

## THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.

ON the 16th of September, 1745, while the heralds were proclaiming James at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar. The landing was finished on the 17th; but the disembarkation of the artillery

and stores was not completed till the 18th. Desirous of engaging the Highland army before the arrival of their expected reinforcements, Cope left Dunbar on the 19th, in the direction of Edinburgh, and halted on the evening of that day on a field to the west of the town of Haddington. Resuming his march on the morning of the 20th, along the high road to Preston, he halted his army, and formed his troops in order of battle, with his front to the west, on reaching the plain betwixt Seaton and Preston. His right extended towards the sea in the direction of Port-Seaton, and his left towards the village of Preston. These dispositions had scarcely been taken when the whole of the Highland army appeared descending the heights in the direction of Tranent. On approaching Tranent the Highlanders were received by the King's troops with a vehement shout of defiance, which the Highlanders answered in a similar strain. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Highland army halted on an eminence called Birsley-Brae, about half-a-mile to the west of Tranent, and formed in order of battle about a mile from the royal forces.

In the expectation that the Highlanders were advancing by the usual route through Musselburgh, Cope had taken up the position we have described, with his front to the west; but as soon as he observed the Highlanders on the heights upon his left, he changed his front to the south. This change of position, while it secured Cope better from attack, was not so well calculated for safety as the first position was in the event of a defeat. On his right was the east wall of a park belonging to Erskine of Grange, which extended a considerable way from north to south, and still farther to the right was the village of Preston. The village of Seaton was on his left, and the village of Cockenzie and the sea in his rear. Almost immediately in front was a deep ditch filled with water, and a strong and thick hedge. Farther removed from the front, and between the two armies was a morass, the ends of which had been drained, and were intersected by numerous cuts. And

on the more firm ground at the ends were several small enclosures, with hedges, dry stone-walls, and willow trees.

As the Highlanders were in excellent spirits, and eager to close immediately with the enemy, Charles felt very desirous to comply with their wishes; but he soon ascertained, by examining some people of the neighbourhood, that the passage across the morass, from the nature of the ground, would be extremely dangerous if not altogether impracticable. Not wishing, however, in a matter of such importance to trust altogether to the opinion of the country people, Lord George Murray ordered Colonel Ker of Gradon, an officer of some military experience, to examine the ground, and to report. Mounted upon a little white poney he descended alone into the plain below, and with the greatest coolness and deliberation surveyed the morass on all sides. As he went along the morass several shots were fired at him, by some of Cope's men, from the sides of the ditches; but he paid so little regard to these annoyances that on coming to a dry stone wall which stood in his way he dismounted, and making a gap in it led his horse through. After finishing this perilous duty, he returned to the army, and reported to the lieutenant-general that he considered it impracticable to pass the morass and attack the enemy in front, without risking the whole army, and that it was impossible for the men to pass the ditches in a line.

While his lieutenant-general was, in consequence of this information, planning a different mode of attack, the Prince himself was moving with a great part of his army towards Dauphinstone on Cope's right. Halting opposite Preston tower he seemed to threaten that flank of the English general, who, thereupon, returned to his original position with his front to Preston, and his right towards the sea. As Lord George Murray considered that the only practicable mode of attacking Cope was by advancing from the east, he led off part of the army about sunset through the village of Tranent, and sent notice to the Prince to follow him with the remainder as

quickly as possible. When passing through the village, Lord George was joined by fifty of the Camerons, who had been posted by O'Sullivan in the churchyard at the foot of Tranent. This party being within half cannon shot of Cope's artillery, had been exposed during the afternoon to a fire from their cannon, and one or two of the Camerons had been wounded. To frighten the Highlanders, who, they imagined, had never seen cannon before, Cope's men huzzaed at every discharge; but the Camerons remained in their position, till, on the representation of Lochiel, who went and viewed the ground, and found his men unnecessarily exposed, they were ordered to retire in the direction of Tranent. O'Sullivan, who was in the rear when this order was given, came up on the junction of the party, and asking Lord George the meaning of the movement he was making, was told by him, that as it was not possible to attack the enemy with any chance of success on the west side of the village, he had resolved to assail them from the east, and that he would satisfy the Prince that his plan was quite practicable,—that for this purpose he had ordered the army to march to the east side of the village where there were good dry fields covered with stubble, on which the men could bivouack during the night,—and that with regard to the withdrawal of the party which O'Sullivan had posted in the churchyard, they could be of no service there, and were unnecessarily exposed. On being informed of the movement made by Lord George Murray, Charles proceeded to follow him; but it was dark before the rear had passed the village. To watch Cope's motions on the west, Charles left behind the Athole brigade, consisting of five hundred men, under Lord Nairne, which he posted near Preston above Colonel Gardiner's parks.

After the Highland army had halted on the fields to the east of Tranent, a council of war was held, at which Lord George Murray proposed to attack the enemy at break of day. He assured the members of the council that the plan

was not only practicable, but that it would in all probability be attended with success,—that he knew the ground himself, and that he had just seen one or two gentlemen who were also well acquainted with every part of it. He added, that there was indeed a small defile at the east end of the ditches, but if once passed there would be no farther hinderance, and though, from being obliged to march in a column, they would necessarily consume a considerable time on their march, yet when the whole line had passed the defile they would have nothing to do but face to the left, form in a moment, and commence the attack. Charles was highly pleased with the proposal of the lieutenant-general; which having received the unanimous approbation of the council, a few piquets were, by order of Lord George, placed around the bivouack, and the Highlanders, after having supped, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down upon the ground to repose for the night. Charles, taking a sheaf of pease for a pillow, stretched himself upon the stubble, surrounded by his principal officers, all of whom followed his example. Before the army went to rest, notice was sent to Lord Nairne to leave his post, with the Athole brigade, at two o'clock in the morning, as quietly as possible. To conceal their position from the English general, no fires or lights were allowed, and orders were issued and scrupulously obeyed, that strict silence should be kept, and that no man should stir from his place till directed.

When Cope observed Charles returning towards Tranent, he resumed his former position with his front to the south, having thus, in the course of a few hours, been obliged, by the unrestrained evolutions of the Highlanders, to shift his ground no less than four times. He now began to perceive that his situation was not so favourable as he had imagined, and that while the insurgents could move about at discretion, select their ground, and choose their time and mode of attack, he was cramped in his own movements and could act only on the defensive. The spectators, who felt an interest in the

fate of his army, and who had calculated upon certain success to Cope's arms during the day, now, that night was at hand, began to forebode the most gloomy results. Instead of a bold and decided movement on the part of Cope to meet the enemy, they observed that he had spent the day in doing absolutely nothing,—that he was in fact hemmed in by the Highlanders, and forced at their pleasure to change his position at every movement they were pleased to make. They dreaded that an army which was obliged to act thus upon the defensive, and which would, therefore, be obliged to pass the ensuing night under arms, could not successfully resist an attack next morning from men, who, sheltered from the cold by their plaids, could enjoy the sweets of repose, and rise fresh and vigorous for battle.

To secure his army from surprise during the night, Cope placed advanced piquets of horse and foot along the side of the morass, extending nearly as far east as the village of Seaton. He, at the same time, sent his baggage and military chest down to Cockenzie under a guard of forty men of the line and all the Highlanders of the army, consisting of four companies, viz. two of newly raised men belonging to Loudon's regiments, and two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, which had been diminished by desertion to fifteen men each. Although the weather had been very fine, and the days were still warm, yet the nights were now getting cold and occasionally frosty. As the night in question, that of Friday the 20th of September, was very cold, Cope ordered fires to be kindled along the front of his line, to keep his men warm. During the night he amused himself by firing off, at random, some cohorn, probably to alarm the Highlanders or disturb their slumbers; but these hardy mountaineers, if perchance they awoke for a time, disregarded these empty bravadoes, and fell back again into the arms of sleep.

In point of numbers the army of Cope was rather inferior to that of Charles; but many of the Highlanders were badly

armed, and some of them were without arms. The royal forces amounted altogether to about 2,300 men; but the number in the field was diminished to 2,100 by the separation of the baggage-guard which was sent to Cockenzie. The order of battle formed by Cope along the north side of the morass was as follows:—He drew up his foot in one line, in the centre of which were eight companies of Lascelles's regiment, and two of Guise's. On the right were five companies of Lee's regiment, and on the left the regiment of Murray, with a number of recruits for different regiments at home and abroad. Two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons formed the right wing, and a similar number of Hamilton's composed the left. The remaining squadron of each regiment was placed in the rear of its companions as a reserve. On the left of the army, near the waggon-road from Tranent to Cockenzie, were placed the artillery, consisting of six or seven pieces of cannon and four cohorns, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, and guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane. Besides the regular troops there were some volunteers, consisting principally of small parties of the neighbouring tenantry, headed by the irrespective landlords. Some Seceders, actuated by religious zeal, had also placed themselves under the royal standard.

Pursuant to the orders he had received, Lord Nairne left the position he had occupied during the night at the appointed hour, and rejoined the main body about three o'clock in the morning. Instead of continuing the order of march of the preceding night, it had been determined by the council of war to reverse it. The charge of this movement was intrusted to Colonel Ker, who had signalized himself by the calm intrepidity with which he had surveyed the marsh on the preceding day. To carry this plan into effect, Ker went to the head of the column, and passing along the line, desired the men to observe a profound silence, and not to stir

a step till he should return to them. On reaching the rear he ordered it to march from the left, and to pass close in front of the column, and returning along the line, he continued to repeat the order till the whole army was in motion. This evolution was accomplished without the least confusion, and before four o'clock in the morning the whole army was in full march.

The Duke of Perth, who was to command the right wing, was at the head of the inverted column. He was attended by Hepburn of Keith, and by Mr. Robert Anderson, son of Anderson of Whitbrough, who, from his intimate knowledge of the morass, was sent forward to lead the way. A little in advance of the van was a select party of sixty men doubly armed, under the command of Macdonald of Glenalladale, major of the regiment of Clanranald, whose appointed duty it was to seize the enemy's baggage. The army proceeded in an easterly direction till near the farm of Ringan-head, when, turning to the left, they marched in a northerly direction through a small valley which intersects the farm. During the march the utmost silence was observed by the men, not even a whisper being heard; and lest the trampling of horses might discover their advance, the few that were in the army were left behind. The ford or path across the morass was so narrow that the column, which marched three men abreast, had scarcely sufficient standing room, and the ground along it was so soft, that many of the men were almost at every step up to the knees in mud. The path in question, which was about two hundred paces to the west of the stone-bridge afterwards built across Seaton mill-dam, led to a small wooden-bridge which had been thrown over the large ditch which ran through the morass from east to west. This bridge, and the continuation of the path on the north of it, were a little to the east of Cope's left. From ignorance of the existence of this bridge,—from oversight, or from a supposition that the marsh was not passable in that quarter,—

Cope had placed no guards in that direction, and the consequence was, that the Highland army, whose march across could have been effectually stopped by a handful of men, passed the bridge and cleared the marsh without interruption.

The army was divided into two columns or lines, with an interval between them. After the first line had got out of the marsh, Lord George Murray sent the Chevalier Johnstone, one of his aides-de-camp, to hasten the march of the second, which was conducted by the Prince in person, and to see that it passed without noise or confusion. At the remote end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, over which the men had to leap. In jumping across this ditch, Charles fell upon his knees on the other side, and was immediately raised by the Chevalier Johnstone, who says, that Charles looked as if he considered the accident a bad omen.

As the column cleared the marsh, it continued its course towards the sea; but after the whole army had passed, it was ascertained that the Duke of Perth had inadvertently, (not being able, from the darkness, to see the whole line,) advanced too far with the front, and that a considerable gap had, in consequence, been left in the centre. The Duke being informed of this error, halted his men till joined by the rear. Hitherto the darkness had concealed the march of the Highlanders; but the morning was now about to dawn, and at the time the order to halt was given, some of Cope's piquets, stationed on his left, for the first time, heard the tramp of the Highlanders. The Highlanders then heard distinctly these advanced guards repeatedly call out, "Who is there?" No answer having been returned, the piquets immediately gave the alarm, and the cry of "Cannons, cannons! Get ready the cannons, cannoniers!" resounded on Cope's left wing.

Charles proceeded instantly to give directions for attacking Cope before he should have time to change his position by

opposing his front to that of the Highland army. It was not in compliance with any rule in military science, that the order of march of the Highland army had been reversed; but in accordance with an established punctilio among the clans, which, for upwards of seven centuries, had assigned the right wing, regarded as the post of honour, to the Macdonalds. As arranged at the council of war on the preceding evening, the army was drawn up in two lines. The first consisted of the regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glencoe, under their respective chiefs. These regiments formed the right wing, which was commanded by the Duke of Perth. The Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre; while the left wing, commanded by Lord George Murray, was formed of the Camerons under Lochiel, their chief, and the Stewarts of Appin commanded by Stewart of Ardshiel. The second line, which was to serve as a reserve, consisted of the Athole-men, the Robertsons of Strowan, and the Maclauchlans. This body was placed under the command of Lord Nairne.

As soon as Cope received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders, he gave orders to change his front to the east. Some confusion took place in carrying these orders into execution, from the advanced guards belonging to the foot not being able to find out the regiments to which they belonged, and who, in consequence, stationed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and thereby prevented the two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons, which had been posted on the right of the line, from forming properly. For want of room the squadron under Colonel Gardiner drew up behind that commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney. In all other respects the disposition of each regiment was the same; but the artillery, which before the change had been on the left, and close to that wing, was now on the right somewhat farther from the line, and in front of Whitney's squadron.

There was now no longer any impediment to prevent the

armies from coming into collision ; and if Cope had had the choice, he could not have selected ground more favourable for the operations of cavalry than that which lay between the two armies. It was a level cultivated field of considerable extent without bush or tree, and had just been cleared of its crop of grain. But unfortunately for the English general, the celerity with which the Highlanders commenced the attack prevented him from availing himself of this local advantage. The beams of the rising sun were just beginning to illuminate the horizon ; but the mist which still hovered over the corn-fields prevented the two armies from seeing each other. Every thing being in readiness for advancing, the Highlanders took off their bonnets, and, placing themselves in an attitude of devotion, with upraised eyes uttered a short prayer. As the Highlanders advanced considerably beyond the main ditch, Lord George Murray was apprehensive that Cope might turn the left flank ; and to guard against such a contingency, he desired Lochiel, who was on the extreme left, to order his men in advancing to incline to the left. Lord George then ordered the left wing to advance, and sent an aid-de-camp to the Duke of Perth to request him to put the right in motion. The Highlanders moved with such rapidity that their ranks broke ; to recover which, they halted once or twice before closing with the enemy. When Cope, at day-break, observed the first line of the Highland army formed in order of battle, at the distance of 200 paces from his position, he mistook it for bushes ; but before it had advanced half way, the rays of the rising sun bursting through the retiring mist showed the armies to each other.

“ Day opened in the orient sky  
With wintry aspect, dull and drear ;  
On every leaf, while glitteringly  
The rimy hoar-frost did appear.  
The ocean was unseen, though near ;

And hazy shadows seem'd to draw,  
 In azure, with their mimic floods,  
 A line above the Seaton woods,  
 And round North Berwick Law."

The army of Cope at this time made a formidable appearance; and some of Charles's officers were heard afterwards to declare, that when they first saw it, and compared the gallant appearance of the horse and foot, with their well-polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, with their own line broken into irregular clusters, they expected that the Highland army would be instantly defeated, and swept from the field. The Highlanders continued to advance in profound silence. As the right wing marched straight forward without attending to the oblique movement of the Camerons to the left, a gap took place in the centre of the line. An attempt was made to fill it up with the second line, which was about fifty paces behind the first; but before this could be accomplished, the left wing, being the first to move, had advanced beyond the right of the line, and was now engaged with the enemy. By inclining to the left, the Camerons gained half the ground originally between them and the main ditch; but this movement brought them up directly opposite to Cope's cannon. On approaching the cannon, the Highlanders fired a few shots at the artillery guard, which alarmed an old gunner who had charge of the cannon, and his assistants, to such a degree that they fled, carrying the powder-flasks along with them. To check the advance of the Highlanders, Colonel Whiteford fired off five of the field pieces with his own hand; but though their left seemed to recoil, they instantly resumed the rapid pace they had set out with. The artillery guard next fired a volley with as little effect. Observing the squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-colonel Whitney advancing to charge them, the Camerons set up a loud shout, rushed past the cannon, and, after discharging a few shots at

the dragoons, which killed several men, and wounded the lieutenant-colonel, flew upon them sword in hand. When assailed, the squadron was reeling to and fro from the fire; and the Highlanders, following an order they had received to strike at the noses of the horses without minding their riders, completed the disorder. In a moment the dragoons wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled followed by the guard. The Highlanders continuing to push forward without stopping to take prisoners, Colonel Gardiner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and charge the enemy. He accordingly went forward, encouraging his men to stand firm; but this squadron, before it had advanced many paces, experienced a similar reception with its companion, and followed the example which the other had just set.

After the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders advanced upon the infantry, who opened a fire from right to left, which went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. They received this volley with a loud huzza, and throwing away their muskets, drew their swords and rushed upon the foot before they had time to reload their pieces. Confounded by the flight of the dragoons, and the furious onset of the Highlanders, the astonished infantry threw down their arms and took to their heels. Hamilton's dragoons, who were stationed on Cope's left, displayed even greater pusillanimity than their companions; for no sooner did they observe the squadrons on the right give way, than they turned their backs and fled without firing a single shot or drawing a sword. Murray's regiment being thus left alone on the field, fired upon the Macdonalds, who were advancing, and also fled. Thus, within a very few minutes after the action had commenced, the whole army of Cope was put to flight. With the exception of their fire, not the slightest resistance was made by horse or foot, and not a single bayonet was stained with blood. Such were the impetuosity and rapidity with which the first line of the Highlanders broke through Cope's

ranks, that they left numbers of his men in their rear, who attempted to rally behind them; but on seeing the second line coming up, they endeavoured to make their escape. Though the second line was not more than 50 paces behind the first, and was always running as fast as it could to overtake the first line, and near enough never to lose sight of it, yet such was the rapidity with which the battle was gained, that, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, who stood by the side of the Prince in the second line, he could see no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded.

Unfortunately for the royal infantry, the walls of the enclosures about the village of Preston, which, from the position they took up on the preceding evening, formed their great security on their right, now that these park-walls were in their rear, operated as a barrier to their flight. Having disencumbered themselves of their arms to facilitate their escape, they had deprived themselves of their only means of defence, and driven as they were upon the walls of the enclosures, they would have all perished under the swords of the Highlanders, had not Charles and his officers strenuously exerted themselves to preserve the lives of their discomfited foes. The impetuosity of the attack, however, and the sudden flight of the royal army, allowed little leisure for the exercise of humanity; and before the carnage ceased several hundreds had fallen under the claymores of the Highlanders, and the ruthless scythes of the Macgregors. Armed with these deadly weapons, which were sharpened and fixed to poles from seven to eight feet long, to supply the place of other arms, this party mowed down the affrighted enemy, cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain.

Of the infantry of the royal army, about 170 only escaped. From a report made by their own sergeants and corporals, by order of Lord George Murray, between 1,600 and 1,700

prisoners, foot and cavalry, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, including about 70 officers. In this number were comprehended the baggage-guard stationed at Cockenzie, which amounted to 300 men, who, on learning the fate of the main body and the loss of their cannon, surrendered to the Camerons. The cannon and all the baggage of the royal army, together with the military chest, containing £4,000, fell into the hands of the victors. The greater part of the dragoons escaped by the two roads at the extremities of the park-wall, one of which passed by Colonel Gardiner's house in the rear of their right, and the other on their left, to the north of Preston-house. In retiring towards these outlets, the dragoons, at the entreaties of their officers, halted once or twice, and faced about to meet the enemy; but as soon as the Highlanders came up and fired at them, they wheeled about and fled. Cope, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, assisted by the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the panic-struck dragoons on the west side of the village of Preston, and attempted to lead them back to the charge; but no entreaties could induce these cowards to advance, and the whistling of a few bullets discharged by some Highlanders near the village, so alarmed them that they instantly scampered off in a southerly direction, screening their heads behind their horses' necks to avoid the bullets of the Highlanders. The general had no alternative but to gallop off with his men. He reached Coldstream, a town about 40 miles from the field of battle, that night; and entered Berwick next day.

Among six of Cope's officers who were killed was Colonel Gardiner, a veteran soldier who had served under the Duke of Marlborough, and whose character combined a strong religious feeling with the most undaunted courage. He had been decidedly opposed to the defensive system of Cope on the preceding evening, and had counselled the general not to lose a moment in attacking the Highlanders; but his advice

was disregarded. Anticipating the fate which awaited him, he spent the greater part of the night in devotion, and resolved at all hazards to perform his duty. He was wounded at the first onset at the head of his dragoons; but disdaining to follow them in their retreat, he joined a small body of foot, which attempted to rally near the wall of his own garden, and while fighting at their head was cut down by the murderous Lochaber axe of a Macgregor, within a few yards of his own house. He was carried to the manse of Tranent in almost a lifeless state, where he expired within a few hours, and was interred in the north-west corner of the church of Tranent. The church has been rebuilt; and the grave of Colonel Gardiner is now without the walls of the edifice. An American tourist—who, with an enthusiasm unknown to Scotsmen, recently made a pilgrimage to the grave of Gardiner—exclaims: “Most true it is, that no monument, not even a stone, marks the ground where sleeps this extraordinary man,—a man whom Caledonia may well be proud to have enrolled among her best and bravest sons!”—Captain Brymer of Lee’s regiment, who appears to have participated in Gardiner’s opinion as to attacking the Highlanders, met a similar fate. Having been at the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was satisfied of the capability of the Highlanders to contend with regular troops, and dreaded the result of an encounter if assailed by the Highlanders. When encamped at Haddington his brother-officers were in high spirits, and making light of the enemy; but Brymer viewed matters in a very different light. While reading one night in his tent, he was accosted by Mr. Congalton of Congalton, his brother-in-law, who, observing him look pensive and grave, when all the other officers appeared so cheerful, inquired the reason. Brymer answered that the Highlanders were not to be despised, and that he was afraid his brother-officers would soon find that they had mistaken the character of the Highlanders, who would, to a certainty, attack the royal army with a boldness which those

only who had witnessed their prowess could have any idea of. These gloomy forebodings were not the result of an innate cowardice—for this officer was, as he showed, a brave man—but from a well-founded conviction that Cope's men could not stand the onset of such a body of Highlanders as Charles had assembled. Brymer was killed, with his face to the enemy, disdaining to turn his back when that part of the line where he was stationed was broke in upon by the Highlanders.

The loss on the side of the Highlanders was trifling. Four officers, and between 30 and 40 privates, were killed; and 5 or 6 officers, and between 70 or 80 privates wounded. After the termination of the fight, the field of battle presented an appalling spectacle, rarely exhibited in the most bloody conflicts. As almost all the slain were cut down by the broadsword and the scythe, the ground was strewed with legs, arms, hands, noses, and mutilated bodies, while, from the deep gashes inflicted by these dreadful weapons, the field was literally soaked with gore.

“ Alas! that British might should wield  
Destruction o'er a British plain,  
That hands, ordain'd to bear the shield,  
Should bring the poison'd lance, to drain  
The life-blood from a brother's vein,  
And steep paternal fields in gore!—  
Yet, Preston, such thy fray began;  
Thy marsh-collected waters ran  
Empurpled to the shore.”

The Highlanders, happily, had no revengeful feeling to gratify after achieving their victory, and therefore, when they found themselves completely victorious, were easily induced to listen to the dictates of humanity; and when the action was over, they displayed a sympathy for the wounded rarely

equalled and never surpassed. Charles himself, too, not only issued orders for taking care of the wounded, but also remained on the field of battle till mid-day to see that his orders were fulfilled. Finding the few surgeons he had carried along with him inadequate to meet the demands of the wounded, he dispatched one of his officers to Edinburgh to bring out all the surgeons, who accordingly instantly repaired to the field of battle. As the Highlanders felt an aversion to bury the dead, and as the country people could not be prevailed upon to assist in the care of the wounded, Charles experienced great obstacles in carrying through his humane intentions. Writing to his father, on the evening of the battle, he thus alludes to them: "'Tis hard my victory should put me under new difficulties which I did not feel before, and yet this is the case. I am charged both with the care of my friends and enemies. Those who should bury the dead are run away, as if it were no business of theirs. My Highlanders think it beneath them to do it, and the country people are fled away. However, I am determined to try if I can get people for money to undertake it, for I cannot bear the thought of suffering Englishmen to rot above the ground. I am in great difficulties how I shall dispose of my wounded prisoners. If I make a hospital of the church, it will be looked upon as a great profanation, and of having violated my manifesto, in which I promised to violate no man's property. If the magistrates would act, they would help me out of this difficulty. Come what will, I am resolved not to let the poor wounded men lye in the streets; and if I can do no better, I will make a hospital of the palace and leave it to them."

All the wounded privates of both armies were carried to the different villages adjoining the field of battle. Those of Cope's officers who were dangerously wounded were lodged in Colonel Gardiner's house, where surgeons attended them. In the evening, the remainder, (who had given their parole,) accompanied by Lord George Murray, went to Musselburgh,

where a house had been provided for their reception. Some of them walked, but others, who were unable to do so, had horses provided for them by his lordship. The house into which they were put was newly finished, and had neither table, bed, chair, nor grate in it. Lord George caused some new thrashed straw to be purchased for beds, and the officers on their arrival partook of a tolerable meal of cold provisions and some liquor which his lordship had carried along with him. When about to retire, the officers entreated him not to leave them, as being without a guard, they were afraid that some of the Highlanders, who were in liquor, might come in and insult or plunder them. Lord George consented, and lay on a floor by them all night. Some of the officers, who were valetudinary, slept that night in the house of the minister. Next day, after the departure of the Prince for Edinburgh, the officers had quarters provided for them in Pinkie-house. The other prisoners, privates, were quartered in Musselburgh and the gardens of Pinkie for two nights, and were afterwards removed, along with the officers, to Edinburgh. The latter were confined for a few days in Queensberry-house, when they were released on parole, and allowed to reside in the city, on condition that they should hold no communication with the castle. The privates were confined in the church and jail of the Canongate. Such of the wounded as could be removed were put into the Royal Infirmary, where great care was taken of them. One of the officers having broke his parole by going into the castle, the others were sent to Perth. The privates were removed to Logierate in Athole; and the wounded were dismissed as they recovered, on taking an oath that they should not carry arms against the Prince before the 1st of January, 1747.

When congratulating themselves on the victory they had obtained, the Highlanders related to each other what they had done or seen. Instances were given of individual prowess which might appear incredible, were it not well-known that

when fear seizes an army all confidence in themselves or their numbers is completely destroyed. On this occasion "the panic-terror of the English surpassed all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. 'Of so many, in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken entire possession of their minds.'" Of the cases mentioned, one was that of a young Highlander about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a prodigy, having, it was said, killed fourteen of the enemy. Charles asking him if this was true, he replied, "I do not know if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword." Another instance was that of a Highlander, who brought ten soldiers, whom he had made prisoners, to the Prince, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. With unexampled rashness, he had pursued a party of Cope's men to some distance from the field of battle, along a road between two enclosures, and striking down the hindermost man of the party with a blow of his sword, called aloud at the same time, "Down with your arms." The soldiers, terror-struck, complied with the order without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, made them do as he pleased. Yet as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, these were "the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe."