

ЧЛАНЦИ

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REFLECTIONS ON US-MONTENEGRIN RELATIONS, 1905-1918

*Focus on John B. Jackson, the First American Minister
to Montenegro, 1905-1907''*

ABSTRACT: *This short article considers aspects of the US-Montenegrin relationship between 1905 and 1918 -- the years covered by the documentary collection Crna Gora i SAD: U dokumentima Nacionalnog arhiva u Vašingtonu, 1905-1918, published by the Istorijски Institut in the spring of 2010. Focusing on the activities of the first accredited American minister to Montenegro, John B. Jackson (1905-1907), it in fact draws heavily upon the documents included in the volume.*

KEY WORDS: *USA, Montenegro, John B. Jackson*

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² *Crna Gora i SAD: U dokumentima Nacionalnog arhiva u Vašingtonu, 1905-1918/Montenegro and the United States: Documents from the National Archives in Washington, 1905-1918* (hereafter *CGSAD*), Podgorica: Istorijски Institut Crne Gore/SANUS - Podgorica, 2010. The book was presented at the Montenegrin Central National Library Đurđe Crnojević in Cetinje on 22 June 2010.

two) years of US-Montenegrin ties to a short paper, I am obliged to leave a lot of things out. Instead of mentioning the thousands of players who figured directly or indirectly in the US-Montenegrin relationship, I will mention just a handful. Similarly, instead of drawing upon all 291 documents found in the new published collection, I will use only a few -- plus a few more from other sources.

In the Beginning

Although the United States Department of State dates the start of „official” diplomatic relations between the United States and Montenegro from October 1905, when John B. Jackson presented his credentials to Prince Nicholas in Cetinje, there were a number of inter-governmental contacts even before then. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, for example, Gavro Vuković, then Montenegrin minister for foreign affairs, exchanged notes with the American secretary of state concerning Montenegro’s adherence to the Universal Postal Convention and the Convention relating to the exchange of postal packages and postal money-orders, signed in Washington in 1897.³ And late in 1901, the US and Montenegrin governments exchanged notes regarding a formal invitation to have Montenegro take part in the St. Louis international exposition of 1903.⁴ Until John Jackson’s appointment, however, it was customary for the representatives of certain European „Great Powers,” notably Austria-Hungary and Russia, to represent Montenegrin „interests” in the United States. At the Postal Congress of Washington, for example, Montenegro was represented „as usual” by the Austrian delegate.⁵ And in 1905, the year of Jackson’s appointment, Montenegro made arrangements with the Imperial Russian embassy „for the protection of Montenegrins in the United States.”⁶

³ Prince Nicholas, 2 March 1898, Cetinje, *CGSAD*, No. 2; Gavro Vuković to State Department, 17 November 1898 and 3 June 1899, *CGSAD*, Nos. 3 and 4.

⁴ Gavro Vuković to State Department, 12/25 September 1901, *CGSAD*, No. 5. Montenegro declined to participate because of financial considerations. In Vuković’s words, „My Government is on the point of settling financial affairs and is obliged therefore to reduce for the next three or four years its expenses with a view to economy.” Similarly, at the end of 1905, the Montenegrin government declined to take part in the forthcoming celebrations commemorating the 300th anniversary of the establishment of Jamestown 1607. John Jackson to State Department, Athens, 21 December 1905, Montenegrin Series, No. 20, *CGSAD*, No. 50.

⁵ Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 20 December 1896, *CGSAD*, No. 1.

⁶ John Jackson to John Hay, 12 March 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 1, *CGSAD*, No. 9; Alvey Adey to John Jackson, 30 March 1905, *CGSAD*, no. 9. A technical note: the correspondence of 30 March became the first entry in the State Department’s new „Montenegrin Series” (for correspondence generated in Washington). Again, the reasons

As part of an internal State Department reorganization in 1905, Romania and Serbia were detached from the American mission to Greece and became a separate, composite diplomatic assignment. At the same time Montenegro was added to the American mission to Greece and diplomatic agency to Bulgaria.⁷ Thus, John B. Jackson, until then the American minister to Greece, Romania and Serbia, formally became the American „Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Greece and Montenegro and Diplomatic Agent in Bulgaria.”⁸ He was the first of a number of American ministers -- today we would use the term „ambassadors” -- resident in Athens, Greece, who were also responsible for the conduct of diplomatic relations with Montenegro.⁹

Jackson (1905-07) and his immediate successor, Richmond Pearson (1908-09), were both appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican, at least at the time of their appointment.¹⁰ Jackson and Pearson were succeeded in turn by George H. Moses (1910-12) and Jacob Gould Schurman (1912-13), who were appointed by Roosevelt’s successor, William Howard Taft, also a Republican.¹¹ The two ministers who followed, George Williams and Garret Droppers, were both appointed by Taft’s successor, Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat. During World War I, however, American relations with Montenegro were generally conducted through offices of the American ambassador in Paris, William Sharp.

As it happens, American ministers credited to Montenegro were usually gifted politicians or educators, as well as diplomats -- and frequently

were essentially because of a financial nature: „owing to economic reasons, Montenegro is unable to maintain a consular service...”

⁷ The reorganization resulted from the diplomatic and consular act approved by Congress on 3 March 1905. Alvey A. Adee to John Jackson, 1 April 1905, Washington, *CGSAD*, No. 10; Jackson to Hay, 19 April 1905, *CGSAD*, No. 14; Alvin Adee to John Jackson, 3 May 1905, Washington, *CGSAD*, No. 18. The new American minister to Romania and Serbia was John W. Riddle. Alvey A. Adee to Jackson, 27 July 1905, *CGSAD*, No. 25.

⁸ In fact, Jackson himself was largely responsible for convincing the United States government to appoint a minister to Montenegro. Jackson’s career as a diplomat spanned a quarter century, from 1890 to 1915. See Nathaniel Smith, „John B. Jackson and the Beginning of U.S.-Montenegrin Diplomatic Relations,” http://podgorica.usembassy.gov/smith_lecture.html.

⁹ Charles S. Wilson was appointed Secretary of the Legation of the United States to Greece and Montenegro and the Diplomatic Agency in Bulgaria.” Alvin Adee to Charles Wilson, 3 May 1905, Washington, *CGSAD*, No. 16.

¹⁰ Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency upon the assassination of William McKinley in 1901, serving as the Republican president of the United States until 1908. As head of the „Bull Moose Party, he challenged his Republican successor as president, and Woodrow Wilson, the candidate of the Democratic Party, in the presidential election of 1912.

¹¹ Ralph Eldin Minger, *William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy: The Apprenticeship Years, 1900-1908* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

a happy combination thereof. George H. Moses, for example, was subsequently elected to the United States Senate -- and served as president pro tempore of the Senate between 1925 and 1933. Jacob Gould Schurman also served as president of Cornell University and the United States Ambassador to Germany after World War I.¹²

The turn of the twentieth century was a time of great change -- for both the United States and for Montenegro. The United States was becoming a major player on the world stage for the first time. Indeed, it was in the process of itself becoming one of the so-called Great Powers. Its political and economic interests were indeed becoming more and more global. It was also a time of change for Montenegro. In 1905 the Balkan principality acquired its first constitution and, as a result, its first representative assembly, its skupština.

To a certain extent, the establishment of formal diplomatic ties with Montenegro was part of President Roosevelt's more assertive global foreign policy.¹³ Not to overstate the case, however, Montenegro was *not* a major factor in American global calculations at the time -- just as the United States was *not* a major factor in Montenegro's regional ones. Still, an *official* relationship had been established. Over the next seven years, American ministers to Montenegro generally focused on the business of politics (reporting back to Washington what was transpiring in Cetinje) -- as well as the business of business, which, admittedly, was very limited in those days. On the other hand, the first „substantive“ entries in the State Department's new „Montenegrin Series“ dealt, perhaps predictably, with an economic question rather than a political one -- whether American exports to Montenegro were entitled the Montenegrin „minimum tariff.“¹⁴ These entries in fact predate Jackson's presentation of credentials in Cetinje. The subsequent entries in the

¹² Jacob Gould Schurman was a scholar with many published titles to his credit including, inter alia, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914) and *The Ethnical Import of Darwinism* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1887).

¹³ See, for example, Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956); Fredrick W. Marks, *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); Richard H. Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt -- Culture, Diplomacy, and Expansion: A New View of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).

¹⁴ Herbert Pierce (Treasury Department) to John Jackson, Washington, 29 June 1904, Montenegrin Series No. 3, *CGSAD*, No. 24. Pierce: „The Secretary of the Treasury has been advised that no conventional arrangements touching tariff matters exist between this country and Montenegro.“ Even before presenting his credentials in Cetinje, Jackson asked the Montenegrin foreign ministry „to be informed as soon as possible if the Montenegrin Government regarded American products as being entitled to be imported into Montenegro in accordance with the minimum rates of the new customs tariff.“ Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 4 August 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 6, *CGSAD*, No. 26. Cf. Charles Wilson to Elihu Root, 17 August 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 7, *CGSAD*, No. 27.

new Montenegrin series concerned Prince Nicholas's decision to authorize a Montenegrin parliament, the skupština, and grant freedom of the press.¹⁵

John Jackson's Mandate (1905-1907)

On Monday, 30 October 1905, John Jackson formally presented his credentials to Prince Nicholas in Cetinje.¹⁶ Speaking in French, he paraphrased President Roosevelt's formal written greeting to the Montenegrin monarch, saying „it was a personal pleasure to me to be the first representative of a free people in a country which had always been able to maintain its independence.” The following evening, Prince Nicholas and Princess Milena hosted a dinner in Jackson's honor at the palace, which was attended by other members of the royal family and all Montenegrin state ministers and their wives. Jackson reported that „he wished to make it evident that the coming of an American representative was regarded as an event of importance in the Montenegrin capital, and because I was constantly being shown by the royal family and other Montenegrins with whom I came in contact that the compliment paid by us to the little mountain state was very highly appreciated.”¹⁷ At the dinner, Nicholas showed Jackson the St. Luke's Day proclamation¹⁸ he had just signed calling for elections to the new skupština, the aim of which in Jackson's words, was to change „the existing patriarchal government to one more in accord with the spirit of the present age.” In his subsequent report to Washington, Jackson suggested that in creating a parliament, Nicholas was acting „voluntarily” -- and noted the apprehension of certain Montenegrin „conservators” who „fear that disaster may follow the introduction of domestic politics and possible parliamentary government into a country where they are as yet unknown.” On 2 November, Nicholas received the American minister once again, this time „in private audience.” The next day, Jackson departed Cetinje for Greece by way of Italy.¹⁹

¹⁵ Writing in the absence of Jackson, Charles Wilson to Elihu Root, 22 August 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 8, *CGSAD*, No. 28. Wilson, writing in Jackson's absence (in Cetinje at the time), based his reporting on the *Glas Crnogorca*.

¹⁶ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 30 October 1905, Cetinje, Montenegrin Series No. 9, *CGSAD*, No. 35; John Jackson to Elihu Root, 1 November, 1905, Cetinje, Montenegrin Series No. 11, *CGSAD*, No. 39; Jackson to Root, 28 November 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 17, *CGSAD*, No. 47.

Note: *CGSAD* errantly includes a report from Jackson dated 31 August 1905, *CGSAD*, No. 31. This entry in fact covers Jackson's visit to Montenegro the *following* year and should be dated 31 August 1906. Indeed the entry is repeated as *CGSAD* No. 83.

¹⁷ Jackson to Secretary of State, 28 November 1905, Athens, Montenegrin series 17, *CGSAD*, No. 47.

¹⁸ Proclamation to the People of Montenegro, 18/31 October 1905, *CGSAD*, No. 38.

¹⁹ Jackson to Secretary of State, 28 November 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 16, *CGSAD*, No. 46.

For its part, the United States Treasury Department, more interested in commercial issues than political ones, pressed Jackson „to obtain at once” the Montenegrin tariff information it had requested previously.²⁰ And, indeed, commercial questions figured prominently in Jackson’s conversations with Foreign Minister Vuković.²¹ Prince Nicholas, for his part, suggested the negotiation of a commercial treaty between the United States and Montenegro.²²

The question of Montenegrin emigrants to the United States also played an important role in Jackson’s discussions with the king and the Montenegrin foreign ministry -- then and in years to come.²³ In the American envoy’s words.

²⁰ State Department to Jackson, 2 November 1905, *CGSAD*, No. 40. Jackson had already sent a report to State (No. 10 in the *Legation’s* Montenegrin Series), in which he explained that „as far as I have been able to ascertain (there being no published Montenegrin statistics), there is no direct importation of American products into this country. Such American articles as come here are through by Austrian, Italian or other non-American vessels...and are entered by the Custom officials as being of the same origin as the vessel in which they are transported and located accordingly. Consequently, as American imports, as a matter of fact receives most-favored-nation treatment under existing conditions. I saw no reason to urge a categoric answer to the academic question posed by the Treasury Department. In the absence of any conventional arrangement touching tariff matters, there can of course be no question of American imports being ‚entitled’ to the minimum rates, although in practice they do enjoy them.” John Jackson to Elihu Root, 31 October 1905 (Montenegrin Series No. 10), Cetinje, *CGSAD*, No. 36; Jackson to Secretary of State, 5 November 1905, sent from Venice, *CGSAD*, No. 41. Upon his return to Athens, he transmitted a copy -- in Serbian-- of the Montenegrin Tariff and Custom law of 1903. John Jackson to Elihu Root, 28 November 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 13, *CGSAD*, No. 43; 28 November 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 14, *CGSAD*, No. 44.

²¹ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 31 October 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 10, *CGSAD*, No. 36.

²² John Jackson to Elihu Root, 28 November 1905, Montenegrin Series No 16, *CGSAD*, No. 46.

²³ The Montenegrin immigrants to the United States were an important part of the unofficial relationship that already existed. By the time of Jackson’s appointment, thousands of Montenegrins had made their way across the Atlantic, where they acquired the reputation of being tireless workers, especially in the mines of Pennsylvania, Montana, and Arizona -- and in the fisheries of California and Mississippi.

In the words of President Woodrow Wilson in 1918: „As regards those Montenegrins... who have come to live among us, and through whom the United States has become better known to their fellow countrymen at home, we owe them a debt of gratitude that they have contributed in no small measure, to the friendly relations and mutual good feeling which so happily prevail, and which it is my sincere hope will continue to prevail and increase day by day...” Reply of President Wilson to General A. Gvozdenović, on the Occasion of his Reception, 20 September 1918, *CGSAD*, No. 250. In fact, many of the documents found in *CGSAD* concern problems faced by as well as the accomplishments of Montenegrins living in the United States. See, inter alia, Đoko D. Pejović, *Iseļjavanja Crnogoraca u XIX vijeku* (Titograd, 1962) and Richard S. Jones, *European-American Ethnic Groups: Montenegrins* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1971).

In recent years a considerable number of Montenegrins have emigrated to the United States, and the Prince is greatly interested in their welfare. These emigrants, it is said, rarely become American citizens, and many of them return to Montenegro with their earnings, maintaining while in the United States regular correspondence with their friends at home. In the little reading room or Casino, which is attached to the unpretentious national theatre, I was surprised to see the Seattle 'Post Intelligencer' on file among the small number of papers taken, and it seems that this paper is sent in exchange for the Montenegrin weekly sent to some one at Douglas, Oregon.²⁴

Foreign Minister Vuković requested the assistance of the American government in connection with the fate of two brothers, Luka and Blagota Radulović of Zeta, who were reported killed in a mining accident in Anaconda, Montana,²⁵ and Sava Kopitović from Crmnica, who was likewise killed in a mining accident in Globe, Arizona.²⁶

It is not clear to what extent Jackson exchanged information with other diplomatic representatives during his visit to Montenegro in 1905, but it is clear that he was in touch with his counterparts. Cetinje was, after all, a small community with only one major hotel to speak of, and the number of ministers resident in the Montenegrin capital in 1905 could be counted on one hand: „It is almost amusing,” he wrote, „to watch the action of the various members of the diplomatic corps, for in spite of the friendly relations maintained among the majority of the colleagues, one is always conscious of latent feeling of jealousy and suspicion -- especially among the Turks, Austrian, Russians and Italians.” His long report of November 28 intimated at least a measure of mutual consultation -- or at least of mutual concern -- among members of the diplomatic community regarding a supply of arms that had arrived in Montenegro shortly before Jackson's arrival in October: „Members of the diplomatic corps were very curious as to how they had been obtained and what disposition was to be made of them.” In his conversations with Jackson, Prince Nicholas „referred to these cannon...in a general way, with a view to showing me that he was preparing for any contingency. He is proud of the increase in territory which has taken place during his reign, and is of course hopeful of obtaining more whenever the Macedonian question comes up for final settlement.”²⁷

²⁴ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 28 November 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 17, *CGSAD*, No. 47.

²⁵ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 1 December 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 18, *CGSAD*, No. 48.

²⁶ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 1 December 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 19, *CGSAD*, No. 49. See Root to Jackson, 20 January 1906, Washington, Montenegrin Series No. 5, *CGSAD*, No. 55.

²⁷ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 1 December 1905, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 19,

In discussing the possibility of military conflict at some point in the future, Jackson wrote in a short postscript to his lengthy report:

In Montenegro every man is considered as belonging to the army as long as he is able to bear arms. In conversation the Prince spoke of the possibility of a call to arms, when every Montenegrin emigrant who had not acquired foreign nationality would be expected to present himself. He said that he had received from Montenegrins in the United States letters in which they had expressed their willingness to return at once should this ever be the case.

This indeed proved to be the case in the various conflicts that were just around the corner. To Nicholas's suggestion that „the American Government might, under certain conditions, be willing to provide for their transportation,” Jackson „gave absolutely no encouragement.”²⁸

The American minister's assessment of Montenegro's relations with the major European Great Powers was spot on:

The Turks have always considered Montenegro as belonging more or less to the Ottoman Empire, although they formally recognize her independence. Between Montenegro and Austria there has been considerable ill feeling ever since the latter occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, and placed troops in Novi Bazar, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, and every since Russia has practically maintained the Montenegrin military forces. Besides Italy is generally credited with ambitions in the direction of Albania and with intentions to use Montenegro as a base should an auspicious occasion present itself.²⁹

The fact that Jackson did not mention Germany, Great Britain, or France in his report is reflective of the fact that they played a secondary role in Montenegro's foreign relations in 1905. That would change soon enough.

Writing from Athens on 23 December 1905, Jackson reported on the introduction of parliamentary government in Montenegro a few days before. He enumerated members of the new cabinet, including Lazar Mijušković, the new prime and foreign minister, who had been „pointed out [to Jackson] during [his] recent visit to [Cetinje] as „the man of the future” and Janko Vukotić, the new minister of war, who was destined to play an important role in days ahead. Jackson logically opined that „it is of course too early to speak of political parties, but it is probable that the members of the new Skupshtina will divide into two groups, one conservative -- in favor of a continuance of the patriarchal system, and the other progressive -- advocating the introduc-

CGSAD, No. 49. Of course, the „Macedonian Question” refers to the possible redistribution of Turkish-held territory in the Balkan Peninsula, the centerpiece of which was Macedonia.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

tion of modern ideas.”³⁰ Three days later, on 26 December, he transmitted a note he had received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cetinje, dated 19 December, in which the former foreign minister reported on Prince Nicholas’s speech from the throne to his new skupština.³¹ Jackson’s assessment was that in surrendering his autocratic power the Prince is acting on his own initiative and without compulsion of any kind. Autocratic government was necessary in the past to preserve the independent existence of Montenegro, and it is to be hoped that the introduction of modern politics may not be disastrous to the „brave little mountain principality.”³²

On 26 December, Jackson also reported a communication dated 10 days earlier (that is, on 16 December), from former Montenegrin Foreign Minister Vuković, suggesting the conclusion of a treaty in connection with inheritance issues concerning Montenegrins living in the United and Americans in Montenegro. Jackson, who was reluctant to transmit a draft treaty from a man no longer in office, nonetheless noted that „Montenegro is eager to conclude as many treaties with foreign countries as possible and that anything proposed by us is likely to be accepted,” and he referred the matter to Washington.³³

On 20 January 1906, Jackson transmitted a report concerning one Sava Perov-Bjeloš, a Montenegrin subject, who had emigrated to the United States several years before. The new Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs asked for the assistance of the United States government „to ascertain the cause of the death of Perov and the disposition made of any property which may have been left” -- thus pointing out the relevance of Vuković’s earlier request despite the change of government in Cetinje.³⁴ Ironically, on the very

³⁰ John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 23 December 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 21, *CGSAD*, No. 51. Jackson confirmed the appointments on 28 December after receiving formal words from the new prime minister, Lazar Mijušković on the change of government in Cetinje, mentioning, inter alia, the name of Andrija Radović, the new minister of finance and public works, a future prime minister, who would play an important (and controversial) role in Montenegrin political life in the future. Jackson recounted meeting Radović for the first time in 1904 at the coronation of King Peter Karadjordjević in John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 26 December 1905, Montenegrin Series, No. 22, *CGSAD*, No. 52. Jackson to Root, Athens, 28 December 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 24, *CGSAD*, No. 54.

³¹ John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 26 December 1905, Montenegrin Series No. 23, *CGSAD*, No. 53. See also *Glas Crnogorca*, No. 49, Cetinje, 6 December 1905 (O.S.).

³² John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 5 February 1906, Montenegrin Series No. 26, *CGSAD*, No. 60.

³³ John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 26 December 1905, Montenegrin Series, No. 22, *CGSAD*, No. 51.

³⁴ John Jackson to Elihu Root, Athens, 20 January 1906, Montenegrin Series No. 25, *CGSAD*, No. 56. Response see Robert Bacon to John Jackson, Washington, 24 March 1906, Montenegrin Series, No. 10, *CGSAD*, No. 66. In May, the Montenegrin foreign ministry requested „further effort be made” to ascertain the fate of Perov-Bjeloš, whom another

day that Jackson submitted this report, the Office of the Assistant Solicitor in Washington concluded that „there would probably be little practical demand for such a treaty with Montenegro.”³⁵ Robert Bacon, the acting secretary of state, seconded the opinion.³⁶ Jackson, however, predicted that the Montenegrin government „will refer to the matter again before long, because as already reported, of the desire which exists to negotiate treaties with as many countries as possible, and because of the actual importance of the treaty in question to Montenegro, in view of the increasing number of emigrants to the United States” -- and he sought permission to use Article III of the treaty with Spain as the basis for possible negotiation.³⁷ Just two weeks later, the Montenegrin foreign ministry turned to Jackson once again for assistance in ascertaining the whereabouts of one Radoje Perović.³⁸ On 15 March, Secretary of State Elihu Root approved Jackson’s request to use Article III of the American treaty with Spain as the basis for a possible future treaty with Montenegro regarding inheritance.³⁹

On 4 April, Jackson conveyed the decision of the Montenegrin government to send a delegate to the United States to „to visit the places in which Montenegrins are employed,” in order to „inform itself as to the exact conditions under which the emigration takes place and the situation of the people in question after their arrival in America.” The envoy requested information from Mijušković so that the delegate in question, Marko Djukanović, a state counselor, could be received in appropriate fashion by American authorities.⁴⁰ Moreover, he wrote that in view of the large numbers of Monte-

Montenegrin had reported as having died in New Orleans in March 1905. John Jackson to the Secretary of State, 11 May 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 36, *CGSAD*, No. 76; Robert Bacon to John Jackson, 13 June 1906, Washington, State Department Montenegrin Series 15, *CGSAD*, No. 79.

³⁵ In any event, Article III of the a treaty between the US and Spain was held forth as „the latest example of our treaty provisions on this subject.” Office of the Assistant Solicitor, 20 January 1906, *CGSAD*, No. 57.

³⁶ Robert Bacon served as Acting Secretary of State in the absence of Elihu Root, during the latter’s tour of South America in 1906. Subsequently, he succeeded Root in office, becoming the 39th United States Secretary of State, serving between January and March 1909, during the final months of the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. Robert Bacon to John Jackson, 2 February 1906, Washington, Montenegrin Series No. 7, *CGSAD*, No. 59.

³⁷ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 21 February 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 27, *CGSAD*, No. 62.

³⁸ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 8 March 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 28, *CGSAD*, No. 63.

³⁹ Root was the 38th United States Secretary of State, serving under President Roosevelt between July 1905 and January 1909. Elihu Root to John Jackson, 15 March 1906, Washington, Montenegrin Series No. 9, *CGSAD*, No. 65. Vukotić’s request was a relevant one -- regardless of the change of government in Cetinje.

⁴⁰ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 4 April 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 29, *CGSAD*, No. 67.

negrins immigrating to the United States, the new Montenegrin government was mulling over the possibility of seeking persons „honorable, riche, bien vue, generouse” to serve as honorary Montenegrin consuls in New York and San Francisco.⁴¹ Ironically, less than one month later, the Montenegrin government extended its condolences to President Roosevelt via Jackson regarding the earthquake that destroyed much of San Francisco on the morning of 18 April.⁴²

Jackson was disturbed by a question posed by Mijušković in connection with future Montenegrin emigration to the United States, namely, „if the United States [was] disposed to prohibit, upon a request from the Montenegrin Government, the admission to the United States of any Montenegrins presenting themselves without passports regularly vised for the purpose of emigration to America.” Jackson told the Montenegrin minister that he was confident that „the American Government would not be willing to comply with his request as it has always extended a welcome to persons likely to become desirable citizens, whether their emigration from their native country has been with the permission of the government thereof or not.”⁴³ Only a few weeks the foreign ministry requested Jackson’s help in delivering a Montenegrin court judgment against one Petar Radača, a Montenegrin emigrant reportedly residing in the mining community of Paradise, Arizona, who had apparently run afoul of Montenegrin law.⁴⁴

In June 1906, Jackson conveyed the decision of the Montenegrin government to issue its own currency -- specifically, to coin nickel and bronze

⁴¹ Jackson to Elihu Root, 6 April 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 31, *CGSAD*, No. 69. The Montenegrin foreign ministry asked Jackson for assistance in putting together a list of appropriate candidates. Jackson, who „[did] not feel at liberty” to suggest any names upon his own authority, requested State Department direction. The acting secretary of state wrote back: „I have to say that the Department would gladly recognize any reputable person whom the Montenegrin Government might commission as honorary consul at New York or at San Francisco, or elsewhere in the United States. Its practice is against recommending any one for office under a foreign government. It would, however, have no objection to making inquiries regarding the standing and fitness of any particular persons suggested by the Montenegrin Government if requested by that Government to do so.” Robert Bacon to John Jackson, 3 May 1906, Montenegrin Series No. 12, *CGSAD*, No. 74.

⁴² Jackson to Elihu Root, 23 April 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 33, *CGSAD*, No. 71.

⁴³ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 4 April 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 30, *CGSAD*, No. 68. Acting Secretary of State Robert Bacon approved Jackson’s response, adding that „the administrative officers of the United States may exclude only the classes of persons whose entry is prohibited by law.” Robert Bacon to Jackson, 3 May 1906, Washington, State Department Montenegrin Series No. 11, *CGSAD*, No. 73.

⁴⁴ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 26 April 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 34, *CGSAD*, No. 72. Jackson subsequently reported that the Montenegrin foreign ministry had informed him that Radača had left Arizona and gone to Mexico to live. Jackson to Secretary of State, 3 May 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 35, *CGSAD* No. 75.

money in the nominal value of 1, 2, 10, and 20 hellers (Austro-Hungarian currency) to the amount of 200,000 crowns. In Jackson's words, „It is estimated that the Government will make a profit of about 120,000 Crowns by the transaction of replacing the Austrian money (which has gold value) by these coins, and this amount is to be considered by the Government as ‚exceptional revenue.‘”⁴⁵ The same day, Jackson reported that he had learned that the „exceptional revenue” in question was to be used to pay for twelve Maxim-Nordenfeldt machine guns, which had been ordered in Germany. In Jackson's opinion, though, „no special significance is to be attached to this latest purchase, or to...recent incidents -- which are of a chronic nature -- on the Turko-Montenegrin frontier.” On the other hand, he conveyed the widely held belief that „at some time in the future the Macedonian -- Turkey in Europe -- question must be settled by an appeal to arms.”⁴⁶ Given the tentative military situation in the land, it came as no surprise when Jackson related the renewed efforts of the Montenegrin government to prohibit foreigners from drawing maps or to „exploit” Montenegro from a „military point of view.”⁴⁷

In August 1906, not quite one year after presenting his credentials in Cetinje, Jackson made his „annual visit” to Montenegro. On this occasion he again met with Prince Nicholas; Foreign Minister Mijušković; Aleksa Martinović, the secretary general of the foreign ministry; and other state ministers. On 26 August, he visited Crown Prince Danilo at his summer residence outside Bar, before returning to Greece.

Once back in Athens, Jackson wrote another long review of political and economic developments in Montenegro, including impending elections to Montenegro's parliament, the development of a political „opposition” in the country, and the realization on the part of Montenegrin leaders that „changes must take place, and that something must be done to develop the country economically.” He also touched upon jockeying for political advantage among the three Great Powers with the greatest interest in Montenegrin affairs, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy. In discussing Italian investment at the port of Bar, he wrote:

⁴⁵ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 12 June 1906. See Radoslav Raspopović ed., *Normativne osnove monetarnog i bankskog sistema u Crnoj Gori (1906-1916): Dokumenti štampani povodom 100 godina odkovanja prvog Crnogorskog državnog novca* (Podgorica, 2006), pp. 19-20. The 1 and 2 pare coins were bronze. The 10 and 20 pare coins were nickel.

⁴⁶ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 12 June 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 38, CGSAD, No. 78. The Maxim-Nordenfeldt company was technically headquartered in London.

⁴⁷ John Jackson to Secretary of State, 14 June 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 39, CGSAD, No. 80; John Jackson to Secretary of State, 7 December 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 51, CGSAD, No. 92.

Mr. Miouchckovitch said that [proposals for economic development] had first been made to Austria, but she was unwilling to do anything for the economic development of the country, and as Russia never gave ,anything but guns,‘ he had been obliged to apply to Italy. The result is that there is considerably increased international jealousy.⁴⁸

Jackson also noted a new player in the Montenegrin international landscape: Imperial Germany. „As evidence of an opinion that Montenegro may be about to become of increased commercial importance, „ he wrote,“ I beg to mention the fact that a German Minister Resident presented credentials (as the first representative of the Empire) at Cetinje a short time ago.”⁴⁹ He also mentioned that „the British Councilor of Embassy at Rome is to be accredited to Montenegro as Charge d‘affaires.”⁵⁰ At the end of his report, Jackson concluded: „No questions of importance are pending between the United States and Montenegro.... Unless something unexpected happens, I shall not visit Montenegro again before next spring.”⁵¹

Elections for Montenegro’s „first regular” skupština took place shortly after Jackson’s return to Athens. Immediately after the opening session, the new assembly, at the instigation of former Foreign Minister Vuković, passed a vote of no confidence in the government, and Lazar Mijušković was obliged to step down. Mijušković’s successor as prime and foreign minister was Marko Radulović. On the one hand, Jackson observed, „Last year fault was found with this National Assembly because there was no opposition, but this year the contrary appears to be the case.”⁵² On the other hand he concluded that „it is not at all probable that he will show any anti-dynastic tendencies, or that the Skupshtina and Cabinet will, under his direction, be any less under the influence of the Prince than has heretofore been the case.”⁵³

In communicating the speech from the throne at the opening of the new assembly, Jackson cited Prince Nicholas’s characterization of Montene-

⁴⁸ John Jackson Report on annual visit to Montenegro, 31 August 1906, Athens, *CGSAD*, No. 83.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* The new German minister resident in Cetinje was Gisbert von Pilgrim-Baldezza (inadvertently referred to in *CGSAD* as „Gilbert Piligram”).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* On the other hand, he was replacing a minister resident in Cetinje, who had been recalled in 1905.

⁵¹ John Jackson Report on annual visit to Montenegro, 31 August 1906, Athens, Greece No. 43, *CGSAD*, No. 81; Jackson to Elihu Root, 31 August 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 43, *CGSAD*, No. 82.

⁵² John Jackson to Elihu root, 4 December 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series, No. 49, *CGSAD*, No. 89. Jackson observed that parliamentary government in Montenegro was still in its infancy: „There is practically no Montenegrin legislation as yet, everything in the way of the law having been decreed by Princely Ukase.” John Jackson to Elihu Root, 3 December 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 48, *CGSAD*, No. 87.

⁵³ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 7 December 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 51, *CGSAD*, No. 92.

gro's foreign relations as being „perfectly correct and very cordial.” According to the monarch, „Troubles on the Turkish frontier had been completely removed thanks to the good will of both the governments concerned and especially of His Majesty the Sultan.”⁵⁴ That this unusual state of affairs would change soon enough was almost a given.

Jackson reported on various initiatives of the new government, including a proposal to move the national capital from Cetinje to Danilovgrad.⁵⁵ In Jackson's estimation,

While Cetinje was admirably adapted to serve as a stronghold of a mountain nation, before the invention of modern artillery, it cannot be considered as suitable for a capital at the present time.... The transfer of the national capital can be accomplished without any very great outlay.... The railway which is in process of construction from Antivari, and the steamers on Lake Scutari, will facilitate communication between Danilovgrad and the Adriatic -- communication capable of being kept open all the year round, while for weeks at a time during the winter Cetinje is sometimes practically inaccessible.⁵⁶

The American envoy's positive appraisal of the proposed legislation notwithstanding, the Montenegrin capital remained in Cetinje. On the other hand, the skupština did pass a resolution abolishing the death penalty except in cases of high treason.⁵⁷

The Mijušković government had lasted not quite one year, from 2 January to 19 November 1906. The Radulović government did not last nearly as long. In February 1907, Jackson reported the resignation of the Radulović cabinet and the appointment of Andrija Radović, the former finance minister, as the new chief minister and minister for foreign affairs, *inter alia*.⁵⁸ Only two months later, however, on 17 April, Radović, too, was forced to resign. Lazar Tomanović became the new prime minister. It was the third change of government since the meeting of the skupština in December. Jackson observed: „Apparently Montenegro is to follow the example of her sister Balkan states, all of which were given parliamentary governments before they were sufficiently advanced to profit by them.”⁵⁹ In fact, Tomanović remained in power for another five years, until June 1912.

⁵⁴ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 7 December 1906, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 51, *CGSAD*, No. 92.

⁵⁵ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 2 January 1907, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 54, *CGSAD*, No. 95.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 15 February 1907, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 57, No. 100.

⁵⁸ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 9 February 1907, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 56, *CGSAD*, No. 98.

⁵⁹ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 25 April 1907, Athens, Montenegrin Series No. 61, *CGSAD*, No. 103.

The Montenegrin cabinet was not the only thing subject to change in 1907. In October, only two years after presenting his credentials in Cetinje, Jackson was appointed the new American minister plenipotentiary to Persia, switching positions with Richmond Pearson, who now became the American minister to Greece and Montenegro. After taking leave of the Greek royal family and government, Jackson departed Athens on his farewell trip to Montenegro on 21 October.⁶⁰

In his final long report written at the „American Legation” in Cetinje, i.e., from his room in the Grand Hotel, he concluded that „in spite of all reports to the contrary in the foreign press, there seems to be at present no anti-dynastic movement in Montenegro.... It is probable that when the Skupshtina meets, in about a month, certain measures acceptable to the Prince will be submitted to and [...] by it, and that the session will be short.” In reflecting on the introduction of constitutional government in Montenegro, he wrote:

Just two years ago, when the Prince first proposed giving a Constitution to Montenegro, it was generally felt that he was taking a premature and dangerous step. There was practically no demand for a constitution. The Prince’s advisers were opposed to his granting and urged him to defer and only from twenty to sixty younger men -- the self-styled intelligence of the country -- who had studied abroad, in France, Russia or Servia, were enthusiastic. The mass of the people knew nothing of Constitutional government, and the Prince himself (who is in how own words ,more of a poet than a politician’) had no clear idea as to what it meant. Heretofore, his authority had been absolute and patriarchal, and he imagined that it would so continue.⁶¹

Commenting on the dearth of well educated Montenegrins, Jackson observed that among the functionaries [of the previous government] was the so-called „intelligence,” almost all of whom occupied government positions, as men of even superficial education are at a premium in Montenegro, and as most of these men were dependent upon their official salaries, they have been obliged to seek other employment abroad -- must to the disadvantage of their own country. At present there are very few „educated” men among the [...] officials, and many posts (especially among the judiciary) are vacant because the material to file them is wanting.⁶²

Last but not least Jackson addressed the question of Montenegrin immigration to the United States. „Economically,” he wrote, „the country makes

⁶⁰ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 19 October 1907, Athens, Greek Series No. 601, *CGSAD*, No. 109; Until the arrival of his successor, the legation will be in the hands of Mr. Sickles as charge d’affaire ad interim.

⁶¹ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 27 October 1907, Cetinje, Montenegrin Series No. 66, *CGSAD*, No. 110.

⁶² *Ibid.*

but little progress. [But] the effect of emigration is financially advantageous, the 18 to 19 thousand (estimated) Montenegrins in the United States having, as I am told, sent about 5,000,000 Kruna (one million dollars) back to their native country during the past year.”⁶³

On the morning of 27 October, Jackson formally presented his letter of recall to Prince Nicholas.⁶⁴ That afternoon, Nicholas honored Jackson with a „banquet champêtre.” The following morning Jackson left Cetinje for Montreux, Switzerland, to join his family before traveling on to his new post in Persia.⁶⁵ The embassy of John Jackson in Montenegro had come to an end.⁶⁶

US-Montenegrin Relations Post-Jackson and the First World War

After Jackson’s departure, the American ministers who visited Cetinje, beginning with Richmond Pearson (Jackson’s predecessor in Teheran), followed his example in reporting on Montenegro’s domestic political questions and external relations, the efforts of the Montenegrin monarch to expand his frontiers, and, of course, the question of Montenegrin immigrants in the United States. One exception to „business as usual” concerned the elevation of Prince Nicholas to the status of king in 1910, on the occasion of his 50th anniversary as Montenegrin ruler. From an American perspective, however, even more notable was the surprising offer -- made initially in 1909 -- to cede to the United States roughly one fourth of Montenegro’s coastline. The idea was that Montenegro would give the United States the Val Di Noce (Valdanos) at Ulcinj for the construction of an American naval base and coaling station.⁶⁷ Despite the enthusiastic reportage of Richmond Pearson, the United States government declined the offer, whether made in earnest or not.⁶⁸ It was left to George H. Moses, Pearson’s successor, to decline the

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 27 October 1907, Cetinje, Montenegrin Series 67, CGSD, No. 112.

⁶⁵ John Jackson to Elihu Root, 27 October 1908, Cetinje, Montenegrin Series No. 67, CGSAD, No. 112.

⁶⁶ Until his successor had presented his credentials, Montenegrin affairs were formally in the hands of Mr. Sickles, the chargé d’affaires ad interim in Athens.

⁶⁷ See, inter alia, Richard Challener, „Montenegro and the United States: A Balkan Fantasy,” *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 17 (October 1957): 236-42.

⁶⁸ In the words of then Minister Pearson: „My farewell visit to Montenegro was without special incident, except, that the Prime-Minister, who is also Minister for Foreign Affairs made to me a proposition so serious and so remarkable that I deem it worthy of a special report.” „This proposition was so sudden and so startling that it fairly took my breath away. I exclaimed in astonishment, surely your Excellency, Montenegro has resolved to surpass American in generosity!... On the way back to the Hotel I could not avoid thinking: such a thing as this has never been dreamed of in Downing Street nor in the Chanceries of Vienna or Berlin; but after all, why should we expend hundreds of millions on a navy,

Montenegrin government's offer in person upon the occasion of his annual visit to Cetinje in the spring of 1910⁶⁹ -- after the passing of ten months.⁷⁰ Even then, the matter continued to occupy Washington through 1911.⁷¹ In 1912 and 1913, the question of the Balkans Wars and the efforts of various Red Cross organizations dominated the American diplomatic reportage.

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 found the United States pursuing a policy of neutrality -- much to the chagrin of former President Roosevelt -- while Montenegro committed itself to the Entente Powers.⁷² To begin with, US-Montenegrin relations were not affected by the conflict, but in the summer of 1915, ties were damaged when the US Justice Department arrested several Montenegrins, charging them with conspiring to violate American neutrality laws by recruiting Montenegro immigrants and sending them to fight in their homeland. One of the Montenegrins arrested was Captain Anto Vladimir Seferović, a member of the Montenegrin Red Cross, and a resident of New York City. Yet despite his run-in with Ame-

if we are unwilling to acquire all the accessories essential to its greatest efficiency. One tenth of the cost of one battleship would pay for a sea wall at Val di Noce behind which an entire fleet could rest with ease and safety. The full cost of one battle-ship would pay for the fortifications which would make this spot as impregnable as Gibraltar and as useful in case of need." The Navy Department, however, was of the opinion that „such a base is not needed by the U.S." „Proposed Session to United States by Montenegro of the Bay of Val di Noce for a Naval Station, 29 June 1909, *CGSAD*, No. 126. „As a coaling station, such a base would not be needed as it is now a better practice to coal fleets, or even small squadrons of ships, from colliers rather than by the facilities of the coaling station." Huntington Wilson to George Moses, 1 July 1909, Washington, Montenegrin Series No. 1, *CGSAD*, No. 128.

⁶⁹ George Moses to P. C. Knox, 6 July 1909, No. 1 Montenegrin series, *CGSAD*, No. 131. In the words of Moses, „I took the matter up with the Montenegrin Foreign Office, „I perceived immediately from the Minister's manner that, whatever interpretation should have been put upon his words to my predecessor, it was not intended that they should be taken in the manner indicated by Mr. Pearson.... The Minister's language to me further indicated that an error had been made; and he seemed relieved when I turned the conversation to other topics." Moses to State Department, Athens, 8 June 1910, No. 7 Montenegrin Series, *CGSAD* No. 135.

⁷⁰ A gap of ten months appears in the *CGSAD* documentary collection until March 1910, when Moses discussed the question of tariff. Huntington Wilson to George Moses, 25 March 1910: „I transmit herewith copies of the President's [Taft] proclamation, dated the 24th instant, admitting from and after March 31, 1910, under the terms of the minimum tariff of the United States approved August 5, 1909, all articles when important into the United States or any of its possessions (except in the Philippine Islands and the Islands of Guam and Tutulia) from Montenegro."

⁷¹ P. C. Knox concerning a draft letter from President Taft, 7 August 1911, *CGSAD*, No. 179; Fowle to Adey, 31 July 1911, *CGSAD*, No. 168; Letter from President Taft to King Nicholas, 9 August 1911, Washington, *CGSAD*, No. 181.

⁷² Many of the following pages are drawn from John D. Treadway, „Anglo-American Diplomacy and the Montenegrin Question, 1914-1924," *Occasional Papers*, Woodrow Wilson Center, European Institute, East European Program, no. 26 (April 1991): 1-20.

rican authorities, when Montenegro opened its first consulate ever in the United States on 12 October 1915, Seferović was appointed consul -- and the State Department raised no objection. Initially at least, Seferović proved to be an indefatigable defender of King Nicholas and the Royal Montenegrin government. When Montenegro finally fell to the armies of the Central Powers in January 1916 and when Nicholas departed his homeland for exile in France, Seferović vociferously denied rumors of collusion between the king and the Austrians.

After America's entry into the war in April 1917 and especially after the proclamation of President Wilson's Fourteen Points in January 1918 (point 11 called for the „evacuation” and „restoration” of Montenegro, *inter alia*), King Nicholas had every reason to feel fairly confident that things were going his way and that when the war came to an end, he would be restored to his throne. Throughout the spring and summer of 1918, he exchanged a series of warm letters with President Wilson, who generally drafted and typed his personal responses to the king on his own typewriter. Nicholas was doing his best to win the American president to his side, and Wilson's short letters of response seemed to indicate that the king's efforts were paying dividends. In a response to a note from Nicholas on the first anniversary of American involvement in the war, for example, Wilson wrote „Your gracious and welcome message comes to us as the voice of a nation in which the people of the United States have always had the liveliest interest and with whose struggles and aspirations they have always felt a very genuine sympathy. We welcome it as the voice of a friend and send you in return assurances of our sincere friendship.”⁷³ In response to Nicholas's Fourth of July message of 1918, Wilson wrote: „I trust that Your Majesty and the noble and heroic people of Montenegro will not be cast down, but will have confidence in the determination of the United States to see that in the final victory that will come, the integrity and rights of Montenegro shall be secured and recognized.”⁷⁴

With his ties to Wilson on seemingly firm footing, the king moved to consolidate his influence in American circles and to assure himself of the president's ear. He asked the American government to accept Doctor (and General) Anto Gvozdenović as his country's first minister plenipotentiary to Washington and William Frederick Dix, the secretary general of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, as Montenegro's new consul general in New York. The choice of the latter was a calculated one by Nicholas -- urged on him by the British school headmaster and self-proclaimed spokesper-

⁷³ Wilson to King Nicholas, 12 April 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, Reel 370, Series 4, Case File 4618.

⁷⁴ Woodrow Wilson to King Nicholas, 10 July 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, Reel 286, Series 4, Case File 551.

son for Montenegrin interests, Alexander Devine.⁷⁵ Not only was Dix a prominent insurance agent and a colonel in the New York police reserve; more important, he was a member of the Princeton Class of 1889 -- and a personal friend of President Wilson. Robert Lansing, the US Secretary of State at the time, accepted Gvozdernović as Montenegrin minister and William Dix as consul general, much to the chagrin of the British Foreign Office.⁷⁶ Wilson promptly sent Dix a congratulatory letter he had typed himself in which he wrote, „we are particularly glad that you will undertake to represent the interests of the doughty little kingdom in New York.”⁷⁷ Two months later, in October 1918, Alexander Devine wrote Wilson personally, being careful to mention „our friend „Wm. F. Dix” in the opening line. After describing himself to the American president as „probably [being] regarded by the King and the people of Montenegro as their chief English friend,” he offered an „unbiased,” and for Devine an unusually balanced, appraisal of the Montenegrin question for Wilson’s consideration.⁷⁸

At the end of the war in 1918, Nicholas found himself on the winning side, but the outcome was not exactly what he had hoped for. Despite previous assurances from Allied quarters, the French government did not permit him to return home. Upon the withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian forces from Montenegro in August 1918, French, and, more important, Serbian troops filled the political-military vacuum there. President Raymond Poincaré told Nicholas on November 24, 1918, that „it appears preferable that your Majesty should postpone the return to your kingdom until life shall have resumed its habitual course.” At the same time, the „National Assembly” in Podgorica „obtained a vote for immediate union with Serbia, and the deposition of King [Nicholas] and the whole Petrović dynasty.”⁷⁹

What happened next? The United States government was caught in the middle between King Nicholas (and Alexander Devine) on the one hand -- and the generally anti-Nicholas British Foreign Office (in particular Ha-

⁷⁵ William Frederick Dix to Woodrow Wilson, 26 June 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, Reel 370, Series 4, Case File 4618.

⁷⁶ William Lansing to Woodrow Wilson, 9 July 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Reel 370, Series 4, Case File 4618. Harold Nicolson Memorandum: „I submit that we should inform the United States Government exactly what we know and think of King Nikita, and should indicate to them that his representative in the United States is likely to direct his activities to the conduct of dynastic and dangerous propaganda for which purpose he will doubtless expend the subsidies being afforded by the two Allied Governments, if not the sums subscribed for the „Montenegrin Red Cross Fund.” PRO FO 371/3149, p. 9.

⁷⁷ Wilson to Dix, 12 July 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Reel 370, Series 4, Case File 4618.

⁷⁸ Devine to Wilson, 11 October 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Reel 371, Series 4, Case File 4618. Accompanying Devine’s letter to Wilson was a copy of a lengthy letter Devine had posted to King Nicholas the day before. Devine to Nicholas, 10 October 1918.

⁷⁹ Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), p. 149.

rold Nicolson), supported by Robert W. Seton-Watson, on the other. That's where this paper ends -- because the last document in CGSAD is dated December 1918. *How* and *why* things played out the way they did is the subject of another inquiry.

In Conclusion

Beginning with John Jackson's appointment in 1905, American ministers to Montenegro reported on internal Montenegrin political developments, diplomatic relations with other powers, border conflicts (especially with neighboring Albania), matters of mutual economic importance (including questions of tariffs), Prince/King Nicholas's machinations relating to possible territorial expansion, the mutual suspicions of the other members of Cetinje's miniscule diplomatic community, and, of course, the question of the well-being of Montenegrin immigrants to the United States. Although they usually spent only a week or so visiting the Montenegrin capital every year and had limited knowledge of the local language, their reports were generally balanced and insightful -- in keeping with the much longer reports submitted by their Great Power counterparts to their home offices. With the coming of war in 1914, however, the role of American ministers assigned to Montenegro as a conduit for official US-Montenegrin relations diminished. It was the new Montenegrin representatives in New York and Washington, and, especially after 1917, American representatives in Paris who assumed ever greater responsibility for relations between the United States and what President Wilson had termed „the doughty little kingdom.”

John D. TREADWAY

REFLECTIONS ON US-MONTENEGRIN RELATIONS, 1905-1918

Summary

According to the author, beginning with John Jackson's appointment in 1905, American ministers to Montenegro reported on internal Montenegrin political developments, diplomatic relations with other powers, border conflicts, matters of mutual economic importance, Prince/King Nicholas's machinations relating to possible territorial expansion, the mutual suspicions of the other members of Cetinje's miniscule diplomatic community, and, of course, the question of the well-being of Montenegrin immigrants to the United States. Although they usually spent only a

week or so visiting the Montenegrin capital every year and had limited knowledge of the local language, their reports were generally balanced and insightful. With the coming of war in 1914, however, the role of American ministers assigned to Montenegro as a conduit for official US-Montenegrin relations diminished. It was the new Montenegrin representatives in New York and Washington, and, especially after 1917, American representatives in Paris.