With ‘Bukovinism’, matters are even more complicated. Although the term shares the fate of *homo bucovenensis* in the sense that ‘Bukovinism’, too, rapidly became a favourite among nationalist curses, it does not suffice to blame nationalists alone for its blurry instrumentalisation. First, it does not only mean different things to different authors, but it even proves to be stretchy material in the hands of one and the same author. To confuse matters even more, post-Habsburg nostalgia added yet another meaning to it. The fact that ‘Bukovinism’ has been so readily applied by nationalists, anthropologist, literary critics and historians has reduced its value to a catch-all term which is best avoided when debating aspects of identity in Habsburg Bukovina.

However, the fact that the name ‘Bukovinism’ has been shaped and reshaped, formed and deformed renders it impossible to be ignored altogether. The allegation that it represented a conscious Austrian strategy to counter nationalism has only been uttered and never been substantiated so far. If anything, only a conscious ‘Galicianism policy’ can be substantiated by one quote: Metternich was quoted after the Austrian annexation of Galicia, stating: “May it never be attempted to make the Poles with one stroke into Germans; before anything else, they must become real Galicians so that they may cease to regard themselves as Poles”. If ‘Bukovinism’ on the other hand really constituted such a concrete ‘program’, it must have left behind obvious traces such as written testimonies of sponsors and interested parties. Therefore the central question here is not about the existence of an obscure notion which might be found both everywhere and nowhere, but about clear indications of regional identification and its possible initiators and supporters.

5  **‘Bukovinian Diseases’: Images, Allegories and Stereotypes**

With a growing number of educated Bukovinians, a bourgeois urban middle class and a thriving press, not only a Bukovinian cosmopolitan and liberal current came into being, but also a sense of pride: the crownland’s exotic features such as the Hutsuls, the Lippovans and Sadagora’s wunder rabbi with his court were hardly known in the west. *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* added Bukovinian women to this lot, stating that ‘the appeal of these most precious gems of the land still awaited its praise’ which was well-deserved since ‘West and East mixed in their blood, the charm of the Viennese woman and the restrained blood of the Oriental woman, the spirit of the city dweller with the disposition of the child of nature’. On another occasion, the paper commented that ‘rather than the noble self-consciousness which otherwise quite adorns Bukovinians, thorough consideration was in order’, while

553 Turczynski 1993, pp. 83-84.
554 Der Ball des Männergesangvereines (Fasching), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 01.03.1906, p. 4.
555 Unsere Landesaustellung (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 30.04.1905, pp. 4-5.
according to *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, ‘one often got the impression that the Czernowitz population was innocuous and good-natured, taking a relaxed view of things in their comfortableness and having only has a headshake to spare for events which threaten to upset their living conditions’.  

Bukovina prided itself on being the ‘Empire’s loyal border guard in the East’. With the advancement of Czernowitz, the focus was increasingly on the crownland capital and its cultural role. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* declared in 1895:

> Our crownland capital must still be seen as an advanced post to the East. The intelligent part of the population is aware of this and in this sense the conviction is also beginning to make way into the outside world. This must undisputedly be regarded as a major step forward. It is not that long ago that Bukovina was known in the Imperial centre as ‘bear land’, and that our dear Czernowitz represented not much more than a geographical term.  

However, in the background, Bukovina’s initial function as a military buffer zone continued to shine through, as Austrian Prime Minister Beck underlined when he characterised ‘the high mission of Bukovina to impart to the extreme east the advancing Western culture while simultaneously serving as a bulwark against all incoming invasions’. Occasionally, the local press made brave attempts to counter the obvious inferiority complex accompanying the land’s geographical position with a potent summons:

> Far to the east is the land where we live and eastern is its whole character. Eastern? Yes, eastern! Finally the day must come when ‘eastern’ is no longer pronounced with the familiar ironic tone of voice, when with this ascertaintment only implies purely geographical terms. (...). Where can so much unused power still be found, so much thirst for knowledge and so much unspent energy? That’s right, energy! This is the essence of the whole thing. We do not use the energy stored up in us. Just look at the peasant from Bukovina who sailed the big ocean to work in Canada. This is a real man who fearlessly climbs down into the depths of the mines, cuts down giant trees in primeval forests, who works day and night on the railway embankments and also stands his ground on large farms. There are truly peasants from Bukovina who have become farmers and inspect their property with their own cars. (...) The east has the future, it will conquer the cultivated world. The weapon we must use is called ‘energy’.  

Theophil Bendella, a tutor at the Orthodox seminary and the future Bukovinian Metropolitan, had published a first applied geographical study on the region with the title ‘Topographical and statistical overview of Bukovina’ in 1820 (*Topographisch-statistischen Übersicht der Bukowina*). As such he was the first to brand the land as being ‘inhabited by diverse peoples who unlike in other lands were not melted indistinguishably into each other, but who sharply divided by religion, language, manners and character’. He claimed that one was ‘unlikely to

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558 ‘*Die Grenzwacht im Osten*’, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 04.06.1908, p. 1.  
559 *Energie*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.01.1912, p. 1.
find a second little land with such a small surface where so many peoples and religions lived side by side in such proficient harmony’.\textsuperscript{560} This way, Bendella had not only introduced the stereotype of Bukovinian peace and tolerance, but had also created the persistent notion of clearly segregated groups who managed to live together in spite of all perceived obstacles. Local commentators readily adopted this image and projected it on other crownlands which might have been more powerful and ‘civilised’, but were nevertheless torn apart by competing nationalist movements. In 1888, \textit{Bukowinaer Nachrichten} described Bukovina as ‘a small-scale Austria which soon would have as many languages as districts, a land, where Germans, Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles and Hungarians had lived peacefully side by side for a century and as children of the same homeland had helped and stood by each other, a Bukovina created, protected and nurtured by Austria, brought to the civilisation of Europe through the effort of German labour, being a vehicle of the German language’ and in a self-congratulatory way reasoned that ‘if the rest of nationalist Austria regarded this mirror image, if it wanted to draw the lesson from it which Bukovina has mastered so much earlier, it would give them and Austria salvation’.\textsuperscript{561} At times, the stereotypical tolerance was linked to the insecurity of being located at the eastern border of the Empire: deputy mayor of Czernowitz Gregor ‘sincerely admitted that especially the population of Bukovina and specifically that of Czernowitz offered a shining example in terms of tolerance and regarding mutual recognition and respect, despite its various nationalities and religious differences, and that Czernowitz in this case could serve as a model city (\textit{Musterstadt}) for the haughty, spoiled West’.\textsuperscript{562}

Yet, in a climate of increasing nationalist bickering in Austria’s various regions, it became less and less likely that Bukovina would remain the sole exception. When the moment seemed near when Bukovinian deputies to the Imperial Parliament would finally unite in a Bukovinian Club, \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} gloated:

\textit{All nations inhabiting the land unite their efforts in our diet wherever interests of the land in economic matters are at stake. In such moments, all national issues, no matter how important, decidedly take a back seat. The other provinces and the House of Representatives may take this as an example - this is our pride.}\textsuperscript{563}

However, \textit{Rundschau} had rejoiced too soon, and the failure of Bukovinian politicians to club together in Vienna painfully made clear that nationalist agendas and tensions were not as unknown to the crownland as its German-language press often suggested. By the end of the 1890s, warnings to avoid situations like those in other ‘kingdoms and crownlands’ gained ground. \textit{Bukowinaer Post} maintained in 1898 that ‘peace had indeed been a national peculiarity of Bukovina and fortunately still was to a large extent’, but simultaneously encouraged Bukovinians to ‘look over the boundary posts and behold how over there the nationality battles blazed wildly and how this state of war had a devastating effect and

\textsuperscript{561} \textit{Die Staatssprache und die Bukovina}, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.06.1888, pp. 1.2.
\textsuperscript{562} \textit{Der neue Bürgermeister}, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 13.04.1905, pp. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{563} \textit{Der Bukowinaer Club}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 26.10.1900, pp. 1-2.
destroyed livelihoods’.\footnote{Auf gemeinsamen Boden, Bukowinaer Post, 17.04.1898, pp. 1-2.} By 1905, there was already a tangible nostalgia for the times when Bukovina had been an ‘exemplary crownland’ (Musterkronland) and hope was expressed that nationalist politicians had done the necessary soul searching and would change their ways.\footnote{Ostern 1905, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1905, pp. 1-2.} Claiming an exceptional position of peace and tolerance in Bukovina, especially in its political arena, became a rarity in the local newspapers. In the general atmosphere of doom and gloom, tensions between different groups now appeared as a generic feature of Bukovinian society, or as in the a description of Bukovina provided by Czernowitzer Tagblatt on New Year’s Eve 1911:

\begin{quote}
This little land with the partly existing, partly artificially imported extremes, this province in which famine and luxurious prosperity violently collide, this province, in which a thin intellectual upper class covers a large mass of illiteracy, this narrow area, which evinces on the one side a spiritual mass proletariat, on the other side an economic proletariat, whilst the whole desolate stretch is inhabited by problematic existences, this land of stark economic differences and social and domestic friction, where so far everything has been done to sharpen the contrasts and where there is no leverage to intervene improvidently and soothingly.\footnote{Ein Sylvestertraum, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 31.12.1911, p. 1.}
\end{quote}

Such portrayals were a far cry from proud images such as ‘exemplary crownland’, ‘cultural oasis’, ‘haven of tolerance’ or ‘borderguard of the East’. They more adequately reflect the more dominant, negative discourse relating to what was considered ‘typically Bukovinian’.

First and foremost, there was a general feeling of inadequacy: the crownland was accused of being a place where ‘honesty was regarded as something secondary, maybe even dispensable’ and where ‘the word of honour which was elsewhere given and being kept like an oath meant almost nothing’. This was combined with ‘a streak of public mistrust’, as Bukowinaer Rundschau maintained in 1891:

\begin{quote}
It is not a feeling of gratitude when a beautiful gesture is made which makes conventional Bukovinians - indifferent of nationality and religion - tick, it is mostly only the eagerness to answer the question: “What hidden objectives did this person pursue with his act?” (...) The assumption one starts from is lazy and unhealthy and suggests a similar character consistency which, figuratively speaking, simply poisons the air we breathe.\footnote{Bukowinaer Krankheiten, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 12.07.1891, pp. 1-2.}
\end{quote}

Rundschau could provide only one consolation: this was all a ‘relic of barbarism’ (Unkultur),\footnote{Bukowinaer Krankheiten – II, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 16.08.1891, pp.1-2.} while ‘times were really bad in Bukovina because such bad people lived in it’\footnote{Gibt es noch eine Bukowina? Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.08.1892, pp. 1-2.} and ‘the land itself was economically and morally dead’.\footnote{Gibt es noch eine Bukowina? Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.08.1892, pp. 1-2.} Arousing the indignation of his home base, Bukovinian parliamentarian Stephan Stefanowicz delivered a speech stating that in the crownland, ‘the large estates were over their heads in debt, the clergy was not up to
its job, the middle class consisted of Polish Jews and the farmer was on the lowest level of human development’.\textsuperscript{570} In turn, the Bukovinian press vilified the work of the land’s parliamentarians, claiming that none of its representatives in parliament represented its interests,\textsuperscript{571} that ‘the laziness of political life was undeniable’, that ‘the plight of the starving population could not be settled by successful speeches and series of articles based on personality cults and individual politics’, that ‘the people faced the activities of the parliamentarians with indolence and apathy’ and that the words of the latter were largely worthless (\textit{Morgenrot und Gassenkot}).\textsuperscript{572}

True to form, Christian-Social Josef Wyslouzil blamed the ‘disintegrating economy of the Jews’ for the fact that in his view, ‘Bukovina was still both economically and culturally at least a hundred years behind’, that Bukovinians were ‘fighting for the most primitive human rights, for a fair administration and justice and for protection against robbers and highwaymen of all kinds.’\textsuperscript{573} \textit{Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung} despaired that ‘as far as cultural and economic development was concerned, the pitiful land ranked so far backwards that one anxiously looked back to see if there was still something behind it’ while it only ranked number one when serious crime was concerned.\textsuperscript{574}

Those sentiments, however, were not limited to general misery: there was a consistent canon filled with feelings of backwardness, neglect, obscurity, isolation, discrimination of the native population and subordinance to neighbouring Galicia. These consistently and persistently resurfacing images deserve a closer look.

5.1 Semi-Asia, Penal Colony, Stepchild and Cinderella: Crownland Allegories

Whereas the exact sources of many commonplaces, auto-images and hetero-images of Bukovina and its inhabitants are hard to detect, the persistent image of ‘Semi-Asia’ is clearly the creation of one specific author: Karl Emil Franzos. His travel accounts from Galicia, Bukovina, Russia and Romania had been published by the Viennese \textit{Neue Freie Presse} before they were published in 1876 as the very successful trilogy \textit{Aus Halb-Asien}.\textsuperscript{575} The book was by far the most popular description of life in the ‘unknown east’ and was eventually translated into fifteen languages,\textsuperscript{576} making Franzos Bukovina’s first internationally famed German-language writer.\textsuperscript{577}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{570} \textit{Wo hinaus?} Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.01.1897, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{571} \textit{Der rechte Mann}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 29.12.1889, pp. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{572} \textit{Das Land}, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 10.03.1903, pp. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{574} \textit{Kulturzeichen}, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.07.1910, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{575} For more on \textit{Aus Halb-Asien}: Part I, paragraph 3: Literature Survey/ 3.3.2 Writings with an Ideological Agenda.
\textsuperscript{576} Erdheim 2004.
\end{flushleft}
‘Semi-Asia’ soon became the unavoidable term of reference whenever Bukovina was discussed during the Habsburg era. Both in and outside the crownland, Franzos and his plea for the central role of German culture were to remain highly controversial. More often than not, this controversy was caused by the various ways Franzos’ observations were interpreted. Romanian nationalist - and later Romania’s national poet - Mihai Eminescu, who at one point had been Franzos’ classmate at the Czernowitz Gymnasium, took the notion of ‘Semi-Asia’ for an attack on Romanianness and accused Franzos of calling Romanian-speakers ‘semi-barbarians’ (semibarbari). In 1911, during the debate on whether Jews should get the status of nationality in Austria, Bukovinian Governor Regner von Bleyleben invoked Franzos’ pejorative descriptions of the Ostjuden as an argument against the Jewish nationality claims: how could the Jews possibly want the Austrian government to petrify a situation which even one of their own had described as disgraceful?

Bukovinian periodicals readily applied the ‘semi-Asian’ symbolism, sometimes to lash out against Viennese arrogance, at other times to exercise self-criticism or to highlight the contrast between the past and the present: they deplored to be reduced to the same denominator as Galicia when corruption and similar ‘semi-Asian conditions’ were debated in parliament and saw the establishment of the university as the definite farewell to those conditions. Still, they also admitted that news items from Bukovina sometimes confirmed the ‘antiquated belief’ that ‘barbarian Bukovina was inhabited by Semi-Asians’. Upon the arrival of Lueger’s Christian-Social campaign in Bukovina, Czernowitzer Tagblatt sarcastically wondered ‘what could have been the reason for the powers in Vienna to show such interest in the land and its semi-Asian population’. Once the visitors had left, the Tagblatt concluded that ‘the Christian-Social rabble-rousers could report to their comrades back home to have fulfilled their task brilliantly’, that the population was ‘very touched by their resolve to Europeanise semi-Asian Bukovina’, but that ‘their fellow party members in Bukovina had failed to inform the gentlemen that since the day the sad description Semi-Asia had been coined, out of Semi-Asia, a piece of Europe had already been formed without Christian-Social assistance’. When in 1901 modernisations in Galicia were envied, Bukowinaer Rundschau commented that ‘over there, one could see how a province stuck in semi-Asian mud only a few years earlier had made amazing cultural and economic progress’. The celebrations surrounding the 500th anniversary of Czernowitz in 1908 provoked the wish in Czernowitzer Tagblatt ‘to present to outsiders the sharp contrast between then and now and to show that the traces of Semi-Asia had since long been wiped out and not the faintest indication of the antiquated and the backward had continued to exist’.

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578 Eminescu, Mihai, Arboroasa (“in ‘Neue Freie Presse’ ne-a întâmpinat...”), Timpul, 11.11.1877, p. 4.
581 Die Completirung der Czernowitzer Universität, Czernowitzer Presse, 01.04.1890, pp. 1-2.
582 Fremd im eigenen Lande, Bukowinaer Journal, 13.05.1902, p. 1.
583 Ungebetene Gäste, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 02.02.1907, p. 1.
584 Das christlichsoziale Debut, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 06.02.1907, p. 1.
However, when crime rates were discussed, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* felt compelled to report that Galicia and Bukovina were both the home and the preferred working area of white slave traders, and that precisely Czernowitz, ‘which felt so superior to Semi-Asia, had the dubious honour to be top-ranking in the police reports in Europe as the ‘main distribution centre’ for the trafficking of young women’.587

In Bukovina, the discussion on Franzos’ work, his influence on Bukovina’s image at home and abroad really started once the author had died in Berlin in 1904 at the age of fifty-six. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* mourned the loss of ‘one of the best, if not simply the best’ author from Bukovina, even though he had ‘at times given occasion to be not too happy with him’, especially for inventing the expression ‘Semi-Asia’ and for portraying land and people ‘in a rather unflattering and, more importantly, untruthful way’. His harsh judgment of the development of secondary and academic education in Bukovina had caused ‘a wave of indignation’ in the crownland. More importantly, however, Franzos had put Bukovina firmly on the map and had saved it from obscurity. That was why Bukovinians, who had not only respected Franzos as an important author but had even loved him, would always remain proud that from their homeland, ‘he had taken off to conquer the world and fill it with his glory’.588

In *Bukowinaer Post*, journalist and playwright Konrad Pekelmann categorised Franzos as someone who ‘chastised out of love’ and deemed it less relevant to discuss whether everything Franzos had written about Bukovina was true. Two facts remained: Bukovina had ‘covered quite a cultural distance’ over the years, and Franzos was ‘the only real writer to whom Bukovina could refer’. Compared to the aggression of nationalism and anti-Semitism of his own days, Pekelmann was not really disturbed by the the notion of ‘Semi-Asia’:

_Semi-Asia! That means something like a land where cruelty and barbarism are still at home, where they shamelessly rape, behead and murder - all of this being mere child’s play compared to our modern-day Asian-ness. To deny someone his humanity, to regard him as inferior, to strip him of his conditions of existence with means permitted by law, with cold civility and with class arrogance, is that more humane than the bloodthirsty madness of some drunken Asian despot? Franzos is dead and his enviers are alive. I prefer the dead lion over the living donkey._589

That said, the ‘dead lion’s’ inheritance would remain a hot topic in Bukovinian circles. Prominent Bukovinian historian - and German nationalist- Raimund Friedrich Kaindl continued to oppose what he saw as Franzos’ warped view on Bukovina and the damaging results this view had produced: thanks to Franzos, ‘many were of the opinion that Czernowitz was a thoroughly Oriental city’ and Bukovina as a whole had earned the reputation of ‘bear land’ (*Bärenland*). According to Kaindl, learning about the Carpathian region by reading Franzos equalled ‘watching a ‘Mikado’ performance in order to be taught about Japan’.590 Kaindl’s view were shared by a majority of the Czernowitz city council, which decided

587 *Halbasiatisches, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 04.08.1907, p. 1.
against a proposal to honour the late author with a street in the Bukovinian capital. Czernowitzer Tagblatt deplored how it had been exactly the ‘unmistakable characteristics of the state of affairs as attacked by Franzos’ which had emerged during the debate: ‘a cramped horizon, a narrow-minded outlook and petty behaviour in accordance with a semi-Asian standard’. The Tagblatt underlined that, apart from the fact that it had not been Franzos’ way to blaspheme, there was still quite a bit of ‘Semi-Asia’ left in Bukovina: those with disparaging views on the crownland might as well have based their opinions on their first impressions leaving the Czernowitz railway station, ‘thus placing the city in the ranks of little nests known in the West as simple and as cautionary examples’. Vice-mayor Fürth justified his opposition to the idea with the expectation that at least part of the population would be offended by a Franzos Street. Council member Kaindl repeated his well-known disgust with Franzos and especially blamed him for publishing his views abroad instead of at home, where they might have served to improve matters. Ruthenian council member Teodat Halip praised Franzos for the loving way in which he had criticised the situation in Bukovina and for bringing the crowland’s very existence to the general public’s knowledge; his Romanian colleague Zurkan joined Kaindl in his conviction that Franzos had denounced the Bukovinians as ‘semi-Asians’.

Franzos’ ‘Semi-Asia’ remained a classical point of reference in the historiography of Habsburg Bukovina and critics equally remained divided on Franzos’ role and his intentions: had he wilfully blemished the crownland’s reputation abroad with sensational fantasies or had he done it a tremendous service by pointing out its weaknesses and by making the outside world aware of its existence? The main problem in the debate during the Habsburg years was that it was hardly ever based upon a thorough analysis of Franzos’ actual words. Prominent Bukovinian lawyer and a close friend of Franzos, Wilhelm Tittinger, already had addressed this problem when the streetname debate surfaced not longer after the disputed author’s demise. Tittinger claimed that Franzos’ criticisms were not reserved for the land’s population, but for the authorities in Vienna who had neglected the opportunity to turn Czernowitz into the showcase of their civilisation project. Kaindl and his supporters therefore denounced Franzos for the wrong reasons. Ruthenian city council member Halip brough into the debate how dearly Franzos had loved Czernowitz and how he had not addressed Bukovina exclusively when referring to ‘Semi-Asia’, but the territories around it as well - Galicia first and foremost.

Halip touched upon an elementary misconception in the way Franzos’ ‘Semi-Asia’ had been connected to Bukovina as a crownland. The author’s mission had primarily been the promotion of German culture as vehicle for civilisation in the ‘barbaric East’. As such, he did not really differ between crownlands, but regarded Czernowitz as the prime example of a successful civilising mission. By presenting the city as a ‘cultural oasis’, he automatically

591 Eine Franzosdebatte, Czernowitz Tagblatt, 26.02.1907 pp. 1-3.
593 Eine Franzosdebatte, Czernowitz Tagblatt, 26.02.1907 pp. 1-3.
made the distinction between Bukovina and its capital.\textsuperscript{594} Whether he called Bukovina ‘semi-Asian’ can therefore not be answered with a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’. An additional complication was the fact that between 1876 and 1901, Franzos had updated his book several times, becoming increasingly negative about the development of the Bukovinian multi-ethnic idyll and the influence of the Franz Joseph University. Debates were thus often dominated by confusion about the different editions and the way Franzos’ corrections were to be incorporated in the overall picture. Then there were those like Kaindl and Zurkan - German and Romanian nationalists who had overlooked that Franzos had discussed ‘situations’ rather than ‘people’ and who had felt personally attacked as ‘semi-Asians’. By the end of the twentieth century, post-Habsburg analysts generally valued Franzos’ work on the eastern regions, although the grudges held against him in the Habsburg era had survived as well: there was praise for the way the author had enriched German-language literature with his knowledge and how he had contributed to ‘the education of his Jewish compatriots’;\textsuperscript{595} criticism for the’ typical colonialist attitude’ Franzos had adopted in relation to Bukovina,\textsuperscript{596} and the nationalist accusation that Franzos had completely failed to understand ‘the national aspirations of the nationalities within the Monarchy’.\textsuperscript{597}

Franzos has been instrumental in the consolidation of more labels than ‘Semi-Asia’ alone: upon the death of historian and Nobel laureate Theodor Mommsen in 1903, Franzos quoted Mommsen as having labelled the Franz Joseph University ‘the Imperial and Royal academic penal colony’.\textsuperscript{598} Without mentioning that Mommsen’s alleged quote was only asserted by Franzos, numerous sources throughout the post-Habsburg period would attribute the expression to the famous scholar,\textsuperscript{599} but in early twentieth-century Bukovina, the source of the ‘penal colony’ quote was still well-remembered and used by Kaindl to denounce Franzos. However, the ‘penal colony’ image was older than the words attributed to Mommsen and had originally not been limited to the Bukovinian university alone. Already in 1892, \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} complained about the disdain Bukovinians met in Vienna from the side of Viennese officials and in this context already asked aloud if Bukovina was seen as a penal colony (\textit{Strafkolonie}).\textsuperscript{600} By 1898, \textit{Rundschau} complained that it was a miracle that Bukovina was still as loyal as it was when the miserable way the ‘penal colony’ was treated by the authorities was taken into account. The fact that all faraway Habsburg provinces except Bukovina had been granted reduced passenger fares for rail travel at the occasion of the Emperor’s anniversary on the throne provoked the conclusion that ‘in government circles,

\textsuperscript{595} Turczynski 1979, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{596} Corbea-Hoisie 2004, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{597} Grigorovi\c{t}ă 1996 (\textit{Din istoria coloniz\c{t}\b{a}rii Bucovinei}), pp. 57 -73.
\textsuperscript{598} Franzos, Karl Emil, \textit{Erinnerungen an Mommsen}, Neue Freie Presse, 22.11.1903, pp. 1-3.
\textsuperscript{600} \textit{Gibt es noch eine Bukowina?} Bukowinaer Rundschau, 21.08.1892, pp. 1-2.
they seemed willing to forgo a visit of the penal colonists’. The blame for the ‘penal colony status’ for Bukovina was put on Galicia.\textsuperscript{601} During the years before the establishment of the Franz Joseph University, the general impression was that Vienna sent its less appreciated civil servants - especially those who held a dubious track record related to the 1848 Revolution - to serve in Bukovina, far away and irrelevant enough to prevent them from doing (more) harm.\textsuperscript{602} In 1907, the Viennese Extrablatt published a letter by a Bukovinian living in Vienna, who protested against this alleged practice which basically gave Bukovina a status in the Monarchy comparable with Siberia’s in Russia.\textsuperscript{603} When in 1913 Romanian nationalists accused a German teacher of insulting his Romanian-speaking pupils, they claimed he had compared the Suczawa region to Siberia - and promptly asked the question what would then have been the reason for the Austrian authorities to have sent him to ‘this kind of Siberia’ (\textit{un fel de Sibirie}).\textsuperscript{604}

It can be argued that the ‘penal colony’ image has thus been invented and even imposed from outside Bukovina. This was clearly not the case with the carefully applied image of Bukovina as the eternal underdog of the Habsburg Monarchy, sometimes depicted as ‘Cinderella’ (\textit{Aschenbrödel}), but far more often as the ‘stepchild’ (\textit{Stiefkind}) or even the ‘state stepchild’ (\textit{Reichsstiefkind}): the state with its crownlands was depicted as a mother, favouring some children over the others, with Bukovina in the star role of the most deprived of all. When timber export tariffs were adjusted in 1889, \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} regarded this step as an attempt to improve the export situation of the Austrian Alp regions: it lamented how ‘in the long line of lands within the State, the beautiful land had been assigned the role of Cinderella, the other sisters being pampered and cuddled by the government while the little land, with its lifeblood strongly inhibited anyway, was confronted with more and more obstacles’. The government was accused of making it impossible for Bukovina to compete, of being ‘coldhearted enough to wrest from the much tried little land even the tiniest prospect of gain’ and of ‘systematically creating a tribe of beggars’. \textit{Rundschau} wondered if Bukovina was ‘not equally worthy to be benefited like every other jewel in the Austrian Imperial tiara’.\textsuperscript{605} A year later, \textit{Rundschau} observed how the crownland had ‘become accustomed to being renounced and overlooked and to playing the stepchild role to such extent that it could quickly become second nature to Bukovina’.\textsuperscript{606} In that same year, \textit{Bukowinaer Nachrichten} prominently displayed the ‘state stepchild’ term when it noticed that the disastrous effects the Austrian-Romanian customs war had on Bukovina’s trade balance had made it to the Viennese newspapers. This, according to \textit{Nachrichten}, was the first time since the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in 1875 that Bukovina had made headlines. Some of the criticism was reserved for Bukovinian deputies in the Imperial Parliament, who were said to be ‘almost

\textsuperscript{601} Die Strafcolonie, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 11.06.1898, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{602} Colin 1991, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{603} Die Bukovina als Strafkolonie (Czernowitz Angelegenheiten), Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.06.1907, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{604} Sentinela, \textit{Obrâznice nemțască}, Viața Nouă, 64, 09.03.1913, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{605} Ein Gefahr für unser Land, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 06.01.1889, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{606} Einigkeit ist Macht! Bukowinaer Rundschau, 03.04.1890, pp. 1-2.
all loyal satellites of the government’, coming back home empty-handed after each session. Since Bukovina prided itself on being a most, if not the most loyal crownland of the Empire, the perceived neglect hurt all the more, as a comment in Bukowinaer Rundschau illustrated:

> We are keenly reminded of an unwise mother of several children, one of them being very obedient, attentive, and overall faithful to the mother, while the others did not distinguish themselves by these laudable qualities, but constantly quarreled with each other and did not always listen to the good mother. In order to reconcile the quarrelsome, affectionate little children and to improve their behaviour, the unwise mother gave all her loving care to all children but the dear, obedient child. This is well-behaved, anyway, she said. The others she wanted to win over with love and affection and this way she neglected the child which should have been her favourite, but whose status was in fact reduced to that of a stepchild.

Instead of the recognition it deserved, Bukowinaer Post maintained that Bukovina ‘had been and remained a means of compensation and - if there was no other way - one of relinquishment in its attempts to bring about a compromise with Hungary’. As such it was nothing more than a plaything for internal political use, but Post also admitted that the crownland suffered from its own internal politics, with interest which were hard to unite and in the rare cases this occurred, it was only for the short term.

Equally frustrating was the conviction that neighbouring Galicia, the eternal competitor and menace, was one of mother’s favourites. Rundschau complained that from a military point of view, Bukovina remained largely unshielded and would be overrun immediately in case of an enemy attack. It added resentfully that the only defense was installed at the Prut bridge, ‘just to protect Galicia’. In Bukowinaer Post, these sentiments were echoed when it was stated that ‘what was heard everywhere in Bukovina was actually the cry of misery of a land feeling treated as a stepchild (Stiefkind) and feeling with bitterness how its most vital interests were subordinated to those of pet child (Schoßkind) Galicia’.

The death of Karl Emil Franzos and the subsequent debates in the Czernowitz city council on how the author and his work should be appreciated in Bukovina also breathed new life into the ‘stepchild’ issue. In 1907, Czernowitzter Tagblatt asked several prominent individuals how it was possible that the crownland still remained ‘unrecognised’ (verkannt). Jewish-Galician literary historian and journalist Adolf Gerber opined that only cruelty and violence guaranteed respect in the outside world, offering examples of pogroms in Russia and Romania. He concluded that Bukovina was ‘a tiny land, without history, without square miles and without bestialities, having only its humble good intentions and the honest ambition of its citizens to establish a branch of culture in the East’. This, Gelber said, was not enough. Journalist Eugen d’Albon related how twenty years earlier, Bukovina had still been completely unknown to ‘many otherwise educated circles’, who had seemed to regard it ‘a land of fairy tales and

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607 Das Reichsstiefkind, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.04.1890, p. 1.
608 Dr. Körber in Czernowitz, Bukowinaer Post, 03.07.1904, pp. 1-2.
609 Des Reiches Stiefkind, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.08.1896, p. 1.
bears’. Since then, contacts between Vienna and Czernowitz had become livelier and in the eyes of D’Albon, Bukovina’s parliamentary representatives should be thanked for this. When in the same year Bukovina lobbied for extensions of its telephone network, the demand was once more that ‘an end be put to treating it as Austria’s Cinderella’: Bukovina ‘did not want to make do with the leftovers of other crownlands’ and it required that ‘the needs of the land finally be met in time and not only once the investment capital has almost been used up.’

Once the ‘stepchild idea’ became the vogue, the question to which extent Bukovina itself was responsible for the much decried neglect became more prominent as well: Bukowinaer Journal complained bitterly about the fact that ‘it was not every day that ‘upstairs’ remembered Bukovina’. Bukovinians should be glad that in parliament, the Minister of Education had ‘dealt a few minutes with the easternmost province of Austria’, for Bukovinians were ‘accustomed to the fact that in the case of their land, [politicians] simply skipped tacitly over the agenda and that individual departmental ministers did not respond with even a single word to the comments of their representatives’. Still, the newspaper’s comments also betrayed some understanding for Vienna’s fatigue regarding the Bukovinian wailing. When Bukovinian deputies Skedl and Rosenzweig announced that they would take the floor during the parliamentary budget debates, Journal already predicted the contents of the interventions:

They will lament again that Bukovina is the state step child of Austria, they will tell about the years of Bukovina’s fervent endeavours to gain independence from neighbouring Galicia, they will highlight how our land has petitioned for decades for the establishment of a separate Court of Appeal, they will demonstrate that the economic wellbeing of Bukovina depends for a large extent on the establishment of a separate Bukovinian railway administration, they will argue that peasant emigration is steadily growing in size and poses an eminent threat to our agriculture, they will inform the other imperial envoys on our other grievances and ultimately appeal to the government to finally remember that Bukovina is part of Austria as well and that it is entitled to being treated the same way as the other kingdoms and crownlands. They will say all the same things their predecessors have also put forward.

It was not only the repeated affirmation of Bukovina’s plight which was blamed for its lack of effect, but also the way Bukovinian parliamentarians operated. Czernowitz Tagblatt noted at the beginning of the parliamentary year in 1904:

Whenever the sun of the Imperial Council once again rises over Austria, a sad, melancholy and sound, at times even a wrathful loud cry for deliverance from being the imperial step child makes itself heard. The announcement that the Imperial Parliament is to meet at the beginning of next month will thus certainly trigger the old familiar sounds of pain again soon, and once

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611 Die verkannte Bukowina, Czernowitz Tagblatt, 31.03.1907, pp. 7-8.
612 Telephonwünsche, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.08.1907, p. 1.
613 Editorial, Bukowinaer Journal, 57, 06.02.1902, p. 1.
again, the complaint will be filed about the neglect and disregard of Bukovina, treated as a stepchild and left to its own devices by Mother Government. (...) Not the government, but we ourselves assign to ourselves the role of stepchild, for we, or rather our representatives, seem to have forgotten that in society, only those who know how to impress easily climb the stairs. (...) Without a doubt, they are quite diligent, they are all very honest, and each of them has a high degree of knowledge and education, which they all intend to use fully in the interests of the land. But the way they exert their zeal is not likely to add to their humanly deserved respect the measure of fear necessary in public life to back a request. Let’s not delude ourselves to our own detriment: not polite entreaty, not even loud clamour opens a government’s hand, but the awareness that the petitioner himself is a factor to be reckoned with, someone who might cross its path and impede its steps. It approves everything, or at least much coming from the one who shows himself mighty and powerful in its eyes, from the one it must fear. However, our representatives have not managed to generate this feeling in the government, because they have modestly limited their activities almost exclusively to the registration of Bukovinian requirements. If a member of our representation in the House takes the floor, then both the House and the Government know with reasonable certainty that they will hear complaints about the neglect of Bukovina, requests for some court, a district office, a railway board, some little garrison, or the unsubstantiated bypassing of one candidate or another for a promotion in administration and since it is always the same old song, the government politely pays attention but remains aloof and cold at heart while patiently letting finish the habitual tune which does not harm the government and does not benefit the land. Regarding the major issues of the Empire, regarding the proposals which the Government would like to adopt without any changes, they never take the floor, and when they do it is only to leave the discussion aside and to emphasise the needs of the respective electoral district. This does not make a great impression. (...) It should be remembered that the road to benefit and promotion of Bukovina leads through Austria, and only an intense involvement in the State’s major issues will prove fruitful for our land. Whoever overlooks this, forces Bukovina to remain a stepchild.

In other words, the fact that provincial interests were put forward on the state level was to be encouraged, but according to Czernowitzer Tagblatt, Bukovinian politicians mistook ‘provincialism’ for ‘adequate regional representation in the capital’: Bukovinian politicians only opened their mouths once specific regional needs were on the agenda but refrained from playing a role in Austria’s state politics (Tomasciuc was considered to be the exception here and his modus operandi was said to have provided Bukovina with its university). 615 In this sense, any sort of ‘special status’ of the crownland, including the lobby for what local politicians saw as Bukovina’s ‘specific needs’ risked being viewed as anti-Austrian: more than a decade earlier, Bukowinaer Nachrichten had been shocked when Prime Minister Taaffe had mentioned ‘Austria and Bukovina’ and had thus implied, according to Nachrichten, that the crownland was not really a part of the Empire. The periodical had emphasised that this might be the wish of the local feudal party, but definitely not that of its readers and all other loyal elements of the land, who ‘had had a hard time with the neglect of Bukovina which had given it so much inconvenience, because no matter what good sons of this land they were, no

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matter how ardent their local patriotism, they had never ceased to feel like citizens of Austria and to regard the land as an inseparable part of the big unitary fatherland’. 616

*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* also criticised the unprofessional attitude of the Bukovinian deputies, whom the newspaper accused of ‘serving up scandals rather than making their recriminations based on reliable statistical material’. 617 Even more, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* reduced the ‘stepchild lamentations’ to the denominator of ‘patented Bukovinianness, which complained in moving terms about the neglect of the land’ and as such put regional patriotism on the same level as begging for favours in Vienna. It declared ‘to believe in respect in the self-consciousness of those who do not always wait for help and grace from above, but who trust their own strength and forge their own prosperity’ and maintained that if the crownland wanted factories, new jobs and fresh sources of income it had to see how others do it in order to learn from them. This it deemed ‘a more legitimate local patriotism than the eternal whining about the state stepchildren’. 618

Notions like ‘stepchild’, ‘penal colony’ or ‘Cinderella’ imply at least awareness of Bukovina’s existence within the constellation of the Empire. In this sense, the general impression of being completely unknown - as Eugen d’Albon had observed in 1907 - and as such not a real part of Austrian society was perceived as even more humiliating.

### 5.2 Bukovina Incognita

D’Albon had certainly not been the first to bring Bukovina’s obscurity to the fore. In 1890 *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* concluded to its dismay that in Western Austria they hardly knew Bukovina by name: in Vienna, ‘only business people there knew from their own experiences that culture had found a home and the German language a place of honour in the little land, while in popular circles it was often confused with Herzegovina’. 619 Similarly, *Bukowinaer Post* noted that Bukovina was too far from the centre and that its conditions were as foreign to the Viennese as those in Bosnia. 620 *Bukowinaer Rundschau* accused the editors of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* of knowing more about the events and conditions in Siberia than about those in Bukovina. 621 Although several Bukovinian newspapers proposed organising a trip for Viennese reporters in order to familiarise them with the region, they loathed ‘the sad necessity and - this being hard to say for whom - the shameful curiosity that an Austrian province had to be explored like the still-dark Africa, that Bukovina with its cultural and social life, its cities and landscapes yet had to be presented to outsider observers’. 622 There was also the sense that it was a matter of ‘unknown, unloved’, according to *Bukowinaer*

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616 Oesterreich und die Bukowina, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 26.05.1892, p. 1.
617 Vernachlässigung, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 03.01.1909, p. 1.
618 Der Bahnhof, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 10.06.1906, p. 1.
619 Das Reichsstiefkind, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.04.1890, p. 1.
621 Der Bukowinaer Club, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 26.10.1900, pp. 1-2.
Journal which claimed that ‘non-domestic newspaper writers described the local conditions with the most hateful words and presented the people to their foreign audiences as an official robber band, while in Vienna people still lent a ready ear to the song Deep in Wild Wallachia’.

Bukowinaer Post maintained that Bukovinians only needed to think of their personal experiences with those from the Western part of the Empire (Westländer) to ensure themselves of the fact that their land was known as nothing more than ‘bear land’: no one was aware of ‘its mountain landscapes comparable to those in Switzerland, the extraordinary art treasures in some monasteries and landowners’ homes, the original costumes of its residents, of the social peculiarities and of the lustily preserved mores and customs’. The Viennese press was accused of publishing only horror stories about Bukovina, ‘likely to reduce and to damage the prestige of the land’. Czernowitzer Tagblatt alleged that the crownland was ‘a quantité négligeable for the government and unalluring territory for the highest social spheres’.

Herman Mittelmann, who strove to promote tourism to Bukovina at the turn of the century, sadly concluded:

Where is Czernowitz? What is it? To whom of us has this strange question not been asked already when he was on a trip abroad? It was good for laughs. What? Don’t they know our Czernowitz, our Little Vienna? Soon, we were laughing on the other side of our face. No, they really do not know us. A Silesian village or a Bohemian market town is far ahead of us on this point.

Indeed, to Viennese circles Bukovina seemed far away, both geographically and culturally. Reichspost deemed it ‘a bit away from Central European culture’ (etwas abseits von der mitteleuropäischen Cultur), Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung simply headlined its story on corrupt customs officers in Bukovina - who, by the way, were not even Bukovinian natives - ‘From the Land of Corruption’. A witness seemingly struggling with the truth while testifying in the subsequent trial was told by the judge to remember ‘that he was not in Bukovina’. When in 1908, Austria celebrated the Emperor’s sixty-years’ jubilee with a parade in which all Austrian crownlands participated, Bukovinian journalists once more noticed the Viennese public’s lack of awareness. In spite of being only sixteen hours of

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623 *Fremd im eigenen Lande*, Bukowinaer Journal, 97, 13.05.1902, p. 1. The author probably refers to the melody ‘In der wilden Wallachei’ from the operetta ‘Apajune, der Wassermann’ [Apajune, the Water Sprite] by composer Carl Millöcker, which was first performed in Vienna on 18 December 1880 and was subsequently staged in other Middle-European cities as well.

624 *Entdeckung der Bukowina*, Bukowinaer Post, 31.03.1912, pp. 1-2.


626 Mittelmann, Herman, *Czernowitz als Fremdenstation bei Orientreisen*, Bukowinaer Journal, 51, 23.01.1902, p. 3.

627 *Gleichberechtigung an der Universitäten oder nicht*, Reichspost, 01.11.1902, p. 2.


629 ‘*Wir sind hier nicht in der Bukowina!*’, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 22.09.1892, pp. 1-2.

630 See also paragraph 6: Displaying Bukovinian Identity: Parades, Exhibitions and Commemorations/6.5: Bukovina and the Emperor’s Jubilee Parade of 1908.
train travel away from Vienna, Bukovina was treated with curiosity and labeled a ‘world-enraptured region’ which even the organisers of the parade did not seem quite able to find on the map.\textsuperscript{631}

Unfamiliarity with and contempt for Bukovina was not limited to the Austrian capital alone, however: Budapest’s \textit{Pester Lloyd} described Czernowitz in 1914 as ‘a little town on the ultimate frontier of Europe’.\textsuperscript{632} In his unpublished novel about the doomed love affair of a Bukovinian man and a Galician woman, Teodor Bălan let his heroine Liudmila declare that she ‘did not want to bury herself in obscure Bukovina’.\textsuperscript{633}

Then again, a lack of familiarity with Bukovina was not confined to those outside of it: Bukovinians in general seemed hardly knowledgeable of past and present of their own native region. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl complained that local schools barely devoted any time to history and geography of the region and that textbooks referred more to any remote area than to the homeland. The only book in which a half-decent attempt had been made was the famous ‘Kronprinzenwerk’ (\textit{Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild}), the twenty-four volumes of the illustrated guidebook of Austro-Hungary which was initiated by Crown Prince Rudolph in 1883 and published between 1886 and 1902. Lemberg school teacher Julius Jandaurek had written the part on Bukovina,\textsuperscript{634} but Kaindl found it riddled with mistakes and complained that ‘for the eastern land of Austria-Hungary’s crownlands enough seemed to have been done when, say, a traveler who had spent a few days there added some details to his travel impressions and recorded this in a well-structured and accomplished piece of work’. He added that this kind of information might have sufficed for readers in the West, but that those in the East ‘had higher requirements and believed that one must have stayed in a land for a longer time and must have learned to know and love it before writing about it’.\textsuperscript{635} Kaindl’s complaint was echoed in \textit{Bukowinaer Post} ten years later in an article blaming ‘petty disputes and national and political quarrels’ for the fact that secondary school curricula only mentioned the homeland ‘to the extent that the student realised that he had no knowledge of its history at all’. There was indignation and amazement that none of the numerous local associations had assumed ‘the beautiful and rewarding responsibility’ of disseminating regional studies (\textit{Landeskunde}) and that ‘no society of crownland-loyal (\textit{heimatstreu}) sons made it its concern to create volumes of popular cultural studies, securing their circulation within the land by means of cheaper prices’. There was envy of Bohemia where they wanted to go a step further by not only

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\item \textsuperscript{631} \textit{Die Bukowina im Festzuge}, Czernowitz Tagblatt, 16.06.1908, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{632} \textit{Das ‘Städtchen’ Czernowitz}, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.02.1914, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{634} Jandaurek, Julius, \textit{Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukovina} (Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild, Vol. 10), K. Graeser, Vienna 1884.
\item \textsuperscript{635} Kaindl, R.F., \textit{Ueber die Landeskunde der Bukowina (Buchenblätter)}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 03.02.1889, p. 5.
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introducing local history (*Heimatskunde*), but even district history (*Bezirkskunde*) for the regions Teplitz, Bilin and Dux. Bukowinaer Journal equally referred to the situation in other Austrian crownlands and emphasised how ‘Boharians, Moravians and Tyroleans all knew the glorious history of their respective lands very well, having learned it in school, (...) knowing why to be proud of their homeland, while Bukovinians on the other hand knew the history of those lands in detail from their history lessons, but not that of their own land, not even the more recent history’. As late as 1914, Max Rosenberg addressed the issue once more. He was not particularly annoyed by the small number of publications - there had been a steady increase of studies and substudies regarding Bukovina - but by the fact that Bukovinian authors, journalists and scholars apparently deemed locally produced material unworthy of reviewing. As such, the material in question remained unknown to the general public in Bukovina and especially outside of it. Prominent foreign experts like the economist Neuwirth and oriental art historian Strzygowski thus came to Bukovina unaware of the research which had already been done locally. Rosenberg reasoned:

> In Stanley’s days they went from the West into the heart of Africa to the Hottentots and the bushmen to explore new cultural and social territory, now they go to Bukovina. It was bound to happen. If Bukovinians themselves do not display any interest in Bukovina, foreigners will.

Not only in the world of academia did some self-reflection surface. In 1902, tourism promoter Herman Mittelmann had admitted that Bukovinians ‘had so far not done the slightest thing to make themselves known in the West’. He expressed the view that since the express trains Berlin-Bucharest and Berlin-Constantinople had started to run via Czernowitz, ‘the place had moved closer to Europe and the larger cultural cities and had been more closely involved in this network’. Several years later, Mittelmann set a good example by publishing the first travel guide for Bukovina. The editors of *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, however, saw more profound reasons for Bukovinan obscurity than publicity alone. It claimed that ‘Bukovina had remained unknown so far, because for a long time it had lacked decisive and leading men, because the entire land had persisted in lethargy for a long time, because the spirit of enterprise had been stopped or paralysed, because economic life lacked a firm basis, local politics lacked attraction and the entire population lacked participating enthusiasm and the will to create something proper and individual’. Nationalist pursuits ‘to the brink of chauvinistic degeneration’ were said to have brought about a fragmentation of power and ambitions.

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636 *Bukowinaerthum*, Bukowinaer Post, 17.08.1899, p.1.
637 Presently respectively Teplice, Bílina and Duchcov in the Ústí nad Labem region of the Czech Republic.
640 Mittelmann, Hermann, *Czernowitz als Fremdenstation bei Orientreisen*, Bukowinaer Journal, 51, 23.01.1902, p. 3.
641 Mittelmann, Herman, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Bukowina*, Romuald Schally, Czernowitz 1907/1908.
The feeling of being unknown in the rest of the Empire, and of course especially in Vienna, went hand in hand with that of being discriminated against in the field of state support. *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* reported that in the columns of the big journalistic publications of the Imperial capital the name ‘Bukovina’ hardly ever appeared and how ‘forgotten and abandoned, left without support, it slowly headed for its economic decline’.643 One of the key symbols in the matter was local infrastructure and especially the railway system. Next to the obvious Bukovinian frustration that its railways were still managed from Lemberg, the lack of tracks and connections were a recurring annoyance. The first railway connection had reached Bukovina with the opening of the Lemberg-Czernowitz track. The decision by the central government in Vienna to expand the local lines was enthusiastically welcomed, since Bukovina was now considered to be ‘well on its way to branch this broad path of civilisation in all directions of the land’.644 However, the promised network enlargement proved disappointing and when in 1894 none of the sixteen railway extensions planned for Austria involved Bukovina, the ‘stepchild complex’ quickly found its way into the local newspapers once again.645 Karl Emil Franzos attested in 1901 that the new railways in Bukovina built between 1875 and 1900 were ‘mostly local routes of secondary importance, covering a total distance of approximately 325 miles’. He added that only the imperial roads (*Reichsstrassen*) were well-kept, while the secondary roads were practically useless after heavy rain and insisted that the situation had been better during the days of his youth. Franzos partly blamed the customs war between Austria and Romania for the fact that the ‘golden days of Czernowitz trade’ had basically ceased after 1873.646

In Bukovina, the sentiment dominated that Vienna not only neglected the crownland’s economy, but also consciously impeded its development. Especially the lack of industrial investment in Bukovina (and Galicia) was seen as a deliberate policy to favour production facilities in Austria’s western regions. In 1905, a law regarding the production of liquor was seen as state support for Moravian and Silesian distillers. When German liberal parliamentary deputy Stephan von Licht defended the law, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* noted that ‘whenever industrial efforts arose in Bukovina, western industries did not hesitate a moment to fight them: when Bukovina wanted its own sugar industry, it was attacked by the sugar cartel from the western crownlands, and the same went for cement and would probably be in store for all other industries emerging in the land’. *Allgemeine* came to the bitter conclusion that ‘the only thing missing was a demand by the Western industrialists to paralyse Bukovina altogether, to forbid it to do just anything for the benefit of the land that would be detrimental to the Western millionaires’.647 And although the Romanian nationalists of Apărarea Națională specifically complained about the lack of promotion perspectives for Orthodox lumberjacks, their general grievance was similar, namely ‘that Bukovinian natives were treated by the administration in a hostile way, devoid of any goodwill’.648

643 *Das Reichsstiefkind*, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.04.1890, p. 1.
645 *Wo bleibt die Bukowina?* (Tagespost), Bukowinaer Post, 08.04.1894, p. 3.
646 Franzos 1901, pp. 234-235.
647 *Dr. Licht und die Bukowina*, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.03.1905, pp. 1-2.
648 *Editorial*, Apărarea Națională, 58/59, 18.08.1907.
5.3 Who Comes to Visit?

A general feeling of neglect was also reflected by the idea that Bukovina was insufficiently visited by Austrian officials, the most prominent among them naturally being the members of the Imperial family. The pride Bukovinians took in being ‘the most loyal of all Austrian crownlands’ provided extra sensitivity plus the fear that the feelings might not be mutual. A visit of Emperor Franz Joseph to Galicia in 1868 had prompted Bukovian Governor Myrbach to ask the delegation to make a detour to Czernowitz, but the reply had been curt: if the governor wished to see His Majesty, he was advised to travel to Lemberg.649 Bukovina had to wait until 1880 for a visit of the Monarch.650 In 1886, the rumour that the Crown Prince planned visit Galicia but not Bukovina caused indignation, but the local press also noted that Bukovina, contrary to the big neighbour, had not lobbied a bit for its inclusion in the travel program.651 Once it was known that Rudolph would also come to Czernowitz, Bukowinaer Rundschau noticed feverish preparations for the visit in Galicia, but, again, not in Bukovina.652 In 1891, Archduke Leopold Salvator came to Czernowitz to inaugurate the monument for the murdered Empress Elisabeth. Bukowinaer Post welcomed the gesture, but immediately continued to express the hope that the visit would symbolise more Viennese commitment to ‘the loyal watchdog in the East’. In a not very subtle way it suggested the royal visitor to promise financial aid to the victims of the recent floods in Bukovina.653

General dissatisfaction reached beyond the modest number of royal visits. Government ministers were equally perceived to be rare guests. Czernowitzer Tagblatt muttered in 1912:

_If once in a decade a minister accidentally ends up in Bukovina for a few hours - a more extended visit for study purposes is not bestowed upon us - we fare like a petitioner who had composed a petition beautifully formulated and rich in substance, and now only hastily and precipitously manages to stammer a few catchwords from his request._

Interestingly, Bukovinian discontent with visitors from ‘headquarters’ did not alter a bit once those headquarters had shifted from Vienna to Bucharest after the World War. The Bukovian press still deemed the territory a _quantité négligéable_ and when finally a delegation of five Romanian cabinet ministers arrived in Czernowitz, the joint edition of _Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung/ Czernowitzer Tagblatt_ managed to combine the traditional inferiority complex with genuine Habsburg arrogance:

_If nonetheless five ministers are visiting the land today, we may perhaps see the beginning of a remedy and say that more intimate relations with this land and its magnificent people should show the relevant factors the way Romania needs to pursue in order to win over the_

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649 Ministry of Internal Affairs, _Letter to Governor von Myrbach regarding the Emperor’s visit to Galicia_, Vienna, 22 September 1868/ DACHO, Viddl 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3051.

650 Lagler 1880.


652 _Zur Kronprinzenreise_, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.05.1887, p. 1.


Official visitors were not the only ones who needed a bit of encouragement to head for Austria’s easternmost crownland. Around the turn of the century, modern tourism was budding and its possible advantages for land and its economy increasingly dominated the editorials of Bukovina’s daily papers. Here too, feelings of neglect and discontent prevailed. Central authorities were blamed for the modest number of foreign and local tourists and were accused of being deaf to the complaints they received regarding their perceived inactivity in the field of tourism promotion. According to the local press, Vienna failed ‘to facilitate the accessibility of the summer resorts or to make trips into the regional mountains attractive with cheap and comfortable transport so that places in the West were reached more quickly and certainly more conveniently than those in Bukovina’. As such, ‘they failed to awaken the feeling of Bukovinnanness and - where it existed by any chance - to harden and strengthen it, just like they failed to keep the sense of Austrianness vivid and vibrant in the state as a whole’. In the same way, the Bukovinian attitude towards tourism and the promotion thereof was seen as a derivative of the presumed lack of love for the native land (*Liebe zur eigenen Heimat*) in the whole of Austria:

> Of course, the latter is not very common in Austria, where they love to wander to distant areas and carelessly overlook the good things which lie so close to home. Complaints also resound in countless variations in the Viennese papers, which end their jeremiads about the inadequate appreciation of the beautiful surroundings of Vienna with stereotypical complaints. (...) This lament can also be sung in relation to our circumstances.\(^{657}\)

A Bukovinian Commission for the Promotion of Tourism was established in 1904, with the challenging goal of advertising Bukovina as an attractive travel destination. The Commission had been the initiative of Czernowitz Chamber of Commerce and Industry member Herman Mittelmann. Its first session had taken place under the presidency of Czernowitz mayor Kochanowski and in the presence of Governor Hohenlohe who had wondered aloud:

> Why would we hide the light under a bushel? Why would Bukovina let the rich capital it possesses be buried in its natural beauties, the land whose forests are undoubtedly among the most beautiful in Europe, the land, which is unequalled with regard to its rich variation of scenery?\(^{658}\)

Mittelmann and his association set out to work, managed to publish the first tourist guide of Bukovina and organised study trips for Viennese journalists to the region.\(^{659}\) As Raimund

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\(^{656}\) Bukowinaerthum, Bukowinaer Post, 17.08.1899, p. 1.

\(^{657}\) Kimpolunger Brief, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.07.1907, p. 4.

\(^{658}\) Fabricius, Societatea pentru înălțarea călătorilor străini în Bucovina, Voința Poporului, 6, 10.02.1907, p. 4.

\(^{659}\) Eine Journalistenreise in die Bukowina (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.05.1905, p. 4.
Friedrich Kaindl had underlined in *Oesterreichische Rundschau* - and for which he blamed Franzos - many Viennese still regarded Bukovina as ‘bear land’; as such, Bukovinians could be blamed for having done ‘almost nothing’ to become better known outside its frontiers and to prove that it was better than its reputation. The members of the Bukovinian Commission reached beyond the obvious German-language press: they also published their appeals in the media of the other language communities, stressing that ‘if not all those with influence, honorability and sincere love for their land helped out, every effort would remain futile’ because ‘Bukovinians, regardless of language and religion should support the good cause by means of strong participation’. Competition with Transylvania, Hungary and Galicia was encouraged and tourism was elevated to ‘a matter of honour to each Bukovinian’ instead of just ‘money business’.  

However, even Bukovinians seemed barely inclined to appreciate the treasures of their own region, no matter how industrious Herman Mittelmann and his Commission were. By 1912, *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* noted that Bukovinian tourists could be found anywhere, but not in Bukovina:

> How are we to draw the flow of strangers into the land, if we avoid it ourselves? How will the interest of strangers for the hidden charms of Bukovina be awakened, if we ourselves lack sense and understanding for them? Incidentally we ought to bring vibrant life within our own sphere of activity to our spas and excursion sites and cultivate them, provide everything for good accommodation and physical well-being of the guests, provide good communications and tracks for hikers - all this can be accomplished in stages, if we ourselves, the natives, bring life into the spas and become guides for the strangers.

The Bukovinian section of the Austrian Tourism Club, founded in 1888 to encourage alpine tourism in the crownland, was equally disenchanted by the lukewarm responses it got from the local youngsters. It wondered for whom they built mountain tracks, ‘if the vigorous youth could not be made to leave the Ringplatz’. Whereas young Austrians all over the Empire were said to flee the cities into the mountains every Sunday, in Bukovina they did not manage to ‘make friends with their native mountains’.  

Yet, there was more to worry about than Bukovina’s obscurity and the lack of both knowledge and interest from potential local and foreign tourists alike. Was Bukovina really an attractive destination to begin with? Was it not too backward and undeveloped, its population not too rude to actually welcome travelers in their midst? The editor of *Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung* had his doubts when he witnessed how two ‘negrò’ circus performers were followed by a gang of schoolboys though the Enzenberger Main Street of the provincial capital:

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When a few minutes later, a third negro, the handsome bearded Zanzibar Negro (Sansibarneger) whose speech about the boa constrictor everyone had liked it so much, walked along the street in neat European dress, the same ugly spectacle repeated itself. Only the old Zanzibar Negro, who already has sophisticated manners, with a good-natured smile allowed the ragamuffins to follow and admire him. If it should ever happen, the possibility should not be excluded, that one of such negro fakirs writes his travel memoir about Europe and Asia - the one from Zanzibar seems to possess the necessary intelligence - it is not hard to predict in what category he will put Czernowitz judging from the ‘school children’ he got to see there.664

Similarly, Allgemeine worried about the impression the plans to build the new Czernowitz railway station on the edge of town would make. It asked its readers to ‘just imagine how it would overlook the indescribable housing and how this image would remain the lasting impression to the foreigner first coming to Czernowitz, (...) standing before the new station built in a manure pile’. The paper expressed its despair that ‘a piece of Orient’ was created exactly when the city had been transformed from ‘a semi-Oriental town into a modern city’.665

It was also Allgemeine which brought the political situation in Bukovina to the fore as a hampering element for tourism development. Bukovina was said to have been regarded as a ‘buen retiro’ for wealthy retirees, as ‘the Graz of the East’ because of its ‘friendly, thoroughly tolerant and xenophile’ climate before Josef Wiedmann and his Christian-Social agitation ‘cast a shroud over the city’, chased Jewish pensioners away with their ‘insults and defilement’ and brought construction activity to a halt. A symbolical sign was said to hang over the Prut bridge: ‘Strangers are abused here’, while this reputation had also spread to the mountain villages. In ‘peaceful Gurahumora’ every Sunday allegedly ‘demonstrators’ assembled which ‘horrified all strangers with their large tam-tam’. The anti-Semitic rumpus had reached even the Bukovinian villages of Kimpolung, Eisenau, Karlberg Jakobeny and Louisenthal. According to Allgemeine, tourists now took their money to the Tyrolean and Upper-Austrian villages, where ‘the people were good and pious Christians as well and did not inquire after one’s religion and nation, but welcomingly and obligingly accommodated everyone who had put money in his bag before making the trip’.666 However, this better treatment of Jewish tourists in other crownlands was apparently not limited to the very rich travelers. Allgemeine also claimed that wealthy Bohemian spas were said to treat the ‘caftan Jews’ from Galicia and Russia with the most exquisite politeness and kindness’, even though those spas did not really need ‘the mostly poorer newcomers from the East’. Bukovina should be wiser in this respect, the newspaper reasoned: it was mainly the less-wealthy Jews from adjacent regions who were likely to visit Bukovina, since the richer ones could afford to go somewhere else and to rich foreigners like the British or Americans the crownland was still unknown.667

666 Was nicht gesagt wurde, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 08.07.1909, p. 1.
Then again, the *Allgemeine* did not limit its criticism to incidents and anti-Semitism alone: it accused Mittelmann and his fellow tourism promoters of naiveté, of reaffirming old clichés and of hiding the fact that provincial Czernowitz simply did not have enough on offer to lure foreign visitors:

*There are dreamers who think that Czernowitz could be a tourist city, the first and most important station on the great migration to the valleys and mountains of the western and southern Bukovina. Many Czernowitzers who spent the summer in Salzburg, Innsbruck, Munich or Zurich imagine that the Association for the Promotion of Tourism only needs to raise a little more publicity before as early as next summer, they might witness men with backpacks on their backs, loden hats on her heads and walking sticks in their hands and women with waving travel veils and Cook travel guides together with large groups of American and British travelers wandering through the streets of Czernowitz admiring the sights. Our official tourist society seems to be afflicted with such warped imagination as well, because the rather expensive brochures they publish begin with the provocative call ‘Off to Bukovina!’ and conclude with a laborious description of the ‘palace’ of the ‘wonder-rabbi of Sadagora’. With these stereotyping methods, not at all adjusted to the circumstances and needs of the land and the tourists, absolutely nothing has been achieved so far and nothing will be in the foreseeable future. With these brochures they will not lure even one son of Albion to the Bukovinian capital. What should he visit anyway? Our driveway from the station into the city, the station itself, the university, the dirt pile still dumped in front of the residence building or the building of our musical society.*

*Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* regarded ‘the newspaper reader’ (the target group of the Tourism Association in a time when hardly any other means were available to reach its audience) as ‘a man provided with a large a dose of skepticism’ who ranked the ‘uniquely beautiful charms of the Bukovinian mountain region’ far behind Austrian travel destinations such as the Salzkammergut, Tyrol, Marienbad and Gastein. If he were to be convinced of the beauty of Bukovina, he should not be misguided with promises of ‘electrically illuminated waterfalls and large sanatoriums in which he would get soured milk, lettuce and pickles for lots of money’. If he wanted to sunbathe in Bukovina, he’d simply ‘have to lie down in the green pastures’. He’d have to do without princely palaces and castles, museums and galleries, since ‘world- and cultural history went by the land quite impassively’. Although ‘the humble old treasures kept in the monasteries from the Moldavian times’ were deemed worth seeing, they could not be expected to draw large tourist flows to Bukovina. Instead, the crownland was well-advised to focus on travelers from neighbouring Galicia, Hungary, Romania and Russia, who might at least come to see Czernowitz as a pleasant stop-over on their way to more attractive destinations.

In the gloomy years preceding the World War, the situation was to remain the same: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* concluded in 1913 that unemployment could not possibly get any higher, emigration was rampant and ‘the hope for tourism that summer was very limited, since the suggestions it had made the previous year have been adopted to

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little or no extent. “The tourism industry could bring us economic resources over the summer”, the Tagblatt summarised, “but the lack of business sense prevents any activity”.670

5.4 Bukovinians Abroad

Whereas the numbers of visitors to Bukovina remained unsatisfactory, there was certainly enough movement from the land into the near and far abroad. The largest group consisted of emigrants in hope of a better future. Economic emigration had always existed in the region and well before Austrian times, groups had moved to nearby territory and back when the prospects dictated them so.

In the late 1880s, nationalist propagandists from Hungary campaigned for a ‘return’ of the Magyar settlers in Southern Bukovina to the ‘motherland’ and several times convoys of hopefuls were transferred to the Hungarian parts of the Empire. The Al-Duna (Lower Danube) project was aimed at Magyarising the southern part of Hungary known as ‘Délvidék’ (in present-day Serbia). The chaotic organisation of those actions, the lack of decent facilities and perspectives in Hungary, the insistent request of the Hungarian authorities to prevent the convoys from crossing the border as well as the grim experiences of those who came back disenchanted by the poverty and malaria they had encountered - all this caused even staunch Hungarian nationalists to admit the project’s failure.671 A similar but less publicised initiative came from the Moscow in 1907, when the Russian authorities sent emissaries to Bukovina to promote remigration to Russia among the Lippovan (Old-Believer) colonies which had been established there 130 years earlier. The war with Japan had left large parts of Manchuria and eastern Siberia devoid of male inhabitants and Russia offered interested parties a paid return fare plus land and a cash advance. About five hundred Lippovan families, plagued by destitution, accepted the offer and went. The local authorities in Bukovina remained aloof and discreetly considered the emigration project a relief, since the Lippovan colonies prominently figured in the crownland’s crime and poverty rates.672

670 Vor den Sommerferien, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 15.06.1913, p. 1.
672 Der Exodus eines Volksstammes - Die Lipowaner wandern aus der Bukowina aus (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten), Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.12.1907, p. 7; Der Exodus der Lipowaner
However, around the turn of the century the lion’s share of Bukovinian emigrants relocated to the Americas, mostly destitute peasants unaffected by any sort of propaganda other than promises of a wealthier life. In the the local press, transfers over the ocean were constantly advertised and many indeed embarked for the journey. Although the occasional success story reached the local press, newspapers (mainly Ruthenian Ruska Rada) published melancholy songs and poems in which a longing for the Bukovinian homeland prevailed. Strikingly, nationalism, if at all, only played second fiddle in these pieces: it was mainly for Bukovina that yearning was felt, just like Ruthenian-speaking Bukovinian emigrants to Argentina chose to name their settlement ‘Bukovina’. Similar sentiments dominated letters from prisoners of war after the start of the World War, which referred to the presence of other ‘Bukovinians’ in their camps (instead of say, co-nationals) and specifically longed for Austrian and Bukovinian soil. Referring to homesick Bukovinians in Vienna, columnist Stieglandt had noted in 1891 that the more ‘concrete’ spots in Bukovina such as its capital Czernowitz might have reminded the emigrant of less pleasant, more prosaic experiences, while generic ‘Bukovina’ was a more ‘blurred concept’ and therefore more suitable as ‘a carrier of the love for one’s native soil as it manifests itself abroad’.

With stories about group emigration were mixed and disappointing experiences and warnings widely spread, individual success stories of Bukovinians ‘abroad’ (in der Fremde) were universally hailed and eagerly published - no matter whether ‘abroad’ meant inside or outside the Austrian borders. The bestowal of a Knight’s Order to commander Maximilian Hölzel by
the Emperor,\textsuperscript{680} the accomplishments of businessmen Gedaly and Riemer in South Africa,\textsuperscript{681} the appointment of Gregor Kostiuc to a high position in the Austrian Ministry of Finance,\textsuperscript{682} the election of Netti Herzberg as an honorary member of the Jewish Women’s Association in Beszterce (now Bistrița, Romania),\textsuperscript{683} the recognition of painter Kunstadt and opera singer Minna Lässig in Viennese circles,\textsuperscript{684} the appointment of actor Straßberg at the municipal theatre of Steyr;\textsuperscript{685} every individual case was highlighted and sometimes used to counter allegations that Bukovinians did not stand a chance on professional careers outside their homeland.\textsuperscript{686} Then again, there were also complaints that Bukovinians were automatically ignored or not taken seriously as long as they remained in their own land and that ‘belittling its own locals was one of the land’s maladies’.\textsuperscript{687} Artists in Bukovina ‘were convicted to a subordinate social position their entire lives because politics absorbed all available valiant forces’, and, according to \textit{Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung}, were forced to go abroad and to make a living there:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Once they succeed in making a respected name for themselves, sure enough we proudly and self-consciously call them ‘native children’. A meagre reward in any case. We have hardly done anything to promote them and help to pave the way for them.}\textsuperscript{688}
\end{quote}

In the same way, Herman Mittelmann, who had tried to establish a Bukovinian regional museum in the early 1900s, commented that ‘the best men, to whom the museum owed so much, were no longer in the land’.\textsuperscript{689}

For ambitious and educated Bukovinians, ‘leaving the land’ usually meant going to Vienna. The 1900 census had counted a total of 3283 Bukovinians in Lower-Austria. 2993 of them lived in Vienna, while 1430 of those were from Czernowitz.\textsuperscript{690} According to these numbers, almost half of the Bukovinians in Lower-Austria were Czernowitzers in Vienna. As such, they formed the only real Bukovian ‘expatriate community’ during the Habsburg years. Columnist Stieglandt had pointed in 1891 at the (not so unique) phenomenon that

\begin{footnotes}
\item[680] \textit{Bukowinaer in der Fremde}, Bukowinaer Journal, 72, 13.03.1902, p. 3.
\item[681] \textit{Bukowinaer in Südafrika}, Bukowinaer Journal, 137, 17.08.1902, p. 2.
\item[682] \textit{Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.03.1905, p. 4.
\item[683] \textit{Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.05.1905, p. 4.
\item[684] \textit{Ein heimischer Künstler (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.09.1905, p. 4; \textit{Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.05.1906, p. 5.
\item[685] \textit{Bukowiner in der Fremde (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.01.1907, p. 3.
\item[686] \textit{Der Austausch der Kräfte}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 23.02.1908, p. 1.
\item[687] \textit{Bukowina in der Fremde}, Bukowinaer Post, 21.06.1906, pp. 1-2.
\item[688] \textit{Kunst- und andere Kulturfragen (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 19.08.1906, p. 4.
\item[689] Mittelmann, Herman, \textit{Die Ausgestaltung unseres Landesmuseums (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.08.1905, p. 3.
\item[690] \textit{Bukowinaer in der Fremde}, Bukowinaer Post, 18.12.1904, pp. 1-2.
\end{footnotes}
‘Bukovinian idolisation by Viennese Czernowitzers occurred only then when Czernowitz Viennese had been away from Czernowitz for a long time and had become almost more Viennese than Czernowitz, for only then Czernowitz obtained in their minds the ideal aura of transfigured memories’. Bukowinaer Rundschau regarded the common homeland as a beacon abroad rather than a romanticised memory:

*It is a pleasant feeling of surprise when locals meet abroad. One even forgets the social barriers which may have been obstacles to social interaction at home and delightedly shakes hands. And this miracle always causes that ever-vivid feeling of remembering the homeland, which is common to all, and the cement which builds the reason for rapprochement.*

The newspaper fostered the hope that this ‘community sentiment’ would have a positive effect on the much-desired united course of action of Bukovinian parliamentarians in Vienna, that ‘the sight of a comrade from home evoked more vividly than a similar profession the fact that a similar obligation chained them to the same place’. Since among Viennese Czernowitzers the Bukovinian deputies were the ones with the clearest obligations towards their homeland, they were also the most prominently featured in the press - and the most criticised, because, as *Bukowinaer Rundschau* put it, ‘with the eleven mamaliga eaters from Bukovina, the government could do whatever it wanted’.

In spite of the existence of a proper Bukovinian university, Vienna attracted lots of ambitious young students from Bukovina who were lured by the more prestigious reputation of a genuine Viennese education. One of the few works of fiction with a specific Bukovinian theme which appeared during the Austrian era was the novel ‘Autumn... A Tale from Bukovina’ (*Herbst... Eine Geschichte aus der Bukowina*) by Bukovinian Michael Sawka. The dramatic love story starts when a group of Bukovinian students in Vienna find each other in the common love for their homeland. As a critic put it in 1905, ‘these young people were inspired by a notion, a longing, for they were Bukovinians who at home would probably have passed each other by carelessly but abroad became conscious of what they shared’. Sawka’s work also conveyed that, like in the case of Bukovina’s parliamentarians, news and gossip regarding the Bukovinian student community traveled fast: when the novel’s protagonist failed an important examination, he realised that ‘in Vienna too many Bukovinians went to university and that within eight days, they would know in Czernowitz that he had flunked’. Sawka’s critic Alois Munk saw the protagonist’s destiny as an allegory for the dangers that well-intentioned, naive Bukovinians encountered in unloving and dangerous Vienna:

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691 Stieglandt, *Die Bukowinaer in Wien (Feuilleton)*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 08.03.1891, pp. 1-3.
693 *Periodische Enttäuschungen*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 28.10.1898, p. 1. Mamaliga, a maize porridge similar to polenta, was the staple food in Bukovina. For more on the performance of Bukovinian parliamentarians in Vienna see paragraph 2 of this section: Key Institutions of Habsburg Bukovina - Landtag and Franz Joseph University/ 2.1: Landtag: Bukovinian Political Representation in Czernowitz and Vienna/ The Illusion of a Bukovinian Parliamentary Club.
694 Munk, Alois, *Herbst*, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.08.1905, pp. 4-5.
A little mishap, an unsuccessful oral examination spurs this basically good, a little sentimental, a bit frivolous and always talented man - can’t we say that Sawka succeeded here in finding the type of the young Bukovinian from a good family? - to follow the allurements of Viennese society where one gives without receiving, and where one is finally startled when he has nothing left to give.696

In 1891, Bukovinians in Vienna organised themselves in the ‘Bukovina’ society, which quickly became popular. Bukowinaer Rundschau ridiculed the instant success of this Bukovian patriotic initiative - within weeks, even a sizable Viennese hotel could no longer host the large number of participants, a proper piano trio and a choir were formed and a club anthem had been composed - while at the same time, Bukovinians at home largely reviled their homeland.697 Over the years, Bukovinians in Vienna remained organised and gradually not only focused on festive gatherings, but also tried to relieve ‘the ever-increasing needs of poor compatriots’ by means of a support fund.698 Besides its objectives of ‘raising the prestige and the emphasis on the importance of Bukovina as a bulwark of culture in the East as well as cultivating the feeling of togetherness (Zusammenhörigkeitsgefühl) of Bukovinians in Vienna’, the ‘Buchenland’ society was established in 1904 with the specific goal of supporting poor Bukovinians in Vienna ‘regardless of nationality or religion’ through charity events: it was not only politicians and students who found their way to Vienna, but also thousands of hopefuls who had fled the dire material conditions in their homeland. In the first years of its existence, the society had rendered support to 11,000 Bukovinians by giving them money, finding them a job or arranging their journey home. The society received no support from the Bukovinian regional or municipal authorities.699

5.5 Remember the Land’s Native Children!

The growing sense of a Bukovinian identity and regional peculiarity first and foremost increased the urge to defend ‘the Bukovinian people’, ‘Bukovinian native soil’ and ‘Bukovinian interests’ and naturally required opponents, ‘strangers’ (Landesfremde) threatening the position of the ‘natives’ (Landeskinder). Initially, the distinction between ‘foreign’ and ‘native’ had been the exclusive battle ground of Romanian and Ruthenian nationalists in Bukovina - sometimes acknowledging a more or less equal status for the other, but always combating German and Jewish ‘intruders’.

With a growing sense of general economic deprivation on the crownland level, the ‘foreigner’ was less often found within the circles of Bukovina’s Germans and Jews, but rather with the more recent newcomers. Bukowinaer Post mused in 1896 how ‘Romanians, Ruthenians,
German, Poles and all those who called Bukovina their homeland should work together in fraternal harmony, with all their thoughts aimed at a single goal: the welfare of their own birthplace and home’, for ‘then they would all be ‘indigenous’.\textsuperscript{700} Equally, \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} had proclaimed that ‘hospitality and sociability had served Bukovinians badly (...) only those born in Bukovina had a right to the native land while all others were strangers’.\textsuperscript{701}

The most obvious source of ‘newcomers’ was neighbouring Galicia, mistrusted ever since Bukovina had managed to gain independence from Lemberg. The returning fear of Galicia wanting to take control over Bukovina once again, the intimidating size of the neighbour as well as its substantial number of Ruthenian-speaking inhabitants made Galicia the most prominent benchmark for Bukovinian local identification. A large number of Galicians worked for state-owned companies in Bukovina such as the railways, while at the same time Bukovinians had a hard time finding work both in the crownland and outside. This created ambiguous feelings of envy and anger in Czernowitz,\textsuperscript{702} especially when Bukovinians themselves were discriminated when they applied for jobs in Galicia.\textsuperscript{703} \textit{Bukowinaer Post} noted jobs given to Galicians even when they obviously not met the local language requirements:

\begin{quote}
And quite unfortunately, typically Bukovinian is (...) the disadvantaging of Bukovinians in their own homeland. The land’s native child is, if he is lucky, only second in line. ‘The foreigner always comes first’ threatens to become a kind of customary wrong (Gewohnheitsunrecht). (...) With the development of culture, with the increase of schools and eventually with the establishment of the university, it seemed obvious that this exception would be replaced by common rules as they are applied everywhere else and that Bukovinians would no longer resort to get staff from abroad when suitable locals are so close. It seemed self-evident ... (...) Yes, in beautiful and patient Bukovina there are notaries who master none of the three customary languages, neither German, nor Romanian nor Ruthenian! (...) And the cause of the problem lies in the fact that of the fourteen notary offices, nine are staffed by Galicians.\textsuperscript{704}
\end{quote}

In the name of the protection of ‘Landeskinder’, local newspapers continuously reported on appointments of non-Bukovinians in Bukovina’s administration and launched appeals to ‘take serious steps in this matter in order to put an end to the almost intolerable situation of constant insertions of officials in Bukovina’.\textsuperscript{705} The same complaints haunted appointments at the university: until the very last days of its existence under Austrian rule, Bukovinian diet representatives regularly claimed that mostly foreigners were appointed and if exceptions to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[700] \textit{Nochmals das ‘wahre Bukowinaerthum’}, Bukowinaer Post, 27.08.1896, p. 1.
\item[701] \textit{Die wahren Fremdlinge}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 24.05.1891, pp. 1-2.
\item[703] Michniewicz, \textit{Letter to Ministry of Internal Affairs}, 2967, Kolomea, 6 July 1868/ DACChO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, Spr. 3051.
\item[704] \textit{Das ist halt Bukowinarisch...}, Bukowinaer Post, 11.11.1894, pp. 1-2.
\item[705] \textit{Schutz den Landeskindern!} Bukowinaer Post, 1263, 16.02.1902, pp. 3-4.
\end{footnotes}
this practise were allowed, ‘the appointments of even the ablest of Bukovinians were met with a wall of hostility’.

Then again, ambitious young Bukovinians were not always that eager to join the public service: when Governor Myrbach was asked by the regional diet in 1866 to explain the humble numbers of natives in the Bukovinian administration, he retorted that the administration ‘would have warmly welcomed that the already so palpable lack of junior officers be remedied by a large-scale entry of natives’. After graduation, young Bukovinians were apparently attracted to other careers. The odd situation was not solved by the establishment in 1875 of the Franz Joseph University, and by 1909, the analysis of Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung was strongly reminiscent of that of Myrbach’s in 1866:

Isn’t the whole thing plainly funny? The regional university is decried as a ‘doctor factory’ but is not capable of supplying the material required to fill the positions of judges in the land! Each insertion is viewed by [the nationalists] as crimes against the land, but the abundantly available state positions oddly enough offer them too little. (...) And if Bukovina with its own university not only does not export officials - which it would be extremely capable of doing - but accepts their import without being entitled to complain against it, it has itself to blame.) (...) If however the graduates of the university are shunned because they are Jews, or have to be begged to apply because they do not get the eighth rank (achte Rangsklasse) right on the first working day, there is no reason to see insertions as an injustice.

A category detested even more than that of Galician newcomers, who were at least expected to stay and build a life in Bukovina, was that of Austrian state officials who after having arrived in Bukovina only for a couple of years added insult to injury by getting involved in local politics. In 1902, Bukowinaer Post fumed:

By accident they were transferred here and an equal accident will hopefully take them swiftly away from us again, for they have never picked Bukovina to make it happy or because they were attracted by our peaceful coexistence, but only to be promoted more rapidly by taking the Bukovina detour. (...) When sent as civil servants, these gentlemen should only act as civil servants and serve their duty in full for as long and as they are left here. They should content themselves with taking away all those jobs from our natives and with occupying all senior civil service positions, but should refrain from interfering in our domestic affairs as they are and will always be strangers in this land. Fighting and averting the intrusions of these strangers is

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706 Serbu et al., Interpellation des Abg. Serbu und Genossen an den Herrn k.k. Landespräsidenten über die durch Professor Dr. Georg Petschek geschaffenen unhaltbaren Zustände an der juridischen Fakultät der Czernowitzer Universität., (signed by Serbu, Nico Flondor, Onciul, Lewicki, Simionovici, Dr. F. Popovici, Dr. Tarnavski Neculita, Donches, Bejan, Dr. Vasilovschi.) L.Pr.Zl. 1510, Czernowitz 1918/ ANR, Fond ‘Guvernământul Bucovinei’, MCF XCIII/8.

707 Regional Diet, Stenographisches Protokoll der XX. Sitzung der IV. Session des Bukowinaer Landtages, Eckhardt, Czernowitz 1866, p. 370.

708 Der Einschub, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 09.05.1909, pp. 1-2.
a matter of conscience for all those living in Bukovina, natives or immigrants, for all those
who sought and found a home here.709

Strangely enough, the scorn reserved for the Habsburg officials catapulted into Bukovina
usually escaped the most prominent of their lot: Governor Pace left Bukovina as an honorary
citizen of Czernowitz in 1892710 and even Friedrich Bourguignon, whose term in office had
been marred by the escalation of the tensions within the Orthodox Church was remembered in
his obituary in Czernowitzer Tagblatt as ‘one of us, even though he had come to the land as a
stranger’.711 The same was said of university dean Mathias Friedwagner, who left Czernowitz
to accept a position in Frankfurt: during his ten years in Bukovina, Czernowitzer Allgemeine
Zeitung declared, ‘Friedwagner had been a Bukovinian and a Czernowitzer, not one who had
been forced to live here, but one who had felt at home, wholeheartedly embracing the cultural
aspirations of the city and the land’. Not only was Friedwagner said to have ‘gone native’
himself, but together with some of his colleagues he had even ensured that the Franz Joseph
University was no longer an ‘alien element’ (Fremdkörper) in town.712

The Freethinking Alliance, already using ‘true Bukovinianness’ to defang a possible
fragmentation of its peasant electorate along national lines, invoked that very tool to declare
its political enemies ‘foreign’. As such, they portrayed Ruthenian adversaries as Galician
invaders, they declared ‘Christian Germans’ who opposed cooperation with Straucher’s
Jewish party ‘foreigners in direct opposition to the local (hierländisch) tolerant Germans’.713
With the import products the different brands of nationalism in Bukovina obviously were,
such accusations were hard to rebut. Paradoxically, the Alliance promoted a xenophobia
based on the dogma of ‘tolerance and hospitality’: true Bukovinians are tolerant and
newcomers suspected of being less so will not be tolerated.

Time-resistant as most notions in the realm of ‘neglected, discriminated and ridiculed
Bukovina’ were, emancipatory thinking and the conviction of being collectively responsible
for the crownland’s future were clearly developments of the early twentieth century and
closely linked to the Freethinking Alliance with its call for protection of Bukovina’s ‘native
children’: once the natives were given full opportunity to develop without detrimental
influences from beyond the crownland borders, they were expected to create regional
prosperity without help:

We have gradually come to realise that only from among our own midst our cultural spring
can blossom, rooted in its native soil, grown from its own popular strength (Volkskraft). And
only people who are born among us, or when coming from abroad are so intertwined with us
that they feel like one of us, those who no longer feel haughtiness and arrogance and neither
see us as inferior or as guinea pigs which they can expose to their frivolous experiments - only

709 ‘Landesfremde’, Bukowinaer Post, 1260, 09.02.1902, p. 3.
710 Ehrenbürger von Czernowitz, Czernowitz Presse, 01.03.1892, pp. 1-2.
711 Baron Friedrich Bourguignon †, Czernowitz Tagblatt, 27.09.1907, p. 1.
712 Ein Abschiedswort, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 16.03.1911, p. 1.
713 Um was es geht, Bukowinaer Post, 10.07.1904, pp. 1-2.
those we want to hear now, only they should advise and lead us. At last we want to experience our own Spring of the People, we want to suck all forces and juices which enable us to create new and better living conditions from our land ourselves, free from flattery, hardened against hypocrisy and lies.\textsuperscript{714}

A similar home-grown-confidence came over Czernowitz, which, in spite of the chronic insecurity to live up to big city standards, in 1906 was proudly accredited by vice mayor Furth with its proper accomplishments ‘without the material support from either land or state’. Furth maintained that ‘Czernowitzers needed to help themselves if they wanted to make progress’.\textsuperscript{715}

That said, talk of self-reliance also came back to haunt those who advocated it so ardently: they were among the same nationalist leaders whose ‘fatal quarreling’ \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} blamed for Bukovina’s economic ruin and who were advised to do some soul-searching.\textsuperscript{716} A perceived ‘weakness of the people’ was blamed on their educators, ‘the countless professional politicians, teachers and agitators’ who had told the peasants and workers ‘much about their supposed rights, but little about duty and the necessity of labour’.\textsuperscript{717} In the same spirit of self-criticism, the blame for the failure of a government scheme to promote industry in Bukovina in 1912 was firmly put on the crownland’s own leading circles:

\begin{quote}
The most obvious is to sing the old lamentation of the step-motherly treatment of Bukovina, for that is the programmatic course of all activities which have to do with its cultural and economic development. Once an initiative has matured from the stage of exploration and requires action, the leading figures turn to the central government. (...) In a similar situation this newspaper has noted that in this land salvation is expected to depend too much on the blessing from above alone, that every initiative requires its own energy and enthusiastic support and that support from the central government should not be at the core of all aspirations. (...) It was left to local entrepreneurial spirit and commercial competence to stimulate the economy in Bukovina through the establishment of new industries. To the domestic financial institutions the obligation accrued to awaken the spirit of enterprise by means of quick granting of credit and encouraging individual approaches. Only then the government’s horn of plenty would have safeguarded the plan’s success. Instead, they did little more than expect Vienna to establish industries, raise funds and, if possible, send the appropriate entrepreneurs. This way, the question of industrialisation has run aground as well...\textsuperscript{718}
\end{quote}

\subsection*{5.6 Galicia}

Galicia, which featured so notably in Bukovina’s fear of being marginalised within its own regional borders, indeed shared a considerable chunk of its Habsburg history with its small neighbour. After Bukovina had become part of Austria in 1775, a period of military

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{714} \textit{Pfingsten 1904}, Bukowinaer Post, 22.05.1904, pp. 1-2.  \\
\textsuperscript{715} \textit{Czernowitz - Großstadt?} Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.12.1906, pp. 4-6.  \\
\textsuperscript{716} \textit{Ostern 1905}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1905, pp. 1-2.  \\
\textsuperscript{717} \textit{Frühling}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.05.1912, p. 1.  \\
\textsuperscript{718} \textit{Der Segen von Oben}, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 05.05.1912, p. 1.  \\
\end{flushright}
administration ended in 1786 and Bukovina was united with Galicia, although the matter had constantly been an apple of discord in Viennese circles. Already in 1781, State Chancellor Blümegegen had advised Emperor Joseph II ‘not to partly or completely unite Bukovina with any other province or with Galicia, but to establish it as a fully separate land, since only this way the affection and confidence of the people could be acquired and preserved’. The period Bukovina had been subordinate to Lemberg was largely perceived negatively in Bukovinian political circles. They accused the Galician authorities of neglect, exploitation as well as of the imposition of the Polish language and Catholicism. One Romanian nationalist even claimed that ‘all the destitute, all those Galicia had had in terms of filthy and lazy had rushed over the little land and had taken with them all kinds of diseases with as an exceptional novelty in these lands the high straw hats which their ancestors had wreathed from stubs of sedge that grow on the stretched plains between Bug and Dniepr’. In 1848, the crownland obtained autonomy, only to lose it again in 1860. In 1861, it was once more declared autonomous and would remain so throughout the Habsburg era.

The detested institutional dependency on Galicia was an attractive topic for Bukovinian politics and press since it offered the easy fix of spinning off the Bukovinian branches of the institutions in question. More abstract and less prone to possible interventions was the obvious economic reliance on the big neighbour. The almost obsessive focus on fighting off the ‘Galician yoke’ diverted the attention of politicians and other lobbyists in Vienna from the fact that, small as it was, Bukovina had to compete with more crownlands than one: more distant ones in the west of Austria also managed to obtain favourable trade conditions from Vienna which proved detrimental to Bukovinian interests.

Political ranting against Galician oppression had the additional capacity of uniting Bukovina’s nationalist parties. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* mused in 1884 that ‘if the unification of all Bukovinian parties was possible at all, it was most likely to be achieved in order to prevent the danger of Slavisation of Bukovina and the related association with the crownland of Galicia’. Naturally, the ‘Slavisation’ argument would not help to get Ruthenian nationalists on board, especially the Young-Ruthenians with their specific ambivalent relationship with Galicia marked by solidarity with their Galician-Ruthenian ‘co-nationals’ and their hostility towards the dominant position of Galician Poles. On the whole, however, the anti-Galician agenda was supported by Old-Ruthenians, most explicitly so when it became a core element in the Freethinking Alliance campaign. Even a moderate centralist like Constantin Tomasciuc, who had studied and worked in Lemberg himself, ardently opposed Galicia’s

721 *Gegen den polnischen Einfluß auf die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung der Bukowina (eine Abwehr, kein Angriff) - III*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 03.02.1884, p. 1
722 *Dr. Licht und die Bukowina*, Czernowitz Allgemeine Zeitung, 24.03.1905, pp. 1-2.
723 *Ein Wink für die Bukowinaer Abgeordneten in der Staatssprachenfrage*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 17.01.1884, pp. 1-2
powerful position in Bukovina. Well before the days of the Freethinking Alliance, Benno Straucher had distinguished himself as pro-Bukovinian and anti-Galician and *Czernowitz Presse* stressed that from his first days as a parliamentarian, ‘many of the motions aiming at the emancipation of Bukovina from the Galician influence and at its cultural and administrative independence had arisen on his initiative and had gained the support of all Bukovinian and western deputies’. Straucher consistently continued to advocate Bukovina’s autonomy from Galicia, even more passionately so when in the final months of the World War, discussions about an independent Polish state threatened to involve Bukovina as well.

One of the basic complaints in Bukovina was that crownland autonomy had not resulted in complete institutional autonomy. *Bukowinaer Post* compared the previous union with Galicia with a ‘serious illness, with subsequent evils yet to be overcome’. Those ‘evils’ were the continuous dependence on both the Galician judicial and railway authorities. Apart from the symbolical value of having their proper institutions, Bukovinian periodicals and politicians alike stressed how Galicia’s dominating Polish-speaking class used the state railways company as a ‘job machine’ for their sons while Bukovinians were excluded. Another problem was the prominent visibility of the railways and, its general directorate being Galician, the use of the Polish language. This urged Bukovinian Governor Pino in 1889 to write

... that printed materials and notices intended for this crownland are issued in Polish, Ruthenian and German and also often only in German and Polish, so that the customary Romanian language appears not to be considered at all. As the Polish language is not a customary language in these parts and as it is understood by only a tiny fraction of the population, and finally, since the leading circles most firmly abhor the use of the Polish language in public life, the repeated appearance of such announcements and notices has caused great excitement and discontent.
The fact that by 1903, Bukovinian train tickets still had only German and Polish print on them made *Bukowinaer Post* wonder if Czernowitz was a Galician instead of Bukovinian city.\(^{730}\) Generally, the fact that the railways were managed from Galician Stanislaw (Pol.: Stanisławów, present-day Ivano-Frankivsk in Ukraine) was perceived as continuous dependence, or, as *Bukowinaer Journal* put it in 1901, ‘independence from Galicia - this being the innermost core of the desire for the creation of a railway operations directorate - had not been achieved’.\(^{731}\) When this goal was finally attained in 1904, it did not stop the Bukovinian press from warning its readers for ‘the voracious appetite for Bukovina’ which would keep Galicia ‘infringing on Bukovinian autonomy’.\(^{732}\)

This kind of ‘infringement’ continued to exist in the field of the judiciary. *Bukowinaer Rundschau* stated in 1896:

> A free land, a free population is its own judge and needs no foreign wisdom to determine contentious jurisdiction and undo injustice. However, Bukovina is forced to pay attention to the Galician capital in order to receive decisions on contested legal cases from its Supreme Court. As long as our land does not have its own court of second instance, it will experience the dependence of Galicia bitterly and will be sadly aware of the fact that love and loyalty are not enough to save it from a step-motherly treatment.\(^{733}\)

The topic was discussed and criticised in the regional diet,\(^{734}\) but, although there was a regional court in Czernowitz as well as district courts in Suceava, Radautz, Solka, Gurahumora, Kimpolung and Dornawatra, they all remained subjected to the Higher Regional Court (*Oberlandesgericht*) throughout the days of Austrian rule.\(^{735}\) Claims persisted in Bukovina that Galician jurists occupied positions in Bukovina which should rightfully be reserved for natives, but it could hardly be denied that equally, Bukovinians were appointed at Lemberg’s Higher Court. However, a Bukovinian newspaper with the nerve to address such contentious nuances was completely out of tune with the dominant discourse on the subject. Subsequently, it was dubbed ‘treacherous’ and accused of ‘directly relinquishing the interests of the land’s natives to the benefit of the Galicians’.\(^{736}\)

Be it Galicians working for the railways and the courts, or Galician newspapers reporting on apparent tensions in Bukovina,\(^{737}\) the sentiment prevailed that Galicians were found in Bukovina in places where they did not belong. This feeling was enhanced by the conviction that it was nowhere harder for Bukovinians to find an administrative job than in Galicia. In a way, there was even envy regarding the extent to which Galicians were said to protect their

\(^{730}\) *Liegt Czernowitz in Galizien? (Tagespost)*, Bukowinaer Post, 30.04.1903, p. 3.


\(^{732}\) *Ein Vorstoß gegen unsere Autonomie*, Bukowinaer Post, 20.03.1910, pp. 1-2.

\(^{733}\) *Des Reiches Stiefkind*, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 15.08.1896, p. 1.

\(^{734}\) See for instance Schönbach et al., *Interpellation des Abgeordneten Schönbach und Genossen an den Herrn k.k. Landes-Präsidenten, Czernowitz 1872* / DACHO, Viddil 1, Fond 3, Opis 1, spr. 3645.

\(^{735}\) Scharr 2010, p 178.


‘native children’ against ‘outsiders’ who wanted to work in the land. Bukovinian nationalists, predictably, applied a tactic of ‘pick and choose’ when attacking Galician intrusion: while the Romanian press agitated against Galician Poles and Ruthenians alike,\textsuperscript{739} Young-Ruthenians fulminated exclusively against the Poles ‘and their Jesuit allies’\textsuperscript{740}.

As widespread as the notion was, illustrated by the pet child - stepchild dichotomy, that Vienna treated Galicia better than Bukovina,\textsuperscript{741} reality was that in the state’s headquarters a distinction between the two was rarely made.\textsuperscript{742} In certain cases, particularly when Bukovina made headlines in corruption affairs\textsuperscript{743} or when it was implicated in organised crime,\textsuperscript{744} the local press admitted embarrassedly that comparisons between the two crownlands were sometimes justified, but in general Bukovinian circles abhorred how ‘Galicia and Bukovina’ were seen as one in Austrian geography textbooks and complained how the ‘poor little homeland suffered from it like from an obsolete rot-spreading disease’.\textsuperscript{745} By 1901, \textit{Bukowinaer Rundschau} specifically blamed Bukovinian parliamentarians and their incompetence for the fact that in Vienna, Bukovina remained obstinately associated with Galicia:

\begin{quote}
Admittedly for many decades we have to put up with the fact that Galicia and Bukovina are lumped together. Whenever the Poles receive attention from the government, it is always about ‘Galicia and Bukovina’. That Bukovina always comes away empty-handed, the gentlemen in the West do not want to understand. (...) ... Whenever semi-Asian conditions are brought up, whenever there are reports on corruption, it is no longer Galicia alone, but Galicia AND Bukovina. The gentlemen out there who are at home in the Bohemian villages, always have a preference to document their erroneous views on the relations between Galicia and Bukovina. As many times as they mention Galicia, they also need to include Bukovina, and cannot comprehend at all that with such an approach they manifest a stupendous degree of ignorance of the actual conditions. (...) Bukovina is a self-contained province, with its own unique population situation, with its specific educational and cultural conditions and with the single misfortune that it looks closed off from the west of the Empire by large Galicia. We reject any common ground with the Galician conditions and we only sorely regret our representatives have not yet succeeded in averting the greatly damaging influence of Galicia on the hard-pressed Bukovina, both transport-politically and economically.\textsuperscript{746}
\end{quote}

In parliamentary discussions on constitutional reforms, Bukovinian deputies continued to oppose any reform which aimed at a ‘special status’ of sorts for Galicia and Bukovina. If such a status was granted, Bukovinian politicians argued, it should be related to Bukovina alone:

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{738} \textit{Bukowinaer Landeskinder}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 22.06.1890, pp. 1-2.
\item\textsuperscript{739} \textit{Şerpele încăldit la sinul nostru}, Deşteptarea, 15.01.1893, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{740} Kupczanko 1887, p. 179.
\item\textsuperscript{741} \textit{‘Ein Jammernuf’}, Bukowinaer Post, 17.01.1897, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{742} Vor den Osterferien, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 01.04.1906, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{743} Das Reichsstiefkind, Bukowinaer Nachrichten, 03.04.1890, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{744} Halbasiatisches, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 04.08.1907, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{745} \textit{Wie lange noch?} Bukowinaer Rundschau, 26.02.1899, p. 1.
\item\textsuperscript{746} \textit{Die Bukowina im Reichsrathe}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 25.04.1901, pp. 1-2.
\end{footnotes}
conditions in Bukovina were sufficiently different from those in Galicia to demand a fully separate relationship with the central powers.747

Then again, it could not be denied that being glued to a powerful, big neighbour was also advantageous for small Bukovina: when the Polish Club in parliament succeeded in getting a law adopted which caused tax revenues from liquor and beer sales largely to be transferred directly to crownland authorities, Bukovina also profited from it. The unexpected gain compelled *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* to question the old dogma. It concluded that ‘there was indeed no doubt that Bukovina benefited from Galicia’s successes and thus it did not seem inappropriate to reconsider the term ‘national autonomy’ and to pay some fresh attention to the slogan ‘Away from Galicia’. *Allgemeine* went on to quote the influential jurist and sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz, who had observed no differences in the social structures of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. Although it refused to adhere to this view, the newspaper admitted that economic, religious and linguistic similarities could not be denied and that as a result, both crownlands shared a considerable number of interests. As such, it warned against prejudices against Galicia which were only nurtured by ‘myopic or malicious people’.748

Years later, the same newspaper broke a lance for Galicia as a tourist destination, because ‘this great and blessed land had ancient monuments galore, museums and libraries, ancient castles and stately homes of historic significance’. Moreover, Galicia was the neighbouring crownland, and therefore it was deemed unfitting that Bukovinians ‘only flew through the land in an express night train with covered windows’.749

Arguably, *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* was not the only Bukovinian periodical with a sense of proportions and the accompanying amount of reasonability: Ruthenian *Bukovyna* had regarded it ‘completely natural’ that Bukovinians knew more about Galicia than the other way around, for ‘the smaller always has a larger interest in the bigger, the bigger does not pay attention to the smaller and does not see him, and will dictate him in given cases’.750 *Bukowinaer Rundschau* commented that Bukovinians heroically demanded full independence from Galicia, but at the same time, relying on Galicia to solve his problems had become ‘second nature to every Bukovinian’.751

Maybe because Galicia was bigger, powerful and threatening, or even had an ‘annoying’ location (*Bukowinaer Rundschau* once commented that ‘Bukovina was separated from Western culture by Galicia like a large sea’),752 Bukovinian views on the big neighbour were overall far from rosy. In the most general of characterisations, Bukovinians saw themselves as more civilised than Galicians. Franzos had written in 1875 that a traveler arriving in Czernowitz after a train journey through Galicia ‘suddenly found himself back in the West,
where education, civilisation and white table linen could be found’. When members of the (Galician) Ruthenian Club in the Austrian parliament demanded the opening of a Ruthenian-language secondary school in 1894, they met with a rebuff from *Bukowinaer Post*: it snubbed that ‘if there had been no contradictions in Galicia, if only concord and peace had prevailed there among the two nationalities, one could even understand that the existing zest for action looked for a sphere of activity and strayed to Bukovina’. However, *Post* concluded, ‘in Galicia, there was plenty to do and even more to set straight’. Prime-Minister Koerber, who visited Bukovina 1904 after having been in Galicia, was expected to arrive in Czernowitz as the survivor a sort of jungle expedition, ‘breathing a sigh of relief, (…) exhausted after having taken account of the pretentious claims of the Polish gentry, the aspirations of nationalities full of discord, the complaints and needs of an oppressed people and the wishes of the classes and individuals’.* Bukowinaer Rundschau* had even been more outspoken in 1899:

*You only need to put the epithet ‘Galician’ before a word indicating a public or private institution in order to pronounce the worst assessment in everyone’s eyes of this very institution. Galician policy means the policy of ruthless repression and incitement of the people; Galician education means illiteracy and popular stultification (Volksverdummung); Galician business ethics means the embezzlement of the hard-won nest eggs of the poor (...) or the sacrilegious abuse of economic community institutions to support fraudulent, bankrupt Polish noblemen (Slachzizen).*

However, as the years passed, even Bukovinian newspapers had to admit that Galicia developed new dynamism while the situation on Bukovina seemed to stagnate. Especially Galicia’s efficiency in parliament in order to receive state support for its economic development evoked admiration:

*In all areas of economic life in Galicia, it stirs, sprouts and shoots, the local diet, the various economic associations, the parliamentary deputies of that crownland do not let a single opportunity pass to realise a renewed contribution to its economic prosperity, and to that purpose use the help of the state as well as the participation of the land to its full extent. That every now and again political agitation and national exuberance are involved we do not necessarily approve, but we accept it as part of the otherwise utilitarian aspirations.*

The same discriminatory politics which frustrated Bukovinian hopefuls with ambitions to work for the Galician administrative organs were admired from the point of view of ‘protection of the natives’. Galicia, contrary to Bukovina, was perceived as being able to overcome nationalist discord with the aim of general advancement. The powerful position

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753 Franzos 1901, p. 205.
of its Polish Club in the Austrian parliament was a source of envy and appreciation.\textsuperscript{759} Whereas Galicia ‘for many decades had been the classic land of poverty and backwardness’ while ‘for countless Galician people, for Ruthenians, Jews and Poles at that time, Bukovina had been the Promised Land (\textit{Land der Sehnsucht}) with better working conditions, perceptible cultural progress in cities and villages and liberal sentiments characteristic of the whole of public life’, traditional pejoratives like ‘Galician management’ and ‘Polish inefficiency’ now made way for jealousy: Galicia had established an industrial bank in order to attract investments in industry, agriculture was booming and wood and oil production increasing. In Bukovina however, with ‘its cities impoverished, with its farmers full of discontent, with poverty and misery in every street, the village school had become a popular meeting point for assemblies and sedition, politics and politicking did not stop before the house of God while fruitless quarrel and insults filled the small land from the far north to the Transylvanian border’. The times had changed, \textit{Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung} concluded, Galicia had become Bukovina’s teacher and it could only be hoped that ‘this teacher would find attentive, eager and grateful students’\textsuperscript{760} Czernowitzers were advised to leave their apathetic, dozy city and visit the neighbouring towns of Galicia, ‘where there was being built, carpentered and painted at every turn, vibrant tourism brought new blessings every day and (…) everything moved like with previously withheld resilience’.\textsuperscript{761}

5.7 Metropolitan Czernowitz?

Such feelings of insecurity regarding the crownland capital had bothered Bukovinians earlier: when there had been discussion in 1905 whether Czernowitz should host an exhibition while Bucharest already organised a similar event, it was quickly concluded that the ‘not particularly well-reputed embryonic metropolis (\textit{Großstadtembryo})’ Czernowitz could not hold a candle to the booming Romanian capital.\textsuperscript{762} Undisputedly, the establishment of the Franz Joseph University in 1875 had been a major step towards the development of ‘big city status’.\textsuperscript{763} In 1906, \textit{Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung}, devoted two pages to let prominent inhabitants have their say on whether Czernowitz was to be considered a town or a city. The general consensus was that the place was still largely under development and on its way to become a modern big city, or in the words of the manager of the local postal service Edler von Posch:

\begin{quote}
Where our town is now, there were only a few miserable huts a little over a hundred years ago. (…) Nobody can reasonably expect Czernowitz to have become in the hundred years of its existence what another several hundred years old city in the West maybe already is. (…) I
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{759} \textit{Auch eine Auferstehung}, Bukowinaer Post, 07.04.1901, pp. 1-2; \textit{Ein Bukowiner Industriellenbund (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung,20.01.1905, p. 3.\textsuperscript{760} \textit{Galizien als Lehrmeister}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.04.1910, p. 1.\textsuperscript{761} \textit{Die kleine Großstadt}, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 29.03.1914, pp. 1-2.\textsuperscript{762} \textit{Unsere Landesaustellung (Czernowitzer Angelegenheiten,)}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 30.04.1905, pp. 4-5.\textsuperscript{763} \textit{Studentische Brutalitäten}, Bukowinaer Rundschau, 23.05.1895, p. 1.
point out only as an example the street lighting system, sewerage, water supply, the street cleaners, the paving of streets and squares and the construction of pavements and the tram. All this and much else was achieved over the last twelve years.

Still, in spite of the positive overtone, the interviewees also mentioned ‘oriental eccentricities’, the oddity of grazing cattle in front of the university, dirt in the streets and a lack of economic activity. Other authors mentioned the large number of illiterates and the striking contrast of the closeness of a western-style university and the ‘proud stronghold of the belief in miracles’ (Sadagora). A spirit of highlighting recent modernisations also typified the celebrations in honour of the city’s 500th anniversary in 1908: Czernowitz was likened to a Sleeping Beauty kissed awake by ‘noble prince’ Austria and keen to proudly show everything that had been created in just a few years, for ‘in spite of half a millennium, the town as it presented itself now was barely a few decades old’.

By 1914, ‘big city rhythm’ was still strikingly lacking or rather, in decline. Economic hardship was visible and the upbeat mood of a budding metropolis had changed to one of ‘an external image dominated by barren emptiness where once flourishing trade and busy traffic used to dominate, (…) where every now and then only an unemployed person passed by’. If it had not been for some school children, ‘the tram conductors would have had to ride the streets uphill and downhill without any passengers’. The lack of activity was, more than the absence of commercial dynamics itself, blamed on the presumed unhealthy development of Czernowitz which had ‘shot up from a randomly grown larger community with an unhealthily rapid growth into a large city’.

On top of that, all the recent developments and modern amenities had not changed Czernowitz from being ‘a city which let the society for improving its appearance wither away, a city from which one had to wring every bit of green with violence, a city that could not accommodate any congress within its walls because it did not have a single representation hall, a city that had a nice art collection but not a museum, a city of which the gateway resembled an old Tartar corner, a city in which the big residence was situated like a mission hotel in Peking - in the middle of the wilderness, a city in which a collapsed town hall balcony needed a year to be restored’.

Czernowitz had long been battling a state of ‘oriental disorder’: periods of rainy weather caused flooded streets to the extent that ‘a joker believed to have discovered the difference between Czernowitz and Venice in spite of an otherwise strong resemblance; in both cities the sea moistened the walls of the houses, only Venice it actually consisted of water, while in Czernowitz, unfortunately, it consisted of a particular substrate - of dung’.

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767 Die kleine Großstadt, Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 29.03.1914, pp. 1-2.
768 Fremdenverkehr, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 29.06.1912, p. 1.
accidentally ending up in Czernowitz were said to believe they were ‘in an Arab city where begging seems innate to the people’.\footnote{Bettel- und sonstiges Unwesen in Czernowitz, Bukowinaer Journal, 24.08.1902, p. 4.} Begging children filled the streets and the city’s busiest promenade ‘provided such a parade of all sorts of crippled (\textit{eine Revue aller Bresthaftien}) that every stranger was shown more misery during a half-hour walk than compatible with the most elementary civil laws on care for the poor and the ailing’.\footnote{Weißberg, Josef, \textit{Eine Kulturfrage}, Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.02.1906, pp. 2-3.}

For the sake of clarity and overview, the different elements of (often indistinguishable) auto- and hetero-images applicable to Bukovina have been isolated here as much as possible. A certain overlap certainly remained, but the point should be made that in the daily discourse during the Habsburg years, those elements were almost inextricably entwined. ‘Unknown Bukovina’, ‘Semi-Asia’ and neglect were often used in the same breath, just like Galicia, the threat to the livelihood of the ‘native children’ and the ‘stepchild lament’. In other contexts, it was Galicia, obscurity and the lack of official visits which were bundled for the occasion. The ingredients presented here were combined, extrapolated, manipulated if deemed necessary, but, like a deck of well-preserved cards, reshuffled throughout the existence of Habsburg Bukovina. Some of the elements gained steam as modern times progressed and certain ‘modern inventions’ like tourism, urban sanitation and railroad infrastructure demanded a more prominent position. With some imagination, even the growing consensus that the crownland should build its own strength instead of begging for help, which spread with the emergence of the Freethinking Alliance, could be regarded a modern development. Other elements such as the perceived ‘Galician threat’, were vividly applied shortly after autonomy was obtained and then underplayed for a while and gained momentum only when the possibility of an independent Polish state became an uncomfortable probability at the end of the World War.