



Alexander Monro piper to of Pr-

REMARKS

ON THE

People *and* Government

OF

S C O T L A N D.

PARTICULARLY

The *HIGHLANDERS*; their original CUSTOMS, MANNERS, &c.

WITH

A Genuine Account of the HIGHLAND REGIMENT that was decoyed to *London*.

Quaere, If that REGIMENT had remained in their proper Station, there had been any REBELLION? Or whether they would have suppressed it in it's Infancy?

EDINBURGH:

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A S H O R T
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
H I G H L A N D R E G I M E N T .

WHEN the *Highlanders* walk'd the streets here, every body must be sensible that there was more staring at them than ever was seen at the *Morocco* ambassador's attendance, or even at the *Indian* chiefs, who some people would have passed on us for kings. The amazement expressed by our mob was not greater than the surprize of these poor creatures; and if we thought their dress and language barbarous, they had just the same opinion of our manners; nor will I pretend to decide which was most in the right. But to prevent such staring for the future, and to give the people a better notion of *Highlanders*., as well as the *Highlanders* a better notion of us (if ever this pamphlet should travel so far *North*) I thought it not amiss to lay hold of this opportunity of saying something to the public, as to the present state of *Scotland* in general, as well as to the fortune of the *Highland* regiment in particular.

That the *Highlands* of *Scotland* are wild and uncultivated is a fact not to be disputed or denied, and

whoever has travelled in to *Wales* will not be much amazed that there are hills at one end of the island as well as the other. That the people too differ much in their manners and customs from those about *London*, will not appear miraculous to any man who has seen *Cornwall*, the sea-coast of *Lincolnshire*, or any other distant county in *England*. But though it be true that there is nothing strange in their country's being unlike this, or in the inhabitants differing from us, yet methinks it is pretty strange, that lying at so small a distance we should be so little acquainted as to wherein this difference consists.

Let me begin then with telling you what sort of a country the *Highlands* is. In the first place, I must observe, that taking the word in its usual sense, and as it is understood in opposition to the *Low-lands* of *Scotland*, the *Highlands* are very extensive; for when you are once above *Perth*, the *Highlands* have no other bounds but the sea. But though the name be thus extended, yet a great part of this vast tract of country is far from being either rocky or mountainous. The *North* of *Scotland* is indeed a high country by situation, but then it is both flat and fruitful, whereas the *Highlands*, strictly speaking, are not so. They consist chiefly of long ridges of hills, in some places bare and barren, in others covered with forests of fir-trees interspers'd with valleys, which they call *glens*, through which there generally run trout streams. Where there are rivers they are mostly rapid and dangerous but for these rivulets they are very pleasant, as well as very commodious. I must likewise observe, that the *Highlands* abound with lakes or lochs, into which some rivers fall and out of which others run. In the *glens* they, have corn of all sorts, but especially barley and oats, the latter furnishing them with: bread, and the former with

drinks. Their horses are small but serviceable, their black cattle little but sweet.

After this description of the country, it cannot be expected that you should find, -its inhabitants either very wealthy, or extremely polite, and yet it may be truly affirmed, that they are not indigent to the degree of beggars, or despicably rude. On the sea-coast, and in the neighbourhood of their little ports, you see something like industry, and the people don't make a much worse figure than they do in *North Wales*, or the isles of *Scilly*. Their merchants do not deal for great sums, and yet they make a shift to live pretty handsomely; and as for the meaner sort who apply to trade, a few engage in manufactures, and the rest either go to sea, or transport themselves to *Poland*, and there turn pedlars. But in the inland parts, and even on the coast where there is no considerable trade, dwell the very *Highlanders* we have to do with, and these are distinguished from the rest of the people of *Scotland*, not so much by their dress, as by their manner of living, which is to this hour in a kind of vassalage, under their chiefs, and therefore these people are generally known in *North-Britain* by the name of the *Clans*.

This title has been pretty much heard of even in the *South*, since the revolution, and a great deal of trouble it hath cost even the ministry to keep these *Clans* quiet, though they lie at such a distance. This began in king *William's* time, when a large sum of money was given to a *noble earl*, whose son and grandson sit now in both houses, to distribute among the *heads* of these *Clans*, in order to silence their illegal loyalty, and make them more quiet. This method was found so easy, and withal so effectual, that it has been pursued ever since. The great earl of *Godolphin*, though a great enemy to corruption, was

forced to go pretty near it, in order to keep fair with the *Clans*, but then he acted upon a true whig principle; he only gave away *English money* to prevent the worse effects of *French*. By this practice he kept things easy for some time, 'till he suffered the *Scots* to *arm* themselves by *law*, and then he was compelled to make the *union*, in order to disarm them. Upon this occasion it was thought that some method would have been taken to destroy the power of *the Clans*, and towards this indeed something was done, but not much, as we have been sensible since; but to make this clear, it will be necessary to inform you what these *Clans* are, and wherein their power consists. Without this, all that has been hitherto said, and a great part of what I have still to say, would be absolutely as unintelligible as if it had been written in the language of the people I am speaking of, which is *Irish* as are indeed the customs that I am about to explain.

A *Clan* is pretty much the same thing with what the *Tartars* call a *Hord*, and that is very nearly what we understand by the word tribe, that is a small body of people under the absolute command of a chief. I shall not pretend to enquire how ancient this custom is in *Scotland* because that might carry me into times of such dark antiquity as might make me lose my way. It is sufficient for my purpose to observe, that the government of the *Highland* chiefs is perfectly patriarchal, the head having the reverence of a parent, and the power of a prince. Some of the old *Scotch* kings saw the danger of this, and would have corrected it, but they generally found their own power too weak, and that of these chiefs too strong, the people siding with them, not only against their duty to their prince, but against their own interest. Which at last brought one of their princes, whose name I think

was *Malcolm*, to bring in by consent, a kind of new regulation not unlike that of our copy-hold estates here, by which these chiefs held of the crown under various kinds of tenures called generally in *Scotland*, by the name of *fews*, which is equivalent to the *Norman fees* in *England*. Thus the *Clans* came to have a legal establishment, with much more power over their vassals than the king had over them as subjects.

We commonly mistake in *England* every laird in the highlands for a chief, but this is far from being so. A laird is a man of property, which may derive from purchase as well as descent, but the chieftain is an hereditary honour, which cannot be taken away. A chieftain, though his property be much inferior to that of many of the lairds in his family, commands them absolutely, as they do their tenants and thus this sort of tyranny prevails through the *Highlands* in general, where the people have no wills of their own, but entirely depend on the humour of their chiefs, to which they are so bent and fashioned in their childhood, that though they have few principles, either civil or religious, and would scarce be persuaded to take up arms for the protection of the government, or even for their own security, yet let but their chief whistle, and he has all his *following*, for that is the term given to those who owe this kind of suit and service, at his heels in an instant, ready to undertake whatever he commands, and even to burn, spoil and kill, if the chieftain pleases. The chief reason of their devotion is, as I have said before, their tenures, which are entirely of a military nature, and leave all who hold under them so much in the power of the lord, that it is not worth while making any improvements, as on the other hand, this necessary poverty keeps the poor people in a fit disposition for

slavery, and binds them fast to the interest of those who mind them no more than their oxen or sheep.

As the heads of these *Clans* are the greatest part of them in the Jacobite interest, it cannot be wondered, that since the revolution the government has been constantly jealous of them, but as I hinted before, it may seem not a little strange, that some method has not been taken to strip them altogether of this extravagant power; and for this, as a very great secret in government, and which it is certainly the interest of the *English* nation to know, I shall endeavour to account. This I think will be doing the greater service, since it is a matter that few people understand, and those few that do are for keeping that knowledge to themselves, and making the most of it. For it must be allowed, to the honour of the great men in that part of this island, that they have always kept our ministry in the dark, as to the methods of managing their country-men, and by this artificial practice they maintain their own power, and accumulate vast estates. Yet it would be certainly for the interest of both nations to have this mist so dissipated, as that the strength of *Scotland* might be thoroughly united to *England*, and the good sense and industry of the *English* spread even to the *Orkneys* themselves, where the people are rude and poor, it is true, but not so much from any natural impediments in their country, as from their not knowing how to improve its situation; for a multitude of creeks and sea-ports, and an inexhaustible fishery, are sufficient to enrich any country that is habitable, and theirs is much more so, I mean the worst and more *northern* part of it, than *Denmark*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*.

But to return to the point from which I digressed. The nobility and chieftains in *Scotland* having their interests blended by perpetual intermarriages, have

been always alike jealous of their prerogatives, and forward to extend them at the expence of the crown, as well as of the people. This was the true source of the seditions in the time of king *James* the first, and the several *Scotch* rebellions against his son king *Charles*. Religion and liberty were mere pretences to draw in the presbyterian clergy and the rabble. The M-- of A-- was ten times a greater tyrant in his own country than ever his greatest enemies represented the king to be against whom he fought; and of this the reader will find indubitable proofs in the letters of general *Monk*, published in *Thurloe's* collection. Nay the great *Montrosse* himself was only loyal out of spight, and did not serve the king 'till he found he could not serve himself of the faction, which has been the case pretty much ever since. Under the rump parliament and *Cromwell* indeed things were put into another channel, garrisons were fixed at *Inverness* and other places in the *North*, and the whole government, civil as well as military, was put into the hands of *English* commissioners, who trusted the executive part of it chiefly to *Monk*, and he managed it with such wisdom and discretion as made the people not only tame and quiet, but easy and happy.

After the restoration things returned entirely into their own channel, and instead of the mild and equal government of the *English*, the *Scotch* were delivered up again to be oppressed as usual by their own countrymen, till they were so unfortunate as to fall under the dominion of two brothers of the name of *Maitland*, viz. the famous duke of *Lauderdale* and the lord *Hatton*. The duke was a thorough statesman of an over-bearing enterprizing genius, which made him equally formidable in his own country, and uneasy to the *English* ministry. The brother again was a lawyer, and seated at the head of justice; so that between

them they had power paramount, and every man who was not of their faction was sure to be oppressed by it. This excessive authority so injurious to that of the crown, as well as so oppressively heavy on the people, was maintained by the persuasion the king and his ministry had of the duke's great interest, and his brother's great parts, both of which, exclusive of the great weight which their high offices, large salaries and extensive prerogatives gave them, and would have given any body else, was very probamatical. This however is certain, that never any man was more fear'd than the duke, or more hated than his brother, as may be seen at large in the memoirs of bishop *Burnet*, who from being their creature became their enemy, and has very full and clearly shewn, that the arrogance of these two brothers made that military power necessary, which rendered the royal family odious, and diffused a spirit of disaffection through the antient kindom of *Scotland*, which had afterwards such extraordinary effects.

This sort of government was not extinguished by the revolution, king *William* was forced to be served as his predecessors had been, by such great men as undertook to manage their parliaments, and keep under the friends of his father-in-law; with this view, sometimes one man, sometimes another was at the head of affairs, but whoever was at the head of them there remained a constant opposition, and every parliament naturally divided itself into three factions. The *courtiers*, who went through stitch with whatever orders came down from *London*; the *country party*, which, to say the truth, was there generally speaking *Jacobites*; and the *squadron volante*, or the *flying squadron*, which made many fair pretences; but were at the bottom nearly a-kin to a certain generation of political *virtuosi*, known here lately by the appellation

of *foxes*, whose leading principle it was to gnaw a *hole* through any minister's scheme, 'till they found it enough to let *themselves in*.

But all these factions were in the zenith of their power under queen *Anne*, and as it is natural for men in the height of prosperity to grow wanton, so some of these great men pushed matters to such a length, that the union became absolutely necessary, since neither themselves in *Scotland*, nor the government in *England*, could be safe without it. How it was brought about the histories of those times shew, and what odd revolutions there happened in parties about that time, may be known from this notorious fact, that a noble duke, a little after it took place, was made prisoner in his own house, for intending to bring down an army of the *Clans* to prevent that measure, and being soon after sent for up to *London*, was made secretary of state, and had a large share in the government.

In the reign of king *George* the first, the rebellion revived the fame of the *Highlanders*. All the world knows how deeply they were engaged on both sides; the marquis of *Tullibardine*, the earls *Marschal*, *Mar*, *South Esk*; the lords *Kenmure*, *Drummond*, with the lairds of *Glengary*, *Glenderule*, *Glencoe*, *Glenlyon*, *Struan*, &c. on the one side; and the great earl of *Sutherland*, the famous lord *Lovat*, the laird of *Grant*, not to mention the dukes of *Argyll*, *Douglas* and *Montrosse* were on the other; so that things were pretty equally divided, and this, I suppose, made the extinction of the power of the *Clans* impracticable, even after the suppressing this rebellion, which gave the fairest opportunity for it, that ever offered, because, as the reader must observe, if there were delinquencies on one side, there were great merits on the other, and an equal desire of power in both; very

small amendments were made in the nature of the tenures in that country, and as far as I have been able to learn, the power of their lords and lairds remained very near as great after as it was before it. Soon after the rebellion the great duke of *Argyll* and his brother were removed from all their employments, which of necessity occasioned a mighty fluctuation of power in *Scotland* for some time, but at last the *Argyle* party came into power again, and have in some measure held it ever since.

But when people had in a very great degree forgot all these disturbances, and scarce preserved any remembrance of the outrages of the *Highlanders*, a sudden resolution was taken to put an end to their power, by disarming them absolutely; and it was at first proposed to strip them of their cloathing, that is, preventing their going in their ordinary dress. This was in the year 1725, and the motion for the bringing in this bill, which was intituled, For more effectual disarming the *Highlanders* in that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and for the better securing the peace and quiet of that part of the kingdom was made by a general officer still living, and seconded by Mr. *Duncan Forbes*. By this law power is given to the lord lieutenant of every one of the following shires, viz. *Dunbarton* on the *North* side of the Water of *Leven*, *Sterling* on the *North* side of the river of *Forth*, *Perth*, *Kincairdin*, *Aberdeen*, *Inverness*, *Nairn*, *Cromarty*, *Argyll*, *Forfar*, *Bamf*, *Sutherland*, *Caithness*, *Elgin*, and *Ross*, and for such other persons as his majesty should authorize by his sign manual, to cause letters monitory to be issued in his majesty's name, directed to the *Clans* within any of the said shires, commanding them on a certain day to deliver up all their arms and warlike weapons for the use of his majesty, and to be disposed of in such a

manner as these commissioners should think fit.

In case any of the *Clans* thus summoned should be found to bear arms of any kind, and thereof be convicted, by oath of two credible witnesses, before two justices of the peace, the penalty was, that the person so convicted should be, by warrant under the hands and seals of such justices, forthwith committed to such safe custody as shall be expressed in the warrant, to be there kept, without bail, until the said justices shall cause him to be delivered over, (as they are hereby empowered to do) to such officers belonging to his majesty's forces as shall from time to time be appointed to receive such man to serve as a soldier in any of his majesty's dominions *beyond the seas*; and the officer who receives such persons, shall then cause the articles of war against mutiny and desertion, to be read to them in the presence of such persons as shall deliver over such men to such officers, who shall cause an entry thereof to be made, together with the names of the persons so delivered over, and a certificate thereof in writing, under their hands and seals, to be delivered to the officers appointed to receive such men; and after the reading the said articles of war, every person so delivered over, shall be deemed a listed soldier, and be subject to the discipline of war; and in case of desertion, shall be punished as a deserter. The reader is desired to take notice of this clause for a particular reason.

There were beside other severe penalties, as for example, the possessor of any dwelling-house, barn or out-house was declared to be the owner of any arms concealed therein, and if convicted was to suffer as before; and if a woman, was to be imprisoned two years, or pay any fine that should be set under an hundred pounds sterling. By another clause in the same act, power is given to enter and search any

house, in the day or in the night time, in order to discover whether any arms were concealed; and if five persons were assembled together, to defeat the purposes of this act, then the civil magistrates were allowed to call for military assistance; and in case any persons were killed by the said soldiers, they are indemnified by this act. These and some other clauses excited a pretty warm struggle against the bill, and induced some of the staunch asserters of liberty to treat it in their speeches very freely. It passed however in the house of commons, by a very large majority, but was again opposed with great warmth of spirit in the house of peers, where, tho' at last it made its way, yet it brought this protest at its heels.

Die Lunæ 3 Maii 1725.

Hodie tertio vice lecta est Billa intituled, An act for more effectual disarming the *Highlands* in that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and for the better securing the peace and quiet of that part of the kingdom.

Then the question was put, Whether this bill, with the amendments, shall pass?

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

- I. Because the bill sets forth, That many persons in the *Highlands* commit many robberies and depredations, and oppose the due execution of justice against robbers, outlaws, and persons attainted; which assertion we conceive was an inducement to pass the Bill, and therefore should have been fully made out by proof, or been undeniably clear from its notoriety; but no proof has been attempted to be made of it: and we have not heard that such outrages as have been charged upon the *Highlanders*

have been committed by them of late.

II. We apprehend that this bill gives to lords lieutenants of counties, justices of the peace, and others, such large and discretionary powers, in some cases, as are hardly to be trusted in the hands of any persons in free government, unless apparently necessary for the preservation of it.

III. Since the behaviour of the *Highlanders* has been peaceable and inoffensive, for some years past, and is so at present, as far as it appears to us; we cannot but fear that this bill may prove unseasonable, may hazard the loss of that invaluable blessing which we now enjoy, a perfect calm and tranquility, and raise among these people that spirit of discontent and uneasiness which now seems entirely laid; for we apprehend, that the execution of some authorities in this bill is more likely to create than to prevent disorders: We think it applies severe remedies, where, as far as we perceive, there is no disease; and this at a time when the *Highlanders* not being accused of any enormities, for which, in our opinions the legislature ought in justice to punish them, or in prudence to fear them, we think it would become us, as good patriots to endeavour rather to keep them quiet than to make them so.

*Litchfield, Boyle,
Wharton, Scarsdale,
Gower,*

Soon after the passing of this act, lieutenants were appointed for the counties before mentioned; and that

every thing might be done that was necessary to bring the *Highlands* into a perfect state of subjection, these *Highland* forces were rais'd at that time in the shape of independant companies, each consisting of about 300 men; these were put under the command of such noblemen and gentlemen as had signalized their zeal for the royal family and the present establishment. As they were principally intended to put a final period to the insurrections of the *Clans*, and to secure their country from any attempts that might be made by the *Highlanders* in the Jacobite interest, it was thought requisite to preserve their ancient habit, that they might be the more able to pursue any of these offenders into their fastnesses, which was a scheme well enough contrived, since hitherto the *Highlanders*, whenever they were in arms, by their agility and perfect knowledge of the country, had been always too many for the regular troops; as the exploits of the famous *Robert Mac Gregor, alias Campbell*, commonly called *Rob Roy*, id est, *Red Robin*, from the colour of his hair, which are very well known, had rendered manifest; especially since after a series of treasons and robberies, it had been found expedient to grant him a pardon, purely to prevent his doing further mischief. But having mentioned these advantages which the *Highlanders* had over regular troops, it may not be amiss to describe them particularly, that these may the better appear, and the use of the *Highland* habit be made more conspicuous.

To begin then with their shoes. The *Highlander* wears a sort of thin pump or brogue, so light that it does not in the least impede his activity in running; and from being constantly accustomed to these kind of shoes, they are able to advance or retreat with incredible swiftness, so that if they have the better in any engagement it is scarce possible to escape from

them; and on the other hand, if they are over power'd they soon recover their hills, where it is impossible to reach them. The reader will easily perceive, that this is one of the advantages which the *Croats* and *Pandours* have over the *French* troops, especially in such a country as *Bavaria*, which is every where interfered by rivers. They gain from hence an opportunity, first of wearying their enemy 'till they are forced to break, and then they are sure to be knocked on the head, as finding it impossible to run away from these people. In the next place, the *Highlander* wears broad garters under the knee, and no breeches, but his plaid belted about his waist, which hangs exactly like the folds of the *Roman* garment, which we see on *Equestrian* statues; the reason of this dress is, to make the leg firm, and to leave the sinews and joints quite free, to preserve the wearer from any thing that may heat or embarrass him, and to afford him an opportunity of extending his limbs with the greatest ease; besides this, he wears a jacket with strait sleeves, and as for his arms they consist in a fuzil, a broad sword, a dirk or dagger, an *Highland* pistol all of steel, hung on the other side of his belt, opposite to the dirk, and a target. The use of these arms they learn from their infancy, and are extremely adroit in them.

The nature of their country, their manner of living, and their continual exercise in hunting, fishing, and fowling, render them hardy, robust, enterprising, and equally capable of long marches, and of sustaining patiently the want of food or of rest. It is evident therefore, that the striping these men of their arms, and obliging them as it were to a new kind of life, was a bold undertaking, and such a one as seem'd to require an additional force; and in this case, none so proper as this of the independant companies; for thus the arms were taken out of the hands of the enemies

of the government, and put into those of their friends; this harsh law was executed entirely by their own country men, which gave it less the air of violence, than if it had been done by *English* troops; and lastly it was done more effectually, for these new raised forces were able to march any where, knew the country, as well as those they were to follow, and having legal authority were every way their superiors.

From these circumstances, I am naturally led to remark, that the men of which these independant companies were composed, looked upon themselves as a kind of guardians to their country, friends to the protestant religion, and voluntiers in the service of the royal family: for as to their pay, it was in truth very inconsiderable, and the very meanest of them served in some measure out of zeal to the whig cause. This will be the easier understood, when I observe, that the famous lord *Lovat*, who had so signally distinguished himself in the year 1715, had the command of one of these companies, which he raised almost entirely out of his own *Clan* of the *Frazers*; and it was the same with the rest; so that this gave great life and spirit to the friends of the present establishment, and not only secured them from any apprehensions of what might be undertaken by the dissaffected *Highlanders*, but so dispirited and dejected these, that they have never recovered themselves since, but are sinking apace into as tame and abject a condition, as their most inveterate enemies could wish to see them. Such were the effects of this new law, and new militia.

I might here take occasion to enter into some political enquiries, as to the wisdom of methods of this nature, which change and alter the tempers and manners of a people at once. There ought without doubt to be a great deal of caution used in such cases, in order to prevent the remedy of sedition from being

thought a just cause of rebellion. To oblige men to change of a sudden customs they have been used too from their cradle, and to prohibit as the most flagrant of crimes, after a certain time what is allowed to be innocent before it; may be expedient, or even requisite, but withal it is not easy, to bring those who are to suffer these changes, to think them either just or reasonable, and therefore some method should be taken to blunt the edge of their resentment, and to carry these people into some new course of life, either by establishing manufactures, or encouraging their fishery. However these things were thought of, I cannot pretend to say, but certainly the *English* lords, who in opposing this law, advised such methods, and insisted strenuously on the hardships brought upon these people, without any previous proof of their deserving them, gave signs of a free and generous spirit, and worthy of that noble candor for which the antient nobility of *England* were deservedly famous. The interest that the *Scotch* lords (who pushed this law) might have in seeing those who had so often contested with them absolutely crushed, might possibly have rendered them less attentive to such considerations, than they would otherwise have been; at least, this is certain, that their countrymen thought so, and that the enforcing of this act, would have been attended with bad consequences, in which they were not altogether mistaken.

There was another transaction in the year 1725, which made the *Scotch* people uneasy; and that was the introduction of the malt tax; which taking place on the 23d of *June*, there happen'd thereupon an insurrection at *Glasgow*, where the people demolished the house of *Daniel Campbell*, Esq; of *Shawfield* their member, and drove out a considerable detachment of the earl of *Deloraine's* regiment of foot, which had

been sent to restrain them. This was certainly one of the boldest and most daring actions that ever was attempted by a rabble, since there were several of them killed before they carried their point, in which notwithstanding they persisted with great intrepidity. The magistrates were however thought to be in some measure faulty, and therefore it was judged requisite to take a signal separation for so gross an insult. The riot was on the 24th of *June*, and it was the 8th of *July* before proper methods were concerted for bringing these people to reason. On that day, major-general *Wade*, accompanied by *Duncan Forbes*, Esq; set out from *Edinburgh*, and arrived about noon the next day on the moor not far from *Glasgow*, where a body of troops were assembled with a small train of artillery; these forces consisting of 4 troops of dragoons, 8 companies of the earl of *Deloraine's* regiment of foot, the earl of *Stair's* regiment, and one of the *Highland* companies; which acted as cheerfully upon this occasion, and were as ready in performing their duty, as any of the forces; and on the 17th when the magistrates of *Glasgow* were sent prisoners to *Edinburgh*, this independant company guarded them. Several of the rioters were tried for high treason, and two of them, a man and a woman, were convicted capitally; but the man setting forth by petition, that he had served as a voluntier in the king's army at the rebellion, he was spared on that account, as the woman was out of compassion to her sex.

I mention this, not only to shew the usefulness and loyalty of these *Highlanders*, but the laudible lenity of the government towards the people of *Glasgow*, who were known to be by principle the warmest friends to the present establishment; and therefore it was by no means expedient to punish with extreme severity, even this extraordinary act of indiscretion, because it

would have discouraged other places; and enabled the enemies of the government to persuade the common people, that when they had served the turns of their superiors, they were no better treated, than such as had always and openly opposed them. The court did indeed obtain an act of parliament for reimbursing Mr. *Campbell* for the loss of his house and goods, and by appropriating the revenue of the town of *Glasgow*, gave him 6080*l.* on that account. From this time forward the independant *Highland* companies were made use of upon all occasions, and acted with great spirit, whenever they were called to it in the service of the crown or the administration, of which many instances might be given. This contributed not a little to heighten the good opinion they had of themselves, and to confirm them in their notions, that they were particularly destined for the service of that country, for keeping under the *Jacobite* interest, and for promoting as far as they were able the protestant cause, and the authority of the present government, in all which they were unfeignedly hearty; and if they were sometimes zealous beyond the degree of their knowledge, yet as they acted in simplicity of mind, and with a very upright intention, this could not lessen their title to the favour of those they so strenuously served; and for the truth of all that is here asserted, I may safely appeal to the people of *Scotland* in general, and to such *English* people as have employments there in particular.

When the war broke out in which we are at present engaged, it was thought proper to put the *Highlanders* (who were now as well disciplined as any troops in the service) into a posture fitting for action, in case there service should become necessary. This was certainly rightly judged, since though there were many reasons for throwing them into independant

companies, when they were first raised, yet most of these were now ceased, and besides many inconveniencies were discerned to flow from their being in these sort of corps, to which it was likewise very expedient, that an end should be put; therefore no exception could be taken to the resolution of the ministry, to have these forces regimented, which they accordingly were, and the right honourable the earl of *Crawford* and *Lyndsey* the first earl in *Scotland*, and nephew to his grace the duke of *Argyll*, and to the right honourable the earl of *Ila*, appointed their colonel. This regulation was far from displeasing the men; on the contrary, they expressed a very great satisfaction thereat, and upon all occasions shewed themselves as tractable, and as obedient to orders as men could be. Neither were they at all chagrined on the change of their colonel, for they were very glad of the earl of *Crawford's* promotion, and very well pleased with the lord *Semple* who now commands them.

It is most certain, that they always looked upon themselves from the time they were first raised as a corps destined to serve in *Scotland*, or rather in the *Highlands*, and no where else, for which, though it may be true, that they had not any substantial or sufficient reasons, yet it must be allowed, that they had some very plausible ones, and which might easily mislead people in their condition. For we must observe, that there are not only different kinds of proof adjusted to different sciences, but there are also arguments suited to different capacities; so that when men set up pretences in justification of their actions, it is very easy to discern, whether they were the real motives, or whether they are excuses invented to colour the facts they are to defend. Having premised this, we will proceed to mention the grounds on which

these people established this notion, which indubitably was one of the principal articles in their political creed. The manner of raising them in the first place seemed to countenance this; the *Jacobite Clan* were disarmed, to preserve the quiet of the nation, and because the government could never be entirely safe, whilst they had arms in their hands; but to strengthen the security, and to put the peace of the *Highlands* past hazard, the arms taken from those *Highlanders* were given to these, whence they inferred that they were to be the guards of the *Highlands*. In the next place, they laid great stress upon their habit, to what purpose, said they, are we clothed like *Highlanders*, if we are not constantly to be employed in the *Highlands*, here indeed the dress is equally fit and commodious, it has a martial air, and it enables us to do our duty better; but all these reasons will cease elsewhere, and instead of looking like soldiers, we should in another country be gaped at as savages. Lastly, their having certain particularities to their country, such as being the tenants of those, who first raised them, speaking little or no *English*, having houses and families in the *Highlands*, all which were good securities for their fidelity in those parts, which they improved into an argument, that it was impossible they should be employed in any other.

When these things are impartially considered one cannot at all wonder, that folks like them should be deceived by these colourings, especially if we reflect that their passion for staying at home, which, contrary to our notion, is predominant among the *Highlanders*, was flattered thereby. Besides, there is another thing that ought to be taken into confederation, and that is, that at the time they were first raised there was no small mixture of their own customs with the military establishment, for an

independant company with an *Highland* chief at its head, has something in it very like the military service of a *Clan*, only sanctified by legal authority. I will not say, because I do not know it to be true, that many of these men entered into the service out of pure respect to their chiefs, though this is exceeding probable, and if so they looked upon, themselves undoubtedly as a kind of loyal voluntiers, who had taken up arms, *pro aris & focis*, and quite different people from soldiers of fortune, who fight any where, and in any cause, for so much a day. I do not say that these are things which would, or which ought to excuse other men, but I believe I may safely appeal to the whole people of *Scotland*, and to such *English* gentlemen as are well acquainted with that country, whether there is any thing in nature more likely than that these suppositions appeared self-evident truths to these men. They may look very idle and ridiculous to us, but they seem certain and solid to them, that is really their misfortune, which we call a fault in them, and we might as well, because we live on white bread and stall-fed beef, reproach them for being able to eat oat-cakes and dried fish, as be angry with them for thinking in a manner conformable to the prejudices of their education; or rather to the prejudices arising from the want of education, on account of our having good sense enough to see through them. It is a great blessing to have clear sight and strong limbs, but it would be thought an odd use of those blessings, if such as possessed them should take it in their heads to punish the purblind and the weak for not seeing so far, or working so hard as themselves.

I am very well aware of an objection to which this doctrine may be thought liable; and that is, that they might have been better informed by their officers; and yet a little reflection will be sufficient to show, that

there is no strength in this objection at all. For we are to consider that their officers were of the same nation, and from their views of interest, and even from their attachment to the government, the least likely to undeceive them, since before they were ordered to march *Southward*, this must have appeared a very innocent error, and attended rather with good than bad consequences. I say this on a supposition that their officers knew it to be an error, which is carrying the thing as far as can be, since in all human probability, the officers thought in this respect like the private men, and never dream'd that such a whim would come into any body's head as to send for them to show their bare backsides in *England*. If indeed on the breaking of the old corps and uniting all the *Highlanders* in a regiment, they had been new clothed like the rest of the army, and told, when the articles of war were read to them, that they were to consider themselves for the future simply as a marching regiment, this had been sufficient to have prevented all that hath followed since. But it is an easy thing to assign remedies when they come too late, and it is as easy a thing to make slips, and fall into oversights in the ordinary conduct of affairs.

The first discovery that was made of the mischiefs attending this notion was when the officers had an intimation of the design of marching them into *England*, for then the men were not at all shy in declaring, that this was a thing they never expected, and with which they should very unwillingly comply. Upon this, good words were given them, and they were prevailed upon to begin and continue their march, though not without visible reluctance, which was the reason that it was published in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and

returned into their own country. This account, though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those papers, with additional circumstances, and which to me I confess appeared a little extraordinary, was never taken notice of, or contradicted in ours, though there could not have been a fairer opportunity of giving these poor people proper advice, and thereby preventing their falling into an error which is like to prove so fatal to them. But these are thought trivial things, and below the notice of great men, though it is certain, that if this foolish desertion of the *Highlanders* could have been prevented, it would have been service of more importance to the state than it would convenient for me to explain.

In their march through the *North* part of *England*, I mean through *Cumberland*, *Durham*, and *Yorkshire*, they were so hospitably treated, that they continued in perfect good humour, and it was believed that their love of their country was a little worn off, and that they would relish the change pretty well. But when they drew nearer town, and met with the compliments of our true bred *English* clowns, they grew more gloomy than ever; and indeed we need not wonder at this, for if we expect that men should have spirit enough to revenge their country's wrongs abroad, we cannot well suppose that they will tamely bear the grossest affronts at home. But what wrought upon the *Highlanders* most, was a silly story they pick'd up in their passage, that they were to be sent to the *West-Indies*. Now if we consider the fate of the marines, of the invalids and other regiments that were sent there, we need not be surprized that this news had a very bad effect, even on the minds of men of courage. When *Nebuchadnezzar* assembled millions on the plains of *Babylon*, there were but three men found who would venture on the fiery furnace, and

they did it on a higher principle than that of military obedience. Fellows used to snow and ice, and the sharp winds of their own bleak mountains, were of all others the least likely to care for trying the contrary extreme, and withal the least fit to bear it; so that on the whole, if there had been any foundation for the report, this might have passed for a very pardonable panick.

But here I must beg leave to remind the reader, that besides the reasons any other people might have had to be afraid of a *West-India* expedition, and over and above the hazards I have before mentioned, from the extraordinary difference of climates, there was one yet more cogent than all the rest, and that was the clause I have already recited page 15 from the act of parliament of the eleventh of the late king; whence it appears that sending the *Highlanders* to the *West-Indies* was esteemed the highest punishment that spared life and therefore, when these fellows came to think that they were to be sent to *Jamaica*, it naturally came into their heads, that they had been first used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, and after their having sufficiently tamed them were now to be thrown into the fire. This to be sure alarmed them strongly, and if they did not communicate their fears in the plainest terms to their officers, we need only reflect on the severity of military discipline, and we cannot be at a loss for the cause. To say the truth, the care they took in concealing their apprehensions is the clearest, because the most natural proof in the world of the deep impressions they had made, and therefore to such as understand the human disposition all other evidence will be needless.

The jealousies and uneasinesses of the *Highlanders* remained in a great measure concealed 'till the review. On this they had fixed great hopes, and

built mighty expectations on their being seen and considered by his majesty or some of the royal family, for whom, without question, they have a most sincere and loyal respect. On the 14th of *May*, they were accordingly reviewed by general *Wade*, and abundance of persons of distinction, who were extremely delighted with the readiness and cheerfulness they expressed in the performance of their military exercises, and they were so just as to report this very faithfully where they thought it might most benefit these people. However they from that moment meditated this design of retiring back to their own country, which they executed soon after with an intrepidity worthy of a wiser measure. The scheme itself, was certainly as wild and extravagant as ever entered the thoughts of man; and though some people have taken a great deal of pains to shew the feasibility of it, and that it was not absolutely impossible but that they might have succeeded, yet I must confess, I think those that talk at this rate, as mad as the *Highlanders* themselves; and less excusably so, since the latter may plead their ignorance of the *English* country, and of the disposition of the forces in those parts through which they were to pass.

The review afforded them an opportunity of providing some such necessaries as they wanted without suspicion; and their capacities to bear the injuries of weather and hard diet, made them imagine they should have great advantages in this extraordinary march. Full therefore of these false hopes and ill grounded notions, they assembled in the night between the *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* following the review, on a common near *Highgate*, and began their march northward, keeping as near as they could, between the two great roads, and passing from wood to wood in such a manner, that it was not well known

which way they moved. The lords justices issued their order to the commanding officers of the forces quarter'd in the countries between them and *Scotland*, and the secretary at war, by direction from their excellencies, published an advertisement for encouraging civil officers to do their duty, in making a vigilant enquiry after them. All this, however, proved to no purpose, for longer time than could well have been expected, since it was five o'clock in the evening, on *Thursday* the 19th of *May*, before any certain account was obtain'd of them, and then they were got as far as *Northampton*, and were conceived to be shaping their course for *Nottinghamshire*. General *Blakeney* who commanded at *Northampton*, immediately dispatch'd capt. *Ball* of general *Wade's* regiment of horse, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the country, to enquire after them, and find them out. This the captain took great pains to do, and with a squadron of horse pushed as far as *Stilton*, and so got beyond them; but he had scarce reached that place, before he received an express from the general with advice, that about 3 in the afternoon, the *Highlanders* had pass'd the river *Nyne*, not far from *Wellingborow*. Capt. *Ball* upon this rightly conjectured, that they were marching towards *Rutlandshire*, and therefore continued his rout towards *Uppingham* in that county, from whence he dispatched a keeper of the earl of *Gainsborough's* to find out certainly where they were, as being sensible, that he must now be very near them.

The *Highlanders* had by this time got into *Lady-Wood*, which lies between *Brigstock* and *Deanthorpe*, about 4 miles from *Oundle*, where they were discovered, and information carried to major *John Creed*, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county, and as worthy and well esteemed a man as

any in the kingdom, whose love of liberty, whose loyalty to the present royal family, and whose affection for the true interest of his country, are as well-known as his courage, prudence and beneficence; virtues which have been long hereditary in his family. This gentleman instantly dispatched the constable of *Oundle* to find out captain *Ball*, and to give him notice of the place where the *Highlanders* had taken shelter. The same night also he sent advice thereof to the regency, and the next morning being *Whitsunday*, he went early in the morning to *Lady-Wood*, and had a conference with the *Highlanders*, whom he persuaded to lay down their arms, and promised to intercede for a pardon; they received him with great submission, and were very far from rejecting either his proposal, or his advice, only they insisted that as their lives were at stake, they might be secure of a pardon before they parted with their arms; insisting upon it, that if they were to die, it was better and more honourable for them to fall in the field, than by the stroke of justice. The major having brought them into so good a disposition, offered immediately to write in their behalf to his grace *John duke of Montague*, master general of the ordinance and one of the lords justices; .a nobleman, whose generosity and compassion makes him naturally thought of, when any application for compassion becomes requisite. This letter to his grace, was written upon the spot, by the direction of major *Creed*, and signed by him, of which the following is a very exact copy.

“To his Grace the Duke of Montague, &c.

“My lord duke,
I Did myself the honour this morning to write to your grace, and since that, I have seen some of the gentlemen *Highlanders*. I proposed to them to lay

down their arms, and depend upon the king's mercy and clemency; and did assure them that your grace would stand their friend, as much as possible. They acknowledg'd they had forfeited their lives, according to the laws of the land; and therefore were not willing to lay down their arms, without being assured of a pardon and in that case they, will be willing to return to their regiment again, and promise fidelity for the future. And in this case they desire, that one of their officers may be sent down for them, with a route to march by, otherwise they can not be provided for upon the road. I beg your grace will answer me by the first post, because I suppose they will continue in the neighbourhood, 'till they have an answer. They insist it may be a sufficient pardon signed by the regency and secretary of war. I beg your grace will excuse my not writing this letter myself, because it is in the field, in the presence of the *Highlanders*. I am

Sunday morning
5 o'clock.
May 22, 1743.

*Your Grace's most obedient,
humble servant,*

JOHN CREED.

But as it was farther necessary to apply to the commander of the king's forces, in order to engage him to wait for a return to this application, the major was so kind as to write, in the presence of the *Highlanders*, to major *Otway*,

“SIR,

“I Have been talking with the *Highlanders*, and I have just now wrote to the duke of *Mountague* to

let him know they are willing to return to their regiment, provided they be pardoned. Wherefore I desire you will not commit any acts of hostility 'till I have an answer to that letter, which I hope will be by the first: post. They are a brave, bold sort of people, and are resolved not to submit, 'till their pardon comes down. I shall be glad to see you at *Oundle*; and am,

Sir,

Lady-wood, May 22,
1743.

your humble servant,
JOHN CREED.

These preliminaries settled, the *Highlanders* thought themselves very safe 'till they had a return to major *Creed's* letter. But about 12 o'clock the same day they were discovered by the lord *Gainsborough's* keeper, who immediately gave notice to captain *Ball*, who having dispatch'd an express to the general at *Stamford*, march'd into the wood. He had some conversation with them, in which he endeavoured to persuade them to lay down their arms immediately; and threatned, if they did not, to march his forces and attack them directly. The *Highlanders* upon this had instant recourse to major *Creed*, at *Oundle*, to whom they wrote the following letter.

"Honoured Sir,

"JUST now came here a captain belonging to general *Blakeney's* regiment, and propos'd to us to surrender to him, without regard to your honour's letter to 'the duke or *Montagu*, which we refused to do, wherefore he is gone for his squadron, and is immediately to fall upon us. So that if you think that they can be kept off 'till the return of your letter, you'll be pleas'd to consider, without loss of time, I am,

May 22,
1743.

Honoured Sir,
Your Honour's,
most humble Servant,

Together with this letter the *Highlanders* sent a message to major *Creed*, importing, that they were not such raw soldiers as not to know how to make the most of an advantageous post; and that if things came to extremities, they would certainly make the most vigorous resistance possible, and die to a man rather than surrender on any other terms than those which they had proposed to him. Major *Creed* having considered the new turn that things had taken, and being still desirous, if possible, to prevent any effusion of blood, wrote them the following mollifying letter in answer to theirs.

“I do not know what orders the king's troops may have had since I saw you; you see now what situation you are in. I think it proper you should surrender yourselves and return to your duty. As I have already intended to do you the best service I could, by applying to the Duke of *Montagu* in your behalf in case you surrender, I will still continue to do so. I will see you to-morrow morning early, if you desire it, which is all I can say, untill I have an answer from the duke of *Montagu*.

May 22, 1743.

JOHN CREED.

All this time captain *Ball* was making his dispositions, and having received the general's orders to march as near the deserters as was convenient, and about seven in the evening, arrived the general

himself, with a squadron of *Churchill's* dragoons, and one of *Wade's* horse, and about nine all the forces were drawn up in order near the wood, where the *Highlanders* lay. When these people saw things in this situation, and expected every moment to be attacked, they thought it highly necessary to obtain (if possible) another treaty, that they might not to the stain of deserting, add a deeper of killing some of the king's troops; they therefore sent one of their guides to inform the general, that the same officer who conferred with them in the morning might come safely into the wood, and propose the terms that were to be offered them. The general, upon this application directed captain *Ball* to comply with their request, and to bring the affair to as speedy a decision as possible.

The captain, in obedience to the general's orders, went into the wood, and told the *Highlanders*, that all the terms they were to expect was to lay down their arms, and be received prisoners at discretion, which they absolutely refused, declaring that they would be cut to pieces, before they would submit, unless the general sent them, under his hand, a promise that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this captain *Ball*, being willing to observe in what manner they had encamp'd themselves, desired he might be conducted to the whole body, in order to treat with them altogether. On his admittance, he found them drawn up, with a very thick wood in the rear, a large ditch about four or five foot high, with a forest hedge thereon, in manner as near as could be like an half moon; before them was a small path about four or five foot wide, with a strong and thick wood behind that; on each end of the half moon, they had planted about 20 men to secure the path, and in the body about 70;

the rest were to guard the high gate that led to the path. When the captain had view'd the situation they were in, he told them it was not in his power to grant them their conditions, but would acquaint the general therewith; which being done, captain *Ball* was order'd back to them, and finding some of them inclinable to surrender, he encouraged them, and would have talked with them separately, but four of them, in a most resolute manner, presented their firelocks at him, and swore, that if he offered to talk or treat with any more of their company separately, they would shoot him immediately.

On which captain *Ball* delivered the general's conditions of their surrender, *viz.* That if they would peaceably lay do their arms, and submit themselves prisoners, he assured them the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords justices: but on their protesting again, that they would be cut to pieces before they would capitulate on other conditions, than before they had demanded, of their arms and a free pardon for all, captain *Ball* told them, that as yet he was their friend, and would do all in his power to serve them, but if they continued obstinate an hour longer, (as they were entirely surrounded by the king's forces) every man of them would be cut to pieces; and he assured them, that for his part, he would positively grant quarter to none, and demanded that two of their company might be ordered to conduct him out of the wood, which being granted, and the captain finding by the discourse he had with these conductors, that they (being brothers) were inclinable to surrender, he absolutely promised them both a free pardon, and taking one of them with him, dismissed the other back with his arms to desire and try whether fair words, &c. would prevail with the rest. He very soon returned with thirteen more, and the guard at the gate soon

complied with the captain's requests and intreaties. After the captain, had marched these a little way from the wood, he dispatched one of them to the main body, to inform them how many of their fellows had submitted, and in about half an hour feventeen more came and surrendered; all which were immediately marched with their arms (the powder being blown out of each man's pan) by captain *Ball* to the general, where they laid down their arms. When returning again to the wood, the whole body (being 98 in number, the rest being scatter'd about the country) submitted to the general's conditions.

They were then put as prisoner's under the care of captain *Ball*, who conducted them about two o'clock the next morning to *Oundle*, from whence on *Tuesday* he marched them to *Northampton*, where they halted for two days, and then continued their route to *London*. Such was the end of this wild-goose expedition, which sufficiently shews, how little probability there is of succeeding in attempts of this nature. The *Highlanders* had certainly all the incentives men could have to march briskly, and make the best of their way home, for they were surrounded every where with the kings troops, and had no prospect but that of death, if they were taken. Neither were they very slow in their proceedings, since they were near seventy miles from *London*, when they were taken. Yet when we reflect that this was not above a fifth part of their journey, it makes it very evident, that they could not have entertained a worse founded notion, than this of making a retreat through the heart of so well cultivated a country as *England*, in which, at the same time, they were strangers and far from being beloved, sufficiently distinguished by their dress as soldiers, and still more so by the additional accoutrements of a *Highland* militia. These

particulars no doubt were insisted upon by captain *Ball*, when he perswaded them to surrender, and when the fellows came to think coolly, nobody can wonder, that these reasons had their weight, and thereby destroyed that system confederacy, which was to have held these rash men together. That they shewed less courage in throwing down their arms, than was expected, is, I must confess, a charge in my opinion, not to be regarded, since fighting to make one's condition worse, is, setting aside all notions of law, honour or justice, a very foolish thing. Some shadow they had of escaping by a surrender, whereas the death of one of the king's troops had been the death of them all, and in this situation, I think few people would have a stomach to fight, especially in a strange country, and without the least degree of hope. So that taking things altogether, their surrender is rather a mark of their sense, than an imputation on their courage, which I think is acknowledged in the foregoing relation of Captain *Ball* himself, who seems to be a very proper judge of it.

While this was doing in the country, there was nothing but the flight of the *Highlanders* talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed country-men, were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 *Greeks* through *Persia*, by which, for the honour of the antient kingdom of *Scotland*, corporal *Mac Pherson* was erected into a *Xenophon*. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of *inuendo*, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty and staid here. As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to *Kent*, whether they marched very chearfully, were from thence transported to *Flanders*, and are by this time

with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear, they were not afraid of fighting the *French*. Yet this was another conundrum that got into some idle heads. A noble lord, who now I think is a colonel of horse, and as good an officer as any in our own, or perhaps in foreign armies, when he heard this suggested in a place where it was like to do the poor runaways most hurt, turned off the edge of the reflection by the following story, which is strictly true, and was certainly very much to the purpose.

I am very far, said he, from having any apprehensions of these people behaving ill abroad, from this error they have committed at home. In king *William's* war there was a *Highland* regiment, that to avoid going to *Flanders*, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discover'd before they could put in execution, and general *Mackay*, who then commanded in *Scotland*, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipp'd them for *Holland*. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell king *William* that some of the *Highlanders* drank king *James's* health, which it is very probable might be true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked general *Talmash*, who was near him, how they behaved in the field; as well as any troops in the army, answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour; why then, replied the king, if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please. But there is no ground to imagine, that any of this regiment are tainted with such idle prejudices, they have always distinguished themselves by their loyalty to the present King, and even this mistake of

theirs demonstrates their love for their country, which would pass for an excuse with some people.

On the road, and even after they entered *London*, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully, nor did they shew any marks of terror, when they were brought into the tower: but when four who were thought to be principals in this affair, were taken from them and put into safe custody by themselves, their countenances fell, and they were visibly dismay'd; so whimsical and unsteady a thing is human courage, and so little to be depended, on in all conjunctures. This, alarms one man, that, another, and even bodies of men, who behave intrepidly as soldeirs, lose their spirits when disarmed; and treated as criminals. These poor men were not suffered to languish long in confinement before a courtmartial. was appointed for their trial, composed of the officers of the guards, general *Folliot* being appointed president. By this court they have been tried, and the report is shortly to be made to their excellencies the lords justices.

What now remains, but that we wish them as men, as unfortunate men, as strangers, as people bewitched with the love of bleak heaths and barren mountains, and yet our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects *a good deliverance*. If what shall be offered in their favour, to those in whose hands their lives now lie, shall be thought *weighty* enough to bear down the *load of reproach* this foolish action has brought upon them, *let them receive mercy*. If the present situation of things, and the necessity of preserving military discipline in a time of war, render this inexpedient, *let them feel the severity of justice*. But if upon a strict examination any circumstances have been found which *exaggerate* their *crimes*, to a degree unworthy of all *pity*, let their *fears* pronounce their *sentence*, let them not be *shot like soldiers*, *let them be transported to the West-Indies*.

F I N I S.

