

HOME.

FAR far away may the traveller roam,
But he'll find no spot like his own dear home,
Though over the mountain and o'er the sea spray
To far distant climes he may wander away.
O'er Italy fair he may ramble long,
And beauty still find in that land of song;
Though he love to gaze on the soft blue sky,
And the vine-clad hills may be dear to his eye,
And he may delight in the cataract's foam—
But is that spot dear as his native home?

To the isles of Greece he may chance to stray,
And wander among the ruins gray;
Or mark what passed in times of old
In a land of sages and warriors bold.
Though he see the spot where in days gone by,
The sound of deadly strife rose high;
Though he love to gaze on that fair scene,
There is nought remains of what has been,
Where warriors trod now flowers bloom—
But oh! is that spot like his own dear home?

He may view the mountains crown'd with snow,
Or the verdant meads far spread below,
Where flowers are fair and skies are bright,
And in that scene he may feel delight.
But still at times the wanderer will sigh,
For the pleasant scenes which have long passed by,
For no place to him so dear can be,
As the land where he played in infancy;
Though long he may wander and far he may roam,
There's no spot on the earth like his own dear home.

E.

Important Documents on the Political Rights of the German Nation, with Notes by T. L. KLUEBER. Published from his Papers, with Remarks explanatory and illustrative, by C. Welcker. 2nd. edition. Mannheim. 1845.

[FROM THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.]

It is a very difficult and a very dangerous thing for one nation to give an opinion on the political capacities and capabilities of another; and yet, with regard to Germany, we have, and we think every sound-hearted Englishman may have, a very decided opinion. We think the Germans are a people by their whole temper and habits of mind peculiarly calculated for the exercise of political rights, and the enjoyment of public liberty; and the very same purely psychological considerations (independently of political ones) that make us doubt seriously at times whether our combustible neighbours the French might not be better under the pressure of a strong despotism, lead us to the conclusion that the cool, sober, systematic German is, of all species of the genus HOMO, the best calculated to deliberate wisely on public affairs, and to achieve successfully the delicate problem of self-government. And yet it is a fact, known, through the help of Mr. Laing and others, to every reader of a circulating library in England, that there is no nation in the world which, considering its extraordinary degree of intelligence, possesses so little of real self-government as the Germans. This is an extraordinary phenomenon, and well worthy of the most serious attention. The policy of Prussia, in first giving a high steam education to her people, setting the active brains of her academical youth afloat upon all manner of speculation, and then using all sort of inefficient ingenuity to check the power which she has herself raised, and choke the breath which herself inspires is to us on this side the Channel not a little incomprehensible. With the one hand we see her holding forth the banner of popular intelligence and Protestant independence; in the other she shows the censorship and the police. Can figs and thistles grow on the same plant? can bitter and sweet flow from the same fountain? Assuredly not. These two things, a high grade of general intellectual culture, and a censorship of the press, cannot co-exist; and we find accordingly that they exist at the present moment in Germany, in a state, not of harmony and co-operation, but of internecine strife and mutual denunciation. They exist, as the established church and the Catholic faith do in Ireland, merely to prove their incompatibility.

Sensible men saw this from the beginning; but some shortsighted and shallow fools, closing the mouth of the volcano for a moment with a lid, and perceiving no more smoke, forthwith deceived themselves into the belief that the fermenting elements were at peace, and that for want of air the fire had gone out. Vain imagination! The human mind, like subterranean chemical stuffs, produces oxygen for itself; and now, instead of peace and reconciliation, which the censorship and the Carlsbad decrees of 1819 were to have introduced into Germany, we hear nothing but a discordant concert of secret grumbings, and loud laughs, grins, sneers, execrations, and terrible prophecies. Are these things the forerunners of an earthquake, the preparations for an eruption, the warning notes of an explosion? or are they only the ravings of a chained lunatic, the convulsions of a galvanised corpse, the fitful clutchings of a dying delirium? This last is the opinion of Prince Metternich and those who believe with him; but if Du Pradt was right when he said that the world can be governed now only on the system of mutual instruction, by monitors and not by masters; and if De Tocqueville guessed well the present plan of Providence, that democracy is on the march everywhere, and may be guided but cannot be restrained; then we must consider the present state of Germany as very ominous, and watch with no small anxiety for the result.

The volume of "Important Documents," whose title we have given above, belongs to a class, not numerous indeed in Germany, but which, when they do appear, never fail to excite a great interest. The sort of books to which we allude consists of diplomatic papers and other documents, not originally, of course, in a country like Germany, intended for the public eye, but having a most important bearing on public interests, and appealing to strong political feelings in the public mind.

These documents are generally edited by men not less famous for historical learning than for decision of political

view, and manliness of character; and the main drift and purpose of them is to show that, since the year 1815, when the battle of Waterloo ended the great Napoleon drama, an extensive conspiracy has existed among the advocates of bureaucratic despotism in Germany, to cheat the German people out of those important political rights which were pledged to them at the congress of Vienna. That such a conspiracy has existed, and does exist, is sufficiently plain to any English perception, from the mere fact that freedom of the press beyond the Rhine, instead of increasing since the period mentioned, has been systematically curtailed; and it is impossible for John Bull, with his habits of thinking, to understand how these things should be, unless there were something wrong. Instinctively, whether in Whig or in Tory dress, he will say: These men in Frankfort "shun the light, because their deeds are evil;" in this case they are knaves; or because they are afraid to see, and in this case they are fools. But the remarkable thing is, that in the face of all that can be done by the Austrian Talleyrand and his Prussian coadjutors, such books as those of Kombs, Hormayr, and this present one of Welcker (fortified by the strong name of Klüber), like murder, will out; and the smooth, fair-spoken diplomatist is made to stand before the world rudely disrobed of all his specious disguises, and pilloried in the memory of all true German hearts, as an intriguer, a liar, a traitor, and a fool. The whole occupation, indeed, of a Prussian bureaucratist at Frankfort, as it is revealed in these pages, has for the last thirty years been—how to make lies look respectable. How, then, we are asked again, do such books come out? Simply because Prussia is not Germany; and because Berlin is not Mannheim. The influence of the two great powers, Prussia and Austria, over the lesser states is great, but not omnipotent; besides, thoughts are like spring-water on a hill side, which, if you stop one opening, will come out at another: and so, after all, the Prussian censorship, like the "Index Expurgatorius" of the Roman Church, acts not as the annihilator of political heresy in the German language, but merely as a convenient book of reference to the curious.

The main staple of the present publication of Herr Welcker, a person known as one of the most learned publicists in Germany, is a collection of the protocols, in which the proceedings of the conclave of diplomatists in 1819, at Carlsbad, are recorded. These proceedings formed the basis of the first great public attack made by the Diet of Frankfort against the political liberties of the German people, as these were understood to have been secured by the 13th and 18th clauses of the Act of Confederation:—the one guaranteeing, or in its plain and obvious sense, appearing to guarantee, to the German people of every state, a representative constitution, the other holding out a pledge of the same kind with regard to the liberty of the press. To the historical student, of course, these documents are most important; but the introductory comments of the editor contain much that to the general reader may be more attractive. The following retrospective sketch of the state of German freedom under the early empire, and the middle ages, down to the terrible prostration of Jena, and the miseries of French ascendancy, coming as it does from so well-instructed a pen, will be read with interest.

In the history of the German nation, wherever anything truly great and animating occurs, there also do we behold FREEDOM as the basis and the sinews of this greatness. It was the freedom of the German people, and that indispensable element of it, the soldiery of the free man (as opposed to armies without any popular element) which freed the world from the tyranny of Rome, and in the place of enslaved deserts, brought into existence the states of modern Europe, and their civilisation. And when, partly by the reception of Roman corruption and despotism, partly by aristocratic feudal anarchy and license, Merovingian France, and especially the western division (Neustria), had sunk into the deepest degradation, it was again by the restoration of popular freedom, a popular soldiery, and free popular imperial diets, that Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, rescued Christianity from the irruption of the Saracens, overthrew the Merovingian dynasty, and gave a firm foundation to that preponderance of the German nation, which, dating from them, continued through long ages to be the prominent feature of the political system of Europe. The same popular freedom and popular soldiery, achieved under the great Henry, and his son Otto, the deliverance of Germany from the Hungarians, afforded protection against the irruptions of the Danes and Slavonians, and sowed the seeds of modern civilisation. By similar means, Rudolph of Habsburg rescued the fatherland from being wasted by the wildest aristocratic club-law and anarchy. Lastly, it was on popular freedom that our German cities, in the very midst of that same aristocratic club-law, based their independence, and unfolded to wondering Europe that high culture, that flourishing trade, that refinement in the arts, that extended commerce, and that dominion over the seas, which Machiavelli and Æneas Sylvius have described with such enthusiasm. In those ages, German freedom, a German militia, and German laws, were the foundation of German strength, German civilisation, and German Greatness.

The subsequent development of things, however, was more sad. Most of the other states gradually got the better of the lawless oppression of feudal anarchy, and princely despotism. They, and especially the Saxons in England, worked out into efficient forms those principles so aboriginally German, by which the people have a voice, directly or indirectly, in the various departments of legislation, law, and administration. They elevated themselves to national unity and political freedom: they became a free COMMUNITY. The German people, on the other hand, neglected still more and more these first and vital problems of a national existence. They delivered over their freedom and their rights, and with them the most important German lands—Burgundy, Lorraine, and Alsace, Holland and Belgium, Switzerland, and the Baltic provinces, and lastly their own empire—to feudal, aristocratic, and princely despotism, to the oppression of a foreign (the Roman) law, and a caste of unpatriotic bureaucratists, to internal division and foreign interference. The unavoidable consequence of this was, that in the several provincial parliaments, even more than in the imperial diet, the pure spirit of *caste* and aristocratic selfishness, and a hunting after privileges and private advantages, obtained the victory over the general freedom, and the common fatherland. The people and their rights were forgotten. They stood mute before the courts of the Roman law. In vain was the warning voice raised by patriots like Ulrich Hutten; in vain did the peasants themselves maintain bloody wars for their trampled rights. The selfish spirit of *caste*, which had taken hold of the nobility, the cities, the bureaucracy, and the universities, prevented co-operation. Treacherous feudal parliaments now excluded the people from a voice in their public deliberations, secured to the nobility a monopoly of all places of influence in the military and civil service,

laid the whole weight of taxation and the burdens of actual soldiery on the people; and, at the same time, by basely flattering the courts, fell a prey themselves, with all their substantial deliberative rights, to the stronger power of the prince. Above all, in the two great states in Austria and Prussia, the central power of the prince breaking down boundary after boundary, directed all its energies to pare down the rights of the *Landstände* to a bare recognition of their existence, and the acknowledgment of a few traditional formalities. And this endeavour was the more easily crowned with success, that these two states were conglomerations of countries originally distinct; and the original independent *Landstände* of each country existed now only as provincial parliaments, which, as all experience testifies, never can maintain any influence in a kingdom, unless they are supported at head quarters by a central and metropolitan parliament. But the evil did not stop here. After having achieved this unworthy victory over the rights of German citizens, the princes were themselves vanquished, as the natural effect of their own system, first by the aping of foreign fashions, and then by being forced to receive foreign bonds. Whoever delights to speak the greatness of the German nation, whoever has a heart for German honor and happiness, must read with sorrow, and indignation, and shame, the history of Germany during the last two hundred years; particularly, however, that period immediately preceding the great War of Liberation. Who can point out a nation, by numbers, by resources, by early history, and prospects so great, and yet eventually sunk in such misery and degradation? Before we dare to call ourselves a GREAT nation, let us look to our political rights and liberties, and see in what condition they are; let us put before our eyes the several moments in the late history of our country, which will mark our national character to future ages; the partition of Poland, the coalition against the liberty of France, the shameful surrendering of the territories of the empire, and the degrading treaties of peace made at Basle, at Campo Formio, and at Lunéville; the parceling out of our possessions at the nod of French and Austrian diplomatists, in the year 1803; then the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena—this terrible battle of JENA, after which, in the midst of the prostration of fatherland, the German people could yet console themselves with a smile of triumph over the downfall of their haughty caste of aristocratic officers; then the ever-advancing subjugation and division of Germany, the annihilation of the empire, the confederation of the Rhine, the incorporation of Northern Germany with France, effected, as formerly the robbery of Alsace, without a stroke; then the crowning shame of all—worse than the many sacrificial millions, and hundreds of sacked cities—the shame that the sons of Germany were driven through Europe as the hired minions of the despot, who had caused their own slavery, and used by him as the instrument to enslave their yet free brethren; till these brethren likewise being enslaved were dragged in splendid servitude behind the triumphal car of their master.

The real cause of this truly infamous degradation, of this shameful subjugation, nay, almost annihilation of the nation and its princes, where did it lie, if not in the neglect of public freedom and the national rights of the German people?

That these views are substantially right is best made evident to the reflecting reader of history, by contrasting the causes here alleged for German degradation, with those counteracting causes under which, within the memory of many who now live, the restoration and glorious political elevation of the fatherland was achieved. Pursuing his comments on the battle of Jena, and its astonishing consequences, the author writes:—

The world had to learn from these events that numerous well-drilled armies, and well-furnished fortresses, well-stored treasuries, and a well-arranged state mechanism, and even, what stands much higher, an excellent royal family, followed by the respect and the love of the nation; that high intellectual cultivation, and a well-deserved military reputation; that all these things are of no avail to protect a state against radical defects, often remaining latent through a long series of years, and which may ultimately work its destruction. The same Prussia, from whose prosperity Europe had learned so much, was, in the years from 1807 to 1813, to teach a yet more important lesson in its adversity; to teach the true sources of strength by which nations grow, the true means by which even small and physically weak states may become great and triumphant. With the most admirable wisdom, and with a simplicity of purpose proceeding from a heart purified by affliction, the Prussian government sought to discover the root of so many evils, not, as fools do, in matters merely external and accidental, but in the internal economy of the state; and it recognised the true sources of possible prosperity only in the most complete self-knowledge, and the most honest confession of past faults. With a dignified moral courage in the hour of adversity, it lent an open ear to the loud proclamation of all the real, and even supposed defects of the constitution and administration, which had been the cause of the great national calamity of 1806. In a few years, and with the most limited means, Stein and Scharnhorst prepared and laid the foundation of all those great social and political changes which made the glorious liberation of 1813-14-15 possible; those changes, and that regeneration, that are even now the pride and the hope of Prussia, and the duration and happy development of which affords to the state the only stable guarantee, in the words of a great Prussian statesman, that "another JENA shall neither be dangerous, nor necessary to Prussia." By the emancipation of the peasant class from the oppression of the feudal aristocracy, by municipal laws, as they were,* founded on principles of burghal freedom, by the equality of public duties and rights, and finally, by the express promise of representative provincial and metropolitan parliaments (Edict of 28th October, 1820), a constitution founded on the broadest principles of civil and religious freedom, was prepared and pledged for the nation. By the virtually allowed, and substantially exercised, freedom of word and writing, by the foundation of universities and schools in the most liberal spirit possible, intellectual spirits were put into the hands of the nation, and the highest grade of intellectual cultivation secured. The abolition of flogging, which had shown its inefficiency to produce true valour at Jena, and the obligation of military service imposed upon every citizen, introduced a system of national defence of the most effective description. The real ground of Prussia's, of Germany's misery and shame—feudal aristocracy, and want of constitutional freedom—and with these the problem of a new age, were plainly seen and acknowledged. Light and Right, Truth and Freedom, were pronounced everywhere, and recognised as the public watchwords of Prussia. And it was because of these truly popular and national watchwords that the call of Prussia was responded to everywhere, not as a Prussian, but as a German call; and, in accordance with this, it is worthy of remark, though this circumstance in itself is merely accidental, that all the great restorers of Prussian greatness, Stein, Scharnhorst, Blücher, and

* This limitation alludes to the systematic encroachments which subsequent legislation made on that character of freedom which was stamped on Stein and Hardenberg's municipal enactments. In studying the Prussian system these bureaucratic modifications and encroachments must always be carefully attended to.

Hardenberg, were not born Prussians, but by birth connected with other provinces of the common fatherland. Under the influence of such a true German inspiration, the government, assisted by a league of enthusiastic patriots, found themselves in a condition, beneath the very eyes of the jealous foreign tyrant, to prepare in secret a great moral rising of the nation, and to achieve the liberation of the fatherland.

The great Prussian and European victories of Grossberon and the Katzbach, Dennewitz, Culm, Leipzig, La Rothière, Laon, Ligny, and Waterloo were achieved by an appeal to popular sympathies, and by the use of a purely popular machinery. This is a fact of which there can be no doubt: and if any obscurity rested upon the nature of the mere transactions, the character of the principal men engaged, and the proceedings at the Congress of Vienna, in 1814-15, place the essential liberalism, so to speak, of the Liberation War, beyond the possibility of scepticism. No sooner, however, did the battle of Waterloo secure to the German princes the security of their thrones—no sooner was the danger over that had rendered the calling in of such men as Stein and Hardenberg, and the profession of liberal principles necessary, than a RE-ACTION took place. The conspiracy mentioned above was formed by the old bureaucrats, who had been in disgrace since the battle of Jena: at the head of these was Prince Meternich, assisted by his minion, the once respected Gentz; the late King of Prussia was a good man privately, but in public affairs a simpleton and a cipher; he, therefore, was easily gained over, or at least intimidated and confounded, and the consequence was that in a few years, after so much blood had been poured out by the heroes of the Liberation War, we find all the great men of those days, the heroes of the Restoration, retired from the scene of public affairs, and their places occupied by the men of the Re-action. Their first work was to raise the cry of sedition, conspiracy, and revolution; to issue extraordinary commissions; to spread over Germany a system of espionage and persecution; and, above all things, to render suspected to the government those very men by whose patriotic word and deed the existence of the government had been secured. This was followed up by arbitrary imprisonments and prosecutions of all kinds, whose name is legion; and by the enactment of those infamous Carlsbad decrees of 1819, by which the provisions in favor of German liberty contained in the Act of Confederation were explained away, and nullified. A baser act the history of base modern statesmanship has not recorded. Such things will happen, however, when weak men like Frederick William III. hold the rudder of state in stormy times. Mark the consequences!—

By the coincidence of the system of public policy adopted in different countries, and by new instruments of oppression and persecution introduced daily, the free communion of citizen with citizen on public affairs has, since the date of the Carlsbad decrees, been more sensibly and violently checked than in any period in the history of our country. Even the Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung," so moderate in its tone, and so sparing in its language, a paper also which was always open to whoever wished to defend the ministerial policy, is now seen to confine itself almost exclusively to news from China, or to dissertations on crustaceous animals and falling stars, and to refrain altogether from the expression of a free judgment on any question of public interest and concernment. In this way are maintained and cherished the most narrow, petty, and selfish feelings among all classes. By the daily increasing number of the vast army of civil officers, by the dependence of the judges on the favor of the court and the minister, and the politics of the hour, both these classes are made mere servile tools in the hands of a few, and are robbed of the confidence and respect of the great body of the citizens. By the abolishing of the freedom and independence of the universities; by the restraints put on the liberty of teaching; by the permanent enforcement of laws against the professors, which were in their nature and in their name purely exceptional; by the annihilation of the influence which they once exercised in the examination of candidates for public offices, and as a court of reference in important matters (Facultäts gutachten und Spruchkollegien); by these and similar means the academical class has been degraded from its ancient rank, and lost its ancient influence; everything has been done that could be done to make the professors a corporation of smooth, mannerly, cowardly, unmanly, and immoral courtiers. Nor have the students fared better; the ancient academical freedom has been abolished; a jealous persecution has followed every attempt on the part of the students to unite themselves, or even to confer together for patriotic and national purposes; and by thus checking all political sympathy and public spirit in the bud, our governments have forced the German youth to give vent to the effervescence of their spirits only in the lowest and most enervating sensual excesses; then, on the other hand, the long and severe examinations which they are made to pass through are only so much mechanical drilling for a special purpose, and rather check than promote the free growth of a really scientific spirit. Further: by the assiduous zeal with which the clergy and the nobility are pressed into the service of absolutism; by the privileges and distinctions which are heaped upon them, in order to set them in array against the mass of the citizens, these high classes of society have lost their proper dignity, the respect which naturally belongs to them, and their beneficial influence. And, worst of all, a portentous system of all-directing, and all-controlling Police lies, like a nightmare, upon the oppressed heart of the people. By this vexatious machinery no freedom is left to the citizen, except for the mere enjoyments of sense, and for purely material interests; and even on these, at times, a check is laid in the most arbitrary way for political purposes. As if all German men were a set of idle, mischievous boys under pupillage, a severe interdict is laid upon all sorts of communion and conference for the purposes of co-operation; and this not merely in matters of municipal and public interest, but where pure humanity and Christian charity are concerned. And while, in free England, the strongest government has not the power to forbid the most miserable fugitive a shelter beneath its hospitable law, in Germany, a German is treated by German governments like a vagabond. And this treatment he receives in the very teeth of those clauses in his national charter—the Act of Confederation—which add the sanction of an express stipulation to rights which God and nature originally confer on every man. Without any ground in law, he is chased at pleasure beyond the boundary of his own house, like a wild beast. Driven out of one province, he hopes to find refuge in another; but even this hope fails him; in a district where his own German tongue is spoken, he cannot even claim the rights which England concedes to the lowest malefactor; he is instantly led to the gate of the city, where he had, or hoped to find, a temporary livelihood; nay, he may often count himself happy if this last refuge of the fugitive remains, and if he be not, from motives of state policy, prevented from leaving a country which

his watchful enemies have converted everywhere from a home into a prison. In vain will he appeal to a court of justice. The court of justice will declare, that in however arbitrary a manner the poor victim has been treated, that is an affair of the police and of the executive, with which the courts of law have nothing to do. To see such things as daily happen among us, a stranger must believe that all ideas of public right and personal freedom in Germany are dead. During the whole wretched period from the peace of Westphalia to the present day, those who have read the history of Germany can point to no time, when every bulwark of freedom and right was so completely destroyed as it is now—even now, immediately after our princes, partly for the rescue of their own thrones, partly being warned of duty by misfortune, partly from feelings of gratitude to a people that bled for them, felt themselves called on to come before Germany and before Europe with the most distinct pledges and promises of a state of liberty and right, such as Germans once enjoyed, and of which they should never have been deprived. In the midst of such a complete prostration of all personal and mental freedom, it is utterly vain to expect that the constitutions which have been lately established and sworn to, can have any practical efficiency. So long as there is no guarantee for the personal security of the individual, all parliaments, however well constituted, and however theoretically free, are vain; but in Germany, our parliaments are no longer allowed to be even theoretically free; for by secret and public combinations, by one-sided and perverse interpretations put upon the national charter, by the introduction of exceptional laws, which are made to override and supersede the rule, the grand conditions of a constitutional life have been prevented from coming into existence—these are freedom of the press, freedom of election, and the formation of a real representation of the people the right of legislation, especially of taxation, and the publicity of parliamentary proceedings. So long as the venerable empire lasted, frail and inefficient as it had become, there was always an appeal from gross injustice in the provincial courts of law, to the emperor, to the independent imperial courts, and to the courts of arbitration (Spruch-Kollegien); there was always the right of all the citizens to assemble for the purpose of stating a complaint, and the right to refuse payment of the taxes till grievances had been redressed. All this has now been abolished, and without anything to compensate for it. For nobody, surely, will find a compensation in the aid given by the diet to the men of Holstein and Hanover, or in the decrees of the diet against the press and the universities, against assemblies of the people and the right of public petitioning, and against the right of withholding the supplies, which, if it should be attempted, according to the arbitrary decrees of the diet, is to be held equivalent to high treason, and to warrant instant interference of foreign troops to protect the rights, not of the people, but of the sovereign. All this it is unnecessary to picture out at length; equally so to dwell on the periodically returning criminal prosecutions, the establishment of a political inquisition, which continues its torture year after year unrelentingly, and the arbitrary courts of law instituted to suit the political occasion. Of the dark reality of these things the names of Jahn and Arndt, of Herwegh, Behr, and Eisenmann, of Jordan, Weidiz, and so many others, sufficiently testify.

Need we add a single word to this statement? The writer, unfortunately, is no raging radical, or reckless pamphleteer, delighting in pure calumny for the sake of calumny and the venting of democratic spite. We shall add nothing of our own on such a serious theme, but conclude with the weighty words of the noble-minded Baron Von Stein, penned on the 29th of September, 1819, and with express reference to these ill-advised Carlsbad decrees, which have been the mother of so much personal misery, and may yet, unless God prevent, in their continued operation, be the cause of some fearful public calamity in Germany.

"The most efficient means for the preservation of public peace in Germany is to put an end to the reign of arbitrary power, and to commence seriously the foundation of a constitution founded in law; and, in the place of the bureaucrats and the democrats, of whom the former oppress the people by much and bad governing, and the latter irritate and confound them, to put the influence and the activity of the owners of property."*

Punch.

THE CRIMINAL DRAMA.

We understand that, in consequence of the growing taste of the public for witnessing the examination and trial of notorious criminals, it is in contemplation to apply to the Lord Chamberlain for a regular theatrical license for the Old Bailey and some of the principal police courts in the metropolis. The application will be backed by some members of the aristocracy, already distinguished for their patronage of the style of entertainment that will be presented to them. The following is suggested as a prospectus to be circulated among the admirers of the class of performance alluded to:—

THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY,

Admirers of Atrocious, and Connoisseurs of Criminal Matters, are respectfully informed that it is intended to open the

GREAT NATIONAL CRIMINAL THEATRE ROYAL,
OLD BAILEY,

Under the License of the Lord Chamberlain.

The performances will consist of a series of the most exciting and interesting trials; the principal characters in which will be sustained by the

MOST CELEBRATED MURDERERS,
supported by a powerful phalanx

OF DISTINGUISHED BARRISTERS,

aided by a numerous corps of jailors and turnkeys, with an unrivalled band of auxiliaries.

In the course of the year the

BRITISH JUDGES

will have the honor of appearing in turn; so that there will be a constant succession of first-rate judicial talent, to give effect to the summings up and to the passing of the sentences. In order to vary the nature of the entertainment,

THE HONORABLE MR. JUSTICE MAULE,

the celebrated judicial buffo, will go through a round of his celebrated performances, and will appear in a rapid succession of laughable novelties. He will, early in an ensuing session, give his popular comic recitation, called "How to get a Divorce," which was received with so much applause at the recent assizes.

The prices of admission will be announced in future bills, but persons taking places for a whole session will be considered as subscribers, and entitled to admission at all the trials. Stalls will be constructed in such a position as to enable the occupant to take

* Correspondence of Stein with Von Eugerr.

snuff from the prisoners' box, a treat which was so much in request at Bow-street. Tickets may be had on application to the sheriffs, but it is respectfully intimated that places cannot be kept beyond the examination of the first witness. For further particulars see the Criminal Calendar for the day.

Such might be the nature of a programme for the Old Bailey, the great national theatre for criminal performers of the first-class, while the police courts might be considered as minors in relation to the large establishment.

A pleasant observer says, truly, that "the duties of a police magistrate are as various as those of a clown in a pantomime,"* and we have no doubt that a series of police-court pantomimes—clowns by Messrs. Jardine and Hall, for example—would be extremely popular. We have ourselves seen burlesques at Bow-street that would rival the broadest that ever was produced at a regular theatre; and as this class of entertainment seems to be in fashion just now, we do not see why some of the magistrates, who are unrivalled performers, should not make that profitable which is at present merely ridiculous.

THE GEORGES.

As the statues of these beloved Monarchs are to be put up in the Parliament palace—we have been favored by a young lady (connected with the Court) with copies of the inscriptions which are to be engraven under the images of those Stars of Brunswick.

GEORGE THE FIRST—STAR OF BRUNSWICK.

He preferred Hanover to England,
He preferred two hideous Mistresses
To a beautiful and innocent Wife.
He hated Arts and despised Literature;
But He liked train-oil in his salads,
And gave an enlightened patronage to bad oysters.
And he had Walpole as a Minister:
Consistent in his Preference for every kind of Corruption.

GEORGE II.

In most things I did as my father had done,
I was false to my wife and I hated my son:
My spending was small and my avarice much,
My kingdom was English, my heart was High Dutch:
At Dettingen fight I was known not to bleach,
I butchered the Scotch, and I bearded the French:
I neither had morals, nor manners, nor wit;
I wasn't much missed when I died in a fit.
Here set up my statue, and make it complete—
With Pitt on his knees at my dirty old feet.

GEORGE III.

Give me a royal niche—it is my due,
The virtuous King the realm e'er knew.

I, through a decent reputable life,
Was constant to plain food and a plain wife.

Ireland I risked, and lost America;
But dined on legs of mutton every day.

My brain, perhaps, might be a feeble part;
But yet I think I had an English heart.

When all the Kings were prostrate, I alone
Stood face to face against Napoleon;

Nor ever could the ruthless Frenchman forge
A fetter for Old England and Old George:

I let loose flaming Nelson on his fleets;
I met his troops with Wellesley's bayonets.

Triumphant waved my flag on land and sea:
Where was the King in Europe like to me?

Monarchs exiled found shelter on my shores;
My bounty rescued Kings and Emperors.

But what boots victory by land or sea!
What boots that Kings found refuge at my knee?

I was a conqueror, but yet not proud;
And careles, even though Napoleon bow'd.

The rescued Kings came kiss my garments' hem:
The rescued Kings I never heeded them.

My guns roar'd triumph, but I never heard:
All England thrilled with joy, I never stirred.

What care had I of pomp, or fame, or power,—
A crazy old blind man in Windsor Tower?

GEORGIUS ULTIMUS.

He left an example for age and for youth
To avoid.

He never acted well by Man or Woman,
And was as false to his Mistress as to his Wife.

He deserted his Friends and his Principles.
He was so Ignorant that he could scarcely Spell;

But he had some Skill in Cutting out Coats,
And an undeniable Taste for Cookery.

He built the Palaces of Brighton and of Buckingham,
And for these Qualities and Proofs of Genius,

An admiring Aristocracy
Christened him the "First Gentleman in Europe."

Friends, respect the King whose Statue is here,
And the generous Aristocracy who admired him.

GRAND TRUNK DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL LUGGAGE ALLOTMENT.

Provisional Prospectus of the Grand Trunk Distribution and General Luggage Allotment, in connexion with all the existing Railways: Capital, 10,000 Portmanteaus, with a further stock of 20,000 Carpet Bags, and a Reserve Fund of Dressing Cases, Desks, Small Parcels, and Hat Boxes.—In consequence of the spirit of enterprise that has been shown in realising a bonus, by boning the luggage at the termini of the various railways, the present company has been formed to introduce something like system into what has hitherto been a mere scramble of the most indiscriminate nature. It has been calculated that several hundreds of portmanteaus, carpet bags, &c., &c., change hands in the course of every week on the arrival of the trains, and it is considered fair that instead of a few profiting by the present system of luggage allotment, the advantages ought to be accessible to the public in general. With this view it is proposed that every railway passenger should be expected, as he is now, to pay down at once a deposit of the whole of his luggage, for which a number will be given, and the luggage being all jumbled together, he shall receive

* "Sketches of Life and Character, taken at Bow Street," by George Hodder.