

THE CLAN CHATTAN HISTORIANS

Historians of the Macphersons, Parts 3 and 4
Sir Aeneas Macpherson

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Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie was undoubtedly the most colourful, and most controversial, clansman in the entire history of the *Clann Mhuirich*. He is also the clansman to whom we are most indebted for the preservation of the genealogies of the Macphersons of Badenoch in his *Sliochd nan Triuir Bhraithrean* (Posterity of the Three Brethren), completed in the last year of his life. Such was his influence in clan affairs that Mrs Grant of Laggan, writing a century later, could still refer to him as "the hero of his clan".

Born about 1644, Aeneas was the second son of William McPherson, apparent or heir of Invereshie, who died of wounds received at Blair Atholl and the Battle of Auldearn in 1645 when Aeneas was a suckling. The unknown father was hero to the boy, who ever afterwards described him as "the first gentleman in the Highlands [who] espoused the Royall interest", defeating Hurry's Regiment of Horse in Glenclova, taking the castles of Lethen and Burgie in Moray, and forcing the surrender of Blair Castle prior to Montrose's appearance on the scene. To such a father he owed his politics. His paternal grandfather was Angus McPherson of Invereshie, the first of the family to convert the *duthchas* into a feu-right to the lands of Invereshie, Killihuntly, Inveruglass etc. (1638); to him he owed his name *Aeneas*, the classical equivalent of *Angus* in the *Gaeltachd*. His mother was Margaret Farquharson, daughter of Sir Robert Farquharson of Wardess and Invercauld, merchant-burgess, baillie, and provost of Aberdeen; it was this grandfather that undertook the education of the fatherless boy from the age of eight until he had completed an M.A. at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and it was from Sir Robert that he acquired the antiquarian interest in Highland history which appears so frequently in his polemical writings. "During the four years space I was at the College", he tells us, "in the winter time I had almost the constant conversation of my Regent [Mr John Forbes], and in time of vacation in the summer was at Wardess Castle with my grandfather who took a great deal of pleasure to instruct me..." On one occasion during his time at Marischal College (1656-1660) he attended a dinner at which Sir Robert expounded at length on the rise and origin of the Clanchattan, and acknowledged the social precedence of young Andrew McPherson of Clunie (who was present) and supported his claim to its chiefship. That too became a recurrent theme in Aeneas' thought, writings, and actions.

The serious interest in genealogy, which lasted till the end of his life and produced the *Sliochd nan Triuir Bhraithrean* or Genealogies of the McPhersons, was undoubtedly acquired at this early period of his life and through his Farquharson connections: among the informants with whom he had "the honour to discourse with of the rise and origine of most of the Highland families" were his grandfather's brothers-in-law, William McIntosh of Kyllachie and the famous guerrilla colonel William Farquharson of Inverey, and his mother's brothers-in-law, John Robertson of Foulis and William Robertson of Inverchroskie (*alias* the Baron Reid).

Aeneas McPherson's adult career can be divided into three periods: as a "wryter" or solicitor in Edinburgh from at least 1670 till 1683, when he became an advocate at the Scottish bar; as a place-seeking courtier in London from 1684 till 1688, when he was knighted by James II on the eve of the Whig Revolution and the king's abdication and exile; and as a Jacobite agent and prisoner in England and Scotland and exile in France from 1688 till his return in 1698 and death in 1705.

Aeneas' "wryter" period may, in fact, be dated from his first appearance in Edinburgh, as a witness to a bond signed in 1666 by his uncle Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld and other Farquharsons to relieve Lachlan McIntosh of Torcastle and "keep him scatheless of all damage he might incur through his becoming cautioner for them"; Aeneas may have still been a law student at the time. He does not appear to have been present, however, when Duncan McPherson of Clunie appeared before the Privy Council in 1672 to enable it to distinguish the chiefly rights and responsibilities of Clunie and McIntosh, but he was probably one of the "ambitious and giddy-brained innovators" influencing Clunie's policy, for we find him later that year subscribing a band of friendship between Aeneas McDonnell of Aros and Duncan of Clunie in which the Macdonald chief acknowledged Clunie as "cheefe and principal man" of the Old Clanchattan; in the following year he succeeded in obtaining the same acknowledgement from the legal guardians of the young Marquis of Huntly, Clunie's feudal or baronial superior. These quasi-legal activities - bands of friendship were of doubtful legality - undoubtedly took him to the Highlands, so it is not surprising to find him present at an armed confrontation in the autumn of 1673 between his elder brother, John McPherson of Invereshie, and McIntosh over mill-water rights on the Feshie which occasioned Invereshie's sending the fiery cross through Badenoch to muster support. It was an example which Aeneas was to later emulate.

Most of the record for this period, however, shows Aeneas acting in his capacity as a writer in Edinburgh, as demonstrated in the Register of Deeds. In 1675 he was involved as accessory in an assault on a fellow writer on the High Street of Edinburgh in which the chief culprit was his uncle-by-marriage, Francis Ross of Auchlossan. It was partly as this uncle's man of affairs that Aeneas later made his way to London. In 1676 his elder brother, John of Invereshie, died and he became "Tutor of Invereshie" for his nephew Elias [Gillies], a boy about four years old. John's widow, Marjory McPherson, a sister of Duncan of Clunie, eventually remarried, her second husband being Lieut. Archibald McPherson [Gillespick], a son of Dougal McPherson of Powrie (formerly of Ballachroan). Gillespick had been an apprentice apothecary in Edinburgh in 1670, where his elder half-brother John was a fellow writer with Aeneas; it was probably this coterie of ambitious young Badenoch men that provided the context for the remarriage. However the case may be, and whatever the true order of events, Aeneas himself married in the following year; on the 20th April 1677 he was wed in Edinburgh to Margaret Scrymgeour, a stepdaughter of Dougall of Powrie and daughter of the late Colonel William Scrymgeour and Janet Guthrie, heiress of Auchmithie on the coast between Montrose and Arbroath. His step-father-in-law had been a prominent man during the Commonwealth, and was in fact the commander of Blair Castle when Aeneas' father took its surrender in 1644; Aeneas regarded him as a rebel, though it is not clear whether he was still alive in 1677; he may have survived till 1682.

It was probably about this time, or a little later, that Aeneas had a set encounter with Lachlan McIntosh of Kinrara at Inverness, arranged by Magdalene Lindsay, Lady McIntosh, to debate the "cheiftainrie of the Clanchattan", from which debate (according to Aeneas) "Kinrara parted in a huff"; nevertheless, he respected the older man's "very good sense" in other matters. The encounter probably occurred when Aeneas was in the area negotiating the transfer of the Barony of Kincardine in Strathspey from Alexander McIntosh of Connage (near Inverness) to the Marquis of Huntly, an item of business which involved him in much trouble and which eventually led to his estrangement from his superior, the future Duke of Gordon. Alexander McIntosh of Connage was the son of old Hector McIntosh of Connage, one of the senachies of the neighbouring clans with whom Aeneas held discourse "on the rise and origin of most of the Highland families" around this time.

For a short while Aeneas acted as Baillie of Badenoch for his superior, settling the cess on the heritors and tacksmen. As this was not done to the satisfaction of Huntly, however, he was replaced by Alexander Duff of Tirrisoule, allegedly a self-admitted "mortall enemy to our whole Clan and Race". The new baillie proposed to incorporate one third of the Invereshie estate into the Forest of

Glenfeshie shortly after Aeneas became tutor for his nephew, which produced a dramatic confrontation in which Aeneas and twelve clansmen - "our Guns bent" - stood between the baillie and the houses assigned for demolition, while McPherson and McIntosh clansmen from all over Badenoch infiltrated the baillie's party and peaceably deformed it. This was the beginning of a long period of harassment and persecution of the *Clann Mhuirich* in Badenoch which culminated, so far as it touched Aeneas, in 1701 when his younger brother, William, was deprived of the Forestrie of Glenfeshie his stock and farm; it continued intermittently, however, for another century, terminating with the dispersal of the tacksmen families during the 1770s. Its immediate result, however, was a secret negotiation which Aeneas conducted for his chief with the Marquis of Atholl whereby Clunie might become proprietor of the baronies of Glenlyon and Comrie in Perthshire as Atholl's vassals. The scheme was betrayed, however, before it could be implemented; Aeneas was hailed to Gordon Castle and accused of "the unhinging of Clunie and the McPhersons" from their allegiance to Huntly, after which a short-lived reconciliation took place between the two men which lasted long enough for Aeneas to follow the Marquis to Court in London.

Aeneas' place-seeking phase began with his elevation to membership of the Scottish bar. He signed the "Test" with the Faculty of Advocates on the 4th November 1681, swearing to maintain the Protestant faith, disown popery and Montrose's Covenant, and uphold the supremacy of the Crown. The records of the Faculty, however, indicate that he only became a member on the 2nd March 1683. Early in 1684 an acrimonious legal dispute with Sir John Dalrymple (the later Earl of Stair, infamous for the Massacre of Glencoe) led the Privy Council to place Aeneas and Dalrymple in the Edinburgh tolbooth, from which he was released on the 14th February. This was not to be his last encounter with Dalrymple or the tolbooth. On the 13th July that fateful year he was one of the witnesses at the baptism of a daughter to Lauchlan Mcfarson, tailor in the Canongate: the others included Daniel (or Donald) Mcfarson, writer - a brother of John McPherson of Ardbrylach - and John Mcfarson, vintner; thus another pleasant vignette of young Badenoch society in Edinburgh! Daniel, moreover, had a brother Ewan who had been an apprentice in Edinburgh in 1672, but was now a merchant-haberdasher in London and a prospective contact for Aeneas when he reached the metropolis; the Ardbrylach McPhersons were, in fact, full cousins of Aeneas, being sons of William of Invereshie's sister Elspeth.

Aeneas made his first visit to London by ship in the stormy autumn of 1684, anticipating letters of introduction from the Marquis of Huntly on arrival. Disappointed, he approached the affable Earl of Middleton, one of the Secretaries of State, who introduced him to the Duke of York, the future James II, who in turn presented him to his brother, Charles II. The King, as ever interested in his ancient northern kingdom, "put several queries with reference to the Clanns". As a result of the Royal favour, Aeneas received a commission on the 15th October 1684, constituting him Sheriff-Depute of Aberdeen under the Great Seal of Scotland; by the 18th December he was back in Edinburgh to take the "Test" before the Privy Council in order to take office. Between the 6th January and the 15th June 1685 he held a diet of court at Aberdeen.

Charles II died on the 6th February, jeopardising the positions of all public office holders. Aeneas returned to London later in the year to have his commission reconfirmed, but, on returning to Edinburgh was disappointed to find the position already filled. He was compensated for his expenses with a commission to find and retain a forfeiture among the defeated Whig rebels of the West of Scotland, and was successful in making "one or two small discoveries by consent of the Rebels themselves". He appears to have remained in Edinburgh, practising his profession, for the next couple of years.

Early in 1688 Aeneas made his way to the Court in London for the third and last time. On the first occasion he had made the acquaintance of Sir William Penn, the Quaker courtier, and had become interested in his scheme for colonising Pennsylvania, of which Penn was Proprietor and Governor. On his second visit in 1685 he received a charter, signed by Penn on the 18th March, granting "Eneas Mackpherson alias Chatone of Inveressie, his Heirs and Assigns" five thousand acres in the colony, to be erected into a barony and manor, "the same to be called the Manor of Inveressie". Now, on his third visit, colonies and governorships were probably well to the fore in Aeneas' aspirations for royal recognition and personal advancement. At any rate, he was knighted by the King as a preliminary to his receiving the appointment of Lieutenant de Roi and Governor of Nevis, a strategically placed volcanic island at the northern end of the Lesser Antilles or Leeward Islands, controlling the sea-lanes entering the Caribbean and rich on sugar cane.

His commission, which he owed to Penn's influence with the King, was dated the 10th August 1688. This, together with the fact that he had managed with Penn's help to obtain for his superior, the Duke of Gordon, the governorship of Edinburgh Castle, was the high point in his life.

But it was not to be, and he was to see neither the Manor of Inveressie in Pennsylvania nor the tropical island of Nevis. As he put it himself, ". . . such was his misfortune, that, after the King had ordered a ship of sixty guns [sic, tuns?] for him, and had put his servants to the number of twenty-two aboard, with all his plate and furniture, the Prince of Orange landed and stopt his voyage". Thus began the third - and most tragic - period of his life.

The King's son-in-law and nephew, William of Orange, landed in Devon on November 5, and James fled to St Germain in France in December, where he established the Jacobite Court-in-exile. Sir Aeneas McPherson, Tutor of Invereshie, titular lord of the Pennsylvanian Manor of Invereshie, and Governor-Designate of the Province of Nevis, held a commission which was null and void as soon as William and Mary were proclaimed as joint monarchs on the 13th February 1689. He was forced, instead, "to lurk and abscond". The new king, William III (II of Scotland), whom Sir Aeneas always referred to as the Prince of Orange, "understanding how troublesome the Clans were to him, and being told by Major-General Mackay that if the McPhersons joined the Grants they would be able to cast the ballance in the Highlands, gave a message to Maj. Gen. Mackay to offer Sir Aeneas a Collonell's Commission and eight hundred guineas of levy money if he would but regiment the McPhersons and make them join the Grants. To this Sir Aeneas answered, that he was but a cadet of the family, that his Cheef was born their Collonell, and that it would be a kind of usurpation in him to accept of a Commission in prejudice of his just right". He was then promised "that the very minute his Cheef, or he, regimented the McPhersons and presented their muster-rolls to the Laird of Grant, he should have his Commission in America". The offer was declined.

Sir Aeneas went into hiding in the London area for the first seven or eight months of 1689 and was "put to hard shifts to get a dinner for my family". One of those who succoured him was the Jacobite agent, Neville Payne, for whom Sir Aeneas had once fought a duel. The Pyrrhic victory at Killiecrankie in Atholl was won on the 27th July, and it was thereafter that moves were begun to invite the exiled monarch to return. Sir Aeneas was "in the inside of [these] affairs". The Rev. Alexander Murdoch, Sir Aeneas' first biographer and the editor of *The Loyall Dissuasive and Other Papers*, believed that Sir Aeneas played a prominent part in the conspiracy as the Jacobite agent Williamson, using his father's name in patronymic form. Sir Aeneas was the subject of warrants of high treason and was betrayed by "a ladie of qualitie of the Scots nation"; Williamson was arrested at Dover. Sir Aeneas was confined to a messenger's house in London, and held incommunicado to wife and children for the rest of the year, during which attempts were made by the Secretaries of State and the English Privy Council to draw him over to the Orange party and the new monarchs. Early in 1690 Williamson was sent to Edinburgh;

Sir Aeneas was sent north aboard a man-of-war and thrown in the Edinburgh tolbooth, which he already knew to be “one of the coarsest and nastiest jailes in Brittain”. He was held in the Scottish capital for thirteen months, which would bring him to the Spring of 1691.

During this part of Sir Aeneas' ordeal (viz. his incarceration in the Edinburgh tolbooth, “One of the coarsest and nastiest jailes in Brittan”) “the unhappy surprize at Cromdell” (The Battle on the Haughs of Cromdale) occurred, on the 1st May 1690, in which the *Clan Mhuirich* lost some twenty-five men, including his half-uncle William McPherson, and Duncan of Clunie was taken prisoner. Neville Payne was also arrested in May, at Dumfries, while contacting Jacobite supporters in the Borders. He was brought into Edinburgh on the 31st May, and was initially housed under guard at Mrs Abigael Gibb's inn on the Canongate, where Sir Aeneas was among several prominent Jacobites held there. He immediately attempted to obtain bail for his friend, and when that failed, tried to arrange for his escape. Payne, however, was moved into strict custody in Edinburgh Castle, where he remained. Two months later, Sir Aeneas was in company with Jacobite gentlemen - evidently having some license to move about within the city - when he learned that his old adversary, Sir John Dalrymple, now William's Lord Advocate and one of his Secretaries of State for Scotland, had succeeded in persuading the Scottish Privy Council to authorise the application of torture to Payne the next day, 5th August, at three in the afternoon. Sir Aeneas was Payne's only friend in the city, and he acted promptly and effectively. An anonymous and life-threatening note was found in Sir John's keyhole that morning, accusing him of bringing “men of quality to torture under a Government that justlie values itself upon reforming all abuses of that kind, to drive matters to extremity”. The letter was seriously considered by the Privy Council, and Payne's ordeal was deferred until the King's will could be known. William's will became known on the 18th November, and Payne was subjected to severe torture in the Castle on the 10th and 11th December. In the interval Sir Aeneas was engaged in reassuring correspondents among the English Jacobites that Payne had not betrayed them. After his friend's ordeal Aeneas was “cag'd up” again for fifteen weeks, presumably in the tolbooth.

This stricter incarceration occurred at a time when he had “scarce recovered of a tedious and dangerous disease whereof my physicians and the churchmen who attended me concluded I should have dyed”. Despite repeated attempts on the part of friends in the city and certificates from his doctors expressing the fear that further imprisonment would endanger his life, he did not obtain what he called his “enlargement” until forced to petition for aliment or his liberty. In April 1691 he was “set at liberty upon sufficient baile” and given a pass which allowed him “to go to my own Country in the Highlands for my Health”.

He was free for two months, during which time his health returned sufficiently to permit him to engage in political activities among the Highlanders which were related somehow to the Earl of Breadalbane's negotiations with the chiefs on behalf of the Williamite government to bribe them into submission. Breadalbane's scheme, which had been ongoing for a year when Sir Aeneas was released, collapsed in the months of his short-lived freedom, largely owing to Breadalbane's political duplicity. The Knight of Invereshie's part in this is obscure, but was evidently suspicious enough to bring about his second arrest in Edinburgh on the 26th May 1691. He was examined by the Privy Council that afternoon, “in respect his pass is one of ane old date, [to discover] if he has acted anything against the government since the granting of his pass”. He was then to be returned to the house of Mistress Abigael Gibbs in the Canongate from the Edinburgh guardhouse and placed under a sentinel who was forbidden “to suffer any persone to have access to the said Sir Aeneas except only one phisician for his health's sake, untill he be called before the Counsell or their committee and examined”. In fact he remained under close guard in the house of Corporal Robert Broune in the Old Town until the 2nd June, by which time he had been examined again in an attempt to make him incriminate Breadalbane - now under arrest - by turning evidence against him. This he refused to do, even under threat of

torture, to which latter he responded with his splendidly argued *Address and Remonstrance against the torture To the Commission and Council of Scotland*, penned in the tolbooth. In it he stated that he “was never in armes against the Government, but on the contrarie employed my interest to reduce those that were”. Later, when he was obliged to vindicate himself against Jacobite insinuations concerning his role in the torture of Payne and his transactions with the clans, in which he was alleged to have used his influence “to persuade them to a submission to the present Government”, he stated that he “had no accession to the submission of the Clanns, but with evidence abundante, the quite contrary . . .” The “evidence abundante”, however, comes from the next phase in his career as a Jacobite, and could have no bearing upon his activities in the spring of 1691. Nevertheless, the two statements are not necessarily contradictory. On the 25th June “the captaines of the guairds of the Canongate or Abbey of Hally-rudehouse” were ordered “to remove the sentinells from off the said Sir Aeneas McPherson, advocat”, he to live peaceably under penalty. On the 16th July he petitioned the Privy Council for permission to leave the country, and received an Act of Banishment. His first act on regaining his freedom was, apparently, to return to the Highlands. At any rate we find him at Armadale in Skye, the principal seat of the chief of Clan Donald North, in company with Major-General Cannon, one of the Jacobite commanders-in-chief in the Highlands, on the 13th October. On the 19th October he was at Eilandonan in Lochalsh conferring with Col. Colin MacKenzie and Col. Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, and on the 24th he was with Alexander McDonell, chief of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, and Maj. Andrew Scott at Glengarry. November is a blank, but he was at Clunie with his own chief on the 1st December. On that day he drew up the terms of a “Mutual Contract of Friendship betwixt Glengarrrie and Clunie” which in essence established a confederacy of the two clans. It was signed by Duncan of Clunie, William McPherson of Nuid, and Sir Aeneas McPherson “as burden bearer for Inveressie (now off the kingdome)”. Twelve days later he was back at Glengarry Castle to get Glengarry's signature and to confer with Maj. Gen. Thomas Buchan, the second Jacobite commander-in-chief. As he moved through the Highlands he collected letters for transmission to the Jacobite court at Germain-en-Laye near Paris, many of which gave accreditation to him as a loyal Jacobite and refuted the rumours of his involvement with Breadalbane's scheme. By early January 1692 he was back in Badenoch, where he received a letter from Buchan, addressed to “Mr Williamson at I. “ [Invereshie?], intimating that Glengarry was ready to accept a “capitolation” similar to those obtained by Cameron of Lochiel and MacDonell of Keppoch, and that the two major-generals and the other officers were willing to withdraw abroad if allowed to do so by the Government. He adds: “Ther ar stille complents; duming against youe for your coraspondans with my lord Mellville”; a last reference to the background to Breadalbane's negotiations.

Early in 1692 he seems to have made his way to London, presumably on his way to France, but possibly to await a French landing in England rumoured for the spring. He was immediately apprehended and held for a further seven months in a messenger's house, and eventually obliged to subscribe to a further Act of Banishment similar to the Scottish one. He arrived in France via Harwich, a controversial figure among the bickering factions at the exiled court, and was apparently detained at Dunkirk. Here, or at St Germain, he wrote *The Vindication of Sir Aeneas Macpherson against the Cavvills of some evile and malicious accusors* in a letter to John Drummond, Earl of Melfort, the Jacobite Secretary of State for Scotland, in which he claimed to have stiffened the resolve of the chiefs, recruited some who had been neutral, and replaced a detachment of Macphersons with a regiment with Clunie as colonel. It resulted in his being placed on the Jacobite establishment with a paltry pension of 400 livres per annum, while - as he mentioned in his *Memorial to the King* - “it sinks me much to see men of no greater character nor capacity have eight, some 1200 livres a year”. His wife, son and daughter had been left in Scotland or London “to the mercie and discreation of the Government” to be maintained by his debtors by advances of 50 pounds sterling a year for three years.

Four years later, in the spring of 1697, when the negotiations for peace between France and the Maritime Powers of England and Holland had begun at Rijswijk, they were living in penury, unsupported and starving, which occasioned his Memorial to the King. They must have joined him shortly thereafter.

That same year his nephew, Elias [Gillies] McPherson of Invereshie, died while serving as an officer in the army of the States-General of Holland in Flanders, leaving Sir Aeneas head of the family, nominally Laird of the Estate of Invereshie, and leading man of the *Sliochd Ghilliosa* Macphersons. He was given leave by his liege lord to leave St Germain and return to Scotland to claim the estate, sailing with wife and daughter from Rouen on a Stockton vessel early in 1698. He disembarked at the Tees and sent them on to Edinburgh to petition the Privy Council to rescind the act of banishment, while he himself sailed to London, to await the result of his petition. His eldest surviving son, meantime, remained at St Germain at the behest of the exiled monarchs.

Months lengthened into years while he lurked in London, living “in great want and miserie”, until March 1702 when Queen Anne signed the Act of Grace and General Indemnitie that permitted Jacobites to emerge from hiding and return home. During this interval his mind turned back to his chief and his clan, and he wrote *The Loyall Dissuasive*, an antiquarian polemic in which he offered “Resolute Advyce. . . to the Laird of Cluny in Badenoch” against his making any agreement with McIntosh on the matter of “the Chieftainrie of the Clanchattan”. The treatise, which was completed in London on the 13th July 1701, is addressed to “The Right Honourable The Laird of Cluny McPherson, Chief of the Clanchattan”. Besides the antiquarian speculations on the origin of the Clanchattan and the *Clann Mhuirich*, it contains many items of historical value, some of which have been used in this biography. The *Loyall Dissuasive* must have become well-known to the younger generation of his clansmen, for in one aspect its advice was effective: “For the future make no family allyance with the McIntoshes . . . give none of your daughters . . . avoid marrying any of [your] sons to the daughters of that family” [clan]. Bizarre as this might appear today, there were virtually no marriages between Macphersons and Mackintoshes in Badenoch for the next century and a half, although they had been common in the earlier period.

In 1701, too, he supplied Jeremy Collier with an article on “McPherson” for his *Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical and Poetical Dictionary*. This, too, owes more to his Farquharson and Shaw mentors than to the traditions of the Macpherson senachies, and it is not surprising under the circumstances in which it and the *Loyall Dissuasive* were written that they are also inconsistent.

Although the Act of Grace meant that Sir Aeneas could “with freedom and safety return to his native Countrie”, his poverty was such that he was obliged to petition the Queen for help. This we learn from his appeal to the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Privy Seal, for his support, “so as that something may be ordered for him to fit him for his journey”. This he is accomplished later in 1702 or early in 1703. But whether he proceeded immediately to Badenoch is unclear. On the 2nd May 1704 he wrote from Edinburgh to an unnamed cousin, possibly William Maclain Og McPherson in Corriearnisdale, intimating that he had sent a letter of complaint of the same date to the Duke of Gordon, that he intended to see the Duke, either in Edinburgh or at Gordon Castle, by the middle of June, and, if in Edinburgh, that he would then meet his cousin in Badenoch by the end of June. It is probable that none of these intentions became fact. He was in Edinburgh on the 12th September 1704, the day when he completed “A Supplement to the former Dissuasive”, written in response to critical remarks on *The Dissuasive* by his son-in-law, Sir John McLean. He was still in Edinburgh on the 10th December, when he finished writing *The Patron turned Persecutor*, a stinging review of the ill-treatment he and his clan had received from George, the first Duke of Gordon.

Eventually he made his way to Badenoch, “where at first he recovered his health to admiration; but being denied the benefite of any of the two best houses of the family [Invereshie and Killihuntly], he was confined to a sad quarters in a farmer's house, both cold and moist to extremitie; which altered the habits of his body and in March 1705 flung him in so many distempers that he shortlie after dyed of them”. His last request was “That none be-west Tromie or be-east Feshie - the marches of his paternal estate and fortune, where none lived but his own poor tennents and farmers - should be called to his buriall”. For, as he explained, “the King his master denied to be buried but as a gentleman [James II died at St Germain on the 5th September 1701], and it might very well serve him to be buried as a ploughman”. During the few remaining months of good health, however, he had endeavoured to bring his *Sliochd nan Triuir Bhraithrean* or “Genealogy of the McPhersons” up-to-date (it includes Lachlan of Nuide's marriage to Jean Cameron of Lochiel in 1704), and it seems unlikely that Badenoch stayed away. He died, aged about sixty-one, on the 28th June 1705, “praying heartily for his enemies and his rightfull Sovereigne's restoration”, and was buried in the Kirk of Insh with his ancestors.

There seems to be nothing further recorded of his wife, Margaret Scrymgeour, whom he described in his Memorial to the King as “a constant and willing sharer of my sufferings for your Majestie”, a description which he also applied to his children. The *Sliochd nan Triuir Bhraithrean* acknowledges that he had had a bastard son prior to marriage called Angus, who would have been about thirty when his father returned to die. It also records three children of the marriage: Duncan, James, and Mary. Of these Mary was probably the eldest, for she returned to St Germain while her father was hiding in London to marry Sir John MacLean of Duart. A daughter Louise was baptised at the exiled court on the 8th November 1702, and a son, the later Sir Hector MacLean, was born at Calais in November 1703, eleven days before the little family crossed in a little boat to Folkestone to return to Scotland. They were late in availing themselves of the Act of Grace, and Sir John was held for some time in the Tower of London. Eventually he obtained a substantial pension from Queen Anne, and the family divided its time between London and Duart.

Duncan, named by Sir Aeneas to honour his chief, was probably the eldest son who “upon the morrow after he was seased [in London in 1689 sickened (upon the apprehension of his father's danger) and was a moneth buried before he knew his sickness”. James, as eldest surviving son, was left at St Germain in the care of King James and his Queen in 1698, probably as a companion to Prince James. He came of age in 1714 and made an attempt to recover the Invereshie estate from his father's cousin, John McPherson of Dalradie. Poverty, however, forced him to drop the case and to accept a commission in the army. It is probable, though not certain, that he was the captain of grenadiers among the Spanish officers who surrendered after Culloden in 1746 and were deported to the continent under parole. John McPherson of Inverhall, his uncle William of Glenfeshie's grandson, in submitting material for Douglas of Glenbervie's *Baronage of Scotland* (1766), indicates that Sir Aeneas' “only son died a colonel in Spain, without issue”. The representation of the *Sliochd Ghilliosa* devolved upon John of Inverhall, while the estate was retained by John McPherson of Dalraddie. Admiration of *Clann Mhuirich* stayed with Sir Aeneas.