

## ROMANIAN EMIGRATION AND THE EPILOGUE OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION

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After suppressing the revolution of 1848 in Moldavia and Vallachia by force of bayonets, most of its leaders had to leave into exile to different countries of Europe<sup>1</sup>, mainly to France, in order to escape the repressive measures taken against them both by the political-administrative authorities of the two Principalities, but also by the two interventionist powers, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. In exile, led by ideals and feelings admirably depicted after years by one of the brilliant representatives of that generation<sup>2</sup>, they struggled, at first, to continue the revolutionary activity, and later, when the exterior environment seemed favourable for achieving the main objective of their common effort, the union of the Romanian Principalities. Despite ideological disputes, associated with vainglory and reciprocal suspicions, which made particular their biographic trajectory and scattered them everywhere: Vienna, Trieste, Frankfurt, Paris, London, Constantinople and Bursa<sup>3</sup>, the Romanian wanderers concentrically worked on the line of the national ideal, in the spirit of decision-engagement firstly assumed by one of the Golescus, when the hardships of the struggle just started: “We reverse heaven and earth to achieve our purpose.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, infinite energy, exceptional dedication, even spirit of sacrifice and deep belief by which they served the Romanian cause in the process of its complete change as a problem of European interest<sup>5</sup> – beyond asperities of communication – generated along by ages, characters, education or

<sup>1</sup> Cornelia Bodea, *Lupta pentru unire a revoluționarilor exilați de la 1848*, in *Studii privind unirea principatelor*, vol. coord. by A. Oțetea, N. Adăniloae, D. Berindei, C. Bodea, Al. Vianu, Ed. Academiei R. P. R., București, 1960, p. 131; see also N. Corivan, *Din activitatea emigranților români în Apus (1853–1857)*, București, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. R. Clavel, *Vasile Alecsandri. Mircești. Schițe și impresiuni*, București, 1890, p. 12–13.

<sup>3</sup> Dan Berindei, *Diplomația românească modernă. De la începuturi la proclamarea independenței de stat (1821–1877)*, Ed. Albatros, 1995, p. 111; see also Mihai Cojocariu, *Partida națională și constituirea statului român (1856–1859)*, Ed. Universității “Al. I. Cuza”, Iași, 1995, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> George Fotino, *Din vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești. Boierii Golești*, vol. II, București, 1939, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Leonid Boicu, *Geneza chestiunii române ca problemă internațională*, Ed. Junimea, Iași, 1975, p. 105 and next.

different options about means – made of those “sentinels of the people [...] scattered by tempest everywhere”, as Bălcescu called emigrants, genuine moral landmarks, hardly detectible not only during that period, but also along our national history.

Generally, the activity of the Romanian revolutionary emigration during the decade before the Union of Principalities – with the entire pile of problems focused on: organizing tribulations, immediate or future objectives, ways and means of communication and activity too, connections done or cultivated at the level of the decisional political centres or the resurrectional ones on the continent, and not least, the fruits of individual or collective efforts and their impact in the country – is well-known today, after generations of historians worked and made the research of that period a priority in their own works. But the field is much too generous to imagine that inquests could ever possibly be finished. Recoveries, completions or nuancing are naturally implied, together with placing the field in a new perspective, or by finding new documentary sources than those usually known and exploited. Another argument in favour of this statement is represented by these lines, meant to enlarge the informational horizon dedicated to the same general problems, by introducing in the scientific circuit some new documents and some epistolary items from archives of Vienna, more specifically from the documentary fund left from Alexander von Bach, ex-minister of Interior of the Austrian Empire between 1849–1859. Emitted during the same year, 1851, the year of last hopes for the exiled in the chance of rebursting the general-European revolution, the recovered documents illustrating, with extra expressing capacity, on the one hand the difficulties of communication with the country of the Romanian emigrants from Paris (the radical group) and, on the other hand and closely related, the increasing worry, motivated anyway, of the Habsburgic imperial authorities to the possibility of relapsing the insurrectional wave on local or continental dimension.

During and after revolution, the Austrian Empire always felt under threat its territorial integrity from everywhere. Between 1848–1849, the revolutionary activities from Hungary and the Lombardo-Venet provinces fully illustrated that. After defeating the revolution of 1848, the presence of the same threat was fully revealed by the fact that one of the main purposes of the political program of the emigration intended, besides the change of the instituted monarchic regime, dismembering of monarchy. That is why the Court and the imperial government of Vienna, when introducing neoabsolutism in 1851, adopted an ultraconservatory policy, intending to preserve state integrity and rejection of revolutionary tendencies<sup>6</sup>. The “revolutionary” Constitution from February 20/March 4, 1849 was firstly suspended on August 8/20, 1851, and on December 19/31, the same year being totally abolished<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Christoph Stölzl, *Die Ära Bach in Böhmen. Sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Neoabsolutismus 1849–1859*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, Band 26, R. Oldenburg, München und Wien, 1971, p. 257; see also Leonid Boicu, *Austria și Principatele Române în vremea războiului Crimeii (1853–1856)*, Ed. Academiei, București, 1972, p. 45–47.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Debidour, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe depuis l'ouverture du Congrès de Vienne*, vol. II, Paris, 1891, p. 69, 73.

The organizer of the counter-revolutionary activity was the minister of Internal Affairs, Alexander Bach. Besides creating the gendarmerie, as an armed force meant to keep order and internal peace, Bach founded the Austrian state police, as a secret service, created to be an important instrument in the struggle of keeping territorial integrity and state power in the Monarchy of Habsburg. In the new institution the minister gathered together both specialists of the former Austrian police before revolution, and revolutionary refugees coming from all political groups who were willing to cooperate<sup>8</sup>. First in the view of the state police were the centres of revolutionary emigration from Paris and London. Besides the activity of discouraging any revolutionary activity which attempted against the integrity of the Empire, mainly those coming from the circles of the Hungarian emigration led by L. Kossuth, a vast operation of gathering intelligence was started, meant to offer a real image of sharing the forces of emigration in post-revolutionary Europe. Bach's state police succeeded by taking advantage of the financial misery of some emigrants and the struggles between different groups of emigration, to infiltrate both in Paris and in London and to obtain files about the democratic emigration from the French capital and the British one too. Moreover, it succeeded in convincing some socialist leaders, like Karl Marx, by indirectly paying them with payments of 20–24 guilders, to write articles against the activity of those exiled who were placed on another political platform than theirs, thus contributing to influence public opinion in favour of Austria<sup>9</sup>.

Starting from the gathered intelligence, Bach developed a theory of universal conspiracy, in which there were included as constitutive elements all movements of social, national and political emancipation which, in his opinion, had developed a whole subversive underground net, not only in the Monarchy of Habsburg, but also in all states of Europe. Therefore, in a letter from the autumn of 1849 addressed to the Prime Minister, Prince Felix von Schwarzenberg, Bach mentioned that “the party of revolution” after being defeated on the battlefield by the legal forces of power from Italy, France, Germany and Hungary, changed then its tactics by retreating in the “darkness” of secret societies and conspiracies, in order that, from there to make attacks against the existing social and state order. That party, even suffering a lot of defeats, always found the force to come back into battle. During an evolution of only two decades, it succeeded in becoming, in Bach's opinion, a fearful power which, by the connections of its comrades of ideas from different states of Europe, achieved a powerful conspirative organization, whose net scattered all over the continent<sup>10</sup>. Against that conspiracy whose leaders were in the revolutionary committees from Paris and, mainly, in the European democratic central Committee from London, the Austrian minister of internal affairs initiated

<sup>8</sup> Allgemeine Verwaltungs Archiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, Kt. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Christoph Stölzl, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Haus-Hof- und StaatsArchiv Wien, I.B., 1849/151.

not only a police-like manner of strict surveillance, but also developed relations of collaboration with other European states in order to introduce efficient counter-revolutionary measures, meant to prevent the outburst of a simultaneous and generalized European social-national revolution. Among the measures applied in the whole empire there were those of making borders secure, to prevent the penetration of revolutionaries, surveillance of suspect people, checking of the transit of publications and correspondence censorship. At the same time, by means of its consular agencies, the Monarchy of Habsburg tried to have the best possible image about the situation in all neighbouring countries, including Vallachia and Moldavia, so that it could counter-strike any revolutionary activity.

In that context was subscribed the action of the Habsburgic authorities to intercept, by means of the government of Transylvania and of Bukovina, of the publications and correspondence of the Romanian revolutionaries, especially of the radicals<sup>11</sup>. The repressive measures against revolutionary literature began in February 1851, by confiscating, by the order of the governor of Transylvania C.A. Rosetti's booklet *Appeal to all parties*, judged as having an "inflammatory" character, by its urging to union of all Romanians and by its attacks against the Austrian state<sup>12</sup>. That period corresponds to the moment of activating "the revolutionary Committee from 1848" by the Romanian exiled from France, led by N. Bălcescu and C.A. Rosetti, under the impulse of reorganizing Hungarian emigration and because of the desire to be present at the European democratic Committee in London, which they wanted to join, as a united political force, speaking for all Romanians<sup>13</sup>. By sending, in April 1851, D. Brătianu to London, the Romanian emigration established a connection with the committee led by G. Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, in the intention of associating the Romanians too in the preparation of the future universal revolution which, in the opinion of radicals, was going to lead to the triumph of democracy on the European continent and, together with that, solving of national demands of all peoples, including the Romanian one. For that reason, in order to achieve collaboration with revolutionaries who represented in London different European peoples, the Romanian revolutionary committee accepted an agreement with the representatives of the Hungarian emigration, delaying, as suggested by Mazzini, the solving of the Romanian-Hungarian dispute till after the universal revolution would win. After that agreement, in the name of the international Committee, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Ruge and Darasz addressed in June 1851 an appeal to the Romanians from Principalities and the Austrian Empire<sup>14</sup>. Confronted with the attempts done by the

<sup>11</sup> S. Reli, *C.A. Rosetti și N. Bălcescu în lumina cenzurii austriece*, in "Junimea literară", nos. 9–12, Cernăuți, 1929; Cornelia Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and next.

<sup>12</sup> S. Reli, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Cornelia Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 149–150.

<sup>14</sup> Olimpiu Boitoş, *Raporturile românilor cu Ledru-Rollin și radicalii francezi în epoca revoluției de la 1848*. Ed. "Cartea românească", București, 1940, p. 73–74.

exiled Romanians to assure that the printed appeal reached the Romanian space too, the Habsburgic authorities took measures of intercepting and confiscating anything printed or written with revolutionary contents.

In that context, on July 7, 1851, the commander of the Austrian troops from Transylvania, the general-lieutenant Bordalo, reporting from Sibiu to Bach, as being the minister of the Internal Affairs, about intercepting a suspect letter sent to Paris by means of the post-office from Bucharest, sending him the letter to decide himself if that could be sent to its destination or not<sup>15</sup>. It was a letter signed by a certain Winterhalder and sent to the address: “Mr. Charlesmagne Hallegrin, Rue de l’ancienne comédie 5, Paris”, a letter having in its beginning some coded lines<sup>16</sup>. In reality, it was just a letter sent on June 14, from the capital of the Vallachian principality by the bookseller and printer Enric Winterhalder to his friend and associate in business, the exiled revolutionary C. A. Rosetti<sup>17</sup>, a document included in a large series of letters between the two, unfortunately largely lost. Of Austrian descent, Winterhalder attached by masonic grounds to the Vallachian revolutionaries, mainly to Rosetti. After the defeat of the revolution and leaving to exile of revolutionaries, he remained in Bucharest, occupied with the bookshop and printing house founded together with Rosetti, giving money to emigrants in Paris, till 1852, when he was expelled by Prince Barbu Știrbei<sup>18</sup>. Wanting to keep the addressee’s confidentiality off from police watching, letters were sent to a well-known shoemaker in Paris, Charlesmagne Hallagrin, who had his shop on one of the important streets near the Louvre (Rue de l’ancienne comédie 5), and on which there lived one of the French who were close to the Vallachian radical revolutionary<sup>19</sup>. Beside the material support, Winterhalder also provided Rosetti, as resulted from the letter, information about political evolutions in the country (“*There still can be seen Russians, here and there, pretending to be sick. It is rumour about changing the Prince by means of the landlords’ plot*”). At the same time, he was the linking man with his supporters in the country, as results from the text deciphered by specialists of the Austrian state police, which says that: “*letter 3 I received and gave it to Filipescu*”. Sometimes, that mission of messenger of the radical exiled was not the easiest, even occasionally, it was simply impossible.

<sup>15</sup> Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlass Bach, Kt. 33, see document no. 1 published in annex in this study.

<sup>16</sup> Doc. no. 2.

<sup>17</sup> In 1846 the two founded together a printing house and a bookshop in Bucharest, which played a great role in the effort of national revival, see Radu Pantazi, *C.A. Rosetti. Gânditorul. Omul*, Ed. Politică, București, 1969, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> C. A. Rosetti, *Corespondență*, Ediție îngrijită, prefață, note și comentarii de Marin Bucur, Ed. Minerva, București, 1980, p. 402–403; *C. A. Rosetti către Maria Rosetti. Corespondență*, vol. I (1846–1871). Prefață, stabilire de texte, note și comentarii de Marin Bucur, Ed. Minerva, București, 1988, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> *C. A. Rosetti către Maria Rosetti*, p. 46.

Thus, Winterhalder hesitated to go the minister of war, Herescu, to read him Rosetti's letter dated May 18, in which the Vallachian revolutionary, rejecting his offer to obtain a pardon, in order to be able to come back from exile<sup>20</sup>, exposed his radical political creed with the nonchalance of somebody in safety, expressing his trust in the imminent outburst of revolution which, that time, was going to triumph, as was affirmed in the emigration centres from Paris and especially in London. But reality as it was, made Winterhalder be cautious, being aware that by acting as Rosetti asked him to, not only he could jeopardize himself, but he also could hasten his expelling from the country, a fact which could have a negative impact to the material matter too on the Vallachian exiled. "I did not see Herescu yet to give him your letter on May 18; I think you understand that I don't feel like going on purpose to him and show him up that letter of yours", as "I know that my position here is not that safe; if the term granted to my passport goes over, he can drive me away, since I have nothing handy to ensure my staying here; I live here simply by Herescu's mere promise, so I am forced to not hurt his feelings. To say to him without any precaution 'that you have strong arguments that soon you will be triumphant', that 'your only purpose is to destroy the present laws', 'that you will proclaim the Romanian Republic, one and indivisible' and others like that, would be quite reckless, as you have, I imagine, enough reasons that they have the habit to make us responsible one for another, and, as they can't get you, they get me."<sup>21</sup>

Convinced that a preparation of grounds was necessary for the desired perspective of the outburst of an European general revolution under the leadership of the democratic Committee from London, C. A. Rosetti determined the painter C. D. Rosenthal to leave for Pest in order to make propaganda for revolution. In a post-scriptum of the letter, Winterhalder told his friend that Rosenthal had informed him in a letter about his imminent travel. Rosenthal's action tragically failed, as the Austrian authorities, informed from several sources, including that letter, about his arrival, were going to arrest him in Pest in July 1851, and he committed suicide in prison, not being able to resist the pressures he was subjected to; Rosetti regretted that and felt guilty for a long time because of his friend Rosenthal's death<sup>22</sup>.

As associated in business, Winterhalder communicated to the Vallachian exiled that book trading brought from west, by means of the bookseller from Paris A. Frank<sup>23</sup>, made by their bookshop was more profitable that year, compared to 1850, by resulting an income of 8,603 lei. The printing house was more profitable.

<sup>20</sup> See Rosetti's note dated May 19, 1851 from his journal in: C. A. Rosetti, *Jurnalul meu*, Ediție îngrijită și prefață de Marin Bucur, Ed. "Dacia", Cluj-Napoca, 1974, p. 309.

<sup>21</sup> Doc. no. 2.

<sup>22</sup> C. A. Rosetti, *Jurnalul meu*, p. 319–320.

<sup>23</sup> The same bookseller was recommended by Rosetti, in October 1851, to I. Ghica, who wanted to initiate a trade with books, C. A. Rosetti, *Correspondență*, p. 259–261.

“Since we do not win much – he wrote – at least we don’t lose like in 1849 and 1850; in January and February we had losses, but in March we gained 26 lei, in April 223 lei and in May 330 lei. Now we are printing 1) Schweder’s German Gazette; 2) Monty’s *Histoire Sainte*; 3) Archimandrite Dionisie’s *Ermeneutica sacra*; 4) Battalion job of the military regulation; 5) Alexandru Aman’s judicial Law; and 6) A Latin-Romanian dictionary printed by the expenses of Mr. Ioanid the bookseller; we shall continue with Andronescu’s *Agriculture and the Calendar for <18>52*, after receiving the manuscript”<sup>24</sup>. Even though he shared liberal opinions, the perspective of increasing competition, by founding a new publishing house of the Metropolitan Church, was not enchanting to him. That was because of the threat of decreasing income, but also that of migration of good printers to the new publishing house. “I am convinced – he noted – that the Metropolitan Church loses, but even so, we shall lose too, as it will be one more printing house in the country. It is possible that time will come when all printing houses are not enough here, but the existing ones are too many for now. 14 years ago there was only one printing house here, and now; with that opened by the Metropolitan Church we have 7 in Bucharest, one in Craiova, one in Buzău and one in Brăila. There is thus necessary to halve our activity to survive and not be ashamed.”<sup>25</sup>

His close connections with the exiled revolutionaries will bring Winterhalder in the view of authorities from Vallachia, Prince Barbu Știrbei wanting to expel him from the country because of that, as a foreign subject. At the same time, as Austrians became more and more interested by him and his activity, will put him on the list of politically suspects. According to the report addressed to the minister of Internal Affairs, Alexander Bach, on December 12, 1851, by the civilian governor of Transylvania, Karl Boromeu Schwarzenberg, it was demanded to the imperial general consul, Laurin, to intervene by the officials from Bucharest that Winterhalder “in Falle die projektierte Anweisung ins Leben tuten sollte, alls österreichischen Unterthan wo möglich hierher instradieren zu lassen”<sup>26</sup>. That was going to happen the next year.

Besides the direct post line, the links with the exiled radicals from Paris were also achieved by means of the secretary of the English Consulate in Bucharest Effingham Grant, Rosetti’s brother-in-law, a faithful supporter of the Vallachian revolutionaries<sup>27</sup>. By means of sending letters to his official address in Bucharest, and later to be distributed to different addressees in the country, the exiled from

<sup>24</sup> Doc. no. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>26</sup> Doc. no. 3.

<sup>27</sup> He became a resident by marrying a descendant of Racovita and Golescu families, carrying on along time successful industrial and trade activities in Bucharest, the name of the residential quarter and the Grand Bridge being connected to his name, cf. C.C. Giurescu, *Viața și opera lui Cuza Vodă*, Ed. Științifică, București, 1966, p. 386; *C.A. Rosetti către Maria Rosetti*, p. 20.

Paris imagined that they could cheat the vigilance of the Austrian censorship. Such means of maintaining the exiled revolutionaries contacts with the country were excessive to the common one like: usual correspondence (including the coded), Moldavian ex-exiled travelers who became advisors of Grigore Alexandru Ghica and, finally booklets, manifests or revolutionary press squeezed in Principalities<sup>28</sup>. Habsburgic authorities, suspecting Grant's letter connections with Paris, oftenly intercepted and violated his correspondence, even though it had diplomatic immunity, motivating that it had subversive contents. The evidence discovered determined the governor of Transylvania affirm in his report to Bach on December 12, 1851, that "das englische Consulat sich nicht nur mit Weiterbeförderung der Briefe befaßt, sondern – wie aus dem Schreiben hervorgeht – selbst mit der walachischen Umsturtzparthei in sehr genauer Verbindung stehen muß" and that „die Umtreibe der revolutionären Parthei welch seiner Nationalität, vom englischen Consulate stets Schutz und Unterstützung finden“<sup>29</sup>.

The confirmation of the Austrian censorship suspicions also came from some of the exiled from Paris's attitude to unveil in a too much open manner in letters their revolutionary ideas and desires. That situation determined Grant that, in a letter sent from Bucharest on November 18, 1851, to revolutionary Ştefan Golescu in Paris, to admonish him for his careless attitude which had driven to his compromising and of the addressee of the letter, to the latter being possible to be applied repressive measures of the authorities, as, moreover, his correspondence was opened by the Austrian censorship. "Je sais – nota Grant – que la réflexion n'est pas le fort de la jeunesse Roumaine, cependant j'avais cru que le passé leur aurait servi d'expérience pour leur prouver que la Poste d'Autriche n'est pas le canal le plus sûr pour la transmission de pareilles correspondances. Si vous avez supposé que l'envoi de vos lettres sous pli à mon adresse était un garanti pour le respect envers leurs cachets, vous vous êtes fortement abusés – car la plupart de mes lettres portent des marques évidentes d'avoir servi à satisfaire aux curieux dans le département postal, et je ne vous ai pas laissé ignorer ce fait. De grâce donc, soyez plus circonspect à l'avenir et réfléchissez bien aux désagréments, sinon malheurs, que vous pourrez attirer sur les autres (moins heureusement abrités que vous contre les conséquences), en adoptant un pareil mode de transmission pour des lettres de ce genre."<sup>30</sup>

Anyway, the radical exiled from Paris continued to send letters to some supporters in the country, on Grant's address. As a confirmation is the report on December 18, 1851, of governor Schwarzenberg to Bach, by which he sent to him some coded letters to be decoded. They were sent from Paris to the address of the

<sup>28</sup> Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Doc. no. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Doc. no. 4; see also Anastasie Iordache, *Goleştii...*, p. 205. A. Iordache affirms that the letter had been sent to N. Golescu, quoting G. Fotino, *op. cit.*, p. 259–260.

endorser of the English Consulate from Bucharest, for someone R. Ștefanide, about whom he had asked informations from the Austrian Consul in Vallachia<sup>31</sup>. After breaking the code, the Austrian authorities were able to find out from that letter that the fears concerning the organizing of a revolutionary plot, meant to violate the territorial integrity of the monarchy were founded. Thus, in the letter sent on November 14 from Paris by someone I., identified as being Ștefan Golescu who had recently come to Paris from a trip made in the Monarchy of Habsburg and Germany, in order to inform himself about the stage of preparation of the general revolution<sup>32</sup>, there were offered details about the dimension of the revolutionary preparations in all Europe: "I found in Agram more advanced preparations than I imagined. I was checked there by police and I went to Vienna. In Vienna there exists an extended conspiracy, with branches in all provinces, having as purpose changing Austria into a Danubian Confederation, out of Lombardia – Venice. German democrats borrowed through Kindel a lot from America. Here we think it is possible to organize a meeting to abrogate the law of May 31. Democratic propaganda extended a lot, but no doubt that the universal suffrage will bring a very red National Assembly. Italy is quite eager to start in advance."<sup>33</sup>

Confident, like all radicals, in the imminence of the outburst of "the general and synchronic" revolution, as Mazzini and the democratic Committee in London intended, a deed which was going to lead to achieving, by revolutionary means, of the ideal of the Romanian union, that is what he asked to Ștefanide to agree "with Turnavitu or anyone else you think to make up a committee of 3 propagandists, whose purpose will be to spread as much possible the desire of Romanian unity, of democratic institutions and of making a Danubian Confederation"<sup>34</sup>.

The same need of organizing, even as a secret society, to prepare Romanians for the future revolution appears from the letter, addressed to his friend D. Cernătescu from Craiova: "We don't know when it is possible to enter the country and how long would take to achieve the project, and as nobody knows the time of the outburst of revolution; that is why we make all preparations in order to not be surprised unprepared, this is the reason why I decided to make a Committee of propaganda there in the country, different from the Fraternity you are designated to organize."<sup>35</sup> In the same letter, Ștefan Golescu re-affirmed in a pathetic manner the goals of the Romanian radicals: "Oh, Romania, one and indivisible, free and independent, democratic and national! Here is our mission, a sublime mission which should make us sacred and make heroes or martyrs of us."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Doc. no. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Cornelia Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 158; see also Dan Berindei, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> Doc. no. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>35</sup> Doc. no. 7.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem.*

In order to reach their purposes, the Committee of Romanian revolutionaries of Paris, led by C. A. Rosetti and I. Bratianu, edited in the autumn of 1851 a journal meant to propagate the national, political and social ideals of the Romanian exiled, called “The Romanian Republic”, meant to be a representative tribune of the Romanian democracy of that period<sup>37</sup>. In order to bring to Principalities that journal and other revolutionary publications without being discovered and confiscated by authorities, revolutionaries tried to use very different means<sup>38</sup>. Thus, in the letter sent from Paris on November 14, 1851, Golescu, after warning Ştefanide about the intention of the Romanian Committee to edit “The Romanian Republic”, asked him to get information about “from where bring stuff to us the shepherds”<sup>39</sup>. Afterwards, on December 1, communicating to him the appearance in the capital of France of the first issue of that publication, in the problem of its expedition to Vallachia, he wrote: “We can send them to Brăila; you must find somebody through whom you can receive them. When finding him, tell me his name. Stuff could also be sent by means of shepherds coming from Turkey, *via* Călăraşi, where you need to have somebody too.”<sup>40</sup>

The increase of political and social pressure in France in the end of November and beginning of December of 1851, which seemed to announce the imminence of revolution, was in attention of exiled radicals. Wishing to communicate that situation to the countrymen, Golescu wrote on December 1: “Here things become complicated each other day. I am afraid that unless universal suffrage is reestablished, explosion will be total and revolution very bloody. There have arrived missionaries from different provinces belonging to propaganda committee and announced that peasants demand massacrations of all priests and all those who claim to be noblemen.”<sup>41</sup> In radicals’ opinion, situation seemed to be favourable to Romanians in the case of the outburst of the European revolution, being known that in London Mazzini succeeded in persuading Kossuth to give up his former policy towards nationalities, and there were also persuaded to struggle for revolution the Romanians from Transylvania and Banat<sup>42</sup>.

But Louis Napoleon Bonaparte’s coup d’état, the future Emperor Napoleon III, on December 2, 1851, shattered all the radicals’ hopes, delaying “*sine die*” the general European revolution. Witness of the implacable evolution of events happened that day in Paris, Golescu described to Ştefanide, in a letter

<sup>37</sup> Olimpiu Boitoş, *op. cit.*, p. 89–90; Cornelia Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 153; for details about the review, see Dan Simonescu, *Din istoria presei româneşti; Republica română*, Ed. “Cartea Românească”, Bucureşti, 1931.

<sup>38</sup> Details about the ways and means used by the revolutionary emigrants at Cornelia Bodea, *op. cit.*, p. 154–157.

<sup>39</sup> Doc. no. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Doc. no. 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.

conceived on December 2, at midnight, the whole evolution of the coup d'état: "Since four till seven in the morning Napoleon arrested plenty of representatives, republicans, orleanists and legitimists, among whom Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, Bedeau, Le Flô, generals Nadeu, Crémieux, Michel de Bourges, Thiers, Perrier... the number of the arrested representatives amounted to 150. At 8 in the morning there was the proclamation of the president which included: 1) removing of the Chamber; 2) re-establishment of the universal voting; 3) convoking of presidential elections. Till 12 all the important points in the city were occupied by soldiers. Only around 5 o'clock avenues and quarters filled with people. Later by 9 Marseillese begun. Now avenues are filled with people. They demand weapons. It is expected the decree of the left members remained, in which the president is nominated 'hors la loi'. All printing houses are military occupied. Paris is on siege. More than 50 presidents of secret societies decided that tomorrow combat will start. If soldiers will shoot, there results in great massacre. They think the leader will become Ledru-Rollin."<sup>43</sup>

But the measures of strong arm taken by Louis Napoleon stopped any attempt of starting revolution in France, to the satisfaction of the conservatory European powers. As an illustration, the leadership of the Monarchy of Habsburg expressed their opinion that the action on December 2, 1851, of the future Emperor will be a finishing stroke to the radical revolutionaries<sup>44</sup>. But, in the future, Napoleon III's France will change in its external activities the revolutionary policy with that of the rights of nationalities, which will prove to be at least as threatening to the integrity of the Habsburg Empire.

For the radical Romanian exiled Louis Napoleon's coup d'état, by totally compromising "the reel" they were prepared "to dance" that time together with other European peoples led by the same national ideal, as enthusiastically showed C.A. Rosetti in his manifesto "In the name of freedom and Romania", meant a great deceit. "The glorious year 1852" which, in the meaning of the former revolutionaries of the ideological movement during 1848 should have brought "removing of crowns, abuses and wrong laws",<sup>45</sup> had begun with that terrible disillusionment, and continued in the same manner, at least in concern with the Romanian emigration, because of the premature disappearance of the one who symbolized the standard bearer of the revolutionary ideology, Nicolae Bălcescu. Completing then with the failure of Mazziny's rebellion from Milano, started in February 1853, which discredited both the initiator, and the European Committee directed by him, we realize the general picture of the new circumstances and details which determined the revision of the ways, and means of action of the Romanian "national missionaries" – by adopting in steps the "legalist" (diplomatic) line,

<sup>43</sup> Doc. no. 9.

<sup>44</sup> Christoph Stölzl, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Dumitru Vitcu, *Diplomații Unirii*, Ed. Academiei, București, 1979, p. 18.

opposite to the “revolutionary” one – nearly and after the period of the events happened due to the reopening of the Oriental crisis.

## DOCUMENTS

### 1

**July 7, 1851, Sibiu.** The report of military commander of Transylvania to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alexander Bach, referring to a suspect letter sent to Paris.

Präs. Nr. 1215/1851

Hochwohlgeborener Herr Minister!

Bei dem hiesiger Postamt ist mittelst der Post aus Bukarest ein Schreiben unter der Adresse: „M-r. Charles magne Hallegrain. Rue de l'ancienne Comédie, Paris“, eingelangt, welches man als verdächtig anhalten ließ.

Euer Hochwohlgeborener dürften sich veranlaßt finden, dieß Schreiben, welches in Anschlusse ergebenst vorgelegt wird, einer nähere Prüfung zu unterziehen, und ich muß es dem hohen Ermessen Euerer Hochwohlgeborener überlassen, ob dasselbe an seine Bestimmung zu befördern, oder aber eine anderweitige Verfügung damit zu treffen wäre.

Genehmigen Euer Hochwohlgeborener die Versicherung meiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung.

Hermanstadt am 7. Juli 1851

Bordalo, Feldmarschalleutenant

An

Seine der k.k. Herrn Ministers des Innern  
Doctor Alexander Bach, Hochwohlgeboren

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*

### 2

**June 14, 1851, Bucharest.** E. Winterhalder's letter to C. A. Rosetti in Paris, giving him information about political situation in the country and their printing house.

Epistola 3 am primit-o şi am dat-o lui Filipesco. Muscalii tot se mai văd câţiva, ici şi colea, supt pretext de bolnavi. Se vorbeşte că domnia se va schimba prin intrigi boiereşti.

Prea ne ostenim cu limba chaldee, să vorbim dar româneşte. Am primit şi no. 12 de la 25 mai şi încă îţi sunt dator răspunsu la no. 12, cu toate dar că sunt cam obosit nu potu să mai întârdziezu a-ţi răspunde. Scrisoarea mea no. 21 ți-a adus 500 fr<anci> şi Grant ți-a trimis alaltăieri 50 galbeni mi se pare; are bună speranță că o să isprăvească curând pricina cu Bengescu, mi-a spus că datornicul s-a îndatorat a plăti banii în termen de 8 zile, iar de nu, se va vinde moşia la mezat. Comerţul a început să se mai îndrepte cu toate că oştirile străine au plecat şi cei mai mulţi boieri lipsesc, fiind duşi sau la

Londra, sau la băi sau la moșiile lor. Făcând comparația celor dintâi 5 luni ale anului curgător cu cele din anul trecut, covârșim cu lei 8 603 par<ale> 36, pentru care am vândut mai mult, dar toată vânzarea acestor 5 luni este lei 63 840 parale 36. Și tipografia merge mai bine. De nu câștigăm mult, cel puțin nu mai păgubim, ca în anii 1849 și 1850; în luna lui ianuarie și februarie am păgubit, dar în luna lui martie am câștigat 26 lei, în luna lui aprilie 223 lei și luna lui mai 330 lei. Avem acum sub tipar: 1) Gazeta nemțescă a lui Schweder; 2) Histoire sainte a lui Monty; 3) Ermeneutica sacra a arhimandritului Dionisie; 4) Slujba de batalion din Regulamentul ostășesc; 5) Legea judecătorească de Alexandru Aman și 6) un Dicționarul latino-românesc, ce se tipărește cu cheltuiala domnului Ioanid librariu; vom începe acum și Agricultura lui Andronescu și Calendarul pentru <18>52, după ce vom primi manuscrisul. Mitropolia își va aduce o tipografie mare și bogată, a dat pe aceasta 2 000 de galbeni și va mai da încă atâta. Mi-a luat pe cel mai bun șetar (compositor) ce aveam – un Ștefan Rasidi, cu toate căte am făcut pentru dânsul, dându-i la anul nou 300 lei fiind că în timp ce Ohm era bolnav îi ținea locul, m-a lăsat și s-a angajat la Mitropolie plecând cu Penescu (ce este directorul acestei tipografii) la Lipsca și la Berlin ca să aducă teascuri și litere. Sunt încredințat că Mitropolia păgubește, dar deși păgubește, vom păgubi și noi, căci va fi încă o tipografie mai mult în țară. Poate va veni vremea ca toate tipografiile să nu fie de ajuns aici, deocamdată însă sunt prea multe cele în ființă. Sunt 14 ani că era o singură tipografie aici și acum, cu cea ce va deschide Mitropolia, avem 7 în București, una la Craiova, una la Buzău și una la Brăila. Trebuiește dar să ne îndoim activitatea ca să o scoatem la capăt, și să nu rămânem de rușine. Până a nu ști că ai mai dat acceptul tău lui A. Frank îi am mai trimis la 30 mai 700 fr<anci>. De acum înainte n-o să-i mai trimiți și tu. Tot atunci îi făcusem o porunceală și mai alaltăieri îi mai făcusem alta. De n-ar fi totdeauna așa setos de bani n-am avea a ne plânge de el, căci altfel condițiile lui ar fi destul de avantajoase. Cu toate acestea nu mai voi face nici un comision de la dânsul până nu-mi vei răspunde dacă poți să te însarcinezi cu comisiunile noastre; însă atunci n-ai mai pute să te muți de la Paris, sau dacă găsești la altul condiții mai avantajoase; spre acest sfârșit îți alătur o însemnare cum ne socotește el cărțile, ca să cercetezi și la altul. Comisiunile ce voi avea a face până la primirea răspunsului tău ți le voi trimite ție. Îți alătur și extractul contului său și al tău. Lăzile no. 40 și 41 înțelege că nici n-au sosit încă.

N-am văzut încă pe Herescu ca să-i dau să citească epistola ta de la 18 mai; înțelegi mi se pare că nu-mi vine să mă duc dinadins la el și să-i trântesc acea epistolă, caut un prilej ca să-i vie hapul mai ușor de înghițit; doar ia la pilule. Înțelegi foarte bine că aceasta trebuie să-l supere și supărarea cade și pe emisarul. M-am căit destul că ți-am scris o vorbă despre propunerea lui și negreșit n-aș fi făcut-o dacă puteam să prevăd că o să pui o așa de aspră însărcinare asupra-mi, nu cunoști pe om? Pe lângă multe calități bune, are o mare ambiție, ambiție de înțelepciune, se supără bine și se întărită în necazul său. Mai știu că poziția mea aici nu este așa de sigură; dacă expiră termenul acordat peste pașaportul meu, poate să mă gonească căci n-am nimic la mână care să-mi asigure șederea mea; sunt aici numai pe simpla făgăduiala lui Herescu și prin urmare trebuie să-l menajez. Să-i spui așa fără pregătire „că ai asigurări temeinice că vei triumfa în curând”, că „n-ai alt scop decât să răstorni toate legile actuale”, „că vei proclama Republica română una și nedespărțită” și altele asemenea, ar fi foarte imprudent, căci ai mi se pare destule dovezi, că au luat obiceiul să ne facă responsabili unu pentru altul și neputând să te apuce, mă apucă pe mine. M-ai jurat onoarea mea să-i citesc scrisoarea ta și negreșit o voi face, dar poți încaltea să-mi acorzi aceasta s-o fac cu un prilej favorabil, să-l găsesc într-o dispoziție bună. Fii sigur că hesitarea mea provine numai din temerea că o să compromit starea ta și viitorul copiilor tăi. Aș putea să-ți aduc aminte vorbele tale: „Lasă-te de artag, că ai să ocărăști lumea !” Și altele și altele. În sfârșit voi împlini porunca ta.

Am fost mult ocupat zilele trecute, pe lângă acestea era și soția mea bolnavă de friguri; este mai bine acum, dar încă foarte slabă, peste vreo 10-12 zile va pleca la Viena, îi voi zice să meargă și la Paris – dacă nu să șază totdeauna cu tine, cel puțin pentru câteva zile.

Mi-am dat demisia de profet; de acum înainte nu mai voi proroci nimic. Sunt sigur că Maria ta a născut un băiat în pisma mea, că bine zici tu, femeile sunt pline de capriții. De două ori am ghicit

bine și pentru a treia oară m-a dat Dumnezeu de rușine și s-a verificat proverbul că toți prorocii după Cristos sunt mincinoși. Dar ca să-ți dovedesc că nu sunt atât de arțăgos precum tu îmi zici în toate epistolele tale, o iert de renghiu ce mi-a jucat și te însărcinez să-i dai din partea mea mii de sărutări. Sărută asemenea pentru mine pe Liby, pe Mircea-Charlemagne și pe Ion Tudor. Bucheturile ce mi le-ai trimis prin Grant le-am primit. Văd că nu ți-am răspuns încă la scrisoarea ta no. 12, dar pentru astăzi este târziu, căci poșta pleacă peste o jumătate de oră, trebuie dar să sfârșesc acum.

Primește mii de îmbrățișări. Ohm este sănătos acum, el și Zehner îți trimit multe complimente. Soția mea vă sărută pe toți, al tău frate

Winterhalder

Am primit o scrisoare de la Rosenthal care îmi anunță plecarea lui la Pesta.

Bukarest 14 iunie  
A Monsieur Charlemagne Hallegrain,  
Rue de l'ancienne comédie 5  
Paris  
Affranchi  
Hermanstadt 17/6

#### Translation:

I received today letter 3 and I gave it to Filipesco. There can be seen some Russians, here and there, pretending to be ill. There are rumors of changing his reign by landlords plots.

It is too tiring to speak Chaldean, so let's speak Romanian. I received No. 12 by May 25 and I owe to answer to No. 12, even though I am kind of tired, I can't delay to answer to you. My letter No. 21 brought you 500 francs and Grant seems to have sent you some 50 gold coins; he has reasons to finish soon his dispute with Bengescu, he told me that the debtor had promised to pay the money back in 8 days, if not, they will sell his property at auction. Trading started improving even though foreign armies left and most landlords are gone either to London, at spas, or to their estates. Comparing the first 5 months of the current year with those of the last year, we have gain of 8 603 lei 36 farthing, for which we had extra sales, but all sales during these 5 months are of 63 840 lei 36 farthings. The printing house is better too. If we don't win much, at least we don't lose, like in 1849 and 1850; in January and February we lost money, but in March we gained 26 lei, in April 223 lei, in May 330 lei. Now we print: 1) Schweder's German Gazette; 2) Monty's *Histoire Sainte*; 3) Archbishop Dionisie's *Ermeneutica sacra*; 4) The battalion functioning from Army Regulation; 5) *Judicial law* by Alexandru Aman and 6) *A Latin-Romanian Dictionary*, printed by the expenses of Mr. Joanid, the booksellers; we shall go on with Andronescu's *Agriculture* and the Calendar for <18>52, after receiving the manuscript. The Metropolitan Church will have a large and rich printing house, they spent 2 000 gold coins on it and they will spend double. They took my best compositor we had – Stefan Rasidi, with all I did for him, giving him 300 lei for New Year feast, he took Ohm's place who was sick, and he deserted me and engaged at the Metropolitan Church, leaving together with Penescu (who is the head of that printing house) for Leipzig and Berlin to purchase presses and letters. I am positive that the Metropolitan Church is in loss, but as it so we shall be in loss too, as there will be another printing house more in the country. It is possible there will come time when all printing houses are not enough here, but for now there are too many the existing ones. 14 years ago there was only one here, and now, with the one founded by the Metropolitan Church, we have 7 in Bucharest, one in Craiova, one in Buzau and one in Braila. So we must halve our activity in order to manage and be not ashamed. Till knowing that you confirmed that to A. Frank, I sent him 700 francs on May 30. From now on don't send anything to him you too. That time I gave him instructions and again a few

days ago. If he weren't always so greedy of money we couldn't have complained, as his demands are quite satisfactory. But I will not ask him for anything anymore unless you tell me that you can do our interests; in such a case you will not be able to leave Paris, or find somebody advantageous for us; at the end of it I give you a notice on the way how he counts our books, so you can try another one. Orders necessary till receiving your answer I will send to you. I will include the extract of his and your account. Understand that boxes No. 40 and 41 have not arrived yet.

I did not see Herescu yet to give him read your letter on May 18; I think you realize I don't feel like going to him and give the letter on purpose, I am looking for an opportunity to receive easier such a pill by him; anyway he takes a lot. You understand that it will upset him and trouble falls on the emissary too. I blamed myself enough for writing you about his proposition and surely I wouldn't have done that if I had anticipated you could give me such a tough burden on my back since you know that man right? Beside his many qualities, he is very ambitious, an ambition of wisdom, he easily gets angry and he irritates deeply in his trouble. I also know that my position here is not very safe; if the period given on my passport is over, he can drive me away as I have nothing available to support my residence here; I live here only because of Herescu's simple promise, so I must spare him. To tell him shortly „that you have strong promises that you will soon be triumphant”, that „your only purpose is to destroy all present laws”, that „you will proclaim the one and indivisible Romanian Republic” and others similar, would be imprudent, since you seem to have a lot of evidence that they started to have the habit of making us responsible of each other, and being unable to grab you, they grab me. You asked me honesty to read your letter to him and I certainly will do that, but at least let me do it in favorable circumstances, finding him in good mood. Be sure that my hesitation comes from the care that I could compromise your situation and your children's future. I could remind you your words: “Don't be carping, cause you'll offend people”. And others alike. Finally I'll obey your command.

I was so busy lately and, moreover, my wife had a fever; she is better now but still very weak, within 10-12 days she'll leave for Vienna, I'll tell her to go to Paris too – if not to stay always with you, at least for several days.

I resigned from prophecy: I'll never make prophecies again. I am sure your Maria gave birth to a boy in spite of me, as you tell the truth, women are very capricious. Twice I guessed well, third time God ashamed me and was confirmed the proverb that all prophets after Christ were liars. In order to prove you that I am not that carping as you tell me in your letters. I forgive her for mocking at me and I enable you to give thousands of kisses from me. Kiss Liby, Mircea-Charlemagne and Ion Tudor as well for me. I received the bunches of flowers sent through Grant. I see that I did not answer to your letter No. 12, but it is already late as mailing leaves in half of hour, so I must finish now.

Thousands embraces. Ohm is healthy now, he and Zehner greet you much. My wife kisses you all, your brothers

Winterhalder

I received a letter from Rosenthal announcing his leaving for Pest.

Bucharest June 14

A Monsieur Charlemagne Hallegrain,

Rue de l'ancienne comédie 5

Paris

Affranchi

Hermanstadt 17/6

## 3

**December 12, 1851, Sibiu.** Report of the civil governor of Transylvania addressed to Alexander Bach, referring to the secret correspondence of the Valachian exiled by means of the English consul in Bucharest.

Hochwohlgeborener Herr Minister!

Ich erlaube mir Euer Hochwohlgeboren im Anschluß abschriftlich den Auszug einer Correspondenz des englischen Consulats-Verwesers in Bukarest E. Grant, an der in Paris weilenden politisch kompromittierten Stefan Golesco zu dem Ende vorzulegen, damit Hochdieselben zur Uiberzeugung gelangen, wie das englische Consulat sich nicht nur mit Weiterbeförderung der Briefe befaßt, sondern – wie aus dem Schreiben hervorgeht – selbst mit der walachischen Umsturzparthei in sehr genauer Verbindung stehen muß, da Grant vorzugsweise bemerkt, er habe Wissenschaft von jenem Briefe gehabt, welchen der Kaufmann anzunehmen sich weigerte, und durch welchen beinehe drei Personen kompromittiert worden wären.

Daß übrigens fraglicher Sachverhalt eine besondere Wichtigkeit gehabt haben mag, darüber liefert die Correspondenz Grant's genügende Belege. Da jedoch derselben ein für Stefan Golesco lautenden Wechsel beigeschlossen war, so ließ ich es seiner Bestimmung zuführen – während ich den von Paris mit gestriger Post hierhergelangten und rückgehaltenen Brief eines Exilierten, der wieder unter der Adresse des englischen Consulats von Paris abging, zu Euer Hochwohlgeboren. Einsicht um so mehr bringen zu müssen glaube, weil demselben ein Zettel an einen deutschen Namens Winterhalter zugeschlossen war, welcher als politisch verdächtig laut einer Eröffnung des k.k. General Consulats in Bukarest über dem Wunsch des Fürsten Stirbey von der Walachei ausgewiesen werden soll, und somit nur den Beweis herstellt, daß die Umtreibe der revolutionären Parthei welche seiner? Nationalität, vom englischen Consulate stets Schutz und Unterstützung finden.

Ich stelle unter Einem des Ersuchen an den k.k. General Consul Laurin, den Winterhalter, in Falle die projektierte Ausweisung ins Leben tuten sollte, als österreichischen Unterthan wo möglich hierher instradieren zu lassen. Genehmigen Euer Hochwohlgeboren die Versicherung meiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung.

Hermanstadt den 12<sup>ten</sup> December 1851  
Schwarzenberg <Karl Boromeu>

An

Seine des k.k. Herr Ministers des Innern, Dr. Alexander Bach Hochwohlgeboren

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*

## 4

**November 18, 1851, Bucharest.** Letter of the British consul E. Grant to Stefan Golescu in Paris referring to a compromising correspondence sent to his address.

Bukarest, 18 novembre 1851

Cher Ami,

J'ai reçu les quelques lignes que vous m'avez envoyées, il y a un mois environ, et qui accompagnaient une incluse pour un négociant de cette ville. Ce Monsieur après avoir lu la lettre qui

lui était remise par un homme de confiance, a refusé de la garder, en donnant pour toute réponse, "qu'il ne voulait pas se mêler des pareilles affaires". J'ai eu connaissance de la teneur de cette lettre, et franchement, j'ai eu peine à croire que vous ayez été si imprudent que de vouloir compromettre ainsi trois personnes avec si peu de façon. Je sais que la réflexion n'est pas le fort de la jeunesse Roumaine, cependant j'avais cru que le passé leur aurait servi d'expérience pour leur prouver que la Poste d'Autriche n'est pas le canal le plus sûr pour la transmission de pareilles correspondances. Si vous avez supposé que l'envoi, de vos lettres sous pli à mon adresse était un garanti pour le respect envers leurs cachets, vous vous êtes fortement abusé – car la plupart de mes lettres portent des marques évidentes d'avoir servi à satisfaire aux curieux dans le département postal, et je ne vous ai pas laissé ignorer ce fait.

De grâce donc, soyez plus circonspect à l'avenir et réfléchissez bien aux désagréments, sinon malheurs, que vous pouvez attirer sur les autres (moins heureusement abrités que vous contre les conséquences) en adoptant un pareil mode de transmission pour des lettres de ce genre. Ne pensez pas que c'est pour moi que je vous prêche si longuement, mais bien en faveur d'un pauvre diable à qui cette lettre aurait pu valoir l'expulsion du pays. Rosetti vous le fera connaître du reste, car je lui ai déjà écrit à son sujet etc. etc.

Grant, m. p.

Mr. Etienne Golesko, rue St. Augustin N. 46 à Paris

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*

## 5

**December 18, 1851, Sibiu.** Report of the civil governor of Transylvania to Alexander Bach about the encrypted letters sent from Paris on the address of the British consul in Bucharest.

Hochwohlgeborener Herr Minister!

Unter Adresse des Geranten vom englischen Consulate E. Grant, sind wieder für R. Stefanides in Bukarest die beigebogenen Briefe hierorts eingelangt, welche in einer ganz eigenen Chifferart geschrieben, somit als verdächtig in Beschlag genommen worden sind.

Mein Bemühen zur Dechiffrierung dieser Correspondenz dem Schlüssel zu bekommen, blieb erfolglos, ich glaube daher die in Rede stehender Briefe Euer Hochwohlgeboren vorlegen, gleichzeitig, aber auch Hochdemselbe eröffnen zu müssen, daß ich den k.k. General Consul in Bukarest Herrn Ministerialrat von Laurin im vertraulichen Wege angegangen habe, mir über die Individualität und politische Haltung des R. Stefanides, so wie des an den Adressen der beiden Schreiben berührten Rotta's eine umständliche Schilderung geben zu wollen.

In Falle mir mit selber erhebliche Aufklärungen werden sollten, so behalte ich mir vor, hiervon Euer Hochwohlgeboren pflichtschuldigest in Kenntnis zu setzen.

Genehmigen Euer Hochwohlgeboren die Versicherung meiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung.

Hermanstadt den 18 Dezember 1851

Schwarzenberg

An

Seiner des k.k. Herrn Minister des Innern, Dr. Alexander Bach Hochwohlgeboren.

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*



**November 14, 1851, Paris.** Excerpt from the deciphered letter of I. from Paris to R. Stefanide to Bucharest referring to preparation of an European revolution.

Paris 14 noiembrie 1851

Am găsit la Agram lucrurile mai înaintate decât credeam. Am fost acolo calcat de poliție și apoi pornit la Viena. La Viena există o conspirație întinsă ce se ramifică în toate provinciile, scopul ei <este> a transforma Austria într-o confederație Danubiană, afară de Lombardo-Veneția. Democrații germani au făcut prin Kinkel o mare împrumutare în America. Aici credem că poate să se facă o manifestație pentru abrogarea legii de la mai 31. Propaganda democratică s-a răspândit foarte mult, însă fără îndoială că sufragiul universal va aduce o Adunare Națională curat roșie. Italia e foarte impacientată a începe înainte.

E dar necesar a te înțelege cu Turnavitu sau cu oricare vei socoti spre a forma un comitet de 3 propagandiști, al cărui scop va fi de a răspândi cât se va putea mai mult dorința de unitate română, de instituții democratice și de formație a unei Confederații Danubiene.

Când te vei duce la Craiova să vezi neapărat pe Cernătescu. Să-i dai scrisoarea (va vedea încrederea ce o ai) în mână.

Apoi prudenția amice.

Spune, te rog, numai că am primit de la Lepig cei 20 de galbeni trimiși în lipsa mea.

Te îmbrățișez

I.

Spune Dedului că n-am găsit pe Eliade, el e la Chios.

16 November

Foaea ce Comitetul român de aici va trimite acolo se numește "Republica română". Când îmi vei răspunde, scrie-mi negreșit din ce parte aduc la noi marfa mocanii.

Dă negreșit lui Cernătescu scrisoarea alăturată.

#### **Translation:**

Paris November 14, 1851

I found in Agram more advanced things that I imagined. I was visited there is an extended conspiracy with branches in all provinces, its purpose is to change Austria into a Danubian Confederation, except for Lombardo-Venice. The German democrats made through Kinkel a consistent borrowing from America. Here we think there can be organized a manifestation to abrogate the law of May 31. Democratic propaganda extended a lot, but no doubt that universal suffrage will make a totally red National Assembly. Italy is very anxious to start in advance.

But it is necessary to agree with Turnavitu or whoever else you think to make a committee of 3 propagandists, whose purpose is to spread as much as possible the desire of Romanian union, of democratic institutions and of making a Danubian Confederation.

When you will leave for Craiova, see Cernătescu by all means. Give him the letter (he will notice your confidence in him) in his hand.

Then be careful, pal.

Just please, tell me only whether I received from Lepig the 20 gold coins sent during my absence.

Embraces,

I.

Tell Dedu that I could not find Eliade, he is in Chios.

November 16.

The paper of the Romanian Committee from here sent you there is called "The Romanian Republic". When answering back be sure to tell me from where shepherds bring here there stuff.

Do give to Cernatescu the annexed letter.

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*

## 7

**1851, Paris.** Deciphered letter of *I.* from Paris to Dumitru Cernatescu about the evolution of revolutionary propaganda in the country.

Frate Cernătescule!

O Românie una și nedespărțită, liberă și independentă, democratică și națională! Iată misia noastră, misie sublimă, care trebuie să ne sfințească și să facă din noi eroi sau martiri. Credem dar că nici o stavilă nu va fi în stare să te descurajeze și că într-o zi România nu se poate a declara ca ai bine meritat de la dânsa.

Nu știm când se poate intra în țară și în cât timp se poate realiza proiectul și, precum nimine nu poate ști timpul când va izbucni revoluția, de aceea luăm toate măsurile să nu ne surprindă nepregătiți; iată ce m-a determinat de a forma un Comitet de propagandă acolo în țară, deosebit de Frăția ce ești însărcinat dumneata a o organiza.

Fratele Rotescu are aici misie. Dacă fratele Rotescu se va pătrunde de importanța societății de frăție, atunci îl vei asocia pe fratele Rotescu ca pe unul din cei trei membrii ce, cu dumneata și cu altul ce vei alege, va forma aleșii Țării Muntenești; însă de vei vede o inconveniență, atunci îți vei asocia oamenii ce vei găsi cu cale și vei lăsa pe fratele Rotescu să se împlinească, însărcinat și în parte, fără a-l contracara, ci dimpotrivă ajutându-l.

Scriem prin Grant. Aici și în toată Europa merge spre bine.

De se va trimite lui Rossetti, el știe cui să o dea.

### Translation:

Brother Cernatescu!

A unique and undivided, free and independent, democratic and national Romania ! That is our mission, a sublime mission which must sanctify us and make us heroes or martyrs. Therefore we think that no obstacle would be able to discourage you and one day you will be really worth of Romania.

We have no idea when we could come into the country and the period to achieve our project and, since nobody knows when revolution outbursts, we prepare in all possible ways to be ready for it; that is why I decided to make a Committee of propaganda there in the country, another than the Fellowship, which will be your duty to organize.

Brother Rotescu has a mission here. If Brother Rotescu is convinced of the importance of a society of Fraternity, then you will associate brother Rotescu as one the three members who, with you and someone you choose, will make the chosen of Valachia; but whether you find any inconvenience, you will associate the men decided by your will, you let brother Rotescu ascend, even partly entrusted without discouraging him, but on the contrary, by helping him.

We correspond by means of Grant. Here and everywhere in Europe things are improving. If sent to Rosetti, he knows whom to send it to.

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlass Bach, 33)*



**December 1, 1851, Paris.** Decoded letter of *I.* from Paris to R. Stefanide from Bucharest, about political situation in France when “The Romanian Republic” gazette appeared.

Paris, 1 decembrie 1851

Pe aici lucrurile se încurcă din zi în zi. Mi-e teamă că de nu se va restabili sufragiu universal, exploziunea va fi totală şi revoluţia foarte sângeroasă. Din mai multe departamente venită misionarii comitetului de propagandă şi-i anunţară că sătenii cer a masacra pe toţi preoţii şi pe cei ce mai pretind a fi nobili. Mazzini s-a întâlnit cu Kossuth şi rezultatul întâlnirii e că Kossuth a început a se îndoii de isbutirea pe viitor a politicei sale trecute.

A eşit cel dintâi număr al “Republicii române”. Le vom putea băga în Braila, tu trebuie prin cineva să găseşti acolo vreo unul care să le primească. Găsindu-l îmi vei spune numele lui. Se vor putea băga şi cu mocanii ce vin din Turcia, pe la Călăraşi, unde iar ar trebui să ai pe cineva.

În Transilvania şi în Banat stăm foarte bine.

**Translation:**

Paris, December 1, 1851

Here things get complicated day after day. I am afraid that if they don't establish universal suffrage, explosion will be total and revolution very bloody. There arrived from many regions missionaries of the propaganda committee and announced that peasants were asking massacrations of all priests and those who still pretended to be noblemen. Mazzini met Kossuth and the result of the encounter is that Kossuth started doubting his future success in his previous policy.

There appeared the first Number of “The Romanian Republic”. We shall distribute them in Braila you need to find somebody there to receive them. Tell me his name when finding him. They could be sent there even by means of shepherds coming from Turkey via Calarasi, where you also need to have someone.

In Transylvania and Banat things are all right.

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*



**December 2, 1851, Paris.** Decoded letter of *I.* to R. Stefanide about the coup d'etat in France of Charles-Louis Napoleon, the president of the republic.

Paris, 2 decembrie 1851

**Miezul nopţii**

De la patru până la şapte de dimineaţă Napoleon a arestat o mulţime de reprezentanţi, republicani, orleanişti şi legitimişti, între care Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, Bedeau, Leflô,

generalii Nadeau, Cremieu, Michel de Bourges, Thiers, Perrier... până la patru s-a suit numărul reprezentanților arestați la 150. La 8 dimineața este proclamația președintelui ce cuprinde: 1) stricarea camerei; 2) restabilirea votului universal; 3) convocarea alecțiilor presidențiale. Până la 12 ziua toate puncturile principale le-au ocupat soldații. Tocma pe la 5 bulevardele și cvartalele s-au umplut de lume. Apoi pe la 9 a început Marseillesa. Acum bulevardele sunt pline de lume. Se strigă la arme. Se așteaptă să iasă decretul membrilor din stânga ce au mai rămas în care președintele e pus "hors la loi". Toate presele sunt ocupate militarește. Parisul e în stare de asediu. Peste 50 de președinți ai societăților secrete au hotărât ca mâine să înceapă lupta. De vor trage soldații carnagiu va fi mare. Se crede că șef va sosi Ledru-Rollin.

**Translation:**

Paris, December 2, 1851

In the night

From four till seven morning Napoleon arrested a lot of representatives, republicans, orleanists and legitimists, among them Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, Bedeau, Le Flô, generals Nadeau, Crémieux, Michel de Bourges, Thiers, Perrier... till four the number of arrested representatives reached 150. At 8 the president's proclamation which included: 1) abolishment of the Chamber; 2) re-establishment of universal suffrage; 3) convocation of presidential elections. Till 12 daytime all main spots were occupied by soldiers. Only by 5 streets were full of people. Then by 9 started the Marseillaise. Now boulevards are crowded with people. They ask for arms. They are waiting for the decree of the left wing members who remained in which the president is declared "hors la loi". All printing houses are military occupied. Paris is under siege. More than 50 presidents of secret societies decided start fighting tomorrow. If soldiers start shooting, there will be a great slaughter. They believe Ledru-Rollin will be the leader.

*(Allgemeine VerwaltungsArchiv Wien, Nachlaß Bach, 33)*