HANSE TOWNS

(HAMBURG)

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HAMBURG

FO 33/130: George Lloyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 22, Hamburg, 7 February 1851

Austrian troops in Hamburg; city's vacillating foreign policy between Britain and Prussia; popular anxiety that Austria will aim to control the press and disband the city militia; need for constitutional reform; public support for independence of Schleswig-Holstein

I had the honor of reporting to Your Lordship, in my despatch No 14 of the 21st January last, that the requisition made for the Austrian Corps to garrison this Town,[1] was for a force not to exceed 2 batallions [*sic*], from 3,500 to 4000 men; indeed, these were stated to me by the Austrian Minister as about the numbers destined for Hamburg. It appears, however, that the Force now actually in garrison in this City consists of 5200 men.

Two additional Batallions [*sic*] of Austrians have passed through here this day, on their way to Altona, and tomorrow a Brigade of those Troops is expected here, to be followed the next days by more, so that altogether 10,000 Austrians are destined for Altona and its neighbourhood. Of this Corps, 2 to 3000 are to garrison Rendsburg[2] in conjunction with a like force of Prussians, which has arrived already here this day, and has been quartered in the suburbs of the town. This force will proceed from here en route for Rendsburg, on Sunday the 9th instant.

So imposing a Force of Austrian Troops, to be concentrated in and about this City has naturally created considerable alarm amongst its Inhabitants, and fear and apprehension have evidently manifested themselves in the Senate, and on the Hamburg Exchange, as to the ulterior objects of this large force. Such fears have been increased by the assurances given by Baron Proketch [*sic*] the Austrian Minister at Berlin, to Count Lützow his Colleague in this City,[3] that at no former period did there exist a more sound alliance, or a more perfect

[1]The issue of the quartering of Austrian troops stemmed from the federal intervention in Holstein to restore the authority of Frederik VII as Duke of Holstein. It was requested by Austria and Prussia in their note to the Hamburg senate of 20 January 1851. While the senate initially refused, it was agreed to on 22 January.

[2]Fortress of Rendsburg.

[3]Hodges most probably refers to Prokesch's dispatch to Lützow of 22 January 1851.

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conformity of views than that now established between Austria and Prussia.

As is always the case when the interests and independence of Hamburg are menaced, and she gets into difficulties with Continental States, she boasts loudly of her reliance on Great Britain for succour and support; although I regret to be obliged to observe, that in a time of prosperity, or even when she considered that She could do without the assistance of England – and this was the case during the isolated Policy adopted by Prussia in 1849, when Hamburg threw herself entirely into the arms of Prussia[4] –she paid but little attention to the good counsels and advice which Your Lordship at different times instructed me to give to Her Government, as regards the neutral line of Policy most suited to Hamburg interests. Nevertheless the commercial connections between this state and Great Britain are of that magnitude and importance for both, that they seem to me to require the best understanding to exist on both sides, and I have never ceased to use my best efforts to that end.

Your Lordship will be best able to judge as to the grounds for this alarm on the part of the Senate and inhabitants of this City, but my own impression is, that the employment of this considerable Austrian force has at least two objects; one of which is, the limitation of the freedom of the Press. No doubt the freedom that this powerful organ of Public opinion has assumed since the Revolution of 1848, has had a most pernicious influence upon good government and public morals; but on the other hand, it's abolition, or even the restoration of the old system of Censorship,[5] will create such animosity and rancour as, in conjunction with the general dissatisfaction at the system of reactionary policy now pursued in Germany, may explode at any moment. Sound and wholesome restrictions upon the Press of the north of Germany, and especially upon that of this Town seem to me to be indispensable, but my fears are that the measures adopted will be of too stringent and destructive a nature.

The other object that I believe to be in contemplation under the influence of this Austrian force, is the disbanding of the Burger guard[6] of this City, a force amounting to 12,000 men, but a considerable number of these upon all occasions during my residence here, has only been instrumental for evil. It was a portion of this Force that committed

[4]On 14 August 1849, Hamburg joined the Erfurt Union, the Prussian project for the establishment of a *kleindeutsch* federal state.

[5]Censorship, introduced in consequence of the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, was abolished on 9 March 1848.

[6]Militia.

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the principal plundering at the Great Fire in 1842,[7] although employed with the intention that they should protect property and persons, and it was a part of this Force that in 1849 had the audacity to oppose the entrance of, and insult a Prussian Regiment on its return from Schleswig, and thereby gave grounds for the Prussian Government to retain military occupation of this City until lately, when the whole of their Troops were withdrawn from the Duchies.[8] This second measure would therefore in my humble opinion be a most salutary one, should the Hamburg Government evince sufficient determination to disband such force, and establish in its stead a useful and efficient body of Police. However, as nothing is known in public as to the designs of the German great Powers, it is not to be wondered at that alarm and suspicion should prevail in this Town at the presence of so large an Austrian Force here; considering its Commercial interests and weak means of defence. The same remark will apply also to Lubeck where there is an Austrian force also garrisoned, as will appear by the accompanying copy of a letter which I have received from Her Majesty's Vice Consul there.[9]

In my former despatches to Your Lordship I have frequently alluded to the necessity for Reforms in the Constitution[10] of this City. After the Revolutions of 1848, when Hamburg was menaced by internal commotions, the Senate made many promises of Concessions, not one of which has been kept; and after the Constituent Assembly was elected with the reluctant consent of the Senate, that assembly framed a new law for a Constitution. The Senate under various pretexts delayed giving their approval, or disapproval of this Law until a large Prussian force had obtained military possession of the City and then the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. A body of 9 individuals was then elected, with instructions to frame again a constitution for this state. It is now several months since this Commission of 9 made its report, and though this was very much less democratic than the Constitution of the Constituent Assembly, yet it was favorably received by most of the Inhabitants, in fact I may say by all classes except the old Senate and their dependents. However, from unaccountable and vexatious delays the new laws to be framed by this body of nine,

[7]Hamburg Fire of 5–8 May 1842, in which about one-fifth of the city was destroyed.

[8]Prussian troops entered Hamburg on 17 August 1849, after the unrest of 13 and 14 August directed against a Prussian battalion. The occupation, which was justified in terms of the protection of federal troops on their return from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, was approved by Hamburg's senate on 21 August and lasted until November 1850.

[9]Enclosure: letter from George Lloyd dated Lübeck, 5 January 1851.

[10]Constitution of 1710/1712.

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almost under the Senates' own direction have never been brought forward.[11]

I have always studiously avoided interfering as much as possible in the local politics of this City, but since it has been Your Lordship's pleasure to employ me actively in the Affairs of the Duchy of Schleswig and Holstein,[12] I find it still more necessary to refrain from so doing. A great part of the Senate, and most of the Inhabitants of this State are zealous advocates for the independence of the Duchies, and, why I know not, regard every one who does not think as they do, as inimical to German interests, and partisans of Denmark; and unfortunately I have on many occasions been included by them in this category; and to this circumstance attribute it, that I have met with less cordiality from members of this Government, than I was accustomed to previous to the unfortunate contest between Denmark and the Duchies.

FO 33/131: George Lloyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 73, Hamburg, 30 September 1851

Hanoverian treaty with Prussia; possibility of Hanse Towns joining the Zollverein*; predicted detrimental impact upon British trade*

With reference to my despatch to Your Lordship No. 65 of the 9th instant respecting the Treaty concluded between Hanover and Prussia[13] by which the former agrees to join the Zollverein, I beg leave to submit to Your Lordship, some remarks relative to the prejudicial effects it is likely to have on British interests, should the Northern States of Germany, not yet belonging to the Zollverein, join it. Should these States, viz: the two Mecklenburgs, Oldenburg, Bremen, Lübeck and Lauenburg join the Zollverein, of which there is great probability; and perhaps also the Duchy of Holstein including Altona must do so, Hamburg may struggle for a time; but the circumstances would compel her to abandon the isolated position she would be placed in,

[11] The constituent assembly, which existed from 14 December 1848 until its dissolution on 17 June 1850, presented the draft constitution on 11 July 1849. The constitution was subsequently sent on to the *Neuner-Kommission* (installed on 27 September 1849) for revision. The commission, consisting of four members of the senate and five members of the *Bürgerschaft* (the municipal parliament), submitted their proposals to the senate on 5 November 1849. After further adjustments by the senate, the constitution was accepted by the *Bürgerschaft* on 23 May 1850 with the proviso that it be suspended until certain transitory regulations and organic laws on the judiciary and administration were passed. For the further development of the constitutional question see pp. 198–202.

[12] Hodges was a member of the administrative commission for Schleswig from August 1849 to July 1850.

[13] See n. 9 in Frankfurt section.

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and adopt the High duties of the Zollverein Tariff; and thus would fall the last strong hold [*sic*] for Free Trade and British Manufactures in Germany.

But indeed whether Hamburg joins the treaty or not, the trade in British Manufactures to that City, should the states above mentioned join in it, will be almost destroyed, because, it appears, that the greater part of British Manufactures imported into Hamburg, exclusive of yarns, have gone hitherto to those German States not belonging to the Zollverein, and to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. These latter countries take now at least one half of their former importations by way of Hamburg from England directly; and as regards the trade to those German States above mentioned, it is known, that in 1848 the Board of Directors of the Union of Hamburg Merchants in the Trade in Manufactures[14] were required to state on behalf of the "Comercium" of this City,[15] the value of English goods sold to those states of Germany not in the Zollverein. In consequence, a general inquiry was made, and the result was, that it was fairly estimated, that the amount of business done in 1847, in British manufactured Goods; (yarns not included) of cotton, wool, worsted, linen, iron, steel, metal, (pigs and bar iron excluded) stone-wares[,] china etc., with Hanover, Oldenburg, Lippe, both Mecklenburgs, Lauenburg, Holstein, Sleswig, and the Hanse Towns, amounted at least to Twenty Five Millions of Marks banco or about £1,650,000 and the Trade has certainly increased since then.

This large Trade could only have been carried on between Great Britain through Hamburg with states with very low Tariffs; as Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, and the Hanse Towns, or with only financial Tariffs, as Hanover, Oldenburg, Lippe, Holstein, and Sleswig.

The Tariff of the Zollverein being so high, is nearly prohibitive for all the coarser articles, so that Cotton goods are nearly excluded, and only a little Nottingham lace can be imported under it. Of Linen goods there can be none imported, of woollen, but a few West of England Buckskins; of worsted, some finer Bradford goods; and some of the finer cutlery from Birmingham. The small trade carried on with the States of the Zollverein in British manufactured articles, is the best proof, that but very little trade can be expected after the junction of the Steuerverein[16] with the Prussian league. The difference in the rates

[14] *Verein von Kaufleuten des Manufactur-Waaren-Faches en gros*.

[15] The *Commerz-Deputation*, founded in 1665, was the precursor of the Hamburg chamber of commerce.

[16] The *Steuerverein* was established in 1834 as a north German counterweight to the Prussian-centred *Zollverein*. Its members in 1851 were Hanover, Oldenburg, and Schaumburg-Lippe.

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of duty on the principal manufactured goods will make this fact clear, as for instance:

Cotton goods pay per Cwt:

	In the Steuerverein,	Zollverein
	12 ½ dollars,	50 dollars
Silk goods	12 ½ "	110 "
Woollen worsted	12 ½ "	30+50 "

I do not trouble Your Lordship with the arguments and statements which have been repeatedly made use of to me of late, by influential merchants of this State, respecting the Treaty and its consequences; as most of them are those already often used against the system of the Zollverein; and they may be only appropriate in regard to the further extension of the Zollverein to Countries hitherto levying moderate duties on British manufactures, & inhabited by a thriving people. In regard to another Class of Free Traders, who look upon the present Treaty between Hanover and Prussia as a step in advance towards the realisation of their views; by its enabling Prussia to promote the reduction of the present Zollverein duties, I very much doubt, should the Prussian Government be so disposed, whether she would have the power to do so; for although their Baltic Provinces wish for Free Trade, political, and other motives must, I think, prevent that Government from offending, or injuring the interests of a powerful body, in that unsettled part of the Germanic Confederation; the Prussian Provinces of the Rhine; and who not only oppose any reduction, – but are clamorous for an increase of some of the duties of the Zollverein most prejudicial to British industry.

It may be presumptuous in me to offer remarks so decidedly upon a question of such importance; nor, indeed, should I venture to do so, were I not strengthened in my views by the opinions of persons well conversant with the commercial Interests of Germany, in connection with those of England, and whose feelings are, I believe, not biased by self-interest, nor prejudiced by preconceived opinions; I therefore submit them most respectfully to Your Lordship's consideration.

FO 33/137: George Lloyd Hodges to Earl of Clarendon, Confidential, No 10, Hamburg, 18 March 1853

Complaints against asylum granted to refugees in Britain; Austrian party blamed for inciting popular opposition towards England

With reference to the last Paragraph of my Despatch No. 7, relating to the complaints against the Asylum afforded in England to Political

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Fugitives, I am sorry further to observe that the articles in the greater part of the German Press are not yet more moderate in their attacks on the Government of Great Britain on this subject.[17] But these censures are written with such want of consideration and knowledge of the Laws and Constitution of England, and the Powers vested in the Government, that they are little likely permanently to influence Public opinion in these parts against Her.

There have been however no exertions spared by the small Party for Austria here, to excite and stimulate such inimical feeling; and these exertions have been zealously aided by those of the Russian Party. Indeed for some length of time Austria has been trying to increase her little political and commercial influence in this City; and one means of promoting her views has been the withdrawing recently, under the pretence of Economy, of her paid Consul General,[18] an Austrian, to make place for W. Ernst Merck, without salary, who was Minister of Finance under the Reichverweser, the Arch-Duke John, at Frankfort. This gentleman is the acting Partner in the Firm of Merck & Co. one of the oldest mercantile Houses here, and brother to the syndic for Foreign affairs;[19] but it is right that I should observe that the syndic's political feeling is much in favour of what was a few months ago considered to be the Prussian Policy. The newly appointed Consul General is a declared Partisan for Ultra Austrian Policy; He is a man of some ability, and, from his connections, of influence on the Hamburg Exchange. Austria has also an active Partisan here, and an able writer for the Press, in the person of Dr. Hecksher, who also was in the Central Government at Frankfort as Minister for Foreign Affairs; and he was deputed by the Frankfort Assembly to proceed to Vienna to accompany the Arch-Duke John to Frankfort. I have reason to believe that there are other Germans exerting themselves to promote the views of Austria, who are moving about in Germany for this purpose.

However I consider that all such attempts on the part of Austria to turn the minds of the People against England will not, after they have reflected a little, have much success, even assisted by the adherents of Russia; whose political influence here now, indeed, is deserving of little notice. With regard to France, the great majority of the People here and in the north of Germany feel but little political sympathy for her; and the acts of her Government are watched with jealousy and fear.

[17]In this dispatch, dated 4 March 1853, Hodges stated that Britain was criticized both publicly and in the press for offering asylum to refugees, and that acts such as the insurrection in Milan and the assassination attempt against the Emperor of Austria were immediately blamed on plots originating among exiles in Britain.

[18]Sisinio de Pretis-Cagnodo.

[19]Carl Hermann Merck.

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It is proper that I should remark to Your Lordship that the foregoing observations on the endeavours of the German Press to excite ill feelings towards England, do not apply to a part of the Hamburg Press; for most of the Journals of this City have given translations of the late Parliamentary Debates on the Fugitive question, and of Leading Articles in the "Times", condemning the Policy of Austria towards the Swiss Canton of Ticino, and the system of confiscation employed against the Fugitives from Lombardy.[20]

FO 33/142: George Lloyd Hodges to Earl of Clarendon, No 26, Hamburg, 10 April 1854

Increasing popular aversion to Russia as a result of Eastern Crisis; distrust of Prussia owing to court's Russian sympathies; pamphlet by Gervinus

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatches to No. 10 inclusive with their several enclosures, and I beg to assure Your Lordship that it affords me very great satisfaction to find that my despatch No. 20, of the 23 ultimo, has proved deserving of the attention of Her Majesty's Government;[21] and I shall not fail, according to Your instructions, to report to Your Lordship such information as I may obtain, that may tend to shew the Public feeling in Germany in regard to the War.

Every hour tends to show the increasing aversion of the German people towards Russia and her policy; and since I last addressed Your Lordship on this subject, the varying reports, as to the greater or less probability of the adhering of Prussia to the policy of the Western Powers, have increased their anxiety to ascertain the real state of affairs; and the fears expressed by all that she might not do so, shew the national desire for the emancipation of Germany from Russian influence.

The vast preparations by sea and land made by England and France for carrying on the War on a scale commensurate with the great objects which they have in view, the appearance of the combined Fleets in

[20] Debates on the Refugee Question were held in the House of Commons on 1 and 3 March 1853 and in the House of Lords on 4 and 7 March. In its leader of 8 March 1853, *The Times* criticized Austria's policy towards the Swiss Canton Ticino, where the failed uprising in Lombardy-Venetia had been plotted (see n. 25 in Saxony section). The measures included the expulsion of immigrants from Ticino and the seizure of the estates and property of persons who went into exile following the events of 1848 and 1849.

[21] In this dispatch of 23 March, Hodges reported that public opinion was in favour of the British and French policy towards the Eastern Question.

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the Baltic,[22] the correspondence published shewing the perseverance with which Russia has long cherished her aggressive plans,[23] and the sad experience of her domineering policy, directly opposed to the sympathies of the German people and to their material interests, have all aided to raise the public spirit in this country to its present remarkable state, and to strengthen the conviction that now is the time for Germany to come forward to aid in putting an end to the undue preponderance obtained by Russia in European affairs.

I have heard it asserted, My Lord, by those who are inclined to the despotic system of Russia, that the present feeling of excitement will be as evanescent as the popular movement in 1848; but I beg to observe to Your Lordship, that I consider that there is a great difference between the state of public feeling then and now. The feeling awakened now is more akin to that which animated the Germans before the Battle of Leipsic, and the so called War of liberation.[24] In fact, My Lord, the German people see well enough that the present War is a contest for a subtle and hateful despotism, against constitutional ideas and the advance of civilisation; and now that they feel certain that England and France are in earnest in the great struggle, they will be prepared to risk life and property, as I firmly believe, in aid of the efforts of those allied countries; Knowing well that their cause is also the cause of Germany.

With the public mind in such a state, every movement at the court of Prussia is watched with the greatest jealousy, and the late visit of Prince George of Mecklenburg Strelitz to the King of Prussia[25] was looked at most unfavourably; as personally he is most obnoxious to the people of Germany; and it was thought he could only be the bearer of communications from the Emperor of Russia calculated to induce the Prussian Government to withdraw altogether from the cause of England and France.

The feeling of distrust in regard to Prussia has lately been directed chiefly against the King who I regret to say, in these parts, and also from what I hear in other parts of Germany, is very unpopular; and he is blamed now as the sole cause of all the hesitation and uncertainty that

[22]The allied fleet reached the Baltic Sea on 25 March 1854.

[23]Hodges refers to volumes V and VI of the *Eastern Papers*, which were presented to Parliament on 17 March 1854.

[24]Battle of Leipzig (Battle of Nations), 16–19 October 1813.

[25]Prince Georg, a Russian officer, arrived at Berlin on 3 April 1854, bearing a letter from the Tsar to the King of Prussia. The letter stated that, should the Western Powers secure a treaty from the Ottoman Empire emancipating its Christian subjects, Russia would willingly leave the Danubian principalities at the same time as the Western Powers evacuated their fleets from the Black Sea.

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have prevailed, which the Public ascribe to His Majesty's sympathies for Russia and her cause; indeed so unpopular is the King here, that at one of the Club Houses of Hamburg frequented by my colleagues, members of the Hamburg Government, and the first people on our Exchange, and to which strangers are introduced from all parts of Germany, I thought it prudent to leave the room to avoid hearing the violent language openly used against His Majesty by one of the leading Hamburg merchants.

Since the above was written I find by the latest accounts from Berlin that the Prussian Chamber has voted for the loan of 30 Millions of dollars, and that the Prussian Government has agreed to sign the Vienna Protocol;[26] this news, as far as it goes, has given satisfaction here, but as it is not known to what extent Prussia has engaged to go with the other Powers, great distrust is still entertained of the intentions of the Prussian Government.

In support generally of the views which I have expressed to Your Lordship in this and my previous despatch, I beg to enclose a German Pamphlet that I have received to day,[27] and has first been published at Heidelberg, written, as I am informed, by Professor Gervinus, who, as Your Lordship is aware, is well known throughout Germany as a publicist of great talent. He was one of those Professors who were expelled from Göttingen by the late King of Hanover,[28] and is a most esteemed and popular man in Germany; but as time will not allow me to forward a translation of the Book, to save Your Lordship trouble, I enclose a short notice of it's purport in English, which will shew at a glance the sentiment regarding the War against Russia, that prevail [*sic*] amongst the leading literary men of this great Empire.

I may further observe to Your Lordship that every day brings out pamphlets of a tendency more or less similar to that of the enclosure, and they all tend to increase the excitement in the Public mind against Russia.

[26]The law regulating credit for extraordinary expenses of the military administration was voted by the chamber of deputies on 8 April 1854. In the protocol signed at the Vienna Conference on 9 April, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia declared that they would remain united 'in the double object of maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire' and 'of consolidating [. . .] the civil and religious rights of the Christian subjects of the Porte'. Austria and Prussia also recognized that Britain and France's declaration of war against Russia in March 1854 was 'founded in right'.

[27]Enclosure: pamphlet entitled *Deutsche Antwort auf die Orientalische Frage*, 1854 (original and English summary).

[28]The 'Göttingen Seven' were dismissed from their posts in December 1837 because of their protest against King Ernst August's revocation of the 1833 constitution.

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FO 33/143: George Lloyd Hodges to Earl of Clarendon, No 133, Hamburg, 27 December 1854

Difficulties in recruiting for the British Foreign Legion owing to opposition from the Prussian and Hanseatic governments

With regard to the proposed recruiting of Foreign Troops for the service of Her Majesty,[29] I have reason to believe that more obstacles would be opposed to such a measure by the Hamburg Government, and the Governments of the other Hanse Towns, than even at first I expected. These obstacles will not so much have their origin with those Governments themselves, though they are opposed to the plan, but will be raised in consequence of the political pressure of Prussia against everything that may run counter to Russian interests.

It is remarkable that within the last few weeks there has been a decided manifestation of feeling in favor of Russia by persons of influence here, and there is a considerable party who of late assert that the English Government are opposed to Peace for their own selfish motives, and that but for their exertions France would willingly consent to make Peace. On these grounds, they maintain that it is incumbent on every true German to oppose the English Government should they attempt to raise Troops in this Country, which they observe might at no distant day be compelled to fight against their own Country. These sentiments prevail amongst a portion of the Senate and many of the higher classes of society of this Town, and they have been encouraged by the various agents and partisans of the Prussian Government in this City.

However the alarm already apparent on the part of the Prussian and other Governments at the proposed recruiting for German Troops, seems to me to be one proof of the policy of the measure, and already the "Kreuz Zeitung" has published an article reminding the Public that no Prussian dare leave his country without the permission of the Government,[30] and of the punishment that he would be liable to for so doing; and I have reason to believe that three or four of the Berlin secret Police have already been sent down here to watch any steps that may be taken towards obtaining recruits, and especially the Emigration Agents and any English Employés here.

But notwithstanding all the opposition of the Governments and the measures they may take, to hinder the raising of the Troops in

[29]For the German Legion see n. 49 in Saxony section.

[30]The *Kreuzzeitung* (see n. 33 in Prussia section) of 21 December 1854 quoted the law of 31 December 1842, which stated that no Prussian was allowed to enter foreign military service without the prior annulment of his citizenship (*Untertanenverhältnis*) and being granted permission to emigrate.

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question, I think there is no doubt that they might be procured from this part of Germany; though the disparaging remarks in the English Press against such German auxiliaries, and the small encouragement, as it would appear, that will be held out to persons to enrol themselves compared to the advantages enjoyed by the German Legion in the last War, will, I fear, tend to damp the ardour to volunteer for this service.[31]

FO 33/148: George Lloyd Hodges to Earl of Clarendon, No 73, Hamburg, 24 September 1855

Unpopularity of Russia among all classes apart from the nobility; support for the Western Powers among the commercial classes

I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship that as regards the state of Public feeling in these parts amongst all Classes, except the nobility Russia is very unpopular and much disliked. The middle classes and lower orders show a marked antipathy to Russian views.

The nobility, I believe I may say throughout all Germany, are inclined to Russia from the belief they entertain that through the Countenance and support of her Government they may be able to preserve the numerous privileges which they have long enjoyed, and which the movement in 1848 for a short time deprived them of. In the Courts of many German Sovereigns, no doubt there exists a strong inclination for Russia, arising in some instances, perhaps, from family connections; but more particularly from the support afforded by Russia, in opposition to liberal opinions, and in favor of despotic rule.

It is very remarkable and gratifying to perceive now with what boldness and satisfaction a large portion of the Citizens in this important Commercial Community pronounce themselves now in favour of the Western powers,[32] and declare their belief that the oppressive influence of Russia on public opinion is almost gone.

I found these remarks, not on the observations of a few persons, but from having heard them from persons, who formerly considered the Russian power as their ownly [*sic*] protector against what they term the avalanche of Revolution.

[31]The King's German Legion (1803–1816), consisting mainly of Hanoverians who had fled from French occupation, was a regular part of the British army during the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815).

[32]France and Great Britain.

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I do believe that if further successes should attend the Armies of the Allied Forces they would tend to diminish the predominating influence of Russia so much, that it would not be greater in Germany than that of the neighboring state of Hanover.

In regard to that Country, I am informed on good authority that at a Dinner of Officers at Harburg, to which it was usual to invite the newly elected Burgomaster,[33] one officer so managed that the Burgomaster was not invited; in consequence of which the Landlord of the House where the officers assembled would no longer allow them to meet there. The feeling in that Kingdom is indeed very much embittered against the Ritterschaft and the Government.[34]

The Russian Legations at this place, and, as I am informed, at neighbouring Courts, have been industriously spreading Reports that United Germany would interfere and cry halt, to the Western powers, were they to succeed to any considerable extent in the further progress of the War, and attempt to deprive Russia of any of her Territory.

The public here are anxiously and feverishly looking forward to further successes of the Allied Armies in the Crimea.

FO 33/152: George Lloyd Hodges to Earl of Clarendon, No 22, Hamburg, 24 March 1856

English prostitutes in Hamburg

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatch No. 11 of the 19th instant, enclosing a Police report from the Times newspaper,[35] respecting the abduction of a young English female, named Susannah Evans, who had been enveigled [*sic*] on board a London Steamer by a Jewess procuress and brought to this City for the purpose of Prostitution.

About 10 or 15 days ago one of the London Detective Police, who I think gave his name as Smith, called on me and stated that he came here by order of the Lord Mayor of London[36] to get possession of the above named female and take her back to England to restore her to her Parents, and recounted to me the circumstances of her abduction.

I told him that I would gladly afford him every assistance in my Power, and that I did not anticipate that he would find any difficulty in obtaining his object; he replied, that he already had obtained the

[33] Friedrich Wilhelm August Grumbrecht.

[34] For the underlying constitutional struggle and the reactionary course of the Hanoverian government, see n. 11 in Hanover section and pp. 233–234.

[35] *The Times*, 19 March 1856.

[36] David Salomons.

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liberation of the Girl with some difficulty from the Hamburg Police, that she was on Board a Steamer, and that he proposed returning with her to England that night or the following morning; but that he thought it his duty to acquaint me with the circumstances, as he had heard that many such cases had already occurred and might occur hereafter.

I observed, that I was aware that many unfortunate females had been brought to this country for these vile purposes, but as far as I could ascertain, they came here of their own free will. I expressed my indignation at the nefarious practices of these Procuresses in London to entrap young females into a life of the most degrading vice, and my surprise, that the local Authorities at the several Seaports in England did not take measures to prevent the practice, and that I could not bring myself to believe but that if a proper representation were made to the several Steam Packet Companies in the Hamburg line, they would willingly enter into some arrangement to put an end to so abominable a traffic; that I saw but little prospect of putting a stop to the system adopted and sanctioned here by the Government, by which unfortunate females are condemned to a life of hopeless vice and infamy.

The Police officer said: "I have no doubt Sir the Chief Magistrate[37] will address you on this subject" to which I replied: "Any efficacious interference on the part of the Hamburg Authorities will only proceed from an application on the part of Her Majesty's Government and this can only be produced by Instructions to me direct on this Subject."

It cannot be supposed, that I meant – as the Police report would lead one to infer – that I could be cognisant of cases of abduction similar to the one in question without promptly interfering with the Authorities here and acquainting Your Lordship with the same. This was all that passed between the Police officer and myself.

I was some years since addressed in writing by an unfortunate female detained in one of these infamous Houses who desired to return to England. I demanded her liberation from the Police and though opposition was made on the ground of her being in debt to the House in which she was detained, I insisted upon her being set free and sent to London.

There has been unfortunately at times a system of traffic kept up between this City and the Ports of London and Hull in this abandoned Class of females and it was only within the last year, that I remonstrated with the Senator at the Head of the Police[38] because of the detention

[37]Nicolaus Binder.
[38]Johann Eduard Blumenthal.

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of six English females brought here from Hull. The answer I received was, that they were confirmed Prostitutes, and were known as such both at Liverpool and Hull, and their examinations in writing were sent to me by the Police in confirmation of this.

Your Lordship may rest assured, that I never hesitated with or without instructions to interfere with decision and promptness in any case, where the wellbeing, morality, or interest of Her Majesty's subjects, male or female, in the Hanse Towns might be concerned.

The Senator at the Head of the Police is always willing to listen to any representation in cases like the one in question and to grant redress, yet notwithstanding this willingness on the part of the Senator, I am sorry to say, that I have reason to believe, that the under officers of the Department, under whose control these abandoned females are, act in concert with the keepers of Brothels and in consequence endeavour to involve cases, where redress is sought, in doubt and difficulty.

As to the measures, that can be taken at Hamburg to put a stop to this disgraceful traffic, if Your Lordship means, the coming to Hamburg of English Girls of their own free will and their being registered at the Police, as it is the practice here, I can suggest none but that an energetic representation should be made by Her Majesty's Government to the Senate, in whose hands the remedy can alone rest, not to allow them in any case to remain in Hamburg.

I have delayed immediately replying to Your Lordship's Despatch on the above subject until I could inform myself wholly on the matters connected with it. I learn that there are regular establishments at the ports of London and Hull for procuring females to sent [*sic*] off to the Continent for the avowed object of Prostitution, and that many young females of the Continent are taken through the agency of these people to England for the same purpose.

FO 33/162: George Lloyd Hodges to Lord John Russell, No 38, Hamburg, 21 June 1859

Great anxiety due to Prussian mobilization; general opposition in north Germany to joining Austria in war against France over Italy

The mobilization of six out of the nine Corps of the Prussian Army[39] has caused a painful sensation in this City, and great anxiety prevails

[39]Order of 14 June 1859. For the Prussian policy during the Second War of Italian Independence of 1859, see pp. 125–127 and 483–486.

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amongst all Classes as to the consequences that may arise from this measure on the part of the leading German Power.

As I had the honor to report to the Earl of Malmesbury in my Despatch No 29 of the 16th of May, hitherto the Policy pursued by Prussia met with the general and ready approbation of the People in the North of Germany, but now it is the opinion amongst the Classes representing the industry and intelligence of the country that the mobilization of the Prussian Army is uncalled for at present, looking at the defensive neutral position which in the interest of Germany the Prussian Government had assumed.

I have reason to believe that the opinion that Germany should not take aggressive measures against France, and that the people of North Germany should not be called upon to fight for the maintenance of the Austrian rule in Italy, and the system favored by the Concordat,[40] is entertained by the vast majority of the people of North Germany, and that the desire of many of the North German Governments and the Partisans of Austria to act at once in support of that Power is generally condemned.

It appears that the Prussian Government thought too highly of the influence they have lately obtained when they supposed that the mobilization would be approved of by the People throughout the North of Germany, chiefly because it was initiated by Prussia, after having just previously protested against the Hanoverian Proposal that a Confederate Corps should be placed on the Rhine.[41]

Nor has, on the other hand, this measure, as it is said, satisfied the people of the South of Germany, and the Partisans of Austria.

As Your Lordship is aware the Prussian Government have not thought proper to obtain the mobilization of the Confederate Army through the Diet, but avoiding the intervention of that Body they have invited the German Governments to join them by mobilizing their different Contingents.[42]

Under these circumstances it is therefore not incumbent on the smaller States to mobilize their troops, and I am informed that the Hanse Towns Governments, whose interests are so vitally connected with the maintenance of Peace, and which are urged so warmly by merchants to abstain from all aggressive measures, feel embarrassed

[40] For the Concordat of 1855 see n. 21 in Austria section.

[41] Hanoverian motion to the Federal Diet of 13 May 1859. Prussia filed a protest in the sitting of the same day.

[42] Prussian note to governments of Baden, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Württemberg of 14 June 1859, which was also brought to the attention of the City of Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxony. On 18 June, Prussia invited all member states of the Confederation except Austria (but including Denmark for Holstein and Lauenburg, and the Netherlands for Luxemburg and Limburg) to military conferences at Berlin.

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as to how they shall act, and I believe they are looking with anxiety to see what decision the Governments of Denmark and the Netherlands may come to.

The second Regiment of Holstein Dragoons in the Danish service has just arrived at Kiel from Zealand in compliance with the order of the Frankfurt Diet, that the Confederate Troops should be placed on a War footing,[43] but I need not observe that this measure taken by the Diet is very different to the invitation of Prussia.

In my preceding remarks I have thought it right to state to Your Lordship how unpopular the mobilization is in this part of Germany, and looking at the general disinclination of the people to support the arms of Austria in Italy, I sincerely trust that the effects of this measure of Prussia may pass away without producing very serious consequences.

FO 33/162: George Lloyd Hodges to Lord John Russell, No 47, Hamburg, 22 October 1859

Eisenach Declaration of Nationalverein*; wide support in north Germany for a central power and elected parliament; positive feelings for Prussia; importance of* Zollverein *expiration in 1865 for German Question*

The political movement that is now going on with a view to promote the Unity of Germany, and the Declaration[44] in favor of essential changes in the Federal Institutions tending to their liberal development have been joined in by a number of Hamburg Citizens, and it may therefore not be out of place that I should endeavour to describe to Your Lordship to what extent Public Opinion at Hamburg and generally in the North of Germany is occupied with this question, and afford an insight into the causes that led to this agitation, and what will probably be its more immediate results.

It may be affirmed that the People in the North of Germany have of late years been anxious to see the Constitution of the German Confederation materially altered, so that a Central Power to be instructed with the direction of German Affairs under the control of a Parliament elected by the People should be established and supersede the functions of the Frankfurt Diet; and Prussia is looked to as the State to which the Central Power could most properly be intrusted.

[43]Federal resolution of 28 April 1859. The Holstein troops were part of the 10th corps of the federal army.

[44]Eisenach Declaration of 14 August 1859. This was the founding declaration of the *Nationalverein* (see n. 71 in Frankfurt section).

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The discouraging result of the Frankfurt Parliament and the extinction of all hopes of Reform by its means in the Years 1848 and 1849, for a time put an end to this desire, and the reactionary policy pursued by the Cabinet, of which Baron Manteuffel was the head, led to a great mistrust of Prussia; but still the conviction was general that when the time should arrive for action, to no other State than Prussia could Germans attach themselves as the Central Strength of their Common Country.

On the formation of the present Prussian Cabinet[45] these feelings in favor of Prussia were again evinced, and the question as to how the liberal development of the Federal Institutions can be best effected has been much agitated and more particularly of late previous to, and during the War in Italy[46] which the Public here considered as threatening to compromise the honour and security of Germany.

The want of energy which was then manifested by the Governments of the smaller German States, the deplorable condition of the Federal Troops, and the entire absence of any decisive mode of action on the part of the Frankfurt Diet clearly showed the insufficiency of the Federal Institutions to meet any political crisis, and the necessity for making such arrangements as would place the honour and security of Germany under the guardianship of a State, the interests of which should be purely German, and which at the same time should be powerful enough to defend them against all hostile attacks.

Influenced by these impressions the Programme for such a Union as was considered suitable to meet whatever dangers might arise was agreed on at Eisenach.

This appeal to the latent sympathies in favour of German Unity has hitherto not been responded to in the North of Germany with much eagerness or enthusiasm. As yet few or none of the leading Men here have taken any active part in the attempt to reorganize the National Party, and practical Men have stood aloof from it. Nor has the Reply given by the Prussian Government to an Address from Stettin in favor of the Movement tended to increase the ranks of the adherents to the Eisenach Programme.[47]

But notwithstanding, it is a fact that the sentiments expressed in that Programme are entertained by a great number of the People in the North of Germany; the leading Newspapers in these Parts all

[45]See n. 45 in Frankfurt section.

[46]Second War of Italian Independence, April–July 1859.

[47]Address of the citizens of Stettin to Prince Regent Wilhelm, 16 August 1859. In his reply of 12 September, Schwerin-Putzar, the Prussian minister of the interior, agreed with the goals of German independence and unity in principle, but gave a warning against taking premature steps.

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advocate the National Cause in spite of the measures that have been adopted by the Governments of Hanover and Mecklenburg with a view to put down the Movement at its commencement,[48] and should the originators of the Agitation continue their efforts with tact and determination to persevere, it may be presumed from the present state of Public opinion that ere long they will find themselves powerfully supported by all Classes in the North of Germany.

I understand that it is in the plan of the intelligent and moderate section of the Party to agitate for the Programme until Public Opinion shall demand the Unity of Germany. Fortified by this great fact the Prussian Government might then safely act in the direction marked out, and the Leaders of the movement contemplate that this action on the part of Prussia might be during the Year 1865.

In that year the Treaties, concluded between Prussia and the different German States for establishing the Zoll-Verein, expire,[49] and Prussia may then only consent to renew those Treaties provided that its Government shall be wholly invested with the Diplomatic Action of Germany Abroad, and possess the sole command of all the Federal Troops in the manner pointed out by the Eisenach Programme,[50] and subject to the control of a Parliament to be elected by the People. By these means Prussia would become the desired Central Power of Germany, around which the other smaller States would be grouped. As to Austria, it is proposed, that her German Territory should not be included in this arrangement, but that a Treaty Offensive and Defensive should be entered into with that Power, extending however its provisions only to those of her Provinces which now form part of the German Confederation.

As Your Lordship is aware the Zoll-Verein in most of the German States is a very popular Institution; and, setting apart its protective policy, it must be admitted that it affords many and great advantages to the smaller German States, and gives revenue to their Governments in a very convenient form.

The fear of loosing [*sic*] these advantages may tend in a great measure to overcome the well known aversion of most of the German Governments to the supremacy of Prussia under any form, particularly if that supremacy should be asked for by the unanimous voice of their Subjects.

[48]In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the *Nationalverein* was banned by order of 1 October 1858. For Hanover see n. 48 in Hanover section.

[49]The *Zollverein* treaty expired on 31 December 1865.

[50]Point five of the Eisenach Declaration stated that, in the event of an immediate threat, military leadership and the diplomatic representation of Germany would 'be transferred to Prussia until the definitive formation of a German central government'.

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Undoubtedly there are many and great difficulties in the way of this Policy, and very much will depend on the views that may be followed by the Prussian Government. However, thus far the steps taken by the Party for German Unity, and those they propose to take, have a much more moderate and practicable character than the illusory notions promulgated in the year 1848, and, therefore, so far as thus early an opinion can be formed, afford some ground for hope that the present proceedings may ultimately obtain some satisfactory result to the ardent desires for German Unity.

I am informed that in this City about 500 Persons, mostly Professional Men – Lawyers, Professors, Clergymen, Schoolmasters – have signed the Programme just put forth at Eisenach.

FO 33/166: John Ward to Lord John Russell, No 7, Hamburg, 14 July 1860

Historical background and debates on constitution of Hamburg; assessment of new constitution

The long pending question of the Hamburg Constitution has, within the last fortnight, been again the subject of discussions between the Senate and the Citizens, and I am glad to be able to inform your Lordship that at last a strong disposition for mutual concessions has shewn itself on both sides, and that most of the points in dispute have already been so far arranged, that a speedy solution of all existing differences between the governing body, and the inhabitants of this City, may now be confidently anticipated.

My Predecessor has in various Despatches dwelt on the unfortunate disputes to which the affair of the Constitution has given rise here, and on the high degree in which party-spirit has from time to time been excited by it. It may however be useful that I should briefly recapitulate the circumstances that have led to the introduction of the new Fundamental Law now apparently on the eve of it's establishment.[51]

Under the old Constitution of Hamburg, dated in the year 1712, the Sovereignty was in effect vested in the Senate, and the co-operation of the body of Citizens (Bürgerschaft) in legislative measures was expressly limited to certain specified cases. But after the revolutionary movement of the year 1848 had shaken the Governments of all the German States, the Citizens of Hamburg insisted on having larger share in the management of their affairs, and demanded in fact a

[51] For the constitutional question and the constitution of 23 May 1850, see n. 11 in this section.

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representative Government, for carrying which into effect a liberal Constitution was issued on the 11th of July 1849. The Senate however refused to introduce it, and, under the influence of a Prussian Military Force which then occupied Hamburg,[52] the newly framed Constitution was submitted to revision by a mixed Commission of Senators and Citizens who produced the revised Constitution of the 23rd of May 1850. This latter was much more liberal than the old Hamburg Constitution of 1712 but it did not satisfy the people, principally because the right of election of the Senators was limited, and the rule of the Senators being elected for life was again restored. There were also many other grounds of objection to it, and opponents sprung up not only among the liberals, but in a reactionary College of the Citizens called the Upper-Seniors (Oberalten)[53] whose functions were proposed to be abolished, and a new Committee of Citizens erected in their place. On the 18th of March 1851 the reactionary party appealed to the Federal Diet against the Constitution of 1850, and Austria and Prussia addressed admonitions to the Senate[54] exhorting it to revise that Constitution in the interests of peace and order, whilst, on the other hand, the people of Hamburg were now more and more urgent in their demands upon the Senate to introduce that Constitution at once.

The Federal Diet having taken up the question, a Note was addressed by a Commission of the Diet[55] on the 27th of April 1852 to the Hamburg Senate, pointing out that Hamburg was admitted into the Germanick Confederation upon the basis of the Constitution of 1712, and objecting to any such alterations as would make the Senate dependent upon the Citizens. The Senate was therefore enjoined either to procure a revision of the constitution so as to meet the wishes of the Diet, or to expect the intervention of the Diet itself.

The Senate, however well inclined to maintain it's former power, did not find itself in a position to act on the injunction received from Frankfort, and, after a delay of more than two years, it answered the Federal Diet in a long Memorial dated the 12th of June 1854, maintaining it's right to establish a representative Constitution in the same way as other German States had done; explaining that the Crown of Hamburg did not belong exclusively to the Senate, but to the Senate and Citizens conjointly (inseparabili nexu conjunctim[56]);

[52] See n. 8 in this section.

[53] College of the Aldermen.

[54] Austrian and Prussian notes to the Hamburg senate of 8 August 1851.

[55] Committee for the Preservation of Internal Security and Order in the German Confederation (*Reaktionsausschuß*), established on 23 August 1851.

[56] 'Connected in an inseparable bond'.

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and then going on to specify the Alterations which had been made or proposed. At the same time the Senate renewed its negociations with the citizens for the purpose of settling between themselves the terms of the Constitution of 1850.

This was no easy matter to accomplish; for the Senate, though opposed to the demands of the Diet, still proposed to revise the Constitution in a very different sense from that desired by the Citizens. They wished to restore the right of the Senate to elect it's own members, to reduce the responsibility of the Senators to something merely nominal, to abolish Jury Trials and the Self Government of the Parishes, to continue to the Police the power of inflicting Penalties, and in other respects to change entirely the character of the new Law. The Senate had now become re-actionary [*sic*], whilst the College of Upper-Seniors had gone over to the liberals, and at a numerous public meeting, (convent) of the Citizens held on the 7th of June 1855, the Constitution as revised by the Senate was decidedly rejected.

The Senate made subsequently several new attempts at a Revision of the Constitution, all which the Citizens rejected by large Majorities. In the years 1856, 1857, and 1858, the question therefore remained in statu quo.

In the early part of the year 1859 (in consequence of the change of administration in Prussia[57] and the discouragement thereby given to reactionary principles of Government) the inhabitants of Hamburg began to renew the agitation for the original constitution of the 23rd May 1850, and at a great public meeting held in the Ton–halle on the 22nd of January, it was resolved that the last mentioned constitution ought to be introduced without any further revision than might be necessary to prevent a violation of the Federal Laws.[58] The Resolutions thus passed were supported by the Signatures of above 4000 Citizens, and the Senate was obliged to pause in it's proceedings for revision in a reactionary sense. In March 1859 the Senate made propositions to the Citizens with the view to a reconciliation, but these advances came to nothing, the citizens continuing to insist upon the original constitution of 1850; and the attempt made by the Senate about this time to repress public meetings naturally tended to aggravate the general discontent.[59] At last the Senate was driven to the necessity of

[57]See n. 45 in Frankfurt section.

[58]It was decided that the constitution of 23 May 1850 be revised according to the provisions of the federal constitution, as demanded in the note of the federal committee to the Hamburg senate of 27 April 1852.

[59]On 16 February 1859, the senate approved a proposal for a joint commission; it was declined by the *Bürgerschaft* (the municipal parliament) on 14 March. On 30 March, the senate prohibited the discussion of the constitutional question in public meetings.

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reverting (at least in part) to the Constitution of 1850 as the basis of Negociation. On the 11th of August 1859 it laid before the Citizens, three out of the ten Sections into which that Constitution is divided, declaring it would consent to these three Sections taking effect at once, and demanding the revision of the remaining seven Sections in accordance with the Federal Laws. This proposal was adopted by the majority of the citizens, though the more democratic of them were still for the entire Constitution of 1850, and nothing but that.

The agreement entered into between the Senate and the Citizens on the 11th of August 1859 had settled the constitutional enactments relative to the rights of the citizens, and the forms of legislation; it also comprised a new Electoral law for the election of the new body of Citizens. Under this law the new Elections took place accordingly.[60]

The newly elected Citizens met the Senate in a Conference held on the 6th of December 1859. The Senate then proposed to enter upon the revision of the remaining seven paragraphs of the Constitution, but the revisory proposals went so far beyond the Wishes of the Citizens, as well as beyond the requirements of the Federal Law, that they were declined as before on the part of the Citizens. [. . .]

But in the Revisory Proposals submitted by the Senate to the Citizens on the 6th of this month, the following important Concessions have been made by the former body, viz:

1st The Senate has given up the objectionable Article reserving the right of interference to the Federal Diet, whereby Hamburg will be independent, or at least will claim to be so, in respect of it's own legislation.

2nd The mode of Election of Senators now proposed by the Senate, though it does not throw the whole power into the hands of the Citizens, is still upon the whole a fair compromise, inasmuch as it guarantees to the Citizens that no man objectionable to them shall come into the Senate, whilst it protects the Senate against new Members being forced into it against the Will of the Senators. On a Vacancy, the new Senator is to be elected by a Committee of two, chosen by another committee composed of four Senators, and four Citizens, whose proceedings are minutely prescribed in the Draft of the Constitution, and are of somewhat complicated nature.

3rd The Senate has abandoned the scheme of confiding the Administration of Justice (1st Instance) to the Executive authorities,

[60]The first elections to the Hamburg *Bürgerschaft* were held from 14 to 21 November 1859. The electoral law of 11 August 1859 granted suffrage on a mixture of estate and taxation categories.

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merely reserving to itself the right of proposing a legislative measure on the subject at some future time.

4th The Senate has adopted the system of Trials by Jury.

5th The Senate has explained it's reasons for adhering to its view of the necessity of a Court of Appeal to determine questions of Conflicting Jurisdiction between the Executive and the Courts of Justice.

6th The Senate has guaranteed the full liberty will be entitled to command the respect both of the governing body, and of the mass of the Citizens.

The new Constitution[61] may be far from theoretically perfect; indeed it will not be by any means a representative one in the English sense, nor will it possess so popular a character as the constitution of the neighbouring city of Bremen, or as the Constitution which the people of Hesse-Cassel have been struggling to establish.[62] Still, I would humbly submit to your Lordship, that considering the difficulties of the case, and the obstinate and violent contest which has been waged about it for more than ten years between the Senate and the Inhabitants of this City, it is a fortunate circumstance for the public interests, that the conflicting parties have at last come to an understanding, and I have ventured to say so much, and no more, to those of the Senators and of the Citizens, with whom I have had opportunities of conversing on the subject.

FO 33/171: John Ward to Lord John Russell, No 8, Hamburg, 23 January 1861

Expectation of federal execution over Schleswig-Holstein Crisis; suppression of Nationalverein *and reformers in Schleswig-Holstein; military preparations being made by Denmark*

During the last fortnight the prevailing excitement in Holstein has been increased by the publication of the proceedings of the Federal Diet on the 17th instant, which render the appearance of an Army of Execution in the Duchy more likely than ever, and by the intelligence of the active preparations for War now making at Copenhagen. The recommendation of the Federal Committee to the Diet to enforce the Resolution of the 8th of March 1860, leaves little doubt that the Federal body will not allow itself to be much longer trifled with; and although an impression is prevalent that Denmark will at the last moment make

[61]The revised constitution came into force on 28 September 1860.

[62]For the constitutional conflict in Hesse-Cassel, see n. 79 in Frankfurt section and n. 118 in Prussia section.

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some apparent concessions as a pretext for delay, it seems impossible for the Germanic body to recede upon the question of principle, for the real point at issue is not so much whether Holstein shall in the current year contribute an hundred thousand Dollars more or less to the general wants of the Monarchy, but whether the States of the Duchy shall, or not, have a decisive voice as regards their own finances, and the management of their internal affairs.[63]

An incident has occurred of a nature calculated to increase the unpopularity of the Government, and to add to the uneasiness of men's minds in the Duchy. The Danish Minister for Holstein and Lauenburg[64] has by an Ordinance dated the 16th of January instant suppressed the German National Society and prohibited it's Meetings within both Duchies, on the ground that at a Meeting of the Society held at Kiel on the 13th preceding, it had been unanimously resolved to agitate not only for the closest accession to centralized Germany, but for the restoration of the Union between the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. It appears that the German National Society (which has been working for the last two years in most of the German States for National Unity, and the establishment of a Central power under Prussia instead of the Federal Diet) has a branch also in Holstein, and that it's Members have taken the opportunity of the present political conjuncture to raise the demand for a revival of the ancient connection[65] between the two Duchies. They have insisted also upon various reforms applicable to their internal condition, such as a revision of the Electoral Law, the cessation of all arbitrary acts of power on the part of the administration, the liberty of the press, and the restoration to the inhabitants of the right of Petition, and of public meetings, declaring, however, at the same time that these reforms would be worthless without national independence, and the complete political Union of the two Duchies.

The reformers in Holstein are, of course, well aware that, in so far as they aim at the Union of the Duchies, their object is contrary

[63]The Danish–German dispute centred on the constitutional status of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg within the Danish monarchy. In a decree of 8 March 1860, the Federal Diet declared that it would refrain from executive measures (the procedure for which had commenced on 12 August 1858) on the condition that the royal ducal government would not infringe the independence and equal rights of Holstein and Lauenburg (both member states of the German Confederation) within the common Danish monarchy. On 17 January 1861, the united committee of the Federal Diet recommended that the Danish patent of 23 September 1859 and the subsequent financial laws of 1860 should be declared void because they were passed without the prior approval of the estates of the duchies. Furthermore, it was proposed to oblige the Danish government to declare whether it would fulfil the requirements of the decree of 8 March 1860.

[64]Harald Iver Andreas Raasløff.

[65]See n. 153 in Prussia section.

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to the existing stipulations between Denmark and the Germanic Confederation, and contrary to the rule of separation between the Duchies established by the Royal authority in pursuance of those stipulations.[66] But the reformers expressly state in their Programme[67] that they will operate by legal means only in the same way as the National Society aims at the realization by legitimate means throughout Germany of the idea of the political Unity of the common country. Without entering here into the technical question, whether the Meeting at Kiel on the 13th of January was or not, a violation of the local law, it may suffice here to observe that the terror of the Government at a meeting of such a kind is a proof of the very unsound state of things within the Duchy, for it is obvious that if the Danish-Ducal Crown reposed upon the attachment and confidence of the people, Meetings for effecting changes in the Constitution of the Monarchy might take place, without inspiring any real uneasiness or apprehension to the Executive Government.[68]

The naval and military Armaments which Denmark is now engaged in raising are doubtless well known to your Lordship. It is not believed here that those armaments are prepared with the view of offering any resistance to a Federal Army in Holstein, but they are considered merely as destined for the eventuality of hostilities extending beyond the Eider. However this may be, I much fear the complications of this long standing Schleswig-Holstein question are such, that it will only be found possible to settle them permanently by re-constituting the Danish Monarchy upon Federal principles, and by parting the two Nationalities so as to enable each of them to live and develope [*sic*] itself separately in peace, without encroaching upon the other's liberties and rights.

FO 33/171: John Ward to Lord John Russell, No 60, Hamburg, 24 May 1861

Funding secured for Hamburg's participation at 1862 London Exposition; opposition due to hostile public feeling towards England

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to the participation of the City of Hamburg in the Exhibition of the works of

[66]Ward refers to the Danish patents of 6 November 1858 (communicated to the Federal Diet on 11 November), which annulled the Danish constitution of 2 October 1855 for the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg (but not for Schleswig).

[67]Declaration of the Holstein members of the *Nationalverein* (see n. 71 in Frankfurt section) of 13 January 1861.

[68]The affairs of Holstein and Lauenburg were governed by a separate administration.

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Industry and Art to be held in London in 1862, that the Senate, having obtained the consent of the Society of Arts existing here to undertake the management of the business, laid on the 22^{d} instant a proposal before the Burgership, or legislative body of Citizens, to grant the sum of 20,000 Marks Courant, (about £1200) to defray the expenses of the Participation of Hamburg in the Exhibition. A strong opposition was made to the Grant by certain members of the Burgership on political grounds, and it was contended that the treatment of Germany by England had of late been such, that no German State ought in honour to take part in any English undertaking, and that this was a fit opportunity for Hamburg to shew it's sense of the insults offered to the common country by declining to send any articles to the Exhibition. The consequence of this opposition was that the proposal of the Senate did not obtain the requisite majority of two-thirds of the members present, and it will therefore be necessary to bring it forward again. But, as, on the second occasion, a simple majority of the Burgership will, according to the Constitution, suffice, and the Senate will use every exertion to obtain such majority, I am in hopes that it will be adopted when brought forward again, and that in the course of two or three weeks the Society of Arts will be enabled to make it's arrangements on behalf of intending Exhibitors.

The feeling against England is unfortunately very bitter here, and I fear it is so in most parts of Germany. It arises partly out of Captain Macdonald's Affair,[69] but chiefly, I think, from the peculiar view of the Danish question which has generally been taken in England, and from the offensive tone towards Germany assumed by the English newspapers in reference to that question.[70] Nothing can be more obvious than that it is the interest of Hamburg, as a commercial & manufacturing city to be represented in the Exhibition of 1862, and this is the decided opinion of the Senate. The fact therefore of a number of Hamburg Citizens opposing such participation on political grounds, indicates the existence of a feeling of resentment against England in the German mind, which is the more deplorable, inasmuch as the German people greatly admire the social & political institutions of England, and are undoubtedly animated by the wish to live on terms of friendship & alliance with the English Nation, if they

[69]The Macdonald Affair, a diplomatic crisis extensively discussed in the British and Prussian parliaments and press, originated in an incident at Cologne railway station on 12 September 1860, when a British traveller came into conflict with fellow passengers regarding the seats in his compartment, and was subsequently arrested and brought to trial.

[70]Ward refers to the British warning of the possible dangers resulting from a federal execution in Holstein and Lauenburg, as well as the rejection of any attempts to incorporate Schleswig into Germany. For the Danish–German conflict see n. 63 in this section.

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could only feel satisfied that the English Nation has an equally good will towards them.

FO 33/176: John Ward to Earl Russell, No 33, Hamburg, 18 April 1862

Federal Commission on Coastal Defences sitting in Hamburg; increased awareness of importance of naval and coastal matters in Germany

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a Federal Commission for the Coast-Defences has assembled in this city, and is likely to sit here for many weeks. This Commission has been appointed in pursuance of a Resolution passed by the Federal Diet on the 8th of March last, whereby the German Governments were invited to appoint special Commissioners to meet together for the purpose of considering and recommending such measures and establishments for the defence of the North Sea and Baltic Coasts as might be adopted and maintained in common by the German States, as Federal Institutions under the sanction of the Federal Diet. The invitations were acted upon by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and very nearly all the smaller States making up the seventeen Votes of which the Diet is composed when not sitting in pleno,[71] and accordingly the Commissioners, who are exclusively Military Men and Engineers, have arrived here, and although the seventeen Votes were not completely represented, the Commission opened it's Sittings on the 15th instant. The proceedings will not be reported to the public, being of a strictly confidential nature.

It will be remembered that in the year 1859, a Memorial on the system of the defence of the Sea-Coasts was prepared and circulated by Prussia,[72] and a Conference on the subject between Prussia and other German States was held in Berlin in January 1860.[73] But, Hanover taking no part in these negotiations, a Proposal was made to the Federal Diet by Prussia on the 12th of July 1860, in which Hanover, Oldenburg, and Bremen, concurred, to the effect that the Diet should fix what defensive establishments should be made on the Non-Prussian parts of the Coast, – that a plan of operations should be settled by a special Commission, – and that a special Brigade of Troops for the Coast Defence should be organized. This Proposal did not, until the

[71] For the *Plenum* of the Diet of the Confederation see n. 4 in Saxony section.

[72] The report on *Vertheidigung der deutschen Nord- und Ostsee-Küste* was submitted by the Prussian expert committee on coastal defence.

[73] The Berlin conference of naval experts took place from 9 to 22 January 1860.

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passing of the Resolution by the Diet on the 8th of March last, lead to any result; but Prussia has in the meanwhile active [*sic*] in surveying and reconnoitring her own Coasts and has, in so far, collected valuable materials for the work of the Commission now assembled.

With respect to the negotiations which Prussia has, more recently, commenced with the Hanse-Towns for the equipment of a Fleet of Gun-Boats,[74] and which Hanover endeavoured to frustrate (as reported to your Lordship in several Despatches of mine in the course of last year) it is understood that those negotiations are suspended in the hope that the actual Commission may be able to concur in recommending measures of a more comprehensive, as well as a more effective, character. Indeed, Germany is now fully alive to the great improvements in Artillery, and in Ship-building, which occupy so large a share of the public attention in England, and America, and the Commissioners now sitting here will, of course, have to devote their professional abilities to the object of raising Germany, at least to a scientific level with other countries in respect of Gunnery, Fortification, and Ships of War. The great difficulty however which Germany has to contend with in all these matters, is the want of an efficient Central Power; for the cumbrous machinery of the Federal Diet, as a governing body, enables other Nations to get the start of Germany, and to carry their military and naval plans into execution, whilst such questions are still under the consideration of the Federal authorities.

FO 33/180: John Ward to Earl Russell, No 20, Hamburg, 20 March 1863

Commemorations of the expulsion of the French from Hamburg in 1813

The inhabitants of this City celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings on Wednesday the 18th instant a Fiftieth year Jubilee to commemorate the expulsion of the French Army from the Hamburg territory in 1813,[75] and the placing of the City on that day under the temporary protection of a division of the allied Forces commanded by the Russian General Tettenborn, also the formation on the same day of the Hanseatic Legion which did good service to the German cause during the continuance of the war with France.[76] It appearing to be

[74] See n. 66 in Hanover section.

[75] Hamburg was occupied from November 1806 to March 1813, and then from May 1813 to May 1814. From 1811 it was capital of the French *Départements des Bouches de l'Elbe*.

[76] The Hanseatic Legion was formed on the initiative of General Tettenborn, and consisted of volunteers from Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

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the general wish of the people that those important events should be commemorated, the Senate proclaimed the 18th of March a public holiday, and the Exchange, as well as the Counting-houses and shops in the City were closed. The Churches were opened, and thanksgivings offered by the Clergy and their Flocks to Divine Providence for the cessation fifty years since of the French yoke. The chief business of the day was a Procession through the streets of all the Trade-Guilds, and Corporations, Societies, Unions, Artisans, and Workmen of every description on horseback and on foot, carrying banners, decorations, and insignia of their trades or callings, which moved slowly through the City for several hours to a common outside the gates called the Holy-Ghost Field, where it stopped, and patriotic speeches were then delivered by the leaders of the proceedings dwelling on the great events of the year 1813. From 25 to 30,000 persons took part in the Procession, but no disturbance or breach of the peace occurred either during the day, or at night when all the public buildings, as well as the private houses in general, were brilliantly illuminated. There were several public dinners, where patriotic toasts and speeches were given, turning chiefly upon the oppression of Germany by the French during the war, and the necessity of the Germans being an united people for the future. A Deputation from the German National League[77] came to Hamburg for the occasion, and with the Hamburg Members of that League accompanied the great Procession through the streets.

It was at first the opinion of some leading men here, that the Festival might very well be deferred to the 18th of October next, when the Fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig,[78] as the epoch of the final delivery of the nation from the dominion of France, is intended to be celebrated throughout Germany; but the popular voice in Hamburg was expressed so strongly for having the Festival on the 18th of March, that the Senate did not think it worth while to offer any opposition to the general wishes.

The French Envoy[79] to the Hanse-Towns did not illuminate, but told the authorities he thought the feeling a very natural one on the part of the people.

The Newspaper which I have the honour to enclose herewith contains more particular details of the proceedings of the day.[80]

[77] *Nationalverein* (see n. 71 in Frankfurt section).

[78] See n. 24 in this section.

[79] Pierre-Édouard Cintrat.

[80] Enclosure: *Staats und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unparteiischen Correspondenten*, 20 March 1863.

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FO 33/181: William Waddilove to Earl Russell, No 2, Hamburg, 24 July 1863

International Agricultural Exhibition at Hamburg; increasing German interest in new agricultural machinery

I have the honour to report that the Hamburg International Agricultural Exhibition the Prospectus of which was transmitted to your Lordship by M. Ward in his Despatch of the 2nd of January last No. 3 is now closed after being open to the Public from the 14th to the 21st instant; and on transmitting enclosed herewith two copies of the official Catalogue and two Lists of such Prizes as were awarded for the objects exhibited, I beg to submit a few remarks on the subject.[81]

The temporary building erected for the purpose, which was situated about half a mile from the town[82] covered a space 2200 feet in breadth, and 1500 feet in depth, and thus afforded not only good accommodation for the 3876 animals and 2941 objects of machinery and productions exhibited, but also ample space in which the Horses and Cattle could be led out, and the different sorts of machinery set to work without inconvenience.

This Exhibition, the first of it's kind that has been seen on the Continent, has since the publication of the Prospectus excited the greatest interest throughout Germany and other countries. Commissioners from Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Oldenburg, Sweden, and the United States of America were present at the opening of the Exhibition; as also His Royal Highness the Duke of Coburg-Gotha,[83] the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg,[84] the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin,[85] Prince Albrecht of Prussia, the Duke of Augustenburg,[86] who with many of the Nobility, Landed Proprietors and Agriculturists assembled from all parts, viewed with great interest the various races of Horses, Cattle, Sheep and other live stock, and Machinery offered to their notice.

Amongst the animals of the many excellent Breeds of Cattle exhibited, several of English or Scotch races excelled and gained prizes; amongst the continental kinds the East-Friesland cows were generally admired. Of sheep there were many sorts, Merino rams

[81] Enclosures: *Verzeichniss der auf der internationalen landwirthschaftlichen Ausstellung in Hamburg im Jahre 1863 ertheilten Prämien*; *Catalog der Pferde, Rindvieh, Schafe, Schweine, Federvieh, der Geräthe und Maschinen so wie der landwirthschaftliche Erzeugnisse jeder Art, angemeldet für die Internationale landwirthschaftliche Ausstellung.*

[82] At the Heiligengeistfeld.

[83] Ernst II.

[84] Peter II.

[85] Friedrich Franz II.

[86] Christian August.

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from Hungary, Bohemia, Prussia, and Mecklenburg, remarkable for the fineness of their wool, or the weight of their fleece, and prizes were awarded to most of them; of English Breeds there was a great variety, and to the best rams and ewes of these as high Prizes were awarded, as to the finest merinos.

In regard to machinery, there were Steam-Ploughs of English and Scotch makers and these and the Thrashing-Machines [*sic*] excited the greatest interest, as especially the former were little known to German Agriculturists. Many trials of these Ploughs were made and ultimately the first Prize was awarded to Messrs. John Fowler of the Steam-Plough Works at Leeds, and the second Prize to Messrs. J. &. F. Howard of Bedford. Various Reaping, mowing and other machines were shewn at work, and medals were given for the most approved in almost every sort of agricultural work, and the conviction of the great advantages of agricultural machinery in many cases became so general, that numerous orders were given for the various sorts of English machinery; one agent of an English Firm states, that he received orders for twenty-two Thrashing-machines, and he adds, that were it not for the high Import-duty on Iron in the Zollverein, many more orders would have been given.

The manufacturers of German-agricultural machinery have generally speaking, made great progress during the last few years; there was therefore a considerable demand for all descriptions of the smaller sorts of implements made by German manufacturers. Amongst the Establishments in the North of Germany those of George Egerstorff [*sic*] in Hanover, and Hartwig Holler & Co in Rendsburg exhibited the most approved machines and implements.

Upon the whole I venture to observe that this Exhibition was a most successful undertaking, and showed particularly to the middle class of farmers in the improved sorts of live-stock, the advantages of judicious breeding, and the savings to be made on their farms by the use of suitable implements; and thus it is to be hoped, will tend generally to increase the welfare and prosperity of this large agricultural country.

FO 33/181: John Ward to Earl Russell, No 61, Hamburg, 25 September 1863

Federal execution expected over Schleswig-Holstein Question; general apprehension that possible war and blockade will damage trading interests of Britain and the Hanse Towns

I have the honour to apprize your Lordship that much anxiety prevails among the merchants and ship-owners of this city in regard to the consequences which may result from a Federal Army of Execution

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being sent by the Germanic Diet into the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. It is expected that the Diet will actually resolve upon that proceeding in it's Sitting of October 1st; and, if so, it is calculated that the Federal troops may enter the Duchies towards the end of November, or in the first days of December. According to the Report made by the Joint-Committees to the Diet on the 18th [*sic*] instant the duty of carrying out the Execution will devolve primarily upon the Governments of Saxony and Hanover, which are to occupy the Duchies with an armed force of 6000 men only, but are to be supported by Austria and Prussia in case a further force should be required.[87]

The causes which have brought matters to this crisis are so well known to your Lordship that it is scarcely necessary for me to allude to them here. The motives of the Federal Diet have been anticipated in the elaborate Report presented to that body on the 18th of June last by the Bavarian Envoy, Mr. von der Pfordten, in the name of the joint-Committees for the affairs of Holstein and Lauenburg, and for Execution. In that Report a distinction was carefully drawn between the proceeding to be taken as regarded Holstein and Lauenburg, and that regarding Schleswig. In the former case due preparations were to be made for carrying out the Execution already decided upon by previous Resolutions of the Diet;[88] in the latter Austria & Prussia were to be charged to enter into communication with Denmark in order to obtain the fulfilment of her engagements as between State and State, upon the basis of international law. There does not therefore appear to be any pretence for an allegation on the side of Denmark that the Federal Diet has exceeded it's powers, or that the Execution will be issued partly on account of Schleswig, and will be therefore formally wrong. The regularity of the Execution can scarcely be doubted, and it is well known to have been in the last instance provoked by Denmark herself in issuing the unconstitutional Ordinance of the 30th of March last.[89] Had that Ordinance been timely revoked, the present crisis might have been avoided, and the danger which has so long threatened the tranquillity of these countries might have been arrested for a still further term.

[87]According to the report of the joint committee of 19 September 1863 and the subsequent decision of the Federal Diet of 1 October, the object of the federal execution (see n. 99 in Frankfurt section) was to secure the independence and equal rights of Holstein and Lauenburg in a common constitution within the Danish monarchy.

[88]The procedure to carry out a federal execution had been pending since the original decision of 12 August 1858. The process was resumed on 9 July 1863.

[89]The royal patent of 30 March 1863 decreed the constitutional separation of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg from Denmark and Schleswig. Furthermore, it denied the Danish monarchy's legal commitment not to incorporate Schleswig into Denmark, as stipulated in the royal manifesto of 28 January 1852 and the Danish note to Austria and Prussia of the following day.

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The point, however, to which I am more especially desirous of entreating your Lordship's attention is, that an apprehension is generally felt here lest the Danish Government should treat the Execution as a belligerent act on the side of Germany, and should answer it by a blockade of the mouths of the Elbe, and the Weser, or by the detention of German ships on the high seas. Mr. Syndic Merck lately called upon me, and, after dwelling upon the great importance of this matter to the trade of Great Britain as well as of Germany in general, enquired whether I could at all inform him what view Her Majesty's Government would be likely to take of the legality or illegality of such a blockade of the German ports by the Danes, and whether, if illegal, Great Britain would not resort to reprisals for any British ships or goods which the Danes might make seizure of? He considered it quite clear that a Federal Execution, being a measure of mere internal regulation for a German State, could form no justifiable ground for a blockade, or any other belligerent international act, and observed that the Hanse-Towns had unfortunately no means at their command for resisting such acts of violence, or protecting their Merchant-Vessels. I answered that I could not then say anything upon the subject further than that I would take care to apprize your Lordship of the apprehensions entertained here, and that the question would doubtless be well considered by Her Majesty's Government. The Syndic replied that the Senate would take it as a great favour if I should be authorized to inform them of any decision which Her Majesty's Government might come to in a matter of so much moment to the commercial interests of this port.

The injury which would result to British trade and navigation from a blockade of the Elbe will be apparent from the fact that above one-half of the entire foreign commerce of Hamburg is carried on under the British flag. Upon an average of the five years 1858 to 1862 inclusive, the total number of sea-going ships which arrived annually at Hamburg was 4849, of which 1776 ships were British. The total burthen of the ships which so arrived was 1,224,063 British tons, whereof the British proportion was 614,712 tons. But this is not all. The quantity of British goods which is regularly brought to Hamburg in foreign ships is very large indeed, and such goods, being neutral property, would not, in any event, be liable to capture under an enemy's flag, according to the terms of the Declaration of Paris dated April 16th 1856, to which Denmark subsequently acceded.[90]

[90]Ward refers to Point 3 of the Declaration of Paris on maritime law, which protected neutral goods on enemy ships with the exception of contraband of war. Denmark acceded to the convention on 25 June 1856.

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A blockade of the Weser would, of course, paralyze the commerce of Bremen, and would therefore likewise cause serious injury to British trade and navigation. It is possible also that a Danish blockade, if once established, might extend to other seaports belonging to Prussia, & Hanover.

In these circumstances, I would humbly submit to your Lordship, whether, in case it should be evident that Denmark contemplated belligerent measures at sea in answer to the Execution, and Her Majesty's Government should be of opinion that such measures would be unjustifiable, it might not be expedient to warn the Danish Government against instituting a blockade, or detaining any British ships or goods? [*sic*] inasmuch as such a warning would inspire the Danes with the fear lest reprisals should be made against them by Great-Britain, and such fear could hardly fail to operate in restraining them from the adoption of any belligerent proceedings at sea.

FO 33/185: John Ward to Earl Russell, No 5, Hamburg, 20 January 1864

Austrian and Prussian troops enter Hamburg on way to occupying Schleswig; widespread opposition to Prussia; public feeling on Augustenburg claims

The Austrian and Prussian Armies destined to occupy Schleswig have begun their march towards that Duchy in conformity with the Declarations made to the Federal Diet by their respective Governments.[91]

A portion of the Prussian Infantry and Cavalry engaged on this service are now entering Hamburg from Harburg (the Elbe being firmly frozen) and the rest of the Prussian forces are to arrive here within the next four days. Prince Frederic-Charles, as Prussian General, is expected tomorrow at Lubeck, with his Staff, and will march for Schleswig with the Prussian Brigade which has been quartered in Lubeck for three weeks past.

The General[92] commanding the Austrian Brigade now quartered in Hamburg is under orders to march in four days, when the bulk of the Austrian Army will begin to take up night-quarters in this City on it's march towards Schleswig.

The Government of Hamburg did not receive from that of Prussia any previous official communication of the intended passage of it's troops through the Hamburg territory. The Senate has therefore

[91] Austrian and Prussian declarations to the Federal Diet of 14 January 1864.
[92] Leopold Graf Gondrecourt.

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protested against the breach of international law, and has claimed an indemnity for all losses and injuries which may be sustained by Hamburg citizens.

The feeling of the inhabitants of this city against the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets is as strong as it appears to be in other parts of Germany. Here, it is said, is an intervention of the two great German Powers in Schleswig for a purpose disapproved of by the German Nation, and in the face of a Resolution of the Federal Diet, negativing such intervention![93] The proceeding is stigmatised as subversive of all law and order in Germany, and as giving an impulse to insurrection and civil war.

The wishes of the German Nation are bent upon realising the independence of Schleswig, as well as Holstein, under the House of Augustenburg. The title of Duke Frederic to Holstein will, it is expected, be recognized very soon by the Federal-Diet.[94] But the people of Germany believe the Duke's title to Schleswig also to be equally clear and the majority of the German Governments would seem to be of the same opinion. Hence the prevailing apprehension, whether well founded or not, that Austria and Prussia are working in the Danish, rather than in the German, interests; and hence the danger to the internal order and tranquillity of Germany, in case the result of the intervention should be the restoration of Schleswig to the Danish Monarchy.

I think it my duty to represent to your Lordship the state of public feeling here as it really is. Schleswig remains, as it always has been, the great object of contention between the conflicting Nationalities. As regards Holstein, Germany seems already to consider the independence of that Duchy as a thing accomplished.

FO 33/189: John Ward to Earl of Clarendon, No 33, Hamburg, 24 November 1865

General irritation towards Austria and Prussia in the Hanse Towns; hostility directed against Prussia for threatening language and aggressive federal policy

Having proceeded to Lübeck and to Bremen for the purpose of delivering my new Credentials in person, according to the customary ceremonial, I am now enabled to inform your Lordship that my reception by the authorities of those Cities has been a very favourable one.

[93]On 14 January 1864, the Federal Diet rejected the Austro-Prussian motion of 28 December 1863 to occupy Schleswig in order to prompt Denmark to abrogate the joint constitution for Denmark and Schleswig of 18 November (see n. 93 in Hanover section).

[94]For the succession question and Friedrich von Augustenburg's claims see n. 97 in Frankfurt section.

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In answer to the addresses which I had to make to the Burgomasters of Lübeck and Bremen respectively I was assured by them that the revival of the post of a British Minister-Resident,[95] after the lapse of above fifty years, was a source of much gratification to the Governments of those Cities, and that they desired nothing so much as to cultivate and improve their friendly relations with Great-Britain, and to extend their commercial intercourse, for which the mutual adoption of Free-trade principles afforded the most solid and durable guarantee.

In the conversations which, on this and other occasions, I have had with the leading men in Hamburg, and the other Hanse-towns, I could not but be struck with the feeling of irritation which they manifested against the conduct lately pursued by the Austrian and Prussian Governments towards the Free-City of Frankfort in reference to the suppression of public Meetings and Associations. They complained more especially of the threatening language contained in the Prussian Despatch to Frankfort of the 6th of October last, which they said was such as no Government however powerful was justified in using towards an independent State.[96] In fact, the aggressive attitude of Prussia, and the steadiness with which the Cabinet of Berlin is following up it's object of annexing the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Prussian Monarchy, could hardly fail of exciting uneasiness and apprehension in these small adjoining Republics. Since the acquisition of Lauenburg,[97] Prussia has advanced her territory to within a few miles of the gates of both Lübeck and Hamburg; and, if the Duchy of Holstein should likewise be made Prussian, those two Free-Cities must, in consequence of their local position, become geographical Enclaves of the Prussian Monarchy. It will therefore not be surprising to Her Majesty's Government to learn that a strong Anti-Prussian feeling prevails in these mercantile communities; and that even the political reformers who have so long aimed at national unity combined with a Prussian Central-Power, by no means relish the notion of the mere extension of the Prussian territory, without any adequate guarantee for constitutional liberty, and under so unpopular an Administration as that of the King of Prussia's present advisers. The Hanseatic Governments are fully aware that neither Great Britain, nor any other foreign State, is likely to protect them against a possible encroachment upon their liberties by the great German Power of which they stand so much in awe; but they venture to believe that any such encroachment would be condemned by the moral sense of

[95]John Ward was promoted from *chargé d'affaires* to minister resident to the Hanse Towns on 30 October 1865.

[96]See n. 101 in Bavaria section.

[97]See n. 116 in Württemberg section.

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Europe, and in no country more decidedly than by the enlightened public opinion of the English nation.

FO 33/195: John Ward to Earl of Clarendon, No 30, Hamburg, 18 May 1866

Stagnation of commerce due to financial panic in London and prospect of war

The state of things in this city, as regards monetary circulation, and the course of trade in general, has during the past week being [*sic*] most unsatisfactory. The near approach of war in Germany, now believed to be inevitable, would alone have led to a stagnation of commerce and a scarcity of money, but when to this cause are added the action upon the German Money-markets of the late financial crisis in London,[98] and the ruin brought upon many by the rapid fall in the prices of American Cotton-Wool,[99] it can excite little astonishment that trade is almost at a stand still [*sic*] in Hamburg, and that commercial men are too glad to be able to meet their actual engagements without entering into new adventures. Government Securities, Bank and Railway shares, and other investments, have fallen most seriously in the market, some as much as 20 and 30 per Cent upon their former value; silver is demanded on all sides, and a disposition to hoard it begins to be shewn; so that even Prussian Bank Notes, which are looked upon as the safest German paper in circulation here, are depreciated to the extent of 3 per cent and more. The rate of Discount charged on first class Bills is 8 per Cent, and the course of Exchange on London, for three months Bills, has fallen to 12 ¾ Marks Banco per £1. Sterling.

In these circumstances, your Lordship's Circular Despatch of the 12th instant (No. 10) on the subject of the monetary crisis in England, reached me very opportunely and enabled me to explain to the Members of the Senate and other influential monied men here the reasons which had induced Her Majesty's Government to release the Bank from the observance of the limitation of its issues ordinarily prescribed by law,[100] and the probabilities that the step so taken would go far to

[98]On 'Black Friday' of 11 May 1866, the British bank Overend, Gurney & Company collapsed, with liabilities of over £18 million. This caused a major commercial panic in Britain and a crisis across the international financial centres.

[99]With the conclusion of the American Civil War and the end of the blockade of the southern states, cotton exports from America were resumed. This led to a significant fall in price.

[100]In response to the Overend Gurney Crisis and the potential bankruptcy of the Bank of England, the British government temporarily suspended the Bank Act of 1844, which required new notes to be backed by a redemption fund of gold stored in its vaults.

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replace the commercial credit of established London firms upon it's accustomed solid foundation. The leading merchants and bankers here appear to think that the responsibility assumed by Her Majesty's Government in relation to the Bank-Act was highly judicious and well-timed, and they are much gratified to find that the panic which prevailed in London has already so considerably abated, as to give hope of the speedy and complete restoration of mercantile confidence in that metropolis.

The state of the Hamburg money-market was yesterday a little better; but as regards all the German Money-Markets, the depression of prices will, it is feared, continue until some prospect shall open itself of a pacific arrangement of those unhappy political differences between the German States, which have brought them to the verge of a great internal war. From all parts of the country, particularly the manufacturing districts, accounts of the stagnation of business are daily arriving here, and Hamburg, as the central point of an immense transit-trade, must submit to be a severe, though temporary, sufferer, from the general paralysis of commercial Enterprize and industry, which an impending war could not fail to bring upon the German Nation.

FO 33/195: John Ward to Lord Stanley, No 56, Hamburg, 20 July 1866

Military forces of Hanse Towns placed under Prussian command in Austro-Prussian War; enthusiasm of democratic party at prospect of a united German parliament; unease over Prussian intentions

The fact of the Hanse-towns having placed their military Contingents under the command of Prussia has already been reported by me to Her Majesty's Government.[101] These contingents, together with that of the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg, will form a Brigade of about 6000 strong, and will be attached to the Army under the command of the Prussian General Vogel de Falckenstein whose head-quarters are at or near Frankfort o/m. The Oldenburg and Bremen Contingents have already marched; those of Lubeck and Hamburg are to follow immediately.

The leading citizens of Hamburg have submitted with great reluctance to the necessity of surrendering their independence at the dictation of His Prussian Majesty; but they have felt that in the absence of all protection from Austria, or any other great Power, no other

[101]On 4 July 1866, the Hamburg *Bürgerschaft* (the municipal parliament) agreed to an alliance and placed its troops at the disposal of Prussia.

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course was open to them; and indeed it was pretty plainly intimated to them by the Prussian Government, that hostile measures would be resorted to in the event of Hamburg persisting in a refusal.

There is however here, as in all the German States, a democratic party which anticipates much good from the intended German Parliament and of which several members attended the late public Meeting held at Hanover in support of the Prussian policy.[102]

At that Meeting Mr. Benningsen [*sic*] and other popular leaders made strong speeches for the purpose of rousing the people in favour of the benefits to be expected from a national representative body; and an Address to the South-Germans was resolved upon protesting against the interference of France, and urging the people of the Southern States to detach themselves altogether from the Austrian influence, and to strive for national unity and free institutions under the banners of Prussia, as the State destined to regenerate the political liberties of the fatherland, excluding therefrom the Austrian dominions. These Speeches of course proceed from the more sanguine class of reformers; there are other liberal-minded men who still refuse to believe that such an Administration as that of Count Bismarck is really desirous of introducing a good system of representation [*sic*] Government either into Prussia, or Germany at large, and who fear there is small chance of the establishment of such an unitary constitution for Germany as was determined on by the Frankfort constituent Assembly in 1849.[103] Indeed, the intentions of the Prussian Government with respect to the future political organization of Germany have been as yet but vaguely declared; and it is perhaps premature to speculate on the question before the German Parliament has assembled, and has had an opportunity of pronouncing its opinion upon the measure of political liberty which will satisfy the Nation.

Up to this time the Prussian Government has not indicated any disposition to interfere with the navigation of the Elbe, or the Weser, or to alter the commercial laws or regulations of the Hanse-towns in any particular. But some uneasiness has been excited by the announcement that the Hanoverian part of Geestemunde on the Weser is to be converted into a Prussian war-harbour, and I have reason to believe the report is not altogether without foundation.

[102]The meeting of north German liberals took place on 12 July 1866.
[103]Imperial constitution of 28 March 1849.

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