WILLIAM MACKINTOSH, YOUNGER OF BORLUM, COLONEL IN THE FRENCH ARMY (Cir. 1707) from a miniature in the possession of Herbert Vincent Reade, Esq., C.B., of Ipsden, Oxon.

BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH

OF BORLUM

JACOBITE HERO AND MARTYR

BY

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Impression of One Hundred and Fifty Copies

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR
BY GEORGE BAIN, NAIRN
1918.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE following account of the life, character, and writings of Brigadier Mackintosh has been written with a double object—firstly, to do something for my clan, by placing on record the story of one who was in all respects entitled to rank not only among its "worthies" but among the notable men of his age and country, and secondly, to add to the general stock of knowledge concerning an interesting period of British history. That such an account was not altogether uncalled-for may be gathered from passages in the opening and closing paragraphs, and my only cause for regret is that, owing to the comparative scantiness of biographical material. I have not been able to produce more than a sketch. Of Borlum family papers relating specially to the Brigadier none are known, and in view of the wreck and ruin of his house shortly after his time perhaps none are likely to exist; while the conditions of his life during a great part of his manhood were such as to preclude epistolary correspondence, usually one of the most important aids to a biographer. Numerous scraps of information concerning him are, however, available from other sources, and with these, aided here and there by conjecture which I venture to think will not be found unreasonable, I have done what I could to present a fairly connected record of his career.

For such success as may be thought to have attended my efforts I am to no small extent indebted to the willing help of friends in consulting records and works out of my immediate reach; and this help I gratefully acknowledge. But especially are my thanks due to Mr. Reade of Ipsden for his kindness in entrusting me with such of his valuable family papers as relate to his collateral ancestress, the Brigadier's wife, and in allowing me to reproduce the interesting and characteristic portrait which serves as a

frontispiece. Without his sympathetic aid my book would have been far more incomplete than it is.

It is possible that my sketch may be the means of eliciting additional facts bearing on the Brigadier's life and character, and in this event a biography more worthy of the name may one day be given to the public. Some light might perhaps be obtained from the archives of the French War Office, but at the present time exploration in that quarter is obviously out of the question.

A. M. M.

THE HERMITAGE,

NAIRN.

November, 1918.

BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH OF BORLUM:

JACOBITE HERO AND MARTYR.

The ordinary books of history afford but little light on the life and character of Brigadier Mackintosh, their record of him being virtually confined to the brief episode in his career which placed him among the historical characters of his country—his leading a body of Highlanders on an expedition across the Firth of Forth and the south of Scotland into England in the Jacobite Rising of 1715. The reason for this reticence is perhaps to be found in the fact that, although his performance was such as to entitle him to be regarded as the outstanding hero of the Rising and the only one of the principal Jacobite leaders who proved his fitness for leadership, his position was that of a subordinate only, and the Rising itself, as seen from the modern point of view, was relatively of minor importance, though for a time it seemed to threaten the stability of the Revolution Settlement; while his subsequent activities cannot be said to have had any appreciable effect on the course of history, by furthering the Jacobite cause or otherwise. On the whole, therefore, we can scarcely cavil at the historians for saying so little of the Brigadier, or for dealing only with his meteor-like appearance in 1715 without any reference to his afterlife and ultimate fate. Even the Scottish historians, Scott, Burton, and Lang, though they narrate his doings in the Rising in considerable detail, leave hint outside the walls of Newgate after his prison-breaking, and there dismiss him altogether—save that Burton has a vague reference to his living “to be a benefactor to his country by promoting its agriculture.” But as one whose name is so prominently and indelibly associated with the first Jacobite Rising in Great Britain, and but for whom that Rising would lose much of its interest for modern readers, he seems

to be deserving of more recognition than is afforded by the record of only a few months of his life, the more especially as the biographies of him which have hitherto appeared are at once insufficient and inaccurate.* And, as it happens, his life, so far as it can be traced, was one full of interest and even of romance—not to say of tragedy—and the man himself seems to have been of striking and attractive personality, and one who in brighter circumstances and more settled times would have left his mark for good on his country.

The family of which he became the head—though not until after his father's death in 1717, when he himself was a wanderer and exile—was one of the leading families of the Clan Mackintosh, being descended from William, second son of the sixteenth chief by Agnes Mackenzie of Kintail. Besides the lands of Borlum, in the parish of Dores and only a few miles from the town of Inverness, the family had two small properties in Badenoch—Benchar in Kingussie parish and Raitts in Alvie parish, the former, however, being occupied by a family of Macpherson from 1674 on a wadset or mortgage.

William, the Brigadier, was the eldest of eight sons of William Mackintosh third of Borlum and Mary Baillie, daughter of William Baillie eighth of Dunain by Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of the first Forbes of Culloden. This connection made him a second cousin of the famous Lord Advocate and Lord President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who worked as energetically against the Stuart cause as William Mackintosh worked for it, but with better success. There is some uncertainty as to the year of his birth. The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives it as 1662, perhaps because the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1743 gives his age at his death in that month as eighty years, or perhaps merely following the incorrect biographical sketch of 1877 already mentioned. If 1662 were the correct year, William must have matriculated at Aberdeen University at the early age of ten and taken his degree of Master of Arts at fifteen years, a rare instance of precocity, though paralleled in the case of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, who was born in Sept. 1643 and entered Marischal College in October 1652, at the age of nine years![†] But it seems tolerably evident that the Brigadier's age at death was understated in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* The

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* For the inaccuracy the present writer feels some responsibility, the account in the *Dictionary of National Biography* apparently being largely founded on a sketch which he wrote for an Inverness magazine in 1877, but which he has since found incorrect in several particulars. A sketch of the Brigadier's life is also contained in *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan* (1903), but this also is open to the objections indicated.

† *Fasti Acad. Marisc.* Ii. 218, 220.

proclamation issued in May 1716 after his escape from Newgate describes him as "about sixty years of age," and this description is to some extent corroborated by a pedigree of the Baillies of Dunain which states that his parents were married in 1656 (month not given); so that it seems reasonable to place his birth not later than 1657, and the *Caledonian Mercury* is probably correct in stating in its notice of his death that he was "aged about 85." Besides, the age of twenty-four or twenty-five seems a more suitable age than nineteen for the transactions in which, as will be shown, he was engaged in 1680 and 1681. He was entered as a student of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1672, together with his immediate younger brother, Lachlan, and in the list of those who obtained the degree of Master of Arts in July 1677 the student occupying the first place is "Mr. Gulielmus M^{c}Intosh de Borlum."*

He would seem to have started on his military career soon after attaining this distinction, for only four years later he is found with the title of Captain, engaged in recruiting for "Col. Henry Gage's Scottish Regiment in the Spanish Netherlands." He had undertaken to provide "fifty sufficient soldiers" before the 15th of October 1681 for the sum of 200 rixdollars, under the penalty of "eight dollars for every man awanting"; and for the performance of his share of the bargain he had procured the cautionry of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, backed by that of the chief of Mackintosh, to relieve the latter of whom "Captain William Mackintosh of Borlum younger" gave his own bond at the Canongate on the 8th of August 1681.† It is not stated in what service he had attained the rank of captain, but presumably it was in the regiment for which he was recruiting, and as this regiment was not one in the Scots Brigade under the Government of Holland and the Prince of Orange it may perhaps be inferred that it was in the service of the French king, who had been at war with the Dutch for many years until August 1678, when a lull in the operations ensued consequent on the treaty of Nimeguen. Any actual service on the Continent at that time, however, must have been brief, as William was in Edinburgh in August 1680, on the 17th and 18th giving two bonds for sums amounting to £286 14s.‡ These are the only traces of him until 1688, but though he may have returned to military duty abroad, the latter part at least of the intervening seven years must have been spent in England, almost certainly in London. This seems evident from the facts that the lady whom he married in 1688 was a maid of honour to the Princess Anne, the younger daughter of James II., and that, as he mentions in his *Essay* on

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* *Fasti Aberdon.* 491, 528.

† *Mackintosh Muniments,* No. 596.

‡ *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), vols. 49, 50.

Agriculture, he was "acquainted with and often in the company of" the Hon. Robert Boyle, the distinguished scientist, philosopher, and Christian, who lived in London for many years before his death in 1691 and whom William Mackintosh could have had very little, if any, opportunity of meeting after 1688. There are even grounds for a belief that he held the rank of Captain in the English army at the period of the Revolution; he was known in his wife's family as "Captain Mackintosh," and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 10th Jan. 1743, in noticing his death, definitely states that "he was a Captain in King James VII.'s army before the Revolution "— though perhaps the value of this statement may be somewhat lessened by the partial inaccuracy of what follows, viz., that at the Revolution "he went abroad and followed the fate of his master for several years." On the other hand, his name is not found in Dalton's *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714*, but its absence may be capable of explanation. It is not unlikely that, while still in the French service, he was employed in London as an intermediary between the French Government and the Courts of Charles II. and his successor, both of whom had a sympathetic understanding with the king of France (even while, after 1674, Charles was in open alliance with the Dutch), and that, to save appearances, he had some position about the Court in London with the honorary rank of Captain "unattached."

The lady whom in 1688 he made his wife was Mary Reade, youngest daughter of Edward Reade, the squire of Ipsden in Oxfordshire, some of whose family had suffered for their loyalty in the Great Civil War, and one of whose descendants, Charles Reade, has in recent times added lustre to the Victorian Age of English literature. Mary had been partly brought up by her grand-aunt, Mrs Anne Winwood, daughter of Sir Thomas Reade and wife of Richard Winwood, Sergeant-at-Law, of Ditton Park, Colnbrook, Bucks., and the Ipsden family tradition has it that through that lady's influence she became a maid of honour to Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne. From letters at Ipsden it appears that Mary and the princess, her senior by three years, had known each other as girls while the former was at Ditton. It is evident from documents presently to be quoted that Mrs Winwood was personally acquainted with Captain Mackintosh, and that, either from personal dislike or from political antipathy—probably the latter, as she was a stout Whig—she was strongly opposed to the match and endeavoured to prevent it, in spite of the fact that it was favoured by her niece's own family. Her endeavours were without success, and in 1688 Mary Reade became the wife of William Mackintosh, being at the time about twenty years of age, her husband about thirty-one. Neither the place of marriage nor the exact date has been traced. The marriage presumably took place from the residence of the bride's father, which was then at the old manor-house of Ipsden Basset, some three miles distant from the parish church of Ipsden, but only one mile from that of Checkendon. These distances suggest the likelihood that the marriage was solemnised at Checkendon, not at Ipsden, in the register of which parish it is not entered; but, unfortunately, no information is procurable at Checkendon, as the parish

registers prior to 1715 are not now in existence. The only official record which has been traced is in an old Register of Marriage Bonds for the Archdeaconry of Oxford (now in private hands), the entry being as follows:—"William Mackintosh of Bertum *(sic)*, Scotland, to Mary Reade of Ipsden, married 1688." It would be of some interest to know the exact date, but we may perhaps assume that it was early in the year, before the rush of events which ended in the flight of James II. and the downfall of the Stuart dynasty.

Some light is thrown on the early married life of the couple by the testamentary dispositions of Mrs Winwood a few years after the marriage. These show that Mary Reade was a devoted and apparently almost infatuated wife, and that her husband at an early period after the Revolution had embarked on the career of intrigue and effort for the restoration of the exiled royal family which occupied a great part of his subsequent life. In her will, dated 28th June 1693, Mrs Winwood leaves to her grand-niece Mary Mackintosh for her life the use of certain jewels and linen—with reversion to her daughter, Winwood Mackintosh, god-daughter of the testatrix—the goods and furniture in and about a house at Cole Green in the parish of Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire, lately purchased by Mrs Winwood, a coach and a pair of coach horses with their harness, "at her own choice," and "sables, muff, and quilted satin morning-gown, French petticoat," and other wearing apparel. The will mentions that Mary was living in the house at Cole Green at the time, and there is evidence that her husband was also domiciled there. His intimate knowledge of the county of Herts is shown in his *Essay* on Agriculture written nearly forty years afterwards.

In a codicil, apparently drawn by herself, dated 28th May (which in the deed of 28th June is declared to be "ratified" and to be "taken as part and parcell of this my last will"), Mrs Winwood says—"I fear she [Mary] will suffer much more dayley, but 'tis no more than first I did tell her I feared for her, but I *could not persuade her against having him*, to her ruin I suppose it will prove to her and hers." She states that she does not give much money to her niece Mackintosh "because she is *soe fond of her husband as I doe not approve of*, because he will ruin her, and all I have or can doe will not help it, soe she must smart for her folly." Again,—"I doe see her husband is soe vaine and so contrary to my desires ... I think all I can doe in vaine I fear to make him good for anything at all, but proud, and profanish, and full of folly, and the like things, and will at last break his wife's heart, and soe that all lost on him." And again,—"The Lord forgive her and give her more grace to see her friends from her foes and the like in time, before it is too late for her to help it. She will be still soe fond of a *Scott tory* as to undoe herself altogether, I see, doe what I can, and soe she is like to smart for it and so is all hers too in this world, and in, I feare, the world to come, for I feare he will be no better than he is but full of pride and folly and the like, and so undoe himself and all his too, and spend all I have given her and hers if he can doe it." In another codicil (evidently drawn by a lawyer) relating to her property at Cole Green left in trust for the benefit of Mary and

her daughter Winwood, she strictly enjoins her trustees to see that Mary's interest is in no way to benefit or be influenced by her husband—"not in trust anyway for or for the benefit of the said Captain William Mackintosh but to the intent he may have noe right title interest or concerne in the said premises or profits or any part thereof, nor any controul disposition or power over touching or concerning the same; and that no debts, engagements, acts, defaults, or *crimes* of his or any matter or thing whatsoever, may be the meanes to deprive her the said Mary of the benefit of the said profits, which I designe for her sole separate and dayley maintenance."

Whatever the cause of her opposition to the union of her protegée with Captain Mackintosh, the old lady shortly after the marriage appears to have had ample grounds for anxiety and alarm as to the future of her beloved niece and her young family. The attractions and claims of domestic life seem to have been insufficient to outweigh William's sense of loyalty to King James, and in the year after his marriage or early in 1690 he joined his exiled master. He was with him in Ireland, whence he was sent on a mission to the supporters of the cause who still held out in Scotland after the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie. In a letter to Macpherson of Cluny, dated Lochaber 22nd May 1690, three weeks after the rout of the Jacobites at Cromdale, General Buchan, Dundee's successor, writes,—"The berare young borlem wielle inform youe from the King off all affers." Young Borlum seems to have disappeared as mysteriously as he came, as on 8th June Buchan asks "what is becum off" him.* But his brief visit to the Highlands had no doubt shown him that for the time, at all events, the cause there was in a hopeless condition, and as James's campaign in Ireland came to an inglorious end in the following month, he probably returned home soon afterwards.

In 1694 he is found in London, where on 24th January he renews a bond granted by him in 1680, being described as "younger of Borlum in the county of Inverness in the kingdom of Scotland, and of the parish of Hertingfordburry in the county of Hertford in the kingdom of England."† Hertingfordbury appears to have been the abode of William and his wife for several years until 1696 or 1697, presumably in the house at Cole Green left by Mrs Winwood, in which they resided at the date of that lady's will. The Parish Register has entries of the baptism of William, son of William and Mary Mackintosh, on 11th April 1694, and of Richard (parents' names omitted) on 9th May 1696, also of the burial of the latter—"Richard Mackintosh ye son of William and Mary"—on 1st June following. The elder boy must also have died in minority. Winwood, the daughter

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* *Inverness Gaelic Soc. Trans,* xx. '238.

† *Reg. Deeds,* Edinburgh (Durie), vol. 86.

mentioned in Mrs Anne Winwood's will of 1693, seems to have been the firstborn of the family, but her birthplace has not been traced.

In 1698 Captain Mackintosh is found in Scotland, apparently without having fallen under the law on account of the "crimes" anticipated by Mrs Winwood. He had probably gone north to arrange a home for his wife and family, leaving them at either Cole Green or Ipsden, as both he and Mary were at the latter place in December 1700, and it is most unlikely that Mary had been in the Highlands and returned to the south of England; such a journey was in those days not one to be lightly undertaken by a lady. The home he selected was his family holding of Raitts—afterwards in the end of the century purchased by James Macpherson of Ossianic fame and re-named Belleville (now Balavil)—the house occupying a commanding site above the left bank of the Spey, looking across to the Cairngorm range and over the great Highland road. Here, with occasional visits to Borlum and elsewhere and perhaps a break of a few years about the time of the Union, William had his home for some fifteen years, employing himself mainly in the agricultural and other improvements which his recent residence in an English farming county had no doubt done much to suggest and which were certainly needed, and also, it may be presumed, losing no opportunity of keeping alive the Jacobite tendencies of his neighbours.

During this period there are frequent references to him in contemporary documents. On 26th July 1698 he is one of several witnesses to a bond executed by the chief of Mackintosh in favour of John Farquharson of Invercauld at Ruthven in Badenoch, a few miles from Raitts.* In a royal commission of fire and sword granted on 22nd Feb. of the same year to the chief against his tenants the Macdonalds of Keppoch, "William Mcintosh younger of Borlum" is named as one of the commissioners; but as Coll of Keppoch had the good sense to see that open defiance of the law was not so likely to be passed over under the vigorous rule of William III. as under his predecessors, he prudently entered into negotiations, with the result that the commissioners were not required to act, and the future Brigadier thus lost the chance of a somewhat exciting experience. Two years later, however, he was employed in carrying out the arrangements decided upon in regard to the Keppoch tenancy; the chief, being unable on account of his health to go to Lochaber for the purpose, on 18th May 1700, with the license of the Privy Council, gave a commission to several Mackintoshes and others, heads of the principal families of the clan, to act on his behalf. The first-named of these, ten in number, are John Farquharson of Invercauld (his nephew) and "William

* *Mack. Mun.* No. 653.

McIntosh of Borlum younger."* As has been mentioned, William was at Ipsden at the end of the same year—probably having returned south to escort his wife and children to their northern home—he and Mary by deed dated 21st Dec. 1700 (to which the latter's brother Philip Edward Reade is a witness) releasing and absolving William Allen (Mary's half-brother by her mother's first marriage) from all claims on him in respect of a trust deed of settlement by Mary's father on her marriage.

On 23rd April 1702 the two William Mackintoshes, "elder and younger of Borlum," are among the witnesses to the marriage contract of the chief's son and successor with Anna Duff, daughter of Duff of Drummuir.† That the younger William was in Scotland in the following year appears from a letter dated "Borlum, June 8th, 1703," written by his wife to her elder brother at Ipsden, in which she refers to her husband and children as being with her and in good health, and assures her brother that news of her relations and friends in Oxfordshire "will be very refreshing to me who live at such a distance." The letter mainly concerns her settlement money, which, as it mentions, had been assigned to her father-in-law "when he settled ane estate upon me in liferent to my satisfaction"; but delay had taken place in paying the money owing to the elder Reade's state of health and his transferring his property and affairs to his son. The son, Philip Edward, however, had given a fresh bond, and Mary urges him to make the payment at an early date, as her father-in-law had resolved to lay the money out to the further advantage of herself and her children. As will be seen, the payment was delayed for several years more.

In an Act of Parliament of 1704 William is appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Inverness-shire, and in the following year he makes two appearances. On 20th June 1705 he is a witness to a disposition of land and fishing on Loch Insh by Patrick Grant of Rothimurcus to William Mackintosh of Balnespic,‡ and on the last day of July he is found in Aberdeenshire, with his chief and other Mackintoshes, aiding and abetting John Farquharson of Invercauld in asserting his rights against the Earl of Mar to certain grazings in the forest of Corrivouie. On this occasion both Mar's people and friends and those of Invercauld appear to have been in considerable force, and William Mackintosh would seem from the prominence of his name in the reports to have taken a leading part in the proceedings—as he did in most affairs in which he was concerned. According to the summons of 6th Nov. 1705 to appear at Edinburgh, "John Farquharson of

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* *Privy Council Register (Acta)*, 22 Feb. 1698; *Mack. Mun.* No. 659.

† *Inverness Sasines*, vi. 320.

‡ *Ibid*. vi. 365.

Invercauld, Mackintosh yr. of Bordlam, with their complices" made "ane extraordinary convocation of betwixt three and four hundred men armed . . . and coming in hostile maner and in form of weir." William's brother John, afterwards major of the Mackintosh regiment in 1715, who escaped with him from Newgate and was in the Jacobite attempt of 1719, was one of the party, whom Invercauld in his original answers with naive effrontery described as "what party he only brought with him with dogs and provisions in order to hunt with the Laird of Mackintosh and some of his friends who by appointment did meet the same day."*

In 1705 Mary Mackintosh's elder brother, Philip Edward Reade, died and was succeeded by his brother Thomas, who on arranging the family affairs decided to pay off the money (£300) settled on his sister by her father and to close the trust. As has been seen, however, Mary and her husband had assigned her father's and elder brother's bonds to the elder Borlum "for valuable considerations," and therefore, on 22nd March 1707, Thomas Reade executed a deed binding himself to pay the principal sum and all arrears of interest on the 1st of May 1709, to which course old Borlum had agreed. The arrangement seems to have involved the withdrawal of Mary's sister Ellen and her husband, William Blackall, from the executorship of Philip Reade's will, and on 7th Feb. 1707 they had given formal receipts for certain sums received "from *Coll.* Mackintosh by the order of Thomas Reade of Ipsden Esq^re^" in full satisfaction of their claims on Philip Reade's estate, and an undertaking to renounce their executorship. These documents are mentioned here chiefly on account of the title of "Colonel" given in them to William Mackintosh and because one of the witnesses to William Blackall's receipt is "Mary Mackintosh," who would thus appear to have braved the dangers and hardships of the journey from Inverness-shire to her old home. The "valuable considerations "for which Mary and her husband had assigned her marriage portion had in all probability something to do with a transfer of the Raitts property to them—or, more likely, to Mary alone—by the elder Borlum (compare Mary's letter of 8 June 1703 quoted above), and it may perhaps be assumed that another transaction in the following year was also connected with such a transfer. From an Order by the English Master of the Rolls, dated 4th June 1708, it appears that the small property in Hertfordshire left by Mrs Winwood in part to Mary Mackintosh and her family had recently been sold to Lord Cowper, whose estate at Panshanger it adjoined, and the Order directs that the surplus of the purchase money be laid out in the purchase of "lands lying in North Britain," where she and her husband and children resided. It is stated that the Order was made at Mary's own request, she being in Court, so that her visit to England must have extended over at least eighteen months.

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* *Records of Invercauld* (New Spalding Club), p. 119.

During all that time, and indeed for the period between the years 1705 and 1711, there is no trace of Mary's husband in either Scotland or England, but there are various circumstances which warrant a conjecture as to his whereabouts. The years immediately preceding and following the Parliamentary Union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England were full of hope and excitement for the Jacobites, and there was much passing to and fro of agents and emissaries between Scotland and the Courts of Louis XIV. and the Chevalier de St. George. Information would be in demand at those Courts as to the position in Scotland, especially as to the readiness or otherwise of the Highland clans—always the mainstay of the cause in Scotland—and the younger Borlum may well have been pitched upon by some of the older Jacobites about the Chevalier as one able to afford it, and besides as one who had already proved his capacity and was not so likely to come under the observation of the ruling powers as if he had been a chief or otherwise prominent. The probabilities are great, therefore, that while his wife was in England he was in France; it may even be surmised without any undue stretch of imagination that at this time he did some campaigning in Flanders, and that the "signal instances" of bravery and boldness "beyond seas" for which the Rev. Robert Patten gave him credit several years later were shown at Oudenarde and Malplaquet under the eye of his royal master, the Chevalier de St. George himself. Some colour is lent to this view by the title of "Colonel" applied to him in the Blackall documents of 1707 just referred to, and by a miniature of him which has been handed down in his wife's family. This represents him in an open-breasted scarlet coat with blue lapel collar and gold button mounts and on his head a low three-cornered hat with plume—a dress stated by a competent authority to whom a copy of the miniature has been submitted to be the uniform of "a foreign regiment in the pay of France" early in the eighteenth century, and to correspond "almost exactly with that of the Duke of Berwick's regiment" as shown in a collection of coloured illustrations of French uniforms of about 1720. The miniature was in all probability painted in France about the year 1707, when William is first styled Colonel, and was sent to his wife while at her father's house at Ipsden in 1707-8. As to his military rank, he is mentioned by one of the Government spies, J. MackGregory, in 1715 as "Col[l]- McIntosh, *an officer in the French service.*"*

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* *State Papers (Scot.).* J. MackGregory, who commenced his career as spy in 1714, was presumably a John MackGregory who published in Edinburgh in 1709 *The Geography and History of Tournay . . . for our* British Gentlemen and Officers—*small quarto.*

Wherever the Colonel spent the half-dozen years in which he is lost to sight, whether he returned home immediately after the failure of Admiral Forbin's expedition in 1708* or whether, as suggested above, he took a turn of campaigning against Marlborough in Flanders, he was in Scotland in 1711, to all appearance quietly engaged in his ordinary rural pursuits. In all probability he was at home in the preceding year also, when his daughter Winwood was married, as so important a transaction would scarcely be carried through in his absence. Winwood's contract of marriage with Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn, a Ross-shire laird and a Jacobite, was entered into on the 10th of June 1710, and provided for an annuity of 900 merks to her out of the lands of Mid Fairburn and others in the parishes of Urray and Logie.† In 1711 William is his own witness as to his whereabouts. A letter from him to his brother Lachlan, dated "Reats May 17, 1711," is of interest as showing not only that he was at his Badenoch home immersed in his improvements, but that his financial standing was sufficiently good to enable him to help his brother. It evidently relates to a wadset of the lands of Knocknagael, near Inverness, which Lachlan had just taken from William Baillie of Dunain in security for 5000 merks,‡ and this sum William Mackintosh had obviously helped his brother to raise. After wishing his "loving brother" joy of his bargain and assuring him that "if it was much greater and my credit or interest sufficient" he might depend on them, he goes on to say,—"I have signed the three bonds, and am hopeful my friends the creditors will not stickle at the formality of a manual delivery, which ceremony (was I present) I would as cheerfully do as sign them." In a postscript he begs his brother, then at Inverness where abounded the hardwood trees which were lacking in Badenoch, to "forget not to get me a bag full of ash and siccomore seeds, which I believe hang yet on the trees; also an ounce of spinnage and half-an-ounce of garden cresses seeds.§ He seems to have done a considerable amount of tree planting during his residence at Raitts; the Statistical Account of the Parish of Alvie, written by the minister in 1835, says that "the lawn in front of the house [of Bellville] is adorned with upwards of a hundred large trees of hard wood, and a fine row of elms along the old military road, planted by Brigadier Mackintosh in 1715."

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* The expedition left Nieuport on the 19th and was at the entrance to the Firth of Forth on the 22nd of March. On the latter date the Inverness Town Council minutes mention a rumour of a descent from France and an order to the townsmen to have their arms in readiness.

† *Inverness Sasines,* vii. 229.

‡ *Ibid,* vii, 140.

§ *Letters of Two Centuries,* by C. Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 153.

In the end of 1712 he lost his faithful and devoted wife. No information as to the cause of her death at the early age of forty-four years is forthcoming, but it is to be feared that the rigours of the Scottish climate and the privations and anxieties incident to her position as the wife of a comparatively poor man engaged in dangerous intrigues were not without their effect in hastening her end. After her girlhood at Ditton, her Court life in London, and her early married life in Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire, the change to Badenoch, with its long severe winters and its grim and bare scenery, must have been of a most trying character. That she was regarded by her kinsfolk in the south as an object of commiseration is apparent from a brief but expressive endorsement on her brother's deed of covenant of March 1707 respecting her marriage portion—the two words "Poor Mary!"

The death of Mary was coincident with a revival of the prospects and hopes of the Jacobites. Queen Anne, at that time a chronic invalid, was in the hands of a Tory Ministry, some of whose members were known or believed to be favourable to the cause of the Chevalier de St. George, while there were signs that the Scots people of all classes, Whig and Tory alike, were growing impatient under the general high-handedness and occasional injustice displayed by the Parliament in London towards their country and its interests, and were seriously disposed to regret the Union of 1707. Thus the time seemed ripe for a fresh effort on behalf of the exiled prince. It is tolerably evident that during his years spent in Badenoch William Mackintosh had not confined his energies to the improvement of his own domain, but had kept in touch with his friends across the water and with their sympathisers in his own country. After his wife's death, and in view of the political circumstances just indicated, his energies took a more active shape. In 1713 he was flying up and down the country holding interviews with the leading Jacobite sympathisers, real or supposed, among the Scots nobility, and was then despatched on a mission to the Chevalier, who since his expulsion from St. Germain after the Treaty of Utrecht had set up his Court at Bar le Duc in Lorraine. The Master of Sinclair in his *Memoirs* speaks of William's having been "sent Plenipo to France"; and a letter of 24th Sept. 1714 to the Duke of Montrose (Mar's successor as Secretary for Scotland) states that "Mr. William Mackintosh younger of Borlum, who has come in March from Bar le Duc, is traversing the country from west to east, and has prevailed on the laird of Mackintosh to join the Pretender's cause"; also that the laird had held a meeting of his clan at the head of Strathnairn on the 11th of April, after which arms had been diligently provided by the tenantry.[*]

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[*] *Hist. MSS, Comm*. 3rd *Report,* p. 375.

The mission to Bar le Duc is also referred to by John Cameron, younger of Lochiel (eldest son of the famous Sir Ewen and father of the "gentle Lochiel" of the 1745), in a letter of 24th June 1716 to his clansmen explaining and practically apologising for his failure to give active support to the Jacobites in 1715. In this he says,—"Of late, in the latter end of H.M. Royall Sister's Government, when Mcintosh of Borlum went over, he can informe how stirring I was to gett people to goe into a concert for his M's service, and that I went with him, after being with the Marquess of Drummond, to my Lord Atholl, Broadalbine, Huntly, and oyrs to incurrage them."* The elder Borlum would seem to have been acquainted with his son's proceedings and to have made a shrewd forecast of their probable outcome, for as early as in January 1715 he executed a disposition of his lands of Borlum in favour of William's eldest son, Lachlan, and his heirs male, passing over William himself.† Thus the Brigadier, though on his father's death he became head of the family and was always known as "Borlum," did not, in strictness, become "of Borlum." The fact that old Borlum made no disposition of Raitts as well as Borlum seems to show that, as previously suggested, he had already made over that part of the property to his daughter-in-law as the "valuable consideration" in return for the bonds for her marriage portion. Apparently the old Borlum was not the only one to have an inkling of the coming troubles, for on the 28th of July the Town Council of Inverness ordered a meeting of the inhabitants in arms and a doubling of the guards each night, forbade the sale of powder and lead to "any Highlandman or countryman," and arranged for a house-to-house visitation and a return of all strangers residing in the town.‡

The first move of importance in the Rising of 1715 after the unfurling of the Jacobite standard by the Earl of Mar on the 6th of September was made by the younger Borlum in conjunction with his chief and clan, the chief having received an "Order" from Mar, dated 1st Sept. at Aboyne, to raise his men, join Seaforth and Huntly, and march southward with them. "On the 15th [really 13th] of September," says Lord Lovat, "the laird of McIntosh conveened his men at Farr, as was given out to review them; but in the evening he marched streight to Inverness, where he came by sun-rising with colours displayed; and after he had made himself master of what arms and ammunition he could find, and some little money that belonged to the publick, proceeded to proclaim

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* *Inverness Gaelic Soc. Trans,* xxvi. 68.

† *Letters of Two Centuries*, p. 206.

‡ *Scottish Law Review*, July 1897 —Paper read by Mr. Kenneth Macdonald, Town Clerk of Inverness, at meeting of Association of Burgh Officials on 21 Aug. 1896.

the Pretender King."* So Lord Lovat; but the proclamation seems to have been made by the younger Borlum, who had considerable influence over the chief, his junior by many years, and was indeed the guiding spirit on the occasion. Burton says that he "was deputed to perform the act," and in a letter of the 16th Sept. from the Postmaster of Inverness to the Postmaster-General it is stated that "on Tuesday morning the laird of Mackintosh with a body of four or five hundred men" entered the town, and having posted sentries "Mackintosh of Borlum proclaimed the Pretender at the Cross."† Besides proclaiming King James VIII. and annexing the public money, "Borlum" took the opportunity of placing a garrison in the Castle, thus to some extent isolating the Whig clans of Ross and Sutherland; he also intercepted a Government post carrying a commission for Munro of Fowlis to act as commandant of Inverness, with other correspondence which proved useful to the Jacobite cause.

Although doubtless full of affairs for some days before the proclamation at Inverness, William seems to have found time to attend to social and clannish requirements. On the 11th of Sept. "Mr. William McIntosh younger of Borlum," with three other Williams of the Clan Chattan, is found in the Inverness Parish Register as a witness to the baptism of a son, named William, of Angus Mackintosh, a merchant of Inverness and probably a cadet of the Borlum family.

After his exploits at Inverness William joined Mar at Perth, and within a few days was able to introduce to that leader a well-equipped body of about six hundred of his fellow-clansmen. These, with the addition of some two hundred brought by Farquharson of Invercauld, were formed into a regiment under the chief of Mackintosh as colonel, with Invercauld as lieutenant-colonel—a regiment which "was reckoned the best the Earl of Mar had," says Rae.‡ The Borlum family was well represented in it, William's brother John being major and another brother, Duncan, a captain. One of several errors made in connection with William Mackintosh at this stage of his career is that of calling the regiment "Borlum's battalion," but he had nothing to do with it beyond being in command of the brigade of which it was a part in the expedition in England.

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* "The Lord Lovatt's Account of the Taking of Inverness" in Appendix to Patten's *History of the Rebellion in Scotland,* p. 142.

† Burton's *Hist, of Scotland*, viii. 263; *Historical Summary of the Post Office in Scotland,* by T. B, Lang, p. 11.

‡ *Hist. of the Late Rebellion*, (Dumfries 1718), p. 237.

When Mar decided on sending a force to co-operate with the Jacobites on the Border his choice of a commander fell on our hero, thenceforward known as "Brigadier Mackintosh." As to his purely military qualifications for the post little can be said with certainty, but Mar must surely have been aware that they existed; he must have known that for so important and hazardous an expedition special qualities in the leader were essential, and in his own interest he was bound to select the man in whom these were at least apparent. He had probably seen enough of William to discover that he was a born leader and organiser, a man of prompt decision and vigorous action (how different from himself!), and of sound common sense, besides being devoted to the cause in which both were engaged. And, though there is no actual proof, there is a strong presumption that the new Brigadier had, and was known to have had, some military experience, gained in service abroad, as historical writers appear to have taken for granted and as has been shown in the foregoing pages to be highly probable. Thus Andrew Lang calls him "a veteran soldier of fortune," and as to his military capacity expresses the opinion that "had Mackintosh commanded the little army instead of the futile Forster, the doomed company would have had less disastrous fortunes";* while Burton describes him as "a rough-handed unscrupulous soldier, who had gained experience in all descriptions of warfare," and as "a practical man who had seen abundance of savage fighting,"† and Robert Chambers says,—"he was an officer of great experience, had served much in foreign wars, and possessed the entire confidence of his clansmen of all his [Mar's] officers Borlum was the most eligible for the command."‡ There can scarcely be a doubt that these writers, definite as their statements are, have merely echoed Sir Walter Scott, who says that Mackintosh "was commonly called Brigadier Mackintosh from his having held that rank in the service of France"(!), and in another place describes him as "a bold rough soldier" who was "trained to regular war in the French service."§ Sir Walter—whose romantic pen is responsible for many erroneous historical impressions, especially where Highlanders are concerned—would seem to have drawn on his imagination in writing thus, and in all probability what he says is nothing more than an elaboration, *more suo,* of Patten's words,—"The Brigadier has got the character of Brave and Bold; he has given signal instances thereof beyond Seas."** As has been shown, William was in

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* Lang's *Hist, Scot.*, iv, 204-5.

† Burton's *Hist. Scot.*, viii. 285, 300.

‡ *Hist. of Rebellions in 1689 and 1715*, p. 217.

§ Tales of a Grandfather (Scotland), *iii. 43, 60.*

** Patten, *Hist. of Late Rebellion* (1717), p. 126. Scott does not appear to have been acquainted with *Annals of King George—Year the Second* (Lon. 1717), which speaks of the Brigadier as "an

Britain in most of the years between 1688 and 1715; it is possible that he had brief periode of soldiering abroad after taking his degree at Aberdeen in 1677 and between 1681 and 1688, and may have been actively engaged between 1706 and 1710; but it is obvious that his foreign military service could not have been other than slight and intermittent. The title of Colonel applied to him in 1707 and 1715, and the description of him by the spy MackGregory as "an officer in the French Service," go for little; even assuming the description to be correct, it does not necessarily imply actual service in war, and the rank of Colonel may have been merely titular for use in connection with his work as a Jacobite agent. On the whole, therefore, while there is no reason to doubt that the Brigadier actually had some military training and service abroad, there would seem to be ground for believing that the writers quoted may to a more or less considerable extent be charged with exaggeration. As opposed to their descriptions the evidence of the Master of Sinclair, himself a soldier of some experience in Marlborough's army—though his service came to a sudden end in circumstances not the most creditable—cannot be disregarded, although allowance must be made for the facts that when he wrote his *Memoir* he was full of spleen and disappointment, contempt of Mar, and hatred and jealousy of the Brigadier, and that he had seldom a good word for any but himself. He says,—"The Brigadier was one who had no pretensions to know anything of service, who the world had no better opinion of at that time than they have at present, and who had nothing to recommend him but that his chief, the laird of Mackintosh, who all lookt on to be a very weak man, imagin'd him wiser than himself and delivered himself and his clan up to his disposal—all which, if considered, and that the Brigadier had not credite for 30 pounds in the countrie (witness the straites he was put to when Drummond sent him Plenipo to France), it will look odd how so many lords and gentlemen trusted themselves to him, or that Mar had the face to choose him for such a command." He says further,—"Mackintosh was yet less qualified for the command, for he had neither rank nor any distinguishing thing about him, except ignorant presumption and ane affected Inverness-English accent not common amongst Highlandmen."* Leaving out of the question the Brigadier's lack of wealth and rank, neither of which is essential to success in a military commander, the statement with which the Master opens his attack, though exaggerated, is perhaps likely to represent the facts more nearly at any rate than the statements of Scott a century later. Nevertheless, even supposing the Brigadier to have been entirely without military experience either at home or abroad, there can be no question as to his fully justifying

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old experienced soldier"; nor does he quote *Transactions in Scotland* by Geo. Charles (Stirling &c. 1816-8), which says that the Brigadier "had served abroad."—*i.* 283.

* *Memoir of the Insurrection in Scotland* (Abbotsford Club, 1858), 156, 255.

Mar's selection of him by the masterly manner in which he conducted the expedition entrusted to him and carried out his instructions, even although these led to disaster.

The question whether Mar acted judiciously in detaching so large a body of his best fighting men for an expedition involving obvious and serious hazards, and in a country remote from his base, is one which it is somewhat difficult to decide at this distance of time and without full knowledge of the reports which had reached him as to the extent of the Risings on the Border. A more politic and soldier-like course would perhaps have been to move his whole army at the outset against the Duke of Argyll, who at Stirling barred his way to Edinburgh and the south, though with an inferior force, and who in that case must either have retired before him or have suffered defeat. Either result would have opened a way to the south and to a junction with his friends there, and at the same time would have brought the undecided chiefs and others flocking to the Jacobite standard. With such a force as that assembled at Perth in the middle of October, not less than twelve thousand men, a commander of the stamp of Montrose or Dundee would doubtless have done great things, and might indeed have turned the course of history; but Mar as a leader of men was of far inferior calibre, and his procrastination and inactivity proved to a great extent the ruin of the cause. Even his expectation of help from France is scarcely a sufficient excuse for his neglect of opportunities.

The various stages of the expedition into England are described in more or less detail in the accounts of the Rising by the several writers named above, from Scott to Lang, all being based mainly on Patten's *History of the Late Rebellion* and the *Annals of King George,* and a brief review of the main points is all that is necessary here. The force placed under Brigadier Mackintosh consisted of the regiments of Lord Strathmore, Lord Mar, Logie Drummond, Lord Nairn, Lord Charles Murray, and the chief of Mackintosh, in all about two thousand five hundred men. In the second week of October these were stationed along the Fifeshire coast of the Firth of Forth, from Burntisland to Crail, where they occupied the numerous fishing villages and secured all the boats. On the 12th of October the few vessels representing the British Navy which patrolled the Firth and the adjacent portion of the North Sea, mainly to prevent the landing of troops from France, were busily engaged in watching and bombarding the town of Burntisland, opposite Edinburgh, whither they had been decoyed by an ostentatious parade of preparation as if for a crossing of the Jacobites there, and while they were thus amused the actual crossing was being made twenty-five miles lower down, from Crail, Pittenweem, Elie, and other places in the extreme east of Fife. From these places to the opposite coast of Haddingtonshire the distance varied from fifteen to twenty miles, in what was practically open sea, and it is obvious that such a voyage, in the night time and in open boats crowded with men to most of whom such a mode of locomotion was a complete novelty, must have been attended with considerable risk. The Brigadier and most of his men got safely over on the night of the 12th, but on the following day the

commanders of the war vessels at Burntisland, having discovered the trick played upon them, made the best of their way back to their station and were in time to prevent the transit of the Jacobites from becoming a complete success. One boatload of forty men was captured, others had to put back to the Fife coast, and Lord Strathmore and the greater part of his regiment were forced upon the island of May; nevertheless, when the Brigadier assembled those who had succeeded in crossing he found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men.

After collecting his scattered forces at Haddington, the Brigadier at once marched upon Edinburgh, probably having heard from friends there that the capital was undefended by soldiers. Its acquisition would no doubt have added vast eclat to the cause and would have afforded a good supply of arms and money; but with his small force the Brigadier could not hope to master it without assistance from within, and this was denied him by the prompt action of the magistrates, on learning of the passage of the Firth, in arresting the principal Jacobites in the city and arming the citizens, at the same time sending post haste to the Duke of Argyll at Stirling for help. The writer of the *Annals of King George*, who seems to have had considerable respect for "old Mackintosh," as he calls him, says that he "wanted not courage to have attempted" the seizure of the town, "but he was too much, not too little, a soldier to think of taking a city that had perhaps twenty thousand men in it, tho' no soldiers, with about three battalions." On seeing how affairs stood, the Brigadier at once turned away to the right to Leith, where he re-fortified and occupied the partly-dismantled citadel originally built by Cromwell, took possession of the Custom House, and seized a number of guns and considerable supplies of ammunition and provisions. On the 14th Argyll appeared before the fort with a body of dragoons and militia, but only to receive a defiance from its occupants and to see that he was powerless against them without cannon. These he at once arranged to have on the next day, but the Brigadier did not wait for him. His only reason for being near Edinburgh was the prospect of occupying it or receiving from it a substantial addition to his force, and as this prospect was no longer in sight, he moved during the night to Seton House, the residence of the Earl of Wintoun and a place of some Strength. Here, on the 18th he received instructions from far to march towards England and join the Northumberland Jacobites, and also an express from Mr. Forster, their commander, asking him to meet him at Kelso. He accordingly set out with his small army on the following day, crossed the Lammermoor Hills to Longformacus, proceeded on the following day to Dunse, and arrived on the 22nd at Kelso, where he found the English and Lowland Scottish Jacobites awaiting him. The arrival of his force is described by Batten as follows,—"The Highlanders came into the town from the Scots side, with their bagpipes playing, led by old Macintosh; but they made a very indifferent figure; for the rain and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, tho' their old Brigadier, who march'd at the head of them, Appeared very well." The combined forces remained at Kelso until the 27th of October, to the no small disquiet and alarm of the

country round. The Brigadier's name seems to have been kept alive on the Border long after the events with which it was associated were forgotten, and a Border writer tells us that to him "was assigned the character of a bugbear along the whole course of the Tweed." That writer, Mr William Chambers, relates how in his young days at Peebles early in the nineteenth century and nearly a hundred years after the alarums and excursions of "the Fifteen," The school children of the town "occasionally bombarded with stones a grievously defaced effigy built into the wall of a ruinous old church in the neighbourhood," which effigy, "with savage significance . . . was called 'Borlum,' and as Borlum had been pelted by several successive generations." He goes on to say that "no one could explain who or what was meant by Borlum," and that he himself did not find out until some years afterwards.* Similar echoes of the consternation and terror excited among the quiet Border folk might perhaps even now be traced in some of the towns visited or threatened by the Highlanders, and a search in the various burgh records would doubtless disclose further evidences, it being the Brigadier's custom to requisition all public moneys "for His Majesty's service." Here is a specimen of his cogent style, addressed from "Kelso, 23 Oct. 1715," to the Provost of Dunse,—"Sir, I expected to have heard from you last night as you promised, And that you would have sent yo$^{r.}$ six months Cess of the town of Dunce, for his Ma^{ties} Service; And now I send you this Express to put you in mynd to doe it [at] once this night; otherwise I must be excused to Levy it in a way that will not be very agreeable either to you or me. I am Sir, y$^{or.}$ most humble Servant, Will. Mackintoshe."†

In effecting the junction with the other forces the Brigadier had completed the task assigned to him in an entirely satisfactory manner, for although Mar, in a letter of 21st October to Lord Kenmure, terms the march towards Edinburgh "an unlucky mistake," it does not appear in what way that operation was unlucky or that any particular disadvantage resulted from it. It is probable that Mar's instructions had dealt only with the general idea of a junction of the Highlanders with the forces on the Border, and that in regard to details and even to the course of action after the junction the Brigadier was left to act on his own initiative according to circumstances. This is perhaps what the Master of Sinclair means when he says that the Brigadier "had no positive orders." According to the *Annals of King George* (p. 92) Mar's design at the outset was that the Highlanders should "march to the south to encourage the Viscount Kenmure and the friends they had on that side, and then to march in a body to join the Northumberland

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* *Chambers's Journal,* 6 April 1878, reprinted in *Stories of Remarkable Persons* (Edin. 1878), p. 303.

† Historical Notes, *by D. M. Rose (Edin. 1897), p. 82.*

General, as *they* called him—tho' he never merited the name—and so to march into England to attempt a diversion." Mar himself, writing to a friend on the 13th of October, says of the expedition—"I wish that they may have gone towards Haddington south, to meet our friends who are in arms there. In my last order to them before they embarked I recommended this most to them,"* and as has been seen, further instructions to join the insurgents on the Border were received from him by the Brigadier on the 18th, while at Seton House. But Mar seems to have had no idea of the meagreness and ineffectiveness of the forces whom he wished to encourage, and very vague ideas of what was to happen after the Brigadier had joined them.

So far, from his quitting Perth to his arrival at Kelso, the Brigadier seems to have been favoured by fortune to an extraordinary degree, and everything had gone smoothly with him; but now the conditions were changed. He was no longer free to exercise his powers of initiative in accordance with the promptings of his energetic nature and strong common sense. Although the men under his command outnumbered those of the other forces by nearly three to one, he had no corresponding voice in the direction of affairs. The chief command of the combined forces while in Scotland appears to have been held by Viscount Kenmure, an elderly man, quiet and amiable in disposition, but profoundly ignorant of the art of war. Together with the Lords Nithsdale and Carnwath he had headed the small body of Jacobite gentlemen in Dumfriesshire, and with Lord Wintoun at the head of a still smaller body raised in the Lothians had joined the English insurgents in Northumberland, whose principal leaders were Thomas Forster, younger of Etherston, M.P. for Northumberland, and the Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington. All of these, with others whose claims to consideration could not be overlooked, took part in the frequent councils of war called by Kenmure, and in view of their number and of the variety of interests involved it is not to be wondered at that the councils frequently broke up without arriving at any agreement. It is likely that our Brigadier, as a military man and commander of the whole infantry force, would be listened to on any purely military question, but so far as definite action was concerned he was liable to be out-talked and out-voted, and it may well be imagined that he had ample occasion to curse the fate which had placed him in such a position and among such colleagues. The main question to be decided after the junction at Kelso lay between the two projects of either remaining in Scotland and co-operating with Mar or marching into England—the latter being strongly urged by the English leaders and as strongly opposed by the Brigadier, Lord Wintoun, and most of the Scots. No settlement of this question was come to while at Kelso, but it was arranged to proceed in a south-westerly direction along the Scottish side of the Border so that either alternative might be adopted when a decision should be

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* Mar Papers *penes* Mr. Gibson Craig, quoted in Burton's *History of Scotland,* viii. 287.

reached. Accordingly on the 27th of October the small army set out by way of Jedburgh and Hawick to Langholm, on the Esk, at which place they arrived on the 30th.

All this time General Carpenter had been within a day's march of them, at the head of a numerically inferior force, consisting chiefly of dragoons only recently raised and in poor condition from fatigue. At Kelso our Brigadier was anxious to take advantage of their proximity and condition by attacking them, but was overruled. "Brigadier Macintosh had been all along an advocate for fighting General Carpenter," says Chambers; "at Jedburgh, when requested to persuade his men to march into England, he had struck his pike into the ground and told the Northumbrian gentry that he would not stir a step himself, nor permit his men to stir either, till he had fought the enemy. He was sure, he said, to beat Carpenter; but if he was to be defeated, he would rather be defeated in his own country, where he could make a better shift with his bad fortune than in England."* Later, on the march to Langholm, an officer who had been left behind to reconnoitre reported that he had seen Carpenter's force near Jedburgh and that the horses were jaded and the men raw and undisciplined, on which Kenmure called another council of war, "where opinions were as much divided as ever." Burton, who here quotes the Journal of a Merse Officer, says that "Macintosh, who was a practical man, became disgusted with all these councils and cross-marches. He heard that there was an enemy near, and called on them to stop their consultations and fight him off-hand—a proposal which only made his more deliberate allies say that he saw nothing before him but starving or hanging." But, says the Merse Officer, "the council could come to no resolution, excepting only that the army should march; but they did not determine to what place."† One cannot but feel pity for the Brigadier.

Soon, however, matters took a decided turn. Lord Widdrington joined the army near Langholm with some friends just arrived from Lancashire, who reported that the Jacobites of that county—then a stronghold of Roman Catholicism— to the number of twenty thousand men, were only awaiting the arrival of the force from Scotland to rise to a man and sweep the country. This report, to all appearance authentic—though Patten is sceptical as to the good faith of those who spread it—decided the balance of the war council in favour of the English views, and made even Brigadier Mackintosh an enthusiastic convert. But his Highlanders were less compliant, and at first refused to march further. According to the *Annals of King George* some of the English horse threatened to surround them and compel them to march, but the Brigadier informed

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* *Rebellions in Scotland* 1689-1715, p. 238.

† Burton—*Hist. Scot.*, viii. 300.

them “that he could not allow his men to be so treated,” and the men themselves made ready for resistance. Some five hundred of them turned their faces homewards and went off, in spite of the Brigadier’s attempts to dissuade them. The Merse Officer previously quoted saw him standing in the Esk cursing their obstinacy and trying to prevent their desertion, crying out—”Why the devil not go into England, where there is both meat, men, and money?” In the end the majority of the Highlanders, now only about a thousand in number, consented to go on, and so, on the 30th of October, the little army set out on its march into England, a march which was soon to have a fatal termination for many of those who started on it, but which was only an early stage on the long and toilsome road marked out by fate for the subject of these pages.

After the crossing of the Border into England the chief command was assumed by the English leader, Mr. Forster, under a commission as General from the Earl of Mar. A worse choice could scarcely have been made, and can only be excused on the grounds of its being dictated by supposed political necessity and of Mar’s ignorance of the man and of the real circumstances; so ignorant indeed was he of the man that in writing to or of him he calls him Mr. *Forrester*. Even Forster’s hanger-on and apologist, the renegade parson Patten, owns that “he was no soldier nor was the command given to him as such, but as he was the only Protestant who could give repute to their undertaking, being of note in Northumberland, of an ancient family, and having for several years been member of Parliament for that county.”

During the march into England only occasional glimpses of the Brigadier are afforded until Preston was reached, but it may be understood that a considerable amount of work and responsibility fell to his share as commander of the infantry, and of all the army he and his northern followers, with their strange garb and language, would appear to have been the chief objects of interest among the country people of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, as they had been to those on the Scottish side of the Border. An attorney’s clerk belonging to Penrith, by name Peter Clarke, speaks of seeing the Brigadier as he rode into Kendal equipped with plaid, target, sword, and pistols, and says that he “looked with a grim countenance”; also of seeing him on his departure next day, when he “looked still with a grim countenance, but the lords, Forster, and most of the other horsemen were full of sorrow.”[*] Perhaps Forster and the other leaders, disappointed at the utter absence of recruits and the defection of some who had joined in Scotland,[†] were beginning to realise their rashness in entering on the expedition and

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[*] *Papers about the Rebellions* (Scott. Hist. 800. 1893)—Journal of Peter Clarke.

[†] Thus Patten (p. 87), referring to the halt at Appleby on the day before the arrival at Kendal, says—”Now, instead of increasing, the Rebels number decreased; for Mr. Aynsley, who joined

to feel apprehension as to its results; but it is satisfactory to know that the Brigadier, whatever he may have thought and felt, put a resolute face on the matter—which is no doubt what Clarke meant by the expression "grim"—and was determined to make the best of a bad bargain. Another contemporary reference is by a Lancashire Quaker, Gabriel Dutton, who speaks of the Highlanders as "the pagans who descended from the high mountains of Scotland" and who "played the devil under command of one Mackintosh, who may be compared to Beelzebub the god of Ekron."* On the evening of the 9th of November the Jacobite horse arrived at Preston, two troops of Government dragoons quartered there retiring before them, and on the following day the Brigadier and his infantry marched in, when James VIII. was proclaimed with the usual formalities. At Preston many of the Roman Catholic gentry came in with their servants and followers, who, though for the most part raw countrymen, indifferently armed and totally untrained, seem to have restored to Forster some of the spirits which he appeared to have lost at Kendal a few days before, and to have led him to think that General Wills, known to be in that part of the country at the head of a Government force, would not dare to attack him. The Brigadier, however, advised him not to be too confident, and calling his attention to some of the new recruits in the street below them, said,—"Look you there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with? Good faith, Sir, and ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons."† When on the night of the 11th news came that Wills was leaving Wigan to attack him, Forster is stated to have been in an unfit condition to take any action and to have retired to bed, having, according to one account, "received some little damage in the course of a convival entertainment."‡ His subordinates, however, Kenmure, the Brigadier, and others, at once made preparations for meeting the emergency, though, according to the authority just quoted and the Merse Officer's Journal, some of their orders were reversed by Forster when he became himself again. So far as can be gathered from Patten's report of a subsequent conversation between Lord Widdrington and the Brigadier, the arrangements for defending the town were placed in the hands of the latter. This must have been during Forster's temporary eclipse, as it is hardly likely that that chief would have entrusted the task to one whom he had hitherto persistently slighted as a military adviser. The arrangements, whoever their author may have been,

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them at Jedburgh, not liking the prospect of affairs, nor their management, deserted them, and several with him."

* *Lancashire Memorials*, p. 174.

† *Annuls of King George*, p. 136.

‡ Lancashire Memorials, *p. 109.*

were perhaps as good as could be made in the circumstances, especially in view of the Jacobites' weakness in fighting men and armament, and seem to have been fairly successful against the assaults of the Government troops under Wills on the following day, the 12th. The general idea seems to have been to occupy the centre of the town and to defend the avenues to it, at points where flanking operations could not be undertaken, by means of barricades. Accordingly four barricades were constructed, and were held respectively by the Brigadier, Lord Charles Murray, the chief of Mackintosh, and two officers of Strathmore's regiment. The first, that of the Brigadier, was in the street leading in a southerly direction to Wigan, from which place Wills was advancing; it was thus the first and main object of attack, but was successfully defended with considerable loss to the attackers. Similar results were obtained at the second and third barriers, both of which were also strongly assailed. At the Brigadier's barrier a serious altercation appears to have taken place between Forster and his subordinate. Riding up to the barrier during the fighting, Forster commanded the Brigadier "to advance without the barricado and make a sally," and on the Brigadier's positively refusing "Mr. Forster warmly told him he would have him try'd by a Court Marshal if he outlived the service of the day and if even his King came." According to Patten, who was present and relates what passed, "this occasioned the Grudge which still continued betwixt them even in Newgate"; but it is likely that a "grudge" had subsisted between the two men ever since they had been thrown together, and that the incident at the barrier was the final snapping of relations already strained. Borlum was not one to conceal the impatience he must have felt at the incompetence and flabbiness of the man who had been put in authority over him, and no doubt his plain speaking and contemptuous carriage gave Forster, "dress'd in a little brief authority," ample grounds for feelings of resentment and jealousy at an early period of their acquaintance. That this was the case may perhaps be inferred from the fact that Forster on becoming General of the whole force chose for his adviser 011 military matters—not the Brigadier, whose position in the Jacobite army and whose proved success as a leader and strategist must have seemed to mark him out as eminently fitted for such a post, but—Colonel Henry Oxburgh, an Irish Papist who had joined the insurgents in Northumberland. "As to matters of conduct," says Patten, "he always submitted to the counsel of Colonel Oxburgh, who was formerly a soldier and had obtained a great reputation; tho' it is manifest in our case that he either wanted conduct or courage, or perhaps both. He was better at his beads and prayers than at his business as a soldier, and we all thought him fitter for a priest than a field officer." Another broken reed on whom, according to the same authority, Forster relied was Lord Widdrington, who, though apparently a principal agent in bringing about the march into England by the false reports as to the numbers ready to rise in Lancashire, was one of the first to urge surrender at Preston: he," says Patten, "had too great prevalency over Mr. Forster's easy temper, and . . . understood so little of the matter that he was as unfit for a general as the other; for tho' the family of Widdrington be famed in history for their bravery and loyalty to the English Crown, yet there is little

of it left in this lord, or at least he did not shew it, that ever we could find, unless it consisted in his early perswasions to surrender; for he was never seen at any barrier or in any action but where there was the least hazard."* Possibly, however, in these strictures on Oxburgh and Widdrington may be read something of the writer's jealousy of their influence with his patron Forster. To return to the incident at the barrier, the question of the sally was broached in a conversation which took place between Widdrington and the Brigadier after the surrender, as reported by Patten."† Being asked by Widdrington "Why he did not sally out himself with his men? or why he would not obey Mr. Forster who would have had the Horse to have sallied out?" the Brigadier returned what seems a sufficient answer, to the effect "that if his Foot had sallied out they might by that means been parted from the Horse and so left naked to be cut off: besides, nothing more frightens the Highlanders than Horse and Cannon. As for obeying Mr. Forster, in letting the Horse salley out, he said, If the Horse had attempted any such thing they would have gone through the fire of his men; for they were afraid the Horse designed such a thing and would have been able to have made a retreat and left them pent up in the town." Perhaps the suspicions of the Highlanders were not wholly groundless.

Had Wills and his troops—mostly dragoons of regiments raised only a few months before—been the only opponents with whom they had to deal, the Jacobites might perhaps have given a good account of themselves either in action or by retiring northwards; but they had also to reckon with the force under General Carpenter, which they had evaded on the Border, but which after their evasion had turned southward on a line parallel to theirs. Better would it have been for them if they had listened to the Brigadier a fortnight before and settled with Carpenter while still in Scotland. While the street fighting was going on in Preston on Saturday the 12th, that commander was on his way through the hill country on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and on arriving at Clitheroe was informed of the state of affairs at Preston, some twelve miles distant. Early on the next morning, Sunday, he joined Wills before Preston, the town was regularly invested, and it soon became evident to those within it that resistance was hopeless in the absence of a proper supply of ammunition. While, as Patten tells us, "the Highlanders were for sallying out and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, with swords in their hands," Forster, "prevailed upon by my Lord Widdrington, Colonel Oxburgh, and some few others, resolv'd on a capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good terms." He accordingly, "without the knowledge of the rebel army," says

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* *Patten*, p. 125.

† *Ibid*, p. 134.

Patten, sent Oxburgh out to the Government general, but that officer refused to treat with rebels and demanded their surrender at discretion. On further negotiation, however, in order that the differences of view between the English and Scots might be composed, he granted a truce until the following morning on certain conditions, one of which was that two leading men, one of each nationality, should be given up as hostages; and accordingly the Earl of Derwentwater and the chief of Mackintosh delivered themselves up at his headquarters. In this incident we come on another common error concerning the Brigadier, perhaps traceable to the *Annals of King George,* which says that "the Earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh came out with Col. Cotton as hostages." This, however, is incorrect, as is clear from General Carpenter's evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial: —"I named Brigadier Mackintosh; he [Capt. Dalziel, the envoy] also thought he would not come out. I was unwilling to make difficulties, and said *either of the Mackintoshes* [which could only mean either the Brigadier or the Colonel] and an English lord, and he brought out my lord Derwentwater and *Colonel* Mackintosh as hostages." The *Chronological History of Great Britain* also has "Colonel," while General Wills and others in their evidence say "*Mr.* Mackintosh." On the arrival of a message from Forster next morning that all the besieged would surrender at discretion, the Mackintosh chief expressed a doubt as to the Scots, on which General Wills said, "Go back to your people, and I will attack the town and not spare one man of you." Accordingly Mackintosh went back, says Wills in his evidence, "but came running out immediately again and said that the Lord Kenmure and the rest of the noblemen, with his brother,[*] would surrender in like manner with the English."[†]

The Government troops now took possession of the town and disarmed its defenders. The prisoners numbered some fifteen hundred, of whom more than two-thirds were Scots. Those of most note were sent to London for trial, among them Forster and the Brigadier, with many of the officers of the Mackintosh regiment. On arriving at Barnet they were pinioned, nobles and commoners alike, and from High-gate were escorted into the metropolis by a detachment of the Guards and attended by jeering and reviling mobs to their prisons—the Tower for the nobles, Newgate, the Fleet, and the Marshalsea for the remainder. "Brigadier Mackintosh," says Burton, "remarkable for the grim

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[*] There is some mistake here. "Colonel" Mackintosh, the chief of the clan, had no brother, and his relationship to the Brigadier was only that of third cousin once removed. Wills may have been under a misapprehension, or perhaps he said "Brigadier," the clerk who took down his evidence abbreviated the word by writing "Br.," and the printer read this as "Brother." Lang seems to have been entirely misled.—*Hist. Scot.* iv. 205, 209.

[†] *State Trials,* xv. 836; *Chron. Hist., &c.* (London 1716), p. 869.

ferocity of his scarred face, attracted in the captive procession glances which, through the influence of his formidable presence, had in them more respect than ridicule, even from the exulting crowd;" not an unlikely occurrence, perhaps, but one would like to know the authority for so ogre-like a personal description. Forster and the Brigadier were confined in Newgate, where also were the Brigadier's brother John and others of the clan regiment. The Mackintosh chief was at first in the Fleet Prison, but was afterwards transferred to Newgate: he was released in the following August. The diary of a gentleman in Newgate at the time states—"The Laird of Mackintosh, the chief of his clan, was discharg'd upon the intercession of his lady and other of his friends, who made it plain that he was trapann'd into the Rebellion by the craft of the Brigadier"[*]—a somewhat tame sequel to his spirited conduct while in arms. From a letter of Simon Lord Lovat to the Duke of Cumberland thirty years afterwards it appears that Lovat, then professedly a staunch Hanoverian, was one of the "other friends."

On the 7th April bills of indictment for high treason were found by a grand jury against Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and ten others—one of them Charles Wogan, within a year or two to become the hero of one of the most thrilling and romantic exploits in history—and their trial was fixed for the 5th of the following month. On the 10th of April Forster made his escape without much difficulty during a carouse with the prison governor in the latter's house, and with the aid of a duplicate key of the street door. In consequence of this some of the principal prisoners remaining were put in irons. Among them was the Brigadier, but on the night of the 4th May, the eve of the day fixed for his trial, he "found measures to get off his irons, about eleven at night came down with them in his hand under his gown, and placing himself close by the door of the gaol, when it was opened by a servant who knock'd at it, he rushed out and knock'd down the turnkey, by which himself and fourteen more got out." So the *Secret History*; the *History of the Press Yard* is rather more circumstantial, saying that on the opening of the door the Brigadier "pushed out with great violence and knocked down the Turnkey and two or three of the Centinels. One of them made a Thrust at him with his Bayonet in his Piece, which Thrust he parry'd, and seizing and unscrewing the bayonet menaced it at the Breast of the Soldier, who thereupon gave way." In the *Annals of King George* the escape is said to have been made "in an unexpected and indeed unexampled manner, viz., mainly by plain force, over the bellies both of keepers and soldiers, who they knocked down and opened the doors."[†] Several of those who got out were retaken,

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[*] *Secret History of Rebels in Newgate,* p. 27.

[†] *Secret History* &c., p. 11.; *Hist, of Press-Yard* (Pond. 1717), p. 88; *Annals of King George—Year Second* (Lond. 1717), p. 312,

but the Brigadier and seven others—among them his brother John, the major, and Charles Wogan—got clear away. Some accounts mention only six besides the Brigadier, as the *Secret History* and a letter dated 5th May from Mr. John Forbes in the *Culloden Papers* which says that "Brigadier Mackintosh and six more made their escape out of Newgate last night," but the *Chronological History* and the Royal Proclamation give the number as seven, with the names.

"The Londoners," remarks Burton, "amazingly enjoyed the pomp of justice assembled next day to hear that the bold mountaineer had superseded its functions. Mackintosh was decidedly popular among the Hanoverian mob, who celebrated his heroism in ballads not flattering to their own countrymen." One of these ballads, "An Excellent New Song on the Rebellion," is printed in Hogg's *Jacobite Relics,* where it is described as the "best model of a street ballad extant." It commences,—

> "Mackintosh is a soldier brave,
> And did most gallantly behave
> When into Northumberland he came,
> With gallant men of his own name."

After dealing with the surrender at Preston, mainly according to the printed report of Gen. Wills's evidence, but incorrectly making the Brigadier one of the two hostages, the balladist refers to the apparent jealousy between his hero and the English leader and to certain suspicions of the latter's good faith which seem to have been rife among the Jacobites, and which probably grew from a mistaken idea that Forster's easy escape had been connived at by the Government, as mentioned by Patten:—

> "Mackintosh is a gallant soldier,
> With his musket over his shoulder;
> 'Every true man point his rapier,
> But damn you, Forster, you are a traitor'."

The concluding lines have the true ring of the old street ballad:—

> "Brave Derwentwater he is dead,
> From his fair body they took the head;
> But Mackintosh and his friends are fled,
> And they'll set the hat on another head.
>
> And whether they're gone beyond the sea
> Or if they abide in this countree,
> Tho' our King, would give ten thousand pound,
> Old Mackintosh will scorn to be found."

On the following day, the 5th, rewards for the recapture of the escaped men were offered by Royal Proclamation—£1000 for the Brigadier, and £500 for each of the others; in addition, a printed notice by the deputy keeper of Newgate offered £200 for the Brigadier. In these proclamations he is described as "a tall raw-boned man, about sixty years of age, fair-complexioned, beetle-browed, grey-eyed, speaks broad Scotch"*—a description which scarcely tallies with Burton's "grim ferocity" and "scarred face" or with the Master of Sinclair's "affected Inverness-English accent." There can be little doubt that the escape had been carefully pre-arranged. The prisoners in Newgate seem to have been well supplied with money and to have been allowed to receive visitors without restriction, so that facilities for arranging escapes were not lacking, and no doubt the Brigadier and those who broke prison with him had friends and disguises awaiting them in convenient places. The Brigadier and his brother John were soon far away from London, shaping their course for Oxfordshire. There, not far from Ipsden Basset manor-house, the home of William's brother-in-law Thomas Reade, they found an asylum on Checkendon Common, otherwise Basset Waste—since called from their visit "Scots Common"—a great lonely stretch of waste ground and thick woodland then just outside the Ipsden estate, but added to it in the time of Thomas Reade's great-grandson. The Brigadier had probably made acquaintance with the locality in the days of his courtship or early married life, and had noted its qualities as a hiding place. According to the Ipsden family story he had several companions; one account says as many as twelve, but this seems unlikely. After remaining in this concealment for two or three weeks, presumably while arrangements for getting abroad were being made, he crossed the country to Shoreham in Sussex and thence got safely over to France.† He was at Paris in September, as appears from a letter from the Hon. Isabel Crichton to Oliphant of Cask dated the 28th of that month.‡

He is next heard of as one of the principal men engaged in the Jacobite attempt of 1719, but he may have been in Scotland in the preceding year, as a pamphlet entitled "The Necessity of a Plot; or Reasons for a Standing Army," printed in 1718, speaks of possible peril from Scotland, Brigadier Mackintosh's ghost having been seen in the

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* The Proclamation is printed in full in the Appendix, from the original in the Public Record Office, London. There is also a copy in the British Museum. See also Doran's *London in Jacobite. Times* (Lond. 1877), i. 205-8. "Fair-complexioned" seems hardly a suitable description if we may judge by the epithet "Dearg" applied by the Highlanders to William, "dearg" denoting a deep shade of red.

† *Charles Reade: A Memoir* (Lond. 1887), p. 235. *Record of the Redes, p. 68.*

‡ *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p, 55,

Highlands. The Jacobite attempt of 1719 in Scotland was intended to be auxiliary to a scheme projected by Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish prime minister—who had taken up the cause of James VIII.—for an invasion of England with a considerable force of Spaniards under the Jacobite Duke of Ormond. This invasion was frustrated by storms soon after the Spanish fleet left port, but unfortunately the expedition intended for Scotland had already started, and in April the Earl Marischal, who had been placed in command, landed on the west coast of Ross-shire. His brother James, afterwards the famous field marshal and friend of Frederick the Great of Prussia, had been sent through France to carry the fiery cross to the exiled Jacobites there, and joined his brother in Ross with Tullibardine, Seaforth, and a few others. Whether Brigadier Mackintosh arrived with one of the parties from the Continent or was already in the Highlands is not certain, but he was evidently one of the first at the meeting place. Mar, in his account of the expedition, says that a day or two after their arrival, when Seaforth's aid was in some doubt, "my Lord Marischall, the Brigadiers Campbell of Ormadale and *Macintosh* . . . were still endeavouring a rising at any rate."* At the rendezvous in Ross-shire the small force of leaders and Spaniards was soon augmented by a few hundred of Seaforth's Mackenzies, among whom was the Brigadier's son-in-law, Roderick of Fairburn, some Atholl men under Lord George Murray, and a few Camerons, Macdonalds, Mackinnons, and Macgregors, the last under the notorious Rob Roy. The usual jealousies and divided counsels ensued, Marischal and Tullibardine each putting forward a claim to the chief command, and instead of advancing on Inverness, which was but slightly garrisoned, the small army lingered about the head of Loch Alsh long enough to give the Government general, Wightman, time to obtain reinforcements and to march against them. When the two forces met on the 10th of June in the pass of Glenshiel, under Scour Ouran, our Brigadier was with the Spaniards, who were posted on a hill commanding the pass and a haugh, or level space, alongside the river. Lord Tullibardine, in his report of the 16th to Mar, says,—"Brigadier McIntosh commanded with the Spanish Colonel."† His brother John, the major of 1715 who had escaped from Newgate with him, was with Lord George Murray's force. The skirmish was so far decisive that the Jacobites had to scatter and flee, while the Spaniards surrendered in a body on the following day. Marischal, Tullibardine, and the other leaders, including Brigadier Mackintosh, after a period of lurking in the Highlands, found means of getting over to France.

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* *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 459.

† *Jacobite Attempt of* 1715, by *W*. K. Dickson (Scott. Hist. Soc.), p. 271. See also *Scott. Hist. Review* for July 1905, p. 416.

The only light on the Brigadier's movements during the years immediately succeeding 1719 is afforded by a letter dated January the 24th 1722, addressed to him by the Chevalier de St. George (James VIII.), then resident in Rome. From this letter (which belongs to Mr. Mackintosh of Raigmore, the Brigadier's collateral descendant, and representative of the Borlum family in Britain) it appears that our hero had undergone much suffering and privation after Glenshiel, and had settled himself for a time in the Isle of Ré, or Rhé, opposite Rochelle on the Atlantic coast of France; the letter shows also that some warmth of heart and thought for others lay beneath the coldness and reserve of the unfortunate and somewhat misrepresented prince. It is as follows,—

"I received tother day your letter from the Isle of Ree, and was very glad to hear from you, after all the dangers and fatigues yon have been exposed to on my account, of which I am and shall ever be most sensible; I return you many thanks for the Loyalty and Zeal you express in your letter, and I hope you will yet have an occasion of giving me fresh proof of them in your own country, in the meantime I have no particular directions to send you, although I should be glad to know where you intend to live, which I think cannot be anywhere better than in France, yet I see no necessity of your staying in so unwholesome a place as where you now are; I heartily wish my circumstances allowed me to relieve my suffering subjects abroad in the manner I could wish and it is no small mortification to me not to have it in my power to do what they deserve in that respect, but I hope better days will come, in which I may be able to show them, and you in particular, the grateful I sense I shall ever retain of their attachment for me.—(Sd.) James R."

At the date of his master's letter the Brigadier appears to have been once more in Scotland, probably on some errand in connection with a Restoration plot which caused much commotion at the time. In an "Information" given 1st April and sworn 30th June 1722, a certain Lodowick Anderson, apparently a Government spy, states that on the 28th of January, at the house of Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, he "did see Brigadier McKintosh, who was formerly taken at Preston," and was told by him that "the Pretender designed to have on the Crown of Scotland before Midsummer then next, and was to be assisted from Spain, Muscovy, and France also that a few weeks later Lord George Murray confirmed "all that the said McKintosh had told him, and further told him that their business in Scotland (meaning as this Informant believes himself and the said McKintosh and others who were returned to Scotland from foreign parts) was to make the Loyalists (meaning the Jacobites) have their men in readiness."* At Coul the Brigadier would be in a safe retreat, and among friends. Sir John Mackenzie was the

* *State Papers, Scot.* 2nd Series—bundle xiii. no. 100.

Jacobite governor of Inverness during the brief occupation of that town in 1715, and his house of Coul was within three miles of Fairburn Tower, where resided the Brigadier's daughter Winwood and her husband the laird of Fairburn, the latter also an ardent Jacobite—though he afterwards submitted and after a short term of imprisonment received a pardon.

The main result of the plot of 1721-2 was the imprisonment of Bishop Atterbury, Lord North, and others. The Brigadier returned abroad, but came back to Scotland about the end of May 1724, and in August was once more at his old house at Raitts. A visit to that place was one which he must have known to be attended with considerable risk, as a military force was stationed at the barracks of Ruthven, only three miles away, and he was still an outlaw, with the tempting Government reward of £1000 on his head. Besides, it was evident that the minions of the law and the seekers after reward were still on the alert, as his brother John had found to his cost in 1720,* and it was to be expected that so likely a harbour as his own home would be carefully watched. However, he appears to have been willing to take the risk, possibly urged by some cogent reasons connected with the affairs of his family.

A few details of family history here seem desirable. As the elder Borlum survived the Rising, there was no question of forfeiture of property on account of his eldest son's attainder; and some months before the Rising, no doubt with his son's concurrence, he had specially guarded against such an eventuality by settling his property of Borlum on the Brigadier's eldest son, Lachlan (then a minor), and his heirs male. Raitts, the other family property, he would appear to have settled on his daughter-in-law, the Brigadier's wife, several years before, as has been shown; and this also fell to Lachlan, but without limitation as to heirs. Soon after the Rising young Lachlan went to the colony of Rhode Island, where in Bristol City, in August 1721, he married Elizabeth Mackintosh, daughter of Colonel Henry Mackintosh, his grand-uncle. who had settled there and attained a good position A daughter, Elizabeth, was born to him on 13th Sept. 1722, and another daughter, Mary, on 22nd Aug. 1723, but two months before the latter event Lachlan was drowned at sea. On this his younger brother, Shaw, had succeeded to Borlum as heir-male, and being on the spot had also assumed possession of Raitts—not, it is to be

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* Major John, visiting a friend confined in the Marshalsea for debt in 1720, was there recognised by a man of the criminal class who had been in Newgate when the escape of the Brigadier and his brother took place in 1716. This man reported his discovery to the Marshalsea officials, the major was followed, captured at an inn in Bishopsgate Street, and reconsigned to Newgate on a fresh warrant by the Secretary of State, Lord Stanhope. There he remained for more than a year, when he was discharged on his own petition.—*Treasury Papers* (Pub. Rec. Office) 1720; Doran's *London in Jacobite Times*, i. 356.

feared, in order to look after the interests of his elder niece, but in the hope that owing to her infancy and remoteness he might be able to enjoy the property undisturbed. That his aims were nefarious seems evident from what took place some twelve years later, as recorded in a long letter of 30th Nov. 1736 printed in Fraser-Mackintosh's *Letters of Two Centuries.* In that year he crossed the Atlantic with the view of obtaining the custody of both the girls who barred his succession to Raitts, and who were then respectively fourteen and thirteen years of age and residing with friends at Boston, Massachusetts. After failing to secure his object first by pretences of affection and then by process of law, he succeeded by the aid of a gang of ruffians in kidnapping his nieces and getting them on board the vessel in which he himself was about to return to Scotland. From this they were rescued almost at the last moment and were taken back to Boston; their uncle was arrested on a warrant from the Governor, and also taken back to Boston, where, after narrowly escaping a deserved lynching by the mob, he was committed to jail and detained there until he gave bond in £2000 to abstain from further molestation of his nieces. "What he designed to do with them, the Lord knows, he being next heir to their estates," says the narrator, who took a leading part in the rescue, and whose words just quoted seem suggestive of a comparison of Shaw Mackintosh with such characters as Richard the Third and the wicked uncle of the "Babes in the Wood." To return to the events of 1724,—whether Shaw had or had not at that time any intentions of foul play in regard to the persons or lives of his nieces, his seizure of their inheritance was sufficient to alarm the relatives and friends interested in the two children, and it is not unreasonable to assume that an appeal had been made to the Brigadier to use his authority and influence with his son in order to induce him to do what was right, and that his visit to Raitts was undertaken with that object. No other reason for his incurring so much hazard is apparent, and he was not a man to give way to a mere attack of home-sickness, however violent. It must also be mentioned that Joseph Mackintosh of Raigmore, one of the Brigadier's younger brothers, appears to have been tenant of the agricultural portion of Raitts in 1724, living at another house in the vicinity.

The State Papers relating to Scotland in the Public Record Office, London, contain a good deal of correspondence relative to the events which took place at this visit of the Brigadier to his former home. From the examination of his brother Joseph in London on 14th Jan. 1725 it appears that "the said William Mackintosh was up and down the country, but chiefly resided at the house of his son Shaw Mackintosh" (i.e. Raitts), where he passed as the "cousin" of Mr. Shaw Mackintosh. Joseph did "not certainly know when his brother William Mackintosh returned to Scotland," but believed it "might be about the latter end of May or the beginning of June last, but the said William Mackintosh did not come till the beginning of August last to Badenoch." The officer commanding the detachment at Ruthven Barracks, a certain Lieut. Edmund Harris, who no doubt had a full description of the Brigadier and kept a close watch on visitors to the district, seems

to have discovered the identity of the "cousin" at Raitts, and took measures for securing so valuable a prize. He obtained the services of a Government "messenger" from London, armed with a Secretary of State's warrant, and on the 7th of October he proceeded to carry his design into execution. The results were of an exciting and somewhat dramatic character—inclining, perhaps, more to comedy than to tragedy. Early in the morning Harris sent his servant to announce that he proposed to shoot near Raitts and would be glad to "take a breakfast" with Mr. Shaw Mackintosh's "cousin," Mr Shaw Mackintosh himself apparently being absent. The "cousin" was in bed when the message arrived, but rose at once, ordered a fire, and made other hospitable preparations for the lieutenant, who followed close on the heels of his servant. "The said William Mackintosh and Lieut. Harris saluted each other and sat down together"—with Joseph Mackintosh, the "examinant," who had accompanied the servant to the house—"and entered into discourse." So closely had the lieutenant followed his servant that when he arrived the Brigadier was still, "on hospitable thoughts intent," in his night-gown* and slippers, not having had time to finish dressing. While the three men were engaged in conversation entered the "messenger," Mr. Peter John Du Commun, with six soldiers. Harris then told the Brigadier that he was the King's prisoner, as did also the messenger, showing his escutcheon and laying his hand on the shoulder of the captured man, who offered no resistance, but asked to be allowed to go up to his bedroom to dress. Harris refused to allow this until a reinforcement should arrive from the garrison; he also detained Joseph of Raigmore and a servant who was in the room at the time. The soldiers were then armed with pistols, four of them being posted to guard the prisoners, and the other two sent upstairs, "as the examinant supposes to see that no rescue should come"—perhaps also to hunt for papers. But the suspicions of the country people had evidently been roused on seeing the messenger and the soldiers, and after Harris and his prisoners had conversed quietly for some time a window behind them was suddenly burst open from without and Du Commun ran thither and fired a pistol at those who had opened it, who went away. Harris "told the examinant and his brother that if their mob gathered about them they were both dead men." After another long interval an alarm was given by one of the sentinels upstairs that a number of people were approaching, on which Harris asked Joseph Mackintosh to go up and tell them to disperse, "or it should be the worse for them." Joseph accordingly went, the messenger accompanying him "with a loaded pistol cocked in his hand," but seeing the people breaking into the room below they returned to it quickly and found it "thronged with people, who . . . seized upon Mr. Du Commun." A melée seems to have followed, in

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* Not the modern article of dress so called, but a dressing gown. Compare the "plaid nightgown" in which Mr. Cargill received the first visit of Mr. Peregrine Touchwood.—*St. Ronan's Well,* chap. xvii.

which Joseph received a bayonet thrust in his thigh while, as he states, defending the messenger and endeavouring to appease and disperse the rescue party. There seems to be no question as to his trying to shield the messenger, but as to the other part of his statement one of the soldiers, who professed to understand Gaelic, afterwards declared that, so far from trying to appease the mob, he called upon them in that language to "go east, west, north, and south and raise the countrev, for that the Brigadier and himself should be killed if they did not make all speed imaginable to their assistance." It seems likely, however, that in the confusion this man misunderstood what was said; as the country people were already engaged in the rescue it would have been absurd for Joseph to send them away only to return.

During the progress of the struggle the Brigadier made his escape—it is to be hoped not without his boots and suitable clothing.

The principal sufferer on account of this affair was the unfortunate Joseph of Raigmore, who, besides being disabled by his wound for some months, was kept a prisoner, on a charge of high treason, at Ruthven, Edinburgh, and London, until the following February, when he was released on giving bail for his good behaviour for twelve months. He had further been put to the expense of legal proceedings against his custodians at Ruthven,* who found themselves in somewhat of a difficulty, as the Secretary of State's warrant on which they held him prisoner was in the name of *John* Mackintosh. This may have been merely a clerical error, but it is not unlikely that the authorities in London had forgotten about the recapture and release of Major John three years previously, and that the persons more directly concerned were ignorant of what had then taken place and thought that they now had a chance of securing the £500 offered for John's apprehension in 1716. This view seems to receive some justification from the words of the principal messenger, John Bill, in a letter dated Edinburgh 19th Nov. 1724,—"My Lord Justice Clerk told me that there was he believed a *disappointment* in ye person we *expected* was in custody, for that it was Joseph and not John Mackintosh." Nevertheless—and it does not speak well for the legal machinery of the time—poor Joseph was dragged up to London on the supposition that he was the John Mackintosh who had escaped from Newgate with his brother the Brigadier more than eight years before—but who had been recaptured in 1720 and released in 1721. The

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* In connection with these proceedings before the Lords of Justiciary, Lieut. Harris writes a letter from Perth on 20 Dec. 1724 in which the following passage is of some interest,—"I applyed to Mr. Duncan Forbiss for councell who has bin ask'd before by the frends of the Prisoner to officiate for him, which he tould me he had refus'd to do, and that as McIntosh was a relation of his, he desir'd I woold excuse him if he likewise refus'd to act against him."

Edinburgh Evening Courant of 12th Jan. 1725 gravely announces under the date Jan. 7 from its London correspondent, that "on Tuesday night Major John Mackintosh arrived here [London] by land from Scotland, in the custody of Mr. Mottram and Mr. Du Cummin, two of His Majesty's messengers, and we hear he is to be examined this day before a Committee of Council at the Cockpit," and in the Courant of 22nd Feb., under date 16th Feb., that "Major John Mackintosh is to be admitted to bail." Joseph's bail bond is dated 12th Feb. 1724-5 and provides for his good behaviour during the twelve months thence ensuing under penalty of £50 by himself and £250 by each of his sureties, Captain Philip Huddy, in Carey Street near Lincoln's Inn Play House in the parish of St. Clement, and John Mackintosh, victualler, in Windmill Street in the parish of St. James, Westminster. One of the witnesses is the messenger Du Commun, who evidently was well disposed to his prisoner, as on the 28th of November, while at Ruthven, he had signed a formal acknowledgment that "under God Almighty he saved my life from the mobb, and that in the mean time that he was strugling with the said mobb for to hinder them from killing me, they being so furious, it was then that he received his wound"; also that Joseph was unarmed when found with his brother.

During the next three years the Brigadier is again lost to sight, though reasonable guesses may be made as to his movements. A letter from General Wade to the Duke of Newcastle, dated 2 Oct. 1725,* conveys the impression that soon after his adventure just recorded he had made overtures with a view to surrender—perhaps having become weary of a life of lurking and "hair-breadth 'scapes," perhaps also faintly hoping to be allowed to settle down to his planting and improvements at Raitts—and apparently these overtures were continued through friends. The General says,—"Some instances have been used by the relations of Brigadier McIntosh to induce me to receive his submission (by which I conclude he may be still conceal'd in some remote part of the Highlands), but having communicated to his Majesty the *last winter* a letter he conveyed to me, which contain'd expressions rather like an encomium on the virtues of the Pretender than a just sense of his sorrow for his rebellion against his Majesty, I have absolutely refus'd all applications in his behalf, and shall continue so to doe unless I am authoriz'd to the contrary by his Majesty's express commands." Thus the Brigadier was condemned to continue his wandering, hunted life, though not for long. His wanderings carried him as far north as the Shetland Isles, where he observed the manner in which the herring fishing was pursued by the Dutch fishing fleets and its deleterious effect on the Scottish industry—-a subject on which he afterwards enlarged in his book written during his captivity. He was probably in this remote refuge for a considerable time, but he was now about seventy years of age and apparently in somewhat indigent

* State Papers, Scot., *2nd S., xvi. 34.*

circumstances; small wonder, therefore, if he should have come to the conclusion that it would be better for him to risk capture in his own country, or even to throw himself on the mercy of the Government, than to continue his nomadic existence. He accordingly returned to the mainland, probably in the autumn of 1727. Early in that year General Wade had given "*another* order for seizing the person call'd Brigadier Macintosh, who had been very active in the Rebellion," as he states in a Report to the King; he continues,—"he returned lately from abroad and was at that time lurking in the Northern Highlands, but hearing nothing of his being seiz'd, I presume he has quitted the country."* The presumption was wrong, however; the Brigadier must have been seized very soon after the General wrote his report. A letter, dated Edinburgh 9th Nov. 1727, from Duncan Forbes, then Lord Advocate (the Brigadier's second cousin), to the Duke of Newcastle's private secretary in London, mentions the "seizing of the person commonly called Brigadier Mackintosh, who stands convicted of high treason." The "seizure" had been made some little time before, and the prisoner was expected in Edinburgh "next Saturday" and was to be committed to the Castle. The letter goes on to say,—"the officer who seized him says that he has never a penny of money to subsist on, that he (the officer) has been obliged to provide him with food and necessarys on the road, and that in all probability he must dye of want in goal unless he is subsisted at the charge of the Publick." Unfortunately there are no particulars as to the manner or place of capture, and it is not quite certain whether the "seizing" was not really somewhat of a voluntary surrender. The Rev. Lachlan Shaw, minister of Elgin, and author of the *History of the Province of Moray*, writing about thirty years afterwards, says that William "returning to Scotland was recaptured in Caithness,"† and this is perhaps as near to the truth as regards place as is likely to be reached. Two other letters from the Lord Advocate refer to the case; one, dated 16 Nov., mentioning that "Mackintosh was last Saturday committed to the Castle," the other, dated 30th Nov., notifying the writer's approaching visit to London to attend the opening of Parliament and asking for instructions from the Duke as to his making an examination of "Sterline‡ and Mackintosh" before leaving Edinburgh. The date and nature of the examination do not

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* Col. Allardyce's *Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period* (New Spald. Club 1895), i. 159. The Report is undated, but as it is addressed to George II. it must have been written in the latter half of the year.

† *Memoirs Genealogical and Historical of the Family of MacIntosh* (1738)—MS. *penes* The Mackintosh

‡ ."Sterline" was James Stirling of Keir, who had been arrested in the previous September for his high treason in 1715.—Allardyce's *Hist, Papers* &c., i. 159.

appear, but its result was that the Brigadier remained a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle for the rest of his life.

To condemn an old and broken man to linger out his remaining span of life in confinement on a charge of so many years before seems at the first glance an unduly harsh and vindictive proceeding, but there is something to be said for the Government in regard to it. Not less than Derwentwater, Kenmure, and others the Brigadier had earned the death penalty by his acts in 1715; he had aggravated his offences by taking a prominent part in the "invasion" and the fight against Government troops at Glenshiel in 1719; and looking to his energetic character and his unshakable fidelity to his cause the Government undoubtedly had strong reason to anticipate a continuance of his activities against them should he be allowed to remain at large—notwithstanding his age; as was proved in the cases of Lord Pitsligo and Gordon of Glenbucket in the "Forty-five," the burden of years was not sufficient to crush or weigh down the energy and enthusiasm of the old school Jacobite. In all the circumstances, therefore, the Government of King George cannot fairly be blamed for placing their prisoner in such restraint as would ensure themselves and the country against further danger from him, and they may even be regarded as exhibiting considerable lenity in sparing his life. It is unlikely that his confinement was very rigorous, or closer than was necessary to prevent his escape, as his publications while a prisoner show that he must have been allowed the use of writing materials and must have had communication with the world outside. He had relatives and friends in a position to do something for his comfort, and it is to be hoped that one who did his utmost to that end was his son, the laird of Borlum; but that individual's selfish, pleasure-loving, and generally graceless character scarcely warrants a feeling of certainty on the point. One who may reasonably be presumed to have used his powerful influence to obtain such indulgence for the prisoner as was compatible with his condition was the genial Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden; it can scarcely be imagined that the man who had urged moderation in punishing the rebels in 1715 would be altogether unmindful of the claims of cousinship. That the prisoner was not destitute of the means of gratifying some of his inclinations is apparent from the fact that in the list of subscribers to the new edition of John Major's History, in Latin, published at Edinburgh in 1740, is the name of "The Honourable Brigadier General William Mackintosh of Borlum"; and from the number and extent of the passages which he quotes from various writers of antiquity in his *Essay* it may be gathered that he had a considerable classical library within his reach.

We can only judge of the manner in which he bore himself during his confinement from his writings and from the fact that he was able to withstand the strain for so long as fifteen years. On the whole he seems to have borne his lot with philosophic calm, mindful perhaps of the Horatian injunction —learned in his college days—

"Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem";

perhaps also of the equally well-known lines of Lovelace—

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage";

indeed, with "mind innocent and quiet" he seems to have regarded his prison as did his Cavalier predecessor, calling it his "Hermitage," as in the preface to his *Essay*. Yet, however calm and resigned he may have been, his thoughts must often have turned to the scenes and pursuits in which he had once found congenial occupation, his agriculture, tree-planting, and the many details which make country life interesting and attractive; and at the opening of his last year of captivity he seems to have been unable to smother the keen regret which he felt for his lost years and for what might have been. His words, in the Dedication of his pamphlet of 1742, have a distinct note of pathos,—"Fourteen years and more in this place has made me incapable of rendering all that time any personal service to my country; and I will say had I those years been in the world, some thousands of acres had been this day enclosed, planted, and carrying some profitable vegetable that now (and I doubt ever will) bear only the heath, moss, or water Noah's Flood left upon them."

It may be presumed that throughout his long imprisonment his convictions of the justice of the Stuart cause remained unshaken; had he been willing to renounce them, the Government would surely not have refused to show mercy to so aged a man and to give him his freedom. But he continued steadfast in his faith, true to the principles which had influenced and guided the whole of his manhood, until on the 7th of January, 1743, he was released by Death from his long imprisonment and from the sufferings and disappointments which he had borne with so much fortitude. One of his last acts, it is said—one is glad to think not without a probability of truth—was to dedicate one of his teeth to the service of his exiled master by writing with it on the wall of his room an invocation of God's blessing on King James the Eighth.* It may truly be said of him that he lived and died a martyr to his cause. *Heu pietas! heu prisca fides!*

His death is noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1743 as follows,—"Jan. 7, W^m^. Mackintosh of Borlum Esq., aged 80.† He had been confined fifteen years in the

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* Grant's *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh* (Edin. 1862).

† As explained on p. 3 *ante*, this is most probably an under-statement.

Castle of Edinburgh for being concerned in the late Rebellion." The *Caledonian Mercury* (a Tory organ) in its issue of 10th Jan. 1743 says,—"On Friday died in the Castle William Macintosh of Borlum Esq. aged about 85. His extraordinary natural Endowments, improved by a polite Education, rendered him in all Respects a complete Gentleman, friendly, agreeable and courteous. He wrote several Pieces during his confinement, of which that published Anno 1729, for inclosing, fallowing and planting in Scotland &c. secured to him the lasting character of a *Lover of his Country*. He was a Captain in King James the VII.'s Army before the Revolution, at which Period he went abroad, and followed the Fate of his Master for several years."

His character for bravery and military ability is sufficiently testified by his actions as related in the histories and in the foregoing pages. As to his personal character in other respects, enough has perhaps been said to show that his actions throughout his life proceeded from settled conviction founded on principle, and whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the right or wrong of the cause which led to the enrolment of his name on the page of history, there can be no question of his constancy to that cause or of his purity and honesty of motive in espousing it. As was the case with many others of his period, patriotic sentiment lay at the root of all he did and suffered for the Stuarts; he sincerely—even if mistakenly—believed that the interests of the country he loved could best be served by the restoration of the line of her ancient kings; and thus Jacobitism became to him as a religion for which, in the spirit of the early Christians, he was prepared to sacrifice all he had, even life itself. Burton speaks of him as having "no prejudice against active service wherever it could be obtained," but it is difficult to believe that the Brigadier would have drawn his sword, much less that he would have spent the best part of his life, in a cause which he did not regard as just and right.

The only contemporary writers who have anything to say in his disfavour are the Master of Sinclair and the Rev. Robert Patten. The worst charge the former can bring against him, apart from that concerning his military experience and his poverty and want of rank, is that of "ignorant presumption," and even this may have been intended to apply to military matters only. Patten, however, charges him with the meanest of vices, avarice and covetousness; also with falsifying his muster-roll and taking bribes. As to these acts one would like to have the Brigadier's side of the question, and though it may be quite true that, as Patten says, he "had been very careful to collect all the money he could get of the Publick Revenue," this and the levying of contributions were no more than was done by the great Montrose in the Civil War and by Prince Charles Edward in the Forty-five. Like those leaders, the Brigadier had to supply the needs of his army while in a hostile country, and regarded the public revenue as properly belonging to the king in whose name he fought. But it must be remembered that Patten was a satellite and violent partisan of Forster, and would not be likely to have much scruple about blackening the character of one who had had differences with that patron and had

probably not been at pains to conceal his contempt for both patron and follower; while the unsupported statements of such a Judas, "Reverend" though he was, a man who not only deserted the cause which he had helped by his religious exhortations to keep alive, but actually turned king's evidence against his former friends and flock, can hardly be expected to receive unreserved acceptance.

Among the prominent characteristics of the Brigadier were the energy and thoroughness which he threw into any work on which he might be engaged. These qualities are very noticeable throughout his whole life, from his college days, when his zeal and application placed him at the head of the list of students for laureation, to the preparation of his book on agriculture, which is a monument of precision and attention to detail and shows that he had made himself master of all the technicalities and intricacies of his subject. Whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with his might—a sure way to merit, if not always to win, success and excellence. His energy was no doubt all the greater because of his possessing a highly sanguine temperament, as is evident from various passages in his book and from the constant cheerfulness and optimism which he is usually found displaying in adverse circumstances.

He is sometimes supposed to have been of a rude, savage nature, more than half barbarian and one of those who delight in war. Burton, for example, speaks of his look of "grim ferocity," and calls him "a rough-handed, unscrupulous soldier, who had gained experience in all descriptions of warfare" and "had seen abundance of savage fighting." Much of this description is of course mere hyperbole and literary embellishment, but there is in it probably also some survival of the old Southron idea of the clansmen before 1745 as mere banditti of the type of the wild caterans whose hands were against every man, whether Highlander or Lowlander, and who of all their race were most in evidence in the world outside the Highland line. Such an idea, arising from scantiness of knowledge and a tendency to generalisation,[*] was perhaps most pronounced in England, where, as Sir Walter Scott in his Quarterly Review article on the *Culloden Papers* says,

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[*] This tendency seems to reach high water mark in Buckle's justly famed *History of Civilization in England* (a misleading title by the way, since the third volume is entirely devoted to civilisation in *Scotland).* The following are a few specimens of the sweeping generalities indulged in by this writer. "The Highlanders flourished by rapine and traded in anarchy." "War was their chief amusement . . . their livelihood, and . . . the only thing that they understood." "That barbarous race"; "thieves and murderers"; "this nation of thieves"; "ignorant and ferocious." Such statements and expressions concerning the Highlanders of the Jacobite period reveal an ignorance and a wildness of exaggeration not usually looked for in a modern writer of history. See Buckle, vol. iii., chapter on "Scotland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

even “the most intelligent considered them [the Highlanders] as complete barbarians.” As an example, Sir Walter quotes the case of Dean Swift, who “having dined in company with two gentlemen from the Highlands of Scotland expresses his surprise at finding them persons of ordinary decorum and civility.” It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the character of the Brigadier has suffered from the stigma implied in these mistaken beliefs and ideas. But a Highland gentleman of his day was neither a savage nor a boor; he had generally a fair share of learning, often acquired abroad or at a home university, and besides possessing the innate politeness of his race was by no means unaccustomed to polite society. As we have seen, Borlum had distinguished himself in his University career and had lived for some years in England, evidently among persons and amid surroundings of distinction; while his sojourns in France could scarcely have failed to impart any further degree of polish which may have been lacking in him. There is thus no reason to doubt the correctness of the description given of him by the Caledonian Mercury in 1743 as “a complete gentleman, friendly, agreeable, and courteous,” or to question his ability to hold his own in any society of his time. The Rev. Lachlan Shaw, writing some fifteen years after his death, describes him as “a gentleman of polite education and good knowledge.”

As to his supposed savage nature, he speaks for himself in his extant writings, two of which appeared in print in his lifetime. The first, published in the second year of his imprisonment, is “An Essay on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting &c. Scotland, and that in Sixteen Years at farthest. By a Lover of his Country. Edinburgh, Printed and Sold at Mr. Freebairn’s Shop in the Parliament Closs, and at Mr. Millar’s over against St. Clement’s Church in the Strand, London, M.DCC.XXIX.”* (pp. lii., 335). The sentiments expressed in this book, so far from indicating savageness of nature, are eminently those of a humane and even religious man, while some of the ideas enunciated are far in advance of the age in which they appeared, and truly worthy “a Lover of his Country.”

In his time the agriculture of Scotland was perhaps in an even more backward state than before the Reformation, its methods and implements of the rudest and most inefficient description and its results correspondingly poor and unsatisfactory. The great bars to its improvement were the insecurity of the farmers in their holdings from their

* The names of the booksellers are noteworthy. Freebairn was a Jacobite and had been with Mar at Perth, where he printed the manifestoes, &c., and where the Brigadier had probably become acquainted with him. Andrew Millar was another kindly Scot, settled in London, who published for Thomson, the poet of the “Seasons,” David Hume, and Principal Robertson the historian, and in later years became, as Johnson called him, “the Mæcenas of Literature.”

being as a rule only tenants at will of their landlords; their liability to various services and exactions—such as tilling the ground, sowing and reaping the fields, transporting the produce and peats of those from whom they held their land—all tending to prevent their giving proper attention to their own requirements; and, perhaps not the least serious, their inveterate prejudice against new ideas or any other methods than those of their fathers before them—a prejudice to some extent encouraged, it is to be feared, by the dreary and numbing superstition which in many parts of the country passed for religion at that period. All these bars the Brigadier earnestly set himself to remove. Even in our own days we have heard much of questions of long or short leases, fixity of tenure, and compensation for improvements, and it is curious to turn to the work of this supposed demi-savage, written nearly two centuries ago, and find such utterances as the following,—"Do, my Lords and Gentlemen, give up your services you have of your Farmers, give them long leases, that now, at last, they may believe they can, without fear of another turning them out, enjoy their Improvements and the Fruit of their own Labours. It is just, it is human, and what Religion requires of us."* Another paragraph, as regards both sentiment and expression, is such as might be looked for in the writings of Thomas Carlyle a century later,—"I shall not enter on the Province of the Civilian to enquire how far a man can exert, or extend to the prejudice of another, his Power in managing what is call'd his *Property?* Or, whether the Penalties of Usury ... is incurr'd by raising Land, as well as Money, to too high a Value? But my Conscience indites to me, that the Commons of Scotland have as much Right to live in Scotland and pay Rent, as any Landlord has to live there and receive it: And, as God Almighty has destin'd them to earn their Bread with the Sweat of their Brow, he gave them Scotland for their Theatre to act their toilsome Part on. They are certainly as heritable Tenants as we are Landlords; and if their Charters be narrowly, diligently, and impartially search'd into, it will be found the oldest."† Many other passages might be quoted as giving evidence of a kindly disposition and a desire to advance the welfare of his country and its inhabitants. This, indeed, is the ultimate object aimed at in the book. What the writer wants is to "make from poor rich, from ugly and inconvenient, a beautiful commodious and happy country," and he is of opinion that "any man, whatever Quality he is of, however great in Power or Posts, if with all his Strength and Faculties he does not contribute to make his Country so, he cannot pretend to be a Lover, much less a true Son of that Country ."‡

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* *Essay, &c.*, Dedication to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Scots Nation in the British Parliament, p. xxvi.

† *Essay*, p. 160.

‡ *Ibid*, Dedic., p. xxii.

Among the measures which he proposes for attaining this desirable object, he urges the establishment of a national Agricultural College;[*] and in any matters affecting the general good of the community he is prepared to allow the State considerable latitude in its dealings with the liberty of the individual as regards the use of his possessions. He believes that "no person can urge that either by the strictest precepts of Religion, moral, civil, or municipal laws, there is either hardship or injustice done, or imposed on any, or all, if the Legislature shall oblige all the members of the body to observe and go into measures even to them new, and unwilling to begin in, when the ruling power is sensible and convinc'd that imposition or law is for the advantage of the society in general and every individual of it."[†] Such a doctrine, salutary though it might be in certain circumstances, required careful handling two centuries ago, but no doubt the Brigadier postulates a high degree of wisdom and benevolence in his "ruling powers."

The literary style of the book is rugged and involved, often ungrammatical, and the author in his preface modestly acknowledges his inexperience and general shortcomings as a writer; but there is never any doubt as to the meaning of what is said, and sincerity and earnestness are evident in every line. In so many as two hundred and ninety-five pages of the Essay itself—apart from Dedication, Preface, and Appendix—some amount of discursiveness may be expected, and the author is fond of wandering for a time into some subject not strictly a portion of his main theme, although, as he always shows, more or less closely connected with it. In this way he discourses on such matters as education, political and social economy, home production *versus* foreign supply, the growth of luxury and extravagance among the gentry, and the fishing industry—in all he says showing that he had been a keen and close observer of men and manners. His views on education are enlightened, liberal, and sensible, and such as, with due allowance for the changes wrought by Time in habits of life and thought, might with advantage be taken into consideration in the present day. He regards the object of education as "the real profit and visible advantage of life" and the good of the country. He would have all of the poorer classes taught "to read and write English and give a good account of their Catechism and Confession of Faith," also to make ordinary calculations in money, weights and measures; and all the youth of every class, from the son of the peer to the

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[*] *Ibid*, pp. 187, 191, &c. The Brigadier's heart would surely have been gladdened could he have foreseen that in his own Alma Mater special provision would one day be made for instruction in all matters pertaining to agriculture, as was done in 1889 by the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in the Faculty of Science and the institution of the degree of "Bachelor of Science in Agriculture."

[†] *Essay*, p. 249.

son of the ploughman, he would have instructed in the elements of agriculture—"the most useful, and, except Pasturage, the most ancient of all Sciences." He inveighs against the folly of cramming youths with learning of a kind which they cannot digest and which may have the effect of unfitting them for their station in life; though he would have none "debarr'd the hopes or pretensions of advancing from the state they now are in," and "if a farmer or tradesman is at his ease, and can, without ruining the rest of his children, spend on a son whose inclination carries him to Letters, and whose master, the Minister, and the Gentlemen acquainted with him believe the boy very capable to become proficient in Learning; in God's name, let not only his father bestow on him, but let him be encouraged by both Gentlemen and Clergy." He considers it an evil that the minds of boys should be contaminated by the use of lascivious or obscene classical authors when there are so many others free from blemish and "much more useful in life," and expresses his wonder "how our Bishops before, and now our venerable General Assembly, have so long allowed this poison to be served up to our Youth."

A few other matters treated of in the *Essay* may be briefly referred to as illustrative of the condition of the country and also as exhibiting something of the writer's keen powers of observation and strong common sense, as well as his earnest desire for the welfare of his country. For example, he devotes many pages to the subjects of flax-growing and the care and management of sheep, showing how these industries would be benefited by the adoption of his scheme for a national system of enclosing and fallowing, and how in consequence the linen and woollen manufactures would be improved and made to "bring great sums into the nation." By an easy transition he glides into the subject of herring fishing, showing how, with the increase of wealth which would result from following his proposals, the nation would "in a very short time, by the help of God, be able to set up a Fishery worthy of the country," and with a fleet large enough to vie with that of the Dutch, who not only reaped a great part of the harvest of the seas properly belonging to the inhabitants of Scotland, but by their methods of fishing seriously interfered with the natural run of the fish to the spawning beds off the Scottish coast.

He wishes that ministers of religion would in their sermons inculcate the duty of their hearers to do all in their power for the improvement and enrichment of their country: "indeed," he says, "I think these spiritual guides have a call, yea a tie upon them, to labour strenuously to remove any apprehension in the commons that may obstruct or retard improving their country; a country that has made the most equal and most plentiful allowance to our secular clergy of any in Christendom." He is "sorry that we have reason to blame ourselves that we must run to foreign lands, to lay out ready money on things our own country could bring up as good and as plentifully," and in this connection he enlarges on what he terms the "Epidemick" of extravagance which had set in since the Union and placed Scotland "in the situation of a family that expends more

within doors than our industry without supplies." "Where I once saw the Gentleman, Lady and children dress'd clean and neat in home-spun stuffs, of her own sheeps growth and womens spinning, I see now the ladies dress'd in French or Italian silks and brocades, and the Laird and his sons in English broadcloth. Where I saw the table serv'd in Scots clean fine linen, I see now Flemish and Dutch diaper and damask. And where, with two or three substantial dishes of beef, mutton, and fowl, garnish'd with their own wholesome gravy, I see now served up several services of little expensive ashets, with English pickles, yea Indian mangoes, and catch-up or anchovy sauces." And he sighs over the change from the "quaighful of good wholesome ale" and the "dram of good wholesome Scots spirits" for the morning draught to the "tea-kettle put to the fire, the tea-table, and silver and china equipage brought in, with the marmalet, cream, and cold tea"—a natural cause for regret to a thrifty soul when the cost of tea, except when smuggled, was from 25s. to 30s. a pound. He would have no "idle, strolling, vagrant fellows, who can give no distinct well-vouch'd account of themselves, of their business, or usual abodes . . . idle fellows who throw themselves in summer out of service to extort from gentlemen and farmers in harvest double wages." All such persons he thinks "it were no sin to seize" and to make them work regularly on the land or go to gaol, power being given by the legislature to all justices and local authorities to secure this end and so prevent the "house-breaking, highway or street robberies and padding so much in use and grown upon us as of late, to our great prejudice and shame, it has done."

He concludes his Essay with a description of his country as he wished to see it, in the appropriate words of the Psalmist in the Prayer Book version of Psalm lxv. 13—"The folds shall be full of sheep: the valleys also shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing."

Here and there throughout the book we meet with something like autobiographical indications or allusions. His early acquaintance with Robert Boyle—whom he styles "Sir" Robert—has already been mentioned; he refers more than once to Hertfordshire, where he lived for a few years after his marriage and where he probably acquired much of his knowledge and fondness of agricultural pursuits; he occasionally speaks of himself as a landlord and proprietor, and he tells how, when carrying out improvements on his estate, he was regarded as no more than "a proposer fond of trying experiments" and his successes were held to be only the result of mere chance or luck. He is silent as to his military experiences, but he makes two or three references to his personal acquaintance with France and Holland, and his observations on what he had seen in Argyllshire, Shetland, and the far northern counties of Scotland probably give some indication of the extent and direction of his wanderings in the few years preceding his capture.

The other literary production of the Brigadier is a pamphlet of fifteen pages, with four of Dedication to the Lord Justice General, the Peers, and the Members of Parliament for

the “Counties and Burghs benorth the Forth,” entitled “A Short Scheme; whereby is proposed, by the help of the Military Road, made by the Honourable Lieutenant-General Wade, and now extended by the Honourable Lieutenant-General Clayton, effectually to stop Depredations and Theft so frequently committed in and so destructive to the Northern Counties of Scotland. To which is added by way of postscript a short Dissertation upon the most valuable uses great or Military Roads are of, both to the Prince and the Country through which such Roads are made. Edinburgh, Printed and sold by the Booksellers, 1742.” The dedication is dated “Edinburgh Castle 15 January 1742,” almost exactly a year before the writer’s death. The pamphlet begins with an account of the raising of the Independent-Companies (Black Watch) for the suppression of cattle-raiding, and proceeds to expound the writer’s own scheme, which, roughly, is the maintenance of military posts at various points on the routes usually travelled by the caterans. “This scheme,” says the Rev. Lachlan Shaw, writing some sixteen years later, “is now executed with success.” The pamphlet throws interesting light on the state of the Highlands at the time and on the methods of the raiders, and forms a useful supplement to the better known literature on the same subject in the Appendix to Jamieson’s edition of *Letters from the North of Scotland* and elsewhere. It contains two biographical references, one of which, where the writer bewails his long imprisonment and enforced uselessness to his country, has already been quoted; the other mentions his having once apprehended thieving drovers while in the act of crossing a river, without, however, naming the river or indicating the period.

Two other books, both on the subject of agriculture and both published in Edinburgh, are occasionally entered in library and booksellers’ catalogues as being from the Brigadier’s pen, but without any real authority; in fact the style of writing and other circumstances are adverse to the assumption that he was the author. One is “A Treatise concerning the Manner of Fallowing of Ground, Raising of Grass Seeds, and Training of Lint and Hemp,” published by the Society of Improvers in Agriculture in 1724, a time when, as will have been seen in the foregoing pages, the Brigadier’s circumstances were anything but compatible with his engaging in any literary undertaking; besides, the book is evidently the work of a practised writer, which the Brigadier was not. He appears, however, to have been acquainted with it, and refers to it on pages xlvii. and 239 of his *Essay* as the work of Mr. Hope of Rankeillour. The other is a pamphlet on “The Husbandry of Scotland,” published in 1732 and sold at the price of three pence. This has no doubt been ascribed to the Brigadier on account of the use by its author of the same *nom de plume*, “A Lover of his Country,” as that on the title-page of the *Essay on Ways and Means, &c.* It was reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for July 1764, where the writer is stated to have been Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland, a member of the Society of Improvers. The original edition has a complimentary reference to the *Essay* as “a late performance, said to be written by a gentleman in confinement, which is the first good book on husbandry published in Scotland.”

The evil fortune which during nearly the whole of his Jacobite career seems to have attended the Brigadier may to some extent be said to have descended to his family. Much of the evil arose from the want of moral restraint in his younger son, and for this the Brigadier cannot in fairness be held altogether free from responsibility. There can be little doubt either that he neglected his duty as a father or that his neglect arose from his devotion to the Stuart cause, which engrossed his mind and energies and kept him from his home at the very time when paternal care and guidance were most needed for his motherless boys. Under the watchful eye of a father Shaw Mackintosh might have grown up a better man than was unfortunately the case, and might in his turn have influenced his own son in a right direction and made him a worthy member of society; but "Dis aliter visum."

The elder of the Brigadier's two sons, Lachlan, as has been seen, came to an untimely end in 1723, and left female issue only. The younger, Shaw, a profligate and spendthrift—of whom some particulars have been given on a previous page—was compelled to alienate his estate, and his only son, Edward (born 10 May, 1747), took to evil courses while little more than a youth, became the head of a lawless gang which infested the Highland road as highwaymen, and fled the country in 1773 to escape the penalty of his crimes, disappearing as it were into space, but believed to have died in France. Being known to his contemporaries and the generation immediately succeeding as "Borlum"—though he had really no interest in the property of that name—Edward in course of time became confounded by local tradition with his grandfather, with the unfortunate result that the memory of the latter has been charged with crimes utterly foreign to his nature, and his name, so worthy of honour, is still occasionally mentioned with detestation. With the infamous Edward the Brigadier's male line came to an end. Of his three daughters, Winwood was the wife of Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn, whose male line ended* in the middle of last century; Helen, the second, married an Inverness merchant; and the third, Forbes Mary, died unmarried. The male representation of the Borlum line passed to the family of the Brigadier's next brother, Lachlan of Knocknagael, whose eldest son in 1736 accompanied General Oglethorpe to Georgia, where his family—still largely and influentially represented—took root and flourished, some of its members attaining distinction in both the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. The present representative of the Borlum line in Britain is Niel Donald Mackintosh of Raigmore, of the fifth generation from the Brigadier's brother Joseph whose experiences in 1724 have been narrated in the foregoing pages.

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APPENDIX.

BY THE KING

A Proclamation

for apprehending William Mackintosh commonly called Brigadier Mackintosh, Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Delmahoy, Alexander Delmahoy, John Tasker, and John Mackintosh

GEORGE R.

Whereas *William Mackintosh,* commonly called Brigadier Mackintosh, who is a Tall Raw-Boned Man about Sixty Years of Age, Fair-Complexioned, Beetle-Browed, Grey-Eyed, speaks Broad Scotch, *Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Delmahoy, Alexander Delmahoy, John Tasker,* and *John Mackintosh,* who were lately Committed to the Goal at Newgate for High Treason in Levying War against Us within this Realm did on Friday the Fourth Instant make their Escape out of the said Goal; We have therefore thought fit, with the advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby Requiring and Commanding all Our Loving Subjects whatsoever to use their utmost Endeavour to Discover and Apprehend the said *William Mackintosh, Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Delmahoy, Alexander Delmahoy, John Tasker,* and *John Mackintosh,* and to carry them before One of Our Justices of the Peace, who is hereby Required to Commit them to the next Goal for the said High Treason, there to remain till they shall be Discharged in due Course of Law; of which such Justice of the Peace is hereby Required to give immediate Notice to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State. And for the Encouragement of all Persons to be Diligent and Careful in endeavouring to Discover and Apprehend the said Persons, We

do hereby further Declare, That whoever shall Apprehend and Bring before such Justice of the Peace the said respective Persons, or any of them, shall Have and Receive for such of them, so to be Apprehended and Brought before a Justice of Peace, the Rewards following, That is to say, For the said *William Mackintosh,* the Sum of One thousand Pound, and for each of them the said *Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Delmahoy, Alexander Delmahoy, John Tasker,* and *John Mackintosh,* the sum of Five hundred Pound: Which Rewards the Lords Commissioners of Our Treasury are hereby Required and Directed to pay accordingly.

Given at Our Court at St. James's the Fifth Day of May 1716, In the Second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the same writer,

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