

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-81868-1 - British Envoys to Germany 1816-1866, Volume II: 1830-1847

Edited by Markus Mosslang, Sabine Freitag and Peter Wende

Excerpt

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**DIET OF THE GERMAN
CONFEDERATION
(FRANKFURT)**

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FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, No 10, Frankfurt,
28 May 1830

Duke of Brunswick's declaration; response of different ministers; question of England's attitude

I found on arriving here the general opinion to be that the Declaration of the Duke of Brunswick, although tardy and ungracious, and although couched in such obscure terms as to be hardly intelligible, would nevertheless be accepted.¹ The Hanoverian Minister² spoke to me in this sense, and the Committee which is to report to the Diet on the Declaration and which consists of the President, the Prussian, the Bavarian, the Saxon, and the Baden Ministers,³ has determined by three against two to recommend that the satisfaction be deemed sufficient. The minority, however, (Prussia and Baden) are very strong in their sense of the insufficiency of the atonement, and I was informed last night by the Hanoverian Minister that he had received fresh instructions directing him to require a more complete and less exceptionable submission on the part of the Duke of Brunswick to the sentence of the Diet.⁴ Before my conversation with Baron Stralenheim had ended, we were joined by the Baden Minister who expressed strongly his opinion of the insufficiency of the satisfaction, and stated his intention and that of more who thought with him to urge their view of the subject on the Diet. He ended by saying: 'We are now going to put ourselves forward in opposition to Austria and to draw

¹ In the Declaration of 22 April 1830, to which this dispatch refers, Duke Karl II revoked a patent which he had issued on 10 May 1827. In this patent he had declared invalid all the resolutions and decrees issued during the period of his minority until 1832. The Declaration of 22 April, however, did not establish whether the 1820 constitution was valid or invalid, and this was the subject of a dispute with the Brunswick diet. This issue was never finally clarified by the Federal Diet because the Brunswick diet revolted, and Duke Karl was deposed in September 1830.

² Karl Friedrich Freiherr von Stralenheim.

³ President: Joachim Graf von Münch-Bellinghausen; Prussian minister: Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler; Bavarian minister: Maximilian Freiherr von Lerchenfeld; Saxon minister: Georg August Ernst Freiherr von Manteuffel; Baden minister: Friedrich Landolin Karl Freiherr von Blittersdorf.

⁴ Resolution of the Confederation, 20 August 1829, which had forced Duke Karl II to revoke the patent of 10 May 1827.

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upon ourselves her ill will for you and for your cause. Will your Government support us and see us through?’

I replied ‘I am in this affair the Auxiliary of the Hanoverian Minister, and therefore to him I must refer you.’⁵

‘But that is not sufficient for us. When Baron Stralenheim speaks, we look upon him as the organ of Count Münster; but if you come forward we consider ourselves as backed by Lord Aberdeen and by the Government of England. The one offers the support of Hanover (a small State like ourselves, and therefore insufficient), the other would give us the protection of England, and that is what we want.’ –

My answer was –

‘I am bound by duty and inclination to support the Hanoverian Minister, but I cannot put myself in the foreground. The King of England is not a Member of the Germanick Confederation.⁶ I am not a member of the Diet, and it would not therefore become me to assume the character or the language of a Principal in the matter.’

FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, No 13, Frankfurt, 4 June 1830

Treaty of Einbeck as an early stage of the North German Tax Association

I have the honor to inclose to Your Lordship the Copy of a commercial Treaty concluded at Einbeck on the 27th of March last between Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Oldenbourg, and Brunswick.⁷

By this Treaty the four Contracting Powers agree

to establish in their Dominions a uniform system of indirect taxes, to abolish all Custom Houses and all Export and import Duties between their respective Dominions, and in lieu thereof to draw

⁵ The British envoys to Frankfurt were in a special position because George IV acted as regent during the minority of Duke Karl II from 1815 to 1823. George regarded the revocation in 1827 of the constitution promulgated in 1820 as a contempt of his regency, and this led to the quarrel between Brunswick and Hanover at the Federal Diet which is the subject of this dispatch.

⁶ As King of Hanover, William IV was a member of the German Confederation. Britain's representation at the German Confederation through the legation in Frankfurt was strictly separated, formally and in terms of staff, from Hanover's.

⁷ The Treaty of Einbeck was an attempt by the contracting states, which had already come together to form the Central German Trade Association in 1828, to develop their own, independent, customs area in opposition to Prussia's attempts to expand its customs policy. The treaty did not come into force because of the lack of an implementing regulation. However, the Treaty of Einbeck was an early stage of the North German Tax Association which was founded in 1834; cf. p. 277 in Hanover Section.

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round the totality of the territory of the four Contracting Powers a general exterior line of Custom Houses,
 to allow perfect freedom of commerce in the interior for every commodity except Salt used for domestick purposes, and Cards,
 to establish common uniform regulations respecting prohibitions with regard to foreign States,
 to conclude no Treaties with foreign States which may affect the produce of the import or Export-duties, but with common consent, to divide the whole produce of the indirect taxes, (after deducting the expense of levying the same,) amongst the four contracting States, in proportion of their respective populations. The population of the 1st of January 1830 to be taken as the basis of this calculation, which calculation is however to be revised every 6 years,
 to allow the subjects of each of the contracting Parties, in the dominions of each and every one of the States, all immunities for trade enjoyed by Natives.
 to consider the Treaty as lasting till the end of the year 1841, unless in the meanwhile all the States of the Germanick Confederation should unite in a common System of Indirect Taxes.

The Tariff of the rate of duties to be levied under this Treaty is to be agreed upon by Commissioners, who are to meet at Hanover for the determination of this the most important point of the question.

The system of amalgamating the indirect taxes of different States, and of dividing at the end of the year the common produce, after deducting the expence of collection, is gaining ground in Germany. It appears calculated to augment the influence of the large States at the expense of the small Powers, who are however induced to accede to it by the opinion that it will tend to increase their revenues.

As to the present Treaty, the advantage is supposed to be on the side of Hesse, whose peasants, poor and frugal, subsist chiefly on food which pays nothing to the excise or Customs; whereas the Hanoverian farmers, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the Elbe, consume annually a considerable quantity of excisable articles.

FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, No 16, Frankfurt, 25 June 1830

Acceptance of Duke of Brunswick's atonement; question of whether Federal Diet has gained 'character' and power by handling this affair

The decision of the Diet in respect to the sufficiency of the satisfaction given by the Duke of Brunswick was, as I have had the honor to inform

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Your Lordship in my N^o 11, put off until the 24th of this month in order that the Ministers might be enabled to receive in the meanwhile specifick Instructions from their respective Governments.⁸

The Sitting was opened yesterday by the President⁹ who voted that the satisfaction should be accepted. His example was followed by all the members of the Diet, except the Ministers of Hanover, Prussia, and Baden.¹⁰ The two Lippes¹¹ also voted with the Minority, but as these Princes together form only the quarter of a Vote, and as the remaining three quarters were with the majority, the collective Vote was against us.

The Question was carried by a large majority, and the Duke of Brunswick's atonement is therefore accepted. The Vote of the Minority expressed that it was not consistent with the dignity of the Diet to accept such an incomplete submission as that offered by His Highness. [...]

The Affair may now be considered as at an end, except as to such matters of detail as the wording of the Protocol to which I have already alluded. Although the result is not entirely satisfactory, yet I think it cannot be doubted that the Diet has gained in character by the Question. It had become a sort of fashion to revile this Body and to look upon it as incapable of either decision or vigour. The many cases in which an appeal to its Authority elicited no Sentence & was only followed by mutual compromises between the contending Parties, have been cited as failures on the part of the Diet instead of being considered evidences of the useful effect of this Body in preventing, hostile collision in the case of equal Adversaries, or unmitigated oppression in the case of unequal ones.

Now however it has been proved that the Diet has a power of acting, and may be brought to bear in extreme cases such as that of the Duke of Brunswick, and it may be fairly expected that the consequences of this conviction will be favorable to the authority of the Diet and the tranquillity of Germany. [...]

⁸ For the constitutional struggle in Brunswick and Duke Karl II's proclamation cf. p. 3 in this section.

⁹ Joachim Graf von Münch-Bellinghausen.

¹⁰ Karl Friedrich Freiherr von Strahlenheim, Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler, Friedrich Landolin Karl Freiherr von Blittersdorf. These envoys put forward formal reasons against accepting the Duke of Brunswick's explanation.

¹¹ Lippe-Schaumburg and Lippe-Detmold. The two Lippes, plus Hohenzollern, Liechtenstein, Neuß and Waldeck made up one vote between them in the Federal Diet.

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FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, No 44, Frankfurt, 9 September 1830

Disturbances in Hesse-Cassel; reasons for them; expected disturbances in Hesse-Darmstadt

Some slight disturbances have taken place at Hesse-Cassel, but the populace immediately on the appearance of the Troops called out upon the occasion gave way and dispersed.

The sudden and general rise in the price of bread, which the apprehension of war has occasioned, caused lately a riot at Mayence. The people endeavored to prevent some Vessels conveying Corn from leaving the Town, and succeeded, I understand, in getting possession of one boat laden with flour. The disturbance was however immediately put down, and all mention of it in the publick papers has been prevented.

It is probable that the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt will not long remain quiet, as the people are disgusted with the Prussian System of Excise and Customs which has lately been introduced there,¹² and are moreover at present much excited by the discussions in the Chambers respecting the payment of the Debts of the Grand Duke¹³ and the settlement of the Civil List.

FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, No 47, Frankfurt, 11 September 1830

Insurrection in Brunswick; reports probably exaggerated; possible causes of the incident

Accounts have been received from Brunswick, that an insurrection has taken place in that Capital: that the Mob repulsed the Troops which the Duke directed against them and finally set fire to the Ducal Palace, from which His Serene Highness¹⁴ escaped not without having been exposed to some danger.¹⁵

I find, that these accounts, if not entirely false, are much exaggerated. It is true, that a mob did break some windows and destroyed a Carriage

¹² Hesse-Darmstadt joined the Prussian customs union on 25 August 1831.

¹³ Ludwig II.

¹⁴ Karl II.

¹⁵ Duke Karl II's refusal to convene the Estates set off the unrest in Brunswick. Initial disturbances took place on 6 September, and on 7 September the ducal palace was stormed. After Karl had fled, his brother Wilhelm assumed the regency in September 1830.

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belonging to the Duke, and that a deputation represented to His Serene Highness, that it was the prayer of his Subjects, that his reported intention of leaving Brunswick should be changed, and, that H.S.H. should reside in his States and take measures for employing the working classes. The Duke replied that he would take the subject into consideration.

Some excitement has taken place even at Frankfort. Inflammatory handbills have been pasted up in the streets containing threats of popular commotion in case the price of bread, which has experienced a sudden and considerable rise, should continue to augment.

FO 30/31: George William Chad to Earl of Aberdeen, Frankfurt, No 56, 22 September 1830

Disturbances at Carlsruhe because of Baden's accession to the Prussian commercial system; hostility to the Jews

Disturbances have broken out at Carlsruhe: the Populace, excited by the accession of the Government of Baden to the Prussian Commercial System,¹⁶ assembled tumultuously crying: 'Down with Custom-Houses! No Custom-House Officers!'

The Great majority of the Inhabitants of the Grand Duchy are hostile to this commercial System, and there is a hope that the determination of the Government may be shaken by this burst of popular feeling.

The enmity to the Jews which pervades many Towns in Germany, shewed itself on this occasion, and the cry of Hep ! Hep! (the signal for attacking them)¹⁷ was heard.

This hostility, for which no rational, or at least sufficient cause can be assigned, exists to a certain degree here at Frankfort and is not entirely confined to the very lowest dregs of Society. Measures of precaution have however been taken, which I think will be effectual in preventing any disturbance of this place.

¹⁶ Chad here refers to the discussion about Baden entering the Prussian customs system. Baden did not join the *Zollverein* until 12 May 1835.

¹⁷ The battle cry '*Hep-Hep, Jud verreck*' (Hep-Hep, Jews die), which was heard among the urban underclasses and in some artisan circles in a number of towns in 1830, had already been a feature of the Germany-wide pogroms as early as 1819. The 'Hep-Hep riots', which were repeated in 1834 in the Rhineland, interrupted the process of Jewish emancipation in Germany.

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FO 30/32: John Ralph Milbanke to Earl of Aberdeen, No 25, Frankfurt, 29 September 1830

State of revolt in the Electorate of Hesse; government paralysed; revolutionary spirit in Belgium

The insurrectionary spirit which has lately manifested itself in the Electorate of Hesse, is daily assuming a more serious character.¹⁸ The Country from Hanau to Fulda is in a complete state of revolt, and every day brings the news of some fresh excess on the part of the people, whose attacks are no longer confined to the Custom-Houses, but are apparently destined to involve in one common destruction every species of property both publick and private.

Several Noblemen's houses have been already pillaged and burnt to the ground, and as these proceedings are carried on with impunity, it is impossible to foresee where they will end.

The Troops have positively declared that they will not interfere, and the Government seems paralysed and fast approaching to dissolution. The person of the Elector¹⁹ is, I am informed, scarcely treated with common respect.

In the mean time the States General, which are assembled at Cassel, are occupied in composing a Constitution, in doing which they have taken the last French one for a model.²⁰

A circumstance worthy of remark is, that the actors in these disturbances are well supplied with money, which is furnished from some unknown source. It is said, I know not with what degree of truth, that some of the Inhabitants of this Town are not altogether strangers to the destruction of the Custom-Houses in the Electorate.

The Grand Duchy of Hesse is comparatively tranquil; and it is principally to the good conduct of the Troops, who were compelled in one or two instances to fire upon the populace, that this return to order is to be ascribed.

¹⁸ After his return from Vienna, Prince Elector Wilhelm II was forced by increasing public pressure to convene the Estates in September 1830 and to recognize the citizens' guards formed in the towns. These successes encouraged large sections of the population to join the revolutionary movement in Electoral Hesse in order to pursue their own economic and social goals.

¹⁹ Wilhelm II.

²⁰ The main feature of the constitution of Electoral Hesse, which was promulgated in January 1831, was the unicameral system modelled on the French one. A long list of basic rights and the far-reaching rights of the *Landtag* (full legislative powers, the right to grant the budget and taxes, the right to accept petitions and pass them on, and the right to impeach ministers: made the constitution of Electoral Hesse the most radical in the German Confederation so far.

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These events, combined with what is now taking place at Brussels,²¹ have produced a general consternation amongst the German States; and, although I am persuaded that in many cases the accounts are much exaggerated, it would be useless to deny that a very strong revolutionary spirit appears at this moment to pervade many of them. I am however of opinion that the rapid progress which it has made, is to be mainly attributed to the absence of energetick measures on the part of most of the Governments where it has manifested itself. [...]

FO 30/33: Thomas Cartwright to Viscount Palmerston, No 13, Frankfurt, 16 January 1831

Revolutionary uprising in Göttingen; civil and military measures taken by the government

Monsieur de Stralenheim this morning received advices from Hanover dated the 12th Inst^t from which it appears the Insurrection at Göttingen was not then suppressed.

These official accounts mention, that the movement at Osterode²² was soon got under, and that the Ringleaders²³ were arrested, but that on the 8th Inst^t a rising took place at Göttingen.²⁴ Several Attorneys and private teachers, uniting with a part of the Inhabitants, formed a Common Council and organised a National Guard. They declared their object to be to petition His Majesty for the grant of a free Constitution and universal Representation. A Magistrate²⁵ has been sent to endeavour to prevail by persuasion upon the misguided people to return to their obedience to the laws, but at the same time the necessary steps have been taken for suppressing the Insurrection by force of arms, should other means fail.

²¹ Inspired by the French revolution of July, the Belgian revolution took place on 25 August 1830. It resulted in Belgium seceding from the Netherlands. From 23 to 26 September fierce fighting, in which 1,200 people were killed, took place between the Dutch crown and the Belgian revolutionaries in Brussels.

²² On 5 January a revolutionary common council and a citizens' guard were formed in the town of Osterode. The aim of this movement was to strengthen the rights of the urban middle classes vis-à-vis the government of Hanover. Intervention by the police and the army quickly put down this movement in Osterode.

²³ The ringleaders were Gustav König and August Freitag. The latter, however, evaded arrest.

²⁴ Three university teachers, Heinrich Ahrens, Ernst Johann von Rauschenplatt, and Theodor Schuster, led an assault on the Göttingen town hall on 8 January 1831, forcing the army to withdraw. Until the Hanoverian army intervened and took Göttingen without a struggle on 16 January, a common council and national guard drawn from the ranks of the rebels had control of Göttingen.

²⁵ Name not traceable.

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The attempts which have been made to raise the Country have not yet met with success.

The University by a Decree of that day's date (the 12th) was declared shut till Easter. The Students have been ordered to quit the Town; and, in case of disobedience to this order, those who are Hanoverian Subjects have been threatened to be held incapable of ever obtaining employment in the Service.

The Hanoverian Government is desirous that the Students, subjects of the other States of the Confederation, should receive similar orders from their respective Sovereigns.

In addition to the above details I can add, that a Force of from five to six thousand men was collecting at Nordheim under General Busche⁶⁶ to act against Göttingen.

The Students have not generally taken part in this Affair, and those the most active are principally Hanoverian Subjects. The Town is barricaded in several parts, and the Gates are shut.

FO 30/33: Thomas Cartwright to Viscount Palmerston, No 24, Frankfurt, 17 February 1831

Disappointment of the ultra liberal party in Bavaria at limited changes made by the Bavarian King; critical attitude of the press

Considerable anxiety is entertained respecting the state of Bavaria, where in different parts disenchantment and political irritation exist in a very high degree.⁶⁷

The Ultra liberal Party has been for some time much disappointed at the policy of the King, who has set such limits to the extent of his liberalism as do not at all satisfy the expectations it had formed at the outset of His Reign; and at this moment it is exerting itself to the utmost to excite a spirit of hostility throughout the Country to The King and Government.

The King, when Prince Royal, was well known to be one of the warmest advocates of the Constitutional Form of Government established in Bavaria, and he even gave such proofs of his opinions on that head as to draw upon Himself the animadversion and ill will of some of the Members of the Confederation. Since His accession to the Throne, though on some occasions acts certainly have emanated directly from His Majesty which may not be strictly in accordance with the Powers of a Constitutional Monarch, the Policy of His Majesty's

⁶⁶ Friedrich August Philipp Freiherr von dem Bussche-Ippenburg.

⁶⁷ Cf. pp. 407-409 in Bavaria section.