

## MACKINTOSH OF BORLUM AND HIS FIGHTING GEORGIA RELATIVES: FROM JACOBITE TIMES TO THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

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*In the late 1970s, I earned my Master's degree in history from the University of Aberdeen with my thesis examining various economic and social factors influencing late 18<sup>th</sup> century Scottish emigration to North America. My time in Scotland increased my interest in the Jacobite movement. Upon returning to my native state of South Carolina, I worked for over thirty years at our State Archives prior to retirement. Occasionally, my wife and I have vacationed in Georgia, our neighbor to the south, where we spent time on the beaches of Jekyll Island. That small island is just south of McIntosh County where so many Scots settled in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jacobite General Mackintosh of Borlum has a strong family connection to the county even though he of course never went there himself.*

*As far as I know, my family isn't related to the Mackintosh family of Georgia as we are descendants of my great-grandfather, school teacher David McNab Mackintosh, who departed Dundee for our state in 1882. The following abstract was prepared as a means of helping fix in my mind the accomplishments of numerous noteworthy members of the Georgia Mackintosh family in various 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century conflicts. It was not prepared for formal publication and thus lacks formal footnotes and a bibliography ; it does cite various sources directly in the context of each biographical sketch. I am pleased to be able to share it with you.*

**William Mackintosh of Borlum 1658?-1743.** Born and raised at Borlum, near Inverness and generally referred to as "Borum" in period histories. Directly related to the Chief of Clan, Mackintosh of Mackintosh. With the exception of the well-documented Jacobite risings in which he took a leading role, it is difficult to fill in the blanks on much of the rest of his life where dates are concerned as sources conflict over how long he spent in exile abroad as well as in Edinburgh Castle as a prisoner. After all, much of his life was spent trying to stay out of reach of the British government. We do know that he was raised as a member of the Episcopal Church and therefore a "dissenter" since that church was the state church of England and was not recognized as the official state church of Scotland, which of course was Presbyterian in polity. Many Scottish Episcopalians were Jacobites.

He was a 1677 graduate of King's College in Aberdeen, now part of the university there. He may have also studied at Oxford as he is definitely associated with Oxfordshire having married a lady from there. He served in the military for James II during that monarch's brief and ill-fated reign which only lasted from 1685-1688. In early 1688 he took part in what is generally considered to be the last true battle between clans as he fought at [Mulroy](#), in which members of Clan Mackintosh attempted to punish the MacDonalds of Keppoch for not having paid rent for 25 years on land they had leased. Having tied his fortunes to the Catholic Stuarts, unlike some, he remained steadfastly loyal to them after James fled England. Following the departure of the King later that same year, Borlum fled abroad as well and served in the armies of France. Most likely, he returned to Britain sometime in the late 1690s. He played a prominent role in the 1715 Rising that attempted to oust George I who had ascended to the throne the previous year. He responded to the Earl of Mar's summons for the

clans to rally by persuading the Mackintosh of Mackintosh to lend his clan's support to the cause. The Chief of Clan, along with Borlum and about seven hundred well-armed men joined Mar at Perth on October 6, 1715.

In contemplating his subsequent role, Jacobite military historian Dr. Christopher Duffy called him “the one Jacobite leader with any initiative” in that affair. He praised him for having “brought a body of 1,500 or so Highlanders across the south side of the Forth on fishing boats, and on 13 October essayed a bold and nearly successful *coup de main* against Edinburgh Castle” (Duffy, [The '45, Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising](#), p. 38.). This movement involved deceiving the British government's naval fleet and opened up the way for Borlum to lead Scottish troops into northern England where they then came under the command of a Thomas Forester, a Member of Parliament who had taken to the field. Dr. Duffy described him in less than flattering terms. The combined army was then caught within the City of Preston, where they surrendered to government forces on November 16, 1715. Borlum was charged with treason and incarcerated in London's Newgate Prison. On the night before his trial was set to begin, he and an undetermined number of other Jacobite prisoners overpowered their jailers and successfully escaped, Borlum and his son making their way to France. Others, though, were unable to cope with the maze of London streets and were eventually recaptured.

He returned to Scotland in 1719 and took part in the much smaller rising of that same year, participating in its one sole battle at Glenshiel where he fought alongside Scottish and Spanish troops. Sources conflict as to when he was recaptured with one asserting it was immediately after the battle while another states he hid out in the Highlands for a number of years before being taken prisoner in the wilds of Caithness. Depending on when he was captured after Glenshiel, he may have spent as much as the last twenty-four years of his life as a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. Due to his rank and financial means, he was among those who could apparently pay for fairly comfortable accommodations for we find him in his last years writing and publishing material on agricultural improvements, an increasingly popular topic at that time.

In these writings he also bemoaned the passing of the old Highland way of life as revealed by this interesting quote: “When I came to a friend's house of a morning, I used to be asked if



I had my morning draught yet? I am now asked if I have had my tea? And in lieu of the big Quaiqh (a traditional shallow, two handed Scottish cup) with strong ale and toast, and after a dram of good wholesome Scots spirits, there is now a tea kettle put to the fire, the tea-table and silver and china equipage brought in, and marmalade and cream.” (from Anthony W. Parker, [Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia](#), p. 30.) He died at Edinburgh Castle on January 7, 1743, almost living long enough to witness the start of the final Jacobite Rising little over two years away, although it would have been from behind the bars of his dungeon. Borlum is buried in [Greyfriars Churchyard, Inverness](#). The biography *Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum: Jacobite Hero and Martyr* by A. M. Mackintosh (published 1918) has been impossible to locate via internet book sellers. He is documented in a twelve page biographical sketch by a writer identified simply as A.M.S. in the May 1877, page 249 of the *Celtic Magazine*, [“Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum”](#)

and [continued on page 291](#). Other books that discuss his role include the readily available John L. Roberts' work, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745*, and Christopher Sinclair-Stevenson's *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719*. Stuart Reid's *Sheriffmuir 1715: The Jacobite War in Scotland*, published in 2014, also details Borlum's role in the events of 1715, although most of its focus is on the Battle of Sheriffmuir. An engraving of Borlum as well as a brief account of his story appears in Margaret Mackintosh of Mackintosh, [The Clan Mackintosh and The Clan Chattan](#).

**Captain John Mohr McIntosh or John McIntosh Mohr, 16??- 1761.** The names of his parents haven't been located but he was the nephew of Borlum. According to Dr. Anthony Parker's [Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia](#), he fought in the 1715 Jacobite uprising but that was not held against him when he wished to head up a group of Scottish Highlanders emigrating to Georgia in 1736. He departed from Inverness with his wife and six children and was commissioned a captain by General James Oglethorpe who wanted the Scots contingent to anchor the southern most point of his Georgia colony and help protect Savannah from Spanish attack. Placed under his authority were 44 men, 20 women, 25 boys and 17 girls. Upon arrival on the delta of the [Altamaha River](#), they built a wooden fort and to demonstrate their loyalty to the House of Hanover named it Fort George. The entire settlement was christened New Inverness; its name was later changed to Darien in memory of the failed Scottish colony in Central America. With the arrival of the War of Jenkin's Ear in 1739, Oglethorpe headed up an attack on St. Augustine with McIntosh and other Scots colonists accompanying his force. They met with a disastrous defeat at Fort Mose, two miles north of St. Augustine at the [Battle of Bloody Mose](#) or Bloody Moosa on June 26, 1740; McIntosh was taken prisoner. After two years, he was released but his health never fully recovered from the ordeal. Mohr is also spelled Mor and this may represent the word "big" in Scots Gaelic. Borlum's Mackintosh name was spelled in the longer form whereas all the Georgia family uses McIntosh. Although I haven't read it, Larry Ivers' 2005 book [British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Colonial Georgia 1733-1749](#) appears to be a good source to consult. The son of John Mohr McIntosh was:

**Lachlan McIntosh, 1727-1806**—Born in Borlum, Scotland, came to Georgia at age eight with his parents. According to the internet version of the [New Georgia Encyclopedia](#), young Lachlan harbored Jacobite sympathies. It sounds improbable but it asserts that he and his brother William were dissuaded by General Oglethorpe from returning to Scotland and casting their lot with the Jacobites in 1745. Although Oglethorpe was known to have Jacobite sympathies (Duffy, *The '45*, p. 134), one is left to wonder why they would have consulted him on such a matter as he had returned to England in 1743 and was in the field commanding Hanoverian government forces in Northeast England against any possible Jacobite incursion. Additionally, any such advice from him would have been sought through extremely slow transatlantic correspondence.

Lachlan later moved to Charleston and in 1756 married South Carolinian [Sarah Threadcraft](#). He also became friends with future Patriot leader [Henry Laurens](#). He then moved back to Georgia and acquired acreage in the Altamaha River delta and became a rice planter. This led to his formally surveying the Town of Darien which had been established by his forebearers thirty years earlier. In 1776, as the American Revolution was spreading, he was promoted to Colonel and placed over the Georgia Battalion and charged with defending Savannah from the British. He successfully did so at the [Battle of the Rice Boats](#) and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the Continental Army. Following the death of his first wife, Sarah, he married Mary Maxwell, widow of John Butter Maxwell, and together the

couple had one child, the authoress Maria McIntosh.

His advancement helped stir the jealousy of Button Gwinnett, one of Georgia's three signers of the Declaration of Independence, who had been disappointed in fulfilling his own military ambitions. The following year, politics rapidly worsened the tension between the two as Gwinnett sought to purge Georgia's military of those he felt were less than zealous Whigs. This led to the arrest of Lachlan's brother, George, on charges of treason, charges that proved murky and difficult to fight in that George had carried on commerce with the British. Eventually, and thanks to Henry Lauren's efforts, the charges against George were dropped but the answers to all the questions were never provided. In 1777, Lachlan entered into a heated dispute with Gwinnett over the latter's proposed military incursion into Florida to help secure the colony's southern borders from Spanish interference. McIntosh opposed the plan as politically motivated. The expedition failed and the legislature exonerated Gwinnett of any wrongdoing which was then followed by McIntosh's furious denouncement of Gwinnett in the harshest terms.

Gwinnett responded by challenging him to a duel and McIntosh faced a dilemma as he read the challenge to meet at Sir James Wright's pasture outside of Savannah on the morning of May 16, 1777:

"If he refused the challenge, his enemies would brand him a coward, unworthy of his commission; if he accepted and lost the radicals would be rid of him. Yet if he killed Gwinnett, he could be prosecuted under the Articles of War." He accepted "as it was the only way he could maintain his honor and, at the same time, strike a blow against the personification of all his troubles, Button Gwinnett." In the subsequent duel "the two shots sounded as one. Gwinnett fell, his thigh broken. McIntosh remained standing but Gwinnett's ball was lodged in the flesh of his leg. Thinking Gwinnett wounded no more worse than himself, the general asked if he would care to exchange another shot. At this point, the seconds intervened and declared that both men had done their duty as gentlemen. They shook hands and departed." McIntosh recovered but Gwinnett did not and he passed away three days later. McIntosh was "distressed at the news and agonized over the events that led 'that unfortunate man to his own destruction.'" (Harvey Jackson, [\*Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia\*](#), pp. 65-66).

Although found not guilty of any wrongdoing, the feeling against McIntosh was such that he thought it best to leave Georgia and he went north and served as a colonel under George Washington at Valley Forge. He was later entrusted by Washington to lead a force against Britain's Indian allies along the Ohio River, with the ultimate goal being to capture Fort Detroit from the British. He built two forts in order to fulfill the mission, with Fort Laurens in western Pennsylvania and Fort McIntosh in eastern Ohio all resulting from this campaign but, ultimately, he never succeeded in reaching Fort Detroit due to logistical problems. In 1779, he returned to Georgia and led an unsuccessful attempt to retake Savannah from the British. The following year he served under Benjamin Lincoln in the defense of Charleston and was taken prisoner when the British took the city as part of their Southern Strategy. After the war, he returned to his planting and was a delegate to the Continental Congress. He died on February 20, 1806, shortly before his eightieth birthday and is buried at the Colonial Park Cemetery in Savannah. See 1979 biography entitled *Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia* by Harvey Jackson. Also see the New Georgia Encyclopedia. One source says McIntosh County, Georgia was named in his honor but another says it was named after the entire family. The Town of Darien serves as the seat of county government.

His son, **John Houston McIntosh**, was born at Rice Hope, Georgia, May 1, 1773. He settled in East Florida. In 1812, he was appointed "Governor Director Of the Republic of East Florida" as Florida was in a state of flux as Spain was occupied by Napoleon. After a stormy career in Florida, he returned to Georgia and took part in the Seminole War of 1818 as a General of Militia. He died in 1836. The book [\*The Other War of 1812\*](#) appears to fully address this turbulent time in Florida's history.

Lachlan's brother **William McIntosh, 1726-1799**, served under Oglethorpe against the Spanish in early colonial Georgia. He escaped from the [Battle of Fort Mose](#) and then took part in the Battle of Gully Hole Creek and the Battle of Bloody Marsh (1742) on St. Simon Island against the Spanish. This battle was the last one of any importance in Georgia during the War of Jenkin's Ear and the British victory spelled the end of Spanish ambitions to conquer the colony. William's father, John Mohr McIntosh, did not participate in the Bloody Marsh fight as he was still in prison in St. Augustine. With the arrival of the Revolutionary War, William served as a colonel of light horse and supposedly suffered financial loss due to the war. He was buried on St. Simon Island in the Christ Church Cemetery. Lachlan's sons were:

**Captain William McIntosh** a Loyalist who left the Darien area behind due to ostracism from his neighbors. He moved into western Georgia and married into the prominent Creek Wind Indian tribe. His son **William**, probably born in 1778, was thus of mixed parentage and rose to a position of prominence within the Creek nation due to the fact that the Creek society was matrilineal, meaning that the status of the offspring was based on the rank of the mother rather than the father. His role would also make him a highly controversial figure with other Creeks. He lived in what is now Alabama and favored policies whereby the Creeks would learn the ways of White society. The bilingual William served as a bridge between the world of the Whites and the world of the Creeks, helping to foster trade and he built up a personal fortune. He had three wives, two from tribes other than the Creeks. He signed treaties with Whites ceding Creek land which were later disavowed by other tribal members. During the War of 1812, he alienated many Creeks by siding with the Americans over Chief Red Stick who supported the British. In Alabama, he fought in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend with Andrew Jackson against other members of the Creek tribe. This battlefield is now preserved as a National Military Park. In 1818, he was again allied with Jackson in the First Seminole War. In 1825, with the Treaty of Indian Spring, he ceded remaining Creek lands in Georgia and over three million acres in Alabama to the U.S. Government. He was later killed that same year by supporters of Red Stick. Sourced from websites of the Encyclopedia of Alabama as well as the New Georgia Encyclopedia.

**General John McIntosh, 1748-1826.** The Patriot son of William McIntosh famous for his defiant 1778 defense of [Fort Morris, Georgia](#) (now a Georgia State Historic Site near Savannah), in replying to the British surrender demand with the words "Come and Take It!" In the end, the British did not take the fort at that time but retreated to Spanish Florida. They came back the following year though and the fort eventually fell. The General survived the war and later fought in the War of 1812. At some point, the Georgia legislature presented McIntosh with a sword bearing his words that helped it live on as a slogan of resistance. His defiant words appeared on a Revolutionary War flag and were also adopted by the Texans in their revolt against Santa Anna, being displayed on their flag at the Battle of Gonzales in 1835 which marked the opening fight in their revolt against Santa Anna.

His son was **Colonel James S. McIntosh, 1784-1847.** A professional soldier, he entered the army in 1812 and was severely wounded the following year at the Battle of Black Rock near present-day Buffalo, New York. He served throughout the Creek Wars and was

commissioned a captain in 1817, a major in 1836 and a colonel in 1839. With the arrival of the Mexican War, he was back in action at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, suffering wounds in both battles. He fell at the Battle of Molino del Rey on September 8, 1847. He was buried in Savannah's Colonial Park Cemetery near his great uncle, Lachlan McIntosh. In 1849, a new army post was opened at Laredo, Texas and named Fort McIntosh in his memory. Portions of it survive today as part of a community college.

The two sons of Colonel James of Mexican War fame epitomize the deep and tragic conflicts engendered by the Civil War which went beyond destroying friendships to devastating family relationships. There can be no better example of why the Civil War has also been called "The Brothers War" than the two brave sons of Colonel James S. McIntosh:

**Confederate General James M. McIntosh, 1828-1862.** Born at Fort Brooke, Florida where his father was serving in the Army, received an appointment to West Point from that state and graduated from the Academy where he compiled a dismal record, finishing last in the class of 1849. He went on to serve on the Western frontier, fighting at the Battle of Solomon Forks in 1857 against Cheyenne warriors. He was a popular commander of cavalry. The arrival of the Civil War found him at Fort Smith, Arkansas where he resigned his commission in the U.S. Army and entered Confederate service. He fought at Wilson's Creek, Missouri in 1861 and was then promoted. He was fervently praised by at least two of his superiors, among them General Benjamin McCulloch: "To Colonel McIntosh, at one time at the head of his regiment and others as adjutant-general, I can not bestow too much praise. Wherever the balls flew thickest he was gallantly leading different regiments into action, and his presence gave confidence everywhere." (James S. Robbins, [\*Last in Their Class: Custer, Pickett and the Goats of West Point\*, p. 210](#)).

He had been promoted to brigadier general by the time he fought in the Battle of Pea Ridge where he fell on March 7, 1862, trying to rally troops just after General McCulloch had been shot and killed. A cairn marks the spot where he was killed; his remains were buried at nearby Fort Smith, Arkansas. The National Park Service website for the [Pea Ridge Battlefield Park](#) describes him as "courageous and daring" but he could also be "impulsive and reckless." It sounds as if either they are unsure of how to assess him or that he may have been one of those individuals who frequently strayed over the double-line, to use a modern driving analogy, beyond what prudence would normally dictate. His life and career are detailed in Robbins' book quoted above as well as in excellent and detailed [Pea Ridge](#) by William L. Shea and Earl J. Hess. The site of Fort Brooke, the birthplace of both him and his brother, now lies beneath the Tampa Convention Center.

#### **His brother was:**

**General John Baillie McIntosh, (1829-1888)** Also born at Fort Brooke a year after his older brother. According to author Eric Wittenberg's online biographical sketch (see his blog entitled [Rantings of a Civil War Historian](#)), he wanted to enter the United States Military Academy but was forbidden to do so since regulations prohibited two or more brothers from being there at the same time. He entered the Navy instead as a midshipman and served in the Mexican War. His marriage into a New Jersey family took him north where he ended up in business with his father-in-law. In 1861, the actions of his brother in joining the Confederacy shocked him as he considered it a stain on the honor of his family. He responded by promptly joining the 5<sup>th</sup> U.S. Cavalry with a lieutenant's commission. Rapid promotions followed and he fought at White Oak Swamp, South Mountain, [Antietam](#), Kelly's Ford, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg's East Cavalry battlefield on July 3, 1863. At the Battle of Third Winchester in

September 1864, he was wounded below the knee while engaged on Senseny Road after having fought earlier in the day on the Berryville Pike. This led to the loss of the lower part of his leg to amputation and ended his active field service but he remained in the regular army until retiring with the rank of brigadier general in 1870. He died in 1888 and is buried at the [Elmwood Cemetery in New Brunswick](#), New Jersey. In what sounds like a laudatory contemporary quote from the 1860s that is included in his entry in [The Civil War Dictionary](#), he is described as a “born fighter, a strict disciplinarian, a dashing leader, and a polished gentleman. He represents the highest type of volunteer soldier.” See Edward G. Longacre, [The Cavalry at Gettysburg](#) and Scott Patchan [The Last Battle of Winchester](#). His Civil War papers are at [Brown University](#).

Also a member of this same family with coastal Georgia origins was **John McIntosh Kell** who won fame as the Executive Officer on the legendary Confederate Navy Raider C.S.S. *Alabama*. The closing words of his memoirs, [Recollections of a Naval Life](#), are worth remembering:

“I have reached three score years and ten (the allotted life of man). My life has been long, happy, and eventful. Of course it has been checked with the grief and sorrows that fall to the lot of all, but nearing the sunset of my days, beyond which are the 'hills of light' I can look backward into the past of holy memories without regret and hopefully into the future, my lifeboat gliding on, no anchor dragging, Christ's love at the helm, and God aloft.”

As for the family's participation in the post-American Civil War military, as of this date I haven't been able to unearth anything on their involvement. Certainly, with a line that goes back to Mackintosh of Borlum, they enjoy a wealth of family history with just what we have covered in the context of this abstract.