## The members of Parliament of Rousse in the constituent Assembly

#### Lyubomir Zlatev

**Abstract:** In the present statement the author reveals the participation of the national delegation from Rousse in the Constituent Assembly, which started in the beginning of the Third Bulgarian Country. It is outlined the personal contribution of the separate representatives from Rousse in the elaboration of the main national law – the Constitution of Tarnovo.

Key words: The Constituent Assembly, a member, a constitution, an election.

#### INTRODUCTION

The most important moment of the initial stage of the country-creative process in Bulgaria after the Liberation was convening the Constituent Assembly in Tarnovo which was sitting from 10th February to 16th April 1879. The Constituent Assembly should write and accept the basic law of the revived from the slavery Third Bulgarian Country – the Constitution concerning the decrees of clause 4 from Berlin Treaty. 229 MPs participated in the work of the Assembly – 117 by title, 12 MPs - from senior clergy and 105 – chairmen of boards and courts, 88 – optional, 5 – representatives of institutions and companies and 19 – appointed by Russian Imperial Commissioner. National representation – by title, optional and by appointment – included the elite of Bulgarian society.

Representatives from Renaissance intellectuals – teachers, doctors, lawyers, publicists and bookmen prevailed. Characteristic feature was that MPs were mainly from the stratum of urban residents while rural population was under-represented. Most of them were on the average for the time age - 30-40-year-old people, i.e. people who had been forming their worldview during 60's and 70's years of XIX century. And this had been the time of the most active spiritually national, social and political life, the period when the tasks of Bulgarian national liberating revolution had been solved. Many of the MPs were outstanding representatives of the church and revolutionary fight, of the national movement for secular education, of Russian-Turkish Liberation War from 1877 to 1878. Also some of them were participants in the work of Interim Russian Government.

In the process of debates during the elaboration of Constitution of Tarnovo were outlined two main political currents in the country - Liberals and Conservatives and their leaders stood [1, p. 416-417].

So far in the published regional researches for our city the question of Rousse's participation in this parliamentary forum of New Bulgaria has been skipped. In this aspect the aim of the following statement enlightens the contribution of Rousse's MPs in the elaboration of the main national law after 5-century foreign political domination.

#### EXPOSITION

In the different sources there are a lot of discrepancies about the staff of The Constituent Assembly and especially about the members which would participate in it - by title, optional and by appointment. This requirements were valid for the members form Rousse District. According to some researchers bishop Kliment Branitzki (Vasil Drumev) and Petko Karavelov also were MPs from Rousse [2, p. 32-35]. However in the exposition the author stick to more precise clarifications written by Elena Statelova and Zina Markova [3, p. 241-249].

District Rousse which was part of Rousse province was represented in the Constituent Assembly by 12 MPs. Six of them were by title - Grigoriy, metropolitan Dorostolsky and Chervensky as a senior Orthodox cleric, Nikola Stoychev, chairman of Rousse's province court, Stoil Popov, chairman of Rousse's trade court, Simeon Zlatev, chairman of Rousse's district court, Pavel Bratoev, chairman Rousse's District Council and

Ivan Danev, chairman of Rousse's District Council; four by two-stage selection - DraganTzankov, Todor Hadjistanchev, Peter Chernev, Ivan Hadjipenchovich and two employed by Russian Imperial Commissioner - Raycho Krolev, inspector of the schools in province Rousse, Emin aga from Rousse [3, p. 241-249].

Most of the elects from Rousse were also representatives of Bulgarian Renaissance intelligence and active public men. This definition largely concerned the MPs by title. So metropolitan Grigoriy with secular name Grigoriy Grigoriyevich Nemtzov was Bessarabia Bulgarian who tonsured in Monastery Hilendarsky in 1846. Here he became novice of monk Ilarion Makariopolsky. After that he studied in Karea in peninsula Aton and island Halki. During 1863-1869 r. he was a headmaster of Bulgarian school and a priest in Bulgarian church in Tzarigrad. As a main participant in religious and national struggle on 1 st July 1872 was chosen canonically for first Dorostol and Cherven's metropolitan. After the death of II. Makariopolsky during 1875-1878 he also managed temporarily the Eparchy of Tarnovo. He invested a lot of efforts in the development of the case study in District Rousse. He willed real estates, securities and money for foundation which revenues should be used for scholarships' allowance in spiritual schools in the country and abroad. [4, p. 147-149; 5, p. 408].

Nikola S. Stoychev was born in Shumen. He graduated from The English college in island Malta. During 1864 his own destiny connected him with Rousse where he came to work in company which was building the railroad Rousse -Varna. More than 10 years from 1866 to 1877 he was an assistant chief of railway station Rousse and an inspector of the company. After the Liberation for short period of time he was a chairman of Rousse's Court of Appeals and after that he became a manager of telecommunications in Bulgaria. He lead the preparation of first laws for post and telegraph in the country. From the spring of 1880 to the summer of 1881 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. During 1884 he was assigned for a consul in Bitola where he made great efforts for saving the national consciousness of Bulgarians in Macedonia. [1, p. 20, 23; 6, p. 624; 7, p. 343-344].

Stoil Dimitrov Popov was born in Kalofer, a student of Botio Petkov. He worked as a trade officer in Tzarigrad and took part in national and liberation movement. In the capital of the empire he supported the collection of rebels of the legion of G. S. Rakovsky. In the beginning of 60's of XIX century he moved to live in Rousse where he was a teacher in the class school. He edited the newspaper "Danube" from 1865 and collaborated with other Renaissance edition. He was one of the founders of Rousse's community center "Dawn" [6, p. 546; 8, p. 13 and the next p.; 9, p. 156].

Simeon Zlatev was from Rousse and he actively participated in the national and liberation struggle. Because of this he was exiled in Sivas, Asia Minor. After the creation of Rousse's municipality (1st March 1865) he was selected to be in the staff of its management. He was also one of the co-founders of community center "Dawn" in Rousse. During 1869 he entered the agriculture school in Tabor, Czech Republic. Afterwards he continued his education in Prague. Returning to Bulgaria in 1875 he became a secretary in the trade house of Hadji Atanas Petkovich. He was a mayor of Rousse twice. His first mayoral term continued from 22th September 1880 to 12th November 1881 and the second one- from 19th February to December 1884 [10,  $\underline{n}$ , 3, 52; 11, p. 16-21; 12, p. 184;].

Ivan Danev was born in Rousse. He graduated from the class school in the city with excellent results. This was the reason Rousse's municipality to send him to study abroad at its own expenses. He graduated from the high school in Tabor, Czech Republic. He returned to his native city and became a teacher in city's class school. He actively took part in the community and theater's activities. He participated in Russian-Turkish Liberation War. For a short period of time he was a Regional Head of Shumen (April-July 1879), of Lovech (July-August 1879), a Regional Head and Regional Manager of Tarnovo (1880). During January 1881 Danev resigned and went to study in Paris. He studied law, visited lections about Administrative sciences. He came back in Bulgaria in 1883. Consequently he was a Head of department and administrative inspector in the Ministry of

Interior (1883-1884), an officer in the Ministry of Justice and a member of Codification committee. He started legal practice in Rousse in 1884. He was nominated for a member of Rousse's Court of Appeals in November the same year and became his chairman in September 1887. He was a member of Supreme Court from 10th February 1890 and a regular member in Bulgarian Literary Society (BLS). [6,p. 179; 8, p. 199-201; 11, p. 11-12; 12, p. 177;].

There were very few information about Pavel Bratoev who performed the function of chairman of Rousse District's Council in the eve of convening of Constituent Assembly. It was known that he was liberal and in the summer of 1879 actively participated in the protest actions of the forming Liberal party against the assigned by the Prince First Bulgarian government of conservative agents lead by T. Burmov. [8,p. 13, 18].

Representatives with optional parliamentary mandate in the Constituent Assembly were well-known to Rousse's public men and also deserved agents of Renaissance movement. Undoubtedly the most popular person was Dragan Kiriakov Tzankov who had come from Svishtov. In the end of 1854 he settled in Tzarigrad where he took part actively in the life of Bulgarian colony. He was a teacher in The French College in "Bebek" and connected with Polish emigration of Ottoman capital and with Catholic missionaries by who he hoped to win the help of French diplomacy for Bulgarian requests of church affairs. He edited newspaper "Bulgaria" in which he preached his ideas for resolution of Bulgarian church question by unity with West Church. From 1864 to 1873 he worked as a teacher in Svishtov, Rousse and Nis. In the beginning of 70's of XIX century he returned to Tzarigrad. He was nominated for a member of Exarchate Council. He was an editor of magazine "Community Center". In 1875 he was raised for a chairman of Bulgarian community center in Tzarigrad. After the suppression of April uprising in 1876 together with Marco Balabanov he travelled in some European capitals in order to search for help for the suffering Bulgarian population. He supported actively Russian forces during The Liberation War. Certainly this political biography presented him as one of the founders of the restored Bulgarian country. He was assigned as a vice-governor of his native town Svishtov and then - of Tarnovo and Rousse.

After closing the Constituent Assembly he became one of the leaders of the Liberal Party. He held responsible government posts. He was a district manager in Varna and a first Bulgarian diplomatic agent in Tzarigrad (1879–1880). He held senior government posts - Prime minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Religion (24 March –28 November 1880) and Minister of Interior (28 November –17 December 1880). Again he was Prime minister and Minister of Interior (7 October 1883–29 June 1884), chairman of XII Ordinary National Assembly (1901–1903) [13, p. 3 and the next p.; 14, p. 502-503].

Todor Hadjistanchev was born in Rousse who from 1863 to 1870 studied in the Classic High School and Seminary in Karlovac, Austria. After that he worked as a teacher in Rousse (1870–1875). He was popular in Rousse's citizens as a publicist, publisher of newspaper "Slav" and a theatrical agent. He was a founder of choir and choral society in Rousse. The edited by him newspaper "Slav" played a big role in the political struggles of post - liberation Bulgaria. [8, p. 13-14; 15, l. 141, 148-149, 158 and others; 16, p. 450-462].

Peter Atanasov Chernev was also from Rousse. He graduated from the class school here and after that Robert college in Tzarigrad. From 1873 he was a teacher in English and Turkish in Rousse. He was a theatrical and community agent. For a certain period of time he was a secretary of Rousse's community center "Dawn". After the Liberation he became a mayor of Rousse from 1 st May to 19 October 1879. Later on he became a mayor of the capital. (4th April1901 – 23th September 1903) [6, p. 703; 17, p. 290; 18, p. 223; 19, p. 107; 20, p. 1085; ].

Ivan Velichkov Hadjipenchovich was one of the richest Rousse's citizens who participated in the local management from its creation. Later on he moved to Tzarigrad and became senior Turkish official. He was one of the most outstanding members of Tzarigrad's Bulgarian municipality. During 1870 he was already a member of Temporary Diocesan Council. There was information that he had had connections with Levski. Later he was a member of Ad hoc Committee of the process against the Apostle. He was a representative of The Gate in the committee for the investigation of Turkish cruelties in Bulgaria after April uprising. After the Liberation he settled permanently in Sofia[9, p. 301].

The employed by Russian Imperial Commissioner for MP in the Constituent Assembly Raycho Mihov Karolev was born in Gabrovo. He studied in the Spiritual Seminary and in Spiritual Academy in Kiev (1863–1867) as a scholar of Odessos's Bulgarian Board of Trustee. During 1881 he became a candidate of theological studies with his essay "For Bogomils". After the graduation of the Academy he returned to Gabrovo. In the period 1871–1877 he was a teacher and director of Aprilov High School. He was a representative of Gabrovo in the Diocesan Committee in Tarnovo (1872). During April Uprising he was arrested together with other teachers from Gabrovo. After the Liberation he was one of the most active organizers of educational work in the Principality of Bulgaria. He was appointed by Russian authorities for an inspector of the schools in district Rousse.

In the next years he worked different administrative posts. When he was a Prime minister from 30th June 1884 to 9 th August 1886, he contributed a lot to the development of educational work. After that for a short period of time he was a chairman of The Administrative Council of Vidin, a teacher and director of Sofia's Secondary School for Boys (1886–1890), a director of Plovdiv's Secondary School for Boys (1890–1894), a manager of Division of Ministry of Education (1894), a chairman of the Committee for conducting state examinations to the candidates for teachers, a director of the State Library (1895–1899). For a short period of time he managed the Division Statistics (1899), a teacher of Sofia's Secondary School for Girls, an advisor of the Supreme Audit (1903–1910). Added (1871) and regular member (1884) of Bulgarian literary society and a member of the Board (1898–1899) he was an author of many works of church and general history, of history of education work [1, p. 359; 6, p. 314; 7, p. 315-316;].

There wasn't information about the second MP from Rousse by appointment Emin aga. But undoubtedly he was very outstanding representative of Muslim community in the city which in the first years after the Liberation consisted of many people.

The participation of Rousse's MPs in the debates of first Bulgarian Parliament was different. It was popular the contribution of Dr. Tzankov to the creation of Tarnovo's Constitution in the democratic spirit as he was one of the most prominent leaders of the majority of liberal political current. His ability and natural tact neutralized some crisis cases in the Constituent Assembly and gave constructive character even in the most heated debate [13, p. 15, 30-34]. On the other hand was the publicist T. Hadjistanchev. Trying to imitate the liberal leaders because he was a preliminary follower of them, he entrained in long arguments, didn't have clear thought and the chairman of the Assembly often interrupted him under the disapproving shouts of lawyers [22, p. 47, 51].

Rousse's MPs Dr. Cankov, S.Zlatev, T.Hadjistanchev and others categorically declared against the Memoir of the "balanced" to The Great Powers from 13 th March 1879 which contained weak protest against the international legalized fragmentation of Bulgarian land. They declined signing it and thought that the national protest in the Principality against the unfair clauses of Berlin Treaty should continue [22, p. 46]. T.Hadjistanchev, ignoring the complex international environment, in emotional state of mood went off to the deep end - resigned and left the Assembly. Even though his patriotic incentive his act was reprimanded from the other MPs as disregard of the great responsibility of national representation[21, p. 67-68].

Another Rousse's MP who tried to influence the Constituent Assembly in taking important decisions for future management of the country was Iv. Hadjipenchovich. He was a good municipal, church and school agent in the past but deeply hated by everybody for his participation in Turkish State Council and mostly for his signature below the death

warrant of Levski [23,p. 68]. As a long-time Turkish administrator Hadjipenchovich jealously motivated the necessity of creation of Country Council in the Principality. "You will see, he said, that without Country Council our managing machine will stop functioning recently" [24,p. 99].lv. Hadjipenchovich would see his request realized after The Prince's act from 27 th April 1881. Future Rousse's mayor P. Chernev was also for bicameral Parliament [21, p. 171].

More important was the participation in the debate of the founders of the popular with his conservative ideas metropolitan Grigoriy. Both he and Sofia's metropolitan Miletiy hard supported the idea for imposition of censorship from the Senior Clergy to "the compositions with spiritual and dogmatic content". Bitter dispute began between the leader of liberal majority Petko Karavelov and Rousse's metropolitan. Ultimately the majority categorically declined the idea of every kind of censorship [21, p. 167; 19, p. 82-83]. Then the bishops supported by the conservative minority filed a protest to the bureau of the Constituent Assembly for the "deliberate speed" with which such important decisions were taken "without deep discussion" and for the risk of "unlimited liberty of the press" for the future constitution [24, p. 95-96]. This suggestion was also strengthened from the final edition of the constitutional text according to which union bishops would get the right to censor the ecclesiastical and dogmatic letters [21, p. 19-20].

Again Metropolitan Grigoriy opposed hard to the wording of Professor Marin Drinov in the project of Organic Statute which provided unity of Bulgarian church under the rule of Exarch. The personal motive of Rousse's MP for this opposition was easily explicable. When during the spring of 1877 High Gate sent into exile The First Bulgarian Exarch Anthim I and his substitute was chosen without observing all the formalities of Exarchate Statute. Dorostol and Cherven's metropolitan received only one voice from Yosif I. Now he wanted revenge and supported by the other bishops from The Principality he insisted that they should manage their own independent from the Exarch synod. Metropolitan Grigoriy who was supported by some conservative representatives highlighted the clincher that every independent Orthodox country had its own autocephalous church organization. Gradually the discussion of this question took vague for the majority of MPs theologiandogmatic character but after the explanations of Dr. Tzankov the debates were interrupted by MPs' shouts: "Unity! We want unity!" [24, p. 116]. Dr. Tzankov insisted the main law of the country to be called "Constitution" not "Organic Statute" according to Russian project [13, p. 15].

Next experiments of Rousse's metropolitan to find intermediate version to persuade the national representation in his rightness were unsuccessful. But he and the other senior bishops relied on last edition of the constitutional text. And really they succeeded by very vague formulation to minimize the possibility for church and administrative intervention of the Exarch in the Principality. On the other hand, formally the integrity of Bulgarian church territory which had extremely importance for Macedonia and other Bulgarian lands which were under Ottoman rule [24,p. 119].

#### CONCLUSION

The Constitution of Tarnovo voted by the MPs of the Constituent Assembly in 16th April 1879 outlines the legal frameworks which New Bulgaria after the Liberation should follow in its development. Significant contribution for Constitution's democratic and creative spirit gave Rousse's national representation.

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#### **Contact Information:**

Assoc. Prof. Lyubomir Zlatev, Department of Pedagogy, Psychology and History, University of Ruse, tel. 082 507 637, GSM 0886 418 210, e-mail: lubomir\_zlatev@mail.bg

#### The paper is reviewed.

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