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DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY AGENTS OF THE POLISH EMIGRATION IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES (1833–1849)

Abstract: Before the 1848–1849 revolution, the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, under Turkish suzerainty and Russian protectorate, hosted a significant number of Poles belonging to both factions of the Polish Great Emigration, Adam Czartoryski’s circle and the democrats. The names and activity of the Poles emigrated in the Romanian Lands during the Peoples’ Spring are less known than those of the Polish Great Emigration in France and England. The study brings to light the diplomatic involvement (1833–1849) of leading characters among the Polish monarchists sent by Czartoryski and Michał Czajkowski in the Romanian national movement promoted by Ion Cămpineanu (1838), as well as their bounds and military support offered to Nicolae Bălcescu and other revolutionaries from Wallachia (1848). Special attention is paid to the activity unfolded by Polish democrats in Moldavia, in order to prepare and trigger an uprising in neighbouring Galicia (1846, 1848). Led by Faustyn Filanowicz, Teofil Wiśniowski, Ioan Loga, the democrats’ main accomplishment was the establishment of the Polish South Legion (1842), with operational basis in Grozești (Oituz) and military deployment in southern Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia (1848). The study case of the Polish emigration in the Romanian Principalities between 1833–1849 reveals useful conclusions regarding the organization of the universal revolution, a phenomenon of world interest for nineteenth century history.

Keywords: Polish Great Emigration, Polish diplomatic and military agents, Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, revolutions of 1830–1831, 1846, 1848–1849.

“Several thousands of Poles vegetate in exile. Some day history and posterity will ask for their names”, wrote count de Tabasz Krosnowski, in his *Almanach Historique ou Souvenir de l’Émigration Polonaise*, published in 1837 and 1846. He assumed that: “Today even our countrymen who remained in the homeland want to find out the names of those exiled, who did not step back in front of sacrifice.” The aimed goal of count de Tabasz Krosnowski was “To emerge from oblivion the martyrs of the most sacred cause, to render their names to the nations’ esteem and to the homeland’s hope”. To

this end he set down the list of the Poles living abroad and, especially, in France.¹

The names and activity of the Poles who emigrated to the Romanian Lands during the Peoples' Spring are even less known than the Polish Great Emigration to France, England, Belgium.² Between 1833–1848, the Poles who emigrated or were sent to the Romanian Principalities offered diplomatic and military support to the Romanian national movement (1838) and revolution (1848), and they succeeded to form the Polish South Legion in Moldavia (1842, 1848). Both great factions of Polish emigration, the circle around prince Adam Czartoryski and the democrats militated intensively on the Romanian soil.

It should be noticed that during the Polish Great Emigration until beyond mid 19th century France was the centre of the universal revolution and French was the *lingua franca* that ensured the communication of the Polish emigrants with revolutionaries from other European and Asian countries. The documents of the Great Emigration, written in various languages and palaeographies, nevertheless had French as a common denominator. French was also the language used in the Romanian-Polish contacts towards 1850.

Our research identifies the ties and highlights the connections between Romanians and emigrated Poles as reflected especially by Romanian historiography, but also taking into consideration the Polish historical contributions related to this issue. By using edited secondary sources and bibliographical references, we shall also bring forward an important unknown Tsarist military campaign diary of 1848–1850, French consular reports and Transylvanian Saxon press products. The last mentioned primary sources will confirm that the topic is far from being exhausted. Such new historical sources of various languages can offer major surprises, as they present the Polish emigration in the Romanian Principalities from a different perspective and with a larger significance.

The Romanian file of Polish emigration – best known by the Romanian part,³ but also taken into account by older Polish historiography,⁴ even if the current one shows almost no interest in the issue of bilateral Polish-Romanian relations⁵ – is a study case of a

¹ De Tabasz Krosnowski 1846: V–VI. “*Plusieurs milliers de Polonais végètent dans l'exil. Un jour l'histoire et la postérité demanderont leurs noms. Aujourd'hui même nos compatriotes restés sur le sol natal veulent savoir les noms de ces exilés qui n'ont pas reculé devant ce sacrifice. Arracher à l'oubli ces martyrs de la cause la plus sainte, offrir leur noms à l'estime des nations et à l'espoir de la patrie, tel est le but [...]*”

² The Polish Emigration in Belgium was studied by Goddeeris 2000: 65–96; *Id.* 2007: 139–169. Recent research studies deal with the Polish emigration in France and the Ottoman Empire: Papiez (2019).

³ Valuable Romanian historiographical contributions are in chronological order of publication: Panaitescu 1929; Holban 1934: 325–344; Bădina 1963: 59–82; Panaitescu 1964: 59–77; Ionescu 1963: 79–86; Bocşan 2003: 177–201.

⁴ A frame of reference is offered by Handelsmann 1933.

⁵ At the meeting of the Romanian-Polish Joint History Commission organized by the Romanian Academy of Sciences and the Babeş-Bolyai University on 6–10 September 2017 in Cluj-Napoca (Romania), during the debates following my conference on *The Polish Emigration and the European Revolutions of 1848. General Józef Bem in Transylvania* (7 September 2017), the Polish historians Marek Komat (History Institute of the Polish Academy in Warsaw), Małgorzata-Julia Willaume (Marii Curie-Skłodowskie University in Lublin) and Andrzej Dubicki (University of Political Science in Łódź) pointed out that the trends of the current Polish historiography focus on contemporary history of the 20th and 21st centuries, while less interest is shown in earlier centuries. Thereby, I consider that by disregarding partitioned Poland's history (since 1772 until World War I), a huge contribution brought by the Polish emigration to European and world heritage is nowadays also ignored exactly by Poland itself.

revolutionary phenomenon of world interest for 19th century history. Our conclusions on the Romanian example might be useful in order to relaunch scientific investigations concerning Polish emigration on a transnational and transboundary scale.

As a matter of fact, valuable approaches and biographies of prominent representatives of Polish emigration written by national experts like Jadwiga Chudzikowska and others⁶ are out of reach for non-Polish readers; conversely, the Polish audience interested in this issue has no access to monographs published in the Romanian language.⁷ The embarrassing problem, also mentioned by Saadat Büyük with regard to the writings of Polish scholars “almost untouched by any Turkish researcher”,⁸ can be solved only by putting forward studies elaborated in the *lingua franca* of today – English.



Fig. 1. Revolutionary Romania, allegory painting by Constantin Daniel Rosenthal (1848) Romania's National Museum of Arts at the Royal Palace in București. Source: Wikipedia



Fig. 2. The Polish Prometheus killed by the Russian Eagle, allegory painting of the Polish November Uprising's failure by Horace Vernace (1831), Polish Library in Paris. Source: Wikimedia

1. The Factions of the Polish Great Emigration in European Revolutions (1830–1848)

The Polish Great Emigration was not homogenous. Even since fights were carried out on the Polish territory in 1830–1831, there existed two big factions of Polish

⁶ Chudzikowska 1971; *Id.* 1990. Up to date Polish language historiography of the Great Emigration is summarised by Polish reading Büyük 2013: 1–3.

⁷ For example, general Józef Bem's presence in Transylvania (December 1848 – August 1849) has been the subject of thorough investigations such as the study followed by a document appendix elaborated by Neamțu 2006: 248–272, and the monography seconded by a critical edition of documents in five languages signed by Cosma 2011.

⁸ Büyük 2013: 3.

revolutionaries; after emigration and later on they fought separately. To the first group there belonged moderate revolutionaries around prince Czartoryski, described by historiography as monarchists either of liberal or conservative orientation. The second faction was that of radical revolutionaries, also called democrats or republicans and sometimes labelled even as communists.⁹

Adam Czartoryski's group was set up in Paris after the emigration to France that followed the defeat of the 1830–1831 revolution in Poland. It was active in various political forms such as the National Unity Society (*Zwiazek Jednosci Narodowej*) in 1833, the Monarchic-Insurrectional Society (*Zwiazek Insurekcyjno-Monarchistyczny*) in 1837, 1839–1848, and *Hôtel Lambert* after the acquisition of the 17th century castle on Saint Louis isle in Paris in 1843. *Hôtel Lambert* was led by prince Adam Czartoryski until his death (1861) and after that by his son Władysław until 1870. Since the very beginning Prince *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski* (1770–1861) had important activists by his side, among whom were generals, clergymen, journalists, writers and statesmen.¹⁰

Czartoryski's dream was to gain Poland's independence, above of all by rejecting the Tsarist Empire's hegemony with England and France's armed aid. Since the military aid never really came as hoped, the prince of *Hôtel Lambert* continued his fight by different means. He established a large diplomatic network across Europe up to the Ottoman Empire, assembling a Polish army in exile, namely the Polish legions. These were intended at first to support the European national revolutions and then to start liberating Poland,¹¹ which was under the triple foreign occupation of Russia, Austria and Prussia.

“Despite Czartoryski's recognition among European diplomats as the leading figure of the Polish exile and, indeed, [of] the nation as a whole, within the Great Emigration itself he and his supporters remained in minority”, says Milosz Cybowski. There were “other, more liberal political parties of the Polish exile, which attracted more members than the highly conservative and monarchist group centred around Czartoryski.” Cybowski considers that Czartoryski's ideas were less popular among the Polish exiles than those championed by the Polish National Committee (*Komitet Narodowy Polski*) and the Polish Democratic Society (*Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*), both created in 1832, and the Union of Polish Emigration (*Zjednoczenie Emigracji Polskiej*) after 1840.¹²

Thus, the strongest and longest-living opposition party against the *Hôtel Lambert* movement, the Polish Democratic Society, made up of the small bourgeoisie with democratic

⁹ Bădina 1963: 62 quotes from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848: “Among the Poles, the communists are those who sustain the party which considers the agrarian revolution to be a condition for national liberation, the same party that animated the Kraków insurrection of 1846.”

¹⁰ Czartoryski's circle included generals: Stanisław Barzykowski (1792–1872), Józef Bem (1794–1850) alias Murad *paşa*, Ludwik Bystrzonowski (1797–1878), Wojciech Chrzanowski (1793–1861), Michał Czajkowski (1804–1886) alias Sadik *paşa*, Henryk Dembiński (1791–1864), Karol Kniaziewicz (1762–1842) and lieutenant Ludwik Zierkowski-Lenoir (1830–1860); clergyman Walerian Kalinka (1826–1886); the journalists, writers and statesmen: Julian Klaczko (1825–1906), Teodor Morawski (1797–1879), Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841), Ludwik Plater (1775–1846), Karol Sienkiewicz (1793–1860) and Janusz Woronicz (1805–1874).

¹¹ Pekacz 1998–2004a.

¹² Cybowski 2016: 2–3.

principles, was set up in France in 1832 and activated until 1862.¹³ Using radical, republican, anti-aristocratic and anti-Czartoryski slogans and practices, the Polish Democratic Society had a less coagulated program than Hôtel Lambert.¹⁴ However, the democrats aimed certain aspects, which were: 1) restoration of the Polish state through their own forces, with no foreign aid; 2) preparation of the insurrection in Poland led by the emigration; 3) liberation and land allotment to the Polish peasants; 4) setting up a republican government in Poland.¹⁵

On the territory of the divided Poland the Polish People's Union was formed in clandestinity in the fourth decade of the 19th century, fighting to establish the republic, for national independence and for a final solution of the peasant issue by land allotment.

Yet the defeat of the Kraków republic determined numerous arrests in different places all over Russian Poland. The rebels were soon sentenced by war tribunals and thrown for two years in the prisons of the Warsaw citadel. When new revolutionary movements started in 1848, the Tsarist government considered it was high time to expedite the application of the sentencing pronounced by the military tribunals in 1846. During the night of 14–15 June 1848, 40 arrested persons, who had been convicted partly to hard labour in the mines of the Ural Mountains and partly to deportation to Siberia, were transported from the Warsaw citadel to the Modlin fortress, where four of them suffered an exemplary punishment: Mazaraki – who had been arrested in Magdeburg and delivered to the Russian authorities – was flogged with 1,000 stick strokes, Afons with 800, Wenda with 500 and Karasinski with 300 stick strokes. Mazaraki, after having received 800 strokes, could neither walk nor stand, so he was carried lying on a cart between the soldier lines to the place where he received the rest of his punishment. The Warsaw correspondent who transmitted this information to the Transylvanian Saxon newspaper “Der Siebenbürger Bote” from Sibiu on 1 July 1848 deplored Mazaraki's bad condition and feared he wouldn't survive. Further young Poles from the Warsaw Kingdom under Russian occupation took their way to Prussian Poznań in order to join the Polish troops which were gathering together. Instead they were arrested by the Tsarist military and deported to the Caucasus with lifelong effects.¹⁶

Although they were always in competition with each other, both groups belonging to the Polish Great Emigration got involved in the European revolutions starting with the Polish revolution of 1830–1831, going on with the 1846 rebellion in Galicia and Kraków and culminating with the 1848 revolutions in Paris, Vienna, Pest, and Bucureşti. In the same revolutionary year 1848, the Poles initiated a failed revolution in Lwów and uprisings in Galicia and Moldavia that never took place. Polish legions and commanders were also sent in all the above mentioned places as well as to Belgium, Portugal, Italy, Algeria and Egypt, to Serbia and Bulgaria, Constantinople and Syria. Recent approaches investigated the Polish emigration in the Orient, the dazzling conversions to Islam and the prodigious activity of the Poles in Turkey and Levant.¹⁷

¹³ Among its founders, there were the writers and statesmen Adam Gurowski (1805–1866), Jan Nepomucen Janowski (1803–1888), Tadeusz Krepowiecki (1798–1847), Ignacy Romuald Płuzański (1803–1879) and the priest monk Aleksander Kazimierz Pułaski (1800–1838).

¹⁴ Pekacz 1998–2004b.

¹⁵ Holban 1934: 326–330.

¹⁶ “Der Siebenbürger Bote”, Sibiu: 73, 21 July 1848, 296.

¹⁷ Zdanowski 2001: 445–455; Büyük 2013.



Map 1. Poland's triple partition (1772, 1793, 1795) between three great powers, its largest part being taken by Tsarist Russia, and smaller parts by Habsburg Austria and Prussia. Source: www.quora.com

2. Adam Czartoryski's Group in the Romanian Principalities (1836–1848)

The Romanian Principalities were a destination of interest for Czartoryski's policy, as shown by Nicolae Bocşan in an exceptional study. The much-regretted professor from Cluj (1947–2016) suggestively entitled his study 'Hôtel Lambert and the Romanians (1830–1865)',¹⁸ not only including the 20th century Polish and Romanian historiography on this topic, but also synthesizing the history of events and facts that reflect the bonds between the Romanians and the Great Emigration, catalyzed around the political and cultural movement promoted by prince Adam Czartoryski. Nicolae Bocşan asserted that, between 1833 and late 19th century, the Danubian Principalities occurred in all the plans of the Polish emigration for Poland's reconstruction, with advantages in favour of one or another group at various moments in time.¹⁹

¹⁸ Bocşan 2003: 177–201.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 179.

The parallel diplomacy implemented by prince Czartoryski in Wallachia and Moldavia was motivated by Polish considerations in the first place. Especially București was meant to be an important communication centre between Poland, Constantinople and Paris. At the same time, both Romanian Principalities served as a useful ground for Polish actions. Marcell Handelsmann stressed that if “the Poles wanted to succeed on the Danube, they were obliged to meddle in the Romanians’ affairs”.²⁰



Map 2. The Romanian Lands under three empires (19th century). Wallachia and Moldavia, autonomous principalities under Ottoman suzerainty and Russian protectorate (1829–1849). Bessarabia, part of Moldavia (before 1812), autonomous gubernia (1812–1828), part of the Russian gubernia of Novorussia and Bessarabia (1828–1849), southern Bessarabia (Budzak with Cahul, Ismail, Chilia) returned to Moldavia (1856). Transylvania, Great Autonomous Principality under Habsburg suzerainty (1765–1867). Further Romanian territories under direct Austrian suzerainty: Banat (1716–1867) and Bukovina (1774–1918), and under indirect Habsburg suzerainty, as incorporated by the Hungarian Kingdom: Maramureș, Crișana, Partium (until 1867). Source: Cosma 2016: 455.

In the second place, the roots of the Romanian national movement are to be sought in France, where the new intellectual elite made up of Wallachian and Moldavian *boyars*²¹

²⁰ Handelsmann 1933: 2. Quotation: “*les Polonais pour réussir sur le Danube étaient obligés de se mêler aux affaires roumaines*”.

²¹ The *boyars* (Romanian language: *boieri*) formed the land aristocracy of the Romanian Principalities. After 1830, as most of them followed up higher education in France, they developed national Romanian and Anti-Russian feelings, which turned them into national revolutionaries upon their return home. This was the generation of Romanian Forty-Eighters, who in 1859 achieved the United Principalities of Moldavia and

was fomented by philo-Romanian teachers like Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Hyppolite Desprez. In Paris the Romanian romantics and revolutionaries were also seduced by Czartoryski and his monarchists. Upon their return home they were followed by French and Polish friends in order to help them put into practice the revolutionary principles.



Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski

LE PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI.



Fig. 3. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, lithography in Germain Sarrut, Bourg Saint-Edme, *Biographie des hommes du jour* (Paris, 1836). Source: Sarrut and Bourg 1836: 405–408.

Fig. 4. M. Sadyk Pasha Beylerbey de Roumelie, chef de tous les Cosaques de l'Empire Ottoman, portrait of Michał Czaika Czajkowski alias Mehmet Sadik paşa, portrait by Antoni Oleszczyński, *Imprimerie F. Chardon* (Paris, cca 1857). Source: Wikipedia.

The Romanian national movement during 1833–1849, presented by a generous number of historical and historiographical writings,²² is not the aim of this study, but its connections with the much less known Polish emigration in the Romanian Principalities. In this respect, we can assert that, due to the significant Polish involvement, the Romanian revolutionaries developed their actions and methods of struggle. By cooperating with the representatives from Hôtel Lambert between 1838–1848, the Romanian national movement established the following alliances and principles:

- 1) rejection of the Russian protectorate set up in Wallachia and Moldavia (since 1829);
- 2) collaboration with the Ottoman Empire against Russia;

Wallachia called Romania since 1866.

²² See a few English titles: Jelavich 1984; Jelavich and Jelavich 1986; Bodea and Michelson (eds.) 2001; Michelson and Treptow (eds.) 2002; Cosma 2014: 18–89.

- 3) union of the two Romanian Principalities;
- 4) conclusion of the Romanian–Polish treaty (September 1839), achieved after the model of the treaty signed by Czartoryski with the Serbs;
- 5) appointment of a foreign prince to lead the unified Romanian Principalities, to put an end to the quarrels among *boyars*, an idea suggested to the Romanians by prince Czartoryski.²³

In 1835 Czartoryski wrote to his agent in Galicia, Brystrzonowski, that “Wallachia is today such a significant point, that we need someone [...] to be able to search minutely the entire country and to write an accurate report”.²⁴ Apparently Janusz Woronicz (1805–1874) was the required person, who - under the name of Carol Werner - sustained Hôtel Lambert in Wallachia between 1836–1841.

Aided by agent Woronicz, the Romanian opposition – united, on 1/13 November 1838,²⁵ around Ion Câmpineanu – adopted fundamental documents of the Romanian National Party: the Union and Independence Act (*Act de unire și independență*) and the Constitution Draft (*Proiectul de constituție*). Woronicz also orchestrated the Romanian–Polish treaty of 24 September 1839, by which Câmpineanu, assigned by the bishop of Buzău and by most of the Romanian nationalists, promised to provide Poland with armed aid against Russia. Woronicz undertook two missions in Moldavia (in January and February 1839), in order to persuade the ruling prince Mihail Sturdza to accept to store Polish weapons closer to Galicia.

Ion Câmpineanu (1798–1863), Wallachian *boyar* and colonel of the Romanian *militia* created under the Tsarist guidance and control, became indeed the chief of the Romanian National Party (*Partida Națională*) gathered around him in 1838. Accompanied by his friend Félix Colson, Câmpineanu undertook a large European diplomatic tour between April and December 1839 to Paris, London, again Paris and London and eventually, through Vienna, back to București. In July he visited the Polish agency in Paris and had long debates with prince Czartoryski. On 20 August 1839 the Teaching Society for the Romanian People (*Societatea pentru învățătura poporului român*) was constituted in the French capital; it aimed at the cultural and national regeneration of the Romanian people. In London, Câmpineanu explained the Romanians’ wishes and plans, asking for lord Palmerston’s help against Russia’s expansionism, but he received mere promises. Despite the vivid support for the Romanian cause offered to Ion Câmpineanu by Czartoryski himself and by his close associate, count Zamoyski, the diplomatic tour failed. On his return home, Câmpineanu was arrested by the Russians (in December 1839) and put into jail in the monasteries of Mărgineni (March 1840) and Plumbuita (August 1840), until he became seriously ill, when he was released (April 1841). Only in 1848 when the revolution

²³ Bocșan 2003: 180–182.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 179.

²⁵ The calendar day 1/13 November 1838 is indicated both in the Old Style of the Julian calendar (1 November 1838), which was in use during the 19th century in the Orthodox countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe including the Romanian Principalities, and in the New Style of the Gregorian calendar (13 November 1838), used by Central and Western Europeans. Thus, in 1838–1848 there was a difference of 12 days between Old Style and New Style.

succeeded in București, the provisional government made up of revolutionaries appointed him as minister of Justice. Ion Câmpineanu's connections with the Polish monarchists around Czartoryski have ample presentation in Romanian historiography.²⁶

P. P. Panaitescu considered the years 1837–1839 as “the high point of Romanian-Polish collaboration until the 1848 revolution”, emphasizing Hôtel Lambert's tight connections with the national opposition in Wallachia, but also its contacts with the Moldavian ruling prince.²⁷

As regards Woronicz, a revolutionary since his youth, as Sejm secretary (1830) he joined the rebellion of 1830–1831 in Poland. Then he emigrated to France, becoming secretary and agent of the Polish prince from Hôtel Lambert, receiving missions in București, Serbia and Turkey. Later, between 1839 and 1848, he became active as a journalist and editor of the monarchist movement's press organ, *Trzeci Maj*. After the 1848 revolution, he became involved in the Crimean war (1853–1856), fighting among the troops organized by Michał Czajkowski (*Sadık paşa*). He spent the last decades of his life as a French consul in Tulcea (1856–1874), near the Danube Delta in Ottoman Dobrudja.

Czartoryski's next emissaries in Wallachia, Lyszczyriski (Lyncz) - sent to Iași, București and Serbia in 1841 - and Ludwik Zierkowski (Lenoir) in 1842, did not manage to make the Romanians realize the prince's intention to achieve the unified Dacia. There was also a standing Polish agency in Dobrudja, namely in the town of Tulcea, led by Puławski (Ahmed-bey the Tartar), under the direct orders of Michał Czajkowski from Constantinople. On the other hand, Michał Budzyński was sent to Moldavia twice (in September–December 1845 and in 1846).²⁸

Anyway, between 1839 and 1848, after Ion Câmpineanu's arrest by the Tsarists, both the Romanian national movement in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Polish emigration sent by prince Czartoryski to the Principalities decreased, even if for different reasons. The Romanians applied to the underground organization of secret societies, like that of Mitică Filipescu and Jean-Alexandre Vaillant, who elaborated in București the “Carbonari Constitution” (*Constituția Cărbunarilor*), but were betrayed and arrested in 1840. The Romanian public prosecutor and revolutionary Filipescu died in prison in 1843 at the age of 35, while the French professor Vaillant was banished from the country (1841) and published in Paris (1844) a volume dedicated to the territory and people he called *La Roumanie*, in which he militated for the unity and unification of all Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian Romanians.²⁹ Another Wallachian secret society of 1843, Brotherhood (*Frăția*), managed to found a branch called the Romanian Students' Society (*Societatea studenților români*) in the capital city of France (1845). On the other hand, the Polish activists were highly involved in the revolutionary events unfolded in Kraków and Warsaw in 1846, so they abandoned the Romanian question for a while.

Then the main agent of Czartoryski's mission in the Orient, Michał Czaika Czajkowski, sent Piotr Butkiewicz as a diplomatic agent to Moldavia (on 20 April 1848).

²⁶ Bocșan 2003: 180–182.

²⁷ Panaitescu 1929: 21. Quotation: “*punctul culminant al colaborării româno-polone până la revoluția pașoptistă*”.

²⁸ Holban 1934: 331–337, 341–342.

²⁹ Vaillant 1844.

Under a false identity of an Alsatian merchant called Paul Blein or Paul Bodmer, he was to organize all the Poles from those territories, irrespective of their political party, and the Ruthenians in Moldavia living on the border with former Romanian Bukovina and Polish Galicia, provinces incorporated by the Austrians.

DE
L'ÉTAT PRÉSENT ET DE L'AVENIR
DES PRINCIPAUTÉS
DE
MOLDAVIE ET DE VALACHIE;
Suivies
DES TRAITÉS DE LA TURQUIE
Avec les Puissances Européennes,
Et d'une Carte des Pays Roumains,
PAR **FÉLIX COLSON.**

PARIS,
CHEZ A. POUGIN, LIBRAIRE,
Quai des Augustins, 49.
1839

LA ROMANIE
OU
HISTOIRE, LANGUE, LITTÉRATURE, GÉOGRAPHIE, STATISTIQUE
DES
PEUPLES DE LA LANGUE D'OR,
ARDIALIENS, VALLAQUES ET MOLDAVES,
résumés sous le nom
DE ROMANS,
PAR **J. A. VAILLANT,**
FOUNDEUR DE COLLÈGE LYCÉE DE SPIROBORO ET DE L'ÉCOLE GRATUITE DES FILLES;
EX-PROFESSEUR DE LANGUE POLONAISE A L'ÉCOLE NATIONALE DE SAINT-SAYE,
MEMBRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ORIENTALE DE FRANCE.

Fig. 5. Félix Colson, De l'état present et de l'avenir des Principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie (Paris, 1839). Source: Colson 1839.

Fig. 6. Jean-Alexandre Vaillant, La Romanie. Histoire, langue, littérature, orographie, statistique des peuples de la langue d'or, ardialiens, vallaques et moldaves résumés sur le nom de romans (Paris, 1844). Source: Vaillant 1844.

Later on, Butkiewicz left for București as an official agent of Hôtel Lambert to the provisional government in Wallachia. In this capacity, he militated for the union of the Romanian Principalities and instauration of the hereditary reign, according to his report sent to Czaykowski (on 27 July 1848).³⁰

Czartoryski himself sent the military agent Zablocki (on 20 July 1848) to Wallachia, to revolutionary Nicolae Bălcescu (1819–1852), who will be mentioned below. Upon his own request, Zablocki was appointed colonel in the Romanian army by the provisional

³⁰ Bocșan 2003: 184–187.

government in București and received approval to bring further Polish officers to train Romanian soldiers. Two artilleryists from Galicia, Tacki and Kielski, arrived in the capital of Wallachia and were placed under the command of Christian Tell (1808–1884). In August 1848, Czaikowski sent Puławski as a military instructor to Wallachia.

In the summer of 1847, Hôtel Lambert drafted a political report synthesizing the future strategy of the group, covering also the Romanian Principalities. Czartoryski negotiated directly with the Romanian leaders in Paris a programme with precise objectives stipulating, in Nicolae Bocșan's words, "the fusion of the Romanian revolution with the Polish revolution", the return of the Romanian revolutionary leaders to Romania in order to simultaneously ignite the revolution in the two countries, and France's direct support.³¹

During their journey from Köln-Hanover-Magdeburg (on 28 March 1848), two outstanding figures of the Wallachian revolution, Nicolae Bălcescu and Alexandru G. Golescu-Negru (1819–1881), met Adam Czartoryski. The idea to initiate the revolution simultaneously in the Polish and Romanian provinces was brought forward again and in addition to the French support, as the prince also promised the Romanian revolutionaries to send them a Polish diplomatic agent and a military instructor.³²

Nicolae Bălcescu (1819–1852) was the unquestionable ideologist of the Pan-Romanian 1848 Revolution. As a participant to Mitiță Filipescu's conspiracy (1840), he suffered a two-year imprisonment at the monastery of Mărgineni, where he became ill with tuberculosis. Upon his release (1841), Bălcescu together with Ion Ghica (1816–1897) and Christian Tell created the secret society Brotherhood (*Frăția*). They visited all Romanian Lands: Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat. In 1844–1848 Bălcescu edited together with August Treboniu Laurian (1810–1881) *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, a journal covering Pan-Romanian territory and history. Bălcescu involved himself in the French revolution (22 February 1848). From Paris he returned home to organize the Romanian revolution. Indeed, after 11 June 1848 Bălcescu was a Minister of Foreign Affairs for two days and a government secretary of the new revolutionary government in București. After the defeat of the Wallachian revolution through the joint Tsarist-Ottoman armed intervention, Bălcescu was arrested on 13 September 1848. He escaped to Transylvania, but the Habsburg authorities expelled him. In the first months of 1849 he fled through Trieste and Athens to Constantinople and Hungary.³³ In April 1849 in Debrecen he met the Hungarian governor Kossuth Lajos. Unaware of the real situation in Transylvania, Bălcescu mediated the simulated Pacification Project (*Proiect de pacificațiune*) in July 1849 between Kossuth and Avram Iancu, leader of the Romanian resistance army in the Transylvanian Western Carpathians. This compromise would cost numerous Romanians' lives due to Bălcescu's well-intended ignorance and Kossuth's treason. Bălcescu died in exile in Palermo at the age of 33. He intensively collaborated with Czartoryski and his monarchists, but refused to ally himself to the Polish democrats and especially to general Józef Zachariasz Bem.³⁴

In 1848, most of the Romanian revolutionaries from Wallachia rallied around the

³¹ *Ibid.* 185. Quotation: "combinarea revoluției române cu cea polonă".

³² Berindei 2011: 249.

³³ Isac 2008: 35–43.

³⁴ Cosma 2011: 145–157.

Hôtel Lambert group: Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Ghica, August Treboniu Laurian, Christian Tell, the brothers Golescu, Gheorghe Magheru (1802–1880), Ion Heliade Rădulescu (1802–1872); with the exception of C.A. Rosetti (1816–1885) and Cesar Bolliac (1813–1881), who were on the side of the Polish democrats.

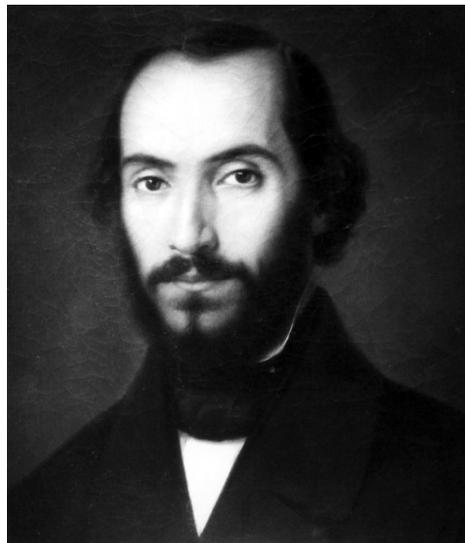


Fig. 7. Ion Cămpineanu, anonymous portrait (19th century).
Source: <https://www.lapunkt.ro/2015/12/ion-campineanu-sau-inceputurile/>

Fig. 8. Nicolae Bălcescu, portrait by Gheorghe Tătărescu (1851),
Romania's National Museum of Arts in București. Source: Wikipedia

Although, for ten years Czartoryski's party had been developing solid relations with the Romanian national movement organized by Cămpineanu (1838) and with the Romanian Students' Society in Paris (before the 1848 revolution), the 1848 provisional government and the princely lieutenancy (*locotenența domnească*) in București did not hesitate to negotiate with the opponent Polish party, even unsuccessfully.

In fact, in the 1848 revolution Czartoryski's group provided the Romanian Principalities both with diplomatic aid (through Butkiewicz and other agents from France and Turkey) and military aid (through Zablocki and a few Polish officers sent to train the Romanian army), but it did not manage to form an armed Polish corps³⁵ (as it happened in Hungary with democrat Józef Wysocki's Polish legion).

The final goal of prince Czartoryski's adherents was, like everywhere, in Wallachia and Moldavia, too, the independence of the Polish state. To this end, they always preferred diplomatic means, accepting revolution and insurrection only as the last resorts. The

³⁵ Bădina 1963: 61–62, 64.

national character of their fight was more important than the social one; a large social basis and land reforms were secondary questions.

3. The Polish Democrats in the Romanian Principalities (1832–1848)

The suppression of the revolutionary movement led by Edward Dembowski (1822–1846) increased the number of republican and radical Polish emigrants. Many of them fled to Moldavia.³⁶

Even a foreigner could notice that the Poles taking refuge in Moldavia became an international issue for the great powers. On 4 January 1847, French consul Codrika wrote from the Moldavian capital city Iași to his Foreign Affairs minister François Guizot that after beating out the Polish rebellion in Kraków (1846), the Tsarist and the Habsburg cabinets pursued the Poles in Moldavia. The same great powers that contributed to the abolishment of Republic of Kraków now turned their eyes towards the Romanian Principalities. On the pretext that Moldavia served as a refuge place for a certain number of Poles, whose representations had arisen their police's suspicion, the Russian and Austrian governments prescribed to their agents to double their surveillance and to send minatory notes to prince Sturdza.³⁷ Codrika had even received assurances that prince von Metternich threatened openly, stating in a *depêche* destined for communication, that if Moldavia continued to be “a core of cabals and plots he would not hesitate to treat it like Kraków is treated”.³⁸

However, Moldavia was quiet and there was no sign of riot that would justify such a treatment. Codrika critically observed that, while Galicia had become a prey “to the most terrifying turmoils”, neither in Moldavia's current situation, nor in its past situation was there anything justifying such a language. No stir had been made and nowhere happened a rally that was worrying for the tranquility of the nearby states. There were just “a few emissaries of Pan-Slavism”, “a few ill-fated who escaped the massacres from Galicia”, who had come over there to seek asylum.³⁹

³⁶ Holban 1934: 326, 330, 340; Bădina 1963: 62.

³⁷ Mihail Sturdza was the reigning prince in Moldavia between 1834 and 1849.

³⁸ Hodoș, Iorga (eds.) 1916: 1. “Après avoir consommé l’anéantissement de la République de Cracovie, les Cabinets qui ont coopéré à cet acte, tournent maintenant leurs regards vers les Principautés. Sous le prétexte que la Moldavie sert de refuge à un certain nombre de Polonais, dont les démarches auraient éveillé les soupçons de leurs polices, les gouvernements Russe et Autrichien viennent de prescrire à leurs Agents, de redoubler de surveillance et d’adresser au Prince Stourdza, des représentations menaçantes. L’on m’assure même, (la source d’où je tiens ces informations m’en garantit l’authenticité), que le Prince de Metternich est allé jusqu’à déclarer, dans une *depêche* destinée à être communiquée, que si la Moldavie continue à être un foyer d’intrigues et de complots, on ne balancerait point à la traiter comme en vient de traiter Cracovie.” The original document has been also published in Romanian translation, in: Cosma, Deteșan, Sficalin-Colin and Onilov (eds.) 2013: 25–27.

³⁹ Hodoș, Iorga (eds.), *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. XVIII, 1. “Cependant, rien dans la situation actuelle du pays, ni dans ce qui s’y est passé, tandis que la Gallicie était livrée aux plus effroyables désordres, ne peut motiver un semblable langage; aucun agitation n’y a pris naissance, nulle part il ne s’y est formé des rassemblements inquiétants, pour la tranquillité des Etats limitrophes. Si quelques émissaires du Panlavisme s’y sont montrés, si quelques infortunes, échappés aux massacres de la Gallicie, y ont cherché

Moreover, Russians and Austrians intended to launch an intervention in Moldavia, even though the country was peaceful and there was no reason for a foreign interference. The French consul realized that this was only a pretense used by the two great powers, to break the inviolability of an autonomous state such as Moldavia. The manipulation went so far that exactly the Polish victims of the real aggressors were turned into instruments for a new oppression:

“Therefore, not in the fears based on the presence of an actual danger is to be sought the cause for the attitude of the two powers towards a principality that is dependent on a friendly power. We are inclined to ascribe it to a hidden project testing or maybe creating, when needed, the plea for a direct intervention.”⁴⁰

An aggravating factor of the danger, ascertained Codrîka, was especially that the Poles, whose presence motivated such force demonstrations and most of whom had Russian or Austrian passports, bewared by the inviolability assured to them, could become, before they knew it, instruments of the very great power that was really interested in giving rise to troubles.⁴¹

One year later, on 24 February 1848, the “gendarme of Europe”, as tsar Nicholas I was surnamed, issued an *ukase* (imperial order) to the Russian army to get prepared for war, recruitments, military training and for an actual intervention against anarchy in Eastern Europe.⁴²

The tsar showed much caution as his *ukase* came out two days after the revolutionary outbreak in Paris (22 February) and it preceded the outburst in March 1848 of the revolutions in Vienna and Pest, not to mention the Romanians’ revolution that broke out in May 1848 (in Blaj, Transylvania) and June 1848 (in Izlaz and București, in Wallachia), while the Russian control in Moldavia managed to restrict the rebellion to a “mini-revolution” in Iași (27–30 March 1848). So, before any revolutionary attempt had taken place, the tsar’s February 1848 *ukase* proved that the dice were already cast as far as

un asile, l'autorité locale n'a pas cessé d'avoir les yeux sur leur conduite.”

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1. “*Ce n'est donc pas des craintes, fondées sur la présence d'un danger réel, qu'il faut chercher la cause de l'attitude, que ces deux puissances viennent de prendre vis-à-vis d'une principauté dépendante d'un pays ami, et l'on est conduit à l'attribuer au dessein arrêté, de chercher ou peut-être de faire naître, au besoin, le prétexte d'une intervention directe.*”

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1. “*Ce n'est donc pas des craintes, fondées sur la présence d'un danger réel, qu'il faut chercher la cause de l'attitude, que ces deux puissances viennent de prendre vis-à-vis d'une principauté dépendante d'un pays ami, et l'on est conduit à l'attribuer au dessein arrêté, de chercher ou peut-être de faire naître, au besoin, le prétexte d'une intervention directe; et ce qui aggrave singulièrement de danger, c'est que les individus, dont la présence a motivé ces démonstrations, et qui pour la plupart sont porteurs de passeports Russes ou Autrichiens, peuvent, à l'abri de l'inviolabilité qui leur est assurée, devenir à leur insu instruments d'un [...] intéressé à provoquer des troubles.*”

⁴² “*Journal d'Odessa*”, Odessa: 21, 12/24 March 1848, 87–88. The *ukase* of 24 February 1848 was published in French and Romanian translation, in: Cosma, Deteșan, Stîcalin-Colin and Onilov (eds.) 2013: 32–35. “*Il est survenu dans l'ouest de l'Europe des événements qui annoncent une tendance criminelle à renverser les pouvoirs légitimes. Les traités d'amitié et les conventions qui unissent la Russie aux puissances voisines Nous font un devoir sacré d'aviser, en tems opportun, aux mesures nécessaires pour mettre sur pied de guerre une partie de Nos troupes, afin d'être a même, si les circonstances venaient à l'exiger, d'opposer une forte digue torrent destructeur de l'anarchie.*”

Moldavia's imminent occupation by Russian military was concerned.

4. Faustyn Filanowicz and the Polish South Legion (1841–1848)

The Polish emigration – especially its democrat wing – was quite militant in Moldavia. Here, the Polish democrats were led by Faustyn Filanowicz. Born in Jaryszew (Podolia), as a former lieutenant in the insurgence troops and also a member of the Podolian government (1833), Filanowicz was awarded the Grand Cordon (*Grand croix argent à la classe de chevalier*) by general Skrzynecki.⁴³ After his possessions had been confiscated, Filanowicz arrived in Iași in 1841 under the name of Moston and took over the leadership of the Polish democrats. In 1844 Filanowicz was replaced as the leader of the democrats by Teofil Wiśniowski, who left Moldavia in 1846 to fight in the Kraków revolution, where he was apprehended and executed. After Wiśniowski's death, Filanowicz came again to the leading position as a representative of the Polish National Committee. He held several passports under the names of Prevel, Faustain Filimonov, Faustin Filianovici.

T. Holban criticized Filanowicz's extremely radical views because, "too heated by his republican ideas" (*prea aprins de ideile sale republicane*), he would often gather his partisans by terror. The Poles in Moldavia who sympathized with the monarchists were watched and, in many cases, executed.⁴⁴ His intransigent attitude towards the democrat Poles flirting with the opposition results from the case of the republican Władysław (Ladislas) Poniatowski, who – suspected of treason and deviation towards Czartoryski's monarchists – was sentenced to death by Filanowicz in 1847, but managed to escape alive.

In 1847 Filanowicz made a trip to Kiev and Camenitz to prepare the peasants' riot that was supposed to burst out at the same time with the movement prepared in Moldavia. As a result of his undertakings, the authorities saw an increased dynamics of the population on the Galician–Moldavian border as many Poles came to the Principality of Moldavia to support Poland's resurrection, while others returned to Galicia. Monarchist Butkiewicz wrote to Czaykowski on 10 May 1848 that there were 500 Poles only in Iași under the influence of the democrats.

Faustyn Filanowicz's probably biggest achievement in Moldavia was the Polish South Legion set up in 1842, in which not only Poles enrolled, but also Moldavians, with about 30 officers. The Polish legionaries were instructed and trained to enter Galicia at the revolutionary outburst.⁴⁵

Between 1844 and 1846 Teofil Wiśniowski (1806–1847) replaced the much too fierce Faustyn Filanowicz as the leader of the Polish democrats in Moldavia. Until then Wiśniowski had taken part in the November uprising (Polish-Russian war) of 1830–1831,

⁴³ De Tabasz Krosnowski 1846: 100; Gluchowski [Józef Bem] 1837: 394.

⁴⁴ Holban 1934: 330. "*Prea aprins de ideile sale republicane [...] de multe ori își aduna partizanii prin teroare. Polonii din Moldova, cari simpatisau cu monarhiștii, erau urmăriți și de multe ori executați.*"

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 340. It is not beside the point to mention that among the most active Polish officers in Moldavia since 1842 there were the following: L. Cwek, Karol Gelal-Mankowski, Lukasz, Gilarje, Ksiezopolski, Kamiński, A. Gromowski, J. Gurecki, N. Śliwiński, Ipolit Legro, Kowalski, Osin Wkodarski, Alexandrowicz, Lackowski, Makowski, Rybczyński, Mroczkowski, Golebicki, Gybulski, Chrzanowski, Bartoszewski, Ptaszyński, Myszakowski, brothers Lukaszjewicz, A. Papucyński, J. Loga, A. Zagurski etc.

when he first tried to make the junction between the revolutionaries from Russian Poland and those from Austrian Galicia. By 1833–1835 he had already become one of the most active Galician conspirators alongside with Robert Chmielewski, Lesław Łukaszewicz, Alois Tworowski, Thomas Malinowski, Faustin Filanowicz. In 1838 he left for France, where he joined the Polish Democratic Society unfolding until 1844 a vivid activity as secretary of the democrats' central organization. After the Moldavian episode of 1844–1846, Wiśniowski went on a mission to Austrian Poland, using various names as: Karl Duval, Winnicki, Dąbrowski, Zagórski. In 1846 he was appointed commander of the Galician rebels and president of the revolutionary court. He was captured by a Ruthenian peasant, delivered to the Habsburgs (3 March 1846), sentenced to death (10 September 1846) and executed near Lwów (31 July 1847).⁴⁶



Fig. 9. Banner of the Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie) after 1832, with the inscription: wolność, równość, braterstwo (liberty, equality, fraternity). Source: Wikipedia.

Fig. 10. Théophile Wiśniowski, Martyre de la Cause Polonaise, exécuté à Leopold par ordre de l'Autriche le 31 Juillet 1847, portrait (1850), Bildarchiv – Porträtsammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Source: Wikipedia.

In Moldavia, Filanowicz again took over command.⁴⁷ After the defeat of the Galician uprising (1846), the Polish exodus in Moldavia increased the number of Filanowicz's

⁴⁶ 'Wisniowski, Theophil', in: von Wurzbach 1889: 130.

⁴⁷ Holban 1934: 340.

democrats. On the eve of the Romanian revolution of 1848, the members of the Polish legion were prepared to turn into a shock force, able to topple the regime of the Moldavian reigning prince Mihail Sturdza. But they were also determined to initiate a new uprising in Galicia after the defeat from 1846 by establishing the so-called “Eastern Legion of the Polish Republic” (*östliche Legion der polnischen Republik*). Recruitments were made to this end in Galicia and among the leaders of the wishful East Legion there were nominated the Galician Polish democrats Carl Hölzl, Anton Kamiński, Andreas Grotowski and former Habsburg major Stanisław Bagiński, all of them closely connected to Faustin Filanowicz.⁴⁸

As regards the Polish South Legion, it was created in 1842 in the Danubian town Galați and it was supported by the Romanian boyars Gheorghe and Costache Moruzi, Costache Sturza, Grigore and Dimitrie Cantacuzino. Its first commander was Ioan Loga, Radziszewski by his real name or Jean Logea by his nickname, who acted as Faustyn Filanowicz’s agent. Loga brought from Galicia 72 craftsmen (1842), forming the core of the Polish battalion in Moldavia. Their goal was, of course, to liberate Galicia. In 1845, Loga left Galați for Iași to organize the insurrection. Meanwhile, he was replaced at the legion’s command by Wiśniowski. After Teofil Wiśniowski’s departure and death (1846–1847), the command of the Polish legionaries was again assumed by Ioan Loga and the leadership of the Polish democrats by Faustin Filanowicz. In early 1848, the Polish military led by Loga closed ranks again in the camp from Grozești (today Oituz, in Bacău county), where trainings and cannons were made. They intended to remove Mihail Sturdza’s regime and to trigger the uprising in Galicia.⁴⁹

Between April and August of 1848, the camp of the South Legion was established in Grozești, near Onești, in Southern Moldavia. The Poles armed themselves with financial support of the boyar brothers Leon and Gheorghe Cantacuzino, members of the Romanian revolutionary movement. The Poles had their own tricolour flag with a white eagle on a red field bearing the inscriptions: *Legia Potudniowa Pospolitey Polskiej* (South Legion of the Polish Republic) and *wolność, równość, niepodległość, braterstwo* (liberty, equality, independence, fraternity). Later on, the flag of the so-called Polish South Legion was captured by Russians.⁵⁰

The Sibiu *Siebenbürger Bote* reproduced news from Iași, relating that “Alexandru Aslan, a rich landowner from Bacău county, had proclaimed Sturdza’s subversion and Moldavia’s liberty and had raised the national flag in the name of the constitution that had been triumphantly adopted in București.”⁵¹ The report showed that the Moldavian boyar Aslan, another main sponsor of the Polish South Legion, was a promoter of the general

⁴⁸ Lwów (Lemberg), 24 May 1851, president of the criminal court and provisional general prosecutor (*Strafgerichtsvorsteher und provisorischer Generalprokurator*) Pohlberg to the Austrian minister of Justice, ‘Über die galizischen Umtriebe des Jahres 1848 und die Aufstands-Ereignisse des 1/2 November 1848 in Lemberg’ (About the Galician cabals of the year 1848 and the revolutionary events from 1/2 November 1848 in Lwów). Levickij 1898: 22–23.

⁴⁹ Ionescu 1963: 83; Bădina 1963: 68–69.

⁵⁰ Cosma, Onilov, Sticalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 57, 232.

⁵¹ “Der Siebenbürger Bote”, Sibiu: 81, 9 August 1848, 328. “*Alexander Aslan, ein reicher Gutsbesitzer im Distrikte Bakeu, daselbst Sturdza’s Entfernung und die Freiheit der Moldau proklamirt und die Nationalfahne im Namen der zu Bukurest im Triumphe eingeführten Konstitution aufgepflanzt hatte.*”

revolution in both Romanian Principalities and that Loga's armed Poles were ready to fight for the Romanian cause.



Map 3. Russian military map of Moldavia and Wallachia's mountain areas on the Transylvanian border (1848), realized by *Oberquartiermeister* colonel Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitskiy.

Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow, Fund 846, Opis 16, File 3285, leaf 129.

Map scanned by the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow (per contract no. 520/ 3 October 2012), with no restrictions of copyright and publication. Cosma, Deteșan, Sficalin-Colin and Onilov (eds.) 2012: 282.

Source: Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow.

As a matter of fact, the Polish detachment was expected to come to Wallachia to support the revolutionary government. Indeed, the revolutionary provisional government in București got in touch with Filanowicz by sending a letter to the Polish National Committee through Eugen Podhayski on 3 July 1848. Filanowicz replied immediately to the provisional government manifesting skepticism about the potential insurrection in Moldavia and asked for an emissary of the Wallachian revolutionaries in Iași. On 23–28 July 1848 the government assigned Sanders, an emissary with English passport, also known as Siandres, to contact the Poles enlisted in the Russian army that occupied Moldavia.

According to information received from Wallachia on 20 August 1848, the Russians who occupied Moldavia concluded that day by day both anarchy in the country and the number of Transylvanian, Hungarian, German, but especially Polish “vagabonds” (*бродягов*) increased, “with no roof and no food, no faith and respect”.⁵² The foreign refugees to

⁵² Cosma, Onilov, Sficalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 206. *Oberquartiermeister* lieutenant-colonel Komarov, Alexander Visarionovich. ‘Continuation of the general diary about the march of the avantguard

Wallachia were also labelled as “parvenu immigrants and vagabonds of different nations”.⁵³ Towards the end of August, the Russian military received notes from Bârlad, indicating that numerous Poles with passports, but also inhabitants from Moldavia took flight to Wallachia.⁵⁴

Just like after the Kraków revolution of 1846, as the consul of France in Iași had noticed, in 1848, too, the Russians used the Polish danger in Moldavia preventively in order to suppress potential anarchy and to guise the Tsarist military occupation of the autonomous principality. The *dépêche* (dispatch) of 27 June 1848 sent by Russian chancellor Nesselrode to the Tsarist extraordinary commissioner in the Romanian Principalities, general Duhamel, touched the measures in force that were to be taken by the Tsarists against the Polish emissaries in Moldavia, who had to be arrested in Bârlad and to be sent under escort to Russia. In order to investigate the apparition of such emissaries, Cossack patrols were sent out towards the Siret River, along the roads leading to the towns of Central and Southern Moldavia: Roman, Bacău, Adjutul Nou, Tecuci, Iași and Galați. By 15 July 1848, general Duhamel warned general Gerstenzweig, commander of the Tsarist vanguard, who was ready to cross the border line of the Prut river from Russian Bessarabia, that a general conspiracy was woven all over the Moldavian territory, aiming to topple Sturdza’s reign.⁵⁵

On 8 August 1848, Daniil Alexandrovich Gerstenzweig ordered lieutenant-general Gustav Hristianovich Hasford, who was in charge, to replace him at the command of the Russian vanguard over the Prut river, to arrest the Polish emissaries in Moldavia and send them to Russia under escort, keeping a strict watch and without drawing the attention and the protests of the foreign consuls against such an unrightful procedure. On 13 August 1848, Hasford received from the chief of the Moldavian militia a letter of the Romanian commander from Oituz, a boundary point on the Transylvanian frontier. The letter showed that by the mountain Ploșnița (*горе Плошнице*), near the locality of Grozești, about 40 armed men, most of them Poles, had appeared. The Russian commander Hasford sent immediately against them 2 *sotnias* (*сотни*)⁵⁶ from the regiment of the Don Cossacks no. 43 and on the same day he wrote to general commander of the entire 5th corps of the Tsarist intervention army, general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders, asking him to approve and send a Russian detachment to liquidate the Poles and temper the Moldavians. On 14 August, Lüders issued indeed the order of sending a smaller cavalry unit beyond the Siret, on the Trotuș valley and along the roads leading from Târgu Ocna to Bacău and Adjud. The official mission of this unit was apparently not to follow the Polish emissaries, but to exert moral influence upon the population at the emerging Russian troops.⁵⁷ Thus, the Poles’ presence was a good

detachment in the Principality of Moldavia’ between 13 August and 15 September 1848 (Russian language), Moldavia, 15 September 1848, in: Russian State Military-Historical Archive, Moscow, Funds 846 (abbreviated: RSMHA, 846), Opis II, File 5332, 160–185.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 48–49, 51, 184, 195. *Oberquartiermeister* lieutenant-colonel Komarov. ‘Continuation of the general diary of the avantguard detachment troops’ between 28 June and 13 August 1848 (Russian language), Leova, 31 August 1848, in: RSMHA, 846, Opis II, File 5332, Military-Historical Archive no. 605 and Military-Scientific Archive of the Main Command of the General Headquarters, Department 2, no. 3285 (6), cabinet 115, shelf 1, 28–64. Quotation: “*niște parveniți imigranți și vagabonzi de națiuni diferite*”.

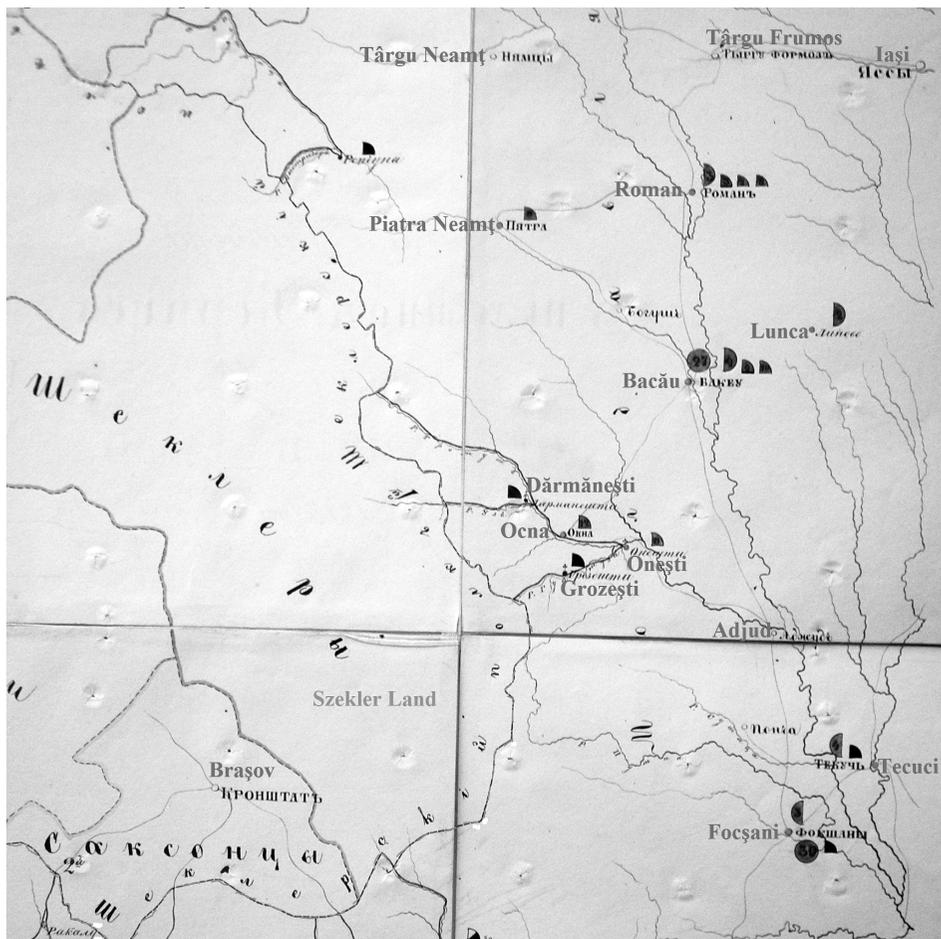
⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 51, 214.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 40, 179–180.

⁵⁶ A *sotnia* (*сотня*) was a unit of about 100 Cossacks.

⁵⁷ Cosma, Onilov, Sticalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 46–47.

opportunity for the Russians to push their way through a land that needed no appeasement.



Map 4. Fragment from map 3, including the Moldavian settlements lying within the incidence and scope of the Polish South Legion (1848). Source: Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow.

On 26 August, headquarters lieutenant (*поручик*) Dratchevski reported to lieutenant-general Hasford about his scout mission. On 17 August at 5 p.m. he had arrived in the village Ploscuțeni with 2 Cossack *sotnias*, then he crossed the river Siret at the Burcioaia ford and moved forward towards Adjudul-Nou. Next day he headed to Grozești, but going along the Trotuș valley, in the village Negoiești, his pioneer soldier (*провизатор*) confirmed the existence of a rebellious band on mount Ploșnița near Grozești on prince Dimitrie Cantacuzino's estate. According to the *vornic*⁵⁸ of the village Grozești and to Sava, chief of

⁵⁸ The *vornic* was a rural official in the administration of the Romanian villages responsible for the distribution of correspondence, convening the villagers to local assemblies, giving news to the public.

the Moldavian boundary point in Oituz, who came to meet the Tsarist military, some rebels, hearing about the approach of the Cossacks, had shortly before run away from Grozești to the mountains. Among the fugitives there was even the intendent of prince Cantacuzino's estate, a certain Karl Schmidt (*Kapł Illmum*). It was impossible to cross by night "the insurmountable woods and places of the Carpathians" (*pădurile și locurile de netrecut ale Carpaților*), so tracking the runaways was postponed. Several inhabitants interrogated by Dratchevski confessed that 60 rebels had gathered on the Ploșnița mountain. Among them, most of the Poles and a part of the Hungarians were armed with double-barreled shotguns and additionally with pistols and swords. Some of them descended during the day to Grozești, passing themselves as workers at the neighbouring glass factory, which also belonged to prince Dimitrie Cantacuzino, landowner of this locality, who lived there at that moment. The rebels' commander Karl, whom they called their captain, as the prince's intendent, spent his nights in the village with his family and he recruited men for this band. Boyar Aslan, owner of the market Onești, sent daily carts loaded with food for the rebels. The armed band trained all day long, practicing and shooting. Schmidt did not return to the village that night, so he escaped to the Russians, instead the villagers sent on mount Ploșnița were captured by the rebels.⁵⁹

Captain Karl Schmidt's real name was Kashenski or Kashinski, and he was a Pole.⁶⁰

As regards boyar Alecu Aslan, former *hatman* (commander in the Moldavian army), owner of the commune Onești, for his support given between April and August 1848 to the Polish South Legion in Grozești, he was punished by the Moldavian government by being dismissed from his office (8 June), banished at his estate and forbidden to write letters or receive guests (July 1848). On 2 February 1849, general Lüdgers himself required Aslan's arrestment and on 6 February Mihail Sturdza issued a princely charge against him. From his manor in Onești Alecu Aslan was surprisingly arrested on 14 February 1849 by 200 armed soldiers or otherwise he would have defended himself as he was well-armed. He was imprisoned at the monastery Cașin in Bacău district. His wife who was six months pregnant got sick and died of grief at the age of 34, leaving behind seven small children. On 22 March 1849 Gheorghe Cărstescu, Aslan's brother-in-law and his wife's brother, begged prince Sturdza to release the prisoner, who was very ill, too, as after their mother's death his children were left without caring. On 25 March, Lüdgers asked the reigning prince to liberate Aslan from Cașin, but to proscribe him in a place far from the border.⁶¹

In Moldavia, an attempt of uprising was seen on 3 August 1848 due to the Polish democrats. A "pool of Polish rioters" (*o șaică a turburătorilor polonezi*), as a document reported, namely 113 armed people – coming by foot or by horse, under the command of Gheorghe Scarlati, that is Charles de Palle, who had recruited Poles from Galați in 1842 and having as second commander, apparently, Filanowicz himself, under another name, went to Grozești (on 20 August 1848). Then, the Poles from Grozești came to Bârlad through the counties of Bacău (4 September 1848) and Putna, crossing the Vrancea mountains and the Buzău mountains, arriving to the monastery of Vintilă Vodă (on 14 September 1848), in Wallachia.

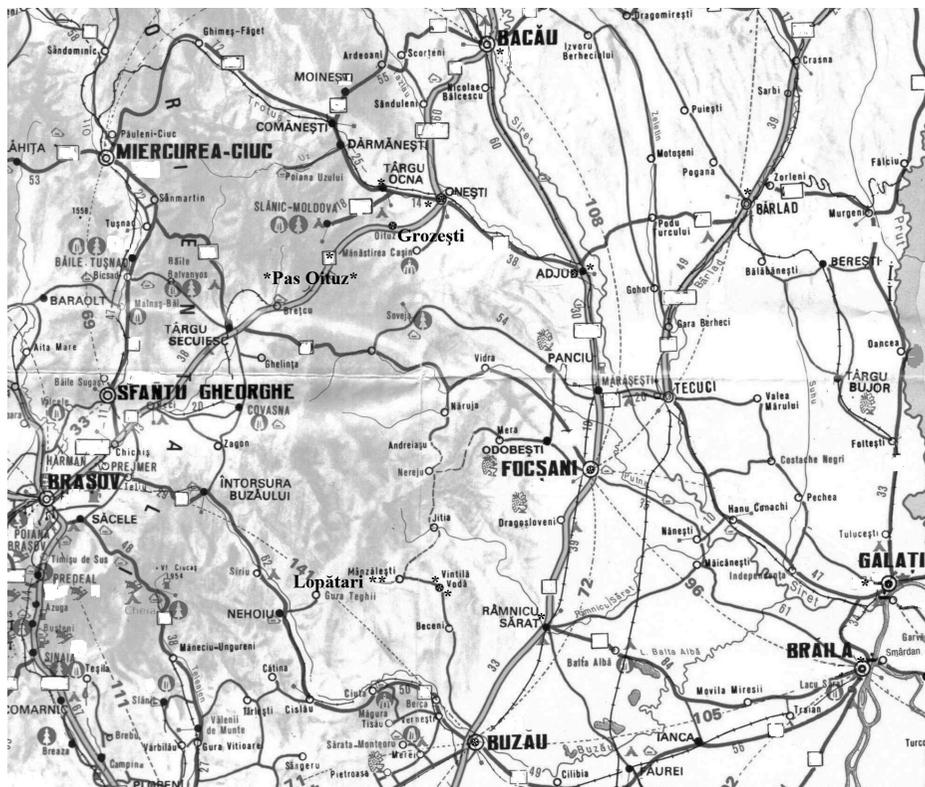
⁵⁹ Cosma, Onilov, Stîcalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 44, 200–201, 208–209.

⁶⁰ Bădina 1963: 68.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 71.

Upon learning out about the fall of the Wallachian revolution the detachment of Poles went to Lopătari in the Buzău county, where they wanted to cross the Carpathians towards Transylvania. Romanian historians show that, between 22 and 30 September 1848, with the help of the Tsarist army, the legion was scattered and destroyed. 35 Poles were arrested and sent to Bessarabia, then to Russia, while the Romanians taken under arrest were put in prison in Buzău. Other Poles managed to flee in Transylvania, where, later on, they enrolled in Bem's army.⁶²

However, the Tsarist military campaign diary we analyzed reveals a larger involvement of the Russian military in the dissipation and even eradication of the Polish South Legion in Moldavia. The Russian *Oberquartiermeister* colonel (полковник) Artur Adamovitch Nepokojchitsky himself mentioned in the campaign diary that, in the first week of September 1848, at the monastery Vintilă-Vodă in Buzău district, there had arrived a band of 200 Poles, Hungarians and other nations, partly formed from those who had fled from the surroundings of Grozești and were chased by the Russian Cossacks.⁶³



Map 5. Detailed geographical map of South-Western Moldavia and North-Eastern Wallachia, in 1848 operational area for the Polish South Legion. Fragment from Romania 2006. Source: E. Cosma.

⁶² Holban 1934: 340–341; Bădina 1963: 64–78; Bocșan 2003: 183–184, 189–190.

⁶³ Cosma, Onilov, Sticalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 53, 219.

When the 5th corps of the Tsarist army led by general commander Lüders entered Wallachia at Focșani in mid September 1848, here still existed two revolutionary outbreaks. The rebellion was fulminating in Oltenia (Small Wallachia), while in the Focșani district there still lingered a part of the fugitive rebels from the woods of Grozești.

With 4 *sotnias* of Cossacks colonel Skariatin followed “a band of Poles” counting 56 men to Popești, arriving in Râmnicu Sărat on 17 September 1848. Skariatin arrested the local chief of the Romanian national revolutionary troops, Perețianu, who commanded over 75 men. On 18 September Skariatin came to the village Fundeni, where he found out that the Polish band was on its way to the Vintilă-Vodă monastery. On 19 September 30 Poles, armed with swords, rifles and pistols, were caught in Lopătari by under-lieutenant Churbakov (Чурбаков) with 21 hunter Cossacks. Seven Poles were killed, six were injured and 20 were sent to Buzău.

From the Russians’ interrogatory it resulted that “F. Faustin” (Faustyn Filanowicz), surnamed the Old Man (*Старым*), had come from Galicia to Moldavia. He was a prominent member of the Polish emigration, who, helped by his agents Kashenski, Hiler (Tilich) and Loga (*Кашенского, Гиляри и Логи*), seduced 72 craftsmen from Galicia. With all these people “Faustin” was going to form a Polish battalion in Moldavia with the aim of liberating his home province. On this occasion the Tsarists also captured the democrats’ tricolour flag featuring the inscription of the Polish South Legion. The Galician Polish prisoners were sent to Bessarabia and put under governor Pavel Ivanovich Feodorov’s surveillance, while the arrested Romanians were thrown into the jail of Buzău.⁶⁴

If Kashenski and Loga were mentioned above, the third among Filanowicz’s agents specified by the Tsarists was Hiler, in fact architect Franz Tilich, who had come from Bukovina to Moldavia in April 1848 together with 75 Poles under the pretence of building a hospital in Târgu Neamț. Among these Poles, there were also Franz Tilich’s two sons and his brother Carl Tilich with his three sons. The Tilichs formed the personal guard of the princely brothers Leon and Gheorghe Cantacuzino, sponsors of the Polish South Legion on the Cantacuzino estate in Grozești (April–August 1848).⁶⁵

Although the Poles were already scattered, the echo of the danger represented by them haunted the authorities. For instance, Wallachian *kaimakam* Constantin Cantacuzino⁶⁶ complained to the Russians that a group of 113 Poles intended to cross the mountain roads and to come over from Moldavia to Wallachia. That is why, in the first half of October 1848, colonel Wranken, a Tsarist commander of the region from Buzău to Focșani, was ordered to check this information and, if it turned out to be true, he had to arrest the group of Poles. At the beginning of November 1848 the latest news indicated that in the mountain area of Moldavia there were still Poles who split into two groups in order to cross the Carpathians to Transylvania.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 56–57, 230–232. *Oberquartiermeister* colonel Nepokojchitski, Artur Adamovich. ‘Historical-military diary on the actions of the 5th infantry corps in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia’ between 8 and 25 September 1848 (Russian language), Buzău, 25 September 1848, RSMHA, 846, Opus II, File 5332, 74–88v.

⁶⁵ Bădina 1963: 68–69.

⁶⁶ Constantin Cantacuzino was *kaimakam* of Wallachia and Small Wallachia (Oltenia) between 10 and 12 July 1848, 9 August and 25 September 1848, 26 September 1848 and June 1849.

⁶⁷ Cosma, Onilov, Sticalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 70, 287. *Aide de camp* lieutenant-colonel Glebov and

Faustyn Filanowicz managed to flee beyond the Carpathians. But not for long the Polish democrat with strong Anti-Russian views found refuge in Transylvania, “where, ironically, he was executed by the Hungarian authorities under the mistaken assumption that he was a Russian spy” (Angela Jianu).⁶⁸

The Russians “granted” a special status to the Poles arrested in the Romanian Principalities, in Transylvania or Hungary, deporting them to the Russian Empire. Maybe deliberately, the Tsarist military documents did not mention the proper deportation places. We only know that the Romanian revolutionary prince Constantin Moruzi, great boyar and landowner, with estates on both banks of the Prut River in Moldavia and Bessarabia, charged of conspiracy in 1848, was arrested, imprisoned, then deported by the Russians to the gubernia Ekaterinoslav on the Dnieper River southeast of Kiev, from where he never came back to Moldavia.⁶⁹

At the end of the war on 11 August 1849 lieutenant-general Mihail Dmitrievich Gorchakov, chief of the General Headquarters of the entire Russian operative army, transmitted fieldmarshall Ivan Feodorovich Paskievich’s order to send to Russia only those Poles who were Tsarist subjects.⁷⁰

T. Holban considered that, after the dispersal of the Polish South Legion in 1848, the Russians eradicated any further activity of the Polish democrats in Moldavia.⁷¹ However, there are less known chapters of Polish-Romanian collaboration worth to be investigated. It is the case of Zygmunt Miłkowski (1824–1915), whose literary pen name was Tomasz Teodor Jez. As a lieutenant in the Polish Legion, he fought in Hungary in 1848–1849, then he joined the Polish Democratic Society in 1850 in England. Between 1851 and 1855 Zygmunt Fortunat Miłkowski came to the Romanian Principalities several times, at first to Moldavia in 1851 as an agent of the Central Committee of European Democracy. During the Crimean War (1853–1856), but before 1855 he attempted to form a Polish legion in the Balkans. “Later, he stayed in Wallachia then left for Serbia and wandered through Bulgaria disguised as a beggar.” (Marek Adamiec) During the Polish uprising in 1863, as he became commander of the rebels’ army in Ruthenia (today Ukraine), he formed an insurgent troop in Tulcea that was to enter Russia through Romania’s territory. But his troop was disarmed by Romanians. After failing to organize a Slavo-Hungarian uprising against Austria, Miłkowski was imprisoned by Austrians in Lwów, spent the years 1864–1866 in Belgrade and then emigrated for good to Western Europe and the USA.⁷² No research has been conducted on Miłkowski’s activity in Moldavia, Wallachia and Ottoman Dobrudja.

Oberquartiermeister colonel Nepokojchitski. ‘Continuation of the historical-military diary’ between 2 and 9 November 1848 (Russian language), București, 9 November 1848, RSMHA, 846, Opus II, File 5332, 128–134v.

⁶⁸ Jianu 2011: 98.

⁶⁹ Cosma 2016: 97.

⁷⁰ Cosma, Onilov, Sticalin-Colin and Stykalin (eds.) 2017: 111, 408. *Oberquartiermeister* colonel Nepokojchitski. ‘Continuation of the diary of the military troops of the 5th infantry corps, that participated to the repression of the Hungarian mutineers in Transylvania’ between 3 August and 1 September 1849 (Russian language), 1 September 1849, RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5357, 340–368.

⁷¹ Holban 1934: 341.

⁷² Adamiec 2017.

5. Conclusions regarding the Polish Emigration in the Romanian Principalities (1833–1849)

The Great Polish Emigration is a major phenomenon with deep implications for modern global history. It significantly contributed to the revolutionary ideology, diplomacy and warfare of many nations. Our case study insists on the far-reaching Polish influence in the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

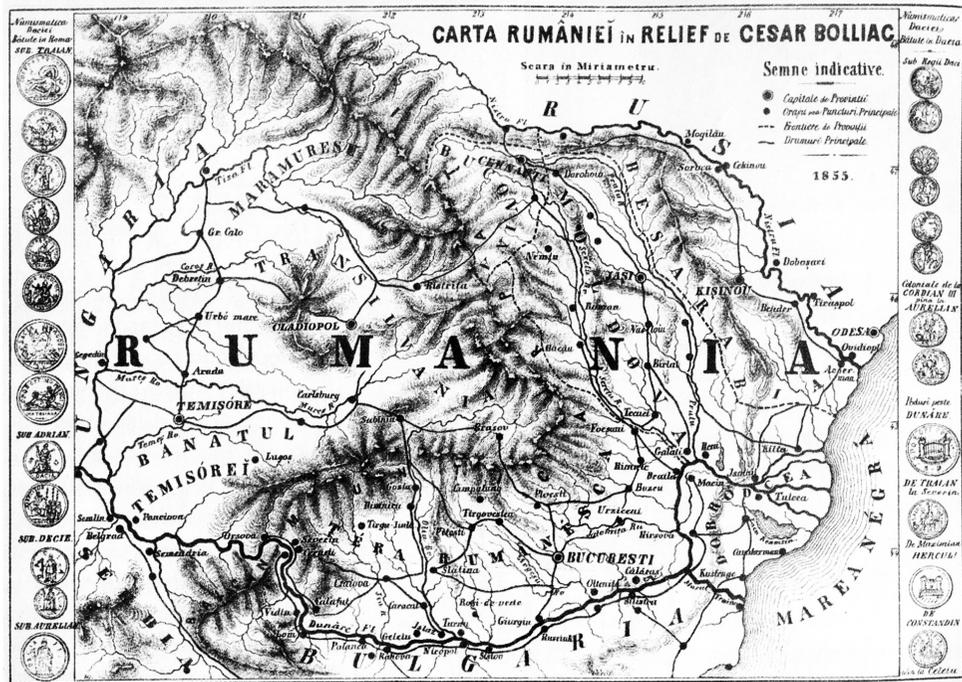
The emigration of Poles to the Romanian Principalities or at least the presence of “Polish conspirators” here started in 1795 as mentioned by researchers⁷³ although they never properly studied it during the period before the 1830s. The state of art in this field shows that the latest relations from the end of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I were neglected by research, too. In fact, the Polish-Romanian collaboration has been more deeply analyzed in the frame of the Great Emigration in the Romanian Principalities solely during two of its high points: 1838–1839 and 1848–1849.

Our article offers new evidence on these very high points bringing to light still unknown historical sources of Russian, German and French language. Thus, prince Czartoryski and Hôtel Lambert’s involvement is more emphasized in Wallachia (1833–1849) by means of predominantly diplomatic missions and agents. On the other hand, the Polish democrats who aimed to take arms and liberate Galicia were closer linked to Moldavia. Here they unfolded paramilitary actions led by Faustyn Filanowicz (1841–1844, 1846–1848). They indeed armed themselves and formed the Polish South Legion (1842) with an operational basis in Grozești (Oituz) and military deployment in southern Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia (1848).

Our approach highlights the contribution brought by the Polish emigration to the Romanian national and revolutionary movement in Wallachia and Moldavia by stressing the severe Anti-Tsarist direction of the Polish-Romanian collaboration. The Russian protectorate in both autonomous Romanian Principalities under Ottoman suzerainty – a paralyzing taboo for most of the 20th century Romanian historiography – revealed itself to be an actual administrative and military occupation of the mentioned territories. In certain cases, in which we observed preventive measures of repression taken by the Tsarist Empire against the Romanians in absence of factual rebellious manifestations, the spectre of the Polish emissaries represented the blind pretence for Moldavia’s invasion, like in 1847 and early 1848, and for exemplary penalties and arrests enforced by the Russian army in Wallachia in 1848–1849.⁷⁴

⁷³ Handelsmann 1933: 1; Boçsan 2003: 178.

⁷⁴ Romanian-English translation of the paper by Marcela Ganea, Ela Cosma; English revision by Horia Cosma; translation of the Romanian, French, German documents and Polish, Russian, Turkish transcriptions by Ela Cosma.



Map 6. *Carta României în relief* (Romania's Relief Chart) by philo-Polish Romanian revolutionary Cesar Bolliac (1855), including all the Romanian Lands. Lithography by G. Wonneberg in București. Source: <http://geografilia.blogspot.com/2016/05/carta-romaniei-in-relief-de-cesar.html>.

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ЕЛА КОСМА
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**ДИПЛОМАТСКИ И ВОЈНИ АГЕНТИ ПОЉСКЕ ЕМИГРАЦИЈЕ
У РУМУНСКИМ КНЕЖЕВИНАМА (1833–1849)**

Резиме

Пре револуције 1848–1849 румунске кнежевине Влашка и Молдавија под турским сизеренством и руским протекторатом дочекале су велик број Пољака који су припадали обема фракцијама Велике пољске емиграције, кругу Адама Чарториског и демократама. Имена и активности Пољака који су емигрирали у румунске земље током Народног пролећа су мање познати од оних који су емигрирали у Француску и Енглеску. Овај рад осветљава дипломатско учешће (1833–1849) водећих личности из редова пољских монархиста које су послали Чарториски и Михал Чајковски у Румунски национални покрет који је водио Ион Кампинеану (1838), као и њихове везе и војну подршку коју је пружио Николае Балческу и други револуционари из Влашке (1848). Посебну пажњу обраћамо на активности у којима су учествовали пољски демократе у Молдавији да би се припремили за устанак у суседној Галицији и да би га покренули (1846, 1848). Под вођством Фаустина Филановича, Теофила Вишниковског и Иона Логе, главни успех демократа је био оснивање Јужне пољске легије (1842) са базом у Грозештију (Оитуз) и трупама размештеним у јужној Молдавији и североисточној Влашкој (1848). Ова студија о пољској емиграцији у румунским кнежевинама између 1833 и 1849 доноси корисне закључке везане за организацију универзалне револуције, појаве светског интереса за историју XIX века.

Кључне речи: Велика пољска емиграција, пољски дипломатски и војни агенти, румунске кнежевине Влашка и Молдавија, револуције 1830–1831, 1846, 1848–1849.

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