

HABSBURG BUKOVINA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT WAR. LOYALISM OR IRREDENTISM?

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Abstract. *Modern historiography often presents Austrian Bukovina (1775-1918) as a model for the management of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional territory. Many researchers have noted that, due to the policies promoted by the House of Habsburg, this province of the empire did not record religious and ethnic conflicts between national communities. On the other hand, at the end of World War I, all ethnic groups, except the German and Jews, adopted hostile positions against maintaining the integrity of Austria-Hungary. This has also been noticed by other historians to highlight the irredentism of non-German nationalities in Bukovina. This study attempts to analyse whether the dominant mood in the province at the end of the Great War was specific to non-German elites around and in the beginning of World War I, or it is the result of population adapting to the aftereffects of the world conflagration. The analysis is based on unpublished archival sources, testimonies of contemporaries and 1913-1914 local press articles.*

Keywords: *Ethnic groups, Bukovina, First World War, loyalism, administration, war, irredentism, Germans, Jews, Poles, Romanians, Ukrainians*

Rezumat. *Bucovina habsburgică la începutul Marelui Război. Loialism sau irredentism? Istoriografia modernă adeseori prezintă Bucovina austriacă (1775-1918) drept model de gestionare a unui teritoriu multiethnic și multiconfesional. Numeroși cercetători au remarcat că, grație politicilor promovate de Casa de Habsburg, în această provincie a imperiului nu s-au înregistrat conflicte cu substrat etnic sau religios între comunitățile naționale. Pe de altă parte, la sfârșitul Primului Război Mondial, toate grupurile etnice, cu excepția celui german și celui evreiesc, s-au situat pe poziții ostile menținerii integrității Austro-Ungariei. Acest aspect a fost scos în evidență de alți cercetători pentru a sublinia irredentismul înrădăcinat al grupurilor etnice negermane din Bucovina. Studiul își propune să analizeze în ce măsură comportamentele dominante în provincie la finele Marelui Război au fost specifice elitelor negermane în preajma și la începutul Primului Război Mondial. Studiul se întemeiază preponderent pe izvoare de arhivă inedite, mărturii ale contemporanilor și articole din presa vremii.*

Résumé : La Bucovine habsbourgeoise au début de la Grande Guerre. Loyalisme ou irrédentisme ? *L'historiographie moderne présente assez souvent la Bucovine autrichienne (1755-1918) comme modèle de gérer un territoire multiethnique et multiconfessionnel. De nombreux chercheurs remarquèrent que, grâce aux politiques promues par la Maison de Habsbourg, on n'enregistra pas dans cette province de l'empire de conflits à nuance ethnique ou religieux entre les communautés nationales. De l'autre partie, à la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale, tous les groupes ethniques, à l'exception de celui allemand et juif, se situèrent sur des positions hostiles au maintien de l'intégrité de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Des autres chercheurs mirent en évidence cet aspect afin de souligner l'irrédentisme enraciné des groupes ethniques pas allemands de la Bucovine. L'étude ci-jointe se proposa d'analyser en quelle mesure les comportements dominants en province à la fin de la Grande Guerre ont été spécifiques aux élites pas allemandes autour et au début de la Première Guerre Mondiale. L'étude est fondée surtout sur des sources d'archives inédites, des témoignages des contemporains et des articles de la presse contemporaine.*

INTRODUCTION

In approaching the problems of the past there is a temptation to interpret events in terms of accomplished facts, while data and tendencies that do not fit into this vision are likely to be ignored or presented superficially. Regarding Bukovina, a territory separated from Moldavia that came into the possession of the House of Habsburg in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the past is usually analysed by focusing on the moments that decisively marked the destiny of this region: the year 1775, when the north-west of Moldova became Austrian province; 1918, when Bukovina was united with the Kingdom of Romania; 1940 (1944), when the province was divided and the north was included in the (Soviet) Ukraine. In this regard, the course of Bukovina was, during the First World War, embedded in the November 1918 moment, when ethnic groups in this province have become extremely vocal, claiming the separation from Austria-Hungary (except for the Germans and the Jews) and advocating for a future of ethno-national orientation, while the Peace Conference in Paris (by the Treaty of Saint Germain, November 1919) committed the transfer of the province from the dualistic empire to the Kingdom of Romania. To this point, Romanian historiography emphasizes the facts and processes that led to the unification, the Ukrainian historiography highlights the failed efforts of the Ruthenian Bukovinians to include the whole province or a part of it in a Ukrainian state, while German historiography focused on aspects which ensured the progress of society and the Austrian administration efforts to ensure the

balance of interests between the centre and the province and between different ethnic communities or political groups.

Starting with the year 1775, once with the incorporation of the north-western Moldova to the Austrian Empire, the smallest country of the Habsburg Monarchy – Bukovina – experienced a sinuous but continuous evolution of integration in Central European patterns. After the 1848-1849 revolution, modernization effects could be seen in all fields, without exception. From a community organized according to medieval patterns, with loyalties structured on a few hierarchical levels, with only a few literates, with time Bukovina's society turned into a modern one, with multiple loyalties, with a significant number of literates. The progressive democratization of the Austrian society, mass literacy, the formation of national elites and their involvement in the political and administrative life of the empire were among the internal factors that led, however, to the manifestation of irredentist tendencies that marked the collapse of the Dualist Empire, in the autumn of 1918.

The conclusion according to which rejecting the authority of the House of Habsburg by non-German nationalities was a natural and continuous process can be easily detached from some works dedicated to the history of the province¹. The study of archive documents, media of the time and testimonies of contemporaries leads us to a more complex picture of trends and attitudes, of historical alternatives which, at times, became stronger or less obvious. Despite some separatist political aspirations cherished by some Bukovinians, during the year 1915 the inhabitants of the province had to cope with extremely violent events and identify survival solutions during war and change of administration.

Traditionally for the Romanian historiography, Bukovina is seen as a territory where the Austrian government has pursued denationalization of the local Romanian population, and the other ethnic groups were instruments of this policy. The focus was on the downward demographic evolution of the Romanian community and spectacular growth of the other ethnic groups, which made Romanians represent around 1/3 of the total population of the province in the first decade of the twentieth century. On the other hand, the Ukrainian historiography sustained that the 38% Ruthenian population of the province in the year 1910 has virtually always been there, and the demographic evolution during the Austrian administration was characterized by a Romanianization of

¹ Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina], Bucharest: Humanitas, 1990; Аркадій Жуковський, *Історія Буковини. Частина друга після 1774 р.* [History of Bukovina. Part II (after 1774)] Чернівці: Видавничка спілка «Час», 1993; etc.

the land population. Habsburg administration was aware of the fact that the absence of a non-majority ethnic group simplified the management matter of non-German population, and the ethnic mosaic of Bukovina in which people attached to either the Romanian, Ukrainian or German third, made impossible the presence of a hegemony leadership to generate an irredentist trend. In this context, the Austrian authorities assumed their moderator position on the political scene of Bukovina, putting pressure on the more active factions and supporting the manifestations of the passive groups. In these circumstances, the ethnic communities in the province saw the Habsburg administration as either a protector of their own interests, or an advocate of the interests of other groups, either way the local elites shared a joint interest in obtaining a favourable attitude from the imperial structures.

In the present paper, we aim at presenting the responses of Bukovina's ethnic groups in the context of World War I outbreak and identifying to what extent the 1918's fall centrifuges options could have been observed or predicted in the first months of the Great War. Also, we will try to determine whether the volunteers' mobilization was due to aware and assumed civic obligations, was one generated and directed by the authorities or was the result of local leaders' manoeuvres, in order to gain political capital?

ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PICTURE OF AUSTRIAN BUKOVINA

For the general public, the Habsburg Empire - which on the eve of WWI came third in Europe by demographic potential after the Russian and the German² Empire - is synonymous for a "German" state. Statistics shows, however, that out of the almost 52 million inhabitants of Austria-Hungary, nearly 50% were Slavs, about 23% were Germans, and the rest were Hungarians, Romanians and Italians³. The Vienna Court was aware of this ethnic mosaic and knew how to face pressure from nations either by force (in the first half of the nineteenth century) or by means of political compromise and democratic society.

Before drafting the general image of the Bukovinians' reactions when the outbreak of war was announced and the population was mobilized, we must describe the political and economic situation and the ethno-demographic profile

² Geoffrey Wawro, *A Mad Catastrophe. The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire*, New York: Basic Books, 2014, p. 23.

³ A. J. P. Taylor, *Monarhia Habsburgică, 1809-1918. O istorie a Imperiului austriac și a Austro-Ungariei* [The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and of Austria-Hungary], București: ALLFA, 2000, p. 225.

of the province on the eve of the Great War. It should be noted that after 1860 all areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, including Bukovina, experienced an intense process of modernization in all fields. The socio-economic and political transformations from the second half of the nineteenth century significantly changed the ethno-demographic structure of Bukovina's population. In terms of ethnic structure, in 1875 the Austrian researcher V. F. Klun mentioned: "When the land was occupied by Austria, 100 years before, in Bukovina there were approx. 50 000 Romanians and approx. 20 000 Ruthenians. The 50 years exemption from military service and the official colonization contributed to the immigration of Ruthenians from Galicia and Maramures, of the Lipovans, Armenians, Jews, Hungarians and Germans to the land. Gradually, Romanians' preponderance disappeared in favour of the Ruthenians"⁴. The 1910 Austrian census recorded a population of 794 945 people. Of these, 273 216 (34.4%) were Romanians, 305 222 (38.4%) Ukrainians, 95 706 Hebrews (12%), 73 073 (9.2%) Germans and 47 728 (6%) of other ethnicities.⁵ The population was also very diverse in terms of religion: 547 603 Bukovinians declared themselves to be Orthodox, 102 919 Mosaics, 98 565 Roman Catholics, 26 182 Greek Catholics, 20 029 Lutherans, 3 232 Lipovans, 657 Armenian Catholic, 341 Orthodox Armenian, 484 Reformed etc.⁶

Nationalities had their own cultural institutions (associations, reading houses, etc.), that along with schools, where the study was done in the mother language, contributed to the preservation and development of group identity. Simultaneous with increasing literacy (the Czernowitz University was founded in 1875 and Bukovinians acceptance to study had a special contribution to this plan) it developed a viable media with news magazines and newspapers in many languages: Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, German and relative to the total population of the province, it ranked among the most developed in South Eastern Europe.⁷ The policy of mass literacy, together with that of modernization of society and the economy, resulted in the crystallization of the national identities.

⁴ V. F. Klun, *Statistik von Oesterreich-Ungarn*, Wien, 1876, p. 333.

⁵ Rudolf Wagner, *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina*, Augsburg: Hofmann-Verlag, 1991, p. 4.

⁶ See: Ганна Скорейко, *Поліконфесійність як складова толерантності буковинського суспільства* [Multiconfessional as a component of the tolerance in the bukovinian society], in Zbigniew Kowalski et al. (ed.), *Bukowina. Tradycje i współczesność*, Pila-Czerniowce-Suczawa: 2006, p. 137-140.

⁷ Sophie A. Welisch, *The History of Bukovina*, Posted on the World-Wide Web March 2002. Accessed August 17, 2016. url: <http://www.bukovinasociety.org/Welisch-2002-1.html>

Therefore, in the two decades preceding the Great War, Bukovina's ethnic groups gained distinct and robust political and cultural individualities.

One of the most important changes achieved during the Austrian administration was the urbanization of the province. If in 1775 the three urban settlements totalled 3 200 inhabitants (less than 5% of the total population), in 1910 in the 10 cities and 6 towns lived 23.9% of the Bukovinians.⁸ The urban development and the intensive immigration and colonization processes have transformed the cities of Bukovina in ethno-cultural and religious conglomerates. The last Austrian census (1910) recorded in urban areas a great ethnic diversity and the absence of a majority both in habitation environments and in the total of Bukovina's population. Therefore, of all the inhabitants of towns and cities, Germans represented 15%, Jews 32.7%, Romanians 22.9% Ukrainians 17.9%, Poles 11%, others 0.4%.⁹

Bukovina's economy experienced rapid growth and diversification, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1912, in Bukovina were operating 112 factories, half of these in the forestry industry. The industrialization accomplished throughout the entire Austro-Hungary was successful in Bukovina as well, because in 1895-1896 the first electric power station was built (Czernowitz). On February 5th, 1896, in the province's capital, the first light bulb lit and on July 18th, 1897 the first tram line was inaugurated. In 1908, in Bukovina four electric power stations operated; 45 companies were supplied with electricity. In 1911, there were seven processing plants for the oil brought from Galicia and Romania, three sugar factories, more than 70 bakeries, brick and glass factories etc. The number of industrial workers increased from over 8 000 in 1851 to about 32 000 in 1910, of which approx. 8 000 worked in large industrial enterprises. 48% of the workers were Hebrews and Germans, followed by Ukrainians (18%), Romanians (16%), Poles (15%) etc. Most industrial enterprises were settled in Chernivsti, where there were one third of the total number of workers.¹⁰

⁸ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774 - 1918). Aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* [Bukovina during Austrian dominion (1774-1918). Ethno-demographic and religious issues], Chișinău, Editura „Civitas”, 2003, p. 255.

⁹ *Die Ergebnisse der Volks- und Viehzählung vom 31 Dezember 1910 im Herzogtume Bukowina nach dem Angaben der k. k. statistischen Zentral-Kommission in Wien,* in *Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogtums Bukowina*, Czernowitz, Heft XVII, 1913, p. 54-95.

¹⁰ See: *Буковина: історичний нарис* [Bukovina: A Historical Essay], Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 1998, p. 111-142.

The expansion of the communication routes was blooming. In 1864-1866, the railway Lemberg-Czernowitz was built, and by 1869 it was also built the route Czernowitz-Hliboka-Suceava that made the junction with the Romanian railway network. In 1884, the Czernowitz-Sadagora-Bojan-Nowosielitza railway was completed and it made the junction with the railway network of Bessarabia (1893).¹¹

Despite the industry boom, the agriculture remained the strong point of Bukovina's economy. Moreover, the same phenomenon characterized the economic operation of the dualist monarchy. Thus, in 1910, 56.5% of the total Austria-Hungary labour force was engaged in agriculture.¹² Due to the agrarian reform carried out in the 1850s, the number of property owners increased from 64 900 in the mid-nineteenth century, to 219 500 in 1905, while the number of households grew from 38 100 in 1847 to 109 200 in 1902. The Fund of the Orthodox Church and big landowners had 520 400 hectares of land (49.8%), the farms possessed 484 500 hectares (46.4%) and the remaining land of 39 400 hectares (3.8%) belonged to the state, to communes and cities.¹³

In terms of participation to the creation of material assets and population welfare, most Romanians and Ukrainians worked in agriculture, while Jews, Germans and Poles were involved in commercial-industrial, administrative and financial activities:

Table no. 1, The percentage of Bukovina's ethnic groups in the province's economy (1910)¹⁴

Nationality (persons)	Agriculture and forestry	Industry and crafts	Commerce and transportation	Public and military service, professions (law, medicine, etc.)
Romanians (155 879)	89,7	2,8	1,5	6,0

¹¹ Paul Braşcanu, *Emanuel A. Ziffer – „părintele căilor ferate din Bucovina”* [Emanuel A. Ziffer – “Father of Bukovina's railways”], p. 6-7. Accessed August 19, 2016, <http://hauster.de/data/Ziffer.pdf>

¹² Hew Strachan, *The First World War, Vol. I, To Arms*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 37.

¹³ Demir Dragnev et al., *Din istoria ţinutului natal (regiunea Cernăuţi)* [From the History of Homeland (Chernivtsi region)], Cernăuţi, Editura „Alexandru cel Bun”, 2003, p. 115.

¹⁴ Albert Lichtblau and Michael John, *Jewries in Galicia and Bukovina, in Lemberg and Czernowitz: Two Divergent Examples of Jewish Communities in the Far East of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, in Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain (eds.), *Jewries at the Frontier: Accommodation, Identity, Conflict*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1997, p. 49.

Ukrainians (175 840)	89,6	3,0	2,3	5,4
Germans (30 319)	48,2	24,2	6,5	21,1
Jews (40 366)	13,3	24,3	41,7	20,7
Poles (15 788)	35,5	29,7	13,1	21,7

Through the administrative and economic policy, the imperial authorities have created social-national faults in Bukovina. Although interfering economically, spiritually or intellectually, Bukovina continued to be a multipolar world: *the cities* being dominated by elements of German-Jewish-Polish ethnicity; *the villages* were Romanian-Ukrainian and German-Romanian, in various proportions to total homogeneity; *the institutions* (church, school) characterized by an interfaith and / or ethnicity competition (in the Orthodox Church) – were dominated by the Hebrews, Germans and Poles.¹⁵ These worlds evolved alongside, their representatives interacting occasionally and with interest (in the market, stores, courts, public institutions, etc.).

BUKOVINIANS' STATE OF MIND ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The decade preceding the outbreak of the Great War was one in which the European countries invested heavily in armies' development, new weapons' invention and in the articulation of strategies for waging modern military conflicts etc. By 1914, the feeling that the war is a biological necessity of first importance, "as a racial and social cathartic" through which the health of nations was ensured, was one that caught all the European peoples.¹⁶ In Austro-Hungary, the public opinion was fed with news about: the increase of nationalism in the Balkans, the need to maintain the influence of the Court of Habsburg on the course of European policy, the endowment of the continental powers with new weapons, the external menaces and the sustainability of the imperial structure over which the king and the government watched over.

¹⁵ Marian Olaru, Ștefan Purici, *Bucovina – mirajul identitar supranațional* [Bukovina – the supranational identitary mirage], „Analele Bucovinei”, VI, 1999, no. 2, p. 260.

¹⁶ H. P. Willmott, *When Men lost Faith in Reason. Reflections on War and Society in the Twentieth Century*, Westport – Connecticut – London, Praeger Publishers, 2002, p. 55.

With the hostilities' outbreak and with the successive engaging of the European powers at war, in all the countries of the continent, the peoples were captured by a particular enthusiasm, openly supporting the governments as they felt that history was being made.¹⁷ At the end of July 1914, patriotic events took place in most European cities starting with Berlin, Paris¹⁸, London or Vienna. This reaction of the population can be explained by the very small number of "pure pacifists" in the early twentieth century in Europe, while the number of different associations and political groups that did not always openly supported the war, but did not excluded violence as a solution for the international conflicts and militated for war preparation, was rather high.¹⁹ On the other hand, people judged the future war based on past experience of war. Both the 1870-1871 Franco-German war and the Balkan wars, as well as the military propaganda supported the public confidence in the victorious conclusion of the conflict until Christmas²⁰, therefore the bellicose euphoria of the first period was justifiable. The existence of compulsory military service and the previous experience of those mobilized in 1914 are a good explanation for the prevailing of recruitment acceptance at the time, all over Europe.²¹ The sincere enthusiasm was much more common in urban areas (among literate population) than in rural areas, but the differences should not be exaggerated.²²

An important role in cultivating a patriotic (nationalistic) attitude among the people was played by the media, especially by the tabloid press. Distributed among a semiliterate population, this type of publications contributed to the crystallization of a "xenophobic paranoia" atmosphere that characterized the crisis atmosphere in the decade preceding the First World War.²³ However, if in Germany and France in the month of August the enthusiasm of the masses deepened, in Austria-Hungary it began to decline.²⁴

In Bukovina, the modernization accomplished in the decades preceding the war generated on the one hand, satisfaction due to the access to central European civilization material and cultural benefits and on the other hand, it contributed to

¹⁷ Strachan, *First World War*, p. 104.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

¹⁹ Volker R. Berghahn, *Europe in the era of two World Wars: from militarism and genocide to civil society, 1900-1950*, Princeton - Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²¹ Strachan, *First World War*, p. 149.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²³ Willmott, *When Men lost Faith*, p. 52.

²⁴ Strachan, *First World War*, p. 157.

the affirmation of the national cultural identity consciousness, both phenomena contributing to the achievement of increased levels of civic involvement and population politicization. In this context, the mass attitudes fluidization level, but also the manipulation ability of the governmental or political actors were the factors that influenced the public opinion's reaction to the major events.

At the end of First World War, Bukovina's society resembled a fragmented glass picture: each ethnic group displayed their political demands and their vision of the Province's future, none of these visions being identical or similar to the others. Basically, all had one common element: the destiny of the land and of their own ethnic group being no longer tied to Austria or to the emperor. Since Austria-Hungary ended up dismembering into several national states, there is the temptation to conclude that this tendency existed long before hostilities' outbreak. But one must keep in mind that for decades most ethnic groups shared the benefits and disadvantages of belonging to the dualist empire, so before 1914 most hoped for a federate status quo and not for independence.²⁵

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE ETHNO-CULTURAL MOSAIC AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE BUKOVINIAN ETHNIC GROUPS

The ethnic mosaic and the absence of a majority nation in Bukovina, the legal framework and the political and national-cultural expression opportunities led to the configuration of a system for interests' balancing and for the defusing of potential ethnic tensions²⁶. This fact did not exclude the crystallization phenomenon of separate ethnic identities, but neither the affirmation of a regional appurtenance. To highlight the role of local identities in the process of mobilization, it would be wrong to limit ourselves to only two levels: the nation and the town, therefore a study of all the intermediate groups is necessary.²⁷ This endeavour is essential for a province with a complex national and social structure such as Bukovina in 1914. Even if the example of the neighbour (another ethnic group) was of particular importance, the nationalities of the land had singularized reactions to the news related to the war and, subsequently, to the mobilization.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40-41.

²⁶ See Börries Kuzmany, *Habsburg Austria: Experiments in Non-Territorial Autonomy*, „Ethnopolitics”, 15, 2016, no. 1, pp. 52-55, 59-61.

²⁷ Pierre Purseigle, *Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War*, in Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (eds.), *Uncovered fields: perspectives in First World War studies (History of Warfare, Volume 20)*, Leiden – Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004, p. 105.

Of Bukovina's communities, the Poles had a special place, after the consecration of the province's autonomy in 1861, they managed to achieve a constructive dialogue with the representatives of the other ethnic groups and participated in a unitive manner to the implementation of the broad interests of Bukovinians. Concerned to preserve their national identity, nourishing the dream of the national state's revival, Bukovina's Poles²⁸, often seen by the Austrian authorities as a revolutionary factor (even if of anti-Russian orientation, during the 1830-1831, 1863-1864 events, anti-Prussian in 1848, as well as anti-Habsburg in 1846, in Kraków) was the ballast in the province, showing respect for the interests and rights of the other ethnic groups. There were situations when the Poles in Bukovina had to face the pressure from radical compatriots from Galicia, having to notify the public opinion of the actuality in the province.²⁹ The ethnic Hebrews were an active element in the economic and public life of the land. Not being recognized as a nationality in Austria-Hungary, in Bukovina, Jews were identified and identified themselves as "German-speaking", thus contributing to the consolidation of the Habsburg administration in the region. The ethnic distinction could be established only on religious criterion, the mosaic cult being recognized by the Austrian authorities. However, the Austrian government refused to recognize Hebrews as a nation. Legally, it was argued that the recognition of political rights based on religious affiliation was contrary to the Constitution. Also, there was the governmental concern that this acknowledgement could lead to demands for the establishment of publicly funded Hebrew schools.³⁰ In the twentieth century, the Hebrew students at the University of Chernivsti protested against this situation, actions

²⁸ See: Kazimierz Feleszko, *O Bukowinie. Razem czy oddzielnie?* [About Bukovina. Together or separately?], Warszawa, 2000; Florin Pintescu, Daniel Hrenciuc, *Din istoria polonezilor în Bucovina (1774-2002)* [From the History of Poles in Bukovina (1774-2002)], Suceava, Uniunea Polonezilor din România, 2002; Андрій Горук, *Національно-культурний рух поляків на Буковині (друга половина XIX ст. – 1914 р.)* [The National-Cultural Movement of Bukovina's Poles (the second half of the 19th Century – 1914)], Чернівці, Зелена Буковина, 2005.

²⁹ See: „Polskość i katolicyzm na Bukowinie”. Odpowiedź „Gazety Polskiej” w Czerniowcach na artykuł „Bukowiner Nachrichten” z d. 25 sierpnia 1901 [“Polishness and Catholicism in Bukovina”. The Answer of the “Polish Gazette” in Czernowitz on the article „Bukowiner Nachrichten” of Aug. 25th, 1901.], Czerniowche, 1901.

³⁰ Fred Stambrook, *The Golden Age of the Jews of Bukovina, 1880-1914*, Center for Austrian Studies Working Papers 03-2 University of Minnesota, October 2003, 10. Accessed October 11, 2016, <http://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/90464/1/WP032B.pdf>

that forced the university administration to include in the annual report for 1912-1913, for the first time, and the number of Hebrew ethnicity students.³¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Hebrew community aimed at ensuring a stable and secure place at Bukovina's population level, among Jews being manifested the tendency to "settle down" and – from the early twentieth century – the resettlement in Palestine. It should be noted that the goals of the Jewish nationalists and of the Zionists were to a great extent congruent, despite sharp disputes between the two sides, especially among Benno Straucher and the Zionist leaders Mayer Ebner, lawyer, and Leon Kellner, professor. Both movements aimed at promoting Hebrew identity, dignity and confidence in own forces. Zionists, of course, were concerned with encouraging the return of Jews to Jerusalem, although only small groups were resettled from Bukovina to Palestine, before 1914. On the other hand, National Hebrew were seeking for a Jewish future in the Habsburg Monarchy and in particular, in Bukovina, Jews wished to gain recognition as one of the Austrian nationalities and not just as a separate religious community. In the Bukovinian society existed the conditions needed to strengthen the sense of identity among Jews, especially because anti-Semitism was not openly manifested. One might speak about passivity as a specific feature of the rural population in the province, but Bukovina was noticed even since the nineteenth century for the tolerant and adapting spirit. The Orthodox did business with the Jews, and the latter greeted with pomp any bishop who arrived in Czernowitz and the Romanian Metropolitan Vladimir de Repta was the one that saved the Torah and other holy scriptures from the Czernowitz synagogue during the first Russian occupation (1914).

The Romanian Bukovinian leaders – a community that dominated the villages of the south and centre of the province – considered that the Habsburg authorities do not pay due consideration to the requests of this ethnic group, favouring the development of other nationalities in Bukovina. For example, the Romanian Bukovinians were anxious because of the society's Teutonization tendencies³², in terms of the proclaimed equality among nations³³ without

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³² *Ministrul de justiție germanizează Bucovina* [The Minister of Justice Teutonizes Bukovina], „Gazeta Română. Foaie politică națională”, Gura Humorului, February 1914, p. 3.

³³ Therefore, after the publication of the “Bukowiner Nachrichten” in the journal of the German Union from Bukovina, of a poem in which Czernowitz was called “German city on the Prut”, the magazine “The Romanian Gazette” (issuing once a month at Gura Humor, under the guidance of Ambros Comoroșan) wrote the following: “It is rather daring to call Bukovina’s capital a German city, the capital where are located the

spreading irredentist projects. Within the limits accepted by the political regime, the Romanian nationalism could be manifested only in a dual form: the militant had to be simultaneously a “good Romanian” and an “Austrian patriot”.³⁴ However, the political elite did not forget to emphasize loyalty for the dynasty and empire. For example, at a political assembly organized by the Romanian National Party leaders in the Rosa suburb of Bukovina’s capital, after the speech given by Eusebius Popovici, chairman of the party, the participants cheered the final words of the speaker “with a blizzard of shouting “long live the Emperor!”³⁵

Given that the Austrian authorities were watching closely the occurrence of any separatist feelings and tried to suppress them from the very beginning, on the eve of World War I, “for Bukovinian Romanians the annexation of Bukovina to their homeland was more a vague desire, a resigned expectation of a distant ideal, than a strong belief in a certain and close achievement...”.³⁶ However, among the intellectual elite there was the wide spread opinion that the imperial dualist structure is obsolete: “In our monarchy, for some time past terribly scandalous and shameful things happen and signs of a dissolution process arise. (...) Catastrophe approaches and collapse threatens.”³⁷ Another ethnic group related more to the rural world than to the urban one, with close connections to the compatriots of neighbouring Galicia, was the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) one. The Austrian Constitution recognized Ukrainians the right of existing and developing on equal terms with all the other peoples of the empire³⁸, but the precarious economic and political potential of the Ukrainian Bukovinians did not allowed them to capitalize all the rights and freedoms

institutes and cultural centres of Romanians and Ruthenians, the capital with the Romanian Mitropoly, the theological faculty partly teaching in Romanian, with the Jewish crowd that tends to get their national individuality recognized. (...) Then, how can Czernowitz be called a German city, it’s beyond our understanding. (...) We reject these attempts to Teutonize this ancestral land”. (See: *Din Cernăuți* [From Czernowitz], „Gazeta Română. Foaiete politică națională”, February 1914, p. 4).

³⁴ *Orațiunea d-lui deputat Dr. Isopescul-Grecul în parlament* [The oration of the deputy Isopescul-Grecul in the Parliament], „Gazeta Răzeșilor și Mazililor”, June 21, 1913, p. 31.

³⁵ *Mare adunare politică a «Partidului național»* [The big political gathering of the “National Party”], „Viața Nouă”, December 21, 1913, January 03, 1914, p. 3.

³⁶ Nicolae Coman, *Martiriul Bucovinei, 1914-1915* [Bukovina’s Martyr, 1914-1915], București, Editura Librăriei Pavel Suru, 1915, p. 32-33.

³⁷ *Semne rele* [Bad signs], „Viața Nouă”, December 21, 1913, January 03, 1914, p. 2-3.

³⁸ В. Левицький, *Як живеться українському народові в Австрії* [The way of life of the Ukrainian people in Austria], Відень, Союз визволення України, 1915, с. 9.

guaranteed by the Austrian legislation of that era.³⁹ On the eve of World War I, among Ukrainians three distinct currents were being manifested: Moscowphile (which appreciated that that only with the Russian support could be salvaged the national identity against the Austrian state's pressure and against the Polish and Romanian domineering tendencies); Austrophile (which advocated the division of Galicia between Ukrainian and Poles and the establishing of an Ukrainian province within the monarchy) and Radical (separatist, who promoted the idea of reuniting all Ukrainians in an independent state).⁴⁰ Despite the mistrust expressed by the Austrian political leaders in the Ruthenians from the Empire, despite the display – not very obvious – of the Ukrainian irredentism, the Ruthenian community considered itself loyal to the House of Habsburg. This loyalty was confirmed publicly during the political gatherings held in Lemberg and Chernivsti (December 1912, December 1913 and March 1914).⁴¹

The Bukovinian Germans were obviously the cornerstone of the Habsburg regime in Bukovina. Artisans, farmers, practitioners of liberal professions, but especially officials, the representatives of this community were considered “culture carriers” and promoters of the German language at the border of the empire. Even if within the German ethnic group there wasn't a politics and projects unity, in its relation to the other nationalities it played the role of mediator or model and to a lesser extent that of a dominant nation. Without a doubt, the future of this community was inextricably linked to the maintenance of the Austrian administration in Bukovina. Nevertheless, in 1913-1914 in Bukovina there were rumours about the potential loss of the province. According to the confidential report drawn up in April 1914 by Alexander Dolivo-Dobrovolski, the Russian consul in Czernowitz, in the cafes of province's capital there were open discussions about the fact that: “In a few years Bukovina can become Russian or Romanian.”⁴²

The interethnic conflicts that were so visible in other parts of Austria-Hungary were virtually non-existent in the easternmost country of the Monarchy.

³⁹ Сергій Попик, *Українці в Австрії 1914-1918. Австрійська політика в українському питанні періоду Великої війни* [Ukrainians in Austria, 1914-1918. The Austrian policy in the Ukrainian issue during the Great War], Київ-Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 1999, с. 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33-36.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴² Ion Varta, *Bătălia pentru Bucovina în ajunul Unirii cu România (1913-1917)* [The battle for Bukovina on the eve of the unification with Romania (1913-1917)], Chișinău, Cartdidact, 2008, p. 20.

After 1848 none of the ethnic groups had numerical majority so as to impose in the detriment of other nationalities; most of the inhabitants of the province settled in the land after 1775, as colonists; none could have advanced irredentist claims for the union with another state, except Romanians. Living on a relatively small territory, along with other nationalities, the Bukovinian was had to be acquisitive to the Eastern and Western Europe traditions and cultures. Without receding from their ethnic identity, the Bukovinian rejected chauvinism and promoted tolerance. Religiously, it was a similar situation.

If the Roman Catholic Church and, implicitly, the Greek Catholic one enjoyed privileged positions in Austria, the Orthodox church supported their authority and influence on the prosperous Bukovina's Orthodox Religionist Fund, the aggressive proselytism being absent in the province. The nationalities managed to maintain *pax bucoviniensis* until the eve of the Dualist Empire's dissolution⁴³, living together rather harmoniously from a cultural and social perspective.

BUKOVINA BETWEEN ENTHUSIASM OF PEOPLE AND LOYALIZATION ACTIONS OF THE AUTHORITIES

In spite of the many social, economic or political problems, visible and less visible, the society in Bukovina evolved confidently and safely on the path of progress, relying on the stability and adaptability of Dualist Empire. The British historian A. J. P. Taylor observed: "People have never had more confidence in the future of the Habsburg Monarchy than in the years preceding the end."⁴⁴ However, nobody expected things to precipitate. A few months after the outbreak of the Great War, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, the Transylvanian journalist and fighter for national rights of Romanians in Transylvania, noted the following: "the revolver of young Gavro Princip killed along with the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, the only hope for a better future of the dualist kingdom's peoples. That is why the death of this sphinx of the future stirred waves of deep pain in the souls of those loyal to the House of Habsburg. They grieved a disaster, the collapse of an illusion that promised to many a better fate. (...) Most of the tears were sincere, springing from the hearts, for they were selfish. These weren't mourning the misfortune of

⁴³ Sophie A. Welsch, *The Bukovina-Germans During the Habsburg Period: Settlement, Ethnic Interaction, Contributions*, „FEEFHS Journal”, 2002, no. 10, p. 94, <http://feefhs.org/journal/10/bukovina.pdf>

⁴⁴ Taylor, *Monarhia Habsburgică*, p. 191.

the monarchy, but their own fate, about the future reign.”⁴⁵

Among the first communities that openly and massively expressed the support of Vienna’s government policy was the Hebrew one. Therefore, the publication of the July 25th, 1914, notice on the partial mobilization, hundreds and thousands of Hebrews took to the streets in Czernowitz and in other cities of Bukovina. The Hebrew population was overwhelmed by war fever and bellicose shouting and military songs were heard in many places. This patriotism was inspired by two generations of imperial government during which Jews obtained equal rights with other ethnicity and occupied high positions in public service. Their loyalty was based on absolute confidence in the Austrian armed forces who have impressed rather through the brilliantly executed manoeuvres and parades⁴⁶ than on the battlefield.

On July 28th, 1914, Emperor Franz Joseph, launched the manifesto ‘*To My Peoples!*’ announcing the decision to initiate war against Serbia and expressed trust “in my peoples, who, throughout every storm, have always rallied in unity and loyalty around my throne, and have always been prepared for the severest sacrifices for the honour, the greatness, and the might of the Fatherland”⁴⁷. Immediately, loyalty and the assurance for the necessary support for waging war began to be made public by various institutions and organizations, as well as political parties. The day the Emperor published the manifesto, in front of the governor’s palace in Czernowitz took place a great “patriotic demonstration”, and the next day a meeting with an even greater participation was organized in front of City Hall and of the governor’s palace.⁴⁸ The attachment to the emperor and adherence to the war initiated by Austro-Hungary was acclaimed by the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina, but also by the other churches.

⁴⁵ Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, *Trei luni pe câmpul de războiu. Ziarul unui român, ofițer în armata austro-ungară, care a luat parte, cu glotașii români din Ardeal, la luptele din Galiția* [Three months on the battlefield. The newspaper of a Romanian, an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army, who took part, with the Romanian soldiers from Transylvania region, in the battles in Galicia], Ediția a II-a revăzută și întregită, București, Editura Librăriei Școalelor V. Sfetea, 1915, p. 9-10.

⁴⁶ Arie Leon Schmelzer, *The Jews in Bukowina (1914-1919). World War and Russian Occupation*, in Hugo Gold (ed.), *History of the Jews in the Bukovina*, Originally published as *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Tel Aviv, Olamenu, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 67, http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukowinabook/buk1_067.html

⁴⁷ Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale [Suceava County Department of National Archives], Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei [Mayorality of Vatra Dornei], Record 37/1914.

⁴⁸ Teodor Bălan, *Bucovina în războiul mondial* [Bukovina in First World War], Cernăuți, Institutul de Arte Grafice și Editură „Glasul Bucovinei”, 1929, p. 13.

Besides Hebrews, the Bukovinian Romanians through the two political organisms – The Democratic Peasants' Party and The National Romanian Party – were placed in a loyalty position to the House of Habsburg.⁴⁹ On August 3rd, 1914, “The Union of Bukovina’s Ukrainian deputies in the parliament and diet” released the manifesto *To the Ukrainian people from Bukovina*, where it was specified that “together with all the peoples of this beautiful new state we will gladly make any sacrifice for our emperor, for the proud Habsburg Monarchy.”⁵⁰

The general mobilization order, issued on July 30th, 1914⁵¹, had immediate consequences in Bukovina. Aurel Morariu, a lawyer and politician, related: “Through heralds and messengers sent at a rate of knots, through trumpets and drums sounds, by ringing the church bells, it was spread in all corners of the country the dread of the news that the Muscovite has raised more than ever and the country is in danger. Immediately the emperor’s for most peoples has been heard and all those who had served in the imperial armies under the royal flags, from age 21 to 42 years, entered in this army. (...) Cheerfully and willingly, nearly 20 000 Romanians, boys and grizzled men, belonging to the mentioned regiments [41 and 22 – St. P.], departed to defend their country and those left behind, for the liberation of their Bessarabian brothers”.⁵²

The Poles – a nation seeking revival among the European states – considered Russia to be the biggest enemy of their dream. From the second half of August 1914, Bukovinian Poles were enrolled as volunteers in the Polish Legions coordinated by Józef Piłsudski. In the Eastern Carpathians area, against Tsarist armies acted the Polish Legion in the East, led by Colonel Józef Haller.⁵³

Authorities could not rely solely on the sincere enthusiasm or on the awareness of a part of the population. Whether in times of peace or in war, the loyalty and fidelity of the subjects, the social discipline, the economic, politic and

⁴⁹ Anghel Popa, *Între fronturi. Bucovineni în România primului război mondial* [Between fronts. Bukovinians in Romania during World War I], Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Fundația culturală „Alexandru Bogza”, 1998, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Попик, *Українці в Австрії*, с. 48.

⁵¹ Aurel Morariu, *Bucovina: 1774 – 1914* [Bukovina: 1774 – 1914], Ediție și notații biobibliografice de Nicolae Cârlan, Suceava, Lidana, 2012, p. 148. In Province’s localities, the general mobilization order, printed in German, Romanian and Ukrainian, was made public on July 31st (See Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei, Record 37/1914).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵³ See Daniel Hrenciuc, *Un destin pentru istorie: polonezii în Bucovina (1774-2008)* [A destiny for history: The Poles in Bukovina (1774-2008)], Iași, Princeps Edit, 2008, p. 214-217.

fiscal order were ensured both through incentives and punitive means. In early August, the governor of Bukovina published an appeal to the banks and Austrian savings banks depositors not to withdraw the savings and deposits that are not needed urgently, justifying through the restrictions imposed on the citizens and relying on their civic consciousness: "In these difficult days surely it will be a display of patriotism and sense of solidarity of our monarchy's population through the renouncing to a hasty mobilization of money just right now. (...) So, it would be an unpatriotic act if someone would draw the money without needing them..."⁵⁴.

Another call addressed young people in schools and gymnasiums, which were invited to replace the parents and siblings from the front "Whether you will be applied to work the land, or for other activities in offices, various institutes and credit unions each of you must do with joy and heartfelt the work attributed to him."⁵⁵ On the other hand, Bukovinians were reminded the potential crimes for which in the given state of war, were subject to military criminal jurisdiction.⁵⁶ Also in various urban localities it was ordered the establishment of citizen safety patrols to provide the necessary support to public safety services. Thus, Ștefan Forfotă the mayor of Vatra Dornei (1910-1918), "summoned" his fellow citizens, on August 10th, 1914, "to voluntarily express their will to be in the service" (!) by immediate presence to the town hall.⁵⁷

A true test for Bukovinians loyalty was the Tsarist occupation of a significant part of the province. We should mention that the Austro-Hungarian government treated differently the component nations of the dualist empire, some peoples being considered less determined to defend the dynasty than others. For example, according to the imperial authorities, among the "unreliable elements" of the Austro-Hungarian army there were the ethnic Serbs, Czech, Romanian and Ruthenian.⁵⁸ The behaviour of the population during the withdrawal of the

⁵⁴ Meran, *Avertisment serios către depunători* [Serious warning for depositors], Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

⁵⁵ Meran, *Apel către tineretul dela școlile primare și secundare ale ducatului Bucovina* [Appeal to the youth from the primary and secondary schools of the Duchy of Bukovina], Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

⁵⁶ Meran, *Publicațiune* [Notice], Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

⁵⁷ Forfotă, *Apel* [Appeal], Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection *Primăria Vatra Dornei*, Record 39/1914.

⁵⁸ Mark Cornwall, *Morale and patriotism in the Austro-Hungarian army, 1914-1918*, in John

imperial troops and entering of tsarist ones brought arguments for future attitudes of the Austrians towards the ethnic groups in Bukovina. The offensive of the Russian armies led to the occupation of region's capital on September 2nd, 1914, and of the city of Storojineț on September 15th, the tsarist troops stopping at the river Siret, which formed the border with Romania. Meanwhile, Count Meran, the Austrian Governor of Bukovina, moved his residence from Czernowitz to Vatra Dornei⁵⁹ and the gendarmerie's headquarters was established at Rădăuți, where the Military tribunal functioned.

The attitude of some of the Romanian leaders towards Russia's arrival was full of expectations and based on the idea that Bukovina could get out from under the Austrian administration. After the tsarist authorities removed Czernowitz's City Council led by Mayor Salomon Weisselberger, city's leadership was appointed an interim committee which included a majority of ethnic Romanians: (Maximilian) Hacman, (Titus) Onciul, Modest Scalat, Themistocles Bocancea⁶⁰, the latter occupying the position of mayor. Other Romanians, as well as Ukrainians collaborated with the occupying military authorities, causing subsequent reprisals from the Austrian administration. Many, however, took refuge together with the imperial troops from the Russian army. Noteworthy is that the Orthodox Metropolitan Vladimir de Repta refused to officiate the divine service for the Russian Tsar.⁶¹

Most of the Ukrainian leaders, sensing that once with the return of the Austrian government they might be charged with treason and being aware that Russia was not going to satisfy their national aspirations, they avoided manifesting openly for or against the new administration. The Jews, however, being aware of the status of their countrymen from the Russian Empire, did not rush to cooperate with the new authorities. On September 21st, 1914, V. N. Muraviov, superior secretary of the diplomatic chancellery attached to the tsarist Russian Army Headquarters, located in the city of Czernowitz, wrote: "...the local Hebrew population has a hostile attitude towards us."⁶²

Horne (ed.), *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 178.

⁵⁹ Bălan, *Bucovina*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Cei ce au îndrăznit...* [Those who have dared ...], in N. Iorga, *Războiul nostru în note zilnice 1914-1916* [Our War in daily notes 1914-1916], Craiova, Ramuri, n. d., Vol. 1, p. 43.

⁶¹ Romulus Deladorna, *Bucovina în 1914-1915* [Bukovina in 1914-1915], Suceava, Tipografia Societății „Școala Română”, 1915, p. 54.

⁶² Varta, *Bătălia*, p. 33.

The first months of the war, the conducted mobilization, the tsarist military occupation proved that the overwhelming majority of Bukovinians was and has remained loyal to the Court of Vienna. In October 1914, when 5 of the 7 battalions of Bukovinian volunteers that were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel (which became Colonel on October 23rd) Eduard Fischer entered the city of Czernowitz banishing the Russian armies, the locals set on the Transylvania street two rows of tables with food and drinks, the tables being arranged on a distance of about 2.5 km, between the city customs and the Cathedral The Descending of the Holy Ghost.⁶³ “There was great joy in Czernowitz. The Austro-Hungarian troops had returned – even if without the glory of a victory – to the capital of Bukovina. And everyone he came out to greet them (...),”⁶⁴ noted N. Iorga on October 19th, 1914.

The initiative of establishing Bukovinian volunteer troops is on the same direction with the rejection of the “Russian” liberation. After the November 13th, 1914, Colonel Eduard Fischer obtained the General Karl von Pflanzer-Baltin approval to recruit volunteers, the achievement of the mission was assumed by the Bukovinian deputies in the Parliament from Vienna, Nikolaus Wassilko (among Hutsuls) and Aurel Onciul (among Romanians).⁶⁵ Thus, on November 22nd, 1914, in Suceava, a large peasant gathering was organized and it was decided to create a Legionary Corps, for which to recruit 50 volunteers from each commune, and to write a telegram addressed to King Ferdinand I, in which the authors were asking the monarch to join the war alongside Austria-Hungary.⁶⁶ The massive participation of the villagers (over 3 000 people) was due, among other reasons, to the fact that participants were promised meals and transportation on the organizers’ account (“mayors and Diet deputies”). Nicolae Iorga pessimistically commented: “All Bukovina’s countrymen came to Suceava. There’s no doubt about the sincerity of the resolutions. And we know one thing. We don’t belong in Bukovina. They don’t want us – the Romanian peasants there.”⁶⁷ Despite the intense display of group identity in the decades prior to the

⁶³ Володимир Заполовський, Сергій Осачук, *Слідами забутої війни в Буковині* [On the track of a forgotten war in Bukovina], Чернівці, 1998, с. 10.

⁶⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Bucuria din Cernăuți* [The joy in Czernowitz], in Iorga, *Războiul*, Vol. 1, p. 94.

⁶⁵ Володимир Заполовський, *Буковина в останній війні Австро-Угорщини 1914-1918* [Bukovina in the last War of Austria-Hungary, 1914-1918], Чернівці, Золоті литаври, 2003, с. 38-39.

⁶⁶ Popa, *Între fronturi*, p. 28-31.

⁶⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Întrunirea din Suceava* [The assembly in Suceava], in N. Iorga, *Războiul nostrum*, Vol. 1, p. 114-115.

war, during the four years of war, the Romanian nationalist activity was modest.⁶⁸ The most active leaders of the community emigrated to Romania or to other European countries or they were under close supervision by the Austrian authorities.⁶⁹ Until the Kingdom of Romania joined in the war (August 1916), the Romanian soldiers from Bukovina, the civilian population, especially the peasantry, remained loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy.⁷⁰

On November 19th, 1914 the Hutsul volunteers Corps was established (1 351 soldiers), and in December it was established in Câmpulung the Romanian Battalion (1 500 soldiers).⁷¹ The local authorities were instructed to provide financial support to these paramilitary formations.⁷² The success of the prompt organisation of these formations parties was explained by the fact that the peasants were promised that if they voluntarily join to fight against the Russian troops they will remain to defend their own villages, otherwise will be recruited for Landsturm* and sent to fight in Hungary.⁷³

CONCLUSION

From all the above it results that most of the population of Bukovina was really loyal to the Emperor in Vienna and the mobilizations that were carried out, especially in the first weeks of the war had the people's support. Despite this evidence of loyalty, after recovering the territories occupied by the Russian troops, the Austrian military authorities proceeded to repressions against the Bukovinians, the main suspects that were accused of collaboration with the enemy were among the Romanians and Ukrainians. The abuses committed then had shaken little by little Bukovinian's confidence in the faultlessness of the Habsburg administration, in the infallibility of the Court of Vienna, in the

⁶⁸ Keith Hitchins, *România 1866 - 1947* [Rumania 1866 - 1947], București, Humanitas, 1996, 301.

⁶⁹ See Constantin Ungureanu, *Memoriul lui Iancu Flondor, din anul 1915, despre hotarele Bucovinei*, [The 1915 Memoir of Iancu Flondor on the boundaries of Bukovina], „Analele Bucovinei”, X, 2003, no. 2, p. 493-508.

⁷⁰ Keith Hitchins, *România*.

⁷¹ Володимир Запововський, Сергій Осачук, *Слідами*, p. 12; Fischer, *Abgeordneter von Wassilko und das Bukowinaer Huzulenkorps*, „Bukowinaer Post”, 20 Dezember, 1914, S. 1.

⁷² Direcția Județeană Suceava a Arhivelor Naționale, Collection Primăria Vatra Dornei, Record 60/1914, document dated 06.12.1914.

* Reserve forces formed to provide soldiers for the front-line troops.

⁷³ Попик, *Українці в Австрії*, с. 63.

impartiality of the government. This seed of distrust found fertile soil in the World War's conditions, being fed by the nationalism cultivated by local elites in previous decades and by the dualist empire's dissolution perspectives. Therefore, after four years of war, the majority of Bukovina's population stopped hoping in the perpetuation of the pre-war situation, the ethnic groups (except the Germans and Jews) were seeking – through their political representatives – political solutions outside the Austrian state.