

ROMANIAN JOURNALISTS OF THE BALKAN WARS (1912–1913)

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In this study, we examine the main aspects of the Balkan wars, as they are reflected in the main daily and weekly Romanian publications. The journalists were sent in the capital cities of the Balkan countries to take the information directly from the local journalists and politicians. We consider the national newspapers of the mass-circulation *Universul*, *Adevărul*, and *Dimineața*, and the party-support newspapers *Viitorul* and *Epoca*. We considered useful to introduce in our analysis the publications of the Greek and Aromanian communities of Romania that were following with great interest the development of events that changed the geopolitical configuration of South-Eastern Europe: *To Ethnos*, *I Iris*, *Peninsula Balcanică*, *Glasul Victimelor*.

Keywords: Balkan wars, journalism, war correspondents, Romania, Balkan minority groups in Romania.

The Balkan wars have been studied more in terms of diplomatic and military history. In this regard, one may read the remarkable monograph of the American historian Richard C. Hall. He shows that the Balkan wars have initiated a long row of armed conflicts that ended with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. In a recent work, Igor Despot, relying on a wide range of historical sources, such as diplomatic documents, press and memoirs, has made an incursion into the sectors of political and social life of the belligerent States. In the Romanian historiography, we would like to point out to the work of Gheorghe Zbucea that treats not only the diplomatic matters, but also those of internal politics, synthesizing the opinion currents of the society¹.

¹ On the Balkan Wars, see Atanase Iordache, *Criza politică din România și războaiele balcanice: 1911–1913* [Political Crisis in Romania and the Balkan wars: 1911–1913], Bucharest: Paideia, 1998; Gheorghe Zbucea, *România și războaiele balcanice: 1912–1913. Pagini de istorie sud-est europeană* [Romania and the Balkan Wars. 1912–1913. Pages of South-Eastern. European History], Bucharest: Albatros Publishing House, 1999; Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913. Prelude to the First World War*, London: Routledge, 2000; Daniela Bușă, *Modificări politico-teritoriale în sud-estul Europei între Congresul de la Berlin și primul război mondial (1878–1914)* [Political and Territorial Changes in South – Eastern Europe between the Berlin Congress and the First World War], Bucharest: Paideia, 2003; Alexandre Vachkov, *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913*, Sofia: Angela Publishing, 2005; Valer Kolev and Christina Koulouri (ed.), *The Balkan Wars, Workbook3, Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe*, Thessaloniki 2005; Igor Despot, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties. Perceptions and Interpretation*,

The press is an influential tool in shaping public opinion, one of the primary and accessible sources of information of the events². The Romanian newspapers cover this topic on many pages of editorials, press agencies telegrams and first-hand military stories. We considered the national newspapers of the highest circulation rate, *Adevărul* [The Truth], *Dimineața* [The Morning] and *Universul* [The World], as well as party-supported press, *Viitorul* [The Future] – the instrument of the National Liberals, constituting the opposition – and *Epoca* [The Epoch] – Nicholas Filipescu’s newspaper, who was an allied of the conservatory government in the first months of the Balkan war³. We considered useful to introduce in our analysis the publications of the Greek community of Romania that was following with great interest the development of events that changed the geopolitical configuration of South-Eastern Europe. We mainly studied the Greek newspapers *I Iris* [The Daybreak] (directed by Aristotle Sardelly) and *To Ethnos* [The Nation] (Leonidas Kostomyris) that were being published in Bucharest, respectively in Brăila⁴. The Aromanians’ publications must not be ignored either, which, even though they had scarce issues, developed a living campaign to make

Bloomington, 2012; Ionuț Cojocaru și Abidin Temizer (ed. by), *South-Est European Diplomacy, 100 Years since the Balkan Wars*, Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2014; Mihail E. Ionescu and Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (ed.), *Al doilea război balcanic (1913)* [The Second Balkan War], Bucharest: Editura Militară, 2014; Mustafa Türkes (ed. by), *The Centenary of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Contested Stances. Yilinda Balkan Savaslari (1912–1913). İhtilaftı Duruslar*, Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014, v. I–II.

² On the journalists of the Balkan Wars, see Mitchel P. Roth, *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*, Connecticut, London: Green Wood Publishing Press, 1997; Igor Despot, ‘Croatian Public Opinion towards Bulgaria’, in *Études Balkaniques*, XLVI, 4 (2010), p. 138–165; Youra Konstantinova, ‘Political Propaganda in Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars’, in *Études Balkaniques*, 2–3 (2011), p. 79–116; Demeter Gábor, ‘The Balkan Wars (1912–1913) in the Hungarian Press. Military Literature and Personal Memories’ in https://www.academia.edu/1887496/The_Balkan_Wars_1912_1913_in_the_Hungarian_Press_Military_Literature_and_Personal_Memoirs; Maria Todorova, *War and Memory: Trotsky War Correspondence from the Balkan Wars*, *Perception*, XIII, 2, 2013, p. 5–27; Raluca Simona Deac, *Memorialistica și publicistica Războiele Balcanice* [Memoirs and Press of the Balkan Wars], Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Science], unpublished PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2013; Maria Drăghici, *Războaiete balcanice 1912–1913 reflectate în presa românească* [The Balkan Wars in the Romanian Press], Brăila: Editura Sfântul Ierarh Nicolae, 2013.

³ Ion Bulei, *Viața cotidiană în timpul lui Carol I*, Bucharest: Tritonic, 2004, p. 102. In 1912 *Universul* had the highest circulation of 40.000 copies per day, followed by *Adevărul* with 30.000, see Călin Hentea, *150 de ani de război mediatic. Armata și presa în timp de război* [150 Years of Media War. The Army and the Press in times of War], Bucharest: Nemira, 2000, p. 219; Raluca-Simona Deac, *Memorialistica și publicistica războaielor balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴ On the journalists and Greek-language newspapers in Romania, see Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *L’Épire et les Pays Roumains*, Association d’Études Epirotes, Ioannina 1984; Olga Cicanci, *Presa de limbă greacă din România în veacul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest: Omonia Publishing, 1995; idem: *Πολιτικά ζητήματα της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης στον ελληνόγλωσσο τύπο της Ρουμανίας τον 19^ο αιώνα* [Political issues of the Southeastern Europe in the Greek-language press of Romania during the Nineteenth Century], ed. by Youla Koutsopanagou, Athens: IIE/EIE, 2012; Loukia Droulia, Youla Koutsopanagou (ed.), *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού Τύπου 1784–1974* [Encyclopedia of the Greek Press 1784–1974], EIE, Athens, 2008, 4 v.

their complaints known: *Peninsula Balcanică* [Balkan Peninsula] (April 1912 – January 1913), managed by the chief of the press and interpreting office of the General Security, Constantine Sterie Constante, and *Glasul Victimelor* [The Voice of Victims] (January-June 1913), collaborating with Anastase Hâciu and Athanase P. Constantinescu (Sache).

CORRESPONDENTS IN BULGARIA DURING THE FIRST BALKAN WAR

The Ottoman territories of South-Eastern Europe were subject to overlapping and conflicting claims of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. Throughout the nineteenth century, these States – that broke free from the Ottoman ruling – sought to unify the national territory and to chase away the former suzerain from the region⁵. A secret treaty was signed between Bulgaria and Serbia, and in May 1912 a similar treaty was signed with Greece. Montenegro enters the alliance of the Balkan States in October 1912. The Romanians' main enemy in the Balkans was Bulgaria, and the apple of discord was Dobrudja. In case of a regional war, Romania was expected to fight against the Bulgarians. Romania was the only national state in the area joined the Central Powers. Romania's commitment depended exclusively on the answer of its allies, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Germany.

Will it be war or not? This was the question that the Romanian journalists were trying to answer in the summer of 1912. Sofia became the 'capital city' of the Balkans⁶. War correspondents from around the world would arrive here in this city. Jacob Rosenthal, alias Westnik, journalist of *Adevărul* and *Dimineața*, took several trips to Sofia, to take the pulse of events. He was born in 1883 in Botoșani. In the between-war period, he would take over the direction of the newspaper after the retirement of Constantine Mille. In the 1930s, Rosenthal would activate as press secretary in New York. The correspondent assures us that all the newspapers in the Bulgarian capital city, regardless of their political orientation, are asking the government to declare war to Turkey⁷. One of his peers assured him this was not a movement of the opposition against the government, but 'the Macedonian issue pierced all brains, all souls [...] Macedonia is our daily bread, our morning and evening prayer'⁸.

⁵ See Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States 1804–1920*, University Washington Press, 1977.

⁶ Regarding the war correspondences see I. Sipcanov, *Les correspondants de guerre pendant les guerres balkaniques de 1912–1913*, Sofia, 1983; Igor Despot, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties... op. cit.*, p. 203–207; Maria Todorova, 'War and Memory: Trotsky's War Correspondence from the Balkan Wars', *Perceptions*, XVIII, 2 (2013), p. 5–27; Raluca Simona Deac, *Memorialistica și publicistica Războiele Balcanice...op. cit.*, chapter IV (she examines six Romanian publications: *Universul*, *Epoca*, *Viitorul*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Furnica*), p. 172–285.

⁷ *Dimineața*, no. 3041, 21 August 1912, p. 1. In this period, Romania and the other Balkan states used the Julian calendar.

⁸ *Idem*, no. 3041, 21 August 1912, p. 3.

Rosenthal stayed in the same hotel as Aleksandar Protogerov, member of the Macedonian committee. The general, resigning from the army, made him a good impression, 'he speaks French correctly and he does not run away from journalists'. In the session room of the Macedonian committee at the hotel, he met journalists, lawyers, doctors. Among the journalists, the writer from Bucharest saw Christu Stanchev, publisher of *Kambana* newspaper⁹.

In the beginning of September, Rosenthal came back to Bucharest to take another trip to Bulgaria, where he would stay for three months before the truce was signed¹⁰.

After he came back to the country, in December 1912, the newspaper *Dimineața* started publishing the series of stories called *Carnetul unui corespondent în lagărul bulgar* [Notebook of a correspondent in the Bulgarian refugee camp]. In these series of memoirs, the journalist shares with the public his experience of living close to the battlefield. By that time, the direction had already published parts of his correspondence, greatly delayed and cut by censorship. Rosenthal emphasized the element of novelty in the Romanian journalism: 'In our country, it has been impossible to practice the special genre of journalism of war correspondents so far [...] newspapers could not afford the luxury to send direct representatives, special editors to the battlefield'. No one could doubt the usefulness of such an intercessory. If the newspaper had used only the German press, it would have reflected only the Turkish interests, if it had used the French press, it would have mirrored only the Bulgarian ones¹¹. During the banquet organized at Majestic restaurant, Alexander Ciurcu, the veteran reporter of *Adevărul* remembers his youth. In 1877, he was the first correspondent of war of the Romanian press in the Bulgarian campaign. It was then when we 'stepped out from the primitive stage where we would merely copy the news of other Western newspapers'. On step forward, said Ciurcu, was taken by Rosenthal, 'the journalist whom we and all our readers admire'¹².

What does a journalist do when he goes to a foreign country? Rosenthal's first visit was at Romania's Legation then he contacted his peers and the local politicians. The journalists that did not have such connections, says Rosenthal, were ridiculed by their colleagues, being called 'beggars'. Some foreign correspondents, particularly those working at the great European publications, played a significant diplomatic part. It was the case of James David Bouchier, who would travel very often to Sofia, Athens and Bucharest, to mediate negotiations at the highest level¹³.

⁹ Idem, no. 3043, 24 August 1912, p. 3

¹⁰ Idem, no. 3152, 11 December 1912, p. 3.

¹¹ Idem, no. 3151, 10 December 1912, p. 3.

¹² *Adevărul*, no. 8346, 4 December 1912, p. 1; Marian Petcu (ed.), *Istoria jurnalismul din România în date. Enciclopedie cronologică* [The History of Journalism in Romania in data. Chronologic Encyclopedia], Bucharest: Polirom, 2012, p. 307.

¹³ Despot Igor, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties... op. cit.*, p. 43; Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Venizelos' Diplomacy, 1910–1923* in Paschalis M. Kitromilides (ed.), *Eleftherios Venizelos, the trials of statesmanship*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, p. 144–145; Daniel Cain, *James David Bouchier și Pacea de la București (1913)* [James David Bouchier and the Peace of

The foreign correspondents from the Bulgarian capital city, said Rosenthal, were grouping at first according to their country of origin, and later, according to the political interests of the great powers. This is how the 'triple journalist alliance' came to life, formed of French, English and Russians. They spent their time in cafes, playing cards and billiards. Since the Russian-Japanese war, noticed Rosenthal, journalists were no longer allowed to go freely into the battlefield¹⁴.

In August 1912, Rosenthal was trying to find out as much information as he could about Bulgaria's war preparations, but he could not get any precise pieces of news: 'Nothing is harder these days than to make a Bulgarian minister speak'. Anton D. Frangia, minister of Posts and Telegraphs, member of the progress party, did not tell anything new to the journalist, but he conquered him with his charm. Although he spoke French and German perfectly, the minister preferred to speak with the journalist in a 'correct Romanian language'¹⁵. In the pages of *Adevărul*, 'sensational disclosures' were published related to the Bulgarians' offer of 1887 by which Charles I had been summoned to accept the crown of the Balkan principality¹⁶. In relation to this topic, *Westnik* shared the positive comments of the Bulgarian press¹⁷.

The decisional factors and the opinion makers of Bulgaria were hoping that Romania would stay neutral in case of a war, so the Romanian journalist was wooed by everybody. Take Ionescu enjoyed great sympathy in the Bulgarian press that often quoted his opinions. One evening, says Rosenthal, the newspapers spread the news that the conservatory-democratic leader was summoned at the palace¹⁸. The news proved to be false, but after a few weeks, on October 14, 1912, Take Ionescu was appointed minister of the interior affairs in Titu Maiorescu's conservatory government.

Montenegro declared war on 25 September/8 October and Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece followed suit on 4/17 October. Rosenthal participated in the historic meeting of Sobranie that received with ovations the King's proclamation of war. A Muslim deputy told the Romanian journalist that, even though his co-nationals were Bulgarian patriots, they cannot forget that 'by blood, they belong to Turkey', so 'we wish for peace and brotherhood between these two peoples'¹⁹.

In the beginning of September 1912, over 150 foreign journalists reached Sofia²⁰. Any newspaper writer, said Rosenthal, had to see the Prime Minister Ivan Geshov at least once a day, even though 'he repeats like a parrot the same phrase in

Bucharest], in Mihail E. Ionescu, Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (ed.), *Al doilea război balcanic... op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁴ *Dimineața*, no. 3151, 10 December 1912, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Idem*, no. 3046, 27 August 1912, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Adevărul*, no. 8244, 24 August 1912, p. 1

¹⁷ *Idem*, no. 8252, 1 September 1912, p. 1

¹⁸ *Dimineața*, no. 3079, 29 September 1912, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Idem*, no. 3080, 30 September 1912, p. 1.

²⁰ *Idem*, no. 3157, 16 December 1912, p. 3.

different languages'. In the capital city of Bulgaria, the journalists were facing the shortages and hardships caused by the requisitions, each managing as they could. The Britain journalists – noticed the Romanian correspondent with some envy – purchased an automobile for an exorbitant price. The colleagues working at newspapers that had lower budgets were wondering 'what will happen when the Americans arrive'²¹.

On October 5, 1912, *Adevărul* made public the true name of the Sofia correspondent that was signing as Westnik, publishing the photo of Rosenthal, 'our editor, specially sent to Sofia, in the company of all the correspondents of many foreign newspapers'²².

The Bulgarian censorship controlled any information that would be sent to the national and foreign press²³. The journalists, often refused by the censors with the phrase 'ni moga' (it cannot be done), were received to be comforted in the cabinet of the minister of Posts, Anton Frangia, a former bookstore keeper and poet in Tulcea (in Dobrudja), who served them 'Balkan coffee' and 'Bulgarian tobacco'. The chief of the censorship was Simon Radev, editor of *Volia (The Will)* newspaper, 'one of Bulgaria's best journalists'²⁴. The office staff recruited from the secondary school teachers. The censors were not ready for military issues. Here is captain 'K', censor of Romanian language, a sickly, overweight man, suffering from kidney disease, a little nostalgic for Romania, where he had spent his years of youth, always repeating: 'Ah, Bucureștii, ce oraș de viață, ce femei frumoase' [Ah, Bucharest, what a live city, what beautiful women]. If at first he appeared benevolent to the Romanian journalist, in time he became rough, overreacting. He was aware of the influence of his position: 'we, the censors, are not here to talk; our will is done'²⁵.

Journalists were not allowed to write anything about the Bulgarian military operations, but only about the enemy's movements. The Bulgarians wanted their victories to be communicated with some delay, to surprise Europe²⁶. However, the Bulgarian government, craving for the attention of world press, invited the journalists to the General Headquarters of Stara Zagora. The presence of over 106 journalists in the battlefield area did not make the government very happy, who was trying by various methods to discourage them, so that 15–20 would remain, at most²⁷.

The journalists were dissatisfied with the restrictions set by the government: 'A journalist that respects himself always wants to be present on site'. Every

²¹ Idem, no. 3083, 5 October 1912, 3083, p. 3, *Letters from Sofia* (Westnik).

²² *Adevărul*, no. 8266, 5 October 1912, p. 1.

²³ Raluca-Simona Deac, *Memorialistica și publicistica războaielor balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 158–160. See also Leon Trotsky, *The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky. The Balkan Wars: 1912–1913*, George Weissman and Duncan Williams, New York: Monad Press, 1980.

²⁴ *Dimineața*, no. 3160, 19 December 1912, f. 1.

²⁵ Idem, no. 3162, 21 December 1912, p. 1.

²⁶ *Adevărul*, no. 8300, 19 October 1912, f. 2.

²⁷ *Dimineața*, no. 3167, 28 December 1912, f. 3, from Stara Zagora.

journalist received special marks: a registration number and a red brassard that had the letters 'BK'. Rosenthal was number 38. If in Sofia, the journalists would play billiard or poker, in Stara Zagora they would endure the misery of the hotels – pillows made of straws, mice running in the room – and the scarce and bad food of the restaurants²⁸.

The telegrams would reach the editor offices shortened and with great delay. With a little luck, the correspondents would find other ways to send the information. On November 12, 1912, Rosenthal sent to the direction first-hand news: 'this letter will not be seen by the Bulgarian censorship thanks to a Russian colleague who, on his way to Petersburg, passes through Bucharest; it goes directly to the direction, whole and without any alteration'²⁹.

The journalists could no longer stand the strict surveillance of Stara Zagora, so they left on their own to the battlefield line, reaching Mustafa Pasha (Svilengrad). The houses had been left and marked with the blood of the killed Turks. The group of 11 journalists was accommodated in the house of a rich merchant, Mordha Pincas. For ten days, they slept crammed on their suitcases, in cold and with their pistols close, eating only brandy and chocolate. There was no wiring device in the village, so no one could get in touch with their family or with the publishers. Starved, some were thinking about eating cats. The Italian Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, correspondent of the publication *L'Intransigeant* (Paris), took out his gun and threatened all his colleagues that he would shoot them all if they touch any cat³⁰.

While the journalists were going through the worst hardships with Mustafa Pasha, the Austrian Hermenegild Wagner³¹ from *Reichspost* published telegrams with sensational news from the battlefield, that were taken over by the entire western press³². Eventually, he was proved to be an impostor. Wagner never went on the battlefield. He stayed in Stara Zagora, where he had good contacts and where he wired through Austria's Legation of Sofia³³. Another journalist – reports Rosenthal – took his own photo while riding a horse, looking as if he was on the battlefield³⁴.

Eventually, part of the journalists from Mustafa Pasha managed to sneak their way to Adrianople, where they captured three counter-attacks of the Ottoman army³⁵, which made King Ferdinand very angry³⁶.

Although *Universul* claimed to have a war correspondent in Bulgaria, the newspaper did not publish information from the military operation camp. We have

²⁸ *Dimineața*, no. 3099, 19 October 1912, p. 1: Stara Zagora, on November, 12 (by mail).

²⁹ *Adevărul*, no. 8521, 9 November 1912, p. 2.

³⁰ *Dimineața*, no. 3178, 10 January 1913, f. 1, Mustafa Pasha; Philip Gibbs, Bernard Grant, *The Balkan War: Adventures of War with Cross and Crescent*, Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1913, p. 43; Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *Zang Tumb Tumb. Adrianopoli, Ottobre 1912*, Milan: Edizioni Futuriste de Poesia, 1914.

³¹ He was correspondent of *Reichspost* (Vienna), *The London Daily News*, *The New York Times*, see *The New York Times*, article *Why Bulgaria won*, 9 Marty 1913.

³² *Dimineața*, no. 3182, 13 January 1913, p. 1.

³³ *Idem*, no. 3184, 15 January 1913, p. 3.

³⁴ *Idem*, no. 3166, 25 December 1912, p. 3.

³⁵ *Adevărul*, no. 8580, 13 January 1913, p. 1.

³⁶ *Idem*, no. 8582, 15 January 1913, p. 1.

no clue regarding the identity and activity of the correspondent in Bulgaria. We only know that, in the first days of November, the foreign journalists, chased away from the General Headquarters of Stara Zagora, forwarded a protest to the Prime-Minister Geshov, where they were complaining that some colleagues enjoyed preferential treatment from the Censorship. *Universul* claims that the protest had also been signed by its correspondent (registration number 31)³⁷.

Universul announced on October 4, 1912, that 'it would appear every afternoon in special edition with news from our correspondents of war', Adorjan from Sofia, 'our special correspondent from the General Headquarters'³⁸ and Sava from Belgrade³⁹.

The newspaper sent a correspondent to Kavarna in the Bulgarian Dobrudja, to send news about the Turks' bombing of the harbour. Artinoff, departing from Mangalia, wanted to reach Kavarna, but he did not succeed. He came back to the Romanian border, where he met many refugees from where he took information⁴⁰.

Iosif Fermo, journalist of *Universul*, took several trips to Istanbul and Sofia in this time. In January 1912, Fermo, of Jewish origins, the same as Rosenthal, was naturalized as Romanian by the lawmakers, enjoying the support of the minister of interior affairs, Alexander Marghiloman, who shook his hand and congratulated him during the counselling meeting of the majorities⁴¹. In 1945, Fermo was accused and sentenced by the court formed by the communist government, because, as journalist, he had been on the side of the legionaries and of Ion Antonescu's government⁴².

In October 1912, Fermo, alias Bucur, took a trip to Constantinople, where he got interviews with Ottoman dignitaries⁴³. Bucur walked on the streets of the Ottoman capital city, went into cafes, to take the pulse of the street around the beginning of the war. 'Ce rău îmi pare că nu știu turcește!' [I am so sorry that I cannot speak Turkish!], exclaimed the journalist, impressed by the drama of a father who was hugging, in tears, his three sons, especially the youngest one who, even though he was exempted from going to war, wanted to go to serve his country⁴⁴. Fermo was joined by a translator, probably Nicholas Tacit, who would regularly send to *Universul* the correspondence from the capital city of the empire. Tacit writes in one of his letters that the Ottoman press was behind with the news; for instance, *Universul* published news three days ago, that the Ottoman newspapers are reproducing today only'. The Greek and the Bulgarian press of Constantinople, despite the authorities' censorship, continued to be against the Ottomans.

³⁷ *Universul*, no. 303, 3 November 1912, p. 5.

³⁸ *Idem*, no. 230, 4 October 1912, p. 5.

³⁹ *Idem*, no. 282, 13 October 1912, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, no. 280, 11 October 1912, p. 5.

⁴¹ Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale = ANIC [The State Archives of Romania], fund Direcția Poliției și Siguranței Generale = DSPG [Department of Police and General Security], box 160/1912, on 11 January 1912, p. 1.

⁴² *Universul*, 31 May 1945, p.1; See also Dan Brătescu, *Octogenar în jurul globului* [An 80 year old around the war], Bucharest: Aldo Press, 2012.

⁴³ *Universul*, no. 274, 5 October 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, no. 275, 6 October 1912, p. 1 (correspondence by post).

Particularly the press of Greek language reproduced „all the news favouring the Balkan allies with big letters”. While the Ottomans considered the Romanians to be their friends, saluting Dr. Al. Leonte’s initiative, as president of the Macedonian-Romanian Culture Society, to send a medical mission to Constantinople⁴⁵.

Other newspapers of a smaller draught had permanent correspondents, especially sent to the Balkan capital cities, mainly in Sofia and Belgrade. The newspaper *Viitorul*, the officious of the liberal party, which was in opposition, received news from Ponciu (Panciu), who regularly travelled to Rusciuc (Russe) and Sofia⁴⁶. Some letters from Sofia were signed by Veraşeff-Ponciu⁴⁷. In the spring of 1913, letters sent from Sofia were signed by Milcoff⁴⁸, and from Belgrade, by Ponciu⁴⁹. On October 3, 1912, Ponciu, who was in Sofia, wrote: ‘I was the only journalist who, as special delegate of *Viitorul* newspaper, I showed from the beginning of August how bad the situation was, I wrote about the alliance of the Balkan States, I did my duty when all Bulgarian circles were trying to hide the truth. I did my best to pierce the secrets of the Bulgarian rulers’ combinations⁵⁰. The newspaper *Viitorul* boasted about the professionalism of his correspondents. Milcoff at Sofia showed on the eve of the beginning of the second Balkan war: ‘I was the first of the European press to declare that the tsar’s intervention would not have the pursued effect’⁵¹.

How credible were the press correspondents? I would like to mention at this point the case of the correspondent of Giurgiu-Russe, Sofia, and Belgrade of the newspaper *Viitorul*, who signed as Ponciu or Lupciu⁵². Gheorghe Mărculescu was living together with Milca Oreshkova, who was coming from a family of feisty nationalists of Rusciuc (Russe). Her borther in law, Nicholas Vradjalie, was a financial inspector and was related to General Nikola Ivanov. She used to be a prostitute, but for two years she had been living together with the Romanian journalist. Oreshkova was crossing over to Rusciuc every 2–3 days, under the pretext of buying newspapers for translation purposes. In 1915, in the report written by the policeman Rădulescu to the Security Director, we find out that Mărculescu had been subject to investigations during the Balkan wars in terms of the way he used to write his correspondence for the newspaper, sending ‘inaccurate and alarming news’⁵³. His life partner was ‘smart enough and god looking’, while he was ‘repulsive by looks and behaviour’. The policeman Rădulescu from Giurgiu followed her to Rusciuc, where he saw her coming out of the police station arm in arm with G.M. Dimov, commissioner of Sofia Security⁵⁴. In 1915, Mărculescu will incorporate at Giurgiu a *Bureau of Balkan Intelligence*, to provide articles to the newspaper *Seara*, as

⁴⁵ Idem , nr. 282, 13 October 1912, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Viitorul*, nr. 1619, 11 August 1912, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Idem, no. 1682, 13 October 1912, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Idem, no. 1852, 5 April 1913, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Idem, no. 1904, 30 May 1913, nr. 1904, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Idem, no. 1672, 3 October 1912, p. 1.

⁵¹ Idem, no. 1910, 8 June 1913, p. 3.

⁵² Idem, no. 1835, 19 Marty 1913, p. 1.

⁵³ ANIC, fund DPSG, 24/1914, 8 May 1914, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 3.

‘Letters from Constantinople, from our private correspondent’, etc. This correspondence signed by Ponciu or Lupciu, ‘reproduced information from the Bulgarian newspapers, to which he almost always gave a sensational note’⁵⁵.

A TRIP TO ALBANIA: PRINCE ALBERT GHICA

In November 1912, a group of Albanian patriots meeting in Vlorë proclaimed the independence of Albania. The public opinion in Romania actively supported the actions of the Albanians, believing that the new state should in future provide guarantees for the future of the Aromanians (Vlachs). The Aromanian-speaking populations – that lived in the southern lands of the Balkans – were considered by the Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians and respectively Greeks as being part of their nation. They feared that the former Ottoman possessions would be shared among the national Balkan States. In this context, the Aromanians leaders made a proposal to establish an autonomous Macedonia or an independent Albania-Romanian state⁵⁶.

Universul regularly received correspondence from Avlona (Vlorë) and from other Albanese cities, signed Luigi. In December 1912, after many weeks of silence, the direction received news from the newspaper’s correspondent, who managed, with the help of a local, to send the letter to Bucharest through Italy. As Albania was blocked by the Greeks on sea, the letter reached the Adriatic coast through the Serbian operation lines: ‘we have not had any news for one month or so, I don’t know whether this letter will reach its destination’⁵⁷.

During the first Balkan war, Prince Albert Ghica (Gjika) took an information tour to Montenegro, Albania and Greece. Ghica distinguished himself as founder of the Balkan League, an organization representing Albania’s interests. Although he came from an ancient ruling family, Ghica did not have much money, but he spent a lot, leading an eccentric life. According to the English journalist Henry Noël Brailsford, Ghica fluently spoke French, but he could not speak Albanese and he did not have sound knowledge of Balkan history and geography⁵⁸.

In his journey to the Balkan battlefield, Ghica assume the role of a journalist. His impressions are published in *Adevărul*: ‘I am so anxious to leave and see the situation for myself. I discover war correspondent qualities that i didn’t even know I had’⁵⁹. Nevertheless, neither in Montenegro, nor in Serbia, the correspondents

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 8 Marty 1915, p. 5; 18 April 1915, p. 1. Police of Giurgiu (confidential).

⁵⁶ Stoica Lascu, *Independența Albaniei în percepția opiniei publice românești (1912–1914)* [The Independence of Albania in Perception of Romanian Public Opinion, 1912–1914], Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 65–171; Gheorghe Zbucnea, *Varieties of Nationalism and National Ideas in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, in Răzvan Theodorescu and Leland Conley Barrows, *Politics and Culture in Southeastern Europe*, Bucharest: UNESCO-CEPES, 2001, p. 253.

⁵⁷ *Universul*, no. 339, 7 December 1912, p. 1.

⁵⁸ About the Albert Ghica, see Robert Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*, New York, London: I.B. Tauris, 2012. p. 167. Ghica is the author of the work *L’Albanie et la question d’Orient: (Solution de la question d’Orient)*, Paris, 1908.

⁵⁹ *Adevărul*, no. 8296, 18 October 1912, p. 2 and no. 8316, 4 November 1912, p. 1.

were allowed by the authorities to get close to the front line⁶⁰, so they would leave these countries one by one. The correspondence to *Adevărul* was sent through an Albanian friend, who was avoiding the conflict area⁶¹. Reaching the territories controlled by the Albanians, at Durazzo (Durrësi), Ghica spoke of the Albanians' fear of not being conquered by the Montenegrins: 'What do you want, to escape the rope and go into chains?'⁶² In the falls of 1912, Albert Ghica founded the bi-monthly publication *L'Echo des Balkans*, organ of the cultural society The Balkan League, under the direction of Charles M. Korne. The publication militated for the 'progress, peace, freedom and brotherhood of all the Balkan peoples and of the neighbouring kingdoms'. Most articles were signed by Korne and by Ghica. The newspaper published correspondence from the capital cities of the Balkan kingdoms, Belgrade, Sofia, Athens and Cetinje, under the heading of 'Lettre de Belgradie (M)', etc⁶³. The newspaper interrupted its activity on February 1, 1913 (no. 5) in order to reappear in November 1915.

FROM ONE WAR TO ANOTHER: THE SOUTHERN DOBRUDJA ISSUE

In the last days of November, Stoyan Danev, president of *Sobranie*, transited Romania on his way to London, where he would attend the peace negotiations⁶⁴. Rosenthal and Fermo were sent by their directions to get an interview with the high Bulgarian dignitary. *Universul* published the article *Senzaționalul nostru interviu cu d. Danev, președintele Sobranei* [Our sensational interview with Mr. Danev, president of Sobrana]. Fermo got on the same train as Danev, to join him to the border, in Predeal, where he had the chance to speak with him. At Predeal railway station, the journalist was invited to have lunch with the high Bulgarian dignitary. Among other things, Danev assured Fermo that Bulgaria did not want Dobrudja. After he finished eating, he ordered, in a sober, ostentatious voice, a 'Turkish coffee'. At the end, Danev addressed Fermo from journalist to journalist: 'and I was not a journalist, journalism leads you far away', but 'politicians must sometimes stay away from journalists like they should stay away from anarchists'⁶⁵.

Rosenthal from *Adevărul*, who had barely come back to the country from the Bulgarian battlefield, hurried to follow Danev in his journey through Romania. Rosenthal got on the train at Ploiești station. Danev immediately recognized Rosenthal, the Romanian journalist 'who endured with the Bulgarian people the hardships of war'. At Comarnic station, the journalist got off the train to wire to Bucharest. From Danev's words addressed to the Romanian people, we are quoting

⁶⁰ Idem, no. 8308, 27 October 1912, p. 1.

⁶¹ Idem, no. 8310, 29 October 1912, p. 1.

⁶² Idem, no. 8313, 1 November 1912, p. 1.

⁶³ *L'echo des Balkans*, no. 1, 25 November 1912, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Gh. Zbucea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 76–77.

⁶⁵ *Universul*, no. 329, 29 November 1912, p. 3.

the following: ‘you run away from the Balkan word, but in the Dobrudja that you have and that you will always have, you also have interests in the Balkan Peninsula’⁶⁶.

In January 1913, Fermo (Bucur) was sent by *Universul* to Sofia, to talk with the Bulgarian politicians. These interviews ‘made a sensation and were reproduced by all the newspapers in the world’. ‘From a certain source’, Fermo found out more about the Bulgaria’s offer to cede Southern Dobrudja – a territory that included 20 communes to the north of Kavarna, without Silistra – to Romania. Ivan Geshov, the Bulgarian prime-minister, in his talk with Fermo, praised the activity of the Romanian daily *Universul*: ‘I gave it as an example to our journalists’⁶⁷. Discussions followed with Frangia, the minister of Railways and Posts, but also with the leaders of the opposition. For two months, *Universul* had been facing the hostile attitude of the Bulgarian authorities. The Prime Minister Geshov ordered that the Romanian newspaper may circulate free in the country and the procedures to send telegrams to Bucharest should not be hindered by its correspondents. Frangia, Minister of Posts, to show his good will to the Romanian journalists, even offered Fermo a special room in the train, even though all the wagons were filled with the wounded⁶⁸.

In March 1913, the entire press was watching the Romanian-Bulgarian negotiations of Sankt Petersburg concerning Romania’s request to receive a border rectification in Dobrudja. The newspaper *Adevărul* was waiting for a telegraph message from the Petersburg correspondent, confirming or denying Silistra’s incorporation in Romanian state. There was a coded understanding between the correspondent in Russia and the editors of the Bucharest newspaper: should Silistra not be given in to Romania, the editors would receive a telegram saying ‘five hundred received’, and if Silistra were to be returned to Romania, it would receive the telegram saying ‘five thousand received’. On March 25, 1913, at five a.m., the Bucharest editors received the good news⁶⁹.

The Silistra issue generated political crisis. In November 1912, Nicholas Filipescu had asked Prime Minister Titu Maiorescu to award a consistent subvention for his newspaper, *Epoca*, out of the funds of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After a few months, Filipescu, Minister of Agriculture, did not seem to be that friendly towards the government, leaving the coalition in April 1913⁷⁰. *Epoca* considered that giving in Silistra was a mockery against Romania, ‘ni s-a dat un ce ridicol, un orășel, nu rectificare de graniță’ [they ridiculed us; they gave us a city, not a border rectification]⁷¹. Many politicians and publicists tended to agree with this opinion. At the beginning of the year, the historian Nicholas Iorga, General Secretary of the Cultural League for the Unity of All Romanians, did not agree on

⁶⁶ *Adevărul*, no. 8340, 28 November 1912, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Universul*, no. 7, 9 January 1913, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, no. 13, 15 January 1913, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Dimineața*, no. 3253, 25 Marty 1913, p. 3; the message is in *Germany fueuftansend erhalten weibed*, no. 3253, 26 Marty 1913.

⁷⁰ Titu Maiorescu, *Războaiele balcanice și Cadrilaterul*, Bucharest: Machiavelli Publishing House, 1995, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Epoca*, no. 128, 11 May 1913, p. 1:

any immediate action of Romania to the South of the Danube. In his opinion, the Romanians of Austria-Hungary were a national priority⁷².

THE PRESS CORRESPONDENTS OF SILISTRA

In the months of March and June 1913, the interest of the press gravitated around Silistra. In March 1913, Alexander T. Dumitrescu, secretary of the Romanian Historic Society, published in *Universul* the article *Dristorul nostru, câteva ore la Silistra* [Our Dristor, a few hours spent at Silistra], where he shows that all the newspapers have sent correspondents there, 'among the bayonets'⁷³. In June 1913, *Universul* sent there the journalist Mihail Negru. Negru, born in 1888 in Bucharest, graduate of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Paris, started to write in the press in 1908. He made a long career at *Universul*, where after the First World War became editor secretary⁷⁴. In the article *O săptămână la Silistra* [One week at Silistra], the journalist makes the literary portrait of the boatman who took him over the Danube from Călărași to Ostrov. The Greek Tănase, from Constantinople, aged 56, told him the story of his life as immigrant in a language scattered with 'purely Romanian words' that he pronounced with a 'special Greek accent'. Tănase had not seen Istanbul for 25 years. From father to son, the men in his family lived 'on water', 'in the pools'⁷⁵. Negru leaves us a picturesque description of Silistra, lacking all tourist attractions, where 'when you have nothing to do, you go have a coffee'⁷⁶. The purpose of his mission was to follow the works of the Romanian-Bulgarian commissions to apply the Petersburg protocol that were meeting on board of Romanian *Ștefan cel Mare* [Stephen the Great] and Bulgarian *Krum*⁷⁷.

CORRESPONDENTS OF THE GREEK NEWSPAPERS FROM ROMANIA DURING THE FIRST BALKAN WAR

In November 1912, the Greek-language newspaper *Ethnos* accused *Adevărul* of the fact that, by its correspondent to Constantinople, 'it distorted facts and deceived the public opinion'. The biggest Romanian daily, using Ottoman sources, announced the defeat of the Greek army, although it was about to conquer Iannina. The Greek sources were obviously overreacting. Iannina would be conquered much

⁷² Gheorghe Zbucea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 101, 102, 137; Florin Țurcanu, *Cunoaștere istorică și judecată politică. Nicolae Iorga și războaiele balcanice* [The Historical Knowledge and Political Judgment. Nicolae Iorga and the Balkan Wars], in Mihail E. Ionescu and Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (ed.), *Al doilea război balcanic... op. cit.*, p. 25–39.

⁷³ *Universul*, no. 80, 23 Marty 1913, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României. Cugetarea* [The Encyclopedia of Romania], Bucharest 1999 (first edition 1938), p. 591.

⁷⁵ *Universul*, no. 165, 18 June 1913, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Idem*, no. 161, 14 June 1913, p. 1

⁷⁷ Gheorghe Zbucea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 178.

later, in the spring of 1913. To correctly inform the Greeks from Romania, the correspondent of the newspaper *Ethnos* in Athens, editor of a big local daily, ‘stays awake all night’, promptly transmitting news 2–3 hours after their occurrence. After reaching Bucharest, the wires were sent to inform all the Greek communities in the country, as well as those in Varna, Odessa and other places⁷⁸. In the article *Προσοχή εις τ’αναγνώσματα!* [Pay attention in lectures], Moscopol urged his compatriots not to believe the news published by the Romanian press that would minimize the contribution of the Greek army to the Balkan war⁷⁹.

The *Ethnos* had permanent correspondents in Constantinople, Athens, but also in the European capital cities, such as London, Vienna, etc. They were selected from among the reputed journalists of the Greek press⁸⁰. Another Greek-language newspaper *I Iris* even published the names of the correspondents: Konstantinos Liumas and Gheorghios Zografidis in Athens, Pavlos Divaris in Paris and Menelaos Kambanis in Constantinople⁸¹.

Censorship in Athens was very strict, so that no press correspondent could get close to the front line. ‘Fortunately – wrote the *Ethnos* – the Greek government would publish regularly official releases of real news related to the evolution of war, based on which our correspondent wires us [...] none of these wires has proven to be inaccurate’ [ετυχώς όμως η ελληνική κυβέρνηση δημοσιεύει τακτικά αυτά ανακοινωθέντα αληθέστατα περί της εξελίξεως του πολέμου, επί τη βάσει των οποίων ο ημετέρος ανταποκριτής τηλεγραφεί ημίν τακτικώς... ουδέν των τηλεγραφημάτων ταιωντών... απεδείχθη ανακριβής]⁸². To add to the information concerning the operations of the Greek army, the *Ethnos* regularly published the testimonies of the demobilized soldiers⁸³.

ROMANIAN-GREEK BROTHERHOOD

In the falls of 1912, Greece had a bad press in Bucharest. Every day, the newspapers would publish letters from Macedonia written by Aromanians to their relatives and friends living in the countryside, or testimonies of refugees coming to Romania to escape the outrage of war. The Aromanian publications, *Peninsula Balcanică* and *Glasul victimelor* were also publishing correspondence of co-nationals from the Balkan lands. It is important to note that the publisher of *Peninsula Balcanica* was Constantine Sterie Constant, the chief of the press and interpreting office of the General Security. In this official capacity, he had access to confidential information of the police. A Great number of Aromanians took refuge from the occupied territories to Romania. Toli Hagi Gogu, Vasile Diamanti, Atanase Hâciu,

⁷⁸ *To Ethnos*, no. 139, 17 October 1912, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *Idem*, no. 167, 21 December 1912, p. 1.

⁸⁰ *Idem*, no. 156, 25 November 1912, p. 1.

⁸¹ *H Iris*, no. 3, 6 March 1911, p. 1.

⁸² *To Ethnos*, no. 145, 31 October 1912, p. 3.

⁸³ *Idem*, no. 174, 11 January 1913, p. 2 and no. 241, 21 June 1913, p. 2.

Athanase Constantinescu, refugees of Thessaloniki and Ioannina founded the publication *Glasul victimelor*⁸⁴. The title of the publication *Glasul victimelor* [Voice of Victims] – published between January and June 1913 – is suggestive, militating for Romania's military intervention in the Balkan conflict: 'orice suflet românesc pierdut va fi o piatră scoasă de la temelia românismului' [any Romanian soul that is lost will be a stone removed from the foundation of the Romanian patriotism]⁸⁵. The goal was to create the Albanian State and an autonomous Macedonia, following the model of Switzerland. The Aromanians could not be happy about the annexation of Silistra, 'the cruel symbol announcing to us the terrific catastrophe forcing the proud martyr people of Pindus to bow their heads'⁸⁶. Năstase (Atanasie) Hâciu, collaborator of the newspaper, fired a shot during the speech of Take Ionescu, Minister of Interior Affairs. His deed was appraised in the columns of the newspaper: 'Să se audă și glasul Macedoniei! Un idealist care, în mijocul lașității factorilor competenți, apare ca un judecător... care cere socoteală de greșeala lor, reclamând o atitudine corespunzătoare angajamentului lor' [Let be heard also Macedonia's voice! An idealist who, amidst the cowardliness of the competent factors, appears like a judge [...] holding them liable for their fault, claiming an attitude corresponding to their commitment]⁸⁷.

In the first months of 1913, this anti-Greek current of opinion of the Romanian press started to take another course. Greece was seen as a potential allied of Romania in the conflict relation of the two States with Bulgaria. The assassination of King George of Greece in Thessaloniki impressed the public opinion from Bucharest. The first news about the king's murder was broadcast on March 7, 1913 by the Londoner agency Reuter⁸⁸. Additional information was published in the evening edition of *Adevărul*, which was based on the information sent by the Thessaloniki correspondent, Tumbeanu⁸⁹. The Greek press, including the Greek newspapers from Romania, alleged that the murder had been committed by enemies of Greece. The *Ethnos* warned: 'If the murderer and those providing him with guns believe that, by killing King George, they have killed the Greek people, are deeply wrong'⁹⁰. In the following days, the news would confirm that the murderer was Greek⁹¹.

In April 1913, Constantine Mille, owner and publisher of *Dimineața* and *Adevărul* newspapers, went to visit Athens, expressing his admiration for the Prime-Minister Eleftherios Venizelos. In March 1913, before going to Athens, he exclaimed in the pages of *Adevărul* newspaper: 'We need a Venizelos'⁹². The talk

⁸⁴ Arhivele Naționale ale Municipiului București [Archives of Municipality of Bucharest], fund Prefectura Poliției Capitalei [Prefecture of Police of the Capital – Bucharest], box 70/1913, p. 8.

⁸⁵ *Glasul victimelor*, no. 14, 12 May 1913, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Idem, no. 17, 2 June 1913, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Idem, no. 4, 7 April 1914, p. 9.

⁸⁸ *Universul*, no. 33, 7 March 1913, p. 1.

⁸⁹ *Adevărul*, no. 8435, 7 March 1913, p. 3.

⁹⁰ *To Ethnos*, no. 198, 8 March 1913, p. 1.

⁹¹ Idem, no. 199, 10 March 1913, p. 1.

⁹² Idem, no. 208, 31 March 1913, p. 3.

between Mille and Venizelos, mediated by Spiridon Simos, publisher of *Patris* supporting Venizelos, was wired from the ship *Dacia* in the range of Piraeus harbour⁹³. Venizelos assured the Romanian journalist that he would grant autonomy to Aromanians to open schools and churches⁹⁴.

PRESS CORRESPONDENTS DURING THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

The peace treaty from London, signed in May 1912, lasted only for a short while. The Balkan States turned from allied to enemies. Bulgaria attacked its former allies, Serbia and Greece. Romania reacted.

Constantine Mille took a short trip to Giurgiu, to watch the troops cross over the Danube: 'one does not get too many chances to witness such a scene in a lifetime'. With him in the automobile, there were other two professors, a senator and a former minister. Unfortunately, they arrived too late, after the troops had crossed to Bulgaria. The military secret had been well preserved. *Adevărul* newspaper understood not to publish news that could have seemed to 'disclose troop movements'⁹⁵.

For the first time after the War of independence, cannons could be heard at the Romanian border. The correspondent of *Adevărul* newspaper got up on a hill in Calafat and, by binoculars, watched the fighting at Belogradchik, on the right bank of the Danube, capturing the attack over the Bulgarian lines of two Serbian airplanes that overflew in the sky 'like huge birds'⁹⁶.

The Romanian government organized a trip to inform the press correspondents in the conquered territories. Alexander Ciurcu, president of the Press Association, editor of *Adevărul* newspaper, published his impressions of this trip, under the heading *De la armata de operații – corespondentul nostru pe bordul lui Ștefan cel Mare* [From the operation army – our correspondent on board of Ștefan cel Mare]. Among the 13 newspaper correspondents and 8 Romanian and foreign military attaches, we distinguish Elena Caragiani (*Epoca*), Ubrinovschi (*L'Indépendance Roumanine*), Nicolae Ciocârdia (*Universul*) and the photographers Ion Voinescu (*Viitorul*), Leon Ascher (*Actualitatea Ilustrată*), S.A. Moiescu (*Ilustrativa Română*), Victor de Bout (*Adevărul*). The journalists, permanently supervised by Major Lucian Trantomir, were allowed to disembark only under military escort, so, said Alexander Ciurcu, „if the reader expects me to give him news from the battlefield, he will wait in vain”⁹⁷. In 1877, the journalist recalls, 'when I joined the Great Duke Nicholas, I was free to go wherever I wanted, I was spoiled by everyone'. By means of a *passe-partout*, the young correspondent of *L' Orient* could travel anywhere he wanted. But times had changed. The journalists, walked 'under leash', had to face

⁹³ *Dimineața*, no. 3289, 2 May 1913, p. 3.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, no. 3289, 2 May 1913, p. 3; *To Έθνος*, no. 220, 3 May 1913, p. 1.

⁹⁵ *Adevărul*, no. 8553, 6 July 1913, p. 1.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, no. 8560, 13 July 1913, p. 2.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, no. 8560, 13 July 1913, p. 3.

many interdictions, some truly absurd. Ciurcu was not allowed to take photos of the military bridge made of boats in Corabia, or to write that another such bridge was built in Turnu-Măgurele, 'although the works are seen by everybody'⁹⁸. This was not correspondence of war, this was a 'leisure journey of correspondents of war'⁹⁹.

Of all the war correspondents, the youngest was the poet I. Irimescu of *Viitorul*. In the series of articles *România Nouă* [The New Romania], he describes in picturesque colours the specificity of the new province, where 'orientalismul se răsfață' [orientalism spoils itself]: settlements with narrow and sinuous streets scattered with small, square houses, with tiny widows and with tile roofs. Across Dobrudja, the group travelled by ship, train and omnibus. Irimescu spent his time in the company of his young colleague Karl Mariaum from *Die Zeit* and of the photographer Voinescu, who always ran 'armed with several bags hanging around his neck and with his camera in hand'¹⁰⁰. The Turks were happy with the new Romanian administration: 'it is good you came here. If you stayed one more day, the Bulgarians would have led us to war as well'¹⁰¹.

In the group of the „correspondents of war” we also meet a woman, which was less usual at that time. Alexander Ciurcu notices: „it is not a trivial thing that a young and beautiful lady should be a correspondent of war”¹⁰². *Epoca* called upon Elena Caragiani, 'an interesting traveller and a writer possessing a smooth and delicate spirit, with a deep observation power'¹⁰³.

After the end of the second Balkan war, in the first days of August, M.N. Sylvian, the correspondent of the newspaper *Dimineața* at Constanța, got on board of *Dacia*, to visit Balchik. Commander Gheorghe Mărgineanu, approached by the journalist, tells him in a humorous tone: 'what are you writing, journalist? You are dangerous people and we must stay away from you'. He tried to reach Balchik one year before, in November, to write about the Turks' bombing of the Bulgarian harbours, but he had been stopped and arrested by the Bulgarians at Kavarna. In Balchik, the journalist spoke with some Muslims in Turkish, who expressed their hope that the Romanians would rule over the new territories¹⁰⁴.

JOURNALISTS IN UNIFORM

During the military operations, the editorial and technical staff of the newspapers had been sent on the battlefield in Bulgaria. Some newspapers of small draught had no staff at all. *Epoca* was looking for collaborators, because all editors had been mobilized¹⁰⁵. A mobilized editor, Nicholas Georgescu, would send the

⁹⁸ Idem, no. 8581, 14 July 1913, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Idem, no. 8571, 24 July 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Viitorul*, no. 1956, 26 July 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Idem, no. 1954, 20 July 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰² *Adevărul*, no. 8560, 13 July 1913, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Epoca*, no. 190, 12 July 1913, p. 1 (prima depeșă – the first telegram).

¹⁰⁴ *Dimineața*, 11 August 1913, p. 7, *Cu vaporul Dacia la Balchic* [To Balchick by ship].

¹⁰⁵ *Epoca*, no. 72, 24 June 1913, p. 1.

editor-in-chief Timoleon Pisani a post card from Tutrakan (Turtucaia), by which he announced the latter that he had met Captain Nicholas Filipescu, the owner of the journal¹⁰⁶.

The mobilized journalists would send to the publishing directions their impressions regarding the battlefield, but these opinions were censored. Here is a letter from the battlefield of Bulgaria written by a 'well-known publicist' who exclaimed horrified 'what terrible poverty around here and what a primitive population'. The Romanian peasants, even though they live in an indescribable misery, they have an artistic taste, they embellish their homes with home-made rugs, while the Bulgarians 'live like cattle': 'what struck me is the total lack of artistic concern of this people that wants to civilize the Balkans'¹⁰⁷.

Sub-lieutenant Iosif Nădejde, editor of *Adevărul*, draws the attention on the fact that the Romanian army is the target of calumnies in the European press, financed by the Bulgarians. In his article *De pe câmpul de operațiuni. Calomniile bulgarilor* [From the operation field. Bulgarians' calumnies], Nădejde says that some foreign newspapers, like *Le Journal*, that happened to fall into his hands shortly after he crossed the Danube, would spread false news about the behaviour of the Romanian army. They assured the readers that the Romanian army had not destroyed bridges and had not committed burglary in Bulgaria¹⁰⁸.

The newspapers were appraising very much the Romanian army, publishing day by day titles like *Război fără sânge* [Bloodless War]¹⁰⁹, *România a impus Pacea* [Romania imposed Peace]¹¹⁰. The triumph of the Romanian army was however shaded by the cholera epidemic that killed over 1,000 soldiers¹¹¹. On July 22, 1913, *Viitorul* wrote that 'cholera was no longer a secret for anyone'¹¹².

Instead of being received with songs and flowers, the army was held in quarantine, wrote Alexander Ciurcu in *Adevărul*¹¹³.

The positive attitude towards the authorities was turning into a series of critiques after the demobilized returned. At the beginning of September, Iosif Nădejde wrote *Cum am învins foamea și holera* [How we defeated hunger and cholera], a 'shameful chronicle' of a victor army which, after 'thousands of soldiers erred through Bulgaria without nothing to eat', were received with coldness in their own country, for fear of cholera¹¹⁴.

Hunger and cholera decimated the lines of the victorious army. But soldiers also endured psychic and physical humiliations. On August 20, 1913, *Dimineața* announced that it would start publishing the notes that George Millian wrote on the

¹⁰⁶ Idem, no. 185, 7 July 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Adevărul*, no. 8564, 17 July 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Idem, no. 8584, 6 August 1913, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Idem, no. 8555, 8 July 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Idem, no. 8556, 9 July 1913, signed Ciurcu.

¹¹¹ Gheorghe Zbucnea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹¹² *Viitorul*, no. 1957, 22 iulie 1913, p. 1; *Dimineața*, no. 3402, 23 August 1913, p. 1.

¹¹³ *Adevărul*, no. 8590, 12 August 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Idem, no. 8611, 3 September 1913, p. 1.

battlefield¹¹⁵. His assertions related to the officers' violent behaviour were sustained in two articles signed by Mille¹¹⁶ and Ciurcu¹¹⁷. The series of tales of the demobilized Millian will be published in the brochure *Peste Dunăre – însemnările unui mobilizat* [Across the Danube – notes of a mobilized man], that will know great success on the market¹¹⁸. The price of success will however be very cruelly paid with a conviction by the War Court for 'insult brought to the superior'¹¹⁹. His peers were solidary with the accused, except some newspapers, like *Epoca* and *Viitorul*¹²⁰. In *Epoca*, Grünberg Mendel (Millian), Jewish journalist, was accused of attempting to avoid the military service¹²¹. Millian was not a singular case. Other journalists were also called before the military tribunal, being punished with a few months of imprisonment: N. Popescu-Duțu (*Adevărul*), D. Karnabatt (*Dreptatea*), State Teodorescu, (*Adevărul Brăilei*)¹²². The lawyers claimed that the principle of the freedom of expression had been violated. Even King Charles allegedly declared to Alexander Ciurcu that the trial should have been ruled at the Court of juries, not before a military court¹²³.

The military campaign in Bulgaria was a chance for the Romanians to know the country and the neighbouring people. The agronomist engineer sub-lieutenant N. Ștefănescu, in the article *The Bulgarian Peasant and the Romanian Peasant. Lessons from the campaign*, idealizes the social progress of the neighbouring country. Bulgaria is a 'true democratic country', and the peasants have lands and go to school. The agronomist sub-lieutenant urged the peasant soldiers to follow the example of the Bulgarians: 'when I parted from my soldiers, I advised them to seek to buy public estates, where they exist, and where they don't exist, to constitute guilds and buy estates'¹²⁴.

JOURNALISTS AND THE BUCHAREST TREATY

In July, the works for the Peace Conference from Bucharest began. The Ottoman Empire was not received for negotiations. The provisions of the London treaty remained in force as regards the conditions of peace between the Balkan States and the Ottomans¹²⁵. The delegates of the belligerent States arriving in Bucharest were requested by journalists to make statements. In Bucharest arrived numerous journalists from the Balkan countries and from around the world. The editors of *Adevărul* shared their duties, gathering information from all the involved

¹¹⁵ Idem, no. 8598, 20 August 1913, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Idem, no. 8211, 2 September 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Idem, no. 8212, 3 September 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Idem, no. 8664, 25 October 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Dimineața*, no. 4561, 21 October 1913, p. 3.

¹²⁰ *Adevărul*, no. 8650, 11 October 1913, p. 3.

¹²¹ *Epoca*, no. 289, 19 October 1913, p. 1.

¹²² *Adevărul*, no. 8703, 1 December 1913, p. 1.

¹²³ Idem, no. 8687, 27 November 1913, p. 2.

¹²⁴ *Dimineața*, no. 3455, 15 October 1913, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Gheorghe Zbucnea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 293.

parties. Emil D. Fagure (Samuel Honigman)¹²⁶ and Constantine Mille went to Titu station to speak with Eleftherios Venizelos, a man ‘possessing an absolutely remarkable sense of reality’, that ‘never spoke a word in vain, that used no rhetoric, and who gave argument after argument, very logically and clearly’¹²⁷. Emil Fagure continued his journey to Severin, where he welcomed the Serbian delegation, led by Nicola Pasić¹²⁸. Constantine Mille, in his article *Neculae Pasici*, outlined the portrait of the Serbian prime-minister, whom he had met for the first time in 1885 in Bucharest, where he had taken refuge against the pursuit of King Milan, in the house of Vladimir Liotch, landlord of Prince Alexis Karageorgevič, of Călărași street¹²⁹. Jacob Rosenthal met the Bulgarian delegates in Russe, joining them on their journey to Bucharest. The journalist spoke with all, especially with Simeon Radev, the chief of censorship, ‘that gave me a hard time before’¹³⁰. Some editors waited their turn in the anti-chambers of Bucharest hotels, to get an interview with the delegates. At Capșa hotel in Bucharest, Venizelos was assaulted by journalists. Timoleon Pisani, of Greek origins, editor-in-chief of *Epoca* newspaper, specifies that he was ‘the first to be received’ by the chief of the Greek cabinet, but many others waited after him. After he spoke with Venizelos, Pisani also spoke with Spiridon Simos, ‘the eminent brother from Athens’, publisher of *Patris*¹³¹ newspaper. The journalists of the Greek newspapers never missed the opportunity to meet the prime-minister of Greece. Theodor Moscopol and Leonidas Kostomiris from *Ethnos* came from Brăila with the same purpose. The High Greek guest was particularly concerned with the Greek press of Romania¹³². Venizelos’ visit to Brăila and Galați, the two important centres of the Greek community, enjoyed a great echo in the Romanian and Greek newspapers. *Ethnos* published on three pages a wide description of his visit to Brăila, under the heading *Ελληνική πανηγύρις εν τω Δούναβει* [Greek celebration in the Danube area]. The journalist writes: ‘I was touched to see the Greek and the Romanian flags waving on the public buildings of Brăila and Galați’¹³³. *Adevărul*, by Ciurcu’s pen, reminded Venizelos of the Aromanians’ sufferings: ‘you will find there (in Brăila and Galați) your co-nationals, that are getting rich upon the sweat of the Romanian people [...] but if one of us goes to see the Greeks of Macedonia, they would only find corpses’¹³⁴.

¹²⁶ Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României... op. cit.*, p. 314

¹²⁷ *Adevărul*, no. 8554, 17 July 1913, p. 1.

¹²⁸ *Dimineața*, no. 3364, 16 July 1913, p. 1.

¹²⁹ *Adevărul*, no. 8565, 18 July 1913, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Idem, no. 8562, 15 July 1913, p. 1; On Radev, see Constantin Iordan, *O mărturie bulgară despre Conferința de Pace de la București (1913): Memoriile lui Simeon Radev* [A Bulgarian Testimony about the Peace Conference of Bucharest (1913): the Memoirs of Simeon Radev], in Mihail E. Ionescu și Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca (ed), *Al doilea război balcanic...op. cit.*, p. 183–192.

¹³¹ *Epoca*, no. 204, 26 July 1913, p. 2.

¹³² *To Έθνος*, no. 257, 28 July 1913 (July 23, 1913, hour 11)

¹³³ Idem, no. 259, 4 August 1913, p. 1; About the Venizelos visit in Romania, see Constantin Iordan, *Venizelos și românii* [Venizelos and the Romanians], Bucharest: Omonia Publishing, 2004, p. 39–40 and 109–110.

¹³⁴ *Adevărul*, no. 8574, 27 July 1913, p. 1, *Venizelos și aromânii* [Venizelos and the Aromanians].

The works of the Peace Conference were carried out at Sturdza Palace – Ministry of Exterior Affairs. The Romanian and foreign publicists, journalists and photographers were unhappy about the fact that they could not enter the minister's yard, where only two cinematographic devices were mounted¹³⁵.

By the peace treaties of London (May 1913) and Bucharest (August 1913), Albania's independence was decided. After months of negotiations, prince Wilhelm of Wied, grandson of Queen Elisabeth of Romania, accepted the crown of the country. Another Romanian success of the Bucharest Treaty was the recognition of the Aromanians' right to have schools and churches in the new Balkan States.

MINISTER TAKE IONESCU IN ATHENS

After the cessation of the military operations, ten foreign correspondents received without delay an authorization from the Ottoman government to go to the battlefield area. The correspondent of *Dimineața* daily in Thrace wrote several articles, such as *Ororile din Balcani* [*The horrors of the Balkans*] și *Hunii din Balcani* [*The Huns of the Balkans*], and his conclusion was that 'the Turks are truly right'. The Turkish prisoners have been kept by the Bulgarians like cattle¹³⁶.

In the autumn of 1913, the Bucharest press spread the rumour that King Ferdinand would abdicate under the pressure of the Austro-Hungarian rulers¹³⁷. The war-promoting commotion of Sofia would give rise to the issue of a third Balkan war¹³⁸. In this context, Greece was the key. By making an understanding with the Serbians and the Turks, the Greeks could have kept under control the Bulgarians and the Albanians. Thus, says *Adevărul*, Greece may save peace in the Balkans¹³⁹.

Take Ionescu, the Romanian minister of interior affairs, made a trip to Constantinople, then to Athens, where he met his homologue, Taalad bey, and the Greek prime-minister Venizelos. The Greek-Turkish Treaty was signed on the ship *România* in Piraeus¹⁴⁰.

Take Ionescu was joined in Athens by two journalists, representatives of the greatest Romanian newspapers: Iosif Fermo from *Universul* and Albert Honigmann¹⁴¹ from *Adevărul* and *Dimineața*. These newspapers presented the diplomatic endeavour as being of great success. The newspaper *Ethnos* of Braila, written in

¹³⁵ *Dimineața*, no. 3367, 19 July 1913, p. 1.

¹³⁶ *Idem*, no. 3385, 6 August 1913, p. 1; About the war crimes see, Dzovina Kévonian, 'L'enquête, le délit, la preuve: les "atrocités" balkaniques de 1912–1913 à l'épreuve du droit de la guerre', in *Movement social*, no. 222, 1 (2008), p. 4.

¹³⁷ *Dimineața*, no. 3456, 15 November 1913, p. 7.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, no. 3407, 28 August 1913, p. 5.

¹³⁹ *Adevărul*, no. 8635, 26 September 1913, p. 1 (signed A.B.)

¹⁴⁰ On the Take Ionescu visit at Athens see, Gheorghe Zbucnea, *România și războaiele balcanice... op. cit.*, p. 395–396; Constantin Iordan, *Venizelos și românii... op. cit.*, p. 115–116.

¹⁴¹ Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia României... op. cit.*, p. 399.

the Greek language, published the information of *Universul*, including Fermo's interview of King Constantine of Greece¹⁴². Aristotle Sardelly wrote in the Greek-Romanian publication *Realitatea* [The Reality] that Take Ionescu was received in Athens 'with unprecedented honours for a simple minister'. No matter how criticizing some brothers may be, 'it is well established that, by the mediation of the Romanian minister, the soundest bases of the edifice called the Balkan Confederation have been set'¹⁴³. The political adversaries of the minister of interior affairs were extremely criticizing in newspapers such as *Epoca* and *Viitorul*. In the article *Take Ionescu and the Romanian journalists*, the newspaper *Viitorul*, supporter of Ion I.C. Brătianu, declares itself puzzled by the selection of two Jews as 'representatives of the Romanian press'¹⁴⁴. Nicholas Filipescu's *Epoca* informs us that Take Ionescu may have interceded with Venizelos to grant the Romanian journalists the order of the Saviour, but he was refused¹⁴⁵.

CONCLUSIONS

In order to provide excellent news coverage to their readers, the Romanian daily and weekly publications developed extensive news-gathering services. However, few publications were able to meet the cost of permanent correspondents abroad. Correspondents sent by Romanian newspapers in the Balkan to take the information directly from the local journalists and politicians. The telegrams have precise and dry contents, mostly incomplete due to the military censorship. The letters sent by post or by various commissionaires develop the information, releasing sensational news to the public, presented in a literary form. The coverage taken in the field provides precise and sure pieces of news, and the newspaper becomes credible to the public. The large dailies increase their draught, registering bigger incomes. The party-supported newspapers successfully promote their point of view, being either on the government's side, or against it. The Romanian politicians and the public opinion achieved a remarkable unanimity of views in the need for military intervention in Bulgaria in order to establish peace. The newspapers of the minority ethnics such as the Greeks mobilize the forces of their communities around the specific national objective in the Balkans.

¹⁴² *To Έθνος*, no. 297, 1 November 1913, p. 1.

¹⁴³ *Realitatea*, no. 9, 10 November 1913, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ *Viitorul*, no. 2060, 30 October 1913, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Epoca*, no. 324, 23 November 1913, p. 1.



Fig. 1. *Adevărul*, 5 October 1912, no. 8266.

Presa și



POPESCU DUȚU



G. MILLIAN



D. ARNABAT

**Ziariștii înaintea
consiliilor de răz-
boiu.**

Miine, Mercuri, vor apare în fa-
ța consiliului de războiu al Corpu-
lui II de armată, ziariștii N. Popes-
cu-Duțu, redactor la zărele noastre
și d. D. Karnabat, prim-redac-
tor al ziarului „Dreptatea”, învinu-
ți de insulta și ofensa superiorului
rîn scris.

Cel doi ziariști sunt tradași în
fața judecătii militare, după ce mi-
nistru de războiu a dat acel ordin
confidențial prin care ordona ca pe-
tritor ofițerii cari se vor simți
sultați de cele scrise prin zăre
să se adreseze Curților cu juri.

Cînd s'a trimis acest ordin, d-nul
arnabat și Popescu-Duțu nu lu-

sese încă dați judecătii ci se con-
tinua numai instrucția începută.
Contrații noștri au fost așa dar
dați în judecata consiliului de răz-
boiu, cu tot ordinul d-lui general
Hirșeu care interzicea lucrul aces-
ta, trecîndu-se și peste vederile Su-
veranului care a declarat d-lui Al.
Ciureu, că recunoaște că se calcă
Constituția cu asemenea procede-
uri.

D-nii Popescu-Duțu și Karnabat
vor fi apărați de d-nii N. Fle-
va, Petre Grădișteanu, P. Sado-
veanu, Const. Mille, Lascăr Anto-
niu și Eugen Herovanu.

* Simbata 30., va veni înaintea
consiliului de revizie al armatei
prezidat de d. general Bogdan, re-
cursul făcut de redactorul nostru
d. G. Millian, victimă, condamnat,
după cum se știe, la patru luni în-
chisoare de Consiliul de războiu din
Constanța.

D. Millian va fi asistat de aceiași
distinși avocați cari vor apăra mi-
ne pe d-nii Popescu-Duțu și Karnabat.

D. Const. Mb. în numele că-
rării, a depus și la Consiliul de
revizie textul articolelor de care
a sentințel din Constanța, moti-
vuri cari sunt în număr de șase.

INFORMAȚIUNI | Dela ministerul Instrucțiunii
comunică următoarele:
„Un ziar a putut că d-lui

Fig. 2. Adevărul, 27 November 1913, no. 8687, p. 2.

Si de ce n'ar fi, cind pe alte vremuri, dacã intra un opozant în parlament, era gaura în cer? În parlamentul din 1901 de pildã, singurul opozant care reusise sã se strecoare în Camerã era d. M. Vlãdescu. În alt parlament, singurul senator din opoziția liberalã, era d. Brașianu, caruia îi se cinea: „Un herete și un brabete!”

Azi putem zice cã avem și reprezentarea minoritãților și o reprezentare proporționalã — takistii o

È rusinos de spus, dar așa este. Arbitrul suprem al situației este *Omul dela Rãtesti*. È rusinos lucrul pentru conservatori, cari l'au înfãrat cu fierul rosu, e rusinos pentru takisti, care au apreciat prietenia și sinceritatea, mai ales lealitatea și delicateta procedurilor *Dinostiei* — e rusinos, și pentru țarã cã soarta ei, este în astfel de mâini murdare și pline de sînge — e foarte rusinos dar e tristã, foarte tristã realitate.

A. B.

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In Cetinge

de Principele ALBERT GHICA.



**Mormintul prințului Danilo, unchiul și predecesorul regelui Nikita
În fața mormintului, principele Albert Ghica**

Din ce în ce ziaristii veniți aici pentru a ține în curent presa cu evenimentele zilnice sînt înlãturați și nu li se permite sã se apropie de zona operațiilor militare, care nu s'a schimbat în aceste ultime cinci zile.

Noutãțile sînt transmise de cãtre ministerul de externe unde ziaristii stau toatã ziua pînã tãrziu noaptea **scriind o singurã informațiune abso-**

lut fãrã nici o valoare și care în nici un caz nu pot nici interesa, nici pasiona publicul.

Nu se vorbește aici decit de expulzarea baronului de Binder Kriegstein, corespondent al ziarului „Neue Freie Presse” care protestînd cam vehement a fost invitat sã pãrãscescã Muntenegru în douã ore. Unul din corespondenții d-nul **Christiano Rabin al ziarului „Illustra-**

ce

Fig. 3. Adevãrul, 27 October 1912, no. 8308. Prince Ghica in Albania.

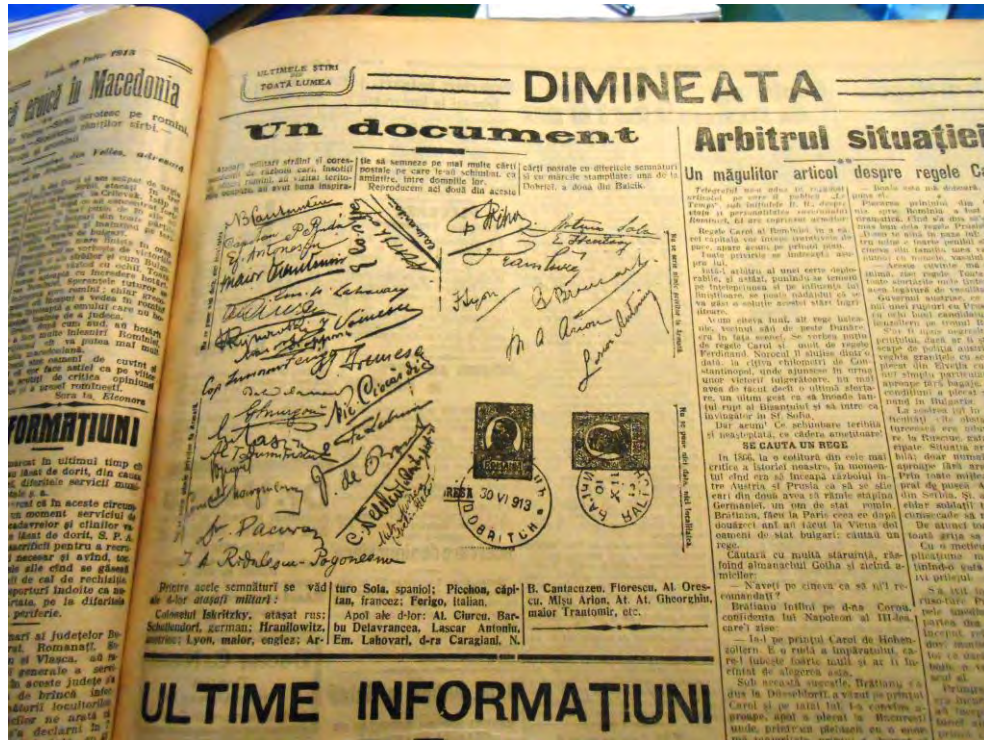


Fig. 4. Dimineata, 22 July 1913, signatures of correspondents on the post card.