

ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA'S STRUGGLE FOR THE FULL UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS

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Abstract: *The year 1859 is a significant year in the history of the Romanians because, by the double election of 5 and 24 January 1859, of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of Wallachia and Moldavia, the desire to unite the Romanians from the two Principalities is fulfilled. The new ruler has a rather difficult mission because, on the one hand, externally, he must fight for the legalization of the double election and the recognition of the Union, and internally, the Prince had to fulfill the requirements of the Paris Convention of August 7, 1858, and the union full politically and administratively.*

England, being one of the guarantor powers of the Principalities, played an important role in the peaceful and legal political-administrative Union. English Consuls in the Principalities communicate constantly with both the Foreign Office and Henry Bulwer, the English Ambassador in Constantinople. The British diplomatic documents both prove their attempts to calm the tensions accumulated in the Principalities and the pressure exerted on the Ottoman Empire to speed up the settlement of the Principality issue.

Keywords: England, Romanian Principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Union, diplomatic documents.

„In my dreams, Romania's future is blossoming. We are millions of Romanian rebels ! What do we need to become a strong nation ? Union. Only Unity !”

Costache Negri

The double Union of 5th and 24th of January 1859 of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of Wallachia and Moldavia, fulfilled the greatest wish of the Romanians living in the two Principalities, and that is to be united into a single people, under the same ruler. The new ruler has a rather difficult mission due to the fact that externally he must fight for the legalization of the double election and for the recognition of the union, and internally, the ruler had to obey the requirements of Paris

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Convention of 7th August 1858 and the completion of the full political and administrative Union¹.

The recognition of the Union by the Great Powers represents the utmost priority of the new ruler. He sends representatives with diplomatic missions to obtain the Great Powers' consent. Therefore, immediately after the election of Cuza a delegation under the authority of Costache Negri, leaves for Constantinople to obtain the Sultan's agreement on the new ruler. Vasile Alecsandri is sent to Paris, London and Torino: Ludovic Steege is sent to Viena and Berlin and Obolenski Prince leaves for Petersburg².

Great Britain has not agreed to Cuza's election of 5th of January as legitimate. Bulwer Ambassador at Ottoman Porte agreed with the Ottoman Empire that the vote of the Moldavian Assembly was illegal in terms of Paris Convention and its election annexes. The Ottoman Porte was, thus, entitled to refuse the recognition of Cuza as a ruler³. After Cuza was elected ruler in Wallachia, Lord Malmesbury, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain recommends Fuad Pasha that the Sublime Porte „should recognize the double election of Cuza as a personal union” or at least to admit his title as „Moldavians' Chosen one” and „kaimakan of Wallachia”⁴.

Vasile Alecsandri was assigned to diplomatically go to London on a mission, Lord Malmesbury received him as a particular representative for Lieutenant Cuza, not as a diplomatic representative of the Principalities refusing to agree on him as a ruler. Alecsandri has met the measure of his mission, managing to get the good will of the minister and the promise that England will show good intentions in the future conference of the Great Powers with the purpose of discussing the Principalities state of facts.

The great guarantors met in a conference in Paris on 26th March 1859. In the conference five of the seven powers recognized the double election of Cuza, with the exception of the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire, but, after few months, on the account of French-

¹ *** *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom I, Academia Română, Edit. Enciclopedică, București, 2003, p. 496 [infra: *Istoria Românilor*].

² Constantin C. Giurescu, *Viața și Opera lui Cuza Vodă*, București, Edit. Științifică, 1966, p. 79.

³ Gheorghe Cliveti, *România și Puterile Garante 1856–1878*, Iași, Edit. Junimea, Iași, 2020, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 100.

Austrian-Sard war on 25th August 1859 at the third meeting of the Paris Conference all the seven guarantors recognized the double election⁵. This recognition allows the ruler to focus efforts towards obtaining the Complete Union and to consolidate the national political system.

After having taken all necessary steps for the recognition of the double election in the form of sending delegations abroad, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the new ruler, re-organizes and completes the State's system, according to Paris Convention norms⁶.

Upon certain conclusions of the informative Committee, The Paris Convention stipulated about Moldavia and Wallachia. These, being under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, and under the collective guarantee of the Great Powers were to freely administer their affairs, to bear the name of „United Principality of Moldavia and Wallachia”, whilst politically and administratively separated. Each Principality was to be under the authority of a ruler and his ministers, the legislative power was in the hands of the ruler, the elective assembly of the respective Principality and the Central Committee, newly established for both Principalities. Focsani, as a border city, became the capital of the common institutions of the two Principalities: that is the Central Committee and the Court of Cassation. The armies of the Principalities could be reunited in common camps under the alternative command of the rulers and their representatives. Likewise, article 46 of the Paris Convention stated the equality for taxes and ranks, public liberties were guaranteed, privileges and monopoly were abolished and peasants' welfare was revised to their benefit⁷. All these stipulations of the Paris Convention referred to them as two separate states, each under the authority of a ruler elected by the elective Assembly. Therefore, we could say that the double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as a ruler of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Union was symbolic, the two Principalities functioning as two separate states, each with its own government, assembly and capital. Under such circumstances, the first three years of Cuza's ruling were dedicated to fully unify the two countries.

Since the beginning of his ruling, Cuza faces the hardships of the administrative system imposed by the Paris Convention. Having two governments – one in Iasi and the other one in Bucharest, the ruler had

⁵ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom I, p. 496.

⁶ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁷ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom I, p. 466.

to continuously travel from one to another. Any law project elaborated by the Central Committee in Focsani had to be debated by the two governments, voted by the two Chambers and agreed or refused by the ruler. This created a delay in law enforcement and made the collaboration of the two governments rather difficult.

Hence, there was the important issue of the fair ruling – that is the fact that the executive power was in the hands of a broad-minded ruler, with liberal ideas, willing to accomplish 1848 reforms, but the legislative power was held by assemblies including conservatives from the government, who, with their properties and elective divided legislation owned the economic and political power⁸. Thus, the platform of bourgeois reforms of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and of the liberal political groups were often contradictory to opinions of conservatives in the government, causing political instability within the new state. For three years 20 governments succeeded, 9 in Moldavia, 11 in Wallachia.

In October 1859, Focsani Central Committee passes a constitutional project. John Green, British Counsellor in Wallachia, obtained an analysis of the project and sends it to England's ambassador in Constantinople, Henry Bulwer. The new constitution is formed by 145 Articles, based on Belgium Constitution, Paris Convention Statements from 19th August 1858. The project stated, among many, that the primordial state obligation is to finalize, consolidate and defend the Union of Principalities as one State. Likewise, the noble titles were cancelled, death penalty and corporal penalties were abolished, the orthodox religion became the main religion in the Romanian State. This document enabled the rights and attributions of the Ruler and mentioned, in case of vacancy of the Romanian State Ruler position, that this should be filled by a Prince of foreign, European origin of hereditary succession⁹. It is obvious that the new constitutional project was destined to compromise the rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza. John Green also mentioned to Bulwer that the Focsani Central Committee is formed by a conservative majority, from the old Boyars, the same Boyars who opposed Prince Cuza and the revolutionaries of the 1848. In a letter

⁸ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁹ *Foreign documents concerning the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza – English diplomatic correspondence*, vol I (1859–1862), (eds.) Beatrice Marinescu, Valeriu Stan, București, Edit. Academiei Române, 2001 [infra: *Foreigns documents ...*], doc. 3: București, 21 October/2 November 1859, John Green to Henry L. Bulwer, p. 9.

for John Russel – the State Secretary of Great Britain Foreign Affairs Ministry – Henry. A. Churchill, the English Counsellor in Iasi, wrote that Cuza will brake the Paris Convention and will lose the trust of The Great Powers, should he approve this project¹⁰. Determined to realize the political and administrative Union on legal terms, Cuza refuses to approve this document and cancels the elective assemblies in Iasi and Bucharest. The Ruler's attitude to the elective assemblies and the Focsani Central Committee Project is well received by the Sublime Porte¹¹ and England as well, the Ruler showing appreciation upon this well receiving on the part of the British Government¹².

John Green, supported by Henry Bulwer, attempts to pursue the Ruler that the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte over the Principalities is the safest guarantee of their political existence. Furthermore, he notices the inability of the Ruler to govern the country, some Romanians desire of being ruled by a foreign Prince is growing, although the National Party formed by 1848 revolutionists, firmly believes that only the ruling of Cuza will obtain complete independence of the Principalities¹³.

According to September 1859 Protocol, the ruler had the obligation of paying a formal visit to the Sultan. Cuza made no hurry to pay this visit, wanting to be welcome as one who rules not one who is ruled. On 13th/25th May 1860, Henry Churchill communicated to Russell the intention of the ruler to leave for Constantinople on 7th July. He also mentioned that Cuza was preparing a memorandum for the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers to explain the absolute necessity to unite the two administrations of Moldavia and Wallachia¹⁴. However, after a meeting with Giers, the General Counsellor of Russia, the ruler postpones his visit to Constantinople. In a conversation with Henry Churchill, the ruler admits that this postponing for Constantinople is caused by the meeting with the Russian Counsellor but denies any understandings with Russia, declaring that he opposes any military entry

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 6: Iasi, 4/16 December 1859, Henry A. Churchill to John Russell, p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 11: Iasi, 24 December 1859/ 5 January 1860, Henry A. Churchill to John Russell, p. 24.

¹² *Ibidem*, doc. 15: Iasi, 25 January/6 February 1860, Henry A. Churchill to John Russell, p. 28.

¹³ *Ibidem*, doc. 23: Bucharest, 3/15 April 1860, John Green to Henry L. Bulwer, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 15: Iasi, 13/25 May 1860, Henry A. Churchill to John Russell, p. 40.

of the Russian Army in the Romanian Principalities and hopes his visit to Constantinople will help him obtain agreement of the Porte in favor of the administrative Union of the Principalities, the lack of it causing distrust among his people¹⁵.

This Memorandum was to be presented by Costache Negri both to the Sublime Porte and to the representatives of the Great Powers in Constantinople. However, Negri does not immediately present it to the Porte or the other political representatives, because Turks were preoccupied with Syria and the severe turbulence there, Italians were dealing with their own Union and there was tension among the English and the French¹⁶.

After the recognition of the double election, Costache Negri became the representative of the United Principalities in Constantinople in January 1860¹⁷.

John Green noticed problems of the ruler in governing the Principalities and wrote to Henry L. Bulwer about the necessity of modifying the Convention so that ruler Cuza to be able to govern the Principalities¹⁸.

Henry Churchill met Mihail Kogalniceanu, the Moldavian Prime Minister who told him that, despite advising the ruler to stop postponing the visit to Constantinople, the ruler wishes to await for the guarantees from the Great Powers and for the agreement of the Porte on modifying the Convention. The discussion touches upon the motion of An. Panu about summoning the two legislative assemblies to commonly agree to found the Court of Cassation. Kogalniceanu admits that the two Chambers have not reached a consensus and assumes the Court of Cassation will not be founded without reuniting the two legislative assemblies. Churchill mentioned to Bulwer that, in his opinion, the problem of the Court of Cassation is but a trick so that Principalities could declare that one point of the Convention is unsurmountable and so, the Great Powers will oppose the union less¹⁹.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 29: Iasi, 18/30 May 1860, Henry A. Churchill to John Russell, p. 43.

¹⁶ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁷ Dumitru Vitcu, *Diplomats of the Union*, Iași, Demiurg Publishing House, 2019, p. 210.

¹⁸ *Foreign documents ...*, doc. 30: Bucharest, 26 May/7 June 1860, John Green to Henry L. Bulwer, p. 46.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 36: Iasi, 22 June/4 July 1860, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 54.

Before leaving for Constantinople, Cuza takes one more step towards the full Union. He sends a letter to Costache Negri to ask him to present to Constantinople and to the Great Powers representatives his intention to unify the War Ministries of the two Principalities into one administration²⁰. He receives a favorable response to his request, and, therefore, in August 1860 Cuza institutes The Chief of Staff, unique, unifying the instruction, the quartermaster and the administration, he names General Ioan Emanuel Florescu as War Minister and the supreme command of the army is given to Cuza²¹.

The visit to Constantinople cannot be postponed anymore and he decides to leave for Constantinople at the beginning of September, asking Counsellor Henry Churchill to accompany him on his voyage to facilitate connection with Henry Bulwer²². He sets off on 19th September²³.

Cuza was welcome in Constantinople as a sovereign, he was offered a solemn reception, being gifted with a diamond sword, as a sign of acceptance²⁴. During the visit, the ruler met Henry Bulwer, the latter being positively impressed by Cuza, as an extraordinary man, with a mind improved by responsibility and experience²⁵.

Alexandru Ioan Cuza did not make any formal request on the political and administrative Union or on the modifying of the Paris Convention, but this does not mean that he deviated from his plan for the full Union. In his conversations with the Great Powers he mentioned his problems in ruling the Principalities and the need for the full Union, hoping they would support the cause of the Romanians in their governments. Upon returning home, the ruler sends a letter of gratitude to the Sultan, explaining subtlety the importance of the full Union²⁶.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 47: Iasi, 9/21 August 1860, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 67.

²¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²² *Foreign Documents ...*, doc. 47: Iasi, 9/21 August 1860, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 67.

²³ *Ibidem*, doc. 62: Bucharest, 19 September/1 October 1860, John Green to Lord John Russell, p. 86.

²⁴ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁵ *Foreign documents ...*, doc. 64: Therpapia, October 4/16, 1860, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 89.

²⁶ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

Cuza found a supporter of the Romanians cause in the person of Henry Bulwer. Bulwer declared to John Russell that the modifying of the Constitution in order to accept one, not two rulers, for the Principalities, as the Convention stipulated, not seeing any sense in asking the ruler to govern according to an act of specific circumstances, since the circumstances have changed, thus a change in convention should be made so that Principalities to function in harmony²⁷. Bulwer also noted that the political and administrative Union is beneficial for both the Principalities and the Porte. The Porte should have its own initiative in making some concessions for the Principalities to have a friendly neighbor and to preserve the integrity of the Empire. He communicates his point of view to the Counsellors in the two Principalities, offering his help to Costache Negri, in a friendly manner, so that he could convince the Porte to make the modifications for the benefit of the Principalities²⁸.

The interest of the English diplomats in the full Union of the Principalities shows England's attitude of support towards the Ottoman Empire. It is obvious that Bulwer wanted to keep Cuza as ruler of the two Principalities, since a foreign ruler could get the independence of the Principalities and this could affect severely the integrity of the Ottoman Empire²⁹.

John Russell is not yet fully convinced by the maneuver of the English diplomats and asks repeatedly that they advise the ruler to obey Porte's commands, to adhere to the treaties and the protocols on which he rules, otherwise he might lose the throne of the Principalities³⁰.

Given the positive atmosphere created by the visit of the ruler to Constantinople, in December 1860, Costache Negri considers it to be adequate to present the official memorandum from June which asked for the full Union³¹. The skilled maneuver shows results, and, after a

²⁷ *Foreign documents ...*, doc. 67: Therapia, October 18/30, 1860, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 93.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 80: Constantinople, November 23/December 5, 1860, Henry L. Bulwer to John Green and Henry Churchill, p. 108.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 89: Constantinople, November 29/December 11, 1860, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 120.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 94: Constantinople, 6/18 December 1860, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 125; doc. 117: London, 19/31 December 1860, Foreign Office to John Green, p. 151; doc 136: Bucharest, 20 January/1 February 1861, John Green to Henry Bulwer, p. 171.

³¹ Dumitru Vitcu, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

meeting with Aali Pasha, the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Porte and the English Ambassador Henry Bulwer, Negri is assured that the Porte is ready to make necessary changes for the political and administrative Union of the Principalities, noticing in this respect, the Guarantor powers. The remaining thing to do was to set the date and the place to summon the Conference³². As expected, the Porte was in no hurry to set the date of the Conference. On the one hand, the Porte was advised by Russia to remain inactive, hoping the policy of Russia in the Principalities to evolve favorably, Austria believed that, once united, the Principalities will ask for Transylvania, and, on the other hand, there were disputes in the Empire regarding the Ottoman attitude to the Principalities. Aali Pasha agreed with the Union, but old Turks of the Porte Cabinet were willing for the Phanariot ruling³³.

The procrastination of the Porte made it all the more profound for Cuza to proclaim the Union himself, without waiting for the Porte or the Great Powers. Rumors start in this respect³⁴. In a report for Bulwer, Henry Churchill communicates that the Moldavian Assembly voted a motion asking for the summoning of the two Chambers to solve the agrarian legislation. The two united Chambers will not hesitate to proclaim the Union of the two Principalities. He asks Bulwer to advise the Porte to facilitate the Union of the Principalities under the sovereignty of the Sultan, because, sooner or later, the Principalities will be united without the Ottoman Empire's will creating a precedence for other provinces under the domination of the empire³⁵.

The motion of bringing together the two Chambers was only a maneuver of the ruler to stabilize the stirring among his people created by the political parties, exerting more and more pressure on the ruler to proclaim himself the Union and so to expedite the Conference for the problem of the Principalities. Even if the two Assemblies voted the motion, Cuza did not sanction the vote so that not to offer the opportunity to discuss the problem of the Union. The Minister of Foreign Affairs England sends instructions for the two counsellors in

³² Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

³³ *Foreign documents ...*, doc. 153: Constantinople, February 22/March 6, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 204.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, doc.162: Bucharest, 21 March/2 April 1861, John Green to Henry Bulwer, p. 224.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 165: Iasi, 28 March/9 April 1861, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 228.

the Principalities asking them to stop any action in favor of the Union until the Porte expresses its will to the Great Powers³⁶.

On 18/30 April Bulwer communicated to John Russell that the Porte prepared a note addressed to the Great Powers in which the political and administrative Union of the Principalities is agreed, but only during the life of the ruler³⁷. A copy of the note reaches the English counsellor in Bucharest, John Green, he has a meeting with Cuza to discuss the note and to reassure that all efforts will be made to strictly respect the Convention³⁸.

Once the Great Powers receive the note, the first oppositions appear related to the Union of Principalities under the rule of Cuza. Russia opposes the most to the Union under Cuza, willing a foreign sovereign³⁹. The opinion of the Russians is shared by conservationists in the Principalities, influenced by the Russian policy,⁴⁰ creating problems for the ruler with their opposition⁴¹.

The diplomatic meeting of the representatives of the guarantor powers is postponed due to the death of Sultan Abdul Medjid and due to the problem of recognizing the Italian Kingdom. Cuza tries one more time to hasten the Union and he sends a delegation to Constantinople to congratulate the new Sultan, Abdul Aziz⁴². The ruler wanted the delegation to obtain a silent agreement of the Porte with the Union of the Principalities, but the plan fails. Another problem is Russia, who asks in the Conference to decide the problem of the election legislation in the Principalities, leaving the problem of the Union aside for three more years, to consolidate their desire for a foreign ruler on the throne

³⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 178: London, 15/27 April 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Churchill, p. 243.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 184: Constantinople, April 18/30, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 249.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, doc.187: Bucharest, 25 April/7 May 1861, John Green to Henry Bulwer, p. 256.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 190: Constantinople, 3/15 May 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 260.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 200: Iasi, 23 May/ 4 June 1861, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 273.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 193: Iasi, 10/22 May 1861, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 263.

⁴² *Ibidem*, doc. 208: Iasi, 27 June/9 July 1861, Henry A. Churchill to Henry Bulwer, p. 283.

of the Principalities⁴³. However, France believes that, given the existing problems in the Principality, it is imprudent to discuss the Electoral Law because it would waste time and cause further unrest in the Principality⁴⁴. England's position in the matter is expressed in a report of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs to Henry Bulwer, England declares against procrastination of the union for three more years and asks that this problem to be solved in a Conference in Constantinople, refusing to install a foreign ruler on the throne of the Principalities. As for the Porte's note on 1st May on the political and administrative Union, England approves some of the points but draws attention that the election legislation needs to be amended. In its current form, the conservationists might have the power, which could cause excluding the democrats and depriving the owners of their lawful right of property⁴⁵. Bulwer insists that Aali Pasha should convoke the Conference as soon as possible⁴⁶. In the Principalities there is growing tension between the ruler and the political parties. Cuza declares he will not summon the Assemblies before the Union is recognized, but states that in case the union is not recognised by December, he will proclaim the Union himself⁴⁷.

On 9/21 September 1861 the Minister of the Foreign Affairs of England communicates to Bulwer that the British Government agrees on the administrative and legislative Union of Moldavia and Wallachia during the life of Cuza and entitles him to examine with the ministers of the Porte and with other diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers the project of the Firman⁴⁸.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, doc 216: Constantinople, July 25/August 6, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 298; doc 217: Constantinople, July 26/August 7, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 299.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 220: Constantinople, August 9/21, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 303.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 223: London, 9/21 August 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 307; doc. 225: London, 11/23 August 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 310.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 228: Constantinople, August 23/September 4, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 313.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, doc.230: Bucharest, 29 August/10 September 1861, John Green to Henry Bulwer, p. 316.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 234: London, 9/21 September 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 321.

At last, after long delays, on 13th/25th September 1861 the works of the Conference in Constantinople started⁴⁹. Since the beginning a liability appears about the measures that the Porte can take in case of breaking Convention by the Principalities. Turks ask for military intervention in the Principalities, accompanied by delegations of the Great Powers⁵⁰. The English government does not approve the Ottoman condition and wants the Ottomans within the limits of the protocol of 6th September 1859, according to which, in case of interference in the Principalities, the Porte must agree with the other powers on the circumstances and the methods used⁵¹. Italy is out of debates because the Kingdom of Italy is not yet recognized. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of England asks Bulwer that no decision should be made without the presence of the Italian minister at the Conference⁵².

At the beginning of November 1861, Henry Bulwer communicated to Lord Russell that he received from Aali Pasha a copy of the Firman project of the Porte, mentioning main stipulations, considering that the document correctly presents principles agreed upon⁵³. The Foreign Affairs Minister asks the ambassador to determine the Porte to hasten the issue of the Firman⁵⁴. The official receiving of the Porte's Firman by Bulwer Ambassador, takes place at the end of November, but due to some fallback of some representatives in accepting the Firman of the Porte, two communications will appear, one of accepting the Firman, the other with observations to it⁵⁵.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 237: Constantinople, September 13/25, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 326.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 238: Constantinople, September 15/27, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 326.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 253: London, 10/22 October 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 342; doc. 254: London, 13/25 October 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 342; doc. 259: Constantinople, 18/30 October 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 346.

⁵² *Ibidem*, doc. 240: London, 19 September/1 October 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 328.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, doc. 268: Constantinople, 1/13 November 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 358; doc. 269: Constantinople, 3/15 November 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to Foreign Office, p. 360.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 278: London, 12/24 November 1861, Foreign Office to Henry Bulwer, p. 371.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 285: Constantinople, November 21/December 3, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 383; doc. 286: Constantinople, November 22/December 4,

Three years after the double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of Moldavia and Wallachia, on 11th December 1861, Cuza announced, without reading the Firman, the completing of the Great Union of the Principalities⁵⁶. „The Union is fulfilled, the Romanian nation is founded. This great achievement, desired by generations past us, acclaimed by legislative institutions, warmly desired by all of us, is recognized by the Supreme Porte, the guarantor powers and it is written in the traditions of the nations ... On 5th and 24th January you have placed your trust in the national chosen one, uniting your hopes into one ruler, your chosen one gives you today the united Romania”⁵⁷. Therefore, even if the Porte’s Firman accepted the Union only during the life of Cuza, the greatest dream of the two Principalities came true.

1861, Henry L. Bulwer to John Russell, p. 383; doc. 287: Constantinople, November 23/December 5, 1861, Henry L. Bulwer to Foreign Office, p. 384.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 295: Bucharest, 11/23 December 1861, John Green to John Russell, p. 393.

⁵⁷ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.