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ACCOUNT

OF THE

BEHAVIOUR

Of the Late

EARL of KILMARNOCK,

After his SENTENCE, and on the Day of His EXECUTION.

By JAMES FOSTER.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Several AUTHENTIC PAPERS.

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BEHAVIOUR of WILLIAM late Earl of Kilmarnock, &c.

HE first access, I had to the late unhappy Lord Kilmarnock, was on Thurfday the seventh instant in the evening; very foon after the order for my admittance was brought to General Williamson. And I well remember, that I introduced my ferious discourses with him in words to this effect---That being defired to affift him, in his preparation for the important and awful scene that was before him, I could not decline; however it might shock my nature, such a necessary act of humanity; that, within the scope and limits of my character, I readily devoted my utmost services to him: But that it would be absolutely indecent in me, to attempt to meddle with the civil part of the affair between the Government and him, un-

HIS Pamphlet is entred in the Hall-Book of the Company of STATIONERS, and whoever prints it, or any Part of it, will be prosecuted as the Law directs.

less I was properly called upon; and then I would fairly and impartially declare the truth —— That I took it for granted, from his Lordship's sending for me, that he would allow me to deal freely with him, and did not expect to be flattered, nor to have the malignity of his crimes disguised or softened: For it was my opinion, that the wound of his mind, occasioned by his publick and private vices, must be probed and searched to the bottom, before it could be capable of receiving any remedy; and that if he disapproved of this method, I thought I could be of no service to him, and desired to be excused from any surther attendance.

His Lordship allowed— That it would be unbecoming in me to interfere in things remote from my office; that he did not expect, nor would ever urge, any thing I thought inconfiftent with it; that simplicity and freedom of speech were the only things that could do him good; and that it was now no time to prevaricate with me, and play the hypocrite with God, before whose tribunal he might so

shortly appear.

After this general introduction, I thought the next step necessary to be taken, in order to a waken him thoroughly to a due sense of his guilt, was, to persuade him to look upon himself as a criminal, whose sentence of death was scarce more just, than the execution of it was inequitable. Self-preservation, and the love of life

(it was obvious) were not only strong principles. in human nature, but, to one in his circumstances, very infinuating and dangerous principles. I therefore pressed him earnestly --- 'Not to suffer himself to be amused by vain and deluding hopes. I told him, that by what I could collect, from the general sense of the people and the public call for justice, there was no probability of his obtaining a reprieve; and that while his mind was fufpended between hope and fear, it must be proportionably distracted; and, of consequence, unable to recollett and exert its whole strength and force in such a manner, as was necessary to produce in him that deep contrition, and bitter remorfe, for his heinous and aggravated crimes, and that true temper of penitence, which alone could recommend him to the Divine Mercy. To this he replied --- 'That indeed when he consulted his reason, and argued calmly with himself, he could see no probable ground on which to expect mercy; but still the hope of life would often intrude itself: And he was afraid, that this might be attended with another. ill consequence besides what I had mentioned, viz. That when the warrant for his execution came down, he should not only have the terror of the fentence to conflict with, but also the disappointment of his too fond and flattering hope. He therefore affured me, that he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to repel it; and that the main bent of his thoughts

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thoughts was towards the infinitely more momentous concern of perfecting his repentance, and preparing for death and eternity.'

As to the great crime of his rebellion, for which he had merited and justly received the sentence of death, he expressed himself without the least hesitation or reserve. He assured me, 'That, in 'the hours of his confinement and solitude,' he had selt it lye as a severe and heavy load upon his soul; and particularly upon these two accounts, which were peculiar aggravations of his guilt: That he had been a rebel against his conficience and inward principles; and in violation of his oath solemnly and often repeated.'

To this I replied, 'That indeed the breach of his oath; one of the most sacred of all religious and focial ties, and acting in direct repugnance to those revolution principles which he had formerly professed, and from which in fentiment, he never swerved, were high aggravations of his wickedness, and should strike his mind with the deepest remorse and horror: But that he ought to extend his reflections farther, in order to take in the whole compass of his guilt with all its dreadful circumstances; that so foul a crime could not be fincerely repented of, without the bitterest contrition and humiliation of foul; in order to which, a full view of its malignity, both in its nature and confequences; was absolutely necessary. I therefore reprefented to him, ' that the rebellion in which he had rashly engaged, was entirely unprovoked and ungrateful,

ungrateful, and, of consequence, most unjust and unnatural; that the King's right to the crown was, even in his Lordship's own opinion, incontestable, and his government had ever been mild and gracious; and that, in the same period oftime, the fubject had never enjoy'd fince the conquest, that is for near 700 years, such a course of uninterrupted and uncontrouled liberty, as fince the acceffion of the present Royal Family to the throne.' I told him farther, 'that, by joining the rebels, he had not only attack'd the personal rights of the King and his illustrious house, but endeavour'd to destroy the national happiness, and frustrate the hopes of posterity; that he had been instrumental in diffusing consternation and terror through the land, obstructing commerce, giving a shock to the publick credit, in the depredation and ruin of his country; and ought to confider himself as an acceffary to innumerable private oppressions and murders:' His Lordship added, with a sensible concern, Yea, and murders of the innocent too! The whole of this charge he readily admitted, and frequently with tears, and offering up short fervent petitions to God for mercy.

But when I mentioned to him the confequences of the rebellion, that its natural tendency was to the utter subversion of our excellent free constitution, to extirpate our holy religion, and introduce the monstrous superstitions and cruelties of popery, and the unbounded mischiefs of arbitrary power;—Here he at first hesitated,

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that the young Pretender also, having been

chiefly educated at Rome, thought himfelf un-

der the strongest obligations to promote the

fame cause; that the manifesto he had pu-

and did not feem to have so clear a conviction, as I thought was necessary to render his repentance compleat. He faid, 'he had confider'd this as a thing possible, or, at most, as a remotely probable consequence, but had not looked upon it as so closely connected with the success of the rebellion, as was generally imagined. That, as far as he could learn from all the conversations he had with the Pretender's fon, and all the knowledge he could gain of his fentiments, he was not a person that had a real concern for any outward profession of religion; he thought therefore, that, to introduce popery, he would not run the risque of defeating his main defign; that the experience, which his pretended family had had of the ill effects of making any violent attacks upon the conftitution and liberties of this country, would make him cautious and deliberate; or hoped, that the generous invincible spirit of British liberty would render all such attempts unsuccessful: For that he himself was never, in the utmost heat of his rebellion, a well-wisher to tyrannical power and popery, which last he could never embrace, without entirely renouncing his understanding as a man.'

To this I answer'd, 'That I was forry to find his Lordship had been imposed upon by such vain and fallacious reasoning; that if what he had said of the son was really true, yet the father, whose spurious claim he came to assert, was, by all accounts, an inflexible biggot to the Romish

blish'd was in the same strain with the declaration of King James II. viz. that he intended to allow to all his subjects free liberty of conscience; which, the protestant people of England plainly faw, was intended to open popish mass-houses, and, under the colour of this indulgence, to bring in a swarm of priests to corrupt and poison the land; that, without doubt, the courts of France and Spain would never have attempted to support this usurpation, without having directly stipulated in favour of popery, and for the extirpation of the protestant religion, the great support of British liberty; that if, through the pufillanimity and consternation of the people, (who, by collecting the 50th part of their force, were able to have trampled down the rebels under their feet, and to have extinguished every spark of this unnatural confpiracy) they should have come into poffesfion of present power; yet it could not be imagined, but that the King (who was a great prince. in virtue of his foreign dominions, and who would be supported by the protestant states of Europe, and, in all probability, by the house of Austria too, in order to preserve a just balance, and restrain the exorbitant power of France)

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must make long and vigorous efforts to recover his legal right; that the pretender's government could therefore never be established, without a French standing army to infult and awe the nation: Which would only be granted upon condition of our making a hasty and inglorious peace, betraying the most important and valuable parts of our commerce, and feems to render the sacrifice of our religion and liberties not only highly probable, but absolutely inevitable. This is the substance of our conversations upon this head; in the close of which he declared, 'That he faw these consequences in a quite different light from what they had ever appeared to him in before, and fincerely lamented his having any hand in entailing fuch evils upon his country.' And when I told him, That I supposed he had never allowed himfelf to enter deeply and feriously into the subject; he faid, 'That, in truth, he was not very fond of thinking much about it, but rather inclined to flatter and delude himself.'

When I asked him, 'what could be his motive to engage thus in the rebellion against his conficience, in defiance of God, and in violation of facred oaths, and, consequently, in contempt of all laws divine and human, all tyes of justice and honour.' He answered, 'That the true root of all was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing dissipations; that the exigency of his affairs

affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion; and that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the fuccess of it, he was also tempted by another prospect of retrieving his circumstances, if he follow'd the pretender's standard. His love of vanity, and addictedness to impurity and sensual pleasure (he said) had not only brought pol-Intion and guilt upon his foul, but debased his reason, and, for a time, suspended the exercise of his focial affections which were by nature strong in him, and, in particular, the love of his country:' So that his rebellion was a kind of desperate scheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himself from the distress of his circumstances. 'I told him, 'that I hoped, he was ready to acknowledge the wisdom of Providence, in so settling the train and order of things in the moral world, as that a life of levity and extravagance, naturally led to other the most fatal extreams! And this persuafion would make him bumble in his present condition, and thoroughly resigned to the will of heaven.' He himself went further than this, and faid, 'That it was not only a wife and righteous, but might, to him, be a good and merciful Providence; that he had often acknowledged it to God as an unspeakable mercy to his foul, that he did not fall at the battle of Culloden, quite unreflecting and impenitent; that if the rebellion had been successful, he should have gone on increasing his guilt, and have had many more oppressions and murders to account for before God; and that it was most likely, that he would have continued to purfue his old course of guilt and infamy, without ever recollecting himself, or entertaining any serious thought of repentance. He faid, that he was constantly endeavouring to work himself to greater penitence, and a more compleat temper of refignation, as well knowing that from thence alone his true comfort and rational calmness of mind could spring; and that he had often made use of these words of Christ, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wiltbut had fometimes been check'd by this thought, that it was a mixture of profaneness with piety, for him who had been so great a finner, and deserved death, to address himself to God in the same language with his bleffed Saviour, which was perfectly innocent.

Besides impressing upon his mind a deep sense of his publick guilt, 'I urged him to a fincere recollection of all his more private vices. That he should not endeavour to excuse and palliate, but represent them to his mind with all their aggravations; that the great business of the short time of life, which seemed at present to be allotted to him, should be to soften and humble his soul, and to make his sorrow and repentance for his sins more deep and lively, and acquire a disposition of mind, alienated as much as possible from the love and relish of his for-

mer impurities; that without this he could have nothing to recommend him to God's mercy, nor any well grounded hope of it; and it would be impossible for him to enjoy the spiritual and fublime happiness of heaven, even if he supposed that he might be admitted to reside in heaven; that the most effectual method he could take to get a strong detestation of, and aversion to, sin, was to reflect frequently on the malignity, deformity, and horror of it in itself, as a stain to his reason, and the most ignominious depression of his nature, as perverting that wife and beautiful order which God had established in the creation, and destroying that perfection and happiness among reasonable beings, for which he originally formed them; as a contrariety to his pure and spotless excellence, an affront to his supreme authority, a contempt of all his promifes of mercy to the penitent, and ingratitude against the best of Beings, to whom he was under the highest obligations, and whose goodness is unmeasurable and infinite. These motives of ingenuity, I represented to him as the only sources of a genuine contrition and repentance, and not the gloomy prospect of a violent death here, nor even the fear of more terrible punishment hereafter. I exhorted him to let these considerations be, as far as was possible, always before him: For that according to the evidence he hadof his deep and unfeigned penitence, and in proportion to that alone, could he have any folid expectaexpectation or hope of a pardon. I observed to him, that among the vices, which he had been guilty of by his own confession, was the fin of impurity: Upon this head, therefore, I defired him to take particular care to examine and purge himfelf, as a vice which, of all others, more immediately defiled the mind, and rendered it averse to offices of virtue and piety; and to confider, that some impurities were of a much more malignant and heinous nature than others, groffer violations of our neighbours right, and vastly more injurious in their confequences.' The result of our conversations on this subject, at different times, was this, that he found himself, as he told me, ' more and more weaned from the love of fenfual pleasures, and hoped that his remorfe, on account of his past irregularities, proceeded from an inward detestation of them, and a sense of gratitude and duty to God.'

He defired me to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to him, which at first I declined, without absolutely refusing it. And my reason was this, that I chose not to do it till I had authority from General Williamson to tell him, that there remained no hope of his life. Then I thought I should have clearer evidence, if he still/continued in the same ingenuous temper, that his confessions and repentance were sincere; and I consented at last only upon this condition, that he would allow Mr. Fowler, the gentleman-goaler of the Tower to be pre-

fent, and renew his acknowledgments before him. To this he made no objection; and the questions which I proposed to him, together with his answers, were in substance as follows.

Do you acknowledge, with deep penitence and contrition, the guilt of the late unprovoked unnatural and wicked rebellion in which you engaged; the skare you had, by being involved in it, in the oppressions and murders of your fellow subjects, and the desolation and spoil of your native country; your great guilt in rebelling against your just and lawful King, and against a mild and gracious Government? I do.:

Are you ready to declare, that it is your stedfast resolution to persist in this humble confession to the last, and to pray for the prosperity of King George, the establishment of his royal house, and the welfare and peace of your country, with your dying breath? I readily declare this to be my steady purpose,

Do you also, with shame and humiliation before God, acknowledge the irregularities and excesses of your private life; and will you endeavour to form your mind to a deeper and deeper repentance for both your publick and more personal crimes? This is my resolution, which I will adhere to by the help of God.

Be pleased to declare, that you expect no benefit at all from receiving the sacrament, if your remorse and penitence be not sincere. I do not think, that it will be of any service to me.

I defire, in the last place, that you will also declare, what of your own accord you have mentioned to me before --- That you confider yourfelf, in this act of receiving the facrament under your prefent critical and melancholly circumstances, as making an implicit appeal to God, that you expect no mercy from him, if your confessions are feigned and hypocritical; and that you look upon the death of Christ (which you are now folemnly to commemorate -as a ratification of God's covenant of mercy to -unfeigned humble penitents, and to them alone) as both a strong encouragement and motive to you, to indeavour to strengthen and perfect your repentance. I consider the whole of this in the · light, in which it has now been represented.

I shall only add under this head, that all the confessions of this unfortunate Lord appear'd to me to be free and ingenuous: He never scrupled the questions that were asked him, nor took the least time to meditate and prepare an answer. His confessions, likewise, were perfeetly confistent and uniform, and never varied as to the general substance; and in no other circumstance than this, which will be thought perhaps to redound to his honour, that he continued to the last recollecting and searching himfelf, and declaring particular incidents as they occurred to him, which tended, upon the whole, not to the extenuation, but to the heightening of his crime. And a few days before his death he faid, 'that he thought he should rather prefer the speedy execution of the sentence, which was justly passed upon him, than a longer continuance in life, if he was sure that he should be again entangled by the snares and temptations to which he had formerly yielded: What would really be the event, if he was let loose among the gaities and pleasures of life, he did not certainly know, and somewhat dreaded; but in the declartion he had made, he thought he found himself clear.

Heavy charges of inhumanity and cruelty, I told him, were spread among the people concerning him; and by many believed. I defired him therefore to be honest and free in clearing his conscience of such a load of most unnatural guilt, by answering to the following interrogations, which included in them the substance of these charges. And I here subjoin, for the perusal of the publick, the questions as I proposed, and have now transcribed them from a paper written before I went to the Tower, and

his distinct reply to each.

Was your Lordship present in the Pretender's council at *Inverness*, or any other place, before the battle of *Culloden*, where it was proposed to destroy the prisoners taken by the rebels?

I can most fincerely and freely answer, No. Was you ever present in council where this was proposed? No.

Did you ever move for such an order? No. Did you ever sign such an order? No.

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Did you ever carry an order of this kind to the French general Stapleton? Did you ever, in his presence, approve of such an order? Did you at any time, hearing it had been communicated to him, encourage and excite him to the execution of it? To all which he answer'd in the same manner, No.

Did you ever know, or hear, that fuch a thing, or an order to give no quarter, was debated, or agreed to, or figned in the rebel army, till you was taken by the King's forces, and a prisoner at *Inverness*? Or do you know yourself guilty of any cruelties, by you authorized or committed, against the King's soldiers or subjects taken *prisoners* by the rebels? The answer to both these questions was the same as before.

As to what passed in the church of St. Ninians, he told me, that he knew nothing at all of it till, upon the retreat of the rebel army, he was at some distance from Stirling, where he had been confined to his bed by a fever; that the first notice he had of it, was the noise of blowing up the church, of which he could never get any but an indistinct and confused account; that it was represented by the rebels as accidental; but concerning this he could certainly say nothing, only as to himself he solemnly declared, that he had no knowledge before-hand of, nor any concurrence in a design'd act of cruelty. I told him however, that he was charged with an instance of barbarity to

the prisoners confin'd in the church at Inverness. And the account which he gave of the fact, is as follows -That there were orders iffued by the Pretender's son, to strip them of their cloathing, for the use of some of the highland rebels; that the warrant for executing this order was fent to him; that he did not enter the church in person, but committed the execution of it to an inferior officer; that the prisoners, at first, refused to submit, upon which there was a fecond order, and their cloaths were taken from them; but that in the mean time, the person, stiled the French ambassador, reprefented to him, that this was an outrage, which he thought scarce justifiable by the law of nations, and the rules of war; he therefore, while the cloaths lay in heaps, with proper centinels over them, in the streets of Inverness, went up to the Pretender's fon, and represented the matter in the light in which the French ambassador had stated it, and according to what were his own fentiments likewise; upon which, as it was feared that fuch ulage might make an ill impression upon the minds of the people, the cloaths were again reftor'd; and this, he averred to me, was the whole of the truth, as far as it ever fell under his knowledge.

For myself, I must do this unhappy criminal the justice to own, that he never appeared, during the course of my attendance upon him, to be of any other than a soft benevolent disposition. His behaviour was always remarkably mild

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and temperate. I could discern no resentment, no disturbance or agitation in him. This indeed I feared (as persons in his melancholy circumstances are generally apt to think, that they ought to have the preference in cases of reprieve or pardon) when I was first informed of Lord Cromarty's reprieve; and therefore in the morning before I waited on him, I prepared myself to quiet and mollify his mind. But one of the first things he said to me was, that he was extreamly glad that the King's mercy had been shown to Lord Gromarty. My Lord, fays I, I hope you do not think you have any injustice done to you? His answer was, Not the least: I have pleaded guilty, I entirely acquiesce in the justice of my sentence, and if mercy be extended to another, I can have no reason to complain, when nothing but justice is done to me. I do not believe, that my not being reprieved is owing to any defect of clemency in the King, who, by all the accounts I ever receiv'd, is a very merciful prince; nor that it fprings from any particular resentment or prejudice against me, either in his Majesty, or in the Duke; but from some distinction that they thought there was in the circumstances of Lord Cromartie's guilt and mine, or else from the publick demand for justice, which made it unfit that two out of three hould be reprieved. From this way of thinking and discoursing, he never, to my knowledge, varied to the

I must add here another, and I think, a great and unquestionable instance of Lord Kilmarnock's ingenuity. He had been charged, and he imagined without a just foundation, with having uttered a falshood, when he said in his fpeech at the bar of the House of Lords, that it was very easy for him to have escaped. This he still thought was true upon the rebel army's first giving way, as the greatest part of that body actually did escape, with whom he was joined. But after he had feparated himself from them: and was advanced any confiderable way towards the King's troops, he believed that his escape was not practicable. But tho' he hoped that this would clear him from the imputation of having wilfully prevaricated in the instance already mentioned; yet he owned, that in another, induced by the love and strong defire of life, he had grosfly falfified. The case, as he represented it to me, was thus --- He had afferted in his speech. that 'tho' he could have escaped, he did not choose it, because the consequences, in an instant, appeared to him more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or ignominious death: And therefore he chose to surrender and commit himself to the King's mercy, rather than to throw himself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to his country; with whom to have merit, he must perfift in continued acts of violence to his principles. and of treason and rebellion against his King and country: But the real truth was, 'That he

had no intention at all to furrender, and that his only view was to facilitate his escape; for that he thought the body towards which he advanced, were not the King's, but Fitz-James's Horse, and that if he could reach them, by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his escape would have been more certain, than, as he was then on foot, it appeared to him in his present fituation to be; tho' he did not find his strength or fpirits in any confiderable degree impaired. This, he thought, as it related to his inward intention only, could not be discovered but by his own confession, nor known to any but God and his own conscience. 'But he was willing to unburden his foul, and purge it of its most secret guilt; and therefore pressed it upon me in a particular manner, and especially on the very day before he was executed, 'Not to forget to publish to the world this circumstance, because as he had folemnly uttered, before so august an affembly as the House of Lords, a direct and known untruth, he thought, if he should dye without a retractation of it, and a publick acknowledgment of his offence, he must be confidered as one, who prefumed to appear before the Tribunal of God with a lye in his mouth. And here I cannot help thinking myself bound, in justice to Lady Kilmarnock, to declare (and it is most proper to do. it in this place, because it will probably find more credit, after fuch a striking instance of the late Lord Kilmarnock's conscientious regard to truth) that, he said to

me, tho' she was bred in different sentiments, that he thought her now more inclined to whiggish than jacobite principles. And the Reverend and Honourable Mr. Home, and Mr. Ross his Lordship's solicitor, defired me to inform the world of another thing, which he had expressly mentioned to them, viz. that instead of exciting him to, she had dissuaded him from entering into the late wicked and horrid rebellion.

As the publick will, in all probability, be curious to know what were Lord Kilmarnock's fentiments concerning death, and the particular kind of death, which he expected, in pursuance of his fentence, would be inflicted on him: I shall relate the substance of the discourses, that passed between us, upon these great, and, to the generality of the world, most terrifying subjects.

On Monday, the 11th instant, General Williamson desired me, in the gentlest terms I could use, to let him know that he had received the order for his and Lord Balmerino's execution. I at first declined this ungrateful office, and told him, that I was so shocked at it, that I could not think of delivering the message myself, but would endeavour to prepare the unfortunate Lord, by divesting him as far as I could of all hope of life, for his informing him of it when he came to discharge me from my attendance. And indeed to suppress all glimmerings of such hope was the main drift and bent of my discourse; and I intended to go no farther: but finding

finding him in a refigned and calm temper, I told him, as the General was coming up, 'that he would fee the vast importance, nay the abfolute necessity, of attending seriously to what I had been faying about his diligent and constant preparation for death, by what, as I apprehended, he would foon hear. He immediately asked me, whether the warrant for his execution was come down? I told him it was, and that the day fixed was the Monday following. And as, upon this, the General immediately entered the room, I acquainted him, that Lord Kilmarnock knew already what he intended to inform him of; that he was therefore at present under no necessity of saying any thing further about it; because the once relating such a melancholy circumstance was fully sufficient.

Lord Kilmarnock received this news with the outward behaviour of a man, that knew and felt the importance of the scene of death, but without any marks of disorder, without any unbecoming anxiousness or terror. And to establish and support him in his present quietude of mind, I told him, 'That all mankind were really under sentence of death, tho' they knew not the manner or precise time, when it would be executed; it might be to any one, as soon or sooner than his own; that they not expecting it, nor having such timely and certain notice of it, might die wholly unguarded and unprepared; while he had warning and the most awakening motives to fit himself, in the best manner possible,

for this grand and decifive event: He faid; · That he had never been a libertine in principle, during all the time that he was most inconfiderate and licentious in his conduct; that he had always firmly believed the great truths of God's being, and Providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments for virtue and vice; and that he had not been involved in the fashionable scepticism of the times, with respect to christianity; that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concern'd about the confequences of death, in comparison of which he thought the thing itself a trifle; that as to the particular manner of his death, he thought he had no great reason to be terrified; for that the stroke appeared to be scarce so much as the pain of drawing a tooth, or the first shock of the cold-bath upon a weak and fearful temper.' And when General Williamfon, upon the Saturdal preceeding his execution, gave him a minute detail of all the circumstances of solemnity and outward terror that would accompany it, he beard it with as much show of composure, as a man of a tender compassionate spirit would read the account of it, in an instance where he was not personally concerned. He was told, 'That on Monday, about ten in the morning, the sheriffs would come to demand the prisoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; that from thence, if their Lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the

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