against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England; That a King of England trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath so to do, that had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against the Parliament and People: and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of England, that he might speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, instead of making any Answer he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordship was pleased to give him a further Day to consider, and to put in his Answer; which Day being Yesterday I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer, either by denying or confession of it: but, my Lord, he was then pleased for to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer. My Lord, Besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordthip upon the whole, that according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or Not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Trial; that as by an implicit Confession, it may be taken pro confesso, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more Favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done. But besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact. The House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, that the Matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth, my Lord, as clear as Crystal, and as the Sun that shines at Noon-day: which if your Lordship and the Court be not fatisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the People of England's behalf, several Witnesses to produce. And therefore I do humbly pray, (and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been shed, the Cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray) that speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Bradshaw went on in the same strain:

Sir, You have heard what is moved by the Counsel on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, You may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what dilatory Dealings the Court hath found at your Hands. You were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had our Resolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction; that it was not for you, nor any other Man to dispute the Jurisdiction of the supreme and highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no Dispute: yet you did perfift in such Carriage, as you gave no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very femilie of these Delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the supreme Court of England, to be thus trisled withal; and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage of these Delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Anfwer unto this Charge that is against you, Sir, in plain Terms, (for Justice knows no respect of Perfons;) you are to give your positive and final Anfwer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King, after a little Pause, said,

When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England; I was interrupted: I defire to know yet whether I may

fpeak freely or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last Day, and you were told, that having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge. Sir, If you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, tho' they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once anfwered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to iffue out into any other Difcourles, till fuch time as you have given a politive Answer concerning the Matter that is charged upon you.

King. For the Charge, I value it not a ruth, it is the Liberty of the People of England that I stand for. For me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an Example to all the People of *England* for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I know not how to do it. You spoke very well the first Day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People: the same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies the antient Laws of the Kingdom. Therefore until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour I can put in no particular Anfwer. If you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons why I cannot do it, and this——

Here being interrupted, he faid,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: how I came here I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, liament that was the Representative of the Kingdom; and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither: and therefore——

Braalbaw. Sir, you must know the Pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir.

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you: but once more they command you to give your positive Answer ----- Clerk, Do your Duty.

King. Duty, Sir!

The

The Clerk reads:

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused, in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers High Crimes and Treasons; which Charge bath been read unto you: The Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of Confession or Denial of the Charge.

King. Sir, I fay again to you, so that I might give Satisfaction to the People of England of the Clearness of my Proceeding, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it: but to acknowledge a new Court, against their Privileges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir,

you must excuse me.

Bradshaw. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disown'd this Court, and put an Affront upon it: How far you have preserv'd the Privileges of the People, your Actions have spoke it; but truly, Sir, Mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your Meaning in bloody Characters thro'out the whole Kingdom. But, Sir, you understand the Pleasure of the Court. —— Clerk, Record the Default. —— And Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. I will only fay this one Word more to you; If it were only my own Particular, I would

not say any more, nor interrupt you.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard the Pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with the Guard; and Proclamation was made, That all Persons which had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber; to which Place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet at Westminster-Hall by Ten of the Clock next Morning.

Cryer. God bless the Kingdom of England.]

Mercurii, 24 Jan. 1648. Painted Chamber.

# HREE Proclamations made.

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President. Sir Tho. Maleverer Bar. John Moor.

Thomas Scot. Edw. Whalley. John Carew.

Edmond Harvey.

Owen Roe.

7ohn Blackistone.

William Purefoy. Henry Smith.

John Fry. Francis Lassels. Daniel Blagrave. Anthony Stancly.

Anthony Stapely. Sir Gregory Norton, Bar. William Cawley.

Robert Tichbourne.
Henry Martin.
Oliver Cromwell.
Sir John Danvers.

Vol. I.

Richard Deane. Vincent Potter. Thomas Horton. Cornelius Holland. John Berkstead. The. Ld. Grey of Groody. John Huson. John Okey. Gilbert Millington. John Jones. William Goffe. Sir John Bourchier... Isaac Pennington, Alderman of *London*. Simon Meyne. Adrian Scroope. John Dixwell. Iscac Ewers.

John Alured.
Peter Temple.
Peregrine Pelham.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.

Thomas Pride.
William Heveningham.
Sir William Constable.
Francis Allen.

The Court took into consideration the Manner how the Witnesses should be examined; and in regard the King hath not pleaded to Issue, and that this Examination was ex abundanti only, for the further Satisfaction of themselves:

Resolved, That the Witnesses shall be examined to the Charge against the King, in the Painted

Chamber, before the Court there.

Ordered, That Mr. Millington and Mr. Tho. Challoner do forthwith repair unto John Brown Esq; Clerk of the House of Peers, for such Papers as are in his Custody, which are conducible for the Business and Service of this Court; and the said Mr. Brown is required to send the said Papers hither accordingly.

Witnesses produced and sworn in Court to give Evidence to the Charge against the King.

Henry Hartford.
Edward Roberts.
William Braynes.
Robert Lacy.
Robert Loades.
Samuel Morgan.
James IVilliams.
Michael Potts.
Giles Gryce.
William Arnop.
John Vinfon.
George Seely.
Tho. Ives.
James Crosby.
Tho. Rawlins.

Richard Blomfield.
John Thomas.
Samuel Lawfon.
John Pyneger.
George Cornewall.
Tho. Whittington.
William Jones.
Humphrey Browne.
Arthur Young.
David Evans.
Diogenes Edwards.
Robert Williams.
John Bennet.
Samuel Burden.

Col. Horton, Col. Deane, Col. Okey, Col. Huson, Col. Roe, Col. Tichbourne, Col. Whalley, Col. Thomlinson, Col. Goffe, Col. Ewers, Col. Scroope, Mr. Love, Mr. Scot, Mr. Tho. Challoner, Mr. Millington, and Sir John Danvers, or any three of them, are a Committee appointed to take the Examination of the said Witnesses now sworn, whom the Clerks are to attend for that Purpose.

The Court granted their Summons for summoning further Witnesses, and adjourned itself till the Morrow at Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to

this Place.

## Jovis, 25 Jan. 1648. Painted Chamber.

The Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Richard Deane.
Six Hardrefs Waller.
John Moor.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Huson.
John Berkstead.
Edward Whalley.
John Okey.
Edmond Harvey.

Court.

Adrian Scroope.

Henry Smith.

Thomas Scot.

William Cawley.

Gilbert Millington,

Thomas Challoner.

John Carew.

Sir John Bourchier, Knt.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

6 P 2 Francis

Francis Allen.
Thomas Herrison.
John Jones.
John Alured.
John Brown.
Isaac Ewers.
Robert Tichbourne.

Augustine Garland,
Francis Lessels.
John Dixwell,
Sir Michael Livesey Bar.
John Venn.
Edmond Wild.
With divers others.

### Here the Court sat private.

The Court ordered, That the Marshal-Gen. of this Army, or his Deputy, do bring forthwith Mr. Holder Prisoner at Wbiteball, to the end that he may testify his Knowledge of all such Matters as shall be propounded unto him concerning the Charge against the King.

Ordered, That the Dean's House in Westminster-Abbey be provided and furnished for the Lodging of the Lord President and his Servants, Guards and Attendants; and a Committee are appointed to take care hereof accordingly.

Mr. Henry Gouge and Mr. William Cuthbert, Witnesser produced to the Charge against the King, were sworn and examined.

The Witnesses sworn in open Court, and after examined by the Committee appointed for that purpose the 24th Instant, were now in open Court called, and their respective Depositions were read to them: who did avow their said several Depositions, and affirm what was so read unto them, respectively was true, upon the Oaths they had taken.

The Court being informed, that Major Fox, being of the Guard attending the Lord President, is arrested, and committed to the Keeper of Ludgate;

Ordered, That the faid Keeper do forthwith bring the faid Major before this Court, and attend this Court in Person himself.

Mr. Holder being brought before this Court according to the Order of this Day, and his Oath tender'd unto him, to give Evidence to such Matters as should be propounded unto him concerning the Charge against the King; the said Mr. Holder defired to be spared from giving Evidence against the King.

Whereupon, the Commissioners sinding him already a Prisoner, and perceiving that the Questions intended to be asked him, tended to accuse himself, thought sit to wave his Examination, and remanded him (and accordingly did so) to the Prison from whence he was brought.

The Depositions taken ut supra, are as followeth, viz.

Jan. 25. 1648.

\* Holderness is in the County of York. \* Holderness, Gent. aged 42 Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, That he, this Deponent, living at Hull-Bridge near Beverly, in July 1642, did then hear that Forces were raised, about three thousand Foot, for the King's Guard under Six Robert Strickland.

And this Deponent further faith, That about the second of July 1642, he saw a Troop of Horse come to Beverley, being the Lord's-Day, about Four or Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, called

the Prince's Troop; Mr. James Nelthorp being then Major of the faid Town.

And this Deponent further faith, That he did see that Afternoon the said Troop march from Bever-ley aforesaid into Holderness, where they received Ammunition brought up by the River Humber unto them.

And this Deponent further faith, That the fame Night, being Sunday, there came about three hundred Foot-Soldiers, (faid to be Sir Robert Strickland's Regiment) under the Command of Lieutenant-Col. Duncombe, and called the King's Guard, unto this Deponent's House, call'd Hull-Bridge, near Beverly, about Midnight, and broke open, entered and pollefied themselves of the said House; and that the Earl of Neceport, the Earl of Carnarvan, and divers others came that Night thither to the faid Forces: And that the fame Night (as this Deponent was then informed; Sir Tho. Gower, then High Sheriff of the faid County, came thither, and left there a Warrant for staying all Provisions from going to Hull to Sir John Hotham; which faid Warrant was then deliver'd to this Deponent, being Constable, by Lieut, Col. Duncambe.

And this Deponent further faith, That he was by the faid Forces put out of his House, and did with his Family go to Beverly; and that after that, viz. the Thursday following, to this Deponent's best remembrance, he did see the King come to Beverly, to the Lady Gee's House there; where he, this Deponent, did often see the King, with Prince Charles and the Duke of Tork: and that the Train'd Bands were then raised in Holderness; who were raised (as was generally reported) by the King's Command.

And this Deponent further faith, That the Night after the faid Forces had, as aforefaid, possessed themselves of this Deponent's House, Col. Legard's House was plunder'd by them, being upon a Mon-

day; which aforefaid Entry of this Deponent's House, was the first "Act of Hostility that was committed in those Parts.

And this Deponent further faith, That after the faid Sir Robert Strick-land's faid Company was gone from Hull-Bridge, having continued there about ten Days, there then came to the faid House Col. Hirel, with about seven hundred Foot-Soldiers,

Hull as a Garage of the Ring, which was before this, was, it flems, no alst of Heffility, in this perjur'd Villain's account. Nell.

₹Sir John Ho~

tham's keeping

who then took up his Quarters at *Hull-Bridge* aforefaid. And this Deponent further faith, That the Warrant he now produceth to this Court, is the faine original Warrant aforefaid spoken of.

And this Deponent further faith, That the General's Name of the faid Forces that were there, and raifed as aforefaid, was the Earl of Lindfer; and that this Deponent was brought before him the faid General, in the name of the King's Lord General, for holding Intelligence with Sir John Hotham, then Governor of Hull; and because it was then informed to the faid General, that he this Deponent had Provisions of Corn to send over unto Ireland, which he this Deponent was forbidden by the faid General to send unto Ireland, or any Place else, without his or the King's Direction or Warrant first had in that behalf.

The aforefaid Warrant, mentioned in the Deposition of the faid William Cuthbert, is as followeth:

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'TT is his Majesty's Command, that you do not · I suffer any Victuals or Provision, of what fort ' soever, to be carried into the Town of Hull ' without his Majesty's special Licence first obtained, And of this you are not to fail at your · Peril.

Dated at Beverley, 3 Julii, 1642.

Tho. Gower, Vi. Co.

To all Head-Constables and Constables in the East-Riding of the County of York, and to all other his Majesty's Loyal Subjects.

John Bennet of Harwood, in the County of York, Glover, sworn and examined, saith, That he being a Soldier under the King's Command, the first Day that the King's Standard was fet up at Notting bam, which was about the middle of Summer last was six Years, he this Examinant did work at Nottingham; and that he did see the King within the Castle of Nottingham, within two or three days after the said Standard was so set up; and that the faid Standard did fly the fame day that the King was in the faid Castle, as aforcfaid: and this Deponent did hear that the King was at Nottingham the same day that the said Standard was set up, and before.

And this Deponent further faith, That he this Deponent, and the Regiment of which he then was, had their Colours then given them; and Sir William Penyman being the Colonel of the faid Regiment, the faid Sir William Penyman was present with his faid Regiment at that Time.

And this Deponent further faith, That there was then there the Earl of Lindsey's Regiment, who had then their Colours given them, and that the faid Earl of Lindsey was then also proclaimed there the King's General; and that it was proclaimed then there likewife in the King's Name, at the Head of every Regiment, that the faid Forces should fight against all that came to oppose the King, or any of his Followers; and in particular, ngainst the Earl of Essev, the Lord Brooke, and divers others: and that they the faid Earl of Effex, the Lord Brooke, and divers others, were then proclaimed Traytors; and that the same Proclamations were printed, and dispersed by the Officers of the Regiments throughout every Regiment.

And this Deponent further faith, That the faid Standard was advanced upon the highest Tower of Nottingham-Castle; and that he this Deponent did see the King often in Nottingham at that Time that the said Forces continued at Nottingbam as aforefaid, they continuing there for the Space of one Month; and that the Drums for raising Volunteers to fight under the King's Command, were then beaten all the faid County over, and divers other Forces were raised there.

And this Deponent further faith, That he did take up Arms under the King's Command as aforefaid, for fear of being plundered; Sir William Penyman giving out that it were a good deed to fire the faid Town, because they would not go forth in the King's Service: and that this Deponent's Father did thereupon command him this Deponent to take up Arms as aforciaid, and that divers others (as they did confess) did then also take up Arms for the King for fear of being plundered.

And this Deponent further faith, That in of about the Month of Ottober, 1642, he did see the King at Edge-Hill in Warwicksbire; where he sixting on horseback while his Army

was drawn up before him \*, did speak to the Colonel of every Regiment that passed by him, that he would have them speak to their Soldiers to encourage them to stand its and to fight against the Lord of Essex, the Lord Brooke, Sir William Waller, and Sir William Balfour.

And this Deponent faith, That he did see many slain at the Fight at Edge-Hill, and that afterwards he did lee a List brought in unto Oxford, of

the Men which were flain in that Fight; by which it was reported, that there were flain 6559 Men.

And this Deponent further faith, Afterwards, in or about the Month of November 1642, he did fee the King in the head of his Army at Hounflows-Heath in Middlesex, Prince Rupert then standing by him. And he this Deponent did then hear the King encourage several Regiments of Welfbmen (then being in the Field) which had run away at Edge-Hill, faying unto them, That he did hope they would regain their Honour at Brentford, which they had lost at Edge-Hill.

William Brayne of Wixball in the County of Salop, Gent. being fworn and examined, deposeth, That about August in the Year 1642, this Deponent law the King at Nottingham, while the Standard was set up, and the Flag slying; and that he this Deponent much about the same Time marched with the King's Army from Nottingbam to Derby, the King himself being then in the Army: And about September the said Year, he this Deponent was put upon his Trial at Shrewsbury as a Spy, before Sir Robert Heath, and other Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, the King then being in Person in Sbrewsbury.

Henry Hertford of Stratford upon Avon, in Warwicksbire, sworn and examined, deposeth, That about Corn-Harvest in the Year 1642, this Deponent saw the King in Nottingbam-Castle, while the Standard was fet upon one of the Towers of the faid Castle, and the Flag flying.

And he further faith and deposeth, That he this Deponent faw the King the same Year about the Month of November in Brentford Town on horseback, with a great many Commanders about him, on a Sunday Morning, when on the Saturday Night before there were a great many of the Parliament's Forces flain by the King's Forces in the faid Town.

Robert Lacy of the Town and County of Nottingbam, Painter, sworn and examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent, in Summer-time in the Year 1642, by Order from my Lord Beaumont did paint the Standard-Pole which was set up on the Top of the old Tower of Nottingbam-Castle. And he further saith, That he saw the King in the Town of Nottingham divers Times while the Standard was up there, and the Flag flying; and the King did lie at the House of my Lord of Clare in Nottingbam Town, and that he this Deponent did then and there see the King many timics.

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Edward Roberts of Bishops-Castle in the County of Salop, Ironmonger, sworn and examined, faith and deposeth, That he this Deponent saw the King in Nottingham Town while the Standard was let

upon the High-Tower in Nottingham-Castle.

And he further faith, That he faw the King at the Head of the Army at Shrewsbury, upon the March towards *Edge-Hill*, and that he likewise saw the King in the Rear of his Army in Keynton-Field; and likewife faw the King upon the Sunday Morning at Brentford, after the Fight upon the Saturday next before, in the said Town.

Robert Loads of Cottam in Nottinghamshire, Tiler, fworn and examined, faith, That he this Deponent about October in the Year 1642, faw the King in the Rear of his Army in Keynton-Field upon a Sunday, where he faw many flain on both Sides.

And he further faith, That he faw the King in Cornwal in his Army, near the House of my Lord Mohun, about Lestwithiel, about Corn-Har-

vest 1644.

Samuel Morgan of Wellington in Com. Salop, Feltmaker, fworn and examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent upon a Sanday Morning in Keynton-Field faw the King upon the Top of Edge-Hill, in the Head of the Army, some two hours before the Fight, which happened after Michaelmas on a Sunday the Year 1642. And he this Deponent saw many Men killed on both Sides in the same Time and Place.

And he further faith, That in the Year 1644, he this Deponent faw the King in his Army near Cropredy-Bridge, where he saw the King light of his Horse, and draw up the Body of his Army in Perfon himfelf.

James Williams of Ross in Herefordshire, Shoemaker, fworn and examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent, about October, the Year 1642, faw the King in Keynton-Field, below the Hill in the Field, with his Sword drawn in his Hand; at which Time and Place there was a great Fight, and many killed on both Sides.

And he further deposeth, That he saw the King at Brentford on a Sunday in the Forenoon, in November the Year aforefaid, while the King's Army was in the faid Town, and round about it.

John Pyneger of the Parish of Hainer in the County of  $D_{i}rby$ , Yeoman, aged 37 Years or thereabout, sworn and examined, faith, That about August 1642, he the Deponent saw the King's Standard flying upon one of the Towers of Nottingham-Castle; and that upon the same Day he saw the King in Thurland-House, being the Earl of Clare's House in *Nottingham*, in the Company of Prince Rupert, Sir John Digby, and other Persons, both Noblemen and others; and that the King had at the fame Time in the faid Town, a Train of Artillery, and the faid Town was then full of the King's Soldiers.

Samuel Lewfon of Nottingham, Malster, aged thirty Years, or thereabouts, fworn and examined, faith, That about August 1642, he this Deponent faw the King's Standard brought forth of Nettingbam-Castle, borne upon divers Gentlemens Shoulders, who (as the Report was) were Noblemen; and he saw the same by them carried to the Hill close adjoining to the Castle, with a Herald be- ther he saith, That he did then see divers of the

fore it, and there the said Standard was erected. with great Shoutings, Acclamations, and Sound of Drums and Trumpets; and that when the faid Standard was so erected, there was a Proclamation made: and that he this Deponent faw the King prefent at the erecting thereof. And this Deponent further faith, That the said Town was then full of the King's Soldiers, of which some quartered in this Deponent's House; and that when the King with his faid Forces went from the faid Town, the Inhabitants of the faid Town were forced to pay a great Sum of Money to the King's Army, being threatned, that in case they should refuse to pay it, the faid Town should be plundered.

Arthur Young, Citizen and Barber-Chirurgeon of London, being aged twenty-nine Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, faith, That he this Deponent was present at the Fight at Edge-Hill, between the King's Army and the Parliament's, in October 1642, and he did then see the King's Standard advanced, and flying in his Army in the faid Fight. And that he this Deponent did then take the King's faid Standard in that Battle from the King's Forces, which was afterwards taken from him by one Middleson, who was afterwards made a Colonel.

Thomas Whittington of the Town and County of Nottingham, Shoemaker, aged twenty-two Years, fworn and examined, faith, That he this Deponent faw the King in the Town of Nottingkam the fame Day that his Standard was first set up in Nottingham-Castle, being about the Beginning of August 1642, and that the King then went from his Lodgings at Thurland-House towards the said Castle; and that he this Deponent saw him several times, about that Time, in Nottingham, there being divers Soldiers at that Time in the faid Town, who were called by the Name of the King's Soldiers.

And this Deponent further faith, That he saw the King's Standard flying upon the Old Tower in the faid Castle.

John Thomas of Llangollen, in the County of Denbigh, Husbandman, aged twenty-five Years, or thereabouts, Iworn and examined, faith, That he faw the King at Breatford in the County of Middlefex, on a Saturday Night at Twelve of the Clock, foon after Edge-IIill Fight, attended with Horse and Foot Soldiers, the King being then on horseback, with his Sword by his Side; and this De-. ponent then heard the King fay to the faid Soldiers, as he was riding through the faid Town, Gentlemen, you lost your Honour at Edge-Hill, I hope you will regain it again here; or Words to that Effect.

And this Deponent further faith, That there were fome Skirmishes between the King's Army and the Parliament's Army, at the fame Time, both before and after the King spake the said Words; and that many Men were slain on both Sides.

Richard Blonifield, Citizen and Weaver of London, aged thirty-five Years, or thereabouts, fworn and examined, faith, That at the Defeat of the Earl of Effex's Army in Cornwall, he this Deponent was there, it being at the latter End of the Month of zhigust, or Beginning of September 1644, at which Time, he this Deponent faw the King at the Head of his Army, near Foy, on horseback: And fur-

Lord

Lord of Essen's Soldiers plundered, contrary to Articles then lately made, near the Person of the King.

William Jones of Uske in the County of Monmouth, Husbandman, aged twenty-two Years, or thereabout, sworn and examined, faith, That he this Deponent did see the King within two Miles of Naseby-Field, the King then coming fromwards Harborough, marching in the Head of his Army, towards Naseby-Field where the Fight was; and that he this Deponent did then see the King ride up to the Regiment which was Col. St. George's, and there the Deponent did hear the King ask the Regiment, Whether they were willing to fight for him? To which the Soldiers made an Acclamation, crying, All, All.

And this Deponent further faith, That he saw the King in Leicester with his Forces, the same Day that the King's Forces had taken it from the Par-

liament's Forces.

And this Deponent further faith, That he faw the King in his Army that belieged Gloucester, at the Time of the said Siege.

Humphrey Browne of Whitfondine in the County of Rutland, Husbandman, aged twenty-two Years or thereabouts, fworn and examined, faith, That at fuch Time as the Town of Leicester was taken by the King's Forces, being in or about June, 1645, Newerk-Fort in Leicester aforesaid was surrendered to the King's Forces, upon Composition, that neither Clothes nor Money should be taken away. from any of the Soldiers of that Fort, which had so surrendered, nor any Violence offered to them; and that as foon as the faid Fort was upon such Composition so surrendered as aforesaid, the King's Soldiers, contrary to the Articles, fell upon the Soldiers of the said Fort, strip'd, cut and wounded many of them: whereupon one of the King's Officers rebuking some of those that did so abuse the said Parliament's Soldiers, this Deponent did then hear the King reply, I do not care if they cut them three times more, for they are mine Enemies, or Words to that Effect: And that the King was then on horseback, in bright Armour, in the said Town of Leicester.

David Evans of Abergenny in the County of Monmouth, Smith, aged about twenty-three Years, fworn and examined, faith, That about half an Hour before the Fight at Nafeby, about Midsummer in June 1645, he saw the King marching up to the Battle in the Head of his Army, being about half a Mile from the Place where the said Battle was fought.

Diegenes Edwards of Carston, in the County of Salop, Butcher, aged twenty-one, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, That in June, 1645, he this Deponent saw the King in the Head of his Army an Hour and a half before the Fight in Naseby-Field, marching up to the Battle, being then a Mile and a half from the said Field: And this Deponent saith, that he did afterwards the same Day, see many slain at the said Battle.

Gyles Gryce of Wellington, in Shropshire, Gent. fworn and examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent saw the King in the Head of his Army at Cropredy-Bridge, with his Sword drawn in his Hand that Day, when the Fight was against Sir William Waller, on a Friday, as this Deponent remem-

breth, in the Year 1644, about the Month of July: And he further faith,

That he saw the King in the same Summer, in Cornwall, in the Head of his Army, about Lestwithiel, as such Time as the Earl of Essex was there with his Army. And he surther saith,

That he also saw the King in the Head of his Arimy at the second Fight near Newbury. And farither solution

ther faith,

That he saw the King in the Front of the Army in Naseby-Field, having Back and Breast on. And he surther faith,

That he saw the King at the Head of the Army, at what time the Town of Leicester was stormed, and saw the King ride into the Town of Leicester, after the Town was taken; and he saw a great many Men killed on both Sides at Leicester, and many Houses plundered.

John Vinson of Damorham, in the County of Wilts, Gent. sworn and examined, faith, That he did see the King at the first Newbury Fight, about the Month of September 1643; in the Head of his Army, where this Deponent did see many slain on both Sides. This Deponent also saith,

That he did see the King at the second Battle at Newbury, about the Month of November 1644, where the King was at the Head of his Army in complete Armour, with his Sword drawn; and this Deponent did then see the King lead up Col. Tho. Howard's Regiment of Horse, and did hear him make a Speech to the Soldiers, in the Head of that Regiment, to this effect; that is to say, That the said Regiment should stand to him that Day, for that his Crown lay upon the Point of the Sword; and if he lost that Day, he lost his Honour and his Crown for ever. And that this Deponent did see many slain on both Sides at that Battle. This Deponent surther saith,

That he did see the King in the Battle at Naseby-Field in Northamptonshire, on or about the Month of June 1645, where the King was then completely armed with Back, Breast and Helmet, and had his Sword drawn, where the King himself, after his Party was routed, did rally up the Horse, and caused them to stand; and at that Time this Deponent did see many slain on both Sides.

George Seeley of London, Cordwainer, sworn and examined, saith, That he did see the King at the Head of a Brigade of Horse, at the Siege of Gloucester, and did also see the King at the first Fight at Newbury, about the Month of September 1643, where the King was at the Head of a Regiment of Horse; and that there were many slain at that Fight on both Sides. This Deponent also saith,

That he did see the King at the second Fight at Newbury, which was about November 1644, where the King was in the middle of his Army.

John Moore of the City of Cork in Ireland, Gent. fworn and examined, faith, That at the last Fight at Newbury, about the Month of November 1644, he this Deponent did see the King in the middle of the Horse, with his Sword drawn; and that he did see abundance of Men at that Fight slain upon the Ground, on both Sides. This Deponent also saith,

That he did see the King ride into Leicester before a Party of Horse the same Day that Leicester was taken by the King's Forces, which was about the Month of June 1645.

This

This Deponent further faith, That he did see the King, before the Fight at Leicester, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the midst of a Regiment of Horse; and that he did see many slain at the same Time, when the King was in the Fight at Cropredy-Bridge.

And lastly, this Deponent saith, That he did see the King at the Head of a Regiment of Horse at Naseby Fight, about the Month of June 1645, where he did see abundance of Men cut, shot, and slain.

Thomas Ives of Boyset, in the County of Northbampton, Husbandman, sworn and examined, saith, That he did see the King in his Army at the first Fight in Newbury in Berkshire, in the Month of September 1643, and that he did see many slain at that Fight; he this Deponent and others, with a Party of Horse, being commanded to sace the Parliament's Forces, whilst the Foot did setch off the Dead.

He faith also, That he did see the King advance with his Army to the Fight at Naseby Field in Northamptonshire, about June 1645, and that he did again at that Fight see the King come off with a Party of Horse after that his Army was routed in the Field; and that there were many Men slain on both Parts, at that Battle at Naseby.

Thomas Rawlins of Hanflop, in the County of Bucks, Gent. Iworn and examined, faith, That he did fee the King near Foy in Cornwall, in or about the Month of July 1644, at the Head of a Party of Horse; and this Deponent did see some Soldiers plunder after the Articles of Agreement made between the King's Army and the Parliament's Forces; which Soldiers were so plundered by the King's Party not far distant from the Person of the King.

Thomas Read of Maidstone, in the County of Kent, Gent. Sworn and examined, faith, That presently after the laying down of Arms in Cornwall, between Lestwithiel and Foy, in or about the latter End of the Month of August, or the Beginning of September 1644, he this Deponent did see the King in the Head of a Guard of Horse.

James Crosby of Dublin in Ireland, Barber, sworn and examined, saith, That at the first Fight at Newbury, about the Time of Barley-Harvest 1643, he this Deponent did see the King riding from Newbury-Town, accompanied with divers Lords and Gentlemen, towards the Place where his Forces were then fighting with the Parliament's Army.

Samuel Burden of Lyncham, in the County of Wilts, Gent. Iworn and examined, faith, That he this Deponent was at Nottingham in or about the Month of August 1642, at which Time he saw a Flag slying upon the Tower of Nottingham-Castle; and that the next Day afterwards he did see the King at Nottingham, when the said Flag was still slying; which Flag this Deponent then heard was the King's Standard.

He faith also, That he did afterwards see the King at Cropredy-Bridge in the Head of his Army, in a Fallow-Field there; and did see the King in pursuit of Sir William Waller's Army, being then routed, which was about the Month of July 1644.

and at that Time this Deponent did see many People slain upon the Ground.

And further this Deponent faith, That in or about the Month of November 1644, he did fee the King at the last Fight at Newbury, riding up and down the Field from Regiment to Regiment, whilst his Army was there fighting with the Parliament's Forces; and this Deponent did fee many Men slain at that Battle, on both Sides.

Michael Potts of Sharpereton, in the County of Northumberland, Vintner, sworn and examined, deposeth, That he, this Deponent, saw the King in the Head of the Army in the Fields about a Mile and a half from Newbury-Town, upon the Heath, the Day before the Fight was, it being about Harvest-tide in the Year 1643.

And he further faith, That he faw the King on the Day after, when the Fight was, standing near a great Piece of Ordnance in the Fields.

And he further faith, That he faw the King in the second *Newbury* Fight in the Head of his Army, being after or about *Michaelmas* 1644.

And he further faith, That he saw a great many Men slain at both the said Battles.

And he further faith, That he saw the King in the Head of his Army near *Cropredy-Bride* in the Year 1644.

And he further faith, That he saw the King in the Head of his Army in Cornwell, near Lestwithiel, while the Earl of Essex lay there with his Forces about the middle of Harvest 1644.

George Cornwal of Afton, in the County of Hereford, Ferry-man, aged fifty Years, or thereabouts, fworn and examined, faith, That he, this Deponent, did fee the King near Cropredy-Bridge, about the Time of mowing of Corn 1644, in the Van of the Army there, and that he drew up his Army upon a Hill, and faced the Parliament's Army; and that there was thereupon a Skirmish between the King's and the Parliament's Army, where he this Deponent saw divers Persons stain on both Sides.

The Examination of Henry Gooche of Grays-Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gent. sworn and examined.

This Deponent saith, That upon or about the thirtieth Day of September last, he, this Deponent, was in the Isle of Wight, and had Access unto and Discourse with the King, by the Means of the Lord Marquis of Hertford and Commissary Morgan: where this Deponent told the King, That his Majesty had many Friends; and that since his Majesty was pleased to justify the Parliament's first taking up Arms, the most of the Presbyterian Party, both Soldiers and others, would stick close to him. To which the King answered thus, That he would have all his old Friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the Parliament Leave to call their own War what they pleased, yet that he neither did at that Time, nor ever should decline the Justice of his own Caufe.

And this Deponent told the King, That his Bufiness was much retarded, and that neither Col. Thomas, nor any other, could proceed to Action, through want of Commission.

The

The King answered, That he being upon a Treaty, would not dishonour himself; but that if he, this Deponent, would take the Pains to go over to the Prince, his Son, (who had full Authority from him) he the said Deponent, or any for him, should receive whatsoever Commissions should be defired; and to that Purpose he would appoint the Marquiss of Hertford to write to his Son in his Name: and was pleased to express much Joy and Affection, that his good Subjects would engage themselves for his Restoration.

Robert Williams of the Parish of St. Martins, in the County of Cornwall, Husbandman, aged twenty three Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, That he, this Deponent, did see the King marching in the Head of his Army about September 1644, a Mile from Lestwithiel in Cornwall, in Armour, with a short Coat over it unbuttoned.

And this Deponent further faith, That he saw him after that in St. Austell Downs, drawing up his Army.

And this Deponent faith, He did after that fee the King in the Head of his Army near Foy, and that the Earl of Effex and his Army did then lie within one Mile and a Half of the King's Army.

The Witnesses being examined as aforesaid, the Court adjourned for an Hour.

25 Jan. 1648. post Merid.

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Daniel Blagrave. John Okey. Henry Martin. John Carew. Thomas Horton. Sir Michael Livesey, Bar. Owen Roe Sir John Bourchier Kt. Thomas Scat. John Moore. Oliver Cromwell. William Goffe. Richard Deane. Cornelius Holland. Thomas Harrison. Robert Lilbourne. John Downes. Edmond Ludlow. Peregrine Pelham. Sir Henry Mildmey. John Jones. Valentine Wanton. Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar. Adrian Scroope. Henry Smith. Anthony Stapeley. John Huson. Sir William Constable, Bar. John Berkstead. Sir John Danvers. Edward Whalley. Thomas Waite. William Purefoy. Thomas Pride. John Fry. John Blackistone. Sir Hardress Waller Knt. John Venn. Robert Tichbourne. Humphrey Edwards. Peter Temple. Vincent Potter. William Cawley, Isaac Ewers.

Richard Price of London, Scrivener, was produced a Witness to the Charge against the King; who being sworn and examined, saith,

That upon Occasion of some tampering by the King's Agents with the *Independents* in and about London, to draw them from the Parliament's Cause to the King's Party; and this being discover'd Vol. I.

Members of the Committee of Safety, who directed a carrying on of a feeming Compliance with the King; he, this Deponent, did travel to Oxford in January 1643. having a fafe Conduct under the King's Hand and Seal, which he this Deponent knoweth to be so; for that the King did own it when he was told that this Deponent was the Man that came to Oxon with that safe Conduct.

And this Deponent also saith, That after sundry Meetings between him and the Earl of Briftol, about the drawing of the Independents unto the King's Cause against the Parliament, the Substance of the Discourse at which Meetings, the faid Earl told his Deponent, was communicated to the King; he, this Deponent, was by the said Earl brought to the King to confer further about that Business; where the King declared, That he was very sensible that the Independents had been the most active Men in the Kingdom for the Parliament against him: And thereupon persuaded this Deponent to use all means to expedite their turning to him and his Cause. And for their better Encouragement, the King promised in the Word of a King, That if they, the Independents, would turn to him, and be active for him against the Parliament, as they had been active for them against him, then he would grant them whatfoever Freedom they would defire. And the King did then refer this Deponent unto the Earl of Bristol, for the further prosecuting of the said Bulinels.

And the said Earl thereupon (this Deponent being withdrawn from the King) did declare unto this Deponent, and willed him to impart the same unto the Independents for their better Encouragement, That the King's Affairs prospered well in Ireland; That the Irish Subjects had given the Rebels (meaning the Parliament's Forces) a great Defeat; That the King had sent the Lord Byron with a small Party towards Cheshire, and that he was greatly multiply'd, and had a considerable Army, and was then before Namptwich, and would be strengthen'd with more Soldiers out of Ireland, which were come and expected daily. And when this Deponent was to depart out of Oxford, four fafe Conducts with Blanks in them, for the inferting of what Names this Deponent pleased, were deliver'd to him, under the King's Hand and Seal. And one Ogle was sent out of Oxon with this Deponent, to treat about the delivering up of Ailsbury to the King, it being then a Garrison for the Parliament, and at the same time Oxford was a Garrison for the King.

Several Papers and Letters of the King's, under his own Hand, and of his own Writing, and other Papers are produced, and read in open Court.

Mr. Thomas Challoner also reporteth several Papers and Letters of the King's writing, and under the King's own Hand.

After which the Court sat private.

The Court taking into Consideration the whole Matter in Charge against the King, passed these Votes following, as preparatory to the Sentence against the King, but ordered that they should not be binding finally to conclude the Court, viz.

6 Q Refolved

Resolved, upon the whole Matter, That this Court will proceed to Sentence of Condemnation against Charles Stuart, King of England.

Resolved, &c. That the Condemnation of the King shall be for a Tyrant, Traytor, and Mur-

derer.

That the Condemnation of a King, shall be likewise for being a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*.

That this Condemnation shall extend to Death.

Memorandum, The last fore-mentioned Commission ners were present at these Votes.

The Court being then moved concerning the Deposition and Deprivation of the King before, and in order to that part of his Sentence which concerned his Execution, thought fit to defer the Consideration thereof to some other time; and order'd the Draught of a Sentence grounded upon the said Votes, to be accordingly prepared by Mr. Scot, Mr. Martin, Col. Harrison, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Say, Commissary Gen. Ireton and Mr. Love, or any three of them, with a Blank for the Manner of his Death.

Ordered, That the Members of this Court, who are in or about London, and are not now prefent, be summoned to attend the Service of this Court to-morrow at One of the Clock in the Afternoon: for whom Summons were issued forth accordingly.

The Court adjourned itself till the Morrow at

one of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Veneris, 26 Jan. 1648. post Merid. Painted Chamber.

HREE Proclamations. The Court called.

The Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeunt at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell. Henry Ireton. Sir Hardress Waller. Valentine Wauton. Thomas Harrison. Edw. Whalley. Thomas Pride. Isaac Ewers. Tho. Ld Grey of Grooby. Sir John Danvers. Sir Henry Mildmay Knt. William Heveningham. Henry Marten. William Purefoy. John Blackistone. Gilbert Millington. Sir William Constable Bar. Edmond Ludlow. John Hutchinson. Sir Michael Livesey Bar. Robert Tichbourne. Owen Rowe. Adrian Scroope. John Dixwell, Simon Mevne. Peter Temple.

Thomas Waite.

Cornelius Holland, Thomas Scot. Francis Allen. Richard Deane. John Okey. John Huson, John Carew. John Jones. Miles Corbet. William Goffe. Peregrine Pelkam. John Moore. William Lord Mounson. Humphrey Edwards. Thomas Wogan. Sir Gregory Norton. John Dove. John Venn. William Cawley, Anthony Stapely. John Downes. Thomas Herton. Thomas Hammond. John Liste. Nicholas Love.

Augustine Garland.

George Fleetwood.

James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Browne.
Henry Smith.

John Berkstead. Sir Tho, Maleverer Bar. Vincent Potter.

Sixty-two Commissioners present.

Here the Court sat private.

The Draught of a Sentence against the King, is, according to the Votes of the 25th Instant, prepared; and after several Readings, Debates and Amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Resolved, &c. That this Court do agree to the

Sentence now read.

That the said Sentence shall be ingrossed.

That the King be brought to Westminster tomorrow to receive his Sentence.

The Court adjourned itself till the morrow at Ten of the Clock in the Morning to this Place; the Court giving notice, That they then intended to adjourn from thence to Westminster-Hall.

Sabbati, 27 Jan. 1648. Painted Chamber.

HREE Proclamations being made, the Court is thereupon called.

### Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President. Oliver Cromwell. John Huson. Henry Ireton. William Goffe. Sir Hardress Waller. Cornelius Holland. Valentine Wauton John Carew. Thomas Harrison. John Jones. Edward Whalley. Miles Corbet. Thomas Pride. Francis Allen. Isaac Ewers. Peregrine Pelham. Tho. L.d. Grey of Grooty. Thomas Challoner. Sir John Danvers. John Moor Sir Tho. Maleverer Bar. William Say. Sir John Bourchier, Kt. John Alured. William Heveningham. Henry Smith, Henry Marten. Humphrey Edwards, William Purefoy. Gregory Clement. John Berkstead. Thomas Wogan. Sir Gregory Norton Bar. Matthew Tomlinson. John Blackistone. Edmond Harvey. Gilbert Millington. John Venn. Sir William Constable Bar. Thomas Scot. Thomas Andrews, Ald. of Edmond Ludlow. John Hutchinson. London. Sir Michael Livescy Bar. William Cawley. Robert Tichbourne. Anthony Stapeley. Owen Rowe. John Downes. Robert Lilbourne. Thomas Horton. Adrian Scroope, Thomas Hammond. Richard Deane. John Liste. John Okey. Nicholas Love. Augustine Garland. Vincent Potter. George Fleetwood. John Dixwell. James Temple. Simon Meyne. Daniel Blagrave. Peter Temple. John Brown, Thomas Waite.

The Sentence agreed on, and ordered by this Court the 26th Instant to be ingrossed, being accordingly ingrossed, was read.

Resolved, that the Sentence now read, shall be the Sentence of this Court for the Condemnation of the King, which shall be read and published in Westminster-Hall this Day.

The Court hereupon considered of certain Instructions for the Lord President, to manage the Business of this Day in Westminster-Hall; and ordered,

That the Lord President do manage what Discourse shall happen between him and the King, according to his Discretion, with the Advice of his two Aflitants: and that in case the King shall still perfift in excepting against the Court's Jurisdiction, to let him know that the Court do still affirm their Jurisdiction.

That in case the King shall submit to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and pray a Copy of the Charge, that then the Court do withdraw and advife.

That in case the King shall move any thing else worth the Court's Consideration, the Lord President, upon Advice of his said Assistants, do give order for the Court's withdrawing to advile.

That in case the King shall not submit to an-Iwer, and there happen no fuch Cause of withdrawing, that then the Lord President do command the Sentence to be read; but that the Lord President should hear the King say what he would before the Sentence, and not after,

And thereupon it being further moved, Whether the Lord President should use any Discourse or Speeches to the King, as in the case of other Prisoners to be condemned, was usual before the publishing of the Sentence, received general Directions to do therein as he should see cause, and to press what he should conceive most feasonable and suitable to the Occasion. And it was further directed, That after the Reading of the Sentence, the Lord President should declare, That the same was the Sentence, Judgment and Refolution of the whole Court, and that the Commissioners should thereupon signify their Consent by standing up.

The Court forthwith adjourned itself to Westminster-Hall.

### Westminster-Hall, 27 Jan. 1648. post Merid.

The Lord President and the rest of the Commisfigurers come together from the Painted Chamber to Westminster-Hall, according to their Adjournment, and take their Seats there, as formerly; and three Proclamations being made for Attendance and SIlence, the Court is called.

#### Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Coart.

John Lisse. William Say. Oliver Cromwell. Henry Ireton. Sir Hardress Waller Knt. Sir John Bourchier Kt. William Heveningham. Isaac Pennington Ald. of London. Henry Marten. William Purefoy. VOL. I.

John Berkstead. Matthew Tomlinfon. John Blackistone. Gilbert Millington. Sir William Constable Bar. Edmond Ludlow. John Hutchinson. Sir Michael Livesey Bar. Robert Tichbourne. Owen Roe. Robert Lilbourne.

Adrian Scroope. Richard Deane. John Okey. John Huson. William Goffe. Cornelius Holland. John Carciv. John Jones. Miles Corbet. Francis Allen. Peregrine Pelham. Daniel Blagrave. Valentine Wauton. Thomas Harrison. Edward Whalley. Thomas Pride. Isaac Ewers. Tho. Ld Grey of Grooty. Sir John Danvers. Sir Tho. Maleverer Bar. John Moore. John Alured. Henry Smith.

Humphrey Edwards. Gregory Clement. Thomas Wogan. Sir Gregory Norton Bar. Edmond Harvey. John Venn. Thomas Scot. Thomas Andrews Ald. of London. William Cawley. Anthony Stapeley. John Downs. . Thomas Horton. Thomas Hammond. Nicholas Love. Vincent Potter. Augustine Garland, John Dixwell. George Fleetwood. Simon Meyne. James Temple. Peter Temple. Thomas Waite.

### Sixty-seven Commissioners present.

The Prisoner is brought to the Bar, and Proclamation is again (as formerly) made for Silence; and the Captain of the Guard ordered to take into his Custody all such as should disturb the Court.

The President stood up with an Intention of Address to the People, and not to the Prisoner, who had so often declined the Jurisdiction of the Court; which the Prisoner observing, moved he might be heard before Judgment given. Whereof he received Assurance from the Court, and that he should be heard after he had heard them first.

Whereupon the Court proceeded, and rementber'd the great Assembly then present of what had formerly passed betwixt the Court and the Prisoner; the Charge against him in the Name of the People of England exhibited to them, being a Court constituted by the supreme Authority of England; his Refusal three several Days and Thous to own them as a Court, or to answer to the Matter of his Charge; his thrice recorded Contumacy, and other his Contempts and Defaults in the precedent Courts. Upon which the Court then declared, That they might not be wanting to themselves, or to the Trust reposed in them; and that no Man's Wilfulness ought to serve him to prevent Justice; and that they had therefore thought fit to take the Substance of what had passed into their ferious Consideration, to wit, the Charge and the Prisoner's Contumacy, and the Confession which in the Law doth arise upon that Contumacy, the Notoriety of the Fact charged, and other the Circumstances material in the Cause: And upon the whole matter, had resolved and agreed upon a Sentence then ready to be pronounced against the Prisoner. But that in regard of his Desire to be further heard, they were ready to hear him as to any thing material, which he would offer to their Consideration before the Sentence given, relating to the Defence of himself, concerning the Matter charged; and did then signify so much to the Prisoner: Who made use of that Leave given only to protest his Respects to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, and to fay, That the same made him at lift

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dast to desire, that having somewhat to say that concerned both, he might before the Sentence given be heard in the *Painted Chamber* before the Lords and Commons; saying, It was sit to be heard, if it were Reason which he should offer, whereof they were Judges. And pressing that Point much, he was forthwith answered by the Court, and told,

That that which he moved was a declining of the Jurisdiction of the Court, whereof he had Caution frequently given him.

That it tended to further Delay, of which he had been too much guilty.

That the Court being founded (as often had been faid) upon the Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rested the supreme Jurisdiction, the Motion tended to set up another, or a co-ordinate Jurisdiction, in Derogation of the Power whereby the Court sat, and to the manifest Delay of their Justice; in which regard, he was told, they might forthwith proceed to Sentence: Yet for his surther Satisfaction of the entire Pleasure and Judgment of the Court upon what he had then said, he was told, and accordingly it was declared, That the Court would withdraw half an Hour.

The Prisoner by command being withdrawn, the Court make their Recess into the Room called the Court of Wards, considered of the Prisoner's Motion, and gave the President Direction to declare their Dissent thereto, and to proceed to the Sentence.

The Court being again set, and the Prisoner returned, was, according to their Direction, informed, That he had in effect received his Answer before the Court withdrew; and that their Judgment was (as to his Motion) the same to him before declared, That the Court acted, and were Judges, appointed by the highest Authority; and that Judges were not to delay, no more than to deny Justice: That they were good Words in the great old Charter of England, Nulli negabinus, nulti vendemus, nulli differentes Justitiam vel Retium: That their Duty called upon them to avoid further Delays, and to proceed to Judgment; which was their unanimous Resolution.

Unto which the Prisoner replied, and insisted upon his former Desires, confessing a Delay; but that it was important for the Peace of the Kingdom: and therefore pressed again with much Earnestness to be heard before the Lords and Commons.

In answer whereto, he was told by the Court, That they had before fully considered of his Proposal, and must give him the same Answer to his renewed Desires; and that they were ready to proceed to Sentence, if he had nothing more to say.

Whereunto he subjoined, He had no more to say; but desired that might be enter'd which he had said.

Hereupon, after some Discourse used by the President, for vindicating the Parliament's Justice, explaining the Nature of the Crimes of which the Prisoner stood charged, and for which he was to be condemned; and by way of Exhortation to the Prisoner, to a serious Repentance for his High Transgressions against God and the People, and to prepare for his eternal Condition.

The Sentence formerly agreed upon, and put down in Parchment-writing, O Yes being first made for Silence, was, by the Court's Command,

folemnly pronounced and given. The Tenor whereof followeth:

"HEREAS the Commons of England, affembled in Parliament, have by their ' late Act, entitled, An Act of the Commons of England, essembled in Parliament, for erecting of ' an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judg-'ing of Charles Stuart, King of England, autho-'rized and constituted us an High Court of Jus-' tice for the Trying and Judging of the faid " Charles Stuart, for the Crimes and Treasons in ' the faid Act mentioned: By virtue whereof the ' said Charles Stuart hath been three several times convented before this High Court; where the first Day, being Saturday the 20th of Jan. ' instant, in pursuance of the said Act, a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, was, in the behalf of the People of England, exhibited against him, and read openly unto 'him; wherein he was charged, That he the ' said Charles Stuart, being admitted King of ' England, and therein truffed with a limited Power to govern by and according to the Law of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his 'Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good ' and Benefit of the People, and for the Prefer-'vation of their Rights and Liberties; yet ne-' vertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and ' uphold in himfelf an Unlimited and Tyrannical ' Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the Peo-' ple, and to take away and make void the Foun-'dations thereof, and of all Redress and Reme-'dy of Misgovernment, which by the Funda-' mental Constitutions of this Kingdom were re-' served on the People's behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parlia-'ments, or national Meetings in Council, he ' the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of ' fuch his Defigns, and for the Protecting of him-' felf and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practices, to the same End, hath traitorously ' and maliciously levied War against the present 'Parliament, and People therein represented, as with the Circumstances of Time and Place, is ' in the said Charge more particularly set forth: 'And that he hath thereby caused and procu-' red many Thousands of the free People of this ' Nation to be slain; and by Divisions, Parties, and Infurrections within this Land, by Inva-' sions from foreign Parts, endeavoured and pro-' cured by him, and by many other evil Ways and Means, he, the faid Charles Stuart, hath 'not only maintained and carried on the faid 'War both by Sea and Land, but also hath re-' newed, or caused to be renewed, the said War 'against the Parliament and good People of ' this Nation in this present Year 16.48. in several <sup>c</sup> Counties and Places in this Kingdom, in the ' Charge specified; and that he hath for that pur-' pose given his Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides Multitudes of other Persons, many, such as were by the Par-'liament intrusted and imployed for the Safety of this Nation, being by him or his Agents ' corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and e revolting from the Parliament, have had En-' tertainment and Commission for the continuing ' and renewing of the War and Hostility against

· the

the faid Parliament and People: And that by the faid cruel and unnatural War so levied, continued and renewed, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been · spilt, many Families undone, the publick Trea-' fure walted, Trade obstructed and miserably · decayed, vall Expence and Damage to the Nation incurred, and many Parts of the Land fpoiled, some of them even to Desolation: · And that he still continues his Commission to his faid Son, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormand, and to the Irish Rebels and Re-· volters affociated with him, from whom further · Invasions upon this Land are threaten'd by his · Procurement, and on his behalf: And that all the faid wicked Defigns, Wars and evil Pracc tices, of him, the faid Charles Stuart, were still crrried on for the Advancement and Upholding of the Personal Interest of Will, Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Fa-'mily, against the publick Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the Peo-' ple of this Nation: And that he thereby hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Con-' triver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, 'Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desola-'tions, Damage, and Mischief to this Nation, safted and committed in the faid Wars, or oc-' casioned thereby. Whereupon the Proceedings and Judgment of this Court were prayed aegainst him as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer, and publick Enemy to the Commonwealth, as by the said Charge more fully ape peareth. To which Charge, being read unto 'him as aforesaid, he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer; but he resused so to do. And upon *Monday* the 22d Day of Jan. 'instant, being again brought besore this Court, ' and there required to answer directly to the said ' Charge, he still refused so to do: Whereupon 'his Default and Contumacy was entered. And the next Day, being the third time brought be-' fore the Court, Judgment was then prayed a-' gainst him on the behalf of the People of Eng-' land for his Contumacy, and for the Matters con-' tained against him in the said Charge, as taking the fame for confest, in regard of his refusing to answer thereto: Yet notwithstanding, this Court (not willing to take Advantage of his Con-' tempt) did once more require him to answer to the faid Charge; but he again refused so to do. 'Upon which his several Desaults, this Court 'might justly have proceeded to Judgment a-' gainst him, both for his Contumacy and the Matters of the Charge, taking the same for confest,

s as aforefaid. 'Yet nevertheless this Court, for their own clearer Information, and further Satisfaction, s thought fit to examine Witnesses upon Oath, and ' take notice of other Evidences touching the Matters contained in the faid Charge, which accordingly they have done.

'Now therefore upon serious and mature De-· liberation of the Premises, and Consideration had of the Notoriety of the Matters of Fact charged 'upon him, as aforefaid, this Court is in Judg-'ment and Conscience satisfied that he the said · Charles Stuart is guilty of levying War against the faid Parliament and People, and maintain-

'ing and continuing the same; for which in the faid Charge he stands accused, and by the ge-' neral Course of his Government, Counsels, and ' Practices, before and since this Parliament be-'gan (which have been and are notorious and ' publick, and the Effects whereof remain abun-'dantly upon Record) this Court is fully fatif-' fied in their Judgments and Consciences that he hath been and is guilty of the wicked Designs and Endeavours in the faid Charge fet forth; ' and that the said War hath been levied, main-' tained, and continued by him, as aforefaid, in ' Prosecution and for Accomplishment of the said Defigns: And that he hath been and is the Oc-' casioner, Author, and Continuer of the said un-'unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and there-'in guilty of High-Treason, and of the Mur-'ders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Defolations, Damages, and Mischief to this Nation, acted and committed in the said War, and occasioned 'thereby. For all which Treasons and Crimes ' this Court doth adjudge, That he the said Charles 'Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and ' publick Enemy to the good People of this Na-'tion, shall be put to death by the severing his ' Head from his Body,

This Sentence being read, the President spake as followeth.

'The Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of ' the whole Court.'

Whereupon the whole Court flood up, and owned it.

The Prisoner being withdrawn, the Court adjourned itself forthwith into the Painted Chamber.

The Court being fat in the Painted Chamber, according to Adjournment from Westminster-Hall, aforesaid:

#### Painted Chamber.

### Commissioners present,

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord-President.

John Lifle. William Say. Oliver Cromwell. Henry Ireton. Sir Hardress Waller. Thomas Waite. Thomas Harrison. Edward Whalley. Thomas Pride. Isaac Ewers. Tho.Ld. Grey of Grooby. Sir John Danvers. Sir Tho. Maleverer Bar. Sir John Bourchier Kt. William Heveningham. Isaac Pennington Ald. of London. John Downes. Henry, Marten. John Berkstead. Matthew Tomlinson. Gilbert Millington. John Blackistone. Sir William Constable Bar.

John Hutchinson, Sir Michael Livesey Bar. John Dixwell. James Temple. Thomas Andrews Ald. of London. Anthony Stapeley. Thomas Hammond. Peter Temple. Edmond Ludlow. Robert Tichbourne. Nicholas Love. Owen Roe. Robert Lilbourne. Adrian Scroope. Richard Deane. John Okey. Simon Meyne. John Huson. William Goffe. Cornelius Holland. John Carew. John Jones. Miles Corbet.

Francis

Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.

Sir Gregory Norton Bar.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Edmond Harvey.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
Augustine Garland.
Daniel Blagrave.

Sixty-four Commissioners present.

Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Harrison, Commissary-General Ircton, Colonel Deane, and Colonel Okcy, are appointed to consider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the Sentence against the King.

And then the Court adjourned itself till Monday Morning at Eight of the Clock to this

Place.

[The more full Account of this Day's Action, take as follows:

HE King being come in, in his wonted Posture, with his Hat on, some of the Soldiers began to call for Justice, Justice, and Execution. But Silence being commanded, his Majesty began:

I desire a Word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no Occasion of Interruption.

Bradshaw answered, You may answer in your time, hear the Court first.

His Majesty replied, If it please you, Sir, I defire to be heard, and I shall not give any Occasion of Interruption, and it is only in a Word: A sudden Judgment——

Bradshaw. Sir, you shall be heard in due time,

but you are to hear the Court first.

King. Sir, I desire, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say; and therefore, Sir, an hasty Judgment is not so soon recalled.

Bradshaw. Sir, you shall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. Well, Sir, shall I be heard before the

Judgment be given?

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convened and brought before this Court to make answer to a Charge of Treason, and other high Crimes exhi-

\* Here a Ladj interpos'd,
faying, Not
half the Pcople; but was
filenced with
Threats.

bited against him in the Name of the People of \* England; to which Charge being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate unto the Authority of

the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to try and judge him: but being overruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to resuse to submit or answer. Hereupon the Court, that they might not be wanting to themselves, to the Trust reposed in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought

fit to take the Matter into their Consideration; they have confidered of the Charge, they have confidered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession, which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy: They have likewise consider'd of the Notoriety of the Fast charg'd upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole Matter they are resolved, and are agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounc'd against this Prisoner: B... in respect he doth defire to be heard, before the Sentence be read and pronounc'd, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him. Yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, that if that which you have to fay, be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it; you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of England, which this Court will not admit a Debate of; and which indeed is an irrational Thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, Sir, it you have any thing to fay in defence of yourself concerning the Matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

King. Since I fee that you will not hear any thing of Debate concerning that which I confefs I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I thall wive it; I finall speak nothing to it, but only I must tell you, that this many a-day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call more dear to me than my Life, which is my Conference and my Honour: And if I had a respect to my Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular Desence for myfelt; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore, certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some Understanding, some Knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Country had not over-borne the Care that I have for my own Prefervation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive, that an hasty Sentence area pass'd, may looner be repented of than recalled; and truly, the self-same Desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at last desire, that I have something \* to fay that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted-Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This Delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say; if that I say no Reason, those that hear me must be Judges; I cannot be judge of that that I have: if it be Reason, and really for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am fure on't, 'tis very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, I hope it's real, the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence be past. I only desire this, that you will take this into your Consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I'll retire, and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this Liberty,

<sup>\*</sup> Some have thought this was a Proposal of renouncing the Crown in factur of his eldest Son.

Liberty, I do protest, that these fair Shews of Liberty and Peace, are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your King.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have now spoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

Bradshaw. And this that you have said is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

Kin-. Pray excuse me, Sir, for my Interruption, because you mistake me; it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak: I fay it will not, I do not decline it, tho' I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court; yet, Sir, in this give me leave to fay, I would do it, tho' I did not acknowledge it: in this I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I do fay any thing, but that that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the Shame is mine. Now I defire that you will take this into your Consideration; if you will, Ph withdraw.

Bradshaw. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved to us, not altogether new to us, tho' the first time in person you have offered it to the Court. Sir, you say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. Not in this that I have faid.

Bradshaw. I understand you well, Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that Saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: It is not as you fay, That they will not hear their King; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your Pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would fay to the People's Charge against you, to which you have not vouchsated to give any Answer at all. Sir, this tends to a further Delay; truly, Sir, such Delays as these, neither may the Kingdom, nor Justice well bear; you have had three several Days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is sounded upon that Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the supreme Jurisdiction; that which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate Jurisdiction. I know very well you express yourself, Sir, that notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painced-Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so. But, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved, and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound to grant. But, Sir, according to that you feem to desire, and because you shall know the further Pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time

[This he did to prevent the Disturbance of their Scene by one of their own Members, Col. John Downes, who could nor stifle the Ruluctance of his Conscience, when he saw his Majesty press so earnestly for a short Hearing: But declaring himself unsatisfied, forced them to yield to the King's Request. Nalfon.]

King. Shall I withdraw? Bradshaw. Sir, you shall know the Pleasure of the Court presently.

The Court withdraws for half an Hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms, The Court gives Command, that the Prisoner be withdrawn; and they give order for his Return again.

[Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the Court of Wards, their Business was not to consider of his Majesty's Desire, but to chide Dewnes, and with Reproaches and Threats to harden him to go thro' the Remainder of their Villany with them. Na! fon.

Which done, they return: and being fat, Brad-*Jhaw* commanded;

Serjeant at Arms, Send for your Prisoner.

Who being come, Bradshaw proceeded:

Sir, you were pleafed to make a motion here to the Court to offer a Desire of yours, touch ing the propounding of somewhat to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did, in effect, receive an Answer before the Court adjourned; truly, Sir, their Withdrawing and Adjournment was pro forma tantum; for it did not feem to them that there was any Difficulty in the thing: they have confidered of what you have moved, and have confidered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often faid, upon the fupreme Authority of the Commons of England, affembled in Parliament: The Court acts according to their Commission. Sir, the Return I have to you from the Court, is this; That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer, hath occasioned some little further Delay; and they are Judges appointed by the highest Authority; and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice: they are good Words in the great old Charter of England; Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus Justitiam. There must be no Delay; but the truth is, Sir, and so every Man here observes it, that you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long since have proceeded to Judgment against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Punishment, and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to difpute, I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough: Sir, I must confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdom's Peace, if you would have taken the pains to have shewn the Lawfulness of your Power; for this Delay that I have desired, I confess it is a Delay, but it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom; for it is not my Person that I look at alone, it is the Kingdom's Welfare, and the Kingdom's Peace; it is an old Sentence, That we should think on long before we resolve of great Matters suddenly. Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your Doors all the Inconveniency of a hafty Sentence. I confess I have been here now, I think, this Week; this Day eight Days was the Day I came here first, but a little Delay of a Day or two farther may give Peace; whereas a hasty Judgment may bring on that Trouble and perpetual Inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it: and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God, and to my Country, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted-Chamber, or any other Chamber that

you will appoint me.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgment of the Court in it: and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for yourself, than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I say this, Sir, That if you hear me, if you will give me but this Delay, I doubt not but I shall give some Satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will consider it once

again.

Bradshaw. Sir, I have received Direction from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

Bradshaw. If this must be re-enforced, or any thing of this Nature, your Answer must be the same; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to say.

King. Sir, I have nothing more to fay, but I shall desire, that this may be entered what I have

faid.

Bradshaw. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you; which, altho' I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

[Then Bradshaw went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to justify their Proceedings, misapplying Law and History, and raking up and wresting whatsoever he thought sit for his Purpose, alledging the Examples of former Treasons and Rebellions, both at Home and Abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, That the King was a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.

His Majesty, having with his wonted Patience heard all these Reproaches, answered; Nalson.

King. I would desire only one Word before you give Sentence; and that is, That you would hear me concerning those great Imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

Bradshaw. Sir, You must give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your Sentence,

and your Time is now past.

King. But I shall desire you will hear me a few Words to you: For truly, whatever Sentence you will put upon me in Respect of those heavy Imputations, that I see by your Speech you have put upon me; Sir, It is very true, that——

Bradshaw. Sir, I must put you in mind: Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a Sort of People met together; and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. I know nothing of that.

Bradshaw. You disavow us as a Court; and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not to

acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you lay, it is not to be permitted. And the Truth is, all along, from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one Word: For unless they be acknowledged a Court, and ingaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much Liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any farther. Were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your Behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part exculing those great and heinous Charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer, your Sins are of so large a Dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a fad Confideration, and they may improve in you a sad and serious Repentance: And that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have Mercy, at least wife, upon your better Part; Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law prescribes. We are here not jus dare, but jus dicere. We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us, For to acquit the Guilty is of equal Abomination, as to condemn the Innocent: We may not acquit the Guilty. What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you; and that is the Sentence of the

Make an O yes, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

Court.

Which done, the Clerk read the Sentence, drawn up in Parchment:

Hereas the Commons of England in Parliament had appointed them an High Court of Justice, for the Trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, before whom he had been three times convened; and at the first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, \(\mathcal{E}\_c\).

Here the Charge was repeated.

Which Charge being read unto him, as aforefaid, he the faid Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer; but he refused so to do: Expressing the several Passages of his resuling, in the former Proceedings.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing of his Head from his Body.

Which being read, Bradshaw added;

The Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of the whole Court.

To which they all expressed their Assent by standing up, as was before agreed and ordered.

His Majesty then said, Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir?

Bradsbaw. No, Sir; by your Favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I may speak after Sentence, by your Fa-

vour, Sir: I may speak after Sentence, ever. By your Favour, (Hold!) the Sentence, Sir-

By your Favour, (Hold!) the Scritchce, Sir—I fay, Sir, I do———

I am not suffered to speak: Expect what Justice other People will have.]

[His Majesty being taken away by the Guard, as he passed down the Stairs, the insolent Soldiers scoffed at him, casting the Smoke of their Tobacco (a Thing very distasteful unto him) in his Face, and throwing their Pipes in his way; and one more insolent than the rest, spitting in his Face, his Majesty, according to his wonted heroick Patience, took no more notice of so strange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchies.

As he passed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers crying out Justice! Justice! he said, Poor Souls, for a Piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.

Being brought first to Sir Robert Cotton's, and thence to Wbiteball, the Soldiers continued their brutish Carriage toward him, abusing all that seemed to shew any Respect, or any Pity to him; not suffering him to rest in his Chamber, but thrusting in and smoking their Tobacco, and disturbing his Privacy.

But thro' all these Trials (unusual to Princes) he passed with such a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbeseeming his former Majesty

and Magnanimity.

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majesty's Desire, That seeing they had passed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his Time might be nigh, he might see his Children; and Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, might be admitted to essist him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament. Both which at length were granted.

And the next Day, being Sunday, he was attended by the Guard to St. James's; where the Bishop preached before him upon these Words, In the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.

Nalson.]

Lunæ, 29 Jan. 1648. Painted Chamber.

HREE Proclamations made. The Court is called.

#### Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cronwell.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller Knt.

Valentine Wauton.

Tho. Harrison.

Edward Whalley.

Vol. I.

Thomas Pride.

Ifaac Ewers.

Richard Ingoldsby.

Tho. Ld. Grey of Grooby.

Sir John Bourchier Knt.

Henry Martin.

William Purefoy. John Berkstead. John Blackistone. Gilbert Millington. Sir William Constable Bar. Edmond Ludlow. John Hu!chinson. Sir Michael Livesey Bar. James Temple. John Dixwell. Peter Temple. Robert Tichbourne. Owen Roe. Adrian Scroope. Richard Deane. John Okey. John Huson. William Goffe.

John Jones. Francis Allen. Peregrine Pelbam. John Anlaby. William Say. Henry Smith. Humphrey Edwards. John Venn. Thomas Scot. William Cawley. Thomas Horton. John Liste. Nicholas Love. Vincent Potter. Augustine Garland. Simon Meyne. Daniel Blagrave.

Forty Eight Commissioners present.

Upon Report made from the Committee for confidering the Time and Place of the executing of the Judgment against the King, that the said Committee have resolved, That the open Street before Whitehall is a fit Place, and that the said Committee conceive it fit that the King be there executed the Morrow, the King having already notice thereof: the Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that Purpose. Which said Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and ordered to be engrossed; which was done, and signed and sealed accordingly, as followeth, viz.

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, Jan. 29. 1648.

'Hereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of High-Treason, and other High Crimes; and Sentence upon Saturday last was

' pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death, by the severing of his Head from his

Body, of which Sentence, Execution yet remaineth to be done: These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence

'executed in the open Street before Whitehell, upon the Morrow, being the thirtieth Day of this instant Month of January, between the

'Hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect,

'And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient 'Warrant. And these are to require all Officers,

Soldiers and others, the good People of this Nation of England, to be affifting unto you in

'this Service.'

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Hunks, and Lieutenant-Col. Phray, and to every of them.

### Sealed and Subscribed by

John Bradshaw, Tho Grey. Oliver Cromwell. Edward Whalley. Michael Livesey. John Okey. John Danvers. John Bourchier.

Henry Ireton. Thomas Maleverer. John Blackistone. John Hutchinson. William Goffe. Thomas Pride.  $oldsymbol{P}$ eter  $T\epsilon mple$ . Thomas Harrison. John Huson. Henry Smith. Peregrine Pelham. Simon Meyne. Thomas Horton. John Jones. John Moor. Hardress Waller. Gilbert Millington. George Fleetwood. John Alured. Robert Lilbourne. William Say. Anthony Stapely. Richard Deane. Robert Tichbourne. Humphrey Edwards. Daniel Blagrave.

Owen Rowe. William Purefoy. Adrian Scroope. James Temple. Augustine Garland. Edmond Ludlow. Henry Martin. Vincent Potter. William Constable. Richard Ingoldsby. William Cawley. John Berkstead. Isaac Ewers. John Dixwell. Valentine Wauton. Gregory Norton. Thomas Challoner. Thomas Wogan. John Venn. Gregory Clement. John Downes. Thomas Waite. Thomas Scot. John Carew. Miles Corbet.

It was Ordered, That the Officers of the Ordnance within the Tower of London, or any other Officer or Officers of the Store within the faid Tower, in whose Hands or Custody the bright Execution-Ax, for the executing Malefactors, is, do forthwith deliver unto Edward Dendy Esq; Serjeant at Arms attending this Court, or his Deputy or Deputies, the said Ax. And for their or either of their so doing, this shall be their Warrant.

To Col. John White, or any other Officer within the Tower of London, whom it concerneth.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow Morning at Nine of the Clock.

Martis, 30 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Commissioners meet.

Ordered, That Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, be desired to attend the King, to administer to him those Spiritual Helps as should be suitable to his present Condition. And Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that Purpose.

Who did so, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them; expressing, that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with Black.

HE Bishop of London read Divine Service before his Majesty, and the 27th of St. Matthew, the History of our Saviour's Passion, being appointed by the Church for that Day, he gave the Bishop Thanks for his seasonable Choice of the Lesson; but the Bishop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it coinforted him exceedingly; then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended, he was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, by a Regiment of Foot, besides his private Guard of Partisans; the Bishop of London on the one Hand, and Colonel Tomlinson, who had the Charge of him, on the other, bareheaded. The Guards marching a flow Pace, the King bid them go faster, faying, that he now went before them to strive for an heavenly Crown. Being come to the End of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long-Gallery in Whitehall, where formerly he used to lodge, and there finding an unexpected Delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he past most of the Time in Prayer. About twelve a-Clock, (his Majesty having eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret) Colonel Hacker, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought the King, with the Bishop, and Colonel Tomlinson, thro' the Banqueting-house to the Scasfold. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot were planted on all Sides, which hinder'd the near Approach of the People, and the King from being heard, and therefore he chiefly directed his Speech to the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, as follows,

I Shall be very little heard of any Body else; I I shall therefore speak a Word to you here: Indeed, I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as the Punishment: But I think it is my Duty to God and my Country to clear myself, both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my Innocency; in Troth, I think it not very needful to insist long upon this; for all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to Witness, to whom I must shortly make an Account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their Privileges; they began upon me. It is the Militia they began upon; they confess'd the Militia was mine, but they thought fit to have it from me: And, to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these Troubles, not I. So that as for the Guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of. I will not, I am in Charity, and God forbid I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no Necessity of either: I hope they are free of this Guilt; for I believe, that ill Instruments between them and me have been the Cause of all this Bloodshed; so that as I find myself clear of this, I hope, and pray God that they may too: Yet, for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say God's Judgments are just upon me. Many times he doth pay Jus-

tice

tice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust Sentence that I suffer'd to take Effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me: So far I have said to shew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now, to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good Man [Pointing to Bishop

Juxon] that will bear me Witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief Causes of my Death; who they are, God knows; I do not desire to

know: I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further; I wish that they may repent. For, indeed, they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God, with St. Stephen, that it be not laid to their Charge;

nay, not only so, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour, to the last Gasp,

the Peace of the Kindom. So, Sirs, I do wish, with all my Soul (I hope there are some here that will carry it farther) and endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the Way, and will put you

in the Way. First, you are out of the Way; for certainly all the Ways you ever had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill Way; for Conquest,

Sirs, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a good and just Cause, either for Matter of Wrong, or a just Title; and then, if you go beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that unjust at

the End that was just at first; if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate faid to Alexander, that he was a great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. And so,

Sirs, I think the Way you are in is much out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his

Due, the King his Due (that is, my Successor) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (accord-

ing to the Scripture) which is now out of Order; to set you in a way particularly now, I cannot; but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debated among themselves, must settle this when every Opinion is freely heard. For the

King [Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax, he said, Hurt not the Ax, that may burt me.] Indeed I will not ——— the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own Particular, I

shall only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whatloever; but I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consist in having Government, those Laws by which their

Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not their having a Share in the Government, that is nothing appertaining to them: A Subject

and a Sovereign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People in that Liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here, if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Way, to have all Laws changed, according to the Power

of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In Troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer: I will only say this to you, That I could have defired a little time longer, because I would have a little better digested this I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have deliver'd my Conscience, I pray God you take those Courses that are the best for the Good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Bilbop. Tho' your Majesty's Affections may be very well known as to Religion; yet it may be expected that you should say something thereof

for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In Troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father; and this honest Man I think will witness it.

Then turning to the Officers, he faid, Sirs, excuse me for this same: I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more.

Then to Colonel Hacker, he said, Take care that they do not put me to Pain: And, Sir, this and it please you.

But a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax.

Then speaking unto the Executioner, he said, I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my Hands----

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, Does my Hair trouble you? who desired him, to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, by the Help of the Executioner and the Bishop. Then turning to Dr. Juxon, he said, I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my Side.

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one; but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way, it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Disturbance can be, no

Disturbance in the World.

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporary to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

Then the King said to to the Executioner, Is my Hair well? And took off his Cloke and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, Remember. Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Wastecoate, he put on his Cloke again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, You must set it fast.

Executioner, It is fast, Sir.

King. When I put out my Hands this way (stretching them out) then ---- After that, having said two or three Words to himself, as he stood with his Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block. And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to strike, said, Stay for the Sign.

Exe-

\* The Powers which then ruled, apprehending that the King would not submit his Head to the Block, had prepared Hooks and Star. ples to bring him down to it by Violence; but he patiently submitting, they had no need of them.

# 1044 The Journal of the Trial of K. Charles I.

Executioner, Yes, I will, an't please your Majesty. After a little Pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner, at one Blow, fever'd his Head from his Body, and held it up and shew'd it to the People, saying, Behold the 'Head of a Traitor. At the Instant when the Blow was given, there was a difmal Universal Groan àmong the People; and as foon as the Execution was over, one Troop of Horse march'd immediately from Charing-Cross to King-street, and another from King-street to Charing-Cross, on purpose to disperse and scatter the People. The Corps was put into a Coffin, and the Bishop and Mr. Herbert went with it to the Back-stairs to have it embalmed; after embalming, his Head was sewed on, and the Corps was wrapt in Lead, and the Coffin cover'd with a Velvet Pall, and then remov'd to St. James's. Mr. Herbert then made Application to fuch as were in Power, that it might be interr'd in Henry VII.'s Chapel; but 'twas denied, for that his Burying there would attract infinite Numbers of all Sorts thither; which, as the was threatned. Times then were, was judged unsafe and incon-

venient. Mr. Herbert acquainting the Bishop with this, they then resolv'd to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chapel of St. George, within the Castle of Windsor, both in regard that his Majesty was Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter, and that several Kings had been there interred; namely, King Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VIII. upon which Consideration, the Committee of Parliament was address'd to the fecond time, who, after some Deliberation, gave Orders, bearing date February 6, 1643, authorizing Mr. Herbet and Mr. Anthony Mildmay to bury the King's Body there. Accordingly the Corps was carried thither from St. James's, Feb. 7. in a Hearse cover'd with black Velvet, drawn by fix Horses cover'd with black Cloth, and attended by about a dozen Gentleman.

The King's Statue was afterwards taken down from the Royal Exchange in London, where it was fet up again by the City in the Year 1682. to curry Favour with King Charles II. when their Charter

The END of the First Volume.

