

actions in that great tragedy of her life were based, not on political principles, but on the Scriptural law of humanity and kindness. But to return for a little to her servant, *Nial Mac Eachain*, it may be interesting to the Gaelic readers of the *Celtic Magazine* to lay before them a few verses composed by him after his liberation :—

Thugadh, Ochan ! air falbh mi bho Eilean mo ghraidh,  
Gu dol suas dh'ionnsuidh Lunnain gu'm chrochadh gu'n dail ;  
Air son gu'n d'thug mi furtachd do Thearlach an aigh,  
Gus am faidheadh e ann an tearuinteachd 'null thar sail !

Bha Fionghal Nighean Raonuill a' daonan rim' thaobh,  
Chum mo stiuireadh le gliocas, 's le misnich ro threin ;  
Bha i deas agus dileas a dh'ionnadh an laoch,  
Bha gun charaid co dian rith' 'n ait' eile fo'n ghrein !

A nis fhuair sinn ar saorsa o dhaorsa na truaigh,  
Chum gu'm pill sinn air 'n ais dh'ionnsuidh Eilein ar breith ;  
'S thugadh cliu do'n Oigh mhaisich nach comas a luaidh,  
Leis an fhilidh a's ealant' gu seinn as a leth !

Chaidh sinn cuideachd air falbh, 's thain sinn cuideachd air ais,  
Ann an carbad ceithir-chuidh'leach 's da chaigeann each,  
Is tha aoibhneas, a's gleadhraich, 's ceol-fhuaim nach' eil tais,  
'A toirt suaimhneis is spionnaidh do'n chridhe aig gach neach !

Thug am Prionnsa an Fhraing air, ach chithear e ris,  
Dhruideadh mach as an tir e, ach leanar a cheum ;  
'S biodh Nial Mac Eachain Mhic Sheumais a ris fo chis,  
Mar grad-ghreas e gu Tearlach, 'na ruith is 'na leum.

Ochan ! Fhionghail Nighinn Raonuill, b' eutrom do cheum,  
'Dhol a dh'fhaicinn do Thearlaich air ardach' mar righ,  
'Sa chur falt air 'da luchairt, le 'chrùn-oir nan seud,  
Is e 'riaghladh na rioghachd, le ciuineas 's le sith !

(To be Continued.)

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## BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH OF BORLUM.

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THE reader of history, in studying the progress of great revolutions or the actions of a troublous time, not unfrequently feels a strong desire within him to leave events for a while, and apply himself more particularly to the individuals engaged in them. The feeling is a natural one, for when, by reason of the events being past and over, all ground for the excitement arising from the conflict of hope and fear as to their issue has disappeared, the mind is set at rest as regards results, and mechanically turns to the investigation of causes, which in their turn are generally to be traced to individuals. "The proper study of mankind is man ;" the human mind will always feel a deeper and closer interest in the workings of the minds and in the actions of men, than in the actual changes which they wrought or attempted. Thus it is that we have now-a-days so many biographies and so few histories. From the histories which have been written, we know what general results were effected by certain men, and by what means they were effected ; but in coming to the knowledge of all this, we are naturally imbued with a human, personal interest in the men themselves, and with a desire to know them more intimately than is possible from the mere sketches and outlines of the historian. Who

that has read in histories of Montrose's wars and of the Rising in 1745, has not sought out and read the Lives of Montrose and Prince Charlie, and in so doing has not found himself continually losing sight of the results of the great events in which these played their parts, and concentrating all his interest on the struggles and sufferings of the men themselves?

Again, as in a drama it often happens that our interests and sympathies are awakened on behalf of a character of subordinate importance, the hero of a minor drama going on within and with the main piece, so on the stage of history we are accustomed to see actors, occupying a subordinate place in reference to the main action, whose individual stories by themselves contain elements fully as romantic, exciting, and tragic as that of the general event in which they are performers. Of such minor historical personages we have perhaps only detached glimpses, but these are of a nature to make us desire to have closer and more continuous views.

William Mackintosh of Borlum is one of these minor characters of history of whom the writer has often desired to know more than is recorded in the ordinary accounts of the Rising of 1715. The part which he played on that occasion, in leading a body of troops across a hostile, or at all events a not friendly, country, in marching into England, and in falling with his followers into captivity there, is all that history tells us of him, with the exception of the fact that he escaped from prison on the night before he was to be tried for high treason. In telling us this, history does not trouble herself to enquire concerning his antecedents, but brings him suddenly upon the stage, invested with all the dignity of a historical personage, relates his doings in that character, and finally leaves him outside the Newgate from which he had broken, without letting us know what afterwards became of him. Having done his part in the one scene in which he was a somewhat prominent character, he makes his exit, and history calls him on no more. In the belief that many would be glad to know more of the man who flashes thus like a meteor across the face of our history, and in the hope that these pages may be the means of eliciting further particulars concerning him, I make known the results of my investigations into his career.

The Mackintoshes of Borlum were descended from William, second son of Lachlan Mor, 16th chief of Mackintosh, by his wife, Agnes Mackenzie of Kintail. The feu-right of Borlum was acquired by this William's grandson of the same name, but the lands were in the occupation of the family before his time, as were also the lands of Benchar and Raits (now Belleville), in Badenoch. In the Valuation Roll of the Sheriffdom of Inverness made in 1644, the value of the lands of Borlum, in Dores Parish, is set down as £666 13s 4d Scots, that of Benchar and Raits, in Kingussie Parish, as £500 Scots yearly, considerable sums in those days. The William who acquired the feu-right of Borlum married Mary, daughter of Duncan Baillie, and had five sons, the eldest of whom was William, the subject of this sketch. The youngest was progenitor of the family of Raigmore.

William, son of William of Borlum and Mary Baillie, was born about the year 1662, and at the age of ten years was entered at King's College, Aberdeen, together with his next brother, Lachlan, and Angus, son of

Mackintosh of Killachie (*Fasti Aberdon.* p. 491). Here he remained until he reached his fifteenth year. In the Degree Lists of 7th July 1677, we find him occupying the first place; "*lauream magisterialem adepti sunt juvenes quorum sequuntur nomina—Mr Gulielmus M'Intosh de Borlum, &c., &c.*" (*Fasti*, p. 528). After this we have no particular record of him for a period of some thirty-five years, until shortly before the '15'; but there is reason to believe that after leaving Aberdeen he lived for some time in England. He himself, in a work presently to be noticed, speaks of his having been acquainted with, and often in the society of, the great and good Sir Robert Boyle, who died in 1691. As Sir Robert lived much at Oxford, and as William married into an Oxfordshire family, it is not unlikely that he was at Oxford University for the purpose of completing his education. In England he married an English lady, Mary Reade, one of the family of Edward Reade of Ipsden House, Oxfordshire, the representative of one of the old county families. By this lady he had two sons, Lachlan and Shaw—the latter of whom afterwards sold the feu-right of Borlum to his cousin—and three daughters, the eldest of whom married Mackenzie of Fairburn. After some years in England, he appears to have been employed in the French military service, in which he is said to have attained distinction, but the record of this part of his career is unfortunately at present wanting. It is not unlikely, however, looking to his consistent and active sympathies with the fortunes of the Stuarts in after life, that his leaving England and taking service under the flag of her rival were contemporary with, and in consequence of, the Revolution of 1688, which drove the Stuart dynasty from the throne.

He probably returned home before the close of the century, for in 1698 he is named (as William Mackintosh, younger of Borlum) in a commission of fire and sword, granted by the Privy Council to the Chief of Mackintosh against the Macdonalds of Keppoch (*Reg. Secr. Concil.-Acta*, 22 Feb. 1698); and in an Act of Parliament in 1704, he is similarly named a Commissioner of Supply for Inverness-shire. At this time he resided at Raits, where he set the example of planting. The Statistical Account mentions a fine row of elms which he planted along the old military road near the present Belleville House.

When next we hear of him, he is one of the band of agents employed by the exiled Chevalier de St George (James VIII) to communicate with the Highland chiefs, and to encourage and spread the principles of Jacobitism among his countrymen. In a letter preserved among the papers of the Duke of Montrose, dated 24th September 1714, it is stated that "Mr William Mackintosh of Borlum, who has come in March from Bar-le-Duc (the residence of the exiled King in France), 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 of Mackintosh had held a meeting of his kinsmen at the head of Strathnairn on the 11th April, after which arms had been diligently provided by the tenantry.

On the 6th September 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the standard of James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland at Castleton of Braemar, and on the 13th, the Chief of Mackintosh, supported and encouraged by his kinsman William, younger of Borlum, "conveened his

men at Farr, as was given out to review them; but in the evening he marched straight into 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 the Pretender king" (*Lord Lovat's Account of the Taking of Inverness*, given at the end of Patten's *History of the Rebellion*, Edit. 1717). The proclamation at Inverness is usually, though erroneously, ascribed to Borlum younger. Mr Burton (*Hist. Scot.*, vol. viii., p. 263) says that he was deputed to perform the act; but although this may have been the case, he wisely allowed his chief, whose influence was more extended and attractive than his own in the neighbourhood, to take the lead in matters where such influence might be serviceable to the cause, while he himself undertook the not less honourable duty of managing such affairs as required actual work. He was in fact the moving spirit and real leader of the Mackintoshes and their allies on the occasion, a position to which his experience justly entitled him. He made a temporarily important move by seizing and garrisoning the Castle of Inverness, thus to some extent cutting off the Munros and other northern clans favourable to the Government. He also intercepted the post by which a commission as Commandant of Inverness was forwarded to Munro of Fowlis.

William was at this time about fifty-two years of age, and his father being still alive, not dying until the following year, he was properly Mackintosh *younger* of Borlum. He is so styled in the summons issued to him under the Act of 30th August 1715 "for encouraging loyalty in Scotland," as well as in other documents in 1715.

The Chief of Mackintosh, with his kinsman of Borlum and about seven hundred well-armed men, joined the Earl of Mar at Perth on the 5th October. This force was formed into a battalion of thirteen companies, of which the Chief received the command as colonel, John Farquharson of Invercauld, who had accompanied him with two hundred men, being made lieutenant-colonel. Besides William, three other sons of old Borlum were in the Rising, John, the third, being major, and Lachlan and Duncan, second and fourth, being captains in Mackintosh's regiment. Of the thirty-two officers of the regiment in Patten's list, twenty-seven bore names belonging to Clan Chattan.

We not uncommonly find mention of the "battalion of Brigadier Mackintosh." This is incorrect, the Brigadier having nothing to do with the battalion, except as having command of the entire force of which it formed a part in the expedition in the south of Scotland and in England. Thus Patten (p. 57), "The sixth regiment was called Macintosh's Battalion, a relation of the Brigadier's who is chief of that clan."

The great event of this unfortunate Rising was the campaign in the south of Scotland and in England, and in this the Mackintosh regiment took a prominent part. With the view of encouraging the Jacobites in England and on the Borders, Mar conceived the idea of despatching a force across the Firth of Forth to their assistance, he himself remaining at Perth with his main body until the clans which still held aloof should yield to his persuasions to join him. A more politic and soldierlike course

would, no doubt, have been to move his whole force against the Duke of Argyle, who occupied Stirling, and who must in that case either have retired before him or have been beaten. Either result would have opened a way to the south, and at the same time would have brought the undecided chiefs flocking to the Jacobite standard. But it was not without reason that an aged chieftain at Sheriffmuir gave vent to the exclamation, "Oh! for one hour of Dundee!" Mar was no leader of men; and with such an army as his, the great Viscount would in all human probability have placed his master on the throne of Britain.

The detachment sent across the Firth of Forth comprised six regiments—Lord Strathmore's, Lord Mar's (composed of his own vassals, and some of the Farquharsons under Inverey), Logie Drummond's, Lord Nairne's, Lord Charles Murray's, and Mackintosh's—about 2500 men, and, except Strathmore's regiment, all Highlanders. The chief command was given to our hero, William Mackintosh younger of Borlum, as Brigadier; but whether he had assigned to him any precise orders, or any detailed plan of operations, does not appear. The nights of the 11th and 12th October were chosen for the passage of the Firth. All the boats that could be found along the coast had been pressed into the service, and kept in readiness at Pittenweem, Crail, and other places near. From these places the whole of the 2500 men set out accordingly at the appointed times on their perilous voyage of some eighteen or twenty miles, in crowded open boats, and with the unpleasant knowledge that some hostile men-of-war were cruising near. One boat-load of forty men was captured, others were compelled to put back to the Fife coast, and the whole of the Strathmore regiment was forced into the Island of May. Only about 1500 men, including the whole of Mackintosh's Regiment, achieved the passage.

Collecting his scattered forces at Haddington and Tranent, the Brigadier marched direct on Edinburgh. In a letter of the 21st October to Lord Kenmure, Mar terms this march "an unlucky mistake"; and certainly no advantage came from it, though at the same time it involved no loss or apparent disadvantage. It is probable that the Brigadier had heard from friends in Edinburgh that he had a chance of seizing the capital, an acquisition which would have given vast *eclat* to his army and the cause, and at the same time would have supplied him with arms and money. But Lockhart of Carnwath and other leading Jacobites in the city were ignorant of the expedition, and the authorities, on hearing of the landing of the Highlanders, had at once lodged Lockhart himself in the Castle, and sent to Stirling for aid from the Duke of Argyle. On seeing the position of affairs, the Brigadier turned his back on the capital, and took possession of Leith, where he entrenched himself in a fort originally built by Cromwell. On the 14th October, Argyle appeared before the fort with some dragoons and militia, but only to receive a resolute defiance from its occupants, and to see that he must postpone an assault until he could obtain cannon. The Brigadier did not wait for this, however; he had no object in remaining near Edinburgh, and the same night he moved his force to Seaton House, the residence of Lord Wintoun. Here, on the 18th, he received orders from Mar to march towards England and form a junction with the forces of Lord Kenmure and Mr Forster.

On Wednesday the 19th, the detachment left Seaton House on their march to Kelso, at which place they were received on the 22nd by the Scots and English forces. Patten (p. 38) thus describes their entry:—"The Highlanders came into the town 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, though their old Brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well."

It is not necessary here to follow the Jacobite forces step by step on their fatal march into England; this can be done by the reader with the help of the ordinary histories of the Rising. The responsibility of this disastrous movement rests with Mr Forster and the English Jacobites; it was for some time strongly opposed by the Scots leaders, and only finally assented to by them on the assurance of their English allies that a general rising would take place in Lancashire on their arrival there, and that 20,000 men would immediately join them. No one was at first more averse to the movement than Brigadier Mackintosh, who strongly favoured the proposal to join the western clans under General Gordon, a step which, if taken, would doubtless have secured Scotland to the Jacobite army. It is said that when at last his reluctant consent was given to the proposed march into England, some of the Highlanders mutinied, and refused to go; on which the English horse, finding expostulation useless, threatened to surround them and compel them to march. But the Brigadier informed them "that he would not allow his men to be so treated; and the Highlanders themselves, despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt" (*Annals of the 2d year of George I.*, p. 128).

The movement southward once decided upon, the Brigadier went into it heart and soul, and used all his influence to prevail on the rest of the Highlanders to follow his example. A Merse officer, whose journal is quoted by Mr Burton (vol. viii., p. 301), relates a characteristic anecdote of him. Orders having been given for the march, "the Highlanders refused obedience. Their leader, Mackintosh, who had no prejudice against active service wherever it could be obtained, endeavoured, with all his eloquence and authority, to prevent their desertion; and by one who was sent from the army to know their final determination, he was found standing in the middle of the river Esk, endeavouring to stop them in their attempts to march northwards, and heard emphatically cursing the obstinacy of the mountaineers, and exclaiming with true professional zest, 'Why the devil not go into England, where there is both meat, men, and money? Those who are deserting us are but the rascality of my men.'" On the same authority, Mr Burton gives another anecdote, equally characteristic. During the debates which took place previous to the march into England, "Mackintosh, who was a practical man, and had seen abundance of savage fighting, became disgusted with all these councils and cross-marches. He heard that there was an enemy near (this was General Carpenter), 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."

(To be Continued.)

## BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH OF BORLUM.

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ON the 10th November, the army, now under the chief command of Mr Forster, by virtue of a commission from the Earl of Mar, entered the town of Preston, in Lancashire. On the second day after their arrival, Forster issued orders for a march towards Manchester, but before these could be carried out the approach of the Hanoverian General, Wills, was announced. In great consternation, the commander-in-chief first gave orders to defend the bridge across the Ribble, —the Mackintosh battalion being chosen for this service—but soon afterwards, without even waiting for the enemy's appearance, gave up this position, which he might have held as long as he pleased, and drew all his men into the town. Here he resolved to hold out against Wills. The entrances to the town were speedily barricaded, and bodies of men posted at each. Forster appears to have been so much elated by the number of recruits who joined him at Preston, as to have thought it possible that Wills would decline to face him, but the Brigadier advised him not to be too confident. Observing that his advice was received somewhat lightly, Mackintosh added, "I tell you, man, he (Wills) will attack and beat us all if we do not look about us"; and seeing from the window where they stood a party of the new recruits passing by, some armed with old fowling-pieces, others with rusty swords, and others not armed at all, he contemptuously called Forster's attention to them with the words, "Look you there, Forster; are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with? Good faith, sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons."

On the arrival of the enemy, three of the four barricades, those under the charge of Brigadier Mackintosh, the Chief of Mackintosh, and Lord Charles Murray, were attacked with great fury by the Hanoverian troops, but without success, and with considerable loss.

On the following day—Sunday, 13th November—the Government force was strengthened by the arrival of General Carpenter's army. The town was now regularly invested, and it soon became obvious to the besieged that surrender or death was inevitable. Of the former alternative the Highlanders never dreamed; they "were for sallying out and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, with swords in their hands" (*Patten*, p. 118). Forster and the English were of another mind, and decided on a capitulation, in the hope of obtaining good terms; but they were careful to keep their intention a secret from their northern allies. *Patten* remarks that had the mission of Colonel Oxburgh, who was sent to endeavour to treat with Wills, been made known to these allies, "that gentleman had never seen Tyburn, for he had been shot dead before he had gone out of the barrier." To the requests of Oxburgh, Wills made answer that he would not treat with rebels, and that the only terms he could offer them were to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion.

Sending to the town later in the day for an answer, he was told that differences existed between the English and Scotch officers, and was asked to grant a cessation of hostilities till next morning in order that these differences might be settled, and that a conclusion might be arrived at as to the best means of making the surrender. This request was granted under certain conditions, for the carrying out of which the Earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh were sent to Wills' head-quarters as hostages.

At the appointed time next morning, Wills received a message from Forster to the effect that the besieged were willing to surrender at discretion. According to the deposition of General Wills, at the trial of Lord Wintoun before the House of Lords, "Brigadier Mackintosh being by when the message was brought, said he could not answer that the Scots would surrender in that manner, for that the Scots were people of desperate fortunes, and that he had been a soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. Upon which the deponent (Wills) said, 'Go back to your people, and I will attack the town and not spare one man of you.' Mackintosh went back, but came running out immediately again, and said that the Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scotch noblemen, with his brother, would surrender in like manner with the English."

The Government forces now entered the town, and disarmed its defenders, whom they kept under guard until orders should be received for their disposal. The prisoners numbered nearly 1500, more than two-thirds being Scots. Those of most note were sent to London, some were kept and executed at Lancaster, Liverpool, and other places, while many of inferior rank were shipped off to slavery, worse than death, in the American plantations.

The prisoners selected to abide their trial in London were conducted into the metropolis in a kind of mock triumphal procession, a mode of entry which reflected less dishonour on them than on those who stooped to authorise and enjoy such a spectacle. At Barnet they were pinioned as if they had been the vilest criminals, the noblemen even not being exempted from this indignity. From Highgate they were escorted by horse grenadiers and foot guards, and attended by a jeering and reviling mob to their respective prisons, the Tower for the noblemen, Newgate, the Fleet, and other prisons for the remainder. Among them were Brigadier Mackintosh and the Chief of Mackintosh, with several other members of Clan Chattan. "Brigadier Mackintosh," says Mr Burton (*Hist. Scot.*, vol. viii., p. 333), "remarkable for the grim ferocity of his scarred face [what is Mr Burton's authority for this description?], 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. Ere he had been long among them, he performed a feat which made him still more the object of admiring awe" (alluding to his escape). The Brigadier was confined in Newgate.

On the 14th April 1716, Mr Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and other principal commoners, were examined before a Commission, and bills of high treason were found against them. They pleaded not guilty, and, on



a motion for time, had three weeks allowed them to prepare for their trial, which was fixed for the 5th May. But several found means of evading trial. Forster made his escape by a clever stratagem, and at eleven o'clock on the night preceding the day of trial, the Brigadier, and fifteen of his fellow prisoners in Newgate, knocked down and disarmed the turnkeys and sentinels, and rushed out. Owing to their ignorance of the mazes of London, seven were retaken; but the rest, including the Brigadier, effected their escape. Government immediately offered rewards for their recapture, £1000 for the Brigadier, and £500 for any of the rest, but these were ineffectual. A letter, dated "London, 5th May 1716," from John Forbes to Duncan Forbes, says, "Brigadier Mackintosh and six more made their escape out of Newgate last night" (*Culloden Papers*, No. lxix.).

"The Londoners," remarks Mr Burton, "amazingly enjoyed the pomp of justice assembled next day to learn 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 the ballads here referred to, entitled "An excellent new song on the Rebellion," was obtained by Hogg from Mr David Constable, advocate, and is included in his *Jacobite Relics* (vol. ii., p. 102). It is described as "the best model of a street ballad extant," and in the matters of rhyme, measure, and sentiment, fully justifies this description. It commences thus—

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

Referring to the steps preliminary to the surrender of Preston, it gives a broad paraphrase of the Brigadier's speech to Wills, no doubt founded on that General's evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial—

Then Mackintosh unto Wills he came,  
Saying, "I have been a soldier in my time,  
And ere a Scot of mine shall yield,  
We'll all lie dead upon the field."

In a subsequent stanza, the writer seizes on the apparent jealousy between his hero and the English leader—

Mackintosh is a gallant soldier,  
With his musket over his shoulder,  
"Every true man point his rapier,  
But d—n you, Forster, you are a traitor."

It may be necessary to state, in explanation of the last line, that it was supposed at the time—though, no doubt, without any just grounds—that Forster had betrayed the forces under his command to the Government troops, and that his escape from Newgate was connived at by the Government in consequence. The concluding lines are by far the best in the 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 countrie,  
Though our king would give ten thousand pound,  
Old Mackintosh will scorn to be found.

After his masterful breaking of prison, the Brigadier managed to cross over to France, where Forster and others who had escaped also found an asylum. We hear of his being at Paris in September 1716, from a letter addressed by the Hon. Isabel Crichton to Oliphant of Gask, on the 28th of that month. His father having died shortly before, he was now properly Mackintosh of Borlum.

In 1719 we find him once more in Scotland, as events proved, never again to leave it. In this year another attempt was made at a Jacobite rising in the north of Scotland, and, from an account written in the same year by the Earl of Mar (given as an appendix to the "*Jacobite Lairds of Gask*," London, 1870), it appears that Borlum took part in it. Out of an army of 6000 men which had set out from Spain, only about 300, chiefly Spaniards, landed in Lewis, the rest having been dispersed by storms. With them were the Marquis of Tullibardine, who took the command, and the Earls Marischal and Seaforth. The Brigadier appears to have been as active and hopeful as ever, undismayed by the scantiness of the invading force. Lord Mar speaks of Lord Marischal and Brigadiers Campbell of Ormadale and Mackintosh as "still endeavouring a rising at any rate." The force was augmented by Seaforth's clan, but was still too inconsiderable to cope with the regular forces of the Government, aided by the Whig clans of the north, and after an indecisive skirmish in Glenshiel, it was disbanded, and its leaders returned abroad.

Borlum lingered for some time in Scotland without detection, but was at length apprehended in the wilds of Caithness, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. Here he remained for nearly a quarter of a century, until death released him. On the 7th January 1743, after a rough earthly pilgrimage of eighty years, the gallant old soldier passed to his rest, true to the last to the principles which had influenced the whole of his life. One of his last acts, it is said, 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.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the right or the wrong of the cause which was the means of making Borlum a historical character, there can be no question of his constancy to that cause, or of his purity and honesty of purpose in espousing it. Such constancy could only have proceeded from principle, from a firm and conscientious belief in the justice of the claims of the Stuart family to the throne of Britain, or at any rate to the throne of Scotland. Mr Burton speaks of him as having "no prejudice against active service wherever it could be obtained," but I cannot think 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 believe to be a just one.

Of his bravery and military ability, his actions can be left to speak, although both are called in question by his detractors. Patten (p. 126) says, "The Brigadier has got the character of being brave and bold; he

has given signal instances thereof beyond seas, but we must all say we saw very little of it at Preston." The Master of Sinclair, in what Mr Burton aptly calls his "Malignant Memoirs," sneers most unmercifully at the Brigadier's character for military skill, and does not spare his poverty. "The Brigadier was," says he, "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 this 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" (p. 156). Further, "Mackintosh was yet less qualified for the command, for he had neither rank nor any distinguishing thing about him, except ignorant presumption, and an affected Inverness-English accent not common amongst Highlandmen" (p. 255). Again, according to Patten, his character was tainted by the meanest of vices, avarice, and covetousness. All these are certainly very direct charges, but those of the Master of Sinclair as to the Brigadier's military character merely contain his own individual opinion, and are not borne out by any proof of incapacity displayed by the person charged with it. Few men who have taken part in any kind of political warfare have escaped scot-free from the malice of their opponents or personal enemies, and it is but just to the memory of the Brigadier to point out that both his detractors were personally hostile to him, and that both proved renegades to the cause in which they had engaged as soon as it turned out unsuccessful. The pen of the Master of Sinclair was urged by disappointment and spleen, and jealousy of the Brigadier himself; while the statements of a Judas (worse than Judas, for Judas showed his repentance, while Patten claims credit for his crime) like the *Reverend* Robert Patten, 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 unreservedly received, except when corroborated by other evidence.

Borlum is usually held to have been of a rude, unscrupulous, and savage nature, somewhat akin to that of General Thomas Dalryell of Binns, the persecutor of the Covenanters in the preceding century—although, no doubt, Dalryell had his good points. Thus Mr Burton describes him as "a rough-handed, unscrupulous soldier, who had gained experience in all descriptions of warfare." Gabriel Dutton, a Lancashire Quaker, writes to a friend, "The pagans who descended from the high mountains of Scotland played the devil, under command of one Mackintosh, who may be compared to Beelzebub, the god of Ekron" (*Lancashire Memorials*, p. 174). But the rudeness ascribed to him is altogether imaginary. A Highland gentleman of his day was by no means a savage or a boor; he had generally a fair share of learning, frequently a foreign or a University education, and, besides possessing a Highlander's innate politeness, was accustomed to polite society. As we have seen, Borlum

had distinguished himself in his University career, and had lived for some time in England, evidently in good society. If after this he wanted polish, surely a lengthened sojourn in France must have imparted it. In a MS. of about the middle of last century, by the Rev. Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, he is described as "a gentleman of polite education and good knowledge."

As to his savage nature, let him speak for himself. Mention has been made incidentally of a work written by him; this was *An Essay on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland*, and was printed at Edinburgh in 1729, while its author was in prison. The sentiments expressed in this book, so far from indicating savageness of nature, are eminently those of a religious and humane man, while some of the ideas enunciated are far in advance of the age in which they appeared, and worthy a "Lover of his Country," the name under which the work was published. It is curious to be reading in newspapers at the present time of farmers' agitation on the subject of long or short leases, and compensation for improvements, and then to turn to the work of this supposed demi-savage, written nearly a century and a half ago, and find sentences like 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." (*Dedication to Scots Lords and Gentlemen in British Parliament*, p. xxvi.). A letter appeared in the *Inverness Courier* of January 11, 1876, on the subject of an Agricultural College. Speaking of Sir Robert Boyle, Borlum says (p. 198), "I had the honour to be known to that great man, and oft in his company. He was the greatest lover of agriculture I ever knew, and I wonder he never wrote of it. I heard him say it was a pity there was not seminaries of that, the most useful, and, except pasturage, the most ancient of sciences, established anywhere he knew of." The book displays throughout considerable classical and general knowledge, and, although perhaps some of its technical details are old-fashioned, it is well worth perusal even now, if only on account of the man who wrote it.

Such a man as I have feebly endeavoured to portray was William Mackintosh of Borlum, a man who, under brighter circumstances than those in which his lot was cast, would have left his mark for good on any age. Possessing, as we have seen, all the enthusiasm, all the impulsiveness inherent in the Celtic nature, his whole life shows that he kept those qualities in their proper place, and that what he did was the result of principle proceeding from settled conviction. How deep-rooted this conviction was, his years of imprisonment, and the last act recorded of him, sufficiently testify. True to the death, he exemplified one of the many virtues which shine so brightly throughout Highland history, that of fidelity. *Hen, pietas! hen, prisca fides!*

A. M. S.