

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION FROM BUKOVINA IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ROMANIAN ETHNIC SPIRIT FROM A PERIOD PRIOR TO THE UNION WITH ROMANIA

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Abstract

The territories that were previously inhabited by Romanians were craved by the nearby great empires which had divergent interests in this space. They followed only their political interest, aggressive through its steps and military actions, economically dominant by exploiting resources to the detriment of the native population, interference, ethnic dissipation and cultural alienation. At the same time, we cannot neglect the pressure and the competing territorial ravishment practiced in the last centuries by the Habsburg Empire (Bukovina), Czarist Russia (Bessarabia, Transnistria) and the Ottoman Empire (suzerainty over the Romanian principalities). Posthumous to the year 1861, the political organization on ethnic criteria and the orthodox religious belief helped the Romanians from the Great Duchy of Bukovina to develop a performing primary and secondary education system in comparison to other regions which led to an awareness of the membership and ethnic emancipation, a stage that ended with the Great Union from November 28, 1918.

Keywords: *Bukovinian Romanian, secondary school, high school, vocational school, ethnic conglomerate.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Bukovina which was under Austrian authority, was an incredible geographical area with a unique specificity, positioned between a byzantine type of Romanian east and a German continental west and later on it received various Slavic and Ukrainian influences (fig.1). As a distinct geopolitical entity it does not exist before 1775 when a surface of around 10.442 km² was taken over from the North-Western side of Moldavia by the Habsburg Empire. At the moment, Bukovina is divided into two states, the Southern side which belongs to Suceava county in Romania and the Northern part which is included in the region of Chernovtsy from Ukraine.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

At the moment of annexation the population density in Bukovina was quite low (around 7 inhabitants/km²). This fact determined authorities in Vienna to encourage the migration of foreign elements from the central and western areas of the Empire, concomitantly with the translation of allogens from the proximity space of Galicia and Pokutia, respectively of the German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian or even Slovakian groups or elements.

We may say that at the beginning of the imperial domination the Romanian population was predominant in Bukovina. According to the 1774 census it totalled 69 993 inhabitants grouped in 266 localities and three fairs and the structure of the population in terms of nationality was the following: 85,4% Romanian, 10,6% Ruthenian (name given to the Ukrainian population in the Empire) and 4,0% other ethnicities (table 1; fig. 2).

As a consequence, the policies followed by the court in Vienna were mainly based on economic reasons, of state cohesion, of administrative control and of facilitating other ethnicities than the native one, Romanians constantly and quite fast lose their demographic majority especially in favour of Ukrainians. Nevertheless, Bukovinian Romanians never lost their native feeling, that of being the masters of their ancestral land, the certainty that they are the oldest population in the area, a fact which was publically acknowledged and respected by the Austrian authorities (LUCHIAN, 2007).

The change in the statistical weight of the ethnic and religious structure was also done by

using the lever of reorienting Bukovina towards the central-European culture and civilisation models, especially due to the help of Germans, Jews and, to a lower extent, that of Polish.

The immigration from Galicia and Pokutia firmly continued during the time in which Bukovina was under Austrian domination, and here youngsters regardless of their nationality were exempt from recruitment. This advantage was used during the whole period, with a great deal of ability by the Ukrainian population, brilliantly combined with their family model,

and with a birth rate that increased the number of native Romanian inhabitants.

Basically, during this whole reference period, the Ruthenian population present in the North-Bukovinian space at the beginning of the imperial authority began to grow fast and uninterrupted. Together with these realities we may add the attachment of the Hutsuls who mainly associated themselves with the Ukrainians, a process that was favoured by the orthodox faith of old style and by relatively consonant linguistic elements (UNGUREANU, 2003).



Fig. 1. Bukovina în the composition of Great Romania

All the Austrian censuses were based on the criterion of the language that people spoke and not on their birth language. The last 1910 census recorded a total of 794.929 inhabitants among which 305.101, representing 38.4%, were speakers of Ukrainian, 273.254 – of Romanian (34,4%) and

other ethnicities: 216.574 (27,2%). This last category was comprised of around 168 000 speakers of German (21,3%) among which over 95 000 were Jews, 36 000 (4,7%) – Polish and over 10 000 (1,2%) – Hungarians.

Table 1. The evolution of the population from Bukovina and the nationality structure between 1774-1910

YEAR	ROMANIANS		RUTHENIANS		OTHER ETHNICITIES		TOTAL
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	
1774	59.731	85,4	7.462	10,6	2.800	4,0	69.993
1786	91.823	67,8	31.691	23,4	12.000	8,8	135.494
1848	209.293	55,4	108.907	28,8	59.381	15,8	377.581
1869	207.000	40,5	186.000	36,4	111.836	23,1	511.364
1880	190.005	33,4	239.960	42,2	138.758	24,4	568.453
1890	208.301	32,4	268.367	41,8	165.827	25,8	642.495
1900	229.018	31,4	297.798	40,8	203.379	27,8	730.195
1910	273.254	34,4	305.101	38,4	216.574	27,2	794.929

The Romanians in Bukovina were statistically devastated by the Ukrainians in the Northern part of Chernovtsy, a population situated

especially in the rural area and which represented more than one third of the total population (fig. 3).

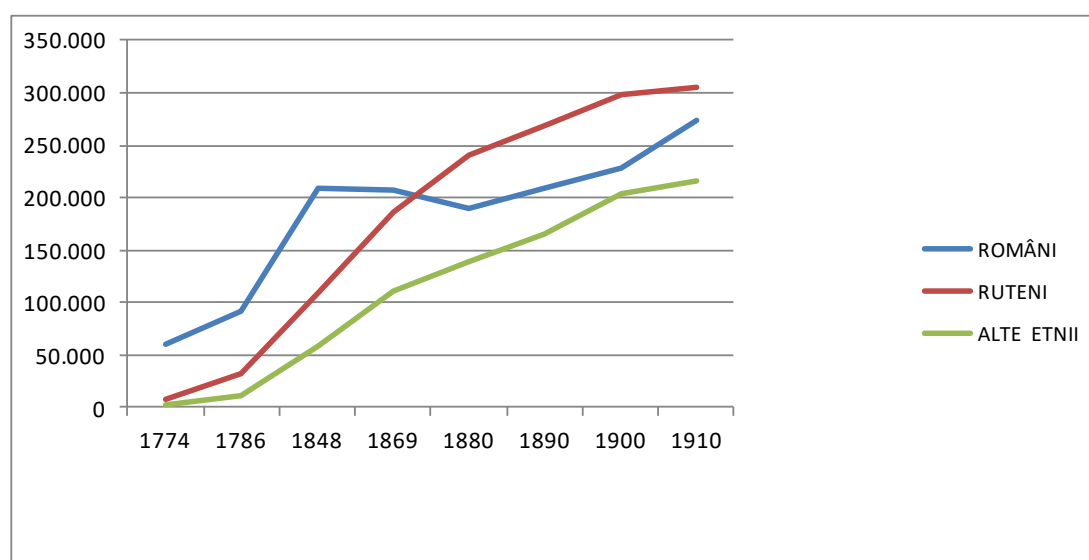
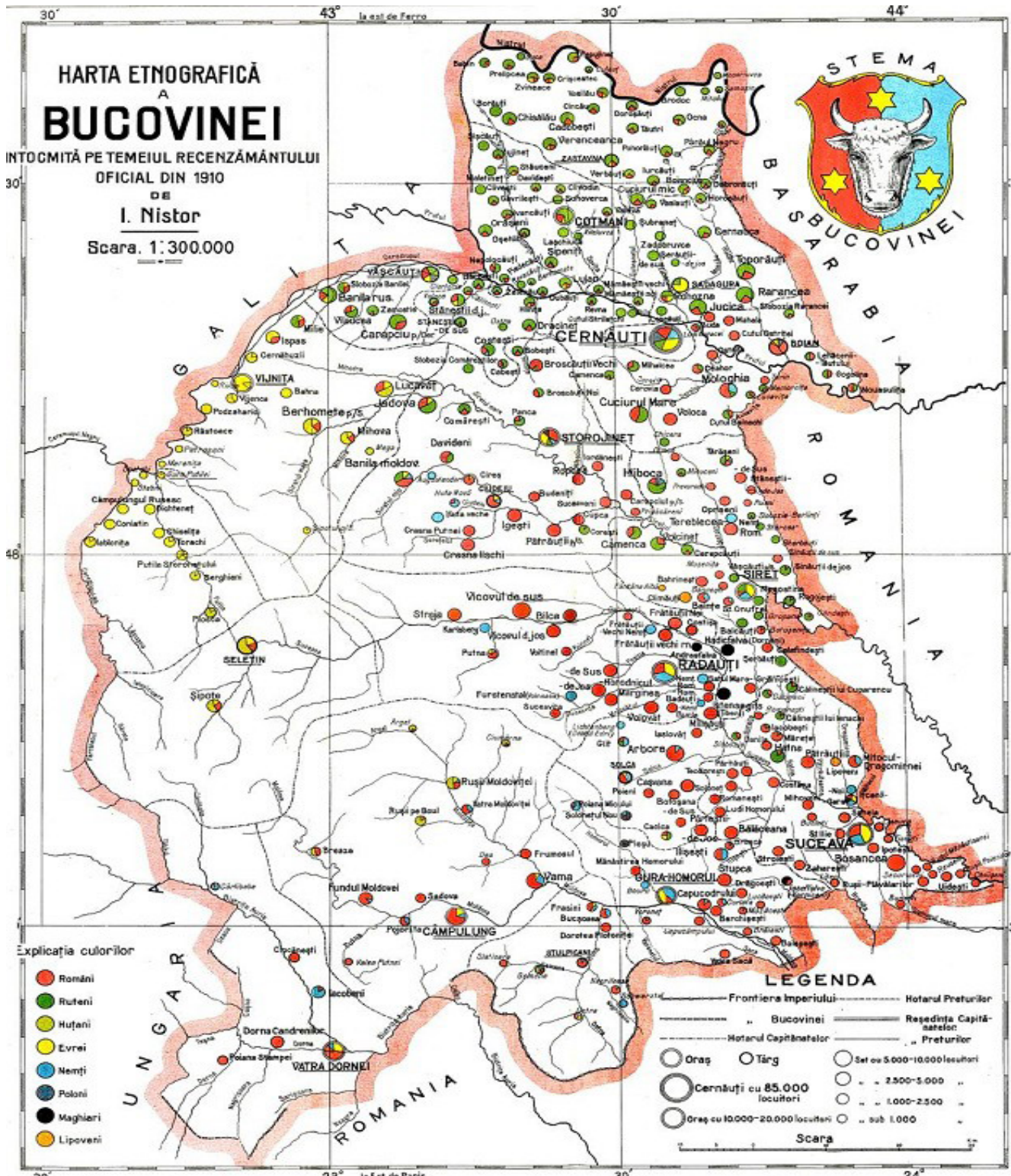


Fig. 2 The evolution of the population from Bukovina and the nationality structure between 1774-1910



1918. Bucovina in ajunul Unirii
 Basarabia-Bucovina. Info

Fig. 3 The ethnic structure of the population from Bukovina at the 1910 census (according to I. Nistor)

Due to the colonisations and the immigrations programmed and coordinated from Vienna, the percentage of Romanian dropped systematically: from 85,4% (1774), to 34,4% (1910). On the other hand, the percentage of Ukrainian population increased due to immigration from Galicia and Pokutia and then from Czarist Russia, reaching the maximum values in 1880 (42,2%) and then it slightly decreased up to the year 1910 (38,4%).

The beginning of the 19th century presents a very dynamic migration of the Jews. From an insignificant phenomenon in 1774 (a few hundred people) they reached a number of over 47.700 in 1869 and as a result of the pogroms and of the persecution started by the Russian Empire, respectively towards Galicia, Pokutia and Bukovina, where their number will reach 102.899 in 1910, representing 12,9% of the total population.

The other populations also recorded a migrant exodus, more significant percentages belonging to the Germans who were almost inexistent before 1175, a phenomenon determined by the advantages and the ascendancy of being a dominant nation, of using German in the administration of allotment of lands and forests, the concession of some exploitation, of having some technical jobs highly requested in the villages of the region. During the same reference period, the beginning of the 20th century, the Polish do not exceed a relatively stable number of around 26.857.

Through massive colonisations and immigrations, a politics constantly supported by Vienna in the border regions of the Empire, during the mastery period, *the population of Bukovina became an ethnic conglomerate* comprised of Romanians, Rhutenians, Germans, Jews, Polish, Hungarians, Slovaks, Armenians (PONCEA, 1922) etc.

As a consequence of the 144 years of Austrian mastery one can remember the socio-economical, ethnic-demographical, political and cultural changes with extremely negative consequences on the fully autonomous Romanians from this millenary region. Bukovina was already reconfigured from the point of view of the population at the beginning of the 20th century through the long term intervention of the imperial authority, becoming a multi-confessional “de

facto” province where no ethnicity held the absolute majority, being numerically dominant.

3. PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE GREAT DUKE OF BUKOVINA

During the Austrian dominance, primary education recorded a slow development, but at the end of the 19th century, we notice a substantial growth in the number of schools and institutionalized pupils. As an immediate consequence, the percentage of illiterate population decreased, the level of understanding and knowledge increased and the material condition of the teachers improved, especially of those from rural areas.

Bukovina encountered an outstanding socio-economic and politically-cultural development, after the 1848 revolution and especially after the year 1861, when this territory became *The Great Autonomous Duke* within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the same time we noticed an accelerated development of the education system, primary schools in different teaching languages being opened and also a number of secondary schools in urban localities.

The capital of the region, the city Chernovtsy recorded, in time, different forms of cultural, teaching and arts manifestations at the level of inhabitant ethnicities, where alongside Romanian we could find Rhutenians, Polish, Germans, Jews and Lipovans.

The generally favourable politics promoted by the authority in Vienna for the whole territory in the field of education allows us to notice the measures applied by the school authorities directed towards modernizing the territorial system in comparison to those existent in the Principalities up to Cuza's reforms or in Bessarabia which was under the authority of the Russian Empire.

The most delicate problem of primary education in Bukovina was to choose the teaching language in schools, especially in the localities with mixed population. At the beginning, numerous mixed locations were opened, with two, three or even four teaching languages. Later on, up to the end of the 19th century, alongside the development of primary education schools

were opened with predominantly only one teaching language.

In October 1875, at the anniversary of one century since the occupation of Bukovina by the Austrian soldiers, a University where classes were taught in German was opened in Chernovtsy. In the following period up to 1918, this institution was comprised of three faculties: *Orthodox Theology, Law and Philosophy*.

The 1910 census recorded over 1100 students, among which 100 were girls (845 students from Bukovina, 186 from Galicia, 54 from Romania, 11 from Hungary and Transylvania). At the Faculty of Philosophy one could professor Ion Sbiera and the Transylvanian Sextil Pușcariu was a tenured professor at the Department of Romanian Language and Literature. Starting from 1912 the renowned professor Ion Nistor taught history lectures (IORGA, 1938).

The rapid development of primary teaching contributed to the significant reduction of illiterate population in Bukovina, from 87,5%, in 1880, to 53,9%, in 1910 (TOROUȚIU, 1916). At the beginning of the 20th century 46,1% of the inhabitants in Bukovina were literates, in comparison to 43,5% in Transylvania, 39,3% from Romania and only 15,6% from Bessarabia (TOFAN, 1913). In 1913, 96% of the total number of school children attended school among which 38% were Romanians, 34,8% Ukrainians, 21,1% Germans and Jews, 4,4% Polish, 1,4% Hungarians, etc (TOFAN, 1913).

In the wake of the war, in Bukovina, approximately 110 000 students attended primary school, institutionalized in 564 primary schools with the following distribution: 219 Ukrainians, 190 Romanian, 97 German, 15 Polish, 4 Hungarian and 39 mixed schools, organized at the levels of the ethnicities with lower numerical representativeness (UNGUREANU, 2015).

At the peak of primary school teaching, there were 13 secondary schools for boys with over 6000 students, two schools with a mathematical field of study with over 800 students, two vocational schools and some high schools for girls with around 1400 students (UNGUREANU, 2015).

One should notice that the education which too place mostly in the mother tongue contributed to the substantial decrease of the percentage of

illiterate population and, at the same time, to the progressive recovery of identity and to the national wakening of the Romanians from Bukovina.

The development of industrial type lucrative activities required highly qualified labour force and therefore starting from 1873 the qualification of the youngsters was performed in *The Superior Vocational School* from Chernovtsy, which prepared students for over 120 jobs, especially in the field of raw materials from zootechnics, agriculture and forestry. At the same time sawmills were built, as well as modern factories for the cutting of wood but also various processing capacities of metals, sheep and cattle skin, milk, meat, sugar beet, bread ovens, distilleries or beer factories (MANEGA, 2018).

This predominantly modern development trend was facilitated by the construction of a 592 km railway network with normal gauge and of 228 km of forestry railways (narrow rail lines), cobbled roads and on 351 km of riverside courses one could transport wooden material by floating (Bistrița, Dorna, Moldova, Siret).

The German University built in 1875 on the occasion of the anniversary of emperor Franz Joseph also held a department of Romanian language and literature, where, during the period prior to the Great Union, the Romanian high society from Bukovina was developed, which had similar ideals to that from Transylvania, Bessarabia and The United Principalities.

The "Arborosa" Society was operating here in Chernovtsy and among its main members one can find Ciprian Porumbescu. This was the place where the great teacher Aron Pumnu notices Mihai Eminescu and influences him in an extremely significant manner.

The German rigor and the relatively united legislation applied within the Empire were meant to modernize the economy and the society as a whole, including the one referring to public education. On January 30, 1873 the Law of Education was voted and it regulated the way in which primary schools were built, maintained and attended, a normative act which was in force up to the beginning of World War I in 1914 (UNGUREANU, 2007).

4. THE ORGANIZATION AND DEPLOYMENT OF ROMANIAN EDUCATION

After the organization of education, The Diet of Bukovina voted a law which ensured the periodical control of schools, a fact which required appointing a *Provincial School Council* and of a *District Council*. The actual control, leadership and coordinating activities carried out by the staffs of the provincial, district and local school councils, authorized by the imperial resolution for a period of 6 years had beneficial results at the level of the Romanian communities in the development and modernization of primary education from the province. The school inspectors were members of these school councils and they had to periodically verify the primary schools in their authority by respecting some rigorous objective procedures, principles and rules which were completely adapted to the Romanian specificity by the end of the Austrian mastery. Provincial and district school inspectors possessed ethnical skills, and therefore had the right to verify only the schools where classes were taught in their mother tongue.

Primary school attendance in Bukovina in 1869, the year in which The Law of Education was introduced, was the lowest from all the Austrian provinces. In 1871 only around 12-13% of the pupils were enrolled in primary education, a situation that was to change in the following decades when the number of state and private schools, as well as that of the pupils enrolled increased significantly. From the data offered by the Austrian authorities in the 1912-1913 academic year, the attendance in the Romanian primary schools had increased to over 96,1%. At the same time, the share of the sample of pupils with instruction in Romanian also increased in comparison to the other ethnicities. The public primary schools were attended by around 117000 pupils among which 44 000 (37,8%) in Romanian schools, 40 000 (34,8%) in Ukrainian schools, 19 000 (16,2%) in German schools, 1,7 000 (1,5%) in Hungarian schools, 1,5 000 (1,2%) in Polish schools and 9,9 000, represented the number of pupils from mixed schools.

It can be appreciated that around the beginning of World War I, the education system in the Duchy of Bukowina was certainly superior to that of Basarabia, the Kingdom, but also that of Transylvania and Banat. At the beginning of the 20th century, about 62% of the school children in Romania, about 66% of the Romanian children in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş and about 95-97% of the Romanian children in Bukowina were enrolled and attended a primary school. Compared to these statistical data in Bessarabia, the great majority of children did not attend any school, so they were ignorant of the book because the Russian Empire did not express real concerns in this respect.

On the whole of Romanian Bukowina ensemble, the vigorous development of primary education in recent decades of Austrian authority has contributed to the diminution of the illiterate population from 87.5% in 1880 to 53.9% in 1910, so that on the eve of the outbreak of the war the level of training of the Bukowinian Romanians was in the ascendant of those in Transylvania and the Kingdom and much in the ascendant of the Basarabian Romanians.

A decisive role was given to ensuring an adequate number of teachers and teachers, the training and the activity of the teaching staff of all categories. For this purpose, in 1870, the Normal School of Teachers was opened in Cernăuţi, and two years later, in 1872, the Institution of Normal Teachers was set up and they functioned without interruption until the 1st of May, with the mention that until the beginning of the century XX, the language of instruction was German, but at the same time some subjects were taught in Romanian.

5. THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE ROMANIAN EDUCATION IN BUKOWINA

The nationalization of primary education was a moment of great importance. The Romanian pupils were to study all the subjects in the mother tongue curriculum, a wish which carried out starting with 1909, when the Teacher Normal School was divided into three national sections on ethnic criteria (German, Romanian and

Ukrainian). For girls, the future teachers, continued to be taught in German (except for religion, the mother tongue and the practical training, taught in Romanian). For the purpose of total detachment from the German language, in 1912, it was founded in Cernăuți the *Private Normal School* which carried out programs only in Romanian.

The teachers in the Romanian schools of Bukowina organized themselves in professional societies following the German model and firmly debated upon in the organized framework of periodic conferences the ways to be followed in order to improve the teaching process in primary education. The concerns regarding the implementation of effective teaching techniques and methods, adequate to the national specific, fulfilled a leading role in the uniformization of the didactic practice and of the development of the primary and secondary school system. Constantly, during these manifestations there were analyzed the most recent problems of education compared to those practiced in the central and western space of the Empire, always finalized by solutions that helped to improve the existing situation.

The normative framework applied in the territorial plan of the Duchy allowed for the establishment of the *Teachers' Society from Bukowina* in 1872 which consisted of qualified personnel of all ethnicities and confessions. Every summer, it organized and held the general meeting of the national pedagogical society in various locations. In 1905, the Assembly changed its name to the *Romanian School Meeting from Bukowina*, and from 1909 in the *Association of the Romanian Teaching Staff from Bukowina*, with Professor George Tofan as its first president.

The press body of the association was the magazine called the *School*. The first and the last congress of the Romanian Teaching Staff was held in Suceava in 1914, attended by about 500 teachers (of about 800 Romanian teachers from Bucovina). This activity, by the number of participants, objectives and didactic decisions adopted, was a notable success, being the last ample national manifestation of the Romanians in Bukowina under Austrian authority.

In the Empire, until the Revolution of 1848-1849, the secondary schools for boys had six

classes and the teaching programs focused on the study of classical languages (Latin, Greek). In the second part of the nineteenth century, through the new organization of education, there were created secondary schools on two levels, inferior and superior respectively, each with four grades. These were called "*Untergymnasium*," for the lower course, with a duration of four grades, the equivalent to today secondary school name and "*Obergymnasium*" for the upper course, first with two and later with four years of training the equivalent to today high school classes. The name "*Lyzeum*" was a term used at that time in German only for special high schools attended by girls. In the nineteenth century, the establishment and the evolution of schools in the area of the Great Duchy of Bukowina recorded a relatively sinuous graph determined mainly by the economic and ethnical interests of the imperial court in Vienna in this territory.

The *gymnasium in Cernăuți*, founded in 1808, turned into a superior gymnasium with eight classes by granting revolutionary wishes starting with 1849. At that time, the Romanian Bukowinians' desire for the establishment of a Romanian language and literature department, occupied by the well-known professor Aron Pumnul. In the last period of the 19th century, the gymnasium, much appreciated for the recorded results, became bilingual, having German and Romanian teaching languages, during which it also registered a significant increase in the number of students who were able to continue training as students in the capital of the Empire, Vienna.

In a period of one century from the foundation (1808-1908), over 11 thousand pupils attended the courses in this educational institution, out of which 3824 (34%) graduated full-time gymnasium, both cycles (TREBICI, 1993).

It is worth mentioning the firm preoccupation for the opening of a grade only in Romanian starting with the academic year 1898-1899 but in which many of the subjects were taught in German. In the following years, several parallel Romanian study classes were established, which required the issuance of a royal ordinance that decided to transform the German-Romanian branch into the *State Gymnasium no. 3 of Cernăuți*. The Romanian teacher Teodor Bujor took over

the leadership of the newly defined gymnasium, which in the school year 1913-1914 included 20 teachers and tenured teachers, of whom 10 were Romanians. That same year, 1913, in this institution, there were registered 406 Romanian students and 29 pupils from the Ukrainian villages in northwest Bukowina where there were no primary schools teaching in Romanian.

The Secondary School in Suceava (POPOVICI, 1935) was founded much later, towards the end of 1860. In the next two decades of function, the gradual Romanization of the teaching staff took place and the first Romanian parallel classes were opened. After 1884, this school was led only by Romanian national executives who showed firmness in promoting the Romanian ethnic values both at the level of the teaching staff and the pupils. Throughout this period distinguish themselves as principals great teachers who love their country such as professors Ștefan Dracinschi (1884-1895), Ștefan Repta (1895-1906), Constantin Cosovici (1907-1910) and Constantin Procopovici (1910-1918) (POPOVICI, 1935).

The Secondary School in Rădăuți was founded in 1872 as a German language secondary school (ISOPESCU, 1923). Throughout the reference period, too few teachers and teaching staff or substitute teachers natives from Bukowina worked, and the number of Romanian pupils was relatively small due to the difficulties induced by the teaching language, German. Every year, 50-60 Romanian students (17.6%) out of a total of 300 were registered here, which until 1910 were obliged to study all the subjects in German except for the lessons of Romanian and Orthodox religion, subjects considered only optional. Subsequently, it was decided to establish parallel classes, the Romanian ones being led by Professor Leonida Bodnărescu and later by Emanoil Isopescu.

The Secondary School in Siret was opened in 1899 under the name of "*Franz Joseph*" secondary school with German as the teaching language. The request for the establishment of distinct sections for Romanian and Ukrainian students was not approved by the competent authority in Vienna. In each year of study until the war, about 60 Romanian students were enrolled and completed full-time studies in German only.

The Cimpulung Secondary School was established in 1907 with organizational structure and bilingual education program with German and Romanian classes, identical to the one adopted by the *State Secondary School 3 in Cernăuți*. In the years around World War I there were already 6 classes attended by more than 245 students (about 70% of the students were Romanian Orthodox and 30% Germans and Jews). Throughout the reference period, the leadership of the school was ensured by professor Daniel Verenca who encouraged and strived to ensure that all teachers should be of Romanian nationality.

The school authorities in Bukowina sought to maintain a numerical balance, a real share between Romanians and Ukrainians, including in the field of secondary education. Practically, at the beginning of the 20th century, four German-Romanian mixed schools (in Cernăuți, Suceava, Rădăuți and Cămpulung) functioned in the perimeter of the Duchy, two German-Ruthenians (in Cernăuți and Coțmani) and two secondary schools in Ukrainian in Vijnița and Vașcăuți. At the same time, the statistics according to their mother tongue highlights the following reality: out of a total of 6,108 pupils, 3,136 pupils (51,3%) were German speakers, 1,393 (22,8%) were Rutenians, 1,268 (8%) Romanians, 292 (4,8%) Polish and 19 (0,3%) other nationalities.

By religion, most students were Moslems (2.386 - 39,1%) and Orthodox (2.107 - 35,5%), followed by Roman Catholics (815-13,2%), Greek Catholics (510-8,3%) and Protestants (218-3,6%).

The Science schools in Bukowina developed with priority over the need to provide industrial production capacities and the demand for specialized personnel. Until the revolution of 1848, the Habsburg Empire had too few technical schools, and the existing ones were usually located in the central, southern and southwestern regions of the empire, regions with a more developed economy.

Bukowina's economy was predominantly agrarian, and as such science education was not required in the material production plans. To this it is added the fact that the training took place mainly in German, which the children of the Romanian families did not master enough to

learn and graduate from a demanding secondary school with a science profile.

As a consequence of the development of the industry of all types, of the trade and of the railway and road communications, concrete measures were put in place for the establishment and development of the technical-applicative education, mainly of the schools with a science profile. Consonantly, there was an increase in the number of technical schools and also in the number of pupils from these schools. If the first six-grade technical school was founded in 1862 in Cernăuți, in 1863 four parallel grades were opened concurrently and after only five years, in 1868, the *Orthodox Upper Science School* in Cernăuți turned into a school institution of utmost importance with a complex program for seven grades. The number of students grew steadily until the beginning of the 20th, reaching over 600 students in the school year 1905-1906. The director of this representative school was the acclaimed Romanian professor Constantin Mandicevschi for a relatively long period of activity (1896-1918).

It is recognized that the imperial interests aimed at distributing jobs requiring technical training with priority to ethnic Germans and German-speaking Jews, jobs much better paid and less to the Romanian native population accustomed in the ancient agricultural occupations. As a result, during the entire Austrian rule in Bukowina, there were few secondary schools with a science profile. Among them the following may also be mentioned: *The Lower Secondary School in Rădăuți* - initially activated as a science secondary school, but since the school year 1878 it was transformed into a classical secondary school, the *Science Inferior School in Siret* which prepared a small number of pupils and the *Secondary School with a Science Profile in Gura Humorului* starting with 1908.

In the last years of Austrian authority, several schools with technical training were opened, among which the private secondary schools from Storojineț, Vășcăuți and Cernăuți, supported by the Jewish, German or Polish communities and less by the Romanian one, being known that it had rather modest possibilities. Despite all the impediments that have arisen, these schools constituted a challenge, and as such made an

important contribution to the development of secondary education and to training to pursue a trade or to pursue studies at a technical university in the major European university centers.

High schools for girls opened relatively late at the end of the 19th century in the most important cities in Austria. The status of these secondary schools and the curriculum provided for a six-grade cycle and at the end of which the graduates had to undergo maturity examinations.

The Viennese organizational model was the subject of the opening of the first high school for girls from Cernăuți in 1871 with only German training. The adopted curriculum gives a great deal of attention to the study of classical, modern languages, as well as to practical family-related subjects. In 1898, the Cernăuți Local Council decided to turn this school into a six-grade high school that was attended especially by the girls from the German and Jewish families and in which the Romanian language was taught only as an optional subject for the girls in the Romanian families, relatively few in number.

After 1900 a high school for girls was established and in southern Bukowina, in Suceava, also with German as a language of instruction. The majority of the teaching staff was of Romanian nationality and the leadership was provided by the well-known professors Samuel Isopescu (1904-1911) and Eusebi Popovici (1911-1918).

In 1902, the establishment of the *Upper Orthodox School for Girls in Cernăuți* was approved, where the lower level with the 5 grades was divided into two sections (Romanian and Ruthenian) and in the upper course comprising three classes, the subjects in the program were taught in German except for those of history, religion, music, and mother tongue taught in separate grades. The teaching staff together with the Metropolitan Church asked for the transformation of this school into the *Orthodox High School for Girls* by keeping the German language as the language of teaching; the director of the high school for girls in Cernăuți was Ștefania Jemna for an appreciable period of time.

In 1905 a *Private High School for Girls* was opened in the town Rădăuți, which in the summer of 1909 was subordinated to the local authorities, becoming officially the Town High School for

Girls in Rădăuți where the teachers and most of the students were speaking German (about 80% Jewish and German, the Romanian ones accounting for about 13-14% of the total).

High schools also opened in 1907 in the town of Siret, high school which, due to the refusal of the state authorities and the Local Council to take over for administration, was abolished in 1913. In Gura Humorului a high school was founded in 1910 and then it was taken over by the local authorities and only functioned until the war began. In 1912 a private high school for girls was opened in Câmpulung with a program in German and Romanian.

A brief analysis shows that at the beginning of the 20th century in the high schools for boys in Bukowina the nationalization process was carried out in full and the majority of Romanian pupils were taught in Romanian schools while the high schools for girls had as their language only the German language, the Romanian language being taught, in principle, only the religion, history and some applicative household knowledge. An exception to this background is made only by the didactic program in Romanian adopted by the *Orthodox Highschool for Girls in Cernăuți* through the monastic authority of the Metropolitan Church. If the boys were supported by the state, those for the education of the girls were mostly run by local councils or, as the case may be, by private individuals or companies.

The technical and vocational schools with predominantly scientific training were quite few and small effectives as annual schooling. The development of vocational education was difficult with small effectives on school promotions compared to the more industrialized provinces in the center and west of the Habsburg Empire.

It stands out through organization, exigency and results the *State Technical School in Cernăuți*, which for a long time was the most valuable vocational school in which the commercial, construction, carpentry and furniture departments functioned with the teaching of subjects only in German. This impediment limited the attendance of studies to a larger number of Romanians and Ruthenians. Most students who graduated from this school

were of German ethnicity or Jews with a good knowledge of German language.

For the Romanians from Bukowina, the most important school of crafts since the 1900's was the *Special Woodwork School in Câmpulung*. The preparation of the students was done only in Romanian, which stimulated the arrival of many young people from the Romanian villages of the adjacent area. However, along with the Romanians, many German speakers attended the classes (in the school year 1909-1910 out of a total of 192 pupils, 119 were Romanian, 68 Germans and 5 other nationalities).

In the whole Bukowina Duchy there was only one medium agricultural school in Cernăuți, teaching only in German, two *Lower Agricultural Schools* at Rădăuți and Coțmani, and three *Elementary Agricultural Schools* with a study program only during winter but only attended by a few dozen students.

Increasing number share and much better results were obtained by the students attending vocational training courses or apprenticeship and craft schools. These forms of training were organized in addition to secondary technical schools or secondary schools, and were usually run on a weekly or weekend basis and were intended for both young people and adults who were already employed and needed to improve and to prove their theoretical and practical knowledge in question.

In the last years of imperial rule, these forms of training for craftspeople boosted, developed in all the major urban locations of the Duchy, and the number of students steadily increased. However, as the training was done almost exclusively in German, the schools for craft apprentices were of little use to the Romanians, most of graduates being Mosaic and Roman Catholic confessors, good German speakers.

6. CONCLUSIONS - EDUCATION AND ROMANIAN ETHNIC PROSPERITY

Primary education in Bukowina has made substantial progress through the number of schools and children sent to school. In a relatively short time the proportion of the illiterate

population diminished and at the same time the material condition of the teachers improved.

The nationalization of primary education was achieved in time by dismantling the mixed schools or the structuring education only in the mother tongue. Practically, the organization of primary education and training programs were carried out unitarily through the effort made by provincial and district school inspectors of Romanian nationality.

Simultaneously with the development of the Romanian school network there is a steady recoil of presence and influence of the German language throughout the educational system as well as in the administration and society in general. Training in the mother tongue in primary schools and partly in secondary schools was of great importance for modernizing the society, diminishing the share of the illiterate population, and learning the national identity of the Romanians from Bukowina. A major contribution in this direction was made by the cultural-national societies, the Romanian newspapers and magazines, the permanence of the ties with the Romanians from the Kingdom of Romania, Bessarabia, Transylvania and Banat.

Undoubtedly, the education, the Orthodox Christian religion, and the family education based on the preservation of traditions founded a strong national consciousness on the Romanian population in Bukowina at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Romanians in Bukowina belonged by language, customs, national costume, homeland and consciousness up to Colacin, Ceremus and Nistru only to the Romanian nation. In this approach, we can assert without fail that Bukowina brought to the Kingdom of Romania an important material and spiritual dowry in 1918, the education of all

levels in mother tongue, culture, diversified economy, an important transport network and a unique multicultural and interconfessional spirit. Basically, among all the constituent regions of Great Romania, Bukowina is on a leading position hard to equalize by the Romanians in other areas.

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