

William, being a natural son, could make no will in the eye of the law, and he has died intestate ; consequently his property, by the will of his father, falls to Alexander alone, so that neither you nor any of William's relations can claim a fraction of William's property. No promises made to you or his mother can in any respect be binding. For, in the eye of the law, he promised before he was in lawful possession, therefore he promised what he could not perform. I conceive it my duty to put you and his relations right on that subject, that you may no longer build on a foundation of sand.

"There will be no further necessity of your corresponding with me on the subject ; but, should you think proper, you may write Alexander, and address your letter as follows—'Alexander Maclachlan, Esquire, care of Hugh Maclachlan, Esquire, Hume's Vale, St Mary's, Jamaica.'

"If you write so, the letter will find Alexander ; and, if you gain a farthing's worth by the correspondence, you will have gained more than I have gained from the same thing in my life. With good wishes to your wife and fireside, I remain, dear Donald, yours ever,
"E. M'LACHLAN."

In drawing up this paper, I wish to acknowledge the assistance rendered me by many kind friends. From the Lochaber side I have had valuable information communicated to me by the Rev. Dr Stewart, "Nether Lochaber," Miss Cameron, Dornie Ferry, per Mr Duncan Sinclair, Lochalsh, and several others. From the Culblair and Ardnagrask side, I have been assisted by Mr Alexander Mackenzie, Grandtully Station, Mr Campbell, schoolmaster, Beauuly, Mr Maclean, schoolmaster, Muir of Ord Public School, and others.

5th MARCH, 1890.

On this date, Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., Inverness, read a paper entitled, "Badenoch : Its History, Clans, and Place Names." It was as follows :—

BADENOCH : ITS HISTORY, CLANS, AND PLACE NAMES.

THE LORDSHIP OF BADENOCH.

Badenoch is one of the most interior districts of Scotland ; it lies on the northern watershed of the mid Grampians, and the lofty ridge of the Monadhliu range forms its northern boundary, while its western border runs along the centre of the historic

Drum-Alban. Even on its eastern side the mountains seem to have threatened to run a barrier across, for Craigellachie thrusts its huge nose forward into a valley already narrowed by the massive form of the Ord Bain and the range of hills behind it. This land of mountains is intersected by the river Spey, which runs midway between the two parallel ranges of the Grampians and the Monadhlià, taking its rise, however, at the ridge of Drum-Alban. Badenoch, as a habitable land, is the valley of the Spey and the glens that run off from it. The vast bulk of the district is simply mountain.

In shape, the district of Badenoch is rectangular, with east-north-easterly trend, its length averaging about thirty-two miles, and its breadth some seventeen miles. Its length along the line of the Spey is thirty-six miles, the river itself flowing some 35 miles of the first part of its course through Badenoch. The area of Badenoch is, according to the Ordnance Survey, 551 square miles, that is, close on three hundred and fifty-three thousand acres. The lowest level in the district is 700 feet; Kingussie, the "capital," is 740 feet above sea-level, and Loch Spey is 1142 feet. The highest peak is 4149 feet high, a shoulder of the Braeriach ridge, which is itself outside Badenoch by about a mile, and Ben Macdui by two miles. Mountains and rivers, rugged rocks and narrow glens, with one large medial valley fringed with cultivation—that is Badenoch. It is still well wooded, though nothing to what it once must have been. The lower ground at one time must have been completely covered by wood, which spread away into the vales and glens; for we find on lofty plateaux and hill sides the marks of early cultivation, the ridges and the rigs or *feannagan*, showing that the lower ground was not very available for crops on account of the forest, which, moreover, was full of wild beasts, notably the wolf and the boar. Cultivation, therefore, ran mostly along the outer fringe of this huge wood, continually encroaching on it as generation succeeded generation.

The bogs yield abundant remains of the once magnificent forest that covered hillside and glen, and the charred logs prove that fire was the chief agent of destruction. The tradition of the country has it that the wicked Queen Mary set fire to the old Badenoch forest. She felt offended at her husband's pride in the great forest—he had asked once on his home return how his forests were before he asked about her. So she came north, took her station on the top of Sron-na-Bàruinn—the Queen's Ness—above Glenfeshie, and there gave orders to set the woods on fire. And her orders were obeyed. The Badenoch forest was set burn-

ing, and the Queen, Nero-like, enjoyed the blaze from her point of vantage. But many glens and nooks escaped, and Rothiemurchus was left practically intact. The Sutherlandshire version of the story is different and more mythic. The King of Lochlain was envious of the great woods of Scotland; the pine forests especially roused his jealous ire. So he sent his *nuime*—it must have been—a witch and a monster, whose name was Dubh-Ghiubhais, and she set the forests on fire in the north. She kept herself aloft among the clouds, and rained down fire on the woods, which burnt on with alarming rapidity. People tried to get at the witch, but she never showed herself, but kept herself enveloped in a cloud of smoke. When she had burned as far as Badenoch, a clever man of that district devised a plan for compassing her destruction. He gathered together cattle of all kinds and their young; then he separated the lambs from the sheep, the calves from the cows, and the young generally from their dams; then such a noise of bleating, lowing, neighing, and general Babel arose to the heaven that Dubh-Ghiubhais popped her head out of the cloud to see what was wrong. This was the moment for action. The Badenoch man was ready for it; he had his gun loaded with the orthodox six-pence; he fired, and down came the Dubh-Ghiubhais, a lifeless lump! So a part of the great Caledonian forest was saved among the Grampian hills.

Modern Badenoch comprises the parishes of Laggan, Kingussio and Insh, and Alvie; but the old Lordship of Badenoch was too aristocratic to do without having a detached portion somewhere else. Consequently we find that Kincardine parish, now part of Abernethy, was part of the Lordship of Badenoch even later than 1606, when Huntly excambed it with John of Freuchie for lands in Glenlivet. Kincardine was always included in the sixty davachs that made up the land of Badenoch. The Barony of Glencarnie in Duthil—from Aviemore to Garten and northward to Inverlaidnan—was seemingly attached to the Lordship of Badenoch for a time, and so were the davachs of Tullochgorum, Curr, and Clurie further down the Spey, excambed by Huntly in 1491 with John of Freuchie. On the other hand, Rothiemurchus was never a part of Badenoch, though some have maintained that it was. The six davachs of Rothiemurchus belonged to the Bishops of Moray, and at times they feued the whole of Rothiemurchus to some powerful person, as to the Wolf of Badenoch in 1383, and to Alexander Keyr Mackintosh in 1464, in whose family it was held till 1539, when it passed into the hands of the Gordons, and from them to the Grants.

Badenoch does not appear in early Scottish history ; till the 13th century, we never hear of it by name nor of anything that took place within its confines. True, Skene, in his *Celtic Scotland*, definitely states that the battle of Monitcarno was fought here in 729. This battle took place between Angus, King of Fortrenn, and Nectan, the ex-king of the Picts, and in it the latter was defeated, and Angus shortly afterwards established himself on the Pictish throne. We are told that the scene of the battle was "Monitcarno juxta stagnum Loogdae"—Monadh-carnach by the side of Loch Loogdae. Adamnan also mentions Lochdae, which Columba falls in with while going over Drum Alban. Skene says that Loch Insh—the lake of the island—is a secondary name, and that it must have originally been called Lochdae, that the hills behind it enclose the valley of Glencarnie, and that Dunachton, by the side of Loch Insh, is named Nectan's fort after King Nectan. Unfortunately this view is wrong, and Badenoch must give up any claim to be the scene of the battle of Monadh-carno ; Lochdae is now identified with Lochy, and Glencarnie is in Duthil. But Dunachton is certainly Nectan's fort ; whether the Nectan meant was the celebrated Pictish King may well be doubted. Curiously, local tradition holds strongly that a battle was fought by the side of Loch Insh, but the defeated leader was King Harold, whose grave is on the side of Craig Righ Harailt.

From 729, we jump at once to 1229, exactly five hundred years, and about that date we find that Walter Cumyn is feudal proprietor of Badenoch, for he makes terms with the Bishop of Moray in regard to the church lands and to the "natives" or bondsmen in the district. It has been supposed that Walter Cumyn came into the possession of Badenoch by the forfeiture and death of Gillescop, a man who committed some atrocities in 1228—such as burning the (wooden) forts in the province of Moray, and setting fire to a large part of the town of Inverness. William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, the justiciar, was intrusted with the protection of Moray, and in 1229 Gillescop and his two sons were slain. Thereafter we find Walter Cumyn in possession of Badenoch and Kincardine, and it is a fair inference that Gillespie was his predecessor in the lordship of Badenoch. The Cummings were a Norman family ; they came over with the Conqueror, and it is asserted that they were nearly related to him by marriage. In 1068, we hear of one of them being governor or earl of Northumberland, and the name is common in English charters of the 12th century, in the early part of which they appear in Scotland ; they were in great favour with the Normanising David, and with

William after him, filling offices of chancellors and justiciars under them. William Cumyn, about the year 1210, married Marjory, heiress of the Earldom of Buchan, and thus became the successor of the old Celtic Mormaers of that district under the title of Earl of Buchan. His son Walter obtained the lordship of Badenoch, as we saw, and, a year or two after, he became Earl of Menteith by marrying the heiress, the Countess of Menteith. He still kept the lands of Badenoch, for, in 1234, we find him, as Earl of Menteith, settling a quarrel with the Bishop of Moray over the Church lands of Kincardine. Walter was a potent factor in Scottish politics, and in the minority of Alexander III. acted patriotically as leader against the pro-English party. He died in 1257 without issue. John Comyn, his nephew, son of Richard, succeeded him in Badenoch; he was head of the whole family of Comyn, and possessed much property, though simply entitled Lord of Badenoch. The Comyns at that time were at the height of their power; they could muster at least two earls, the powerful Lord of Badenoch, and thirty belted knights. Comyn of Badenoch was a prince, though not in name, making treaties and kings. John Comyn, called the Red, died in 1274, and was succeeded by his son John Comyn, the Black, and in the troubles about the kingly succession, at the end of the century, he was known as John de Badenoch, senior, to distinguish him from his son John, the Red Comyn, the regent, Baliol's nephew, and claimant to the throne, whom Bruce killed under circumstances of treachery at Dumfries, in 1306. Then followed the fall and forfeiture of the Comyns, and the lordship of Badenoch was given, about 1313—included in the Earldom of Moray—to Thomas Randolph, Bruce's right-hand friend.

The Cummings have left an ill name behind them in Badenoch for rapacity and cruelty. Their treachery has passed into a proverb—

“Fhad bhitheas craobh 'sa choill
Bithidh foill 'sna Cuiminich.”

Which is equally smart in its English form—

“While in the wood there is a tree
A Cumming will deceitful be.”

It is in connection with displacing the old proprietors—the Shaws and Mackintoshes—that the ill repute of the Cummings was really gained. But the particular cases which tradition remembers are mythical in the extreme; yet there is something in the traditions. There is a remembrance that these Cummings were the

first feudal lords of Badenoch ; until their time the Gaelic Tuath that dwelt in Badenoch had lived under their old tribal customs, with their *toiseachs*, their *airés*, and their *saor* and *daor* occupiers of land. The newcomers, with their charters, their titles, and their new exactions over and above the old Tuath tributes and dues, must have been first objects of wonder, and then of disgust. The authority which the Cummings exerted over the native inhabitants must often have been in abeyance, and their rents more a matter of name than reality. However, by making it the interest of the chiefs to side with them, and by granting them charters, these initial difficulties were got over in a century or two. It was under this feudalising process that the system of clans, as now known, was developed.

Earl Randolph died in 1332, and his two sons were successively Earls of Moray, the second dying in 1346 without issue, when "Black Agnes," Countess of Dunbar, succeeded to the vast estates. The Earldom of Moray, exclusive of Badenoch and Locharaber, was renewed to her son in 1372.¹ Meanwhile, in 1371 Alexander Stewart, King Robert's son, was made Lord of Badenoch by his father, as also Earl of Buchan ; and in 1387 he became Earl of Ross through his marriage with the Countess Euphame. His power was therefore immense ; he was the king's lieutenant in the North (*locum tenens in borealibus partibus regni*) ; but such was the turbulence and ferocity of his character that he was called the "Wolf of Badenoch." He is still remembered in the traditions of the country as "Alastair Mòr Mac an Rìgh"—Alexander the Big, Son of the King—a title which is recorded also in Maurice Buchanan's writings (A.D. 1461, Book of Pluscarden), who says that the wild Scots (*Scotis silvestribus*) called him "Alitstar More Makin Re." Naturally enough he gets confused with his famous namesake of Macedon, also Alastair Mòr, but the more accurate of tradition-mongers differentiate them easily, for they call Alex-

¹ Sir W. Fraser, in his "History of the Grants," says:—"After the forfeiture of the Comyns, Badenoch formed a part of the earldom of Moray, conferred on Sir Thomas Randolph. In 1338, however, it was held by the Earl of Ross, and in 1372, while granting the Earldom of Moray to John Dunbar, King Robert II. specially excepted Locharaber and Badenoch." Sir W. Fraser's authority for saying that Badenoch was in the possession of the Earl of Ross must be the charter of 1338 granting Kinrara and Dalnavert to Melmoran of Glencharny ; but a careful reading of that document shows that the Earl of Ross was not superior of Badenoch, for he speaks of the services due by him to the "Lord superior of Badenoch." Besides, in 1467, when Huntly was Lord of Badenoch, we find the Earl of Ross still possessing lands there, viz., Invermarkie, which he gives to Cawdor as part of his daughter's dowry.

ander the Great "Alastair Uabh'rach, Mac Rìgh Philip"—"Alexander the Proud, son of King Philip." This epithet of *uabh'rach* or *uaibhreach* appears as applied to Alexander the Great in that beautiful mediæval Gaelic poem that begins—

"Ceathrar do bhi air uaighan fhìr
 Feart Alaxandair Uaibhrìgh :
 Ro chausat briathra con bhreicc
 Os cionn na flatha a Fhinngheic."

Translated—

Four men were at a hero's grave—
 The tomb of Alexander the Proud ;
 Words they spake without lies
 Over the chief from beauteous Greek-land.¹

The Wolf of Badenoch's dealings with his inferiors in his lordship are not known ; but that he allowed lawlessness to abound may be inferred from the feuds that produced the Battle of Invernahavon (circ. 1386), and culminated in the remarkable conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396. We are not in much doubt as to his conduct morally and ecclesiastically. He had five natural-born sons—Alexander, Earl of Mar, Andrew, Walter, James, and Duncau—a regular Wolf's brood for sanguinary embroilments. He had a chronic quarrel with Alexander Bur, Bishop of Moray, which culminated in the burning of Elgin Cathedral in 1390. But in nearly every case the Bishop, by the terrors of the Curse of Rome, gained his point. In 1380, the Wolf cited the Bishop to appear before him at the Standing Stones of the Rathe of Easter Kingussie (apud le *standand stanys* de le Rathe de Kyngucy estir) on the 10th October, to show his titles to the lands held in the Wolf's lordship of Badenoch, viz., the lands of Logachnacheny (Laggan), Ardinche (Balnospick, &c.), Kingucy, the lands of the Chapels of Rate and Nachtan, Kyn-cardyn, and also Gartinegally. The Bishop protested, at a court held at Inverness, against the citation, and urged that the said lands were held of the King direct. But the Wolf held his court on the 10th October : the Bishop standing "extra curiam"—outside the court, *i.e.*, the Standing Stones—renewed his protest, but to no purpose. But upon the next day before dinner, and in the great chamber behind the hall in the Castle of Ruthven, the Wolf annulled the proceedings of the previous day, and gave the rolls of Court to the Bishop's notary, who certified that he put them in

¹ See "Dean of Lismore," p. 84 ; Ranald Macdonald's Collection, p. 133, and *Highland Monthly*, II., p. 376. (The above is from a British Museum MS.)

a large fire lighted in the said chamber, which consumed them. In 1381, the Wolf formally quits claims on the above-mentioned church lands, but in 1383 the Bishop granted him the wide domain of Rothiemurchus—"Ratmorchus, viz., sex davatas terre quas habemus in Strathspe et le Badenach"—six *davochs* of land it was. The later quarrels of the Wolf and the Bishop are notorious in Scotch History: the Wolf seized the Bishop's lands, and was excommunicated, in return for which he burnt, in 1390, the towns of Forres and Elgin, with the Church of St Giles, the maison dieu, the Cathedral, and 18 houses of the canons. For this he had to do penance in the Blackfriar's Church at Perth. He died in 1394, and is buried in Dunkeld, where a handsome tomb and effigy of him exist.

As the Wolf left no legitimate issue, some think the Lordship of Badenoch at once reverted to the Crown, for we hear no more of it till it was granted to Huntly in 1451. On this point Sir W. Fraser says:—"The Lordship of Badenoch was bestowed by King Robert II. upon his son, the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' in 1371, and should have reverted to the Crown on the Lord of Badenoch's death in 1394. But there is no evidence in the Exchequer Roll, or elsewhere, of any such reversion, and Badenoch seems to have been retained in possession by the Wolf of Badenoch's eldest son, who became Earl of Mar. . . . Alexander, Earl of Mar, and his father, were therefore the successors of the Comyns as Lords of Badenoch."

The Lordship of Badenoch was finally granted to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, by James II., by charter dated 28th April, 1451, not in recompense for his services at the Battle of Brechin, as is generally stated, but upwards of a year before that event. The great family of Gordon and Huntly originally came from near the Borders. They obtained their name of Gordon from the lands of Gordon, now a parish and village in the west of the Merse, S.W. Berwickshire. There, also, was the quondam hamlet of Huntly, a name now represented there only by the farm called Huntlywood. The parish gave the family name of Gordon, and the hamlet of Huntly gave the title of Earl or Marquess of Huntly. Sir Adam de Gordon was one of Bruce's supporters, and after the forfeiture of the Earl of Athole he got the lordship of Strathbogie, with all its appurtenances, in Aberdeenshire and Banff. The direct male Gordon line ended with Sir Adam's great-grandson and namesake, who fell at the battle of Homildon Hill in 1402, leaving a daughter Elizabeth, who married Alexander Seaton, second son of Sir W. Seaton of Winton. Her son Alexander assumed the name of

Gordon, and was created Earl of Huntly in 1449. His son George was Lord Chancellor, founded Gordon Castle, and erected the Priory of Kingussie (Shaw's *Moray*). The Gordons were so pre-eminent in Northern politics that their head was nicknamed "Cock of the North." In 1599, Huntly was created a Marquis, and in 1684 the title was advanced to that of Duke of Gordon. George, the fifth and last Duke of Gordon, died in 1836, when the property passed into the possession of the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, as heir of entail, in whose person the title of Duke of Gordon was again revived in 1876, the full title being now Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

Save the Church lands, all the property in Badenoch belonged to Huntly either as superior or actual proprietor. The Earl of Ross possessed lands in Badenoch under the lord superior in 1338, which he granted to Malmoran of Glencarnie: the lands were Dalnavert and Kinrara, and the grant is confirmed about 1440, while in 1467 we find the Earl of Ross again granting the adjoining lands of Invermarkie to the Thane of Cawdor, in whose name they appear till the seventeenth century, when Invereshie gets possession of them. The Laird of Grant, besides Delfour, which he had for three centuries, also held the Church lands of Laggan and Insh, that is, "Logane, Ardinche, Ballynaspy," as it is stated in 1541, and he is in possession of them for part of the seventeenth century. Mackintosh of Mackintosh has in feu from Huntly in the sixteenth century the lands of Benchar, Clune, Kinraig, and Dunaclton, with Rait, Kinrara, and Dalnavert. The only other proprietor or feuar besides these existing in the 16th century seems to have been James Mackintosh of Gask. The Macphersons, for instance, including Andrew *in* Cluny, who signed for Huntly the "Clan Farsons Band" of 1591, are all tenants merely. We are very fortunate in possessing the Huntly rental of Badenoch for the year 1603. Mackintosh appears as feuar for the lands above mentioned, and there are two wadsetters—Gask and Strone, both Mackintoshes. The 17th century sees quite a revolution in landholding in Badenoch, for during its course Huntly has liberally granted feus, and the proprietors are accordingly very numerous. Besides Huntly, Mackintosh, and Grant of Grant, we find some twenty feus or estates possessed by Macphersons; there was a Macpherson of Ardbrylach, Balchroan, Benchar, (in) Blarach, Breakachie, Clune, Cluny, Corranach, Crathie, Dalraddy, Delfour, Etteridge, Gasklyne, Gellovie, Invereshie, Invernahaven (Inverallochie), Invertromie, Nuid, Phones, and Pitchirn. There was a Mackintosh of Balnespick, Benchar,

Delfour, Gask, Kinrara, Lynwilg, Rait and Strone—eight in all. Four other names appear once each besides these during the century—Maclean, Gordon of Buckie, Macqueen, and Macdonald. The total valuation of Badenoch in 1644 was £11,527 Scots, in 1691 £6523, and in 1789 it was £7124, with only seven proprietors—Duke of Gordon, Mackintosh, Cluny, Invershie, Belleville, Grant of Grant (Delfour), and Major Gordon (Invertromie). The “wee lairdies” of the previous two centuries were swallowed up in the estates of the first five of these big proprietors, who still hold large estates in Badenoch, the Duke of Gordon being represented by the Duke of Richmond since 1836. Only one or two other proprietors on any large scale have come in since—Baillie of Dochfour, Sir John Ramsden, and, we may add, Macpherson of Glentruim. The valuation roll for 1889-90 shows a rental of £36,165 11s 7d sterling.

CLAN CHATTAN.

In the above section we discussed the political history of Badenoch, under the title of the “Lordship of Badenoch,” and in this section we intend to deal with the history of the native population of that district. Badenoch was the principal seat of the famous and powerful Clan Chattan. The territory held by this clan, however, was far from being confined to Badenoch; for at the acme of their power in the 15th century, Clan Chattan stretched across mid Inverness-shire, almost from sea to sea—from the Inverness Firth to near the end of Loch-eil, that is, from Petty right along through Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Badenoch to Brae-Lochaber, with a large overflow through Rothiemurchus into Braemar, which was the seat of the Farquharsons, who are descendants of the Shaws or Mackintoshes of Rothiemurchus. The Clan Chattan were the inhabitants of this vast extent of territory, but the ownership or superiority of the land was not theirs or their chiefs’, and the leading landlords they had to deal with were the two powerful Earls of Huntly and Moray. From them, as superiors, Mackintosh, chief of Clan Chattan, held stretches of land here and there over the area populated by the clan, and his tribesmen were tacksmen or feu-holders of the rest, as the case might be, under Moray or Huntly. It was rather an anomalous position for a great Highland chief, and one often difficult to maintain. Major (1521) describes the position, territorially and otherwise, of the Clans Chattan and Cameron in words which may be thus translated:—“These tribes are kinsmen, holding little in lordships, but following one head of their race (caput progenei—

ceann cinnidh) as chief, with their friends and dependents." The lordships were held, alas! by foreigners to them in race and blood.

The Clan Chattan were the native Celtic inhabitants of Badenoch. There are traditional indications that they came from the west—from Lochaber, where the MS. histories place the old Clan Chattan lands. The same authorities record that, for instance, the Macbeans came from Lochaber in the 14th century, "after slaying the Red Comyn's captain of Inverlochy," and put themselves under the protection of Mackintosh; and this is supported by the tradition still preserved among the Rothiemurchus Macbeans, whose ancestor, Bean Cameron, had to fly Lochaber owing to a quarrel and slaughter arising from the exaction of the "bò ursainn," or probate duty of the time. It may be too bold to connect this eastern movement of Clan Chattan with the advancing tide of Scotie conquest in the 8th century, whereby the Pictish Kingdoms and the Pictish language were overthrown. That the Picts inhabited Badenoch is undoubted: the place names amply prove that, for we meet with such test prefixes as Pet (Pitowrie, Pictchirn, Pitmean) and Aber (Aberarder), and other difficulties of topography unexplainable by the Gaelic language. As in most of Scotland, we have doubtless to deal, first, with a pre-Celtic race or races, possibly leaving remnants of its tongue in such a river name as Feshie, then the Pictish or Caledonian race of Celtic extraction, and, lastly, the Gaelic race who imposed their language and rule upon the previous peoples. The clan traditions are supported in the matter of a western origin for the Clan Chattan by the genealogies given in the 1467 MS., which deduces the chief line from Ferchar Fota, King of Dalriada, in the 7th century.

The name Cattan, like everything connected with the early history of this clan, is obscure, and has, in like manner, given rise to many absurd stories and theories. As a matter of course, the Classical geography of Europe has been ransacked, and there, in Germany, was a people called Chatti, which was taken as pronounced Catti; but the *ch* stands for a sound like that in *loch*. The name now appears as Hesse for Hätti. It was never *Katti*, be it remembered. Yet the Catti are brought from Germany to Sutherlandshire, which in Gaelic is Cataobh, older Cataib—a name supposed thus to be derived from the Catti. Cataobh is merely the dative plural of *cat* (a cat), just as Gallaobh (Caithness) is the same case of *Gall* (a stranger, Norseman). The Cat men dwelt in Sutherlandshire; why they were called the Cats is not known. Clan Chattan is often said to be originally from Sutherland, but,

beyond the similarity of name, there is no shadow of evidence for the assertion. Others again, like Mr Elton, see in the name Catan, which means, undoubtedly, "little cat," relics of totemism; this means neither more nor less than that the pre-Christian Clan Chattan worshipped the cat, from whom, as divine ancestor, they deemed themselves descended. We might similarly argue that the Mathesons—Mac Mhath-ghamhuin or Son of the Bear—were a "bear" tribe, a fact which shows how unstable is the foundation on which this theory is built. In fact, animal names for men were quite common in early times. The favourite theory—and one countenanced by the genealogies—connects the Clan Chattan, like so many other clans, with a church-derived name. The ancestor from whom they are represented as deriving their name is Gillicattan Mor, who lived in the 11th century. His name signifies Servant of Catan, that is, of St Catan; for people were named after saints, not directly, but by means of the prefixes Gille and Maol. At least, that was the early and more reverent practice. That there was a St Catan is evidenced by such place names as Kilchattan (in Bute and Lung), with dedication of churches at Gigha and Colonsay. His date is given as 710, but really nothing is known of him. This is probably the best explanation of the name, though the possibility of the clan being named after some powerful chief called Catan must not be overlooked. The crest of the cat is late, and merely a piece of mild heraldic punning.

It is only about or after 1400 that we come on anything like firm historical ground in the genealogy and story of our chief Highland clans. This is true of the Grants and the Camerons, and especially true of the Clan Chattan. Everything before that is uncertainty and fable. The earliest mention of Clan Chattan—and it is not contemporary but fifty years later—is in connection with the fight at the North Inch of Perth in 1396, and here historians are all at sixes and sevens as to who the contending parties really were. The battle of Invernahavon (1386?) and the fight at Clachnaharry (1454) are mere traditions, and the battle in 1429 between Clan Chattan and Clan Chameron, in which the former nearly annihilated the latter, is recorded by a writer nearly a century later (1521). In fact, the first certain contemporary date is that of Mackintosh's charter in 1466 from the Lord of the Isles, where he is designated Duncan Mackintosh, "capitanus de Clan Chattan," and next year as "chief and captain" of Clan Chattan, in a bond with Lord Forbes. Henceforward, Clan Chattan is a common name in public history and private docu-

ments. It comprised in the period of its comparative unity (circ. 1400-1600) some sixteen tribes or septs: these were the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Davidsons, Cattanachs, Macbeans, Macphails, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macgillivrays, Macleans of Dochgarroch, Smiths, Macqueens, Gillanders, Clarks, &c. Of this confederation, Mackintosh was for, at least, two centuries "captain and chief," as all documents, public and private, testify. These two centuries (circ. 1400 to 1600) form the only period in which we see, under the light of history, the Highland clans in their full development.

The 17th century made sad havoc in the unity of Clan Chattan. Huntly, ever an enemy to Mackintosh, "banded" in 1591 the Macphersons to his own person, and, by freely granting charters to them, made them independent, and detached them from Mackintosh. Macpherson of Cluny claimed to be head of the Macphersons, and in 1673 styled himself "Duncan M^cpherson of Cluney for himself, and taking burden upon him for the heall name of M^cphersons and some others called old Clanchattan as cheeffe and principall man thereof," in a bond with Lord Macdonell of Morar. In support of this claim, the Macphersons appealed to the old genealogies, which represented Mackintosh as getting the Clan Chattan lands by marriage with the heiress in 1291, and which further showed that Cluny was the heir male descendant of the old Clan Chattan chiefs. The case in its solemn absurdity of appeal to genealogies reminds one of a like appeal placed before the Pope in the claims of King Edward upon the throne of Scotland. He claimed the Scottish crown as the direct successor of Brutus and Albanactus, who lived in Trojan times, every link of genealogy being given, while the Scots repelled this by declaring that they were descended from Gathelus husband of Scota, daughter of the Mosaic King of Egypt; and here, too, all the genealogical links could have been given. Neither doubted the genuineness of each other's genealogies! So with the Mackintosh-Macpherson controversy about the chiefship of Clan Chattan. They each accept each other's genealogies without suspicion or demur. And yet the manufacture of these and like genealogies was an accomplished art with Gaelic seanachies whether Irish or Scottish. We even see it going on under our very eyes. The early chiefs of Lochiel are the *de Cambruns* of the 13th and 14th century records—lists and other documents—impressed into the Cameron genealogy, which is doubtless correctly given in the 1467 MS. Again, the Macpherson genealogy in the Douglas Baronage is in several cases drawn from

charters granted to wholly different families. Dormund Macpherson, 12th chief, gets a charter under the great seal from James IV.; but the charter turns out to be one granted to a Dormund M'Pherson in the Lordship of Menteith, not of Badenoch! John, 14th of Cluny, who "was with the Earl of Huntly at the battle of Glenlivet," as the veracious chronicler says, to add a touch of realism to his bald genealogical account, gets a charter of the lands of Tullich, &c., lands which lie in Strathnairn, and he turns out to be a scion of the well-known family of Macphersons of Briu! Similarly John, 15th of Cluny, is son of the foregoing John of Brin; and Ewen, 16th of Cluny, who gets a charter in 1623 of the lands of Tullich, &c., is a cousin of Brin. Donald, 17th of Cluny, who gets a charter in 1643, turns out to be Donald Macpherson of Nuid. And all this time another and a correct genealogy of the Cluny family had been drawn up by Sir Æneas Macpherson towards the end of the 17th century, which must surely have been known to the writer.¹ During all the period of 14th to 16th chief here given, there was only one man in Cluny, and his name was Andrew Macpherson, son of Ewen.

The name Mackintosh signifies the son of the *toiseach* or chief, which is Latinised by Flaherty as "capitaneus seu praecepius dux." The Book of Deer makes the relationship of *toiseach* to other dignitaries quite plain. There is first the King; under him are the *normaers* or stewards of the great provinces of Scotland, such as Buchan, Marr, and Moray; and next comes the *toiseach* or chief of the clan in a particular district. The two clans in the Book of Deer are those of Canan and Morgan, each with a *toiseach*. This word is represented oftenest in English in old documents by *thane*, which, indeed, represents it with fair accuracy. *Toiseach* is the true Gaelic word for "chief," but it is now obsolete, and there is now no true equivalent of the word "chief" in the language at all. And here it may be pointed out that the word chief itself was not at once adopted or adapted for this particular meaning of chief of a Highland clan. As we saw, the word at first employed was "captain," then "captain and chief," "captain, chief, and principal man," "chief and principal," &c., the idea finally settling down as fully represented by the word "chief" in the 16th century. Skene's attempt to argue that captain denoted a leader temporarily adopted, leading the clan for another, or usurping the power of another, while chief denoted a hereditary office, is con-

¹ See Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's *Dunachton*, pp. 46-49, for a full *exposé* of this remarkable piece of manufacture.

demned by his own evidence, and by the weight of facts. Besides, words do not suddenly spring into technical meanings, nor could chief acquire the definite meaning applicable to Highland chieftainship, but by length of time and usage for this purpose. Hence arose the uncertainty of the early terms applied to the novel idea presented by Highland clans. The word *clan* itself appears first in literature in connection with Clan Chattan, or rather Clan Qwhewyl, at the North Inch of Perth, where Wyntown speaks of "Clannys twa." The Gaelic word *clan* had to be borrowed for want of a native English term; why should we then wonder at the idea of *toiseach* being rendered first by captain, and latterly by chief?

The Mackintosh genealogies, dating from the 17th century, represent the family as descended from Macduff, *thane* of Fife, as they and Fordun call him. Shaw Macduff, the second son of Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, who died in 1154, in an expedition against the people of Moray in 1160, distinguished himself, and received from the King lands in Petty, and the custody of Inverness Castle. Here he was locally known as Shaw Mac an Toiseich, "Shaw, the son of the Thane." He died in 1179, and was succeeded by (2) Shaw, whose son was (3) Ferchard, whose nephew was (4) Shaw, whose son was (5) Ferchard, whose son was (6) Angus, who in 1291 married Eva, heiress of Clan Chattan, and thus got the Clan's lands in Lochaber. So far the genealogy. It is a pretty story, but it sadly lacks one thing—verisimilitude. Macduff was not *toiseach* of Fife. In the Book of Deer he is called *comes*, the then Gaelic of which was *mormaer*, now *moirear*. Shaw Macduff would infallibly, as son of the Earl of Fife, have been called Mac Mhoireir. With those who support this Macduff genealogy, no argument need be held; like the humorist of a past generation, one would, however, like to examine their bumps. The statement that the Mackintoshes were hereditary constables of Inverness Castle is totally baseless and false. At the dates indicated (12th century) we believe that the Mackintoshes had not penetrated so far north as Petty or Inverness, and that we should look to Badenoch as their place of origin, and their abode at this time. Unfortunately documents in regard to the early history of Badenoch are rare, but an entry or two in the Registrum of Moray Diocese may help us. In 1234, Walter Comyn, Earl of Monteith, comes to an agreement with the Bishop of Moray, in regard to Kincardine, and Fercard, son of Seth, is a witness, and in the very next document, also one of Walter Comyn's, of the same date, appears a witness called Fercard "Senescalli de Badenoch," that is "steward of Badenoch." We are quite justified

in regarding him as the person mentioned in the previous document as Fercard, son of Seth. Now, one translation of *toiseach* is steward or seneschal—the person in power next the *mormaer* or earl. We may, therefore, conclude that this Ferchard was known in Gaelic as Ferchard *Toiseach*. Similarly in 1440 we meet with Malcolm Mackintosh, chief of the clan, as “ballivus de Badenoch,” a title of equal import as that of seneschal. We should then say that the Mackintoshes derived their name from being *toiseachs* of Badenoch, the head of the old Celtic clan being now under the new non-Celtic *mormaer* or earl Walter Comyn. The ease with which the name Mackintosh might arise in any place where a clan and its *toiseach* existed explains how we meet with Mackintoshes, for instance, in Perthshire, who do not belong to the Clan Chattan. Thus there were Mackintoshes of Glentilt, which was held as an old thanage, and whose history as such is well known. Similarly we may infer that the Mackintoshes of Monivaird were descendants of the old local *Toiseachs* or *Thanes*. The Mackintosh genealogists have of course annexed them to the Clan Chattan stock with the utmost ease and success. In 1456, John of the Isles granted to Somerled, his armour-bearer, a *davoch* of the lands of Glennevis, with *toiseachdorship* of most of his other lands there, and in 1552 this grant is renewed by Huntly to “dilecto nostro Donaldo MacAlister M^oToschd,” that is, Donald, son of Alistar, son of Somerled, the *toiseach* or bailif, named in 1456. This shows how easily the name could have arisen.

Skene, while unceremoniously brushing aside the Macduff genealogy, advances hypothetically a different account of the origin of the Mackintoshes. In 1382, the Lord of Badenoch is asked to restrain Farchard MacToschy and his adherents from disturbing the Bishop of Aberdeen and his tenants in the land of Brass or Birse, and to oblige him to prosecute his claim by form of law. Skene thinks that Farchard, whom he finds in the 1467 MS. as one of the “old” Mackintoshes, was descended from the old thanes of Brass, and that hence arose his name and his claim. Being a vassal of the Wolf’s, he was a Badenoch man too. Rothiemurchus was a thanage, and the connection of the Mackintoshes with it was always close. Alexander Keir Mackintosh obtained the feudal rights to Rothiemurchus in 1464, and a few years later he styles himself “Thane of Rothiemurchus.” Skene then suggests that Birse and Rothiemurchus might have anciently been in the hands of the same *toiseach* or thane, and that from him the Mackintoshes got their name. We have suggested that the name arose with Ferchard, son of Seth or Shaw, who was *toiseach* under Earl Walter Comyn in 1234, and his name appears in

the 1467 MS. genealogy as well as in the Mackintosh genealogies.

That a revolution took place in the affairs of Clan Chattan, with the overthrow or extrusion of the direct line of chiefs, in the half century that extends from about 1386 to 1436, is clear from two sources—first, from the 1467 MS., and, second, from the Mackintosh history. The latter acknowledges that Ferquhard, 9th chief, was deposed from his position, which was given to his uncle Malcolm. The reason why he had to retire was, it is said, the clan's dissatisfaction with his way of managing affairs; but the matter is glossed over in the history in a most unsatisfactory manner. If this was the Ferchard mentioned in 1382 as giving trouble to the Bishop of Aberdeen, it is most unlikely that he was an incapable man; in fact, he must have been quite the opposite. He is doubtless the same person, for he is given also in the 1467 MS. genealogy. But further confusion exists in the Mackintosh account. Malcolm, 10th Mackintosh, who dies in 1457, is grandson through William 7th (died 1368) of Angus who married Eva in 1291, the three generations thus lasting as chiefs from 1274 to 1457, some 183 years! Malcolm was the son of William's old age, and his brother, Lachlan 8th, was too old to take part in the North Inch fight in 1396, sixty years before his younger brother died! This beats the Fraser genealogy brought forward lately by a claimant to the Lovat estates. It is thus clear that there is something wrong in the Mackintosh genealogy here, corresponding doubtless to some revolution in the clan's history. And this is made clear when we consult the Edinburgh Gaelic MS. of 1467, which gives the genealogies of Highland clans down till about 1450. Here we actually have two genealogies given, which shows that the chiefship of the Mackintoshes or Clan Gillicattan was then either in dispute or a matter of division between two families. We print the two 1467 lists with the Mackintosh MS. genealogy between them, in parallel columns, supplying dates where possible:—

<i>1467 MS.</i>	<i>Mackintosh History.</i>	<i>1467 MS.</i>
William and Donald	(12) Ferchar (d. 1514)	Lochlan
William	(11) Duncan (d. 1496)	Suibne
Ferchar (1382)	(8) Lachlan & (10) Malcolm (d. 1457)	Shaw
William	(7) William (d. 1368)	Leod
Gillamichol	(6) Angus (d. 1345)	Scayth (1338)
Ferchar (1234)	(5) Ferchar (d. 1274)	Ferchard
Shaw	(4) Shaw (d. 1265)	Gilchrist
Gilchrist	William	Malcolm
Aigeol	(2) Shaw (d. 1210)	Donald Camgilla
Ewen	(1) Shaw (d. 1179)	Mureach
—	Macduff (d. 1154)	Suibne
—	Earl of Fife	Tead (Shaw)
Neill		Nachtain
[Gillicattan ?]		Gillicattan

The similarity between the 1467 first list and that of the Mackintosh history is too striking to be accidental, and we may take it that they purport to give the same genealogy. There are only two discrepancies from about 1400 to 1200 between them. Ferchar 9th is given as son of Lachlan in the Mackintosh history, whereas the 1467 list makes him son of William, not grandson. The 6th Mackintosh in the one list is Gillamichael, and in the other he is called Angus. Perhaps he had borne both names, for Gillamichael means "servant of St Michael," and might possibly be an epithet. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has drawn the writer's attention to a list of names published in Palgrave's "Documents and Records" of Scottish History (1837); this is a list of some ninety notables who, about 1297, made homage or submission to Edward I., and among them is Anegosius Maccarawer, or Angus Mac Ferchar, whom Mr Fraser-Mackintosh claims as the 6th of Mackintosh. There are only two other "Macs" in the list, and Maccarawer is, no doubt, a Highlander, and possibly a chief, and, perhaps, the chief of Mackintosh. In any case, in the middle of the 15th century, the direct line of Mackintoshes was represented by William and Donald, sons of William, whereas the chief *de facto* at the time was undoubtedly Malcolm Mackintosh. How he got this position is a question.

The second list in the 1467 MS. is a puzzle. Mr Skene called it the genealogy of the "old" Clan Chattan: *Why*, is not clear. Scayth, son of Ferchard, is mentioned in 1338 as the late Scayth who possessed a "manerium" at the "stychan" of Dalnavert. Mr Skene thinks that he was of the Shaws of Rothienurchus, and that this is their genealogy; and this may be true, but what comes of his earlier theories in regard to the Macphersons as being the "old" family here represented? Theories held in 1837 were abandoned in 1880; but in this Mr Skene could hardly help himself, considering the amount of information that has since appeared in the volumes of such Societies as the "Spalding Club," bearing on the history of the Moravian clans, and especially on that of Clan Chattan.

The turmoil in the Clan Chattan, which changed the chiefship to another line, must be connected more especially with the events which took place when King James came North, in 1427, when part of the clan stood by the King and part by the Lord of the Isles. We find in a document preserved in the Kilravock papers, that King James grants a pardon to certain of the Clan Chattan, provided they really do attach themselves to the party of Angus and Malcolm Mackintosh; and this shews that Malcolm,

who was afterwards chief, stood by the king, and received his favours. Angus possibly was his brother, for a depredating rascal of the name of Donald Angusson, supported by Lachlan "Badenoch," son of Malcolm, evidently Lachlan's cousin, gives trouble to various people towards the end of the century. In any case, Malcolm Mackintosh emerged from the troubles that were rending the clan victorious, and his son Duncan was as powerful a chief as lived in the North in his day.

How much the Clan Battle at Perth, in 1396, had to do with the changes in the Clan Chattan leadership it is hard to say. It is accepted as certain that the Clan Chattan had a hand in the fight, for the later historians say so, and the contemporary writer Wyntown mentions the chiefs on both sides, and one of these bears the name of Scha Ferchar's son, which is an unmistakably Mackintosh name. He says, in Laing's edition:—

"Tha thre score were clannys twa,
Clahynnhé Qhwewyl, and Clachinya;
Of thir twa Kynnys ware the men,
Thretty agane thretty then.
And thare thai had thair chiftanys twa,
Schir Ferqwharis sone wes ane of tha,
The tothir Cristy Johnesone."

The two clans here pitted against one another are the clans Quhele or Chewil, and Clan Ha or Hay, or, according to some, Kay. Boece has Clan Quhete, which Buchanan and Leslie improve into Clan Chattan.

As so much theorising has taken place upon this subject already, and so many positive assertions have been made, it may at present serve the interests of historic science if we can really decide what clan names the above cannot stand for. First, there is Clan Quhele or Chewil. This clan is mentioned in 1390 as Clan Qwhevil, who, with the Athole tribes, made a raid into Angus, and killed the Sheriff. They are mentioned again in an Act of Parliament in 1594 as among the broken clans, in the following sequence—Clandonochie, Clanchattane, Clanchewill, Clanchamron, &c. What clan they really were is yet a matter of dispute. The form *Chewill* points to a nominative, Cumhal or Cubhal, or Keval, but no such name can be recognised in the Clan Chattan district, or near it. Dughall or Dugald has been suggested, and the family of Camerons of Strone held as the clan referred to. But this, like so much in the discussion of this subject, forgets some very simple rules of Gaelic phonetics, which are not

forgotten in the spoken language, and in the English forms borrowed from it. *Feminine names ending in n never aspirate an initial d of the next word.* We have Clan Donnachie, Clan Donald, Clan Dugald, and so on, but never Clan Yonnachie or Yonald, or such. Similarly, Clan Hay or Ha cannot stand for *Clan Dai* or *Davidsons*. Let these simple rules of Gaelic phonetics be understood once for all, and we have made much progress towards a solution of the difficulty. The word *Quhevil* evidently commences with a *C*. Skene suggests it is for Caimgilla, "one-eyed one," the epithet of Donald, Mureach's son, in the 1467 pedigree. But the *n* of *cam* is never aspirated. I gain, as to *Ha* or *Hay*. The *H* initial may stand for *th*, *sh*, or *jh*; and the only names that can be suggested are those of Shaw and Fhaidh. The Clan Cameron are called, in the 1467 MS. and other places, the "Clann Maelan-fhaidh," the clan of the "servant of the Prophet," a name preserved in the Macgillony of Strone, which originally was Mac Gille-an-fhaidh, equivalent to Mael-an-fhaidh in meaning.

The name, however, that best suits the English form is that of Shaw or Seadh, that is, Seth. There is really a difficulty about Meal-an-fhaidh and his clan. The form ought to be either Clann-an-fhaidh, which Wyntown would give as Clahinanha or Clahan-anna, or it would be Clann Mhael-an-fhaidh, a form which could not be mistaken, were it handed down. The most popular theory at present is that the combatants were the Camerons and Mackintoshes, who were enemies for three centuries thereafter; the Mackintoshes were represented by the name of Clan Chewill, the chief being Shaw, son of Ferchar, of the Rothiemurchus branch, while the Camerons were the Clan Hay, with Gilchrist Mac Iain as chief. This is practically Skene's view, and it is the position taken up by Mr A. M. Shaw, the historian of the Mackintoshes. But the phonetics point to a struggle in which the Shaws were the chief combatants, the other side being Clan Kevil, and, on weighing all sides of the question, we are as much inclined to believe that it was the beginning of that struggle in the clan, which is represented by two lines of pedigree, and which latterly gave the chiefship even to a junior branch of one of the lines.

How does the claim of the Cluny Macphersons for the chiefship of Clan Chattan stand in relation to these historic facts? They do not appear at all in the historical documents, but tradition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had enough to tell of their share in the crisis. At the battle of Invernahaven, fought against the Camerons, the Macphersons of Cluny claimed the right under Mackintosh as chief, but he unfortunately gave this post of

honour to the Clan Dai or Davidsons of Invernahavon; and the Macphersons retired in high dudgeon. The battle was at first lost to Clan Chattan, but the Macphersons, despite anger, came to the rescue, and the Camerons were defeated. Then ensued a struggle, lasting ten years, for superiority between the Macphersons (Clan Chattan) and the Davidsons, the scene of which, in 1396, was shifted to the North Inch of Perth. These, the Macpherson tradition says, were the two clans that fought the famous clan fight. The Macphersons claim to be descended from Gillicattan Mor, progenitor of the Clan Chattan, by direct male descent, and every link is given back to the eleventh century, thus (omitting "father of")—Gillicattan, Diarmid, Gillicattan, Muirich, parson of Kingussie, whence they are called Clann Mhuirich, father of Gillicattan and Ewen Ban, the former of whom had a son, Dougal Dall, whose daughter Eva, "the heircess of Clan Chattan," married Angus Mackintosh in 1291, and thus made him "captain" of Clan Chattan; Ewen Ban was the direct male representative, then Kenneth, Duncan, Donald Mor, Donald Og, Ewen; then Andrew of Cluny in 1609, a real historic personage without a doubt. In this list, not a single name previous to that of Andrew can be proved to have existed from any documents outside the Macpherson genealogies, excepting only Andrew's father, Ewen, who is mentioned in the Clauranald Red Book as grandfather of the heroic Ewen, who joined Montrose with three hundred of Clans Mhuirich and Chattan. The direct Gillicattan genealogy is given in the 1467 MS., and, such as it is, it has no semblance to the Macpherson list. The fact is that the Macpherson list previous to Ewan, father of Andrew, is purely traditional and utterly unreliable. The honest historian of Moray, Lachlan Shaw, says—"I cannot pretend to give the names of the representatives before the last century. I know that in 1660 Andrew was laird of Clunie, whose son, Ewan, was father of Duncan, who died in 1722 without male issue." By means of the Spalding Publications, the Synod of Moray Records, and other documents, we can now supplement and add to Lachlan Shaw's information, though not much. Macpherson of Cluny is first mentioned in 1591 when Clan Farson gave their "band" or bond to Huntly. He is then called "Andrew Makfersone in Cluny," not *of* Cluny, be it observed, for he was merely tenant of Cluny at that time. This is amply proved by the Badenoch rental of 1603, where we have the entry—"Clownye, three pleuches . . . Andro McFarlen (*read* Farsen) tenant to the haill." Perhaps Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's inference is right as to the national importance of Cluny

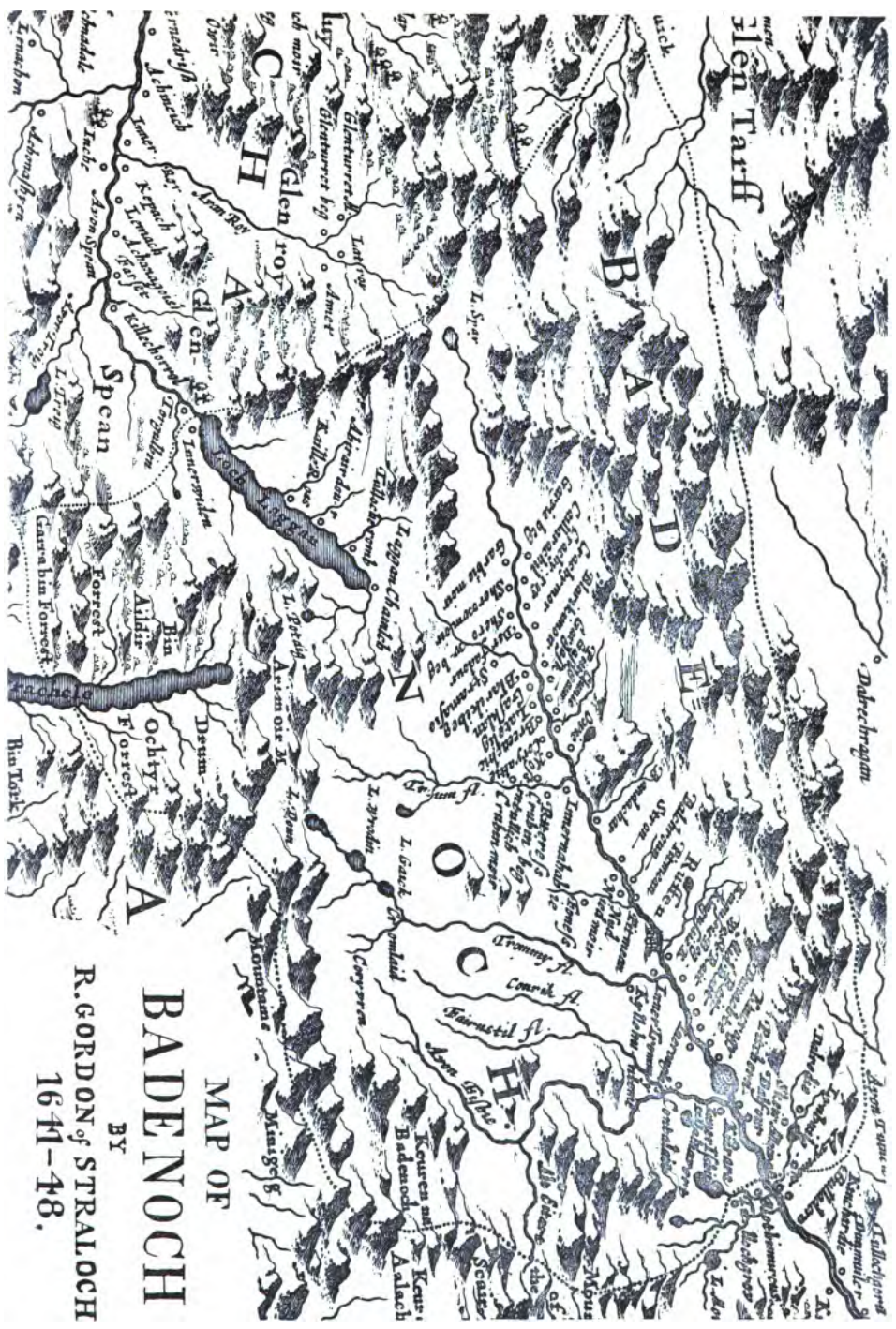
Macpherson then, when he says—"So little known does he seem to have been that Huntly's chamberlain, who made out the Badenoch rental in 1603, calls him Andro *McFarlen*." In 1609, Andrew had obtained a heritable right to Cluny, for then he is called Andrew Macpherson of Cluny in the bond of union amongst the Clan Chattan, "in which they are and is astricted to serve Mackintosh as their Captain and Chief." Huntly had for long been trying to detach the Clan from Mackintosh by "bands," as in 1591 and in 1543, and by raising the tenants to a position of independence under charter rights, which were liberally granted in the seventeenth century, and which proved fatal to the unity of Clan Chattan. But it was a wise policy, nationally considered, for in 1663-5, when Mackintosh tried to raise his Clan against Lochiel, some flatly refused asking *cui bono*; others promised to go if Mackintosh would help them to a slice of their neighbour's land, and Macpherson of Cluny proposed three conditions on which he would go—(1) if the Chiefs of the Macphersons hold the next place in the Clan to Mackintosh; (2) lands now possessed by Mackintoshes and once possessed by Macphersons to be restored to the latter; and (3) the assistance now given was not of the nature of a service which Mackintosh had a right to demand, but simply a piece of goodwill. When Mackintosh was in 1688 proceeding to fight the "last Clan battle" at Mulroy against Keppoch, we are told that the "Macphersons in Badenoch, after two citations, disobeyed most contemptuously." Duncan Macpherson, the Cluny of that time, had decided to claim chiefship for himself, and in 1672 he applied for and obtained¹ from the Lord Lyon's Office the matriculation of his arms as Laird of Cluny Macpherson, and only true representative of the ancient and honourable family of Clan Chattan. Mackintosh, on hearing of it, objected, and got the Lord Lyon to give Macpherson "a coat of arms as cadets of 'Clan Chattan.'" The Privy Council in the same year called him "Lord of Cluny and Chief of the Macphersons," but Mackintosh got them to correct even this to Cluny being responsible *only* for "those of his name of Macpherson descendent of his family," without prejudice always to the Laird of Mackintosh. In 1724 Mackintosh and Macpherson came to an agreement that Mackintosh, in virtue of marrying the heiress of Clan Chattan in 1291, was Chief of Clan Chattan, Macpherson renouncing all claim, but there was a big bribe held out to him—he received the Loch Laggan estates from Mackintosh. In this way the egging on of Huntly, the reputation gained by the Macphersons in the Montrose wars and otherwise, and an absurd piece

of pedigree, all combined to deprive Mackintosh of his rightful honour of Chief, and also of a good slice of his estate! The renown gained by the Clan Macpherson in the Jacobite wars, compared to the supineness of the Mackintosh Chiefs, gained them public sympathy in their claims, and brought a clan, altogether unknown or ignored until the battle of Glenlivet in 1594, to the very front rank of Highland Clans in the eighteenth century. We see the rise of a clan and its chiefs actually take place in less than a century and a half, and that, too, by the pluck and bravery displayed by its chiefs and its members.

PLACE NAMES OF BADENOCH.

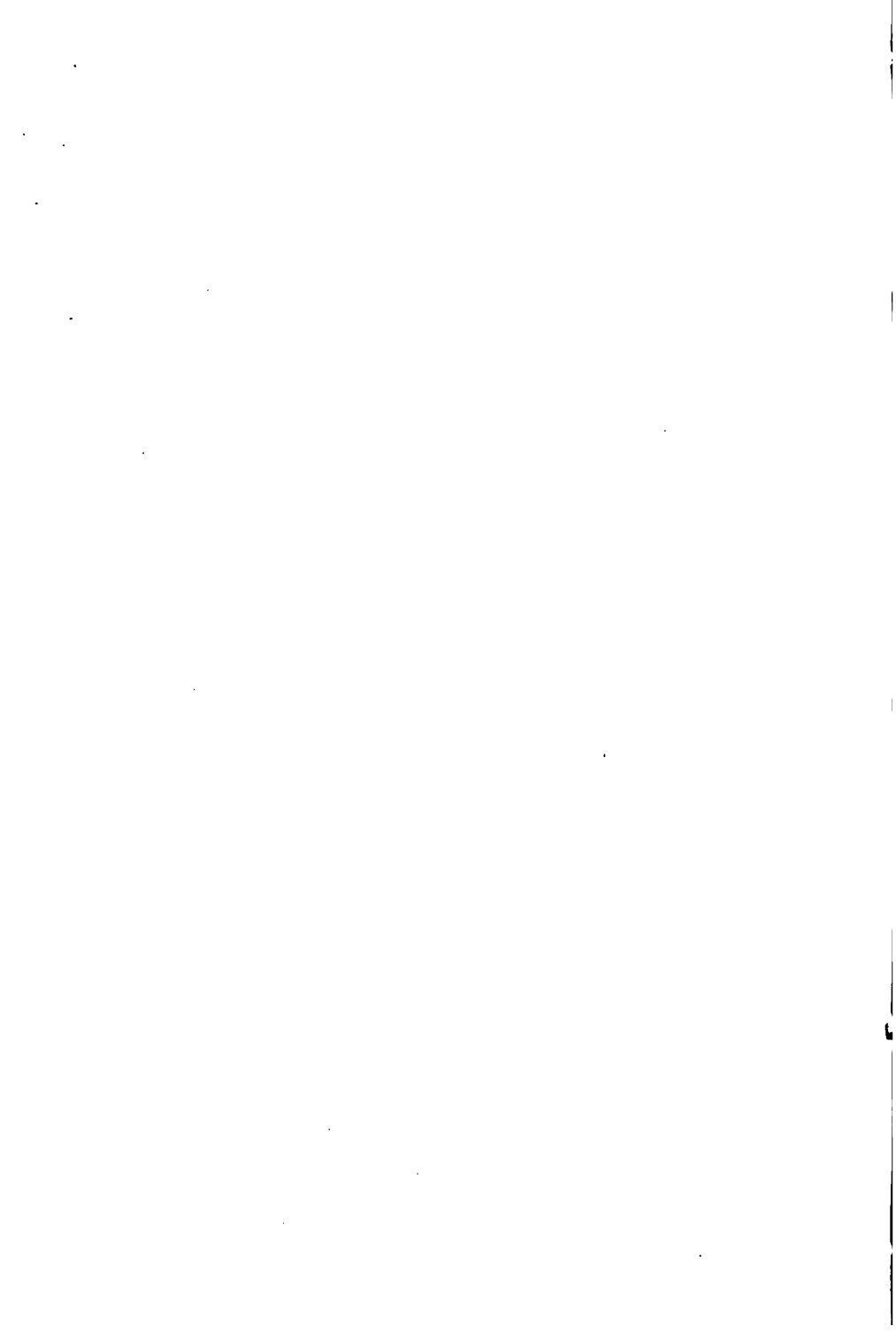
The Ordnance Survey maps, made to the scale of six inches to the mile, contain for Badenoch some fourteen hundred names; but these do not form more than a tithe of the names actually in use or once used when the glens were filled with people, and the summer shealings received their annual visitants. Every knoll and rill had its name; the bit of moor, the bog or *blār*, the clump of wood (*badan*), the rock or crag, the tiny loch or river pool, not to speak of cultivated land parcelled into fields, each and all, however insignificant, had a name among those that dwelt near them. Nor were the minute features of the mountain ranges and far-away valleys much less known and named. The shealing system contributed much to this last fact. But now many of these names are lost, we may say most of them are lost, with the loss of the population, and with the abandonment of the old system of crofting and of summer migration to the hills. The names given to those minute features of the landscape were and are comparatively easy on the score of derivation, though sometimes difficult to explain historically. For instance, Lub Mhàiri, or Mary's Loop, is the name of a small meadow at Coilintuie, but who was the Mary from whom it got its name?

Of the fourteen hundred words on the Ordnance Maps, we may at once dismiss three fourths as self-explanatory. Anyone with a knowledge of Gaelic can explain them; or anyone not so endowed but possessed of a Gaelic dictionary can by the use of it satisfactorily unravel the mystery of the names. Of the remaining fourth, most are easy enough as regards derivation, but some explanation of an historical character is desirable, though often impossible of being got. One of the most interesting names under this last category is that of Craig Rìgh Harallt, or the Crag of King Harold, which stands among the hills behind Dunachton;



MAP OF
BADENOCH
 BY

R. GORDON of STRALOCH
 1641-48.



yet there is absolutely nothing known about this Scandinavian chief; even tradition halts in the matter. There are only some six score names where any difficulty, however slight, of derivation can occur, and it is to these names that this paper will mostly devote itself. The oldest written or printed form of the name will be given, for often the difficulty of deriving a place-name yields when the oldest forms of it are found. We have fortunately some valuable documents, easily attainable, which throw light on some obscure names. Among these are the Huntly Rental for the Lordship of Badenoch for 1603,¹ and Sir R. Gordon of Straloch's map of Braidalbane and Moray, which was published in Blaeu's Atlas in 1662, and which contains a full and intelligent representation of Badenoch. The Badenoch part of this map is reproduced along with this paper for the sake of illustrating it. It was made about the year 1640.

First, we shall deal with the name of the district and the names of the principal divisions of it, and thereafter consider the nomenclature of the leading features of the country, whether river, loch, or mountain, following this with a glance at the names of farms and townships, and at the other points of the landscape that may seem to require explanation. The name of the district first claims our attention.

Badenoch.—In 1229 or thereabouts the name appears as Badenach in the Registrum of Moray Diocese, and this is its usual form there; in 1289, Badenagh, Badenoughe, and, in King Edward's Journal, Badnasshe; in 1366 we have Baydenach, which is the first indication of the length of the vowel in *Bad-*; a 14th century map gives Baunagd; in 1467, Badyenach; in 1539, Baidyenoch; in 1603 (Huntly Rental), Badzenoche; and now in Gaelic it is *Bàideanach*. The favourite derivation, first given by Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray (1775), refers it to *badan*, a bush or thicket; and the Muses have sanctioned it in Calum Dubh's expressive line in his poem on the Loss of Gaick (1800)—

“’S bidh mùirn ann an Dùthaich nam Badan.”
(And joy shall be in the Land of Wood-clumps).

But there are two fatal objections to this derivation; the *a* of Badenoch is long, and that of *badan* is short; the *d* of Badenoch is vowel-flanked by “small” vowels, while that of *badan* is flanked by “broad” vowels and is hard, the one being pronounced approximately for English as *bah-janach*, and the other as *baddanach*. The root that suggests itself as contained in the word is that of *bàth* or *bàth* (drown, submerge), which, with an adjectival termination

¹ Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv.

in *de*, would give *báide*, "submerged, marshy," and this might pass into *báidean* and *báideanach*, "marsh or lake land." That this meaning suits the long, central meadow land of Badenoch, which once could have been nothing else than a long morass, is evident. There are several places in Ireland containing the root *bádh* (drown), as Joyce points out. For instance, Bauttagh, west of Loughrea in Galway, a marshy place; Mullanbattog, near Monaghan, hill summit of the morass; the river Bauteoge, in Queen's County, flowing through swampy ground; and Currawatia, in Galway, means the inundated *curragh* or morass. The neighbouring district of Lochaber is called by Adamnan Stagnum Aporicum, and the latter term is likely the Irish *abar* (a marsh), rather than the Pictish *aber* (a confluence); so that both districts may be looked upon as named from their marshes. The divisions of Badenoch are three—the parishes of Alvie, Kingussie and Insh, and Laggan.

Alvie.—Shaw says it is a "parsonage dedicated to St Drostan." Otherwise we should have at once suggested the 6th century Irish saint and bishop called Ailbe or later Ailbhe, whose name suits so admirably, that, even despite the Drostan connection, one would feel inclined to think that the parish is named after St Ailbhe. In the middle of the 14th century the parish is called Alveth or Alweth and Alway, and Alvecht about 1400, in 1603 Alvey and Aluay, and in 1622 Alloway. The name, with the old spelling Alveth, appears in the parish of Alvah in Banffshire, and no doubt also in that of Alva, another parish in Stirlingshire. Shaw and others connect the name with *ail* (a rock), but do not explain the *v* or *bh* in the name. Some look at Loch Alvie as giving the name to the parish, and explain its name as connected with the flower *ealbhaídh* or St John's wort, a plant which it is asserted grows or grew around its bank. The learned minister of Alvie in Disruption times, Mr Macdonald, referred the name of the loch to *Eala-i* or Swan-isle Loch, but unfortunately there is no Gaelic word *i* for an island, nor do the phonetics suit in regard to the *bh* or *v*. The old Fenian name of Almu or Almuinn, now Allen, in Ireland, the seat of Fionn and his Féinn, suggests itself, but the termination in *n* is wanting in Alvie, and this makes the comparison of doubtful value.

Insh.—Mentioned as *Inche* in the Moray Registrum in 1226 and similarly in 1380 and in 1603. The name is derived from the knoll on which the church is built, and which is an island or *innis* when the river is in flood. Loch Insh takes its name from this or the other real island near it. The parish is a vicarage dedicated to "St Ewan," says Shaw; but, as the name of the

knoll on which the church stands is Tom Eunan, the Saint must have been Eonan or Adamnan, Columba's biographer, in the 7th century. The old bell is a curious and rare relic, and the legend attached to it is one of the prettiest told in the district. The bell was stolen once upon a time, and taken to the south of the Grampians, but getting free, it returned of its own accord ringing out as it crossed the hills of Drumochter, "Tom Eonan! Tom Eonan."

Kingussie.—In Gaelic—*Cinn-ghiubhsaich*—" (at) the end of the fir-forest," *cinn* being the locative of *ceann* (head) and *giubheach* being a "fir-forest." The oldest forms of the name are Kynguscy (1103-11 ?), Kingussy (1208-15), Kingusy (1226), Kingucy (1380), Kingusy (1538), and Kynigusie (1603). It is a parsonage dedicated to St Columba (Shaw). According to Shaw, there was a Priory at Kingussie, founded by the Earl of Huntly about 1490.

Laggan.—"A mensal church dedicated to St Kenneth" (Shaw). The name in full is *Laggan-Choinnich*, the *laggan* or "hollow of Kenneth." The present church is at Laggan Bridge, but the old church was at the nearest end of Loch Laggan, where the ruins are still to be seen. It is mentioned in 1239 as Logynkenny (R.M.), and Logykenny shortly before, as Logachnacheny and Logykeny in 1380, Logankenny in 1381 (all from R.M.), and Lagane in 1603 (H.R.) The Gaelic word "lagan" is the diminutive of "lag," a hollow.

We now come to the leading natural features of the country, and deal first with the rivers and lochs of Badenoch. A loch and its river generally have the same name, and, as a rule, it is the river that gives name to the loch. A prominent characteristic of the river names of Badenoch, and also of Pictland, is the termination *ie* or *y*. We meet in Badenoch with Feshie, Trommie, Markie, and Mashie, and not far away are Bennie, Druie, Geldie, Garry, Bogie, Gaudie, Lossie, Urie, and several more. The termination would appear to be that given by Ptolemy in several river names such as *Nov-ios*, *Tob-ios*, *Libn-ios*, &c., which is the adjectival termination *ios*; but it has to be remarked that the modern pronunciation points to a termination in *idh*, Zeuss's primitive *adi* or *idi*; Tromie in Gaelic is to be spelt Tromaidh, and Feshie as Feisidh. We first deal with the so-called "rapidest river in Scotland."

The *Spey*.—The Highlanders of old had a great idea of the size of the Spey, and also of the Dee and Tay. There is a Gaelic saying which runs thus:—

Spé, Dé, agus Tatha,
Tri uisgeachan 's mò fo'n athar.

This appears in an equally terse English form:—

The three largest rivers that be
Are the Tay, the Spey, and the Dee.

In Norse literature the name appears as Spæ (13th century); we have the form Spe in the "Chronicles" (1165); Spe (1228, &c); Spee (Bruce's Charter to Randolph) and Spey (1451 and 1603). But the Spey is regarded as representing physically and etymologically Ptolemy's river Tvesis or Tvæsis. Dr Whitley Stokes says:—"Supposed to be Ptolemy's Tvesis; but it points to an original Celtic *squéas*, cognate with Ir. *scéim* (vomo), W. *chwoyd* (a vomit). For the connection of ideas, cf. Pliny's Vomanus, a river of Picenum. The river name Spean may be a diminutive of Spe." The changing of an original *sqv* to *sp*, instead of the true Gaelic form *sg* or *sc* indicates that the name is Pictish. The *Spean* is doubtless a diminutive arising from a form *spesona* or *spesana*.

The *Dulnan*; in Gaelic *Tuilnean*, Blaeu's map *Tulnen*. It falls into Spey near Broomhill Station. The root is *tuil*, flood; the idea being to denote its aptness to rapid floods.

Feshie; Gaelic *Feisidh*. Its first appearance in charters is about 1230, and the name is printed *Ceffy*, evidently for *Fessy*. If it is Celtic, its earliest form was *Vestia*, from a root *ved*, which signifies "wet," and which is the origin of the English word *wet* and *water*. That Feshie is Celtic, and Pictish may be regarded as probable when it is mentioned that in Breconshire there is a river Gwesyn, the root of the name being *gwes* (for *vest*), meaning "what moves" or "goes."

Tromie; Gaelic *Trom(a)idh*. In 1603 it is called Tromye. The Gaelic name for dwarf elder is *troman*, which appears in Irish as *trom* or *tromm*, with genitive *truimm*. It gives its name to Trim in Meath, which in the 9th century was called Vadum *Truimm*, or Ford of the Elder-tree. Several other Irish place-names come from it. In Badenoch and elsewhere in the Highlands, we often meet with rivers named after the woods on their banks. Notably is so the case with the alder tree, *Fearna*, which names numerous streams, and, indeed, is found in old Gaul, for Pliny mentions a river called Vernodubrum. Hence Tromie is the Elder-y River; while Truim, which is probably named after the glen, Glen-truim—"Glen of the Elder,"—takes its name from the genitive of *tromm*. Compare the Irish *Cala-truim*, the hollow of the elder. Glen-tromie is the first part of the long gorge that latterly becomes Gaick, and, in curious contrast to the ill fame of the latter in poetry, it appears thus in a well-known verse:—

Gleann Tromaidh nan siantan
 Leam bu mhiann bhi 'nad fhasgath,
 Far am faighinn a' bhroighleag,
 An oighreag 's an dearcag,
 Cnòthan donn air a' challtuinn,
 'S iasg dearg air na h-easan.

Guinag, Guznack, Guinach, or Gynack (pronounced in Gaelic *Goi(bh)neag*), falls into the Spey at Kingussie. It is a short, stormy streamlet. All sorts of derivations have been offered; the favourite is *guanag*, pretty, but, unfortunately, it does not suit the phonetics of *Goi-neag*. The name points to primitive forms like *gobni-* or *gomni-*, where the *o* may have been *a*, and the latter form, read as *gamni-*, would give us the root *gam*, which in old Gaelic means "winter." Hence the idea may be "wintry streamlet." But the Irish word *gaoth*, a shallow tidal stream, fordable at low water, should be remembered; this gives name to several places in Ireland, such as the famous Gweedore, and there is a river Gaothach in Tipperary. Old Irish has a word *góithlach*, signifying swamp, which seems allied, and we might consider *Guinag* as an older *Góith-neoc*, referring to the latter part of its course in entering the Spey, which is "tidal" and "swampy."

The *Calder*: in Gaelic *Cal(l)adar*. This river and lake name recurs about a dozen times in Pictland and the old Valentia province between the Walls, and there is a Calder river in Lancashire. Cawdor and its Thanes probably give us the earliest form of the word, applied to the Nairnshire district. This is in 1295 Kaledor; in 1310, Caldor; and in 1468, Caudor. But the Gaelic forms persist in other places, as in *Aber-Callador* (1456) in Strathnairn. These forms point to an older *Cal-ent-or*, for *ent* and *ant* become in Gaelic *ed* or *ad*, earlier *et* or *at*. In the Irish Annals mention is made of a battle, fought, it is supposed, in the Carse of Falkirk, called the battle of Calitros, and certain lands near Falkirk were called in the 13th century Kalentyr, now Callendar. Not far away are several Calder waters. The root is evidently *cal* (sound, call), as in Latin *Calendae*, and English *Calendar*, borrowed, like the Gaelic equivalent word *Caladair*, from the Latin *Calendarium*.

The *Truim*. See under the heading of Tromie.

The *Mashie*; *Masie* (1603), in Gaelic *Mathaisidh*, pronounced *Mathisidh*. Strathmashie is famous as the residence of Lachlan Macpherson, the bard, the contemporary and coadjutor of James Macpherson of Ossianic renown. The bard's opinions of the river

Mashie are still handed down ; these differed accorded to circumstances. Thus he praised the river :—

Mathaisidh gheal, bhoidheach gheal,
Mathaisidh gheal, bhoidheach gheal,
Bu chaomh leam bhi laimh riut.

But after it carried away his corn he said :—

Mathaisidh dhubh, fhrògach dhubh,
Mathaisidh dhubh, fhrògach dhubh,
Is mor rinn thu chall orm.

The derivation of the name is obscure. *Mathaisidh* could come from *mathas*, goodness, but the meaning is not satisfactory. We might think of *maise*, beauty, but it has the vowel short in modern Gaelic, though Welsh *maus*, pleasant, points to a long vowel or a possible contraction in the original.

The *Markie* ; Gaelic *Marcaidh*. Streams and glens bearing the name Mark and Markie occur in Perthshire, Forfarshire, and Banffshire. The first tributary of the Feshie is Allt Mharkie, at the mouth of which was of old Invermarkie, an estate held by the Campbells of Cawdor in the 15th and 16th centuries. The root is doubtless *marc*, a horse.

The *Pattack* ; in Gaelic *Patag*. This river, unlike those which we have hitherto dealt with, does not flow into the Spey, but into Loch Laggan, after making an extraordinary *volte* face about two miles from its mouth. First it flows directly northwards, and then suddenly south-westwards for the last two miles of its course. Hence the local saying—

Patag dhubh, bhulgach
Dol an aghaidh uisge Alba

(Dark, bubbly Pattack, that goes against the streams of Alba).

We find Pattack first mentioned in an agreement between the Bishop of Moray and Walter Comyn about the year 1230, where the streams “Kyllene et Petenachy” are mentioned as bounding the church lands of Logykenny. The Kyllene is still remembered in Camus-Killean, the bay of Killean, where the inn is. The Kyllene must have been the present Allt Lairig, or as the map has it, Allt Buidhe ; while Petenachy represents Pattack, which in Blaeu’s map appears as Potaig. The initial *p* proves the name to be of non-Gaelic origin ultimately, but whether it is Pictish, pre-Celtic, or a Gaelicised foreign word we cannot say.

Allt Lowrag lies between Lochan na h-Earba and Loch Laggan. It means the “loud-sounding (*labhar*) one.”

The *Spean*; in Gaelic *Spithean*. See under Spey.

We have now exhausted the leading rivers, but before going further we may consider the names of one or two tributaries of these. Feshie, for instance, has three important tributaries, one of which, Allt Mharkie, we have already discussed. Passing over Allt Ruaidh as being an oblique form of Allt Ruadh, "red burn," we come to the curious river name

Fernsdale; in Gaelic *Fearnasdail*. The farms of Corarnstilmore and Corarnstilbeg, that is, the Corrie of Fernsdale, are mentioned in 1603 as Corearnistail Moir and Corearnistail Beige, and in 1691 the name is Corriarnsdaill. Blaeu's map gives the river as Fairnstil. The first portion of the name is easy; it is *Fearna*, alder. But what of *sdail* or *asdail*? The word *astail* means a dwelling, but "Fern-dwelling" is satisfactory as a name neither for river or glen. The tributary of the Fernsdale is called

Comhraig; in Blaeu *Conrik*. *Comhrag* signifies a conflict; but in Irish and early Gaelic it signified simply a meeting whether of road and rivers, or of men for conflict. There are several Irish place names Corick, situated near confluences. Doubtless this stream took its name from its confluence with Fernsdale.

On Feshie we meet further up with Allt Fhearnagan, the stream of the alder trees; then Allt Ghàhlach, which the Ordnance map etymologises into Allt Garbhach, the stream of the rugged place. This may be the true deviation; it is a big rough gully or corrie with a mountain torrent tumbling through it.

Allt Lorgaidh is named after the mountain pass or tract which it drains (*lorg*, *lorgadh*, track, tracing), and which also gives name to the prominent peak of *Carn an Fhidhleir Lorgaidh*, the Fiddler's Cairn of Lorgie, to differentiate it from *the Fiddler's Cairn* which is just beyond the Inverness-shire border, and not far from the other one.

The *Eidart*, Blaeu's *Eitart*, with the neighbouring streamlet of Eindart, is a puzzling name. The Gaelic is *Eidird* and *Innidird* according to pronunciation.

We now come to the lochs of Badenoch. Loch Alvie is bound up with the name of Alvie Parish, discussed already. Loch Insh is the Lake of the Island, just as Loch-an-eilein, in Rothiemurchus, takes its name from the castle-island which it contains; but *eilean* is the Norse word *eyland*, Eng. *island*, borrowed, whereas *innis* of Loch Insh is pure Gaelic. In Gaick, along the course of the Tromie, there are three lakes, about which the following rhyme is repeated:—

Tha gaoth mhòr air Loch-an-t-Seilich,
 Tha gaoth eil' air Loch-an-Dùin ;
 Ruigidh mise Loch-a' Bhrodainn,
 Mu'n teid cadal air mo shùil.

The rhyme is supposed to have been the song of a hunter who escaped from demons by stratagem and the help of a good stallion on whose back he leapt. The first loch is called Loch-an-t-Seilich, the lake of the willow, and the third of the series is Loch-an-Dùin, the loch of the Down or hill, the name of the steep crag on its west side. The intermediate lake is called Loch Vrodain, Gaelic Bhrodainn, which Sir R. Gordon in Blaeu's map spells as Vrodin. The Ordnance map etymologises the word as usual, and the result is Loch Bhradainn, Salmon Loch ; but unfortunately the *a* of *bradan* was never *o*, so that phonetically we must discard this derivation. There is a story told about this weird loch which fully explains the name mythically. A hunter had got into possession of a semi-supernatural litter of dogs. When they reached a certain age, all of them were taken away by one who claimed to be the true owner, who left with the hunter only a single pup, jet black in colour, and named Brodainn. Before leaving it with the hunter, the demon broke its leg. Brodainn was therefore lame. There was a wonderful white fairy deer on Ben Alder, and the hunter decided he should make himself famous by the chase of it. So he and Brodainn went to Ben Alder, on Loch Erich side ; the deer was roused, Brodainn pursued it, and was gaining ground on it when they were passing this loch in Gaick. In plunged the deer, and after it Brodainn dashed ; he caught it in mid-lake, and they both disappeared never more to be seen ! Hence the name of the lake is Loch Vrodin ; the lake is there, the name is there, therefore the story is true ! The word *bradan* means a small goad or prod, but how it can have given its name, if at all, to the lake is a mystery : "lake of the prod" suits the phonetics admirably. Loch-Laggan takes its name from the *lagan* or hollow which gave the parish its name, that is, from Laggan-Chainnich or Lagan-Kenny, at the northern end of the loch. There are two isles in the lake connected with the old kingly race of Scotland. King Fergus, whoever he was, had his hunting lodge on one, called Eilean an Rìgh, and the other was the dog-kennel of these Fenian hunters, and is called Eilean nan Con. The considerable lake or lakes running parallel to, and a mile to the south-east of Loch Laggan are called Lochan na h-Earba—the lakes of the roe. Loch Crunachan, at the mouth of Glen-Shirra, has an

artificial island or *crannog* therein; the word is rather Crunnachan than Crunachan by pronunciation. A Gordon estate map of 1773 calls it the "Loch of Sheiromore," and distinctly marks the *crannog*. Taylor and Skinner's Roads maps, published in 1776 by order of Parliament, give the name as *L. Crenackan*. The derivation, unless referable to *crannog*, is doubtful. Loch *Erict*, the largest lake in Badenoch, is known in Gaelic as Loch Eireachd. Blaeu calls it Eyrachle (read Eyrachte). The lake is doubtless named from the river Erict, runing from it into Loch Rannoch. Another river Erict flows past Blairgowrie into the Isla, nor must we omit the Erichdie Water and Glen Erichdie in Blair Athole. The word *eireachd* signifies an assembly or meeting, but there is an abstract noun, *eireachdas*, signifying "hand-someness," and it is to this last form that we should be inclined to refer the word.

Let us now turn to the hills and hollows, and dales of Badenoch. Many of these place names are called after animals frequenting them. The name of the eagle for instance is exceedingly common in the form of *iolair*, as Sròn an Iolair, eagle's ness, &c. We shall begin at the north-east end of the district, and take the Monadh-lia or Grey Mountain range first. "Standing fast" as guard between Strathspey and Badenoch is the huge mass of

Craigellachie, which gives its motto to the Clan of Grant—"Stand fast: Craigellachie!" The name reads in Gaelic as Eileachaidh, which appears to be an adjective formed from the stem *eilech*, or older *ailech*, a rock, nominative *ail*. The idea is the stony or craggy hill—a thoroughly descriptive adjective.

The *Moireach*; Gaelic, *A' Mhorfhoich*, is an upland moor of undulating ground above Ballinluig. On the West Coast, this term signifies flat land liable to sea flooding. It is also the real Gaelic name of Lovat.

Carn Dubh 'Ic-an-Deòir is on the Strathdearn border, and is wrongly named on the map as "Carn Dubh aig an Doire." It means—The Black Cairn of the Dewar's (Pilgrim) Son.

An Sguabach.—There is another Sguabach south of Loch Cuaich, a few miles from Dalwhinnie, and a Meall an Sguabaich west of Loch Erict. It means the "sweeping" one, from *sguab*, a besom. The people of Insh—the village and its vicinity—used to speak of the north wind as Gaoth na Sguabaich, for it blew over that hill.

Cnoc Fraing, not *Cnoc an Fhrangaich* as on the Ordnance map—a conspicuous dome-shaped hill above Dulnan river. There is a Cnoc Frangach a few miles south of Inverness, near Scaniport.

Fraoch frangach means the cross-leaved heather, of which people made their scouring brushes. The brush was called in some parts *fraings'* in Gaelic

Easga 'n Lochain, with its *caochan* or streamlet, contains the interesting old word for "swamp" known as *easg*, *easga*, or *easgaidh*, with which we may compare the river name Esk.

A' Bhuidheanaich, in the Ordnance maps etymologised into *Am Buidh 'aonach*, "the yellow hill or steep," occurs three times in Badenoch—here behind Kincaig and Dunachton, on the north side of Loch Laggan, and on the confines of Badenoch a few miles south of Dalwhinnie. The idea of "yellowness" underlies the word as it is characteristic of the places meant. The root is *buidhe* (yellow); the rest is mere termination and has nothing to do with *aonach*, which, in Macpherson's "Ossian," is applied to a hill or slope.

Coire Bog, &c.—Here we may introduce a mnemonic rhyme detailing some features of the ground behind and beside Buidheanaich.

Allt Duinne 'Choire Bhuig,
 Tuilnean agus Feithlinn,
 Coire Bog is Ruigh na h-Eag,
 Steallag is Bad-Earbag.

"The Burn of Dun-ness in Soft Corry, Dulnan and Broad Bog-stream, the Reach of the Notch, the Spoutie and Hinds' Clump"—that is the translation of the names.

An Suidhe means the "Seat;" it designates the solid, massive hill behind Kincaig.

Craig Rìgh Harai't means King Harold's Hill, on the side of which his grave is still pointed out. As already said, it is unknown who he was or when he lived.

Coire Neachdradh: *Glac an t-Sneachdaidh, &c.* This corrie is at the end of Dunachton burn after its final bend among the hills. *Sneachdradh* means snows, or much snow—being an abstract noun formed from *sneachd*.

Ruigh an Ròig: the Reach of the Roig (?) is eastward of Craig Mhor by the side of the peat road. The map places it further along as Ruigh na Ruaige—the Stretch of the Retreat.

Bad Each is above Glen Guinack: it is mis-read on the Ordnance map into Pait-an-Eich—a meaningless expression. It means Horses' Clump, and a famous local song begins—

Mollachd gn brath aig braigh Bad Each;

curse ever more on upper Bad-each, where the horses stuck and they could not extricate them.

Rhymes about the various place names are common, and here is an enumeration of the heights in the Monadh Liath between Kingussie and Craig Dhubb :—

Creag-bheag Chinn-a'-ghinbhsaich,
 Creag-mhòir Bhail'-a'-chrothain,
 Beinne-Bhuidhe na Sròine,
 Creag-an-lòin aig na croitean,
 Sithean-mòr Dhail-a'-Chaoruinn,
 Creag-an-abhaig a' Bhail'-shios,
 Creag-liath a' Bhail'-shuas,
 'S Creag-Dhubb Bhiallaid,
 Cadha-'n-fheidh Lochain-ubhaidh,
 Cadh' is mollaicht' tha ann,
 Cha'n fhàs fiar no fodar ann,
 Ach sochagan is dearcagan-allt,
 Gabhar air aodainn,
 Is laosboc air a cheann.

Glen Balloch; in Gaelic *Gleann Baloch*. This name is stylomologised on the Ordnance map into *Gleann a' Bhealaich*—the Glen of the Pass; but the word is *baloch* or *balloch*, which means either speckled or high-walled. To the left the Allt Mhadagain discharges into the Calder: this name is explained on the map as *Mada coin*, which may be right, but it certainly is not the pronunciation, which our *Madagain* reproduces. There are two corries in Gaick similarly named (Cory Mattakan, 1773).

Sneachdach Slinnean, or Snow Shoulder, is away on the Moy border.

Meall na h-Uinneig, behind Gask-beg considerably, means the Mass or Hill of the Window. There are other places so named—*Uinneag Coire-an-Eich* (Glen-balloch), *Uinneag Coir Ardar*, *Uinneag Coir an Lochain*, *Uinneag na Creig Moire*, *Uinneag Coire Chaoruinn* and *Uinneag Mhìn Choire*, the latter ones being all near one another on the north side of Loch Laggan. The meaning of the name is an opening or pass, or a notch in the sky-line.

Iarbraig is the rising ground above Garva Bridge, and is mis-written for *Iolairig*, place of the eagles. There is here a rock where the eagle nests or nested. Compare Auld Cory na Helrick of 1773 with the Allt Coire na h-Iolair of the Ordnance map, both referring to a stream on Loch Ericht side. There is an Elrick opposite Killyhuntly. The name is common in North Scotland.

Coire Yairack ; *Allt Yairack* ; in Gaelic *Earrag*, as if a feminine of *Errach* (spring). It is spelt *Yarig* on the 1773 estate map. Perhaps it is a corruption of *Gearrag*, the short one, applied to a stream.

Shesgnan is the name of a considerable extent of ground near the source of the Spey, and it means morass land, being from *seasgann*, fenny country, a word which gives several place names both in Scotland and Ireland. The most notable in Scotland is Shisken in Arran, a large, low-lying district, flat and now fertile.

We now cross Spey, and work our way down the south side.

Dearc Beinne Bige, the *Dearc* of the Little Hill. The pronunciation is *dirc* ; in the 1773 map it is spelt *Dirichk*. It is an oblique case of *dearc*, a hole, cave, cleft ; it is found in early Irish as *derc* (a cave), and several places in Ireland are called *Derk* and *Dirk* therefrom. It occurs at least three times in Laggan—as above ; and in *Dirc Craig Chathalain*, the 1773 *Dirichk* *Craig* *Caulan*, or cleft of the Noisy Rock, from *Callan*, noise ; and in *Dearc-an-Fhearna*.

Coire 'Bhein, the 1773 *Cory* *Vein*, is a puzzling name. It looks like the genitive case of *bian*, skin.

Coire Phitridh, at the south corner of *Lochan na h-Earba*, is given in the map as *Corie na Peathraich*. The word is probably an abstract noun from *pit*, hollow.

Beinn Eibhinn, the 1773 *Bineven*, the "pleasant hill," is a prominent peak of 3611 feet high, on the borders of *Badenoch* and *Lochaber*, from which a good view of *Skye* can be got.

Ben Alder, *Blaeu's Bin Aildir*, in modern Gaelic *Beinn Eallar* (*Yallar*). The word is obscure.

Beinn Udlaman, the *Uduman* of the 1773 map, on the confines of *Badenoch* and *Perthshire*, east of *Loch Erich*, seems to take its name from the ball and socket action, for *udalan* signifies a swivel or joint. Some suggest *udlaidh*, gloomy, retired.

The *Boar, An Torc*, of *Badenoch* is to the left of the railway as one enters the district from the south. The "Sow of *Athole*" is quite close to the "Boar of *Badenoch*." We are now at the ridge of

Drumochter, in Gaelic, *Drum-uachdar*, or ridge of the upper ground.

Coire Bhoite, or rather *Bhoitidh*, the *Vottie* of 1773, is two or three miles away, and finds a parallel in the name *Sron Bhoitidh* at the top of *Glenfishie*, where the river bends on itself. The word *boitidh* means "pig," or rather the call made to a pig when its attention is desired.

Coire Sùileagach, behind Craig Ruadh and Drumgask, means the Corrie full of Eyes, so named from its springs doubtless. The term *sùileach* (full of eyes) is usually applied to streams and corries with whirlpools therein.

Creag Chròcan, not *nan Cròcean* as on the map, is near the above corrie, and is named from the deer's antlers which *cròc* means. Similary we often meet with *cabar* (an antler or caber) in place names.

The hill of *Bad na Deimheis*, the *Bad na Feish* of 1773, overlooks Dalwhinnie to the east. The name means the "Clump of the Shears," a curious designation. We now pass over into the forest and district of

Gaick, in Gaelic *Gàig*, which is the dative or locative of *gàg*, a cleft or pass. It is considered the wildest portion of Badenoch, and the repute of the district is far from good. Supernaturally, it has an uncanny reputation. From the days of the ill-starred and ill-disposed Lord Walter Comyn, who, in crossing at Leum na Feinne—the Fenian Men's Leap—to carry out his dread project of making the Ruthven women go to the harvest fields to work unclothed and naked, was torn to pieces by eagles,* to that last Christmas of last century, when Captain John Macpherson of Ballachroan and four others were choked to death by an avalanche of snow as they slept in that far-away bothie, *Gaick* has an unbroken record of dread supernatural doings. Duncan Gow, in his poem on the Loss of *Gaick* in 1799, says :—

Gàig dhubh nam feadan fìar,
Nach robh ach na striopaich riamh,
Na bana-bhuidsich 'gan toirt 'san lion,
Gach fear leis 'm bu mhiannach laighe leath'.

Which means that *Gaick*, the dark, of wind-whistling crooked glens, has ever been a strumpet and a witch, enticing to their destruction those that loved her charms. How near this conception is to that mythological one of the beauteous maiden that entices the wayfarer into her castle, and turns into a savage dragon that devours him! The following verses showing the respective merits of various places have no love for *Gaick* :—

Bha mi 'm Bran, an Cuile 's an Gàig,
'N Eìird agus Leum-na-Làrach,
Am Feisidh mhòir bho 'bun gu 'bràighe
'S b'annsa leam 'bhi 'n Allt-a'-Bhàthaich.

* Hence the expression—*Diol Bhaltair an Gàig ort*—Walter's fate in *Gaick* on you—to signify an ill wish or curse on any one.

'S mòr a b'fhearr leam 'bhi 'n Drum-Uachdar
 Na 'bhi 'n Gàig nan creagan gruamach,
 Far am faicinn ann na h-uailsean
 'S iùbhaidh dhearg air bharr an gualain.

The poet prefers Drumochter to Glen-Feshie and Gaick of the grim crags. The Loss of Gaick is a local epoch from which to date: an old person always said that he or she was so many years old at Call Ghaig. So in other parts, the Olympiads or Archons or Temple-burnings which made the landmarks of chronology were such as the "Year of the White Peas," "the Hot Summer" (1826?), the year of the "Great Snow," and so forth.

A' Chaoirnich, the *Caorunnach* of the Ordnance map, but the *Chournich* of 1773, stands beside Loch-an-Dùin to the left. The latter form means the "cairny" or "rocky" hill; the other, the "rowan-ny" hill, which is the meaning doubtless. The steep ascent of it from the hither end of the lake is called on the map *Bruthach nan Spàidan*, a meaningless expression for *Bruthach nan Spardan*, the Hen-roost Brae.

Meall Aillig, in the Gargaig Cory (1773), or Garbh-Ghaig (Rough Gaick as opposed to "Smooth" Gaick or Minigaig as in Blaeu's map), appears to contain *aill* (a cliff) as its root form. Some refer it to *aileag*, the hiccup, which the stiffness of the climb might cause.

Covre Bhran, the *Coryvren* of Bleau, takes its name from the river Bran, a tributary of the Tromie, and this last word is a well-known river name, applied to turbulent streams, and signifies "raven."

Caochan a Chaplich, a streamlet which falls into Tromie a little below the confluence of the Bran, contains the word *caplach*, which seems to be a derivative of *capull* (a horse). There is a Caiplich in the Aird—a large plateau, the Monadh Caiplich in Loch Alsh, and a stream of the name in Abernethy.

Croyla is the prominent mountain on the left as one enters Glentromie—a massive, striking hill. It is sung of in the Ossianic poetry of John Clark, James Macpherson's fellow Badenoch man, contemporary, friend, and sincere imitator in poetry and literary honesty. Clark's (prose) poem is entitled the "Cave of Creyla," and in his notes he gives some topographical derivations. Tromie appears poetically as Trombia, and is explained as *Trom-bidh*, heavy water, while Badenoch itself is etymologised as *Bha-dianach*, secure valley. The Ordnance map renders Croyla as Cruaidhleac, a form which etymologises the word out of all ken of the local

pronunciation. Blaeu's map has Cromlaid, which is evidently meant for Croyla. The Gaelic pronunciation is *Croidh-la*, the *la* being pronounced as in English. It is possibly a form of *cruadhlach* or *cruidhlach* (rocky declivity), a locative from which might have been *cruidhlaigh*.

Meall-an-Dubh-catha is at the sources of the Comhraig river. It should be spelt *Dubh-chadha*, the black pass, the word *cadha* being common for pass.

Ciste Mhairraid or rather *Ciste Mhearad*, Margaret's kist or chest or coffin, is part of Coire Fhearnagan, above the farm of Achlean. Here snow may remain all the year round. It is said that Margaret, who was jilted by Mackintosh of Moy Hall, and who cursed his family to sterility, died here in her mad wanderings.

Meall Dubhag and not *Meall Dubh-achaidh* (Ordnance map) is the name of the hill to the south of Ciste Mairead, while equally *Creag Leathain(n)*, broad craig, is the name of the hill in front of Ciste Mairead, not *Creag na Leacainn*. Further north is

Creag Ghinbhsachan, the craig of the fir forest.

Creag Mhigeachaidh stands prominently behind Feshie Bridge and Laggan-lia. There is a Dal-mhigeachaidh or Dalmigavie in Strathdearn, a Migvie (Gaelic, Migibhidh) in Stratherrick, and the parish of Migvie and Tarland in Aberdeenshire. The root part is *mig* or *meig*, which means in modern Gaelic the bleating of a goat.

Creag Follais, not *Creag Phulach* (sic) as on the maps, means the conspicuous craig. Similarly wrong is

Creag Fhiaclach, not *Creag Pheacach* (!), on the borders of Rothiemurchus, which means the serrated or toothed craig, a most accurately descriptive epithet.

Clach Mhic Cailein, on the top of *Creag Follais*. The Mac-Cailein meant is Argyle, supposed to be Montrose's opponent, though it must be remembered that Argyle had also much to do with Huntly at Glenlivet and otherwise.

Sgòr Gaoithe (wind skerry) is behind *Creag Mhigeachaidh*.

We have now exhausted the natural features of the country so far as the explanation of their names is necessary, and we now turn to the farm and field names—the *bailes* and townships and other concomitants of civilisation. Commencing again at *Craig Ellachie*, we meet first after crossing the *crioch* or boundary the farm of *Kinchyle*, *Cinn-Choille*, wood's-end. Then

Lynwilg, the Lambulge of 1603, *Lynbuilg* (Blaeu), signifies the lane or land of the bog or bulge.

Ballintuig, the town (we use this term for *baile*, which means "farm" or "township") of the hollow.

Kinrara, north and south, on each side of the Spey. This name appears about 1338 as *Kynroreath*; 1440, as *Kynrorayth*; and *Kynrara* (1603). The *kin* is easy; it is "head" or "end" as usual. The *rara* or *rorath* is difficult. *Rorath*, like *ro-dhuine*, (great man), might mean the great or noble (*ro*) rath or dwelling-place (the Latin *villa*).

Dalruddy, *Dalreadye* (1603), and *Dalrodie* (Blau). The Gaelic is *Dail-radaidh*, the *radaidh* dale. The adjective *radaidh* is in the older form *rodaidh*, which is still known in Gaelic in the force of "dark, sallow." A sallow-complexioned man might be described as "Duine rodaidh dorcha." The root-word is *rod*, iron scum or rusty-looking mud; it is a shorter form of *ruadh* (red). In Ireland, it is pretty common, and is applied to ferruginous land. The adjective *rodaidh* (dark or ruddy) might describe the Dalraddy land. It is in connection with Dalraddy that the great Badenoch conundrum is given:—

Bha cailleach ann Dailradaidh
'S dh' ith i adag 's i marbh.

(There was a wife in Dalraddy who ate a haddock, being dead). With Dalraddy estate are mentioned in 1691 the lands of Keanintachair (now or lately *Kingt*achair, causeway-end), Knockuingalliach (the knowe of the carlins), Loyninriach, Balivuilin (mill-town), and the pasturages Feavorar (the lord's moss-stream), Riochnabegg or Biachnabegg, and Batabog (now Bata-bog, above Ballinluig, the soft swampy place.) Another old name is *Gortincreif* (1603), the *gort* or field (farm) of trees. *Croftgowan* means the Smith's Croft.

Delfour, *Dalphour* in 1603, and older forms are *Dallefour* (1569). The *del* or *dal* is for *dale*, but what is *four*? The Gaelic sound is *fùr*. The word is very common in names in Pictland, such as Dochfour, Pitfour, Balfour, Letterfour, Tillyfour, Tillipourie and Trinafour. These forms point to a nominative *pùr*, the *p* of which declares it of non-Gaelic origin. The term is clearly Pictish. The only Welsh word that can be compared is *pawr* (pasture), *pori* (to graze), the Breton *peur*. *Fùr* has nothing to do with Gaelic *fuar*, for then Dalfour would in Gaelic be Dail-fhuar, that is *Dal-uar*.

Pitchurn, in 1603 *Pettechaerne*, in Gaelic *Bal-chaorruinn*, the town of the rowan. The Pictish *pet* or *pit* (town, farm), which is etymologically represented by the Gaelic *cuid*, has been changed in modern Gaelic to *baile*, the true native word.

Pitourie, in 1495 Pitwery, in 1603 Pettourye, in 1620 Pettevre, &c.; now *Bail'odharaidh*. The adjective *odhar* means "dun," and *odharach*, with an old genitive *odharaigh*, or rather *odharach-mhullach*, is the plant devil's bit. The plant may have given the name to the farm.

Baldow means the black town.

Kincraig, Kyncragye (1603), means the end of the crag or hill, which exactly describes it.

Leault, Gaelic *Leth-allt* or half-burn, a name which also appears in Skye as Lealt, may have reference rather to the old force of *allt*, which was a glen or shore. The stream and partly one-sided glen are characteristic of the present Leault.

Dunachton; Gaelic *Dùn-Neachdain*, n), the hill-fort of Nechtan. Who he was, we do not know. The name appears first in history in connection with the Wolf of Badenoch. St Drostan's chapel, below Dunachton House, is the *cepella de Nachtan* of 1380. We have Dwnachtan in 1381, and Dunachtane in 1603. The barony of Dunachton of old belonged to a family called MacNiven, which ended in the 15th century in two heiresses, one of whom, Isobel, married William Mackintosh, cousin of the chief, and afterwards himself chief of the Clan Mackintosh. Isobel died shortly after marriage childless. Tradition says she was drowned in Loch Insh three weeks after her marriage by wicked kinsfolk. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has written a most interesting monograph on Dunachton, entitled "Dunachton, Past and Present."

Achnabeachin; Gaelic *Ach' nam Beathaichean*, the field of the beasts. Last century this land held eight tenants.

Keppochmuir; Gaelic *An Sliabh Ceapanach*; Ceapach means a tillage plot.

Coilintuie or *Meadowside*. The Gaelic is *Coill-an-t-Suidhe*, the Wood of the Suidh, or sitting or resting. Some hold the name is really Cùil-an-t-Shuidh, the Recess of the Suidh.

Croftcarnoch; Gaelic *Croit-charnach*, the Cairny Croft.

Belleville is, in its English form, of French origin, and means "beautiful town." The old name in documents and in maps was Raitts, and in the 1776 Roads' Map this name is placed exactly where Belleville would now be written. Gaelic people call it *Bail'-a'-Bhile*, "the town of the brae-top," an exact description of the situation. Mrs Grant of Laggan (in 1796) says that Bellavill "is the true Highland name of the place," not Belleville; and it has been maintained by old people that the place was called *Bail'-a'-Bhile* before "Ossian" Macpherson ever bought it or lived there. Whether the name is adopted from Gaelic to suit a French

idea, or *vice versa*, is a matter of some doubt, though we are inclined to believe that James Macpherson was the first to call old Raitts by such a name. James Macpherson is the most famous—or rather the most notorious—of Badenoch's sons; but though his "Ossian" is a forgery from a historical standpoint, and a purely original work from a literary point of view, yet it is to him that Celtic literature owes its two greatest benefits—its being brought prominently before the European world, and, especially, the preservation of the old literature of the Gael as presented in traditional ballads and poems, and in the obscure Gaelic manuscripts which were fast disappearing through ignorance and carelessness.

Lachandhu, the little loch below Belleville, gives the name to Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's novel.

Raitts—the English plural being used to denote that there were three Raitts—Easter, Middle, and Wester. In 1603 the place is called *Reatt*, and Blaeu has *Rait*. The Gaelic is *Ràt*, and this, which is the usual form in Highland place names, is a strengthened form of the older *rath* or *ràith* of Old Irish, which meant a residence surrounded by an earthen rampart. It, in fact, meant the old farm house as it had to be built for protective purposes. For the form *ràt* (from *ràth-d*), compare *Bialaid*, further on, and the Irish names *Kealid* from *caol* and *Croaghat* from *cruach*, which Dr Joyce gives in his second volume of Irish Place Names to exemplify this termination in *d*.

Chapel-park; Gaelic *Pairc-an-t-Seipeil*. This is a modern name, derived from the chapel and kirk-yard that once were there, which was known as the chapel of Ma Luac, the Irish Saint. The older name was the *Tillie* or *Tillie-sow*, where an inn existed, whose "Guidwife" was called Bean-an-Tillie. Some explain *Tillie-sow* as the Gaelic motto that used, it is said, to be over the olden inn doors, viz., "Tadhailibh so"—"Visit here."

Lynchat is now *Bail'-a'-Chait*, Cat-town, instead of Cat's field (*loinn*).

An Uaimh Mhòir, the Great Cave, is a quarter of a mile away from the highway as we pass Lynchat. It is an "Erd-house," the only one of this class of antiquarian remains that exists in Badenoch. It is in the form of a horse-shoe, which has one limb truncated, about 70 feet long, 8 feet broad, and 7 high. The walls gradually contract as they rise, and the roofing is formed by large slabs thrown over the approaching walls. Tradition says it was made in one night by a rather gigantic race: the women carried the excavated stuff in their aprons and threw it in the Spey,

while the men brought the stones, large and small, on their shoulders from the neighbouring hills. All was finished by morning, and the inhabitants knew not what had taken place. From this mythic ground we come down to the romantic period, when, according to the legend, MacNiven or Mac Gille-naoimh and his nine sons were compelled to take refuge here—some say they made the cave, and long they eluded their Macpherson foes. There was a hut built over the mouth of the cave, and at last it was suspected that something was wrong with this hut. So one of the Macphersons donned beggar's raiment, called at the hut, pretended to be taken suddenly ill, and was, with much demur, allowed to stay all night. There was only one woman in the hut, and she was continually baking; and he could not understand how the bread disappeared in the apparent press into which she put it and which was really the entry into the cave. He at last suspected the truth, returned with a company of men next night, and slew the MacNivens. It is said that this man's descendants suffered from the ailment which he pretended to have on that fateful night.

Laggan, the hollow, now in ruins. Here dwelt the famous Badenoch witch, Bean-an-Lagain.

Kerrow; in Gaelic, *An Ceathramh*, the fourth part—of the davoch doubtless—the davoch of “Kingussie Beige” (1603), with its “four pleuches.”

Kingussie. Already discussed under the heading of Kingussie parish.

Ardvrolach: Gaelic *Ard-bhroighleach*; in 1603, *Ardbrélache*. The form *broighleach* seems a genitive plural from the same root form as *broighleag*, the whortleberry. The word *broighlich* (brawling) scarcely suits with *ard*, a height.

Pitmain. The Gaelic is only a rendering of the English sounds: *Prodmé'an*. In 1603 it is *Petmeane*. The reason for their being no Gaelic form of this word is simply this. The great inn and stables of the Inverness road were here, and the name Pit-meadhan, “middle town,” was adopted into the English tongue. The Gaelic people, meantime, had been abolishing all the *pet* or *pit* names, and changing them to *Bals*, but this one was stereotyped in the other tongue, and the local Gael had to accept the English name or perpetuate an offending form. He chose to adopt the English pronunciation.

Balachroan; *Bellochroan* (1603); Gaelic *Baile-'Chrothain*, the town of the sheepfold. Above it was *Coulinlinn*, the nook of the lint, where an old branch of Macphersons lived.

Aldlarie; Gaelic *Allt-Làirigh*, the stream of the *làrach* or gorge. *Strone* means "nose."

Newtonmore is the new town of the Moor—An *Sliaibh*.

Clune and *Craggan of Clune*. The Gaelic *cluain* signifies meadow land, whether high or low, in dale or on hill.

Benchar, *Bannachar* (1603), *Beandocher* (1614), and now *Beannachar*, Irish *beannchar* (horns, gables, peaks), Welsh *Bangor*. It is a very common place name. The root is *beann* or *beinn* (a hill).

Beallid, in 1603 *Ballet*, in 1637 *Ballid*, now *Bialaid*, so named from being at the mouth of Glen-banchor—*bial* (mouth), with a termination which is explained under *Raitts*. A "pendicle" of it, called *Corranach*, is often mentioned, which probably means the "knowey" place.

Cladh Bhrì'd and *Cladh Eadail*, Bridget's and Peter's (?) Kirkyards, are the one at Benchar and the other along from Beallid, the latter being generally called *Cladh-Bhiallaid*. Chapels existed there also at one time.

Owie, in 1603 *Owey* (and Corealdye, now Coraldie, corrie of streams or cliffs), Blaeu's *Owie*, now *Ubhaidh*, appears to be a derivative of *ubh*, egg: it is a genitive or locative of *ubhach*, spelt and pronounced of old as *ubhaigh*. Mrs Grant describes Lochau *Owie* as beauty in the lap of terror, thus suggesting the derivation usually given of the name, viz., *uamhaidh*, dreadful. Some lonesome lakes of dread near Ballintian are called *Na h-uath Lochan*, the dread lakes.

Cluny, Clovnye (1603), now *Cluainidh*. The root is *cluain* (meadow), and the termination is doubtless that in *A' Chluanach*, a cultivated plateau behind Dunachton, and the dative singular of this abstract form would give the modern Cluny from the older *cluanaigh*.

Balgowan, Pettegovan (1603), now *Bail'-a-Ghobhainn*, the town of the smith.

Gask-beg, *Gask-more*, *Gargask*, *Drumgask*—all with *Gask*, and all near one another about Laggan Bridge. There is an older *Gasklone*, Mud-Gask, the *Gascloyne* of 1603, *Gasklyne* (1644), and *Gaskloan* (1691). The form *Gask* appears in the Huntly rental of 1603. The name *Gask* is common; there is *Gask* parish in Strathearn, Perthshire, and there is a *Gask* in Strathnairn, a *Gask Hill* in Fife, and *Gask House* near Turriff. The name *Gaskan* appears more than once, and in one instance applies to a rushy hollow (*Gairloch*). We have *Fingask* in four counties—Aberdeen, Fife, Inverness (in the *Aird*, but the Gaelic is now

Fionn-uisg'), and Perth. Colonel Robertson, in his "Topography of Scotland," refers Gask to *gasag*, diminutive of *gas*, branch; but this hardly suits either phonetically or otherwise. The word *gasg* seems to have slipped out of use: it belongs only to Scotch Gaelic, and may be a Pictish word. The dictionaries render it by "tail," following Shaw, and mis-improving the matter by the additional synonym "appendage," which is not the meaning; for the idea is rather the posterior of an animal, such as that of the hind, which Duncan Ban refers to in this case as "white"—"gasganan geala," and which makes an excellent mark for the deer-stalker. The dictionaries give *gasgan*, a puppy; *gasganach*, petulant; and *gasgara* (*gasgana* ?), posteriors; all which Shaw first gives. There is also the living word *gasgay*, a stride, which no dictionary gives. These derivations throw very little light on the root word *gasg*, which seems to signify a nook, gusset, or hollow. The Laggan gasgs are now "rich meadows, bay shaped," as a native well describes them. It was at Gaskbeg that the gifted Mrs Grant of Laggan lived, and here she sang of the beauties of the Bronnach stream—the Gaelic Bronach, the "pebbly" (?)—which flows through the farm.

Blargie, in 1603 *Blairovey*, in Bleu *Blariki*, and in present Gaelic *Blaragaidh*. The termination *agaidh* appears also in Gallovie, which, in 1497, is *Galowye*, and now *Geal-agaidh*, the white *agaidh*. The word appears as a prefix in Aviemore and Avielochan, both being *agaidh* in Gaelic. The old spelling of these words with a *v*, as against the present pronunciation with *g*, is very extraordinary. The meaning and etymology of *agaidh* are doubtful. Shaw gives *aga* as the "bottom of any depth," and there is a Welsh word *ag*, a "cleft or opening." The word may be Pictish.

Coull, in Gaelic *Cùil*, means the "nook, corner," which the place is.

Ballmishag means the town of the kid, *mìseag* or *minnseag*.

Crathie, in 1603 *Crathe*, in Bleu *Crachy*, now in Gaelic *Craichidh*. The name appears in the Aberdeenshire parish of Crathie. The form *Crathie* possibly points to an older Gaelic *Crathigh*.

Garvabeg and *Garvamore*, the *Garvey Beige* and *Garvey Moir* of 1603. The word at present sounds as *Garbhath*, which is usually explained as *garbh-àth*, rough ford, a very suitable meaning and a possibly correct derivation.

Shirramore and *Shirrabeg*, the *Waster Schyroche* and *E-tir Schiroche* of 1603. *Sheiro-more*, in 1773, is in Gaelic *Siorrath Mòr*.

With these names we must connect the adjoining glen name, *Glenshirra*, Gaelic *Glenn Sìoro*, a name which appears also in Argyleshire, near Inverary, as *Glenshira*, *Glenshyro* (1572), traversed by the *Shira* stream. The root word appears to be *sìr* or *sìor*, long. Some suggest *siaradh*, squinting, obliqueness.

Aberarder, Blaeu's *Abirairdour*, Gaelic *Obair ardur*. There is an *Aberarder* (*Aberardor* in 1456, and *Abirardour* in 1602) in *Strathnairn*, and another in *Deeside*, and an *Auchterarder* in *Strathearn*. The *Aber* is the Pictish and Welsh prefix for "confluence," Gaelic *inver*. The *ardour* is etymologised in the Ordnance map as *Ard-dhoire*, high grove. The word may be from *ard dohbar*, high water, for the latter form generally appears in place names as *dour*.

Ardverikie has been explained correctly in the "Province of Moray," published in 1798, as "Ard Merigie, the height for rearing the standard." The Gaelic is *Ard Mheirgidh*, from *meirge*, a standard.

Gallowie.—See under *Blargie*.

Muccoul is from *Muc-cùil*, Pigs' nook.

Achduchil means the field of the black wood.

Dalchully, Gaelic *Dail-chuilidh*. The word *cuilidh* signifies a press or hollow. It means the "dale of the hollow or recess."

Tynrich is for *Tigh-an-Fhraoich*, house of the heath.

Catlodge, in 1603 *Cattelleitt*, and in 1776 *Catleak*, is in present Gaelic *Caitleag*, the Cat's Hollow. The form *cait* is unusual; we should, by analogy with *Muc-cùil* and other names where an animal's name comes first in a possessive way, expect *Catlaig* rather than *Caitleag*.

Breakachy, *Brackachye* (1603), is usually explained as *Breac-achaidh*, speckled field; but the latter part in *achaidh* is as likely to be a matter of affixes, viz., *ach-aigh*. We shall now cross the hills into *Glentruim* and up *Loch Ericht* side. There at *Loch Ericht Lodge* we have

Dail-an-Longairt, in 1773 *Rea Delenlongart*, and on the other side of the ridge is *Coire-an-Longairt* (*Cory Longart* 1773), while there is an *Eilean Longart* above *Garvamore* bridge and "Sheals of *Badenlongart*" in *Gaick* above the confluence of *Bran*, according to the 1773 map. *Longart* itself means a shealing, the older form being *longphort*, a harbour or encampment.

Dalhwinnie, in Gaelic *Dail-chuinnidh*, is usually explained as *Dail-choinnimh*, Meeting's Dell; but the phonetics forbid the derivation. Professor Mackinnon has suggested the alternative of

the "narrow dail." Dalwhinnie was a famous station in the old coaching days, and the following verse shows how progress northwards might be made :—

Brakbhaist am Baile-chloichridh
Lunch an Dail-na-ceardaich
Dinneir an Dail-chuinnidh
'S a' bhanaidh ann an Ràt.

Presmuckerach, not the Ordnance *Presmocachie*, is in 1603 *Presmukra*, that is *P'reas-Mucraigh*, bush of piggery or pigs.

Dalannach, which the Ordnance map etymologises into *Dail-glennach* or Glen-dale, was in 1603 *Dallandache*, and is now *Dail-annach*. The old form points to the word *lann* or *land*, an enclosure or glade. The Irish *Annagh*, for *Eanach*, a marsh, will scarcely do, as the name appears in Loch Ennich in its proper Gaelic phonetics.

Crubhinmore, *Crubine* (1603), now *Crùbinn*. The names *Crubeen*, *Cruboge*, *Slievecroob*, &c., appear in Ireland, and are referred by Dr Joyce to *crùb* (a paw, hoof), *crùibin* (a trotter, little hoof). The Gaelic *crùbach* (lame), and *crùban* (a crouching), are further forms of the root word, a locative case from the latter form being possibly our *Crubin*, referring to the two "much back-bent hills there."

Etteridge, *Ettras* (1603), *Etrish* (1776), is in Gaelic *Eatrais*. The name of Phoinneas cannot be disconnected with Etteridge, for the former in Gaelic is *Fothrais* or *Fotharais*, with the Pictish prefix *fother*, while Etteridge has the proposition *eadar* (between) as its first part. The terminal part *ais*, is common in place names, such as Dallas, Duffus, and Forres, the latter being practically our Phoness; and this Lachlan Shaw explains as being *uis* (water). It seems to be first for an older *asti*, this for *osti*, and this again for Celtic *vostis*, a town or *baile*. The word *fois* (rest) is from this root.

Nessintullich, *Nesintuliche* (1603), now *Niosantulaich*, is probably for *Neasan-tulaich*, the place beside the hillock, *neasan*, the next place, which is an Irish word, from *neasa* (nearer).

Phoines, *Foynes* (1603), has already been discussed. How the *n* comes to stand in the English for Gaelic *r* is very puzzling.

Invernahavon, *Invernavine* (1603), means the confluence of the river, that is, of the Truim with Spey.

Ralia, Gaelic *Rath-liath*, means the grey *rath* or dwelling-place.

Nuide, *Nuid* (1603), *Noid* (1699), now *Noid*. The derivation suggested for the name is *nuadh-id*, a topographic noun from the adjective *nuadh* or *nodha*, new; of old, "Noid of Ralia."

Knappach, in Gaelic *A' Chnapaich*, the hilly or knobby land. It is a common place-name, especially in Ireland, appearing there as Knappagh and Nappagh.

Ruthven, which is also the first form the name appears in in 1370, when the "Wolf" took possession of the lordship of Badenoch. It was here he had his castle. In 1380 the name is *Rothven* and *Ruthan*. The name is common all over Pictland, mostly in the form *Ruthven*, but also at various times and places spelt *Ruthfen*, *Ruwen*, *Ruven*, *Riv(v)en*, &c. The modern Gaelic is *Ruadhinn*, which simply means the "red place," from *ruadhan*, anything red. The *v* of the English form lacks historic explanation. *Brae-ruthven* gives the phonetically interesting Gaelic *Brè-ruadhmach*.

Gordon Hall (so in 1773 also) is in Gaelic *Lag-an-Nòtair*, the Notary's Hollow, for it is a hollow. The name and its proximity to *Ruthven Castle* mutually explain one another: *Gordon Hall* was doubtless the seat of the *Gordon lords of Badenoch*, when the castle of *Ruthven* was changed to barrack purposes. Here the rents used to be "lifted" for the *Gordon estates*.

Killehuntly, *Keillehuntlye* (1603), *Blau's Killehunteme*, in present Gaelic *Coille-Chuntainn*, the wood of *Contin*. *Huntly* is in Gaelic *Hundaidh*, and *M'Firbis*, in the 16th century, has *Hundon*; hence arises the English form. The popular mind still connects it with the *Huntlies*. *Contin* is a parish in *Ross-shire*, and there was a *Contuinn* in Ireland, on the borders of *Meath* and *Cavan*, which is mentioned in connection with *Fionn's* youthful exploits. It has been explained as the meeting of the waters, *con*- (with) and *tuinn* (waves), but the matter is doubtful.

Inveruglas, *Inneruglas* (1603), in Gaelic *Inbhir-ùlais*, the *inver* of *Ulas*, although no such stream exists now, receives its explanation from the old *Retours*, for in 1691 we have mention of *Inveruglash* and its mill-town on the water of *Duglass*, which means the stream passing the present *Milton*. Hence it means the *inver* of the *Duglass* or dark stream, *dubh* (black), and *glais* (stream).

Soillierie, in Gaelic *Soileiridh*, means the "bright conspicuous place," on the rising beyond the *Insh* village.

Lynchlaggan stands for the Gaelic *Loinn-Chlaiginn*, the Glade of the Skull, possibly referring to the knoll above it rather than to an actual skull there found; the name is applied in Ireland to such skull-like hills.

Am Beithe means the *Birch*.

Farletter is the old name for *Balnacraig* and *Lynchlaggan*, and it appears in 1603 as *Ferlatt* and *Falatrie* (1691). It took its

name from the hill above, now called *Craig Farleitir*. The word *Farleitir* contains *leitir*, a slope or hillside, and possibly the preposition *for* (over), though we must remember the Fodderletter of Strathavon with its Pictish *Fotter*, or *Fetter*, or *Fother* (?).

Forr is situated on a knolly ridge overlooking Loch Insh, and evidently contains the preposition *for* (over), as in *orra* for *forra*, on them. The last *r* or *ra* is more doubtful. *Farr*, in Strathdearn, is to be compared with it.

Dalnavert, in 1338 and 1440 *Dalnafert*, in 1603 *Dallavertt*, now in Gaelic *Dail-a'-bheirt*, which is for *Dail-an-bheart*, the dale of the grave or trench, from *feart*, a grave, which gives many place names in Ireland, such as Clonfert, Moyarty, &c.

Cromaran is possibly for *Crom-raon*, the crooked field.

Balnain is for *Beal an-àthain*, the ford mouth.

Ballintian, the town of the fairy knoll, was called of old *Countelawe* (1603) and *Cuntelait* (1691), remembered still vaguely as the name of the stretch up the river from Ballintian, and explained as *Cunntadh-làid*, the counting (place) of the loads! Perhaps, like *Contin*, it is for *Con-tuil-aid*, the meeting of the waters, that is, of Feshie and Fernsdale, which takes place here.

Balanscrittan, the town of the *sgròdan* or running gravel.

Bulroy, for *Bhuail-ruaidh*, the red fold.

Tolvah, the hole of drowning.

Achlean, for *Achadh-leathainn*, is broad field. Beside it is *Achlum*, for *Achadh-lìum*, the field of the leap.

Ruigh-aiteachain may possibly be a corruption for *Ruigh Aitneachain*, the Stretch of the Junipers.

Ruigh-fionntaig, the Reach of the Fair-stream.

In the Dulnan valley is *Caggan*, the Gaelic of which is *An Caiginn*, and there is "a stony hill face" in Glen-Feshie of like name.

19th MARCH, 1890.

On this evening, Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, read a paper before the Society, entitled "How the Macleods lost Assynt." Mr Mackay's paper was as follows:—

HOW THE MACLEODS LOST ASSYNT.

The wild district of Assynt, in the west of Sutherlandshire, was possessed by a branch of the great family of Macleod from the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Torquil Macleod of the