

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BUKOVINA'S PEOPLE IN SUSTAINING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Ana-Mirela Voicu

*“From an independent Romania now,
soon will be born the Great Romanian state”¹*

Rezumat: În procesul de înfăptuire a marelui ideal al independenței României la loc de cinste se înscrie și contribuția românilor din teritoriile ce continuau să fie detașate prin granițe nefirești din trupul țării. Se manifestase încă o dată, în chip impresionant, unitatea în cuget și simțiri a tuturor românilor. Acum, ca și altă dată înainte și după acel moment, tot ce se întâmplă mai de seamă de o parte a Carpaților stârnea un puternic răsunet de cealaltă parte.

Românii din provinciile subjugate aveau încredere nestrămutată în izbânda României în războiul drept pe care îl purta. Ei erau conștienți că statul român suveran va reprezenta un sprijin hotărâtor în înfăptuirea visului secular „de dorul cui au răposat și moșii și părinții”, desăvârșirea unității naționale.

Războiul popular și național pentru cucerirea independenței din 1877-1878, a stârnit un mare entuziasm și o caldă adeziune și în rândurile românilor bucovineni, ca și în restul teritoriilor românești. Participarea românilor din provinciile aflate sub stăpânire străină la obținerea neatârării a fost semnificativă și a fost evocată în numeroase lucrări care au ca temă independența sau subiecte conexe.

Acest fenomen de masă a îmbrăcat forme felurite – trecerea peste munți a tinerilor români din Transilvania și Bucovina pentru a se înrola în armata chemată să înfrunte inamicul, colectarea de bani și ofrande, celebrarea publică a victoriilor obținut pe câmpul de luptă, propagarea sentimentelor de mândrie și demnitate națională în coloanele presei românești din Imperiul Austro-Ungar.

Trebuie, în final, să menționăm că solidaritatea națională manifestată cu atâta vigoare la 1877 a reprezentat temelia și punctul de plecare pentru convingerile, programele și acțiunile politico-naționale din etapa următoare.

Manifestare concretă a conștiinței unității naționale românești, puternicul sprijin moral, material și uman acordat României de către majoritatea covârșitoare a populației Transilvaniei, Banatului, Crișanei, Maramureșului și Bucovinei, au conferit participării armatei române la războiul din 1877-1878 sensul unei acțiuni general-românești.

In the process of fulfilment of the greatest ideal of the independence of Romania, a main role played the Romanians in the territories which had been detached from the main land by unfair borders. There were demonstrated once

again, in an impressive way, the thinking and feeling unity of the Romanians from everywhere. Now, as it was before and even after that moment, all that had a real importance on a side of the Carpathians generated a greater echo (response) on the other side. The Romanian people from the occupied territories had an unshakable trust in the Romanian victory in the just war it was carrying.

They were consciousness that the Romanian sovereign state will represent a decisive support in the achievement of the century old dream „the dream that for its homesickness had died the ancestors and the parents too”², the completion of the national unity.

The national and popular war of independence from 1877-1878, aroused a great enthusiasm and a warm total adhesion among the Bukovina’s people, as well as in the rest of the Romanian territories. The involvement of the Romanians from all the provinces ruled by foreign domination to obtain the independence was significant and was evoked in many works based on this subject³ or others in connection with this.

This mass phenomenon took different forms as: the going over the mountains of the young Romanians from Transylvania and Bukovina in order to join the army to face the enemy, the money collecting, donations, offerings, the food and supplies for the needs of the front ,the public celebrations of the victories got on the battlefield, the spreading of the pride and national dignity feelings in the columns of the Romanian press, published in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the publication of recognized works dedicated to the war, filled with a strong patriotic feeling. We intend to point out in this paper some of these aspects.

Echo-in the press of the time. The war preparings, after the signing, on the 4th/16th of April 1877, of the Romanian-Russian Convention, had a deep echo in the public opinion of the Romanians from the occupied territories. Newspapers like, “Gazeta Transilvaniei” (Braşov), “Telegraful roman” (Sibiu), “Familia” (Oradea) and others from over the Carpathians have informed their readers about the events from Romania and commented upon them in a significant way.

In the eve of the proclamation of the independence, “Gazeta Transilvaniei” pointed out that “the independence of the Romanian state... is today one of the most important subjects that are discussed in the entire European press”, and George Bariţiu underlined that “Romania is decided to protect its statal existence and its rights till «the end of the rope», that means on the battlefield till the supreme sacrifice”⁴. The proclaiming of the Romania’s independence produced a strong impression in Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina.

The speech uttered on the 9th of May 1877 by Mr. Mihail Kogălniceanu, Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister, was published by the Romanian press from over the Carpathians: „The greatest news for us, wrote „Familia” newspaper [from 15th/27th of May 1877] is that contented in the following words: “Romania has proclaimed itself independent and at the same time declared war against the Ottoman empire”, and in its turn, “Gazeta Transilvaniei” from Brasov, underlined the frame of mind of all Romanians: “The day of proclaiming the independence of Romania produced in every Romanian’s heart strong joy feelings that after so many centuries [...] Romania is given herself back”⁵.

Abroad, the Romanians from the Habsburg Empire, wanted to make known to the Europe their position connected with the events from Romania. Newspapers with a similar content as that in the occupied territories have circulated even in Wien, the Romanians settled there editing in the same spirit “Der Östen” news, in which it was reasserted the belief that Romanian army will be glorious in the battles carried in the Balkan area. The above publication was also containing a declaration of solidarity, signed by over 300 persons, in which it was greeted “with fraternal cordiality the free and independent Romanian state”. In a comment, inserted in the same newspaper, it was pointed out that „ millions of Romanian people from Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina follow, with brotherhood feeling this glorious fight of their fellow countrymen...”⁶

The frame of mind of the Transylvanians and of the inhabitants of Bukovina was also noticed by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The echo produced over the Carpathians by the historical event from the 9th of May was appreciated by the supreme count of Turda-Arieș County, Kemeny Gyorgy, who reported, on the 7th of June 1877, to the Magyar Ministry of Home Affairs, Tisza Kalman, that the Romanians from Transylvania, after the proclaiming of the independence of Romania “were exultant hoping and believing that in the near future the Romanian kingdom will be settled and the Romanian people was convinced that the union” [with the Romanian Kingdom, author’s note] is a matter of time”⁷.

The statements and demonstrations of solidarity with the independent Romania, from the towns and villages of Transylvania and Banat, were followed by those of the inhabitants of Bukovina. Thought this province [Bukovina, author’s note] being under the Austro-Hungarian rule, had no press in the Romanian language, the native Bukovina’s people found many possibilities of showing their joy feelings about the act of the independence of Romania. In a proclamation typed in Iassy and distributed in those days, Dimitrie Petrino, the well known Bukovina’s

poet, advised the inhabitants from Transylvania and Bukovina “to raise the arms against the oppressors in order to free them from the bondage and to unite them with their homeland”⁸.

Organized in “Arboroasa” Society, the Romanian students from the University of Cernautzi, celebrating the event, affirmed their will to sustain openly, entirely, with their arms, the right cause of an independent Romania. The proclamation of independence made them to express their intention to enlist as volunteers together with the Romanian army from the Balkans. Beside these, peasants, landowners, priests, schoolmasters, teachers, pupils, science people, artists, poetry and prose writers, evoked by D. Petrino, in the end of his article, all were impressed by the event. “Neue Freie Presse” from Wien published on the 2nd of December 1877, that “The Romanians from Bukovina raised their heads, believing that the «reconstruction» of the old Dacia Country was near”⁹.

Beyond that enthusiasm generated by the national event, the newspapers were also preoccupied by publishing in their columns of appeals for the organizing of the supporting committees in Cluj, Sibiu and Braşov, in Cernautzi and in Suceava also. Everyday, there were announced the constitution of other executive committees in towns and even in the villages of Transylvania and Bukovina, their number being over a few hundred¹⁰.

Besides these stimulating approaches with suggestive titles as “For the benefit of the wounded Romanians”, “To the arms”, the press followed with a great attention the events from the Balkans and the heroic facts of all the Bukovina’s people, of the Transylvanians and of the inhabitants from Banat, that fought for the country (their homeland) and stood up against the Ministry of Home Affairs from Budapest, who forbided “setting up the committees all over without distinction of nationality and political «colours»”¹¹.

In the article *For the benefit of the wounded Romanians*, George Bariţiu took a strong position against the decisions of the authorities of forbidding the supportive committees, demonstrating that the most important duty of a people is his fight for freedom, for its independence. In the name of all the Romanian press, Bariţiu addressed congratulations to those inhabitants whose activity was not less important than others’ of that of the “Red Cross” from every country.

The example given by Bariţiu was followed by others too who signed and published similar protests. In *Appeal to the Romanians*, published in “Gazeta Transilvaniei”, from the 9th of July 1877, it was underlined “the feeling of humanity, the love and the blood connections” that won’t disappear a whole

lifetime and renewed the appeal of „giving from everyone or for the soothing of our brothers from Romania , wounded in battle”¹².

Facing many obstacles in the process of declaring “the cause of the Romanian soldier”, considered “a general Romanian cause”, the press has hosted in its pages documents, memories, recollections of those contemporary with the events or even of those who took part to the military campaign and wrote for the posterity the names of some of the volunteers from Transylvania and Bukovina.

Among the Bukovina's sons they mention the names of Chibici-Râvneanu, Eminescu's friend, those of the leaders of the high school people's group and from teaching schools as Alexandru Giurgiueanu, Emilian Hnidei, Gheorghe Levescu, Ilie Gherghel and of many others. Most of them remained, however unknown, among the other tens of thousands of heroes from Romania.

Volunteer's Actions. The adhesion of the Bukovina's people for the national war, as well as in the rest of the Romanian territories concreted fast in a great volunteering action. From Bukovina, facing the national oppression and the vigilance of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, many Romanian young people passed over the border to enlist as volunteers, in the Independence War. The first group, formed by Alexandru Giurgiuvan, Partenie Sireteanu, Ilie Gherghel, George Levescu and Emilian Hnidei, pupils from the High School of Cernăuți and from the Teaching School, passed the border [with Romania, author's note] on the 8th of May, being welcome with ovations by the population from Pașcani and Roman. Arrived in Bucharest, they were distributed to the 2nd Regiment of artillery and sent to Calafat, where they were trained and served in the first line till the beginning of August, when the Austro-Hungarian authorities interfered and the volunteers were expelled from the army. The officer who read them the order of expelling ended saying: “Go to learn boys and after that you may go to war!”¹³

Emilian Hnidei, who managed to hide himself from recruiting for the Austrian army in the same spring, remained further on the front in the 2nd battery of the Regiment and took part to the battles from Plevna. Other young people from Bukovina enlisted as volunteers in the Romanian army were: Constantin Popescu, got sergeant, Ion Fongaci (pupil at the Teaching School), Maximilian Săvescu (civil servant in the Law Court of Cernăuți), the veterinary surgeon Dionisie Bucevski, painter Epaminonda Bucevski's brother, Alexandru Chibici Râvneanu and some students – Turcan, Mihăilescu, Benca, Olariu, Popovici and others who where supported with funds by “Arboroasa” Society¹⁴.

Most of them fought at Plevna and at Smârdan. Alexandru Chibici Râvneanu was distinguished in the fights around Vidin¹⁵ and the pupil Hnidei returned from Plevna overwhelmed by the decorations for his bravery acts¹⁶.

But many of them had never come back home. The sergeant Constantin Popescu, from Camena village, near Cernăuți; was killed in Calafat just at the beginning of the fights between Romanian army and the Ottoman Empire, being the first hero of the Independence War¹⁷.

The rush of the young volunteers to the Balkan front continued all over the year 1877, while the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Habsburg Monarchy demanded to the Romanian government to send them [the volunteers from Bukovina, author's note] back. At these demands, Mihail Kogălniceanu, the Romanian homologue, replied that Romania will not commit the «injustice» to «deliver» the young people come from Transylvania to the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

Besides these volunteers' actions, those who remained at home made huge financial efforts, offering the savings to those gone to the war and in the rest of the time they collected funds in order to help the wounded people and their families.

Material and financial contributions for supporting the War. In the spring of 1877, the Romanian army had not sufficient ammunition, equipment and the Administration Department was not well enough organized while the Romanian state had no financial resources to support the war efforts. Despite all these, due to the contributions of the whole people, the army could be mobilized, a real national effort to which have joined the Bukovina's people too.

Missing the necessary funds, the government decided that both the food supplies for the troops and the fodders for the horses should be procured only by requisitions. The huge needs for the front, unforeseen situations sometimes generated abuses of the prefects in some countries, but even if these happened, the population didn't protest at all and answered positive to the authorities' demands.

So that, on the 13th of September 1878, through a form letter sent by the Ministry of Home Affairs to the prefects of the counties of Suceava, Neamț, Iassy, Putna, those districts had to give for the front 1000 rams, list completed with sheep if it was necessary¹⁸.

Many supplies obtained from Bukovina: grain, corn, barley, corn flour, cheese, meat, cattle, wine, plum brandy, vinegar, oats, hay, straw, carriages, timber, and others, took the path way to the front¹⁹.

The civil population contributed to the war also through the supporting committees and societies which gathered supplies for the front, donations or different offerings for the army. This kind of organizations were set up in Neamț,

Suceava, Cernăuți, Storojineț, Rădăuți, under the leadership of politicians and prelates like: Nicolae Hurmuzaki, Silvestru Andrievici Morariu, George Flondor, Ion Candea and of some brave Bukovina's ladies from among we can't omit Natalia Hurmuzaki, Elena Popovici Logothetty, Catinca Wassilko or Victoria Zotta²⁰.

Food supplies and money were gathered and sent to the front. "Familia" magazine wrote that "...in Bukovina even from the beginning of May" volunteer women begun to make parcels for the help of the wounded Romanians. The offerings were gathered by Mrs. Natalia Hurmuzaki, in Cernăuți, who collected already «2000 francs» and Mrs. Elena Popovici Logothetty in Suceava, who gathered «800 francs»²¹. Besides the money collecting, Neamț and Suceava counties, as well as in the rest of the country, offered great quantities of grain, vegetables, cheese, wines, sanitary materials, clothes²².

The peasants from Bălțătești, from Petricani and from Râncești (Neamț County) donated 32 sheep, respectively 34 shirts, 42 towels and 140 elbows of tissue (aprox. 70 meters.)²³.

In the same spirit answered the women from Bukovina, from the towns and villages, when the government appealed them and solicited lints for the bandages, explaining that this "couldn't be bought"²⁴. Intellectuals, schoolteachers, civil servants from administration offered parts of their salary during the whole period of the war or even the whole salary in some months.

The Settlement of "St. Spiridon" Hospital from Iassy, made an engagement to cure, in different towns of Moldavia, around 180 wounded²⁵. As well, there were set up supporting committees for the helping of the wounded Romanian soldiers also in Botoșani, Roman, Huși, Fălticeni, Piatra Neamț, Suceava²⁶, actions in which they were sustained by the workers, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, priests²⁷.

The workers from the telegraphic and mail office in Piatra Neamț decided also to offer monthly and for an half of year various amounts between 5 and 15 lei from their salary, while the monks from Neamț Monastery offered 200 lei²⁸.

At these impressive material efforts, there were added the works in the benefit of the army, the great number of transports done for the front with supplies and ammunition, so that the general and complete view proved an entire abnegation of the Bukovineans for the national cause.

We can appreciate here for the Bukovina's people, as well as for those Romanians from the territories detached temporarily from the homeland, the considerations made by Partenie Cosma, Romanian deputy for Bihor County in the Parliament from Pesta: "when the time have come for fighting to get our country's

independence, all Romanians united “jumped” in front of the strong fortress of a terrible and powerful enemy, in a sympathetic smile of Europe, but soon they came back being welcome in their triumphal way by the admiration and respect of the Europe because they proved in a brilliant way, before the whole world that there at the Low Danube there is a brave and young nation, who understands his European endeavour and it is able to accomplish this, a nation whose alliance can be precious for everyone”²⁹.

The independence war reflected in the culture of Bukovina. In this war, the Romanian people from Bukovina have been a real active intellectual force.

The Romanian life rose again impulsive in the culture societies. In the “Society for the Romanian culture and literature in Bukovina”, the schoolmasters, the teachers and the priests were making donations for the funds of this society. Through these, the penetration of the periodicals from Bucharest and from Transylvania was facilitated.

The name of “Arboroasa” Society is connected by many events. The students, led by Ciprian Porumbescu, the president of this Society, were gathering in official, and sometimes “underground” meetings, where they praised for the sacrifice of Grigore Ghica, the prince beheaded a hundred years before. Also, they greeted with much elation «Romania’s joining to the Balkan war» and the most enthusiast of them enlisted as volunteers³⁰.

They opened subscription lists, collected money and brought their homage for the victories gained by the Romanian army, while they took a stand against the despise showed by the foreigners for the independence struggle of the Romanian people³¹. This attitude brought from the part of the Austrian authorities accuses of “high treason” of the Crown’s interests, and by «contempt and hate against the union of the states of the Monarchy and against the state administration of Austro-Hungary»³².

The war for independence developed in Bukovina an intellectual emulation for study, for the research of the national history, in which context even personalities dedicated to other areas gave a great attention to the remembrance of the past as: I.G. Sbiera (philologist), T.V. Stefanelli (lawyer), Ciprian Porumbescu (musician), registered in 1878 to the history section of the Philosophy Faculty and others.

Dimitrie Onciul, the great Bukovina’s historian from the Rădăuți Straja, asserts in those times fundamental problems connected to the origin, the unity and the continuity of the Romanian people. When the war began, he was a student in the second grade of the History Faculty from Cernăuți. As a student he was a

member of the committee of the "Arboroasa" Society, and after its elimination, in 1878, he immediately founded "Junimea", a new society of students, in fact, the continuer of the first one. From 1879, at Vienna, where he came to continue his university studies, Dimitrie Onciul activated in the Romanian students' society "România Jună". He was familiar with Roesler's theories regarding the unity and the continuity of the Romanian people in Dacia, published in 1871 at Leipzig, in the paper "Romanische Studien". Under the influence of the events from Romania, in Cernăuți and then in Wien, he studied in order to prove the falsity of the roeslerian theories and the results will materialize in papers of speciality of a great value/importance: at Iassy *Teoria lui Roesler. Studii asupra staruintelor romanilor in Dacia Traiană*, published in "Convorbiri literare", XIX, 1885-1886, and at Cernăuți with the occasion of the anniversary of 10 years from the independence, a study regarding the history of Bukovina³³.

The military history of the war was consented in a modest literature. Among the authors we can mention Constantin Morariu, scholar who published in the review "Familia", at Budapest, in 1877, the war correspondence and tried in this way to point out to the Romanian Government the sufferings of the Romanians who were under the Hapsburg domination³⁴.

Other works are in fact the war memories of two Bukovina's volunteers: Alexandru Chibici-Râvneanul, who published them in "Convorbiri literare", XVII, 1883 under the title *Din viața mea de voluntar (1877-1878)* and Partenie Sireteanu *Memories from the Independence War and others from my past (1867-1927)*, published with the occasion of the semi-centenarian of the historic event³⁵.

Partenie Sireteanu evoked, extremely enthusiastic, the recruit experience which he had lived in the camp of the army from Calafat, where he was enlisted in an artillery regiment. The atmosphere, the ardour of the young soldiers was interrupted by the intervention of the Austrian Government, Sireteanu and some of the fellows being sent back in Bukovina before the beginning of the fight.

Dimitrie Petrino is another personality of the epoch, who with the aid of his writings addressed a calling to fight, for the support of the Romanians' cause. Even from 1875, Dimitrie Petrino passed at Iassy to take part at the commemoration of a hundred years from the rope of Bukovina province.

Protesting at the grave of Ghica-Vodă, he accused the foreign Austrian domination³⁶, fact for which the returning in Bukovina was not anymore possible. The settlement at Bucharest was followed by the appeal addressed to the Bukovineans, in which he called at the fight for the independence, and on the 13th of October 1877, he published in Bucharest, in the newspaper "Telegraful", the

article “Speranța României”³⁷. The “Bard” of Bukovina, although appreciated as a lyric poet, composed in that period verses containing the revolt, the desire of union with the country of the Romanian regions which were under foreign dominations, ideal for whose accomplishment fought the entire nation. Plastic arts, music have also had their representatives who resonated with the events of the independence war.

The painter Epaminonda Bucevski, originar from Illișești-Suceava, the unique master of the paint-brush from Bukovina, was moulded at the National School of Blaj and graduated the university studies at the Fine Arts Academy from Wien³⁸. Painter appreciated by the amateurs of modern art from Austria and other European countries, Epaminonda Bucevski was at Vienna when the events from Romania began. The family obligations, the maintenance of the sisters from Bukovina didn't permit him to leave for the front as his fellows from Transilvania and from the Old Romania did: Carol Pop de Szatmary, Sava Henția and others. Even though, the younger brother Dionisie, was the representative of the family on the front, while Epaminonda considered himself connected to the ideal of independence through its creations with the historic theme and/or the religious voievodal painting, as a tribute paid to the history accomplished under his eyes. The sketch “Deșteptarea României”, the wall paintings from Voroneț, Patrăuți, Sf. Dumitru from Suceava, Sf. Nicolai from Iassy and other works from the same period, with historical and national subjects, evocated in artfully colours the traits specific of an entire nation³⁹.

However, it seems that the deepest vibration at the independence event, belongs to Ciprian Porumbescu. The Bukovina's music represented by him recorded patriotic creations of a great value, beside Ciprian Porumbescu being situated Carol Miculi, the private teacher of Porumbescu, Isidor Vorobchievici and Eusebie Mandicevski⁴⁰.

In their most important works, the Bukovina's composers inspired themselves and served the national ideals. But the one who completely entered in the saga/epic from 1877-1878 was Ciprian Porumbescu. Musician and patriotic militant, he put his creative talent in the job of the great sensitive ideals for all the Romanians from the Austrian monarchy⁴¹. Inspired by the independence war, by the behaviour of the Romanian soldiers, Ciprian Porumbescu composed choral acts and instrumental chamber music: “Sergentul”, ”Plevna”, ”Peneș Curcanul”, ”Marșul călărașilor” and others. In the piano act “Peneș Curcanul”, the musician evoked the fight from Grivița, but “Peneș Curcanul” and “Sergentul Bujor” from “Crai Nou”, “adopted” from the poems of Vasile Alecsandri, marked portraits of

Romanian soldiers from the independence war, conveyed after, very expressive, on tissue by the painter Nicolae Grigorescu⁴².

With the aspects connected to the reflecting of the independence in the Bukovina's culture of the period our evocation ends too. Finally, we have to mention that the national solidarity manifested with such vigour at 1877 represented basis and the starting point for the convictions, the programs and the political-national actions from the next stage.

Concrete manifestation of the conscience of the Romanian national unity, the strong moral, material and human support given to Romania by the overwhelming majority of the population from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and Bukovina conferred to the participation of the Romanian army at the war from 1877-1878 the sense of a general-Romanian action⁴³.

¹ Sextil Pușcariu, *Răsunetul războiului pentru independență în Ardeal, în Războiul neatârării 1877-1878, Conferințe ținute la Ateneul Român, București, 1927*, p. 211

² Șt. Pascu, *Transilvăneanul, bănățeanul, bucovineanul*, in „Magazin istoric”, 11, nr. 5, mai 1977, p. 41-44 (Țara).

³ N. Adăniloiaie, *Independența Națională a României*, București, Editura Academiei, 1986; N. Adăniloiaie, I. G. Cupșa, *Războiul pentru Independența Națională a României*, București, Editura Politică, 1967; V. Netea, *Lupta românilor din Transilvania pentru Libertatea Națională (1848-1881)*, București, Editura Științifică, 1974; I. Nistor, *Răsunetul Războiului din 1877 în Bucovina și Basarabia*, „Analele Academiei Române”, III (AnAR III) Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, 1927, mem. 9; M. Iacobescu, *Evoluția românilor bucovineni între anii 1821-1919*, in “Glasul Bucovinei” nr.4/2000, Cernăuți-București, Fundația Culturală Română, p. 3-32; M. Băltescu, M. Tănăsiu, *Ecoul Războiului de Independență în rândul românilor din monarhia austro-ungară*, Aluta 3/1971, p. 281-301; N. Pentelescu, *Românii bucovineni în Războiul pentru Independență 1877-1878*, „Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, 53, nr. 5-6, mai-iunie 1977 p. 374-382; O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz *Ecouri ale războiului de Independență în Bucovina*, Almanah „Tribuna” 1976, p. 82-85.

⁴ Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 41-44.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ Sextil Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

⁸ I. Dârdală, *Conștiința națională a românilor bucovineni*, Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie (A.I.I.A.), Iași, 1975, p. 182.

⁹ *Ibidem*

¹⁰ Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 43-44.

- ¹¹ *Ibidem.*
- ¹² I. Dârdală, *op.cit.*, p. 134.
- ¹³ N. Adăniloiaie, *op.cit.*, p. 260; see also O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz, *Ecouri ale Războiului de Independență in Bucovina*, Cluj, Almanah Tribuna, 1976, p. 82-85.
- ¹⁴ *Ibidem.*
- ¹⁵ M. Iacobescu, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- ¹⁶ *Războiul neatârării României, op.cit.*, p. 248; see also N. Adăniloiaie, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
- ¹⁷ *Războiul neatârării României*, p. 249.
- ¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 299.
- ¹⁹ N. Adăniloiaie, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
- ²⁰ M. Iacobescu, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- ²¹ *Documentele Războiului pentru Independență*, vol. V, p. 216.
- ²² *Ibidem.*
- ²³ *Ibidem.*
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*; see also O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz, *Ecouri ale războiului de independență...*, *op.cit.*, p. 85.
- ²⁵ *Ibidem.*
- ²⁶ N. Adăniloiaie, *op.cit.*, p. 260. *Până la sfârșitul lui august 1877 preoții din județele Suceava și Iași oferiseră pentru îngrijirea răniților 585 lei și o serie de obiecte spitalicești.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem.*
- ²⁸ *Ibidem.*
- ²⁹ Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- ³⁰ M. Iacobescu, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- ³¹ *Ibidem.*
- ³² Paul Leu, *Ciprian Porumbescu. Monografie*, Suceava, 1972, p. 58-59.
- ³³ O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
- ³⁴ I. Dârdală, *op. cit.*; see also M. Iacobescu, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- ³⁵ *Ibidem.*
- ³⁶ O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
- ³⁷ *Ibidem.*
- ³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 137.
- ³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 138.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibidem.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 138-139; see also *Războiul neatârării României*, p. 298.
- ⁴² O. Monoranu, I. Cocuz, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- ⁴³ T. Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitate națională si diplomația Puterilor Centrale 1878-1895*, Timișoara, Editura Facla, 1979, p. 14-15.