

## I.

NOTES ON THE NAMES OF CLAN CHATTAN, AND WHAT THEY INDICATE. BY JOHN MACPHERSON, M.D. COMMUNICATED BY JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., SECRETARY.

It being a sort of standing joke in Scotland, that though most people have heard of the Clan Chattan, no man knoweth who its members are, I thought that I might attempt to elucidate the subject, by making a list of such names belonging to the clan, as I might come across, in reading a few works of some authority on such matters. This paper, accordingly, consists mainly of an enumeration of names, which is very dry indeed, but which nevertheless is interesting, in so far as it serves to point to differences of origin of different branches of the clan.

It is probably a mistake on my part to have entered on the subject at all, having had no access to any new sources of information, and being in complete ignorance of the Gaelic language; but a non-intelligent acquaintance with that speech has hitherto served rather to obscure such subjects; and I have the advantage, I venture to hope, of being indifferent to points of Highland honour, I should say—pride. “Tros Tyriusve” are alike to me. It is possible, that the mere statement of facts that I am about to make may induce those who are really competent to examine the

subject, free from family prepossessions, and not putting too much faith in Highland traditions, which have ever varied, or in Celtic etymologies, which often prove to be Will-o'-the-Wisps.

There has always been something peculiar in the relations of the clans forming the confederation of Clan Chattan. There was no other confederation of exactly similar character. Its history is on this account the more worth investigating, and also because there have always been more or less distinct traditions of its not having originally occupied the ground which it possessed at the end of the 16th century. On the details of its internal organisation I shall not attempt to enter.

The old or mythical history of the Clan Chattan is, that a certain number of the Catti of Tacitus (whose name survives in Hesse Cassel and Katzenellenbogen, where there has been the same play on the word Cat as in Scotland) were driven from central Germany to the Lower Rhine; that from thence they reached the north of Scotland, which, after them, was called Caithness; that they gradually moved south, and called the next district Sutherland; that, finally, they moved further south and settled in Inverness-shire,—“Those who came not into Badenoch (in Inverness-shire) went by other names.” It need scarcely be said, that there is not a shade of historical evidence for all this; nor need I point out the improbability, or rather the impossibility, of its being true. Only two deductions from the story are of any importance,—that Caithness was inhabited by a people called Cati or Catho, and that there has been a notion from an early date that the Clan Catan has not always been in Inverness-shire.

But if there is no evidence of Clan Catan having reached its present seat from Caithness, I think that we shall find a very strong presumption, *that at least a portion of it, and the one from which it derived its name,* reached it from a very opposite quarter.

I. *Name Chattan.*—No one is now satisfied with the derivation of Clan Chatain, or of the word Catan, from the Catti, or from the men of Sutherland or Caithness, or from the wild cat of the country, or from the word Catanach, believed to mean Bellicosus. The following is the opinion now generally entertained as to the origin of the name:—

The confederation of clans known under the name of Clan Chattan,

also as Clan na Cait, seems to have been a particularly ghostly one, and derives its name from a saint, either born in Bute or a Dalriad. If he was a Dalriad, there are very insignificant traces of him in Ireland. He lived and died a saint or devotee in Bute. Of himself personally little is known.<sup>1</sup> His exact chronology is not precisely ascertained, but Colgan assigns the year 560 as that of his death. Only one place in Ireland is named after him, the townland of Kilkatan, near Londonderry; but he gave his name to Kilchattan and Suid Chattan in Bute. He seems to have been a very insular saint, for he had churches named after him in the islands of Colonsay, Gigha, and Liung. It is possible that the church of St Keith in Isle Taransay, near Bernera, in the outer Hebrides, may have been dedicated to him. His remains rested either in Bute, or at Scarinch in the island of Lewis. The traces of him on the mainland are scanty. He is found as patron saint of Abbey Ruthven, not far from Perth; and the priory of Ardechattan in Argyshire was doubtless named after him, for it is found, curiously, that another name for that place is Bal Maodan; and Maodan is believed to have been father of St Katan.

Further north than Ardechattan the name does not seem to have travelled; and I am assured that the names Corieviechattan in Glen Fine, and Achatriechattan in Glencoe, have no reference to him. The name is not to be found, as affixed to any place within the limits occupied by Clan Chattan in later times.

In earlier days it was extremely common to assume the name of a patron saint, and to call yourself his servant or gillie; and just as we have among Mussulmans, Gulam Mahomed, servant of Mahomed, so we have among the Celts, Gilliechattan, Gilbride, &c., devotees of St Katan, St Bridget. There is, therefore, no reasonable doubt that the great name of Gilliechattan Mor was derived from the saint of Bute.

The date when the Clan Chattan was first spoken of is uncertain. The earliest official document which recognises the Clan Chattan is of the year 1467; but Bower, writing about 1440, speaks of Clan Chatan in 1429. Bellenden, in his translation of Boece, about 1525, is the first

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have written meditations, secret confessions, and his apparitions. I am sorry to say there was some scandal about his sister, who became the mother of Saint Blane.

who talks of the clan having been at the Inches in Perth in 1396, and this probably owing to a misprint in the original, of Clan Quhete for Quhels. He calls it Quhattan.

II. *Names of Individuals of the Clan.*—Our first inquiry shall be, of what names the clan consisted.

The following list of names, selected from official documents and from lists of Inverness people, gives a fair specimen of the names probably prevailing among members of the Clan Catan up to the end of the 16th century.

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| 1219. Gilpatrick MacEwen.  | 1502. Donald Macgilliduff.   |
| 1234. Ferquhar, son of Seth.<br>Gillespie MacCombi.  | do. Macficar.<br>Angus MacThomas.  |
| 1338. Skaith, son of Ferquhar.   | 1502. Angus Macquean.<br>Ferquhar MacGillespie.  |
| 1375. Sha Mackintosh.  | Findlay MacGillipatrick.   |
| 1382. Ferquhar Mackintosh.   | Andro Makayn.  |
| 1396. Sha, son of Ferquhar.<br>Christie, son of John.  | John Maceymit (Diarmid ?).<br>Donald Macandro.   |
| 1404. Gilmore Macphail.<br>Bride, son of Christie.<br>Eugene, do.<br>John Brideson.<br>Paul Duff.<br>Gilbride Macmichael.  | 1517. M'Kinla.<br>Williamson.<br>Glass.  |
| 1427. Gillies, son of Farquhar.<br>John Clericus.<br>Ferquhar, son of Bean.<br>Duncan Macgilliglass.<br>MacGillamie.<br>Gillespie, son of Christie.<br>Duncan, son of Ferquhar.<br>Finla Carpentarius. | 1522. Duncan Makfarson (Isla).<br>1538. Duncan MacBehan.<br>1543. M'Gillies.<br>M'Quean.<br>M'Ane.<br>M'Fail.<br>M'Wlmoir.<br>Williamson.<br>M'Thomas.<br>M'Farson.<br>M'Robert. |
| 1436. William MacWilliam.  | 1546. William Mackintosh of Dun-<br>achten.  |
| 1446. Alexander Makfarson.<br>Robert Farquharson.<br>Alexander Farquharson.  | 1591. Andro Macferson of Cluny.<br>William M'Ane.<br>M'Farquhar.<br>M'Thomas.  |
| 1481. Bean Makfarson.  |  |
| 1485. Donald Macgilliereoch.   |  |
| 1495. Thomas Fersynsone.   |  |

III. *Its Sixteen Races.*—Our next inquiry shall be, how those or similar names were aggregated.

It has usually been considered that Clan Chatan consisted of sixteen tribes or septs: in all such questions much depends on the family prepossession of the compiler of the list, much also on the period to which the list refers. What is a mere family in one generation becomes a sept in another one; or what may have been a great name may dwindle down into insignificance, like the names of MacHeth or MacWilliam. The following is a sort of average list of the chief septs belonging to Clan Catan some 250 years ago, arranged without much reference to their relative importance:—

Shaw.	Davidson.	Macbean.	MacIntyre.
Mackintosh.	Clarke.	MacCombie.	MacWilliam.
Farquharson.	Macphail.	MacQueen.	Clan Tarel.
Macpherson.	Macgillivray.	Gillies.	Tarlich.
			Ay.

Other smaller names, very distinctly connected with the clan, are—

Macgillicatan.	Gilliepatrick.	Gow.	Some Fergussons.
Cattenach.	Gilliekyrich.	Tosh.	Spalding?
Gillespie.	Macgillonie.	Macduff.	MacPhies.
Gilchrist.	Gillienaom.	Macewen.	Mackinla.
Gillanders.	Gillieglass.	Macgilligin. <sup>1</sup>	M'Ritchies. <sup>1</sup>
Gillemhoire.		Ceann Tighe.	MacLauchlans.

Names sometimes assigned to Clan Catan:—

Camerons.	Sutherlands.	Keiths.	Dallas.
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We may next glance at the geographical distribution of some of these names.

IV. *Their Geographical Position.*—At the close of the sixteenth century, and in the early part of the seventeenth, the country, from close to the town of Inverness up to Strathnairn and Strathdearn, and as high as Rothiemurcus, was occupied by the Macintoshes and their immediate followers,

<sup>1</sup> I have never met with any mention of the MacRitchies as belonging to any clan, but they use Clan Chattan arms. Macgilligin is doubtful, but is a clerical name.

—such as the Macgillivrays, Macbeans, Clan Tarel, Clan Tarlich, and others.

In and about Rothiemurcus was the ancient race of Shaw, holding a less prominent position than it seems to have done at an earlier date.

Coterminous in one sense, though separated by a mountain range, and closely allied in blood to Shaws and Mackintoshes, was the powerful race of Farquharson, occupying Braemar, Glengairn, and the upper portion of the valley of the Dee. They seem to have migrated from Spey-side several generations before the date commonly assigned. To the south were associated with them the Clan Thomas in Glenshee and Glen Isla, some of the Perthshire Fergussons, and the Mackintoshes of Glentilt,—all Perthshire clans, but bordering on Inverness, Aberdeen, and Forfarshire; possibly also the MacHardies, numerous in the heights of Aberdeenshire.

Returning to the valley of the Spey, we find, west of the Shaws, and especially occupying the district of Badenoch, the race of the Macphersons, with the allied tribes of Gillies and Gillespie, and the clan Dhai or Davidson, already in a state of decay.

A small race, called the Macewens, appears to have hung on loosely to the Macphersons or to the Shaws.

Further west, and separated by other clans from the Macphersons, near Loch Arkeg, lay certain lands held by the Mackintoshes. But the occupiers of these lands, the Camerons, did not bear the more usual Clan Catan names.

The Clan Catan thus occupied nearly the whole of the eastern half of Inverness-shire, considerable portions of the higher districts of Aberdeen and of Perth shire, and smaller ones of Forfar, Banffshire, and Nairn.

But the phrase Clan Catan, as used in Scotch Acts of Parliament, seems to have designated chiefly the clans close to Inverness, and bordering on Nairn and Moray. Mackintosh and Clan Catan were synonymous. The only Macintoshes ever enumerated separately are the Mackintoshes of Glen Tilt; while Farquharsons, Clan Thomas, and Macfersons are often mentioned apart from Clan Catan,—not that Mackintosh did not always assert, and was not usually able to maintain the *hegemone* of the whole race, the Macphersons alone proving recalcitrant, when they found themselves strong enough to venture to be so. The Clan Catan are represented by

Leslie in the middle of the sixteenth century as occupying Badenoch and various other districts, Mackintosh being dux of their tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical disposition of the clan is thus summed up in Blaeu's "Theatrum Orbis" in 1646:—"Tribus hæc Cathanæa appellata per Strathnairnam sparsa est, etiamque in multis inferioris Moraviæ locis. Badenoch etiam ea propago tenet, sub nomine tribus Pharsanson, etiamque Marriam superiorem sub nomine filiorum Ferchardi."

V. *Names according to their Great Divisions.*—The threefold division, which it will be convenient to follow in the distribution of the names of various septs may possibly appear, to those familiar with the subject, to be somewhat arbitrary. The synonyms have sometimes arisen from phonetic causes, sometimes from mistakes of transcribers or of printers, and often from ignorance of the Gaelic language.

1. *Strathnairn and Portions of Lower Moray.*

	Synonyms.
Mackintosh,	Maktoth, Cattanach, Clan Quhattan.
Macgillivray,	Gilbride, Brideson, Brison, Macgillireoch?
Mac Bean,	Behan, Betahan.
Mac Queen,	Reabhain.
Mac Phail,	Paul.
Mac Gilliglass,	Glass.
Mac Gilliduff	Duff, Macduff.
Mac Phee,	Mac Duffie.
Mac in Tyre,	Filius, Carpentarii.
Shaw,	Sheagh, Mac Shegh, Sheaghan, Sha, Ha, Hay, Kay?
Clan Tarlich,	(Macleans?) nearly destroyed at Petty, 1452.
Clan Taral,	This and preceding clan supposed to have something to do with the name of Harold.
Clan Ai,	Extant in 1609.
Mac Lachlan,	A few.
Clan Tighe,	In Glenbeg.
Gow,	Gowie, Smith, Clan Mhic Ghobhair.

<sup>1</sup> Whether the Mackintoshes had anything to do with the Thaness of Fife, or were primarily Shaws, and in either case connected with the east of Scotland, or the first of them was Toschach of Clan Chattan, as their name (which, I understand, means, not thane, but military leader, the second person in a clan), if not assumed, seems to denote, they came eventually to represent Clan Catan, as it was known in connec

2. *Inhabiting Upper Marr, or near it.*

## Synonyms.

Farquharson,	Macfarquhar, Clan Fiunla or Iaunla, or Yan Lea ? (1340).
M'Combie,	Mac Omie, Mac Thomas.
Fergusson,	In Perthshire.
Mackintoshes,	In Athol.
Shaw,	Some on Deeside.

3. *Inhabiting Badenoch.*

Macpherson,	Phersynson, Macinparson, <sup>1</sup> Clan Muriach, Vurich M'Urich, M'Currie, Currie, Murdochson.
Gillespie,	Servant of bishop.
Gillies,	Jesus, servat of Elias. This and preceding very com- mon names of individuals.
M'Clerich,	Clarke, filius Clerici.
M'Ewan,	M'Niven, M'Aodhan.
Gow,	Smith, Sliochd Ghoba Chruim.
Mac William,	Williamson, Mac Gillamie.
M'Catton,	Very rare.
M'Gilkyrich,	"Once a strong people in Badenoch."

Some Macgilonyes, Macgillipatricks, and M'Gilchrists might probably be added to this third list.

These seem to have been Mac Lachlans scattered near Inverness, in Badenoch, and in Lochaber.

VI. *Their Feuds.*—I had hoped that an examination of the feuds, either between Clan Chattan and other races, or its internal feuds, might throw some light on the relations of the different sections of the clan, but I have been disappointed in this.

It is agreed on all hands, that during the first half of the fourteenth century Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and Shaws, or the races who afterwards went by those names, were all engaged in uprooting the Comyns. It is further agreed, that Clan Chattan was from about the year 1350 involved in sanguinary contests with the Clan Cameron, defeating them

tion with the eastern and more civilised districts. "Lachlan MacLachlan vich Donald MacEandhu, *alias* Clan Chattan."

<sup>1</sup> Other names of this class, well known, are Mac Nabb, son of Abbot; Mac Taggart, son of priest; Mac Vicar. The Macpherson story of a papal bull to enable the parson of Kingussie to marry in those days is in no way required.



at Invernahavon (the date usually assigned for which battle is 1370), and about 1428 having destroyed almost the whole race.

About 1380 Mackintosh was plundering on Deeside as low as Birse. Later fights of the Mackintoshes or Clan Chattan with the Munroes, or their more immediate neighbours in Nairnshire, have no particular bearing on the divisions of the clan. The "hornings" of Macphersons or Mackintoshes, for attacks on low-country neighbours, throw no light on our subject.

Coming next to internal feuds, there is no very early evidence of fighting between Macphersons and Mackintoshes, or those who afterwards passed by those names.

As to the battle of the Inches, I shall only say that it seems now to be generally admitted, that the fight was between two tribes of Clan Chattan. Some elementary facts must be admitted by all, and are not open to doubt, as that the fight originated from Clan Quhwel having taken a part in the raid on Angus, that the combatants were Clan Quhwil and Clan Ha, under the leaders Sha Beg, son of Farquhar, and Christe Johnson. For 125 years after the fight history merely mentions that there was a feud between two kindred tribes, and that the representatives of Government, the Earl of Crawford, acting on the side of Angus, and the Earl of Moray, acting on the side of the districts of the Spey, thought it expedient to foment the quarrel, with a view to the best men of the two tribes slaughtering each other. That the supremacy of one clan over another was to be determined by the fight, is first suggested by Boece about 1520.

Whoever may have been the combatants at Perth, it is generally admitted that the Macphersons refused to co-operate with the Mackintoshes at Invernahavon, and they certainly took the opposite side to them, when they held out the castle of Ruthven in 1595.

The Macphersons and Shaws seem at one time to have had constant fights with a robber sept of the same race, Mac Ewen. There were fights as well as great amity between the Macphersons and Shaws, but these are matters rather of tradition than of history.

Crossing the Grampians, Miss Taylor's Traditions of Braemar attribute to feuds in Glen Tilt the settlement of some families in Braemar in the fourteenth century. Somewhat later, she says, there were feuds for

two generations between the Shaws of Rothiemurcus and their cousins the Farquharsons on Deeside, terminating in the slaughter of Shaw on the Quoich. The cis-Grampian tribes had quarrels among themselves, which culminated in the final fight of the Farquharsons of Broughdearg and of the M'Combies in Forfar in 1673.

All this shows that, besides the existence of a rivalry from an early date between Mackintoshes and Macphersons, no degree of consanguinity prevented feuds between the various tribes of Clan Chattan.

The children of St Cathan, "the hail kin of Clan Chattan," were by no means a happy and united family.

VII. *Difference of Race shown by Genealogies.*—The threefold division appears to have been the result partly of geographical position and partly of difference of race. There is every reason to suppose that the Mackintoshes and Shaws and Farquharsons were of the same stock. They all asserted a common origin. The two last appear to have used the name of Mackintosh almost indiscriminately with their own names, and the tie between the Shaws and the Farquharsons was a particularly close one; but the intervention of the highest range of mountains in Scotland necessarily led to the separation of the first from the second division of Clan Chattan.

With the third it was different. The families of Mackintosh and of Macpherson have always proclaimed that there was a radical distinction between them. If we take their genealogies as laid down by the rival families in "Douglas' Baronage," we find these names:—

Mackintosh.	Macpherson.
Shaw.	Gillichattan More.
Do.	Diarmid.
Ferquhar.	Gillichattan.
William.	Diarmid.
Sha.	Muriach.
Ferquhar.	Gillichattan.
Angus (1291 married daughter of Dougal Phaol).	Dougal Phaol.
William.	Ewan.
Lauchlan.	Kenneth.
Farquhar.	Duncan.
	Donald Phaol.

These genealogies (and I do not enter into questions as to their value) are extremely different. The Macpherson one at once points to Argyleshire and to the patron saint. Probably every one of the names, up to Dougal-Phaol, is an Argyleshire or a western one. If we take the other genealogy from Skene's MS., [which makes the two races the same before the date of Gillichattan More, and which supports the clerical character of the race, by giving the name of Diarmid the Reader, and its western origin, by the name of Nachton,] the contrast is not so striking; but a Donald of Cowal is set down in the Macpherson genealogy,—a point of importance, as indicating a migration of the tribe,—Cowal being, as is well known, the furthest part of Argyleshire from Inverness-shire, and immediately opposite the island of Bute.

The difference of race has been already partly indicated by the great preponderance of clerical names among the Macphersons and the septs most closely allied to them.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. *Clan Chattan Names beyond their usual Limits.*—We may pursue the subject further by endeavouring to trace some of the Clan Chattan names as they occur in districts not occupied by the clan at later periods.

What may be considered the most characteristic name of the Clan, Macgillichattan, was only feebly represented by M'Cattan or Cattenach in Inverness-shire. For the name itself we have to look to the home of St Katan.

The name of Macgillichattan remained, according to the author of the Macpherson MS. of 1660, common in Bute up to that day. There are numerous traces of the names of Clan Chattan septs in Bute, Arran, Argyleshire, and the Western Islands. Undoubtedly the most curious of all is that at Kilbride in Arran, which existed as lately as the beginning of last century. The custody of a certain green stone of miraculous virtue, called Baul Muloy, or stone of Molinga, a saint "who was chaplain to Macdonald of the Isles," was the peculiar privilege of a little family called "Clan Chattans, followers of the Lord of the Isles."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr E. W. Robertson's supposition, that the Macphersons may have been Cowarbs of St Katan, is an ingenious conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> On my visiting Kilbride, to make some inquiries in 1869, the old tradition of the stone seemed to be forgotten. Mac Bride and Currie are Arran names. Kilbride receives its name from the saint of a considerable branch of Clan Catan. It was curious to find, close to St Katan's home in Bute, a Kilscoep Castle, evidently

The name of Macpherson appears never to have been uncommon in the west. A Macpherson held lands in Bute about 1500; in 1524 a Duncan Makfarson was with other people at the burning of lands in Colonsay. In 1566 Malcolm Macpherson was parson of Harris. In 1614 there was a Malish Maulferson in Islay. There were from an early period families of Macpherson in Glen Orchy and Glen Fine. There were septes of Macphersons in Strontian and in Skye. The origin of the former is uncertain, but the latter have the tradition that they came from the south with the Lords of the Isles, as they were driven north. They are not aware of any connection with Badenoch.

Or if we take the other and very common form of the name, Mac Vurich, which has been corrupted into Mac Urich and Currie, we have the Mac Vurichs following the Clan Ranald branch of the Macdonalds as their bards. In 1595 there were Mac Murichs, followers of Campbell of Craignish. Macmurich was a well-known name in Jura, and is at present, in the form of Currie, not unusual in some of the adjacent islands.

The Macgillivrays, too, were followers of the Lords of the Isles, and were in considerable force in Mull. They were known as Gilbrides. There were Macewens or Macqueens in Islay and in Skye—the latter boasting of their fellowship with the Macdonalds. Mac Clerich was a name common beyond the western boundaries of Clan Chattan, chiefly among the Camerons, but also in Argyleshire, in Cowal.

Another clerical and possibly Clan Chattan name, Mac Vicar, was not uncommon in Argyleshire. The chief sept of the Mac Lachlans was in Cowal, and there were a good many of the name in Clan Chattan, whether of the same stock or not. Macphail was a common name about Ardochattan, and the head branch of the Macintyres was in its neighbourhood. Mac Phees, Macphais, and Macintyres occur in Rothesay and Strontian, beside Macphersons.

The only Clan Chattan names that were uncommon in the west were Shaw, and still more Mackintosh. There seem, indeed, to have been some Shaws among the Mac Leods,<sup>1</sup> but it is doubtful whether they came

Gillespoc, another Clan Catan name,—not that both of them was not also common in many other clans.

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of the Shaws of Menteith and of Greenock, but I do not understand that they claim kindred with the northern Shaws.

from the east. Almost a solitary instance of the name of Mackintosh in the west is found in the name of the family of Clan Kattans who kept the stone. They were called Morison or Mackintosh, but this proves little at a time when Mackintosh and Clan Chattan were synonymous.

I am quite aware that this argument may have been pushed too far; that what I have reckoned characteristic patronymics, might spring up anywhere, and that doubtless the names of small septs of other clans also could be found separated from the original stock. Nevertheless, from the facts that have been just recorded, it would appear that either a great many who had Clan Chattan names never entered into Badenoch or the country east of it, or that the Clan Chattan, and especially the Macpherson branch of it, were constantly sending colonies to the west. Of the two opinions, the former appears to be far the most probable.

IX. *The Clan followed the Lord of the Isles.*—With respect to the keepers of the stone being followers of the Lords of the Isles, whether a western origin can be assigned to a great portion of the clan or not, it is a matter of fact that Clan Chattan followed the Lord of the Isles up to the year 1429, Mackintosh having fought for him at Harlaw in 1411; and although Macpherson of Cluny maintained in 1680, that the Macphersons fought against Donald and the Mackintoshes at Harlaw, and that Macpherson of Invereshie was killed at the battle of Inverlochy, fighting on the side of Lord Mar, it does not seem probable that the Macphersons could at that date have absented themselves from the standard of Mackintosh, even if their feeling of loyalty towards the Lord of the Isles had died out. The Mackintoshes boast of charters bestowed on them, as heads of Clan Chattan, by the Lords of the Isles, even after their defection in 1429. While Clan Chattan followed the Lord of the Isles, the neighbouring tribes of Grants, Robertsons, and Macgregors—the more aboriginal tribes in short—never followed him.

X. *Traces of Irish Origin.*—The question would be very materially affected, if it could be proved that any portion of Clan Chattan was of Irish origin.

St Katan's name has been considered to point to a Dalriad origin. The Irish name Macgillpatrick was not unknown among Clan Chattan. Among Irish names known to prevail anterior to the year 1550, appear a few common among Clan Chattan—as MacBride, Macintyre, Mac-

nevin, Gilmichael. Still, one cannot build much on names that occurred in a great variety of tribes. But a MS. printed by Mr Skene for the Iona Club expressly says that a portion of the Macphersons are of the O'Dohertys<sup>1</sup> of Ireland.

In 1869 I made a few inquiries on this subject in the north of Ireland, of which the following is the result. Innishowen, in Donegal, is the country of the O'Dohertys and of the M'Laughlins.<sup>2</sup> Those names are common in the district, but I heard of no Clan Chattan ones. A little south of Innishowen is the townland of Kilkatan already mentioned. I found *occasionally* in the north of Ireland the name *Macilhatten*, possibly the modern analogue of *Macgillichattan*, *Gillespie*, *Gilbride*, and *Macbride* too; and *Macgilvray* and *Macgilligin* are to be found, and *M'Currie* is not very uncommon. Further traces of Clan Chattan names I did not find. Any *Mackintoshes* or *Macphersons* appear to have been of comparatively recent settlement. On the whole, in the absence of anything more positive, the evidence of any portion of Clan Chattan being of Dalriad origin is very imperfect.

XI. *Comparison of Armorial Bearings*.—The earliest records of Highland armorial bearings are to be found on the seals of some of the greater families, and on some early stone monuments. The commonest Hebridean one was the *Lymphad*, as it is seen at Iona. I believe that the tree occurs on some old monuments. Although the arms of most Highland families only date from near the close of the seventeenth century, yet the arms assumed at that period show pretty clearly what notions the different races then had about their descent. The Clan Chattan arms proper appear always to have been a *lymphad*, a *cross-crosslet fitchèè*, and a hand grasping a dagger. They closely resemble those of most Hebridean or west coast families.

But many of the Clan Chattan families had a lion rampant *gules* (they were not always very particular as to its being *gules*), which was meant

<sup>1</sup> Though O's are rare in Scotland, I find the name of an O'Doherty in Argyleshire in 1629. At an earlier date the Campbells profess to have married the daughter of a Paul O'Duine. What was the O'Neil of Corse O'Neil and Kincardine O'Neil in Aberdeenshire?

<sup>2</sup> It should not be forgotten that the Scotch Mac Lauchlans occupied Cowal, which is probably one of the original seats of Clan Chattan.

to indicate descent from Macduff; and the Mackintosh genealogy professes to state at what period it added the Clan Chattan lymphad to its former arms. If we divide the septs according as they assumed the lion or not, we have these results :—

A Lion.	No Lion.
Macintosh.	Macpherson.
Mac Bean.	Gillies.
Shaw.	Gillespie.
Macduff.	Macgillivray.
Farquharson.	Macintyre (some).
Mac Combie.	
Mac Ritchie.	
Mac Lachlan. <sup>1</sup>	
Fergussons (some).	
Mac Ewens „	
Macphie „	

It is curious to find that neither the Banffshire Duffs nor the Tosachs have the lion or any portion of the Clan Chattan arms proper.

Of those using the lion, Mackintosh and Macbean alone assumed the lymphad. The Macgillivrays, though so closely connected with the Mackintoshes, and even at some times leading the clan, never assumed the lion, and were content with the hand and dagger and the cross, without the lymphad. The Macintyres, Argyleshire people, did not assume the lion, but used the ordinary Clan Chattan coat.

Of those having the lion, the Shaws and Farquharsons assumed a tree (possibly they, like the Macgregors, who also had a tree, regarding themselves as Autochthones, or sylvan Scots); but the Shaws also used the hand and dagger.<sup>2</sup>

It is remarkable that the Macqueens, who, though professing to come from Skye, were close followers of the Mackintoshes, have no sign of Clan Chattan in their arms.

<sup>1</sup> The Argyleshire Mac Lachlans have two of their quarters the same as Mackintosh, the lymphad and the lion gules.

<sup>2</sup> Both they and the Macphersons have the story that this refers to the slaying of a certain Black Comyn. Many years ago, when walking down Glen Tilt, I came on a stream which was called the "Burn of the Bowels." On inquiring as to the origin of the name, I was told that the Black Comyn had been slain there.

No Davidsons indicate descent from the Clan Dhai of Badenoch by their arms.

The cat was used as a crest by most of the Clan Chattan families, but not by all. Differences as to the cat being sitting, or leaping, or rampant, show nothing. It does not appear till near the middle of the seventeenth century. The Sutherlands were first to assume it.

The chief fact apparent from the foregoing analysis is this, that a certain number of the families, those bearing clerical names especially, never used the lion, and the general result appears to be, that, so far as they go, the armorial bearings favour the idea that a portion of Clan Chattan must have come from the western coast, and that some change eventually led to the arms of Clan Chattan being, in the case of many of its tribes, associated with those of families of different origin.

XII. *General Results.*—The conclusion to which the foregoing inquiry appears to point is this, that the Clan Chattan originated in Bute or in the adjoining parts of Argyleshire about the seventh century; that they were gradually pushed northwards, especially after the total defeat of the Lord of the Isles in 1165, or after the resettlement of Argyle in 1220; and that by some process of displacing of other tribes, or “how otherwise,” they had reached Tor Castle, near Fort William, before the date, probably in the end of the thirteenth century, when the Mackintoshes, or those who afterwards got that name, obtained the *hegemone* of the clan, by a marriage with the heiress of Dougal Phaol, the then head of the race, and transferred it to the east. In whatever points they differ, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons seems always to have agreed as to the fact of the marriage; but the story would be more satisfactory, if so many difficulties in Highland succession were not solved by similar stories of marrying heiresses. The former say they got the leadership by this marriage, while the latter have always maintained that they carried on the male line. Whether, as many think, it was only after the defeat of Donald Balloch, or about 1431, that the Mackintoshes got the leadership, is immaterial for our purpose.

Their family and their clan names, the difference of their armorial bearings, and the unwillingness with which the weaker followed the stronger clan, all indicate that the two races considered that there was a radical difference between them.



Their clerical and western names, and their geographical position, all seem to point to the Macphersons representing the original western race; while the Mackintoshes and Shaws were probably aboriginal races which always occupied the eastern districts. It may be said generally, that in the course of about seven hundred years the head-quarters of the race of Clan Chattan moved from near Bute to near Inverness, or about 120 miles. While the whole subject is involved in much obscurity, these observations are offered with much diffidence. They may perhaps suggest lines of inquiry to some who have the leisure, which I have not at present, to pursue them to satisfactory conclusions.

I must add a few words concerning two Clan Chattan names.

1. *Clan Chewil*.—I hope that it may be possible to say a few words about Clan Chewell without arousing Celtic susceptibilities, as I shall express no opinion as to the modern names of the contending parties, or the result of the duellum at the Inches in Perth.

We find in the list of those put to the horn in the Act of the Scottish Parliament, "Slurach, tum fratres ejus, tum omnes Clan quhwil," the cause for their outlawry being the slaughter of the Sheriff of Angus and others at Glasclune.

On looking at that list, there will appear strong grounds for identifying Clan Chewell with clans near the heights of Angus, and occupying parts of Perthshire and of Aberdeenshire. These are some of them:—

- (1.) The phrase "omnes" seems to indicate several septs.
- (2.) Next because the name follows those of the neighbouring clans of Perthshire, Duncanson (or Robertson), and Macnair, and is followed by the name of Mowatt, which was at that time known on the Upper Dee, if not at Abergeldie, not very far from it.
- (3.) Because the Earl of Crawford, holding lands in Upper Forfar, was directed to act against them.
- (4.) Because the town of Aberdeen was directed to act against them, in any case probably a "*brutum fulmen*," but ridiculous, if Clan Chewell was on the other side of the Grampians.
- (5.) Because some of the chiefs of that district, however designated at that time, were closely connected by marriage with the Duncansons, the leaders of the raid.

- (6.) We may assume (but this is comparatively unimportant) that Slurach was the head of all of Clan Chewell.
- (7.) I believe there is no such Celtic word as Slurach; it is probably a transcriber's mistake for Sheach, and we know that the name occurred at that period among people near the heights of Angus.<sup>1</sup>

Is there anything in later accounts to make it improbable or impossible that Clan Chewell were the tribes just indicated? All writers agree in saying that Clan Quhele fought at the Inches in 1396. Its leader was either Sha, son of Ferquhar, or Christie, son of John, probably the former. In either case, there is nothing inconsistent with the accounts we have just had of Clan Chewil. Our next notice of Clan Chewell is in Major, who wrote about 1520. He says that the tribes Chattan and Kael deserted the Lord of the Isles in 1427; that they were of the same blood, following one head of the race. After what we have seen of the geographical distribution of Clan Chattan, there is nothing surprising in finding that on the great occasion of a rising of the Lord of the Isles, its eastern tribes should join the standard of the head of Clan Chattan. Major places the names Clan Chattan, Clan Kael, and Clan Cameron in close connection. We do not hear of Clan Chewil again, even in unauthentic history, for a long period, not till 1594. But then it is very distinctly mentioned, and apparently for the last time, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament which enumerates most of the clans.

Some interesting results are gained by placing in juxtaposition the names of clans or of broken men, as pointed out in Acts of Parliament in 1392, 1587, and 1594. The two last are nearly the same, yet they deserve to be enumerated separately.

<sup>1</sup> Another interpretation might make Slurach and his brothers stand for one sept, the Has, or Shas, of the Inches; while *omnes* Clan Quhwil, taken apart, would make Clan Chewel, the other sept of the fight.

1392.	1587.	1594. Broken Men.	1594. General List.
Duncanson. (Donnachie).	Clan Donnachie.	Menzies.	Clan Donnachie.
Macnair.	Menzies of Athol.	Fergusson.	Chattan.
Brieson.	{ Clan MacThomas (in Glen Shee).	Spalding.	Chewil.
Ayson.	{ Fergusson.	Mackintosh (in Athol).	Chameron.
Clan Quhewil.	{ Spalding.	M'Thomas (in Glen- shee).	
Mouat.	{ Mackintosh (in Athol).	Farquharson (Braes of Mar).	
	Clan Chameron.	Next, crossing the Grampians—	
	* * *	M'Inpherson.	
	* * *	Grant.	
	Clan Quhattan.		

The close proximity of Clan Quhewil to Clan Donnachie, or the Robertsons in Athol, is thus maintained for two centuries. In 1392 we have Clan Chewil immediately after the Duncansons, Macnairs, &c.; and in 1594 we have only Clan Chattan intervening between Clan Donnachie and Clan Chewil.

In the list of 1587 Clan Chewil is not mentioned separately, but Clan Chattan is, and is so, a long way apart from the tribes next Clan Donnachie, which I have included in a bracket. If we remove Clan Chattan from its place in the list of 1594 (and it most certainly cannot represent the bracketed tribes), and add the Farquharsons to the list of 1587, the names stand thus:—

1587.	1594.
Clan Donnachie.	Clan Donnachie.
Menzies.	
M'Thomas.	
Fergusson.	
Spalding.	Clan Chewil.
Mackintosh (in Athol).	
Farquharson.	
Clan Chameron.	Clan Chameron.

I think this comparison affords a very strong presumption that the

Clan Chewil of 1594 were the set of tribes, the "omnes clan Chewil," already very plainly identified by the list of 1392, as having been engaged in the fight at Glasclune. I trust that I have made myself intelligible in the above comparisons. The majority of Gaelic scholars consider Chewil to be a form of Doughail or Dougal, when Dougal is made to do duty for the Camerons, and even for the Macintoshes or Macphersons through Dougal Phaol, according to the view the etymologist takes of the battle of the Inches. Others tell us that Chewil or Quhewil means proud. Possibly the derivation which makes the name run thus—Chewil, Kael Ianla, Fiunla—is not much better.

2. With respect to the name of Gow or Smith, of which there seem to have been two septs in Clan Chattan (and the name Gow is common all over the Highlands), tradition says that it is derived from the Smith who fought at the Inches, and tradition equally says that he returned with the victors to Badenoch, to Strathnairn, and to Donside. Which of these traditions is the most probable? Wyntoun does not allude to the extra combatant. Bower says he was a man of Perth, of moderate stature. The continuation of Fordun in the Bodleian says he was a man of the same parentela as the missing man. All accounts of him say that he bargained for payment and future support; none say anything of his having gone off with the victors.

As tradition has turned the sellularius into a bandy-legged smith, it seems most probable that the popular version of him has arisen from the Macphersons having in their early genealogy a certain personage called the Gow Chrom, or Crooked Smith, a great mechanical genius.

*Names sometimes considered Clan Chattan ones.*—(1.) The main reason why the Sutherlands have sometimes been considered to belong to Clan Chattan, has been that, in common with them, they have for the last two hundred and forty years used the crest of a cat, and that their head has been popularly believed to be called the Great Cat.

There was usually friendship between the Sutherlands and the kin of Clan Chattan, but never anything more; the two races did not adjoin each other; they never acted in concert. The Sutherlands, or natives of Sutherland, were called Kathoo; their earl, the Morweir Cattey, was not the Great Cat, but the Maormor of Kathie or Sutherland.

Whether the original name of Kathoo can have been in any way con-

nected with the wild cat of the country, is not a question of much importance, but doubtless the assumption of the cat as a crest was in the case of the Sutherlands a play on the sound of Kathoo, as it was in the case of the Inverness-shire tribes a play on the sound of Katan. The Sutherland arms had not the most remote analogy with those of Clan Chattan.

(2.) Probably on account of the sound of their name, for the idea does not seem to have been supported by any argument, the Keiths have sometimes been supposed to have been members of the Clan Chattan confederation. One of the Earls Marischal in 1715 even advanced a claim of consanguinity, to influence some of the Clan Chattan tribes during one of the rebellions, and Keith of Ravelston had a lymphad in his arms. When Mackintosh and Macpherson of Cluny were disputing in 1672 about precedency, Earl Marischal supported the claims of Cluny as being allied to him, and the Earl of Wemyss advocated those of Mackintosh, in token of their both being descended from Macduff. But such matters of compliment never prove much.

(3.) If any Duffs or Macduffs were members of Clan Chattan, they were very unimportant ones. The name was once a great one in Fife and in the upper parts of Morayshire and of Banff. The name lost its importance five centuries ago, but has remained in these two last districts, but scarcely as attached to Celts. There were a good many Duffs, probably much more Celtic, near Dunkeld. Some of the southern Clan Chattan came near them.

(4.) The Camerons have sometimes been supposed to have been members of Clan Chattan: they lay west of the Macphersons, and latterly separated from them by the Clan Ian or Clan Ronald of Lochaber. They occupied lands about Loch Arkeg, of which the Macintoshes were the owners, with whom in consequence they had many deadly feuds. These were the lands near Tor Castle, which, according to tradition, Macintosh got by marrying the daughter of Dougal Phaol. These local fights are well known in clan history; and there is a tradition of a fight between Mackintoshes and Camerons even in Fortingall in Perthshire. It is difficult to determine the relations between Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan. The name Cameron, well known in early times in the low country, somehow came to be attached to a race of Macmartins dwelling about Loch

Eil. The name M'Clerich was common among the Camerons as well as among the Macphersons. Macphail was a Clan Chattan name, and certain Macphails were followers of the Camerons. The Macbeans, who lived about Inverness, had the tradition that they were originally Camerons or Macgilonys. There were families of Camerons on Speyside and on Donside, in close connection with Shaws and Farquharsons. There is a curious tradition, that at one time the Camerons, being greatly reduced in numbers by war, got a supply of Farquharsons from Braemar as colonists. Another tradition is, that the Camerons are the remains of the Comyns, who were displaced by Clan Chattan; but why should the Macphersons have been their friends and the Mackintoshes their enemies, when the whole Clan Chattan race detested the Comyns? The tradition or assertion that the Camerons fought at the Inches is an additional complication; while the crown-stone of confusion is laid by Major's saying, according to the common version, that Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron followed one leader, the head of the race.

However, this difficulty has been removed, by its being discovered that Major in reality talks of Clan Katan and Clan Kael, not Clan Katan and Clan Cameron, as having the same leader. Nevertheless, it is very remarkable that, writing in 1520, Major talks of Clan Katan, Clan Kael, and Clan Cameron together, just as the Act of Parliament of 1594 places them in the same concatenation. Although the arms of the Camerons do not indicate any relationship with Clan Chattan, yet the connection of the two clans is worthy of further investigation.

(5.) The Dallases of Cantray, though not of Clan Chattan blood, usually followed their neighbour Mackintosh.

*Authorities.*—Books of Spalding and of Iona Clubs; Shaw's Moray; Pennant's Tour; Martin's Western Islands; Sir R. Gordon's History of Sutherland; Douglas's Baronage; The Statistical Account of Scotland; Mr Fraser Mackintosh's Antiquarian Notes; Mr Skene's Highlanders. I have derived assistance from replies kindly made to me by Dr John Stuart, Mr Skene, Mr G. Burnett, Dr Reeves, and especially by the Rev. Dr Thomas Maclauchlan; also by my *phylarch*, Cluny Macpherson. I have also seen two MS. histories in the possession of Cluny, about 200 years old.