

HIGH TREASON

THE TRIALS

OF
Arthur Thistlewood

J. INGS, J. T. BRUNT,
R. TIDD, AND W. DAVIDSON.

ON A
CHARGE OF ATTEMPTING
TO
DEPOSE THE KING,
AND
Assassinate his Ministers
INCLUDING THE
PRISONERS' DEFENCE,
SPEECHES OF COUNSEL, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A COPIOUS ACCOUNT
OF
THE EXECUTION.

Tried at the SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY,
April 17, 1820, and following Days.

LONDON:

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Price Two Shillings.



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W. DAVIDSON, AND R. TIDD,
ON A CHARGE OF
HIGH TREASON
IN ATTEMPTING TO
DEPOSE THE KING
AND
ASSASSINATE HIS MINISTERS.

INCLUDING
THE WHOLE OF THE EVIDENCE,
SPEECHES OF COUNSEL,
PRISONER'S DEFENCE, &c.

Tried at the Sessions House, Old Bailey, before Lord Chief Justice Abbott, Lord Chief Justice Dallas, the Chief Baron Richards, and Mr. Justice Richardson, April 17, 1820, and following days.

TAKEN IN SHORT HAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A COPIOUS ACCOUNT
OF
THE EXECUTION.

SECOND EDITION.

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TRIAL

OF

ARTHUR THISTLEWOOD,

&c.

MONDAY, (FIRST DAY.)

April 17th, 1820.

The interest excited by the trials of the state prisoners was this morning strongly manifested by the assemblage of a crowd in front of the Sessions'-house, as early as seven o'clock. Previous to this time a numerous body of the civil force had arrived, and were stationed in such situations as to controul the multitude. For the purpose of preventing the interruption arising from the passage of carriages and carts through the Old Bailey, rails were erected at the two ends, next Ludgate-hill and Fleet-lane. These were only opened to admit the carriages of persons in the business of the court.

At eight o'clock the arrival of the jurymen who had been summoned created considerable bustle, and this was greatly enhanced by the pressure of other persons for admission to the court.— Regulations were adopted to prevent the entrance of those who were not provided with tickets. This was the more necessary, as from the limited nature of the Court but a small portion of the public could obtain accommodation. The Jury alone, who stood in the body of the Court, were upwards of 200 in number. Certain boxes were devoted to the reception of ladies; a great number of whom were present.

The witnesses for the Crown were divided into two parties.— The more respectable were placed in the Grand Jury-room, and those of an humbler class remained in a contiguous apartment. Monument, who has remained a prisoner in the Tower, was brought from thence in the care of two warders, and Lavender and Bishop. He was placed in a room by himself, as was Adams, who was brought from the House of Correction in the custody of Governor Adkins. The pikes, swords, guns, pistols, grenades, ammunition, and other articles intended to be produced on the trial, and which the witnesses brought with them, presented a most formidable appearance.

At half past eight, Thistlewood was conducted from his cell, in the care of one of the turnkeys. He was placed in the apartment usually devoted to those about to be put on their trials. The other prisoners were not brought down.

At nine o'clock the Lord Chief Justice Abbott and the other Commissioners entered the court, which was opened in the usual form.

Mr. Shelton immediately proceeded to call over the names of the jurymen summoned. As they answered, they were asked,

whether they were freeholders in the County of Middlesex to the amount of ten pounds a year, or of a freehold and copyhold together of that amount? In the event of their answering in the negative, they were passed over. Those who did not answer when called, were called upon their summonses "to come forth and save their fines of a hundred shillings and issue." Several were in this predicament. The object of this ceremony was to ascertain the number and eligibility of the jurymen in attendance, preparatory to their being subsequently subject to the challenges of the crown officers and the prisoners. Some of the gentlemen were excused from attendance, on the ground of their health being so infirm as to preclude them from doing their duty as jurymen. While this form was going through, the prisoner, Thistlewood, was put to the bar, and attracted general attention. He came forward with apparent firmness. He had in his hand a pencil and a sheet of paper. He paid particular attention to the names as they were called over.

The counsel for the crown in attendance were the Attorney-general, the Solicitor-general, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Bolland, and Mr. Littledale. Those for the prisoners, as assigned by the Court, were, Mr. Curwood, Mr. Adolphus, Mr. Walford, and Mr. Broderick. Such was the pressure occasioned by the assemblage of the jury, that they were constrained to ask permission to quit the Court as their names were called over. This request was complied with, but they were desired to remain within hearing.

As the prisoner stood at the bar, and while the Court was occupied in attending to the list of the jury being called over, a man of shabby appearance contrived to get to the corner of the dock, and to place his hat on the board in front, and then calling Thistlewood's attention, directed him to take the contents. Thistlewood immediately took from the hat five oranges, which he put in his pocket. Mr. Brown, who was in his box, witnessed the transaction, and admonished the obtruder. He afterwards directed one of his turnkeys to take the oranges into his possession. Thistlewood, on being asked, delivered up the "forbidden fruit" and they were carried out of Court to be examined. There might seem in the conduct of Mr. Brown, something of harshness; but when it is recollected that an orange might be made the vehicle of conveying to the prisoner personal destruction or some other thing which the precautions already taken were meant to prevent, it will be seen that he did no more than became the vigilant execution of his duty. It was intimated to Thistlewood, that he should be provided with any thing in the way of refreshment which he might require.

Subsequent to this transaction two letters, which had come by post, were delivered to Mr. Brown. We believe they were addressed to the prisoners, and after they had been shewn to him, Mr. Brown felt it his duty to enclose and send them to the Solicitor of the Treasury.

At 12 o'clock the whole of the jury had been called over.

Thistlewood then addressed the Court and said, "Will your Lordship allow me a chair?"

The Lord Chief Justice : Considering the length of time which your trial is likely to last, the Court will grant you this indulgence.

A chair was then placed at the front of the dock, and the prisoner sat down.

THE TRIAL.

After numerous challenges, both on the part of the prisoner, and on that of the crown, the following twelve gentlemen were sworn to act as jurors :—

Alexander Barclay, Teddington, Gent. and grocer.

Thomas Goodchild, North-end, Hendon, esq.

Thomas Suffield Aldersey, Lisson Grove North, esq.

James Herbert, Isleworth, carpenter.

John Shooter, North-end, Hendon, gent.

Samuel Granger, Blackwall, lighterman.

George Dickenson, Colt-street, Limehouse, builder.

John Edward Sheppard, Eden-grove, Holloway, esq.

John Fowler, St. John-street, iron-plate-worker.

Wm. Gibbs Roberts, Ropemaker's-fields, Limehouse, cooper.

John Dobson, Felix-place, Islington, esq.

William Cooper, Grove-street, St. Pancras, esq.

The Lord Chief Justice thus delivered himself :—“ As there are several persons charged with the offence of High Treason by this indictment, whose trials are likely to be taken one after the other, I think it necessary, in furtherance of justice, strictly to prohibit the publication of the proceedings of this, or any other day, until the whole of the trials shall be brought to a conclusion. It is highly necessary to the purposes of justice that the public mind, or the jurymen who are hereafter to serve, should not be influenced by the publication of any of the proceedings which may take place, until the whole of those proceedings shall be finished. It is expected that all persons, therefore, will attend to this admonition.”

Mr. Shelton then called the attention of the prisoner, and read the indictment. The following is an abstract :

The King against Arthur Thistlewood, William Davidson, James Ings, John Thomas Brunt, Richard Tidd, James William Wilson, John Harrison, Richard Bradburn, John Shaw Strange, James Gilchrist, and Charles Cooper.

FIRST COUNT.

That they did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to deprive and depose our said Lord the King of and from the style, honour, and kingly name of the imperial crown of this realm.

First overt act.—That they did assemble, meet, conspire, and consult to devise, arrange, and mature plans and means to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established.

Second overt act.—That they did conspire to stir up, raise, make, and levy insurrection, rebellion, and war against our said Lord the King within this realm, and to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established.

Third overt act.—That they did conspire to assassinate, kill, and

murder divers of the Privy Council of our said Lord the King, employed in the administration.

Fourth overt act.—That they did procure, provide, and have divers large quantities of arms, in order to assassinate divers of the Privy Council.

Fifth overt act.—That they did procure, provide, and have arms, with intent therewith to arm themselves and other false traitors, in order to raise, make, and levy insurrection, rebellion, and war.

Sixth overt act.—That they did conspire, consult, and agree to seize and take possession of divers cannon, with intent to arm themselves and other false traitors, in order to make war against the King, and destroy the constitution.

Seventh overt act.—That they did conspire to set fire to, to burn, and destroy divers houses and buildings in the neighbourhood of London, and divers barracks, and to provide combustibles and materials for the purpose.

Eighth overt act.—That they did compose and prepare, and cause and procure to be composed and prepared, divers addresses, proclamations, declarations, and writings, containing therein solicitations and incitements to the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, to aid and assist in making and levying insurrection, rebellion, and war against our said Lord the King, within this realm, and in subverting and destroying the constitution and government of this realm, as by law established.

Ninth overt act.—That they did compose and prepare, and cause and procure to be composed and prepared, a certain paper writing, purporting to be an address to the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, containing therein that their tyrants were destroyed, and that the friends of liberty were called upon to come forward, as the provisional government was then sitting, with intent to publish the same, and thereby to solicit and incite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King to aid and assist in making and levying insurrection, rebellion, and war against the King, and in subverting and destroying the constitution and government.

Tenth overt act.—That they did assemble themselves, with arms, with intent to assassinate, kill, and murder divers of the Privy Council, and to raise, make, and levy insurrection, rebellion, and war against our said Lord the King, and to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm.

Eleventh overt act.—That they, armed and arrayed, in a warlike manner, did ordain, prepare, levy, and make public war against the King.

SECOND COUNT.

That they did compass, imagine, and intend to move and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war against the King, within this realm, and to subvert and alter the legislature, rule, and government, and to bring and put the King to death.

First overt act.—Same as in the first count, with the addition of “and to deprive and depose our said Lord the King of and from the style, honour, and kingly name of the imperial crown of this realm.

Second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh overt acts, same as in the first count.

THIRD COUNT.

That they did compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to levy war against the King, in order, by force and constraint, to compel him to change his measures and councils.

First overt act.—That they did assemble, meet, conspire, and consult to devise, arrange, and mature plans and means, by force and constraint, to compel the King to change his measures and councils.

Second overt act.— Same as in the first count, only leaving out the conclusion, “ and to subvert,” &c.

Third and Fourth overt acts.—Same as in the first count.

Fifth and Sixth overt acts.—Same as in the first count, omitting as before, “ and to subvert,” &c.

Seventh overt act.—Same as in the first count.

Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth overt acts.—Same as the eighth, tenth, and eleventh overt acts in the first count, omitting at the end of the eighth and ninth as before, “ and to subvert,” &c.

FOURTH COUNT.

That they did levy and make war against the King, and endeavour, by force and arms, to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm, and to deprive and depose the King of the crown.

Mr. Bolland, as junior counsel for the Crown, having shortly opened the indictment,

The Attorney-General opened the case for the crown to the effect following :

“ May it please your Lordship : Gentlemen of the Jury, you are now assembled to discharge one of the most important duties that can devolve to the province of a jury, to decide upon the guilt or innocence of a party charged with the highest offence known to the law ; and upon such an occasion I am satisfied it is unnecessary for me to bespeak you patient attention to the case before you, still less even to hint to you the necessity of coming to the investigation with unbiassed and unprejudiced minds. You, I am sure, will discharge from your recollection every thing you may have heard or read relative to the charge which is about to be preferred against the prisoner at the bar, confining your attention solely and exclusively to the evidence which will be adduced in support of the charge, and forming your conclusion on that evidence only. Gentlemen, the charge, as I have stated to you, is one of the highest nature known to the law. Other offences, generally speaking, however heinous, and however enormous, may, in their consequences, except so far as example is concerned, end with the fate of the perpetrators, or with the individuals who may have been injured ; but, with respect to high treason, not only in its inception, but still more so if it is unfortunately completed, draws after it consequences of the most important kind, affecting, not merely individuals, but the whole community against whom it is directed. Gentlemen, I shall not trouble you in the observations I have to

make, painful as the duty now imposed on me is, with any lengthened detail with regard to the law as it affects the charge imputed to the prisoner; because, if I mistake not, that law is so clear, and if I err not greatly, the facts that will be proved to you will establish the case against the prisoner in so clear and satisfactory a manner, that it would be an idle affectation in me to cite any authorities before you in support of the charge; because, if the overt acts, as they are called, or any of them, are proved to your satisfaction (and I have no doubt that a considerable number will be proved), no man who hears me can entertain the slightest doubt that the offence charged in this indictment will be established in point of law. Gentlemen, the charges in this indictment, though four in number, will all be proved to you by the same evidence; and if the evidence I shall lay before you be sufficient to establish one of them, it will, I believe, completely establish the whole. Three of the offences charged, consist in compassing and imagining the deposition of the King from his throne; the death of the King; and a conspiracy to levy war, in order to compel him to change his measures for the government of the kingdom. It is hardly necessary for me to state to you, that in proof of these charges, it is not essential that the plans of the parties accused should aim directly and immediately either at the life or the deposition of his Majesty; because, if they are aimed at the form of government which now exists—if they are intended to bring about a change in that system by means of force and violence, they naturally tend to effect that which must ultimately be effected, if their plans are successful, either the removal of the King from his kingly dignity, or the destruction of his life; and therefore in this case it is quite sufficient to shew you, in the first instance, that their plans were of that description, and of that nature, that they aimed against the government, as they will undoubtedly be proved to have been in this case. Although they were not directly aimed in the first instance against the personal safety and personal authority of the sovereign, still, if the consequences of their acts led to that result, they involved, in point of law, the treason charged in this indictment; and, therefore, not to bewilder you in the inquiry into which you are about to enter, I think it quite sufficient in the outset to state, that I believe I shall be confirmed by the highest authority which the law knows, when this case comes to be summoned up to you, that if the overt acts, as they are called—the facts charged in the indictment, as evincing the intent on in the minds of these conspirators—are proved, they do prove the charge as laid in this indictment; and therefore, that is all that I feel it necessary to trouble you with, in the outset, of what I have to address upon the legal effect of these charges.

“Gentlemen, important as the duty is which you are about to discharge, and anxious as it must be to you, I beg to say, that it is no less anxious to me; for although in this address I appear in the character of a public prosecutor, yet I do assure you, that my only purpose is to inform your minds of the nature of the charge, and of the evidence by which that charge is to be supported, and not with a view of leading your minds to any conclusion which the

evidence itself should not warrant; and God knows, gentlemen, if it should be brought before you, as I have every reason to believe it will, no additional observations of mine will be wanting to lead the most unprejudiced mind to the inevitable conclusion of the prisoner's guilt. My duty is to state to you fairly, as between the public and the unfortunate man at the bar, the case, as I believe it will be proved to you in evidence. My anxiety therefore is, I do assure you, most conscientiously, not by any thing I should state to you, to attempt to lead or direct your minds to a conclusion which you ought not properly to draw from the evidence, but to state to you fairly and purely the facts, which I believe will be proved without any attempt at exaggeration on the one hand or on the other, but fairly to offer the testimony to your impartial consideration, without any remark or comment calculated to excite any unfair inference from the evidence. If, when you come to make up your minds upon the verdict you are to give, you find that either the statement I make is not proved in evidence, or that the observations or inferences I may have drawn, shall not be borne out by the facts, I beg you to dismiss them from your minds, and confine your attention to the facts; but if you believe that the statement I shall make is proved, and if you believe that the observations made on that statement are fair, and naturally arise out of the facts, then you will give them that weight which they deserve, and you will assign to them that authority, so far and no farther than your minds go along with them.

“Gentlemen, having said thus much, I will, without farther preface, call your attention as perspicuously and as shortly as I can to the facts which will be proved in evidence to support the charges. The prisoner at the bar, Arthur Thistlewood, must be already known to you by name; but as I before stated to you, let nothing you have known or heard of him before you came into this court to discharge the solemn duty you are bound to perform, have the least effect upon that verdict you are to pronounce. The prisoner at the bar, however, I state to you, as it will be proved in evidence, had for sometime conceived the wicked and nefarious plan of overturning the government so long established in this country; and it will appear to you that several, nay, all of the persons mentioned in the indictment, were participators in the same design; some of them probably coming into that purpose and design at a latter period than others, but all of them concurring in the last criminal event which led to their detection. I shall prove to you by the most satisfactory evidence, that all of them were combining in that act, which was to be the commencement of that revolution in the country, which was meditated. I would however, call your attention to two persons, whose names you will frequently hear in the course of this inquiry, I mean a person of the name of James Ings, and a person of the name of John Thomas Brunt. The prisoner at the bar resided, during the time of the transaction which I am about to relate to you, in Stanhope Street, Clare Market. The person named Brunt, I believe, was a shoe-maker or boot-closer, residing at a place which will be frequently mentioned in the course of the evidence, Cox's Court, Grey's-Inn-Lane; he inhabited two rooms in

a house in that court, I believe the second floor, and in which his trade was carried on; his family consists of himself, his wife, an apprentice of the name of Hales, and his son. I shall not carry you attention very far back in the narrative of this transaction; it will be sufficient for me, particularly in the outset, to call your attention to circumstances that took place between the close of the month of January and the 23rd of the following month of February. Undoubtedly it will appear to you, that long prior to that period the prisoner at the bar, the two persons I have mentioned, and several of the others, whose names are included in this indictment, had consulted and devised plans for the purpose of overturning the government. They had frequent meetings at a public house, called the White Hart, in Brook's market, in a room which they had obtained for the purpose of these meetings, behind that public house. About the latter end of January, or at the commencement of the month of February, they thought it prudent to remove their meetings from this place, and that it would be better that they should be carried on, if possible, in a room in the house where Brunt lived in Cox's-court; and to avoid suspicion, they therefore had recourse to this contrivance, that another room in that house, and upon the same floor on which Brunt resided, should be taken by the prisoner Ings, who is, I believe, by trade a butcher. Brunt and Ings on that occasion hired that room, for the avowed purpose of a lodging for Ings, but for the secret and real object of having their meetings there, where they might devise their plans, and prepare the means for carrying the object of their conspiracy into execution; that being a place of more security and privacy than the one at which they had previously held their assemblies. At the close of the month of January, or the beginning of the month of February, you will learn, that having previously prepared means for effecting their plans, their meetings at Brunt's room became more frequent and more regular. They had determined—and, Gentlemen, I here regret, that in an English court of justice I have to state to you the horrible purpose which then entered into the minds, and the way in which they intended to consummate the nefarious operations they had in view. It was thought by Englishmen, that the assassination of several, if not all, of his Majesty's ministers would be a proper step towards carrying into effect the revolution they intended; and you will find that they meditated and consulted on the means by which that horrible purpose was to be completed. They entertained hopes that they might be enabled, at some meeting of his Majesty's ministers, to effect all at once the double purpose they had conceived. Having done that, they intended at the same moment, or about the same time, to set fire to various parts of this metropolis—to endeavour to obtain possession of the cannon which were at the Artillery Ground, and at the Light Horse Volunteer's stables in Gray's Inn Lane—to create as much confusion and dismay as they could by these various operations, and then to establish, what, in their vain expectations, they had imagined themselves capable of effecting—a provisional government, the seat of which was to be the Mansion-house. They had frequent deliberations on this plan. You will recollect that his late Most Excellent Majesty

died on the 29th of January. At this time their deliberations were going on with the greatest activity. During the latter end of that month and the beginning of February it was thought that the meeting of his Majesty's ministers at the King's funeral would be a proper occasion for carrying their plans into effect. They had intimation that upon that occasion, the greater part of the troops centered in the metropolis would be removed to Windsor, to witness the solemnity; and they imagined that would be a fit and proper period to commence their operations; but however, they found that their schemes embraced more objects than at that period they had the means of effecting, and upon that night they did not attempt the purposes they had in view. But, gentlemen, brooding over their nefarious schemes, many of these men became impatient at the delay which, from unavoidable circumstances, interposed between the present day and that on which they hoped to accomplish their purposes; and you will find, that on the 19th of February, to which I shall presently call your attention, the impatience became so great on the part of many of these persons as to be restrained no longer. They found that during this delay, an opportunity offered at which they could effect the horrible purpose I have mentioned—the assassination of all his Majesty's ministers assembled at one and the same house. They got intimation on Saturday the 19th of Feb. that on the Wednesday following the opportunity would occur when they would be able to effect their purpose, by finding that his Majesty's ministers would be all assembled at the same house. Upon hearing that such an assemblage was to take place, they determined, at a meeting held for the purpose, that at all events, on the following Wednesday some blow should be struck, and that the revolution which they had in contemplation should actually take place. Having thus determined, they appointed a meeting on the following day, Sunday, at Brunt's house, for the purpose of forming a committee, upon whom should devolve the plan which was to be effected on the ensuing Wednesday at that meeting and indeed at all the meetings, you will find the prisoner the foremost in every thing. He was to be their leader, and he was to be one of the men on whom they placed the greatest reliance. You will find that at this meeting he is the person who addressed them, and prepared the plans, and in whose plans they placed the greatest confidence. Gentlemen, upon this 19th of February it was, that Thistlewood proposed that which I have stated to you. He stated, that as it did not appear from the intelligence they could collect, that Ministers were likely to meet at the Cabinet-dinner soon, they should immediately ascertain the strength of their respective parties, and having so ascertained them, these parties should be divided into different bodies, upon some of whom should devolve the horrible duty of destroying as many of his Majesty's ministers as their means and convenience could allow; that upon others should be imposed the duty of setting fire to various parts of the metropolis; and that others should be assigned other duties, which were there pointed out by the prisoner. The plan, formed at that meeting, was seconded by Brunt, whose name I have already mentioned; and there too it was agreed, as I have

already stated, that on the following day, Sunday, a meeting should take place at Brunt's room, in order to appoint a committee, upon whom should devolve the final arrangement of the plan which was to be executed on the following Wednesday. On the Sunday the meeting accordingly took place, attended by the prisoner, by Ings, by Harrison, by Wilson, and by other persons, whose names are mentioned in this indictment, and with which I do not at this moment trouble you, because, as your attention is confined to the present prisoner, it is unnecessary to do so. At the same time, in the course of this investigation, connecting, as we shall do, all these persons in one common plan and design, the acts and the declarations of each will be most important, because they will all be answerable for the acts of each in furtherance of their common purpose. Upon that occasion they met at Brunt's, and it was then agreed that they should meet again on the following morning, Monday, the 21st of February. After the plans, I should tell you, on the Sunday, were again repeated by Thistlewood, they were again approved by these persons. I think the number who attended on that occasion amounted to 14 or 15 persons. They then agreed that no activity should be wanting in the mean time. I mean to prepare that to which I shall by and bye call your attention. They met again on the Monday at Brunt's. The same plan was again canvassed. No objection was made, and they then separated for the purpose of communicating it to their different friends in different parts of the town; and for the purpose of collecting as many persons as they were enabled to do for the meeting on the following Wednesday. On Tuesday the 22d of February, a meeting took place again, in the morning, at Brunt's, and upon that occasion, one of the parties communicated to some who were present, that he had discovered by the newspapers, that a cabinet dinner was to be given on the following day, Wednesday, at my Lord Harrowby's, in Grovenor-square. Gentlemen, you will be shocked when you come to hear the evidence detailed, to find with what exultation this intelligence was received. Brunt, with an impiety which must shock every well regulated mind, exclaimed, "that till then he disbelieved the existence of a God, but that now he was satisfied the Almighty was favouring their designs, and that this dinner was appointed by Providence on the following day to enable them at one blow to effect that purpose which had been levelled against each of his Majesty's ministers separately, and what they might be enabled by that means to accomplish at once, the whole destruction they meditated." The exultation was not confined to him; you will find, that Ings and the other persons present equally rejoiced at the prospect of a speedy termination of their nefarious purposes, and hoping that on the following night they should at length attain that which was so great an object of their desire, and which they had pursued with the utmost anxiety. The newspaper was then sent for, to see if the intelligence was true. On being brought, it was immediately determined that instead of the plan of endeavouring to assassinate some of his Majesty's ministers at their respective houses, that my Lord Harrowby's should be the place of attack, and that there, in the evening between eight and nine o'clock, after all

the guests had assembled, and were lulled into security, that the attack should be made on the house, and that the ministers should be destroyed by the means I shall state to you. Their activity on this intelligence being received, was redoubled; they met again in the evening—their different partizans were requested at once to obtain all their fire-arms, the ammunition they had previously collected, and the different instruments of mischief which you will find they had prepared for execution, and that they should be in a state of preparation on the following evening to effect this purpose. I should have stated to you, Gentlemen, before I had come to this part of the narrative, that a person of the name of Tidd, who is also included in this indictment, and who lived, I believe, at the Hole-in-the-Wall-alley, Brook's-market, was one of the conspirators, and had embarked in these plans. His house was made the depot of arms and ammunition. As the meeting of the conspirators had been held at Brunt's they had a suspicion that their proceedings might be watched, and they thought it unsafe that that should be the place of deposit, and therefore Tidd's house had, for some time, been the depository for the arms and ammunition which had been collected. As Brunt's house was, as you know, at some considerable distance from Grosvenor-square, where the commencement of this scene of blood was to take place, they thought it would be better to procure some place of rendezvous nearer to the house of Lord Harrowby; and, you will find therefore, though it was not communicated at that moment to the different parties, who were to be engaged in the transaction, that a place was procured at the west end of the town, in Cato-street, which runs into John-street, and thence to the Edgeware-road. A place was there procured by Harrison another of the conspirators, for the purpose of meeting on the following evening, preparatory to their going to Grosvenor-square. It fortunately, and providentially happened, (as will always happen in conspiracies of this nature) that some of the party, previous to the perpetration of their designs, felt some compunctious visitings of nature, and began to reflect upon the atrocious character of the crime about to be committed; and you will find that on that Tuesday, the day previous to that fixed for the cabaret dinner at Lord Harrowby's, one person of the name of Hiden, a witness to be called hereafter, and who, though he happened to be a participator in their designs, felt visitings in his conscience, which compelled him to communicate to Lord Harrowby himself what was contemplated: and, upon that day, you will find, that this person took an opportunity of watching my Lord Harrowby whilst riding in the Park, and then generally communicated to him that some mischief was intended, and forewarned him of the impending danger. It will also appear to you, that at their meeting on Tuesday some little alarm had been excited in the minds of some of the party, by a person named Adams, who had been told by the publican at the White Hart, that their meetings had been suspected, and that they were in some hazard of being discovered. He therefore stated to Thistlewood, and others, on Tuesday, that a communication had been made to him by the landlord that their meetings at the White Hart public-house had been observed by some of the police officers,

and therefore he expressed his apprehensions, that their plans had been discovered, or were likely to be discovered. This excited in the minds of those present the greatest agitation. They were astonished that Adams should have ventured at such a meeting, consisting of fourteen or fifteen persons, to hint that there was a possibility of their plans being discovered. The intelligence produced the greatest alarm, and they immediately took into consideration what was best to do. The prisoner Brunt, in order to ascertain whether there was any ground for the suspicions entertained by Adams, proposed that some of the party should be posted near Lord Harrowby's house, on Tuesday evening, and early on the following Wednesday, with a view of seeing whether any preparations were made to receive any intended attack, and thereby to ascertain to their satisfaction whether or not their plans had been discovered; and you will find that the suggestion of Brunt was carried into effect, by sending two or three parties, amongst whom was a man named Davidson, who will be a very conspicuous person throughout this transaction, and one of the most active partizans, to watch the house. They sent him and another person about six o'clock that evening, to watch Lord Harrowby's house, and they were to be relieved between eight and nine o'clock by two others of the party, who were to keep three hours watch: at the end of which time they were to be relieved by others, who, in their turn, would be relieved by four in the morning. It will be proved to you that they actually went there on that night, and were seen by different persons in Grosvenor-square, watching Lord Harrowby's house for the purpose mentioned, and finding, as was the case, that there appeared to be no alarm—that there were no police officers, or troops of any description introduced into Lord Harrowby's house, or stationed in the neighbourhood, they felt quite satisfied that it was a groundless alarm on the part of Adams—that there was no foundation for suspecting that any of their plans were discovered; and therefore they proceeded without hesitation or dread to complete, as far as they could, the purpose they had in view. On the Wednesday morning, great preparations were made. Arms were brought by Brunt in great abundance to the stable in Cato street; they consisted of sabres, swords, guns, pistols, and other destructive instruments of offence. But one of the most terrific instruments, and calculated for the most deadly purposes, and which they prepared themselves, was what was called a hand-grenade. It was composed in this way—there was a quantity of gunpowder enclosed in a tin case, three or four inches in circumference, round which was tied a quantity of tow, and on the outside was a quantity of iron, in pieces of various descriptions, sharp pointed, and otherwise shaped, which were fastened together, and tied round with the same sort of material I have mentioned, so as to enable the instrument to explode with the greatest force; and the object of this machine, was stated without disguise to be this: that upon their entrance into Lord Harrowby's house, it was to be lighted by a fuse, communicating with the powder, and then thrown into the room, and by the explosion, the persons exposed to the mischief might be killed or wounded as,

would naturally be the case. It seems they had prepared a great number of these destructive instruments; I know not how many. They had also prepared what they, in their mode of expression, called illumination balls, made for the purpose of setting fire to any buildings which it was their object and purpose to destroy. They had prepared also a large quantity of ball cartridges, the amount of which will probably surprise you, considering the apparently feeble means these persons had of procuring articles of this description. Will it be believed, that they had prepared between 11 and 1200 rounds of ball cartridges? They had also prepared several sorts of cartridges of a different description, made with flannel bags, and had provided themselves with a very large quantity of powder. They had also prepared a great number of pikes, and pike handles, for the purpose of arming their friends, and associates, who had no other arms. All these preparations must, obviously, have been the work of a considerable length of time. They must have been the fruits of very great labour, and they were all prepared and ready on the 23d of February, for their intended operations. On the morning of the 23d of February, several of the conspirators assembled at Brunt's house, where they were engaged in completing their hand grenades, putting flints into their pistols, loading their arms, and, in short, making every preparation for the approaching attack. These facts will be proved to you by Brunt's apprentice. I have already told you, that for the purpose of their meeting, and for the convenience of having some place near Lord Harrowby's house, a stable had been hired by one of the conspirators in Cato-street, near the Edgware road. I know not whether curiosity has led any of you, as it has done a great many of the public, to visit the place, but if it has not, I will endeavour to describe the situation, and I think you will agree with me, that a more appropriate situation for the purpose contemplated, could hardly be selected. It is an obscure street, having a very narrow access at either end. I think at one end there is not any access for carriages, and at the other there is an archway, and under it posts, to prevent none but foot-passengers going in, or out. The east end passes into John-street, and the west end, which is a very narrow cartway, runs into Queen-street, both John-street and Queen-street running parallel with each other into the Edgware-road. The stable is the first building as you enter Cato street from John-street on the right hand side of the way, and it is nearly opposite the small public house, called by the sign of the Horse and Groom. The stable had been occupied by General Watson, who is abroad, and rented of him by a person of the name of Firth, by whom it was let to Harrison for this purpose. It consists below stairs of a stable, with three stalls, and a small place adjoining, for the reception of a carriage or cart, and at the further end of it, nearly opposite the door, as you enter, is a step ladder leading up into the loft over the stable, on the side of which are two small rooms, which are immediately over the cart or coach-house. It will be proved to you, that previous to the meeting on that evening, which was to take place exactly at 8 o'clock, preparations had been made by Brunt and several others

of the party in the stable, for the reception of those who were to be assembled. In order to avoid the observation of the neighbourhood, some pieces of canvas had been nailed up against the window of the loft, to prevent persons from observing on the opposite side of the street what might be passing; and it was remarked by several of the neighbours, that this place was visited by a great number of persons during the afternoon, who were carrying something on their backs which the neighbours did not discover, but which, I have no doubt, were the arms and other implements of mischief collected there, and found when the prisoners were taken. Harrison, who was known to be one of those persons, was observed going into the stable in the afternoon, and on being asked what his purpose was in going there, he said, he had taken it from Firth, and was cleaning it out. About six o'clock, Davidson, the man of colour, was also observed by some of these persons, residing close to the stable, going in with something on his back, and under his arm, which they could not discover, and a number of candles in his hand. You will find that he applied at one of the houses adjoining the stable, at six o'clock, to light one of these candles, with which he went into the stable. A party was to meet at Brunt's lodgings, in order to proceed from thence to this stable. Tidd, whose name I have already mentioned, and who lived in the Hole-in-the-Wall-alley, was to accompany another party. They had not communicated to all the party, at first, the precise place of meeting, but some were to meet at the Horse and Groom, and others were to go to the Edgeware road, near John-street, where some of the conspirators were to shew them to the place of rendezvous. Between 7 and 8 o'clock Brunt and some others from his house took their departure with arms, with which they had there provided themselves, and concealed under their coats, to this stable in Cato-street. They met there Thistlewood, Ings, Wilson, and some others, and here they proceeded to arm themselves with the weapons provided, and which were afterwards found; such as guns, pistols, swords, a great number of hand-grenades, and a considerable number of pikes, rudely formed, but sufficient for the purpose of doing incredible mischief. The handles of the pikes were composed of rough ash sticks of a large size, the ends of which were planed off, to admit a ferule, and at the end was stuck a pike-head or bayonet; for, articles of both descriptions were found, screwed on for the purpose of being afterwards used. At first their party at Cato-street, consisted only of 14 or 15 persons, and some little alarm was excited and some little suspicion evidently raised in the mind of Thistlewood, and some others, at Tidd's not making his appearance at the appointed time, for there being some remarks made that their number was not so large as was expected, it was stated by Thistlewood, and by some others, that there were other persons, who would by and by assemble, and that other parties were gone for different purposes about the metropolis, who were not to accompany them to Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor-square. In a short time afterwards, however, Tidd made his appearance with a person named Monument, who will be produced as a witness—a person who had only been recently induced to participate

in their schemes—who, a short time before, had been introduced to Thistlewood, and who had an intimation generally with respect to their particular views : but he had not been admitted to a knowledge of the whole scope of the plan, until he arrived at Cato-street, although he might be aware that their object was to overturn the Government in some way or other. He arrived, however, with Tidd about seven o'clock, and the party at that time consisted of about twenty-five persons; two of them were appointed to remain as sentries below stairs to prevent any interruption. These persons were Davidson and Ings, and they remained on guard whilst the other conspirators were above stairs talking over their plans, and making the final arrangements for proceeding to Lord Harrowby's house, which they proposed to do between 7 and 8 o'clock. Some alarm, as I have already told you, had prevailed in the party. Some of them expressed a fear that their own strength was hardly adequate to the object in view. Upon which Thistlewood and Ings said the opportunity must not be lost; that there were enough to complete the purpose of destroying his Majesty's ministers; that when that was accomplished, the other consequences would follow; that they should have parties ready to set fire to different parts of the metropolis; that they would be joined by immense numbers, the moment the first blow was struck, and therefore, there could be no hesitation in their minds to execute the intended purpose. Having thus assembled their forces, and prepared themselves for the desperate object of their enterprize, they began between seven and eight o'clock to consider who should be the party to enter Lord Harrowby's house to destroy the ministers. The plan had been, that Thistlewood was to knock at the door under pretence of having a note to deliver to Lord Harrowby, and by that means having obtained access to the hall, they were to compel the servants to shew them to the room where the ministers were assembled; that they were to secure the servants, who, they naturally believed, would be soon overpowered, and should then immediately make their way into the room, and then they should, without discrimination, without reserve, or without any remorse, destroy every one of his Majesty's ministers who should be assembled. I have stated to you, gentlemen, already, the exultation and impiety displayed by Brunt on one occasion, when he contemplated the completion of his sanguinary purpose; and I cannot conceal from you one fact, as it affects the man named Ings, which will be distinctly proved; he had been a butcher, and he had armed himself on this occasion not with a blunderbuss, a gun, or any thing of that sort, but with a large butcher's knife, and for the purpose of enabling him to use it with more effect, he had twisted round the handle a quantity of thread, in order that when saturated with the blood of his victims, it might not slip out of his hand; and he stated, in language of the most gross and horrible import, that with this knife he would himself effect the murder and mutilation of some of the persons who should be assembled. It was no doubt expected, that the dreadful atrocities exhibited in a neighbouring country, when repeated in this, would produce the same sanguinary effects, and it was no doubt expected, that the exhibition of the heads of

his Majesty's Ministers, after their death was effected, might inflame the populace in such a degree, as would enable the conspirators to succeed in the nefarious purposes they had in contemplation. But, gentlemen, that Providence, whose name had been impiously used by one of the prisoners, in gratitude for bringing about an opportunity for completing the atrocious schemes of the conspirators, interposed to prevent the consummation of so much crime and wickedness. In consequence of the communication made to Lord Harrowby, measures were taken in other quarters to prevent the impending danger. It being stated that these three persons had met in Cato-street, for the purpose I have already mentioned, means were immediately taken to secure the conspirators, which, however, were not so effectual as could have been wished, but certainly so far as to prevent the execution of their dreadful purposes. In order to remove all suspicion from the minds of the conspirators, it was determined by Lord Harrowby, that the preparations for the dinner, which he had intended undoubtedly for his Majesty's Ministers, on that occasion, should go on; and in order that there should be no suspicion in the house of my Lord Harrowby, his servants were desired to proceed in the necessary arrangements for the dinner, because there is no doubt, that if any alteration had taken place in the arrangements of the day, it would have been communicated to the conspirators, and if they suspected that the dinner was not intended to take place, they would have changed their measures, and the ends of justice would have been defeated. In consequence, therefore, of the seeming perseverance in the design of having a cabinet dinner, all suspicion was removed from the minds of the Cato street conspirators, who no doubt expected that they should be enabled, from the short distance from their rendezvous, to reach Lord Harrowby's in about ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour, and then accomplish their purpose unmolested—a circumstance not unlikely, considering that the neighbourhood was the most quiet and retired in London; at a time, too, when the inhabitants of the square and its vicinity were employed in domestic retirement; at that hour when suspicion must be lulled asleep, and when no apprehensions could be entertained of personal danger; that hour, and that moment were chosen by the Cato-street conspirators to issue from the scene of their nefarious deliberations. Precautions, however, had been taken, as I have stated to you, in order to prevent the accomplishment of their designs. A number of Bow-street officers and patrol had been directed to go to the spot, and endeavour to watch their movements, and counteract their operations, before they took their departure, and endeavour to secure the whole assemblage.

The learned Counsel then went on to state, in feeling terms, the scenes which subsequently followed the entry of Ruthven and Ellis, when the death of the unfortunate officer, Smithers, was effected by the hand of the prisoner Thistlewood. A determined resistance at once became manifest, on the part of the conspirators, shots were fired, blows with swords,

and other weapons, aimed at the officers and soldiers. This, gentlemen, (said the Attorney-General, in continuation) exhibits clearly, that the purpose for which they were assembled could not be a good one, for they waited not to know or attend to the authority of the peace officers, who called upon them to surrender; but, determined to carry their purpose into effect, they dared any, and cared not what resistance they made. Notwithstanding the resistance, however, which they so desperately made, and in which resistance Thistlewood, Tidd, Davidson, Ings, and Wilson, took a most active part, by attacking the officers and soldiers; the whole of the conspirators were, at length, fortunately overcome, and eventually eleven of them secured. Not on that night, however, for three out of the eleven for the time escaped, namely, Thistlewood, Brunt, and Harrison. The officers, however, not only secured on that night the eight men, but various articles of fire-arms, numerous weapons, ammunition, and certain combustibles. The prisoner Brunt, gentlemen, one of those who escaped, returned that night to his own house. He was accompanied by another man, and his own boots were in such a state, as not to fail to excite the attention of some persons in the house. His boy (an apprentice, named Hale) soon learned, from the conversation which passed between his master and the other man, that they had just escaped from Cato-street, and Brunt expressed a belief that his person had not been discovered. This prisoner, gentlemen, remained at home the whole of the night, but, early on the morning following, he called to him the apprentice boy I have named, and asked him as to his knowledge of some street in the Borough, where he wanted to convey some baskets. These were all carefully packed up, and it is a remarkable circumstance, which will be spoken to in evidence, that so anxious was he for the concealment of its contents, that one of the baskets was secured with the apron of his wife! gentlemen, the prisoner now thought all secure; but he had scarcely effected his plan, and retired into another room, previous to dispatching the baskets, when the officers entered the house and seized him. This, you may suppose, was not a little surprising to Brunt; for, most material would it have been to him to have had the baskets removed. Upon searching these, gentlemen, were found a number of hand-grenades, fire-balls, and other articles of destruction. Upon their discovery, Brunt for some time affected ignorance of the thing, but he was told it was of no use. The prisoner at the bar, Thistlewood, who also escaped on the night of the 23d, retired, not to his own house, however, but to an obscure lodging in Whitecross-street, where he thought to conceal himself. Information, however, soon reached the police-office, Bow-street, of his retreat, and early the next morning, a strong party of officers, headed by Bishop, were sent to apprehend him. Upon their arrival at the place, every precaution was, of course taken to prevent an alarm; while the officers, at the same time, knowing the desperate sort of character they had to contend with, were equally guarded to resist any attack which might be made upon them. They then proceeded to search the house, beginning with the top and descending to the lower rooms. One of these, which was most obscurely situated, was found fast. Bishop, demanded the key and, with some other of the

officers, proceeded to open the door. Upon effecting this, a light beaming through the crevice of a window shutter exhibited to them the prisoner, Thistlewood, stretched on a bed. Lavender, the officer, immediately sprang upon him, and aided by Bishop and the other officers, he was soon secured. Gentlemen, I have now to state to you, at the suggestion of a learned friend, a fact which I had almost forgotten. It is material for you to know, that on the 22d February, the conspirators held a consultation at the house of Brunt. Every thing was on this occasion considered as finally arranged. After the first blow was struck of destroying the ministers, the principal barracks and various public places were to be set fire to. The prisoner Harrison, was the individual who proposed the mode of destroying the Portman-square barracks, which was to be done by throwing from a stable in the rear, fire balls, among a quantity of straw, which would instantly communicate to the barracks and effect almost certain destruction: but this is not all, gentlemen, for at this very consultation, Thistlewood sat down and wrote two proclamations, in anticipation of the success of his diabolical schemes, and which proclamations were upon that success to be issued: but you will observe, gentlemen, it was not considered by the prisoner duly official to write these proclamations on paper, and Hale (the apprentice of Brunt) was sent in search of parchment. This being procured, he wrote an address to the following effect, intended for the people generally—

“Your tyrants are destroyed—the friends of liberty are called upon to come forward—the Provisional Government is now sitting.
“Feb. 21.” “JAMES INGS, Sec.”

After Thistlewood had written this, he proceeded to form a proclamation to the soldiers, calling upon them to join their friends in liberty, and promising that they should be rewarded with full pay and a pension for life!! These proclamations, gentlemen, were read aloud by Thistlewood to the conspirators, and they were unanimously approved. Some of them, I should tell you, were to be posted as convenient as possible to every barrack or public place which might be set fire to or destroyed. Thistlewood himself carried the proclamations from the house of Brunt to Cato-street. And now, gentlemen, having stated these facts, let me pause to ask you, whether, if I prove them in evidence, you can come to any other conclusion than that the prisoner who stands before you, is guilty? What answer, I will ask, can be given to such evidence as this, and if no answer can be given in evidence, what answer can be given in reason? It may be urged, in a general sense, that such schemes and such plans as the facts I have related to you disclose, ought scarcely to be credited in a Court of Justice. This may be inferred from the circumstance of heated men with heated passions, conceiving and proposing the adoption of plans, wild and visionary, and in fact wholly impracticable. In this case, however, such a principle did not exist; for here were long laid regular plans, extensive schemes, and the most abundant preparations, to effect a wicked purpose. And will not desperate and designing men, infuriated by their passions, either influence others to the accomplishment of such plans, or be worked upon by them themselves. Look then, gentlemen, to the facts of the case yourselves,

You will view them as calm and sober men, and in doing so you will perceive such a system and such an adroitness towards the execution of that system, that their object requires but little solution. Gentlemen, it is not your duty to consider whether the schemes in question were wild and visionary, but whether they had for their object an illegal or wicked purpose; and if illegal, and that towards the execution of their plans they took but one step, they have then done that which renders them amenable to the offended laws of their country. If these arguments, gentlemen, won't avail, what then may not be urged for the prisoner? But you will also be told that accomplices are not to be believed on their oath, in a Court of Justice. I contend, however, that they should; and if it was not permitted to accomplices in guilt to give evidence for the purposes of justice, then the blackest and foulest crimes would be daily committed and go unpunished. But it is not the law of England alone, to hear the evidence of an accomplice. It is the law of reason also, and has been the law of all ages and nations. I admit that you should watch with the greatest caution and jealousy the testimony of an accomplice. You should weigh his story well, and see whether it be confirmed by the more indifferent witnesses. Not confirmed in every part, for then his evidence would not be required at all; but in certain collateral parts which may be found to correspond with the other testimony. If therefore, gentlemen, an accomplice is produced before you, and you believe a part of what he relates, you are bound in a great measure to believe that the whole of what he tells you is true. No man, or set of men, who had ever conceived such plans as I have laid before you, could have so conceived them without an intention of pursuing them. The plans, therefore, at least for some time, could be known only to themselves and to their God. I say then that the evidence of an accomplice is not only highly necessary, but even laudable; for if you resist such a principle, the more dark will be the crime, the more secret the scheme, and the more wicked the purpose. As I told you before, gentlemen, it has long been the law of England to receive the evidence of an accomplice, and even in cases of murder, it has proved most salutary in the administration of justice. I will call a witness before you, gentlemen, named Adams, an accomplice, as you will find, and he being in the full confidence of the conspirators, will prove to you the nature of all their proceedings from time to time, and of the different plans and communications which were made between him and them. I will call another man to you, gentlemen, who was the first to make known the diabolical plans of the conspirators, to my Lord Harrowby; but this man was not much known to them, nor did he therefore rank high in their councils. This man in fact, when he heard the dreadful plan related of visiting his Majesty's ministers with destruction and death, his heart shuddered, his conscience smote him, and he could hold out no longer. Some men, you know, have very strong minds, and are not to be deterred from the most wicked purpose. Others are less firm, and more easily shaken in the accomplishment of a cruel or immoral design. The witness whom I shall produce to you, gentlemen, and whose name is Hiden, is one of this description. A third witness I shall produce to you, is an indivi-

dual who was rather more in confidence with the Conspirators. His name is Dwyer, and you will find that Thistlewood and Davidson applied to him for his advice and assistance towards the execution of their murderous purpose. You will even find that they solicited his aid on the very day on which that purpose was to be put into execution. This witness, however, horror-struck at the intended massacre, and feeling it to be his bounden duty, ran almost instantly and communicated the fact to others. He first communicated it to his wife, and next to an officer in the army, named James, with a view that it might be immediately conveyed to his Majesty's ministers. This, under the special hand of Providence, was done. And now let me again ask you, gentlemen, is this testimony to be rejected? Surely it never can by enlightened men such as you are. But this even does not furnish my case for the prosecution; for I assure you it does not rest upon the testimony of Adams, Hiden, and Dwyer; but there are facts in this case which, I fear, the prisoner will not be able to answer. Why, I would ask, were these men assembled in Cato-street, and why at night? There were none of them related to each other, yet they were all armed with deadly weapons, and found in close deliberation in an obscure stable. There were also found there a quantity of destructive grenades and fire-balls, together with a large portion of ammunition. But this is not all. At the houses of two others of the conspirators, namely Brunt and Tidd, there were found similar articles of destruction, particularly ammunition. The weight found of the latter, gentlemen, amounted to between eleven and twelve hundred pounds; and I would ask, in the name of God, what object could these men have had in the possession of such a quantity of ammunition? Surely it could not even be for individual murder! No, gentlemen, it was the destruction of his majesty's ministers in the first place, the burning and levelling of public barracks and edifices in the next, and finally, the establishment of a revolution, and the appointment of a Provisional Government. These men, gentlemen, could never have been unfriendly towards ministers as individuals. It must have been a hatred of them in the character of their office alone, and their design was more particularly levelled at Lord Harrowby, because his lordship was president of the council. Can you doubt, that after this dreadful blow was made, and it had succeeded, that it was the intention of these conspirators to have established a provisional government, and thus spread anarchy and confusion around. In fact, that was the eventual blow meant to be carried into execution. I say, therefore, that even if the learned counsel for the prisoners were to contend most successfully against the evidence of the accomplices, the facts I shall produce to you by other testimony, will answer the purposes of this just and necessary prosecution. What was the conduct of the prisoners when they were discovered in Cato-street? I want not, gentlemen, by a repetition of this term, to inflame your minds; but it will be extremely important for you to remember, that when the officers entered the loft there, and said, 'we are officers,' they submitted not to their authority, but resisted them even in the most ferocious manner, and one officer, as you have before heard, unfortunately lost his life. The prisoner at the bar, however, is not under trial for that offence, nor should that

fatal circumstance operate in the present case against him. But I must again ask you what became of the prisoner on the 23d, the intended night of blood and slaughter? Why he flies from the desperate scene, not to his own home, as you have already been told, but to an obscure place of concealment. These then, gentlemen, are the facts of this momentous case; and once more I ask you, what possible conclusion can you draw from such facts, if they be supported in evidence? Gentlemen, I repeat it, that this is a momentous and important case, and if these plots of the conspirators, and of the prisoner in particular, be proved to have existed—if the means had been used which I have described to you for effecting the nefarious and diabolical plans they had formed, then I call upon you, in the name of justice, to give that verdict which will best satisfy the laws of your country, and tend to protect the lives of your fellow-creatures. Commiseration (if I may use the term) towards a prisoner, I never should withhold; and God forbid, gentlemen, that you should not give to the man at the bar the advantage of every, even the slightest, circumstance of doubt which may arise in his favour. If these doubts also should predominate, it will be your duty to acquit the prisoner; but if, on the other hand, the facts which I have laid before you be substantiated, and you feel in your consciences that the charge is made out, it will then become your painful but bounden duty to convict him. Should these facts, I say, for the last time, be brought home to the prisoner, it will then be your duty, as men, as citizens, as fathers—as men desirous of maintaining the laws, and of acting under the solemn obligation of your oaths, to pronounce him guilty.

All the other prisoners were then ordered to be brought into court, and having answered to their names, it was desired that they should remain at the back, in the dock.

EVIDENCE FOR THE CROWN.

Robert Adams, sworn and examined by the Solicitor-General. I live in Hole-in-the-Wall passage, Brooks'-market: I am a shoemaker. I was in the royal regiment of Horse-guards. I left that service 18 years since. I know the prisoner Brunt. I knew him at Cambray, in France, in 1816; he went then by the name of Thos. Morton. I know the prisoner Thistlewood: I first knew him on the 13th of January last; I saw him at his own lodgings, in Stanhope-street, Clare-market; I was introduced to him by Brunt and Ings; at the time I was introduced Brunt said to him, "this is the man that I was speaking about." Thistlewood said to me, "you were once in the life-guards?" I said "no I were not, I originally belonged to the dragoons." He then said "you are a good swordsman?" I said I could use a sword to defend myself, but I was not so good at it as heretofore, not having used a sword or other arms for some time back. On this he said, "there was no person that was worth ten pounds that was worth any thing for the good of his country. As for the shopkeepers of London, they were a set of aristocrats together, and were all working under one system of government; he should glory to see the day that all the shops were shut up and well plundered." His discourse then turned to Mr. Hunt—he said that "Mr. Hunt was a coward, and no friend to the people, and he had no

doubt if he (Thistlewood) was to get into Whitehall, he would find his name on the books as a spy to Government." He then turned to Mr. Cobbett, and said that he and his writings were no good to the country, and he had no doubt that he was a spy as well as Hunt." That finished the discourse at that time, as far as I can recollect. I was afterwards confined in Whitecross-street prison for debt, previous to which several interviews took place between us. The next interview was on the 16th, at the White Hart public-house, in Brooks'-market; Ings, Brunt, Hall, and Tidd, were present; we met in a room in a back yard. On the 17th I went to prison; I remained there 14 days; I came out on Sunday, the day after the death of the King. After I came out, I saw Thistlewood on the next evening, in a back room on the same floor of a house in which Brunt lived, in Fox's-court, Gray's Inn-lane. Brunt, Ings, Hall, and Davidson were present; nothing particular took place on that night. I met them again on the Wednesday evening---Thistlewood, Brunt, Davidson, Harrison, and Edwards, were present.

Mr. Curwood objected to this evidence, as it was evidence of an overt act not stated on the indictment. It was necessary, where a meeting as an overt act was charged, that the time and place should be stated on the indictment. This had not been done, and the prisoner could not be prepared to meet it.

The Chief Justice over-ruled the objection.

Witness, in continuation, said: On this occasion I saw a number of pike-staves, which Thistlewood wanted to have ferruled. Thistlewood expressed his surprise that Bradburn (one of the prisoners,) who had been furnished with money to purchase ferrules to put upon these staves, had not done it. The staves were quite green, as if they had been just cut from the cover. Thistlewood then accused Bradburn of having spent the money, and said that he was not worth consideration. These meetings were held twice a day, from the time I came out of prison to the 23d of February. I heard Brunt say, he had hired the room in which they met, for Ings; there was no furniture in the room. I recollect at one of these meetings, I went up to the room. Thistlewood and Harrison were sitting at the fire: they made room for me. Harrison said, "he had met a life-guardsman, who told him that the life-guards and as many of the foot-guards as could be spared would be at the funeral of the King at Windsor." He then added, "that he thought this would be a favourable opportunity to kick up a row, and see what could be done." Thistlewood said, "that it would be a favourable opportunity; and remarked, that provided they could take the two pieces of cannon in Gray's-inn-lane, and the six pieces in the Artillery-ground, they would have the means of getting London in their possession before morning." He then quite agreed in the plan, and said, "that even if the Guards were to come back, they would be so tired, that they could not do any thing." He went on to say, "that by perseverance, if they got the cannon, they might go to Hyde-park, and prevent any orderly from having any communication with Windsor." "In the next place," he said, "it would be necessary to go to the telegraph over the water, to prevent any communication being made to Woolwich. He

thought by this time they should be able to establish a provisional government, and would have an opportunity of sending to the sea ports to prevent any gentleman leaving this country without a passport from this provisional government." He particularly mentioned, "Dover, Deal and Margate, and especially to Brighton; not that he thought the new King would be there, or even at the funeral of his father." He added, "that the present family had inherited the crown long enough; it was no use, therefore, for the new King to think of wearing the crown any longer." Brunt and Ings came in after this discourse. Thistlewood communicated to them what had been said, but both of them declared that nothing short of the assassinations they had in view would satisfy them—the assassination of ministers. Brunt had told me, that two or three of them had drawn out a plan to assassinate ministers at the first cabinet dinner they had. The parties never scarcely met, but what that was the subject of their conversation. On the 19th of February I went again to the room in Fox-court; Thistlewood, Davidson, Harrison, Ings, Brunt, and Hall, were there. When I went in, they were all sitting round the room: they all then got up, and said, "Well, it is agreed; we have come to the determination, if nothing takes place between this and next Wednesday night, we will go to work." It was said, "they were all so poor, they could not wait any longer." Thistlewood proposed that a committee should meet the next morning to draw out a plan. That was on Sunday morning. He then said to Brunt, "you had better go round this afternoon, and see what men you can bring forward to attend the committee." Brunt said, "he had some work to finish, but that he could get up in the morning and get a few of them, as it was not necessary to bring a great many." Brunt was then leaving the room, when Thistlewood said, "it will be highly necessary for all who attend to morrow morning to bring arms with them, in case any officer should come up. Brunt said, with an oath, if any officer came up, he would run him through, and murder him on the spot; this was all that I recollect on Saturday. On the next morning I went at 11 o'clock, it was so dark from a heavy fall of snow, that I did not at first see who was there; but after some time I saw Thistlewood, Davidson, Tidd, Cook, Hall, Bradburn, Edwards, Harrison, and Wilson; they had not entered into the business, but Thistlewood on counting the heads (12 in number), said "it is time to proceed to business." He then proposed that Tidd should take the chair: Tidd took the chair accordingly, with a pike in his hand. Thistlewood began and said, "Gentlemen, I presume you all know what you are met for," and turning to the door, he said "the west end job." Brunt made some violent exclamation, but was called to order by the chairman. Thistlewood then spoke again, and said, "we are all of us tired of waiting for this job—and as we find there is no probability of their (ministers) meeting altogether—if in case we do not find them altogether between this and Wednesday night, we are come to a determination to take them separately at their own houses. If we take them separately, we must take them two or three together as we can get them. "I suppose" continued he, "we

can take as much as 40 or 50 men to do the west end job—and I propose at the same time, that the two pieces of cannon in Gray's Inn-lane, and the six pieces of cannon in the Artillery Ground shall be taken." He then called upon Cook to take the lead and command at the taking of the six pieces of cannon at the Artillery Ground. After these were taken, he proposed that the Mansion-house should be taken, as a seat for the provisional government; then they were to make a descent on the Bank of England—and he proposed that Palen should be the man to set fire to the different buildings in the different parts of London—this was all that passed that morning; but Thistlewood said "there was time enough to mature the plans between that and Wednesday night." Brunt now said, he had a proposition to make for the manner of assassinating the ministers, and was going to do so, when Thistlewood said, "Stop, first let my proposition be put from the chair." The chairman then asked several if they had any thing to say as to what had been proposed; but they all agreed, and it was carried unanimously. Brunt then proposed, "That as many of the ministers as they could assassinate, should be assassinated on Wednesday, at all events, and that the men who were willing to undertake the job should be divided in lots.—After the men were so lotted, a man was to be drawn for the sole purpose of assassinating the party they went to; and whoever that fell upon, that man should be bound to do it, or be murdered himself, Whatever man the lot fell upon to do this assassination, and should fail in doing it, he swore by all that was good that man should be run through upon the spot." Upon this I got up myself and said to Mr. Brunt, "Do you mean to say, that a man may not fail in undertaking such a thing; and do you mean to say, that a man in so failing should be run through upon the spot himself?" He said, "No, unless there was the least sign of fear; if a man attempted and failed, he must be thought to be a good man, and should not die." Mr. Brunt's motion was then put from the chair and agreed to. In a few minutes after, Palen, Potter, and Strange came in. They were asked to sit down, and Thistlewood told them of the plans that had been proposed: they agreed to them the same as the rest had done. After this, Palen got up and said, that agreeing to the plans which had been disclosed, there was one thing he wanted to know—"You talk," said he, "of taking from forty to fifty men to the west-end job; I should like to know, then, where you are to find the men to take the cannon in Gray's-Inn-lane and the Artillery-ground; for I can't say where they are to be got, although you may know more on the subject than I do. I want to know also," said he, "in calling upon the men I intend to go to, if I can tell them in fact what is to be done?" The chairman replied, turning to Mr. Thistlewood, "that no doubt Mr. Palen knew the men he had to depend upon;" it was agreed that Mr. Palen should make such communications as he might think prudent. They were then going to separate, when Mr. Thistlewood said, "O! well thought of, Brunt, take Mr. Palen to the place hard by, and see whether he thinks it can be easily done"—that was to set fire to Furnival's-inn. Palen and Brunt went out and soon returned, saying, "It was a very good job; it was very easy done; it would make a good fire."

Before they left the room, Thistlewood said, "he thought it was highly necessary to get the men together and give them a treat." Brunt turned round and said with an oath, although poor, he had a pound note, which he would apply to that purpose; upon this Thistlewood said, "Where can we take them to. I suppose we can take them to the White Hart." This was objected to, in consequence of something which had been said of that place; but it was finally agreed they should be brought to Brunt's room, who was to send his apprentice out of the way. Thistlewood's room was mentioned, but he objected, lest any suspicion should be excited in the mind of an officer, who lived nearly opposite to him. The meeting then broke up. On Monday morning I went again to the room about ten o'clock, Thistlewood, Brunt, Harrison, Hall, Ings, and others were present. I said, I had something to communicate, and told them that Hobbs, the landlord of the White Hart, had told me that two officers had called from Bow-street and Hatton-garden, and asked "whether a radical meeting did not take place there?" The officers said, "they had information that there was, and that there was similar information given at Lord Sidmouth's office." Harrison on this said to me, like a lion, "Adams, you have done wrong." Brunt also said I had done wrong, for if I had any thing to communicate, I ought to have communicated it to them alone. I said I did not think I had, for what concerned all, ought to be communicated to all. They repeated that I had done wrong. They then proposed breaking up, to call upon their men, and also to attend at a meeting, called the "Mary-le-bone Union." Brunt said he would call upon the Mary-le-bone club, as he wanted some money. Before we parted, I was appointed to come again to Brunt's room that evening, to tell any person who came, that there was no meeting. I went, and Potter soon joined me. We went to the White Hart, where Palen and Bradburn came to us. I went again the next morning; Brunt, Ings, Hall, Davidson, Harrison, Wilson, Palen, Potter, and Bradburn were there. While there, Edwards came in and went up to Thistlewood, and told him there was to be a cabinet dinner next night. Thistlewood said, "I don't think that is true;" but he proposed to send for a paper to ascertain the fact. A newspaper was sent for, and read by Thistlewood; it contained an account that there was to be a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor-square, on Wednesday evening. On this Brunt walked towards the window and said, "I'll be hanged if I don't believe now, that there is a God; I have often prayed that these thieves might be brought together, in order that they might be destroyed together; and now God has answered my prayer." Thistlewood proposed that there should be a committee sit directly; I was put in the chair, and Thistlewood proposed to form a fresh plan regarding the assassination. I interrupted him and called to their recollection what Hobbs had said to me the day before. On this Harrison walked backwards and forwards in a great passion and swore, that the first man that said a word to throw cold water on the concern, he would run that man directly through with the sword. (They were all in the greatest confusion.) I was put out of the chair and Tidd was put in. Thistlewood wanted to proceed in the business, when Palen said, he

wanted to be satisfied as to what had fallen from me on the previous morning. On this, in the end, Brunt moved, in order to do away any suspicion as to what had passed, that a watch should be set on the Earl of Harrowby's that night, to see if any men or soldiers went into the house, in order to way lay any body that might go there. That was approved of—two were to go on at six and remain till nine, and to be regularly relieved every two hours. Thistlewood then came forward and said, he hoped every one would be satisfied if no officers or soldiers went into the house; and that they would do what they thought of the next evening. He then said, "that as there had not been a dinner so long, there would no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there, and it would be a rare haul to murder them altogether. He afterwards proposed that one should go with a note to present to the Earl of Harrowby, and when the door was open, the other men to rush in and seize the servants, and threaten them with death if they stirred. This being done, men were to take the command of different parts of the house, to prevent the escape of the servants, and if they attempted to stir, to throw a lighted hand grenade among them. Two men were also to be placed at the area for the same purpose. At the same time the men who were to do the assassination, were to rush into the room in which the cabinet ministers were, and to murder them all, good and bad: if there were any good ones, they were to be murdered for keeping bad company. Ings offered to enter the room first with a brace of pistols, a cutlass, and a knife in his pocket, and with a determination to cut off every head there, and to bring away Lord Castlereagh's and Lord Sidmouth's heads in a bag which he was to have for the purpose." He said he would say on entering the room, "Well, my Lords, I have got as good men here as the Manchester Yeomanry! enter citizens, and do your duty! Upon this word of command from Ings, two swordsmen, followed by others with pikes and pistols, were to come in and to fall to work murdering as fast as they could. Harrison was one that was picked out by Thistlewood as a swordsman, and I was the other, as the two men best capable of using the swords. Harrison had been in the Life Guards. Seeing that there was no chance of escape, and my life was in danger, I agreed to it. After the execution had been done at Earl Harrowby's, they were to leave the house as quick as possible, and Harrison was to go to the King-street barracks, where the horse soldiers were, and take a fire-ball to fling into the straw shed. He was to be supported by Wilson. The rest of the party were to proceed to Gray's-Inn-lane, to the city light horse barracks, for the purpose of meeting the body of men who were to be appointed to take the cannon, to assist them if they were not strong enough. They were to go from thence to the artillery ground, to assist Mr. Cooke, if he should not be strong enough, in taking the six cannon. Cooke was to await the arrival of Mr. Thistlewood, if not strong enough. The cannon were to be loaded before they were taken into the street, to be fired on any person who might be disposed to resist. If Cooke was able to take the cannon himself, he was to proceed to the Mansion-house and to plant three of them on each side of that building. He

was then to demand possession of the Mansion-house, and if it was refused, he was to fire at it, when it was presumed it would soon be given up. The Mansion-house was to be the seat of the Provisional Government. An attack was to be made on the Bank of England. The funds were to be removed, but the books were not to be destroyed, as they would enable them to see further into the villainy of the country for years passed. The further proceedings were to be left till the Wednesday. After the chair was left, Harrison proposed that there should be a countersign, to be communicated to all their friends. The countersign was this—one man was to say “but” and the other “ton,” and by this they were to know who were their party, or who were not. In the afternoon I went to the house again; I smelt a strong smell on going in, and on reaching the room I found Edwards making a fuse for the grenades. Ings was making what they called the illumination balls, with rope yarn and tar. Hall was assisting in this manufacture. I called up again the same evening and saw two strange men, one of whom was Harris. Brunt and Thistlewood were there. Davidson went on watch at Lord Harrowby’s at six o’clock. I and Brunt afterwards went to the watch. When we got to the square, I saw Davidson and another man whom I did not know. Before we went into the square Brunt and I had some bread and cheese, at a public house at the back of Lord Harrowby’s house. Brunt played dominoes with a young man who was in the house. We went off the watch at twelve o’clock. On the next day, Wednesday, I went again to Fox-court, between two and three o’clock. Mr. Brunt was in his own room, and while I was there Strange came in. A few minutes after two strangers came in. I turned my head and saw some pistols in a drawer. Strange and the men that came in tried the flints. Brunt then invited them into the back-room. On going there I saw several swords, a blunderbuss, several pistols, and other arms; the strangers began putting flints into the pistols. They had not been long there before Thistlewood, Ings, and Hall came in; Thistlewood looked round, and said, “My lads, this looks like something; this looks as if something is going to be done.” I complained of being in low spirits, and Brunt sent out for some beer and spirits. When the spirits came, Thistlewood said he wanted some paper to write some bills on. Brunt then said, either his son or the apprentice should fetch it, and Thistlewood gave him a shilling for that purpose; the paper was brought, and a chair and table for Thistlewood to write on. Three bills were written by him and read. The first was:—

“Your tyrants are destroyed. The friends of liberty are called upon to come forward. The provisional government is now sitting.
 “JAS. INGS, Secretary.”

“February 23, 1820.

There were three of these written; they were to be stuck up at the houses which were on fire. When Thistlewood wrote the last of these bills, he was very much agitated, his hand shook greatly. He then proposed that Hall should take the pen, but Hall objected. Another person, a stranger, afterwards took the pen, and sat down to write. Thistlewood dictated to him what he was to write. I do not

know what became of the papers : the last time I saw them, one was in the hands of Ings, the other in the hands of Thistlewood. I have not seen them since.

The Solicitor-General. We have given notice to all the prisoners to produce these papers.

Mr. Adolphus.—I admit the notice, but we have no papers to produce.

Witness in continuation.—The paper was not completed, because they could not agree upon the terms. Thistlewood said he had given orders to have the bills prepared a fortnight before, but they had not been done.

Mr. Adolphus objected to any question being asked as to the contents of this paper.

The Commissioners, after consulting on the objection, stated, that some doubt was entertained on the subject, and the question was not pressed by the Solicitor-General.

Witness went on.—While these bills were writing, Ings was preparing himself in the manner in which he was to enter the house of Earl Harrowby. He put on a black belt round his waist and another over his shoulders : he also put on two bags like haversacks, and then pistols in his belts—he afterwards looked at himself, and said “D—n my eyes, I am not complete now ; I’ve forgot my steel.” He then took a large knife, and brandished it about as if he were cutting off heads : he then swore that he would bring away two heads in his bags, and one of Lord Castlereagh’s hands, which he would cure (salt), as it might be thought a good deal of hereafter. He repeatedly made use of these expressions. The knife was 12 inches long, with a rough handle, round which there was some wax end to prevent it from slipping in the hand. The other men were equally busy in equipping themselves. Palen came in about half-past five. Thistlewood and Brunt having left the room for a short time, Palen addressed those who were present, and said, “Gentlemen, are you all aware of what you are going to do : You ought first to think within yourselves, whether you are going to do your country a service or not ? You ought to think whether the assassination of ministers will be countenanced by your country. If you think that the country will approve of what you are going to do, you ought to come to a resolution that the man who flinches ought to be run through upon the spot. Unless you come to this determination, it will be impossible to do any good.” He was going on, when a tall man in the room said, “You speak as if we all knew what you are going about. I should like to know what it is you are going to be aiter.” This man was a stranger, and had not attended any of the former meetings that I saw. He said to Palen, “I can see pretty well the meaning of what you say, and if we turn out to serve our country, I am not the man that will be afraid of myself.” I did not see Thistlewood after that—Brunt came back, and seeing an alteration in the countenance of some of the men, he expressed a wish to know the cause. He was told that some of those present wished to know what they were going about ? Brunt replied, “That was not the room to be told of what they were going about, but they should go along with him to the rooms in Edgware Road, and they should hear all about

it." Brunt then put the men in movement to go, and said, all that came with him should have something to drink. The tall stranger said he hoped he was not going to encourage drunkenness, as a drunken man would only run himself into the hands of the enemy. It was agreed to go two and two, but not to be all together. I went out with others. There was a cupboard in Brunt's room, which was used to hold swords, hand-grenades, and flannel bags for the cartridges for the cannons. All the ammunition was not at Brunt's; the depot was at Tidd's, who lived in the next room to myself. When we set off from Brunt's, I had a blunderbuss under my great coat, and Brunt had a broom-stick, which was prepared to receive a bayonet; this he also gave me to carry. Among other arms at the depot were some pikes, which were made out of old files, or bayonets. As I went along, a little man called to me to slacken my pace, as Brunt was gone back for something. I afterwards met Brunt, and he took me along the Edgeware-road till we met Thistlewood. We then went to a stable in Cato-street. As I was going under the archway, I saw Thistlewood and Brunt go into the stable. Harrison came up, and said, "Go in." When I entered, I saw Davidson and Wilson doing something with a pike. I went up the ladder, and in the loft found Thistlewood, Brunt, Hall, Bradburn, Strange, Cooper, the tall man I have already alluded to, and several others. In the end there were eighteen in the room and two down stairs. There was a bench in the loft, on which there were arms of different descriptions. There was one candle alight; there was also a chest in the room; when I first went in, they were all handling the arms. Tidd did not come for twenty minutes after; Thistlewood went out for some time, but on his coming back I heard Tidd talking. I went down and found Thistlewood, Brunt, Davidson, Harrison, and Wilson in the stable. When they perceived me, they said in a fluster, "What good news they had got, for all the carriages were assembling in the square."—When I went up again, I saw Thistlewood and Brunt together much agitated; they were talking something about Tidd, when Thistlewood uttered an exclamation that "he would hang himself if he thought any more about it." Brunt said he would lay his life that Tidd would come, and he did come in a few minutes. Thistlewood then said, "I hope you will not give up what you have determined on; it will be another Despard job if you do." He then counted the men and said there was quite sufficient. Fourteen men could go into the room, and the other six could take care of the servants. Fourteen men were then picked out to go into the room and set apart, when Brunt started the gin bottle about. Thistlewood then repeated, "That they were quite enough, even if Lord Harrowby had sixteen servants, for they were unprepared, and they would finish their business in ten minutes." Immediately after I heard a noise below, and somebody said, "Holloa, hold a light." Thistlewood took the candle to see who it was, and turning round, he looked quite confused. At this time the officers entered the room. Two stood in front. One of the officers had a small pistol in his hand, and said, "Here's a pretty nest of it." The officer also said, "We have got a warrant to apprehend you all, and hope you'll go peaceably." At this instant one of the officers behind said, "make way and let me come for-

ward!" The two officers above made way, and the man came forward, and at that moment a groupe that had got into a little room of the loft, advanced forward, when I saw an arm come forward, and another arm follow it with a pistol. I saw the officer fall, and heard a pistol discharged, upon which the candle was put out; I went down the ladder and got away; I went home, and was apprehended on the Friday following; I have been in custody ever since. The witness now identified several of the prisoners at the bar. He did not know Strange, Bradburn, or Gilchrist.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood.—I did not go with the full intention of assassinating his Majesty's ministers; my legs carried me there; I went with that intention to all outward appearance; my inward intention was entirely against the plan that was pursued; I had attended at many meetings; was once a chairman; I continued to attend from fear, in consequence of the threats held out by Brunt; I was not a soldier when I became acquainted with him; I was never treasurer to a benefit society; I went to France to follow my trade; I carried between 30l. and 40l. with me; I conceived it was all my own; I was never charged with taking money away; I was introduced to Mr. Thistlewood for the purpose of assassinating the Ministers. That was first proposed by Brunt before I saw Thistlewood. That purpose declared, I attended several of the meetings mentioned. I was selected for my adroitness with a sword. I was appointed to go into the room with Harrison. I told all I knew on the Saturday after I was apprehended, not upon an understanding that I was to become an evidence. The reason for my telling all I knew was, that my conscience told me I had been doing wrong, and I vowed to God if he spared me I would reveal the whole. I had some of those feelings before I was in custody. I had it before I entered the loft; but when I heard the man was murdered I was worse. I went down with the intention to surrender myself to the officers, but not seeing any I went away. I did not surrender myself the next day; but I waited the event, determined not to run away. The most men I ever saw together, were fifteen. They were all poor men. The largest sum of money I ever saw amongst them was six shilling. Brunt talked of a one pound note, but I did not see it. It was proposed to assassinate the ministers, to take the two guns in Gray's-inn-lane, the six guns at the Artillery Ground, and to take the Mansion-house. I do not know what force could be brought into the field to do this. The cannon were to be loaded with powder, and the tops of some of the iron railings were to be knocked off for balls. I have not seen Edwards since the 22d February. He seemed in close connexion with Thistlewood and Brunt. My own arm was not within sufficient reach to stab Smithers.

Re-examined by the Solicitor-general: I was carrying on my trade at Cambray among the English officers—

Here the Lord Chief Justice interposed, and upon consultation with the officers of the Crown, it was agreed to adjourn the further proceedings till the-morrow. The jury were then conducted, under the care of the officers of the Sheriff, to rooms prepared for them at the London Coffee-house.

The crowd outside of the court continued oppressive during the

whole of the day, but the admirable regulations within the court itself, after the jury had been sworn, prevented all confusion. Lord Yarmouth, Lord Justice Clerk (of Scotland), the Governor of the Tower, and other persons of respectability were present during the whole of the day; they sat on the bench with the commissioners.

TUESDAY (SECOND DAY.)

At a quarter past nine o'clock the Judges took their seats, and Thistlewood and others of the prisoners were allowed the indulgence of chairs as on the preceding day.

The first witness was Eleanor Walker, who deposed as follows: I am a servant with Henry Rogers, who resides at No. 4, Fox-court, Gray's-inn-lane; we had a lodger named Brunt, he is one of the prisoners, and had two rooms on the second floor. There was a second floor back room to let, and Brunt took it for a man who had, he said, just come out of the country. I did not know the man's name; he was to pay 3s. for it, and said he would bring in his goods in a week or so. No furniture was, however, ever brought in; I don't know the new lodger's name; often heard people going up stairs to him.

Mary Rogers examined: I live at No. 4, Fox-court, and remember letting the back second floor to a man brought in by Brunt. Brunt hoped he would be a good lodger, though he said he knew nothing of him, except seeing him at a public-house enquiring for a room, and hearing that he was a butcher out of work. The new lodger never, to my knowledge, slept in the room. He paid the rent for four or five weeks. One evening I saw three men going up to his room; one was a black man. Strangers often came to him.

Joseph Hall examined: I am apprentice to Mr. Brunt, to whom I served two years last Christmas. I was with him in Fox-court, and remember the man he brought to lodge there. That man is the prisoner Ings. He left the key of the room always at Brunt's when he went out. Every evening a number of visitors used to come to them. Among them were, constantly, Thistlewood, Tidd, Bradburn, Edwards, Hall, Potter, Strange, Adams, Davidson, and others. They used to stop about two hours, and sit in Ings's room, on chairs taken out of Brunt's. They called Thistlewood, sometimes T, and at others Arthur. One day I saw some (about 20) long poles, like rough tree branches, in the room, and there was, occasionally, hammering and sawing carried on there. My master was taken up on the 24th February. On Sunday, the 20th, there was a meeting in Ings's room, in the morning, attended by the persons I have already named. There were similar meetings on Monday and Tuesday. On Wednesday, the 23d of February, they were also there. On that day, Strange came into Brunt's room, and was putting some new flints into pistols, but went out of it again into Ings's on Brunt's saying there was somebody overlooking them from the opposite window. Thistlewood was there on the Wednesday, and got from me a sheet of writing paper, which he took into the back room. Brunt gave me sixpence to get six sheets of cartridge paper, and I gave it to him between four

and five o'clock on that afternoon. All the persons in the back-room went out about five o'clock on the Wednesday evening, and my master followed at six o'clock. Tidd came to Mrs. Brunt between seven and eight o'clock, who shewed him a pike-head and sword that were in the cupboard. She asked him what she was to do with them? and he removed them into the back room. Tidd soon after went away, and left word that if anybody called soon, they were to make haste and follow to the White Hart public-house. Some came, and went on there. About nine o'clock the same night, Brunt returned home; his clothes were very dirty, and he seemed much confused; he said to his wife, "All is up! Where I have been a great many officers entered, and I have saved my life, that is all." Another man soon after came in and shook hands with Brunt; the latter asked this man if he knew who were in pawn? The man said no, and complained of having got a dreadful blow in the side, and being knocked down, Brunt said, "There is something to be done yet," and he and the man went out together. Mrs. Brunt and I then went into the back room, where we found one of the poles, and in the cup-board were several rolls of brown paper containing tar, also some cartridges, and things called hand-grenades; and an iron pot. At eleven o'clock my master again returned home, and said he should want me early in the morning, and to have his boots cleaned early. He accordingly called me up at half-past six o'clock on Thursday morning, and asked me, if I knew Potters, at Snows-fields, Borough? I said, I did. I then cleaned his boots, which were very dirty, and he shortly after got up, and took me into the back room, where we began to stow away the rolls of paper into two wicker baskets; while so engaged two officers came in, seized the baskets, and took my master into custody.

Cross-examined by Mr. Adolphus: My master was a journeyman-shoemaker, but not exactly in very poor circumstances. Adams and Tidd were in the same line; Strange was a salesman; Edwards was a modeller, Hall was a journeyman tailor.

Thomas Smart examined: I am a watchman in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square. On the night of the 22d of February, I was in my box, which is situated opposite Lord Harrowby's house, at the south side of Grosvenor-square. On the Tuesday night (22d Feb.) about half-past eight or nine o'clock, I saw four suspicious looking persons walking in the square, and looking into the areas; one of them was a very dark or black man.

Cross-examined: There was nothing extraordinary in seeing suspicious people prowling about at night.

Henry Gillan examined: I am a servant to Mr. Whittle, the apothecary, of 15, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square; I frequent the Rising Sun public-house, Charles-street, Grosvenor-square. I was there on the night of the 22d of Feb. and saw Brunt in the room with a tall man; they were drinking porter and eating bread and cheese; Brunt challenged me to play dominoes with him, and I played two games; I left him in the room about ten o'clock that night.

John Hector Morrison examined: I am a journeyman cutler to Mr. Underwood, in Drury Lane, and recollect a sword being brought to the shop on Christmas Eve, by a man dressed like a butcher; he

had the sword wrapped up in a smock frock without a sheath—he desired to have it well ground and with a fine point—he said his name was Ings; the sword was ground, and he took it away in two or three days. A few days after, he brought another to have the same repair—it was a particularly long one. I have seen it since with a Bow-street officer.

Edward Simpson examined: Is a Corporal-major in the 2d regiment of Life Guards, and knew the prisoner Harrison, who was discharged out of that corps about six years ago. Harrison knew the King-street barracks, five windows of which looked into Gloucester Mews, but they were stopped up a few days after the affair in Cato-street.

In his cross-examination, this witness merely said, that there were generally about 300 soldiers at Knightsbridge barracks. He could not tell how many foot guards were in town. He did not know one Adams.

James Aldons examined: I am a pawnbroker in Berwick-street, and know the prisoner Davidson, who came to my shop on the morning of the 23d of February, and took a brass barrel blunderbuss out of pawn.

Thomas Hidon examined; I was a cow-keeper and milk-man, and formerly a member of a shoe-maker's club, where I knew the prisoner Wilson. I saw him at the club a few days before the 23d of February; he asked me if I would come forward, and be one of a party to destroy his Majesty's Ministers (these were his words) at a cabinet dinner. Every thing was, he said, prepared for the occasion, and the dinner was at hand. If I would join them, he said, Mr. Thistlewood would be glad to speak to me. He also stated, that hand-grenades were prepared for throwing under the dinner-table, and that the ministers who escaped the explosion were to die by the sword or some other weapon. They were also to fire some houses, and create a general confusion to distract public attention for three days, by which time all would be arranged. The fires were to be at stations fixed upon, and among them were to be the houses of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Harrowby, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, the Bishop of London, and some others, which I now forget; this was four or five days before the Cato-street occurrence. I went to Lord Harrowby's house before the 23d Feb., to inform his Lordship of what was going on. He was out and I followed him to the Park, where the servant said he had gone; I met him there and gave him, while he was riding, a note containing the whole plot. I met Wilson about 5 o'clock in the evening of the 23d Feb.; he said I was the man of all others he wanted to see; he told me that the business was to be done that night at a cabinet dinner, and begged of me to meet him as soon as I could on that evening, at the Horse and Groom, John-street; he told me that they were to have the aid of another party in the Borough, and that all the Irish in Gee's-court, Oxford-street, were in the plan; but they would not stir until the English did first, as they had so often been deceived before. Wilson said, a gentleman's servant had been supporting some of the party, and would give them more money if they went actively through the business. He asked me if I had a gun; I said I had a rubbishing one, but it was out of repair.

He said I must then be provided with something to work with among the rest. He also told me, there were two pieces of cannon that might be had in Gray's-Inn-lane, by breaking open two small doors; and four pieces that could easily be had in the Artillery-ground. He explained to me, that after we did the grand piece of work in Grosvenor-square, we were to retreat into the city as quick as we could, and rally at the Mansion-house. I promised to join him as quickly as I possibly could in the course of the evening. I went accordingly at seven o'clock, and saw Wilson and Davidson; the latter complained I was after my time.

Cross-examined: I saw Wilson about four or five days before the 23d of February, when he told me of the plan in the open street.

The letter which witness handed to Lord Harrowby, was here shewn to witness, and identified by him as being the same he had given to his lordship in the Park.

The Earl of Harrowby examined: I reside in Grosvenor-square, on the south-side, near Charles-street. I am a Privy Councillor, President of the Council, and one of his Majesty's Ministers. I am also a member of what is called the Cabinet. On Wednesday, the 23d of February, I was to have had at my house a cabinet dinner, and cards of invitation had been issued some days before, to the following personages:—the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Liverpool and Westmoreland, and Mulgrave, Earl Bathurst, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melville, Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Bragge Bathurst. The members of the cabinet were, in common parlance, called "his Majesty's Ministers," and at a cabinet dinner none but the members of the cabinet were invited. I remember that on the Tuesday before the Wednesday of the intended dinner, I was riding in the Park about two o'clock, preparatory to my attending a council at Carlton-house; I had no servant with me. A person addressed me near Grosvenor-gate, and said he had a letter addressed to Lord Castlereagh, which he was desirous to convey to him—it was of considerable importance, and concerned both that noble Lord and myself. The letter now in court is that letter. The man who was the last witness, at my desire, gave me his address on this card (producing a card). He met me by appointment on Wednesday morning, in the ring, amongst the young plantations in Hyde Park. The cabinet dinner did not take place as intended on the Wednesday, but the preparations for it were carried on in my house just as if it was to take place; nor did I countermand them until 8 o'clock on that evening, when I wrote a note to my head servant from Lord Liverpool's.

Cross-examined: I had general information respecting some plot, before I saw the man in the Park. I don't know one Edwards: I never saw him. We had, for a considerable time, reason to expect that some attack of this nature was intended. I believe we heard of it a month or two before.

John Baker examined: I am butler to the Earl of Harrowby; and recollect the preparations for a cabinet dinner, at his Lordship's house, on Wednesday, the 23d of February. The preparations for the dinner were not countermanded until 3 o'clock that evening.

John Monument examined—(this witness was brought into court by two yeomen of the guards from the Tower).—I am a shoemaker, and lived near Brook's Market. I know Thistlewood, and met him at Forde's; he afterwards called on me with Brunt, and said that great events were at hand; the people were every where anxious for a change; he had often been promised the support of many who had deceived him, but that now he had got men who would stand by him. He then asked me if I had any arms? I said I had not; he observed, all the others had got arms,—some had swords, others pikes or pistols, and that I might get a pistol for 5s. I answered that I had no money. "Well then," said he, "I shall see about it."—Brunt came to me on Tuesday the 22d. of February, accompanied by Tidd; he told me, in explaining the cause of his absence since I last saw him, that events had often rendered a change of their plan necessary, but that now all was fixed; he desired me to go on the Wednesday night to Tyburn turnpike, and I should know all about it. I was to speak to some people who were to assemble there, and the sign was this, I was to say BUT, and if they were friends they were to say TON. I agreed to do so. Brunt called again on the Wednesday afternoon, between four and five o'clock, and asked if I was ready to go and join the party. I promised to do so at six o'clock, after I had finished some hurried work. At half-past six o'clock I went to Tidd's house. I saw him there—he went into the corner of the room, and took a large pistol out of a trunk that lay there, and fastened it in a belt round his waist, under his great coat. He also took out about ten pikes, a foot long each, and some staves to fix them on. We then went together up to John Street; on the way I pressed to know where we were going, and whether it was to the House of Commons. He replied, No, there were too many soldiers about that place. At last he told me, we were going to a cabinet dinner in Grosvenor Square; but he did not say at whose house. We went on to Cato-street, and I ascended the steps from the stable to the loft, which was a small one. There were 24 or 25 men in the room. One man, in a brown great coat, who was sitting down, and who had a belt with pistols in it, round him, talked of the impropriety of attacking the cabinet ministers, at Lord Harrowby's with 14 men. Thistlewood insisted that number would be enough, and an overmatch for 16 of Lord H.'s servants, even supposing he had so many. One man said, "After we are done, there will be a crowd about the door—how shall we get away after we do the business?" Thistlewood said, there would be another body ready to assist us. Davidson rebuked the man who talked of the 14 men, and said, if he was afraid, he had better go about his business. Brunt also said, that sooner than now throw up the business, he would do it himself, and blow up the house with the combustibles they had, and perish with the rest. The man who was objecting then said, that as all were ready he would join also, and go under Mr. Thistlewood's orders. Thistlewood said they would all share equally with him in the honour of the exploit; and then proposed that 14 should volunteer to go into the cabinet dinner-room, that those who were ready to do so should file off at the side of the loft—a number did so. Thistlewood then went out for a minute, and when he returned, said, that Lord Sidmouth

and the Duke of Wellington were already arrived at Lord Harrowby's. Nothing else occurred until the officers and soldiers came up, and took us into custody.

Cross-examined: I never spoke to Thistlewood until I saw him at Mr. Ford's. I attended the meeting in Finsbury-market. I don't know Edwards. The room in Cato-street was full, and we had bread and cheese and beer.

Re-examined: On the table were arms of various kinds. Thistlewood told me at Whitehall to say on my examination, that it was Edwardstook me to Cato-street, and I was to say he was a short sallow complexion man, and dressed in a great coat.

Thos. Monument examined by the Solicitor-General: I am brother to the last witness. I remember Thistlewood calling upon my brother; he brought Brunt with him. After they had come into the room they staid five or ten minutes, when they went out. Thistlewood having asked my brother if he might be permitted to speak with him, they went out together, and remained about two or three minutes. Thistlewood and Brunt then went away. On the Tuesday before the Cato-street business, Tidd and Brunt called on my brother; my brother said to Brunt, "I thought I had lost you, as it is so long since I saw you." Brunt said, that the King's death had made a little alteration in their plans. My brother asked, what those plans were, and Brunt said they had different objects in view. Brunt then asked my brother to meet him at Tyburn turnpike on the next evening; my brother agreed. Brunt said to Tidd, "Suppose we give him an outline of the plan?" Tidd made no answer. Brunt then gave us the pass-word "But;" if we met any friends, they would answer "Ton." I did not promise to go. They spoke chiefly to my brother. I did not, in fact, go. My brother went out the next evening at seven o'clock. Brunt called about five, but we were busy, and my brother could not go at that time. Brunt then told him to call upon Tidd, who lives in the Hole-in-the-Wall passage. I did not see my brother after.—Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood: I never saw Brunt before, nor did I know any of the parties. I made no inquiries into their plans.

Thos. Dwyer, examined by Mr. Gurney: I live in Gee's-court, Oxford-street. Before the twenty-third of February I became acquainted with Davidson. I saw him twice. On one of those occasions he introduced me to Mr. Thistlewood. We went together to a public-house at the end of Molyneux-street, near Cato-street; that was either the 9th, 10th, or 11th of February; Thistlewood said nothing to me at that time; he said that he was in five or six different revolutions, and that Ireland was in a disturbed state at that time; I am an Irishman; and that he said he had a good many of my countrymen. I saw Davidson on the afternoon of the 22d February; the next morning, a person called on me, and I went to Fox-court, Gray's-inn-lane: Davidson told me on Tuesday night he was going on sentry; I went with Harrison to Fox-court; he had a bundle wrapped up in paper; when we got to Fox-court, we went to a two pair back room; the door was locked when we got there, but Harrison got the key from a woman in the front room; when we got in, I saw a cupboard, from which I afterwards saw a ball taken, wrapped

up in rope yarn; Harrison said it was a grenade; Thistlewood, Davidson, and a few more came in subsequently; Davidson had a blunderbuss, a pair of pistols, and a bayonet, in his side-pocket; I saw Brunt there; after Davidson had shewn the pistols, he said that he had given 12s. for them; Brunt said he would go out and buy a pair; Thistlewood said that some of the grenades were to be thrown into the Horse Barracks, and some more of them into Lord Harrowby's, to set fire to the house and blow it up. Thistlewood asked me how many of my countrymen I could muster? He said he should want them at half-past eight that evening; I said I could muster about 26 or 27; he told me to assemble with them at the Horse and Groom, and that I was to be at the Pomfret Castle, at six o'clock, at the end of Wigmore-street—that is a house frequented by Irishmen; we were then to go to the Foundling Hospital, to knock at the porter's lodge, put a pistol to the porter's breast, and then to turn round to the right hand, where I would see five or six and twenty stand of arms, which I was to seize—at the same time, he said, another party was to seize two pieces of cannon at the City Riding School, Gray's inn-lane—more, he said, would make a breach in Finsbury; he said that there was to be a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's that day, and that they were to make an attack there. After this I saw a bundle taken out of the cupboard, it contained gunpowder, which was measured into some flannel bags; Harrison did this. After that, Thistlewood said, that there was a dozen of pike handles to be taken to Marylebone—the remainder were to go to Finsbury, and elsewhere; I was asked to take some, but I refused; I had not seen them; I saw powder and grenades first in a bag; and one of the persons present was directed by Harrison to take them to the Horse and Groom, at the end of Cato-street; the person went out; Harrison also went off, carrying with him some powder; I got into my own place about twelve o'clock; I that day told a Major James of what I had heard and seen. In consequence of what he said to me I went to the Secretary of State's, about one or half-past one.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood: I am a bricklayer by trade. Davidson introduced me to Thistlewood; I knew none of the party before, and they having never known me before, nor me them, they opened to me their secrets. I do not know what there was in my character to induce them to trust me, except that I had been in that parish for fifteen years. When I was asked how many men I could get, I said it was a hard thing to inveigle these men, and I did not know that I could get them: but I agreed to bring the men, and I was ordered to go to the Foundling Hospital to get some arms, but I did not intend to do so; I said I would, to get away. I do not know a man of the name of Hucklestone. I was in Ireland at the time of the rebellion; I was then quite a boy.

George Caylock, examined by Mr. Littledale: I live at No. 2, Cato-street. On the afternoon of the 23d of February last, I saw Mr. Harrison in Cato-street; I knew him before; I saw him against a stable door, with a candlestick in his hand. I spoke to him; he said he had taken two chambers there, and was going to clean them up. This was at five o'clock. In the course of that evening I saw

a great number of other people go in and out, from 20 to 25. This was between five and seven.

Richard Murray, examined by Mr. Litledale: I live at No. 3, Cato-street. On the afternoon of the 23d of February last, I saw Davidson walking under the archway at the end of the street; I had seen him two or three times before. I also saw Harrison open the cow-house door, and shut it again. After I had my tea, about half-past five o'clock, I saw Davidson go and get a light from a woman at No. 1; he then went into the stable; he stooped for something, and I saw that he had two belts on, two pistols, and a sword; Harrison opened the door and let him in. There were several persons going backwards and forwards, and I saw eight or nine inside. The building was a stable belonging to Gen. Watson. One part is a chaise-house; there was a loft over with two rooms; Firth kept five cows in the stable; one of the rooms up stairs had a fire-place. This place had been vacant for six or seven weeks. I remarked, in the course of the evening, that there was some kind of coarse matting over the doors and windows.

Mrs. Elizabeth Weston examined: I live at No. 1, Cato-street. In the afternoon of the 23d of Feb. last, I saw a man come from underneath the gateway with a key in his right hand, and a bag on his shoulder, and go into the stable; about six in the evening I saw a man of colour standing by the door; I was rather frightened, from the stable having been so long empty. In ten minutes afterwards I saw this man in the same place; it was Davidson, and after that he came and asked me to give him a light, which I did; he had two candles in his hand; he went into the stable with the light.

George Thomas Joseph Ruthven, examined by Mr. Bolland. I am a constable at the public office, Bow-street. In consequence of directions I had received, I went to Cato-street on Wednesday afternoon, the 23d of February. I was accompanied by others. My party amounted to at least twelve. I went into the stable, and I saw a man with a blunderbuss or a gun on his shoulder, and a sword or some side arm. This was about half-past eight. I saw another person in the stable, of whom I have some slight recollection. My party followed me into the stable, where I saw the man with the gun. I called to my companions to secure him. I found a ladder, up which I went; it led me to a loft in which I observed several men. I heard the clattering of arms, and saw swords and pistols. I calculated three or four had come up with me. Ellis and Smithers I am sure were up. There were, to the best of my belief, about four or five and twenty persons in the room. The size of the room was fifteen feet by five one way, and fifteen feet by ten the other. There were two rooms adjoining the loft, communicating by doors. When I gained the loft, I said, "we are officers, leave your arms!" I saw in the room the prisoner Thistlewood. I had been acquainted with his person between four and five years. He was standing on the right hand side of the table, near to the little room, as we entered: immediately on my exclamation, he seized a sword from the table, and stood back into the little room. The sword was drawn when he seized it. It was a very long sword, rather bright. He stood fencing with the

sword to prevent any body coming to him. Smithers approached him, upon which he thrust his arm forward, and pierced Smithers, who fell. Smithers said, as he fell, "Oh my God; I am done!" The lights were put out, when somebody said, from the corner of the room where Thistlewood was, "Kill the —; throw them down." There were eight lights; they were all put out, and we were all in the dark. I heard a rush to the ladder, and a cry of "Aye, kill them." I joined in their cry, and rushed down with them. On getting down I did not observe any thing till I got into John-street, where I found the soldiers. I then returned. There were twenty or thirty shots fired; some in the room, and some from the window. On my return I observed a man going to the door. I called out, and he lifted his arm to fire. That was Tidd. I caught hold of his right arm, and we closed and fell. The soldiers came up instantly, and the pistol went off. He was secured, and I searched him. Round his waist I found a leathern belt, of a buff colour; in his pocket two ball cartridges. I searched him in the public house. While there Bradburn was brought in. I searched him and found round his waist a string wrapped four or five times round to answer for a belt. I also found six ball cartridges and three balls in his pocket. Davidson and Wilson were afterwards brought in. When Davidson was brought in he swore against any man that would not die in liberty's cause, for he would; he also sung part of the song of "Scots' wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled." I returned to the loft and found some soldiers there. Shaw, Strange, Cooper, Monument, and Gilchrist, were also there. On looking about I saw arms in the possession of different people. I searched myself and found two swords, and a bag, containing ten hand grenades. There were also two papers wrapped up, containing nothing but tow and tar. There was likewise a very large grenade as big as my hat. These grenades had fuses. The arms and grenades were subsequently taken to Bow-street. Before I went to the stable I was at the Horse and Groom. Three or four men came in: Cooper was one, Gilchrist another. Cooper brought a stick which he left in the room when he went out; Gilchrist came back for it; he did not get it—it had been removed. It was cut with a socket.

Cross-examined by Mr. Adolphus: I have known Thistlewood since his former trial; I had seen him last about a fortnight before. I had heard of his being at Horsham. I had a particular motive for looking after him for three weeks before the 23d of February; it was for another business. We have four or five men of the name of Edwards in our office. I do not know a person of the name of Edwards a relative of any of these officers.

James Ellis, examined by the Attorney-General: I am a conductor of patrol at Bow-street office. On the 23d of February last, I went with the other officers to Cato-street. I went immediately after Ruthven. On going into the stable, I observed two men; the nearest man had got two white belts across his shoulders, and in his hand, or by his side, he had a carbine or small musket, and in his left hand a long sword. On coming close to him I took him by the collar, and turned him half round, and observed he was a man of colour.

The other person was in the stall of the stable nearest the ladder. As I was going up the ladder, I heard the man of colour give notice to the men above; I only heard the word men. When I got into the loft, I observed a number of men falling back behind a carpenter's bench, and as I came up I heard a noise like a rattling of swords. There appeared to be from 20 to 25 men in the room. Upon going to the top of the ladder, there were three or four men endeavouring to back into a little room on the right. At that moment Ruthven cried out "We're officers, seize their arms," or surrender your arms, I cannot say which. Previous to that, Thistlewood, whose name I did not then know, held a sword in his hand, and shook it at me. I held up my staff in one hand—he still menaced me, when I presented a pistol at him, and desired that he would desist, or I would fire. At that moment Smithers had gained the top of the ladder, and he rushed forward to the little room. Thistlewood and the other men got back a little; but Thistlewood then rushed forward and struck Smithers with his sword in the side. Smithers threw up his hands and fell back—he cried out, "Oh, God!" On seeing that, I fired my pistol towards Thistlewood; Smithers staggered against me and fell dead. The last light I saw was the flash of my own pistol. The candles were put out. I was then forced down the ladder. Several shots were fired, one or two of which passed me as I stood at the door of the stable. When I got outside of the door, some shots were fired out of the window of the little room above, apparently towards the door of the stable. I then heard a cry of "stop him!" I saw a man running, and pursued and took him at a distance of about eighty yards. That was Davidson; when he was secured, he had a carbine slung to his right side, and in his left hand he had a long sword; I believe him to be the man I first saw in the stable. I afterwards assisted in securing four men in the loft; Monument was one.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood: Mr. Ruthven was the principal officer. I had the warrant.

William Westcott examined by Mr. Gurney: I am one of the conductors of patrol at Bow-street. I went with the other officers to Cato-street, on the 23d of Feb. Ruthven, Ellis, and Smithers, went up the ladder into the loft. I remained in the stable below. When the other men were up, I observed Ings in the stable. Ings attempted to rush out, but I seized him by the collar. We had a contest, and while we were engaged, I heard a terrible confusion in the loft. Ings attempted to take something from his right side, and I struck him with my staff on the head. While I was taking out my handcuffs, I saw Thistlewood coming down the ladder. There was a light in the stable. Thistlewood presented a pistol at my head; I put up my hand to save myself, and he fired. I afterwards found that balls had gone through my hat. I made a rush towards him, and received a blow on the head, and fell. When I was down, Thistlewood made a cut at me with something like a sword, and went out of the stable-door. I attempted to follow him, but lost sight of him. I was wounded in the hand with a ball.

Luke Nixon, examined by Mr. Littledale : I am a Bow-street officer, and was in Cato-street on the 23d of February last. I saw Ruthven, Ellis, and Smithers go up the ladder. I followed them. I saw Ellis fire his pistol. Another pistol or two was fired from the little room, and then followed a rush, when I was knocked down the ladder. As I lay on the ground. I saw a man present a pistol at Westcott. I rather believe it was Thistlewood. Westcott was securing a man of the name of Ings, who got away, but was afterwards secured. I subsequently found a sword and a dirk, and saw Ruthven find a bag containing some grenades.

John Wright, examined by Mr. Bolland : I also went to Cato-street. We mustered in the Horse and Groom. While there Cooper and another man came in, and had a pint of beer ; after that I went with the other officers to the stable ; when I had got up about three steps of the ladder we were forced back. I turned round and observed a man in the further stall. He had something slung on his coat. I took a sword from one side of him and a knife from the other. The knife was a butcher's knife, and it was tied round with wax-end. I received a stab in my right side, and fell. I got up and went to the door, when the soldiers came. Captain Fitzclarence went into the stable, and Wilson and Bradburn were brought out. I searched Wilson, and found a ball-cartridge in his pocket. He had a haversack over his shoulder, in which there were about two dozen of ball-cartridges and a gun flint.

William Charles Brooks, examined by the Solicitor-General : I am one of the Bow-street patrol. On the 23d of February I was in John-street. Mr. Birnie came up and pointed to a man over the way. I looked, and saw the prisoner Ings and a man before him with a cutlass ; I saw Ings with a pistol, which he presented at the other man ; I said, " Surrender," when Ings turned half round, and said, " I'll shoot you ;" I made a snatch at the pistol and he fired ; the shot passed through my clothes and went out at the back of my neck ; Ings then ran off, and I pursued him, in company with my partner ; when he got into the Edgware-road, he threw away his pistol ; he was stopped by Moay, a watchmen, and I came up and said. " You rascal, why did you fire at me, a man you never saw before ?" He said, " I wish I had shot you, for I know I shall be hanged for what I have done."

Ings now exclaimed, am I allowed to ask any question ?

The Lord Chief Justice : You are not upon your trial.

Ings : It is false what he says.

The witness then went on : — I afterwards searched the prisoner at Mary-le-bone Watch-house, and found upon him two haversacks over each shoulder, and a belt round his waist calculated to hold two pistols ; in his waistcoat pocket, I found a tin case with gun-powder in it ; I saw also four bullets, found on him by my partner, and a butcher's knife-case.

George Franklin Moay, a watchman, confirmed the testimony of the last witness, as to the apprehension of Ings.

Joseph Champion, another Bow-street officer, saw Ings escape from the stable in Cato-street. On the other officers going up to

the loft in the stable, Ings said, "Look out above," as a sort of a signal; I took from him four pistol balls, the key of a pistol, and a knife-case, in the watch-house; I saw Thistlewood escape from the stable with a sword in his hand.

Captain Fitzclarence examined by the Attorney-General. I am a lieutenant in the Coldstream guards; I recollect on the 23d of February going with a picquet to John-street, I had been desired to attend by Mr. Birnie; it was between 8 and a quarter after 8, when I arrived; I heard a pistol shot, and led on the picquet to Cato-street; there is an arch over the entrance; I met a police-officer, who called out "Soldiers, soldiers;—the door way;" I went to the stable, I met two men in the door way, one on the right, the other on my left; one of them cut at me with a sword, the other attempted to fire at me with a pistol; the man who cut at me seeing the body of troops behind me, ran into the stable. There was a scuffle between the other man and Serjeant Legg. I pursued the first man into the stable, who exclaimed. "Don't kill me, and I will tell you all." I gave him to the picquet. I then ran into one of the stalls, and secured a second man. I afterwards caused a file of grenadiers to follow me into the loft, where we secured three, four, or five other men—I believe four. Smithers was lying dead, and several sorts of arms were lying about.

Samuel Taunton, examined by the Solicitor-General: On the morning of the 24th of February I went to Brunt's lodging. In the front room I found nothing material: in the back room I found two rush baskets, one tied up in an apron, the other not tied up. Brunt was in the front room; he said he knew nothing of the baskets, the back room did not belong to him.—There was also a pike staff and an iron pot found in the room; there was tar found in the bottom of the pot. When I found he denied the apartment, I sent for Mrs. Rogers, the landlady; I asked her to whom the back room belonged? She said her niece had let it to a person whom she did not know, but Brunt was in his company at the time. Brunt said, it was a man at the public house, but he did not know his name. After I had searched this place, I went to Tidd's in the Hole-in-the-Wall passage, near Gray's-inn-lane. I there found a large box full of ball-cartridges; it was two feet and a half long. I counted the cartridges, they amounted to 965; I also found at Tidd's ten grenades, and a great quantity of gunpowder, 434 balls in a haversack, 171 ball cartridges, 69 ball cartridges without powder, and about three pounds of gunpowder in a paper; I also found 11 flannel bags, each containing one pound of gunpowder: there were ten flannel bags empty, 58 balls in another small bag, four flints, and 27 pike handles. In one of the baskets at Brunt's there were nine papers, filled with rope yarn and tar, and in the other, four grenades, three papers of rope yarn and tar, two flannel bags of powder, one pound each, and five flannel bags empty, a paper of powder, and one leather bag, with 63 balls in it. These I brought away; they are here. It was about half past 8 in the morning when I went to Tidd's.

Daniel Bishop, examined by Mr. Gurney: I am an officer of Bow-street. On Thursday morning, between 10 and 11, I went

with others to apprehend Thistlewood, at No. 8, White-street, Little Moorfields. The house was kept by one Harris. I received a key from Mrs. Harris, and opened a door of a ground floor room. On opening the door I saw Thistlewood in bed. He put his head from under the clothes. The shutters were shut, but there was sufficient light for me to see who it was. I had a pistol in one hand, and a staff in the other. I told him who I was, and that I had a warrant to apprehend him, and I threw myself on the bed. He said, "I shall make no resistance." With the assistance of my brother officers I secured him. He had his breeches and stockings on in bed. His coat and waistcoat were by the bed-side. I searched his waistcoat, and found 3 leaden balls, 2 flints, 1 ball cartridge, and one blank cartridge, likewise a small silk sash. I saw Lavender take from his coat pocket a black cloth belt, with a place to put a pistol and a sword in.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curwood: A man of the name of Edwards did not come with me. In consequence of information I and my brother officers went. Nobody went with us to shew us the house.

Stephen Lavender produced the belt found in Thistlewood's pocket.

The various articles found in Cato-street, the belt found on Tidd, together with all the other arms and ammunition found on the persons of the prisoners, and at their lodgings, were then produced, and identified by the witnesses. The fire-arms were loaded till yesterday, when the charges were drawn: they were loaded with ball. One of the grenades had been given to a person by an order of Colonel Congreve to be examined. The production of Ing's knife excited an involuntary shudder; it was a broad desperate-looking weapon.

The jury inspected the arms separately, and particularly the pikes, the construction and formation of which have already been minutely described. The whole had a formidable appearance.

John Hector Morrison, servant to Mr. Underwood, cutler, in Drury-lane, was re-called, and looked at two swords, which he said were the same he had ground for Ings.

Serjeant Edward Hanson, of the Royal Artillery, examined by Mr. Gurney: I examined one of the grenades, produced to me at Bow-street. It is composed of a tin case, in the form of a barrel, in which a tube is soldered. The case contains three ounces and a half of gunpowder. The priming in the tube is a composition of salt-petre, powder, and brimstone. The tin was pitched and wrapped round with rope-yarn, which was cemented with rosin and tar. Round the tin and in the rope-yarn, twelve pieces of iron were planted. From the lighting of the fuse to the explosion might take about half a minute. If one of them were to be exploded in a room where there were a number of persons, it would produce great destruction. The pieces of iron would fly about like bullets.

[The witness here opened another of the grenades for the satisfaction of the jury: it was composed in the manner already described. The pieces of iron principally consisted of old cart nails, such as the tyres of wheels are nailed on with. The carcass or

tin case, was wrapped in an old stocking, and the powder which it contained was pronounced very good.] Witness, in continuation— I examined one of the fire balls; it consisted of oakum, tar, rosin, and stone brimstone pounded. If one of these was thrown into a house and alighted on wood, it would be sure to set it on fire. The effect would be still more certain on straw or hay.

The Attorney-General: “This is the case, my Lord, on the part of the crown.”

THE DEFENCE.

Mr. Curwood now rose to address the jury on the part of the prisoner. He commenced by stating, that if it were consistent with a sense of moral and professional duty, he would not have stood there to address them. It was one of the characteristics of the profession to which he had the honour to belong, however, and one which perhaps reflected upon it the greatest credit, that they were not at liberty to refuse their assistance to persons in the situation of the unfortunate man at the bar. No man could feel more impressed than himself with the sense of the great and weighty duty he had to perform. He felt that the unhappy prisoner had a right to call upon him to do his duty boldly and fearlessly, and without any consideration for the government who were the prosecutors on this occasion; he felt also that he had a duty to perform to his country, by assisting in the administration of the law, and not by any power which he possessed, if he did possess such power, to endeavour to pervert that law. He owed something too, to his own fair fame, which was all, his only inheritance. With these feelings pressing upon him, he might truly say, he was placed in a trying and critical situation. It was fit, on an occasion of this sort, that they should know something of the man by whom they were addressed. It could not be denied, that the unfortunate transactions, to which their attention had been so painfully directed, had arisen out of that state of the country which they must all alike lament and deplore. It was clear also, that while they had attachments to certain parties, prejudices would arise which it was out of their power to control in favour of the sentiments of those parties. With respect to himself, although, like every other Englishman, he had his feelings upon certain points, yet he never belonged to any particular party, nor was he in the habit of attending political meetings. With respect to government, he never had received any place or appointment from them, nor was it likely that he should. In the present instance, therefore, he had no motive to influence him in doing his duty, or at least in endeavouring to do it fairly and honestly. It was due to his learned friends and to himself to state, that in consequence of the lateness of the moment in which they were called upon to undertake this arduous task, not having received their instructions till a late hour on Thursday, that the difficulties with which they had to cope were of no ordinary kind; and these difficulties became the more formidable, when it was recollected that they had arrayed against them the most distinguished talents which it was in the power of the crown to procure—talents not a little aided by the advantage

of study, and of a mature consideration of all the facts of the case which they were called upon to discuss. No doubt, in the notice which they (the Jury) had given to the Attorney-General, when he opened this case, they had not failed to observe, and he had observed it with unfeigned surprise, that he had not stated to them precisely what were the points which they were called upon to try. He had indeed stated that it was a prosecution for high treason, but he had not defined what was the quality of the treason which he meant to impute. Unfortunately, there was mixed up with this transaction a great deal for which the prisoner might hereafter be answerable, and which was calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of the jury; but whatever was their opinion upon the moral guilt of the prisoner, if, upon a review of the evidence, they should not be of opinion that he had committed the precise offence charged in the indictment, it was their duty to pronounce a verdict of not guilty. It therefore devolved upon him to state precisely what they had to try; it was not merely a question of high treason, but a question of a particular species of high treason. The indictment was very long, and contained many things which, in the language of the law, were called overt acts. They were not, however, because a great body of evidence had been given to them, to jump at the conclusion, that the substantive treason alleged had had been committed. The sorts of treason charged were four in number: the first was founded upon the statute of the 36th of the late King, for conspiring to depose his Majesty from his imperial style and dignity. It was now nearly 400 years since that statute, to which Englishmen had been wont to look with veneration as a protection for the dearest rights of man—he meant the statute of Edward III. had been passed. There, among other treasons set forth, was the conspiring to take away or the compassing and imagining, or intending to compass or imagine the King's death—but there had subsequent treasons started up. There was now another act of parliament in existence, which embraced not merely the compassing and imagining the King's death; but the conspiring to depose him from his imperial style and dignity. It was also treason to conspire to levy war against his Majesty. This was the question then which they had to try. First, had the prisoners at the bar conspired or imagined the death of the King, then had they conspired to depose his majesty from his imperial style and dignity; thirdly had they conspired to levy war against the King; and lastly, had they actually levied war against the King? He apprehended that they must be satisfied that one or other of these charges was proved before they could find a verdict of "guilty." Before he came to these topics they would look to the probability of the evidence which had been laid before them. The great mass which had been adduced certainly led them to conclude that a conspiracy of some kind had existed; but it did not follow that the substantive treason charged in the indictment had therefore been committed. It did not follow, as a matter of course, that a removal of the administration of the King must be succeeded by the deposition of the monarch himself. Let them go by steps. There was continually in Parliament one party endeavouring

to remove another; that was to say, endeavouring to remove the existing administration—he would admit, probably with the best intentions. Would it be contended, that this removal of an administration was necessarily connected with deposition of the monarch, and that every man who attempted to effect such a purpose would be involved in the crime of high treason? Again, other men might think it necessary that an administration should be removed by violence: and this too with the most virtuous intentions. He desired not to be misunderstood, as meaning under that plea to justify assassination. Nothing was further from his feelings; but all he meant to argue was, that they must not take it as a necessary consequence that the death or destruction of a whole administration involved the death and deposition of the King. If they (the jury) were of opinion that it did not involve such a consequence, the evidence on this occasion did not support the substantive treason laid in the two first divisions of the indictment. There were two other treasons, however; one was the conspiracy to levy war against his Majesty; and the other, the actual levying of war. Now he called upon them to look to the evidence, and see whether they could draw from that a fair inference, that there was a conspiracy to levy war, and that what had been done amounted to an actual levying of war. In the detail given by the first witness, Adams, who in fact proved the whole case—he thought there was much more for ridicule than for serious consideration. In his opinion, the testimony of this man was utterly incredible, independent of the fact of his being an accomplice. The Attorney General had told them that an accomplice was a necessary witness; but though necessary, he was not of necessity to be believed. The more atrocious the guilt in which he had steeped himself, the less worthy he was of credit; and where a most atrocious and wicked witness came to tell them a tale, not only improbable, but most ridiculous in itself, would they not at once dismiss him from their notice? It often happened, that those who were the most ingenious in devising and promoting mischief, were the first to become informers; and that this was the case in the present instance he should be enabled to prove. They would, however, consider the evidence which had been given by Adams to support the fact of there having been a conspiracy to levy war against the King. They would lay out of their consideration for a moment all that had been said of the assassination of his Majesty's ministers, and they would consider the evidence as it had been given by him to support that conspiracy. They had here every thing to raise their passions. They had all the material and preparations for war before them, (the arms on the table); but what was the result of all the discussions, which took place at all the meetings of the conspirators from the 4th of February, in which the assassination of his Majesty's ministers had been repeatedly debated? In the cross-examination of Adams, it appeared that one of the conspirators, Palen, had, with some degree of sense, when all those things were talked of, asked, where the men were to come from to effect this mighty revolution? In one moment his Majesty's ministers were to be assassinated!—a detachment was to go and take possession of two pieces of cannon in Gray's Inn-lane!—an-

other detachment was to make a descent upon the Artillery Ground! — a third party were to seize the Mansion-house, as a seat for the Provisional Government! and yet to effect all this what was the actual strength of the conspirators in its most exaggerated state? Why, forsooth, forty men, two old sabres, six shillings, and a reputed pound-note!! Where an infamous witness told them such a story could they believe it? was it credible? Would they take away the life of a man under such circumstances? If it were possible for them to do so, he could only say that they would be more insensible than the deluded men themselves. Then as to the other point, the actual levying of war; what a levying of war was, he hardly knew how to define. Lord Hale had said, that this was a question of fact, which a jury alone was capable of deciding. That learned Judge had also talked of “marching with unfurled banners, and being furnished with military officers” but where were the unfurled banners here, or where the military officers? The only military man they had heard of was one disbanded soldier, and the purpose to which he was to be applied, was the destruction of his Majesty’s ministers, an act which, he contended, even if effected, did not amount to a levying of war. If they were told the contrary, he was sure they would treat such an intimation as absurd and ridiculous. Where was this great conspiracy concocted? In a two-pair back room! Where was the battle fought? In a stable! Where were the traitors incorporated? In a hay-loft! How were they armed? With a few rusty swords, halberts, and old pistols! He would put it to the plain common sense and understanding of the jury, whether they would pronounce persons so assembled and so armed, guilty of levying war against the King? It was rather a levying war against the constables, at the very name of whom they trembled. Then, if there was no levying of war, was there a conspiracy to levy war? The only evidence they had of such a conspiracy came out of the mouth of those three witnesses who were so far contaminated, that it was beyond all doubt they had themselves been deeply implicated in the projected assassination of his Majesty’s ministers. The question, then, for their consideration resolved itself into this point: they would consider, even supposing that the assassination of the ministers was intended, whether this of necessity implied that his Majesty was also to be deposed. If they did not think that the one must of course follow the other, then their verdict must be “Not Guilty.” He implored them to do their duty strictly according to law, to consider what the law of the country was, to step neither to the right nor to the left, but to come to a fair and impartial and unprejudiced conclusion. He implored them to do so, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the country; for if once jurymen suffered their feelings of indignation towards one offence to lead them to admit the existence of another of a different character, not proved, there would be an end of the due distinctions of justice. If this man had been guilty of another offence, there was another indictment against him, on which he would take his trial, if he were acquitted of this: and if he were convicted under that, he would suffer the penalty of the law. But, upon this occasion, he called upon them not to find

him guilty of high treason, because they thought him worthy of death for having incurred the guilt of assassination. In conclusion, the learned gentleman said, he would proceed to call a witness to prove that Adams, who had been called for the crown, together with an accomplice of the name of Edwards, who had not been called, were the persons who had conveyed the arms and ammunition to the house of Tidd on the very morning they had been found there by the Bow-street officers.

EVIDENCE FOR THE DEFENCE.

Mary Parker examined by Mr. Adolphus.---I am the daughter of Richard Tidd; I live with my father; I remember the police-officers coming and finding some boxes and things in our lodgings: they came about half past 8; those things had been in the house, when they came, about a quarter of an hour; they were brought that morning; among them were the pike staves; it was no person in my father's employment who brought them; he had been taken into custody the night before; I know a person of the name of Adams: I have seen him at my father's; I know a person of the name of Edwards: I have also seen him there; he has been there often; I have seen similar things before the officers came; I believe these to be the same things; Edwards took part away; I do not know who took the rest; he took them away on Wednesday; my father did not take them away; Edwards did not take away the box; he only took away some things that I have since heard were used; the box was brought a day or two before my father was taken; it never was unrecorded; Adams brought a large grenade; I do not know what Edwards was.

The Attorney-General declined asking this witness any question.

Edward Hucklestone examined by Mr. Curwood: I know a man of the name of Dwyer. I have known him for some years. Latterly I have known him intimately. I used the same public-house. I do not think he is to be believed on his oath.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General: I saw him with plenty of money, and knowing that he had little or no work, I was surprised. I was in distress. He told me he would put me in the way to make plenty of money, if I would go with him. I agreed; and he proposed that we should charge gentlemen with an unnatural offence. That he was to go up first, and then that I was to join him. I left him, quite shocked. This was about three months ago. He said he had got 10*l.* at a time from one gentleman in St. James's-street, by only catching him by the collar, and accusing him. I met him the next night at the Rodney's-head, and he called me a coward. I told him of the danger, and reminded him that his brother had been transported for the same thing. He said he knew better how to general it than his brother. I ought to have communicated it to a magistrate; but I was afraid of falling a "victim" to the Irishmen who lived in the neighbourhood. I have spoken to him since. I was a shoe-maker, but am now articulated to a cow-doctor in Newman-mews. I first communicated this to my brother, about a week ago. I did not mention it before, lest I might be ill treated, as I had to go so much about among the

Cows. Some of the Irishmen have gone away from the neighbourhood now, and that induced me to summon up courage to mention it to my brother. I did go with Dwyer to the park, but I was always struck with the horror of the thing. When I saw the names of the witnesses in this case in the paper, I made the communication to my brother,

[The witness was desired not to go out of Court.]

Mr. Joseph Doane examined by Mr. Adolphus.—I am called the Court Reporter; I prepare for the newspapers an account of the movements of the Court, the cabinet dinners, &c. I send the same accounts to six papers, among others to the New Times, [Looked at the announcement in the New Times, of the cabinet dinner, on Tuesday the 22d of Feb.] The intelligence respecting the Court in this paper I sent. The paragraph respecting the cabinet dinner, from the wording, I think I did not send. I think so from the use of the word “grand;” cabinet dinners are always alike, and I do not think I used the word “grand.”

Andrew Mitchell: I am printer of “The New Times;” I produce the original of the paragraph respecting the cabinet dinner, announced in “The new Times” on the 22d. of Feb.

Mr. Doane recalled: That is not my manuscript; I always write from a manifold.

Andrew Mitchell: I did not receive that from Mr. Doane, but from a person of the name of Lavenue, who furnishes things in the same way.

John Whittaker: I searched in eleven newspapers of the 22d. of Feb. for the annunciation of a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's, and in none of those papers was there such an announcement as that in “The New Times.”

The Attorney-General: These papers ought to be here.

The Chief Justice Abbott: Strictly speaking, they ought to be here.

The witness: The New Times alone had the annunciation of the dinner at Lord Harrowby's on the 22d. of Feb.

Mr. Adolphus: This is all the evidence I intend to offer on the part of the prisoner.

Mr. Gurney: I wish, my Lord, that Dwyer should be again called.—The witness, Dwyer, was then again put in the box, and examined by Mr. Gurney: I do not know a man of the name of Hucklestone. [The witness, Hucklestone, was desired to stand up.] Dywer: I know that man, but did not know his name was Hucklestone. I have met him in Oxford-road. Not in a public-house. I never proposed to him to charge any person with an unnatural offence. In February last I was at work at the parish mill, and got three shillings. I have a wife and family.

Cross-examined: I did not know Hucklestone by name. I saw him with other chaps at the corner of James-street, near where I live; but I never associated with him. I have seen him in Hyde-park. I never went into a public house with him. I resorted to the Rodney's-head, but never knew him to resort there. I have not repeatedly met him in a public house. I don't know that I can swear I never saw him in a public house. I will swear I have

not been with him at the Rodney's-Head within this three months. I am a bricklayer by trade, and worked fourteen years for one master.

Mr. Adolphus now entreated permission to be allowed till the ensuing day to prepare himself to address the jury on the part of the prisoner. The state of exhaustion to which he had been reduced, as well as the shortness of the time which had elapsed since he had received his instructions, and the great importance of the duty which he had to perform, where the life of a fellow creature was at stake, the more imperiously impelled him to entreat this indulgence, if consistent with the views of the court.

The Lord Chief Justice felt the propriety of the appeal, and only felt solicitous about the jury.

One of the jury, in the name of his brother jurymen, immediately said, that in such a case it was their anxious wish that their feelings should not be in any respect consulted.

Lord Chief Justice Abbot: Your observation is exactly what I expected from you. We are not, however, come to that hour when, under other circumstances, we ought to stop. I think, however, that the administration of justice will be better consulted, by allowing Mr. Adolphus time till to-morrow.

A Juror: My Lord, as some doubt has been thrown on the evidence of the witness Dwyer, I and my brother jurors would be better satisfied if Col. James, or some person from the Secretary of State's office, were called to corroborate the truth of the statement which the witness has made, relative to his communicating the designs of the parties.

Lord Chief Justice Abbott.—If this trial be adjourned, the Attorney-General will have an opportunity of considering that point; but I am not sure whether such a course can be taken.

Mr. Gurney—Certainly, it cannot. The case for the prosecution is closed, and it remains for the other side to contradict the testimony of Dwyer.

The Juror reiterated his suggestion.

Lord Chief Justice Abbott—Perhaps it would be better for the present to forbear saying any thing more on that subject. An opportunity will be afforded to all the parties, at a future time, to make their observations on it.

The court was then adjourned till to-morrow, at nine o'clock, and the jury were again conducted to the London Coffee-house, attended by the sheriffs' officers.

During the proceedings of this day, Thistlewood preserved a deportment calm and collected, impressed with the solemnity of the surrounding scene, and apparently sensible of the awful situation in which he then stood; he did not rise from his chair during the whole of the day.

WEDNESDAY—(THIRD DAY.)

The Court opened again this morning at 9 o'clock; but the different benches and galleries were not more crowded than they were yesterday, owing, as we were informed, to the extravagant

prices demanded for seats in them. Sir Walter Scott took his seat on the bench a few minutes before the arrival of the Judges, and appeared to attend with intense interest to all that was passing. We also noticed on the bench in the course of the day Lord Yarmouth and Sir J. Cox Hippisley. After the names of the jury had been called over, Thistlewood, who looked more pale and haggard than on either of the preceding days, requested that their Lordships would allow him the indulgence of a chair, which had been granted him on a former day. Their Lordships immediately acceded to his request.

The Attorney-General then rose and said, that, in consequence of a suggestion which had fallen last night from one of the gentlemen of the jury, a person who had been alluded to, and whose presence had been desired, was now in attendance on the Court. He could not himself examine without the leave of the other party, since he had concluded his case, and since the name of this gentleman was not among the list of witnesses on the back of the indictment. It was, however, in the option of those opposed to him to examine him if they thought proper.

[Col. James is, we believe, the individual to whom the Attorney General alluded.]

Mr. Adolphus said, that the proposition just made by the Attorney-General meant nothing at all. He did not choose to call for the evidence of the person alluded to, as he had not been examined by his solicitor, and as he (Mr. Adolphus) therefore could have no idea of the testimony which he might be going to give. Neither was he bound to call on this evidence; for he recollected that Lord Ellenborough had once said, on a similar occasion to the present, that if this was the way in which business was to be done, it was high time to give it over.

The Attorney-General intimated, as far as we could hear him, that his proposal ought not to have been received in the manner which Mr. Adolphus had received it.

Mr. Adolphus disclaimed all personal incivility; and Lord Chief Justice Abbott expressed his opinion that no such thing was meant.

Mr. Adolphus then rose at 18 minutes past nine o'clock to address the Jury for the defendant. He commenced by stating, that he could not request their indulgence in behalf of the unhappy man at the bar, without bespeaking for himself much of their patience while he should have the honour to address them. The Attorney-General had already told them, that this was an important question---Indeed it was a most important one. He had known of many trials for high treason, but of none in which an unfortunate prisoner had ever stood in such a state of abjectness as the unhappy man at the bar. There never before appeared a prisoner so completely devoid of all assistance and support, and so utterly thrown, as it were, on charity for the means of having any thing like a defence. To say that he had arrayed against him all the force of talent and influence of reputation, was to say comparatively nothing, for the crown had a right to the best services of its best servants whenever it stood in need of them. On former occasions, which he well recollected, a

prisoner standing charged as this man was, had the advantage of having eminent professional men voluntarily standing forward to be his advocates, giving him their timely aid, and meeting the prosecution on his trial with preparations and advantages, of which the present prisoner was altogether bereft. He (Mr. Adolphus) was applied to for the prisoner on the very eve of his trial; his feeble assistance was only called for on the Thursday—on Friday he was unavoidably absent from town, on Saturday he only received his instructions, and on Monday he had to appear in Court as the prisoner's advocate. Other men in this unfortunate predicament had received the advantage of a mature and well digested defence; but the person now before them was deserted by every body, and consigned to the feeble powers which he could command for his defence. In considering that defence he was left without any assistance save the instructions of the gentleman (Mr. Harmer), who had gratuitously afforded the prisoner his professional assistance. Upon those instructions alone he went—from any other quarter upon earth he did not receive the smallest advice to guide him in the unfeared performance of the task which he had undertaken. In all the former trials which had taken place within these walls for high treason, and he believed the last were in 1794, the prisoner was left to stand or fall by the decision of the specific charge on which he was tried. When acquitted on that, he was suffered to go about his business without restraint. The present prisoner was left with no such chance; his circumstances were totally different: if he escaped the heavy charge of treason, still an indictment for murder, and another under what was called Lord Ellenborough's Act, remained to be answered; so that the unfortunate man might be considered as reduced to the melancholy choice, whether the office of the executioner should cease upon his body with the mere execution of it, or be still further hacked to pieces by the crown, or consigned to the knife of the surgeon. When he made this allusion to what must follow the conviction of the unfortunate man upon any of the multiplied charges against him, he did not mean to say that the law should halt, because a criminal or a prisoner had placed himself in the dreadful predicament of being exposed to all its severities; but he merely referred to the circumstance to show the jury the heavy prejudices which a prisoner so situated had to encounter, and the imperious necessity imposed upon them of shaking off, so far as human feelings were controulable, all impressions they might have any where imbibed against the man; and he entreated them alone to consider him now as on his trial for high treason, and as quite unconnected with any of the other offences for which, unhappily for himself, he must yet answer, if released from the present charge. On the evidence alone, as applied to the specific charge before them, they were bound to act, and not upon any other impressions which their minds might unconsciously imbibe from what, elsewhere, they must have heard. Situated as the prisoner unfortunately was, the result of this trial was less a matter of interest to him, than it was to the state, and indeed to posterity, to both of whom it was of the utmost moment it should be considered upon the fair construction

of the evidence adduced. To the state it was manifestly important that this trial should be looked to in all its bearings—to posterity, while it was of moment that bad men should be punished for bad actions, it was of still greater moment that no peachable evidence should be suffered to have weight for a jury, even in the case of a bad and humble and unprotected man; for feeble and abject might be the individual, yet the precedent of bad evidence would still be in existence, and brought to bear in bad times, should they ever arise against better men and more deserving characters. A trial for high treason was always awful, and the evidence more than upon any other occasion ought to be sifted to the bottom by a jury. It was the only case in which the Crown came, as it were, personally into Court to sustain the prosecution by the whole weight of its officers. Though on other occasions the King was nominally introduced, yet on this alone were the whole of the King's officers arrayed against a subject. In undertaking this defence he did so on the score of humanity, and in the performance of an unpaid professional duty: he held, that a professional man should not deprive a prisoner of his assistance when it was called for on any political grounds—these should never be suffered to operate in the discharge of forensic duties. For himself he need not, he hoped, say, that at no period of his life had he assented to any one of the propositions or combinations which went to bring into danger, or even call in question the functions of the executive authorities of the State. He saw no necessity for unhinging any part of the frame of the constitution to repair it afterwards by speculative alterations. He was an enemy to such designs, but should feel it his duty to abstain from any further allusion to his own particular sentiments upon such topics, lest he should prejudice the prisoner, rather than assist him by his defence. The line of defence which he had to adopt was more difficult than any that had been heretofore imposed upon an advocate. To have to defend an individual who stood charged with plotting or being privy to any act of assassination or murder, was an arduous task; but he would again implore the jury not to admit the influence of their just and natural horror to operate upon their minds until the accused should be found guilty of such charges upon legal evidence. He was ready at the outset to conclude, that there was in the present case evidence for their consideration in support of a charge for plotting the assassination of his Majesty's cabinet ministers; but he was prepared fully to deny that such a charge, even if substantiated, amounted to the crime of high treason, and for that offence alone they had now the prisoner in charge. The present indictment contained four charges or counts, to each of which were tacked a number of overt acts: the first of which was a charge with intent to depose the King from his style and dignity as wearing the crown of this realm, and to support this, they had the evidence that the prisoner with others intended to assassinate the King's ministers. Now neither this attempt, nor the completion of it, which happily did not take place, amounted to a support of the present specific charge of high treason. The jury must be satisfied that the prisoner's original intention was to depose the King, and levy war and

rebellion against the crown, before they could find a verdict of guilty upon this indictment. They must be fully satisfied of the treasonable attempt—for the attempt to assassinate the ministers did not of itself constitute it—before they could doom the unhappy prisoner to a loss of life. He would now entreat of them to look first, whether the evidence justified them in inferring this treasonable intent; and secondly, into the character and credibility of that evidence. With respect to the credit of accomplices, they had already heard something from the Attorney General. But he (Mr. Adolphus) earnestly implored of them to consider that the whole case of the Crown rested here upon the credibility of one accomplice; for, if the prosecution was deprived of the evidence of Adams, there was nothing remaining to convict the prisoner of high treason. If they disbelieved Adams, the other evidence must fall to the ground. Upon the credibility which a jury ought to give to an accomplice, he would read to them the opinion of a learned gentleman whom he would not now name, delivered at a recent trial for high treason. (Here Mr. Adolphus read an opinion, delivered, we believe, by the present Solicitor General, then Mr. Serjeant Copley, when he was of counsel for Thistlewood, Watson, and others, on their trials for high treason three years ago). This opinion described with more force and in better language than he could use, the caution with which such testimony ought to be received. It well represented, that prepared falsehood was not always pure invention, but engrafted on some truth, and ingeniously contrived to work its way by discolorations and exaggerations, rather than by the force of absolute fiction. He repeated his readiness to admit the plot to assassinate—he would no more deny this, than that the sun and light of the day now shone; but that plot must be proved, connected with other circumstances, before it could constitute the crime of high treason. During the whole of this plot, vile and atrocious as it was, the parties implicated in it were accompanied by a spy and an informer. It was true that Adams said he came forward, actuated by no desire for reward, but that he was solely impelled to disclose the scheme by the compunctious visitings of his conscience. Singular, however, it was, that these qualms, according to his own account, never came on until four days after he was taken into custody. Of Brunt, with whom he became so thickly connected in this plot, he knew nothing, except that he had seen him working at his trade as a shoemaker, while following the army in Cambrai, when he (Adams) was a soldier in his Majesty's service. They met again, it seemed, in London, last January, and all at once Brunt let him, at the first interview, into the whole secret. This appeared to be the fashion in this plot—it was all let out without reserve at once. Brunt carried him to Thistlewood, who, notwithstanding his experience, talked in the same manner to Adams; said there was not a man in the country worth 10*l.* who was ready to do any thing for the people, and that all the shopkeepers of the metropolis were aristocrats, and he should glory in seeing their shops shut up, and well plundered. Edwards was, they had heard, at all these meetings, to which Adams spoke, but he was not called into the witness's box

to corroborate his evidence. The learned gentleman then proceeded to advert, point by point, to Adams's evidence, and comment upon it with great force and ingenuity as he passed. He observed, that from the 1st January to the 16th there were several meetings spoken to by Adams, at which various plans, all having assassination and plunder for their aim, were discussed, and that the 16th was talked of by Thistlewood and Harrison as the time of action; for on that day all the guards and all the police would be out of London on duty at Windsor, attending his late Majesty's funeral. It was, he thought, perfectly clear from these allusions to the absence of the soldiers and police, that riot and plunder, not high treason, were the aim of the parties, besides the gratification of some private malice against the Ministers. To carry into effect these mighty schemes of treason, as they were called, what were the means which, according to Adams, Thistlewood developed to him who, as a soldier, must of course have been supposed acquainted with the force calculated to carry such plans of resistance and destruction into execution? Thistlewood said they could get two pieces of cannon in Gray's-inn-lane, and six in the Artillery-ground, and with these they were to take and keep possession of London, and also with a force of twenty-five men, without a horse to remove the guns, or a shilling in their treasury, to pay any expenses. This was the story told to the Jury by Adams, who would have them believe, that both he and Harrison, who had been soldiers, fell into this ridiculous, contemptible, and impracticable plan, without making a single remark upon the palpable inutility of it. Besides this incursion of the twenty-five wretched and starving beggars, and the eight cannon without a horse, they were also, according to Adams, whose invention was absolutely inexhaustible, to seize the telegraph at Woolwich and the ports of Dover, Brighton, Ramsgate and Margate. The object of securing Brighton was to seize the King, who, at the time, was in London labouring under a severe illness, and not likely to be on the sea coast at that period; this, in itself, showed that such a scheme had never been contemplated, except in the mind of this witness. The learned counsel ridiculed, in a pointed strain, this attempt at promoting the objects attributed to the prisoner with a force of 25 men, who were represented as lulling themselves into a belief, that the troops were all at Windsor, and could not endure the fatigue of a night's march to London, or have conveyances provided for them, to repair to the spot, and disappoint the schemes of the rioters. Two or three of the party Adams said, had framed a plan to carry their project of assassination into effect at a cabinet dinner, but then their patience was wore out in waiting for one, and it was just determined that they should single ministers out, one or two at the time, and kill them at their own houses rather than wait any longer without striking a blow. It was then determined that they would not wait beyond the Wednesday (the 23d of February). The whole tenor of the evidence of Adams showed poverty to be their goad, and plunder their object; there was nothing political in the whole scheme, save in one or two cases the gratification of private and personal

vengeance. At the period to which he alluded, immediately before or about the 16th of January, it was proposed they should form a committee, and Thistlewood, at one of their meetings, as described by Adams, put Tidd into the chair with a pike in his hand. Thistlewood then rose and formally said, "I presume you know what we are met for." Indeed, this was no small presumption, as it appeared to some of the party, for Brunt exclaimed, "—— my eyes" (he never spoke without an oath), "speak it out, what is it." "I mean the west end job," replied, Thistlewood, "let us take them (the ministers) one or two at a time at their own homes. I suppose we can count on forty men for the west end job." Adams said it was then divulged, that when they went on the west end job, a division should take the eight pieces of cannon from the places in which they were deposited; they were then to take the Mansion-house and the Bank, while Palen was (and by himself) to go about the town and set fire to buildings in different directions. Among the places so marked for conflagration, was Furnival's Inn — of all places the least inviting for spreading the flames, from the stability of its structure, its party walls, and its absence from timber, as in the old buildings; whereas, if the conspirators had gone lower down, they could have had all the inflammable materials they wanted in the old wooden houses of the neighbourhood. While all these notable arrangements were planning at a meeting on Monday, the 21st February, and though the publican gave them some reason to believe that the Bow-street officers were on the look-out, no alarm or apprehension was manifested by the party; and Edwards brought the New Times newspaper into the room, which announced the long wished-for cabinet dinner on Wednesday, the 23d. That was the only paper containing the information; the dinner was to be a *grand* one, and they heard from the court reporter that he had not sent the paragraph for insertion, for he should not have used the term *grand*, as he knew that all cabinet dinners were the same. On hearing of the dinner, Brunt, according to Adams, exclaimed, "Now these thieves are in our possession; I never believed in God before now; I have often prayed for this opportunity, and Providence has at length given it to us." Did not, continued Mr. Adolphus, this very ejaculation, related of Brunt by Adams, shew the length to which the witness was prepared to indulge in fiction? For was it likely, that a man who never before believed in God, would have troubled himself much with prayer. The whole story was ridiculous. Then came the proclamation written by Thistlewood upon three pieces of cartridge paper. It began thus, "Your tyrants are destroyed; the friends of freedom are called upon to come forward. The provisional government is sitting." And this solitary placard was to have notified all this to the friends of reform, without the aid of a printing press, and it was to be read upon the walls of a public building by the light of its own conflagration. The learned counsel next adverted to Adams's description of the meeting and arrangements in Cato-street, on the night of the 23d, when this plan to upset the government was matured. Ings was described, besides his equipment of arms, to have prepared two bags, in which

were to be placed the heads and hands of two of the ministers. Mr. Adolphus here expressed in suitable terms his warm indignation at the project of assassination, and the barbarity contemplated of decollating, as in the atrocious scenes which once disgraced France, but happily never England, some of the victims. He rather thought these bags were intended to carry off some of the plate from a nobleman's house, and not human heads, the former being more likely to be of assistance than the latter to these famished rioters. Still, however, all this, indefensible as it was, did not constitute the crime of high treason. He begged, at the same time, that the jury would absolve him from wishing, in ridiculing this plot to overturn the state, to treat the other offence, the plot of assassination, with any unbecoming levity. No man could contemplate, without instinctive horror, a plot that had in one moment arranged the sudden deprivation of the lives of the most eminent and illustrious personages in the kingdom, or the virtuous and learned person (the Lord Chancellor), who has so long presided with so much honour to himself in one of the first courts in the kingdom; and of that hero (the Duke of Wellington), who, after the redemption of Europe by his valour, and the preservation of his life at Waterloo, was to be reserved for assassination by the knife of a murderer. The stoutest heart must be appalled at contemplating such a plot; but the jury must not, on the unsupported evidence of Adams, confound crimes in their nature distinct, and find a man guilty of high treason, whose offence was totally of a different character. The learned gent. then proceeded to urge the contradictions which he contended were given to Adams's evidence, and contrasted with it the testimony given by Ellis and Ruthven. The former said, that when the officers entered, they exclaimed, "There is a pretty nest of you; we have warrants against you; therefore surrender your arms, and come off peaceably." While both Ellis and Ruthven deposed, their only words were, "We are officers; lay down your arms." Again—Ellis said there were eight candles in the room, while Adams said there was only one. He rested mainly upon these contradictions, and the failure of making out a charge of treason. He agreed with the Attorney-General, that it was not because a plot was impracticable, and ridiculous, that, therefore, its existence should be disbelieved. If that were the case, he knew they should blot many pages out of the book of history. He knew that the Earl of Essex's ridiculous plot, against Queen Elizabeth, was true, though it was contemptible; and that the Earl justly forfeited his life for his treason and folly. The name of Thistlewood was, no doubt, not unknown to the jury. He was a most unfortunate man, and only three years ago was placed at a bar of justice under a charge similar to the present. It might also not be forgotten, and it was mentioned by one of the witnesses that he had only in June last, been liberated from Horsham Goal, where he had suffered imprisonment in consequence of having been convicted of sending a letter to Lord Sidmouth. In coming again into a society, he might be supposed to be influenced by a rancorous mind and by a bad temper, arising out of the prosecutions to which he had been subjected. These were circumstances not unworthy

of observation. It would be remembered too, that on the 16th of August, came that fatal transaction at Manchester, to which he would not give a name. They all knew the freedom with which this subject had been discussed—they also knew that numberless publications were sent forth, in which his Majesty's ministers were described as fit objects of vengeance. It might be supposed that all these writings were not in vain, and that there were those who might, from their peculiar situation, be induced to undertake the horrible task of the destruction of those ministers at the most convenient moment. Did not this intention, he would ask, agree with all they had heard? Here was Thistlewood actuated by personal anger; and there were others who were equally prone to the adoption of any desperate plan which was likely to improve their condition; but from all this there was nothing by which any intention was manifested to depose or levy war against the King. After some further observations on the discredit which had been thrown on the testimony of Dwyer, the learned gentleman thus concluded:—
 “Gentlemen I believe I have now gone through all that has suggested itself to my mind as necessary to say upon the present occasion. Perhaps I have taken up an unwarrantable portion of your time. I feel in my own breast and in my own mind an anxiety which I cannot express, to do ample justice, as far as my humble abilities will allow, towards the unfortunate man at the bar; and when I say that, I do not mean to express any mock modesty or diffidence which I do not feel. I have in the few hours allotted to me for the purpose of preparing this defence, arranged such observations as I thought necessary to make, and I can only do in this case as I do in all other cases of difficulty, throw myself upon you as a jury of the country—the Providence that will guard and watch over innocence and protect the undefended. Your own understandings will furnish you with more forcible observations than I can suggest, and in the conscientious performance of your duty on the present occasion, I am sure you will discharge your souls between your God and your country, by declaring the man at the bar not guilty of the offence charged in the present indictment. I shall only conclude by praying that “that God by whom King's rule and Princes decree justice,” may touch your hearts and minds on the present occasion—may enable you to give your decision consistently with justice, always remembering, that mercy is the highest attribute of that deity. Look your duty firmly in the face, and if you feel the slightest doubt or hesitation, let the unfortunate man at the bar have the benefit of that doubt, and whether his life is to be prolonged for a week, or to that extent which the goodness of God intended, according to the course of nature, your determination in justice will best satisfy the will of your Creator, and the interests of posterity hereafter. If you entertain any doubts, for God's sake let the prisoner have the benefit of them.”

The learned Gentleman spoke for three hours and a half, and we have only to lament that our limits do not permit us to do more ample justice to his able and eloquent speech.

The Lord Chief Justice now addressed the prisoner, and said, if

you wish to offer any thing for yourself, in addition to what has been said by your Counsel, you are at liberty so to do.

Thistlewood : I wish, my Lord, to have two witnesses examined to the testimony of Dwyer. There is a man in Court, who will prove that Dwyer extorted money from him.

The Lord Chief Justice : You must not state that—you should have consulted with your Counsel. The time for giving evidence is now past.

Thistlewood : I will wave it then my Lord. I have nothing further to offer.

The Solicitor General now commenced his reply. He said, that in rising to address the Jury in support of this prosecution, he felt that he had a most anxious and painful duty to discharge. As the servant of the public on this occasion, it was his duty to perform the service with which that public had entrusted him to the utmost of his ability and power. He was anxious, therefore, that nothing should be omitted on his part for the purpose of presenting this case in a fair and proper view before them. At the same time, he felt anxious that, in the prosecution of what he was about to state, he should not misrepresent a single fact, far less a single argument, against the prisoner, or offer any observation which the justice of the case might not fairly warrant. He begged leave to join with his learned friend (Mr. Adolphus) in praying the gentlemen of the Jury to dismiss from their minds all prejudices and impressions unfavourable to the prisoner, and to confine their attention solely and undividedly to the evidence which had been laid before them, on the oaths of the witnesses whom they had heard. In saying this, he was aware that it was superfluous and unnecessary. He was addressing an English Jury—a body of men sworn to administer justice to the public on the one hand, and to the prisoner on the other ; and he ought to apologize for suggesting a doubt, that, in the discharge of their momentous duty, they would not keep their eyes steadily fixed on the evidence, upon which the fate of the person at the bar must ultimately turn. The situation in which the prisoner then stood, was an admirable proof of the excellent system of our laws, and of their being built and formed upon the principles of liberty and freedom. They had had it not only proved in evidence, but admitted by the counsel for the prisoner, that he had projected and harboured in his mind the assassination of the confidential servants of the crown. They were aware of the passions and prejudices which were excited by this discovery in the public mind, and they saw that this prosecution was not commenced, nor was the unfortunate man placed upon his trial, until an opportunity was afforded for those passions and prejudices to subside. Independent of this, he was entitled to the delivery to him of all the particulars of the accusation which he was called upon to answer ; and these particulars had been delivered to him at a period so far back as three weeks from the present time. This indulgence was granted to him, in order that he might have an opportunity of consulting counsel as to any point of law, or any objection which might arise in his favour ; and in order also that he might bring forward such testimony as might be necessary, to

his defence. He had also a list of all the jurymen, who could by possibility be called to sit on his trial, and these he might reject, without assigning a cause, to the number of thirty-five. On this account he was justified in saying, that the jury whom he was then addressing, whatever might be the result of their deliberations, was a jury of the prisoner's own choice. The prisoner, also, had received a list of the witnesses who were to be called by the crown. That list was furnished in order that he might have an opportunity of enquiring into the previous character, history, and conduct of every witness who might be called against him, and for the purpose of enabling him to impeach their character, if his enquiry should enable him so to do. Such was the benevolent spirit of the British law; and such the advantages to which a man, placed in the situation of the prisoner, was entitled. The charge against the prisoner was, that of having conspired to overturn the Constitution under which that system of Government existed. It was a question whether the substitution of the Government which he might have contemplated, would have been distinguished by a character of so admirable a description. He had no doubt that the jury would pay that anxious and careful attention to this case which its importance demanded, and that they would not come to a verdict of guilty, unless they were satisfied that that verdict was justified by the clearest evidence. But, at the same time, he called upon them to perform their duty, fearless of all consequences; to turn neither to the right nor to the left, but to pronounce such a verdict as was consistent with a proper feeling towards their country, and with a due regard to the solemn obligation into which they had entered. With respect to the law upon this subject, it was not necessary to trouble them with any observation. In the charge against the prisoner there was nothing of a difficult or questionable description. He was charged with conspiring for the purpose of overturning the government of the country, and with endeavouring to accomplish that by means of assassinating his Majesty's ministers. If the jury, upon a due and careful examination of the evidence, were satisfied that he had so conspired, and that he had been found taking measures to accomplish that object, then, in point of law, he was guilty of the crime imputed him. It was admitted on all hands, that a plot had been formed to assassinate the ministers of the King, and not to assassinate one, two, or three of those individuals against whom the prisoner might be supposed to have some personal enmity. The blow had been aimed not against one, but against all. The jury would consider whether such an intention was founded with a view to overturn the government of the country; or, whether, as had been fancifully surmised by the counsel for the prisoner, the sole object had been the plunder of private property, and the gratification of private revenge. They would look with jealousy to the testimony which had been adduced before them, and upon that they would conclude whether the steps which had been taken were dictated by the desire of promoting revolution, or solely with a view of obtaining plunder in the confusion which would necessarily follow. In considering the evidence of an accomplice, they would naturally

look to his previous character ; they would see whether there was any thing in his former course of life, from whence to conclude that he was a man capable of pursuing a continued and undeviating course of crime ; but, above all, they would consider from all the circumstances of the case, what degrees of credit ought fairly to be given to his evidence. He knew of no law that applied to accomplices, which did not apply to every other witness who came into a Court of Justice. The evidence of every witness ought to be examined with care and jealousy, and in proportion only as his story was consistent with probability was he entitled to belief. Now let them look to the fair test upon which the evidence of Adams was to be tried. His character, up to the time of his entering into the diabolical schemes of the prisoner was unimpeached ; and if any thing could be urged on that score, no doubt the prisoner Brunt, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, would not fail to have adduced it. In so much, therefore, he stood upon fair and eligible grounds. Then they would ask themselves, what interest he could have in stating that which was not true ? The more criminal the plot which he disclosed, the blacker hue he gave to his own reputation ; and added to this, he knew that, from the candour and correctness of his confession could he alone hope for mercy towards himself. Then he must be aware, that if he stated that which was false, his story was capable of contradiction, and therefore altogether fruitless. So that, in every point of view, he was a competent witness. As was before said, however, the Jury still had the power of exercising their own sound discretion, and in placing in him only that degree of confidence which he seemed to deserve and which the confirmation he had received fairly justified. The learned counsel for the prisoner had made use of the gratuitous expression, that this man, Adams, was the only witness to prove the case. Was this the fact ? Were there not three other witnesses, who all spoke to the same occurrences ; he alluded to Monument, Hiden, and Dwyer ; the two latter of whom were in all respects pure and uncontaminated, for what had been said of Dwyer was absolutely beneath consideration. These men were all unknown to each other—had never seen each other—and yet they all agreed in their story as to the plan of assassinating his Majesty's ministers, seizing cannon, providing arms, burning houses, and establishing a provisional government. Independent of these, a variety of other witnesses had been examined, who spoke to points trivial in themselves, but all confirmatory of Adams, and, as it were, completely dovetailing with the most minute parts of his story. This was the case with regard to Brunt's apprentice ; to the landlady of the house in which Brunt lived and her daughter ; to the officers by whom Brunt's house had been searched ; and even to Tidd's own daughter, whose story was precisely consistent with the plan which had been detailed, but which had been so providentially frustrated. In fact, each witness formed a link in the general chain, which was complete in all its parts. But there was a still stronger argument in favour of all that had been stated, and that was, that it had not been contradicted by evidence, although such evidence was capable of being produced. For if

what Adams had disclosed was not true, why was not Potter, and Cook, and Palin, to all of whom he spoke as having been present at the various meetings which took place, and who were eligible witnesses for the prisoner, not called. The absence of these men afforded an additional reason for giving implicit belief to all which the witnesses for the crown had said. The learned gentleman then proceeded, in a luminous and eloquent strain, still farther to illustrate his argument, and with great ingenuity to contend that it was impossible, under all the circumstances of the case, for the jury to come to any other conclusion than that the several charges of high treason imputed to the prisoner had been established beyond all doubt. If, however, as had been said by his learned friend (Mr. Adolphus), any doubt did exist, to the benefit of that doubt the prisoner was fully entitled.

The Lord Chief Justice stated to the jury, in a clear and perspicuous manner, the law of high treason, as it existed both in the statute of Edward 3rd, and in the more recent statute of the 36th of the late King. He then recapitulated the four charges contained in the indictment against the prisoner, and the several overt acts alleged to have been committed in furtherance thereof. His Lordship then read over the material points of the evidence, upon which he commented as he proceeded, declaring, that if the jury were satisfied with the credibility of the witnesses who had been examined, that the crime of high treason had been completely established. Upon the evidence alone they were to form their conclusion; and he was sure, whatever that conclusion might be, it would be justified by a conscientious sense of the important trust reposed in them, both as it regarded the unhappy man at the bar, and the interests of the country at large.

At three-quarters of an hour after four o'clock, the Jury retired to consider of their verdict. They returned, however, in ten minutes for the purpose of requesting the Lord Chief Justice to read to them the precise terms of the statute of the 36th of the late King. His Lordship having complied with their wish, and made some explanatory observations, they again retired. At a quarter past five they returned once more, with their final determination, and announced their verdict to be—**GUILTY, ON THE THIRD AND FOURTH COUNTS OF THE INDICTMENT.** That is to say, on those counts which charged the prisoner with conspiring to levy war, and with the actual levying of war against the King.

TRIAL OF J. INGS, &c.

FOURTH DAY.

(FRIDAY, APRIL 21.)

The Court, pursuant to adjournment, proceeded this morning with the trials for high treason. At nine o'clock, Chief Justice Dallas, Lord Chief Baron Richards, Mr. Justice Richardson and the Common Serjeant took their seats.

The prisoner, *James Ings*, was then put to the bar, and Mr. Shelton proceeded to call over the names of the Jurors. After 18 challenges had been made on the part of the crown, and 29 on the part of the prisoner, the following Jury were empannelled:

Charles Farmer, St. John's-street, hardwareman.

George Smith, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, japanner.

William More, Union-street, Limehouse, bricklayer.

James Eades, Lampton farmer.

Thomas Beauchamp, Bedford, farmer.

Benjamin Blythe, Isleworth, organ-builder.

John Beck, Golder's green, Hendon, gent. and seedsman.

William Percy, Cleveland-street, Mary-le-bonne, plasterer.

Benjamin Rogers, Lampton, farmer.

John Young, Frederick-place, St. Pancras, gent. and scale-maker.

James Carey, Wade-street Poplar, joiner.

William Edgecombe, ditto.

Mr. Shelton then read the indictment, and Mr. Bolland immediately after opened the pleadings.

The Solicitor-General then rose, and stated the case to the Jury. He said, it now became his duty to state the case against the prisoner at the bar: and, knowing whom he was addressing, he felt that it was quite unnecessary for him to request their serious, nay, their painful attention, to a matter of so much importance. They must feel that they owed it to themselves, to the justice of the country, and, in a peculiar degree, to the prisoner himself, who stood before them for his deliverance, to give to this case the most patient consideration. One part he would now allude to, and which he would not have introduced if he were not convinced that it had already come to the knowledge of the Jury; he meant the conviction that had recently taken place on a similar indictment and he entreated and conjured them not to suffer that conviction to operate on their minds to the prejudice of the prisoner. They were to decide on the case, not by any reference to what had already taken place in that Court, but according to the impression which the evidence that would be laid before them made on their own minds. They were to come totally divested of all previous feelings and impressions; and to decide fairly and impartially on the evidence given upon oath relative to the accusation

made against the prisoner at the bar. As to the law of this case, it was not necessary for himⁿ to trouble them with a single observation. No doubt respecting it had been raised, no question as to its exact bearing had been agitated in the course of these enquiries. The charge against the prisoner, divested of all its technicalities, was simply this, that he had conspired with others, by force and violence, to overthrow the laws and constitution of the country. This was to be effected by an extensive plan of assassination, and by other means which he should hereafter mention. In behalf of the prosecution he would plainly and simply narrate the facts as he knew they would be proved in evidence. (He then related the facts as they afterwards appeared in evidence.)

The following prisoners were then put to the bar with Ings, to be identified:—Davidson, Brunt, Tidd, Harrison, Bradburne, Strange, Gilchrist, and Wilson.

Robert Adams was first called, and examined by the Attorney-General. His testimony was almost in all respects similar to that already given. He added, that he heard that the pike staves which he saw in the room in Fox-court were quite green; he understood that they had been brought from over the water; Ings said he had brought them. The same evening Ings drew a pistol from his pocket. There was a conversation about the illness of the present King; Thistlewood said he would rather the new King lived a little while longer, but it was not their intention he should ever wear the crown. Ings said on this, that the very day the Prince Regent last went to Parliament, he himself went to the park with a pistol in his pocket, with the sole intention to shoot him; as a test of his sincerity, he said, "there's the pistol I took with me," alluding to the pistol he had previously produced. He regretted he had not done it, and if he had he should not have cared a farthing for his own life. Witness saw Ings at all the subsequent meetings. He also said, that when the six pieces of cannon were taken from the Artillery-ground, (after the murder of the Ministers) they were to be well loaded, and if any body grumbled, they were to be fired among the crowd. He then went on to describe the intended taking of the Mansion House and the Bank, as in his former evidence. The Bank was to be robbed, but Thistlewood said they should spare the books, in order to expose the system of plunder carried on by Government. In describing what occurred after this, he stated that Brunt proposed that lots should be drawn, and that the fellow on whom it fell should kill the man (Minister) appointed, but if in the attempt he shewed the least symptom of cowardice, he should be run through the body. (In his former evidence, he stated that the observations were, that the man should be run through the body, if he did not succeed, and that the mention of "cowardice" was the consequence of some observations made by him (witness); these observations he omitted in his present account, and in reply to a question from the Attorney-General, said that nothing more was said before Palen, Potter, and Strange came in.)

Cross-examined by Mr. Adolphus.—I was examined on Monday. I was born in England. I was a Christian. I once ceased to be a Christian. When I so ceased to be a Christian, I was a man in the

same form as I now am. I was a Deist, and ceased to be a Christian. I was convinced that I was wrong even before I was taken. I ceased to be a Deist since I was taken. I renounced Jesus Christ in August last. I have believed in religion since I was taken. I never was an Atheist. I never renounced the belief in God. I was induced to become a Deist by that cursed work of Paine's. I was in the Blues 16 years ago. I served 5 years. I have no pension or allowance. (A paper was here put into witness's hand, which he said was his hand-writing) I have been in Coldbath-fields prison since Monday. I have had no communication with any body. I am in the habit of seeing the men who attend. I have not seen any body who told me what passed in the court after I left it. I have seen no account in writing or print of what passed. I have heard that Thistlewood was found guilty. I have not heard the progress of the trial.

Mr. Adolphus.—The reason why I ask you this is, you have altered your evidence a good deal. I shall bring it to your memory.

Cross examination continued.

I have known Brunt a good while. I have never had any intention of joining in the commission of murder. I never intended to inform against the party. I waited for an opportunity to creep out of it. I was afraid of the threats before this. I was not even disposed to rob the shops. There was no threat at one time; there were threats against me before I went to prison. Brunt said there should be nothing given till the day they were to go to work; but then there should be drink. Brunt also said there never should be any writing but if he thought that any man would tell what passed, he would run him through that instant. This was before I went to prison. I had been at meetings before this. The 12th of January I first saw Thistlewood. The threats were used on the 16th; it was on a Sunday. The threats were used at the White Hart. I had a right to be afraid, when Ings threatened with his sword. On the 30th I joined the parties again. The room had been taken at Brunt's in the interim. I did not say a word when here last, that Ings had a pistol, and said he hoped the king would not die now, as the Duke of York would come to the crown. He hoped the new king would live a little longer, as he would not be crowned. I did not recollect this then. The more you question me the more I can tell. I have sworn to my Maker to tell the truth, and I will tell it all. Perhaps when I come next I may not tell exactly the same story. I did not mention to-day, about Brighton and Ramsgate and Margate. I did not think of it. I can recollect many things perhaps which I did not recollect before.

Mr. Adolphus.—Did you not say that it was on the 2d or 3d of February, that Brunt said he had business to do, and could not come on that day?

Witness.—I did so; it was a mistake. He continued—If I recollect right, I stated on Monday, that the cannon were to be placed in the Mansion House, and that Cook was to demand admission. I stated this in substance. I cannot exactly charge my memory with all the words I said on Monday. My memory is better since I returned to Christianity. It confuses my recollection to have one man to tell about, and not all the prisoners. There are things that tran-

spired on the 22d which I have not stated to-day, nor did I on Monday. I never saw Monument at all—not to my recollection. The room in Cato-street was not very large; we were not so very close together; I kept standing at the end of the bench; I could see all that passed, before the lights were put out; I saw only one candle; I only recollect one. If a man swears that there were eight candles in the room, I shall say he is a false man. I don't know which of the officers made a speech in coming in. To the best of my recollection, the words used by the officer were, "here's a pretty nest of you;" or words to that effect. The officer said, "gentlemen, we have a warrant against you all; we hope you will go quietly." I always found Mr. Edwards in deep conversation with Mr. Brunt and Mr. Thistlewood; I called him the *aid de camp*, but he was not so called there. I did not say before, that a pistol was fired at me. I did not know it when I was taken. There was a shot-hole in my coat. There are a great many things which occurred, which I have not stated to day; and when I come up again, I may state many things, if I think it necessary. The coat I wore on the 23d is at the prison. I never called, with Edwards, on a person named Chambers, in Heathcote-court, Strand. I never did call, with Edwards, to ask any man to join in killing his Majesty's ministers; nor said I would have blood and wine for supper. If a man should swear this, he would be perjured. I never told any man to use "Cashman" as a watch-word. When I was in the room in Cato-street Hale brought me a pistol and five rounds of ball. I did not use the pistol after. I never took any ammunition back the next day. I never raised the latch of my room till I was taken. I was not carrying a hand-grenade. Mr. Edwards made the fuse for the hand-grenades. I cannot charge my memory with four words Edwards said all the time I saw him. All he ever said to Thistlewood and Brunt was in a *side-winded* kind of way. The paper that Edwards mentioned as having the account of the dinner in was the *New Times*.

Eleanor Walker examined by Mr. Gurney.—She gave the same account to-day as that which she gave in her evidence on Tuesday. Nothing new was elicited in her cross-examination.

Mary Rogers was next examined as formerly. She was not cross-examined.

Joseph Hale lived with Brunt at his lodgings, in Fox's-court. Knew Ings, who took lodgings in the same house. When Ings took the room, Brunt was with him and said, "it will do; go and give them a shilling." Witness enumerated the persons who frequented the room. Thistlewood was sometimes called T., sometimes Arthur. Witness described their several meetings and operations as before.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Curwood, and said, he was not particularly surprised at those meetings, although he knew nothing of their object.

Thomas Smart was examined, but not cross-examined.

Charles Bissetts was shortly examined.

Henry Gilrean stated, that on Tuesday, the 22d of February, he played at dominos in the Sun public-house, corner of Charles-street, with Brunt.—His cross-examination elicited nothing.

John Heaton Morris spoke to sharpening a sword for Ings.

Edward Simpson, corporal major in the 2d Life Guards, spoke to Harrison's opportunities of knowing the state of King-street barracks.

James Aldis spoke to Davidson's pawning a brass-barrelled blunderbuss, and redeeming it on the 23d of February.

Thomas Hyden, cow-keeper, repeated his evidence.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Adolphus, and said, he had been a gentleman's servant. He was last with Colonel Bridges, of South Audley-street; it was about seven years since; he could not certainly say that he had served more than a month. He had been a year and two months with Major Duigenan, in Tavistock-street, Edward-square. Witness said, "I live in the King's Bench Prison." He afterwards said, he was in the Marshalsea, and could not swear whether he said the King's Bench or not. He was committed on Saturday last for 18l. 2s. due to Mr. Powell. He was sued last summer; but he was not absent from his house the whole of July, August, and September. On Tuesday last, and this day, he said, he lived in Manchester-mews. When pressed upon this point, he said, "I live now in this box where I stand." He did not know at this moment, whether he had a home there or not. He knew no such person as Mr. Edwards. He knew a person of that name 200 miles from this. He could not suppose what Mr. Edwards was meant. He was twice at the Scotch Arms, in some court in the Strand, at a shoemaker's club. It might be seven or eight months since. He could not swear whether politics were discussed there or not. He knew nothing of this business till Wilson told him. He had the order for cream from No. 6, Princes-street, Cavendish-square, but he knew nothing of the name. He served them daily for three or four years. He expected to get two or three shillings, and he thought it was more than a quart of cream. He knew none of the servants' names. He called them neither Mary, Molly, nor Betty. It was the first time that Wilson mentioned the gentleman's servant who supplied them with money. Wilson repeated it another time. On Tuesday witness had said, Wilson told it on the 23d, which was the second time.

On re-examination he said, he was not sure it was No. 6; it was the first door on the left going from Cavendish-square to Oxford-street.

Lord Harrowby appeared on the right of the bench, and spoke to the interruption of cabinet dinners, and the issuing of cards of invitation for the 23d. His Lordship named the company who were to be present. His Lordship then stated the receipt of Hyden's communication, and the change of arrangements adopted in consequence.

His Lordship, in cross-examination by Mr. Curwood, said, he had not personally known any thing of it before; but he had heard a long time antecedently, that something of this nature was to be attempted.

John Baker gave evidence as before.

Ings, during Baker's Examination, pointed out that the witnesses were holding conversations on their evidence, in front of the dock.

Those who had been examined were ordered to withdraw.

John Monument was next ushered into the box by two wardens of the Tower, and he gave evidence precisely as before.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Curwood.—It was fear, not honour, that engaged him in it. He certainly was foolish; he could

not charge himself with any crime. He did not belong to the private meetings. It was before the Finsbury meeting that Thistlewood said his friends should have arms. He was afraid to take the opportunity of leaving them when cowards were ordered to leave them. He could not say that he acted very villainously.

Thomas Monument, last witness's brother, corroborated his evidence so far as he knew of it.

George Caylock was called to speak to Harrison and others being seen together at Cato-street; but,

Lord Chief Justice Dallas thought it unnecessary.

Ruthven, Ellis, and Westcott, officers from Bow-street, gave the same evidence as against Thistlewood.

A Juror asked Ellis whether Ings made his escape when witness raised his hand to resist Thistlewood.—Witness. Yes.

Nixon and Champion gave an account of the taking of Ings.

Wright took a butcher's knife and a sword from a man like Ings.

Brooks saw Ings running up John-street, and pursued him till he came up with him.

While this witness was giving his evidence Ings wrote a note, and handed it up to his Counsel.

William Lee gave the same account as before, of seeing Cooper and Gilchrist at the Horse and Groom.

Captain Fitzclarence.—The first thing he saw was a police-officer, who cried out, "Soldiers, soldiers: stable door, stable door!" He was met by two men at the door, one having a pistol, another a sword. He followed one of them into the stable, and took him.

Sergeant William Legg, of the 2d regiment of Coldstream Guards, was at Cato-street; saw the pistol levelled at Captain Fitzclarence, and seized it, when it went off. It was Tidd who levelled. He took him into custody. He saw above, on the loft, Cooper, Gilchrist, and Monument.

Hercules Taunton gave evidence of the seizures made at Brunt's and Tidd's.

Cross-examined by Mr. Adolphus.—A reward had been offered for the apprehension of Palin. He was not apprehended, nor Potter, nor Cook.

Daniel Bishop was called, but not being in attendance, his examination and the production of the various articles seized was postponed till to-morrow morning.

Adjourned at eight o'clock till nine to-morrow morning.

FIFTH DAY.—SATURDAY, APRIL 22.

At nine o'clock this morning the Lord Chief Justice Dallas, the Lord Chief Baron Richards, and Mr. Justice Richardson, took their seats on the Bench, the prisoner Ings, and his associates, were then put to the bar, and the names of the Jury having been called over, the case for the prosecution was continued. Before the Judges came into court, the arms, ammunition, &c. taken at Cato-street, were placed on the table.

The first witness called was Daniel Bishop, the officer whose evidence was similar to that given on the former trial. He arrested Thistlewood. He had not been informed of his lodgings by Edwards.

Ruthven, the officer, identified some of the swords, guns, pike-staves, &c. found in Cato-street. One of the swords produced was proved by Morrison (Mr. Underwood, the cutler's workman) to be the same which the prisoner Ings had brought to his shop, with directions to have it ground "as sharp as a needle."

Taunton, the officer, produced some flannel bags of gunpowder, four hand grenades, pike-staves, bullets, and some tarred paper, found at Brunt's house.

Sergeant Hanson, of the Royal artillery, proved that some of the combustible materials produced were calculated to set buildings on fire. He took one of the grenades to pieces in Court. It was composed, as described on Thistlewood's trial. The hand grenades, he said, were made quite differently from those used in the army, but calculated, if exploded, to produce a most destructive effect. The case contained about three ounces and a half of gunpowder, which was rather more than was used in the army to burst a nine-inch shell. It would certainly be a most formidable and destructive instrument.

Attorney-General.—That is the case on the part of the Crown.

Mr. Curwood then addressed the Court at considerable length; and commented, with great force, on the evidence, and explained, with perspicuity, the law of the case, as referable to the overt acts charged, and in which evidence had been given.

Thomas Chambers was then called, who gave the following evidence.—I live at No. 3, Heathcock-court, in the Strand, opposite to the Adelphi. I have seen a man of the name of Adams in company with a man of the name of Edwards, about a week before the Cato-street business, in my room. They came together. They made a proposal to me about the assassination of his Majesty's Ministers. Edwards asked me to go with them. I refused. Adams stated to me that they were going to kill his Majesty's Ministers; and they would have blood and wine to supper. They came again on the Monday before the Cato-street business, carrying large bags; it was a wet day.

Cross-examined by Mr. Gurney.—I am a boot-maker. How long have you known Ings, the prisoner? Where is he? (The witness was directed to look to the prisoner.) I cannot say how long I have known him. I do not suppose I have been in his company above once or twice. The first place in which I saw him was in a chandler's shop, I believe the man's name is Watling. Black Dwarfs and Medusas are sold there. I cannot recollect where I saw him again. I know the Scotch Arms. I never saw him there: I will swear it. I was three times there. There was no chair, for it was always in the tap room. I have been once in a public house in Gray's-inn-lane, which I have since learned is the Black Dog. I was invited there to take a pint of beer, by one Briant. All there were strangers to me, excepting one; that one was Mr. Thistlewood. I know Brunt very well. I swear he was not there. I was at all the Smithfield meetings. I did not carry a black flag, and know nothing of such a flag. I carried a flag inscribed "Manchester Massacre." On Mr. Hunt's entry into London I carried "Trial by Jury." I know Davidson.

I know Wilson, by seeing him once or twice. I know Harrison very well. I have known Mr. Thistlewood ever since Mr. Hunt's triumphal entry.

The proposal of assassinating his Majesty's Ministers shocked you very much? It shocked me so that I refused to go.

And, as Bow street was near, you went immediately to give information.—I did. I would have nothing to do with it.

Mary Barker spoke to Edwards bringing grenades to Tidd's, her father's. There was one very large ball brought away by Adams.

Ings here requested, and was permitted to withdraw for about a minute. He returned with an orange in his hand, which he sucked with great composure.

Mr. Adolphus rose to address the Jury at a quarter past twelve. Gentlemen of the Jury, I call for your serious attention and kind indulgence, if for no other reason, for this consideration, that, if your verdict should be against the unfortunate man at the bar, these are the last favourable words that he shall hear uttered. My Lord will state the law and the evidence to you fairly, but beyond that he will say nothing for the prisoner. I feel the languor that necessarily arises from the attempt to tread over ground already trodden, and trodden in vain. But I advance to the task with a clear mind, and faculties unfettered, because I can lay my hand upon my heart, and say, that no opinion I formerly offered is now changed. The Solicitor General, in his fervid opening, and my Lord, have told you, that the former case is to be kept entirely out of view. I say so: but I know how difficult it is to prevent the judgment from being influenced by the memory. I cannot help here contrasting the joy and alacrity of the Solicitor-General with my own feelings. He told you, that he had to lay before you, not what he hoped to prove, but what he had already proved. I have no such encouragement. It is for me a new case, for Adams has, in this case, brought forward evidence which he thought proper to keep in his own breast on the former trial. Much fervid declamation has been addressed to you by the Solicitor-General upon the consequences of success in the alleged plot. But you are to dismiss from your minds this speculative danger. The Solicitor-General has also stated propositions of law upon the subject of accomplices with great eloquence, but with less accuracy than might have been expected from his station and character. He asked, "Has the accomplice any interest in giving a deeper dye, in making a stronger point, in carrying conviction?" I answer, yes, yes, yes. His impunity is conditional. He comes before you in chains, and in custody. I refer to your own breasts, whether a man that can himself be yet prosecuted, has no interest in giving not true but acceptable evidence. The accomplice has the advantage, too, of having all who could contradict him tied up by the prosecution, and he therefore swears boldly. We are told, we might call Palin. Most gracious offer! When a great reward cannot stimulate the police officers to find him, how should we find him, and persuade him to put his life in peril? It is more a taunt than a kindness; more a reproach on our weakness than an essay on our strength. On the part of the prosecution, a witness has not been called who was proposed to be called; and a witness that has been called has been withdrawn when

our witnesses have been on the floor to contradict him. This has further impoverished my poor, my destitute clients.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL objected to these observations.

Mr. ADOLPHUS proceeded.—Cook and Harris may be imaginary persons, and how could we call them? If high treason in this case come entirely from the mouth of an accomplice, you cannot receive it. It is the whole of the charge, and, if in that the accomplice is not confirmed, that charge is unsupported, for if you strike out the evidence of Adams, there is not one word to prove treason. Let me ask you to try his testimony then by these tests.—1. Is his account probable or even possible?—2. Is his manner such as to entitle him to credit?—3. Is he contradicted by witnesses for the prosecution?—4. Is he confirmed? Or is confirmation withdrawn? Upon the first question, the learned Counsel then argued with great force and animation, that the witness, Adams, could not stand any one these tests, and therefore was not to be believed. If any thing is to be gained by success in these prosecutions, it is, to strengthen the Government in the minds of the people;—it is, to obtain applause for Ministers who have so vigilantly protected us. But your verdict, gentlemen, is to decide the fate of that man, and no more. Great Britain and Europe will judge of the conduct of Ministers; posterity will decide upon their merits. In all questions at issue, in history and politics, if any thing is kept back, it ought to operate against the party who keeps it back. Adams has fathered upon others what he has himself done. Call Ings a murderer, call him an assassin, call him a felon, call him what you will, but for God's sake, gentlemen, believe him. After some animated comment on the evidence of Chambers, the learned Counsel returned to Adams. "The meeting in Cato-street affords no evidence of the intention. Adams alone states it. The very situation of Cato-street, however convenient for the assassination, disproves the treason, for it is two miles and a half from Gray's Inn-lane, and 2 or 3 miles from the Mansion House. They never could thus have removed to the greatest possible distance from the points of action. What then are you to make of two bags to carry two heavy heads? You cannot for a moment raise this into treason; as well might you believe that an attempt was to be made to liberate the prisoners in this gaol by throwing cherries or carraway seeds. Did they then levy war? I recollect seeing a man convicted at that bar of the murder of a Minister of State, Mr. Perceval. I never can forget Sir James Mansfield, the tears streaming down his aged venerable cheeks. If strong feelings could make the assassination of a Minister treason, that would have been treason. Suppose they had seized the cannons; that would not be a levying of war, for they are not the King's, but the property of private individuals. The Mansion House and the Bank were not the King's. The only title to support the treason was the absurdity of "Provincial Government," stated by Adams. Some of you remember, as I do, the conflagration of houses, and the blazing of prisons, by a mob misled by an individual. The actors in that scene were tried, convicted of felonies, but not of treason. Their infatuated leader was acquitted of high treason.

God forbid that I should say my client stands before you free of guilt. God forbid I should apologize for his conduct. The evidence precludes me from denying that there was an intention to assassinate Ministers. Poverty rendered the men desperate, and impelled them to crime. But treason is incredible and impossible. The whole hinged on Thistlewood. He had but lately got out of prison, having challenged Lord Sidmouth, who properly prosecuted him, instead of accepting it. That he should entertain feelings of revenge was natural and inevitable, considering that his was a bad mind. But this is not treason.—The learned Counsel sat down at half-past 2.

Lord Chief Justice DALLAS.—Prisoner, do you wish to say any thing for yourself? If you do, this is the time.

Ings.—I wish to state particulars how I got acquainted with the parties, if you will allow me.

Lord Chief Justice DALLAS.—Certainly; but perhaps it were better for you to consult your Counsel.

Ings.—I wish to speak to the gentlemen of the Jury.

Lord Chief Justice DALLAS.—Having thrown out the hint as to consulting your Counsel, whatever you choose to say you can now say, and speak out so as to be heard.

Ings, turning towards the Jury, spoke in these terms. (The prisoner is by no means repulsive in his person, looks, or manner. He displays great resolution of mind, and firmness of face, but no symptom of ferocity.) Gentlemen of the Jury—I am a man of no education, and I hope you will excuse my humble ability. I left Portsea on the 8th of May, 1819. My reason was that I could get nothing to do, in order to support my family. (Here the prisoner was strongly affected.) I had no prospect for myself or my family. I thought I could get employment in London, but I was sadly disappointed. I tried every thing, but I could not make any thing. I had some money when I came, and I lost a considerable deal of money, neither by drinking, nor gambling, nor any thing of the sort, gentlemen. I took a house in Baker-street, and carried on business as a butcher from Midsummer to Michaelmas. The summer was very hot, and that was against me. I removed to Mount-acre, and kept a sort of coffee-house and eating-house. I persuaded my wife to return to Portsmouth, as she would be better there without money, among her friends, than in London. Men used to come to my house to take a cup of coffee and talk of politics, and of the Manchester massacre. I paid no attention. I one day met with this man. He said I did not stand drink. I said I had no money. I mentioned that I had a bedstead and various articles of furniture to sell. He proposed to get them bought, but did not. This was on the 20th of January. I met him again in Fleet-market. He talked of getting my sofa bought by a friend of his. He said “There is something to be done, come and take some cheese and beer.” He took me to the White Hart. He said, his name was Williams, but Edwards is his real name, as I found since. I left the sword, for him, to be sharpened. Is it supposed that I would have left any thing of this sort in my own name, if I did not do it for him. I

got meat and drink whenever I went to the White Hart. I met him again in Bishopsgate-street; he said there was something to be done, and desired me to come to the alley opposite Mrs. Carlile's. I understand, by the list of witnesses, that he lives at a side-door up that alley. I went. He gave me bags, and said there was some gin to be put in them, and it was for that reason I carried them under my coat so sly for fear that they should be seen and suspected. We went up Oxford-street. He told me to wait there, and I waited an hour. He brought me then to a place, I forget the name of the street—John-street, the place where the arms were taken. I never saw the place before. I saw Davidson at the door. There was great confusion above. I declare, before you and God, I never was on the loft at all. I was not two minutes there. Officers entered. You, I think, Mr. Ruthven, entered first. The third collared me, and said, "You are my prisoner." I said, "Very well." He began by beating me with his staff till my head was swoln. I heard a pistol fired. I got out. I was struck by a man. I was stopped by a watchman, and taken into custody. This man was at all the meetings. I am sold like a bullock in Smithfield-market. The Attorney-General knows the man. He knew the plan and every thing two months before. I consider myself murdered, if he is not brought forward. I would be very willing to die, if he were to die on the same scaffold with me. He has been guilty of every thing. He has contrived the plot, if there has been a plot. I don't value my life, if I cannot support my wife and children. (Here he raised his voice to a vehement tone, and wept bitterly. He continued to speak in the same weeping tone to the end of his address). I have a wife and four little children. I was driven to every distress. I hope, gentlemen, before you find a verdict, this man will be brought forward, because I consider myself a murdered man. Edwards came to me. I did not go to him. I was once at a public-house in Brooks-court; but I never was at any meeting at all. I was at no radical meeting. I was not at any Smithfield meeting. That man, Adams, who has got out of the halter himself by accusing others falsely, would hang his God. I would sooner die, if I had 500 lives, than be the means of hanging other men.

Lord Chief Justice DALLAS.—Is there any thing more you wish to say?

Iags.—Nothing more. I have only one thing to prove my character. A gentlemen put it down from my childhood. (He here handed a paper, which his Lordship declined to take).

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose to address the Jury about three o'clock. It had been more than insinuated that these prosecutions were intended to extend the law of treason, and that their verdict would enlarge the powers of the Crown. But it was not so; by the due administration of justice alone were they to pronounce on the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. The 36th of the late King was not calculated to introduce uncertainty and speculation. If the prisoners had the intention, and acted upon the intention, of levying war, in was treason, however inadequate their means. No

man could doubt the truth of the story which Adams related. The learned gentleman then commented on the evidence at great length, insisting that the case was satisfactorily proved.

Lord Chief Justice Dallas now proceeded to address the Jury. This most painful enquiry having, in point of proof, been terminated, it became his duty to recapitulate the whole of the evidence, and to make such observations on the case as the different points seemed to him to require. With respect to the indictment, it contained a number of different counts and charges, which were founded on two specific statutes. The first, an ancient statute passed in the reign of Edward III.; and the second, a more recent act, passed in the reign of the late king. But to make the case as clear as possible, they might dismiss most of the counts from their minds, and look to the charge as composed of two heads; one, conspiring to depose the King, and the other, conspiring to levy war to compel him to change his measures. He should now proceed to recite the evidence as he had taken it.—(The Learned Judge here read the evidence of the whole of the witnesses, pointing out those facts which were most worthy of the consideration of the Jury.) The Learned Judge, then in allusion to the testimony of Adams, observed, that if the doctrines held that day could be adopted, no such thing as an accomplice could be admitted in a court of justice. His evidence would be at once got rid of, by stating that he was guilty himself. They were, however, informed, that though it was often necessary to receive the evidence of an accomplice, yet in the practical application of that evidence, they were to view it with a suspicious eye. They were not to receive it, except it was confirmed. On this point he had heard the law grossly misstated. The testimony of an accomplice ought to be confirmed in some particulars, but not in all; for if they possessed the means of proving all he stated, there could be no necessity to call him to give evidence. It was for the Jury to say whether the prisoners had not a revolutionary object in view. If they were assembled merely for the purpose of assassination, of course the charge of treason was not made out, but if they thought otherwise, undoubtedly it was. It might be said that it was impossible men could entertain such an extravagant project; if he had been told that there were twenty-five men on the face of the earth, and still less, of the country to which he had the honour to belong, who intended to commit the foul and dreadful act of butchery and blood which had been described, he should have said, till they were detected, that it was utterly impossible—that such a thing never had happened and never could. But looking to the evidence, it was clear and undoubted that such an occurrence had happened. The prisoner had called witnesses before them, and he had implored the Jury, ere they disposed of his fate, to consider his case maturely. In that request he went hand in hand. If they were of opinion that those persons assembled only to destroy fourteen individuals, and that the materials found were merely collected for that purpose, they would then give the benefit of that doubt to the prisoner. But, on the other hand, if, in the discharge

of their duty, acting in the name of that Being who had been more than once appealed to in the course of this enquiry, they believed that the offence was proved, they would then, he was sure, fearlessly and intrepidly return with a verdict in conformity with their sentiments.

The Jury retired at 25 minutes after eight o'clock, and, at a quarter before nine, returned a verdict of—*Guilty, on the first and third counts*—conspiring to depose the King, and to levy war to compel him to change his measures.

TRIAL OF JOHN THOMAS BRUNT.

MONDAY, APRIL 24.

At nine o'clock this morning the Lord Chief Baron Richards, Mr. Baron Garrow, Mr. Justice Richardson, and the Common Sergeant, took their seats.

The prisoner Brunt was then put to the bar. He had with him several papers, some of which were closely written upon.

Mr. Shelton proceeded to call over the names of the Jurymen in attendance. The first name called, and to which there was no challenge on the part of the prisoner or the court, was Mr. Alexander Barclay.

Mr. Barclay stated that as he had been on the jury by which Thistlewood had been tried, he hoped he might be excused on the present occasion.

Mr. Curwood said, that it was because he was on the former jury he wished him to be on the present, as he would be enabled to see the difference of evidence.

The Solicitor-General said he had no objection.

Mr. Barclay was then sworn, and he was foreman of this as well as the former jury.

The following gentlemen were then sworn:---

Thomas Goodchild, Esq. on the former jury.

Thomas S. Aldersey, Esq. do.

James Herbert, do.

John Shooter, do.

James Wilmot, Smallborough-green.

John Edward Shepherd, Esq. on the first jury.

John Fowler, do.

William Gibbs Roberts, ditto.

John Dickenson, new.

John Smith, do.

John Woodward, do.

The remaining jurymen in attendance were informed, that they must again attend on Wednesday morning.

The challenges on the part of the crown were thirty-three; on the part of the prisoner, thirty-five.

Mr. Bolland immediately proceeded to open the indictment.

The Attorney-General then stated the case to the jury, going over all the facts already detailed, and commenting upon them with great clearness and ingenuity.

Robert Adams, whose evidence we have already given at length, was then called. His testimony was in all respects similar to that before given. In cross-examination, he attributed the change in his religious opinion to the effect produced in his mind by Payne's works and Carlile's publications. He was now convinced of his errors, and was anxious to make atonement for the crimes into which he had been seduced. In describing some of the prisoner Brunt's declarations,

Brunt^h hastily rose, and said, "My lords, can the witness look me in the face, and in the faces of these gentlemen (the jury), and say that I have said so?"

Adams (turning his face towards the prisoner, and laying his hand on his breast): "I can declare it with a safe and clear conscience."

Brunt: Then you are a bigger villain than ever I thought you to be.

The Court interfered to prevent any further altercation between the parties. The other witnesses examined in the case of Ings were next called and examined.

Thomas Hiden repeated the evidence he had before given of the communications made to him by Wilson. After his examination had been brought to a conclusion, he remained in court.

Wilson, who seemed to be bursting with rage, called out for the witnesses to quit the court. Hiden was ordered out, and as he went, Wilson exclaimed, "Let that perjured villain be turned out of court!"

The remaining witnesses were then called, and at half-past five o'clock

Mr. Gurney intimated that the case for the prosecution had been closed, except so far as related to the examination of the arms and ammunition which had been seized in Cato-street, and elsewhere. As it would be most prudent to examine them by day-light, he hoped that the court would adjourn their examination till to-morrow morning.

The Lord Chief Baron acquiesced in the proposition, and an adjournment took place accordingly.

TUESDAY, APRIL 25.

This morning the proceedings were resumed. The arms and ammunition were brought in, and underwent an inspec-

tion in presence of the jury. Ruthven and Taunton explained how they had been taken ; and Serjeant Hanson, of the royal artillery, described the effects which would have been produced by the explosion of the hand-grenades. The case for the Crown was here closed.

Mr. Curwood now addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner, and urged all those topics which we have already detailed in his former speeches. He concluded by calling a witness of the name of John Bennett.

Mr. Gurney begged to ask the purpose for which this witness was called.

Mr. Curwood stated that he was to contradict part of the testimony given by the witness, Hyden in his cross-examination.

Mr. Gurney then read his notes of the evidence in question, from which it appeared that the answer of Hyden were not of such a positive nature as to render such a contradiction necessary. Hyden had not sworn positively to the point which was meant to be contradicted.

The Chief Baron referred to his notes, and confirmed the statement of Mr. Gurney.

Mr. Curwood, under those circumstances, declined calling the witness.

Mr. Adolphus then shortly addressed the Jury on the same side with Mr. Curwood. He took a comprehensive view of the whole of the evidence ; denied that the evidence of Adams, the accomplice was entitled to the slightest credit ; and contended that, as it was not supported by more credible witnesses, the offence of which the prisoner had been guilty, however great did not amount to the charge in the indictment of high treason. He concluded his address, in which he displayed much zeal and ability, by appealing to the jury on the danger to society of receiving the unsupported evidence of an avowed accomplice, in a crime of a nature so serious as that with which the prisoner stood charged. He entreated them not to convict the prisoner because he was a bad man, but to examine how far the charge against him had been substantiated.

While Mr. Adolphus was delivering this address, Mr. Harmer's clerk delivered to the prisoner a written paper, which he began to read ; but he did not seem to view its contents with much attention. At the conclusion of Mr. Adolphus's speech,

The Chief Baron said, " John Thomas Brunt ; your learned counsel have concluded their very able defence ; but if you wish to say any thing in your own defence this is the time.

The prisoner then rose and spoke and follows :—

“ My Lord, I have had a defence put into my hands only a few minutes ago, which I have not had time to peruse over. Yet I have two or three observations to make respecting the evidence—particularly respecting the evidence of Monument. Its quite useless for me to deny that I was not in the room in Cato-street; but immediately on the arrival of Monument in Cato-street, he approached me, and asked me what were going to be done, when he saw the arms on the bench; to which I replied, that I was not aware of any thing being going to be done, for that Edwards had not brought so many men by thirty as he stated he would bring, and that it was not my intention to endeavour to do any thing with so few men. I would not be led by any individual. Accordingly, perceiving that Monument betrayed a great deal of fear, I persuaded him to go away. My Lord, a considerable stress has been laid upon what I said respecting the number of men who were to go to Lord Harrowby’s house. This I declare was not done. I will admit, my Lord, that when Thistlewood, as has been stated, addressed himself to the few men who were there, and spoke, as the witness said, that if they did not go it would be another Despard job, that some few men did go into the small room; but, my Lord, it never came into my mind, I solemnly protest, to go there. They were endeavouring to see if fourteen or fifteen men were disposed to go to the square; but I would not agree to a plan which I knew must expose these few individuals to instant death. I will now call your Lordship’s attention to two circumstances respecting the conduct of myself. In the first place, Adams says, in order to implicate me more deeply, that I declared that I would go into the room and blow the house about their ears. This, my Lord, is false. For you see that when Monument comes forward he makes a declaration to you, gentlemen of the jury, that I declared I would go myself and bury myself in the ruins. Is this consistent! Is it upon such evidence as this, that you will deprive a son of a father, and a wife of a husband? I should wish to advert to another circumstance. While I was in Coldbath-fields prison—when I was there nearly for three days, during which I was scarcely out of my room, even to wash myself. When I came down out of my room to the fire I saw Monument; I saw Strange; I saw Cooper; I saw Bradburn. Monument, my Lord, came to me, and sat himself down close by me, and whispered in my ear these words: he said, “What did you say when you came before the Privy Council?” I says, “That I said I knew nothing about the matter.” This, my Lord, induced me to ask Monument what he said? and I says, “What did you say?” upon which he says, “I could say nothing—you told me

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nothing. Why did you not tell me more?" I says, "It were impossible for me to tell you what I did not know myself. You know very well, that when you saw the man call on us to go into the small room I declined." I admit, as was said by Adams, that I was one that was named to go to the house; but, gentlemen of the jury, you were not told that he was the villain who so named me, and that he constantly came to my house twice a day, although he now comes to give evidence to deprive me of my life. I am no traitor—I was determined when I entered into this base plot, that I would lose my life sooner than I would betray an individual. I would be put to death—I would die on the rack, rather than I would betray a fellow-creature. This is my principle. This shews the intention of Monument to betray me. Now, my Lord, I come to advert to a circumstance which occurred to me at Cambray, in France. It becomes me to state any thing which may be of use to me and my fellow-prisoners. While I was in Cambray, in France, my Lord, I met Adams when I first came from Paris. Adams worked for the officers, and I assisted him in work which he was incapable of performing himself. He afterwards became so jealous, that he threatened to take my life, and I was obliged to leave the house, which I did, and I never worked for him again. I afterwards went from Cambray to Lisle, where I worked for an English tradesman of the name of Brailsfords. I worked for him two or three months, until I got a little money. During this time I knew nothing of Adams. When I came home, I found that my wife had lost her senses, and was in St. Luke's, in consequence of her having heard that my son and myself had been assassinated in France. I settled myself, and my wife shortly after came out. I got a good seat of work, and at this time I was persuaded to receive, as my apprentice, Hale, the witness, who has been called to you. [Here the prisoner entered into some details relative to the character of the relations of Hale, in which he was interrupted by the Chief Baron upon the principle, that these persons were in no way connected with the present case.] He then went on to detail a variety of acts on the part of his apprentice, all tending to prove him a person of bad character, and unworthy of credit, to which he said, if he had the means, he would bring evidence. He then spoke as follows:—

"Of Hiden I know nothing. [Here he again referred to the written defence with which he had been furnished. He said he had not had time to read it, but continued:] "I wish to advert to a person of the name of Edwards, who was the first person that ever instigated me to enter into this snare. This Mr. Edwards I first saw in company of Mr. Thistlewood, at the White Lion in Wych-street. This Edwards shortly

after came to my lodging in Fox-court. I was very short of work, and he used frequently to call on me—such a thing as two or three times a day; and this was long before the back room was taken. If I was not at home he would wait for me; and often followed me to places where I went for work. This was the case at the house of a gentleman of the name of Scott, who saw him and asked me if he was waiting for me? and said, “Why does he not come in?” This man constantly harassed me, and oftentimes, my Lord, he supplied me with money. He told me, and I can bring other people to prove it, that he said, that if he could get a hundred such men as me, he could do any thing. He considered me a staunch man, my Lord, and thought, I suppose, that I was a fit man to make a prey of. He often took me out to call on people, and to treat them with drink. This was his constant practice. He was continually with me before this business; and I solemnly declare, that this was the individual, and not Mr. Thistlewood, who brought me into this plot. I must now, my Lord, advert to what took place in Cato-street, and to his (Edward’s) conduct on that evening. I will state nothing but the truth. My Lord, from the different favours I received from Edwards I had a good opinion of the man. When the officers came up into the room, in Cato-street, I made my escape in the best manner I could. I did not make my escape, however, like a coward or a traitor. I did not desert my companions. I went immediately to Grosvenor-square, where I knew this villain was, although I shall, probably, by his means, be sent into another world very shortly. I went to the villain and told him what had happened, at which he seemed very much surprised, and left the square with me. Shortly after, up came Thistlewood and another person, who was in the room, in Cato-street; but who has not since been taken, nor never will, I dare say, my Lord. However, we proceeded from Grosvenor-square, and he took us to several wine vaults to drink. I now believe, merely for some person to identify us. I then went to Fox-court, Holborn, where I had not been many minutes, when, as my apprentice stated, another man came in, who said he had received a violent blow in the side. But my apprentice has not stated, as the fact was, that the very individual who came on the stairs and called us out, was Edwards. We went with him, and on going into Holborn, there we met a man of the name of Palin, and three more individuals with him. We went altogether into Mr. Thompson’s wine vaults, opposite St. Andrew’s Church, on Holborn-hill. We drank some small glasses of liquor. When we came out of the shop we were followed very shortly by Edwards, who called me on one side, and said he wished to speak to me. I heard what he

had to say. He began to find fault with Palin, who was drunk. He declared that he was the man that had betrayed us, and that he was unworthy to live. He said, that to prevent treachery, he ought to be made away with. From that we walked on till we came to Little Britain, or some where thereabouts. We came to a dark place, where Edwards said that Cook lived; but I did not know myself. He urged me again respecting Palin, who still remained much intoxicated. He said to me, that it would be the safest way to put him out of the world. He urged me several times to assassinate Palin. He then put his hand to his pocket, and pulled out a brass barrell'd loaded pistol, with which he told me to assassinate Palin. He likewise offered me a sword-stick, and he says, "If you put him out of the world, we shall be safe." He also showed me a constable's staff; and said, "I will act in the same capacity as I did in Grosvenor-square; and if there is any alarm I will officiate as an officer, and you may depend on it no discovery will take place." Finding he entreated me to be guilty of murder, I made this reply: "If you consider Palen a villain, the weapons are in good hands." Finding he could not entreat me to commit murder, he says, "I must wish you a good night, I am going to conduct Thistlewood to some secret place." As he had always appeared to be a particular friend of Mr. Thistlewood's, I thought he was the most proper person to do this. Knowing of no evil intention myself against any individual, I was determined not to know where he went, and I consented to bid him good night. I then went home. Edwards afterwards came to me, and whispered to me, and told me that he thought Palin and Potter had betrayed us, and that he had not the smallest doubt of it. He then advised me to send the articles which were found in the basket, in the back room, and which my apprentice has described, over to a place in the Borough, which I was going to do, but afterwards abandoned that intention. This is all I wish to say respecting what I know of the plot. Now Edwards was the man who always found money, and who went about to old iron shops, buying pistols and swords, and other things for the men who could not afford to buy them themselves. This I declare before God, whose awful tribunal I shall, in all probability, ere long, be summoned to attend, is the truth. Should I die by this case, I have been seduced by a villain, who, I have no doubt has been employed by government. I could not have abused confidence reposed in me; and if I die, I shall die not unworthy of the descendant of an ancient Briton! Sooner than I would betray a fellow man, I would rather suffer a thousand deaths! This is all I wish to say."

The prisoner then sat down. He delivered this speech with

great firmness, and did not seem at all affected by his critical situation.

The Solicitor-General rose to reply:—he remarked upon the several parts of the evidence touched on by the counsel on the other side, and concluded with a solemn call upon the jury to give an impartial verdict, according to the evidence.

The Chief Baron began to sum up a short time before two.

While his Lordship was summing up, Brunt said, “My Lord, there are some of the witnesses for the prosecution in court, and as their hearing their evidence summed up may prejudice the trial of some of my fellow prisoners, I hope your Lordship will order them to withdraw.”

Mr. Gurney: My Lord, they are only those witnesses who were permitted to remain by common consent; they are the officers.

The Lord Chief Baron: they are on'y those whom your counsel have consented to remain.

Mr. Baron Garrow repeated the same observation to the prisoner, who bowed respectfully to the court, and resumed his seat.

The Lord Chief Baron continued to sum up the evidence with great precision to the end.

As soon as his Lordship concluded, and before the jury retired, one of them (Mr Goodchild we understood) addressed the Court: My Lord, I hope your Lordship will allow me to to ask a question as to a point of law.”

The Lord Chief Baron: Certainly, Sir, any thing you please.

Juror: My Lord, we are bound to take the law from your Lordship, and no doubt you will give it to us most correctly. I wish to know whether, if the evidence bore out that an arming had taken place, and that there was a resistance to the civil power, would that, in the law, be a levying of war.

The Lord Chief Baron: Undoubtedly. After a short pause, his Lordship said, “Gentlemen, do I understand the question rightly? Please to repeat it again?”

The Juror repeated the question, and his Lordship replied, that a resistance to the civil authority would not constitute a levying of war.

The Juror: My Lord, if there was an arming for the purpose of inducing his Majesty to change his measures, would that be a levying of war?

The Lord Chief Baron: That, gentlemen, would constitute a levying of war; and if you believe that it was proved in evidence, it would support the indictment under the Act of his late Majesty. I put only the first and third counts to you, gentlemen, not to embarrass the case.

The same Juror: I would wish to consider the whole of the indictment. I hope your Lordship will excuse my asking these questions.

The Lord Chief Baron: Certainly, gentlemen, it is your province to consider the whole of the case before you. You have also an undoubted right to ask any question you may think necessary.

The Jury then retired at 20 minutes before four; and in about ten minutes returned with a verdict of *Guilty* on the *Third and Fourth Counts*.

The prisoner's appearance was in no degree altered by the annunciation of the verdict. He bowed slightly to the court, and was removed in the care of two of the gaoler's assistants.

TRIAL

OF RICHARD TIDD AND WILLIAM DAVIDSON.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26.

At ten minutes after nine o'clock, Mr. Baron Garrow, Mr. Justice Best, and the Common Serjeant, took their seats on the bench; the Attorney-General, Mr. Gurney, and Mr. Bolland, and the prisoner's counsel, Messrs. Adolphus and Curwood, appeared in court at the same time.

After a short consultation between Mr. Curwood and the Attorney-General, Mr. Harmer quitted the court, and proceeded to commune with the prisoners in the gaol.

During the absence of Mr. Harmer, Mr. Baron Garrow addressed the gentlemen who were waiting to be called on as jurors. They might, he said, feel some surprise at the delay, and the Bench, therefore, felt it right to declare that the present interruption was caused entirely by an application made by the prisoners' counsel. He hoped that the jury would not consider the delay as intended to convey any want of respect towards them.

One of the jurors said, he hoped the court would allow them to sit down, as many of them had come a considerable distance to attend the court.

Mr. Baron Garrow said, that the court felt every disposition to accommodate, in every possible manner, the gentlemen of the jury, and requested them to occupy the seats vacant in the court.

Soon afterwards Mr. Harmer returned to court, and communicated to Mr. Curwood the result of his conference.

Mr. Curwood then, addressing Mr. Baron Garrow, stated,

that a proposition, which he had thought for the benefit of his clients had been acceded to by them, and that two of them (Tidd and Davidson) were willing to take their trials at the same time.

Mr. Baron Garrow then addressed the jurymen, and said, "Gentlemen, I may now communicate to you that which it would have been improper to have made known to you before. The learned gentleman who appears here for the prisoners, and whose exertions you have witnessed upon more occasions than one, has thought fit to consult his clients as to whether it is necessary to pursue the course which has already been adopted in severing their challenges, or whether two of them might not take their trial by the same jury. By this pause we have in effect saved time, for the two next prisoners have agreed not to sever their challenges, but to be tried at the same time."

The prisoners, Tidd and Davidson, were then put to the bar; and Mr. Shelton called over the list of jurors.

The following jury was ultimately impanelled :---

* W. Percy, Cleveland-street, Mary-le-bone, plasterer.

J. G. Holmden, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell, fusecutter.

J. King, Islington-road, Gent.

C. E. Prescott, Colney-hatch, Esq.

* Benjamin Rogers, Lampton, farmer.

Charles Golding, Jamaica-place, Limehouse, surveyor.

Charles Page, Crouch-end. Esq. and merchant.

* J. Young, Frederick-place, St. Pancras, Gent.

William Butler, Hounslow, baker.

Joseph Sheffield.

William Churchill.

* Samuel Grainger.

The Jurors thus marked * had served on some of the previous trials.

The Court then intimated that the Gentlemen of the Jury not sworn might depart; but the Court would expect their attendance on Friday morning at nine o'clock precisely.

The prisoner Davidson here asked whether the Court would allow him and his fellow-prisoners to sit down. The Court complied with his request, and chairs were brought to them.

Mr. Gurney having stated the case with great clearness and ingenuity, he proceeded to call the witnesses for the Crown--- beginning with

Robert Adams. His evidence was the same as before, with some additions. He said, that when the proposition was made for assassinating the Ministers, it was added, that they had found out where they kept their specie, and that they

were to return and plunder it. Bradburn was to make a box for the purpose of sending Castlereagh's head to Ireland.

In cross-examination by Mr. Curwood, he said he came back to the belief in Christianity about the 24th of Feb.---the day after he was in marvellous great danger of being hanged. The halter might have had some effect. It was never lawful in his sight to sweep off fifteen men in cold blood. He thought it was a cruel act when it was proposed. Nevertheless, from the 12th of January to the 23d of February, he still continued to frequent the society in which that matter was debated. He was once a chairman. The largest body he ever saw collected was in Cato-street. There was a talk of a great many more, but he did not know them by name. His single sword was all he agreed to contribute. He never heard where Mr. Cook's party were to come from. Nobody objected to the proclamation written by Thistlewood---"Your tyrants are destroyed," &c. He did not know a man of the name of Chambers, nor did he ever call upon such a man, and say he would have "wine and blood for supper," and solicit him to join in this plot. His object in joining their parties was, to search further into the principles of Brunt; he joined them because he had a foolish and curious idea to know what Brunt's principles were; and for this reason he joined in this plot. He did not know a man of the name of Watman. Tidd did not say he had been deceived in the loft in Cato-street; but he said "it never can be done."

Tidd and Davidson now both expressed a wish to ask the witness some questions.

Mr. Baron Garrow humanely interposed, and suggested whether, for their own advantage, it would not be more consistent with prudence to put their questions through their counsel, as they might do something prejudicial to themselves.

The prisoners both thanked his Lordship, and communicated to Mr. Harmer's clerk, the enquiries which they wished to be made.

The witness then, in answer to questions put by Mr. Curwood, said, that he could not say that Davidson was armed in Cato-street; he did not notice any arms.

In re-examination by the Solicitor-General, he said that Davidson brought 500 bullets to Fox-court, on the 22d of Feb. He had changed his religion in consequence of reading Paine's Age of Reason, which was put into his hand by the prisoner Tidd; he did not see Palen, or Cook, or Potter, in Cato-street; he did not know of what numbers their parties consisted.

Eleanor Walker, Mary Rogers, Joseph Hale (apprentice to Brunt), were then called: they repeated their former testi-

mony as to the presence of Davidson and Tidd at the meetings in Fox-court.

Hale, in cross-examination by Mr. Curwood, said, that Edwards was oftener at the meetings in Fox-court than Adams.

Thomas Smart and Charles Bissex, watchmen in Grosvenor-square, were next called. They were followed by Hector Morrison, servant to Mr. Underwood, the cutler; Henry Gillan, of Mount-street, Grosvenor-square; Edward Simpson, James Aldous (pawnbroker), John Monument, and Thomas Hiden, who communicated the plot to Lord Harrowby.

---The last witness, in cross-examination, said, that he had known Wilson for a long time. He agreed to join in the plot to save himself. One evening at his friend Clark's he was accused of not supporting the committee, and Davidson said, "those that did not come forward would be the men that they would first murder." This made him agree to what Wilson said. He knew a man named Bennett, but he never did ask him to attend 'a private radical meeting.' He believed, he said, he might speak or not speak when he was there, as he chose. He did not say "Radical meeting," nor did he say that he must take up arms, if he were called upon so to do; he did not recollect saying so; he had no recollection that he ever did say so.

In re-examination, witness said he had been twice at a shoemaker's club, where he saw Davidson, Wilson, and Harrison. This club was held at a public house, called the Scotch Arms, in a court in the Strand. He asked Bennett to go there with him, and Clark: that was four or five or six months ago.

Thomas Monument, Lord Harrowby, and John Baker, his lordship's butler, were next examined, in confirmation of the former witnesses; and these were followed by the officers and other persons who were present at the occurrences in Cato-street, and the subsequent arrest of Brunt and Thistlewood.

Tidd, in reference to Ruthven's evidence, said, that Ruthven, on searching him, had said, "Curse me, here's nothing here but a tobacco box."

Ruthven, on being asked by Mr. Baron Garrow, denied that he had made use of any such expression.

The Attorney-General now addressed their Lordships, and stated, that the case for the Crown had now been concluded, with the exception of producing the arms and ammunition found in Cato-street and elsewhere. As it was now late (five o'clock), the Court would perhaps defer the production of these things till the next morning.

Mr. Baron Garrow.—Gentlemen of the Jury, the case for the prosecution is now closed, all but the production of the

arms. If by sitting late there were any probability of bringing the trial to a close this night, I should consult you as to the propriety of doing so ; but as we cannot finish it by sitting late, and thereby exhausting ourselves, this is the best time for adjourning.

Davidson stood up and addressed the Court : “ My Lord, as I have been taken by surprise, I am quite unprepared with my witnesses. I hope you will allow my wife to see me this night, that notice may be given them to attend.”

Mr. Baron Garrow.—The Court has no power to make any order on the subject you have mentioned ; but I can say that care will be taken that any proper person may be admitted to you for any proper purpose.

The Court then adjourned till nine to-morrow. Davidson took notes during the day, and frequently sent communications to his counsel.

THURSDAY, APRIL 27th.

This morning the court assembled at 9 o'clock. The prisoners, Tidd and Davidson were immediately put to the bar. They were provided with chairs as on the preceding day. Davidson had a bible in his hand which appeared to have been much read, and in the leaves of which were several marks. He had also a large book composed of sheets of paper sewn together, in which there appeared to be a good deal of writing, and in which he occasionally wrote while in court.

The arms, ammunition, and other materials, found in Cato-street and in other places, connected with the machinations of the prisoners, were brought into court previous to the arrival of the judges.

The court having been opened in the customary form, George Ruthven, the Bow-street officer, was called, and described the arms and other articles taken in Cato-street, and on the persons of the prisoners. These were again separately exhibited to the jury.

Samuel Taunton selected the ball cartridges, hand grenades, pike-handles, and arms, found in the lodgings of Tidd, at Hole-in-the-wall-passage, Brook's-market. We have already given their enumeration. The long sword and carbine, taken from Davidson when he was apprehended by Ellis and Chapman in Cato-street, as well as the pistol taken from Tidd, after he had attempted to discharge it at Lieut. Fitzclarance, were next produced, and underwent a minute inspection.

Serjeant Hanson was next called ; he repeated his description of the fire balls, and the probable effects which would result from their being thrown upon buildings : he also explained the nature of the powder in flannel bags, which, as before, he stated were cartridges for six pounders : he then

opened one of the hand grenades, and exhibited its component parts to the jury; this one was only armed with four large spike nails, but some of the others which were opened had no less than twenty-five separate pieces of old iron enfolded within the outer wrappings of rope-yarn. The large grenade, weighing nearly 14lbs., and constructed in the same way, but upon a larger scale, was not inspected.

Mr. Gurney now announced that he had closed the evidence on the part of the Crown.

Mr. Curwood immediately rose to address the jury on the part of the prisoners. He said that he had now rose for the fourth time to urge those topics on behalf of the unfortunate men at the bar, which he had previously submitted to other juries in the course of these trials. The force of those topics remained in his mind undiminished---he was still conscientiously satisfied, that the charge of high treason in these cases were alone supported by the testimony of Adams---a man, the infamy of whose character ought, in his estimation, to deprive him of all claims to credit. The learned gentleman then went over the different points of the evidence, and contended with great ingenuity, that whatever might have been the diabolical intentions of the prisoners---however ready they might have been to inflict vengeance on those whom they might suppose to be the authors of those melancholy transactions, but too frequently designed as "the Manchester Massacre,"---yet, that in all these things there was nothing in reason or common sense, that could lead to a fair and rational conclusion that they had in contemplation either to compass and imagine the death of the King, or to levy war against the King. If the jury, under all the circumstances, entertained with him this opinion, he had no doubt they would not hesitate to acquit the prisoners.

Mr. Adolphus now called the witnesses for the defence.

Mary Barker, the daughter of Tidd, deposed, that she knew Edwards and Adams. Edwards left at her father's house, about a fortnight before the affair in Cato-street, a number of grenades and some powder. Adams also left a very large grenade. They were to be called for again. Edwards took them once away, and brought them back afterwards. They were taken away again on the 23d of February by Edwards, and some were brought back on the morning of the 24th, about quarter of an hour before the officers came. She did not know the person by whom they were brought back. A box remained which had never been opened.

As the witness left the court she squeezed her father's hand. They both seemed much affected. Tears came into the eyes.

of Tidd, which he endeavoured to suppress. The daughter was in an agony of grief.

Thomas Chambers deposed, that he lived in Heath-court, Strand; Edwards and Adams repeatedly called upon him. They came together to his house about a week before the Cato-street business, when Edwards said, "Won't you go along with us?" Witness said, "Go where?" when Edwards answered, "Oh, you must know that there is something on foot." He replied he did not when Adams said, "We are going to kill his Majesty's ministers, and we shall have blood and wine for supper." Edwards said, "by G--, Adams, you're right." On the Monday before the Cato-street business they came again: Edwards brought with him a bag, which he wished to leave witness; he asked what it contained? when Edwards said only some pistols and things of that sort. Witness would not receive it, and they went away, he saw no more of them.

In cross-examination, witness said---I believe I have been sworn on the prayer-book---I never was sworn before above twice. I believe in Christianity. I was brought up in the Christian faith, and continue in it. I am no member of any faction. I never saw Paine's works---I know the two prisoners. Davidson I know since the time of Mr. Hunt's procession. Tidd I have known only in the trade---I cannot say how long---I might have known him at the meeting in Smithfield and elsewhere. I attended all the meetings held in the open air. I scorn all secret meetings. I know Thistlewood, Ings, Harrison, Strange, and Bradburn. I carried banners in some of the processions. I carried no weapons. Thistlewood has been repeatedly at my house. I took all the flags to my house. I saw him also at the Black Dog, in Gray's-Inn lane. I used to frequent the White Lion, in Wych-street. I went to attend the meetings there. They called themselves reformers. I was always in the waggons with Hunt. When I refused to go with Adams and Edwards to kill his Majesty's ministers, I did not think they would ever get any persons to be so foolish as to join them. I may be a great fool, but not foolish enough to enter into such a scheme. I did not communicate the project to any magistrate. I never heard anything said against his Majesty's ministers, more than what I saw in the newspapers. I do not read Paine's works; I only read Cobbett, and have a drawer full of them; I also read the Prayer-book and Bible.

John Bennet deposed that he knew Hiden; he called on him to ask him to accompany him to a private radical meeting. He endeavoured to persuade him to go more than ten times. He told him that he might hear and see what was doing; but he need not speak unless he liked.

Several witnesses were now called to the general characters of the prisoners.

Mr. Cook, of Charlotte-street, Blackfriars'-road, knew Davidson six years ago: he then worked for him, and was an industrious hard-working man---he had not known much of him since.

Mr. M'William, an architect, knew Davidson, at Aberdeen, in the years 1800 and 1801; he was then studying mathematics; he had only seen him three or four times since in the streets, and was surprised to have been called on to give him a character.

Stephen Hales, William French, and Samuel Lands, spoke to the general correctness of the conduct of Tidd in private life. He was an honest, industrious, hard-working man, and apparently much attached to his family. Other witnesses were expected, but did not attend.

Mr. Adolphus commenced his address to the jury at a quarter before twelve o'clock, and although it would be difficult to give much novelty to a subject on which he has so frequently spoken, yet his speech was marked by an acute examination of the whole of the evidence, a just and forcible reprobation of the atrocity of a betraying accomplice, and an energetic appeal to the jury, not to condemn men on the evidence of an avowed conspirator, who had broken the bonds of society, forfeited his allegiance to his Sovereign, and his duty to God. The learned gentleman, in the course of a very eloquent speech of an hour and a half, said it would be the last time that he should appear on these trials.

Baron Garrow: William Davidson, the law of England, in its excessive tenderness to persons indicted for high treason, has allowed them privileges of defence not extended to other cases. If, therefore, in addition to the able defence of your counsel, you wish to say any thing, now is the time. Do it deliberately, and the Court will hear you attentively.

Davidson then rose, greatly agitated, and spoke nearly as follows. I am much obliged to your lordship, and will call your attention to a few particulars in this instance. My lord, from my life up, I have always maintained the character of an industrious and inoffensive man. I have no friends in England, but have always depended upon my own exertions for support. I have an extensive family, and for their sake alone, is my life of value to me. The charge which has been brought against me, I can lay my hand upon my heart, and in the presence of that God whom I revere, say, I am not guilty of. Concerning how I came in possession of the blunderbuss I will state. I had a friend whose name is Williamson, who told me he had bought an old blunderbuss which was all over rust. He was going to the Cape of Good Hope, and gave it to me to clean. I have been doing business for myself for the last five

years, and that is the reason I cannot bring any more of my employers than Mr. Cooke to speak in my behalf. To Mr. Edwards I owe being brought in this situation. I never knew any thing of him till I attended Mr. Hunt's procession; that was the first time I ever went into public in my life. Mr. Edwards told me that he would take me to a place to have this blunderbuss raffled for; when I went to the place, I there saw Mr. Thistlewood for the second time; I had previously seen him at Mr. Hunt's dinner; I saw Mr. Adams there also; but I knew none of the others.— Mr. Edwards proposed to commence raffling for the blunderbuss; but as they did not put down any money, I would not agree. I then heard a great deal of improper language, and would not stop. I went to Mr. Williamson, who was waiting to know the result; and told him what had passed. He then said that he wanted to get some money, and I proposed pledging the blunderbuss with a pawnbroker. He agreed, and requested me to take it for him; I did so, and got seven shillings upon it from Mr. Aldous, who knew me. The money I gave to Mr. Williamson. I afterwards went to see Mr. Williamson on board the Belle Alliance, which was about to sail for the Cape. He made me a present of the ticket. On the 22d. of Feb. Edwards called upon me, and told me that he had been to see Mr. Williamson, and that he had given him an order to get the ticket for the blunderbuss. I said very well, and consented to go and get it out of pledge for him, as he said he was to get 10s. by it, part of which I was to have, and he gave 7s. 2d. for that purpose; he told me to meet him at the corner of Oxford-street, which I did, when he said he would take me to Fox-court, where there was a countryman of mine, a man of colour he meant; I objected to going. My Lord, I never associated with men of colour, although one myself, because I always found them very ignorant. I now pass over to the sword concern; I shall state the truth. On a Monday after the Manchester massacre; I met a person of the name of George Goldworthy, to whom I had been apprentice at Liverpool; he expressed his surprise at seeing me in London; I told him I was out of employment, and that there was nothing worse than being a small master, as all the rest of the trade, from jealousy, set their face against me; he said he had a little business of his own in the country, and that he would employ me if I would go. I agreed to go at 30s. a-week. He then appointed me to meet him at a house he called the Horse and Groom, in John-street, Edgeware-road, on the Wednesday following. All this time I did not know that Goldworthy was an acquaintance of Edwards's, but he was. On Wednesday evening, accordingly, I went to the Horse and Groom. I looked into the house but did not see Goldworthy. I stopped at the corner to wait for him, my lord, which your lordship and gentlemen must well know I being a conspicuous character would not have done, if I was about any thing improper. I saw Adams there; but I went on to walk a little further. On my return I saw several persons going in and out of the house, but still Goldworthy did not come.

A little after eight o'clock, while I was in the Edgeware-road up came Goldworthy. He asked me if I was not surprised he had not come. I said I was. He then said he was going to call upon a friend, and gave me a sword, which he said he carried for self-protection against thieves about the country. At this time I had not the least intention of any thing directly or indirectly concerning the business in Cato street. I went down the street accidentally, and hearing two or three pistols fired, I went to see what was the matter. I never was afraid of any man. I then heard a cry of "Stop thief!" and was seized and taken to gaol. I never drew the cutlass nor offered to strike; but gave myself up quietly. I have ventured my life fifteen times for my country and my king, and I ask you, gentlemen, if you think it possible that I should be so vain as to attempt to join a few weak men to trample down that well-founded constitution, in which the country has so much reason to glory? I would scorn such an act---and I solemnly protest there was nothing found on me but the sword which I received from Goldworthy, and a little block. It was said, that I said, "I would die for liberty's cause, and that I was searched in a public-house;" this not true; and if the landlord was here he would prove the contrary. I know nothing at all of the plot in Cato-street, directly or indirectly. I know nothing of a plot to plunder, to burn houses, or to massacre the ministers. I did not know that any such plot was in existence. I will now, my Lords and gentlemen, give you an instance where one man of colour may be mistaken for another---as must have been my case. Whenever I had any leisure time I employed it as a teacher in a Sunday school: there a similar mistake was made. A person, a man of colour, insulted one of the female teachers at Walworth. The young lady said it was me, and I found I was slighted, although nothing was said. I sent in my resignation, when the gentlemen waited upon me in a body and stated what had been alleged to my charge. I was so confounded, that I could not say any thing, and let them go away without making any defence. I afterwards, however, set myself to work, and actually found the man who had committed the offence, made him acknowledge it, and beg the young lady's pardon. The young lady could not look me in the face, knowing how she had injured me, but held out her hand as a token of her regret. Now, my lord and gentlemen, this shows how one man may be mistaken for another. I would as lieve be put to death as suppose that you, my lord, or the gentlemen of the crown, should think me capable, for one moment, of harbouring a thought to massacre any person whatever.—(Here the prisoner applied for a glass of water, which was handed to him.) Although I am a man of colour, that is no reason that I should be guilty of such a crime. My colour may be against me, but I have as good and as fair a heart as if I were a white.

Mr. Baron Garrow assured the prisoner that his colour would not operate in the minds of a British Jury, to his prejudice, in the most distant degree.

Davidson continued: I have a very few words more to say.— I have a very numerous family, and a wife that never earned me

a penny in her life. All his distress arose from the consideration of the helpless situation of his family. Were it not for that he would not care what became of him. Like Isaiah it might be said of him, 'he was persecuted, yet he opened not his mouth.' As a father, I wish to discharge my duty—for them I wish to live—and for their sakes I wish, if possible, to clear up the black charge which has been brought against me. First of all, Mr. Adams positively swore that he had not seen me in the loft, and that I was down stairs—and then comes Mr. Monument, who said that I addressed the congregation, and told those that were afraid of their lives to walk out. They must see that this was an exaggeration, and in fact an invention, or would not both of these men who were present at the same time have agreed in the same story? I admit that I was in Cato-street; but even admitting this, what does it amount to? I know very well that Mr. Goldworthy was an accomplice of Edwards, and it is clear that by these persons, for purposes best known to themselves, I was entrapped into this snare. As for myself, my Lord, I have served my country, and done all that I could do for it. I have supported my family by honest industry, and I never directly or indirectly associated with any persons at public places. I never attended any meeting but as a common spectator.

I know nothing of these men, (Tidd and the other prisoners.) I have no knowledge of their plots; I do not blame the gentlemen of the crown for the manner in which they have conducted this case; because they have done no more than their duty according to the evidence which has been brought before them; but I say the witnesses, as far as regards me, are altogether false sworn. I have selected a few passages from the Bible, which I wish to read on this subject, and these I offer not for the purpose of insulting the court. The indictment charges, that I did certain things "not having the fear of God before my eyes, but having been instigated by the devil." Now, I always had the fear of God before me, and always cherished the feelings of virtue and humanity. I always subscribed to the beautiful lines of Mr. Pope—

" If I am right, thy grace impart,
 Still in the right to stay;
 If I am wrong, oh! teach my heart,
 To find that better way.
 Teach me to feel another's woe;
 To hide the fault I see:
 The mercy I to others show,
 That mercy show to me."

The verses from this sacred book, which I think applicable to my case on the present occasion, are these:—

" 15 ¶ One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.

16 ¶ If a false witness rise up against any man, to testify against him that which is wrong;

" 17 Then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall

stand before the Lord, before the priests and the judges which shall be in those days.

“ 18 And the judges shall make diligent inquisition: and behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother;

“ 19 Then shall you do unto him, as he thought to have done unto his brother; so shalt thou put the evil away from among you.

20 “ And those which remain shall hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil among you.

21 And thine eye shall not pity; but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.”

These words, gentlemen of the jury, I wish to impress on your minds. I am a stranger to England by birth; but I was educated and brought up in England; my father was an Englishman, my grand-father was a Scotchman; I may too claim the prerogative of an Englishman, from having been in the country from my infancy—still I have not a friend in England—I have not a relative who will stretch out his hand to my helpless family. Then will you not think it hard to have my life taken away for a scene of intended iniquity of which I knew nothing. To have me torn from the bosom of her whom I lived but to cherish—to have me exposed to the ruthless knife of the executioner, while my innocent starving babes seek in vain for consolation. Gentlemen, when I think of this, it unmans me. I am no plotter—no assassin—no traitor! Look well to the evidence, and to your own hearts, before you pronounce the fatal verdict of “ guilty.” Gentlemen, the Earl of Harrowby I have known for years; I worked on his Lordship’s estate in Staffordshire. Gentlemen, I knew him but to respect him—and yet it is suggested that I could raise the dagger of the murderer to his breast—Forbid it providence! Had I known that this plot existed, I would have been the first to warn his Lordship of his danger; but I declare solemnly that I knew not of such an intention. I knew nothing of all these dark and bloody projects. Gentlemen, I have now done—I repeat I will readily submit to death if you think me capable of harbouring an intention to commit the crime of high treason. If that is your persuasion, pronounce your verdict accordingly. I hope my death may prove useful to my country—for still England I call thee so --and I trust that those by whom I shall be condemned may lay down their lives with as clear a conscience.”

The prisoner then sat down. He spoke throughout in an animated natural strain, and with a firmness worthy a better cause.

Baron Garrow, “ Richard Tidd, do you wish to add any thing to what your counsel has stated for you? If you do, this is the proper time.”

Tidd rose, and said, in a meek and humble voice, The first thing I have got to say is, that I had the misfortune to get acquainted with Brunt about a month before Christmas, by his frequently going to see Adams, who was living next door to me; our windows joined; by that means I became acquainted with him. During the Christmas holidays, we kept them together; after the holidays, I was introduced to Edwards, who does not now appear

against me; he was constantly coming to me afterwards; I always was a hard working man, working sixteen and eighteen hours a-day. I never had any time to spare, except on a Sunday. Messrs. Edwards and Brunt together told me that there were certain meetings going on. I never attended any meeting after the acts to prevent illegal meetings, till Edwards told me that he had authority to state from persons high in rank, that meetings might take place to procure reform in Parliament. I was then introduced to a room where I was taken to in Brunt's house. I did not see there any thing particular till the Sunday when I was proposed to take the chair. Certain propositions were then made, which made me declare I would never more attend such meetings, and I fully determined that I would not keep company with them afterwards. Prior to this Edwards came up to my house, and said, that he had got certain materials, and Mr. Thistlewood would be obliged to me if I would let them remain in my house. I said, I would allow no such thing. He then went away, but in the evening he came and brought the things, which the officers afterwards seized. On Tuesday, Edwards and Brunt came to me, and asked me if I kept to my determination---they added, that all the proceedings that were going on were entirely flustered; they then said there was to be a meeting of the Mary-le-bone Union, and asked me to go. Edwards said, every body going there for self preservation took a weapon of defence. I told him I had none; he said, if I had not, the club would supply me with one; he then pulled out a pistol, and said, you ought to arm yourself now. He also had a sword stick, which he offered me. He afterwards gave me a direction where the meeting was to be held. I have it now in my pocket. [Here the witness took a small bit of paper from his fob pocket, which was handed to the learned judge.]

Mr. Barron Garrow: Do you wish this to be read.

Tidd: Yes, my lord. The paper was then read. It contained these words:—"Horse and Groom, John-street, Edgeware-road." Tidd then went on. During Wednesday, while I was at work, Edwards and Brunt came to me, and said there was some people I must bring to the club. I afterwards took Monument, but I do declare before you I never knew any thing about a cabinet dinner. It was never mentioned to me. I was introduced into the stable, and in ten minutes after the officers came in and apprehended me. This is all I have to say, and you may depend I have told the truth.

The Attorney-General rose to reply, and proceeded to point out the various instances in which the evidence of Adams had been confirmed: it was confirmed by Monument, who had not been deeply concerned in the plot; but it was much more strongly confirmed by Hiden, who was no accomplice, and who was in every way worthy of belief. There was, he contended, a compleat chain of evidence, to prove that there was a conspiracy to overturn the government; and if they believed that the two prisoners at the bar took a prominent part in it, they could have no hesitation as to the verdict they should give.

Mr. Baron Garrow, about twenty minutes past three o'clock,

proceeded to deliver his charge to the jury. He went over the whole of the evidence, and commented on all the material parts of it in a most perspicuous manner. While his lordship was reading over the evidence of Monument, the prisoner Davidson caused a written paper to be conveyed to him, and said he hoped it might be read as a part of his defence, which he had before forgot to notice. The learned judge observed, that although it was not strictly regular to comply with the prisoner's request in the present stage of the business, yet he was ready to allow him to make any statement which might be of use to him. The statement was, that his (Davidson's) house had been searched, and nearly pulled down and not the slightest evidence was there found which went to show that he had been guilty of any conspiracy. After his Lordship had read over the evidence of Hiden, he said it was the most important of any that had been given to the Court, because the conspiracy had been communicated to him by one of the parties, who invited him to assist in it; and because he went immediately and communicated to Lord Harrowby, the danger the Ministers were in. He pretended to show a readiness to join the conspirators, but he never did join them; and one reason for not refusing to take a part in the plot was a threat held out that any man who did not join would be put to death. The learned counsel for the prisoners had endeavoured to throw some discredit on this witness; on the ground of his being an accomplice; but there was not the slightest ground for such a supposition; nor did it appear to him that the slightest inroad had been made on his testimony. On the contrary, he ought to be considered as an instrument in the hands of Providence in saving fifteen of the first men in the country, and perhaps many others, from destruction; and all persons then present in court ought to consider themselves indebted to him. Here it was clearly in evidence that the intention of the conspirators was to murder the most respectable and virtuous characters in the kingdom; and that not content with that, they were to destroy the house of the Bishop of London, one of the most amiable men in the kingdom, who of all other men in the world was the least likely to give offence to any body. What then could be their motive for all these unprovoked atrocities, but the ulterior object of revolution? If plunder was their object where were the implements in which they were to carry away their plunder? What necessity was there to add murder to their offence? What occasion had they for a box full of ball cartridges? What was their object in all this, but the ulterior object of effecting a revolution? The usual argument of inadequacy of means had been used on this occasion; and it was said, nothing certainly could be more preposterous than to suppose a revolution could be effected by such contemptible means; but it was proved, that a plan had been formed - that a band of ruffians, reeking with the blood of the most illustrious men in the kingdom, had intended to overturn the government, by stirring up the people to insurrection. Such men as these might imagine that the object could be effected, without ever considering their adequacy of their means. Before the

commencement of the French Revolution, the first beginnings were as contemptible as this; and every body knew the vast extent and the wide-spreading desolation, by which these small beginnings were followed. After a variety of other observations, all tending to show that the evidence of the accomplices was confirmed in various instances by credible witnesses, and particularly by Joseph Hall, the apprentice of Brunt; and by Hiden, the cow-keeper, who was no party in the plot, and who acted honestly and conscientiously; his Lordship concluded his charge about twenty minutes after seven o'clock.

The jury then retired, and at twenty minutes before nine, after an absence of forty minutes, returned with a verdict of "Guilty upon the 3d Count, with the exception of the 8th and 10th overt acts."

The count in question alleged a conspiracy to levy war.

CONCLUSION OF THE TRIALS.

Mr. Curwood now addressed the court, and intimated a desire on the part of James Wilson, to withdraw his plea of misnomer to the indictment against him for high treason, and to plead "guilty."

The Attorney-General said he had no objection to this course.

James Wilson was then put to the bar, and on being questioned by Mr. Shelton, pursued the course proposed by Mr. Curwood, and pleaded guilty.

Mr. Walford next attracted the attention of the Court: he said he was instructed to make a similar tender on the part of the five remaining prisoners, whose names were included in this indictment.

Mr. Barron Garrow: Let the prisoners be brought to the bar.

John Harrison, Richard Bradburn, John Shaw Strange, James Gilchrist, and Charles Cooper, were then brought into Court.

Mr. Walford then again addressed his lordship, and said that he had watched, with great diligence, the whole of these proceedings, and from what had passed under his observation, he thought he should best consult the interests of the five unhappy men at the bar, for whom, with his learned friend (Mr. Broderick), he was counsel, by recommending them to acknowledge the deepness of their offending, and to throw themselves on the leniency of their Sovereign, who, he was persuaded, would follow the steps of his revered father, by tempering justice with mercy.

Mr. Broderick said, he too had watched with the most anxious solicitude the progress of the trials which had taken place upon this indictment, and he felt satisfied that he could not better consult the interests of the prisoners, than by adopting the course suggested by his learned friend. These unfortuate men were desirous of making the only reparation in their power to the offended laws of their country, by acknowledging their guilt. They did not ask for mercy, but they entertained a hope that their contrition would have the desired effect, and would induce an extension

towards them of that brightest attribute in the person of the Sovereign.

Mr. Barron G now then explained to the prisoners the situation in which they stood, and that their plea must be received without any pledge on his part, and with a full understanding that they were to receive judgment to die.

They all expressed their concurrence in what had been said by their counsel, and having withdrawn their previous plea of Not Guilty, they pleaded Guilty.

The prisoners were then removed: and the gentlemen of the jury who were present were dismissed with the thanks of their country.

SENTENCE OF DEATH ON THISTLEWOOD AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The prisoners were on Thursday night all put in irons, with the exception of *Ings*, who still remains indisposed.

At a quarter after nine o'clock on Friday morning Lord Chief-Justice Abbott, the Lord Chief Baron Richards, Lord Chief-Justice Dallas, Mr. Justice Best, and the Common-Sergeant, entered the Court.

Mr. Brown, the Governor of Newgate, immediately received directions to bring the prisoners forward.

In a few minutes the prisoners were conducted to the bar, each accompanied by an officer; they were all, with the exception of *Ings*, doubly ironed on the legs, the irons being supported by a handkerchief which came up between the legs, and was fastened to a band, or another handkerchief tied round the waist. *Ings* seemed, besides his illness, to labour under a considerable degree of mental anxiety; and, for a great part of the time that he remained in Court, was much absorbed in thought. Some of the other prisoners, though not apparently insensible to the awful situation in which they stood, did not seem much affected by it. We noticed, in particular, the composed, indeed we might say careless indifference, which marked the countenances of *Thistlewood* and *Davidson*; *Brunt* had an appearance of much resolution, but still his countenance showed that it was the effect of a struggle with feelings of a less hardy character. *Tidd* was as composed as any, but possessed more of what would be called steadiness than we noticed in the faces of the others. We speak now only of their first appearance on being put to the bar, for subsequently, as they proceeded to address the Court, they were all more or less affected, though some in a manner quite different from the others.

Mr. SHELTON, clerk of the arraigns, first called upon *Arthur Thistlewood*, and, addressing him in the usual terms, said, "You stand convicted of high treason; what have you to say why you should not be sentenced to die, according to law?"

Thistlewood immediately stood forward with several sheets of paper, closely written, in his hand. These he began to read, but with such tremour, and in so feeble a tone, that it was difficult for some moments to collect distinctly what he said. As we understood him, he began by saying—that he was asked, what he had to say

why sentence of death should not be passed upon him? This was but a mockery, for, if he had the eloquence of a Cicero, he was conscious it would avail him nothing against the vengeance of Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh. He would, however, offer a few observations; not that he expected any thing from the justice or pity of the Court—their pity he did not want—justice was all he required; but he wished to protest, and he now did protest, against the whole of their proceedings on these trials, as unjust and partial. Their conduct had been guided by ambition, and he could not expect fairness from them. He had found the judges, who used to be rather the counsel for the prisoners, not only now against them, but their most implacable enemies; and, in one case, the jury had got a reprimand for—(we could not catch this part of the sentence distinctly, but we believe it was—for appearing disposed towards the prisoners.) He had undergone the etiquette of a trial, but he had been denied justice. He would much rather be murdered at once than have this form. He had been denied a request which he made to have witnesses called into court, respecting some of the witnesses against him; but this was inhumanly refused. He looked, therefore, upon himself as a murdered man. After some other observations, which were not sufficiently audible to us, he proceeded. He had, perhaps, but a few hours to live—a short time, and he would be no more—but the night winds which should blow over his cold remains, when he should be free from further harm, would waft to the pillows of those who tried and prosecuted him, feelings of anguish and remorse. He cared not for his life; but his memory would live, and he wished to preserve it from that obloquy which he knew his enemies would be anxious to heap on it. He would therefore give a short sketch of his life recently—and say something of the present case. He again repeated, that this trial was but a mockery; and he challenged any of his judges to say that he was not falsely murdered. The evidence which he had offered, after his counsel had concluded, was rejected. He could have shown, by that evidence, that one of the principal witnesses against him was infamous, and unworthy of credit on his oath; but this was not allowed, and he had been sacrificed to forms. With respect to his intentions towards Lord Sidmouth and others, he had no personal hatred to him, notwithstanding the manner in which he (Lord Sidmouth) had plundered him. But he looked upon him and others as having caused the murder of thousands. He alluded to the massacre at Manchester, where fellow-creatures were butchered without mercy—where even the innocent babe at the breast did not save the wretched mother from destruction. It was the recollection of these circumstances which had fired his mind. He had the prosperity of his countrymen at heart, and he wished to rescue his country from such oppressors, and he intended that their blood (of the Ministers we suppose he meant) should be a sort of *requiem* to the souls of those who were innocently murdered. He was in this mood when he first met with Edwards. When he first knew him, he (Edwards) lived in Picket-street, without a bed to lie on, or a blanket to cover him. After this, he told him (Thistlewood) that he was a

relative to a German baron, whose property he claimed, and that Lord Castlereagh had assisted him in supporting his claim. When he succeeded, he used to dress out in all the folly of the newest fashion. This man, finding his (Thistlewood's) mind strong on the sufferings of his country, advised him to various plans of destroying the Ministers and others. He first proposed to him to blow up the House of Commons, but he (Thistlewood) refused, being unwilling to punish the innocent with the guilty. He afterwards suggested that the fête given by the Spanish Ambassador would be a good opportunity of destroying the ministers; but he could not consent to this, as he knew there were ladies to be there. The same feeling was not evinced at Manchester, where women and children were massacred by troops, set on by the agents of government. This Edwards, though frequently complaining of poverty, yet had money to purchase those arms and ammunition which were seen on the table, and which he had paid for. He had made hand-grenades, and often advised him to throw them into the carriages of the ministers in the streets. Why, he now asked, was not this man produced? Why was he not called upon to give evidence? He attributed no pure motives to the law-officers for not having called him; for, if he had been called, he would have shown what the nature of the case was. He next proceeded to speak of the motives which had actuated himself and others; and said, that the immorality of assassination had been talked of. That might be true in some cases, but Brutus and Cassius were extolled to the skies for the murder of one tyrant; and why—Here the prisoner was interrupted by

The Lord Chief-Justice Abbot, who said,—Prisoner, as long as your observations have been directed towards us, we heard you without interruption; but we cannot allow a person even in your situation to attempt to justify assassination.

Thistlewood resumed. He said he had only a few words more, and then he would conclude. He then resumed his attack on his Majesty's Ministers, and maintained that, where men set themselves above the laws, insurrection was a duty. [He was again interrupted by the Court, and told of the extreme impropriety and little use to him of this mode of address.] He went on, and again complained of what he called the unfairness of his trial. His object was to free his country, which, he regretted, was still a land of despots. In conclusion, he declared his mangled body would, he knew, soon be consigned to its native soil; but he was sorry that it should be a soil for slaves, cowards, and despots. He would consider himself as murdered, if executed on the verdict given against him. He did not seek pity, but he demanded justice. He had not had a fair trial, and protested against judgment being passed upon him.

In the beginning of this address, as we noticed before, the prisoner spoke in a feeble accent, but before he concluded, his voice seemed strengthened, and he spoke with firmness, and some degree of energy. On concluding his address, he leaned against the side of the bar, and seemed more like an indifferent spectator of, than a prominent character in, the awful scene which ensued.

Davidson was next put forward, and being asked, in a similar manner, what he had to say why he should not be sentenced to die, according to law, he began his address by protesting *in toto* against the manner in which he had been tried. In the first place, in a court of justice the balance should be fairly held between all parties; but it had not been so with respect to him. He was not allowed to contradict the evidence for the Crown produced against him, until it had made a manifest impression on the minds of the Jury. He had then made the best defence he was able; but the Attorney-General, like a sweeping flood, bore all down before him. The effect had been that he was now convicted. Even one of the Judges had told the Jury to convict him.— He did not value his life. If he had fifty lives, he would give them, if they were required; but he wished to have a fair trial. He had been before the public before; he had heard what was going forward, and he could not be silent on occasions where his country suffered so much. He positively denied ever having had a sword or pistol of his own. The arms he had were given to him by Edwards, and he had not used them against any individual, as was stated; but, admitting that he had used the sword, who could prove it? or who could prove that he had intended to raise his hand against his Sovereign? What had been said by *Magna Charta*? That the people should choose out twenty-five barons, whom they would, to see that the laws and the constitution were duly administered. If they were violated, four of those barons were to go to the King, or, if he should be absent from the kingdom, to the ministers holding the government, and remonstrate against it; and if they did not succeed in obtaining redress, they were to come back to the other barons, who, with the people, were to obtain redress by force; yet this was not considered as treason at that time; and why should he be now considered a traitor who had not done as much? It would be better to die than to live as cowards and slaves; but after this circumstance that he mentioned, when a king infringed the rights of his people, those people went and hanged his ministers before his face. He (the King) still persisted, and complained to Parliament of the conduct of the people, but the Parliament declared that the people had acted right; the king, however, persisted after this, and the result was, that he was dethroned. He, however, or his companions had never acted in this manner, and yet they were called traitors. He again protested that he knew nothing of any intention to depose the King or assassinate the Ministers. He could die but once, and he did not fear death; his only grief was for the large family he should leave behind him; when he thought of this it unmanned him; he should therefore say no more. He then withdrew from the front of the bar, and leaned at the side-bar, behind Thistlewood.

James Ings was next called on, and asked in the same form as the others what he had to say, &c. He advanced to the bar with apparent emotion, and said that he had but little to offer, not being much used to speaking. He asked where was Edwards? why was he not here also? But for his (*Ings*) having been unsuccessful.

ful in business, and having met with Edwards, he should not have had to stand then at the bar. It was Edwards who brought him into the business, and he would not object to dying if Edwards, who had seduced him, died with him. When Ministers conspired to pass laws to starve him and his fellow-countrymen, he thought them guilty of the greatest crime, and he looked upon assassination as better than starvation. He had heard of the Manchester business, and of the cavalry having got their swords sharpened to attack the people. He did not see there was any harm in having a sword sharpened, unless it was used. He had never used the sword which he got sharpened; but at Manchester they cut at women and children. He would rather die like a man than live like a slave. He would say no more.

He then retired to the back of the bar behind Davidson.

John Thomas Brunt was next called upon. He came forward in a quick and rather hurried manner, and, in answer to the usual interrogatory, addressed himself to the Court in a firm and confident tone. He said, he had intended to have written the observations which he should make, but he had not had the benefit of ink and paper. He would repeat what he had before stated to the jury on his trial, and which had been so ably knocked down by the Solicitor-General, whose sophisticated eloquence could make even virtue a crime. The Solicitor-General had praised the purity of Adams and others, but he could have shown what were their characters. Here the prisoner went over a great many points which he had used in the address to the jury on his trial. He next adverted to Edwards, by whom he said he had been betrayed. Edwards had laid traps for him long before the present occasion, but he had avoided them till now. He once had proposed to him to attack the Ministers at dinner at the Earl of Westmorland's, but he refused to have anything to do with him; and other times Edwards endeavoured to entrap him and others. He (Brunt) cared not for his life, he valued it as little as any man on the terrestrial globe, when in liberty's cause; but he wished for a fair trial. He wished to be justly convicted if he was guilty, but he had not a fair trial. That sword of justice and those tablets (pointing to the sword which is usually placed over the Lord Mayor's chair on the Bench, and to inscriptions of texts from Scripture against false swearing), these were nothing but a mockery, if justice were denied to him. The whole of what Adams said to him (Brunt) was false. He did not go to him; he had not visited him in prison; if he had, it was probable that he, (Adams) would have got out by some story of him. It was Edwards who had given him a pistol, and he once said to another person, that if he (Edwards) had 100 such men he would do more with them than Lord Wellington with 100,000. He said this because he knew, that if he (Brunt) had promised to kill a tyrant, he would have kept his word or perished in the attempt. When an offer was made to him before the Privy Council, he refused to become a villain. Edwards knew that he would not go back of his word, and he practised on his credulity. Adams

had also betrayed him. What benefit Christianity would receive by being so ably defended by the Attorney-General, he (Brunt) did not know, but the principal witness against him, Adams was a Deist until the noose was round his neck. He was proceeding to accuse his apprentice, Hale, when

Chief-Justice Abbott interposed, and said he could not allow the characters of witnesses or persons not before the Court to be thus aspersed.

Brunt resumed.—He had an antipathy against the enemies of his country, an esteem for an honest man, a feeling for his fellow countrymen. He had never conspired to depose his Majesty, or to levy war against him, as he had been charged; but if resisting the civil power was treason, then he confessed he was guilty. One of the Jurors, Mr. Goodchild, had asked whether an armament and a resistance to the civil power was treason, and he was answered, Yes; but he (Brunt) denied that was law: if it was it was only in his case. He was no traitor to his country—he was no traitor to his King, but a loyal and dutiful subject, who had never suffered his Sovereign to be abused when he was present: but he was an enemy to a borough-mongering faction, which equally enslaved both the King and the people. When he could earn 3l. or 4l. a week, he never meddled with politics; but when those earnings were reduced to 10s. he began to inquire the cause. He thought nothing too bad for men who had caused the dreadful outrage at Manchester. He would die a martyr in liberty's cause for the good of his country—but he was no traitor, none but a traitor and a villain could accuse him of being one. Let them brand him with other crimes if they pleased: let them say he hated Lord Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth, if they wished, and that he would have attacked them; but let it not be said that he was a traitor. In joining in the conspiracy, he had no private enmity or revenge to gratify against any man; but he thought it for the public good, and would have gone through with it. He would have risked his life, and the Court would not then have had him before it. If it had fallen to his lot to kill Lord Castlereagh or Lord Sidmouth, he would have done it, and would have resisted the police-officers to the utmost of his power; but he would not have resisted the soldiers, because they had sworn allegiance to their Sovereign; but, for the others, he would have opposed them whilst his arm had nerve; but all that would not amount to high treason. He then proceeded to comment on the evidence of the witness Monument and his brother, who, he said, were twice a week comparing their evidence at the Tower. Monument had told him that Lord Sidmouth had promised to be a friend to him (Monument,) and he had sent a pound-note to his mother. In conclusion he said, “I am going out of the world soon, and I don't care how soon; but I do not wish to leave it with the imputation of high treason. I was incensed at the conduct I saw pursued, and I blame the circular of Lord Sidmouth as the cause of a great deal of what afterwards happened. If a man murders my brother I

would murder him ; for what does the Scriptures say ?—‘ An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.’ I say again, you may try me, and murder me if you will ; you may hang and draw me, and quarter me ; but let me have justice, that’s all.”

In the course of this daring address the wretched man had worked himself up to a degree of passion bordering on rage. A feeling of horror was visible in the face of almost all within his hearing, whilst the unhappy man was coldly explaining and justifying his murderous purposes.

Richard Tidd said, he had been convicted so late last night, that he had had no time to prepare a written address, as he could have wished. He denied that the evidence against him was true, with the exception of that of the gentleman he saw on the bench (Lieutenant Fitzclarence); and, as for shooting him, why he would as soon have thought of shooting his own father.

James William Wilson declared that he had been drawn into the plot by one of the witnesses (Adams) who appeared against him.

John Harrison, on being called upon, said —“ My Lord, they were all false witnesses.”

Richard Bradburn — “ The evidence of Adams was false.”

John Shaw Strange—“ I have only this much to say, my Lords, that the evidence of Adams and Hale was false, and that they are perjured villains.”

James Gilchrist was much affected, and some time elapsed before he could speak. He said —“ My Lords, what I say, I shall say, and think as in the presence of my God. I knew nothing of the business until four o’clock on the day on which it took place. I then had not tasted a morsel of food the whole day. [Here the prisoner burst into tears.] I then went to a place where a person appointed to meet me at six o’clock, where I saw four or five men, not one of whom I knew, except Cooper ; of him I borrowed a halfpenny, to buy a bit of bread, I appeal to God, who now hears me, (casting up his eyes), and knows that this is true. I went into the room at Cato-street, where I found a number of men eating bread and cheese, which they cut with a sword. I cut some for myself. Seeing so many men and arms, I was anxious to get away, but Adams stopped me, and brandishing a sword, said, “ If any man attempts to go from here, I will run him through.” An officer then came in, and I surrendered without opposition. This was all I knew of the business, and yet I stand here convicted of high treason. I have served my king and country faithfully for 12 years, and this is my recompense, this is my recompense, O God!” [Here the prisoner again burst into tears, and could proceed no further.]

Charles Cooper said, “ My Lords, there is no evidence to convict me of high treason.”

Gilchrist came again to the bar, and said, “ My Lords, I have no objection to die. I would willingly resign my life to save that of another.” (We know not to whom he alluded). He again re-

tired from the bar in tears as before, and continued so till the whole of the prisoners were removed from Court.

Proclamation was now made by the Crier that the Judge was going to proceed to pass sentence on the prisoners, and enjoining strict silence in the Court.

The Lord Chief-Justice ABBOTT, having put on that solemn part of the judicial insignia, the black velvet cap, proceeded to his awful duty, and thus addressed the prisoners:—

“ You, Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, John Thomas Brunt, William Davidson, and Richard Tidd, have been severally tried and convicted of high treason, in compassing and levying war against his Majesty.

“ You, James Wilson, John Harrison, Richard Bradburn, John Shaw Strange, James Gilchrist, and Charles Cooper, did originally plead Not Guilty to the same indictment; but, after the trial and conviction of the preceding prisoners, you desired to withdraw your plea, and plead Guilty. You have cast yourselves on the mercy of your Sovereign; and if any of you have your lives spared, which I trust will be the case with some of you, I hope you will bear in mind that you owe it to the benignity and mercy of your Sovereign, and to some of those public officers whom you had devoted to a cruel and sudden death.”

His Lordship then proceeded with his address. Thistlewood, he observed, had complained of the Court in having refused to receive the testimony of some witnesses, after the evidence had closed on both sides. But he should recollect that his trial was conducted according to the law, as it had been administered in this country for ages. The witnesses whom he proposed to call were for the purpose of impugning the testimony of a man of the name of Dwyer, and no other. His learned counsel had previously called witnesses to the same effect. It could not be allowed to him, according to the ordinary course of proceeding, to do more. Indeed, even if he had been allowed so to do, it could have been productive of no advantage, because his case did not depend upon the evidence of that witness alone. This observation was confirmed by the fact, that in subsequent cases, where the evidence of Dwyer was altogether omitted, a similar verdict of guilty was returned. Some of them had thought fit to say much of the character of a person who had not appeared as witness upon this occasion. The Court could proceed only upon the evidence which was brought before it. Of the person, therefore, to whom they alluded, or of the practices of which he had been guilty, they could have no knowledge. Upon the testimony, however, which had been adduced against them, there was abundantly sufficient to induce a jury of their country to come to a conclusion, that the whole of them had taken an active part in the crimes imputed in the indictment. From all that had appeared in the course of these trials, as well as from much of that which they had then heard, it was plain to see, that they did not embark in their wicked designs until they had first suffered their minds to be corrupted and inflamed by those seditious and irreligious publications, with which, unhappily for this country, the press had but too long teemed. He

did not make these remarks to aggravate their guilt, or to enhance the sufferings of persons in their situation. He made them as a warning to all who might hear of their unfortunate fate, that they might benefit by their example, and avoid those dangerous instruments of sedition, by which their hearts and minds were inflamed, and by which they were drawn from every feeling of morality, from every sense of obligation towards their Creator, and of justice towards society. The treason of which they were charged, and found guilty, was that of compassing and imagining to levy war against his Majesty, for the purpose of inducing him to change his measures and ministers; the first step towards effecting which was to have been the assassination of Ministers themselves. They had endeavoured now to complain of the testimony of those persons who had been examined as witnesses on the part of the prosecution. Some of them were accomplices in their guilt. It had here happened, as it had upon other occasions, that the principal instruments in the hands of justice were partners in their wickedness: he trusted that circumstance would have its due weight and consideration with all those who became acquainted with their situation, and with the circumstances of their trial. He hoped that, for the sake of their own personal safety, if they could not be restrained by any other consideration, they would abstain from evil communications and from evil connexions, such as had brought them to the unhappy position in which they stood. Some of them had avowed their intention to have taken away the lives and to have steeped their hands in the blood of 14 persons, to many of them unknown. It was without a precedent to see Englishmen laying aside their national character, and contriving and agreeing on the assassination, in cold blood, of 14 individuals, who had never offended any of them. This was a crime which hitherto was a stranger to our country, and he trusted it would, after the melancholy example of the prisoners, be unknown amongst us. It now, he said, only remained for him to pass upon them the awful sentence of the law; but before he did so, he exhorted them, he implored them, to employ the time yet left them in this life in endeavouring, by prayer, to obtain mercy from that Almighty Power before whom they would shortly appear. The mercy of heaven might be obtained by all those who would unfeignedly, and with humility, express contrition for their offences, and seek that mercy through the merits of their blessed Redeemer. (This appeal seemed to be wholly lost on Thistlewood, who, with apparent careless indifference, pulled out his snuff-box, some of the contents of which he took, casting his eyes round the court, as if he were entering a theatre. His indifference was the more conspicuous when contrasted with the solemn manner in which the Lord Chief-Justice addressed the prisoners.)

His Lordship continued.—Whether the prisoners would profit by the advice which he thus sincerely gave them he could not say, but he once again begged that they might not allow themselves to be led away by such feelings and opinions as seemed hitherto to have influenced them. He had now to pronounce upon them the sentence of the law, which was—“That you, and each of you, be

taken from hence to the gaol from whence you came, and from thence that you be drawn upon a hurdle to a place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you be dead; and that afterwards your heads shall be severed from your bodies, and your bodies be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his Majesty shall think fit. And may God of his infinite goodness have mercy upon your souls!"

The Crier said aloud, "Amen!" in which he was joined by many in the Court, who were deeply affected by his Lordship's address.

The prisoners were then removed from the bar; some of them, particularly Davidson, Thistlewood, and Brunt, appearing to be wholly unconcerned at the awful sentence which had been passed upon them. They were, we understood, conveyed to separate cells.

EXECUTION

OF

THISTLEWOOD, BRUNT, INGS, TIDD,
AND DAVIDSON.

On Saturday last a Privy Council was held at the palace of the King in Pall-mall, for the purpose of receiving the special report of the Common Serjeant upon the late Trials for High Treason. His Majesty was present; and after the report had been received, the Council proceeded to deliberate upon the fate of the prisoners, and upon the period when it might be proper the execution should take place. It was at length determined, with a view to render the example more imposing, and to mark the sense which was entertained of the atrocious offence of which the wretched culprits were found guilty, to order them for execution this day; and that Thistlewood, Brunt, Ings, Davidson, and Tidd, should be the sufferers. The remaining six prisoners, in conformity with the implied pledge which they received when they agreed to plead "guilty" to the indictments which were preferred against them, were respited during his Majesty's pleasure.

Mr. Brown, the Governor of Newgate, received the warrant at seven o'clock in the evening, and accompanied by Mr. Pullen, the under-sheriff to Sheriff Parkins, immediately went to the condemned room, in which were sitting those who were ordered for execution, attended by eight officers. When he entered, they rose in the most respectful manner. He held in his hand the Recorder's warrant, of the contents

of which they appeared conscious. A dead silence prevailed, but there was not the slightest agitation observable in the countenances or manner of any one of the prisoners.

Mr. Brown addressed them in the following words:—"It is my painful duty to communicate to you that I hold the Recorder's warrant for the execution of you, Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, Davidson, and Tidd, on Monday morning. I hope and trust that the short time you have to remain in this world will be employed by you in making preparation for that to which you are going."

Thistlewood immediately (and in the calmest manner) said, "The sooner we go, Sir, the better. Our wish is to die as soon as possible."

The others expressed the same sentiments.

Mr. Brown: "If any of you wish to have the assistance of a clergyman of any persuasion during your preparation, let me know it, and I shall apply to the authority by which I am convinced you will not be refused."

Not a word was uttered by any one of the prisoners.

Mr. Brown then said, "Let me entreat you with effect to give up your thoughts to the contemplation of the change which you are about to undergo. Your time in this life is very short: devote it to repentance, and prayer to that Being who will not desert you at the moment of fatal separation."

The prisoners did not speak nor make any sign.

Mr. Brown then left the room, and the miserable men turned to the conversation in which they had been engaged, before he entered, without any reference to the tidings they had just heard.

Upon going to the condemned room, where the six conspirators who pleaded guilty were confined, Mr. Brown observed a very striking contrast to the scene which he had just quitted, as far as regarded Strange, Bradburn, Cooper, and Gilchrist. He entered with the Recorder's warrant in his hand, which contained cheering intelligence to them. Strange, Bradburn, Cooper, and Gilchrist, seemed struck with consternation; but Harrison and Wilson showed no symptoms of agitation, but appeared rather to despise than to pity the deplorable condition of their companions, and uttered not a word expressive of hope or fear.

Mr. Brown then informed them, that mercy had been extended to them, and that their lives were spared.

Strange, Cooper, Bradburn, and Gilchrist immediately fell on their knees, and, after a pause, gave utterance to incoherent and unintelligible expressions of gratitude. Harrison and Wilson were still silent, and apparently unmoved. Mr. Brown said, "I have now to show you the dark side of the

picture. Your unfortunate miserable companions in crime, who were tried, are ordered for execution on Monday morning; and you, Harrison, Wilson, Cooper, Strange, and Bradburn, are transported for life."

Wilson, who before had appeared perfectly callous, now exclaimed, "Ah! our poor friends; I am indeed sorry for them." Harrison said nothing; the others were too much occupied with the joy of their own escape to bestow a thought upon those who were to forfeit their lives.

Mr. Brown said, "There is one of the most remarkable circumstances attending your cases that ever took place upon any occasion; and, if you have any feeling, it must make a deep and indelible impression upon you. Those very persons against whose lives your hands were about to be raised, are the men by whose intercession your lives have been saved."

Gilchrist has been respited, without mention of the commutation of punishment. That part of the sentence upon those who are to die, which directs that their bodies should be quartered, has been remitted.

After Mr. Brown had performed so much of his painful task, he proceeded to another step, which excited in the breasts of some of the prisoners a strong feeling of irritation, namely, to place them in separate condemned cells. They had entertained a hope that they would be permitted to spend the last few hours of their life together, mutually to cheer each other by their example, and to obtain those consolations which the society of friends in so melancholy a situation must necessarily produce. Mr. Brown, however, had received his instructions, and was bound to attend to them, although he might himself have been anxious to grant them every indulgence consistent with their safety. They were each removed to the place appointed, and were still accompanied by two of the under turnkeys. It appears that one of the reasons assigned for this arrangement, was the existence of a spirit of hardihood among the unfortunate men, which, while they remained together, seemed but to increase.

In the early part of Saturday they were visited by the Rev. Mr. Cotton (the Ordinary of Newgate), and exhorted by him to have recourse to those prayers which had been so strongly and humanely recommended by the Lord Chief Justice. They were, however, deaf to his entreaties, and conjointly told him, that however much they respected his motives, still that their minds were made up on religious subjects; they were Deists, and therefore not inclined to join in that form of appeal to Heaven, which in the exercise of his sacred functions he thought it necessary to suggest. Mr. Cotton finding that his arguments were productive of no good effect, left them with regret. He repeated his visits during the afternoon, but with

as little success. He did not again join them till yesterday morning, concluding that while their minds were in a state of irritation, he was still less likely to open their hearts to that contrite feeling, from which he could alone hope to bring them to a true sense of their situation. On entering their cells he repeated his former arguments, but they again repeated their disbelief in the divinity of Christ, and refused through his mediation to seek pardon of their offended Maker. Davidson also listened with attention, and he at length begged Mr. Cotton to procure him a Wesleyan Minister. His wish was communicated to Mr. Brown, who, in the course of the morning attended at Whitehall, and there mentioned the circumstance; but we understand it was not complied with. This unhappy man also begged to be favoured with pen, ink, and paper, as he was anxious to write to Lord Harrowby, towards whom he continued to express the warmest respect. This request was granted, and he wrote a letter of some length, which he sealed, and which was afterwards given to Mr. Under-Sheriff Turner, to be delivered. Subsequent to the visit of Mr. Cotton, the families of the wretched men were introduced to them to take a last farewell. Thistlewood's interview with his wife and son was truly affecting, and the scenes exhibited in the other cells were of the most agonizing description. The unfortunate children, capable of understanding the situation of their unhappy parents, were convulsed with sorrow. The strongest feelings of commiseration were excited in the minds of those whose painful duty it was to be present.

On Saturday night Mr. Sheriff Rothwell and Mr. Under-Sheriff Turner had a conference with Lord Sidmouth upon the mode in which the execution should take place. It was at first proposed to erect a scaffold on the top of the prison, at that end next Newgate-street, but Lord Sidmouth was of opinion that there was no occasion for departing from the customary form. Upon the representation of Mr. Sheriff Rothwell, it was agreed to dispense with that part of the ceremony which directed that the unhappy men should be "drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution." He stated that great inconvenience might arise in conveying them along the street, in the manner adopted on former occasions; namely, from the Court-yard, in front of the Sessions House, to the scaffold.

The worthy Sheriff, on his return to the city, sent for the City Surveyor (Mr. Montague), to whom he gave directions to make the necessary preparations for enlarging the scaffold, and for fixing up posts and rails in such situations as were most likely to prevent the pressure of the multitude, who, it was anticipated, would not fail to attend. In consequence of this order, a large body of workmen were actively

employed the whole of yesterday. Their operations attracted an immense number of spectators. Crowds were collected in the vicinity of the gaol until a late hour last night. The preparations which took place were, however, of the most essential description. Treble rows of strong fir posts and rails, at some distance from each other, were erected across the ends of Skinner-street, Newgate-street, Giltspur-street, Fleet-lane---at the ends of all the courts leading into the Old Bailey, and at each end of the Old Bailey itself. While these works were performing in the street, several carpenters were employed in the court-yard of the Sessions-house, making an additional scaffold, to be placed beside that which is used on ordinary occasions. This attracted so much attention, that it became necessary to send for constables to keep off the crowd; and Mr. Wontner, the City Marshal, shortly afterwards arrived with several men under his orders, who continued on duty the remainder of the day.

At eleven o'clock, the Lord Mayor and Mr. Sheriff Rothwell, determined to send a letter to Lord Sidmouth, requesting the attendance of a body of military during the execution. Mr. Sheriff Turner proceeded with the letter to the Home Office, and was informed that the requisition should be complied with.

At five o'clock, the scaffold being in readiness, it was brought forth and placed in front of the Debtors' Door. The additional part, which was strongly constructed, and about ten feet wide, was then erected. The whole was completed by torch light; and the scene altogether, when that to which it was but the prelude was considered, was extremely awful.

Alderman Wood called twice upon Mr. Brown during the day, and requested to be introduced to the prisoners. Mr. Brown said he would willingly have complied with the worthy Alderman's request, but his instructions were not to permit any person to have intercourse with the unhappy men, save their families, unless under the sanction of an order from the Privy Council. Mr. Alderman Wood then begged that he would carry to the prisoners three written questions, and obtain the answers; but this also Mr. Brown refused, upon the principle of the strict performance of his duty.

This morning, as early as four o'clock, persons began to assemble in front of the jail, and to take their seats on the tops and in the windows of houses which commanded a view paid, fromld. For this accommodation, various prices were paid, from three guineas to 2s. 6d. Every place which could admit of a spectator was filled. As the morning advanced the crowd increased. Soon after five, Mr. Wontner and Mr. Brown, the City Marshals arrived, and mustered the civil

force which was in attendance from all the wards, amounting to nearly seven hundred men. The Lord Mayor, Mr. Sheriff Rothwell, Mr. Sheriff Parkins, Mr. Under-sheriff Turner, and Mr. Under-sheriff Pullen, subsequently reached the spot. The Sheriffs entered the prison, and the Lord Mayor immediately began to make arrangements for securing good order during the day. The crowd collected within the railings which bounded the front of the gaol were now driven back beyond those barriers, and the whole area was kept clear of spectators, with the exception of the peace-officers. This excited some dissatisfaction; but the orders of the officers were immediately obeyed, and the greatest decorum prevailed.

At six o'clock, a party of infantry, which had been stationed within the gaol the whole of the night, were marched across the area to some buildings opposite, where they were hid from public view. Shortly afterwards, two troops of Horse Guards appeared at each end of the Old Bailey, and formed in line, that towards Ludgate-hill in front of the people, and that towards St. Sepulchre's Church, nearly in the centre of the cross way, with a vast body of the people in front.

At seven o'clock, the crowd which was collected about the prison in every avenue leading to it or commanding the most distant glimpse of its walls was beyond all calculation; but still there was not the least appearance of disorder. In fact, such were the formidable preparations to preserve the peace that no possible alarm could exist. In the event of a riot, however, the Lord Mayor was prepared, with large banners, ready to be exhibited should it become necessary to read the Riot Act, with these words inscribed upon them: "The Riot Act has been read---disperse immediately." Happily, however prudent these steps were, no occasion offered to have recourse to them.

At about a quarter of an hour past seven o'clock, the sheriffs, under-sheriffs, several young noblemen, and a number of gentlemen, walked in procession (as is usual) through the various passages in Newgate till they arrived at the door of the condemned cells which comes into the Press-yard. The unhappy criminals, since receiving sentence of death, have been confined in the lower ward of the prison assigned to capital convicts. The Rev. Mr. Cotton was with Davidson very early this morning, and administered to him that consolation which alone can be imbibed at such an extremity by religious devotion. Thistlewood came out of the condemned cell first; he bowed to the Sheriffs and gentlemen present; he looked very pale; he cast up his eyes, and said, "it appears fine." He displayed uncommon firmness, and held out his hands for the assistant executioner to tie them. He observed to the persons near him, that he never felt in better spirits in the

course of his life.—He was attired in the same apparel that he wore during his trial. The composure he exhibited was striking, but there was nothing like bravado or carelessness. He now advanced to the block to have his irons knocked off, and while the turnkey was in the act,

Mr. Alderman Wood advanced to Thistlewood, and said, “Thistlewood, I wish you to give me an answer to two or three questions—”

Mr. Sheriff Rothwell: Mr. Alderman, I must interfere, I am sure you have had quite experience enough of magisterial duties to know that on a solemn occasion of this kind, you ought not to interfere with a prisoner on the point of death.

Mr. Alderman Wood: You prevented me, Mr. Sheriff, from entering Newgate yesterday to obtain the information I am now about to seek. You have no authority to prevent me from now having it, as the jail is this day under the superintendance of Lord Sidmouth, and I must persist in obtaining answers to my questions, if the prisoner chuses to give them.

Mr. Sheriff Rothwell: I cannot suffer you to disturb the quiet of an unhappy man’s mind at this awful moment, Mr. Alderman. I must, by virtue of my office, interfere, and prevent you from doing any thing which can have a tendency to distract the mind of a man in his awful situation---one who is indeed dead in law.

Mr. Sheriff Parkins: I must insist on the worthy Alderman’s being permitted to put any question he pleases, unless the prisoner objects. I now authorize Alderman Wood to put whatever questions he wishes.

Mr. Sheriff Rothwell: Well, I must again object---I think it highly improper.

Mr. Alderman Wood: I have the questions here written down, and I’ll put them to you, Thistlewood.

Q. When did you first become acquainted with Edwards?

Thistlewood: About June last.

Q. Where did you become acquainted with him?

Thistlewood: At Preston’s.

Mr. Alderman Wood, who did not appear to have heard the final letter, said: At Preston, in Lancashire?

Thistlewood: No, at Preston’s, the shoemaker.

Q. Did he ever give you any money?

Thistlewood: Yes; I had a little from him.

The worthy Alderman wrote down with his pencil the answers he had received to his questions.

Mr. Sheriff Rothwell appeared extremely angry at the course taken by the worthy alderman, while his colleague, Mr. Sheriff Parkins, expressed his warm approbation of it.

Mr. Sheriff Rothwell desired his colleague not to interfere in the matter.

Mr. Sheriff Parkins, turning round to the gentlemen near him, said, "See, gentlemen, how my colleague treats me?"

Tidd next made his appearance. He came out of the cell into the Press-yard with an air of assumed gaiety. He smiled during the time he was being pinioned, and continued quite cheerful during the time his irons were knocking off. The moment his legs were free from their burden, he ran towards Thistlewood, who had taken a seat on a bench (placed in the yard for the purpose) and said, "Well, Mr. Thistlewood, how do you do?" and they shook hands most heartily. Thistlewood said, "He was never better." Tidd conversed in the most gay and cheerful manner with the turnkey, while he was driving the rivets out of his irons, and composedly assisted the man in taking them off. Ings then came out of the cell, and danced as he came down the steps and along the yard. He was dressed in his slaughtering clothes, a rough pepper and salt coloured worsted jacket, and a dirty cap. During the time his hands were being tied, he became thoughtful, afterwards he seemed hurried and in great mental pain; but before his irons were knocked off, he began to laugh and shout, and afterwards took a seat by the side of his fellow-sufferers.

Brunt then was brought into the press-yard: he was perfectly composed; but looked round eagerly to see his wretched companions. He nodded to them, and then held out his hands to have them tied. He said nothing during the time he was being pinioned and having his irons taken off; but afterwards he addressed Thistlewood, Tidd, and Ings; he told them to keep up their spirits, and to one of his companions he said "All will soon be well."

Davidson was then brought out of his cell: he seemed a little affected at the sight of his companions, and soon regained that composure which he evinced during the trials. His lips moved, but he did not betray much anxiety till his irons were knocked off. He then looked wildly at the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and appeared to be in prayer, very devoutly; the others declared they were about to die in peace with all mankind, but that they had all made up their minds on religious matters, and were determined to die Deists.

Davidson took the sacrament this morning at six o'clock from Mr. Cotton, and prayed most fervently. He also joined the reverend gentleman in a prayer for the prosperity of his Majesty King George IV., though he avowed he had not the same feeling for his ministers. A glass of wine was offered to Thistlewood, who politely refused. Tidd and Brunt took a glass each.

When the awful ceremony of pinioning the culprits was concluded, they each shook hands, and most fervently exclaimed, "God bless you." The Rev. Mr. Cotton then began to read the burial service, commencing at the words, "I am the resurrection and the life," &c. and the unhappy men proceeded towards the Debtor's-door of Newgate; the Rev. gentleman preceded them in the procession: they were followed by the Sheriffs, &c.

Exactly at a quarter before eight, the deep tolling of the bell of St. Sepulchre's Church announced the near approach of that hour on which the criminals might be expected to mount the scaffold. All eyes were now directed to the debtor's door. The additional scaffold had been previously hung with black cloth, and strewed with saw-dust. The first objects which attracted notice were the appearance of the executioner and his assistants bringing forth five coffins, one after the other, which were laid in a line on that part of the stage next Giltspur-street. They were very rough in their manufacture, and appeared to be made of elm. These were accompanied by a block of wood, which was placed at the head of the first coffin, and which it was presumed was to be used in the ceremony of decapitation.

At five minutes after eight o'clock, the Rev. Mr. Cotton was seen slowly ascending the platform. He was reading. Thistlewood immediately followed. He came forward with a firm and resolute step, and not the slightest change was visible in his countenance: he turned round towards Giltspur-street and in all other directions. On advancing to the spot where he was to stand, the Rev. Mr. Cotton came in front of him, and endeavoured to engage his attention; but he exclaimed "No, no," and Mr. Cotton desisted. The executioner then proceeded to put on the cap and to draw it over his eyes, but Thistlewood said "No, let me see. Don't put it over my eyes." Some person now exclaimed from a roof of a house "God bless you," he looked round and bowed. While the executioner was performing his offices towards the other prisoners, he repeatedly turned about: he was dressed in a shabby black coat and blue trowsers. The rope being fixed round Thistlewood's neck, a signal was given and Tidd came forward: he run up the ladder in a hurried but firm manner; his face was rather flushed; he bowed to the right and to the left, and then took his stand by Thistlewood, to whom he said something in an undertone; he sucked an orange which he had in his hand, and turning to some of the windows opposite, seemed to recognize some of his friends, to whom he nodded with great calmness: he also rejected the assistance of the Ordinary to the last, and desired to have the cap off his eyes.

Ings next made his appearance ; he rushed up the steps with impetuosity, and having made a bow, turned towards St. Sepulchre's Church, and gave three cheers, in which he was joined by some of the throng. The cap being put over his eyes, he exclaimed, "Let me see as long as I can!" He then sang in a hoarse voice "Give me death or liberty!" afterwards said, while the rope was affixed to the beam, "here we goes my lads ! you see the last remains of James Ings. Look (said he to the executioner) that you give me rope enough : there's not enough of fall !"

Thistlewood now turned towards Tidd, and in a placid tone said, "We shall soon know the grand secret !"

Davidson was the fourth to appear. He advanced with a firm and manly step ; he was evidently in prayer, and was immediately joined by Mr. Cotton, who prayed with him fervently. He made no objection to the cap being put over his eyes, and directed that a handkerchief, which he had in his hand might be added : his conduct was most decorous, and he was evidently making the best use of his time to make his peace with God. He did not utter a syllable connected with his situation, but bowed respectfully when he came on the platform.

Thistlewood again spoke and said, "I have but a few moments to live ; I hope you will report to all the world that I died a sincere friend to liberty."

Ings exclaimed, turning to a person who was taking notes, "I die an enemy to all tyrants—recollect and put that down." Then, after a pause, he added, "I am not afraid to go before God or man—I know there is a God, and I hope he'll be merciful."

Brunt was the last to ascend, he advanced with boldness ; bowed and looked round to the multitude : when his neckerchief was taken off, the stiffner fell out—upon which he said, kicking it away, I shall not want you again." He said nothing else, and with Thistlewood, Tidd, and Ings, refused the assistance of Mr. Cotton.

The executioner having now fixed all the ropes, proceeded to draw the cap over Ings' eyes ; upon which, Ings then addressed him, "Now, old gentleman, finish me tidily ; tye the handkerchief tighter round my eyes—tighter---that will do ! Put the halter a little tighter round my neck, or it'll slip !"—This was done. He then exclaimed, "I hope you'll give me a good character, Mr. Cotton." After which he began to twirl about an old night cap, which he had in his hand.—Davidson seized Mr. Cotton's hand, and squeezed it energetically.

Brunt stooped, and took a pinch of snuff from a paper which he had in his hand, while the caps were pulling over Tidd's and Thistlewood's eyes.

Mr. Cotton now began to pray aloud, and the executioner quitted the scaffold; in a few seconds afterwards, at five minutes after eight, the drop fell, and the wretched men were launched into eternity. They all died without a struggle, except Ings, who was a little convulsed. During the preparations there were several exclamations from the crowd. Such as "It was Monument brought you to this." "Murder." "God bless you," &c. In other respects all was perfectly quiet.

In half an hour after the bodies had been turned off they were lifted again on the scaffold, and the drop was replaced in its original situation. The executioner and his assistant then cut the rope, to which Thistlewood was suspended, and carried him to the first coffin, in which they laid him on his back, with his shoulders resting on the upper end. They then took off his cap. The face had undergone but little change, except in colour.

A person now came forward, who we believe, was a surgeon, from the dexterity with which he performed his office to cut off the head. He was dressed in a sailor's jacket and trowsers, and had a black silk handkerchief over part of his face. The executioner brought forward a new axe, but he declined using it, and cut off the head with a large knife in about four cuts. It was immediately handed to the executioner, who held it up in three different directions, and pronounced distinctly these words—"This is the head of Arthur Thistlewood—a traitor."

The same ceremony was observed on the decapitation of each of the other heads; but such was the feeling of horror excited in the minds of the crowd by this horrible spectacle, that every time the surgeon came forward to use his knife, they received him with repeated groans.

Here ended this awful scene. The coffins with the bodies and heads were subsequently removed into the jail.

We sincerely trust, that the dreadful, but necessary example thus made of these deluded men may have a wholesome operation upon the minds of others, and that they may be deterred from pursuing a similar course. We were not a little disgusted at seeing several women among the spectators.

At a very early hour the neighbourhood of Blackfriars presented the novel spectacle of the precautionary military arrangements, which it was thought necessary in the Home Department, to provide on this awful occasion. At five o'clock in the morning, six light field pieces of flying artillery arrived in front of the livery stables, near Christ Church, Blackfriars, escorted by the usual complement of men. They drew up in the centre of the street, and remained there until

after the execution took place. At a still earlier hour, three troops of the Life Guards arrived in the neighbourhood of Newgate, one troop and a picquet remained near the scaffold; another picquet was stationed in Ludgate-hill, facing the Old Bailey; and the remaining troop drew up in Bridge-street. The moment the prisoners were about to be brought out to the scaffold, an officer rode from his station in front of Newgate, communicated with the picquet on Ludgate-hill, and then rode on to the troop in Bridge-street, to whom he immediately gave the word of command to advance. The troop instantly followed the officer, and proceeded onwards until they joined the picquet on Ludgate-hill, with which they halted, and formed in a line, still facing the Old Bailey. The flying artillery, near Christ-church, also made a short movement in advance just at the same time. We understand that the City Light Horse were under arms, in their barracks in Gray's Inn lane, and that a number of troops were stationed at various depots, assigned them at convenient intervals throughout the metropolis. In such an immense assemblage, as might be expected, some accidents occurred through the dreadful pressure of the crowd. Some women were brought out fainting, and a boy was severely hurt by the falling of a part of the railing in front of St. Sepulchre's church. The persons whose weight brought down the railing from the stone base in which it was planted, were thrown on the shoulders of those beneath them, and caused great confusion at the moment, but we did not learn that any more serious accidents occurred than the injury received by the boy, we have already mentioned. The conduct of the soldiers, who were on duty throughout the morning was most exemplary, though at times severely, and, indeed, unavoidably pressed upon by the crowd, the Life Guards were incessantly attentive to prevent their horses from doing any injury, while occasionally driven out of their position by the momentary agitation of the persons immediately near them.

The house of Mr. Brown, the Governor of Newgate, was filled from a very early hour in the morning by persons of distinction and military officers. Among the former we observed Lord Alvanley and Viscount Chetwynd.

THE END,