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**ACTIVISM AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT.  
ROMANIAN YOUTH IN THE REVOLUTION FROM  
TRANSYLVANIA FROM 1848**

**DOCTORAL THESIS  
(Abstract)**

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# **Activism and political involvement. Romanian youth in the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849**

## **Introduction**

Approaching a history about *the youth* means first of all attempting to understand, discover and explain a social mechanism, through existent relations between its diverse segments, between actors whose attributes or main characteristics entail affiliation to a certain *age*. This is because it is *age* that influences, determines social behaviours and in its turn is determined, especially as it is *transient*, and assumes change.

Thus, to the youth is reserved such a role in each society, taken in any moment of its development. Yet, problematical are frequencies, ways of action and the manner by which they take over, assimilate, combine and make use of the acquired experiences and knowledge, in a direct manner or through others. The manner by which they connect to certain thinking systems, models and practices, by this understanding inclusively adherence to protest movements or revolts, is extremely interesting to be evidenced, as regards determination of their social behaviour, in a “historical film” subsuming under strictly delimited coordinates of space and time.

The paper will propose an approach in the above mentioned terms of reference. From this point of view, the first sequence of the historical speech is dedicated to this ***Argument and Conceptual clarifications***, absolutely mandatory for establishing all aspects related to motivation, purposes and ways of approaching of such an undertaking. The object of the investigation is, as it was established following an extremely inspiring proposition, that came from Professor Ph.D. Iacob Mârza, Romanian youth from Transylvania during the Revolution from 1848-1849. Questioning the youth from this generation, the catalytic 1848 moment, is made for detecting

that model which, by virtue of values, options and symbols by which is invested or which it assumed, understands to perform a role or an active function. The way by which functions the social system from Transylvania from the point of view of youth's relation with the other categories, of impulses that allow it to exert social functions and which, at the same time, impose them directions and ways of action, each of them, is thus one of the requisite of this research, realized under the above mentioned terms.

The archetype of the Romanian Transylvanian young from the middle of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century becomes more fascinating as it must be discovered in the extremely delicate fabric of a social and political system whose directions and development pace oscillate between innovating ideas that the Court from Vienna and whole Europe circulated more and more often, and hostility that the system of the upper classes and officially accepted religions from Transylvania manifested as regards them. As for understanding concepts, to operate at the level of symbolics, here we also refer to those of *youth* or *young*, intention being not of restraining significance of the notions themselves and use the significance of standard definitions, but to reveal them all meanings that they enjoyed during Revolution. Romanian young were faced with their opponents, in the context by which they considered that, first of all, the confrontation that they were participating in was one between generations.

Youth's specificity was thus appreciated in the historical period that we refer to and it was not regarded only as a constituent element or somebody's age characteristic. Youth meant training and transformation phases, of searching and becoming mature, initiation, integration and assuming of commitments. Thus, throughout the work it is attempted to identify that revolutionary youth, as social force of a segment from society, of an age whose essence is not represented only by biological determination, but also by those symbols and representative strengths, which activate it, as a new generation,

put in the position of fighting for modern ideas. Following this example, it is attempted depicting youth and facts assumed by the Romanian youth from 1848-1849 in Transylvania, from the perspective of relation between features of historical generation that they represent and involvements that these transpose to the level of their identity. These are regarded as reverberation of collective and individual perceptions about them and, at the same time, as sum of assets and meanings that themselves want to promote.

Along this line, what arouses interest is attitude of Transylvanian society on its way to modernity, as for the youth, as well as its ideological models and behaviour norms that instituted for them, throughout the revolution. Identification of cases or stages by which youth benefited of the privilege of being considered factor of social cohesion, establishing of some reference marks as for the way it was operated at the level of thinking and vision of the young about themselves, reconstitution of some approximate correspondences between concepts of the historical period and the distinct area with its own representations from Transylvania, in 1848-1849 etc. are only few of the hypotheses on which the analysis itself based on.

From the point of view of reinventing the historical event as “product” of revolutionary youth, it is wished, as long as possible, evidencing its political options, in a permanent comparison or antithesis with those of the older generation. Far from being isolated or accidental, “voices” of the Romanian youth “set the tone” to everything that meant Revolution of Romanians from Transylvania in 1848-1849. On this line, are overviewed *Phases and moments in the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849*, to make an introduction to the historical object that follows to be analysed. Thus, to enlighten on development of the revolutionary event it was also aimed at participation and role of the young.

No matter whether it is debated the period previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, the stage of programmatic clarifications, outbreak of the Revolution or development of the

civil war, the Romanian youth is the protagonist that the Romanian society from Transylvania greatly needed, at that moment of its development. *Youth – cohesion element and decisive factor of decisional processes and actions undertaken by Romanians, throughout the revolutionary events from Transylvania* is another important and useful sequence from our introduction, throughout which arguments are brought exactly for demonstration of this reasoning. Through the fulfilled roles, youth proved to be both the spokesmen of Romanians and effective leaders of some communities engaged in an extensive process of resizing and social restructuring during the Revolution. Their merit is, as higher as, they generated this national movement of protest against the obsolete social and political system from Transylvania. They prepared, by a well thought strategy, popular masses for what was about to follow, meaning for a Revolution, which promised to bring national, social and political rights, so much “longed for” by the Romanian nation.

**Historiographic evaluations of the presence of the young in the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849** is another chapter of the thesis and wishes to be an analytical excursus applied to writings, guiding marks of the event, from the point of view of the way these determine projection of the young and youth in the unreel historical film. We endeavoured, from this perspective to examine the works of the most renowned authors as for the Revolution, better said, exponents of the most representative Romanian historical trends, developed throughout time.

Romanian historiography extensively deals with presence of Romanian Transylvanian youth in the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849. Importance and interest showed in the young is owed, with several small exceptions, to political and national activism that these manifested throughout development of events and implicitly the roles and assumed social functions. From this point of view, either we refer to Romanian historiography of older or more recent date, or we

analyse *Revolution's memoirs*, with its narrative, documentary sources, *romantic historical literature*, *collections of documents*, works of authors who represent the *critical spirit* or the *new modern approaches*, presence of the young as element of social, political and national cohesion, represents an undeniable reality, omnipresent in everything that assumes construction of historical speech owed to the event. What is analysed in this context and from the perspective of followed studied direction is the manner in which texts focusing on the events from 1848-1849 nuance the issue of Transylvanian youth, give colour and consistency to the equation between the youth and Revolution.

Historiography of Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849 is so rich, that offers almost any information necessary to factual reconstitution of the moment. Beside the fact that the great majority of official documents from the period of the Revolution are available, being already published as memoirs or gathered in collections, built by competent researchers of the event, about the Transylvanian revolutionary movement was written very much and in a modern manner. Works deal with revealing the social environment, starting from mentalities and norms of social behaviour, as acting of representations and articulation of will and own needs of Transylvanian society from the mid of XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

Insisting a little bit on quantifying presence of the young in the historiography of the issue, there must be stated the fact that it is attempted, as far as possible, analysing the way by which the texts dedicated to the revolutionary event, regardless of the historiographic trend whose rules they follow, nuance the issue of Transylvanian youth, give colour and consistency to the equation between the youth, young and Revolution. This does not mean that it is not analysed expressly each approach and are not "sanctioned" certain subjective aspects, which hallmarked the finality of the historical text. There are recorded serious clues as regards need of justifying decisions from the past, especially then when accounts were provided through the



historian witness or protagonist of the presented event. Ways of approaching, argumentative structures, used attributes can convey different nuances and characteristics as impact or resonance to some notions such as those debated, according to purpose, nature and destination of each approach. Then, when these were excessively directed towards making some speeches with overstated connotations in relation to historical reality, it is considered necessary highlighting several aspects.

At the same time, this chapter of the research demonstrates that historical writings are, broadly, delimited to historical trends to which they belong, and respect from this point of view patterns imposed by demands of time and implicitly, by development of thinking and political, national and social necessities. The way by which are reflected at the level of historical writing, concepts about the young and youth, with direct reference to Revolution is a measure unit, which can be anytime used for evaluation of features of one period or the other from Romanian historiography. This is because the young and the youth are fundamental concepts, but also social and political realities, which, in any stage of historical writing, could have been “valorised” and used as informational vehicle with maximum power of persuasion.

The brief, undertaken historiographical excursus demonstrates, as far as possible, intensity, frequencies and “passion” used in writing about the young and Revolution from 1848-1849, in each important stage of Romanian historiography dedicated to the event from Transylvania. It was considered necessary analyse of reference points of each historiographic trend, dealing, as far as possible, with all categories, starting from historical sources – primary sources and until works, studies, articles and papers. It was attempted to underline defining elements of each approach, and were added ideas considered eloquent from the point of view of purpose and form of messages sent on the subject of the young.

We resume the idea that the undertaken historiographical journey facilitates beginning of operation from subsequent

chapters, by which the event from 1848-1849 is approached. We propose a pertinent analysis of the manner by which the social actors acted according to own systems of values, dictated by affiliation to a certain age, one generation or other and mainly by dealing with presence and youth's projection. It is offered a general view on historical antecedents that dealt with the issue of youth and which provided and still provide a theoretical frame, especially given the fact that conclusions belong to experienced historians in methodology of research and study of the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849.

The historical approach represented by evaluations on presence of the young in the Revolution provides a data base that includes diverse formulas by which was made in historiography projections of the young and youth at social level. Hence, it is allowed development of some authentic and very complex theories. This thing is expect to occur not to change some conclusions already deeply rooted in the historiography of the issue (which contain indubitable truths in point of historical science). It is considered appreciation and conferring a little bit of coherence and systematization to some intentions, such as this present one, yet insufficiently valorised, as for interpreting sociologic and psychological aspects that were at the base of relation between the young Romanians from Transylvania and history from 1848-1849.

Another chapter, also the most substantial, represents in fact the core of the research, namely *Political options of the Romanian Transylvanian young in the Revolution from Transylvania from 1848-1849* is application of assumed methodology on the analysed historical subject. Once the objectives and the working method were established, it is proposed debating participation of Romanian youth to Revolution, strictly connected to the chronological development of the facts. In the first part of the chapter are issued several considerations on mentalities and attitudes that generated behaviour of the youth from 1848-1849 and, at the same time, it is concluded that realisation of the Revolution meant in fact

***Mission of the young generation.*** The second part of the chapter is dedicated to involvement of the youth in the preceding actions to the Revolution itself, by examination of the ***1848 spring***, with subchapters dedicated to ***Echo of European revolution and the first gatherings of the Romanian young, enunciation of the first demands for the Romanian nation.*** It is analysed the role of the young in preparing popular masses as well as National Assemblies from Blaj, from this period, more exactly of the ***Assembly from Sunday of St. Thomas (18/30 April 1848)*** and ***Great National Assembly from Blaj (3/15 May 1848)***. Chronologically, spring and then, beginning of 1848 summer, greatly due to ***Echoes of National Assembly from Blaj***, reveal us already elements that demonstrate evolution of concepts and goals of the Revolution's leaders, better said clarification of the options of those involved. All these will enhance, then, on the background of events generated following the ***Diet from Cluj*** and the ***Forced union of Transylvania with Hungary.***

***1848 summer*** is marked by instauration of terror on Romanians, monitoring of young Romanian instigators, abolishing of serfdom and establishment, respectively development of ***Permanent committee from Sibiu***, as coordinating core and with precise strategic role for the Romanians. ***Intensification of social movements in the summer of the year and strengthening reactions against Romanians*** foreshadows irreconcilability between Romanians and Hungarians. ***A third National Assembly from Blaj (15-28 September 1848)*** and ***Romanians' armed organisation*** mean in fact beginning of Romanians' Revolution in Transylvania. The newly territorial-administrative organisation and the ***Civil War***, that followed, evidence, more than never, ***the decisive role of the young.*** Analysis of the army confrontations is very useful with regard to fight strategies and very important political decisions of the Romanian youth.

Thorough investigation of some historical memoirs, such as ***Prefects' reports*** accurately reflects the mechanism of civil

war and coordinating positions that the Romanian youth fulfilled, with remarkable efficiency. Although subjective accents mark objectivity of the accounts, reflecting obvious one-sided attitude, historical reconstitution of the moments of civil war, and valuable information about the young, which is provided through prefects, are extremely useful to our research. *List published by Silviu Dragomir* completes the data base concerning the Romanian youth active within the Revolution and demonstrates the fame they enjoy due to their important contributions. Several figures of remarkable young men is a distinct chapter, by which it is wished depicting several portraits of some Romanian young, who remarked in a special manner, throughout the event. Their path demonstrates activism and political involvement, specific to generation that they represent with great dignity. *The Black Book (Fekete Könyv)* represents one of the most virulent positions of the representatives of Hungarian nation addressing Romanians' revolution. Beyond more than subjective nature of Hungarian texts, through these pages, presence of the Romanian youth in the Revolution and their role of national leaders, are acknowledged and recorded to their real importance.

*1848 spring* is another important sequence of this research. As for what meant birth, definition and coming to maturity of the Romanian revolutionary movement for us, in the spring of 1848, this is remarkable from the point of view of manner it was produced association between the elites and popular masses. In our opinion, it is the first example from modern history of Romania, when fusion of the two plans, the two dynamic entities occurred almost perfectly. Chiefly, the merit belongs to priests, elementary teachers, but especially to the youth. Very attentively, Romanian population obeys them, because it associates social issues with those political-national. In all their speeches, in improvised gatherings it is debated abolishment of corvée, following which it is explained to the rural audience the peril represented by the union with Hungary.

Unalterable belief of peasantry that serfdom was abolished in Blaj, prevailed over any other theory. *The Oath* taken in Blaj confers to decisions of the National Assemblies a sacred importance. Even more, connects this grievance to the wish of the Emperor. What could be more authentic than this in the mind of simple and pious people from the countryside? Even if the intellectual level of people from villages was one relatively low, such it happens everywhere, they give evidence, in front of history, of the fact that they possess qualities much more valuable, such as solidarity, altruism and loyalty towards their leaders and peers. They manifest total confidence in teachings that they receive from their leaders, in their great majority young, and follow trustingly indications. Ideas spread in the villages' world will root and are cultivated, similarly to valuable national assets, becoming elements of cohesion worthwhile in everything what means the fight, already common of Romanians from all areas of Transylvania.

Even if things and realities reviewed above have a romantic resonance, maybe much too higher in comparison with goals of nowadays historiographical approaches, we still consider that they must be evidenced. After all, we refer to a social mechanism whose details are given exactly by its components, which ensure it maximum efficiency, efficacy and accomplishment. If values that in 1848-1849 mobilized energies and ensured cohesion at the highest standards, whereat nowadays we could notice functionality of a social mechanism established on ethnical criteria, were in fact those related to assuming of believes in the nation and its creative virtues, as well in the rightful belief of fight against a clearly identified enemy, then we cannot notice any real motive so that they should not be evidenced the way they deserve. The fact that enthusiasm, which was embraced by masses in 1848, generated feelings of the most exuberant, reflected both at the level of speeches and actions proper and rarely exceeded, maybe without justification, conventional limits of revolutionary behaviours, resides in the charm of revolutionary periods subjected to

historical analysis. Maybe, without enthusiasm, things wouldn't have had meaning in judging of time and even history.

Effervescent state of mind from the Romanian society from Transylvania was more natural as it represents result of whole centuries in which blatant inequities perpetuated at political, national and especially social level have let the Romanians excluded. Thus, to the need of winning modern European rights for Romanians overlaps an accentuated and otherwise absolutely normal effort of recuperating lost time and lost values. Reconfirmation of a status, never privileged, but only normal for a majority nation, oppressed in its own country, throughout time, represents now the core of associated actions, absolute grievance that it could ever hope for.

This would be the thinking of Romanian political leaders of the modern epoch, of XIX<sup>th</sup> century implicitly. Similar is perception amongst human communities, which, even if it is not expressed in these terms, compensates for experiences and feelings externalized in the context of years 1848-1849. Politically, the immediate period following the National Assembly from 3/15 May is dominated by the issue of Union. The Diet from Cluj, whose works were carried out between 28 May-8 July 1848, reveal, once more, the fact that Hungarian nation did not understand – or did not want to understand! – anything from the meaning and role of Romanian revolutionary movement. That is why, it is not insisted very much on the way by which this Diet functioned, because things are not new at all, for what it should have meant a modern legislative authority, marked by revolutionary realities.

**1848 summer** is considered another constituent of the investigation. Chronologically, the 1848 summer, by the manner of how things develop, reveals the transformation of Romanian revolution, from its peaceful character to the radical one, embodied by application of measures which demonstrates passing to Romanians' taking up arms. The following months are again under the sign of the young generation of Romanian revolutionaries, which will officially take lead now of the

Revolution. Following the line of events, it is evidenced their role and are noticed situations by which they excel from the point of view of behaviour. To the same extent, they are judged when measures or decisions taken will prove to be wrong. Yet, no matter whether it is referred to “benefits” of the youth throughout this Revolution or attitudes sometimes too radical, with evil consequences on those involved in the events or even on Romanians’ fate, a thing cannot be denied on no account: the young are the cohesion element, that mobilizes around them energies and determines behaviours within the Revolution.

Quantifying the presence of the young is a mandatory historiographical operation, in these stages of the research that will follow. Besides the fact that acknowledges somehow already formulated theories and validates used historical demonstrations, quantification must be also a moral duty towards these main “social actors”. In one form or another, they assumed roles till exhaustion and did not abandon, as opposed to representatives of other generations, their mission and effective obligations resulting from this. Either, by no means, they did not shirk or leave the front positions then when situations assumed immense risks and inclusively awareness of the fact that end can be one unwanted.

For all these and especially for the fact that they chose to be deciders of the times in which they lived, we considered worth dedicating them many pages. Things occurred exactly the way had to happen in history. Nothing was accidental on that historical scene, which nowadays we can very easily analyse, but we can apprehend very difficultly. Facts’ development, the manner by which diverse options of the young articulated, both at the level of their own conscience and in the wider dimension of relations with other social segments, are conferred by a special “practice” of historical times that they lived in.

Their roles and entering the first line of historical scenes, not necessarily reside in a special prefigured fate, for the need of renewing and recharging the political, national and social life of Romanians’, according to virtues by which youth is endowed

with revolutionary potential. It is rather a sacred duty of them, resulted from their existence itself in an age category, which by millenary experience assumes the natural specificity of transitions. Transitions not only from childhood to maturity but from those of common experiences to progress. Because periods of transitions are the most dynamic, assuming fierce conflicts between ages in which responsibility is handed over, youth, as intermediary of these distinct entities, is defined through the aggressive specific of ruptures happened in the process of evolution. And because the beginning of modern societies in Europe means more than development, a continuous conflictual transition from feudal system to modernity, who would have been more entitled to solve this social equation if not the young? This also happened in the case of Romanian youth, many of them studying to schools from Blaj, Cluj, Sibiu, Zlatna etc.

In the following pages are thoroughly analysed circumstances by which these claimed the role of Romanians' leaders, of contexts and motivations that urged them to proceed to taking over the official lead of the Revolution; it is carefully supervised the decisional process, putting into practice actions afferent to it and, last but not least, are disseminated the results which validate or invalidate attaining the proposed goals.

Ever since from the very beginning, we point out the fact that it is attempted offering an as accurate as possible image of the successive steps taken by the young in development of the events. Because only this way, their trajectory can be reconstituted, especially in these crucial stages when they produce a valid transfer of authority at the level of Revolution's control. From now on, there cannot be referred to hypotheses or influences of the young at decisional level. Practically, Revolution will connect in an absolute authentic manner to everything what means their system of thinking and manner by which the young direct putting into practice own decisions. From this moment, the young are naturally perceived as the ones responsible for the fate of the Romanians in the Revolution and the pressure bore by them will be in accordance to the events.



Path of Romanian revolutionary young in the summer of 1848 cannot be understood without approaching the role of the *National Committee*. This first political organisation of the Romanians from Transylvania, from 1848 was established on the National Assembly from Blaj, from 3/15 May. In fact, all this attempt of establishing the Romanian Committee, started from the top level of Romanian Revolution's leading, from those who issued the first ideological manifestations, wished to be an outpost of Romanians' fight against what was prefigured to happen: Transylvania's union with Hungary. Imminence of this union, totally disapproved by the Romanians, determined the revolutionary leaders to perceive it as a calamitous political act. Thus, all future measures will focus on its impeding. Even after the Diet's decision of sanctioning the union, the young Romanians continue their actions and hope that, by all means, to may impede application of this act, they consider being disastrous, for existence of the Romanian nation from here.

Meanwhile, in Transylvania, antiunionist dissatisfactions are continuously increasing, the young starting to act for organised resistance. The radical group from around Simion Bărnuțiu is now perfectly convinced that there was no chance of peace between Romanians and Hungarians. The only thing that still keeps the young in expectation, is awaiting decision of the Parliament from Vienna, as for adopting the union, after this act had already been ratified by the Emperor. There were no hopes that the Austrians to oppose the union, under existing conditions of Hungarian revolution. Yet, it was expected a slowness of things.

Yet, timidity still evident of the Romanian young from the summer of 1848 is also expression of reality present in Transylvania: fight of Romanians' against a much organised repressive system and in continuous consolidation represented a fantastic effort. Although dimension of Romanian national movement was continually increasing, risks were immense. Antiunionist mentality remarked in different social environments, especially amongst the peasants, cannot

transform into valid popular movement, also due to institution of the martial law, of repression of authorities. The latter turned to different measures against “instigators”. Similarly, it is just the fact that repressing measures of authorities develop on the background of turmoil increase in villages and the peasants’ initiatives lacking prudence. These are starting to take the law into their own hand, by refusal of performing social obligation and even by attempts of dividing the nobiliary estates or communally-owned plots of land.

Personalities that were in control of the Romanian revolutionary movement were closely followed by the authorities, these being perfectly aware of the influence exerted by the Romanian elites. Romanians’ leaders were carefully monitored and any “move” these make, alerts the authorities. Informational network that functioned in Transylvania was, from this point of view, very well organised. Any small detail which aroused suspicions was thoroughly analysed and sent further, to take preventive measures.

Hungarians’ obsession towards Romanian youth, whom they continue to consider “instigators” and disturbers, reaches unencountered levels. All over, they are recorded as a threat to the nobility and Hungarian nation. Any action, activity and stand are catalogued and interpreted as evil intentions, inconceivable for what means supporting cause of the Romanian nation. The fact that young leaders of Romanians allow themselves to express certain considerations, otherwise perfectly justified, in respect of the delicate situation and unprecedented tightening of measures against Romanians, is considered a great offence to the Hungarian nation and an intolerable insult to the political class, which continued to lead as it fancied, not taking into consideration social and national grievances of Romanians. Apparent concessions, that the Hungarians affirm they would be willing to make or eventual pieces of advice as for taking some measures to improve Romanians’ situation, are in fact only simple precaution measures taken by them in limit situations.

Their purpose was to head off arousing of some conflicts which were already prefigured, more and more evidently.

This would be the mentality at the beginning of 1848 summer. Beyond the subjective feature of officials' accounts, which still must be interpreted as sources, revolutionary effervescence followed, after all offered hints, to become a reality. Accumulated tensions and permanent irritation, dominant on both „sides” foreshadow what was about to follow, outburst of forces of uncountered proportions, which ever since the autumn of the year 1848, will eat Transylvania little by little. 1848 summer is another stage of explorations, of conflicts, more or less tacit, which will only lead to accumulations of new elements of unrest and nervousity. These social processes specific to intrigues and concentration of negative energies will generate, absolutely naturally, outbreaks of the most unexpected, throughout the civil war that will follow. The dreadful things done then by the representatives of both parts involved in military confrontations will reflect severe deviations of interhuman behaviour. These have valid explanations, yet, in the completely unfavourable environment of asperities and social splitting. If we add to all these aspects also the strategy of harassment and persecution of Romanian youth, fervently practiced by Hungarian officials and nobility, on the whole, we cannot accept the fact that compromise wouldn't have been possible, on no account, in that period. Authorities premeditate to such an extent annihilation of the force represented by Romanian youth, so that the latter will be taken to court and all possible undertakings will be seek to take them to the law court.

As for popular movements resulted in different areas of Transylvania, even if from now on they remark through their national character, these develop also this time from local forms till attempts of wider organisation, at national level. Focalising cores, centres towards which are drawn masses of Romanians, without referring to the area of the Apuseni Mountains, where things are very clear, Romanian regiments from Orlat and Năsăud become the only ones capable of ensuring protection, at

that moment. This occurred, given the fact that unlike regular army, border regiments were not part of Hungary's military system. Position of these border regiments towards the great issues of the Revolution was a determinant factor in development of events from 1848.

**Civil war and decisive role of the young** is another issue followed throughout the thesis. As for premises of holding the new National Assembly from September 1848, which, in fact, represents a decisive moment, in terms of adopted revolutionary decisions, it is imposed to point out that the political situation from now is clearly superior to that from the spring of the year. Of course, we refer to the level reached by the Romanian movement, from the point of view of clarification and assumption of some valid objectives. Things are a lot simpler now, because Romanians already know for sure where they want to make to. No matter whether it is referred to the elite of the young leaders or great popular mass, options are already established and relations of collaboration function successfully. Disturbing elements, which could have maintain a certain state of incertitude as for directions of action and ways of putting them into practice, are practically inexistent, at the level of Romanian national movement. Now, on no account, is aroused a problem as for interference of religious factors in the process of taking decisions and implicitly the question mark that certain groups from the control of Romanian revolution could betray national interests or at least that would diverge from radical ways of meeting grievances.

Another decision of maximum importance of the Assembly from September is decision of establishing the national guards, designated to defend the Romanian nation in front of Hungarian insurgents. More than that, in the last day is adopted an act significantly entitled "decree", issued by "Assembly from Blaj", which acknowledges decision of the mass of passing to armed fighting for gaining national and social liberties. From now on, the Assembly assumes constitutional attributions, exceeding the consultative phase that the

Romanians were used to. They went on, due to young's decision, to putting into practice the principle of political power in Transylvania, based on majority's principle. This merit falls exclusively on the young, because they were the ones who, throughout the whole year, systematically prepared taking of such decision. Although these decisions will be followed by armed confrontations and will bring important damages, importance of "Romanians' congress" resides in the fact that it realised reunification of revolutionary centres and reorganisation at the top of national movement, by reinvesting of some front-rank young, with authority of acting in the name of the nation. We refer to establishment of "Pacification committee", which thus substituted the "Permanent committee", proclaimed in Sibiu, in the spring.

Fight of Romanians from Transylvania is from now on the only solution for fulfilling grievances. The *Civil War* from Transylvania was, thus, triggered, once with the end of the Assembly from September. This is carried out throughout four great stages, extremely consistent, both from the point of view of events and accomplishments themselves, and especially from the perspective of quantifying presence of Romanian revolutionary young. Stage October-November represents beginning of litigations, characterised by establishment of Romanian fighting legions and instauration of Romanian administration in Transylvania's counties. Between December 1848 and February 1849, Transylvania is conquered by General Bem Iosif, nobiliary administration being restored, and between March and July it is remarked fight of Romanians against occupation of Hungarian troops. The last stage or period of the civil war spans between July and August 1849 and reveals activity of Avram Iancu, who maintains a neutral tone between fights amongst the Russians and Austrians on the one side, and Hungarians on the other. After the fight from Fântânele, which took place on 6 July 1849, the Hungarian troops will be defeated definitively.

It is worth remembering, once we reached presentation of this stage from the present research that our main intention is not of depicting step by step all events or battles that took place, but that of insisting on the role that the Romanian young leaders had in their development and outcome. The civil war from Transylvania from 1848-1849 was much researched, that we almost would not have any novelties to be revealed, or what other theories to formulate about that, no matter how much we would try. Historical events are already clear and almost unanimously accepted. At least in Romanian historiography!

What we wished is quantifying presence of the young and their role. Undoubtedly, the line of events should be followed, otherwise one would not understand causality relations and would not apprehend the logical streak of events in the action itself. Yet, what we wished to measure is proportion by which the young have written history in Transylvania, in 1848-1849. Thus, following 9 October, date by which the Austrian General Commandment pronounced for acknowledging rights of the Romanian nation, Pacification committee of Romanians decides setting up of 15 Romanian legions, by which is embodied the plan from Blaj, and by which it is wished to orient all Romanians' directions of actions.

The prefect was the administrator of prefecture (legion) and its Commander. The prefect was served by one or more vice-prefects. Legions were organized in tribunates, centuriae and decuries, these being similar to battalion, company and group. These prefects appointed by the Committee and confirmed by Austrian army, prove, next to those seconding them and who are vice prefects, tribunes, centurions and decurions, to be totally young. Many of them come from superior schools and gymnasia (Blaj, Cluj, Sibiu, Zlatna etc.) while others are newly graduate.

Romanians' military successes are more remarkable as effectives of majority of Romanian legions confronted ever since the beginning of conflicts with extremely difficult problems, as for staff, organization norms, living and

accommodation means, ways of fighting instruction, etc. Romanian revolutionaries, young and ambitious people leading armies represented the quality of the troops, of course having beside fighters trained from amongst peasants, very strong in defeating all sorts of hardships.

The course of civil war from Transylvania and maybe inclusively some of the aspects less pleasant of revolutionary manifestations from both sides, definitely originate in asperities and Romanian-Hungarian conflicts accumulated throughout times. Social splitting, perpetuated in the whole history of relations between the two nationalities created, little by little, germs of deep resentments, which accumulated throughout time will swell, revealing terrible human behaviours. The actions they coordinate and their manner of doing it, next to depiction of strategies and fighting ways, reveal now, more than never, states assumed by the Romanian youth. And we refer here, not necessarily to states generated by roles of effective leaders, because these are already clear and recorded for certain. Especially, we have in view psycho-social configurations that defined the majority of them, and which are rooted in precedents of cohabitation relations between them and the masses they lead.

On the other hand, behavioural attitudes and models instituted within coordination of masses will reveal also another side of relations between the young leaders and popular masses, a new form of manifestation of hierarchical relations, necessary to ensure coherent actions and implicitly success of operations. This aspect, quite important for the purpose of the scientific approach, can provide a series of authentic information about the way it was made articulation of wishes and training of the young elites following the conduct of popular armies involved in military confrontations. This all the more so as, pronounced dynamism of unreeling the proper episodes involved a complex process of adaptation to new circumstances, of identification of solutions in limit moments and even of salvation and mutual support in critical situations.

Analysis of the civil war carried out by Romanians demonstrates despite final results, more or less satisfying, that the complex mechanism of connecting the young Romanian leaders with its soldiers functioned successfully. Definitely, this thing wouldn't have been possible without existence of a very well defined organizational culture, which to confirm and maintain, within the established groups unity and solidarity of its members. Factors that determined this complex system to succeed to function successfully are numerous and prevail over the other disturbing elements that menaced its stability. Firstly, to the success of organization and functioning of Romanian armed structures, contributed the stable connection between young leaders and their soldiers, based on generation solidarity itself and common objectives pursued throughout 1848 as vital grievances for Romanians' national, social and political accomplishment. Grievances that united the Romanians, irrespective of their status, had been invested with absolute value, through an ample process carried out throughout a long period of time, so that they were fixed in the collective consciousness as extremely primary objectives, whose fulfilment would suffer no delay anymore. At the same time, the fact is that legitimating of revolutionary actions happened also as a result of some unceasing undertakings of identification of Romanian grievances with elements that supported revitalization of the "golden age" of the nation, and which were deeply rooted in the glorious historical past of Romanian nation, whose restructuring was also made by the young. Appeal to historical right and national right of Romanians represented "indubitable proofs" as for realism and justness of the sacred cause of the nation.

Another very important element that ensured coherence in functionality of legions and other subordinated entities, despite the fact that the Romanians did not have experience of relations between organized structures and even more in military formations, is represented by the indestructible connection between leaders and popular masses. It was built based on very



well soldered affective feelings in the spring and summer of 1848. Genetic elements are enhanced by passional experiences, which definitely united the leaders of popular masses, then, when it was proceeded, absolutely ritualistic, to divine assumption of fight for a new life, changing of an obsolete social system with a new, modern one. Cohabitation between the plan represented by the young elites and that of rural, popular masses, as well as beginning of revolutionary actions preceding the civil war, happened in a festive environment, demonstrating importance attributed to the unique moment of passing to a new age, of benefits for the Romanian nation.

Festive dimension attributed to drawing in masses in revolutionary actions is a new component of fusion between the two plans. It confers a special signification to initiatic moments and demonstrates, in fact, solemnity conveyed to these ceremonial stages, as unique events, in the life of people. Entering of popular masses in the revolutionary movement, thus, occurred in an environment dominated by trust, joy and exuberance, tonic and refreshing feelings for the Romanian nation, also expressed by the young.

Careful analysis of social and political events from throughout the civil war will confirm inseparable relation between the young and Romanian popular masses drawn in the fight. Irrespective of age, social status and even sex, Romanians launch out in military confrontations, trustfully following their leaders. As result, despite many appearances and leaving aside less pleasant aspects of peasant attacks, otherwise explainable in conditions of an environment dominated by insecurity and terror, Romanians' fight was one relatively well organized. It had a precise goal, rational leaders, and evidenced maturity, by the fact itself that it based on well assumed and promoted identity elements. It had clearly defined objectives, sincere, perfectly justified and, above all, it based on millenary belief that the Romanian nation from Transylvania deserves a better fate. Romanians' pretensions, far from being aberrant, demonstrated that respected realities of times and, even more

than that, that they are entitled, by virtue of human rights, recently proclaimed in the whole Europe.

Articulation of these tendencies was made through and constant support of Romanian youth. They were the ones who directed a process of ideological clarification, which, related to the ideological trend of Europe, was adopted and particularized to objective realities of Transylvanian society. Given the fact that in Transylvania existed an unusual situation, from all points of view, and it is not the case anymore to reiterate now the factors that contributed to its creation, because things are notorious, role of the young in creation of a sustainable ideological system and prone to trigger revolutionary movements was one at least sinuous, if not necessarily difficult. The young had to build almost from A to Z, a functional revolutionary system. They had limited resources, irrespective of what we refer to, and this thing I don't think can ever be doubted. Their merit is, from this point of view, even greater. Romanian revolutionary youth succeeded, starting from this undertaking, by no means simple, when national feeling were exacerbated amongst Romanian popular masses.

### **Conclusions**

Throughout this thesis was proposed quantification of presence and activity of the young in the turmoil of revolutionary events from Transylvania, from 1848-1849. This "historiographic operation" is considered a cultural obligation with valid national characteristics, which we had to take into consideration. Besides the fact that it certified us somehow already formulated theories and validated historical demonstrations, an appreciation from the point of view of quantity should also be our moral duty towards these leading "social actors", Romanian revolutionary young who, in one form or another, assumed roles till exhaustion. They did not abandon, as opposed to representatives of other generations, their mission and effective obligations resulting from this. Either, by no means, they did not shirk or leave the front positions then when situations assumed immense risks and

inclusively becoming aware of the fact that end can be one unwanted. For all these and especially for the fact that they chose to be deciders of the times in which they lived, we considered worth dedicating them many chapters. We tried, as much as possible, to synthesise the path of Romanian young in 1848-1849. We depicted the political options that these assumed and we followed the line of events to apprehend both causality connections that generated behaviours, as well as consequences of their actions.

By highlighting all those moments, whose protagonists are clearly the young, we could realise a clear projection of the youth and young. Also, we were capable of discovering ways by which the social system assigned them roles and responsibilities and, implicitly we defined them own image and identity, dictated by necessities and revolutionary contexts in Transylvania of the 5<sup>th</sup> decade of XIX<sup>th</sup> century. Political-social mechanism is one complex, and reveals an environment dominated by necessity of acting in accordance with national and social grievances, that involved prejudices (justifiable for Romanians) and define an interesting epoch and quite fascinating as for elements that operated at the level of mentalities. We preferred to underline essential elements, which formed the portrait of Romanian Transylvanian young from the mid of XIX<sup>th</sup> century. Archetype of Romanian revolutionary young is, from this point of view, relevant for everything that meant political and social dimension, with mutations and changes that assumed its evolution towards modernism in a Europe continually changing. Thus, Romanian youth represented in this stage of transition the protagonist of the Revolution from 1848-1849, capable of implementing values and modern social theories, and community of the time, aware of their value, invested them at political and social level, with the role of deciding and act in the name of their nation.

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