

“OVIDIUS“ UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTZA
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
DOCTORAL FIELD: PHILOLOGY

THE PH. D. THESIS

(summary)

The cultural and literary Press at Lower Danube

Advisers:

Prof. univ. dr. Paul DUGNEANU

PhD:

Cristina CIUCLARU (DOSULEANU)

CONSTANTZA, 2013

Content

Argument	2
Define the area of the Lower Danube	6
Regional media situation in dictionaries, books, literary history	9
 Capitolul 1. Localism in media cultural-literary creative, literary supplements	
1.1. The first magazine published by the War of Independence in 1878.....	16
1.2. Magazines published after the War of Independence to World War I in the Lower Danube.....	23
1.2.1 Case Study: Literary magazine" New Stream ", spring antisămănătorism.....	50
1.2.2. Case study: "Colnicul Hora" - the first school magazine published in Tulcea Dobrogea.....	56
1.2.3 "Drita" Albanian newspaper first appeared in Braila Romania.....	58
1.3. Publications appeared after World War I, up to December 30, 1947.....	62
1.3.1 Case Study: Localism creator in the Lower Danube area - cultural magazine" Annals of Braila "(1929 - 1940).....	88
1.3.2 Case Study: "Revista vremii" in Galati.....	100
1.3.3 Case Study: Review "Dobrogea literară" from Tulcea, traditionalist magazine.....	105
1.4. Oratory as literature in journals Semitic Semitic, xenophobic.....	109
1.5. Magazines satirico-humor.....	117
1.5.1 Connecting local satirical magazines national phenomenon.....	135
 Capitolul 2. Contributions specialized and mainstream media in the area of the Lower Danube to the development of Romanian language and literature	
2.1. Literaturity of the economic press articles appeared in the cities of the Lower Danube.....	137
2.1.1. Situation Lower Danube area in the emergence of the first publications.....	141
2.1.2. Case study: "Mercury - the first Romanian economic newspaper", 1839 -1841.....	144

2.1.2.1. First economic newspaper literary articles Romanian.....	146
2.1.2.2. The first word of Political Economy of Romania - Literature border.....	148
2.1.3. Further development of economic press area of the Lower Danube - Official "Danube" in Galati.....	152
2.2. Pages curprinse literary publications that political profile.....	158
Capitolul 3. Writers- journalists	
3.1 Writers-journalists who stated magazines cities belonging to the area of the Lower Danube.....	193
3.2 Writers-journalists trained in the Lower Danube area but states elsewhere.....	208
Conclusions.....	218
Bibliography	225
Content	231

ABSTRACT

Keywords: cultural-literary press, Lower Danube, magazines, newspapers, literature, media zone, writers, journalists, media theories

The thesis *The (cultural and literary) Press at Lower Danube* aims at reevaluating the periodicals published in the mentioned area considering the literary, cultural texts in the newspapers and magazines in question, namely their location and valuing them in their literary context. We have also analyzed the journalistic discourse of the writers-journalists in order to put into a new light the value of authors, whether they have published in the cultural and literary magazines or on special literature pages from general or political newspapers.

There were selected for this research the publications published between 1839-1947, literary and cultural periodicals or the political, economic, general ones, where there have been printed literary, cultural texts. We opted for the mentioned period since at the end of 1947, i.e. after 30 December 1947, the operating principles of media have changed, the objectives of publications were different, from the media characterized by liberalism, it changed into a media dominated by an authoritarian regime, the censorship appeared and many newspapers have disappeared permanently from the media market, even though they tried to adapt to the new imposed restrictions, as a result of the Soviet occupation. The study of the media should consider the political, social context, and how the political system changed after 30 December 1947, and the principles according to which the media would be evaluated are different.

The opportunity of the research is supported by the fact that the press has enjoyed for the last 20 years of a close and special view, thus studying media we can have a more detailed image of the times in which these periodicals were printed. The first research of the publications in Romania headed towards the press in Transylvania who played a key role in the struggle for the unity of the Romanians; then it was studied and valued the media from the most important cultural centers of the country. In this context, the press from the Lower Danube had no assets to draw attention on, and the data from various studies, dictionaries, literary or media history attests the performed shallow analysis, ignoring important publications, hence the research opportunity, because the mentioned local press was important and it deserves to be known and appreciated.

In our research we have started from the existing elements in different volumes, in literary histories or histories of media and the data were supplemented with what we found by

researching the periodic collections of the county's libraries or the Romanian Academy Library, which has one of the most complete collections of periodicals. We studied 523 publications, of which 230 we have presented in this paper, the others being mentioned as a dictionary in an appendix of the paper; the result reveals the importance of the press applied to the Lower Danube, the fact that it had close ties with the national press and it was appreciated and read both in the capital and in other Romanian cities. In addition, the study of the periodicals showed that Lower Danube media was consistent, with the same features and themes, being achieved even by the same persons sometimes, and the literary texts also have common themes. In addition the study demonstrated the influence of regional culture on the creation and national media, a non-disclosed fact so far, at least in the studied area. Another objective of the research has followed the idea of combating the idea that the Lower Danube was predominantly socialist and, by the virtue of belonging to the political ideology, it has falsified the history, therefore, it should not be mentioned or analyzed as it has no value. The research has shown that personalities who have released in the Lower Danube socialist newspapers, having done the same thing in the capital, and their approach was not unimportant. An example in this sense can be noted by the writer and journalist Anton Bacalbasa, who published both in the local newspapers in Braila and the capital.

The paper begins by defining and delimiting the geographical areas to which the research was reported, i.e. what is meant by the Lower Danube River area and how did the river influence the media development in the area. Specifically, the economic development of cities, the presence of the river led to the necessity of releasing the first newspapers in economics, political, and then the cultural, literary newspapers, necessary for entertainment.

We also analyzed the way in which it was reflected the studied press in various dictionaries, histories or monographs, revealing the shallow view. In almost all the printed volumes on media from Braila, Galati, Tulcea or the national one there have been identified and indexed published titles, without making a rigorous classification by gender and detailed description. It can be appreciated that a thorough research and classification of the media in the area of the Lower Danube, in the period December 1839 - December 1947, has not been undertaken so far, but it is necessary as it reveals interesting elements in the evolution of the Romanian literature that it will require the reconsideration of the Danube publishing in the specialized literature and providing proper place for publications, as well as for writers-journalists. We can refer to some publications which were important, but neglected by the volumes published so far: "Annals of Braila" and "Horizons" from Galati, nonexistent magazines so far in the specialized literature, and the first commercial newspaper in the

country, “Mercury”, which was revalued. Until now the only quality recognized to the newspaper was the primacy of any economic publication, but after a thorough analysis it proved that the publication was truly revolutionary for those times, we could even say that they were very modern, in line with the economic, social ideas of the 21st century. And in Tulcea County publications appeared with great impact on the local cultural life, and they should also be repositioned in the national journalism grid. As for writers-journalists, the research revealed the qualities of the media. Basically, the same people have released newspapers in Braila, Galati, Tulcea or in the capital, but the studies have shown so far only the importance of the latter, the rest being ignored, although the quality was comparable. The literary histories should take into account also the publications appeared in the Lower Danube area, in order to establish an objective view on the literary and cultural phenomena.

The first chapter aimed at primarily emphasizing the creator localism in cultural and literary publications, a phenomenon that revealed the creative power of people in this space, their value and the printed publications. Using historical criteria, we divided the entire studied period in three: from the appearance of the first publication to the War of Independence, then from this war to the First World War and the third period, inter-wars period where we included the Second World War and the years of transition by 30 December 1947. In the first analyzed period, limited by the War of Independence, in the Lower Danube area, the journalistic activity was not very high, the concerns in the field, as many as they were, regarded in particular the economic or political life, and before 1866, i.e. the emergence of the Constitution which guaranteed the freedom of speech, the press was sporadic and often censored. Until 1866 we may mention as media experiences, the following noteworthy periodicals “Moş Ion/Old John”, edited by S. Belloescu and G. Baronzi in 1866, which then merged with “L’Echo Danubien /The Danubian Echo” in Galati, led by S. Carmelina, later transformed into the “Romanian Press”, the encyclopedic and cultural newspaper as Moş Ion/Old John, published between 1866-1868. The publication can be considered a political-literary, cultural, encyclopedic one, because, as it was customary at the beginning of the press, it contained articles from all areas. For the period up to 1866 it was also interesting the “Museum literaru/Literary Museum” (1851) from Galati in which there were published short stories, novels, poems, written in the transition alphabet, which addressed issues of general interest. These literary concerns have contributed to the evolution of literary cultural local life and gave the possibility for future writers to develop ideas, stimulating the genuine Romanian literature. Most publications in the province in the analyzed period also included the literary texts, they were not original, they were taken from

a magazine printed in Bucharest and Iasi. This phenomenon was important because it cultivated the desire to have magazines, to publish and write, which has contributed to a national, original culture, and the context favored the development of the press in the Braila - Galati area after the War of Independence. Until the War of Independence there were released: "Dacia Literara/Literary Dacia" - edited by Romulus Scriban, "Omul si Natura/The Man and the Nature" in Cahul or "Calendarul coscarilor" in which there were published poems of Vasile Cârlova.

Winning the independence in 1878 has led to the transformation of journalism in an act of culture, a phenomenon supported by the national cultural context. In the country it was enhanced the tendency to form different societies, cultural and scientific circles that were designed to bring culture closer to any reader. It is used as a means of promoting the cultural ideas of literary, encyclopedic periodicals, the effort being integrated in the educational and cultural reforms in the late XIXth century and early XXth century. One of the most influential cultural societies that existed in the mentioned above period was the Carpathian Society, founded in 1880, after having appeared in the area the Upsurge Society, the Cultural League, Athenaeum from Braila or the Philharmonic Society Lyra, all having their headquarters in the cities of the Lower Danube. The first magazine printed almost immediately after the independence was in Tulcea, "Steua Dobrogea/The Dobrogea Star" in June 1879 in response to the long period of occupation where the Romanian spirit was unable to manifest itself. This "paper of local interests" came out for 11 years and 7 months until February 1891, and it was the first magazine in Tulcea, published in Romanian coordinated by the director and owner Basile Brănișteanu, one of the oldest newspapers in Dobrogea..

After 1878 until the First World War there were many new publications. In 1882, at Sulina the magazine has been removed "Șontorgul" in Greek, in 1884 appeared "Stindardul Brăilei" containing articles on the multicultural area and in the magazine "Zorile/The Dawn" (1888), from Galati there were published articles by V. A. Urechia, de la Vrancea or Th. D. Speranția. The polemics of Ion Bujeniță with the socialist Anton Bacalbașa was hosted by the periodical "Dunărenii/The Danubians" (1893) and in the early XXth century there were published the poems of C. Z. Buzdugan in "Învierea/The Resurrection". In Galati, Barbu Nemțeanu released a very interesting magazine, "Pagini libere/Free pages" (1908) where Victor Eminescu, Leon Feraru or Vasile Militaru have signed. Remarkable was also the magazine "Dunărea de Jos /Lower Danube", printed by C. Z. Buzdugan, having as authors the Jean Bart or Claudia Milian; it promoted the idea of cultural decentralization. In 1911, at Braila an important literary magazine was printed called "Flori de camp/Wild flowers",

which debuted in Perpessicius. From the publication there have been kept only two numbers, 4 and 5 in July and August 1911, its importance deriving also from the fact that it was taken a stand against the Hungarians who oppress the Romanians in Transylvania and it aimed at local cultural revitalization. For this period we conducted case studies by taking into consideration three major publications: “Curentul nou”, “Colnicul Hora” and “Drita”. One of the most controversial magazines from Galati during the mentioned period was “Curentul nou”, led by Henric Sanielevici. His works of literary criticism aroused a great interest at the time because of its style and ideas, unusual back then, but today we can consider as very modern. Of great literary interest was the virulent criticism of Mihail Sadoveanu's work, and also the articles of Garabet Ibrăileanu, Paul Bujor, Jean Bart, Zamfir Filotti or Mihai Pastia. There were various topics from the cultural, literary to the political area. During the cultural ferment in the early XXth century it appeared also the magazine “Colnicul Hora” (1903), of the primary teachers of Tulcea, edited by a very energetic teacher, G. Coatu-Cerna. In the publication program it is indicated the fact that the purpose of the magazine aimed at awakening the people's interest in the Dobrogea province, the change of the general mentality that considered Dobrogea as “the Siberia of Romania”. It was first school publication in the mentioned area, the expression of the constant preoccupation of intellectuals from Tulcea for students' personal development and knowledge of the Romanian literature. Most of the printed texts came from the creative energy of the residents of the Danube area, in their desire to assert their value, to contribute to the cultural development, in changing the people's mentality on the area in which they lived; it marked the beginning of the affirmation of the creative localism. In 1906 it was published another journal “Colnicul Hora” in which the target was the studious youth from Tulcea. Here published the poet Alice Călugăru and she has written articles on the history of Orest Trafali area. Still up to the First World War it was noted the publication “Drita”¹, the first Albanian newspaper in Romania, published in Braila from May 18, 1887 until June 13, 1888 - the latest issue of the Romanian Academy collections. The Albanian newspaper established the fight of Albanian community in Romania for the independence of Albania, but also the creative localism showed by the Albanian community in the Lower Danube, and its appearance was made possible by the 1866 Constitution which guaranteed firstly, the protection of political refugees. It played a key role in shaping the area of a spiritual life through themes about plagiarism and on the involvement of religion in the spiritual life of the society, which we have determined to be of wide interest and applicability, as the same debating themes can be found in the specialized publications of the XXth century.

¹ “Light” translated from Albanian.

In the interwar period there were published in the Lower Danube area many important periodicals as a result of the economic and cultural upsurge that marked the evolution of Romania. Among these there may be mentioned the appearance in Galati of the magazine “Licăriri” (1921), led by the poet Gr Vâja, a bimonthly publication of the Cultural Circle “Vasile Alecsandri”, a magazine which later became “Miorita”. Its value was given by the collaborators which were found in the single issue stored in the library of Galati: Paul Papadopol, G. Tutoveanu, Pompiliu Constantinescu, Radu Gyr, Zaharia Stancu - already a student, Virgil Cristescu, George M. Vlădescu, Cornelia Buzdugan, Nina Vâja and Alexandrina Crăciun-Fostini. They were young writers known in literary national circles, who published in magazines in the capital or large cities, who wanted more than to make their voices heard, they wanted to contribute to the cultural rebuilding of the country, after the war. The manifested cultural upsurge across the country prompted the emergence of an oddity in the literary world, a magazine edited by hand. On December 14, 1924, at Sulina it was created the “Delta”, a weekly social-literary-political magazine by Grigore Mich. Cotlaru, director of the National Gymnasium House in Sulina, who was also professor in Galati where he edited “Revista noastră/Our Journal” (1934). Of the 13 issues of the magazine “Delta”, the first seven were written by hand. In the *Foreword*, Cotlaru motivated the extravagance saying that there is no paper and typography, but he ensures the readers that when the connection with Tulcea will be resumed, they will print the magazine. In 1927 it was released in Galati the magazine “Catedra” a monthly publication for lectures, school festivals, cultural circles, with the subtitle “Teaching cultural newspaper”, having as director Dim. T. Faur. Here there were published lyrical creations signed by big names: George Coșbuc, I. Nenițescu, Smara, I. V. Soricu, C. Brăiesku, Carol Scrob, Th. V. Speranță, G. Tutoveanu, Octavian Goga, Șt. O. Iosif, Horia Furtună, Victor Eftimiu, Vasile Militaru, C. Negri, Cincinat Pavelescu, Cezar Calmuschi, Elena Farago, poems for children. It was also published a play by Traian Cristescu, *Căpitanul/The Captain* and at the *Cultural figures* presented were: I. Simionescu, Andrei Pora, Nicolae Iorga. It was remarkable that the monthly magazine published in Braila since 1930, “Luceafărul literar și artistic”, led by Ioan C. Sava, and the editorial secretary was G. Buznea Moldovan. It was kept only one issue in the second year, February 1, 1931. The opening article talked about the value of Mihai Eminescu's work and it was signed by Șt. Const.-Stelian, then there were published poems by: Ion Pogan, Lucian Costin, A. D. Oprișan, Cridim – possibly Claudia Milian, Seb. Hortopan, Const. Scaevola, prose by Șt. Alexiu, G. Buznea-Moldoveanu, Ioan Ciupală, Petru Cosac, Al. Iliescu.

“Relief dunărean” was a magazine of literature, art and criticism from Braila that began to appear in October 1934 and the last issue was printed in March-April 1935. Here there have published writers who have exploited the local environment fitting in the current creative localism. The value of the publication does not consist only in that the authors were from that place and managed to impose at national level, but it came from the fact that the described human, natural environment was the local one. In the first issue from October 1934 published: Ion Pogan, Radu Boureanu, Al. Al. Leontescu, Sanda Umbră, I. M. Gane, Gina Pono, Ionel Lazaroneanu, Const. Petrescu, Liviu Opriș, Aurel Șerbănescu, Al. Georgescu-Vâlcea. In the next issue in December 1934 there were published texts of writers: Basil Clony, Liviu Opriș, Teodor Scarlat, Ion S. Crișu, Maria Olt, N. Manea, George Buznea, I. M. Gane, Ion Pogan, Radu Gyr, Mircea Streinu, Ion Panait, Ioan Ichim. Also Semilian provided an *Anecdotal history of Braila*. All literary works published in “Relief dunărean” and criticized in the magazine prove that “the local specifics is not provided by the local natural environment and economic activity, but by the entire historical existence or the area”², which was obviously reflected in the literary works. The culture magazine of the Association of Secondary Teachers of Galati first appeared in February 1938, and it was called “Orizonturi/Horizons”. Editors were Ioan Șt. Botez, Gh. Hagi, Gh. Popescu and Al. Popovici and the administrator was Professor Gr. Sapuna. In the first issue of February 1938 signed: I. Hanganu, Vladimir Cavarnali, Dan Petrașnicu, Andrei Voinea, I. Gherincea, Gh. Vrabie, Pimen Constantinescu, Zaharia Bărbulescu. In March 1938 published literary articles: N. T. Negulescu, Nicolae Țatomir, Fernando Capechchi, Pimen Constantinescu, V. Hondrilă, Gh. Dinu, Mircea Rășcanu, A. Negură, Vladimir Cavarnali, Alex Gh. Popovici, Augustin Pop, Gh. Ursu, Gh. Bujoreanu, Ioan Șt. Botez, E. Drăgănescu, M. Secanu, Radu Bâlcu. The desire to stimulate literary authorities determined the appearance of the magazine “Încercări literare/Literary intents” in Galati. It was edited by the Ministry of National Culture, the Regional of School Inspectorate of Galati and Education Office of Youth. We noticed that most literary creations were marked by the war, the favorite theme, and here made his first appearance the writer from Tulcea Traian Coșovei with the poem *Ceața/The mist* while he was still a student in the eighth grade at the high school for boys in Tulcea.

For the interwar period we have achieved case studies for three periodicals, “Analele Brăilei /Annals of Braila”, “Revista vremii/The Journal of Time” in Galati and “Dobrogea literară/Literary Dobrogea” from Tulcea. The idea that the Lower Danube area had the ability to produce cultural values has been transposed by the encyclopedic cultural reality magazine

² Elena Emilia Lica, *Localism creator la Dunărea de Jos în perioada interbelică*, Brăila, Istros, 2003, p. 48.

the “Annals of Braila”, a publication that represents a major expression of creative localism in the area. For 12 years, all that it was interesting in Braila or the satellite areas were recorded in the pages of this publication by prestigious personalities of the time. The “Annals of Braila” Magazine was the most important in the Lower Danube region and it deserves to stand alongside other publications that promoted the concept of cultural regionalism which have been printed, for example, at Craiova - “Arhivele Olteniei /Archives of Oltenia” or in Constanta - “Analele Dobrogei/Annals of Dobrogea”. However, the periodical was ignored by the Romanian researchers of the press, even by the most prolific and appreciated person, Ion Hangiu. This publication from Braila did not appear in any of the editions of *Dicționarului Presei Literare Românești/The Dictionary of the Romanian literary press*, although there are similar periodicals treated with great care. In the Dictionary of Romanian literary press of Professor Ion Hangiu, the “Archives of Oltenia” was defined as a magazine with encyclopedic profile dealing with the history of material and spiritual culture of Oltenia³. The Oltenian magazine originated in the activity of the Society of Science Friends founded by Gh. Țițeica and Victor Anestin, that had almost the same path as the magazine from Braila. We found some names among the authors who have published in the journal in the area of the Lower Danube: Nicolae Iorga, Nae Ionescu, Simion Mehedinți, Emanoil Bucuța, Mihail Sebastian, Vasile Băncilă, Panait Istrati or Emanoil Vîrtosu that should be noted, some of them were even from Braila. An important publication for the interwar press of the Lower Danube area was “The Journal of Time”, a magazine that was within the traditionalist current, whose first issue appeared on September 25, 1934 under the rule of Professor Grig. Mich. Cotlaru. It was recommended as a socio-literary and polemical journal of the time, which was released twice a month. Remarkable was the fact that the magazine had many collaborators from the capital, of Craiova, a sign that the cultural life of Galati was well anchored in the national cultural life. From the creators involved in the development of the very first issue of the magazine, it was the well-known writer and theologian, who belonged to the traditionalist-Orthodoxist current, Nichifor Crainic. The feature article he made a pertinent analysis on the situation of the regimes in Europe, torn between communism and fascism, and tried, in this bleak picture, to determine the role and place of democracy, as much as it was in the Romanian, European space, questioning the forms of social organization. The magazine from Tulcea, “The Literary Dobrogea” only appeared for four months, from January 1, 1935, and it was conceived as a publication of spiritual reunification of Dobrogea with the country, stimulating the Romanian energy. The original published

³ Ion Hangiu, *Dicționarul presei literare românești (1790 – 2000)*, 3rd Edition, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004, p. 77.

creations brought to public attention the Danube, the local history, symbols and customs of the area.

In the early XXth century, in the Lower Danube press there were notices, surprisingly, the Semitic publications, by their number, and also the anti-Semitic or xenophobic ones by the discourse virulence attacking the Jews or the Greeks. Lower Danube area was in the interwar and prewar period a space par excellence of good understanding between different nationalities as the common major interest of the people was the economic one. However, the national unrest on the Hebrew issue influenced the serene atmosphere on the Danube. So they there were published a number of Semitic, xenophobic magazines - especially against the Greeks - that marked the life of the local mass-media. Xenophobic publications have appeared briefly, in turn a somewhat longer life had the Jewish publications advocating for one of two ways, establishing Palestine or obtaining the political rights in the Romanian Country. The articles with satirical claims of the anti-Semitic or xenophobic publications were true personal attacks. Usually the used style was the oratorical one, so we may speak of oratory as literature.⁴ The Semitic publications did not attack the Romanians, they did not have a hate speech, but a persistent one, addressed to the Jews who had to choose a path for ethnicity, Palestine or remain in their adopted country. In "Pământeanul/Earthman" published in Galati in the late XIXth century, Pincu Schwartz wrote articles – a well-known journalist who has collaborated with the publication "Dorința/The Desire" in Bucharest, but usually the propaganda articles were not signed, being assumed by Jewish organizations that printed them. More signatures appeared in the periodical "Purim" (1905), well-known names in Romanian Country press: Sam Pineles, Leon W. Henry, Rabin Iacob Margulies. In contrast, the anti-Semitic or xenophobic publications were particularly virulent, attacking, offending unscrupulously the Jews and the Greeks. The articles were signed with pseudonyms most of the times, and between them we have identified only the journalist Emil Maur. Publications of this kind did not have a long life for economic reasons. The Greeks and the Jews were merchants, ship-owners, and so they had a word to say in the local and national economy and the anti-Semitic and xenophobic attitudes were not beneficial to trade and the economy in general, and therefore they had a very short life in this area. The disputes with the Greeks were solved quickly, but the problems with the Hebrews found a resolution only by the Constitution of 1923, when the universal vote was established. However, the debate within the community, whether to go to Palestine or to assume the condition of people without a country, has continued for a long time.

⁴ The term was first used by Silviu Iosifescu in the volume *Literatura de frontieră*, Bucharest, Editura enciclopedică română, 1971.

In the category of literary press we included also the satirical-humorous magazines, where there were published frequently humorous pamphlets and articles, in addition to anecdotes, jokes, epigrams, poems. From serious debates hosted by literary and cultural magazines, it often slid into the pamphlet discourse characterized by satirical allegorizes, irony, humor, puns with humorous effect or even towards satirical articles. The most common were the anecdotes, epigrams, the articles that satirized the human behaviors, especially those of women, lawyers, politicians. The first magazine of this kind appeared in 1874, the “Lanternă roșie/ The Red Lantern” and published a play about a retired politician in Braila and his relationship with journalists. The same publication has printed a parody of the famous patriotic song “Deșteaptă-te române/Wake up Romanians!”, entitled “Deșteaptă-te punguță!/Wake up pouch!” In the satirical-humorous domain publications it has been noted the work of Th. Theodosiade, who edited the publication “Cracanel” as director, under the pseudonym Stricăcerneală in 1893, distributed in many cities of the country. We noted that in 1894 in the magazine appears in almost all issues the signature of Baron Ibric that belonged to Caragiale. Still Theodosiade has released in 1909 the magazine “Caraghiosul” first in Braila and then in Tulcea, and in 1914 brought out the Tulcea “Ardeiul” until 1916. In 1915 it also appeared in Tulcea the publication “Biciușca” edited by Vedetot, alias the journalist Ion Nădejde, where the main criticized characters were politicians and the military people. In the satirical publications in the area wrote also journalists appreciated in the capital, as it was George Ranetti, who published in 1923 in “Cocoșul/The Rooster” and “Tiribomba” from Braila or “Pașaportul/The passport” in Galati in 1927 “Mama dracului/Bloody hell” and “Licuriciul/The Firefly” in 1930, in Braila. After 1930 the Satirical-humorous publications have disappeared, such articles being present in other periodicals. It should be noted, however, that the publishing activity of such kind from the lower Danube was also comparable at the national level and in form and substance, especially since the journalists who were writing had a prolific activity also in Bucharest.

In the second chapter we showed the contributions of the specialized, commercial, political media, and the generalists in the studied area to the development of the Romanian language and literature. As in the commercial or political press we cannot discuss of actual literary articles, we analyzed and highlighted the literal meaning in the economic articles published in newspapers and we made a case study of the country's first economic newspaper published in Braila in 1839, “Mercur /Mercury”. Two years before, in 1837, in Bucharest there was an economic publication, “Cantor de avis și comers”, but it was exclusively devoted to advertising, and it had no other articles. Instead, “Mercury”, printed in Braila by

Ioan Penescu since December 1839, was a comprehensive publication that provided the information necessary to business activity, from the information on traded goods from the Romanian and foreign ports, exchange quota, advertising, to economic culture articles where there were promoted very modern ideas. Note the fact that the mentioned economic principles were publicly disseminated at national level, a few years before the economic courses at the Mihaileana Academy of Iasi. In addition, theories on trade balances, income and expenses were very modern even from the perspective of the XXIst century. In terms of the evolution of the Romanian language, the publication was important because it has promoted all the dictionaries and the decisions taken at national level in writing and the Romanian language. The literary texts published in this periodical were mostly taken from the “Albina Românească/The Romanian Bee” magazine which had texts on topics of economics, trade and finance. It is also remarkable the attitude of Ion Penescu on copyright, claiming that no journalist should assume someone else’s article, that if there are taken texts, they should provide the exact source. In 1846 an economic periodical was printed also in Galati, “Dunărea / The Danube”, but it did not have the intellectual proportion of the periodical from Braila, being closer in terms of the background of the “Cantor de avis și comers”, but in addition it contained aphorisms, stories, articles about religious dialectic, signed by authors who published in popular magazines of the time. In 1849 it was published the “Jurnalul de Galați /Journal of Galati” in which it collaborated the writer Gheorghe Sion. The “Braila” Newspaper (1883-1888), although it had an economic feature, was noted also for its articles devoted to the struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania and the constant collaboration of Anton Bacalbașa. Also in the “Meseriașul Brăilei / The Craftsman of Braila” (1906-1907) the militant socialist, a native of Bulgaria, Cristian Racovski, signed articles. Only after the First World War were published economic profile publications, among which we mention “Plugarul/ The Ploughman” (1927), in which there were published lyrical creations signed by Vasile Militaru, and “Almanahul Meseriașilor/The Craftsmen Almanac” where there were poems written by Octavian Goga, Vasile Alecsandri, George Coșbuc.

The political newspapers also had an important role in the development and evolution of the Romanian society in stimulating the original literary productions, although most of these publications were transient, appearing only around the election campaigns and then they published articles with political messages. According to the four theories of the press made by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm in 1956, until 1866 we had an authoritative press, and thereafter we had a free press until 1947. The first political newspaper might be considered “Moș Ion/Old John” appeared in Braila in 1866, because it

had political articles, but it was not printed by politicians or parties, at least it was assumed this affiliation. As a result, what may be considered the first political newspaper was “Timpulu” (1867), a publication that had also literary concerns within specialized fields *Folliola Timpului* or *Literature*. We also noted some concerns for linguistic reforms. One of the most important and long-lasting political newspaper was “Poșta /The mail”, which appeared in Galati in the range of 1880 - 1887, a publication that has taken over many of the literary texts printed in newspapers in the capital, signed by the great writers of the time, and in 1881 it announced the publication of *Regulile ortografiei române /Romanian spelling rules* published by the Romanian Academy. There have been published also poems by Corneliu Botez, Grigore Crețescu, Romulus Scriban or Elisabeta M. Z. Ionescu. In the “Danube” (1883 - 1886) it is important to remember that Alexandru G. Djuvara published there, which raised a conflict between Macedonski and Eminescu and that on July 25, 1883, it has published the “*Luceafărul*” the poem of Eminescu, before seeing the light of the day in “Convorbiri literare/Literary Conversations”, but after being published in April 1883 in an almanac from Vienna. The literary texts were signed by Grigore Alexandrescu and Șt. Basarabeanu. Also, a publication that appeared for 31 years in Braila was the “Bomba / The bomb”, led by Scarlat Manolescu. In 1892 it appeared in Galati the newspaper “Trompeta Covurluiului / Covurlui’s Trumpet”, where it was first published a science fiction story, *Microbul Bakermann /Bakermann’s bug* signed by De la Vrancea (Barbu Stefanescu Delavrancea). This story does not appear in the work of the famous writer, but it can be attributed as a production of his beginnings, while he signed as “De la Vrancea”. There may be mentioned here that in August 1893 the newspaper had a special section *letters-science-arts*. In 1892 appeared the periodical “Covurluiului” who fought for the union of the Romanian provinces and for the rights of Romanians from Austria-Hungary. From 1893 it began to appear in Braila the newspaper “Lupta națională / The national struggle”, who championed the interests of the Romanians in Transylvania, where renowned writers published articles such as: H. Sanielevici, under the pseudonym Hasan-Beg, or S. Semilian. The newspaper owners were two politicians, Leonte Moldovan, Senate President, and Al. Căciulă; the newspaper was so appreciated at national level, that the periodicals from the capital reproduce articles from the “Lupta națională / The national struggle”. Another newspaper which has campaigned for the same goal was “Farul / The Lighthouse” in Galati, in 1894, which granted the important page spaces for reflecting process of the Transylvania memorandum. In another political newspaper, “Voința Tulcei / The Will of Tulcea” published poems of Iuliu C. Săvescu and the journal “Orientul / The East” published in May 1899 in Galati, political articles on the front page, but at *Letters arts and sciences* there were printed poems signed by: Cyrano - pseudonym of George Ranetti. A

political publication, that has given an increased importance to literary texts, was “Conservatorul Brăilei / Conservatory of Braila” which was released from December 6, 1901, and in which even Maria Rosetti signed the literary texts. The “Adeverul Brăilei / The truth of Braila” published in January 1903, articles of Spiriduș, the pseudonym of George Ranetti. It is interesting the fact that the journalist and poet Barbu Nemțeanu had signed articles and in the newspaper “Lupta/ The Fight” from Tulcea, which appeared from 1909 to 1916 and it had as heading *Literatură românească pentru popularizarea scriitorilor români/ Romanian literature for the popularization of the Romanian writers*. Marcel Stanescu - Cello, having managed a newspaper in Tulcea, “Dobrogea liberală / Liberal Dobrogea” (1908), arrived in 1915 in Braila as editor of the publication “Brăila Nouă / New Braila,” an illustrated newspaper whose first issue appeared on April 3rd, 1915 and has been dedicated to war. “Crai Nou” – the paper of the National Party of Covurlui, appeared weekly from 22 January 1928. It was the sequel of the newspaper “Credința/Faith”, which was the paper of the National Party of Covurlui for 20 years. All the economic topics were discussed from a political perspective, and many of the articles of Nicolae Iorga or Nichifor Crainic published in the newspapers in Bucharest were published in Galati as well.

The last chapter is dedicated to writers-journalists, authors who contributed to the development of the creative localism through their works published in the local press, even if they were not natives of the Lower Danube area and also through the texts published in the country or even abroad by authors born in the Lower Danube. One of the most important journalists who was born in Braila but has done a lot for this area in the 12 years that he stayed in Braila was Ioan Penescu, the one who edited the newspaper “Mercury”. He came in 1832 as professor and he organized the first Romanian normal school in the village. Gheorghe Sion, born on May 18, 1822 in Chernauti, wrote articles in the “Jurnalul de Galați / Journal of Galati” in 1849, and in other publications as well such as “Albina Românească / The Romanian Bee” in 1847 or “Foaie pentru minte / Sheet for the brains...” In 1848. Along with Baronzi he released in March 1859 the ephemeral publication “Zioa” and managed to succeed with “Revista Carpaților / The Carpathian Journal” in 1860 in Bucharest. V. A. Urechia was born on February 15, 1834 in Piatra-Neamt, in a family of a judge, and it had a very important role in the spiritual development of Galati city, setting up schools, cultural institutions and donated to the high school from Galati his collection of documents and museum pieces. He fought to promote the national cause in different cultural, political and scientific manifestations. Scriban Romulus, born in July 24, 1838 at Burdujeni - Suceava, was a poet and an appreciated journalist who collaborated with the editorials of the Lower

Danube, “Voința Poporului / The will of the people”, “Meseriașul Brăilei / The Craftsman of Braila” “Galații”. Cincinat Pavelescu, born at Ramnicu Sarat, was a journalist adopted for a while by Braila, during which he collaborated generously to the achievement of some publications such as “Catedra” (1927) in Galati, “Cocoșul/ The Rooster” (1922), “Voința / The Will” (1904) in Braila. In the same category there are: Gerge Ranetti, Henric Sanielevici, N. D. Cocea, Ury Benador. Among the personalities who have made significant contributions to the area we could take into consideration: George Baronzi – “Moș Ion/Old John”, “Presa română / The Romanian press”, “Vocea Covurluiului / The Voice of Covurlui” Ioan Nădejde – “Biciușca” in Tulcea, “Dunărea / Danube” and “Adevărul Brăilei / The Truth of Braila” at Braila, Anton Bacalbașa - “Mesagerul Brăilei/ The Messenger of Braila”, Barbu Nemțeanu - “Tribuna liberală / The Liberal Tribune”, “Înainte / Forward”, “Pagini libere/ Free pages” of Galati. Romanian cultural reference names wrote in the Lower Danube periodicals: Vasile Băncilă, Nae Ionescu, Miha Dragomir, Panait Cerna, Panait Istrati, Perpessicius, Nicolae Carandino, Traian Coșovei. This study showed, as expected, that most of the publications were political, and economic, but it is interesting the fact that more than half of them have shown interest in the cultural and literature domain. The same thing was proven in the case of economic press.

The study of the media in the Lower Danube area there are highlighted the links that the cities had due to the river, the unity of their development, although they belonged to different historical regions. Basically, between the towns of the Lower Danube there have always been connections, stimulated by the economic activity, even if the leaders of the time tried to separate Braila, Galati, Tulcea and Sulina. Their development was unitary, it crossed over all the vicissitudes, and the press was a clear expression of the relationship between localities, as through its features, it highlighted the unity of the area. The first publications were commercial or had important commercial, economic components, the journalistic texts approached issues related to the Danube, the River’s implications in the economic lives of the localities, and particularly scenic places in the Lower Danube area, all represented the framework of numerous original stories. On the other hand, in the periodicals from the Lower Danube area there can also be observed some concerns in promoting the cultural decentralization, stimulating the original creations, but also to support the struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania, which materialized in articles which explained and brought into the public space issues of the Romanians in Austria-Hungary and the calls for effective financial support of the Romanians obliged to pay hefty fines because they dared to expose their cause in the periodicals from Transylvania. All these features outline a uniform active,

visible press at national level, a case to argue that the Lower Danube press was important, of general interest, along with the press in the capital and other cities that had an important role in shaping the Romanian literature and culture.

Bibliography

Books

Albert, Pierre, *Istoria presei*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 2002.

Almanahul revistei Dunărea de Jos, Galați, Editura Centrul Cultural “Dunărea de Jos”, 2007.

Antip, Constantin, *Contribuții la istoria presei române*, București, editat de Uniunea Ziariștilor din Republica Populară Română, 1964.

Badea, Marin, *Scurtă istorie a presei românești*, București, Editura Economică, 2004.

Bagdasar, Nicolae, *Din problemele culturii europene*, București, Editura Fundației Intellegentia, 1998.

Bertrand, Claude-Jean, *Deontologia mijloacelor de comunicare*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 2000.

Bounegru, Stanca; Drăghici, Rodica, *Tipografii brăilene*, Brăila, ed. Exlibris, 1993.

Braga, Mircea, *Cultura – o utopie asumată?*, Sibiu, Editura Imago, 2000.

Braunstein, Florence; Pépin, Jean-François, *Rădăcinile culturii occidentale*, București, Editura Lider, f.a.

Brezeanu, Ioan; Gh. S. Ștefănescu, *Școala gălățeană*, Galați, Editura pentru literatură și artă Geneze, 1996.

Bulgăr, Gheorghe, *Literatura și limbajul*, București, Editura Vestala, 2002.

Călinescu, George, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, București, ed. Minerva, 1982.

Câdea, Ionel; Sîrbu, Valeriu, *Istoricul orașului Brăila din cele mai vechi timpuri până la 1540*, Brăila, Muzeul Brăilei, 1993.

Ciobotea, Radu *Reportajul interbelic românesc*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2006.

Clubul Român de Presă și Fundația ELITE, *Ghidul presei Românești*, București, Editura House of Guide, 2004.

Clement, Jérôme, *Ce este cultura? În dialog cu fiica mea*, București, Editura Nemira, 2005.

Coman, Mihai *Introducere în sistemul mass-media*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 1999.

Constant, Tiberiu, *Publicul și Pressa*, București, tip. Progresul, 1913.

Craia, Sultana, *Presă și societate la români*, Târgoviște, Editura Bibliotheca, 2006.

Danciu, Maxim, *Mass-media, modernitate, postmodernitate, globalizare*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Tribuna, 2005.

Dimisianu, Gabriel, *Fragmente contemporane*, București, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004.

Dimisianu, Gabriel, *Amintiri și portrete literare*, București, Editura Eminescu, 2003.

Drăghicescu, Dumitru, *Din psihologia poporului român*, București, editura Albatros, 1995.

Dubief, Eugene, *Le journalisme*, Paris, Le librairie Hachette, 1892.

Gavrilă, Camelia; Doboș, Mihaela, *Receptarea textului. Noțiuni de teorie literară, limbă și comunicare*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2010.

Gavrilă, Camelia; Doboș, Mihaela, *Receptarea textului literar Analize, interpretări, repere critice*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2010.

Giurăscu, C. Constantin *Istoricul orașului Brăila, din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi*, București, Editura Științifică, 1968.

Giurăscu, C. Constantin, *Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, București, editura BicAll, 2007

Gorincu, Gheorghe; Gorincu, Florica, *Brăila 625 în date cronologice 1368 – 1993*, Brăila, Editura Danubius, 1994.

Grămadă, Livia, *Presă satirică românească din Transilvania 1860 – 1918*, Cluj, editura Dacia, 1974.

Habermas, Jurgen, *Sfera publică și transformarea ei culturală*, București, Editura Univers, 1998.

Hartley, John, *Discursul știrilor*, Iași, editura Polirom, 1999.

Iavorschi, Gheorghe, *Momente din istoria Brăilei*, file din arhivele brăilene, Brăila, Editura Olimpiada, 2003.

Iosifescu, Silvan, *Literatura de frontieră*, Editura enciclopedică română, București, 1971.

Keebl, Richard (coordonator), *Presa scrisă, o introducere critică*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009.

Lica Elena-Emilia, *Localism creator. La Dunărea de Jos în perioada interbelică*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2003.

Marino, Adrian, *Dicționar de idei literare*, București, ed. Eminescu, 1973.

Marino, Adrian, *Hermeneutica ideii de literatură*, Cluj Napoca, editura Dacia, 1987.

Markiewicz, Henryk, *Conceptele științei literaturii*, București, editura Univers, 1988.

Mihu, Achim, *Antropologia culturală*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Dacia, 2002.

Mocioiu, D.; Bounergu, S., Iavorschi, Gh., Vidis, G., *Documente privind Istoria orașului Brăila 1831 – 1918*, București, 1975.

Mocioiu, D.; Bounergu, S.; Iavorschi, Gh., Vidis, G., *Brăila. File de Istorie. Documente privind istoria orașului 1919 – 1944*, vol II, București, 1989.

Neagu, Fănuș *Cartea cu prieteni*, București, Editura Sport Turism, 1979.

Ornea, Zigu, Trei esteticieni. M. Dragomirescu, H. Sanielevici, P.P.Negulescu, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1968

Ornea, Zigu, tradiționalism și modernitate în deceniul al treilea, Editura Eminescu, București, 1980

Mitru Constantin, *Sadoveanu despre Sadoveanu*, Editura Minerva, București, 1977.

Păltănea, Paul, *Istoria orașului Galați. De la origini până la 1918*, Galați, Editura Porto-Franco, 1994.

Popescu-Sireteanu, Ion (coordonator), *Amintiri despre Sadoveanu*, Editura Junimea, Iași, 1973.

Petcu, Marian *Tipologia presei românești*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 2000.

- Preda, Sorin, *Jurnalismul cultural și de opinie*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2006.
- Rad, Ilie, *Jurnalismul cultural în actualitate*, Cluj, Editura Tribuna, 2005.
- Rieffel, Remy, *Sociologia mass-media*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2008.
- Roșca, Luminița, *Producția textului jurnalistic*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2004.
- Ruști, Doina, *Presa culturală*, București, editura Fundației Pro, 2002.
- Samoilă, Emil, *Ziaristica*, București, 1932.
- Sanielevici, Henric, *Studii critice*, București, Editura Cartea Românească, SA, 1919.
- Sanielevici, Henri, *Cercetări critice și filozofice*, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1968
- Sîrghie, Anca, *Din istoria presei românești*, Sibiu, Editura Tehno Media, 2004.
- Soare, Ionica, *Spațiul dunărean fluvio-maritim*, Galați, editura N'ERGO, 2004.
- Spiridon, Monica, *Eminescu Proza jurnalistică*, București, Editura Curtea Veche, 2003.
- Șoitu, D.D.; Ștefănescu, Gh. S., *Jubileu – 125 de ani de la înființarea Liceului “V. Alecsandri – 1867 - 1992*, Galați, 1992.
- Tiutiuca, Dumitru, *Teorie literară*, Iași, Editura Timpul, 2005.
- Tiutiuca, Dumitru, *Cultură și identitate*, Iași, Editura Junimea, 2005.
- Tiutiuca, Dumitru, *Pentru o nouă teorie literară*, Iași, Editura Timpul, 2005.
- Tiutiuca, Dumitru, *Fundamentele teoriei literare*, Galați, ed. Zigotto, 2002.
- Tiutiuca, Dumitru, *Comunicare și jurnalism*, Galați, editura Fundației universitare Danubius, 2007
- Zelizer, Barbie, *Despre jurnalism la modul serios*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2007.
- Zilele culturii brăilene (25 octombrie – 1 noiembrie)* comunicări și referate, Brăila, 1970.

Dictionaries and synthesis

Academia Română, *Istoria Românilor*, volumul VII, tom I, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2010

Academia Română, *Istoria românilor*, vol II, tom II, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2003.

Academia Română, *Istoria românilor*, vol VIII, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2003.

Călinescu, George, *Istoria Literaturii Române de la origini până în prezent*, Craiova, editura Vlad&Vlad, 1993.

Constantin-Zamfir, Dumitru; Georgescu, Octavian, *Presa Dobrogeană*, Constanța, Editura Bibliotecii Județene Constanța, 1980.

Craia, Sultana, *Dicționarul ziariștilor români*, București, Editura Meronia, 2007.

Dicționar bibliografic, cultură, știință și artă în județul Galați, Galați, 1973.

Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900, București, editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979.

Firan, Florea, *Presa literară craioveană (1838 – 1975)*, Craiova, ed. Scrisul Românesc, 1976.

Funeriu, I. *Editorialiști români*, Timișoara, Editura Augusta, 1996.

Hangiu, Ion, *Dicționarul presei literare românești (1790 – 2000)*, ediția a III-a, București, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004.

Hangiu, Ion *Dicționarul presei literare românești (1790 – 2000)*, București, Editura Institutul Cultural Român, 2004.

Hangiu, Ion, *Panorama presei contemporane românești, 22 decembrie 1989 – decembrie 2005*, București, Editura Historia, 2006.

Hangiu, Ion, *Presa românească de la începuturi până în prezent, Dicționar cronologic 1790-2007*, vol. I, 1790-1916, București, ed. comunicare.ro, 2008.

Iorga, Nicolae, *Istoria presei românești*, București, Editura Muzeul Literaturii Române, 1999.

Iorga, Nicolae, *Istoria literaturii românești în veacul al XIX-lea de la 1821 înainte*, București, editura Minerva, 1983.

Județele Patriei, Monografie Galați, București, Editura Sport Turism, 1980.

Mucchielli, Alex, *Dicționar de metode calitative în științele umane și sociale*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2002.

Opriș, Tudor, *Reviste literare ale elevilor*, București, ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, 1977.

Popa, Marian, *Istoria literaturii române de azi pe mâine*, București, ed. Semne, 2009.

Răduică, Georgeta; Răduică, Nicolin, *Dicționarul presei românești (1731 – 1918)*, București, Editura Științifică, 1995.

Sasu, Aurel, *Dicționarul scriitorilor români din Statele Unite și Canada*, Editura Albatros, București, 2001.

Semilian, S., *Istoricul presei brăilene dela 1839 până la 1926*, Brăila, editura Tipografiei Moderna, 1927.

Stoiu, Valeriu (coordonator), *Brăila, monografie*, colecția Județele patriei, București, Editura Sport-turism, 1980.

Straje, Mihail, *Dicționar de pseudonime*, București, ed. Minerva, 1973.

Șeicaru, Pamfil, *Istoria presei*, Pitești, Editura Paralela 45, 2007.

Topor, Rodica, (coordonator); Diaconu, Florica; Marinescu, Georgeta, *Dicționar de cultură, termeni și personalități*, București, Editura Vivaldi, 2000.

Volcu, Ion, *Dicționarul presei brăilene (1839 – 2007)*, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2009.

Articles in magazines and newspapers

Botez, Șt. Ion, *Din istoria literară a Galaților*, în *Orizonturi* (Galați), An. 1, nr. 5-7, iun. - aug. 1938, p. 354-360.

Bratosin, Viorel Sebastian, *O publicație de succes falimentată de abonați*, *Magazin istoric*, martie, 2005, p. 31.

Danielopol, Dan L., *Complementaritatea culturală a românilor din țară și străinătate*, în *Revista 22*, an V, nr. 1(204), 5-11 ianuarie 1994.

Semilian, S, *Moș Ion – un ziar scos la Brăila de poligraful George Baronzi*, *Analele Brăilei*, nr. 2, 1935, p. 33

Sites

Benson, Rodney, “*Journalism: Normative Theories*”, din *International Encyclopedia of Communication*, Oxford, editura Blackwell, pp. 2591 – 2597, <http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/uploads/006/246/Benson%20Normative%20Theories.pdf>

Constituția din 1866 - http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.http_act_text?id=37755.

www.atheneum.ca.

Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press*, Editura University of Illinois Press, 1963, http://www.amazon.com/Four-Theories-Press-Authoritarian-Responsibility/dp/0252724216#reader_0252724216

www.romlit.ro/centenar_ilarie_voronca_miliardarul_de_imagini.

http://www.romlit.ro/numarul_312.

www.foaienationala.ro/aromnii-si-atitudinea-prigonitoare-grecilor-la-1905.html, Bart Jean, *Jurnalul* de la Direcția Județeană Mureș a Arivelor Naționale.

http://www.viataromaneasca.eu/arhiva/80_via-a-romaneasca-7-8-2012/61_exerci-ii-de-luciditate/1217_autonomia-esteticului-aceasta-fata-morgana.html.

Newspapers outside of research

Analele Brăilei serie nouă, an VI, nr. 6, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2005.

Cantor de avis și comers, nr. 1, 24 aprilie 1837.