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Slobodan G. Marković

Count Čedomilj Mijatović, a Leading Serbian Anglophile*

Čedomilj Mijatović¹ was born in 1842, in the then small town of Belgrade in the autonomous Principality of Serbia, on the northernmost border of European Turkey. By that time, the Principality had become largely emancipated from the Ottoman Empire, yet Turkish influence was still evident and Belgrade resembled an Oriental town.

*Lack of knowledge on Serbia in Britain in the first half
of the nineteenth century*

When Mijatović was two, a popular travelogue was published in Britain by Alexander William Kinglake under the title *Eothen*.² The book went through numerous editions and long served the British public as an influential source of information on the Near East. Kinglake entered Turkey at Belgrade, feeling that he had come “to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the splendour and havoc of the East”.³ On Serbian (and Bulgarian) cultural heritage, he commented:

There are few countries less infested by “lions” than the provinces on this part of your route: you are not called upon to “drop a tear” over the tomb of “the once “brilliant” anybody, or to pay your “tribute of respect” to anything dead or alive; there are no Servian or Bulgarian litterateurs with whom it would be positively disgraceful not to form an acquaintance...⁴

* My thanks to Dr. Eric Beckett Weaver for commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ Spelled in various sources in English as Chedomille, Chedomil, Csedomille Mijatovi(t)ch, Miyatovitch, Mijatovics, Mijatović and Mijatovic.

² A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen, or, Traces of Travel brought Home from the East* (London: John Ollivier, 1844).

³ A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen* (reprint; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27–28.

In a word, Serbia was virtually unknown in Britain at the time, and the same may be said of any Serb of prominence. Three years later Mrs. Alexander Kerr translated Ranke's *History of Servia*. She concluded in her foreword that Serbia and the neighbouring states were "almost *terra incognita*; even to the travellers who visit Vienna and Constantinople".⁵

British perceptions of the Serbs in the period from the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) to the end of the First World War passed through several phases. Information on Serbia was rather limited in Britain during the nineteenth century, especially prior to the Eastern Crisis (1875–1878). The nine years of the First Serbian Uprising and various battles between the Serb rebels and Ottoman forces went almost unnoticed in Britain. The only Serb who was sporadically mentioned in Britain was the leader of the First Serbian Uprising Karageorge or "Czerny George" as he was called in *The Times*.⁶ Somewhat greater interest in Serbia was taken only in the late 1830s and during the Crimean War, and it was inspired by British considerations of the Eastern Question, and efforts to halt Russian penetration into the Balkans.⁷ In 1837, Britain appointed her first consul in the Principality of Serbia, and this immediately contributed to British prestige in Serbia since the British consul became a confidant of the Serbian Prince, Miloš. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain was much better known in Serbia than Serbia was in Britain, but even so, in Serbia information on the superpower was limited and vague.

Čedomilj Mijatović in the 1860s

There was renewed interest in Serbia during the second reign of Prince Michael Obrenović (1860–1868), especially at the time of the Ottoman

⁵ Leopold Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution*, translated from German by Mrs. Alexander Kerr (London: John Murray, 1847).

⁶ Karageorge was the first South Slav whose obituary was published in *The Times*: "Czerny Georges", *The Times*, Saturday, no. 10244, 6 September 1817, 2 F; Cedimir Antic and Slobodan G. Markovic, *170 Years of British-Serbian (Yugoslav) Relations* (Belgrade: British Embassy in Belgrade, 2007), 7; see also Veselin Kostić, "Karadjordje u engleskim izvorima prve polovine XIX veka" [Karageorge in English sources of the first half of the nineteenth century], *Anali filološkog fakulteta* 19 (1992), 489–496. Kostić even believes that Karageorge "was a fairly well-known figure in England in the first decades of the nineteenth century".

⁷ On the relations between Serbia and Britain in the 1830s and during the Crimean War, see Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia, 1837–1839: The Mission of Colonel Hodges* (Paris–The Hague: Mouton, 1961); and Čedomir Antić, *Neutrality as Independence: Great Britain, Serbia and the Crimean War* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2007).

bombardment of Belgrade in 1862, the year Mijatović turned twenty. At the time of his birth his parents had been Austrian citizens. They both came from southern Hungarian Serbian families who had immigrated to Hungary some two hundred years earlier. His father Milan (1805–1852) was a lawyer who came to Serbia from southern Hungary and became a teacher of Latin, history and geography at the Belgrade First Gymnasium (grammar school). His stepfather, Vasilije Berar (†1871), was an inspector and director of the state printing house. But young Čedomilj was primarily influenced by his beautiful and mystical mother, Rakila Kristina (1826–1901), who was of mixed Serbian-Spanish origin. Given Mijatović's family background, German was his major foreign language, and he studied in German-speaking areas between 1863 and 1865: in Leipzig in Saxony; in Munich in Bavaria; and in Zurich in Switzerland. His studies concentrated on the so-called state sciences (*Staatwissenschaften*). Having completed his education, he gained banking experience while working for the National Bank of Austria and Credit Anstalt.

Elodie Lawton Mijatović

During Mijatović's studies in Leipzig a crucial change happened in his life. He met his future wife Elodie Lawton (1825–1908), previously a dedicated abolitionist in Boston, who influenced him significantly, and turned him into a devoted Anglophile. She returned to Europe in 1863, and the following year she met Mijatović again. They married in the Russian church in Leipzig in April 1864.

A member of the Wesleyan Church, Elodie was able to imbue her husband with Nonconformist religious devotion. Mijatović always remained faithful to the Serbian Orthodox Church, but was strongly impressed by Protestant tenets and wanted to instil some religious zeal into it.

Elodie Mijatović (also spelled Miyatovich, Mijatovics and Mijatovich) quickly learned Serbian and, by 1865, translated Florence Nightingale into Serbian. In 1872 she published *The History of Modern Serbia*.⁸ (The previous history of Serbia had been published in Britain in 1847, a translation of the work by the famous German historian Leopold von Ranke, originally published in German in 1829.) Since her book covers the events up to 1871, for some time it was almost the only source for the history of Serbia between 1843 and 1871 available in English.

⁸ Elodie Lawton Mijatovics, *The History of Modern Serbia* (London: William Tweedie, 1872).

In 1874 Elodie Mijatović published a collection of Serbian popular stories entitled *Serbian Folklore*.⁹ The foreword to this book was written by the Anglican priest William Denton. Finally, in 1881, Elodie translated and edited national poems on the Battle of Kosovo in a collection entitled *Kossovo*.¹⁰ Owing to the books published by Elodie Mijatović a reader interested in Serbia was able to get a quite comprehensive picture of contemporary Serbian history and culture. By publishing these three books on Serbia in English, Elodie Mijatović played a role in Britain resembling the one that the brothers Grimm and Leopold von Ranke had in unveiling Serbian history and culture to the German-speaking public.

Elodie was also very active in the social life of Belgrade, and became a vital source of information for all British diplomats and travellers who happened to be in Belgrade.

Early career

At the age of twenty-three Čedomilj Mijatović became professor of political economy at the Great School in Belgrade, the highest educational institution in Serbia at the time. While holding this post, he wrote three very influential textbooks, and started campaigning in favour of building a railway through Serbia. He gained support for this idea among merchants and educated men, but many in Serbia opposed his campaign.

His first important diplomatic mission was to London, at the beginning of 1871. He was an unofficial representative of Serbia at the Black Sea Conference that, amongst other things, met to discuss Austro-Hungarian initiatives to establish police control over the Danube and to suspend the authority of the commission that covered all Danubian countries, including Serbia. In the end, these initiatives were not accepted by the conference, and Mijatović was credited with organizing resistance to the Austro-Hungarian proposals. In his *Memoirs* Mijatović recalled the conference as “Serbia’s first diplomatic victory over Austria”.¹¹ This first diplomatic mission to Britain left a deep impression on Mijatović, and his affection for Britain remained unshaken until the end of his life.

⁹ *Serbian Folk-lore, popular tales selected and translated by Madam Csedomille Mijatovics* (London: W. Isbister & Co., 1874).

¹⁰ Madame Elodie Lawton Mijatovich, *Kossovo: an Attempt to bring Serbian National Songs, about the Fall of the Serbian Empire at the Battle of Kosovo, into one Poem* (London: W. Isbister, 1881).

¹¹ Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassel and Company, 1917), 30.

Mijatović's career was meteoric. In late 1873, at the age of thirty-one, he became Serbia's Finance Minister. At first a protégé of the leader of the subsequent Liberal Party, Jovan Ristić, he soon joined the club of the so-called Young Conservatives, which turned into a sort of a personal party of Serbia's ruler, Prince Milan Obrenović (Prince from 1868, and King 1882–1889). In the Government of Jovan Marinović, from November 1873 to December 1874, Mijatović was Finance Minister for the second time, and in that capacity he was instrumental in bringing about important reforms. Mijatović introduced the metric system to Serbia. Serbia adopted the standards of the Latin Monetary Union. Mijatović reintroduced the name of medieval Serbian silver coins for Serbia's national currency – the *dinar*. In his own view, his most important achievement in this government was a law stipulating the portion of property that was not liable to seizure to cover a peasant's debts. This minimal portion included the peasant's house, yoke of oxen, plough and five acres of land. Mijatović became Minister of Finance for the third time in 1875 in the Government of Danilo Stefanović.

The peak of Mijatović's political career

In the late 1870s Mijatović's political career stagnated for a while, but it soon resurged to reach its climax. In 1880 the group of Young Conservatives, of which Mijatović was a member, started the newspaper *Videlo* and in October came to power. In the Government of Milan Piroćanac (1880–1883) Mijatović held two ministerial offices: Foreign Affairs and Finance. A close friend of the ruler and in control of two key ministries, Mijatović was considered by many diplomats as the most influential person in the cabinet. Prince Milan relied on him for the most significant missions. Two decisions that were to shape Serbia's history for many years were implemented by Mijatović. One related to Serbia's foreign policy and the other to her economy.

With Austria-Hungary and Russia dividing their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans through The Three Emperors League (18 June 1881), Serbia was *de facto* placed within the Austro-Hungarian zone. The ruler of Serbia, Prince Milan, decided to turn a new page in his country's foreign policy, and arranged that a secret convention be signed with the Habsburg Monarchy. Mijatović was gradually entrusted by the ruler with completing this task, and on 28 June 1881 he signed the Secret Convention under which Serbia secured diplomatic and political backing from the Habsburg Monarchy, but relinquished her independence in the field of foreign policy and her claim to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, only three years after Serbia's independence was internationally recognized, she abandoned an important attribute of her sovereignty.

Having learnt about the contents of the Convention, the other two most prominent members of the cabinet, Prime Minister Piroćanac and Home Minister Garašanin, threatened to resign in protest, but they eventually accepted the agreement. In return Mijatović had to resign as Minister of Foreign Affairs and kept only his tenure in the Ministry of Finance. His last act as Minister of Foreign Affairs was to sign, on 14 October 1881, the Consular Convention and the Commercial Agreement with the United States of America. Thus diplomatic relations between the two countries were officially established.

During the talks that led to the signing of the convention with Austria-Hungary, Mijatović was received in Vienna by Emperor Francis Joseph and other dignitaries of the Empire. The Emperor later decorated him with the Order of the Iron Crown, First Class. Mijatović later claimed that this decoration gave him the right to use the title of count.

As the Minister of Finance Mijatović secured Serbia's commitments in the Treaty of Berlin, in which the Serbian government undertook to build the Serbian section of the Vienna–Constantinople Railway. Since Serbia was unable to finance the project, a foreign creditor had to be found, and a Parisian financial society called Union Général was selected in 1881. Unfortunately it suffered bankruptcy in early 1882, bringing the already shaky Serbian finances very near to collapse. Having learned of the bankruptcy, Mijatović travelled quickly to Paris and there, supported by Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, found a solution. Another financial house, Comptoir National D'Escompte, took on the project without detriment to Serbia. In spite of this success, the reputation of Mijatović's Progressivist party suffered a serious blow. It turned out that agents of the Union Général in Belgrade had tried to bribe many Progressivist MPs and politicians, and although opposition MPs had proved to be no less amenable to bribes from a representative of the Union Générale, Mijatović's party had never recovered from the blow.

Mijatović played an important role in preparing the law on establishing the National Bank of Serbia, passed by the Serbian Parliament in January 1883. He had long advocated the establishment of such an institution, and at long last was able to see it come into being during his tenure.

The first pro-Serbian campaigns in Britain

Over most of the nineteenth century Serbia had neither the ability nor the means to influence British public opinion. Even to merely draw British attention was a huge task, since Serbia was just a dot on the map on the road between Paris and India. To improve Serbia's image meant from the very beginning to challenge two wisdoms of British diplomacy. One was

that the Ottoman Empire was the best guardian of British naval interest in the Eastern Mediterranean preventing the penetration of Russia, or of any other major power. The other was that if independent, the small Balkan Christian states would be Russian puppets and hence undesirable substitutes for the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, efforts to change Serbia's image in Britain meant convincing leading diplomats, politicians and journalists that an independent Serbia would be self-sufficient and unwilling to sacrifice her independence to any great power, particularly not to Russia.

The first Serbian ruler who became aware of the importance of campaigning for Serbia in Britain was Prince Michael Obrenović. In 1863 he initiated and partly financed the first pro-Serbian campaign in England. The campaign came as a reaction to the quite anti-Serbian views of the Foreign Office during the crisis following the Turkish bombardment of Belgrade in 1862. The campaign was undertaken by the Serbian senator Filip Hristić who, at the end of January 1863, went to London in company with the Serbian ruler's wife, Princess Julia. They succeeded in drawing the attention of a significant number of British journalists to Serbian affairs. The Serbian liberal politician Vladimir Jovanović took an active part in the campaign as well.¹²

At that time, some distinguished Englishmen became interested in Serbia and began defending her interests. Among them special note should be given to the famous British "apostle of free trade" and MP Richard Cobden (1804–1865), another MP named Gregory, the priest William Denton (1815–1888), and Dr. Humphrey Sandwith (1822–1881). They formed the first Serbian lobby in Britain. Denton and Sandwith were also to play a special role during the Eastern Crisis. Denton's book *Servia and the Servians* was published in 1862. Written with an obvious affection for the Serbs, the book was an important source of information on Serbia in Britain for many years.¹³

The second pro-Serbian campaign took place during the Eastern Crisis (1875–1878). The Eastern Crisis began with the insurrection of the Serbian Christians in Herzegovina in July 1875. Initially, the British Conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli (PM 1874–1880) was not over-

¹² While in Britain, both Hristić and Jovanović published several pamphlets on Serbian affairs and the Eastern Question: *The Case of Servia. By a Serb* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863); *The Debate on Turkey in the House of Commons, on Friday, May, the 29th, 1863. With Remarks by Ph. Christitch, Servian Senator* (London: C. W. Reynell, 1863); *The Serbo-Turkish Question; or, the Reciprocal Relation between the Serbian and Turkish Government. By a Servian* (London: C. W. Reynell, 1863); Vladimir Yovanovich, *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question* (London, 1863).

¹³ William Denton, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862).

ly concerned with it. But, when soon after that atrocities were committed against Christians in Bulgaria (1876), this event became known throughout Europe. As a result, the insurrection in Herzegovina and the atrocities against Christians became the subject of a bitter debate in Britain. The *Daily News*, a newspaper loyal to William Gladstone, former British Prime Minister (1868–1874), published an article with horrible details of children massacred, women violated, and young girls sold as slaves in Bulgaria. On 6 September 1876 Gladstone published his illustrious pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* which provoked sensation in Britain reaching a circulation of 200,000 copies by the end of the month.

Contrary to Gladstone, Disraeli's opinion of Turkey was quite favourable. During a visit in 1830, he was impressed with turbans, and enjoyed smoking a six-foot-long pipe, and stretching himself out on a divan. He dined with pashas and, as his biographer Maurois puts it, "could not see these amiable gentlemen butchering little children."¹⁴ Disraeli's attitude was shared by his Conservative Party and supported by the Court. The Queen and Empress Victoria summed up her views on the Eastern Question in April 1877: "It is not the question of upholding Turkey: it is the question of Russian or British supremacy in the world."¹⁵

In the summer of 1876 both Montenegro and Serbia declared war on Turkey, but in the autumn Serbia suffered defeat, which, in February 1877, led to a treaty with the Ottoman Empire based on the *status quo ante*. Disraeli strongly condemned the war, which in his opinion was the result of "the secret societies of Europe". He held Serbia responsible for this "outrageous and wicked war", a war that violated "every principle of public morality and honour."¹⁶ In December 1877, encouraged by Russia, Serbia declared war on Turkey again, but this time, in the winter of 1878, she emerged victorious. The second war with Turkey took place simultaneously with the Russo-Turkish War (April 1877 – January 1878). During these wars Disraeli's government continued its pro-Ottoman stance, but this aroused opposition from academic and ecclesiastical circles, mainly among the Nonconformists and the small but influential High Church wing of the Church of England.

The anti-Turkish campaign was led by a fervent Congregationalist, W. T. Stead, through *The Northern Echo*, a provincial paper published in Darlington. Amongst the academics involved in the campaign, the most distinguished was Prof. E. A. Freeman, while High Church opposition to

¹⁴ André Maurois, *Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age* (London: Penguin, 1939), 48.

¹⁵ R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (New York: The Norton Library, 1972), 171.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 88–89.

Turkey was led by Canon Liddon of St Paul's. Gladstone was also very active. His determination to prevent further atrocities polarized the British public, and for the first time British party policies became shaped along the lines of the Eastern Question and Balkan affairs. Both liberal Turcophobia and conservative Russophobia became crystallized during this dispute, although party allegiances were not always a determining factor. Speaking of the importance of this issue, R. W. Seton-Watson concluded: "The issue between Turk and Russian became a predominant issue, and for the time suspended personal intercourse between the warring factions and even divided families among themselves."¹⁷

During the Serbian-Turkish War (1876–1878), Elodie Mijatović and Mrs. White, wife of the subsequent British ambassador to Constantinople, also worked towards swaying British public opinion in favour of Serbia. Their work bore fruit, particularly in terms of humanitarian aid.¹⁸

Serbia's circle of friends in Britain grew wider during the second campaign, but she nevertheless remained in the shadow of Bulgaria amongst the British who supported Gladstone. Although more numerous than ever, most Turcophobes were fervent Bulgarophiles, and support for Serbia was not high on their agenda.

Mijatović as Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James's and the anti-Serbian campaign

The Progressivist Government resigned in October 1883. Being an Anglophile, Mijatović had aspired to become the first Serbian Minister to London. But he had to wait until October 1884, when he became the second Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James's. London society was familiar to him from his previous diplomatic mission and trips to England with his wife. This was his long-awaited opportunity to work systematically on improving Serbia's image in Britain. The course of events in the Balkans prevented him from achieving his goal. His diplomatic post in London soon ended, as he was appointed the sole Serbian negotiator in Bucharest, where peace negotiations were scheduled following the Serbian-Bulgarian War. During this stay in London Mijatović published a story in the esteemed collection *In a Good Cause* edited by Margaret Tyssen-Amherst (1835–1919).¹⁹ The collection was dedicated to the Princess of Wales, and the proceeds were intended

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁸ Jelena Lazarević, *Engleskinje u srpskom narodu* [Englishwomen among the Serbs] (Belgrade: Beogradsko žensko društvo, 1929), 79–81.

¹⁹ Baroness Margaret Susan Mitford Tyssen-Amherst, ed., *In a Good Cause* (London: W. Gardner, Darton, & Co., 1885).

to support North-Eastern Hospital for children. Among the contributors to this volume were Oscar Wilde, the Bishop of Radford, the Earl of Rosslyn, and Čedomilj Mijatović with a story entitled “Boyana”.²⁰

In September 1885, the Principality of Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, and this was a breach of the Treaty of Berlin. King Milan of Serbia demanded compensation from the great powers, because unified Bulgaria was now bigger than Serbia, but his effort failed. Eventually, Serbia attacked Bulgaria on 14 November 1885, and within two weeks suffered a humiliating defeat. It was owing to the Secret Convention with Austria-Hungary, signed by Mijatović, that Serbia was able to get out of the war without suffering serious consequences. British sympathies for Bulgarians, inspired several years earlier by the Midlothian campaign, were still very much alive, and Serbia’s attack on Bulgaria aroused widespread condemnation in Britain. Before the war broke out Mijatović had sought to gain Britain’s understanding for the Serbian formula of “balance of power” in the Balkans, but without much success. Gladstone was overtly on Bulgaria’s side, and expressed his satisfaction over the unification of Bulgarian lands. The only thing Mijatović could do was to send an open letter to Gladstone.²¹

In late 1885 Mijatović was appointed as Serbia’s sole representative in peace negotiations with Bulgaria. *The Times* covered almost every step Mijatović made from the moment he left London in early January 1886 until the treaty was signed in Bucharest. Since the then Prime Minister of Serbia Garašanin was known to have headed the war party, *The Times* overtly expressed hope that Mijatović would become his successor. “This would be highly desirable,” the London daily announced, “as M. Mijatovics does not share the wild opinion that Servia can stand alone and snap her fingers at Europe.”²² The instructions that Mijatović received in Belgrade from King Milan were phrased so as to allow him to find an excuse for declaring war on Bulgaria again. He took a different approach, and his conciliatory stance in Bucharest was noticed. *The Times* of 25 February wrote: “Although M. Mijatovics in point of conciliatory disposition is thought to be somewhat in advance of his Government, it is believed that he will carry his policy.”²³

In Bucharest Mijatović negotiated peace terms with Bulgaria’s representative Ivan Geshov, a leading Bulgarian Anglophile. Mijatović remembered in his *Memoirs*: “It was then the season for balls, social gatherings and entertainments. Bulgaria’s delegate Ivan Gueshov, and myself, cherishing admiration for the British people and their ways, entered at once into

²⁰ “In a Good Cause”, *The Times*, 8 July 1885, 4 b.

²¹ “The Servian Minister and Mr. Gladstone”, *The Times*, 20 October 1885, 9 a.

²² “The Eastern Crisis”, *The Times*, 18 January 1886, 5 b.

²³ “The Eastern Crisis”, *The Times*, 25 February 1886, 5 a.

friendly relations.”²⁴ Yet, at one point, Geshov demanded compensation from Serbia. Mijatović had clear instructions from Belgrade to declare war should Bulgaria demand any compensation for the damage inflicted in the conflict. Mijatović told Geshov that he would leave the conference immediately and that the war would soon be resumed, and he walked towards the door. The chairman, Medjid Pasha, appealed to him to return to the negotiation table, which Mijatović did. He accepted withdrawal of the Bulgarian demand, and agreed that all should act as if it had never been made. A moment before accepting the demand’s withdrawal he “remembered that that very morning the British Chargé d’Affaires, Mr. Francis Sanderson, told me he had had a letter from his brother Sir Thomas who sent his remembrances to me, adding that they all hoped I would succeed in making peace”.²⁵ In the end the two Anglophiles concluded peace on 3 March 1886. With its single article, the treaty was one of the shortest in diplomatic history: *Article seul et unique. – L’état de paix qui a cessé d’exister entre le Royaume de Serbie et le Principauté du Bulgarie le 2-14 Novembre, 1885, est rétabli à partir de l’échange de ratification du présent traité qui aura lieu à Bucharest.*

Mijatović was a peacemaker because he ignored his instructions from Belgrade. Apparently he was more worried about what might happen to his reputation in England if negotiations failed, than about criticism from Belgrade for his conciliatory approach. He indeed had an unusual diplomatic career for a Serb. Not only that he had signed a secret convention with a great power, but he was also able to take advantage of this convention twice: in Paris in 1882 to prevent Serbia’s bankruptcy; and in Bucharest in 1886 to suppress Bulgaria’s justifiable demands for compensation.

The Times of 3 March commented on the anticipated signing of the peace treaty, summarizing British dissatisfaction with Serbia and King Milan during the crisis with Bulgaria: “It will remain on record, however, that King Milan made peace with ill grace, and thus brought to an undignified close a chapter in Serbia’s history which from first to last has been discreditable.”²⁶ King Milan had indeed preferred war at that moment, and Mijatović may be credited with preventing the renewal of bloodshed between the two nations who had had close relations before the war. The British mainstream view of the Serbo-Bulgarian War may be gleaned from an entry in the tenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: “A more absolutely unjustifiable war than that begun by King Milan can hardly be conceived.”²⁷

²⁴ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 62.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁶ “The Eastern Crisis”, *The Times*, 3 March 1886, 5 a.

²⁷ Sir George C. Clarke, “Servo-Bulgarian War of 1885”, in *The New Volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed. (Edinburgh and London: Adam & Charles Black,

Having concluded the peace treaty without any detriment to Serbia, Mijatović nearly became Prime Minister, but in the end became Finance Minister again. During his two terms as Minister of Finance (October 1880 – October 1883; April 1886 – June 1887), state revenues doubled. This undoubtedly was a success. The problem was that expenditures in 1880–1887 rose by 128%, causing persistent budgetary deficits. His last major tenure in a Serbian government was as Minister of Foreign Affairs (April 1888 – March 1889) in the Government of Nikola Hristić. In that capacity, he renewed, in February 1889, the Secret Convention with Austria-Hungary, with validity until 1 January 1895. This time, however, Mijatović did not play a prominent role in negotiations.

King Milan's decision to abdicate on 6 March 1889 effectively ended Mijatović's privileged position at the court. Moreover, since he was known to be a devoted friend of King Milan's, the abdication, and the rise to power of the King's opponents, put Mijatović's political career in jeopardy. The Radical Party came to power in March 1889, and began retaliation against their political opponents. On 26 May 1889, the Progressivists holding a party meeting in Belgrade were severely beaten by a mob called together by the Radicals. Mijatović had had a special plan for 1889: to mark the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo by bringing the remains of the Holy Prince Lazar from Srem (then in Austria-Hungary) back to Serbia. When the Radicals came to power the plan was scuttled: Austria-Hungary was dissatisfied with this course of events and prevented the transfer of the relics. Mijatović was sorely disappointed. His favourite ruler had abdicated, he was in conflict with his key political ally Garašanin, and his project for the translation of the relics had failed. Faced with all these failures, he left Serbia and moved to Britain in September 1889.

London years, 1889–1903

Mijatović lived in a kind of self-exile in Britain between September 1889 and the beginning of 1894. Thanks to his books, he remained popular with the Serbian public. Experiencing financial problems, he became a correspondent for the Belgrade newspaper *Trgovinski glasnik* (Commercial Herald). Thus, he became the first Serbian correspondent from London. He sent articles regularly in the years 1891–1893, sometimes dispatching

1902), xxxii. The Serbian-Bulgarian War inspired Bernard Shaw to write the play *Arms and the Man* in 1893/4. It was Sidney Webb's idea to take this war as the setting of his play. Paradoxically, Bulgarian characters were rendered in the least sympathetic manner. Cf. Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 113–117.

several instalments a week. He again became a newspaper correspondent from 1903 until the outbreak of the Great War. His high quality contributions offered the Serbian public lucid analyses and insights into the London Stock Exchange, the British economy, and British culture. In 1902 he also sent dispatches to the influential Belgrade daily *Male novine*. His articles made quite an impression in Belgrade, and significantly contributed to the broadening of knowledge about Britain amongst Serbian businessmen and the intellectual elite. During this period Mijatović published a small book, *O uslovima uspeha* (On Preconditions for Success). Popular among Serbian merchants and young people, it ran through several editions. The book was much influenced by the work of the British social reformer Samuel Smiles (1812–1904), notably by his bestseller *Self-help* (1859). During this period Mijatović also published a book on the last Byzantine emperor.²⁸

In 1894 Mijatović returned to Belgrade to assume the office of Minister of Finance for the last time, but his tenure ended after only two months, when the Government resigned in April 1894. Mijatović spent the rest of that year as Serbian Minister to Bucharest, but was recalled in late 1894. In April 1895 he was given his favourite appointment. He became Serbian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James's for the second time, and kept this position until 1900. In May–July 1899, he represented Serbia at The Hague Peace Conference, where he advocated very progressive views. However, neither King Alexander nor the Serbian Government shared his enthusiasm for the instruments of international law and international arbitration.

The May Coup and the anti-Serbian campaign in Britain in 1903–1906

Mijatović's diplomatic mission in London ended in 1900. He assumed the most important diplomatic post for Serbia, that of Serbian Minister to Constantinople, but was recalled because he disapproved of King Alexander's marriage with a woman who was a commoner and a widow. Mijatović became a Serbian senator in 1901, and returned to London to try to establish a Serbian commercial agency. At the end of 1902 he was appointed Serbian Minister to London for the third time.

It was in London that he received news of the tragic events that had taken place in Belgrade in the early hours of 11 June 1903, when a conspiracy of Serbian army officers killed King Alexander Obrenović and his unpopular wife Queen Draga. The royal couple was brutally murdered

²⁸ Chedomil Mijatovich, *Constantine, the Last Emperor of the Greeks or the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453), after the Latest Historical Researches* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1892).

and their bodies thrown out of the window. The new government elected Peter Karageorgević to be Serbia's new king. Both the assassination and the composition of the new Cabinet, half of whom were regicides, aroused widespread condemnation in Europe. In London, Mijatović found himself in a peculiar position. *The Westminster Gazette* commented: "The Servian Minister to the Court of St. James's was formally accredited by the late King Alexander and it would seem highly questionable how far he remains accredited now that the dynasty has been destroyed by violence."²⁹ The Belgrade regicide was condemned throughout Europe, but only Britain and the Netherlands chose to break off diplomatic relations with Serbia. The British Government withdrew its minister from Belgrade, Sir George Bonham, on 19 June. Horrified by the events in Belgrade, Mijatović was the only Serbian diplomat to resign from his post as a result, on 22 June. Influential political circles in Belgrade never forgave him for this act.

Mijatović's name became known round the world owing to a clairvoyant session he had attended together with the famous Victorian journalist William Thomas Stead on the night of 20 March 1903. In Stead's words, "the bloody tragedy in the palace was seen clairvoyantly three months before it took place, and described in the hearing of at least a dozen credible witnesses".³⁰ Almost all British dailies, as well as the American and continental press, commented on the prophecy.³¹

British official and popular reaction can be gleaned from the way Mijatović's was treated in London before his resignation. He received threatening letters, and faced universal contempt for Serbia. The daughter of his successor, Lena Yovitchitch, wrote a biography of her father, and described the obstacles that Mijatović and her father, Alexander Jovičić, faced in London:

Since the news of the Obrenovich tragedy had been received he (Miyatovich) met with the cold shoulder wherever he went. Official doors were suddenly closed, and the circumstances of the murder put a strain even on personal friendship... To mention Serbia was enough to raise a wall of prejudice; English people could have no association with a race who had murdered their King. Every one of Serbian descent must be made to feel responsible for that terrible deed. They were beyond the pale of a Society whose principles were irreproachable; with the best of intentions Englishmen never lost an opportunity to proclaim the fact that moral feelings were very high

²⁹ *The Westminster Gazette*, 14 June 1903, 2 b.

³⁰ W. T. Stead, "A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassination at Belgrade", *The Review of Reviews* 28 (1903), 31.

³¹ See *The Westminster Gazette*, 11 June 1903, 7 b; and "A Clairvoyant's Prediction", *The New York Times*, 12 June 1903, 2 c.

in their country, that what had happened in Serbia could not be condoned and must be expiated by the entire nation.³²

The regicide greatly distressed the Mijatovići. Being devoted Christians, they were deeply shocked and shared British contempt for the regicide. Čedomilj Mijatović condemned the event in two books. Within weeks of the murder a book dealing with the Belgrade regicide appeared: *Belgrade the White City of Death. Being the History of King Alexander and of Queen Draga*. The book was written by Mrs. F. Northesk Wilson,³³ and signed in a peculiar way so that Mijatović practically figured as its co-author. This was not just a sign of courtesy. The same ideas, even identical sentences, are to be found in Mijatović's later works. Therefore, it seems that the role Mijatović and his wife played in the writing of this book was significant, if not overwhelming.³⁴ The book was important in giving rise to a new metaphor. If the metaphor for Serbia before 1903 was *Poor Man's Paradise* (the title of a book by Herbert Vivian), the metaphor for the country's capital after 1903 became *White City of Death*.³⁵

In another book, *Royal Tragedy*, published on the occasion of the triennium of the regicide (June 1906), which in the Christian Orthodox tradition is the last major commemoration for a deceased person, Mijatović compared the "royal tragedy" of Belgrade with Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and strongly condemned the regicide. The book was very popular in Britain, and subsequently ran an American edition.³⁶

Mijatović found himself in a tormenting dilemma. As a Christian and pacifist, he felt that the punishment of the regicides was necessary for Serbia's moral recovery. As a Serb, he was fully aware that the break of diplomatic relations with the biggest and most powerful empire in the world could only be detrimental to Serbia. Therefore, he resorted to a compromise.

³² Lena A. Yovitchitch, *The Biography of a Serbian Diplomat* (London: The Epworth Press, 1939), 190–191.

³³ Her real name was Flora Ames, according to the Catalogue of the Library of Congress.

³⁴ As acknowledged by Mrs. Wilson on p. 5: "The Authoress begs to tender her grateful thanks to His Excellency M. Chedomille Mijatovich, Servian Minister at the Court of St. James, also Madame Elodie Mijatovich, for their kind help to her in the compilation of this volume." Mijatović had published articles in the British press, under pseudonyms, even before this. See, for instance, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 February 1885.

³⁵ Belgrade, in Serbian: Beograd, means "white city".

³⁶ Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy. Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga of Servia* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906); Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy: Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga of Servia*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1907).

He decided to advocate the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, but conditioned it on the punishment of some of the regicides. While remaining an opponent of the new order in Serbia, he undertook unofficial diplomatic efforts to help re-establish diplomatic relations, and he joined the Society for the Legal Settlement of the Regicides Question which advocated the punishment of the regicides.³⁷

The fact that Mijatović was the only Serbian diplomat to resign in 1903 and his opinion voiced in public that the prime regicides should be prosecuted were received with indignation in influential circles in Belgrade. In his letter to *The Times* in February 1906, Mijatović declared his membership of the Society for the Legal Settlement, and called for the resumption of mutual relations. He pointed out: "To demand the legal punishment, and in one way or other to demand an expiation of the crime, is exclusively the duty and the right of the Servian people, and I am sure that sooner or later they will make a generous use of their right, and accomplish their duty as a truly honourable and Christian nation."³⁸ He suggested that in the meantime Britain should be satisfied with the removal from active service of the leading regicides, a compromise solution suggested by Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs Žujović.

The influential Serbian daily *Samouprava* attacked Mijatović severely after the publication of his letter, even attributing to his resignation part of the responsibility for the break of Anglo-Serbian diplomatic relations.³⁹ One has to say in Mijatović's defence that his position was a very realistic one, and that he, more than anyone else in Serbia, was aware of British sentiment towards the new regime in Belgrade, and of the miserable image that Serbia had earned. It is for this reason that he made his compromise, and acted as he did. At the end of 1905 he summed up the state of Anglo-Serbian relations in an air of resignation:

The worst is that the longer this affair lasts the more difficult it will be to settle it. The axis of something that lasts long, of something that has come into being, has always been in England more stable than in other countries, and Englishmen who have almost got accustomed to excluding Serbia from their Balkan combinations – not only political but also economic and financial – will hardly be later more inclined to receive this, until recently sympathetically viewed country, back into their geography.⁴⁰

³⁷ See Mijatović's letter in *The Times*, 13 February 1906, 7 c; see a short article about the Society in *The Times* of 4 June 1906, 4 b.

³⁸ Chedo Mijatovich, "Servia and Great Britain", *The Times*, 13 February 1906, 7 c.

³⁹ *Samouprava* 38, 16 February (1 March N.S.) 1906, 2.

⁴⁰ "Srbija i Engleska. Originalni dopis *Pester Lojdu*" [Serbia and England. Original dispatch to Pester Lloyd], *Pravda*, 25 October 1905, 1.

Being an experienced diplomat, however, he realized that it was too much to expect any Serbian Government to punish the regicides, and he began to consider removal of the leading regicides a workable compromise. Therefore he reserved his disgust for his books, and directed his diplomatic efforts towards a more pragmatic solution. Diplomatic relations were renewed on the third anniversary of the regicide, after the Serbian Government had retired five leading regicides. On the same day Mijatović wrote the foreword to his book *Royal Tragedy*.⁴¹ Thus, he succeeded in both efforts. Diplomatic relations were re-established, and his disgust with the regicide was clearly voiced in his book(s).

After the May Coup, Mijatović stayed in London until the end of his life. His wife Elodie died in 1908. The same year he published his most popular book in English, *Servia and the Servians*, which went through three British and three American editions.⁴² After 1903 his reputation in Serbia suffered greatly due to rumours implicating him in a conspiracy to bring Prince Arthur of Connaught, beloved son of Queen Victoria, to the throne of Serbia. In 1911 he met King Peter Karageorgević in Paris, and from that moment on became fully reconciled with the new regime in Serbia. Therefore, it is not surprising that he was considered to be an unofficial member of the Serbian delegation during the London Conference in December 1912.

In February 1914 he became the manager of the Balkan Agency Ltd. and in April and June made his last two trips to Belgrade in order to make a contract with the Serbian Government for the supply of railway cars and carriages. During his second visit he was offered an unexpected post. Being known for his religious beliefs, and his translations of religious books from English, and being a widower, Mijatović seemed an ideal candidate for the new Archbishop of Skoplje, with the prospect of becoming the first patriarch once the Serbian Archbishopric restored its patriarchal status. The offer was made by Prince-heir Alexander, and supported by leading politicians. At first he thought he might accept the offer, and began to make plans

⁴¹ He was probably instrumental in helping Queen Draga's sister to publish in Britain her defence of her sister's reputation: Christina Petrovitch Lunyevitza, "The Truth concerning the Life of Queen Draga", *The Fortnightly Review* 80 (December 1906), 1065-1074.

⁴² Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908): 2nd British ed.: Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia of the Servians* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1911); 3rd British ed.: Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia of the Servians* (London, Bath, New York and Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1915). American editions: Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians* (Boston: L.C. Page & company, 1908); Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia of the Servians*, new ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913); Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia of the Servians*, new ed. (New York: Scribner, 1914).

for possible reforms. "I thought I could combine the most attractive qualities of the Anglican bishops with the best attributes of the Roman Catholic bishops, and inspire the Serbian Orthodox Church with the true spirit of Christ."⁴³ However, this appointment threatened to arouse huge opposition among Serbian bishops. In the end he declined the offer, and instead accepted appointment as Manager of the Serbian Commercial Agency in London. It is, of course, possible that state officials, faced with opposition from the Serbian Church, encouraged Mijatović to decline the offer.

The campaign by the Mijatovići – the third pro-Serbian campaign in Britain

The third pro-Serbian campaign in Britain was led by the Mijatovići. Elodie played the most prominent role in the 1880s, while Čedomilj Mijatović took over in 1892–1893, and particularly in 1906–1916. In the first period he published the abovementioned book on the last emperor of Byzantium,⁴⁴ as well as seven contributions for the monthly *The Eastern and Western Review*, two of them in a serial form.⁴⁵ This first campaign meant more for improving his reputation than Serbia's image in Britain. Mijatović became an honorary member of the Royal Historical Society in London soon after the publication of his book on Constantine XI in 1892. He was the first Serb to get this distinction.

In the ten years between 1906 and 1916 he ran a systematic campaign aimed at improving knowledge on Serbia in Britain. For this purpose

⁴³ Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, 150.

⁴⁴ Cf. note 29 above. The book was later translated into Russian and Spanish: *Константинь последний византийский императоръ или Завоевание Константинополя Турками (1453. г.)* (St Petersburg, 1895); *Estado social y moral del Imperio Griego a la toma de Constantinopla par los Turcos* (Madrid: Imprenta del Suerpo de Artilleria, 1898).

⁴⁵ His Excellency M. Chedomil Mijatovich, "Ancestors of the House of Orange. A Genealogical Study of the French Family Seigneurs les Baux", *The Eastern and Western Review* 3: 2 (January 1893), 95–101; 3: 3 (February 1893), 196–207; 3: 4 (April 1893), 279–290; "Ancestors of the House of Orange V. Les Baux of Serbia, Albania, and Roumania", 3: 5 (May 1893), 353–365. His contribution on the House of Orange seems to have been published as a separate book under the title "The House of Orange", but not a single copy has been preserved in public libraries in the UK. The book with this title is mentioned in contemporary encyclopaedias and articles: *Who Was Who 1929–1940, A Companion to Who's Who containing the Biographies of Those who Died during the Period 1929–1940* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1980), iii, s.v. "Mijatovich, Chedomille", 939; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana XXXV* (Madrid 1958), s.v. "Mijatovich, Tjedomil", 153; W. T. Stead, "Members of the Parliament of Peace," *The Review of Reviews* 19 (1899), 533.

he published two popular books, and prepared his memoirs for publication. He also wrote all major entries on Serbia for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and addressed dozens of letters to all leading dailies in Britain.

George Calderon was the reviewer of Mijatović's most successful book in English, *Servia and the Servians*, for *The Times Literary Supplement*. Calderon correctly assessed Mijatović's goal in writing this book: "One after another the smaller and remoter nations of Europe seek to interpret themselves to us, to make their psychology comprehensible to us by the mouth of those among themselves who know us and know our language."⁴⁶ Indeed this was Mijatović's goal throughout his campaign: to acquaint Britons with Serbia. Calderon's assessment that Mijatović did for Serbia what Count Lutzow had done for Bohemia was quite flattering.⁴⁷ *Servia and the Servians* ran through three editions in Britain (1908, 1911, 1915), and an additional three in the USA (1908, 1913, 1914).

In the wake of the May Coup, Serbia was among least favourably viewed countries in Britain. It is for that reason that Mijatović's systematic endeavour to promote Serbia in Britain in the decade following the re-establishment of diplomatic relations was so outstanding. For a long time he stood alone in his efforts. Occasionally, he was joined by William Stead's son Alfred who, in 1909, edited the book *Servia by the Servians*⁴⁸ in which prominent Serbian scholars covered various aspects of life in Serbia. It was only during the Annexation Crisis (1908–1909) that some British opinion makers took a more understanding approach to Serbia.

Co-operation with the Encyclopaedia Britannica

Successive editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* testify eloquently to the scope and evolution of British knowledge on Serbia. The supplementary edition of 1824 does not contain an entry on Serbia.⁴⁹ In a volume of the seventh edition, published in 1842, there is a small entry on "Servia" describing her as follows:

Servia, a province of Turkey in Europe, bordered on the north by the rivers Danube and Save, which separate it from Hungary; on

⁴⁶ George Calderon, "Servia and the Servians", *The Times Literary Supplement*, 14 May 1908, 157.

⁴⁷ Graf Franz Heinrich Hieronymus Valentin von Lützow (1849–1916) published in English several influential works on the history and culture of the Czech people.

⁴⁸ Alfred Stead, ed., *Servia by the Servians* (London 1909).

⁴⁹ *Supplement to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica with Preliminary Dissertations on the History of the Sciences*, vi (Edinburgh 1824).

the east it is bounded by Bulgaria; on the west by Bosnia; and on the south by Albania and Macedonia. It is about 190 miles in length from east to west, ninety five in breadth from north to south, and it is divided into four sagiacates...⁵⁰

That was hardly any more informative than the first edition published in 1771, where “Servia” had been described in four short lines.⁵¹ And yet, that was about all an interested British reader could find about Serbia in 1842.

The next edition of the encyclopaedia offered a rather different view. The unsigned entry on “Servia” in the eighth edition, published in 1860 and written two or three years earlier, covered two double-column pages. It was informative and provided a fairly good picture of Serbia. It clarified Serbia’s legal position as “one of the Danubian principalities, nominally included in the Ottoman Empire, but in reality only tributary to that power”, described her mineral resources, and asserted that “the trade with foreign countries is very active and daily increasing in importance”.⁵² The text testifies to a growth of British interest in Serbia. On the whole, it might have served as an unassuming advertisement for Serbia. It was an invitation to British capital and British travellers to visit her.

After the Eastern Crisis (1875–78) British knowledge of Serbia became considerably more substantial. An obvious proof is the entry on Serbia in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* published in 1886. On some six double-column pages, it included subsections on orography, geology, minerals, climate, products, exports and imports, population, government and the army. An outline of Serbian history was offered, and not even literature was neglected: subsections were included on early chronicles, Serbian ballads, the Ragusan era, Raich [Rajić], Obradovich [Obradović], Vuk Stefanovich Karadjich [Stefanović Karadžić], minor writers, Croatian literature, Serbo-Croatian poetry, and Slavonic literature in general. At the end a section was devoted to Montenegro.⁵³ There was a considerable improvement in British knowledge of Serbia in fifty years. In 1835, Kinglake was not able to cite a single Serbian writer, in contrast to several mentioned in the leading British encyclopaedia in 1886.

⁵⁰ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, s.v. “Servia”, 7th ed. (Edinburgh 1842), 158.

⁵¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or, a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, compiled upon a New Plan*, s.v. “Servia”, 1st ed. (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1771), vol. iii, 580.

⁵² *The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, 8th ed. (1860), xx, s.v. “Servia”, 61–63.

⁵³ W. R. M., *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, 9th ed. (Edinburgh 1886), xxi, s.v. “Servia”, 686–692.

Another improvement of Serbia's image in the *Britannica* took place when Mijatović became its contributor. The first Serb to write for the *Britannica*, he collaborated for the tenth and eleventh editions. The tenth edition was actually a continuation of the ninth, published in 1875–89 and then supplemented with additional eleven volumes in 1902–1903. Mijatović contributed to the 1902 edition with an entry on Serbia on four two-column pages in volume XXXII. His text provided an excellent overview of Serbia and included the following subsections: population, education, church, finance, defence, agriculture, commerce, railways and banks. The last two sections were on recent history and literature.⁵⁴

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia* published by Cambridge University Press in 1910–11, reaffirmed *Britannica's* reputation worldwide. Its contributions were assessed very favourably, and its style considered the best of all of *Britannica's* editions. It is still believed to be one of the best encyclopaedias ever published, and certainly the most successful edition of the *Britannica*. Mijatović wrote a sizeable entry on Serbia (spelled “Servia”), as well as several entries on Serbian prominent historical figures: Iliya Garashanin [Ilija Garašanin], Vuk Karadžić and Ivan Gundulich [Gundulić]; Serbia's modern rulers: Karageorge, and Milosh [Miloš] and Alexander Obrenovich [Obrenović]; and on towns in Serbia: Belgrade and Nish [Niš].

Mijatović's most substantial contribution to this edition of *Britannica* was his article on Serbia, published in volume 24, in 1911.⁵⁵ The entry covers eleven and a half large pages with double columns. A map of Serbia is included in the introduction, as well as geographic, commercial and demographic facts, information on Serbia's constitutional system, religion and education. The introductory part was signed by the editorial board, but Mijatović's influence can be clearly distinguished in certain parts. The introduction is followed by an extensive exposé on history (four and a half pages), language (one column), and literature (two and a half pages). All of this was written by Mijatović, with the exception of the final historical section covering the reign of King Peter I Karageorgević and the Annexation Crisis.

The editorial board was obviously familiar with the fact that Mijatović was a loyal supporter of the Obrenović dynasty, a personal friend of the late King Milan, and a Progressivist. It was for these reasons that the lines on Serbian post-1903 history were signed by the editorial board, and that King Milan was the only modern Serbian ruler on whom Mijatović did

⁵⁴ C[hedomille] Mi[jatovich], “Servia”, *The New Volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th ed. (Edinburgh and London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), vol. xxxii, 518–522.

⁵⁵ C[hedomille] Mi[jatovich], “Servia”, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, 11th ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1911), vol. xxiv, 686–698.

not write an entry. The entry on this ruler was written by Hugh Chisholm (1866–1924), co-editor of the tenth and chief editor of the eleventh edition of the *Britannica*. In addition, an entry on Jovan Ristić was included. It was written by James David Bouchier, the correspondent of *The Times* for South-East Europe.

Apart from the entry on Serbia, Mijatović wrote a substantial entry on Karageorge, whose biography was given in detail, including his shortcomings. In spite of Mijatović's sympathies for the Obrenović dynasty, he acknowledged: "It is impossible to exonerate Milosh Obrenovich from responsibility for the murder [of Karageorge], which became the starting-point for a series of tragedies in the modern history of Servia." Karageorge, the leader of the First Serbian Insurrection, was assessed as "one of the most remarkable Servians of the 19th century. No other man could have led the bands of undisciplined and badly-armed Servian peasants to such decisive victories against the Turks". In another entry Miloš Obrenović was portrayed as a victim of Russian dissatisfaction, and as closely collaborating with the British Consul General, a portrait that almost certainly made British readers more sympathetic to him. Mijatović was a rare Serbian politician who sought to bring about a reconciliation between the two dynasties, and while failing to do so in reality, he succeeded on the pages of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

In 1914, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* published *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States*, a book which carried over the articles on the Balkans and Serbia from the eleventh edition.⁵⁶ The book included only articles on countries, but not on historical figures. It was quite popular at the beginning of the Great War, and was increasingly sought for in Britain and the USA for its titles covering the Balkans.

At the beginning of the twentieth century almost all contributors to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* were Britons, mostly Oxbridge professors. American contributors were not many, in spite of the fact that its publication has been based in the United States since 1901. Only few Europeans from the Continent were engaged as contributors. Thus Mijatović's entries made Serbia one of the few countries described by a native.

Mijatović's entries on Serbia and prominent Serbs in the tenth and eleventh editions had a prolonged influence on British readers. Namely, the eleventh edition was incorporated into the twelfth (1921–1922) and thirteenth editions (1926), both of which had only three supplementary volumes. In the supplementary volumes only updates on Serbia's history from

⁵⁶ Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Prince Kropotkin, C. Mijatovich, and J. D. Bouchier, *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1914).

the Balkan War till the end of the Great War were added. The updates were written by Robert William Seton-Watson.⁵⁷ Special entries were added on the Serbian campaigns of 1914 and 1915 during the Great War, as well as on Serbo-Croat literature.⁵⁸ Given the immense popularity and influence of the *Britannica* at that time, one may say that, for many Britons and Americans, Mijatović's entries were the main source of information about Serbia, and remained so for almost thirty years (1902–29) until a completely new edition appeared in 1929.

In the fourteenth edition the entries on Serbia and Yugoslavia were written by R. W. Seton-Watson.⁵⁹ This edition also included an entry on Serbian war campaigns and on Serbo-Croat language and literature. A part of the latter entry was contributed by Dragutin Subotić (1887–1952), at that time lecturer for Serbo-Croatian language and literature at the University of London. In 1918 Subotić published the first Serbian grammar in English, prepared in collaboration with Neville Forbes, Oxford professor of Slavonic languages. Thus, yet another Serb became a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, although to a much less extent than Mijatović. The bibliography added to the entry on Serbia did not include a single work by the Mijatovićeš, but it cited works by Slobodan Jovanović, Stojan Novaković and Živan Živanović. This was the first time that a bibliography on Serbia included a substantial number of references in Serbian. Undoubtedly, this demonstrated an increased appreciation of Serbia and her culture in Britain.

A generational shift also took place. Much younger and politically much more influential scholars took the lead in informing Britons on Serbia and Yugoslavia. Yet, Mijatović's contribution was preserved in the fourteenth edition inasmuch as his earlier texts were a basis for new entries on the same historical figures, although now the entries were unsigned. The fourteenth edition preserved Mijatović's name below the entry on Vuk Stefanovich Karadžich.⁶⁰ This edition was subjected to the new practice of continuous revision between 1929 and 1973, and during this whole pe-

⁵⁷ R[obert] W[illiam] S[eton]-W[atson], "Serbia", *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information*, 13th ed. (London and New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1926), vol. iii, 504–512.

⁵⁸ T. G. G. H[eywood], "Serbian Campaigns", *ibid.*, 512–515; D[ragutin] S[ubotic], "Serbo-Croat Literature", *ibid.*, 515–516.

⁵⁹ R[obert] W[illiam] S[eton]-W[atson], "Serbia", *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London and New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1929), vol. xx, 341–351.

⁶⁰ C[hedomille] Mij[atovich], "Karajich, Vuk Stefanovich", *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (London, New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1929), vol. xiii, 276–277.

riod Mijatović's name subsisted in the volumes that included an entry on Karadjich. This means that Mijatović figured in the list of contributors for seventy-one years (1902–1973).

Pro-Serbian euphoria in Britain during the Great War

During the Great War Mijatović published many letters and articles in British dailies, but his most remarkable action was his visit to the United States and Canada, in company with the most famous British suffragette, Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), who championed the causes of Britain's small allies (Belgium and Serbia) during the Great War. A visit to America with such a well-known person caused a sensation, brought crowds to Mijatović's lectures, and enabled him to give interviews to the leading dailies, including the lengthy one published in *The New York Times*.⁶¹ The visit took place between the end of January and the end of April 1916. Mijatović's tour included New York, Poughkeepsie, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Providence, Hartford, Hamilton, Pittsburgh and Irvington, and visits to leading American universities: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Chicago, and Vassar College. In Canada he visited Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, North Bay, and Winnipeg, delivering pro-Serbian lectures.⁶²

On his return to Britain he took part in a massive pro-Serbian propaganda event, the celebration of Kosovo Day in June–July 1916. This celebration was the climax of pro-Serbian propaganda in Britain during the First World War, and was part of the fourth pro-Serbian propaganda campaign in Britain.⁶³ The first had been initiated by the Serbian Prince Michael in 1863; the second took place during the Great Eastern Crisis (1875–78) when men such as William Gladstone, William Thomas Stead, Canon Henry Perry Liddon and Arthur Evans demonstrated pro-Christian sympathies; the third campaign was organized by the Mijatovićs in 1892–93, and in its second phase, 1908–16, was run by Čedomilj Mijatović single-handedly. Finally, the fourth campaign, launched during the Great War, witnessed a nation-wide pro-Serbian euphoria in Britain that reached its climax with the celebration of Kosovo Day in 1916.

It was only the fourth campaign that succeeded in changing the British perception of Serbia to any appreciable extent. King Peter Karageorgević died on 16 August 1921. The British holders of the Serbian Order of St

⁶¹ "Serbia's Aged Envoy talks of his Nation", *The New York Times*, 23 January 1916, SM 4.

⁶² He described his visit to the USA and Canada in his *Memoirs*, 281–293 and 309–320.

⁶³ For more, see the pamphlet *Kossovo Day (1389–1916). Report and two lectures* [London:] Kossovo Day Committee [1916].

Sava were invited to attend a special requiem mass offered at St Magnus the Martyr, a church designed by the famous architect Sir Christopher Wren. The mass was attended by British high dignitaries, including the Minister of Interior Edward Shortt (1862–1935) as the King's proxy and several representatives of the Foreign Office.⁶⁴ The requiem reflected the tremendous shift in the British attitude towards Serbia that had occurred during the Great War. Eighteen years earlier Britain had taken the lead in condemning the new regime in Serbia headed by King Peter. Now high dignitaries of the British Empire came to pay tribute to the late King of Serbia. Moreover, King Peter and Prince Alexander were awarded high British decorations.⁶⁵

Efforts to present British culture to the Serbs

Mijatović should also be given credit for his systematic efforts to present British culture to the Serbian public. He was the most prolific and the most influential translator from English into Serbian in the nineteenth century, with a bibliography which includes about a dozen translated titles. Most of them deal with religion, in particular with sermons of well-known British preachers such as Dr. C. H. Spurgeon, Canon Liddon, and Dr. Macduff. He also translated Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* and Dr. Brown's *Commentaries to the Gospels*. Particularly influential in Serbia were the following two titles: *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* by Lady Georgina Mary Muir Mackenzie and Adelina Paulina Irby (English edition in 1867; Serbian translation at the request of Prince Michael Obrenović, Belgrade, 1868), and H. T. Buckle's *The History of Civilisation in England* (English edition in 1857; Serbian translation, Belgrade, 1871). All his translations were influential in Serbia, and Buckle's book significantly helped the emergence and development of liberalism in Serbia in the 1870s and 1880s.

His contribution to the British knowledge of Serbia was even greater. He authored or co-authored six books in English, and four of them dealt with Serbia:

1. Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy. Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga of Servia* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906).

2. Chedo Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908).

⁶⁴ "Requiem for King Peter", *The Times*, 6 September 1921, 11.

⁶⁵ Prince Regent Alexander received from King George V's envoy General Sir Arthur Paget a distinguished order of chivalry, Order of the Bath, in Niš on 19 March 1915. "Crown Prince Decorated", *The Morning Post*, 18 May 1915.

3. Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Prince Kropotkin, C. Mijatovich, J. D. Bouchier, *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1914).

4. Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassel and Co., 1917).

Active until the last weeks of his long life, he was able to write novels, newspaper articles, and several versions of memoirs. In 1926 he married a British woman, Ada Prior, and recognized two of her sons as his own. During the Great War he began to use the title Count, which he claimed was of Austro-Hungarian origin, and he used it in spite of the fact that the Serbian constitution banned titles of nobility for Serbian citizens. In the 1920s he experienced serious financial difficulties, although he was granted three small pensions by the state. During his last years he was blind and had to dictate his texts to his friends. Although both he and his diverse achievements had been largely forgotten by the time he died in 1932, leading British, American and Serbian newspapers published extensive obituaries.⁶⁶

A lonely Anglophile

His contribution to the modernization of Serbia has been lasting. He harmonized the Serbian currency with European standards, and was instrumental in establishing the National Bank of Serbia and in creating Serbia's first railway. All these measures have had long-term effects. At the beginning of the twenty-first century a traveller still arrives in Belgrade at the Main Railway Station, founded during Mijatović's tenure as Minister of Finance. The name of Serbia's currency is still the *dinar*, and the National Bank is still one of Serbia's most important institutions.

His long living in Britain made him a cultural bridge between the two nations. His role in Anglo-Serbian relations is unmatched in terms of the scope of his influence. His Anglophilia was not only a matter of his private preferences, but had an effect through his systematic work on improving the two nations' mutual knowledge. Many British experts on the Balkans were aware of this and held Mijatović in high esteem. James David Bouchier, a correspondent for *The Times*, remarked that "he is generally regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the most learned man in Servia".⁶⁷ William T. Stead, who met him during the Peace Conference at The Hague,

⁶⁶ "Count Miyatovitch. Thrice Serbian Minister in London", *The Times*, 16 May 1932, 12 d; cf. "Count Miyatovitch, Serb diplomat dies: wrote 'World's Shortest Peace Treaty' in 1886 ending war between Serbia and Bulgaria", *The New York Times*, 15 May 1932, N5.

⁶⁷ J. D. Bouchier, "The Great Servian Festival," *The Fortnightly Review* xlv (1889), 219; cf. Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bouchier* (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1926), 89.

was so delighted with him that he wrote: "It was almost worth while creating the Kingdom Serbia if only in order to qualify Chedomille Mijatovitch for a seat in the Parliament of the Nations."⁶⁸ Stead's opinion of Mijatović as a diplomat was equally high, as evidenced by a remark he made in 1903: "He is far and away the best known, the most distinguished, and the most respected diplomatist the Balkan Peninsula has yet produced."⁶⁹

The leading British daily *The Times* covered, especially through its Vienna correspondents, almost every step Mijatović made during the 1880s. Mijatović was mentioned in nearly 300 contemporary articles, and he himself published more than twenty letters in this daily between 1885 and 1930.⁷⁰ Never before had any Serbian minister, or any Serb for that matter, enjoyed such sympathies from *The Times* as Mijatovitch did in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. When he resigned as President of the Serbian Royal Academy *The Times* commented: "Of all the statesmen in Serbia, M. Mijatovitch is probably the one who holds the highest character in foreign countries. He has filled the principal offices in Serbia, not only those which are the rewards of party services, by those which are conferred by public consent, if not by public acclamation, on men whose abilities are not judged by mere party conflicts."⁷¹

Mijatović's entire working life was strongly influenced by the culture of Victorian Britain. In introducing the Gothic novel to Serbian literature, he was influenced by Sir Walter Scott. The inspiration for his religious texts came from C. H. Spurgeon and Canon Liddon. Even his political views were inspired by British statesmen, especially Gladstone and Salisbury. In Britain he became familiar with spiritualism, a sort of popular fascination during the Victorian era, and through the influence of William Thomas Stead and Sir Oliver Lodge, he became an ardent believer in supernatural phenomena.⁷² British influence is observable in the field of parliamentarianism as well. Mijatović advocated the British model of budgetary debates,

⁶⁸ W. T. Stead, "Members of the Parliament of Peace," *The Review of Reviews* 19 (1899), 533.

⁶⁹ W. T. Stead, "A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassinations at Belgrade," *The Review of Reviews* 28 (July 1903), 31.

⁷⁰ A bibliography of his letters to *The Times* and of all his works in English is given in Slobodan G. Marković, *Grof Čedomilj Mijatović. Viktorijanac među Srbima* [Count Chedomille Mijatovitch. A Victorian among the Serbs] (Belgrade: Dosije Press and Belgrade Law School, 2007), 419–420, 422–425.

⁷¹ *The Times*, 12 November 1889, 5.

⁷² He mentions spiritualistic experiences in almost all of his works, summarizing the topic in an article: Chedo Mijatovitch, "What led me to Occultism", *The Occult Review* 21 (January – June 1915), 82–94.

but the Serbian parliament, consisting mostly of peasant MPs, did not quite understand his effort. His free-trade ideas were inspired by British practice. Finally, he wanted to transmit to the Serbs Protestant labour and capital ethics as formulated in Samuel Smiles' bestsellers and in the works of some Presbyterians.

It would be fair to describe Mijatović as a Serbian Walter Scot amongst writers, a Serbian Liddon in religiously inspired literature, and a Serbian Smiles in the philosophy of trade, in a word, a lonely Victorian amongst the Serbs.⁷³ Together with the Serbian liberal philosopher and economist Vladimir Jovanović, he was a rare Anglophile amongst the nineteenth-century Serbs. As such, he naturally sought both to improve Serbia's image in Britain and to bring Britain closer to the Serbs. Of course, a solitary individual, even one as energetic as Mijatović, could only accomplish limited results in so enormous a task. His greatest achievement in the field of Anglo-Serbian relations was paving the way for a radical change of British perceptions of Serbia during the Great War rather than changing Serbia's image. His role in bringing Britain closer to the Serbs was even greater. Serbian entrepreneurs and businessmen who read *Trgovinski glasnik* were offered hundreds of his dispatches from London, and this made Britain much better known in Serbia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While he did much in accomplishing his mission, Anglophilia remained an eccentric orientation among the twentieth-century Serbs, although at least one ruler (Prince Paul Karageorgević) and one great scholar and Prime Minister (Slobodan Jovanović) followed his path.

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⁷³ Marković, *Grof Čedomilj Mijatović*, 401–403.