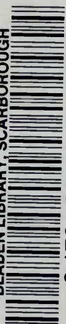

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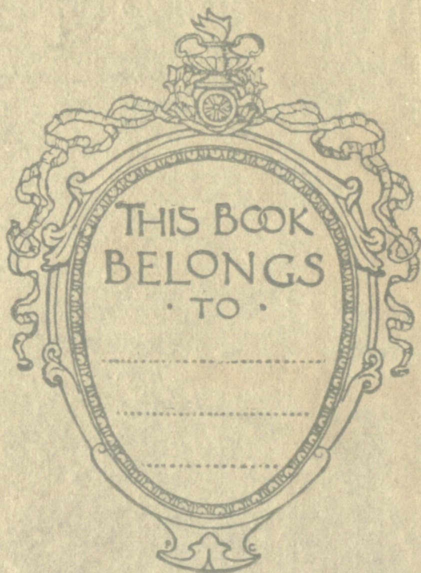
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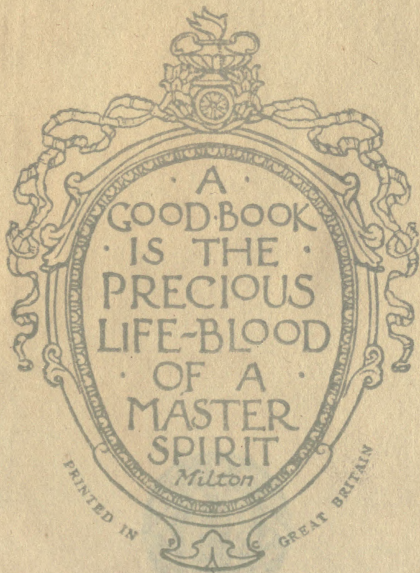

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MACAULAYS

ESSAY ON

JOHN HAMPDEN

WITH BULWER LYTTONS

ESSAY ON

LORD FALKLAND

EDITED BY

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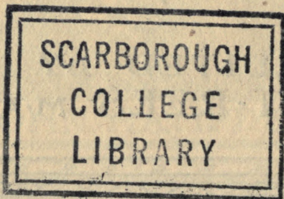

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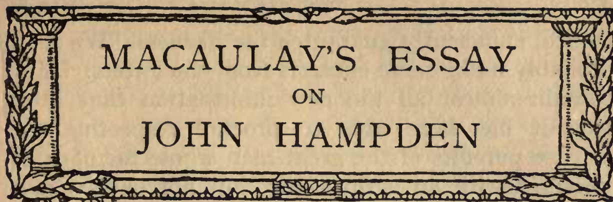
INTRODUCTION

In the year 1831 there appeared two bulky volumes, entitled *Some Memorials of John Hampden, his Party, and his Times*, by Lord Nugent. This was the first real biography of Hampden, and it aroused the greatest interest. Its author had collected, with great industry, but without much critical judgment, a mass of information, which was almost entirely concerned with the public life of his hero. Apart from the letters, which form the most valuable portion of the book, he was able to throw very little new light on Hampden's private life.

Macaulay's essay on Hampden, which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in December, 1831, was ostensibly a review of Lord Nugent's book. But, as he tells us himself, he said as little as he could about the book and its author, and the essay is in reality a sketch of the great controversy, in which Hampden took a leading part, down to the beginning of the Civil War.

For purposes of comparative study Macaulay's essay is followed by a reprint of an essay dealing with the Hampden period by Lord Lytton, the novelist. This essay deals particularly with the Royalist leader, Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, whose career and opinions may well be studied in conjunction with those of John Hampden.



MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON
JOHN HAMPDEN

WE have read this book with great pleasure, though not exactly with that kind of pleasure which we had expected. We had hoped that Lord Nugent would have been able to collect, from family papers and local traditions, much new and interesting information respecting the life and character of the renowned leader of the Long Parliament, the first of those great English commoners whose plain addition of Mister has, to our ears, a more majestic sound than the proudest of the feudal titles. In this hope we have been disappointed; but assuredly not from any want of zeal or diligence on the part of the noble biographer. Even at Hampden there are, it seems, no important papers relating to the most illustrious proprietor of that ancient domain. The most valuable memorials of him which still exist, belong to the family of his friend Sir John Eliot. Lord Eliot has furnished the portrait which is engraved for this work, together with some very interesting letters. The portrait is undoubtedly an original, and probably the only original now in existence. The intellectual forehead, the mild penetration of the eye, and the inflexible resolution expressed by the lines of the

mouth, sufficiently guarantee the likeness. We shall probably make some extracts from the letters. They contain almost all the new information that Lord Nugent has been able to procure respecting the private pursuits of the great man whose memory he worships with an enthusiastic, but not extravagant veneration.

The public life of Hampden is surrounded by no obscurity. His history, more particularly from the year 1640 to his death, is the history of England. These *Memoirs* must be considered as Memoirs of the history of England; and, as such, they well deserve to be attentively perused. They contain some curious facts which, to us at least, are new, much spirited narrative, many judicious remarks, and much eloquent declamation.

We are not sure that even the want of information respecting the private character of Hampden is not in itself a circumstance as strikingly characteristic as any which the most minute chronicler, O'Meara, Mrs. Thrale, or Boswell himself, ever recorded concerning their heroes. The celebrated Puritan leader is an almost solitary instance of a great man who neither sought nor shunned greatness, who found glory only because glory lay in the plain path of

O'Meara. Napoleon's physician on St. Helena. His *Napoleon in Exile* was published in 1822.

Mrs. Thrale. One of the most intimate friends of Dr. Johnson, who lived for many years in her house at Streatham. She wrote *Anecdotes of Dr. Samuel Johnson during the Last Twenty Years of his Life* (1786).

duty. During more than forty years he was known to his country neighbours as a gentleman of cultivated mind, of high principles, of polished address, happy in his family, and active in the discharge of local duties; and to political men as an honest, industrious, and sensible member of Parliament, not eager to display his talents, stanch to his party, and attentive to the interests of his constituents. A great and terrible crisis came. A direct attack was made by an arbitrary government on a sacred right of Englishmen, on a right which was the chief security for all their other rights. The nation looked round for a defender. Calmly and unostentatiously the plain Buckinghamshire Esquire placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and right before the face and across the path of tyranny. The times grew darker and more troubled. Public service, perilous, arduous, delicate, was required; and to every service the intellect and the courage of this wonderful man were found fully equal. He became a debater of the first order, a most dexterous manager of the House of Commons, a negotiator, a soldier. He governed a fierce and turbulent assembly, abounding in able men, as easily as he had governed his family. He showed himself as competent to direct a campaign as to conduct the business of the petty sessions. We can scarcely express the admiration which we feel for a mind so great, and, at the same time, so healthful and so well proportioned, so willingly contracting itself to the humblest duties, so easily

expanding itself to the highest, so contented in repose, so powerful in action. Almost every part of this virtuous and blameless life which is not hidden from us in modest privacy is a precious and splendid portion of our national history. Had the private conduct of Hampden afforded the slightest pretence for censure, he would have been assailed by the same blind malevolence which, in defiance of the clearest proofs, still continues to call Sir John Eliot an assassin. Had there been even any weak part in the character of Hampden, had his manners been in any respect open to ridicule, we may be sure that no mercy would have been shown to him by the writers of Charles's faction. Those writers have carefully preserved every little circumstance which could tend to make their opponents odious or contemptible. They have made themselves merry with the cant of injudicious zealots. They have told us that Pym broke down in speech, that Ireton had his nose pulled by Hollis, that the Earl of Northumberland cudgelled Henry Martin, that St. John's manners were sullen, that Vane had an ugly face, that Cromwell had a red nose. But neither the artful Clarendon nor the scurrilous Denham could venture to throw the slightest imputation on the morals or the manners of Hampden. What was the opinion entertained respecting him by the best men of his time we learn from Baxter. That eminent person, eminent not only for his piety and his fervid devotional eloquence, but for his

Denham. A Royalist poet (1615–69).

moderation, his knowledge of political affairs, and his skill in judging of characters, declared in the *Saint's Rest*, that one of the pleasures which he hoped to enjoy in heaven was the society of Hampden. In the editions printed after the Restoration, the name of Hampden was omitted. "But I must tell the reader," says Baxter, "that I did blot it out, not as changing my opinion of the person. . . . Mr. John Hampden was one that friends and enemies acknowledged to be most eminent for prudence, piety, and peaceable counsels, having the most universal praise of any gentleman that I remember of that age. I remember a moderate, prudent, aged gentleman, far from him, but acquainted with him, whom I have heard saying, that if he might choose what person he would be then in the world, he would be John Hampden." We cannot but regret that we have not fuller memorials of a man who, after passing through the most severe temptations by which human virtue can be tried, after acting a most conspicuous part in a revolution and a civil war, could yet deserve such praise as this from such authority. Yet the want of memorials is surely the best proof that hatred itself could find no blemish on his memory.

The story of his early life is soon told. He was the head of a family which had been settled in Buckinghamshire before the Conquest. Part of the estate which he inherited had been bestowed by Edward the Confessor on Baldwyn de Hampden, whose name

seems to indicate that he was one of the Norman favourites of the last Saxon king. During the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the Hampdens adhered to the party of the Red Rose, and were, consequently, persecuted by Edward the Fourth, and favoured by Henry the Seventh. Under the Tudors, the family was great and flourishing. Griffith Hampden, high sheriff of Buckinghamshire, entertained Elizabeth with great magnificence at his seat. His son, William Hampden, sate in the Parliament which that Queen summoned in the year 1593. William married Elizabeth Cromwell, aunt of the celebrated man who afterwards governed the British islands with more than regal power; and from this marriage sprang John Hampden.

He was born in 1594. In 1597 his father died, and left him heir to a very large estate. After passing some years at the grammar school of Thame, young Hampden was sent, at fifteen, to Magdalen College, in the University of Oxford. At nineteen, he was admitted a student of the Inner Temple, where he made himself master of the principles of the English law. In 1619 he married Elizabeth Symeon, a lady to whom he appears to have been fondly attached. In the following year he was returned to parliament by a borough which has in our time obtained a miserable celebrity, the borough of Grampound.

Grampound. A little village in Cornwall which returned two members to Parliament until 1821. It was the first borough to be disfranchised.

Of his private life during his early years little is known beyond what Clarendon has told us. "In his entrance into the world," says that great historian, "he indulged himself in all the licence in sports, and exercises, and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation." A remarkable change, however, passed on his character. "On a sudden," says Clarendon, "from a life of great pleasure and licence, he retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, to a more reserved and melancholy society." It is probable that this change took place when Hampden was about twenty-five years old. At that age he was united to a woman whom he loved and esteemed. At that age he entered into political life. A mind so happily constituted as his would naturally, under such circumstances, relinquish the pleasures of dissipation for domestic enjoyments and public duties.

His enemies have allowed that he was a man in whom virtue showed itself in its mildest and least austere form. With the morals of a Puritan, he had the manners of an accomplished courtier. Even after the change in his habits, "he preserved," says Clarendon, "his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men." These qualities distinguished him from most of the members of his sect and his party, and, in the great crisis in which he afterwards took a principal part, were of scarcely less service to the country than his keen sagacity and his dauntless courage.

In January, 1621, Hampden took his seat in the House of Commons. His mother was exceedingly desirous that her son should obtain a peerage. His family, his possessions, and his personal accomplishments were such as would, in any age, have justified him in pretending to that honour. But in the reign of James the First there was one short cut to the House of Lords. It was but to ask, to pay, and to have. The sale of titles was carried on as openly as the sale of boroughs in our times. Hampden turned away with contempt from the degrading honours with which his family desired to see him invested, and attached himself to the party which was in opposition to the court.

It was about this time, as Lord Nugent has justly remarked, that parliamentary opposition began to take a regular form. From a very early age, the English had enjoyed a far larger share of liberty than had fallen to the lot of any neighbouring people. How it chanced that a country conquered and enslaved by invaders, a country of which the soil had been portioned out among foreign adventurers and of which the laws were written in a foreign tongue, a country given over to that worst tyranny, the tyranny of caste over caste, should have become the seat of civil liberty, the object of the admiration and envy of surrounding states, is one of the most obscure problems in the philosophy of history. But the fact is certain. Within a century and a half after the Norman conquest, the Great Charter was conceded.

Within two centuries after the Conquest, the first House of Commons met. Froissart tells us, what indeed his whole narrative sufficiently proves, that of all the nations of the fourteenth century, the English were the least disposed to endure oppression. "C'est le plus périlleux peuple qui soit au monde, et plus outrageux et orgueilleux." The good canon probably did not perceive that all the prosperity and internal peace which this dangerous people enjoyed were the fruits of the spirit which he designates as proud and outrageous. He has, however, borne ample testimony to the effect, though he was not sagacious enough to trace it to its cause. "En le royaume d'Angleterre," says he, "toutes gens, laboureurs et marchands, ont appris de vivre en paix, et à mener leurs marchandises paisiblement, et les laboureurs labourer." In the fifteenth century, though England was convulsed by the struggle between the two branches of the royal family, the physical and moral condition of the people continued to improve. Villenage almost wholly disappeared. The calamities of war were little felt, except by those who bore arms. The oppressions of the government were little felt, except by the aristocracy. The institutions of the country, when compared with the institutions of the neighbouring kingdoms, seem to have been not undeserving of the praises of Fortescue. The government of Edward the Fourth, though we call it cruel and arbitrary, was humane and liberal

Fortescue (1394–1476). A writer of legal treatises.

when compared with that of Lewis the Eleventh, or that of Charles the Bold. Comines, who had lived amidst the wealthy cities of Flanders, and who had visited Florence and Venice, had never seen a people so well governed as the English. "Or selon mon advis," says he, "entre toutes les seigneuries du monde, dont j'ay connoissance, ou la chose publique est mieulx traitée, et ou regne moins de violence sur le peuple, et ou il n'y a nuls édifices abbatus ny demolis pour guerre, c'est Angleterre; et tombe le sort et le malheur sur ceulx qui font la guerre."

About the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, a great portion of the influence which the aristocracy had possessed passed to the crown. No English king has ever enjoyed such absolute power as Henry the Eighth. But while the royal prerogatives were acquiring strength at the expense of the nobility, two great revolutions took place, destined to be the parents of many revolutions, the invention of Printing, and the reformation of the Church.

The immediate effect of the Reformation in England was by no means favourable to political liberty. The authority which had been exercised by the Popes was transferred almost entire to the King. Two formidable powers which had often served to check each other were united in a single despot. If

Comines (1445–1509) was closely associated with the various factions in France, and in his *Memoirs* wrote a history of the years 1464 to 1498.

the system on which the founders of the Church of England acted could have been permanent, the Reformation would have been, in a political sense, the greatest curse that ever fell on our country. But that system carried within it the seeds of its own death. It was possible to transfer the name of Head of the Church from Clement to Henry; but it was impossible to transfer to the new establishment the veneration which the old establishment had inspired. Mankind had not broken one yoke in pieces only in order to put on another. The supremacy of the Bishop of Rome had been for ages considered as a fundamental principle of Christianity. It had for it everything that could make a prejudice deep and strong—venerable antiquity, high authority, general consent. It had been taught in the first lessons of the nurse. It was taken for granted in all the exhortations of the priest. To remove it was to break innumerable associations, and to give a great and perilous shock to the principles. Yet this prejudice, strong as it was, could not stand in the great day of the deliverance of the human reason. And it was not to be expected that the public mind, just after freeing itself by an unexampled effort from a bondage which it had endured for ages, would patiently submit to a tyranny which could plead no ancient title. Rome had at least prescription on its side. But Protestant intolerance, despotism in an upstart sect, infallibility claimed by guides who acknowledged that they had passed the greater part of their lives

in error, restraints imposed on the liberty of private judgment at the pleasure of rulers who could vindicate their own proceedings only by asserting the liberty of private judgment, these things could not long be borne. Those who had pulled down the crucifix could not long continue to persecute for the surplice. It required no great sagacity to perceive the inconsistency and dishonesty of men who, dissenting from almost all Christendom, would suffer none to dissent from themselves; who demanded freedom of conscience, yet refused to grant it; who execrated persecution, yet persecuted; who urged reason against the authority of one opponent, and authority against the reasons of another. Bonner acted at least in accordance with his own principles. Cranmer could vindicate himself from the charge of being a heretic only by arguments which made him out to be a murderer.

Thus the system on which the English Princes acted with respect to ecclesiastical affairs for some time after the Reformation was a system too obviously unreasonable to be lasting. The public mind moved while the government moved, but would not stop where the government stopped. The same impulse which had carried millions away from the Church of Rome continued to carry them forward in the same direction. As Catholics had become Protestants, Protestants became Puritans; and the Tudors and Stuarts were as unable to avert the latter change as the Popes had been to avert the

former. The dissenting party increased and became strong under every kind of discouragement and oppression. They were a sect. The government persecuted them; and they became an opposition. The old constitution of England furnished to them the means of resisting the sovereign without breaking the law. They were the majority of the House of Commons. They had the power of giving or withholding supplies; and, by a judicious exercise of this power, they might hope to take from the Church its usurped authority over the consciences of men, and from the Crown some part of the vast prerogative which it had recently acquired at the expense of the nobles and of the Pope.

The faint beginnings of this memorable contest may be discerned early in the reign of Elizabeth. The conduct of her last Parliament made it clear that one of those great revolutions which policy may guide but cannot stop was in progress. It was on the question of monopolies that the House of Commons gained its first great victory over the throne. The conduct of the extraordinary woman who then governed England is an admirable study for politicians who live in unquiet times. It shows how thoroughly she understood the people whom she ruled, and the crisis in which she was called to act. What she held she held firmly. What she gave she gave graciously. She saw that it was necessary to make a concession to the nation; and she made it not grudgingly, not tardily, not as a matter of

bargain and sale, not, in a word, as Charles the First would have made it, but promptly and cordially. Before a bill could be framed or an address presented, she applied a remedy to the evil of which the nation complained. She expressed in the warmest terms her gratitude to her faithful Commons for detecting abuses which interested persons had concealed from her. If her successors had inherited her wisdom with her crown, Charles the First might have died of old age, and James the Second would never have seen St. Germains.

She died; and the kingdom passed to one who was, in his own opinion, the greatest master of king-craft that ever lived, but who was, in truth, one of those kings whom God seems to send for the express purpose of hastening revolutions. Of all the enemies of liberty whom Britain has produced, he was at once the most harmless and the most provoking. His office resembled that of the man who, in a Spanish bull-fight, goads the torpid savage to fury, by shaking a red rag in the air, and by now and then throwing a dart, sharp enough to sting, but too small to injure. The policy of wise tyrants has always been to cover their violent acts with popular forms. James was always obtruding his despotic theories on his subjects without the slightest necessity. His foolish talk exasperated them infinitely more than forced loans or benevolences would have done. Yet, in practice, no king ever held his prerogatives less tenaciously. He neither gave way

gracefully to the advancing spirit of liberty nor took vigorous measures to stop it, but retreated before it with ludicrous haste, blustering and insulting as he retreated. The English people had been governed during near a hundred and fifty years by Princes who, whatever might be their frailties or their vices, had all possessed great force of character, and who, whether beloved or hated, had always been feared. Now, at length, for the first time since the day when the sceptre of Henry the Fourth dropped from the hand of his lethargic grandson, England had a king whom she despised.

The follies and vices of the man increased the contempt which was produced by the feeble policy of the sovereign. The indecorous gallantries of the Court, the habits of gross intoxication in which even the ladies indulged, were alone sufficient to disgust a people whose manners were beginning to be strongly tinctured with austerity. But these were trifles. Crimes of the most frightful kind had been discovered; others were suspected. The strange story of the Gowries was not forgotten. The ignominious fondness of the King for his minions, the perjuries, the sorceries, the poisonings, which his chief favourites had planned within the walls of his palace, the pardon which, in direct violation of his duty and of

The Gowries. The Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were killed in their own house during a visit of King James (1600). James alleged that they had conspired against his life, but there was a widespread belief that he had got rid of them for his own purposes.

his word, he had granted to the mysterious threats of a murderer, made him an object of loathing to many of his subjects. What opinion grave and moral persons residing at a distance from the Court entertained respecting him, we learn from Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*. England was no place, the seventeenth century no time, for Sporus and Locusta.

This was not all. The most ridiculous weaknesses seemed to meet in the wretched Solomon of Whitehall, pedantry, buffoonery, garrulity, low curiosity, the most contemptible personal cowardice. Nature and education had done their best to produce a finished specimen of all that a king ought not to be. His awkward figure, his rolling eye, his rickety walk, his nervous tremblings, his slobbering mouth, his broad Scotch accent, were imperfections which might have been found in the best and greatest man. Their effect, however, was to make James and his office objects of contempt, and to dissolve those associations which had been created by the noble bearing of preceding monarchs, and which were in themselves no inconsiderable fence to royalty.

The sovereign whom James most resembled was,

Mysterious threats of a murderer. Robert Carr, James's first favourite, was created Earl of Somerset in 1613. Within two years he was condemned to death for his supposed connection with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, but by "mysterious threats" induced James to pardon him.

Sporus. A youth with whom Nero went through the ceremony of marriage, having first dressed him as a woman.

Locusta. A woman who was suspected of poisoning Claudius.

we think, Claudius Cæsar. Both had the same feeble vacillating temper, the same childishness, the same coarseness, the same poltroonery. Both were men of learning; both wrote and spoke, not, indeed, well, but still in a manner in which it seems almost incredible that men so foolish should have written or spoken. The follies and indecencies of James are well described in the words which Suetonius uses respecting Claudius: "Multa talia, etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo, neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito." The description given by Suetonius of the manner in which the Roman prince transacted business exactly suits the Briton. "In cognoscendo ac decernendo mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspectus et sagax, modo inconsultus ac præceps, nonnunquam frivolus amentique similis." Claudius was ruled successively by two bad women: James successively by two bad men. Even the description of the person of Claudius, which we find in the ancient memoirs, might, in many points, serve for that of James. "Ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites

Multa talia, etc. "Many such traits, unbecoming even in an ordinary individual, and much more so in the case of an emperor who lacked neither eloquence nor learning, nay, who was excessively devoted to liberal studies."

In cognoscendo, etc. "In hearing cases and giving decisions he was extraordinarily inconsistent—at one time careful and prudent, at another rash and headstrong, frequently frivolous and mentally unbalanced."

Ceterum et ingredientem, etc. "In short, even as he entered, his weak knees would give way; and whether his business

minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant, risus indecens, ira turpior, spumante rictu, præterea linguæ titubantia."

The Parliament which James had called soon after his accession had been refractory. His second Parliament, called in the spring of 1614, had been more refractory still. It had been dissolved after a session of two months; and during six years the King had governed without having recourse to the legislature. During those six years, melancholy and disgraceful events, at home and abroad, had followed one another in rapid succession; the divorce of Lady Essex, the murder of Overbury, the elevation of Villiers, the pardon of Somerset, the disgrace of Coke, the execution of Raleigh, the battle of Prague, the invasion of the Palatinate by Spinola, the ignominious flight of the son-in-law of the English king, the depression of the Protestant interest all over the Continent. All the extraordinary modes by which James could venture to raise money had been tried. His necessities were greater than ever; and he was compelled to summon the Parliament in which Hampden first appeared as a public man.

This Parliament lasted about twelve months. During that time it visited with deserved punishment several of those who, during the preceding six years,

was important or not, it was disgraced by many things; his laughter was unbecoming and his anger even worse, because of his slobbering mouth and stammering tongue."

Spinola (1569–1630). A Spanish general of great ability.

had enriched themselves by peculation and monopoly. Mitchell, one of the grasping patentees, who had purchased of the favourite the power of robbing the nation, was fined and imprisoned for life. Mompesson, the original, it is said, of Massinger's Overreach, was outlawed and deprived of his ill-gotten wealth. Even Sir Edward Villiers, the brother of Buckingham, found it convenient to leave England. A greater name is to be added to the ignominious list. By this Parliament was brought to justice that illustrious philosopher whose memory genius has half redeemed from the infamy due to servility, to ingratitude, and to corruption.

After redressing internal grievances, the Commons proceeded to take into consideration the state of Europe. The King flew into a rage with them for meddling with such matters, and, with characteristic judgment, drew them into a controversy about the origin of their House and of its privileges. When he found that he could not convince them, he dissolved them in a passion, and sent some of the leaders of the Opposition to ruminate on his logic in prison.

During the time which elapsed between this dissolution and the meeting of the next Parliament, took place the celebrated negotiation respecting the

Massinger's Overreach. Sir Giles Overreach was a notorious character in *A New Way to pay Old Debts* (1633), probably the best known of Massinger's comedies.

That illustrious philosopher. Bacon.

Infanta. The would-be despot was unmercifully browbeaten. The would-be Solomon was ridiculously over-reached. Steenie, in spite of the begging and sobbing of his dear dad and gossip, carried off baby Charles in triumph to Madrid. The sweet lads, as James called them, came back safe, but without their errand. The great master of king-craft, in looking for a Spanish match, had found a Spanish war. In February 1624, a Parliament met, during the whole sitting of which James was a mere puppet in the hands of his baby, and of his poor slave and dog. The Commons were disposed to support the King in the vigorous policy which his favourite urged him to adopt. But they were not disposed to place any confidence in their feeble sovereign and his dissolute courtiers, or to relax in their efforts to remove public grievances. They therefore lodged the money which they voted for the war in the hands of Parliamentary Commissioners. They impeached the treasurer, Lord Middlesex, for corruption, and they passed a bill by which patents of monopoly were declared illegal.

Hampden did not, during the reign of James, take any prominent part in public affairs. It is certain, however, that he paid great attention to the details of Parliamentary business, and to the local interests of his own country. It was in a great measure owing to his exertions that Wendover and some other

Steenie and *Baby Charles*. Pet names applied by James to Buckingham and the Prince of Wales.

boroughs on which the popular party could depend recovered the elective franchise, in spite of the opposition of the Court.

The health of the King had for some time been declining. On the twenty-seventh of March 1625, he expired. Under his weak rule, the spirit of liberty had grown strong, and had become equal to a great contest. The contest was brought on by the policy of his successor. Charles bore no resemblance to his father. He was not a driveller, or a pedant, or a buffoon, or a coward. It would be absurd to deny that he was a scholar and a gentleman, a man of exquisite tastes in the fine arts, a man of strict morals in private life. His talents for business were respectable; his demeanour was kingly. But he was false, imperious, obstinate, narrow-minded, ignorant of the temper of his people, unobservant of the signs of his times. The whole principle of his government was resistance to public opinion; nor did he make any real concession to that opinion till it mattered not whether he resisted or conceded, till the nation, which had long ceased to love him or to trust him, had at last ceased to fear him.

His first Parliament met in June 1625. Hampden sat in it as burgess for Wendover. The king wished for money. The Commons wished for the redress of grievances. The war, however, could not be carried on without funds. The plan of the Opposition was, it should seem, to dole out supplies by small sums, in order to prevent a speedy dissolution. They gave

the King two subsidies only, and proceeded to complain that his ships had been employed against the Huguenots in France, and to petition in behalf of the Puritans who were persecuted in England. The King dissolved them, and raised money by Letters under his Privy Seal. The supply fell far short of what he needed; and, in the spring of 1626, he called together another Parliament. In this Parliament Hampden again sat for Wendover.

The Commons resolved to grant a very liberal supply, but to defer the final passing of the act for that purpose till the grievances of the nation should be redressed. The struggle which followed far exceeded in violence any that had yet taken place. The Commons impeached Buckingham. The King threw the managers of the impeachment into prison. The Commons denied the right of the King to levy tonnage and poundage without their consent. The King dissolved them. They put forth a remonstrance. The King circulated a declaration vindicating his measures, and committed some of the most distinguished members of the Opposition to close custody. Money was raised by a forced loan, which was apportioned among the people according to the rate at which they had been respectively assessed to the last subsidy. On this occasion it was that Hampden made his first stand for the fundamental principle of

Subsidies. A subsidy was a direct parliamentary tax which brought in altogether about £100,000.

Tonnage and poundage. An indirect tax consisting of duties on various kinds of merchandise.

the English constitution. He positively refused to lend a farthing. He was required to give his reasons. He answered, "that he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in Magna Charta which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it." For this spirited answer, the Privy Council committed him close prisoner to the Gate House. After some time, he was again brought up; but he persisted in his refusal, and was sent to a place of confinement in Hampshire.

The government went on, oppressing at home, and blundering in all its measures abroad. A war was foolishly undertaken against France, and more foolishly conducted. Buckingham led an expedition against Rhé, and failed ignominiously. In the mean time soldiers were billeted on the people. Crimes of which ordinary justice should have taken cognisance were punished by martial law. Near eighty gentlemen were imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan. The lower people who showed any signs of insubordination were pressed into the fleet, or compelled to serve in the army. Money, however, came in slowly; and the King was compelled to summon another Parliament. In the hope of conciliating his subjects, he set at liberty the persons who had been imprisoned for refusing to comply with his unlawful demands. Hampden regained his freedom, and was immediately re-elected burgess for Wendover.

Early in 1628 the Parliament met. During its

first session, the Commons prevailed on the King, after many delays and much equivocation, to give, in return for five subsidies, his full and solemn assent to that celebrated instrument, the second great charter of the liberties of England, known by the name of the Petition of Right. By agreeing to this act, the King bound himself to raise no taxes without the consent of Parliament, to imprison no man except by legal process, to billet no more soldiers on the people, and to leave the cognisance of offences to the ordinary tribunals.

In the summer, this memorable Parliament was prorogued. It met again in January 1629. Buckingham was no more. That weak, violent, and dissolute adventurer, who, with no talents or acquirements but those of a mere courtier, had, in a great crisis of foreign and domestic politics, ventured on the part of prime minister, had fallen, during the recess of Parliament, by the hand of an assassin. Both before and after his death the war had been feebly and unsuccessfully conducted. The King had continued, in direct violation of the Petition of Right, to raise tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament. The troops had again been billeted on the people; and it was clear to the Commons that the five subsidies which they had given as the price of the national liberties had been given in vain.

They met accordingly in no complying humour. They took into their most serious consideration the measures of the government concerning tonnage and

poundage. They summoned the officers of the custom-house to their bar. They interrogated the barons of the exchequer. They committed one of the sheriffs of London. Sir John Eliot, a distinguished member of the Opposition, and an intimate friend of Hampden, proposed a resolution condemning the unconstitutional imposition. The Speaker said that the King had commanded him to put no such question to the vote. This decision produced the most violent burst of feeling ever seen within the walls of Parliament. Hayman remonstrated vehemently against the disgraceful language which had been heard from the chair. Eliot dashed the paper which contained his resolution on the floor of the House. Valentine and Hollis held the Speaker down in his seat by main force, and read the motion amidst the loudest shouts. The door was locked. The key was laid on the table. Black Rod knocked for admittance in vain. After passing several strong resolutions, the House adjourned. On the day appointed for its meeting it was dissolved by the King, and several of its most eminent members, among whom were Hollis and Sir John Eliot, were committed to prison.

Though Hampden had as yet taken little part in the debates of the House, he had been a member of many very important committees, and had read and written much concerning the law of Parliament. A

Barons of the exchequer. Judges in the Court of Exchequer.

Black Rod, so called from his ebony staff of office, is an official of the House of Lords, part of whose duty is to summon the Commons to the other house.

B

manuscript volume of Parliamentary cases, which is still in existence, contains many extracts from his notes.

He now retired to the duties and pleasures of a rural life. During the eleven years which followed the dissolution of the Parliament of 1628, he resided at his seat in one of the most beautiful parts of the county of Buckingham. The house, which has since his time been greatly altered, and which is now, we believe, almost entirely neglected, was an old English mansion, built in the days of the Plantagenets and the Tudors. It stood on the brow of a hill which overlooks a narrow valley. The extensive woods which surround it were pierced by long avenues. One of those avenues the grandfather of the great statesman had cut for the approach of Elizabeth; and the opening, which is still visible for many miles, retains the name of the Queen's Gap. In this delightful retreat Hampden passed several years, performing with great activity all the duties of a landed gentleman and a magistrate, and amusing himself with books and with field sports.

He was not in his retirement unmindful of his persecuted friends. In particular, he kept up a close correspondence with Sir John Eliot, who was confined in the Tower. Lord Nugent has published several of the Letters. We may perhaps be fanciful; but it seems to us that every one of them is an admirable illustration of some part of the character of Hampden which Clarendon has drawn.

Part of the correspondence relates to the two sons of Sir John Eliot. These young men were wild and unsteady; and their father, who was now separated from them, was naturally anxious about their conduct. He at length resolved to send one of them to France, and the other to serve a campaign in the Low Countries. The letter which we subjoin shows that Hampden, though rigorous towards himself, was not uncharitable towards others, and that his puritanism was perfectly compatible with the sentiments and the tastes of an accomplished gentleman. It also illustrates admirably what has been said of him by Clarendon: "He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction. Yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under cover of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them."

The letter runs thus: "I am so perfectly acquainted with your clear insight into the dispositions of men, and ability to fit them with courses suitable, that, had you bestowed sons of mine as you have done your own, my judgment durst hardly have called it into question, especially when, in laying the design, you have prevented the objections to be made against it. For if Mr. Richard Eliot will, in the intermissions of action, add study to practice, and

adorn that lively spirit with flowers of contemplation, he will raise our expectations of another Sir Edward Vere, that had this character—all summer in the field, all winter in his study—in whose fall fame makes this kingdom a greater loser; and, having taken this resolution from counsel with the highest wisdom, as I doubt not you have, I hope and pray that the same power will crown it with a blessing answerable to our wish. The way you take with my other friend shows you to be none of the Bishop of Exeter's converts; of whose mind neither am I superstitiously. But had my opinion been asked, I should, as vulgar conceits use me to do, have showed my power rather to raise objections than to answer them. A temper between France and Oxford might have taken away his scruples, with more advantage to his years. . . . For although he be one of those that, if his age were looked for in no other book but that of the mind, would be found no ward if you should die to-morrow, yet it is a great hazard, methinks, to see so sweet a disposition guarded with no more, amongst a people whereof many make it their religion to be superstitious in impiety, and their behaviour to be affected in all manners. But God, who only knoweth the periods of life and

Sir Edward Vere. A distant kinsman of Horace and Francis Vere; killed in the Netherlands in 1629.

Bishop of Exeter. "Hall, Bishop of Exeter, had written strongly, both in verse and in prose, against the fashion of sending young men of quality to travel" (*Macaulay's Essays*, "Everyman" Ed., note).

opportunities to come, hath designed him, I hope, for his own service betime, and stirred up your providence to husband him so early for great affairs. Then shall he be sure to find Him in France that Abraham did in Shechem and Joseph in Egypt, under whose wing alone is perfect safety."

Sir John Eliot employed himself, during his imprisonment, in writing a treatise on government, which he transmitted to his friend. Hampden's criticisms are strikingly characteristic. They are written with all that "flowing courtesy" which is ascribed to him by Clarendon. The objections are insinuated with so much delicacy that they could scarcely gall the most irritable author. We see too how highly Hampden valued in the writings of others that conciseness which was one of the most striking peculiarities of his own eloquence. Sir John Eliot's style was, it seems, too diffuse, and it is impossible not to admire the skill with which this is suggested. "The piece," says Hampden, "is as complete an image of the pattern as can be drawn by lines, a lively character of a large mind, the subject, method, and expression, excellent and homogeneal, and, to say truth, sweetheart, somewhat exceeding my commendations. My words cannot render them to the life. Yet, to show my ingenuity rather than wit, would not a less model have given a full representation of that subject, not by diminution but by contraction of parts? I desire to learn. I dare not say. The variations upon each particular

seem many; all, I confess, excellent. The fountain was full, the channel narrow; that may be the cause; or that the author resembled Virgil, who made more verses by many than he intended to write. To extract a just number, had I seen all his, I could easily have bid him make fewer; but if he had bade me tell him which he should have spared, I had been posed."

This is evidently the writing not only of a man of good sense and natural good taste, but of a man of literary habits. Of the studies of Hampden little is known. But as it was at one time in contemplation to give him the charge of the education of the Prince of Wales, it cannot be doubted that his acquirements were considerable. Davila, it is said, was one of his favourite writers. The moderation of Davila's opinions and the perspicuity and manliness of his style could not but recommend him to so judicious a reader. It is not improbable that the parallel between France and England, the Huguenots and the Puritans, had struck the mind of Hampden, and that he already found within himself powers not unequal to the lofty part of Coligni.

While he was engaged in these pursuits, a heavy domestic calamity fell on him. His wife, who had borne him nine children, died in the summer of 1634.

Davila (1576–1631). An Italian historian who served through the civil wars in France, and then wrote a history of them.

Coligni. The ablest of the Huguenot nobles and leader of the party. Killed in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

She lies in the parish church of Hampden, close to the manor-house. The tender and energetic language of her epitaph still attests the bitterness of her husband's sorrow, and the consolation which he found in a hope full of immortality.

In the meantime, the aspect of public affairs grew darker and darker. The health of Eliot had sunk under an unlawful imprisonment of several years. The brave sufferer refused to purchase liberty, though liberty would to him have been life, by recognising the authority which had confined him. In consequence of the representations of his physicians, the severity of restraint was somewhat relaxed. But it was in vain. He languished and expired a martyr to that good cause for which his friend Hampden was destined to meet a more brilliant, but not a more honourable death.

All the promises of the king were violated without scruple or shame. The Petition of Right to which he had, in consideration of moneys duly numbered, given a solemn assent, was set at nought. Taxes were raised by the royal authority. Patents of monopoly were granted. The old usages of feudal times were made pretexts for harassing the people with exactions unknown during many years. The Puritans were persecuted with cruelty worthy of the Holy Office. They were forced to fly from the country. They were imprisoned. They were whipped. Their ears were cut off. Their noses were slit. Their cheeks were branded with red-hot iron. But the

cruelty of the oppressor could not tire out the fortitude of the victims. The mutilated defenders of liberty again defied the vengeance of the Star-Chamber, came back with undiminished resolution to the place of their glorious infamy, and manfully presented the stumps of their ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife. The hardy sect grew up and flourished in spite of everything that seemed likely to stunt it, struck its roots deep into a barren soil, and spread its branches wide to an inclement sky. The multitude thronged round Prynne in the pillory with more respect than they paid to Mainwaring in the pulpit, and treasured up the rags which the blood of Burton had soaked, with a veneration such as mitres and surplices had ceased to inspire.

For the misgovernment of this disastrous period Charles himself is principally responsible. After the death of Buckingham, he seems to have been his own prime minister. He had, however, two counsellors who seconded him, or went beyond him, in

Star-Chamber. A court consisting of the whole body of Privy Councillors, with almost unlimited power. Under the Stuarts it was an engine of despotism.

Prynne. A lawyer and a puritan, who, for making violent attacks on the bishops, was condemned by the Star-Chamber to be pilloried, to lose his ears and to be imprisoned for life, 1637.

Mainwaring. A High Church divine who was impeached by the Commons in 1628 for preaching the duty of submission to the sovereign's will.

Burton. A puritan clergyman who suffered the same fate as Prynne.

intolerance and lawless violence, the one a superstitious driveller, as honest as a vile temper would suffer him to be, the other a man of great valour and capacity, but licentious, faithless, corrupt, and cruel.

Never were faces more strikingly characteristic of the individuals to whom they belonged, than those of Laud and Strafford, as they still remain portrayed by the most skilful hand of that age. The mean forehead, the pinched features, the peering eyes, of the prelate, suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him out as a lower kind of Saint Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we might imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness. When we read His Grace's judgments, when we read the report which he drew up, setting forth that he had sent some separatists to prison, and imploring the royal aid against others, we feel a movement of indignation. We turn to his Diary, and we are at once as cool as contempt can make us. There we learn how his picture fell down, and how fearful he was lest the fall should be an omen; how he dreamed that the Duke of Buckingham came to bed to him, that King James walked past him, that he saw Thomas Flaxney in green garments, and the Bishop of Worcester with his shoulders wrapped in linen. In the early part of 1627, the sleep of this great ornament of the church seems to have been much disturbed. On the fifth of January he saw a merry old man with a wrinkled countenance,

named Grove, lying on the ground. On the fourteenth of the same memorable month, he saw the Bishop of Lincoln jump on a horse and ride away. A day or two after this he dreamed that he gave the King drink in a silver cup, and that the King refused it, and called for glass. Then he dreamed that he had turned Papist; of all his dreams the only one, we suspect, which came through the gate of horn. But of these visions our favourite is that which, as he has recorded, he enjoyed on the night of Friday, the ninth of February 1627. "I dreamed," says he, "that I had the scurvy: and that forthwith all my teeth became loose. There was one in especial in my lower jaw, which I could scarcely keep in with my finger till I had called for help." Here was a man to have the superintendence of the opinions of a great nation!

But Wentworth,—who ever names him without thinking of those harsh dark features, ennobled by their expression into more than the majesty of an antique Jupiter; of that brow, that eye, that cheek, that lip, wherein, as in a chronicle, are written the events of many stormy and disastrous years, high enterprise accomplished, frightful dangers braved, power unsparingly exercised, suffering unshrinkingly borne; of that fixed look, so full of severity, of mournful anxiety, of deep thought, of dauntless resolution, which seems at once to forebode and to defy a terrible

Gate of horn. True dreams, according to classical tradition, came through a gate of horn, false dreams through a gate of ivory (*Odyssey*, xix. 560; *Æneid*, vi. 893).

fate, as it lowers on us from the living canvas of Vandyke? Even at this day the haughty earl overawes posterity as he overawed his contemporaries, and excites the same interest when arrainged before the tribunal of history which he excited at the bar of the House of Lords. In spite of ourselves, we sometimes feel towards his memory a certain relenting similar to that relenting which his defence, as Sir John Denham tells us, produced in Westminster Hall.

This great, brave, bad man entered the House of Commons at the same time with Hampden, and took the same side with Hampden. Both were among the richest and most powerful commoners in the kingdom. Both were equally distinguished by force of character and by personal courage. Hampden had more judgment and sagacity than Wentworth. But no orator of that time equalled Wentworth in force and brilliancy of expression. In 1626 both these eminent men were committed to prison by the King, Wentworth, who was among the leaders of the Opposition, on account of his parliamentary conduct, Hampden, who had not as yet taken a prominent part in debate, for refusing to pay taxes illegally imposed.

Here their path separated. After the death of Buckingham, the King attempted to seduce some of the chiefs of the Opposition from their party; and Wentworth was among those who yielded to the seduction. He abandoned his associates, and hated

them ever after with the deadly hatred of a renegade. High titles and great employments were heaped upon him. He became Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, President of the Council of the North; and he employed all his power for the purpose of crushing those liberties of which he had been the most distinguished champion. His counsels respecting public affairs were fierce and arbitrary. His correspondence with Laud abundantly proves that government without parliaments, government by the sword, was his favourite scheme. He was angry even that the course of justice between man and man should be unrestrained by the royal prerogative. He grudged to the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas even that measure of liberty which the most absolute of the Bourbons allowed to the Parliaments of France. In Ireland, where he stood in place of the King, his practice was in strict accordance with his theory. He set up the authority of the executive government over that of the courts of law. He permitted no person to leave the island without his licence. He established vast monopolies for his own private benefit. He imposed taxes arbitrarily. He levied them by military force. Some of his acts are described even by the partial Clarendon as powerful acts, acts which marked a nature excessively imperious, acts which caused dislike and terror in sober and dispassionate persons, high acts of oppression. Upon a most frivolous charge, he obtained a capital sentence from a court-martial

against a man of high rank who had given him offence. He debauched the daughter-in-law of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and then commanded that nobleman to settle his estate according to the wishes of the lady. The Chancellor refused. The Lord Lieutenant turned him out of office and threw him into prison. When the violent acts of the Long Parliament are blamed, let it not be forgotten from what a tyranny they rescued the nation.

Among the humbler tools of Charles were Chief-Justice Finch and Noy the Attorney-General. Noy had, like Wentworth, supported the cause of liberty in Parliament, and had, like Wentworth, abandoned that cause for the sake of office. He devised, in conjunction with Finch, a scheme of exaction which made the alienation of the people from the throne complete. A writ was issued by the King, commanding the city of London to equip and man ships of war for his service. Similar writs were sent to the towns along the coast. These measures, though they were direct violations of the Petition of Right, had at least some show of precedent in their favour. But, after a time, the government took a step for which no precedent could be pleaded, and sent writs of ship-money to the inland counties. This was a stretch of power on which Elizabeth herself had not ventured, even at a time when all laws might with propriety have been made to bend to that highest law, the safety of the state. The inland counties had not been required to furnish ships, or

money in the room of ships, even when the Armada was approaching our shores. It seemed intolerable that a prince who, by assenting to the Petition of Right, had relinquished the power of levying ship-money even in the out-ports, should be the first to levy it on parts of the kingdom where it had been unknown under the most absolute of his predecessors.

Clarendon distinctly admits that this tax was intended, not only for the support of the navy, but "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions." The nation well understood this; and from one end of England to the other the public mind was strongly excited.

Buckinghamshire was assessed at a ship of four hundred and fifty tons, or a sum of four thousand five hundred pounds. The share of the tax which fell to Hampden was very small; so small, indeed, that the sheriff was blamed for setting so wealthy a man at so low a rate. But, though the sum demanded was a trifle, the principle involved was fearfully important. Hampden, after consulting the most eminent constitutional lawyers of the time, refused to pay the few shillings at which he was assessed, and determined to incur all the certain expense, and the probable danger, of bringing to a solemn hearing this great controversy between the people and the Crown. "Till this time," says Clarendon, "he was rather of reputation in his own country than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom; but then

he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and prosperity of the kingdom."

Towards the close of the year 1636 this great cause came on in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges of England. The leading counsel against the writ was the celebrated Oliver St. John, a man whose temper was melancholy, whose manners were reserved, and who was as yet little known in Westminster Hall, but whose great talents had not escaped the penetrating eye of Hampden. The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General appeared for the Crown.

The arguments of the counsel occupied many days; and the Exchequer Chamber took a considerable time for deliberation. The opinion of the bench was divided. So clearly was the law in favour of Hampden that, though the judges held their situations only during the royal pleasure, the majority against him was the least possible. Five of the twelve pronounced in his favour. The remaining seven gave their voices for the writ.

The only effect of this decision was to make the public indignation stronger and deeper. "The judgment," says Clarendon, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the King's service." The courage which Hampden had shown on this occasion, as the same historian tells

1636. Should be 1637.

us, "raised his reputation to a great height generally throughout the kingdom." Even courtiers and crown-lawyers spoke respectfully of him. "His carriage," says Clarendon, "throughout that agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony." But his demeanour, though it impressed Lord Falkland with the deepest respect, though it drew forth the praises of Solicitor-General Herbert, only kindled into a fiercer flame the ever-burning hatred of Strafford. That minister in his letters to Laud murmured against the lenity with which Hampden was treated. "In good faith," he wrote, "were such men rightly served, they should be whipped into their right wits." Again he says, "I still wish Mr. Hampden, and others to his likeness, were well whipped into their right senses. And if the rod be so used that it smart not, I am the more sorry."

The person of Hampden was now scarcely safe. His prudence and moderation had hitherto disappointed those who would gladly have had a pretence for sending him to the prison of Eliot. But he knew that the eye of a tyrant was on him. In the year 1637 misgovernment had reached its height. Eight years had passed without a Parliament. The decision of the Exchequer Chamber had placed at the disposal of the Crown the whole property of

the English people. About the time at which that decision was pronounced, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were mutilated by the sentence of the Star-Chamber, and sent to rot in remote dungeons. The estate and the person of every man who had opposed the court were at its mercy.

Hampden determined to leave England. Beyond the Atlantic Ocean, a few of the persecuted Puritans had formed, in the wilderness of Connecticut, a settlement which has since become a prosperous commonwealth, and which, in spite of the lapse of time and of the change of government, still retains something of the character given to it by its first founders. Lord Saye and Lord Brooke were the original projectors of this scheme of emigration. Hampden had been early consulted respecting it. He was now, it appears, desirous to withdraw himself beyond the reach of oppressors who, as he probably suspected, and as we know, were bent on punishing his manful resistance to their tyranny. He was accompanied by his kinsman Oliver Cromwell, over whom he possessed great influence, and in whom he alone had discovered, under an exterior appearance of coarseness and extravagance, those great and commanding talents which were afterwards the admiration and the dread of Europe.

The cousins took their passage in a vessel which lay in the Thames, and which was bound for North America. They were actually on board, when an order of council appeared, by which the ship was

prohibited from sailing. Seven other ships, filled with emigrants, were stopped at the same time.

Hampden and Cromwell remained; and with them remained the Evil Genius of the House of Stuart. The tide of public affairs was even now on the turn. The King had resolved to change the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland, and to introduce into the public worship of that kingdom ceremonies which the great body of the Scots regarded as Popish. This absurd attempt produced, first discontents, then riots, and at length open rebellion. A provisional government was established at Edinburgh, and its authority was obeyed throughout the kingdom. This government raised an army, appointed a general, and summoned an assembly of the Kirk. The famous instrument called the Covenant was put forth at this time, and was eagerly subscribed by the people.

The beginnings of this formidable insurrection were strangely neglected by the King and his advisers. But towards the close of the year 1638 the danger became pressing. An army was raised; and early in the following spring Charles marched northward at the head of a force sufficient, as it seemed, to reduce the Covenanters to submission.

But Charles acted at this conjuncture as he acted at every important conjuncture throughout his life. After oppressing, threatening, and blustering, he hesitated and failed. He was bold in the wrong place, and timid in the wrong place. He would have

shown his wisdom by being afraid before the liturgy was read in St. Giles's church. He put off his fear till he had reached the Scottish border with his troops. Then, after a feeble campaign, he concluded a treaty with the insurgents, and withdrew his army. But the terms of the pacification were not observed. Each party charged the other with foul play. The Scots refused to disarm. The King found great difficulty in re-assembling his forces. His late expedition had drained his treasury. The revenues of the next year had been anticipated. At another time, he might have attempted to make up the deficiency by illegal expedients; but such a course would clearly have been dangerous when part of the island was in rebellion. It was necessary to call a Parliament. After eleven years of suffering, the voice of the nation was to be heard once more.

In April 1640, the Parliament met; and the King had another chance of conciliating his people. The new House of Commons was, beyond all comparison, the least refractory House of Commons that had been known for many years. Indeed, we have never been able to understand how, after so long a period of misgovernment, the representatives of the nation should have shown so moderate and so loyal a disposition. Clarendon speaks with admiration of their dutiful temper. "The House, generally," says he, "was exceedingly disposed to please the King, and to do him service." "It could never be hoped," he observes elsewhere, "that more sober or dispas-

sionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them."

In this Parliament Hampden took his seat as member for Buckinghamshire, and thenceforward, till the day of his death, gave himself up, with scarcely any intermission, to public affairs. He took lodgings in Gray's Inn Lane, near the house occupied by Pym, with whom he lived in habits of the closest intimacy. He was now decidedly the most popular man in England. The Opposition looked to him as their leader, and the servants of the King treated him with marked respect.

Charles requested the Parliament to vote an immediate supply, and pledged his word that, if they would gratify him in this request, he would afterwards give them time to represent their grievances to him. The grievances under which the nation suffered were so serious, and the royal word had been so shamefully violated, that the Commons could hardly be expected to comply with this request. During the first week of the session, the minutes of the proceedings against Hampden were laid on the table by Oliver St. John, and a committee reported that the case was matter of grievance. The King sent a message to the Commons, offering, if they would vote him twelve subsidies, to give up the prerogative of ship-money. Many years before, he had received five subsidies in consideration of his assent to the Petition of Right. By assenting to that petition, he had given up the right of levying

ship-money, if he ever possessed it. How he had observed the promises made to his third Parliament, all England knew; and it was not strange that the Commons should be somewhat unwilling to buy from him, over and over again, their own ancient and undoubted inheritance.

His message, however, was not unfavourably received. The Commons were ready to give a large supply; but they were not disposed to give it in exchange for a prerogative of which they altogether denied the existence. If they acceded to the proposal of the King, they recognised the legality of the writs of ship-money.

Hampden, who was a greater master of parliamentary tactics than any man of his time, saw that this was the prevailing feeling, and availed himself of it with great dexterity. He moved that the question should be put, "Whether the House would consent to the proposition made by the King, as contained in the message." Hyde interfered, and proposed that the question should be divided; that the sense of the House should be taken merely on the point whether there should be a supply or no supply; and that the manner and the amount should be left for subsequent consideration.

The majority of the House was for granting a supply, but against granting it in the manner proposed by the King. If the House had divided on Hampden's question, the court would have sustained a defeat; if on Hyde's, the court would have gained

an apparent victory. Some members called for Hyde's motion, others for Hampden's. In the midst of the uproar, the secretary of state, Sir Harry Vane, rose and stated that the supply would not be accepted unless it were voted according to the tenor of the message. Vane was supported by Herbert, the Solicitor-General. Hyde's motion was therefore no further pressed, and the debate on the general question was adjourned till the next day.

On the next day the King came down to the House of Lords, and dissolved the Parliament with an angry speech. His conduct on this occasion has never been defended by any of his apologists. Clarendon condemns it severely. "No man," says he, "could imagine what offence the Commons had given." The offence which they had given is plain. They had, indeed, behaved most temperately and most respectfully. But they had shown a disposition to redress wrongs and to vindicate the laws; and this was enough to make them hateful to a king whom no law could bind, and whose whole government was one system of wrong.

The nation received the intelligence of the dissolution with sorrow and indignation. The only persons to whom this event gave pleasure were those few discerning men who thought that the maladies of the state were beyond the reach of gentle remedies. Oliver St. John's joy was too great for concealment. It lighted up his dark and melancholy features, and made him, for the first time, indiscreetly communica-

tive. He told Hyde that things must be worse before they could be better, and that the dissolved Parliament would never have done all that was necessary. St. John, we think, was in the right. No good could then have been done by any Parliament which did not fully understand that no confidence could safely be placed in the King, and that, while he enjoyed more than the shadow of power, the nation would never enjoy more than the shadow of liberty.

As soon as Charles had dismissed the Parliament, he threw several members of the House of Commons into prison. Ship-money was exacted more rigorously than ever; and the Mayor and Sheriffs of London were prosecuted before the Star-Chamber for slackness in levying it. Wentworth, it is said, observed, with characteristic insolence and cruelty, that things would never go right till the Aldermen were hanged. Large sums were raised by force on those counties in which the troops were quartered. All the wretched shifts of a beggared exchequer were tried. Forced loans were raised. Great quantities of goods were bought on long credit and sold for ready money. A scheme for debasing the currency was under consideration. At length, in August, the King again marched northward.

The Scots advanced into England to meet him. It is by no means improbable that this bold step was taken by the advice of Hampden, and of those with whom he acted; and this has been made matter of grave accusation against the English Opposition. It

is said that to call in the aid of foreigners in a domestic quarrel is the worst of treasons, and that the Puritan leaders, by taking this course, showed that they were regardless of the honour and independence of the nation, and anxious only for the success of their own faction. We are utterly unable to see any distinction between the case of the Scotch invasion in 1640, and the case of the Dutch invasion in 1688; or rather, we see distinctions which are to the advantage of Hampden and his friends. We believe Charles to have been a worse and more dangerous king than his son. The Dutch were strangers to us, the Scots a kindred people speaking the same language, subjects of the same prince, not aliens in the eye of the law. If, indeed, it had been possible that a Scotch army or a Dutch army could have enslaved England, those who persuaded Leslie to cross the Tweed, and those who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, would have been traitors to their country. But such a result was out of the question. All that either a Scotch or a Dutch invasion could do was to give the public feeling of England an opportunity to show itself. Both expeditions would have ended in complete and ludicrous discomfiture, had Charles and James been supported by their soldiers and their people. In neither case, therefore, was the independence of England endangered; in both cases her liberties were preserved.

The second campaign of Charles against the Scots was short and ignominious. His soldiers, as soon as

they saw the enemy, ran away as English soldiers have never run either before or since. It can scarcely be doubted that their flight was the effect, not of cowardice, but of disaffection. The four northern counties of England were occupied by the Scotch army and the King retired to York.

The game of tyranny was now up. Charles had risked and lost his last stake. It is not easy to retrace the mortifications and humiliations which the tyrant now had to endure, without a feeling of vindictive pleasure. His army was mutinous; his treasury was empty; his people clamoured for a Parliament; addresses and petitions against the government were presented. Strafford was for shooting the petitioners by martial law; but the King could not trust the soldiers. A great council of Peers was called at York; but the King could not trust even the Peers. He struggled, evaded, hesitated, tried every shift, rather than again face the representatives of his injured people. At length no shift was left. He made a truce with the Scots, and summoned a Parliament.

The leaders of the popular party had, after the late dissolution, remained in London for the purpose of organising a scheme of opposition to the Court. They now exerted themselves to the utmost. Hampden, in particular, rode from county to county, exhorting the electors to give their votes to men worthy of their confidence. The great majority of the returns was on the side of the Opposition. Hampden was himself chosen member both for Wendover

and Buckinghamshire. He made his election to serve for the county.

On the third of November 1640, a day to be long remembered, met that great Parliament, destined to every extreme of fortune, to empire and to servitude, to glory and to contempt; at one time the sovereign of its sovereign, at another time the servant of its servants. From the first day of meeting the attendance was great; and the aspect of the members was that of men not disposed to do the work negligently. The dissolution of the late Parliament had convinced most of them that half measures would no longer suffice. Clarendon tells us, that "the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, talked now in another dialect both of kings and persons; and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament." The debt of vengeance was swollen by all the usury which had been accumulating during many years; and payment was made to the full.

This memorable crisis called forth parliamentary abilities such as England had never before seen. Among the most distinguished members of the House of Commons were Falkland, Hyde, Digby, young Harry Vane, Oliver St. John, Denzil Hollis, Nathaniel Fiennes. But two men exercised a paramount influence over the legislature and the country, Pym and Hampden; and by the universal consent

of friends and enemies, the first place belonged to Hampden.

On occasions which required set speeches Pym generally took the lead. Hampden very seldom rose till late in a debate. His speaking was of that kind which has, in every age, been held in the highest estimation by English Parliaments, ready, weighty, perspicuous, condensed. His perception of the feelings of the House was exquisite, his temper unalterably placid, his manner eminently courteous and gentlemanlike. "Even with those," says Clarendon, "who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and who discerned those opinions to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person." His talents for business were as remarkable as his talents for debate. "He was," says Clarendon, "of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle and sharp." Yet it was rather to his moral than to his intellectual qualities that he was indebted for the vast influence which he possessed. "When this parliament began"—we again quote Clarendon—"the eyes of all men were fixed upon him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath

had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. . . . He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew."

It is sufficient to recapitulate shortly the acts of the Long Parliament during its first session. Strafford and Laud were impeached and imprisoned. Strafford was afterwards attainted by Bill, and executed. Lord Keeper Finch fled to Holland, Secretary Windebank to France. All those whom the King had, during the last twelve years, employed for the oppression of his people, from the servile judges who had pronounced in favour of the crown against Hampden, down to the sheriffs who had distrained for ship-money, and the custom-house officers who had levied tonnage and poundage, were summoned to answer for their conduct. The Star-Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of York, were abolished. Those unfortunate victims of Laud who, after undergoing ignominious exposure and cruel manglings, had been sent to languish in distant prisons, were set at liberty,

High Commission Court. Established in 1583 to regulate all matters affecting religion. It was used despotically to suppress puritanism.

Council of York. Properly called Council of the North. Established in 1539 to maintain order and good government in the Northern Counties. It was used by Strafford for tyrannical purposes.

and conducted through London in triumphant procession. The King was compelled to give the judges patents for life or during good behaviour. He was deprived of those oppressive powers which were the last relics of the old feudal tenures. The Forest Courts and the Stannary Courts were reformed. It was provided that the Parliament then sitting should not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent, and that a Parliament should be held at least once every three years.

Many of these measures Lord Clarendon allows to have been most salutary; and few persons will, in our times, deny that, in the laws passed during this session, the good greatly preponderated over the evil. The abolition of those three hateful courts, the Northern Council, the Star-Chamber, and the High Commission, would alone entitle the Long Parliament to the lasting gratitude of Englishmen.

The proceeding against Strafford undoubtedly seems hard to people living in our days. It would probably have seemed merciful and moderate to people living in the sixteenth century. It is curious to compare the trial of Charles's minister with the trial, if it can be so called, of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, in the blessed reign of Edward the Sixth. None of the great reformers of our Church doubted

Forest Courts. Local tribunals with jurisdiction over large tracts of country.

Stannary Courts. Old courts for the local redress of private grievances, with jurisdiction in Cornwall and Devon (*stannum* = tin).

the propriety of passing an act of Parliament for cutting off Lord Seymour's head without a legal conviction. The pious Cranmer voted for that act; the pious Latimer preached for it; the pious Edward returned thanks for it; and all the pious Lords of the council together exhorted their victim to what they were pleased facetiously to call "the quiet and patient suffering of justice."

But it is not necessary to defend the proceedings against Strafford by any such comparison. They are justified, in our opinion, by that which alone justifies capital punishment or any punishment, by that which alone justifies war, by the public danger. That there is a certain amount of public danger which will justify a legislature in sentencing a man to death by retrospective law, few people, we suppose, will deny. Few people, for example, will deny that the French Convention was perfectly justified in placing Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon under the ban of the law, without a trial. This proceeding differed from the proceeding against Strafford only in being much more rapid and violent. Strafford was fully heard. Robespierre was not suffered to defend himself. Was there, then, in the case of Strafford, a danger sufficient to justify an act of attainder? We believe that there was. We believe that the contest in which the Parliament was engaged against the King was a contest for the security of our property, for the liberty of our persons, for everything which makes us to differ from the subjects

of Don Miguel. We believe that the cause of the Commons was such as justified them in resisting the King, in raising an army, in sending thousands of brave men to kill and to be killed. An act of attainder is surely not more a departure from the ordinary course of law than a civil war. An act of attainder produces much less suffering than a civil war. We are, therefore, unable to discover on what principle it can be maintained that a cause which justifies a civil war will not justify an act of attainder.

Many specious arguments have been urged against the retrospective law by which Strafford was condemned to death. But all these arguments proceed on the supposition that the crisis was an ordinary crisis. The attainder was, in truth, a revolutionary measure. It was part of a system of resistance which oppression had rendered necessary. It is as unjust to judge of the conduct pursued by the Long Parliament towards Strafford on ordinary principles, as it would have been to indict Fairfax for murder because he cut down a cornet at Naseby. From the day on which the Houses met, there was a war waged by them against the King, a war for all that they held dear, a war carried on at first by means of parliamentary forms, at last by physical force; and, as in the second stage of that war, so in the first, they were

Don Miguel (1802–66). Afterwards King of Portugal. An oppressive prince constantly engaged in quarrels with his subjects.

entitled to do many things which, in quiet times, would have been culpable.

We must not omit to mention that those who were afterwards the most distinguished ornaments of the King's party supported the bill of attainder. It is almost certain that Hyde voted for it. It is quite certain that Falkland both voted and spoke for it. The opinion of Hampden, as far as it can be collected from a very obscure note of one of his speeches, seems to have been that the proceeding by Bill was unnecessary, and that it would be a better course to obtain judgment on the impeachment.

During this year the Court opened a negotiation with the leaders of the Opposition. The Earl of Bedford was invited to form an administration on popular principles. St. John was made solicitor-general. Hollis was to have been secretary of state, and Pym chancellor of the exchequer. The post of tutor to the Prince of Wales was designed for Hampden. The death of the Earl of Bedford prevented this arrangement from being carried into effect; and it may be doubted whether, even if that nobleman's life had been prolonged, Charles would ever have consented to surround himself with counsellors whom he could not but hate and fear.

Lord Clarendon admits that the conduct of Hampden during this year was mild and temperate, that he seemed disposed rather to soothe than to excite the public mind, and that, when violent and unreasonable motions were made by his followers, he

generally left the House before the division, lest he should seem to give countenance to their extravagance. His temper was moderate. He sincerely loved peace. He felt also great fear lest too precipitate a movement should produce a reaction. The events which took place early in the next session clearly showed that this fear was not unfounded.

During the autumn the Parliament adjourned for a few weeks. Before the recess, Hampden was despatched to Scotland by the House of Commons, nominally as a commissioner, to obtain security for a debt which the Scots had contracted during the last invasion; but in truth that he might keep watch over the King, who had now repaired to Edinburgh, for the purpose of finally adjusting the points of difference which remained between him and his northern subjects. It was the business of Hampden to dissuade the Covenanters from making their peace with the Court, at the expense of the popular party in England.

While the King was in Scotland, the Irish rebellion broke out. The suddenness and violence of this terrible explosion excited a strange suspicion in the public mind. The Queen was a professed Papist. The King and the Archbishop of Canterbury had not indeed been reconciled to the See of Rome; but they had, while acting towards the Puritan party with the utmost rigour, and speaking of that party with the utmost contempt, shown great tenderness and respect towards the Catholic religion and its

professors. In spite of the wishes of successive Parliaments, the Protestant separatists had been cruelly persecuted. And at the same time, in spite of the wishes of those very Parliaments, laws which were in force against the Papists, and which, unjustifiable as they were, suited the temper of that age, had not been carried into execution. The Protestant nonconformists had not yet learned toleration in the school of suffering. They reprobated the partial lenity which the government showed towards idolaters; and, with some show of reason, ascribed to bad motives conduct which, in such a king as Charles, and such a prelate as Laud, could not possibly be ascribed to humanity or to liberality of sentiment. The violent Arminianism of the Archbishop, his childish attachment to ceremonies, his superstitious veneration for altars, vestments, and painted windows, his bigoted zeal for the constitution and the privileges of his order, his known opinions respecting the celibacy of the clergy, had excited great disgust throughout that large party which was every day becoming more and more hostile to Rome, and more and more inclined to the doctrines and the discipline of Geneva. It was believed by many that the Irish rebellion had been secretly encouraged by the Court;

Arminianism. The founder, Arminius, a Dutchman, advocated the doctrine of Free Will, which was encouraged by Laud and the High Church clergy, because it entailed the downfall of the Calvinists, who accepted the doctrine of Predestination. The term Arminianism was, therefore, associated by the puritans with the oppressive policy of the bishops.

and, when the Parliament met again in November, after a short recess, the Puritans were more intractable than ever.

But that which Hampden had feared had come to pass. A reaction had taken place. A large body of moderate and well-meaning men, who had heartily concurred in the strong measures adopted before the recess, were inclined to pause. Their opinion was that, during many years the country had been grievously misgoverned, and that a great reform had been necessary; but that a great reform had been made, that the grievances of the nation had been fully redressed, that sufficient vengeance had been exacted for the past, that sufficient security had been provided for the future, and that it would, therefore, be both ungrateful and unwise to make any further attacks on the royal prerogative. In support of this opinion many plausible arguments have been used. But to all these arguments there is one short answer. The King could not be trusted.

At the head of those who may be called the Constitutional Royalists were Falkland, Hyde, and Culpeper. All these eminent men had, during the former year, been in very decided opposition to the Court. In some of those very proceedings with which their admirers reproach Hampden, they had taken a more decided part than Hampden. They had all been concerned in the impeachment of Strafford. They had all, there is reason to believe, voted for the Bill of Attainder. Certainly none of them voted

against it. They had all agreed to the act which made the consent of the Parliament necessary to a dissolution or prorogation. Hyde had been among the most active of those who attacked the Council of York. Falkland had voted for the exclusion of the bishops from the Upper House. They were now inclined to halt in the path of reform, perhaps to retrace a few of their steps.

A direct collision soon took place between the two parties into which the House of Commons, lately at almost perfect unity with itself, was now divided. The opponents of the government moved that celebrated address to the King which is known by the name of the Grand Remonstrance. In this address all the oppressive acts of the preceding fifteen years were set forth with great energy of language; and, in conclusion, the King was entreated to employ no ministers in whom the Parliament could not confide.

The debate on the Remonstrance was long and stormy. It commenced at nine in the morning of the twenty-first of November, and lasted till after midnight. The division showed that a great change had taken place in the temper of the House. Though many members had retired from exhaustion, three hundred voted; and the Remonstrance was carried by a majority of only nine. A violent debate followed, on the question whether the minority should be allowed to protest against this decision. The excitement was so great that several members were on the point of proceeding to personal violence. "We had

sheathed our swords in each other's bowels," says an eye-witness, "had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it." The House did not rise till two in the morning.

The situation of the Puritan leaders was now difficult and full of peril. The small majority which they still had might soon become a minority. Out of doors, their supporters in the higher and middle classes were beginning to fall off. There was a growing opinion that the King had been hardly used. The English are always inclined to side with a weak party which is in the wrong, rather than with a strong party which is in the right. This may be seen in all contests, from contests of boxers to contests of faction. Thus it was that a violent reaction took place in favour of Charles the Second against the Whigs in 1681. Thus it was that an equally violent reaction took place in favour of George the Third against the coalition in 1784. A similar action was beginning to take place during the second year of the Long Parliament. Some members of the Opposition "had resumed," says Clarendon, "their old resolution of leaving the kingdom." Oliver Cromwell openly declared that he and many others would have emigrated if they had been left in a minority on the question of the Remonstrance.

Charles had now a last chance of regaining the affection of his people. If he could have resolved to give his confidence to the leaders of the moderate

party in the House of Commons, and to regulate his proceedings by their advice, he might have been, not, indeed, as he had been, a despot, but the powerful and respected king of a free people. The nation might have enjoyed liberty and repose under a government with Falkland at its head, checked by a constitutional Opposition under the conduct of Hampden. It was not necessary that, in order to accomplish this happy end, the King should sacrifice any part of his lawful prerogative, or submit to any conditions inconsistent with his dignity. It was necessary only that he should abstain from treachery, from violence, from gross breaches of the law. This was all that the nation was then disposed to require of him. And even this was too much.

For a short time he seemed inclined to take a wise and temperate course. He resolved to make Falkland secretary of state, and Culpeper chancellor of the exchequer. He declared his intention of conferring in a short time some important office on Hyde. He assured these three persons that he would do nothing relating to the House of Commons without their joint advice, and that he would communicate all his designs to them in the most unreserved manner. This resolution, had he adhered to it, would have averted many years of blood and mourning. But "in very few days," says Clarendon, "he did fatally swerve from it."

On the third of January 1642, without giving the slightest hint of his intention to those advisers whom

he had solemnly promised to consult, he sent down the attorney-general to impeach Lord Kimbolton, Hampden, Pym, Hollis, and two other members of the House of Commons, at the bar of the Lords, on a charge of High Treason. It is difficult to find in the whole history of England such an instance of tyranny, perfidy, and folly. The most precious and ancient rights of the subject were violated by this act. The only way in which Hampden and Pym could legally be tried for treason at the suit of the King, was by a petty jury on a bill found by a grand jury. The attorney-general had no right to impeach them. The House of Lords had no right to try them.

The Commons refused to surrender their members. The Peers showed no inclination to usurp the unconstitutional jurisdiction which the King attempted to force on them. A contest began, in which violence and weakness were on the one side, law and resolution on the other. Charles sent an officer to seal up the lodgings and trunks of the accused members. The Commons sent their sergeant to break the seals. The tyrant resolved to follow up one outrage by another. In making the charge, he had struck at the institution of juries. In executing the arrest, he struck at the privileges of Parliament. He resolved to go to the House in person with an armed force, and there to seize the leaders of the Opposition, while engaged in the discharge of their parliamentary duties.

What was his purpose? Is it possible to believe that he had no definite purpose, that he took the

most important step of his whole reign without having for one moment considered what might be its effects? Is it possible to believe that he went merely for the purpose of making himself a laughing-stock, that he intended, if he had found the accused members, and if they had refused, as it was their right and duty to refuse, the submission which he illegally demanded, to leave the House without bringing them away? If we reject both these suppositions, we must believe, and we certainly do believe, that he went fully determined to carry his unlawful design into effect by violence, and, if necessary, to shed the blood of the chiefs of the Opposition on the very floor of the Parliament House.

Lady Carlisle conveyed intelligence of the design to Pym. The five members had time to withdraw before the arrival of Charles. They left the House as he was entering New Palace Yard. He was accompanied by about two hundred halberdiers of his guard, and by many gentlemen of the Court armed with swords. He walked up Westminster Hall. At the southern end of the Hall his attendants divided to the right and left and formed a lane to the door of the House of Commons. He knocked, entered, darted a look towards the place which Pym usually occupied, and, seeing it empty, walked up to the table. The Speaker fell on his knee. The members rose and uncovered their heads in profound silence, and the King took his seat in the chair. He looked round the House. But the five members were nowhere

to be seen. He interrogated the Speaker. The Speaker answered, that he was merely the organ of the House, and had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, but according to their direction. The King muttered a few feeble sentences about his respect for the laws of the realm, and the privileges of Parliament, and retired. As he passed along the benches, several resolute voices called out audibly "Privilege!" He returned to Whitehall with his company of bravoes, who, while he was in the House, had been impatiently waiting in the lobby for the word, cocking their pistols, and crying, "Fall on." That night he put forth a proclamation, directing that the ports should be stopped, and that no person should, at his peril, venture to harbour the accused members.

Hampden and his friends had taken refuge in Coleman Street. The city of London was indeed the fastness of public liberty, and was, in those times, a place of at least as much importance as Paris during the French Revolution. The city, properly so called, now consists in a great measure of immense warehouses and counting-houses, which are frequented by traders and their clerks during the day, and left in almost total solitude during the night. It was then closely inhabited by three hundred thousand persons, to whom it was not merely a place of business, but a place of constant residence. The great capital had as complete a civil and military organisation as if it had been an independent republic. Each citizen had his company; and the companies, which now seem to

exist only for the sake of epicures and of antiquaries, were then formidable brotherhoods, the members of which were almost as closely bound together as the members of a Highland clan. How strong these artificial ties were, the numerous and valuable legacies anciently bequeathed by citizens to their corporations abundantly prove. The municipal offices were filled by the most opulent and respectable merchants of the kingdom. The pomp of the magistracy of the capital was inferior only to that which surrounded the person of the sovereign. The Londoners loved their city with that patriotic love which is found only in small communities, like those of ancient Greece, or like those which arose in Italy during the middle ages. The numbers, the intelligence, the wealth of the citizens, the democratical form of their local government, and their vicinity to the Court and to the Parliament, made them one of the most formidable bodies in the kingdom. Even as soldiers they were not to be despised. In an age in which war is a profession, there is something ludicrous in the idea of battalions composed of apprentices and shopkeepers, and officered by aldermen. But in the early part of the seventeenth century, there was no standing army in the island; and the militia of the metropolis was not inferior in training to the militia of other places. A city which could furnish many thousands of armed men, abounding in natural

In an age, etc. After the experiences of the late war it seems less ludicrous.

courage, and not absolutely untinctured with military discipline, was a formidable auxiliary in times of internal dissension. On several occasions during the civil war, the trainbands of London distinguished themselves highly; and at the battle of Newbury, in particular, they repelled the fiery onset of Rupert, and saved the army of the Parliament from destruction.

The people of this great city had long been thoroughly devoted to the national cause. Many of them had signed a protestation in which they declared their resolution to defend the privileges of Parliament. Their enthusiasm had, indeed, of late begun to cool. But the impeachment of the five members, and the insult offered to the House of Commons, inflamed them to fury. Their houses, their purses, their pikes, were at the command of the representatives of the nation. London was in arms all night. The next day the shops were closed; the streets were filled with immense crowds; the multitude pressed round the King's coach, and insulted him with opprobrious cries. The House of Commons, in the meantime, appointed a committee to sit in the city, for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances of the late outrage. The members of the committee were welcomed by a deputation of the common council. Merchant Taylors' Hall, Goldsmiths' Hall, and Grocers' Hall, were fitted up for their sittings. A guard of respectable citizens, duly relieved twice a day, was posted at their doors. The sheriffs were charged to watch over the safety

of the accused members, and to escort them to and from the committee with every mark of honour.

A violent and sudden revulsion of feeling, both in the House and out of it, was the effect of the late proceedings of the King. The Opposition regained in a few hours all the ascendency which it had lost. The constitutional royalists were filled with shame and sorrow. They saw that they had been cruelly deceived by Charles. They saw that they were, unjustly, but not unreasonably, suspected by the nation. Clarendon distinctly says that they perfectly detested the counsels by which the King had been guided, and were so much displeased and dejected at the unfair manner in which he had treated them that they were inclined to retire from his service. During the debates on the breach of privilege, they preserved a melancholy silence. To this day, the advocates of Charles take care to say as little as they can about his visit to the House of Commons, and, when they cannot avoid mention of it, attribute to infatuation an act which, on any other supposition, they must admit to have been a frightful crime.

The Commons, in a few days, openly defied the King, and ordered the accused members to attend in their places at Westminster and to resume their parliamentary duties. The citizens resolved to bring back the champions of liberty in triumph before the windows of Whitehall. Vast preparations were made both by land and water for this great festival.

The King had remained in his palace, humbled,

dismayed, and bewildered, "feeling," says Clarendon, "the trouble and agony which usually attend generous and magnanimous minds upon their having committed errors"; feeling, we should say, the despicable repentance which attends the man who, having attempted to commit a crime, finds that he has only committed a folly. The populace hooted and shouted all day before the gates of the royal residence. The tyrant could not bear to see the triumph of those whom he had destined to the gallows and the quartering-block. On the day preceding that which was fixed for their return, he fled, with a few attendants, from that palace which he was never to see again till he was led through it to the scaffold.

On the eleventh of January, the Thames was covered with boats, and its shores with the gazing multitude. Armed vessels decorated with streamers, were ranged in two lines from London Bridge to Westminster Hall. The members returned upon the river in a ship manned by sailors who had volunteered their services. The trainbands of the city, under the command of the sheriffs, marched along the Strand, attended by a vast crowd of spectators, to guard the avenues to the House of Commons; and thus, with shouts, and loud discharges of ordnance, the accused

Westminster Hall. Served the purposes of the modern Lobby. In those days the House of Commons occupied the site of the present corridor between the Strangers' Entrance and the Central Lobby. The present Parliament buildings did not exist.

patriots were brought back by the people whom they had served, and for whom they had suffered. The restored members, as soon as they entered the House, expressed, in the warmest terms, their gratitude to the citizens of London. The sheriffs were warmly thanked by the Speaker in the name of the Commons; and orders were given that a guard selected from the trainbands of the city, should attend daily to watch over the safety of the Parliament.

The excitement had not been confined to London. When intelligence of the danger to which Hampden was exposed reached Buckinghamshire, it excited the alarm and indignation of the people. Four thousand freeholders of that county, each of them wearing in his hat a copy of the protestation in favour of the Privileges of Parliament, rode up to London to defend the person of their beloved representative. They came in a body to assure Parliament of their full resolution to defend its privileges. Their petition was couched in the strongest terms. "In respect," said they, "of that latter attempt upon the honourable House of Commons, we are now come to offer our service to that end, and resolved, in their just defence, to live and die."

A great struggle was clearly at hand. Hampden had returned to Westminster much changed. His influence had hitherto been exerted rather to restrain than to animate the zeal of his party. But the treachery, the contempt of law, the thirst for blood, which the King had now shown, left no hope

of a peaceable adjustment. It was clear that Charles must be either a puppet or a tyrant, that no obligation of law or of honour could bind him, and that the only way to make him harmless was to make him powerless.

The attack which the King had made on the five members was not merely irregular in manner. Even if the charges had been preferred legally, if the Grand Jury of Middlesex had found a true bill, if the accused persons had been arrested under a proper warrant and at a proper time and place, there would still have been in the proceeding enough of perfidy and injustice to vindicate the strongest measures which the Opposition could take. To impeach Pym and Hampden was to impeach the House of Commons. It was notoriously on account of what they had done as members of that House that they were selected as objects of vengeance; and in what they had done as members of that House the majority had concurred. Most of the charges brought against them were common between them and the Parliament. They were accused, indeed, and it may be with reason, of encouraging the Scotch army to invade England. In doing this, they had committed what was, in strictness of law, a high offence, the same offence which Devonshire and Shrewsbury committed in 1688. But the King had promised pardon and oblivion to those who had been the principals in the Scotch insurrection. Did it then consist with his honour to punish the accessaries? He had bestowed marks of

his favour on the leading Covenanters. He had given the great seal of Scotland to one chief of the rebels, a marquisate to another, an earldom to Leslie, who had brought the Presbyterian army across the Tweed. On what principle was Hampden to be attainted for advising what Leslie was ennobled for doing? In a court of law, of course, no Englishman could plead an amnesty granted to the Scots. But, though not an illegal, it was surely an inconsistent and a most unkingly course, after pardoning and promoting the heads of the rebellion in one kingdom, to hang, draw, and quarter their accomplices in another.

The proceedings of the King against the five members, or rather against that Parliament which had concurred in almost all the acts of the five members, was the cause of the civil war. It was plain that either Charles or the House of Commons must be stripped of all real power in the state. The best course which the Commons could have taken would perhaps have been to depose the King, as their ancestors had deposed Edward the Second and Richard the Second, and as their children afterwards deposed James. Had they done this, had they placed on the throne a prince whose character and whose situation would have been a pledge for his good conduct, they might safely have left to that prince all the old constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, the command of the armies of the state, the power of making peers, the power of appointing ministers, a veto on bills passed by the two Houses. Such a

prince, reigning by their choice, would have been under the necessity of acting in conformity with their wishes. But the public mind was not ripe for such a measure. There was no Duke of Lancaster, no Prince of Orange, no great and eminent person, near in blood to the throne, yet attached to the cause of the people. Charles was then to remain King; and it was therefore necessary that he should be king only in name. A William the Third, or a George the First, whose title to the crown was identical with the title of the people to their liberty, might safely be trusted with extensive powers. But new freedom could not exist in safety under the old tyrant. Since he was not to be deprived of the name of king, the only course which was left was to make him a mere trustee, nominally seised of prerogatives of which others had the use, a Grand Lama, a *Roi Fainéant*, a phantom resembling those Dagoberts and Childeberts who wore the badges of royalty, while Ebroin and Charles Martel held the real sovereignty of the state.

The conditions which the Parliament propounded were hard, but, we are sure, not harder than those

Duke of Lancaster. Henry IV.

Seised of. "In possession of" (legal term).

Grand Lama. Titular head of the Buddhist church in Tibet, Mongolia and China.

Roi Fainéant. "Sluggard king." A term applied to the later Merovingians (*circ.* 700 A.D.), who nominally reigned over the kingdom of the Franks. The real authority was held by the Mayors of the Palace, *e.g.*, Pippin and Charles Martel.

which even the Tories, in the Convention of 1689, would have imposed on James, if it had been resolved that James should continue to be king. The chief condition was that the command of the militia and the conduct of the war in Ireland should be left to the Parliament. On this point was that great issue joined, whereof the two parties put themselves on God and on the sword.

We think, not only that the Commons were justified in demanding for themselves the power to dispose of the military force, but that it would have been absolute insanity in them to leave that force at the disposal of the King. From the very beginning of his reign, it had evidently been his object to govern by an army. His third Parliament had complained, in the Petition of Right, of his fondness for martial law, and of the vexatious manner in which he billeted his soldiers on the people. The wish nearest the heart of Strafford was, as his letters prove, that the revenue might be brought into such a state as would enable the King to keep a standing military establishment. In 1640 Charles had supported an army in the northern counties by lawless exactions. In 1641 he had engaged in an intrigue, the object of which was to bring that army to London for the purpose of overawing the Parliament. His late conduct had proved that, if he were suffered to retain even a small body-guard of his own creatures near his person, the Commons would be in danger of outrage, perhaps of massacre. The Houses were

still deliberating under the protection of the militia of London. Could the command of the whole armed force of the realm have been, under these circumstances, safely confided to the King? Would it not have been frenzy in the Parliament to raise and pay an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men for the Irish war, and to give to Charles the absolute control of this army, and the power of selecting, promoting, and dismissing officers at his pleasure? Was it not probable that this army might become, what it is the nature of armies to become, what so many armies formed under much more favourable circumstances have become, what the army of the Roman republic became, what the army of the French republic became, an instrument of despotism? Was it not probable that the soldiers might forget that they were also citizens, and might be ready to serve their general against their country? Was it not certain that, on the very first day on which Charles could venture to revoke his concessions, and to punish his opponents, he would establish an arbitrary government, and exact a bloody revenge?

Our own times furnish a parallel case. Suppose that a revolution should take place in Spain, that the Constitution of Cadiz should be re-established, that the Cortes should meet again, that the Spanish Prynnes and Burtons, who are now wandering in rags round Leicester Square, should be restored to their country. Ferdinand the Seventh would, in that case, of course repeat all the oaths and promises

which he made in 1820, and broke in 1823. But would it not be madness in the Cortes, even if they were to leave him the name of King, to leave him more than the name? Would not all Europe scoff at them, if they were to permit him to assemble a large army for an expedition to America, to model that army at his pleasure, to put it under the command of officers chosen by himself? Should we not say that every member of the Constitutional party who might concur to such a measure would most richly deserve the fate which he would probably meet, the fate of Riego and of the Empecinado? We are not disposed to pay compliments to Ferdinand; nor do we conceive that we pay him any compliment, when we say that, of all sovereigns in history, he seems to us most to resemble, in some very important points, King Charles the First. Like Charles, he is pious after a certain fashion; like Charles, he has made large concessions to his people after a certain fashion. It is well for him that he has had to deal with men who bore very little resemblance to the English Puritans.

The Commons would have the power of the sword; the King would not part with it; and nothing remained but to try the chances of war. Charles still had a strong party in the country. His august office, his dignified manners, his solemn protestations that he would for the time to come respect the liberties of his subjects, pity for fallen greatness, fear of violent innovation, secured to him many

adherents. He had with him the Church, the Universities, a majority of the nobles and of the old landed gentry. The austerity of the Puritan manners drove most of the gay and dissolute youth of that age to the royal standard. Many good, brave, and moderate men, who disliked his former conduct, and who entertained doubts touching his present sincerity, espoused his cause unwillingly and with many painful misgivings, because, though they dreaded his tyranny much, they dreaded democratic violence more.

On the other side was the great body of the middle orders of England, the merchants, the shopkeepers, the yeomanry, headed by a very large and formidable minority of the peerage and of the landed gentry. The Earl of Essex, a man of respectable abilities, and of some military experience, was appointed to the command of the parliamentary army.

Hampden spared neither his fortune nor his person in the cause. He subscribed two thousand pounds to the public service. He took a colonel's commission in the army, and went into Buckinghamshire to raise a regiment of infantry. His neighbours eagerly enlisted under his command. His men were known by their green uniform, and by their standard, which bore on one side the watchword of the Parliament, "God with us," and on the other the device of Hampden, "Vestigia nulla retrorsum." This motto well described the line of conduct which he pursued. No member of his party had been so temperate, while there remained a hope that legal and peaceable

measures might save the country. No member of his party showed so much energy and vigour when it became necessary to appeal to arms. He made himself thoroughly master of his military duty, and "performed it," to use the words of Clarendon, "upon all occasions most punctually." The regiment which he had raised and trained was considered as one of the best in the service of the Parliament. He exposed his person in every action with an intrepidity which made him conspicuous even among thousands of brave men. "He was," says Clarendon, "of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be." Though his military career was short, and his military situation subordinate, he fully proved that he possessed the talents of a great general, as well as those of a great statesman.

We shall not attempt to give a history of the war. Lord Nugent's account of the military operations is very animating and striking. Our abstract would be dull, and probably unintelligible. There was, in fact, for some time no great and connected system of operations on either side. The war of the two parties was like the war of Arimanes and Oromasdes, neither of whom, according to the Eastern theologians, has

Arimanes and Oromasdes, or rather Ahriman and Ormazd, were, according to Zoroaster, the spirits of evil and good respectively.

any exclusive domain, who are equally omnipresent, who equally pervade all space, who carry on their eternal strife within every particle of matter. There was a petty war in almost every county. A town furnished troops to the Parliament while the manor-house of the neighbouring peer was garrisoned for the King. The combatants were rarely disposed to march far from their own homes. It was reserved for Fairfax and Cromwell to terminate this desultory warfare, by moving one overwhelming force successively against all the scattered fragments of the royal party.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the officers who had studied tactics in what were considered as the best schools, under Vere in the Netherlands, and under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, displayed far less skill than those commanders who had been bred to peaceful employments, and who never saw even a skirmish till the civil war broke out. An unlearned person might hence be inclined to suspect that the military art is no very profound mystery, that its principles are the principles of plain good sense, and that a quick eye, a cool head, and a stout heart, will do more to make a general than all the diagrams of Jomini.

Vere. Sir Horace (1565–1635), commander of the English troops in the Netherlands, had a great reputation as a military expert. Among his pupils were Fairfax, Essex, Goring, Skippon and Astley.

Jomini (1779–1869). Served on the staff of Ney and then on that of Napoleon. Later he took service under the Tzar and organised the Russian Staff College. He was universally recognised as a great authority on the art of war, on which he wrote many treatises.

This, however, is certain, that Hampden showed himself a far better officer than Essex, and Cromwell than Leslie.

The military errors of Essex were probably in some degree produced by political timidity. He was honestly, but not warmly, attached to the cause of the Parliament; and next to a great defeat he dreaded a great victory. Hampden, on the other hand, was for vigorous and decisive measures. When he drew the sword, as Clarendon has well said, he threw away the scabbard. He had shown that he knew better than any public man of his time how to value and how to practise moderation. But he knew that the essence of war is violence, and that moderation in war is imbecility. On several occasions, particularly during the operations in the neighbourhood of Brentford, he remonstrated earnestly with Essex. Wherever he commanded separately, the boldness and rapidity of his movements presented a striking contrast to the sluggishness of his superior.

In the Parliament he possessed boundless influence. His employments towards the close of 1642 have been described by Denham in some lines which, though intended to be sarcastic, convey in truth the highest eulogy. Hampden is described in this satire as perpetually passing and repassing between the military station at Windsor and the House of Commons at Westminster, as overawing the general, and as giving law to that Parliament which knew no other law. It was at this time that he organised that cele-

brated association of counties to which his party was principally indebted for its victory over the King.

In the early part of 1643, the shires lying in the neighbourhood of London, which were devoted to the cause of the Parliament, were incessantly annoyed by Rupert and his cavalry. Essex had extended his lines so far that almost every point was vulnerable. The young prince, who, though not a great general, was an active and enterprising partisan, frequently surprised posts, burned villages, swept away cattle, and was again at Oxford before a force sufficient to encounter him could be assembled.

The languid proceedings of Essex were loudly condemned by the troops. All the ardent and daring spirits in the parliamentary party were eager to have Hampden at their head. Had his life been prolonged, there is every reason to believe that the supreme command would have been intrusted to him. But it was decreed that, at this conjuncture, England should lose the only man who united perfect disinterestedness to eminent talents, the only man who, being capable of gaining the victory for her, was incapable of abusing that victory when gained.

In the evening of the seventeenth of June, Rupert darted out of Oxford with his cavalry on a predatory expedition. At three in the morning of the following day, he attacked and dispersed a few parliamentary soldiers who lay at Postcombe. He then flew to Chinnor, burned the village, killed or took all the troops who were quartered there, and prepared to

hurry back with his booty and his prisoners to Oxford.

Hampden had, on the preceding day, strongly represented to Essex the danger to which this part of the line was exposed. As soon as he received intelligence of Rupert's incursion, he sent off a horseman with a message to the General. The cavaliers, he said, could return only by Chiselhampton Bridge. A force ought to be instantly despatched in that direction for the purpose of intercepting them. In the meantime, he resolved to set out with all the cavalry that he could muster, for the purpose of impeding the march of the enemy till Essex could take measures for cutting off their retreat. A considerable body of horse and dragoons volunteered to follow him. He was not their commander. He did not even belong to their branch of the service. But "he was," says Lord Clarendon, "second to none but the General himself in the observance and application of all men." On the field of Chalgrove he came up with Rupert. A fierce skirmish ensued. In the first charge Hampden was struck in the shoulder by two bullets, which broke the bone, and lodged in his body. The troops of the Parliament lost heart and gave way. Rupert, after pursuing them for a short time, hastened to cross the bridge, and made his retreat unmolested to Oxford.

Hampden, with his head drooping, and his hands leaning on his horse's neck, moved feebly out of the battle. The mansion which had been inhabited by

his father-in-law, and from which in his youth he had carried home his bride Elizabeth, was in sight. There still remains an affecting tradition that he looked for a moment towards that beloved house, and made an effort to go thither to die. But the enemy lay in that direction. He turned his horse towards Thame, where he arrived almost fainting with agony. The surgeons dressed his wounds. But there was no hope. The pain which he suffered was most excruciating. But he endured it with admirable firmness and resignation. His first care was for his country. He wrote from his bed several letters to London concerning public affairs, and sent a last pressing message to the head-quarters, recommending that the dispersed forces should be concentrated. When his public duties were performed, he calmly prepared himself to die. He was attended by a clergyman of the Church of England, with whom he had lived in habits of intimacy, and by the chaplain of the Buckinghamshire Greencoats, Dr. Spurton, whom Baxter describes as a famous and excellent divine.

A short time before Hampden's death the sacrament was administered to him. He declared that though he disliked the government of the Church of England, he yet agreed with that Church as to all essential matters of doctrine. His intellect remained unclouded. When all was nearly over, he lay murmuring faint prayers for himself, and for the cause in which he died. "Lord Jesus," he exclaimed in the

moment of the last agony, "receive my soul. O Lord, save my country. O Lord, be merciful to ——." In that broken ejaculation passed away his noble and fearless spirit.

He was buried in the parish church of Hampden. His soldiers, bareheaded, with reversed arms and muffled drums and colours, escorted his body to the grave, singing, as they marched, that lofty and melancholy psalm in which the fragility of human life is contrasted with the immutability of Him to whom a thousand years are as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.

The news of Hampden's death produced as great a consternation in his party, according to Clarendon, as if their whole army had been cut off. The journals of the time amply prove that the Parliament and all its friends were filled with grief and dismay. Lord Nugent has quoted a remarkable passage from the next *Weekly Intelligencer*. "The loss of Colonel Hampden goeth near the heart of every man that loves the good of his king and country, and makes some conceive little content to be at the army now that he is gone. The memory of this deceased colonel is such, that in no age to come but it will more and more be had in honour and esteem; a man so religious, and of that prudence, judgment, temper, valour, and integrity, that he hath left few his like behind."

He had indeed left none his like behind him. There still remained, indeed, in his party, many acute

intellects, many eloquent tongues, many brave and honest hearts. There still remained a rugged and clownish soldier, half fanatic, half buffoon, whose talents, discerned as yet only by one penetrating eye, were equal to all the highest duties of the soldier and the prince. But in Hampden, and in Hampden alone, were united all the qualities which, at such a crisis, were necessary to save the state, the valour and energy of Cromwell, the discernment and eloquence of Vane, the humanity and moderation of Manchester, the stern integrity of Hale, the ardent public spirit of Sydney. Others might possess the qualities which were necessary to save the popular party in the crisis of danger; he alone had both the power and the inclination to restrain its excesses in the hour of triumph. Others could conquer; he alone could reconcile. A heart as bold as his brought up the cuirassiers who turned the tide of battle on Marston Moor. As skilful an eye as his watched the Scotch army descending from the heights over Dunbar. But it was when to the sullen tyranny of Laud and Charles had succeeded the fierce conflict of sects and factions, ambitious of ascendency and burning for revenge, it was when the vices and ignorance which the old tyranny had generated threatened the new freedom with destruction, that England missed the sobriety, the self-command, the perfect soundness of judgment, the perfect rectitude of intention, to which the history of revolutions furnishes no parallel, or furnishes a parallel in Washington alone.

A SKETCH OF MACAULAY'S LIFE

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY was born on 25th September, 1800. He was the eldest son of Zachary Macaulay, a man of a singularly noble and unselfish nature, who, in association with Wilberforce and others, devoted his life to the abolition of the slave trade. His mother came of a Quaker stock, and Clapham—his early home—was a neighbourhood with a reputation for religion and piety, as readers of *The Newcomes* will remember.

Such parentage and an early association with deeply religious people—Nonconformists as well as Churchmen—must have stimulated that keen interest in the beliefs and practices of the various religious denominations in England which is one of his chief characteristics as an historian.

His early life was passed in an atmosphere of politics.

" His father's house was much used as a centre of consultation by Members of Parliament who lived in the suburbs on the Surrey side of London; and the boy could hardly have heard more incessant, and assuredly not more edifying, political talk if he had been brought up in Downing Street." [1]

[1] Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Vol. I. ch. i.

These evangelical friends of his father were mainly Tories, but, as time went on, it became more and more evident that, for the realisation of their great objects, they would have to rely on their political opponents.

Macaulay was educated at a small private school, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1818. Here he soon gained a considerable reputation. A great reader, and possessing an extraordinary memory, he gained the Chancellor's Medal for English verse (twice), a prize for Latin Declamation and, in 1821, a Craven Scholarship.

He was prevented from competing for the Chancellor's Medal—the highest Classical distinction—by the fact that his neglect of Mathematics had led to failure in the Tripos of 1822. But at the end of his University career he received what he himself regarded as the greatest of academic honours, a Fellowship of his College (1824).

During these years his political opinions, after passing through a radical phase, acquired a definitely Whig character which remained unchanged throughout his life.

It was while he was still at the University that his literary career began in the form of contributions to Knight's *Quarterly Review*, the best known being the poem *Ivry*.

Immediately after leaving Cambridge he was confronted with troubles which might have broken the spirit or, at any rate, altered the career of one less

strenuous or more selfish. His father, who, a few years before, had been, if not actually rich, at least in affluent circumstances, was suddenly discovered to be almost ruined. His devotion to the cause of emancipation had led him more and more to neglect his business, until his affairs had so suffered as to be beyond the hope of recovery.

This situation was accepted and faced by Macaulay in a spirit truly admirable. He had not only to make his own career, but to undertake the sole support of his family and the payment of his father's debts, a task which he ultimately succeeded in discharging to the full.

> He quietly took up the burden which his father was unable to bear; and before many years had elapsed the fortunes of all for whose welfare he considered himself responsible were abundantly secured. In the course of the efforts which he expended on the accomplishment of this result, he unlearned the very notion of framing his method of life with a view to his own pleasure; and such was his high and simple nature that it may well be doubted whether it even crossed his mind that to live wholly for others was a sacrifice at all. [1]

He was called to the bar in 1826 and joined the Northern Circuit, but got no practice and never had any intention of making it a serious profession.

Macaulay's real life's work had already begun with his association with the *Edinburgh Review.* In 1825 there appeared in that journal the Essay on Milton,

[1] Trevelyan, I. iii.

which was greeted everywhere with the utmost enthusiasm. "The effect on the author's reputation was instantaneous. Like Lord Byron, he awoke one morning and found himself famous."[1]

So great, indeed, was his success with this and with succeeding articles that in 1830 he was offered by Lord Lansdowne, to whom he was personally unknown, a seat in Parliament for the borough of Calne.

Macaulay was fortunate in entering Parliament at a great crisis in our national history. For the previous forty years public opinion had found no adequate means of expression either in the House of Commons or outside it. The House of Commons could not, by any stretch of imagination, be said to represent any but a small fraction of the population of the country:

> The majority of the House of Commons was elected by less than fifteen thousand persons. Seventy members were returned by thirty-five places with scarcely any votes at all. . . . Eighty-four men actually nominated one hundred and fifty-seven members for Parliament. In addition to these, one hundred and fifty members were returned on the recommendation of seventy patrons, and thus one hundred and fifty patrons returned three hundred and seven members.[2]

Old Sarum and Gatton with no voters at all returned two members, while such towns as Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham were entirely unrepresented.

[1] Trevelyan, I. iii.

[2] Goldwin Smith, *United Kingdom*. II. 320.

So small a number of electors could be easily bribed by the offer of lucrative posts in the Indian Civil Service for themselves or their relatives, and thus the House was controlled by a few powerful families and was altogether unrepresentative of the nation.

In the country, also, free speech was stopped, sermons suppressed and the press gagged by a series of repressive measures which the Government defended under the plea of necessity while the French war continued, and which they declared themselves unable to abandon when it was over. After 1815, indeed, opposition to the Ministry, instead of being weakened by the victory over Napoleon, became consolidated, and the unrest throughout the country increased considerably, just as it has done in our own time, and for somewhat similar reasons.

The Government, tottering to its fall, received one severe blow when it was compelled to concede Catholic Emancipation, and Macaulay entered Parliament just in time to assist in administering a second, even more severe—the famous Reform Bill.

This is not the place for an account of the vicissitudes which attended the passing of the Reform Bill. Some reference, however, must be made to the part which Macaulay played in those memorable scenes. The great measure, to which he contributed such powerful support, represented in his opinion the climax of progressive legislation, and formed the criterion by which, whether consciously or

unconsciously, he estimated the value of all similar legislation, ancient or modern.

He delivered five magnificent speeches in favour of the Bill, which established his reputation as one of the greatest of Parliamentary orators. The speeches should be read in their entirety, but one brief extract may perhaps serve as an example of his oratory:

> Is it possible that gentlemen long versed in high political affairs cannot read these signs? Is it possible that they can really believe that the representative system of England, such as it now is, will last to the year 1860? If not, for what would they have us wait? Would they have us wait, merely that we may show to all the world how little we have profited by our own recent experience? Would they have us wait, that we may once again hit the exact point where we can neither refuse with authority, nor concede with grace? Would they have us wait, that the numbers of the discontented party may become larger, its demands higher, its feelings more acrimonious, its organisation more complete? Would they have us wait till the whole tragi-comedy of 1827 has been acted over again? till they have been brought into office by a cry of "No Reform," to be reformers, as they were once before brought into office by a cry of "No Popery," to be emancipators? . . . [1]

After the conclusion of his first great speech he received the highest compliments from the leaders of his own party and was regarded by ministers as their most formidable opponent.

In the general election which took place immediately after the passage of the Bill Macaulay became

[1] Trevelyan, I. iv.

member for Leeds, and during the next two years he got through an amount of work which can rarely have been surpassed by any public man. He was made a Commissioner, and afterwards Secretary, of the Board of Control—appointments which entailed a good deal of additional work—and at the same time entered with zest into the pleasures of London society, becoming in particular a regular visitor at Holland House.

During the busy years, 1830 to 1834, he wrote eleven essays in whatever time could be spared from his public duties and social engagements. In politics he took a thoroughly independent line, which on one occasion nearly resulted in the loss of his official position and with it his principal means of livelihood.

It was, in fact, the inadequacy of his income for the support of his family which induced him in 1833 to accept the post of legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India, to which was attached a salary of £10,000 a year. In thus consenting to banishment from England for four years Macaulay made a complete sacrifice of his own personal inclination, and felt, indeed, during that period, much as Cicero did during his banishment from Rome. To posterity these four years were the cause of a much greater loss by the fact that he was compelled to postpone for that period the commencement of his *History of England*.

He sailed for India in February, 1834, and spent the four months of the voyage in hard reading: "I

devoured Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, and English, folios, quartos, octavos, and duodecimos."

Having arrived at Calcutta he threw himself into his work as wholeheartedly as ever. His project of reform, particularly in the question of the provincial courts of Bengal, soon rendered him exceedingly unpopular with a large section of the English residents, who attacked him in their newspapers with the most vehement abuse and even with threats of personal violence. He not only endured all this with complete composure, but while it was in progress, maintained, and even extended, the freedom of the press.

In the Committee of Public Instruction, too, his influence was important. He advocated successfully the principle of teaching the higher branches of literature and science in English, instead of continuing the old scheme of encouraging Oriental learning.

His most valuable achievement in India was the framing of a criminal code for the whole Indian Empire. Though he was not the sole author of this famous work, he had undoubtedly the chief hand in it. Mr. Justice Stephen says:

> The point which always has surprised me most in connection with the Penal Code is, that it proves that Lord Macaulay must have had a knowledge of English criminal law which, considering how little he had practised it, may fairly be called extraordinary. . . . The Indian Penal Code is to the English criminal law what a manufactured article ready for use is to the materials out of which it is made.[1]

[1] Trevelyan, I. vi.

In addition to his public work he wrote two articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, and his private reading was simply prodigious:

During the last thirteen months I have read Æschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus; Apollonius Rhodius; Quintus Calaber; Theocritus twice; Herodotus; Thucydides; almost all Xenophon's works; almost all Plato; Aristotle's *Politics*, and a good deal of his *Organon*, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's *Lives*; about half of Lucian; two or three books of Athenæus; Plautus twice; Terence twice; Lucretius twice; Catullus; Tibullus; Propertius; Lucan; Statius; Silius Italicus; Livy; Velleius Paterculus; Sallust; Cæsar; and lastly, Cicero. I have indeed still a little of Cicero left; but I shall finish him in a few days. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian.[1]

On the voyage home he learned German: "I cannot easily believe that there is a language which I cannot master in four months by working ten hours a day."

He reached England again in 1838 and, after writing his Essay on Sir William Temple, went to Italy for several months, returning to London in February, 1839.

Soon after his return Macaulay began his greatest work, the *History of England*, which was intended to cover the period from the accession of James II. to the death of George IV. His design was, however, interrupted by the claims of politics. Lord Melbourne's Whig Government was by no means secure

[1] Trevelyan, I. vi.

and needed his support. Macaulay, therefore, became a candidate for Edinburgh, was elected, and soon afterwards joined the Cabinet as Secretary at War. His great powers as a Parliamentary orator were strikingly illustrated in the debate on the Copyright Bill, which seemed likely to have an easy passage, when it was killed by Macaulay's intervention, and a new Bill was introduced framed in accordance with his wishes.

The Government fell in 1841, and Macaulay, though he retained his seat for Edinburgh, was no longer a minister, and was free to devote a greater proportion of his time to literature. In the next year he published the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, which instantly attracted the greatest popularity, wrote further articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, and, of course, continued his *History*.

In 1846 he became Paymaster-General, but in the general election of 1847 he was defeated at Edinburgh and retired into private life, much to his own contentment.

In 1848 the first two volumes of the *History* appeared. Macaulay had been somewhat nervous as to their reception by the public; for he had set himself to do what no one had ever before attempted—to write history in such a way that it should be eagerly read and enjoyed by ordinary people. It is written, indeed, in spite of the vast stores of learning set forth in its pages, rather in the style of an historical novel than that of scientific history.

His apprehensions, however, were soon set at rest. The book " was greeted with an ebullition of national pride and satisfaction," and had an unprecedented sale.

In 1852 he was re-elected for Edinburgh, but, apart from one or two brilliant speeches, took little part in politics, and in 1856 finally resigned his seat. The fact was that the heart trouble, which began in 1852, obliged him at last to do what a man of a less robust constitution would have done long before—to confine himself entirely to his literary work.

Meanwhile, two more volumes of his *History* were published and met with a welcome as warm as that which had greeted the first two.

In 1857 he was created Baron Macaulay of Rothley in Leicestershire, his birthplace. But it had become clear both to himself and his relatives that he would not long enjoy the high honours conferred upon him. His strength continued to fail. Full of human interest is the account which Sir George Trevelyan gives of his uncle's fortitude in bearing his own troubles and of his anxiety that they should be a burden to no one but himself. He had only carried his *History* down to the last years of William III.'s reign when he passed away suddenly and quite peacefully at his home, Holly Lodge.

He was buried in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey on 9th January, 1860.

FORM AND STYLE OF THE ESSAY

MACAULAY was really the inventor of this type of historical essay. His object was to make history not only instructive but interesting to the average reader. Each of his essays gives us a bird's eye view of some special period. He hopes to arouse and maintain our interest in the subject, and incidentally he keeps always before our eyes a criterion by which he wishes us to estimate statesmen and politicians.

In form the historical essay is very simple. It consists of two parts; firstly, a criticism of the author whom Macaulay professes to review; and secondly, his own treatment of the subject matter. The first part is generally very short, and the second really serves as an excuse for Macaulay's own essay, which is often by no means confined to the original subject.

In the essay on Hampden, Lord Nugent and his book are dismissed in a few lines, and we come at once to the real subject, which is a review of the growth of political liberty in England as far as the beginning of the Civil War. Only about a quarter of the essay is actually concerned with Hampden.

It has been objected to Macaulay's writings that they are partisan in character. So they are, and rightly so, if the author is convinced that his is the

correct view of human progress. Macaulay was an ardent Whig, and in his judgments on history is at no pains to hide the fact. It must be added that his judgments in the main are confirmed by almost all modern historians.

Another complaint has been made against Macaulay to the effect that he has not the true conception of the historian's task. It is suggested that, instead of trying to make history interesting to the plain man, he ought to have devoted his great talents and learning to research work, which, though it could only have reached a few scholars, would have shed some definitely new light on the dark places of the past. That is, of course, a matter of opinion, but most people would agree that he chose the better part in seeking to reach a large circle of readers. He certainly succeeded in his aim, and has had more effect in spreading a knowledge of history than any writer of modern times.

He has one defect which it would be absurd to deny. The chief reason why his writings have appealed to the average man is that he himself had completely the sympathies of an average man, and for that reason he is often unable to estimate the character and ability of men of the highest genius. In this essay, for example, his few references to Cromwell are very inadequate. (There is a much better tribute to Cromwell in Macaulay's article on Hallam's *Constitutional History*, which the student would do well to read.)

His treatment of Hampden is very sympathetic. Mr. Cotter Morison says: "The tone of pious reverence for the great Puritan champion makes it one of his most harmonious pieces."

Macaulay's style is his own, and should not rashly be imitated. As used by him it is very effective. The essays are not long enough to be wearisome, even to the dullest reader, and they are marked by the all important qualities of brevity, variety and vigour. Sentences are often short and emphatic, and even when they are long the meaning is never in doubt. He has a wonderful gift of vivid and picturesque description, and has never been surpassed in his use of illustrations. The greatest care can be discerned in the arrangement of the sentence and of the paragraph, so that the meaning may be expressed to the best advantage, and the point driven home.

These points will be more easily grasped if the student will read the essays on Milton and Sir William Temple.

MACAULAY ON HIS METHOD OF WRITING HISTORY

History, it has been said, is philosophy teaching by examples. Unhappily, what the philosophy gains in soundness and depth, the examples generally lose in vividness. A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque. Yet he must control it so absolutely as to content himself with the materials which he finds, and to refrain from supplying deficiencies by additions of his own. . . .

Facts are the mere dross of history. It is from the abstract truth which interpenetrates them, and lies latent among them like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its whole value. . . .

The writers of history seem to entertain an aristocratical contempt for the writers of memoirs. They think it beneath the dignity of men who describe the revolutions of nations to dwell on the details which constitute the charm of biography. The most characteristic and interesting circumstances are omitted or softened down, because, we are told, they are too trivial for the majesty of history. The majesty of history seems to resemble the majesty of the poor King of Spain, who died a martyr to ceremony because the proper dignitaries were not at hand to render him assistance. . . .

What do we mean when we say that one past event is important and another insignificant? No past event has any intrinsic importance. The knowledge of it is valuable only as it leads us to form just calculations with respect to the future. A history which does not serve this purpose, though it may be filled with battles, treaties, and commotions, is as useless as the series of turnpike tickets collected by Sir Matthew Mite.

The effect of historical reading is analogous, in many respects, to that produced by foreign travel. The student, like the tourist, is transported into a new state of society. He sees new fashions. He hears new modes of expression. His mind is enlarged by contemplating the wide diversities of laws, of morals, and of manners.

The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no fact, he attributes no expression to his characters, which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. But, by judicious selection, rejection, and arrangement, he gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction.

In his narrative, a due subordination is observed: some transactions are prominent, others retire. But the scale on which he represents them is increased or diminished, not according to the degree in which they elucidate the condition of society and the nature of man.

He shows us the court, the camp, and the senate.

But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying as too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line.

If a man, such as we are supposing, should write the history of England, he would assuredly not omit the battles, the sieges, the negotiations, the seditions, the ministerial changes. But with these he would intersperse the details which are the charm of historical romances. At Lincoln Cathedral there is a beautiful painted window, which was made by an apprentice out of the pieces of glass which had been rejected by his master. It is so far superior to every other in the church, that, according to the tradition, the vanquished artist killed himself from mortification. Sir Walter Scott, in the same manner, has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them in a manner which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs.

But a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which the novelist has appropriated. The

history of the government, and the history of the people, would be exhibited in that mode in which alone they can be exhibited justly, in inseparable conjunction and intermixture. We should not then have to look for the wars and votes of the Puritans in Clarendon, and for their phraseology in *Old Mortality*; for one half of King James in Hume, and for the other half in the *Fortunes of Nigel.*

The early part of our imaginary history would be rich with colouring from romance, ballad, and chronicle. We should find ourselves in the company of knights such as those of Froissart, and of pilgrims such as those who rode with Chaucer from the Tabard. Society would be shown from the highest to the lowest—from the royal cloth of state to the den of the outlaw; from the throne of the legate to the chimney corner where the begging friar regaled himself. Palmers, minstrels, crusaders—the stately monastery, with the good cheer in its refectory and the high mass in its chapel—the manor-house with its hunting and hawking—the tournament with the heralds and ladies, the trumpets and the cloth of gold—would give truth and life to the representation.

We should perceive, in a thousand slight touches, the importance of the privileged burgher, and the fierce and haughty spirit which swelled under the collar of the degraded villain. The revival of letters would not merely be described in a few magnificent periods. We should discern in innumerable parti-

culars, the fermentation of mind, the eager appetite for knowledge, which distinguished the sixteenth from the fifteenth century. In the Reformation we should see, not merely a schism which changed the ecclesiastical constitution of England and the mutual relations of the European powers, but a moral war which raged in every family, which set the father against the son, and the son against the father, the mother against the daughter and the daughter against the mother.

Henry would be painted with the skill of Tacitus. We should have the change of his character from his profuse and joyous youth to his savage and imperious old age. We should perceive the gradual progress of selfish and tyrannical passions in a mind not naturally insensible or ungenerous; and to the last we should detect some remains of that open and noble temper which endeared him to a people whom he oppressed, struggling with the hardness of despotism and the irritability of disease.

We should see Elizabeth in all her weakness and in all her strength, surrounded by the handsome favourites whom she never trusted, and the wise old statesmen whom she never dismissed, uniting in herself the most contradictory qualities of both her parents—the coquetry, the caprice, the petty malice of Anne—the haughty and resolute spirit of Henry. We have no hesitation in saying that a great artist might produce a portrait of this remarkable woman at least as striking as that in the novel of *Kenilworth*,

without employing a single trait not authenticated by ample testimony.

In the meantime, we should see arts cultivated, wealth accumulated, the conveniences of life improved. We should see the keeps, where nobles, insecure themselves, spread insecurity around them, gradually giving place to the halls of peaceful opulence, to the oriels of Longleat, and the stately pinnacles of Burleigh. We should see towns extended, deserts cultivated, the hamlets of fishermen turned into wealthy havens, the meal of the peasant improved, and his hut more commodiously furnished. We should see those opinions and feelings which produced the great struggle against the house of Stuart slowly growing up in the bosom of private families, before they manifested themselves in Parliamentary debates.

Then would come the civil war. Those skirmishes on which Clarendon dwells so minutely would be told, as Thucydides would have told them, with perspicuous conciseness. They are merely connecting links. But the great characteristics of the age, the loyal enthusiasm of the brave English gentry, the fierce licentiousness of the swearing, dicing, drunken reprobates whose excesses disgraced the royal cause, the austerity of the Presbyterian Sabbaths in the city, the extravagance of the independent preachers in the camp, the precise garb, the severe countenance, the petty scruples, the affected accent, the absurd names and phrases which marked the Puritans—the

valour, the policy, the public spirit, which lurked beneath these ungraceful disguises—the dreams of the raving Fifth-monarchy-man, the dreams, scarcely less wild of the philosophical republican—all those would enter into the representation, and render it at once more exact and more striking.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Macaulay considers the fact that the English in early days enjoyed a large share of liberty to be "one of the most obscure problems in the philosophy of History."

Can you make some attempt to solve the problem?

2. The conduct of Elizabeth "is an admirable study for politicians who live in unquiet times."

This is obviously an allusion to the troubled state of politics just before the Reform Bill. Can you recollect other instances where the government of the day might have followed Elizabeth's policy with advantage?

3. The character of James I.'s Court.

Read Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* ("Everyman" Edition).

4. Comparison of James I. with Claudius Cæsar.

Read a translation of Suetonius' *Life of Claudius* and also Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel.*

5. Character of Laud.

Is Macaulay quite fair to him?

6. Character of Wentworth.

What can be said for and against his system of "Thorough"?

7. "The opposition looked to him (Hampden) as their leader."

What about Pym? There is a most interesting account of the period in Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*.

8. Trial of Strafford.

Were the Commons wise to abandon the impeachment in favour of a Bill of Attainder?

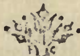
9. Macaulay compares Charles I. to Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

Read an account of Ferdinand's reign and see whether you think the parallel a good one.

10. "In Hampden, and in Hampden alone, were united all the qualities which, at such a crisis, were necessary to save the state."

If Hampden had lived, would he have succeeded, where Cromwell failed, in restoring constitutional rule after the end of the Civil War?

Keep the above statement in mind while reading the Essay which follows.



LORD LYTTON'S ESSAY ON FALKLAND

In the October number of the *Quarterly Review* in 1860 there appeared a review of two books by John Forster, later the biographer of Charles Dickens, which were entitled *The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance* and *The Arrest of the Five Members by Charles I.* This review was written by Lord Lytton (1803-73), the author of *The Last of the Barons*, and many other novels, and it was chiefly remarkable for its account of Falkland, who has been described as the "Hampden of the Cavaliers," so distinguished was he for sincerity, singleness of purpose, and single-hearted devotion to his cause. Matthew Arnold also wrote an essay on Falkland which is a tribute to the high qualities of the Royalist leader who fell at Newbury in September, 1643. On the morning of the battle he had declared to his friends that "he was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his own country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night." He was only thirty-three.

THE first proceedings of the Long Parliament were characterised by the vigour of patriots and the wisdom of statesmen, who saw clearly before them objects essential to good government, and compatible with the genius of the constitution they reformed. Within less than a year from the opening of that Parliament the Triennial Bill was passed; ship-money declared to be illegal; the power of arbitrary taxation by the Sovereign annulled; the Star-chamber abolished. The Court of High Commission,

with the jurisdiction of inferior but oppressive tribunals,—such as the Courts of the President and Council of the North, of Wales and the Welch Marches —no longer obstructed the broad and open current of English justice. The unpopular and feudal encroachments of the Crown in forest boundaries were permanently repressed; and not only was the normal constitution of England thus purified from the abuses which Charles and his predecessors had introduced, but, as Mr. Hallam remarks, "it was formed such nearly as it now exists."

The merit of these great achievements is not to be ascribed solely to the men who, at a subsequent period under Pym, constituted the popular party. It is due in an equal degree to the politicians of a more temperate school, amongst whom Lord Falkland is conspicuous, even less for the culture of an exquisite intellect, than the sincerity of an incorruptible patriotism. A royalist peer, Lord Andover, made the first motion for the abolition of the Star Chamber. Hyde was Chairman of the Committee which brought in the Bill for abolishing the Court of York. Members of either House of Parliament in whom the pride of descent and the interests of property gave reasonable hostages for the safety of order amidst changes propitious to freedom, were the earliest champions of reforms that retrenched the royal prerogative and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And it is noticeable that foremost in the van of reform are the names of those whose families

had held high place in the courts or councils of the Tudors—the Russells, the Sidneys, the Seymours, the Cecils, the Lyttons. The amount of property in the House of Commons itself was immense, and must be recognised as a principal cause of the paramount influence it so rapidly acquired. In one of the earlier parliaments of the reign the wealth of the members of the Lower House was computed at three times (at least) the amount of the wealth to be found in the Upper; it could not have been much less at the commencement of that Long Parliament which, after the civil war, recruited its emptying benches with fanatic adventurers whose fortunes were as needy as their spirit was sordid and their intelligence savage. We approach the time when the phalanx, hitherto united in the constitutional redress of genuine grievances, became divided: when Falkland was severed from the side of Pym—when Holborne, the eloquent lawyer against ship-money, argued no less warmly in defence of the Anglican Church:—we must ask ourselves to which of these two classes of reformers was rational liberty the most indebted: the class that was contented with obtaining those solid results which at the distance of two centuries we now enjoy, or the class that deliberately risked the chances of civil war for the sake of objects which, as we will show later, have never been attained to this day,—and never could be attained without the annihilation of all the tempered attributes by which the freedom of a limited monarchy saves a state

from the uncontrolled despotism of a popular chamber, or the iron order of military rule.

We must, however, start from one capital cause of all the later calamities that befell the time, and in which all subdivisions of the popular party must share the blame. That cause is found in the first direct violation on the part of the Long Parliament, not only of the English Constitution, but of every principle of safe government, by which monarchy and representative institutions can be brought into concord. We mean the Act hurried through all its stages in the House of Commons in two days, and by which the Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent. It was passed by the Lords simultaneously with the attainder of Strafford, and it was pretended that the Act was necessary to prevent Charles from saving his Minister by dissolving the Parliament that impeached him.

But the Lords, in a conference with the Commons, had suggested an amendment that would have equally disabled the King from quashing the proceedings against Strafford, while it would have saved the State from an outrage by which in fact the People were set aside long before the Monarchy was abolished. The Lords proposed in this conference that the Act against the dissolution of Parliament without the consent of both Houses should be limited to two years; if, therefore, the popular leaders had only required a security against Charles for the purpose of justice upon Strafford, this amendment would

have been accepted as effectual for the object in view; unhappily the Commons adhered to their original demand,—the Lords yielded,—the King consented,—and in three days the Constitution of England was virtually destroyed. A House of Commons was changed into an irresponsible tribunal, independent of the most salutary prerogative of the Crown, and only by its own consent made amenable to constituents for the use of its powers.

It is evident that thus, if the dissensions between King and Commons continued, there could be no appeal to the people for arbitration except by the sword; and by this Act, therefore, men who looked towards the chances of the future were compelled to familiarise their eyes with the prospect of civil war.

But whatever may be said of the pretexts for this calamitous measure, the House of Commons had thus obtained precisely that, the alleged want of which constitutes the apology made by Mr. Forster and other admirers of the extreme popular party for the subsequent exactions and excesses to which that party was impelled. They obtained security against the King's practical power to restore arbitrary rule. The House of Commons had already deprived the King of all means to obtain money without their consent: they proved in their proceedings against Strafford and Laud the stern reality of their privilege to hold responsible by the heaviest penalties the advisers whom the Crown might select;

and by thus securing their own continued existence, they effected a guarantee against the King, immeasurably stronger than any which at this hour the reformed House of Commons has against any sovereign who may harbour designs similar to those ascribed to Charles I., and cover those designs by the popular qualities and the genius for affairs, the want of which made Charles himself impotent against his enemies and fatal to his friends.

We think that Mr. Forster loses sight of this security throughout the whole of his reasonings, and that it never ought to be forgotten by those who look into his animated pages for the vindication of the Grand Remonstrance and its impassioned partisans.

We now approach the date of this famous memorial. Let us pause for a moment and allow Mr. Forster "to seize the occasion to observe where some of the prominent people sit."

The member whose manuscript record chiefly has been quoted, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, will guide us to the knowledge here and there, in jotting down his own speeches; for as it was then the custom to avoid mention as well of the place represented as of the member's name, the principal mode of indicating a previous speaker was by some well known personal quality, or by his position in the house. Sir Simonds himself sat usually by the Speaker's chair, on the lowermost form close by the south end of the clerk's table; and there, whatever the subject of debate might be, or the excitement going on around him, this precise self-satisfied Puritan gentleman sat, writing-apparatus forming part

of his equipment, his eyes close to the paper (for their sight was defective), and ever busily taking his Notes: but it was his custom, when he spoke, to go up two steps higher, that he might more easily be heard by the whole house. In this position, Mr. Harry Marten, the member for Berkshire, was, "the gentleman below." Mr. Pym, the acknowledged chief of the majority of the Commons, is ever in his "usual place near the Bar," just beyond the gallery on the same right-hand side of the house at entering. Sir John Culpeper, member for Kent, and so soon to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, is "the gentleman on the other side of the way." He sat upon the left-hand side; and near him, most generally together, sat Hyde and Falkland; Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, the member for Stamford, and Sir John Strangways, sitting near. On the same side at the upper end, on the Speaker's right, sat the elder Vane, member for Wilton, for a few days longer Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household; near whom were other holders of office. Sir Thomas Jermyn, his Majesty's Comptroller, who sat for Bury St. Edmund's; Sir Edward Herbert the Attorney-General, who sat for Old Sarum; Oliver St. John the Solicitor-General, member for Totnes, still holding the office in the King's service which had failed to draw him over to the King's side; Mr. Coventry, member for Evesham and one of the King's house; and young Harry Vane, member for Hull, and Joint-treasurer of the Navy; all sat in this quarter, on the Speaker's right. Near them sat also Mr. Edward Nicholas, Clerk of the Council, soon to be *Sir* Edward and Secretary of State in place of Windebank, now an anxious auditor and spectator of this memorable debate, which he was there to report to the King. Between these members and Hyde, on the same side of the house, sat the member for Wilton, Sir Benjamin Rudyard; Sir Walter Earle; William Strode; and lawyer Glyn, the member for Westminster. Mr. Herbert Price, the member for Brecon, with Mr. Wilmot, member for Tamworth, and a knot of young courtiers,

sat at the lower end of the house on the same side, immediately on the left at entering. John Hampden sat on the other side, behind Pym; and between him and Harry Marten, sat Edmund Waller; on one of the back benches, Cromwell; not far from him, Denzil Hollis; and under the gallery, the member for Oxford University, the learned Mr. Selden. Near him sat lawyer Maynard, the other member for Totnes; and over them, in the gallery itself, that successful lawyer Mr. Holborne; Sir Edward Dering; and the member for Leicestershire, Sir Arthur Haselrig. But our list must come to a close.

This is a masterly example of the best and truest kind of historical scene-painting. The hints from which the sketch is furnished forth could only be gleaned by a mind quick to discern and trained to discriminate, while they are so carefully arranged as not to violate but to render vivid the fidelity of the outlines to which they lend the freshness of colour and the movement of life. So much for the scene. A word or two now on the time in which it is enacted.

The great reforms we have cited have been effected. The execution of Strafford has deprived the King of the only man who united the desire for arbitrary government with a genius equal to the accumulating difficulties of so criminal an ambition. The King himself, with an acuteness that he rarely evinced, has recognised that simple mode of reconciling the powers of a free Parliament with the safety of monarchical institutions, by which in our own day the business of the State is carried on. He has sought to form an administration from the party which

had a prevalent influence in Parliament. Through the patriotic interposition of the Earl of Bedford, the popular movement was to be regulated to the ends compatible with constitutional monarchy by imposing on the conscience of its leaders the responsibilities that attach to advisers of the Crown. Pym was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denzil Hollis Secretary of State, Hampden, Lord Essex, and Lord Say to have had suitable places in the Administration. Unhappily the Earl of Bedford's sudden death frustrated these negotiations; but at least they were assurances that the King was not unprepared to admit of that solution of the difficulties of the time, which is alone consonant with the genius of the free Government that the popular party sought to effect; and even in spite of the Earl's death, Charles at least made such advances in that wise direction as were in his power. Lord Essex, the popular idol, was appointed Lord Chamberlain; St. John, the intimate associate of Hampden and Pym, had been appointed Solicitor-General at the beginning of the Parliament. We think it was the duty of calm statesmen and true patriots to have hailed these attempts to establish Parliamentary government on its natural basis, and to have assisted and encouraged the King in maturing out of such attempts an administration which in itself would be another guarantee for the liberties already achieved. We do not think, therefore, that Mr. Forster justly represents the conduct of the men he refers to, or

the character of the time he depicts, by such a paragraph as this:

> Immediately after the execution of Strafford, which Hyde and his associates helped more largely than any other section of the House to accomplish, they began steadily and secretly to employ every artifice and all the advantages which their position in the Commons gave them to bring about a reaction favourable to the King.

We think it a more correct interpretation of their policy to say, that as with Strafford's death died the last chance of restoring arbitrary rule—except indeed by the force of arms in the chances of civil war—so the more temperate and far-seeing members of the popular party wished no longer to inflame those contests between the Monarchy and the Commons, which might end in the destruction of one or the other; but rather to reconcile both, as in case of disagreement they would be reconciled now, through the medium of councillors whom the confidence of Parliament might commend to the service of the Crown. Hyde did in this but carry out the same policy by which the Earl of Bedford would have transferred Hampden and Pym from the lead of the Opposition to the guidance of the King. Nor does Mr. Forster appear to us to have any warrant for the assumption that, "with so much semblance of amended administration and such pretences of half popular measures as the ingenuity of Hyde could furnish, if Charles could be brought to concede only so much, there was

yet the means of striking a heavy blow for recovery of the old prerogative."

For Hyde himself, though no doubt he became more and more of a Royalist in proportion as the uses of Royalty were made clear by its trial and fall—in proportion as liberty was whirled on through the phases of fanatic revolution, to be debased by a Barebones and deposed by a Cromwell; yet, at the time Mr. Forster refers to, Hyde would certainly have aided no blow for the recovery of the "old prerogative," which, up to that moment, he had sought to check and abridge; nor do the State papers composed by himself, as the Royal replies and manifestos, advance other doctrines than those which at this day would be accepted by the advisers of a constitutional sovereign. And we are sure that not Pym himself could more stubbornly than Falkland have resisted the restoration of those arbitrary powers against which no man had contended with steadier courage or nobler passion. Clarendon implies more than he himself wholly approved of the liberal bias of his illustrious friend, when he says "nor had he (Lord Falkland) any veneration for the Court, but only such a loyalty to the King as the law required from him." This is clear from the dislike which the more heated Cavaliers entertained towards Falkland, and their resentful fear of the conciliatory counsels which he urged upon the King after the war broke out.

The concessions that, whether yielded by or

wrung from Charles at the commencement of the Long Parliament, had already changed a despotic into a limited monarchy, necessarily produced the effect which is the immediate consequence of great reforms in ancient institutions; they divided the Liberal party by making clear the differences amongst its members, which had been compromised or postponed till the objects on which there was agreement in common were achieved.

Falkland, for instance, was desirous of retrenching the civil powers of the hierarchy, and had differed from "his inseparable friend," Hyde, in speaking in favour of the Bill for taking away the Bishops' votes in Parliament. But Falkland was equally desirous of preserving the Anglican Church itself; and, when six months after he changed his opinion as to the Bishops' votes, and opposed a proposition similar to that which he had before approved, his public reply to Hampden's reproof for inconsistency seems to us a more intelligible excuse than it does to Mr. Forster, viz., that "he had been persuaded to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue"; and when Mr. Forster says "that what the alleged misrepresentations were has never been explained," he has overlooked Clarendon's statement[1] as to the question in point, viz., that Falkland had declared "that Mr. Hampden had assured him that, if that Bill might pass, nothing more would be attempted to the prejudice of the Church."

[1] Book III., p. 152.

In a word, that happened then which happens daily now—moderate men discovered that the ulterior objects of associates with whom they had previously acted were such as, either long concealed or lately ripened out of new events, differed essentially from the objects for which they had at the onset accepted a companionship and shared a struggle. And with this separation of party, as necessarily there flowed back towards the King much of the loyalty that, lost by the errors of earlier misrule, was conciliated by the redress of grievances and the surrender of noxious powers. For the first time in his reign, Charles found partisans in men of enlightened opinions, of popular services, of great weight in Parliamentary discussion. Out of a loyalty thus dignified, not unreasoning and servile, the public began to gather confidence that the King might gain wise councillors, and the remaining differences between the Crown and the Commons be peacefully adjusted. It was confessedly to stem that current of returning loyalty and to convert that growing hope into fresh distrust, that Pym thus early framed and subsequently proposed the Grand Remonstrance.

The debates on this momentous question are given by Mr. Forster with a breadth and fulness of detail worthy of their importance. All that zeal, research, force of style, and felicity of arrangement can do to vindicate this measure and condemn its opponents has been done by Mr. Forster; but we must confess

that we rise from the perusal of the case, thus eloquently advocated and adorned, with a profound conviction that the Grand Remonstrance was either a great blunder or a great crime. A great blunder, if Pym and his party were sincere in the opinions they professed, and cherished no desire for the abolition of monarchy and the downfall of the constitution; a great crime if, for the sake of such objects, they conspired to deepen the breach between large classes of their countrymen, and submit liberty and order to the hazards of civil war.

We think that Mr. Hallam, who is certainly not more partial to Charles than Mr. Forster himself, states the substance of the Remonstrance fairly, if succinctly, when he says,—"This, being a recapitulation of all the grievances and misgovernment that had existed since his (Charles's) accession, which his acquiescence in so many measures of redress ought, according to the common courtesy due to sovereigns, to have cancelled, was hardly capable of answering any other purpose than that of reanimating the discontents almost appeased, and guarding the people against the confidence they were beginning to place in the King's sincerity." Indeed, Mr. Forster himself does not deny that such were the objects, and these objects he employs his ingenuity to vindicate. We grant that there was enough in Charles's character to justify all reasonable precautions against the duplicity which constituted its main defect both as king and man. But we say

with Mr. Hallam, that "if he were intended to reign at all, or reign with any portion either of the prerogatives of an English king or the respect claimed by every sovereign, the Remonstrance of the Commons would but prolong an irritation incompatible with public tranquillity." The Remonstrance itself was unfair in conception, exaggerated in statement, and a violent breach of constitutional practice in the manner in which it was introduced and shaped. Unfair in conception: because to enumerate evils that have been legally redressed under an existing system and a reigning sovereign, is to afford a reasonable presumption that the evils remaining may be equally redressed under the same sovereign and the same system; while this enumeration was so worded as to appeal to popular passion against both. Exaggerated in statement: for, as if the errors of Charles's earlier government were not sufficiently grave of themselves, the Remonstrance does not scruple to violate truth in the endeavour to heighten and to multiply them. It states, for instance, that the loss of the Rochelle fleet by the help of our shipping sent forth and delivered to the French was in opposition to the *advice* of Parliament, and led to the loss of that important place. But the plain fact is, not only that Parliament gave no advice on the matter, but that it was wholly unacquainted with the course Charles had adopted until the consequences became known; nor was the fleet nor the town of Rochelle lost by the help of our shipping,

for the mariners of the English ships sent deserted rather than fight against the Huguenots. Again, the Remonstrance accuses Charles of forsaking the Elector Palatine by not continuing the war with Spain, when the fact was that for continuing that war the Parliament left him wholly without money. And to these dangerous attempts to envenom the national spirit against Charles's earlier administration, was added the more inflammable accusation against himself and his councillors, of originating and sustaining the rebellions and massacres in Ireland, upon evidence incredible to all dispassionate reasoners at that day—in our day wholly set aside —and in the teeth of Charles's earnest, but fruitless, appeals to his Parliament for help to put down the rebellion and punish the massacres. The Remonstrance was flagrantly unconstitutional in the mode and form in which it was sent forth. There is no valid reply to Sir John Culpeper's argument that all remonstrances should, by the spirit and the practice of the constitution, be addressed to the King and not to the people, because it belonged to the King only to redress grievances. But this memorial was not addressed to the King: it was a personal appeal to the people against the King. The sovereign is spoken of as a third person, and is made a defendant, with the Commons for his accuser and the public for his judge. This form of document was in itself a revolution without precedent in the history of the monarchy. It may be said, as it was said, that some-

thing in the nature of the particular time justified such departure from the constitution. But the particular time was one in which Charles had committed no overt act to justify a measure so aggressive; a time in which, as it is acknowledged, he was not alienating public opinion, but winning it back; and even the miserable plea that he was suspected of abetting the Irish rebellion, or that while in Scotland he was privy to attempts on Hamilton and Argyle, could not be urged: for the Remonstrance had in reality been predetermined by the revolutionary leaders before the rebellion broke out in Ireland or the King had departed for Scotland. Still more unsound was the pretext that the Parliament required an apology for its past proceedings. As Culpeper truly said, " Parliament had not been scandaled by any public act, and needed not, therefore, any public declaration to clear itself."

Revolution is always begun when there is an appeal made to a people through unprecedented channels, foreign to their constitution, in denunciation of an established executive. Now supposing that this was one of those rare crises in history in which such a revolution was inevitable or called for, it clearly would have become the one House of Parliament to have sought the co-operation of the other in giving to such an appeal the requisite character of dispassionate solemnity. But Pym and his party insisted on making the Remonstrance an act of the Commons, wholly apart from the other

branch of the Legislature, and that upon arguments quoted from Pym's speech by Mr. Forster, which were utterly fallacious;—the one argument being that "many of the Lords were accused in the Remonstrance," the other that "it dealt throughout with subjects that had been only agitated in that House." The last argument is a direct untruth. The Remonstrance dealt with all the grievances of the reign which had been redressed by Act of Parliament and agitated alike in both Houses. And with regard to the first argument, members of the House of Commons were as much accused in reality as members of the House of Lords; and unless the Commons meant to implicate, not individual peers, but the Upper Chamber itself, as well as the Throne, in the appeal to the people, justice demanded that the Lords at least should have the opportunity to consider and discuss the accusation levelled at any of their body.

The whole proceedings connected with this firebrand were in accordance with its violent and ominous nature. In the debate that the Declaration should be printed, Hyde had said that "if the motion were persisted in, he should ask leave of the House to have liberty to enter his protest." On this a debate ensued, when, about one o'clock of the morning (we avail ourselves here of Mr. Forster's spirited narrative),

Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, stood up. He should not be satisfied, he said, for himself

or those around him unless a day should be at once appointed for discussion whether the right to protest did not exist in that House, and meanwhile he would move, with reference to such grave discussion, that the Clerk should note the names of all those whose claim to protest would then have to be determined.

At these words the excitement broke out afresh; loud cries of "All! All!" burst from every side where any of Hyde's party sat, and Palmer, carried beyond his first intention by the passion of the moment, cried out unexpectedly that he *did* for himself then and there protest, for himself and all the rest—"of his mind" he afterward declared that he meant to have added, but for the storm which suddenly arose.

The word *All* had fallen like a lighted match upon gunpowder. It was taken up, and passed from mouth to mouth, with an exasperation bordering on frenzy; and to those who in after years recalled the scene, under that sudden glare of excitement after a sitting of fifteen hours,—the worn-out weary assemblage, the ill-lighted dreary chamber, the hour sounding One after midnight, confused loud cries on every side breaking forth unexpectedly, and startling gestures of violence accompanying them,—it presented itself to the memory as a very Valley of the Shadow of Death. "All! all!" says D'Ewes, was cried from side to side; "and some waved their hats over their heads, and others took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pummels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground; so as, if God had not prevented it, there was very great danger that mischief might have been done. All those who cried *All, all*, and did the other particulars, were of the number of those that were against the Remonstrance." And among them was the promising young gentleman of the King's house, Mr. Philip Warwick, the member for Radnor, who bethought him, as we have seen, of that brief Scriptural comparison from the wars of Saul and David, his application of which comprised all that, until now,

was known to us of this extraordinary scene. He thought of what Abner said to Joab, and Joab to Abner, when they met on either side of the pool of Gibeon; and how, having arisen at the bidding of their leaders to make trial of prowess, their young men caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side, and so fell down together: a result which might have followed here, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it.

It is not perhaps difficult to imagine, from what D'Ewes goes on to say of the short but memorable speech, with what exquisite tact and self-control this profound master of debate calmed down the passions of that dangerous hour. He saw at once that the notion for printing could not then with safety be persisted in; and, reminding the House that there might be many who, having supported the Remonstrance, might yet be opposed to the printing of it, he asked how any one could so far know the minds of such as to presume to enter a protest for *them*? "Some who were against the printing of the Remonstrance," says D'Ewes, "yet disavowed Mr. Palmer's desiring to have a protestation entered in their names; *and Mr. Hampden demanded of him how he could know other men's minds?* To whom Mr. Palmer answered, having leave of the House to speak, that he having once before heard the cry, "All, all," he had thereupon desired to have the said protestation entered in all their names.

But if Hampden had the merit of allaying the storm, Pym, the next day, must bear the blame of reviving it. There can be no doubt that Hyde was wrong in supposing the Commons had the right to protest, which custom has made a privilege of the Lords. There is as little doubt that Palmer, in the heat of the moment, had committed an indiscretion in his motion. But there is no doubt the other way,

that Hyde had a perfect Parliamentary right to raise the question whether or not there was anything in the regulations and precedents established in one House of Parliament which should forbid its members to claim such a mode of recording opinion as had been adopted in the practice of the other House; and that when Palmer had explained the intention of his cry, and apologised for any unpremeditated inadvertence, liberty of speech required that he should have no further punishment than a reprimand from the Chair. It seems scarcely credible that for this trivial fault the Pym party insisted that Mr. Palmer should be sent to the Tower, and that he was actually kept in that prison from the 26th of November to the 8th of December, on the morning of which day his humble petition, in which he acknowledged his offence and the justice of the House, obtained his discharge.

When the Remonstrance and the Petition conjoined with it were presented to the King by a committee appointed for that purpose, Charles, after saying very justly, "I suppose you do not expect me to answer now to so long a petition?" and adding, "As to this business of yours, I shall give you an answer with as much speed as the weightiness of the business will permit"—accompanied the Royal message with a request that there might be no publishing of the Declaration till the House had received his answer. In the printing of the Remonstrance a few days after the Royal request

to the contrary, Mr. Forster, we think, successfully vindicates the House of Commons from the charge of breach of faith with the King which Clarendon brings against it. The House of Commons had given no acquiescence to the request made by Charles. But we do not the less consider that the defiance of a request so reasonable in itself was an outrage upon that decent respect which is the safest privilege that subjects can concede to a sovereign. Having sought the redress of grievances in the Remonstrance, the House of Commons were bound to wait for a reply before calling in the popular passions to their aid, by the circulation of a vehement attack on the entire reign and character of their Sovereign. And when Mr. Forster so far confirms the expressions of Clarendon, "that that fatal Remonstrance poisoned the hearts of the people, and was the first inlet to the inundations," by saying "that such expressions are so many tributes to the vigour and capacity of his opponents, and to the largeness and wisdom of the outwork they had taken when they launched this Great Remonstrance," it seems to us that the simple reply to Mr. Forster is to be found in this fact, that the Remonstrance, having thus rendered a civil war inevitable, not only risked, but actually lost, that for which the Remonstrance contended. Mr. Forster cites as a proof of the gravity of the conjuncture, in final and lasting vindication of the Remonstrance, Cromwell's declaration, that "if the Remonstrance had been rejected he would

have sold all he had the next morning, and never seen England again." The man who thus spoke was the man who foresaw in the effect of the Remonstrance the opening to his ambition—the man who was enabled by the Remonstrance, not only to take the head from his Sovereign's shoulders, but the mace from the House of Commons. The Pym party, and all they strove for, disappear amongst fierce fanatics, as the ignorant passions and the armed force they had invoked became the agents of hypocrisy and ambition. And when Liberty returned again with the advent of William of Orange, what returned with it?—the reforms demanded by Pym and his party—the abolition of prelacy? the substitution of a Presbyterian Kirk for the English hierarchy? laws against Papacy, as severe and unwise as were ever hatched against heretics in the conclave of an inquisition? the right of the House of Commons to the command of the army, and its more than Royal prerogative as the Supreme Council, whose simple ordinances had the force of law without accent of King or Lords? Not one of these things, be they good or bad. The reforms which were re-established, and which we now enjoy, were the reforms not of Pym and St. John, but of Hyde and Falkland—the reforms already achieved before the Grand Remonstrance was flung forth to substitute the soldier for the reformer—the reforms which the opponents of the Remonstrance sought to save from the perilous lottery into which the advocates

of the Remonstrance cast them. All that we owe to the violent men are the military usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and the reaction to arbitrary monarchy under Charles II.

But the Remonstrance is printed. Events press on rapidly. Charles is hurried towards the fatal error which might have been anticipated by those who sought with pertinacious and malignant craft to exasperate all his infirmities of temper. But before we come to the attempted Arrest of the Five Members, it is at least just to Charles to set forth some of those insults that might have stung to imprudence a much calmer judgment, and some of those outrages on his most unquestionable prerogatives which might have misled a prince much more temperate into the belief that aggression on his part had become necessary for the defence of his throne.

When, after the execution of Strafford, Charles went to Scotland, the Commons followed up an endeavour to appoint "a protector of the realm, to pass laws in his absence, without having recourse to the King," by ordinances that generally set aside his authority. In August, one to disarm recusants; in November, one authorising the Earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland without a warrant under the Great Seal. Monarchy itself is incompatible with the assumptions in these acts, by which subjects are armed or disarmed without the assent of their monarch. Under pretext of seeing that the Articles of Pacification were executed, a

committee of six are appointed to attend the King—in reality as spies upon his actions. It is with pain that we find the lofty name of Hampden among those debased by such an office. The care of this committee was to keep alive a chronic state of alarm throughout the kingdom: they communicate to the Parliamentary Committee, which sat in London during the recess, "that when there was a design in England to seduce the King's army and interrupt the Parliament, there was the like design at that time in Scotland; that the principal party named in that design in Scotland, the Lord Crauford, is a person suspected to be popishly affected, and therefore may have correspondence with the like party in England." Upon these apprehensions the Commons propose, and the Lords agree, that there should be a strong guard kept in the cities of London and Westminster, and care taken for the defence of the whole kingdom; and that an express message be sent to the Committee of both Houses in Scotland that the Parliament of England was ready to give the Scots all necessary assistance against those who should disturb the peace; and the same day they order the Earl of Essex, who held commission from the King as General of the South of the Trent, to place a guard at Westminster for the security of Parliament, which was done.

These flagrant usurpations of regal authority, intended to excite the terror of England to the prejudice of Charles, were based upon an "incident,"

as it was called in the jargon of the day, that furnished not the slightest justification for proceedings so revolutionary. The account of this incident is given thus by Burnet in his *Life of the Marquis of Hamilton*: "A gentleman not known to the Marquis of Hamilton brought to him and the Earl of Argyle the discovery of a plot which he said was laid for their lives and the Earl of Lanerick's, which he said he could justify by one witness who was invited to the execution of it. The Marquis carried the tale to the King without naming particulars, which could not be done safely by the law of Scotland, since he had but one witness to prove the treason by. The King desired him to sift the thing to the bottom, and bring him what further evidence he could find. In the evening other presumptions were brought to the Marquis, but no clear evidence, and Hamilton, with the other Scots Lords, and half-a-dozen servants, went to his country-house, twelve miles from Edinburgh, and sent his excuse to the King with an account of the reasons. The Scots Parliament took the whole matter into consideration; those who had given the information owned what they had said; those on whom the plot was fixed did as positively deny all. So that, no clear proof being brought, the Scots Parliament could come to no other decision, but that the Lords had good reason to withdraw themselves, and so they were invited to return to their places in Parliament, which they did." Whether we accept this version of the story

or that of Lord Clarendon, which implicates Montrose in a positive offer to Charles to kill both Argyle and Hamilton[1]—an expedient "which the King abhorred"—still it is indisputable that Charles himself courted the fullest and most public inquiry, a present trial in the face of the Scots Parliament, and even shed tears in the passion with which he urged it; and obvious it is, that the Scots Parliament was the proper tribunal to sift the truth, and was certainly not then in a humour to spare the King, against whom the investigation that ensued could discover nothing. And it was on this matter which the Scots Parliament had full power to examine, that the English Parliament set aside the Constitution of England, and ordered the King's generals to dispose of the King's forces without the King's orders. The Rebellion in Ireland is raging; the House of Commons send instructions to their Committee of spies in Scotland, that they had just come to believe that the conspiracies and convulsions in Ireland were but the effects of the counsels of those who continued in credit, authority, and employment about His Majesty; and they accompany a prayer

[1] See, however, *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxix., p. 10, where Mr. Mark Napier's defence of his hero is noticed. The main point in that defence is certainly a very strong one; that Montrose was, at the period referred to, a close prisoner in the hands of the enemies of himself and of the King, and could have had no personal access to Charles; while the assertion of Clarendon (who was not then in Scotland) is, that the proposal was made by Montrose to the King in a personal interview.

in itself constitutional and proper, if there were any counsellors against whom they could prove such a charge, with the following insolent and gratuitous threat,—"that if His Majesty did not condescend to their supplication, *they* should be forced to resolve upon some way of defending Ireland from the rebels, and of securing themselves from mischievous counsels and designs, and commend those aids and contributions which should be raised for the reducing of Ireland to the custody and disposing of such persons of honour and fidelity as *they* had cause to confide in."

It is impossible not to see in such language the complete negation of all the powers assigned to a sovereign, however limited his functions. And the affront was the more ungracious, because Charles had devoted himself, during his stay in Scotland, to the most liberal concessions to the popular party there; and, while his friends complained, not without justice, that they were neglected, preferments were lavished on Presbyterian preachers, and dignities on the popular chiefs.[1]

When Charles returned to London, having, by large surrenders of his prerogative and some bitter compromise of human pride, fully succeeded in his

[1] Charles had the utmost difficulty in obtaining Montrose's release from prison only two days before his own departure from Scotland. Mr. Forster is in error when he says (p. 17) that "by the Crown's grace and favour Montrose was now (November, 1641) a Marquis." The warrant for his creation is dated at Oxford, the 4th May, 1644.

mission of pacifying Scotland,—when the Great Remonstrance so cruelly turns back the loyalty with which he is greeted in his metropolis,—though he very properly disallows the guard which Lord Essex had granted to Parliament during his absence, he offers another which the House of Commons refuse as appointed by the King—implying thereby that it is against the King himself they desire a guard. And on a tailor declaring that he had, when walking in the fields, overheard persons whom he did not know talk of a conspiracy to murder 108 Lords and Commoners by 108 ruffians, at the price of £10 a Lord and £2 a Commoner, the House of Commons order all priests and Jesuits to be seized, and the deputy-lieutenants of suspected counties to put the people in a posture of defence. While these sturdy patriots, with swords by their sides, were thus tenderly careful of their own safety, what is their conduct to the men whose age and whose calling precluded them from self-defence? Twelve bishops, not threatened by the vague report of a tailor walking in the fields, but hustled, jostled, and affronted by a disorderly mob, send a protestation addressed to the King and the Lords, to the effect that though "they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in Parliament, they had been menaced and assaulted by the multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty. For this reason they protest against all laws, votes, and statutes, as null and invalid, which

should pass during the term of their constrained absence." [1]

No man acquainted with English law, or with the plainest principles of civilised justice, can deny that the Prayer and Protest in themselves are perfectly warranted by principle, and are only questionable as to the fact alleged, and as to the remedy required. In the Introductory Essay prefixed to his work on the Grand Remonstrance (a treatise admirable in the terse compactness of well-meditated thought) Mr. Forster does not fail to place amongst the most solid stepping-stones of English liberty the statute passed under Edward I., "That forasmuch as election ought to be free, no man, by force of arms, nor by malice or menacing, should disturb any to make free election." The liberty which so commendably protects from menace the vote of an elector in the reign of Edward is surely not shocked if invoked to protect from menace the vote of a senator in the reign of Charles. If electors are obstructed from going to a poll, an election is vitiated; if senators are obstructed from going to a senate, of which their votes influence the decision, is it not, at least, a fair inquiry whether votes taken in their constrained absence are valid? Mr. Forster argues that the complaint of the Bishops was exaggerated. The Archbishop of York's gown was torn, but not, as Clarendon asserts, "torn off his back." This point is not for us to determine, it was one for

[1] Clarendon, Book IV., p. 140.

the Lords at that time judicially to examine; it was for them to decide, 1st, whether the Bishops really were so molested by the multitude as to justify their complaint of constrained absence; 2ndly, whether, if so, they should be protected, and in what manner; 3rdly, whether there was any reason or precedent for their plea that the votes taken in their absence were invalid. But to our mind nothing can excuse the monstrous iniquity by which the Commons actually impeached the Bishops for high treason, sequestrated and imprisoned them, at the very moment when the members of the Commons themselves were setting aside the Constitution, in order to guard their own persons, not from violence experienced, but from conspiracies rumoured. In their unscrupulous march towards the pure and simple despotism of an irresponsible tribunal, Pym and his party had shown as little respect to the rights of the subject as to the authority of the Crown. They not only sent to the Tower their own fellow members for any expressions in the warmth of debate which offended their notions, but on evidence so frivolous that it might provoke a smile at the credulity that received it, and on the allegation of offences wholly foreign to their jurisdiction, without trial or hearing, they hurried the "delinquent" to prison; they invented, under the name of delinquent, a crime hitherto unknown to English law. Did an elector venture to speak without due admiration of the popular representatives, he was "a

delinquent." They sent to prison petitioners in behalf of the Constitution, they encouraged the riotous mob which clamoured for its overthrow.

When the Peers voted a Declaration against disorderly tumults, the Lower House refused to concur in the Declaration. "God forbid," says Mr. Pym, when aid was asked to exert his influence to discountenance these tumultuous assemblages, "that the people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires!" And when the sheriffs and justices appoint constables with watchers to protect the members assaulted on their way to either House, the Commons vote their orders a breach of privilege, and send one of the justices to prison. In their violent intimidation of opponents, in their encouragement to the licence of the populace, Pym and his partisans strike at freedom on the one hand and provoke anarchy on the other. The King thus sees that all his concessions have been in vain: in vain equally to bring respect to his throne, or tranquillity to that social order with the care of which, as chief magistrate, he is charged. The Commons have arrogated powers unknown to the law, incompatible with any form of government recognised by the Constitution; they have said to the King, in their instructions to their Committee in Scotland, "If you do not choose to obey us, we will do without you, levy our armies, and appoint their leaders." They have said to the House of Lords (in the Resolution prepared by Pym, December 3, 1641),

"We are the representative body of the whole kingdom; your Lordships are but particular persons: if you do not pass the laws we think necessary, then this House with such of the Peers as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom may join together and represent the same to His Majesty." In other words, the majority of the Commons can set aside any majority of the Peers. They have pronounced the declarations of the King illegal, and made their own imperative. They have the Tower for those who speak too warmly in defence of their Sovereign; they accord immunity and praise to his most envenomed aspersers; they refuse to put down the rebellion in Ireland, unless the Crown shall strip itself of those functions without which monarchy itself is a useless pageant; and they ascribe to their Sovereign the massacres he implores them to punish. At the time he has appeased the troubles in Scotland by lavish surrender of hereditary prerogatives, and re-enters London amidst demonstrations of joy, he is met by the Grand Remonstrance, and, without provocation on his part, returning loyalty is corrupted into fresh disaffection. It would not be in human nature if Charles had not felt resentment. Nor could any suppositions more naturally present themselves to his mind than that these ringleaders had perverted the judgment of the people; and that some show of spirit might be effective where all conciliation had so signally failed. He had with him a powerful party in both Houses; that party

must melt away if its members were to be intimidated with impunity, its opponents encouraged by licence. In this temper of mind he would pause naturally to ask if those whom the courtiers round him must have regarded as traitors had not laid themselves fairly open to the penalties of treason. Such suggestions, heated by the vehement counsels of his haughty consort, shaped themselves into action, and Charles unhappily resolved to change the patient dignity of a defensive position for the critical experiment of an aggressive policy. He fell into the snare which the framers of the Grand Remonstrance had laid for him. They had calculated that a measure so insultingly hostile would provoke the hasty temper of Charles into some outbreak which might be cited in vindication of the course that had called it forth; his moderate request that the Remonstrance should not be published till his answer was given furnished an additional reason for the publication; the defiance of his request would sting him into imprudence. Meanwhile the popular disorders which the Remonstrance excited, and its framers encouraged, could scarcely fail to rouse some action of sovereignty that would be doubtless obnoxious and probably feeble. Their most sanguine expectations were realised by Charles when he suddenly sent his Attorney-General to the House of Lords to enter an accusation against one of their order—Lord Kimbolton, and five Commoners—Hollis, Haselrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode; and his Serjeant-

at-Arms to the House of Commons to require of the Speaker the five gentlemen, members of that House.

The whole of this proceeding is told by Mr. Forster with a stern minuteness and a dramatic force that must render his work a standard document to every diligent student of the time. We must refer the reader to his graphic recital of the steps taken by the Commons when the message reaches them; the order of the House (which might be prudential, but which Mr. Forster might have paused to remark was full as great a breach of the Constitution as Charles himself had committed in demanding the surrender of the impeached members) that the members for London should require of the chief magistrate and authorities of the City a military guard for the protection of the House; the reply to the King, conveyed that night by Falkland, Culpeper, Stapleton, and Hotham; the scene in the Queen's apartment, when the Queen persuaded the King to go himself the next morning to the House of Commons to demand the five members; and, suspending for the moment the demur we shall afterwards raise as to Mr. Forster's implication of Hyde and Falkland as privy and consenting to the King's rash attempt, we place before the reader Mr. Forster's account of that awful hour when Charles "went into that House of Commons where never King was (as they say) but once, King Henry the Eighth." The narrative has been often told, but never with so happy a combination of historic fidelity in detail and dramatic vivacity in description.

The House had adjourned for an hour, from twelve to one:

Momentous was the hour during which the House thus adjourned its sitting, for within that brief space all the King's intention was betrayed. Up to the time of the adjournment, grave as were the causes of alarm, and the grounds for expecting some act of violence, the circumstance which gave its utmost gravity to the outrage contemplated does not appear to have been in any degree suspected even remotely. But now it was that Lady Carlisle managed to convey to Pym that the King meant to put himself at the head of those Whitehall desperadoes, and in person to demand, and if necessary seize, the accused members as they sat in their places in the House of Commons. D'Ewes tells us that, "this day at dinner," the five members also received a secret communication of the King's intention from the Lord Chamberlain of the household, Lord Essex, with advice that they should absent themselves.

* * * * * *

The member for Banbury was still speaking when Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode entered and took their seats, whereupon the Speaker directed it to be entered in the Journals that they had done so.

Communication was now made to the House of the secret intelligence received, and then followed a debate, brief and pressing, but on which hung certain issues by which the future destinies of England were probably determined. Should the accused retire, or wait the King's arrival? Pym, Hollis, and Hampden, conscious of all the danger, appear to have been for quitting the House, Haselrig and Strode for remaining; and the dissentients were still urging reasons against retreat while yet, as they argued, no positive knowledge was before them of a necessity for abrupt departure, when a new actor came suddenly on the scene. Breathless with the exertion he had made to reach the House

rapidly, to which end he had even clambered over the roofs of neighbouring buildings, there appeared at the door a friend of Nathaniel Fiennes, an officer of French birth settled in England, by name Captain Hercule Langres. Fiennes left his seat, exchanged some hasty words with the unexpected visitor, and immediately passed up to Mr. Speaker's chair: upon which Lenthal rose, and abruptly told the House, now a scene of extraordinary excitement, that the King already had left Whitehall at the head of a large company of armed men, and was approaching Westminster Hall.

This closed debate. The motion before the House had been, that, considering there was an intention to remove five of their members by force, to avoid all tumult let them be commanded to absent themselves: but the motion now substituted, and at once affirmed, was that the House give their members leave to absent themselves, but enter no order for it. "It was a question," Haselrig afterwards said, "if we should be gone; but the debate was shortened, and it was thought fit for us, in discretion, to withdraw. Away we went. The King immediately came in, and was in the House *before we got to the water*." Not, however, until violence had been used. For, even then, Strode, "crying out that he knew himself to be innocent, and that he would stay in the House though he sealed his innocency with his blood at the door," had to be dragged bodily out by his friend Sir Walter Earle, and placed in the barge which had been hastily provided, and was in waiting at the Westminster stairs.

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Within the House, meanwhile, but a few minutes had elapsed since the five members departed, and Mr. Speaker had received instruction to sit still with the mace lying before him, when a loud knock threw open the door, a rush of armed men was heard, and above it (as we learn from Sir Ralph Verney) the voice of the King commanding "upon their lives not to come in."

The moment after, followed only by his nephew Charles, the Prince Elector Palatine, Rupert's eldest brother, he entered; but the door was not permitted to be closed behind him. Visible now at the threshold, to all, were the officers and desperadoes above named, of whom, D'Ewes proceeds, "some had left their cloaks in the Hall, and most of them were armed with pistols and swords, and they forcibly kept the door of the House of Commons open, one Captain Hide standing next the door holding his sword upright in the scabbard": a picture which Sir Ralph Verney, also present that day in his place, completes by adding that "so the doors were kept open, and the Earl of Roxborough stood within the door, leaning upon it."

As the King entered, all the members rose and uncovered, and the King also removed his hat; and it would not have been easy, says Rushworth, to discern any of the five members, had they been there, among so many bare faces standing up together. But there was one face, among the five, which Charles knew too well not to have singled out even there; and hardly had he appeared within the chamber, when it was observed that his glance and his step were turned in the direction of Pym's seat close by the bar. His intention, baffled by the absence of the popular leader, can only now be guessed at; but, Rushworth adds, "his Majesty, not seeing Mr. Pym there, knowing him well, went up to the chair." We all, says D'Ewes, stood up and uncovered our heads, and the Speaker stood up just before his chair. "His Majesty, as he came up along the House, came the most part of the way uncovered, also bowing to either side of the House, and we all bowed again towards him, and so he went to the Speaker's chair on the left hand of it, coming up close by the place where I sat, between the south end of the clerk's table and me." As he approached the chair, Lenthal stepped out to meet him; upon which "he first spake," says D'Ewes, saying, "Mr. Speaker, I must for a time make bold with your chair." And then

the King stepped up to his place and stood upon the step, but sat not down in the chair. And after he had looked a great while, he spoke again.

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"Gentlemen," said Charles, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of Treason no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here."

Then he paused; and casting his eyes upon all the members in the House, said, "I do not see any of them. I think I should know them."

"For I must tell you, Gentlemen," he resumed after another pause, "that so long as those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them, wheresoever I find them."

Then again he hesitated, stopped: and called out, "Is Mr. Pym here?" To which nobody gave answer.

The awkwardness and effort manifest in these pauses and interruptions, the words that again and again recur, the needless and bald repetitions, in which we seem to hear the slow and laboured utterance with which Charles covered his natural impediment of speech, impress the imagination painfully.

All the breaks and pauses, however, were omitted in the report directed to be published; and D'Ewes, surmising that not only such omissions had been made by the King's order, but also all mention of the reply

given upon Charles's appeal to the Speaker, is careful to restore what was wanting. "But the King caused all that to be left out, namely, when he asked for Mr. Pym, whether he were present or not, and when there followed a general silence, that nobody would answer him. He then asked for Mr. Hollis whether he were present, and when nobody answered him, he pressed the Speaker to tell him, who, kneeling down, did very wisely desire his Majesty to pardon him, saying that he could neither see nor speak but by command of the House: to which the King answered, 'Well, well! 'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's.' And then he looked round about the House a pretty while, to see if he could espie any of them." Very welcome are all such additional touches to a picture so memorable.

"May it please your Majesty," said Lenthal, to the appeal that he should say where Pym was (for, as Rushworth himself, when he published his *Collections*, inserted his own report of the discreet speech of Mr. Speaker, and as the good Sir Simonds, had he lived to see it, would certainly have copied it in his Journal, it will here be most properly appended to an account which first gives to it all its significance), "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me." Words conceived indeed with a singular prudence. Impressed deeply by the attitude of the House, and inspired suddenly by the trust confided to him, a man little famous for magnanimity or courage displayed both for the moment in a remarkable degree, and rose to the occasion as greatly as the King sank beneath it. But sorrow and suffering are wiser teachers than anger and revenge. There was yet to come a day in Charles's life, when he too would rise to the demand of the time; when his natural infirmities would be visible no longer;

and when men should wonder to behold, in one so infirm of purpose and difficult of speech, both unembarrassed accents and a resolute will.

After that long pause described by D'Ewes,—the dreadful silence, as one member called it,—Charles spoke again to the crowd of mute and sullen faces. The complete failure of his scheme was now accomplished, and all its possible consequences, all the suspicions and retaliations to which it had laid him open, appear to have rushed upon his mind. "Well, since I see all my birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But, I assure you, on the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good, of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

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But he did not leave, as he had entered, in silence. Low mutterings of fierce discontent broke out as he passed along, and "many members cried out aloud, so as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!*" With those words, ominous of ill, ringing in his ear, he repassed to his palace through the lane, again formed, of his armed adherents, and amid audible shouts of as evil augury from desperadoes disappointed of their prey. Eagerly in that lobby had the word been waited for, which must have been the prelude to a terrible scene. Lady Carlisle alone had prevented it.

Few readers will fail to be impressed by the skilled and disciplined power with which these passages are composed; the scene moves, the actors live.

We must now pause to notice two controversial points which have been urged by Mr. Forster with great vigour of diction and ingenuity of reasoning.

That in the mode of procedure against the five members Charles committed an outrage on the privileges of Parliament and inflicted a violent shock upon public opinion, is a fact on which his warmest defenders must agree with his sternest accusers.

The first question that arises is one which was hotly debated at the time, and which Mr. Forster examines with great care—Did Charles intend to employ the armed men that accompanied him for the purpose of carrying off the accused members by force, and at the risk of bloodshed? The King always asserted in his speeches and manifestoes that such was not his intention, that he came accompanied with even less than his ordinary guard. Against this statement Mr. Forster accumulates much presumptive evidence. But we still think the matter one that must remain in doubt. Even allowing the utmost force ascribed to the train that followed the King, it did not exceed 500 men; and supposing most of them were armed with pistols as well as the small swords usually worn at the time ("little swords" Clarendon calls them), such a force would have been very insufficient to have borne away, after a probable resistance, five popular idols through a fierce multitude habituated to assemble, and disregardful alike of the claims of prerogative and the forms of law. But out of this number only about fourscore,

besides some of his pensioners, according to the authority on whom Mr. Forster most relies, entered the lobby of the House. The King commanded them not on their lives to enter in, and the only person who followed himself into the body of the House was his nephew, the Elector Palatine.

Had he then found the members; had the scene which Mr. Forster assumes to have been anticipated by Charles actually ensued; had the accused refused to yield themselves to his summons; had the majority of their fellow members gathered round them to defend; had the guard been summoned in to seize the persons the King selected; had an armed conflict been waged on the narrow floors of the House—Charles himself would probably have been the first man slain in the affray.

We think it most likely that Charles had matured no comprehensive design; that with the sanguine temper which was habitual to him, and which is rarely accompanied with foresight, he trusted to the imposing effect that his train would produce on the way—to the awe that his own presence in the hall would inspire; believed that he should succeed, and did not carry his thoughts beyond that belief. In our common experience of life we see daily that the greatest hazards are incurred with the least calculation. It is only the man endowed largely with that "wisdom of business"—in which Charles was so lamentably deficient—who, in braving a perilous risk to which his impulse invites him, solves before-

hand the problem contained in the question, "And if I succeed, what then?" Nor can we imagine that if Charles had found the members in their places, carried them off without armed collision, and actually lodged them in the Tower, the consequences would have been so fatal to freedom as Mr. Forster assumes. With the pitiful force at his command, Charles could no more have detained prisoners so illegally made than he could have saved Strafford, not less illegally condemned. With both Houses of Parliament against him, with the City, on whose loyalty he had so vainly built, in close league with the Commons, with the exasperated multitudes that had already infested the purlieus of his Court ripe for a revolt which would be rendered irresistible because strengthened by the sympathy of the middle class and sure of leaders from the upper, Charles could not have kept the members in durance forty-eight hours. He had decided on a course in which success every way was impossible—a course from which Falkland and Culpeper, whom he had just called into office, must, if consulted, have been the most strenuous in dissuasion: Falkland from that respect to the usages of Parliament which Clarendon emphatically ascribes to him; Culpeper from the quick sense which he concentred on the salient points of a debated case, and the military bluntness with which he was accustomed to speak out his rude free mind. In fact, the course taken by the King can only be accounted for by a profound study of his peculiar character,

in which the predominance of hope made a large and dangerous attribute. It was this sanguine temperament that led him into his most notable miscalculations, and it was the more mischievous because accompanied by a persuasion of the efficacy of his own personal interposition, which had in it less of the arrogance of pride than the delusion of self-esteem. In contrast to Charles II., who, despite a harsh and homely visage, fascinated, where he so pleased, by the charm of manner,—Charles I., with a person and countenance that seen in the canvas of Vandyke command our admiring interest, failed to conciliate or impose on those whom he addressed. Mr. Hallam has remarked that "he had, in truth, none who loved him till his misfortunes softened his temper and excited sympathy." An ungracious and chilling manner, an imperfection of speech, a something about the living man which the painter has not transferred to the portrait, seem to have made him singularly unsuccessful wherever he relied on the effect of his presence. But of this he was insensible. His personal interposition ensured the destruction of Strafford, but he went out of his way to volunteer it. No less he counted on his personal interposition in the hall of the House of Commons. A man who habitually hopes, and grounds his hope on something inherent in himself, can seldom be wise in design, or fortunate in execution. A certain defiance of hope is necessary to the foresight which measures obstacles, and the precautions that ensure success. Charles believed that the City was with

him, that the people were really with him, if certain deceivers of the people could be removed; just as he believed, when he set up his standard at Nottingham, that England would flock round it; that if he appeared before Hull, Hull would yield: thus he forgot the disasters of Naseby in the festivities of Ragland, and placed hope in those sure instruments of ruin—avowed understanding with English Papists, secret compact with Irish rebels; thus at a still more forlorn crisis of his fate he wrote to Digby that he did not despair of engaging either the Presbyterians or the Independents to join him for the extermination of each other; "and then" (said the sanguine dreamer, duped by the hope of duping a St. John and a Cromwell) "I shall really be King again"; thus, when guarded by Leven's sentinels in the Scottish camp, his answer to the Parliamentary propositions conveyed to him by Pembroke and Suffolk was a demand to be received in London to treat in person with his Parliament: confident, even then, in the effect of that Royal presence which had failed to restrain the conflicting jealousies of his own Oxford Council; and thus, not a month before he was borne from his palace to the judicial slaughter-house of Westminster Hall, he said gaily, "I have yet three games to play, the least of which gives me hope of regaining all." It is credulity that misleads multitudes, and it is credulity that blinds rulers.

For the rash designs of a man of this temper, a very little encouragement from those who flatter his own hopes will suffice. We do not then agree

with Mr. Forster that the King's attempt on the members was part of a long-premeditated and deep-laid scheme for restoring arbitrary rule, though, no doubt, that idea seduced the fiery temper and shallow mind of Henrietta; and still less can we subscribe to the arguments by which Mr. Forster seeks to implicate Hyde and Falkland as accessories or confidants in the impeachment of the members or the attempts to arrest them.

We do not attach the weight Mr. Forster appears to do, to the fact that Clarendon, as well as Falkland and Culpeper, believed the accused to be really guilty of the treason alleged. Does Mr. Forster himself believe they were innocent? There can be no doubt that these gentlemen had been the principal movers and promoters in the levying an armed force without the King's authority and in defiance of it. We apprehend that there are many not illiberal politicians of our day who entertain little doubt that such an act amounts to what the ancient laws of the realm declare to be high treason. Certain at least it is that the Commons had much less ground for impeaching the twelve Bishops for high treason, because they protested against acts passed and votes taken in their constrained absence, than a lawyer, of Whig principles, could find in the accusations against the five members, if judged only by their avowed acts and public speeches. We see, therefore, no ground for supposing that, because Clarendon, Falkland, and Culpeper thought the members guilty, Clarendon commits a deliberate falsehood when he

says that none of the three were privy to those proceedings against the members, which he condemns as impolitic, and laments as calamitous. Every day a lawyer gives his opinion that there is strong evidence in favour of a certain action, and adds his advice that, nevertheless, there are still stronger reasons why the action should not be brought. Clarendon is the author of the various Royal declarations in which the King is made to regret and apologise for the attempted arrest; and it is not consistent with that pride of intellect which is Clarendon's characteristic, not only to state, in a history designed for posterity, that an act of which he was secretly prevised was a disastrous error, but to place in the King's mouth expressions of regret for an act of which he himself was accomplice. There is still less cause, we think, to impute to Falkland and Culpeper connivance with or privity to the King's mistakes in the whole of this proceeding. They were both men of great personal and Parliamentary courage, and it does not seem credible that they, who as members of the King's Government were bound to defend his acts when consulted therein, should have remained silent on his behalf if they had been consulted; that Falkland should even have assented to be member and mouth-piece of the commissioners deputed by the House to represent to the King its sense of the outrage committed on its privileges. We therefore come to the conclusion that Clarendon's statement is correct in the main, and that Charles had no English adviser of

political eminence in the proceedings against the accused members except the wayward and wrong-headed Digby.

In a very few sentences, Clarendon seems to lay before us the exact faults of character by which Digby would give the counsel and Charles adopt it.

> He (Lord Digby) was equal to a very good part in the greatest affair, but the unfittest man alive to conduct it, having an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts, and a confidence peculiar to himself, which sometimes intoxicated, and transported, and exposed him. . . . His fatal infirmity is, that he often thinks difficult things very easy, and doth not consider possible consequences.
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> The King himself was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily amazed when they were entered upon.

Mr. Forster has laid great stress upon the instructions sent through Sir Edward Nicholas to the Lord Mayor, the night previous to the King's descent on the House of Commons, and has brought into much fuller display than preceding historians have done the consultations and preparations of that eventful night. But it does not appear to us that these preparations to guard against street tumults suffice to prove that even Sir Edward Nicholas was in the King's secret as to the intended arrest of the five members. Nor can Charles justly be said to have exceeded the powers lodged with every Executive in his orders to disperse any mob by which the

safety of the metropolis might be endangered; while Mr. Forster has omitted to state that the Commons had violated the Constitution, in not only setting aside Charles's authority over the Tower, but in sending to Lord Newport to desire him to take the custody of that stronghold.

Baffled alike in his visit to the House of Commons and his appeal to the Common Council of the City, humiliated by the angry shouts of the populace, the King retires from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and thence to Windsor.

One fact the failure of the King's attempt must have made evident to every calm-judging politician. The popular leaders had nothing further to fear from Charles so long as they did not expose their trustiest ramparts, in the privileges of Parliament and the favour of public opinion, to the hazards of Civil War. Charles had concentered and exhausted in this attempt at aggression all the resources at his command: the awe of his presence, the influence he could sway in the City, the garrison he could control at the Tower. But the whole force he could muster in the heart of his metropolis was a handful of roystering volunteers, ill-armed and worse disciplined. The City repelled him. The Tower failed him. His best friends shrank from his side in consternation. The House of Lords declared against him as firmly as the House of Commons. Even the signal audacity of the eloquent Digby was paralysed, and he had not a word to say in excuse for the action he had prompted. Thus the effort to regain authority

by force had only served to make convincingly clear the weakness to which Royalty had become reduced when it moved in opposition to Law.

This was then the time in which a genuine statesman would have clearly seen that liberty could only be endangered if it descended from the vantage ground won in public opinion. The King was powerless against the law so long as peace could be preserved; he could not summon war to his aid so long as he could proclaim to the world no cause that adherents would fight for. He could no more have raised an army than he could have appeased a mob by the cry of "The Old Prerogative—Ship Money and Star Chamber!" The swords of his lealest peers would not have flashed from their scabbards—at least in his defence—had he renewed an attempt on the privileges of either House of Parliament. But if the Opposition abused the advantage they had gained in his recent defeat—if they made demands so extravagant that all who valued monarchy as an institution would approve the monarch who refused to concede them—then the whole question at issue would be at once changed;—then a war cry more alarming than that of the "Old Prerogative" would be furnished to Charles. The loyalty estranged from the man would be restored to the institution of which he was the guardian; and patriots who loved freedom and had helped to win it might fairly prefer the cause of a monarchy limited by the reforms already achieved, to innovations at variance with the framework of the

constitution and the galling despotism of intolerant faction.

For these reasons we think the course adopted by the popular leaders after the failure of the King's attempt on the five members was precisely the reverse of that which was calculated to ensure to freedom and the nation the greatest certainty of good with the slightest hazard of evil.

At a time when their interest was so especially peace, every step they took was in the direction of war, and every demand they made shifted the issues at stake till the question became—not "What shall be the securities against a feeble king?" but "What shall be the safeguards for monarchy itself against the licentious republic of a Marten or the fanatical Utopia of a Vane?" Pym was at that moment pre-eninently the master of the position. He was at the height of unsurpassed popularity both with Parliament and the public. His influence extended from the minds that he commanded to those that he opposed, because in marching towards the objects of the one he had professed a certain degree of sympathy with the predilections of the other. Heading avowed Puritans and suspected levellers, he had hitherto retained the special character of a sincere, if moderate, churchman—a loyal, if dauntless, subject. He had but to recognise the prudence of magnanimity—to prove consistent to the character by which he had sought to distinguish his political ethics from those of the Root-and-branch men—in order to have consolidated the new Constitution in that form

in which it now stands before us, saved alike from the pikemen of Cromwell and the Cabal of Charles II. Never had English citizen so grand an opportunity to achieve the renown which posterity accords to the man who guards order from shock, and liberty from reaction. He cast that opportunity from him. What he gained in exchange we trust to make clear before we end.

In vain are all the unhappy King's attempts to retract, apologise, and atone for his mistake—in vain he assents to the Bill by which bishops are excluded from the House of Lords — in vain he offers to compromise his essential prerogative on the control over the Militia, agrees to nominate the persons recommended to him as lieutenants by commissions revocable at his pleasure, or make them irremovable for a year, provided they receive their orders from himself and the two Houses jointly—in vain Lord Bristol, whose high-spirited resistance to arbitrary rule had been so memorably evinced during the time when Charles was armed with the powers now wrenched from his grasp, endeavours to save the last remnants of monarchial government, and avert the horrors of fratricidal carnage. His motion to appoint "a Select Committee of both Houses, truly to state all the differences between the King and Parliament, with the most probable ways of reconciling them,—what the King ought to do to satisfy the people, and what security he should give,"—is met that day or the next by a vote of the Commons to the "effect that the King intended

to make war against the Parliament; that whenever he did, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people; that whoever should serve and assist him in such wars would be a traitor by the fundamental laws of the kingdom"; and ten days afterwards (the 2nd of June) they send to Charles the famous Nineteen Propositions, on which "to establish a good peace, and strict union between the King and the Parliament." As these Propositions embody the political creed of the Pym party, in opposition to the constitutional patriots, of whom Falkland was the most illustrious; as to effect the substance of these Propositions the Grand Remonstrance was, in truth, put forth by its framers: so it is impossible to regard the end and aim of the Remonstrance, or accurately to discriminate between the Pym party and the associates of Hyde and Falkland, without a brief summary of these Propositions themselves.

They contain one salutary doctrine which posterity has preserved, and that doctrine Charles would have accepted as monarchy accepts it now, viz., "that the great affairs of the kingdom may not be concluded or decided by the advice of private men, or by any unknown and unsworn councillors; and that no public act concerning the affairs of the kingdom which are proper for the Privy Council may be esteemed of any validity as proceeding from the Royal authority, unless it be done by the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, attested under their hands." This, however roughly worded,

contains the substance of responsible parliamentary government, and Charles's reply to it contains not less the substance of that responsible parliamentary government as now established. He says: [1]

> We have and do assure you that there is no man so near to us in place or affection whom we will not leave to the justice of the law if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; and we have given you (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on our part, and the best security for the performance of their duty on theirs) a Triennial Parliament, the apprehension of whose justice will, in all probability, make them wary how they provoke it, and us wary how we choose such as by the discovery of their faults may in any degree seem to discredit our election.

And, indeed, the whole theory of the existing constitution and the due solution of the problems of ministerial government, as appointed by the Crown, but checked by and amenable to the people through their representatives, by which is now worked the machinery of the State, are advanced and enforced by Charles in his answer to the Nineteen Propositions, with as much precision as any liberal constitutional lawyer of our time could deliver them:

> There being three kinds of government—absolute monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—and all these having their particular conveniences and inconveniences, the experience and wisdom of your ancestors hath so moulded them out of a mixture of these as to give to this kingdom, as far as human prudence can provide, the conveniences of all three without the inconvenience of any one. . . .
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> In this kingdom the laws are jointly made by a king,

[1] Rushworth, Part III., vol. i., p. 725.

by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the people, all having free votes and particular privileges. The government, according to these laws, is trusted to the king; power of treaties of war and peace, of making peers, of choosing officers and councillors for state, judges for law, commanders for forts and castles, giving commissions for raising men; to make war abroad, or to prevent and provide against invasions or insurrections at home; benefits of confiscation, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kind are placed in the king; and this kind of regulated monarchy, having this power to preserve that authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the laws in their force, and the subjects in their liberties and properties, is intended to draw to him such a respect and relation from the great ones as may hinder the ills of division and faction, and such a fear and reverence from the people as may hinder tumults, violence, and licentiousness. Again, that the prince may not make use of this high and perpetual power to the hurt of those for whose good he hath it, and make use of the name of public necessity for the gain of his private favourites and followers to the detriment of his people,—the House of Commons, an excellent conserver of liberty, but never intended for any share in government, or the choosing of them that should govern, is solely entrusted with the first propositions concerning the levies of monies (which is the sinew as well of peace as of war), and the impeaching of those who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously-gotten command of the king, have violated that law which he is bound, when he knows it, to protect, and to the prosecution of which they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him in the contrary. And the Lords, being trusted with a judicatory power, are an excellent screen and bank between the prince and people to assist each against any encroachments of the other, and by joint judgment to preserve that law which ought to be the rule of every one of the three.

This is the constitution of England. It is here expressed by Hyde, in language that conveys his and Lord Falkland's manifesto of political faith in contrast to that which Pym and his party set forth in the Nineteen Propositions and heralded in the Grand Remonstrance.

What was the constitution prepared by the Nineteen Propositions, taken as a whole? That the Parliament consisted not of King, Lords, and Commons, but of Lords and Commons alone. That the Parliament thus defined and shorn of its third member should in substance make the appointments under the Crown, to which was left only the mock prerogative of enforced assent; that if a vacancy in the Council occurred in the interval of Parliament, the assent of the majority of the Council should be necessary to filling up the place, the choice to be confirmed or void as Parliament, when it reassembled, might decide. That the government, education, and marriages of the King's children should be taken from his hands and given only to those whom Parliament might approve. That the children of Papists should be educated by Protestants in the Protestant faith. That the church government and liturgy should be reformed as both Houses might advise. That the service of the militia and the command and custody of all forts and castles should be in the hands of Parliament, the King being compelled to appoint those whom Parliament should name. That no peer, made hereafter, should sit in Parliament but with the consent of both Houses. This, with the

reserved addition of a law to deprive the Crown altogether of its right of veto, which, though not included in the Nineteen Propositions, was sure to be tacked to them if they were conceded, since its principle had been already affirmed by a majority of the Commons—this was the constitution proposed by the Pym party; for the sake of this constitution they refused all compromise and exposed to the issue of battle all the reforms hitherto effected in conjunction with Hyde and Falkland; and, when Mr. Forster would represent the Pym party as having secured to us by their firmness or pertinacity the blessings we now enjoy, we answer that this is the constitution which perished with the men who conceived it; while that which Hyde describes and for which Falkland fell survives in all the vigour which Pym could have given to it without bloodshed—had not Pym made himself the pioneer to Cromwell.

We here pause, for a moment, to glance at the view of Lord Falkland's character and choice of action, with which Mr. Forster has enriched the last edition of his work on the Grand Remonstrance. It would be surprising, indeed, if a writer like Mr. Forster, whose tastes had been evinced in criticisms admirable for delicate appreciation of beauty, and whose sympathies of man and of scholar are too large and too genial to be cramped within the parish-bounds of Party—did not bow to the charm with which the image of Falkland fascinates every purer eye. In that conflict of giants, each passion, each interest, finds its representative and type. Honour

and Genius elect Falkland as their own. With warmth noble in an adversary, and in diction worthy of a critic, Mr. Forster renders eloquent justice to "those prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, that flowing and obliging humanity and goodness to mankind, that primitive simplicity and integrity of life." . . . But Mr. Forster, while thus just to Falkland's character, appears to us wholly to misconceive those motives of conduct which were not only consistent with, but inherently elemental to, the character itself.

Mr. Forster says: "He (Falkland) is generally assumed to have been the incarnation of moderate and temperate counsels—that he is the man of all others of our civil conflict who is most generally supposed to have represented therein the monarchical principle. . . . But the real truth is that Falkland was far more of an apostate than Strafford, for his heart was really with the Parliament from the first, which Strafford's never was, and never to the end did he sincerely embrace the cause with which his gallant and mournful death has eternally connected him." These assumptions are not merely inconsistent with, but directly antagonistic to, that pervading attribute of Falkland's character, which Mr. Forster in a subsequent passage states with emphatic candour, viz., "that so severely did he adore truth that he could as easily have given himself to steal as to dissemble." We think that Mr. Forster in the judgment he pronounces confounds

two things essentially different, and ascribes to want of sympathy with a cause, that rectitude of judgment which has no sympathy with supporters by whose intemperance the cause is injured. That which pre-eminently distinguished Falkland amongst the actors of his time was his passion for justice. He was thus naturally the champion of the weak; he could not endure the sight of oppression. And by a consistency of character which bears down all the petty inconsistencies in detail from which no man of ardent temperament is free, the same tendencies that made him oppose Charles when powerful and oppressive—attracted him to Charles when feeble and oppressed.

Falkland, no doubt, from the first to the last, was a lover of Liberty: but Liberty as her image would present itself to the mind of a scholar and the heart of a gentleman. It is no proof of apostacy from the cause of Liberty if he thought that a time had come when Liberty was safer on the whole with King Charles than with "King Pym."

Though he had taken an active part in the attainder of Strafford, it is probable that the circumstances connected with the execution of that formidable minister produced on his mind the same reaction which Mr. Forster has observed it had produced in a large section of the public, "when the King, to all appearances, was now the weaker party, and the popular leaders became conscious of daily defection from their ranks." When Falkland looked back to the trial and fall of Strafford—he, "who denounced

ever with vehement indignation the liberty of opening private letters upon suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence," must have felt morally shocked that it was by the purloining of a paper still more sacred than a private letter, and by Pym's adroit management of Vane's deliberate breach of honour, that Strafford had been cheated to the block.

Falkland abhorred the employment of spies: "he could account no single preservation to be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it." But Pym's policy was one web-work of espionage from the Countess of Carlisle to the tailor walking in the field. Even Hampden must have lost the confidence of Falkland when he accepted the commission to be a spy upon his King. Thus, in the man's nature, the same instincts that roused him against the Star Chamber of Charles would estrange him from the councils of Pym.

And his instincts were in strict accordance with all we can fairly assume as his political creed. Every Reformer, with a mind so cultured as Falkland's, places before him some definite goal beyond which he declines to be hurried away. The objects Falkland desired to attain, were Monarchy divested of all pretensions to absolutism, and a Church purified from all sympathies with papacy—excluded from all penal jurisdiction in civil affairs. In fine, a Monarchy without a Strafford, and a Church without a Laud. These objects attained, Falkland's goal was

reached—he stopped; Pym went on. It is not apostacy to stop at a good attained, because associates that had helped to attain it advance towards the risks in which the good may be lost. When, after carrying his Reform Bill with the aid of Mr. Hume, Lord Grey refused to proceed to other Reform Bills to which Mr. Hume invited him, was Lord Grey an apostate? Or if Pym had survived to gaze aghast on the Revolution he had headed rushing on to extravagances which Falkland's more provident reason foresaw, would Pym have been an apostate if he too had stopped short, and clung to whatever was left of the constitution of England, rather than march with Sydney towards a Republic, half Platonic, half Pythagorean, or inaugurate with Harrison a government for the Millennium under the reign of Saints?

Falkland, it is true, had no personal enthusiasm for Charles; he had, it is true, no sympathy with the Digbys and the Jermyns—he had nothing more in common with the Ultra-Royalists than Pym would have had with the Fifth Monarchy Men.

But we have not the smallest doubt that—with "all his doubts and self-questionings," all his apprehensions of evil whichever side might prevail for a time,—his conviction of the enduring superiority of the abstract principle which obtained his preference was sincere and profound, and that amidst his prophetic sorrow he never repented the choice he had made. Falkland's claim to wisdom is indeed the greater if, unblinded to the faults of the perish-

able monarch, he entwined his name with all that has since adorned and embellished freedom under that constitutional monarchy for which Pym would have substituted the "Nineteen Propositions." Moderation has its creed as well as fanaticism, and there are moments when it may equally need its martyrs. With all his gifts, Falkland, doubtless, wanted that which is often mistaken for conviction, viz., that mysterious faculty of will which, less the attribute of conviction than of imperious egotism, forces a kind of tyranny upon others, and so often gives to the men of action authority over the men of thought. In our intercourse with life we constantly see some man to whom we concede no special honesty, no paramount intellect, no superior knowledge, but who establishes a moral despotism in the circles in which he moves. This faculty is distinct from the mere power of intellect, with which it may or may not be combined. Napoleon I. had it—so had George III. With this gift Pym was unquestionably endowed to a sovereign degree. By it he stamped, as it were, the likeness of his own mind upon the Parliament and upon the public; by it he consolidated into singleness of action a party in itself heterogeneous and discordant; subjugating to his lead a Vane and a Hampden, as well as a Haselrig and a Strode; so that while he lived there was no law in England so potent as the will of Pym.

On the other hand, this gift wholly failed to the finer intellect of Falkland. He could not exercise control even over Hyde, who revered his virtues

with so admiring a love; he could not mould to his counsels even Charles, to whose cause his accession gave the dignity of patriotism and offered a guarantee for justice. And unhappily Charles was one with whom advice had weight in proportion as singleness of will overbore his own vacillation of purpose. It was idle to argue with him, for no casuist in his realm could argue more subtly than himself; but something of that timidity often noticeable in men, otherwise obstinate, who are by constitution both irritable and shy, made him more ductile to the confident, who said roughly, "Do," than to the adviser who roused his talent for controversy, and gave him an excuse for his characteristic and often conscientious irresolution, in placing before his hopes and his fears the various reasons why a thing should be done. It was thus that he had been controlled by councillors immeasurably inferior to himself in understanding: Laud, whose heated decisiveness was proportional to the narrowness of his scope, as a flame warms with but little fuel, if it burns up through contracted flues; Buckingham, in whose half-insolent, half-familiar domineering, the rich vitality of animal spirits gave force of character to levity of mind. And if the night before the attempted arrest of the five members Charles had summoned a council of all the sages in his kingdom, he would have found plausible replies to their dissuasive reasonings, though he had not a word to say to Henrietta's absolute command, "*Allez, poltron*, and pull out those rogues by the ears."

Unquestionably, therefore, Falkland had to undergo severe disappointments, bitter mortifications, from the hour he entered the King's service to the day of his death. In the council at Oxford his advice, which would have saved Charles, was constantly overruled by advisers who lured Charles on to destruction. A man less sincere in his conviction that his choice, nevertheless, was right—a man more swayed by vanity or self-interest—would have resigned in disgust a post in which he was condemned to incur many responsibilities for decisions which he had opposed in vain. Chafed by similar mortifications the Earls of Bedford, Holland, and Clare, though they fought with the King at Newbury, abandoned his cause and returned to Parliament, expressing their repentance for an interval of loyalty which had been so ungraciously welcomed. The fear of similar mortifications retained from the King's council-board the prudent Northumberland, and chilled back the secret inclinations of the popular Essex.

But Falkland had attached himself to a principle, and not to a man—to a principle that—inseparably interwoven with the woof not only of our civil laws, but our social habits—could not fail, at last, to reconcile royalty and freedom. And when sadly persuaded that he could, in his own generation, serve that cause no longer by his life, he rendered to it what, under such circumstances, is the noblest and most lasting service man can render to the cause he adopts—the example of a glorious death. The

principle itself with which it is truly said " his death eternally connected him," has survived to vindicate the far-sighted sagacity of his choice; travelling on through the storms which obscured it in those days to illumine the atmosphere we breathe in our own, as light, though it pass through the winds, is not moved from its course by their rage.

The conclusions which we draw from our survey of Lord Falkland's character and conduct appear to us to bring into clearer light the one great mistake which pervaded the politics of the Pym party, and still more or less distorts the judgment of their historical panegyrists. The mistake we mean is this. Pym and his more peculiar associates professed devoted attachment to the abstract principle of monarchy: they so contrived their opposition to the one monarch they distrusted, as to destroy the rights and safeguards indispensable to the permanent conservation of the principle of monarchy itself. If they were sincere in their attachment to monarchy, but persuaded that constitutional freedom was rendered hopelessly unsafe by the duplicity of Charles, or the rashness of his advisers, then it would surely have been well to concentrate their policy on a change of king rather than on a system of securities which altered the whole framework of government, debased the Crown into the mockery of " a gilded sign," and corrupted the virtue of the representative body by enriching the greed of faction with all the patronage that belongs to an executive. A change of king instead of a complete reversal of

the relations between king and people, incompatible with prolonged existence of monarchy, would have been comparatively easy, since few persons had interest in keeping Charles on his throne, while all reasonable men had an interest in preferring English monarchy, with the checks already imposed on it, to the uncemented composite of a Dutch aristocracy and a Venetian Doge. For a change of king there was a precedent in the case of Richard II.; that precedent was afterwards applied to the case of James II. Such a solution of difficulties was not ignored in the mind of Pym's contemporaries; for the Elector Palatine hoped, if he did not actually intrigue, for the throne which Charles's deposition would vacate; and Charles himself, in the course of the struggle, meditated the offer of abdication in favour of his son.

We do not say that a change in the occupancy of the throne was in itself called for or expedient. On the contrary, we are firmly persuaded that a practical reconciliation between Charles and his Parliament, with all adequate securities against the restoration of arbitrary rule, would have been easily effected after Charles's return from Scotland, had Pym and Hampden combined for that object with Hyde and Falkland; and we agree with Mr. Hallam that "of the various consequences which we may picture to ourselves from a pacification—(Mr. Hallam here refers to a date subsequent to the outbreak of the war, but his remark applies with far greater force to the date immediately preceding the Grand

Remonstrance)—that which appears the least likely is that Charles should have re-established that arbitrary power which he had exercised in the earlier period of his reign."

We do not say, therefore, that Charles's abdication was necessary to freedom; but we do say that, of the two, a change of sovereign would have been far easier to accomplish, and far more consistent with Pym's professed attachment to monarchy, than a change which struck royalty out of the Three Component Parts of Parliament, reduced its uses to the pageantry of *les Rois Fainéants*, and armed with its power the House of Commons as its *Maire du Palais*.

In the apology for himself that he sent forth not long before his death, Pym solemnly says, " I neither directly nor indirectly ever had a thought tending to the least disobedience or disloyalty to His Majesty, whom I acknowledge my lawful King and Sovereign, and would expend my blood as soon in his service as any subject he hath."[1] If this were, indeed, his political creed, Pym might at least have given his aid to the counsels of that King for whom he would so cheerfully have shed his blood. But though denouncing Charles's advisers as the cause of all the evils, alleged or invented, Pym refused to become Charles's constitutional adviser. Before Falkland and Culpeper accepted office, the King renewed negotiations with Pym. Mr. Forster lauds Pym for rejecting them. To us such rejection on the part of

[1] Rushworth, Part III., vol. ii., p. 378: " A Declaration and Vindication of John Pym, Esq."

a citizen so responsible to his country seems unfair against any king, unless predetermined that that king shall be dethroned. In short, we cannot but think that the course which became Pym and the friends who recognised with him Charles as their lawful Sovereign was to accept office, as the very security against other advisers which the issues of fratricidal war were risked to effect, and to insist on the condition which Hyde and Falkland would have cordially supported—that the King should henceforth do nothing without consulting the official advisers he selected.

We dismiss as a chimera, based upon no evidence, a surmise of Mr. Hallam's, that the popular leaders meant only to curb the royal authority during Charles's life, with a view of extending it afterwards to just limits in the reign of his son. Pym and Hampden were too acute reasoners not to know, that a prerogative limited in one reign could not be re-expanded in the next without a new revolution. Nor can we conceive a more dangerous and precarious state for the realm, than a suspension of the supreme authority, with a view to its restitution in a successor—a suspension that would feed all the intrigues of faction, and be fatal to the fixity that belongs to order.

These considerations open to our view another capital fault in Pym and his partisans, for the consequences of which they are justly chargeable. With all the sagacity and prevision ascribed to them, they made no attempt to construct any tolerable form of government. Implacable to destroy, they were

negligent beyond conception in the duty to rebuild. We should blame them far less if, like Marten, and probably the younger Vane, they had conceived the idea of a republic as the best form of government; and had then sought to lay for such a commonwealth sound and durable foundations. But their sole notion of good government seemed to be that of an irresponsible tyranny, which armed a House of Commons—dissolvable only by its own consent—with powers only limitable by its own pleasure. In estimating the practical wisdom of Pym and his party, we cannot too carefully remember that, whatever they might allege against Charles, they never contended that he had forfeited the crown by the faults laid to his charge; and therefore the true question at issue extends far beyond that so warmly discussed between his accusers and defenders,—the question being not whether an individual king has or has not by his acts or designs justly forfeited his crown, but whether the English nation should forfeit those safeguards against turbulent faction which are found in the prerogatives conceded to a constitutional monarchy? and whether the innovations demanded by Pym and his party could either have improved the conditions of such a monarchy or established a better form of government? The moment these politicians presented to the choice of their own age and to the judgment of posterity their own scheme of a Constitution for England in the Nineteen Propositions, this became the true question as between a Pym and a Falkland: "Was

that scheme of a Constitution such as any sound political reasoner would prefer to the Constitution it was intended to replace?" We venture to say that no practical politician, whether his theory favour republican or monarchical government, can deliberately examine the Nineteen Propositions without arriving at the conclusion that a worse Constitution the Abbé de Sièyes himself could not have taken from the pigeon-holes of his bureau. It is clear that, if the Crown had, as proposed, been deprived of all control over the military forces, all choice in civil appointments, all veto in the enactment of laws, all legal existence as a third branch of the Legislature: the House of Commons, having the exclusive control of the finances, must have rapidly monopolised every attribute of executive power; and the struggle for the enjoyment of that power would have been waged between the factions in that House, not, as now, simply by the weapons of eloquence and argument, but with the command of the troops, the forts, and the prisons, which the dominant faction would have brought to bear on its opponents. The Constitution, therefore, proposed by Pym would have entailed on the nation every conceivable evil by which the animosities of faction culminate in a reign of terror. Nor are these deductions from the political theories advanced by Pym in the Constitution embodied in the Nineteen Propositions, unwarranted by the short-lived adoption of the theories themselves, viz. the absolute government of a House of Commons incorporating legislative

functions with executive authority. To all liberty of thought and conscience it became as inimical as the despotism it overthrew: it soon lost even its own independence, "sinking (says Hallam) in its decrepitude and amidst public contempt beneath a usurper it had blindly elevated to power." A House of Commons, in fact, that assumes to command the army, must always end in giving the army command over its own destinies. The day on which Pym first took from the senseless brain of Haselrig to his own scheming intellect the question of the militia, was the parent of that day when Cromwell's pikemen removed the "bauble." We blame, therefore, Pym and his party for the course they adopted from the date of the Grand Remonstrance to the outbreak of the Civil War, as one that, whether they desired, as they professed, only securities for constitutional monarchy, or aimed at a republican form of government, was equally disastrous to either object; and by which all the substantial reforms that the party of Hyde and Falkland had mainly assisted them to obtain were gravely imperilled, nay, for more than a generation and a half were practically annulled, whether by the usurpation of Cromwell or the reaction to which the Stuarts were indebted for their restoration. And though, as against Charles I., the Parliamentary side of the contest was triumphant, yet the chances to the contrary were sufficiently grave at the onset to have made every rational patriot shun the policy which necessitated an appeal to arms.

And the triumph itself, how costly, how sullied, how brief! converted into loss by its own final achievements, reuniting England to Monarchy by the execution of Charles, and to the Episcopal Church by the execution of Laud.

The warnings that posterity receives from the historical tragedy of those times, impartial philosophy may, perhaps, rather direct to the guidance of popular factions than the correction of erring kings; for the faults of Charles were partly those of temporary and unusual circumstances, principally those of individual character. And little more could be applied from the lessons of his fate to assist the policy of princes in relation to popular demands, than the necessity of manly and upright sincerity in all concessions made, in all promises pledged. Suspicions are bred from the atmosphere of civil discord, and the frankest openness is the best prudence of kings, when their actions are spied and their powers enfeebled.

But to popular factions the warnings are of application universal and enduring. For we apprehend that the true key to what seems to us obscure or inconsistent in the policy of Pym and his party is to be found in motives of conduct as common now as they were two hundred and twenty years ago. It is a frequent mistake with speculative historians to ascribe to political parties deep and long-laid designs, of which political parties are in substance incapable. Elaborate strategy, sagacious foresight, profound plans veiled by systematic dissimulation,

can never be the characteristic of large parliamentary combinations, nor consequently of their recognised leaders, who but represent and obey the opinions and the passions that shift and vary with the variations and shifts of opponents unstable in purpose as themselves. We do not think, therefore, that Pym and his associates formed for themselves any settled design, either for the abolition of monarchy or for some wise and orderly system of government compatible with the powers they would have transferred from the monarchy to the House of Commons. They were doubtless more united, and more consciously working to defined ends, in theological doctrine than political creed; and becoming bolder and more determined in these, as Episcopacy had been made generally unpopular by the error of Charles in giving to a prelate of Laud's harsh temper and impolitic judgment a jurisdiction in secular matters, they aimed, long before they openly declared their intention, at the entire overthrow of the English hierarchy and the adoption of a Presbyterian Church, with the relentless persecution of Papists. Yet even in this Pym himself was overruled by the men he led, and borne away by the passions he had raised.

As to civil forms of government, we believe the Pym party acted much as "the advanced Liberals" of our day act now—in a sort of loose concert for the advance of what seemed to them popular principle, without any definite consideration how that principle, thus advanced, could practically harmonise with the monarchy on which it encroached more and

more. "Did not craving (asks South) still grow upon granting, till nothing remained to be asked on one side or given on the other but the life of the giver?" In those days there would have been the same thought which shapes itself into cant phrases in our own—"Progressive policy"; "Advances in the right direction." And, just as now, there is in our House of Commons a party that professes the utmost loyalty to the throne, and is really innocent of any design to establish a republic, but is always ready to vote away the delicate props of monarchy, and increase the democratic influences which result either in republics or the military despotism by which in old states the fears of property rudely overthrow the commonwealths of dreamers; just as now, there are men who would call it "Progressive policy" and "Steps in the right direction," to place the army at the control of the House of Commons, to reduce the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to a formula, to substitute the Voluntary Principle for the Established Church, to banish from the action of the Constitution all aristocratic intermixtures; and if these were granted, would then, rather than stand still, and on the mere principle of moving somehow or somewhere, proceed step by step to measures not as yet in their contemplation, till the old Constitution was wholly gone, and a new Constitution still a "progressive step";—so we cannot see in the policy of Pym and his partisans anything beyond the feverish movement of a popular faction, outbidding and denouncing all temperate reformers,

and blindly drifting on to that vague "something more" which ruins the substance of free nations, as it does the fortune of insatiate speculators. For there is a political as well as a pecuniary covetousness, and, in one as in the other, the hazards that spring from the greed of acquisition ruin the adventurers who never know where to stop.

Could Pym have lived to see the sentinels at Cromwell's gate, would he have admired the inevitable result of "steps in the right direction"? Could he rise from his grave to-morrow, and look around at this established monarchy, with rights fenced from his demands, with a Church triumphant over the Calvinists, and tolerant alike of Papist and Puritan, would he not say: "Degenerate race! How have you profited by the Grand Remonstrance? Where is the constitution set forth in the Nineteen Propositions?"

But could Falkland look from his repose on England as England is now, would not Falkland say: "This is what I sought to make my country! This is the throne which I would have reconciled to Parliamentary freedom; this is the Church that I would have purified from ecclesiastical domination over secular affairs and intolerant persecution of rival sects. To make an England such as I see now, I opposed the framers of the Grand Remonstrance and the Nineteen Propositions; and England as seen now is the vindication of my policy and the refutation of Pym's."

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Macaulay, Thomas Babington
Macaulay, 1st baron
Essay on John Hampden.
With Bulwer Lytton's Essay
on Lord Falkland

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