excite Montenegro. Even before it began, the slaughter of a band of Montenegrins by the Turks at Podgoritsa in October 1874 had provoked a protest from Prince Nicholas, to whom the Orthodox Serbs of the Herzegovinian border looked as their natural champion; but, in the first stage of the insurrection, they still wished to remain subjects of the Sultan, and, with the exception of those who inhabited the frontier districts, did not desire union with Montenegro. When, however, the insurrection was prolonged, Prince Nicholas, after sending a wily old warrior, Peko Pavlovich, to quiet the insurgents, allowed him to become one of their most active chiefs, while numbers of his subjects crossed the frontier, whence his own father-in-law directed operations. His next step was to send a memorandum to Lord Derby, the British Foreign Secretary, pointing out the 'intolerable position' in which the insurrection had placed him; nor was the advice of the Tsar and the British Government, that the Turks should placate him by the cession of a port and a little territory, adopted in time to prevent war. On July 2, 1876, he declared war on Turkey, telling his subjects that the time had come to restore the Serbian Empire, which had fallen with the first Murad and should revive with the fifth.

The Montenegrins fought with more success than their Serbian allies. The northern army, under the Prince, invaded Herzegovina, defeated the Turks at Vuchidol, and arrived within a few miles of Mostar. But the Austrian military attaché warned the Prince not to enter the Herzegovinian capital. In the south, the Montenegrins won victories at Danilovgrad and Medun. The Prince signed an armistice with the Porte on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and sent his cousin, Bozho Petrovich, to Constantinople, to negotiate peace, with instructions to ask for an increase of territory, including Spizza, then Turkish. The Porte was willing to cede Spizza, but Austria and Italy (then, as in 1913, opposed to a Serb port on the Adriatic) objected; and, as the Porte declined to give up Nikshich, the Prince prepared for a second campaign.

Before that began, Lord Salisbury at the Constantinople Conference in December 1876 in vain proposed to enlarge Montenegro by the Herzegovinian districts of Piva, Drobniak, Banyani, and Zubci, and by the port of Spizza. At the London Conference on March 31, 1877, a rectification of the Montenegrin frontier with the freedom of the River Boyana was recommended by the Powers. This, too, was rejected by the Turks; and Russia entered the field. Five days later Montenegro followed. The Montenegrins managed to defeat the usual Turkish tactics of invading the principality simultaneously through the Duga pass on the north and the Zeta valley on the south. Thus relieved from all danger of an attack upon his capital, Prince Nicholas was able to devote his energies to the wearisome siege of Nikshich, which at last surrendered, on September 8, after having been almost continuously blockaded by insurgents or Montenegrins ever since the revolt in Herzegovina began. The fortress of Bilek speedily hoisted the white flag; the Monte-

negrins had thus conquered an important piece of the Herzegovina. But Austria and the autumn rains vetoed an advance on Trebinje and Mostar; so the mountaineers, turning back towards the sea, which it had so long been their object to reach by diplomacy, occupied Spizza, Antivari, and Dulcigno. But their advance on Scutari was (as in 1912) cut short by the news of the armistice of Adrianople on January 31, 1878.

By the Treaty of San Stefano, Montenegro was more than trebled in size, and doubled in population; she was to retain her recent conquests; Nikshich, Bilek, and Gacko in Herzegovina, Spizza, Antivari, and Dulcigno on the Adriatic, Spuzh, Podgoritsa, Plava, Gusinye, and the mediaeval Montenegrin capital of Zhablyak on the side of Albania, and Priepolye in the Sanjak of Novibazar, were included in the enlarged principality. Montenegrin independence, which had really existed for five centuries, and had been thrice acknowledged—by the Turkish firman of 1799 and by the Turco-Montenegrin treaties of 1838 and 1842—but subsequently ignored by the Turks, was formally recognized by the Sultan. By the Treaty of Berlin, however, Montenegro, though at last definitely recognized by every one as a sovereign State, had to be content with twice, instead of thrice, her original territory. She kept Nikshich, and received the districts of Piva and Banyani with the Duga pass on the side of Herzegovina, Podgoritsa, Spuzh, Zhablyak, and the towns of Gusinye and Plava with their dependent villages on that of Albania. She obtained an outlet on the sea at the Bay of Antivari, but was forced to restore Dulcigno to Turkey and to cede Spizza to Austria. The former of these grievances was redressed in 1880; the latter has never been forgotten, for the guns of what has been since 1878 the southernmost village of Dalmatia command the bay and

dominate the king's palace on the shore. Yet further to prevent Antivari from becoming a possible naval base for Russia, Article 29 provided that all Montenegrin waters should 'remain closed to the ships of war of all nations'; that the principality should have neither fleet nor naval flag; and that the maritime and sanitary police of the Montenegrin coast should be in the hands of Austria-Hungary.

These conditions remained intact for thirty-one years. No wonder Prince Nicholas was disappointed, especially as not only Spizza, which he had captured, but also Herzegovina, the cradle of his race, where he had fought successfully, was taken from him by Austria—a Power to which neither had ever belonged; while the Austrian occupation of certain points in the Sanjak of Novibazar and Austrian influence among the Catholic Albanians at Scutari completed the Austrian ring-fence round his enlarged State. Moreover, he was unable to obtain the two Albanian districts of Gusinye and Plava, which had been assigned to him at Berlin. Their inhabitants were first-class fighting men, who cared for neither the Congress nor the Sultan, and objected to having their homes and themselves transferred without their consent to another State, which, being admittedly better governed than their own, might interfere with their time-honoured privileges of lawlessness. The fact that the Gusinyiotes could almost all speak Serb and were converts from Orthodoxy to Islam only increased the hostility between them and their Montenegrin neighbours, while the alleged 'pagan' origin of the dwellers by the lake of Plava may account for their fierce defiance of both Turkish officials and Montenegrin braves.

The Sultan's first envoy, sent to induce the Albanians to obey the orders of the Berlin Congress, was Mehemet

Ali, one of the Turkish plenipotentiaries; but the Arnauts set fire to his house at Jakova and murdered him as he fled from the blazing building in September 1878. A second emissary failed to make them yield. Accordingly, in 1879 hostilities broke out between them and the Montenegrins; and the 'Albanian League', which had been formed to combat the Treaty of San Stefano, was revived, probably at the suggestion, certainly to the satisfaction, of the Porte, which was thus able to make the national sentiment of a race that had had no separate existence since the days of Skanderbeg, and no great local leader since Ali of Yanina, an excuse for not carrying out its inconvenient engagements. A compromise, suggested by Count Corti, the Italian ambassador at Constantinople, according to which Montenegro should receive instead of the towns of Gusinye and Plava a portion only of the former district and a larger strip of territory between Podgoritsa and the lake of Scutari, was accepted on April 12, 1880, but proved incapable of execution, owing to the opposition of the Albanians, who in this district are Roman Catholics.

Meanwhile, Gladstone had returned to power, and his Montenegrin sympathies facilitated a solution. A conference of the Powers was held in June at Berlin to consider how to secure the performance by Turkey of the unfulfilled engagements made two years before. It proposed, in lieu of Count Corti's scheme, that Montenegro should receive the town of Dulcigno and a strip of seaboard as far as the River Boyana. This proposal the Porte refused to accept, on the ground that Dulcigno contained a Moslem population; and it secretly urged the Albanians to resist its cession. Thereupon a naval demonstration of the Powers was held in September before the old Venetian colony, while Montenegrin troops approached it by land. As the

Porte still held out, and the admirals were anxious not to bombard the town, this existence of *Dulcigno far niente*, as Beust wittily called it, might have continued indefinitely, had not the British Government suggested the seizure of the rich custom-house at Smyrna. The mere suggestion had the desired effect; Dervish Pasha, the Turkish commander, drove out the Albanians; and at last, on November 26, the Montenegrins peaceably occupied Dulcigno. Prince Nicholas publicly expressed his gratitude to Great Britain.

Dulcigno is, however, an apple of discord between the Albanians and the Slavs. The latter have not developed it; indeed, it is a mere open roadstead, and the neighbouring bay of Val di Noce has never been exploited. But, at any rate, if Montenegro still lacked a good harbour, if her haven of Antivari was till 1909 still bound by Austrian fetters, she had a seaboard of 30 miles. Even after 1880, there were disputes about the Montenegrin frontier. In 1883 the four Catholic Albanian tribes of Kastrati, Hoti, Gruda, and Skreli formed a bond to oppose its definite delimitation; and even in 1911 there were still two undefined points—near Grahovo on the Herzegovinian side, and at Muzechka on the Albanian. To the unscientific and unethnological character of this latter frontier were due most of the Albanian incidents of the next three decades, which alone interrupted the longest period of peace that Montenegro had ever enjoyed.

(4) PEACEFUL INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT (1880–1912)

Prince Nicholas was occupied, after the definite enlargement of his principality in 1880, with the problem of adapting a Homeric state of society, where fighting had been the main occupation of the men for nearly five centuries, to the changed requirements of a modern community. Excellent roads were made;

trade was encouraged, tobacco cultivated, and each mountaineer ordered to plant a vine. A public library, a museum, and a theatre, increased the intellectual resources of the little capital. In 1888 a new code, the work of M. Bogoshich, was promulgated. Meanwhile, the highlanders had kept their hands in by repeated brushes with the Albanians on the frontier; and in 1895 the Prince made the experiment of a standing army. Famines continued, however, to tax the resources of the country; and many Montenegrins emigrated to Serbia.

The mountain principality, so long cut off from the world, became much more closely connected with western Europe in 1896. On October 24 of that year, the Prince's fourth daughter, Elena, married the heir to the Italian throne, who four years later became King of Italy. Two other Montenegrin princesses had married Russians, and another a Battenberg. The Prince assumed the title of 'King' at his jubilee in 1910.

In 1905 he issued two edicts, announcing the grant of parliamentary institutions and liberty of the press. The example of Russia, the growing desire of those young Montenegrins who had been educated at Belgrade to have a share in the government of their country, and the reflection that the change, if inevitable, had better be made in his own lifetime rather than in that of his much less experienced successor, doubtless influenced so shrewd a ruler as Prince Nicholas in his decision.

The first general election under the new constitution¹ was held in November 1905. On December 19 the first Montenegrin Parliament met; the old ministers who had so long executed their master's edicts resigned, and a Ministry of younger men took their places. So far, however, parliamentary government has not been

¹ See p. 36.

a success. Until the appointment of M. Tomanovich as Premier in 1907 Cabinet crises were frequent; a group of Socialists has made its appearance; the country has been divided into factions; and an over-centralized bureaucracy, which became unpopular, was created in place of the Prince's personal government. Already, at the general election of 1907, feeling ran so high that the office of a Radical journal was wrecked; the Radicals refused to take part in the voting, and all the deputies elected were consequently Conservatives. Then came the discovery of bombs alleged to have come from Serbia. Montenegrin ex-ministers were prosecuted; the democratic ex-Premier, M. Radovich, was sent to prison at Podgoritsa; and accusations were made against the Serbian Government of complicity in a plot against Prince Nicholas, probably hatched by Austria. These events led to a rupture of diplomatic relations between the two sister-States.

Another influence which tended to modernize Montenegro was that of the emigrants who returned from the United States. This was a comparatively new feature in the social life of the Black Mountain, whose sons, if they emigrated, usually went, till recently, to some other part of the Near East. It was calculated that there were before the war some 30,000 Montenegrins in America; and their country was thus drained of its young men. These emigrants, on their return, like the 'intellectuals' whom the Government sent to study abroad, were apt to become discontented with their highland home. Nor is it safe for a small, poor State to allow foreigners, and those mainly of one nationality (in this case the Italian), to conduct its chief commercial enterprises. Commercially Montenegro became almost an Italian colony, run by one man of business. Italians managed the tobacco monopoly; they conducted, under the Montenegrin

flag, the navigation on the lake of Scutari; they controlled the Marconi station at the haven of Antivari. No wonder that this system of foreign concessions, perhaps inevitable in a country where capital was scarce, caused some to raise the cry of 'Montenegro for the Montenegrins'. Still, despite these disadvantages of progress, the country reaped advantages also. Since 1906 it has had its own coinage, based on the silver unit, called a *perper*. As a natural corollary, a bank was founded. A railway was inaugurated in 1908, which connects Virbazar on the lake of Scutari with the harbour of Antivari; a motor-service joined the capital with Cattaro and Podgoritsa.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 aroused violent resentment in Montenegro, which was eager for a fight. Prince Nicholas announced that, if the Austrian annexation were allowed, he would consider himself released from the restrictions imposed by Article 29 of the Berlin Treaty upon the Bay of Antivari. Early in 1909, however, as the reward of his acquiescence in the annexation, that article was considerably modified. The clause prohibiting Montenegro from having either ships or flag of war was suppressed; the port of Antivari was no longer closed to the warships of other nations, although it was to retain its purely commercial character; and the rest of this article was entirely cancelled. Thus Montenegro might thenceforth erect fortifications between the lake of Scutari and the coast; her maritime and sanitary police was no longer entrusted to Austrian boats, nor was she forced to adopt the Dalmatian maritime code. Still the Bay of Antivari was dominated by the guns of Spizza, and an Austrian fleet could enter it.

(5) THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912-13

Montenegro was the first of the four Balkan allies to begin the Balkan War of 1912. So early as the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War in the autumn of 1911, Montenegro had submitted a plan for their joint mobilization; and negotiations went on in the Hofburg itself between Bulgaria and King Nicholas, then on a visit to Vienna. The Crown Prince Danilo visited Sofia, and matters were arranged with Bulgaria; but it was not till September 1912 that a Serbo-Montenegrin treaty was signed, providing 'for separate military action', so that 'no Turkish town or village was to be occupied jointly by Serbian and Montenegrin troops'.

Meanwhile, in August 1912, a symptom of the coming storm manifested itself in sanguinary incidents on the Montenegrin frontier, causing the Turkish minister to leave Tsetinye; and there were massacres at Berane in the adjacent Sanjak of Novibazar. On October 8 Montenegro, which alone of the allies had claimed a rectification of frontier, declared war; and next day, Prince Peter, the King's youngest son, fired the first shot in the Balkan War. The Montenegrins took Dechich, Rogany, and Tuzi on the north of the lake of Scutari, entered the Sanjak, and captured Biyelopolye and Berane. Plava and Gusinye, the recalcitrant towns of 1878, and Ipek, the former seat of the Serbian Patriarch, were still greater acquisitions; but Scutari, the main object of the Montenegrins, still held out. When the second armistice was signed at Bulair on April 19, 1913, it accordingly did not include Montenegro, for King Nicholas was resolved not to be balked of that prize. The Powers warned the King that, even if he succeeded in capturing Scutari, he would not be allowed to retain it, as it was destined by them to form part of the new Albanian State. A naval demonstration of all the

Powers except Russia was held off Antivari on April 5, under the command of Admiral Burney. Heedless of the Admiral's note, the King telegraphed that the siege would 'be continued'; and on April 22 Scutari suddenly surrendered. Thus, for the first time since 1405, the old capital of the Zeta was again Montenegrin.

Next day, Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, addressed a vehement circular to the Powers.¹ Meanwhile, the Crown Prince Danilo entered the old residence of the Balshas in state, and a Montenegrin governor was appointed. The Powers, however, maintained their decision;² and on May 4 the King drafted a telegram to Sir E. Grey, in which, after reaffirming his historical claim, he 'placed the destiny of Scutari in the hands of the Powers'.³ On May 14 their Admirals entered the town;⁴ and Admiral Burney became president of a provisional administration, which extended within a radius of six miles. On July 15, 1913, the Montenegrin troops evacuated San Giovanni di Medua.

Although Montenegro was not directly interested in Macedonia, she participated actively in the second Balkan War by the side of Serbia, and naturally was a party to the third Treaty of Bucarest, signed August 10, 1913. On November 4 a definite arrangement was made with Serbia regarding their now common frontier. Nearly half the Sanjak of Novibazar, including Plevlye, Biyelopolye and Berane, and (in 'Old' Serbia) Jakova, the historic monastery of Dechani, and Ipek (Pech), the seat of the mediaeval Serbian Patriarchate, fell to the share of Montenegro, whose area was then calculated at 16,000 sq. kilometres, with a total population of nearly half a million.

¹ Austrian Red Book (*Diplomatische Aktenstücke betreffend die Ereignisse am Balkan*), pp. 235-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

(a) *The Orthodox Church*

THE majority of the Montenegrins belong to the Orthodox Church, which, in Montenegro, is nominally independent, but, like everything else, really depends upon the King, who appoints the bishops. Orthodox Montenegro has three dioceses: Tsetinye (of which there is a Metropolitan), Ostrog, and Ipek (Pech) in the new territory, the seat of the old Serbian Patriarchate. There are very few monks. The parish clergy are only distinguished from the laity by their beards. They wear the national dress, carry arms, fight in wars, and live the ordinary life of the peasants.

(b) *The Roman Catholic Church*

The head of this is the Archbishop of Antivari—a very ancient see. The present holder, Mgr. Dobrechich, is the first Montenegrin ever appointed to that position; and his election, strongly opposed by Austria-Hungary, was a political victory for Montenegro. A concordat was signed in 1886 between Montenegro and the Holy See; and in 1902 Leo XIII allowed the then Archbishop of Antivari and his successors to use the title of 'Primate of Serbia'. This title is, however, purely formal, and no mention was made of it in the Serbian concordat of 1914.

In the new territories acquired by Montenegro in 1913, there were 9,783 Catholics, viz. in the district of Jakova (Dyakovitsa) 6,039, and in that of Ipek 3,744.

The number of Catholics in the old territory is estimated at about 15,000. The archbishop is assisted in administering the Church by a committee of Catholic notables.

(c) *Moslems*

These are estimated to be 25,000 in the old, and 80,000 in the new territory. They are mostly Albanians. They have their Mufti, who, like the Orthodox Metropolitan and the Roman Catholic Archbishop, is an *ex officio* member of the Skupshtina.

(2) POLITICAL

The Constitution of 1905—a lengthy document of 222 articles—was borrowed from Serbian sources, especially the Serbian Constitution of 1889. The Prince continued to represent the State in all its foreign relations; primogeniture in the male line was declared to be the law of the succession to the throne; the Senate was preserved; the country was divided into departments (*oblasti*), districts (*capitanie*), and communes (*opshtine*); the Orthodox Church was proclaimed autocephalous, and all other cults free; a free press and free compulsory elementary education, a Council of State of six, and a Court of Accounts of three members formed parts of the charter. A National Assembly (*Narodna Skupshtina*), partly elected by universal suffrage, and partly composed of *ex officio* nominees of the Prince, was to meet annually on October 31. This body, the term of which was four years, was composed of sixty-two members elected by the fifty-six districts and the six towns, and of fourteen nominated or *ex officio* members, viz. the Metropolitan, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Antivari, the Mohammedan Mufti, the six Councillors of State, the presidents of the Grand Tribunal and of the Court

of Accounts, and the three brigadiers. Deputies must be at least 30 years of age and pay 15 kronen in taxes annually.

(3) PUBLIC EDUCATION

In Montenegro the theory of public education is apt to differ from the practice. Theoretically and by law, elementary education is compulsory and free. In all the towns and villages there are elementary schools for boys, and in the towns for girls, to which girls from the neighbouring villages can also resort. Practically, however, there is little education for girls; and the older generation of Montenegrins is also largely illiterate. The elementary school curriculum is the same as in most European countries. There are also gymnasia at Tsetinye, Podgoritsa, and Ipek, consisting respectively of eight, two, and four classes; and there is a theological seminary for Orthodox priests at Tsetinye. Religious instruction in the public schools is given to the Orthodox pupils by either the ordinary masters or the Orthodox priests, to the Roman Catholic pupils by the Roman Catholic priests alone, and to the young Moslems exclusively by the Moslem priests. There is a State agricultural college at Podgoritsa, from which lecturers go on circuit.

Down to 1913 there existed at the capital an excellent institute for girls, maintained by the Russian Government. So much appreciated was this by the Serbs of Cattaro, that their daughters came up to Tsetinye to be educated there. When, however, Russia quarrelled with Montenegro, a boycott was organized against this foreign institution, which was accordingly closed, after a long career of usefulness, in the course of which it had set a very high standard of cleanliness and sanitation, as well as of education.

Those Montenegrins who sought higher education

usually studied at the University of Belgrade ; and the political aspirations which they acquired in the Belgrade cafés have had a great effect upon Montenegrin politics of late years. After the war, the return of emigrants from the United States will doubtless lead to a demand for more education ; and they have already diffused English fairly widely in a country where, twenty years ago, it was unknown. Many Montenegrins also speak Italian well.

(4) GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Montenegro, theory and practice are far apart, and the chief result of the Constitution so far has been to create a very highly centralized bureaucracy, and to foment party strife. Contact with the United States (whither there has been a large emigration of late years) and contact with Serbia, especially since the two Serb States have been conterminous, have led the Montenegrins to make comparisons not to the advantage of their own country ; and a movement for the abdication of King Nicholas, so as to unite the two countries under the Karageorgevich dynasty, was publicly started by M. A. Radovich, the ex-Premier, during his tenure of the Premiership in 1917.

The conference of Jugo-Slav delegates held at Geneva in 1918¹ discussed the relation of Montenegro to the new Jugo-Slav State ; and a specially summoned Skupshchina deposed the King and declared for the incorporation of Montenegro in that State. This decision has, however, been challenged on constitutional grounds.

¹ See *The Jugo-Slav Movement*, No. 14 of this series, p. 29.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) Roads

ONE of the greatest obstacles to the development of Montenegro has always been the insufficiency of its internal communications. Before 1914, the whole of the north and the new district of the east, which includes the important towns of Ipek and Jakova, were without motor roads, and almost entirely without carriage and cart roads. Podgoritsa alone was well supplied with motor roads, which connected it with the sea through Cattaro and Antivari, and with the interior of the country as far as Nikshich and Kolashin.

Improvements undertaken with the support of the Government loan of 1910 were resumed after the Balkan War, and communications were pushed forward between Jakova and Ipek, and between Ipek and Old Montenegro. Since the outbreak of the European War the work has been taken in hand by the Austrian Government, and the roads are now kept in good repair and much used by motor traffic.

In 1914 there were less than 300 kilometres of good roads, of which the following were the most important :

1. *Cattaro to Tsetinye (Cetinje, 42½ km.)*.—The Bohemian firm, Laurin & Klement, had acquired the right of running a post and passenger service of motor-buses between these towns. On this road horse-drawn wagons can take loads varying from 1½ to 3 tons, according to the state of the surface and the time of

the year. Caravans of goods go three times a week from Cattaro to Tsetinye, taking two days for the journey. Transport charges are very high. In the winter the road sometimes becomes impassable.

2. *Tsetinye to Riyeka and Podgoritsa* (36 km.).—This road, over which Laurin & Klement also ran a service of motor-buses, is suitable for heavy traffic. The Cattaro–Tsetinye–Podgoritsa road is the most important highway in the country for trade with Austria.

3. *Podgoritsa to Nikshich* (54½ km.).—A good motor road, and the principal highway for the distribution of goods to the east-central district.

4. *Dulcigno to Antivari* (30 km.).—A good motor road, which joins the Antivari–Riyeka road 1½ km. beyond Old Antivari.

5. *Antivari to Virbazar and Riyeka* (30 km.).—This road joins the Tsetinye–Podgoritsa road at Riyeka.

6. *Podgoritsa to Plavnitsa* (20 km.).—This road was in good condition in 1915.

7. *Podgoritsa to Matishevo and Kolashin* (56 km.).—In 1915 this road was out of order, some of the bridges having been washed away.

8. *Matishevo to Andrijevitsa* (24 km.).—A good road, providing a link between eastern Montenegro and Podgoritsa. Andrijevitsa is soon to be connected with Berane and Ipek by tram (1918).

9. *Plevlye* has a good military road leading to Sarajevo, but very little of it lies within Montenegrin territory.

The other Montenegrin roads are very unreliable. Some sections are fit for wheeled traffic, while others are only suitable for pack-horses or are mere tracks.

Besides those already mentioned as being in process of construction, several new roads had been projected before the war. There would, however, be little purpose in enumerating them, as all plans for the improvement

of Montenegrin communications will have to be modified in view of the work done by the Austrian authorities.

(b) *Rivers and Lake Ports*

The only important navigable river in Montenegro is the Boyana, which forms the southern part of the boundary between Montenegro and Albania, a fact detrimental to its commercial utility, since there are perennial feuds between the Montenegrins and Albanians. The Boyana is the outlet for Lake Scutari. Its depth in its course of 25 miles along the Montenegrin frontier is 4-5 metres. Navigation is rendered difficult by continual silting of the channel and changing of the banks, and, owing to the raising of the bed by deposits, the river is liable to flood. The fall of the river-bed is generally about 1 in 1,000, but occasionally there are strong currents, and in winter its stream sometimes flows at 7 to 8 knots. The river mouth is wide, but divided into numerous channels, those towards the western or Montenegrin side being the deepest. The Montenegrin stretch of the Boyana can take vessels of 150 tons, and in time of flood these can go as far as Scutari. There is, however, a bar at the mouth of the river, and ships drawing 5 ft. have to plough through the sand.

The deepening of the bed of the Boyana and the regulation of its drainage have long been recognized as essential to its development as one of the chief highways of Montenegrin trade. The work of deepening had already been begun by 1915. The value of this work will be much increased on the completion of the Podgoritsa-Plavnitsa railway, now in course of construction.

The vessels plying on the Boyana were Italian steamers of the Puglia line, Austrian Lloyd steamers, small

Montenegrin steamers, and small local craft of various kinds.

The other rivers of Montenegro are unsuitable for navigation except the Tsrnoyevitsa, which, for most of its extent, is really an arm of Lake Scutari, running inland from the north-west corner of the lake. A navigable channel has been cut as far as Riyeka ($7\frac{1}{2}$ km.), which lies in a fertile district, and is important as a road-centre. At the head of this channel there is room for steamers to turn, and a dry dock, a quay, and a warehouse have been built, though these are some distance from the town. Goods for Tsetinye are forwarded from here by motor.

The other ports of Lake Scutari are Virbazar and Plavnitsa.

Virbazar stands at the head of a small gulf on the north-western side of the lake. A channel, 900 metres long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep, has been cut to the quay along which the railway from Antivari runs. The quay is 50 metres long, and 2 metres above the water level, and possesses a warehouse and a hand crane, capable of lifting 3 metric tons; a basin to provide berthing accommodation has been excavated opposite. At the station there are locomotive and repairing works for the use of the railway and the steamer service. Communication with Virbazar by water is liable to interruption in winter owing to frost.

Plavnitsa stands on the river of the same name, at a little distance from the northern shore of Lake Scutari. It has been described as a quay in the mud. The shore is low and marshy, so that vessels must lie nearly 2 km. out. From the quay to the village there is a line for trucks, which are pushed by hand, but this cannot be used in wet weather.

It was part of the original plans of the company which owned the lake steamers to prolong the Podgoritsa-

Plavnitsa road down to the lake, to make a good landing-stage at the end, and to cut a channel from the landing-stage into deep water; but the work, though begun, was never finished. On the completion of the railway to Podgoritsa (see p. 45) the importance of Plavnitsa should, however, be greatly increased. In 1911 the goods imported by the Boyana-Scutari-Plavnitsa route amounted to 1,194,230 kg., all of Austrian origin. In 1912, owing to the Balkan War, the total fell by more than a half.

The lake steamers, which used to ply in connexion with the Antivari-Virbazar railway, belonged to the Compagnia di Antivari (see p. 44). In 1914, when three steamers were working, there was a daily service between Virbazar and Riyeka, Virbazar and Plavnitsa, and Plavnitsa and Scutari. In that year two more steamers of 60 tons each were ordered, but in November 1915 it was reported that none of the lake steamers were serviceable. The company also possessed a number of lighters, one of 200 tons and ten of 40 tons each.

Flat-bottomed boats called *londras* are also used on the lake for the conveyance of both passengers and goods.

The depth of the lake ranges from 7 to 23 ft. Its waters are usually calm, except in winter, when there are sudden fierce storms.

(c) Railways

Railway system.—Before the war the only railway in Montenegro was the Antivari-Virbazar line, the length of which is 42 km. It was constructed on the Pendel system, and opened on January 1, 1909. It has a single track of a gauge of 0.76 metre (2 ft. 6 in.). There is one tunnel, 1,300 metres in length, and two large bridges. There are a number of severe gradients, some

of 1 in 25 and for short stretches even steeper. Curves have a minimum radius of 30 metres. A report of 1915 gives the rolling stock as 10 engines, 10 passenger coaches, and 50 trucks. The average quantity of goods dealt with daily was 135 tons.

The *Deutsche Levante Zeitung* of January 1, 1918, stated that a cable railway for goods had been constructed between Tsetinye and Cattaro. The same authority announced that a line between Plavnitsa and Podgoritsa was being constructed. It was expected that this would be finished during 1918.

Relations to Government.—The Antivari–Virbazar railway is held under concession from the Montenegrin Government by the Compagnia di Antivari, a Venetian company, to which in 1906 the Montenegrin Government leased for fifty years the exclusive right to construct and work a railway from Antivari to Virbazar, supply a service of lake steamers, and reconstruct the old harbour at Antivari.

Finance.—The capital of the Compagnia di Antivari was 3,000,000 francs, a sum which was generally considered to be inadequate. The State guaranteed a sum not exceeding 50,000 francs towards interest on the capital. The balance of receipts, after payment of expenses, etc., was to be divided equally between the company and the State. The initial expenses were unexpectedly great, and the first stone breakwater built at Antivari was washed away. Moreover, the company had to compete with the powerful and wealthy Austrian Lloyd. In consequence, notwithstanding strong support from the Banca Commerciale and other Italian undertakings, the first results of the enterprise were disappointing. According to report, no dividends had been paid up to 1912, and there was in that year a deficiency of 277,739 francs. This, however, was entered in the balance-sheet as initial expenses, there

being good hope of success in the future. It is officially stated that the capital of the company has been increased to 10,000,000 francs.

Adequacy to economic needs ; possibilities of development.—The existing railways are far from adequate to the needs of the country. Before the war several new lines had been projected :

(a) Antivari to San Giovanni di Medua. For some time it was hoped that Antivari would be the terminus of the proposed Danube-Adriatic railway, but before the war it had become probable that the choice would fall on the Albanian port of San Giovanni di Medua. The construction of a line from this town to Antivari—an easy undertaking—was accordingly under consideration.

(b) In 1909, at the instance of the promoters of the Salonika-Dedeagach railway, a survey was made of a suggested route from Vrania in Serbia, through Mitrovitsa, Ipek, Jakova, and Scutari, to San Giovanni di Medua. Considerable preparations have already been made for the construction of the line from Ipek to Mitrovitsa. This would give Montenegro direct railway communication with Salonika.

(c) Another route suggested would connect Dulcigno and Nish, *via* Antivari, Podgoritsa, and Mitrovitsa. This, however, has not yet been seriously considered.

While the realization of the projects mentioned would certainly benefit the country, which can never properly develop in its present isolated position, it is held by eminent authorities that owing to its mountainous character, the immediate interests of Montenegro would be better served by the construction of motor roads. Except in certain parts of the east, the laying of railways would necessitate much blasting and the building of innumerable bridges. There are already regular motor services between Podgoritsa and Cattaro,

and Podgoritsa and Plavnitsa; and the development of this means of transport would probably be more attractive than railway enterprise to foreign capital.

(d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

Montenegro is a member of the International Postal Union. At Bucarest in 1913 a postal union on a penny postage basis was resolved upon between Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, details of which were to be arranged later.

In 1910 there were only 21 post-offices in Montenegro, but within the next two or three years the number had risen to 56.

Postal traffic between Cattaro, Tsetinye, Riyeka, and Podgoritsa is included in the motor-bus services of Laurin & Klement (see above, p. 39), who are subsidized by both the Austrian and the Montenegrin Governments for postal work. The postal service in the new districts of Montenegro is dependent on springless wagons running between Ipek and Mitrovitsa.

In 1910 there were 23 telegraph offices and 530 miles of wire. A little later the number of telegraph offices had risen to 55, with 2,000 miles of wire.

Telephones have been installed at Tsetinye. The stations on the Antivari-Virbazar railway are connected by telephone, and each has telephonic communication with the management at Antivari.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) *Ports*

Accommodation.—Montenegro has two small sea-ports, Antivari and Dulcigno. Of these Antivari is much the more important. The new harbour-works begun in 1906 by the Compagnia di Antivari are not

yet finished, but the new free port was formally opened in 1909. At first the free port was no more successful than the railway, but during and after the Balkan wars its trade increased rapidly.

The water off Antivari is deep, and when the works are completed the harbour will be an excellent one. Before the war a breakwater had been built, running north-east from Cape Volovitsa for a distance of 300 metres. It was provided with railway lines and berthing accommodation for two vessels of 3,000–4,000 tons. This breakwater affords protection from the strong westerly winds to which the bay is exposed. A second breakwater, which is under construction, runs west from the northern end of the harbour. When it is completed there will be an opening, 250 yds. wide and facing north, between the two breakwaters. There will be 175 acres of water in the completed harbour, which will be capable of accommodating more than 200 large vessels.

The port is provided with docks, three warehouses, a custom-house, a hospital, and a dispensary. The harbour is lighted by electricity and connected by telephone with Virbazar. The Compagnia di Antivari built residences for its staff and a large hotel for tourists who, however, did not come in the numbers expected.

The port of Dulcigno is an open roadstead, 10 to 12 fathoms in depth, much exposed to westerly winds, and liable to silt. The town does a little shipbuilding.

Nature and Volume of Trade.—In 1912, 394 steamers, with a total tonnage of 195,717, entered Antivari. In 1914, 672 steamers entered, their tonnage being 251,234; 403 of these, with a tonnage of 98,223, were Austro-Hungarian.

In the last years before the war, the import trade of Antivari was steadily increasing, and although the port was blockaded by the Powers in April and May

1913, the imports for that year were almost as large as those of 1912. Figures are as follows :

	<i>Metric tons imported.</i>
1911	24,000
1912	27,800
1913	27,500

In 1913 the distribution of this trade among the shipping of the various States was as follows :

<i>Nationality of ships.</i>	<i>Metric tons carried.</i>
Italian	13,650
Austrian	6,019
Hungarian	4,350
Greek	3,500

The trade of Dulcigno is much smaller. In 1912, 181 steamers, with a tonnage of 81,326, entered the port; and from February 1913 to February 1914, 349 steamers entered, their tonnage being 92,777. Of these 307 (68,548 tons) were Austro-Hungarian, and 42 (24,229 tons) Italian. In 1913 imports amounted to only 350 metric tons, of which 267 came in Austro-Hungarian bottoms and 83 in Italian.

Adequacy to economic needs; possibilities of development.—The commerce of Montenegro is limited, and likely so to remain, until the country is relieved of its present isolation by the opening up of internal communications, whereby closer economic relations with the adjoining Serbian lands may be established, or at least adequate facilities for transit trade provided. As it is, the execution of the original plans for the construction of the port at Antivari would undoubtedly suffice for the country's present shipping requirements. The port of Dulcigno would be greatly improved by the construction of breakwaters and by regular dredging operations, but such expenditure would only be worth while if the navigability of the Boyana were improved and Dulcigno became its port.

If through navigation to Scutari by the Boyana were made practicable, and if Scutari were in Montenegrin hands, a good deal of trade would probably be diverted to that route, and Dulcigno would become important as the port for trans-shipment from sea to river vessels.

At present Dulcigno is much isolated, having a good motor road in one direction only—to Antivari. Moreover, the land between Dulcigno and the Boyana mouth is marshy. Its drainage was entrusted to Bravi, Masini, Plata & Co., an Italian company, but in 1914 lack of capital had brought their work to a standstill, although little more than one-tenth of the land had been reclaimed. The completion of this undertaking would doubtless increase the business at the port, which is the natural outlet for the district.

(b) *Shipping Lines*

According to the Austrian consular report for 1914, the Ungaro-Croata line called at Antivari six times a week, the Austrian Lloyd twice a week, and the two Italian lines, the Puglia and the Servizi Marittimi, called ten times a week.

(c) *Wireless Communication*

There were two wireless stations in Montenegro—one at Antivari, capable of sending messages to Bari, the other at Podgoritsa, capable of communication with the Eiffel Tower. The station at Podgoritsa was destroyed in 1915.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Labour Supply: Emigration and Immigration*

In spite of the sparseness of the population there was considerable emigration before the Balkan Wars. That

this was not due solely to the almost total lack of industrial enterprise at home is clear from a British Board of Trade report of 1910, which, referring to the construction of Antivari port, stated that labour in Montenegro was 'scarce and inefficient'. Certainly the Italians, who managed almost the whole of the industrial enterprise of the country, seem chiefly to have employed foreigners. Soldierly prejudice, the pride of land-proprietorship, and the low standard of comfort prevailing in the country make the Montenegrin slow to offer himself in the home industrial market. As an emigrant, removed from these deterrent influences, he does better.

In 1905, 6,674 Montenegrins emigrated, 4,346 in 1906. These figures seem to represent high-water mark; the usual number each year is about 2,000, most of whom go to Alaska, and some to the mining-camps of Colorado. There was also a small flow of emigration to the ports of Dalmatia, where employment was to be found. Although many emigrants returned for the Balkan War, and through the Treaties of Bucarest and London the labour strength of the country was augmented by the acquisition of districts which were comparatively thickly populated, emigration recommenced immediately, not only from old Montenegro, but also on a large scale from the newly-won territory. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the mortality since the outbreak of the European War has been very great; and it may therefore be reasonably expected that there will be a considerable shortage of labour in the country when peace is re-established.

There is no immigration into Montenegro. The foreigners residing in the country are for the most part the members of the diplomatic corps, the officials of the *Compagnia di Antivari* (an Italian enterprise,

see above, p. 44), and a few physicians and teachers. There were resident in the country also before the war a certain number of Italians employed in connexion with the tobacco monopoly, and Austrian employees of the five branches of Austrian banks. In addition there were the staffs of a Dutch firm at Virbazar and an English firm at Podgoritsa.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

As the chief industries of Montenegro are stock-raising and agriculture, and the land is nearly all in the hands of peasant proprietors with small holdings, there is very little occasion for the employment of hired labour. The Concessions Law of 1911 made concessions contingent upon the employment of a percentage of native labour, and provided for the establishment of workmen's banks and for the technical instruction of young employees, but the measure is so recent and concessions are so rare that no data as to its working are available.

Many young men have of recent years received a college education at Government expense, but the possibilities open to them in Montenegro were so few that they were beginning to form a class of malcontents amongst whom there was a rapid spread of extreme Jugo-Slav aspirations. Discontent arising from unemployment in Montenegro appears to have been limited to this class of State-educated young men, who, it may be noted, were forbidden to fight in the European War, so that they should have no opportunity of spreading their anti-dynastic views.

No reliable information is available as to the rate of wages; it is only possible to say that, when hired labour is employed, which is seldom, the wage is very low.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

Vegetable Products.—The chief crop is maize, which is the staple product of both the old and the new territories. Wheat, barley, oats, and rye are also grown. In Old Montenegro about 10,920 hectares were normally devoted to the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, peas, beans, and cabbage. No information is available as to the area under maize, but as a rule it is considerably in excess of the total area devoted to other corn crops. The same is true of the new territory; in the fertile plains of the Metoya maize is almost the only cereal grown.

In 1913, owing to the war, some of the fields were left uncultivated, for the women, who could otherwise have done the work, were employed in carrying food and munitions for the soldiers. Whereas in 1912 30,412 hectares¹ were under cultivation, in 1913 there were only 26,856. These were distributed as follows:

<i>District.</i>	<i>Hectares.</i>
Nikshich	7,234
Zetsko-Brdski	7,081
Katunsko-Riyetski	5,201
Vasoyevitsi	3,771
Tsrmnitsa-Primorye	3,567

Tobacco is widely grown, especially in the districts of Lyeskopolye, Krayina, Podgoritsa, Dulcigno, Tsrmnitsa, and Zeta. In 1912 the crop amounted to 800,000 kg., and in 1913 to 300,000 kg. This decrease was due to the war, women as well as men being pressed into the Government service. Montenegrin tobacco is said to be quite equal in flavour to Turkish. Macedonian tobacco has been grown, but has not met with favour, as the leaf weighs less than the Montenegrin.

¹ 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

Seed from Trebinje has also been tried, but the result is unknown.

With the exception of the crop of the newly-acquired province of Ipek, all the tobacco grown is bought by the Regia Co-interessata dei Tabacchi del Montenegro, which obtained from the Montenegrin Government a concession for twenty-five years of the monopoly of the manufacture, purchase, and sale of tobacco, the Government, however, having the right of redemption at the end of fifteen years on payment to the company of a sum equal to its net profits for a period of three years. The company has a large and flourishing factory at Podgoritsa and a distributing business at Antivari. It buys tobacco at about 90 centimes per kg., a price fixed by agreement between the State and the company. In 1907 it manufactured 550,000 lb. of tobacco; cigarettes of good quality are also made. The company usually supplies the whole of the native demand (which for the size of the country is large), and has a little left over for export. In spite of the monopoly, the retail prices are not exorbitant.

The chief vine-growing districts are the Zeta plain, the Tsrnitsa valley (which gives its name to a wine), the coastal region, and the neighbourhood of Ipek. The vines are in general free from the disease of phylloxera, which is prevalent in Mediterranean countries, but their cultivation has greatly declined in recent years, the decrease being traceable partly to the introduction of Greek wines into the country, partly to a tax imposed since 1910 on all wines and spirits consumed within the country. In 1908, 25,000 hectolitres of wine were produced, but in 1912 only 3,292, on account of blight among the vines. Wine-pressing is done in primitive style, and without regard to the ripeness of the grapes; and the flavour is not improved by the custom of transporting

the wine in goatskins. The Tsrnitsa region produces wine which resembles Tuscan, being ruby-coloured and of good flavour. Podgoritsa and the Primorye produce an inferior wine, rich in alcohol and extractive matter, but weak in acidity and perfume. Danilovgrad has a State fruit-tree school where young vines of good stock can be bought, but the price is said to be almost prohibitive.

Olives are a valuable product of the south-west and the Tsrnitsa region. In 1913 there were 100,000 trees in the district of Antivari and 70,000 in that of Dulcigno, not including those belonging to the Church and the Court. In 1913 the harvest amounted to 430,000 kg.

The Antivari district has eight olive mills and presses fitted with machinery of the most modern kind. The Dulcigno district has six mills, with older installations. In 1913 the Antivari district produced 3,000,000 kg. of oil, and the Dulcigno district 350,000 kg. The wholesale price is from 1.20 to 1.30 francs per kg. The quality of the olives is apt to be damaged by oil-flies and summer rain.

The small plum is used to make the native alcoholic beverage, *sljiva* or *slivnitsa*, of which 1,000 hectolitres were produced in 1912.

Pomegranates and quinces are of excellent flavour, and are exported to Albania. The production of quinces averages about 160,000 kg., that of pomegranates about 171,000 kg. Quince and pomegranate syrup is of excellent quality, and is exported for preserves.

Figs, pears, and peaches are also grown, chiefly in the south-west, and there is a mulberry nursery at Orialka.

Figs, grape-husks, small plums, and mulberries are used to make *raki*, the native brandy; in 1908

5,033 hectolitres were produced, but since then the manufacture has declined. *Linsura*, a native *apéritif*, is also made. The total manufacture of spirits in 1912 was from 3,000 to 4,000 hectolitres, and the total production of fruit in 1913 was about 88,000,000 kg.

Other crops are potatoes, beans, and peas, grown for home use by the small peasant proprietors, sumach, used for dyes (formerly a product of considerable value, but of less importance in recent years), chrysanthemums, grown for export, and pyrethrums, grown for the sake of an insecticide powder which is prepared from them.

Animal Products.—In the industries of the country the rearing of live-stock takes the first place. It has, however, declined very considerably of late years in Old Montenegro, as will be seen from the following tables :

	<i>Head.</i>
1887	1,062,430
1903	930,860
1904	878,647
1912	873,036
1913	791,059

The 1913 figures were made up as follows :

Sheep	640,066
Goats	3,500
Horned cattle	93,471
Horses, mules, asses	20,018
Pigs	34,004

The decrease in comparison with 1912 was as follows :

Sheep and goats	66,269
Horned cattle	9,266
Horses, mules, asses	2,122
Pigs	4,310

The decline in live-stock was in 1913 largely due to war requisitions, but in the preceding years it had

already made itself evident; it is traceable to lack of initiative in the improvement of stocks. The Government established a model stock-breeding farm near Danilovgrad, and provided it with sheep, cattle, and asses, some of the cattle being of the Wipphthal breed, imported from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The farm, however, was not large enough to produce a widespread effect.

The horned Montenegrin sheep gives 1-1½ kg. of wool, its wool being three times as thick as that of the Negretti sheep. Sheep-shearing takes place at the end of May. The sheep of the new territory, which numbered 800,000 in 1913, are of superior quality to the Old Montenegrin breed.

Goats are chiefly found in the Zeta and Vasoyevitsi regions.

The native ox is of Illyrian stock, rather under middle size, but healthy and hardy. An ox in Montenegro is worth normally from 100 to 150 francs, and beef sells at about 1 franc per kg. A cow yields on an average about 1,500 litres of milk a year.

The new territory had in 1913 about 130,000 cattle, which were already being exported from Antivari. In race and size they surpass the breed of the old territories. Buffaloes are also bred in the new territory.

The epizootic diseases to which cattle are liable are confined to the lower districts. The Government provides a staff of veterinary surgeons to combat these diseases.

Pigs are of a cross breed, the original Montenegrin pig having been crossed with the Yorkshire and Berkshire breeds. Pig-rearing is not done on a large scale, but every peasant has his pig, the price being about 1.20 to 1.40 francs per kg., live weight.

The horses are degenerate Arabs, small, but enduring. They are worth about 300 to 500 francs each.

There is not a single tannery in the country, and the by-products of the slaughter of animals, such as horns, are largely wasted, though some export trade is done in butcher's offal. Sausages are unknown. Butter is rarely made, native butter costing 3 francs per kg. There is no cheese factory, but cheese is made by the peasants, the price being 1.80 francs per kg.

Poultry are kept chiefly for home use. There is a small export of eggs to the Bocche di Cattaro.

Montenegro is very well adapted for bee-keeping, owing to the abundance of aromatic plants in the undergrowth of the chalk hills. The industry, however, has declined since the imposition of a tax of 30 centimes per hive. In 1910 there were 38,870 beehives, but in 1913 only 22,690. The wax is chiefly consumed in the country, but a little is exported over the frontiers at an average price of 3 francs per kg. Honey, too, was formerly exported, but of recent years it has all been consumed in the country.

Silk-worms are reared in the coastal and Scutari districts and in the Zeta plains. The estimated annual value is about 50,000 francs, and about one-third of the cocoons are exported; the native-grown silk is used for the home manufacture of half-silk shirts.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

Throughout Montenegro the methods of cultivation are primitive. In some districts the land is watered by hand before ploughing. The ploughs used are of antiquated make, constructed almost entirely of wood; they do not plough deep, but merely scratch the surface, which is very stony. Harrows also are primitive. Artificial manuring is unknown.

Attempts have been made by the Government in recent years to improve agricultural methods by (1) the establishment of a State mortgage bank, from

which the small landowners can borrow money at a comparatively low rate of interest instead of at the extortionate rates which have prevailed in the past ; (2) the foundation of an agricultural college at Podgoritsa, from which itinerant lecturers travel round the country ; (3) the admission of seed and agricultural implements free of import duty ; (4) the establishment of a model farm near Danilovgrad.

(c) *Forestry*

The northern and north-western regions are well wooded, and the Brda especially is rich in virgin forests of beech, fir, and pine. In the new territory there are said to be large forests, centuries old, but definite information about these is lacking.

In many parts great damage has been done to the forests by the browsing of goats. For this reason goat-keeping is now forbidden in the Antivari district ; but in the poverty-stricken district of Tsrna Gora it has not been thought advisable to enforce such a measure, and in this part there is very little forest left. Wherever the forests border on inhabited districts the trees are very wastefully used for fuel.

The Government appointed a commission to inquire into possible methods of exploiting the Montenegrin forests, but its work has as yet borne no fruit.

There are two small saw-mills. One, on the River Tara near Kolashin, is worked by a 12 horse-power motor, and produces annually about 4,000 cubic metres of fir and pine, the whole being sold at Podgoritsa, where it realizes about 300,000 francs. The other, at Podgoritsa, is worked by steam, and produces 800-1,000 cubic metres a year, most of this being disposed of locally.

(d) Land Tenure

Most of the land is owned by the peasants, there being from 50,000 to 60,000 hereditary holdings. These as a rule consist of about one hectare of arable, one or two hectares of meadow, and fifteen hectares of pasture.

The communes own certain forests and pasture-lands, for the use of which they have the right to grant concessions.

Up to 1913 very little land was owned by the State, but after the Balkan War the Montenegrin Government succeeded that of Turkey as owner of large areas of forest and other land in the territories annexed. In these regions, moreover, much land was being left without owners by the emigration of Mohammedan landholders. It was the intention of the Montenegrin Government to plant colonies in the new territories, but their plans were first delayed by financial difficulties and then interrupted by the European War.

No foreigner may hold land in Montenegro without permission of the Government.

(3) FISHERIES

An important and characteristic industry is the scoranza fishery. The *scoranza*, a kind of sardine, is caught in large quantities in Lake Scutari in spring. It is smoked and salted, and exported to Dalmatia, Italy, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and, during the Orthodox fast, to Serbia. The price is from 30 to 40 paras¹ per kg., according to quality, and the annual income from this source is about £4,000. In recent years the scales of the scoranza have been exported to Italy, where they are made into imitation tortoise-shell. Carp and eels are also caught in the lake and sold locally.

¹ 100 paras = 1 krun = 1 franc.

Fishing in Lake Scutari is the privilege of the Tseclin family, numbering some 2,000 to 2,500 persons, who share amongst them the yearly profits. The divided ownership of the lake between two States is, however, prejudicial to the development of its fisheries.

River fishing is entirely free, and is carried on without any system. Salmon-trout are very numerous in the rivers Zeta and Moracha; they often weigh as much as 12 kg. each.

(4) MINERALS

An elaborate mining law was promulgated in 1911, but very little mining has so far been done, owing to lack of capital. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the mineral resources of the country. Even where promising deposits have been traced, there has seldom been any effort to estimate their value.

Bituminous coal occurs to the east of Nikshich. The field is thought to be about a hundred square miles in extent, and to contain workable seams of fair quality. The Lim valley is reported to have coal, and there is also a deposit in the Berane district on the Albanian frontier, east of Podgoritsa. This deposit has a seam $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, and is stated to be of good quality. The presence of lignite has been reported at Velestevo, 10 miles north of Tsetinye.

In the mountains of the Brda and in the Albanian Alps there are slates, sandstones, and clays, which may contain minerals. Between Kolashin and Andrijevitsa, on the Bach hill, patches of white quartz occur frequently, and it is considered that gold may exist in these. In the Durmitor district some iron-stone has been found.

At Rudnido, south by east of Tsrkvitsa in the Piva region, there are red-coloured lime and pyrites.

In the west of Montenegro red earth occurs, and

at Izvor in the Bukovitsa range, north-east of Cattaro, there are traces of iron in decomposed rock. The rest of the Bukovitsa region, however, is limestone.

In southern Montenegro there is some promise of asphalt and oil. At Plocha, on the right bank of the Tsrnoyevitsa, is a deposit of asphaltic bituminous shale. Asphalt is also found at Gradats, between Riyeka and Podgoritsa. Near Zlatitsa, in the region of the middle Moracha, there is bituminous sandstone with a tarry exudation. At Bukovits, about 5 miles west by south of Virbazar, petroleum occurs in the broken strata, and forms a regular pool. A concession for the exploitation of this was granted to a Dutch firm, but so far little work has been done. Salt is found in the slate near at hand, and the chances of finding more deposits of petroleum are considered to be very favourable.

In the Sutorman Pass signs of copper have been found, but the ore is pronounced to be of no commercial value. Between the Sutorman Pass and Antivari there are iron deposits, and in the same neighbourhood phosphates have also been found. Near the village of Lishtats, about 11 miles north of Podgoritsa, large gypsum crystals exist, and sandstone which contains pyrites.

(5) MANUFACTURES

There is a cloth factory at Nikshich and a carpet factory at Jakova. In the Vasoyevitsi, where the best wool is obtained, coarse woollen and linen goods are made on the looms of the peasants. In Podgoritsa and the coast districts, the weaving of half-silk materials for shirts is also a domestic industry. The national dress is made at home, but its manufacture is declining, as it is less worn than formerly, and its importation from abroad, formerly prohibited, is now permitted.

There are two breweries at Nikshich. One of these, the 'Onogost', which has a capital of 250,000 francs, produces beer to a value of about 90,000 francs a year. In 1911 its output was 4,600 hectolitres, and in 1912 4,000. It has a depot in Plevlye. The other brewery, the 'Trebyesa', is said to be larger. Its capital is 240,000 francs, and in 1914 it produced 9,500 hectolitres. Hops and malt are imported from Austria. The retail price of beer, which bears both a communal and a State consumption tax, is normally 64–80 centimes a litre.

There is a very small domestic production of wrought silver, but, apart from the spinning and weaving mentioned above, there is little home industry in Montenegro, the women being mainly employed in agricultural work.

(6) POWER

There were two electric works in Montenegro. One was at Tsetinye, established in 1910 by Kraus, a Trieste firm, with a capital of 400,000 francs. It had two Diesel engines. The current was used for lighting only. The other concern is at Antivari, and was set up by the Compagnia di Antivari for the lighting of the harbour works.

In 1911 a scheme was put forward by A. Deshkovich, a Croatian company-promoter, for the development of water-power in two localities—on the River Tara, near Kolashin, from which 80,000 horse-power was expected, and on the Moracha near Podgoritsa. The power obtained was to be used for working an iron deposit near Antivari, and for exploiting a large body of phosphates, whence a chemical fertilizer was to be derived. It is said that a concession was granted, but the capital was not raised, and the concession may therefore have lapsed.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) Principal Branches of Trade

The poverty of the country, its scanty intercourse with countries in a more advanced state of civilization, and its backwardness in education, combine to keep the standard of comfort low ; hence the internal trade is extremely small, and chiefly consists in the local distribution of imports from abroad, and of the tobacco and beer produced within the country.

(b) Towns¹ and Markets

Tsetinye (*Cetinje*), the capital, lies in a basin surrounded by a desolate region of bare limestone mountains. It was chosen for its inaccessibility, and is less important commercially than *Podgoritsa* and *Antivari*. It has good road communication with *Cattaro* and *Podgoritsa*.

Podgoritsa, the commercial capital, lies in the fertile basin of the River *Moracha*. It does a lively trade in agricultural produce and live-stock with *Cattaro* through *Tsetinye*. It is also the centre of the tobacco industry. But for its geographical position, which was dangerously near the frontier, it would have been made the capital.

Nikshich is an important road centre for communication with the little-developed north-western districts. It has a small cloth factory and two breweries.

Kolashin is a road centre for the middle part of the country. If the *Brda* forests were exploited, *Kolashin* would obtain a thriving timber industry. It has one of the two small saw-mills in the kingdom.

¹ For the lake ports of *Riyeka*, *Virbazar*, and *Plavnitsa*, see p. 42 ; and for the sea-ports of *Antivari* and *Dulcigno*, see p. 46.

Andrijevitsa is important as a road centre between the east and the west, connecting new with old Montenegro.

Danilovgrad is a new town near Ostrog, which is the seat of a famous monastery visited yearly by thousands of pilgrims. The Government model stock farm and fruit nursery is near the town.

Ipek (Pech) is the most important, though not the most populous, town in the new territory. Its importance lies in its position, for, when the roads are developed, it will serve as the connecting link in through-trade between Montenegro and Serbia. With the development of internal communications is bound up its almost certain future as a thriving market town for the agricultural produce of a fertile district. The population is largely Mohammedan.

Jakova (Dyakovitsa), the chief town of the southern part of the new territory, has a larger population than any other town in the country, and stands in a fertile district, where there is said to be iron. It has no good road in any direction; with improved communications it would no doubt become a market for agricultural produce. The construction of a good road to Scutari and the regulation of the Boyana river would give it an outlet to the sea and provide a nearer and cheaper way of obtaining imports.

(c) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

The only native organizations of this kind are the small agricultural unions formed for the purpose of obtaining import facilities, etc.

A German-Serbian-Montenegrin Association was to have been formed in 1914, with offices in Belgrade and Berlin, with the object of fostering German trade with Montenegro and Serbia.

(d) Foreign Interests

All important industrial and commercial enterprise in Montenegro is in the hands of foreign firms. Of the more important, several have already been mentioned, such as the Compagnia di Antivari (p. 44), Bravi, Masini, Plata & Co. (p. 49), Laurin & Klement (p. 39), and the Tobacco Monopoly (p. 53). Another notable firm is the Società Commerciale d'Oriente, a concern dealing in food-stuffs, oil, candles, and soap, which had a house at Antivari and agents at Podgoritsa, and was anxious to develop its business in the new territory; one of its directors was G. Volpi, president of the Compagnia di Antivari. Mention may also be made of Hammer & Thomson, an English firm established at Podgoritsa, who deal in hides and were seeking to establish a transit trade in live cattle from Serbia to Malta.

Before the war, Italian interests predominated in the commercial life of the country. Italian imports were rapidly increasing. Austria, on the other hand, was losing ground, the most important undertakings in Austrian hands being the passenger and mail service from Cattaro to Podgoritsa, and the electricity works at Tsetinye. There were also five branches of Austrian banks in the country, and just before the war the Banca Adriatica di Trieste succeeded in obtaining a preponderating influence in the Banca Narodna, a private enterprise initiated by a Croat of Austrian nationality. This, however, was little to set against the important undertakings under the control of Italians.

At the outbreak of the war, French capitalists were beginning to turn their attention to Montenegro, but any schemes they had formed were nipped in the bud. It should be noted that Russian capital has never

been invested in the country, though Montenegro received valuable financial aid from Russia in the form of subsidies for the royal family, grants for educational or military institutions, and charitable gifts for providing food and clothing for the people.

(e) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

The resources of Montenegro have as yet been very imperfectly developed, and the methods of economic penetration employed, which have been sufficiently indicated above, call for no special comment. As regards the future, the poverty of the people, the inadequate means of communication, and lack of knowledge as to the mineral resources of the country, will make the success of new enterprises slow and uncertain. The improvement of the communications is an essential preliminary to economic progress, and will afford the most promising opening for foreign capital. Once the country has been provided with a good system of roads, it will be possible to proceed confidently to the exploitation of the fertile soil and large forests. But for some time to come the investor must be prepared for large outlay and slow returns.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *Exports*

Quantities, Values, and Countries of Destination.—For the total values of Montenegrin exports, exact figures are only available up to 1910 :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Value in francs.</i>
1905	1,636,600
1906	1,926,400
1907	1,344,000
1908	2,654,300
1909	2,377,000
1910	2,392,000

The high-water mark of Montenegrin export trade was thus reached in 1908. Only very fragmentary statistics are available for 1911, but they point to a diminution in the total value. In 1912, owing to the Italo-Turkish and Balkan Wars, export trade was almost nil. The blockade of April–May 1913 was a further check, but the passing over into Montenegrin hands of large and fertile areas of the Sanjak of Novi-bazar and Albania soon brought about a recovery.

Detailed statistics are available for 1907, 1909, and 1910, but, being founded on different bases, are not satisfactory for purposes of comparison.

In 1907 the principal exports were 4,973 cattle, 18,000 sheep, 129,000 kg. of raw wool, 140,000 kg. of hides and skins, and 193,000 kg. of fish. The following figures, showing the values of the principal exports in 1907 to Austria, Italy, Serbia and Turkey, are taken from M. Verloop's *Royaume de Monténégro* (1911):

	<i>Austria.</i> <i>Francs.</i>	<i>Italy.</i> <i>Francs.</i>	<i>Serbia.</i> <i>Francs.</i>	<i>Turkey.</i> <i>Francs.</i>
Sheep . . .	59,927	59,501	—	64,097
Cattle . . .	343,688	4,261	—	2,824
Raw wool . . .	219,788	12,000	—	1,186
Hides and skins . . .	214,435	—	—	8,285
Fish . . .	28,142	10,181	46,975	31,000
Olive oil . . .	4,376	—	7,915	17,000
Sumach . . .	25,734	—	—	—
Honey and wax . . .	2,759	—	—	—
Lime flowers . . .	20,587	—	—	—
Yellow wood . . .	7,700	—	—	—

Among the less important exports appear goats, pigs, birds, smoked mutton, eggs, flour, fruit, vegetables, preserves, wine, brandy, chrysanthemums, insecticide powder, and silk-worms. There was also a steadily increasing export of copper in transit from Serbia.

The following export statistics are derived from the United States Consular Reports for 1909 and 1910:

	1909.		1910.	
	<i>Head.</i>	<i>Value in Francs.</i>	<i>Head.</i>	<i>Value in Francs.</i>
Live animals and birds	24,956	716,100	23,526	787,700
	<i>Kg.</i>		<i>Kg.</i>	
Raw wool	208,700	374,200	126,000	259,000
Skins	235,700	422,500	159,200	332,000
Olive oil and residues	1,195,000	245,000	782,000	390,000
Honey and wax	25,500	11,800	12,300	8,200
Fruit and vegetables	158,000	11,100	157,000	8,500
Smoked meats	11,000	11,500	15,300	23,600
Eggs	16,700	10,500	16,400	9,800
Preserves	35,570	22,700	101,300	42,700
Woollen cloth	14,560	18,300	36,700	47,800
Yellow wood	20,700	1,670	104,300	8,200

It should be noted that the exports of skins and raw wool rose remarkably from 1907 to 1909, but fell considerably in 1910. Olive oil shows a consistent rise, this being due to enterprise in the Antivari district. The exports of honey and wax, after a striking increase, declined in 1910.

The exports in 1912 went almost entirely *via* Antivari, and included wool, hides and skins, dried fish, tobacco, and laurel leaves (for Trieste), together with a small number of horses, mules and donkeys from Albania for Italy. The total volume of exports from Antivari in that year hardly exceeded 300,000 kg.

For the second half of 1913, when the Balkan Wars had just ended, certain statistics are given in the Austrian Consular Report. These are particularly valuable as affording some indication of the effect likely to be produced on the commerce of Montenegro by her newly-acquired territories.

During the half-year in question, 2,600 cattle and nearly 18,000 sheep were exported. Of these, 2,000 cattle and upwards of 5,000 sheep went to Cattaro, 600 cattle to Malta and Italy, and 12,000 sheep to Marseilles, *via* Italy. These figures show that the second half-year's export of cattle and sheep in 1913 fell little short of the full year's export of live-stock in 1909 and 1910. It is known that stock-breeding was on the decline in

the old territories, and that the number of cattle and sheep had been heavily reduced by requisitions for the army during the Balkan War—facts which support the opinion that the high export figures for 1913 were mainly due to the produce of the recently annexed regions.

The report states that 265 horses were exported to Bari, nearly all of which came from the Nikshich district and the new territory. In 1911, 770 horses had been sent to Italy. The figures do not supply a good basis for comparison, but the apparent decline would be amply accounted for by the war.

Smoked mutton (*kastradina*) was exported to Dalmatia and Italy to the amount of 60,000 kg. and the value of 21,000 francs. The exports of salt fish (*scoranza*) amounted to 150,000 kg.

The wool exported amounted to 250,000 kg., with a value of 600,000 francs. It was sent to Austria and Italy, mainly to the former. The figures are much larger than those of 1910, the increase being due to the annexation of the fertile plains of the Metoya. In the case of skins also, there is a notable increase due to the produce of the new territories; 250,000 pieces, in value 325,000 francs, were exported, mostly to Austria, but some to Italy. In addition to the skins of domestic animals, there were exported over 26,000 skins of wild animals, including 4,000 fox skins (value 60,000 francs) and 1,000 marten skins (value 30,000 francs).

In 1913 the export of olive oil was prohibited, but the export of sumach, which had declined, showed a revival, 800,000 kg. (value 176,000 francs) being sent abroad.

Other commodities are mentioned in the report as having been exported in comparatively small quantities. Among them appear fish-scales (to Italy), wax (to Trieste and Valona), tobacco, pomegranates

(171,000 kg. to Albania), quinces, and chrysanthemums (6,500 kg. to Trieste).

(b) Imports

Quantities, Values, and Countries of Origin.—Of late years the imports of Montenegro, while fluctuating, have shown a general upward tendency, almost doubling in value between 1905 and 1913. The most recent figures available are as follows :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Value in francs.</i>
1909	6,174,000
1910	8,160,000
1911	6,654,800
1912	4,450,000 ¹
1913	8,400,000

¹ Exclusive of articles imported for the use of the army.

The figures for 1913 are the more remarkable as the Montenegrin coast was blockaded during April and May of that year.

The following are detailed statistics of the imports for 1909 and 1910 according to the United States Consular Reports for those years :

	1909.		1910.	
	<i>Kg.</i>	<i>Value in Francs.</i>	<i>Kg.</i>	<i>Value in Francs.</i>
Agricultural produce and fruit	3,513,300	852,000	6,284,000	1,133,000
Sugar, coffee, &c.	1,457,000	853,000	1,684,000	996,000
Other food-stuffs	124,000	105,000	200,000	180,000
Cotton, flax, hemp, and hair	399,000	1,081,000	533,000	1,449,000
Hides and skins	192,000	467,000	228,000	687,000
Clothing	92,900	546,000	168,000	774,000
Woollen goods	66,000	162,000	55,000	381,000
Gold and silk textiles	7,700	113,000	5,500	102,000
Lumber and timber products	722,000	141,000	1,509,000	265,000
Alcoholic and spirituous beverages	689,000	287,000	462,000	191,000
Oils, colours, and chemicals	1,217,000	404,000	1,260,000	552,000
Paper	112,000	70,000	155,000	89,000
Stone and glass ware	3,250,000	297,000	3,059,000	288,000
Metals (other than precious)	740,000	426,000	920,000	563,000
Precious metals	2,600	24,000	900	23,000
All other articles	68,000	168,000	99,000	296,000
Total weight in kg.	12,652,500		16,622,400	
Animals (head)	8,439	178,000	4,603	191,000
Total value of imports		6,174,000		8,160,000

The following figures of imports *via* Antivari in 1913 are taken from the Austrian Consular Report for that year. The imports through Antivari are stated to represent 60 per cent. of the total imports of the country :

<i>Country of origin.</i>	<i>Kg.</i>
Austria-Hungary	8,677,400 (in 1912, 6,109,200 kg.)
Italy	4,134,300
Argentina	4,500,000 (maize)
United Kingdom	3,580,000 (coal)
Bulgaria	2,752,500 (maize)
Egypt	2,200,000 (salt)
Russia	1,200,000 (war material)

Details are also available for the import of particular commodities by this route, and in certain cases can be compared with the corresponding figures for 1912. Thus the maize imported in 1913 amounted to 7,976,900 kg., an increase of 148,300 kg. on the previous year, Austria-Hungary supplying 732,900 kg., Bulgaria 2,752,000, and the Argentine 4,500,000. The oats imported amounted to 735,600 kg., rather more than half being from Austria-Hungary and the rest from Italy ; in 1912, 863,418 kg. were imported, from Turkey and the Argentine. In 1913, 590,000 kg. of rice were imported, from Austria-Hungary and Italy ; in 1912 the amount was 616,000 kg. The import of flour in 1913 amounted to 3,596,000 kg., of which Austria-Hungary sent 2,158,100, and Italy the remainder ; the total was considerably less than in 1912, when 5,650,000 kg. entered the country. The sugar imports, on the other hand, increased greatly, the figure for 1913 being 2,091,700 kg., as against 922,500 in 1912. Coffee was imported in much larger quantities than in 1912, when the total was only 207,700 kg. ; it is known, moreover, that much coffee was smuggled

into the new territory from Belgrade. Salt is a Government monopoly. All salt imported into Montenegro comes from the Port Said Salt Association, Ltd., an English company trading under a concession from the Egyptian Government. Petroleum was at one time imported solely from Austria, but in 1913 the Italo-American Petroleum Company had captured some of the trade and was doing a thriving business.

The imports of manufactured goods were small, owing to the war. The Compagnia di Antivari imported a certain quantity of building materials from Austria and Italy. Austria sent 208,500 kg. of hardware, and Italy 365,800 kg., a little also coming from Constantinople. Paper, cordage, and cheap porcelain came exclusively from Austria, from which country Montenegro also obtained nearly all its common glass.

The incompleteness of the statistics for the years immediately preceding the European War makes it difficult to draw conclusions as to the prospects of the import trade of Montenegro. Certain salient features, however, may be noted:

1. Imports from Austria-Hungary showed a tendency to decline. From 1910 to 1911, for instance, their value fell by over 500,000 francs. It is true that 1913 showed a rise in comparison with 1912, but conditions in those years were very abnormal.

2. Importation from Italy was slowly but steadily increasing.

3. Germany began to compete with Austria in certain manufactured goods—especially hardware, tools, and textiles—but failed in an attempt to obtain a share in the import of leather.

4. America began to supply Montenegro with cereals, and, through Italy, with petroleum.

5. The imports of maize from the Argentine reached a high figure.

6. British imports into Montenegro remained small. The figures are as follows :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Value in francs.</i>
1911	34,224
1912	75,504
1913	52,248

These figures are presumably exclusive of coal, and principally represent imports of cotton yarn, bleached shirtings, and similar goods.

7. There is evidence that the disproportion between the imports and the exports of Montenegro continued to the beginning of the European War. Figures show that it was increasing between 1905 and 1910. In the former year the value of the exports was 1,636,000 francs, and that of the imports 4,468,000, the ratio being 1 to 2·7 ; while in 1910 the figures were 2,392,000 and 7,893,000, or a ratio of 1 to 3·3. In 1911, so far as can be gathered from incomplete statistics, a decline in the imports was accompanied by a corresponding decline in the exports. The exigencies of the Balkan War led to a further rise in the imports, and there was certainly a decrease of exports at this time, especially as the export of olive oil was prohibited. On the other hand, the produce of the new territories, which was already being exported in some quantity during the second half of 1913, might have helped towards redressing the unfavourable balance.

(c) Customs and Tariffs

In 1904 a customs tariff was established by law. The measure, however, reserved to the Prince the right of monopoly in any article. The law was amended and simplified in 1905. An *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. minimum and 15 per cent. maximum was imposed on nearly all imports, the chief exceptions being beverages, spirits, cigarette paper, playing-cards, and silk and gold trimmings, on which heavier duties were charged. Modifications

of the tariff on beverages were introduced in 1910 by a law which imposed a consumption tax on all alcohol consumed in the country. A number of articles are admitted free of duty, among which are scientific instruments and goods intended for public relief.

(d) *Commercial Treaties*

In 1907 Montenegro had commercial treaties with Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Egypt. In that year a commercial convention was arranged with Serbia, to expire in 1917, providing for mutual traffic facilities on the railways and the Danube. Since 1907 a number of other treaties have been concluded.

In 1908 treaties were made with the United Kingdom (extending the existing treaty till 1910), with Germany (to expire in 1917), with Bulgaria (to expire at the end of 1912), with Turkey and with Greece. The treaty with Greece, which was to remain in force till the end of 1917, provided for most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of transit and customs duties.

In the same year a Montenegrin decree confirmed the application of maximum tariffs to imports from all countries except the most favoured nations, but coffee, rice, corn, and hay were excluded from the scope of this measure.

In 1910 a commercial treaty was concluded with the Netherlands, and an agreement was made with Russia providing for most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of tariffs, customs formalities, transit, tonnage, and other dues, and containing provisions regarding the treatment of agents and vessels of the one country in the territory of the other.

In 1910 a treaty was concluded with the United Kingdom¹ (an extension of the existing treaty to remain

¹ For details, see Mr. G. J. Stanley's Report to the President of the Board of Trade on the Treaty Arrangements of the United Kingdom (1917).

in force for ten years), and in 1911 with Switzerland and with Austria-Hungary. In addition to the usual most-favoured-nation treatment, the treaty with Austria-Hungary provided for the duty-free export to the Bocche di Cattaro district of certain quantities of live-stock and dried meat of Montenegrin origin. The treaty was not to come into force until Montenegro had agreed that Austro-Hungarian money should circulate in Montenegro on the same terms as Montenegrin money in Austria-Hungary.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Budget.—It is a matter of common knowledge that the published budget of Montenegro was unreliable, as the country received financial aid from Russia (and possibly at times from other sources) which did not figure in the official statement.

The following figures have been given as estimates :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i> <i>Francs.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i> <i>Francs.</i>
1911	3,988,000	—
1912	3,759,750	4,361,000
1913	unavailable	—
1914	9,350,000	12,600,000

The public debt was estimated in 1914 at 6,250,000 francs.

The State revenues are derived from customs duties, monopolies, land-tax, public services, and other miscellaneous sources, the first two being usually the most important. The salt monopoly and the customs duties were mortgaged in 1910 as security for the interest and sinking fund of the public loan contracted in that year (see below, pp. 76, 77). The revenue arising from these two sources was authoritatively stated to have

amounted in 1908 to 1,379,675 francs (275,000 from salt and 1,104,675 from customs).

The modernization of the Government in 1910 led to a great increase of expenditure, which was only partially met by new taxes and monopolies. The Balkan Wars involved the State in further financial difficulties. The army had no commissariat, and its needs were provided for by requisitions, which were paid for by Government vouchers; it was found impossible to draw in these vouchers before February 1914, hence the moratorium had to be extended to July. During the Balkan Wars the Government also found it necessary to remit all direct State taxes. The development of the newly acquired territory by colonization had to be deferred for financial reasons.

Taxes.—Taxes are levied on land, live-stock, houses, mills, and (since 1910) on all spirits and beverages consumed within the country. The land-tax is 1 franc per *rabo* (about 1,820 square metres). The live-stock tax is graduated as follows:

1.25	francs	per	horse	or	cow.
0.50	„	„	pig.		
0.25	„	„	sheep	or	goat.
0.37	„	„	hive	of	bees.

The house tax is 10 per cent. on the rent, and the consumption tax on beverages ranges from 1 to 5 francs per hectolitre.

Besides taxes, the Government can claim ten days' work per annum from each adult subject; this, however, may be commuted for a yearly payment of 6 francs.

Monopolies.—The Government has monopolies in salt, tobacco, spirits and alcohol, petroleum and matches (the last established in 1914).

Public Loans.—A 5 per cent. Government loan of £250,000 was effected in 1910 through Messrs. Boulter

Bros. & Co., London, at 97 per cent. The proceeds were to be devoted to the repayment of all existing loans and short-dated Government bills, to the formation of a State mortgage bank (see below, p. 78), and to the construction of roads and other public works. The sum required for interest and sinking fund is £15,000 a year, secured, as mentioned above, by the customs and the salt monopoly ; £239,800 is still outstanding.

(2) CURRENCY

There is no mint in Montenegro, and until 1906 Austrian money was in circulation. Since that date the country has had its own coinage.

The unit of currency is the *perper* or *krun*, which is equivalent to the franc. The only other monetary denomination is the *para*, of which there are 100 in the *perper*.

There is no gold coinage, but Turkish, English, and French gold coins circulate. Nickel pieces of 20 and 10 paras and bronze or copper 2-para pieces are struck in Austria. Gold coins and Austro-Hungarian banknotes were withdrawn from circulation in 1912, and were replaced by treasury notes to the value of 2 million *perpers*, valid for one year.

(3) BANKING

Before 1901 no bank existed in Montenegro, and money could not be borrowed at less than 20 per cent. Since that date, however, a number of banks have been established.

1. The Banque de Monténégro was founded in 1906, with its head office at Tsetinye. It has branches at Podgoritsa, Kolashin, Antivari, Dulcigno, Ipek, and Scutari, and agencies in several other towns. It has a fully paid-up capital of 1,000,000 francs. According to the balance-sheet for 1913, the last issued, the

reserve fund was 116,114 francs, and the year's profits amounted to 80,102 francs. The dividend paid in 1908 was $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in 1911, 20 per cent., but there is no record of any dividend having been paid since. The bank enjoys and deserves more confidence than any other in the country.

2. The Banque d'État Hypothécaire, a State mortgage bank, was instituted in accordance with the terms of the loan of 1910. It lends money at 8 per cent. for periods ranging from eight to thirty years.

3. A national savings bank, the Banque Nationale d'Épargne, was founded in 1906 at Tsetinye with unlimited capital. Up to 1911, 82,000 francs had been paid in.

4. The Podgoritsa Bank was established in 1904 with a capital of 600,000 francs, fully paid up. It has branches at Kolashin and Virbazar. Negotiations were opened for its amalgamation with the Banque de Monténégro, but without result.

5. The Banque de Crédit de Nikshich, the first bank founded in Montenegro, dates from 1901. Its capital is 1,000,000 francs, 480,000 of which were paid up before 1911, and a small amount since.

6. The Banca Narodna, or Banque Nationale, was established at Tsetinye in 1909 by an Austrian named Petrovic, who took over and gave this name to the Banque d'Antivari. The capital was quoted at 2,000,000 francs, but up to 1911 only 240,000 had been paid up. The bank got into difficulties through bad management, and came under the control of the Banca Adriatica di Trieste, which provided it with the necessary capital. This appears to have been part of a scheme to secure for Austrian interests a hold on Montenegrin banking.

7. The Banque de Pech (Ipek) was founded in 1913, with a fully paid-up capital of 200,000 francs.

8. In 1907 the Handelsaktiengesellschaft, an Austrian concern, opened branches at Tsetinye, Podgoritsa, and Antivari.

9. In the same year the Orientalische Handelsgesellschaft, also an Austrian undertaking, opened branches at Podgoritsa and Antivari.

(4) PRINCIPAL FIELDS OF INVESTMENT

The more important openings for capital, such as the development of communications and the exploitation of the forests, have already been noted (see pp. 46, 48, 58, 66). Certain smaller enterprises, however, might prove profitable. Tanneries are urgently needed, as hitherto Montenegro has had to send its skins abroad to be tanned, an import duty being paid on them when they returned as leather. Woollen mills are wanted for a similar reason, and boot factories, cement works, and saw-mills would be of great benefit to the country. For all these undertakings raw materials would be ready to hand, and there is abundance of water-power for machinery.

The following undertakings had been projected before the war: electric lighting works for Podgoritsa and Nikshich, cold stores for Antivari, motor saw-mills in the commune of Lyeva-Riyeka, and aqueducts in Nikshich, Podgoritsa, and Antivari.

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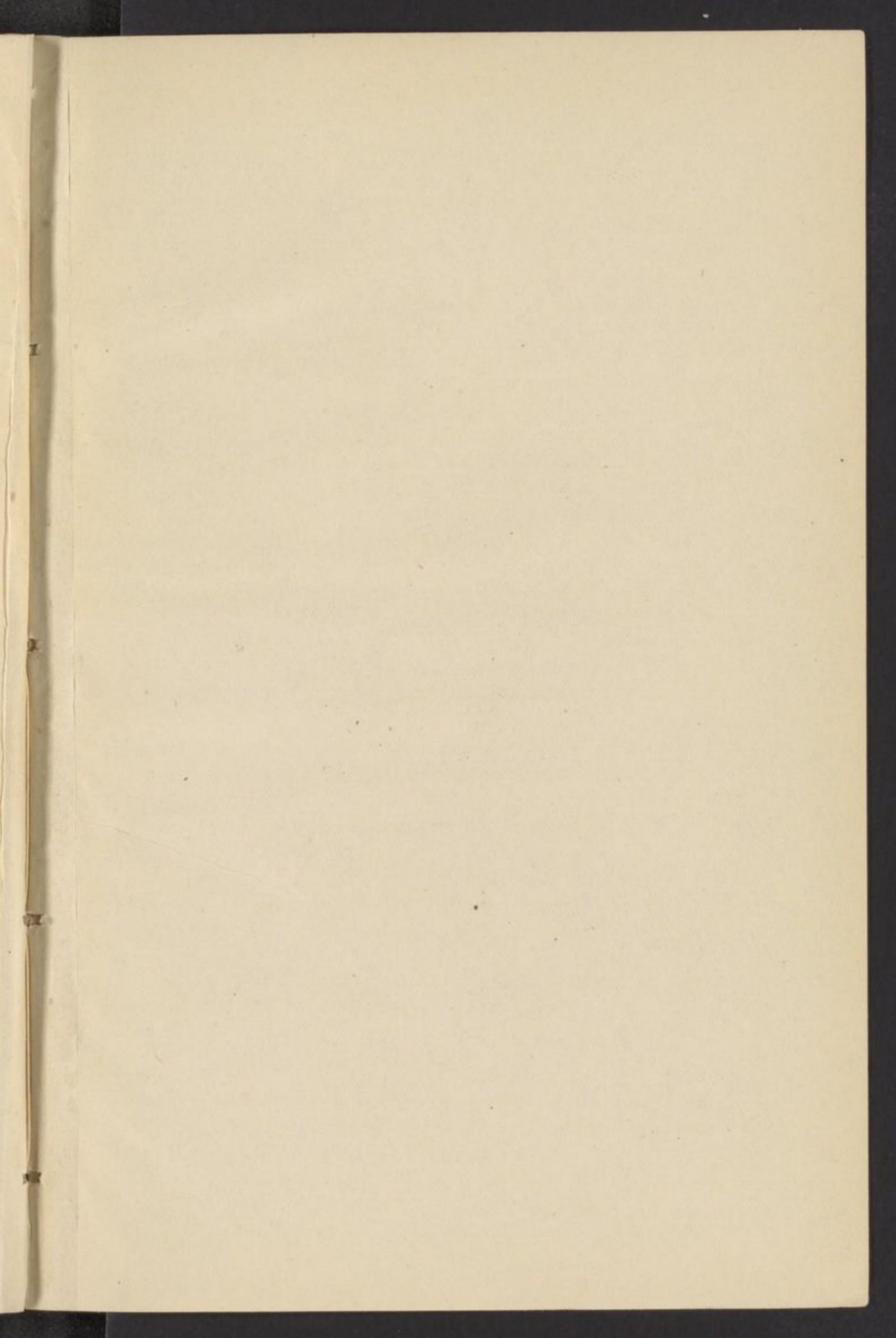
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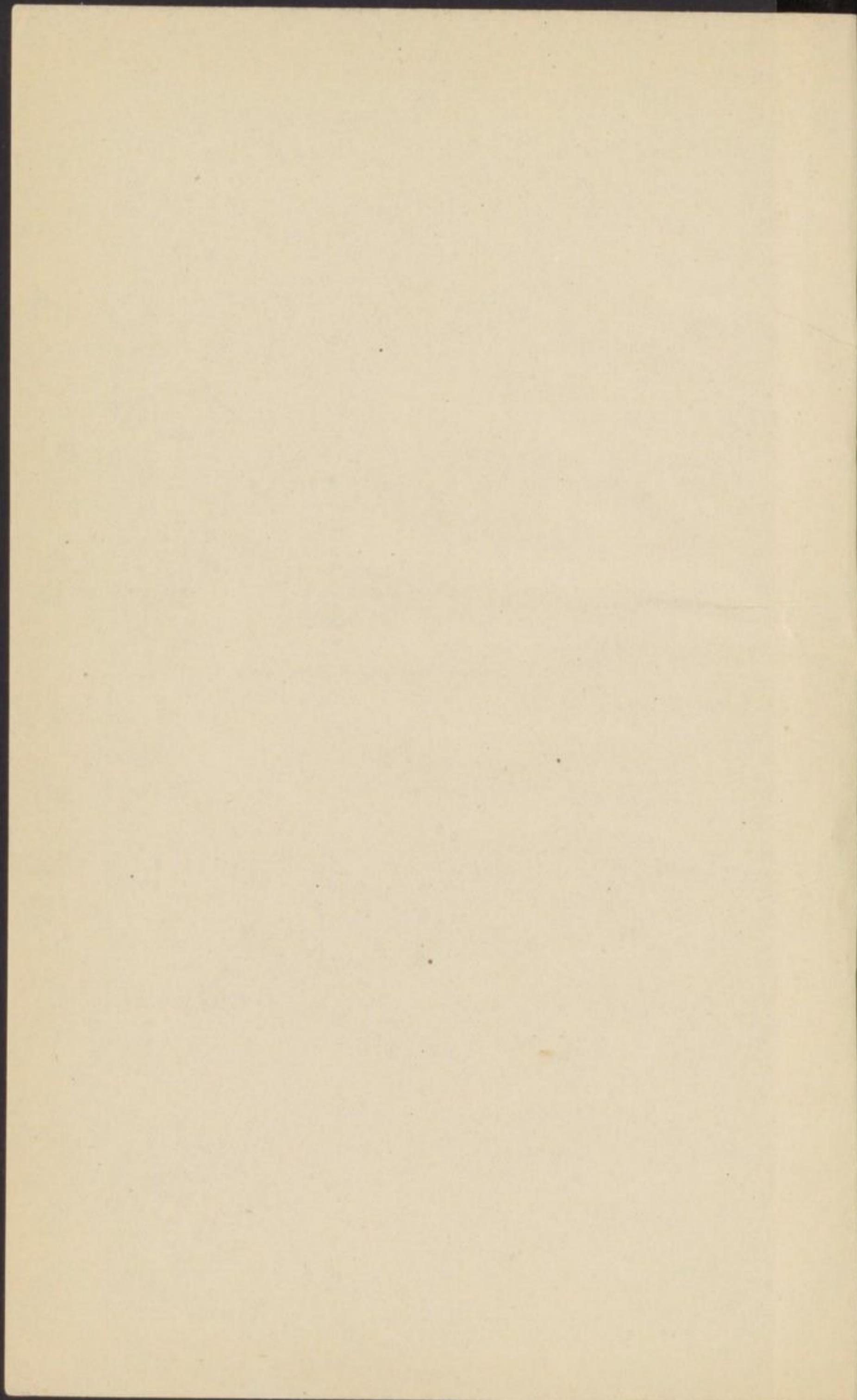
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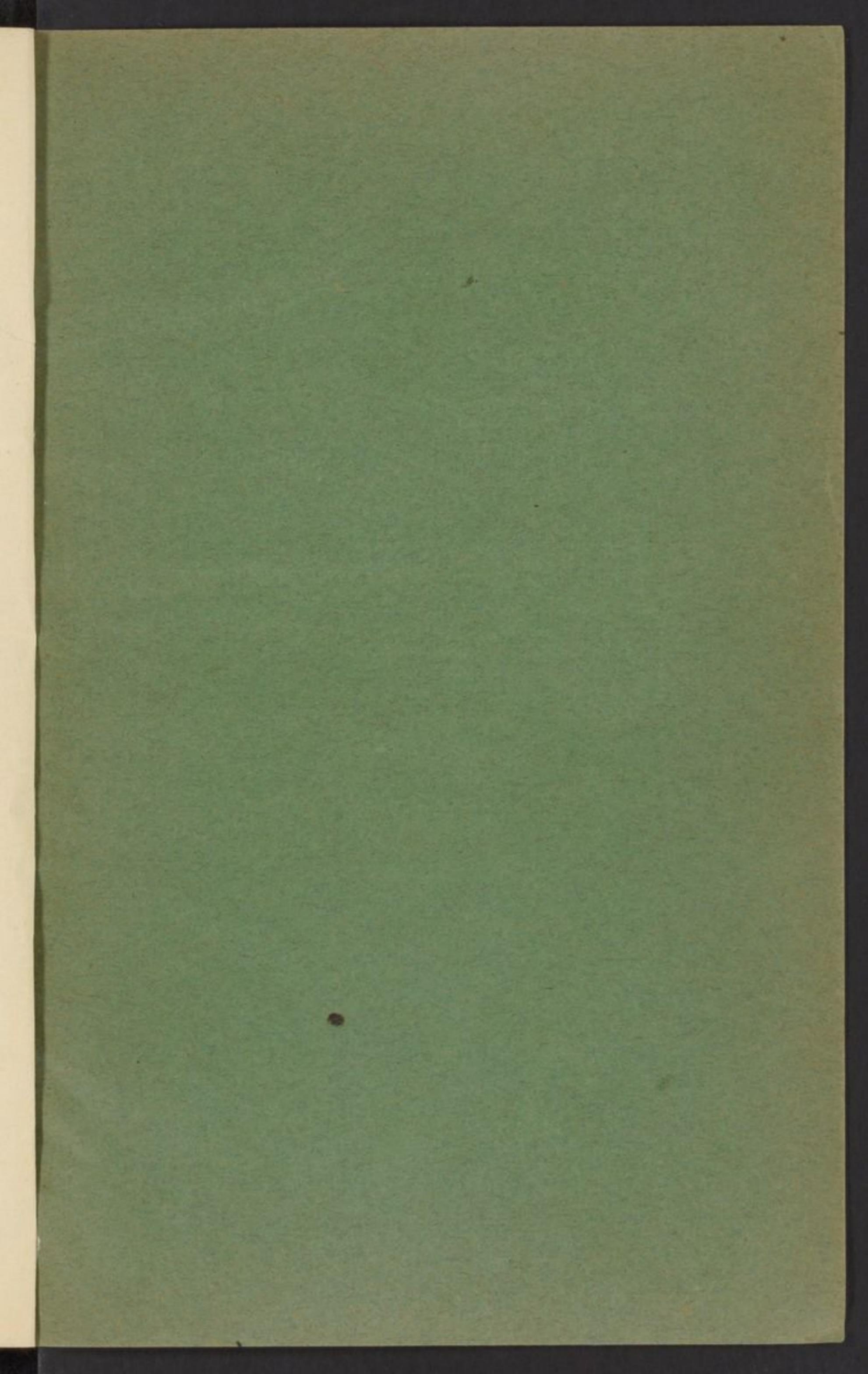
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MAPS

Montenegro is contained in Sheet K. 34 (Sofiya) of the International Map published by the War Office (G.S.G.S. 2758). For historical boundaries and ethnography see Table and note of Maps in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.







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