

PRESTONPANS

22 September 1745

Local Authority: East Lothian

NGR centred: NT 403 744

THE BATTLE

The Armies

At this stage in the campaign the Jacobite army was still largely composed from Highlanders, though later on it was to take on a more mixed character with Lowlanders and regular French troops.

The Government army in Scotland consisted of a large number of raw recruits that lacked the experience and training to implement their contemporary European infantry tactics effectively.

The *Scots Magazine*, as quoted by Reid (1996), states that the Government army numbered 2,191 rank and file, exclusive of officers, sergeants and drums. Though Reid further suggests that this number may be slightly too high, with the actual figure closer to 2,034 rank and file, based on figures provided by Whiteford (who commanded the artillery during the battle) from Dunbar. The Government regiments consisted, from left to right, Hamilton's 14th dragoons, Murray's 57th Foot, then an amalgamated battalion made up from eight companies of Lascelle's 58th Foot and two companies of Guise's 6th; then five companies of Lee's 55th Foot. An advance guard had been made up from 136 men from these units and they were to join the right of the line at the last minute. One squadron of Gardiner's 13th Dragoons were placed to the right of the artillery on the far right, while a further squadron under Gardiner himself was placed behind the artillery to make way for the returning advance guard which fell in to the right of the infantry. The artillery, which was manned by sailors, was accompanied by a guard of 100 men and another fifty (Highlanders) were assigned to guard the baggage toward Cockenzie.

The Jacobite army at Prestonpans was deployed in three battalions. On the right, under the Duke of Perth, were the MacDonald regiments of Clanranald, Glengarry and Keppoch, totalling some 850 men. The second division under Lord George Murray was supposed to form alongside them but due to a miscalculation in Perth's movement north they ended up some distance apart, with Murray's left formed on the marsh. Murray was in overall command of the Duke of Perth's regiment, the Stewarts of Appin, and the Camerons under Lochiel, giving a total of around 900 men. The third battalion was commanded by Charles and positioned behind the two wings in the gap left between the right and left. This consisted of around 500 or 600 men. In the reserve, there was a small cavalry unit of 36 men, who remained close to Tranent through the action. The Jacobite army therefore consisted of around 2,350 infantry and 36 cavalry.

Action

Late in the afternoon of 20 September, a small Jacobite force consisting of fifty men from Lochiel's regiment was stationed as an advance guard in the burial ground of Tranent parish church, at the north end of the village. These were, however, withdrawn when Government artillery opened fire and caused losses. After some heated debate during which the Jacobite high command, under Lord George Murray,

demonstrating a tendency to disagreement which was to become a serious problem as the campaign continued, eventually persuaded Charles to sanction a flanking march which would bring the army through the marsh and put them in a position to attack from the east. Vital here was the knowledge provided by a local man called Robert Anderson, who knew the marsh well as he often went hunting there. Early on the morning of 21 September, the army set out and via a defile at Riggonhead safely manoeuvred around the marsh not far to the south of Seton. Despite making good progress, the Jacobite army did not manage to take the enemy entirely by surprise and they were spotted by sentinels before the attack could be launched. Cope quickly stood his army to, wheeling his army to the left to bring them about facing east, an apparently well exercised manoeuvre that would have put the new right on the same position of the old left. The army lined up to the east of the wagon way used to carry coal from the pits on the hill to the port at Cockenzie.

Cope posted his artillery, which consisted of six one and half pound cannon and six mortars, on the right. A single shot from each of the cannon and the mortars was all that could be mustered in the face of the Jacobite charge as it came at them out of the mist. Firing their muskets at close range, the Jacobites drew their swords and closed to hand strokes. Even before the artillery pieces were fired the artillery crews turned and bolted – the guns were fired by the officers after the crews fled. These men ran headlong into Gardiner's dragoons behind them, who had been deployed to the left of the artillery and behind it. Whitney, who was in command of Gardiner's squadron to the left of the guns, tried to lead his men forward but they stalled and he was wounded. A general rout of the cavalry on the right followed and according to some accounts Gardiner himself was cut down after abandoning his horse and fighting on foot at the head of a small band of infantry (Duffy 2004, 10).

The cavalry on the left fared no better and their commanding officer was shot very early on. Lt-Colonel Wright's men turned and fled, taking their reserves with them. The infantry line, under Colonel Lascelles, lasted a few minutes longer and managed to deliver at least one volley, but the Jacobite left wing under Murray began to roll them up from the right flank left exposed by the retreat of Gardiner's horse. The line collapsed and the redcoats fled en masse to the west, where their flight was interrupted by the walled enclosures of Preston and Bankton Houses. Many men were cut down as they tried to scramble over the high walls, while others simply turned and surrendered. Luckier fugitives made it to the road to the west of Bankton House and along it they fled up hill to the south, the road for ever since being known as Johnnie Cope's Road.

Within around 10 or 15 minutes from the first shot being fired, the entire Government army had been routed. The Jacobites had proved themselves in battle, though their victory was against generally inexperienced troops. No other battle of the rising was going to be won so easily.

Losses

Reported losses on the Government side range from 150 to 300, though given the ferocity of the fighting, especially in the rout, the upper figure seems the most likely. The *London Post* published on 4 October 1745 listed 300 killed and 500 taken prisoner by the Jacobites. The article also posts the names of 19 officers killed, one of these possibly captured.

Jacobite losses appear to have been much lower, possibly in the region of around 100 killed and wounded, though accurate figures do not seem to exist.

Outcomes of the battle

This was the first battle of the 1745 uprising and was a resounding victory for the Jacobite army. It was a dramatic demonstration of the effectiveness of a Highland charge in the face of well equipped troops using the current best military practice. The Government defeat was later blamed on the inexperience of the greater part of the Government army, and there can be no doubting that later engagements, involving battle-hardened troops, were not to prove so easy for the Jacobites.

The victory gave considerable momentum to the Jacobite cause and carried them forward with more confidence to their next military challenge, though important lessons were not learnt, particularly regarding the limitations within the high command. The nature of the attack, an infantry charge with swords, and its devastating effect gave the Jacobites a fearsome reputation among their foes and enhanced their own self-belief, perhaps overly so. Victory also made French involvement appear more likely but, as it turned out, this involved no more than the supply of weapons and the arrival of a number of Scots and Irish troops serving in the regular French army. The scale of the Jacobite success and its possible implication for the future of the British Isles was not, however, lost on the Government, which wasted little time in withdrawing large numbers of troops from Flanders and returning them home to put down the rising.

EVENTS AND PARTICIPANTS

Context

The 1745 rising was the last of the Jacobite conflicts, the first being in the wake of the Glorious Revolution, which had forced the Stuarts into exile in 1688. At the time, the Stuarts, James the Old Pretender (son of the exiled James VII and II) and his son Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, were living in Italy, though it was the French who had on occasion the most to gain from supporting internal British conflict while its armies were also committed to war on the continent. In 1744, during the War of Austrian Succession, the French had planned to launch an invasion fleet accompanied by the Stuarts, who had been brought back from Italy, but this was abandoned when the fleet and the invasion barges were severely damaged by storms, with some considerable loss of life.

In response to this disappointment, Charles Edward Stuart appears to have taken matters into his own hands and, with the support of independent financiers, put together a small expeditionary force consisting of two ships, a cadre of close advisors and supporters and some troops from the French army (Scots and Irish in French service). The expedition did not get off to a good start when the two ships were confronted by HMS Lion, which in a stiff fight disabled the *Elizabeth*, the ship carrying the French troops, and forced her to return to the French coast. The other ship, *le Duc Teillay*, carrying Charles and his advisors, who were to become known as the 'Seven Men of Moidart', managed to slip away and landed on the island of Eriskay on 2 August 1745. At first Charles was given a rather cold reception by local clan chiefs, but after his move to the mainland at Moidart and the raising of the Standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August he began to attract followers such as the MacDonalds and the Camerons. With around 1,200 men Charles made his way to Perth where he accumulated more recruits.

In response, the Government sent an army of around 3,000 troops under the command of General Sir John Cope to intercept the Jacobites. The Jacobites wisely refused to give battle at this early stage and eventually Cope was to retire on Inverness, while the Jacobites made rapid headway to their major target in Scotland, the city of Edinburgh. While Cope was stranded in Inverness, the Jacobites took

Edinburgh without a fight, an advance party slipping in through a gate when it was opened to let out a carriage. Marching his army to Aberdeen, where they embarked on a fleet sent at his request, Cope embarked his troops and set sail for Dunbar, to the east of Edinburgh, where he landed on 17 September. His army arrived in Prestonpans, on its way to Edinburgh on 20 September, but rather than sit and wait for them, the bulk of the Jacobite army had marched from their camp at Duddingston to give battle.

Thus it was that on the afternoon of 20 September, the Jacobites were positioned on Falside Hill to find the Government army ready to receive them on the well-appointed ground below. Cope had initially arrayed his men to face the west but on learning that the Jacobites were to the south he changed his disposition accordingly; it was in any case probably a stronger position as he now had a marsh and a ditch between himself and the enemy.

Participants

Command of the Jacobite right wing fell to the James Drummond, the Duke of Perth, while the left was under Lord George Murray, who had been actively involved in the 1715 and 1719 risings and seen military service on the continent.

Colonel James Gardiner was a veteran of the European wars and had served under Marlborough at the Battle of Ramilles in 1706, where he was shot in the mouth.

PHYSICAL REMAINS AND POTENTIAL

Physical remains

The most important result of the recent archaeological work has been to relocate the site of the initial encounter, where the Jacobite charge hit the Government line; further to the east than most modern history books had placed it. Instead of being positioned to the west of or indeed directly on the old coal wagonway it is now clear that the Government line was in fact positioned several hundred metres to the east of this position, in an area still to this day occupied by relatively open farmland.

Tranent churchyard is still extant and retains some of its 18th century character, despite the church being demolished and rebuilt in the early 19th century. The area to the north of the churchyard remains as farmland and has the potential to accommodate battle archaeology, particularly in relation to the bombardment of the churchyard and the Jacobites within by Government artillery on the day before the battle.

The location of the thorn tree under which Colonel Gardiner is said to have been wounded, thereafter dying in either the manse of Tranent church or on a mattress in his own garden according to two different accounts, is marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map (NT 3399 6742). The location is to the immediate east of Thorntree Colliery, adjacent to a north to south running track. Although the tree was dead by the early 20th century, this location may just survive on the eastern boundary of the area which today still has the remnants of the wagonway running through it, coal having been extracted from the north and housing now filling the space to the east.

BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE

Location

Prestonpans is fortunate to have a number of highly detailed maps that show the location of the battle, and these are supported by some equally informative

eyewitness accounts. Despite what at first sight may appear to be extensive modern development in the area, some of the contemporary features, such as Bankton House, then known as Olive Stab, and the churchyard at Tranent are still to be seen, while the line of the wagonway can still be traced.

The Jacobite line was positioned roughly north-south to the west of Seton, where the marshy ground was negotiated. A number of the secondary accounts mention the wagonway, to the west of which the Government line was formed in the face of the Jacobite attack. Although this may be the case, the feature is not apparently mentioned in any of the eyewitness accounts, nor does it feature on the main contemporary battle maps (it is on Blakeney's map but he was not an eyewitness). The wagonway, which was first built in 1722, can be traced on Roy's map from the 1750s, which shows it running from the pit head at Coalhill to the south-west of Tranent and running down to the north to the harbour at Cockenzie. The route can still be traced on the ground today, at least in places. The core of the battlefield is located to the north of the modern railway on open ground to the east of modern Prestonpans and south of Cockenzie and Port Seton, where it has up until now managed to avoid being subsumed beneath settlements which have grown so much since 1745.

A very useful 19th century map, based on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map, shows the battle lines marked in relation to the wagon way, though we now know that the Government line was further to the east. This map shows a farm called Thorntree Mains behind the Government centre, which is named after the famous Hawthorn tree under which Gardiner was said to have been killed. This farm no longer exists as it was buried beneath coal workings at some point in the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Interestingly, there is a pit marked 'Johnnie Cope's Hole' to the north of this farm and another marked 'Thorntree colliery' to the south. The thorn tree was still standing in the 1899, though by that time was reinforced with iron rods and bands (Hannah 2003). By the 1920s, stumps could still be seen but the tree itself was dead. There are reports of burials in 'Thorntree Field' and the memorial cairn raised in 1932 is said to be 400 yards and 35 degrees west of north from where the tree originally stood, which would again place it in the area of coal workings to the north though possibly in an area to the south of this area of disturbance in still open land.

Terrain

With reference to the southern marsh, there is a good account of Cope's initial position, when he was facing south late on 20 September provided by Atkinson, who was ADC to Murray (ADC stands for aide-de-camp – a personnel assistant to a senior military officer), on the Jacobite side:

'The General (Cope) had on his right two enclosures surrounded by stone walls from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Prestonpans. Before him was another enclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water and from ten to twelve feet broad, which served as a drain to the marshy ground. On his left was a marsh which terminated in a deep pond, and behind him was the sea, so that he was enclosed as in a fortification. (Atkinson 1745, in Newcastle Journal).

Although long ago disappeared, the marsh is clearly shown on Roy's map from the 1750s, running from east to west and then turning up to the north to terminate just to the south of the village of Seton, at which point can be seen Atkinson's 'deep pond'. Roy's map clearly shows a trackway crossing the marsh just to the south of the pond, through the Riggonhead defile, and it seems highly likely that this was the point at

which the Jacobite army crossed the wet ground, bringing them out onto the plain just to the west of Seton.

Prior to the discovery of the location of the initial encounter the battle was thought to have been fought some distance further to the west, which would have placed it within a more industrialised portion of the landscape – both then and now. The tramway which was used to carry coal down the hill from the pits around Tranent to the port at Cockenzie has long been associated with the battle, certainly within the histories written during the modern era. Many battle maps accompanying these history books show the Government troops standing to the west of the wagonway and the Jacobites to the east, the latter having to charge across the line in order to reach the enemy. Other maps have the Government line situated on the wagonway with the Jacobites again to the east of it. It is now clear however that the main encounter occurred some distance to the east of the line, with the Government army several hundred metres away from it and Jacobite lines even further away to the east.

This does not reduce the importance of the wagonway, a surviving portion of which can be seen running across the level ground to the west of the main encounter site. It was a feature present on the field during the battle and both armies would have ran across it during the rout which followed the Jacobite charge. The industrial character of the landscape has obviously been enhanced since 1745 and these now include a rail line which serves the power station. The power station itself is a major feature in the landscape and includes a coal store and pylons which run across the landscape to the south.

In addition, an extensive portion of the landscape has been destroyed by mineral extraction immediately to the south and south east, removing a swathe of the land occupied by the 1745 marsh on the southern side. A realignment of the 1745 east-west road and a more recent north to south road cuts across the western edge of the main encounter site, though this latter route may correspond to an old coal road shown on some of the contemporary maps. The A1 bypass lies a short distance to the south, crossing the areas of the first Jacobite deployment and flank march. The mainline railway follows the southern edge of the battlefield.

A limited area of the rout, on the north side of the modern road, also probably remains under fields. A detached area, comprising the grounds of Bankton House and an area of former garden on the north side of the road (playing fields which were once the grounds of Preston House), separated from the field by modern development, may yield further evidence of the rout. In this general area, as well as to the immediate rear of the initial engagement (Thorntree Mains), where burials have been reported, there is the potential for mass graves.

Condition

There is extensive modern development to the north and to the south of the battlefield, while on the west development has extended over part of the area of the rout. Though there were already some industrial installations in the area by 1745, these have been extensively developed in subsequent centuries. A large industrial area, including an area of former open cast coal removal, has encroached on the battlefield, together with a rail line which serves the coal store at the power station, though it may have affected only a very small part of the area of the action. An extensive swathe of landscape has been destroyed by mineral extraction immediately to the south and south-east, removing part of the probable area of the 1745 marsh, which lay on the southern edge of the field. A realignment of the 1745 east-west road and a more recent north-south road cut across the heart of the action,

while the A1 bypass lies a short distance to the south, crossing the areas of first Jacobite deployment and flank march. The mainline railway follows the southern edge of the battlefield. Remarkably, despite its location within such a heavily altered landscape, the location of the main encounter remains largely as agricultural fields.

There may be expected to be good survival of lead bullet distributions, which should closely relate to the nature and extent of the action. A limited area of the rout, on the north side of the modern road, also probably remains under fields. A detached area, comprising the grounds of Bankton House and an area of former garden on the north side of the road, separated from the field by modern development, may yield further evidence of the rout, where Government troops were funnelled through the narrow gap of the road between the boundaries of gardens on both sides. In this general area, as well as in the area of the initial engagement, where burials have been reported, there is the potential for mass graves.

A small area on the south side of the B1361 may yield limited surviving physical evidence for the extent of the marsh. The same is true on the north-east side of the battlefield, where a more extensive area of potential former marsh is identified on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map, but not accurately defined.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources

This is a very well documented battle including a number of contemporary plans showing the deployment of the armies, the earlier manoeuvres and the contemporary terrain. There are a number of eye witness accounts from participants on both sides, some of which give good topographic descriptions (see below). There are also a number of contemporary battle maps which show the battle in some detail. A good idea of the contemporary landscape is provided by Roy's map of the 1750s, which provides more subsidiary detail than the battle maps.

Although a substantial number of secondary works deal with Prestonpans, there is not a substantial modern study of the battle. A concise modern overview is given by Reid (1996).

Primary Sources

Plans

National Library of Scotland

A plan of the Battle of Tranent (Prestonpans) fought Sept[embe]r 21st 1745 ; manuscript map, c.1745; National Library of Scotland: Acc.8392

Plan of the victory of Falkirk Muir fought the afternoon of January 16 1746, Battle of Preston, September 1745, J.M.: 3 manuscript maps on 1 sheet; c. 1746, EMS.s.164

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Add. 4326 B ff. 183-188

Maps and Plans. Plan of Battle of Prestonpans, by Lt.-Col. J. Wren 1745-1784 Add. 57637 f. 15

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Prestonpans, Order of battle of the royalist troops, return of prisoners, etc., at 1745. Add. 36592 ff. 63 b, 65, 80, 81

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Prestonpans, co. Haddington. Verses on the Cattle of Gladsmuir near circ. 1746. Add. 33954 f. 79

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National Archives

SP 36/68 Sir John Cope, at Lauder, to the marquis of Tweeddale, with details of the failed engagement between his troops and the Highlanders, which took place on a field near Prestonpans. Folio 209 1745 Sept. 21

SP 36/68 Account by an ensign in Capt. James Nimmo's Company of volunteers defending Edinburgh of the rebels advance on the city and of the defeats of H.M. forces at Tranent near Prestonpans, Sept. 12-18. Folio 238b 1745 ? Sept.

SP 36/68 Sir John Cope, at Berwick on Tweed to Marquis of Tweeddale enclosing a list of officers in the various regiments under his command killed, wounded or taken prisoner by the rebels, with an account of the defeat of his forces by the rebels at Prestonpans. Advises that La Roque's regiment of 600 Dutch troops are due to be landed there the next day to supplement to 460 dragoons he has with him already. 1745 Sept. 22

SP 36/68 Dr. John Waugh, Chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle to Mr. Robinson, enclosing a copy of an account, dated 21 Sept., of the battle between H.M. forces and the rebels at Prestonpans as witnessed by one of two merchants of Dumfries who went to Sir John Cope's camp at Tranent for intelligence of the situation. 1745 Sept. 23

SP 36/68 Earl of Derby, at Knowsley, to [Newcastle], enclosing a letter from [Provost] George Bell of Dumfries, dated 21 Sept. informing him of the progress of the rebel Highland army; with a postscript that battle had taken place early that morning between General Cope's army (consisting of 2,300 regular foot soldiers and 500 Highlanders, together with 2 regiments of dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's) and 7,000 Highlanders near the village of Cockenzie near Prestonpans, and that Cope's army had been beaten. 1745 Sept. 23

SP 36/68 John Waugh, Chancellor of Carlisle, to Newcastle, enclosing 3 accounts of the battle between Sir John Cope's forces and the rebels near Prestonpan all dated 21 Sept., the first 2 sent to him by Mr. Goldie of Dumfries, the third by the Provost of Annan: 1) an account by one of 2 merchants of Dumfries sent to Cope's camp to gain intelligence of the situation. 1745 Sept. 23

SP 36/69 John Nocks, Postmaster at Preston, to the Postmaster General, in London, with an account of the defeat of Sir John Cope's forces, near Prestonpans by 7,000 of the rebels, and advising that Lord Derby, the Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Strange are expected to arrive in the town shortly to organise its defence. 1745 Sept. 25

SP 36/69 [Major-General] James Oglethorpe to Newcastle, informing him that the Lord Lieutenant and archbishop had successfully raised 41 companies and £20,000 by their association in the county, and enclosing: 1) letter from General Guest, at Edinburgh Castle, to Major Brown, dated 24 Sept. 1745 Sept. 28

SP 36/70 George Shelvocke, at the General Post Office, to Andrew Stone, esq., enclosing: 1) a letter found near Poole from J.W. to Squire Welde (a member of a notorious papist family) in Purbeck, dated 22 Sept. 2) a letter from John McMillan, postmaster of Lancaster, to the Postmaster General, dated ?31 Sept. 1745 Oct. 4

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SP 36/70 John Nocks, Postmaster of Preston to the Postmaster General, with a description and further debaits of 2 officers from the battle of Prestonpans who had been interviewed there after travelling post. Folio 158 1745 Oct. 5

SP 36/70 Major Mountague Farrer, at Carlisle, to Mr. Vere, reporting on the latest estimates of the numbers of the rebel Highland army, with details of which clans had recently joined it. Encloses a plan [missing] of the battle near Prestonpans Folio 236 1745 Oct. 7

SP 36/71 Thomas Pattinson, mayor of Carlisle, to [Newcastle], enclosing a list of soldiers that had entered the town after fleeing from Edinburgh, [after the battle at Prestonpans]. Requests instructions on how to deal with them, and to whom to apply to for their subsistence. 1745 Oct. 9-17

SP 54/8/71 Alexander Ogilvie of Prestonpans, on the movement of troops and arms about that area: with note from Sir Hugh Dalrymple reporting that Winton's men are instructed to meet at Pinkie to receive arms and ammunition 1715 Sept 16

SP 54/15/4B Commissioners of Customs, concerning the pirate ship at Stranraer, and reporting the boarding of the ship John and Marion of Prestonpans, Alexander Hogg master, by two Customs sloops 1725 Feb 11

SP 54/26/24 Lord Advocate Craigie, reporting the flight of the dragoons from their camp outside Edinburgh, when the Jacobite army approached the city; on his attempt to catch the soldiers and his meeting with Brig Fowkes at Musselburgh; following the news of Cope's arrival at Dunbar, the dragoons intend to march to Prestonpans. 1745 Sept 16

SP 54/26/32 [Charles Edward Stuart to James Stuart] 1) Reflecting on his successful campaign and his subjects: "I have got their hearts to a degree not to be easily conceived by those who do not see it"; on his enjoyment of the Highland life; reporting his men's insistence that he put a price on King George's head; wishing that the Earl Marischal was with him; and regretting that his family has made an enemy of the Duke of Argyll, undated

SP 54/26/35 Lord Advocate Craigie to Secretary Tweeddale. Reporting that, on his arrival in Berwick, he found Sir John Cope there with 450 dragoons: Cope and Lord Mark Kerr are disputing the command. Concerning the problems caused by the defeat at Prestonpans; and on the need to secure Edinburgh Castle, which contains large amounts of money and ammunition, but only has provisions enough to withstand a month's siege 1745 Sept 23

SP 54/26/39 Unsigned letter concerning the consequences of the defeat at Prestonpans; on the possibility of invasion from overseas; also reporting that Sir James Stewart [of Goodtrees] seems to be trusted by the Jacobites 1745 Sept 27

SP 54/26/54 Robert Bewey of Prestonpans: declaration concerning the numbers enlisting with the Jacobites in Edinburgh [1745 Oct 4]

SP 54/26/71 Prestonpans: plan of the battle, 21 Sept 1745 [1745]

SP 54/26/185 Government officers taken prisoner at Prestonpans: petition on behalf of Robert Taylor, imprisoned at Carlisle; reporting the assistance he gave them during their captivity c 1746

SP 54/27/37 Parole taken by army officers after their capture at Prestonpans, dated 28 Sept 1745 at Holyrood House. With Viscount Strathallan's permission for Col Charles Whitefoord to go to Lesley House, Fifeshire and remain there under the terms of his parole, dated 12 Dec 1745

T 1/321/32 [Lord George Murray] to Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, concerning the Battle of Prestonpans. 1745 Sept. 21

British Library

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A true and full account of the late bloody and desperate battle fought at Gladsmuir, betwixt the army under the command of His Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, &c. and that commanded by Lieutenant General Cope, on Saturday the 21st September, 1745. To which is prefix'd occasional reflections on the amazing happy success... And hereto is added complete lists of prisoners and the killed and wounded. 1745.

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