The Younger Generation in Argyll at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century

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When peace descended on Argyll at the end of the seventeenth century, the problem of finding a livelihood for younger sons troubled all classes. Neither military service under the Crown, nor emigration, yet held out much attraction. At the labouring level a bare subsistence might be supplemented by some members of the family going to work in the Lowlands at harvest time, but only too often resort was had to the sub-division of already inadequate possessions. At the land-holding level, the possibilities within the home country were also limited.

An eldest son could hope to succeed his father and, if the lands were sufficiently extensive, a second son might similarly be provided for; a third might become a tacksman and, if successful, aspire in due course to secure a charter under the Great Seal of lands of his own; and in a few cases, a younger son would enter the ministry of the established church. The only other avenue of advancement within the shire was to become a bailie and chamberlain either to the Duke or to the Earl of Breadalbane and act as factor for part of their lands: the salary might be small but there were perquisites, and an opportunity for cattle-dealing on the side. Otherwise it was a case of going afield to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, Gourock, or even London, either to follow the Law—a lucrative profession which often enabled a man to invest his gains in land back in his home country—or else to be a merchant. Trade carried no social stigma and in those days of chronic shortage of ready money it was almost a necessity for a family to have a brother or a cousin who could act as financial adviser, broker and banker.

The letters of the Campbells of Inverawe in the Scottish Record Office show them as typical of this pattern, as were the neighbouring and closely-related families such as those of Barcaldine, Craignish and Stonefield. Dugall Campbell of Inverawe, who died in 1665, was the last in his line of the old school of warriors, and the central figure in a dubious incident in 1640, when Argyll had sent him to the Braes of Angus, to

demolish my Lord Ogilvie's house and, further, see how ye can cast offe the Irone yeattis and windows, and take offe the rooff, and if ye find it be langsome, ye shall fire it weill, that so it may be destroyed. But ye will nott to let know that ye have directions from me to fyir it, only ye may say that ye have warrant to demolish it, and that to make the work short ye will fyr it . . . and to bring all the nolt and sheep (Highland Papers 1934:100).

This Campbell of Inverawe had also fought through the Great Civil War, being first taken prisoner by Montrose at Inverlochy, and then, when the tide of war turned, becoming Governor at that Castle.

Even his eldest son Archibald was concerned briefly in clan violence in the final flare-up in Mull between the Campbells and the Macleans in the 1670s. When Argyll was in the ascendant, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe was made Governor of the Castle of Duart, and, as such, granted a receipt for the following MacLean arms: '185 swords 95 guns 3 pistols 5 Lochaber axes and ane two-handed sword' (Highland Papers 1914:317), but, as Argyll's influence waned, there were proceedings before the Privy Council which lingered on until 1689, when Archibald was finally granted an indemnity on payment of 5,000 merks. But it is significant that in the letters from that date onwards there is no reference whatsoever to violence.

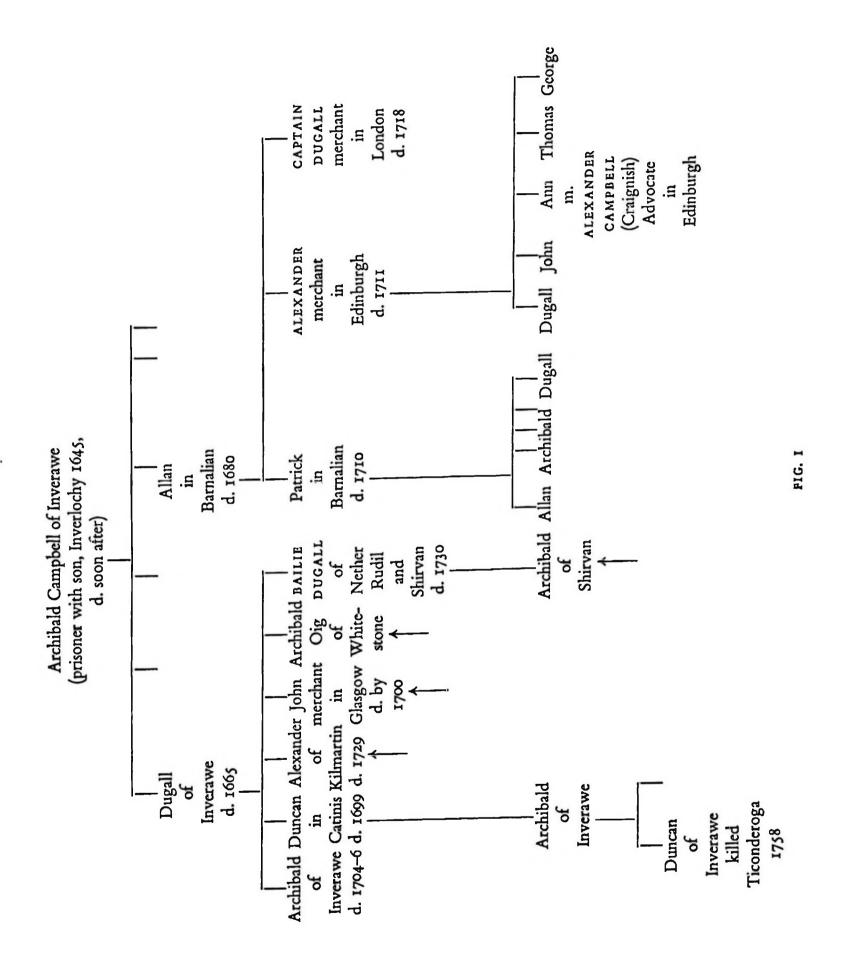
Archibald eventually died without children, so his namesake, son to his next eldest brother succeeded to Inverawe. Another brother had been set up at Kilmartin out of the extensive family lands. A fourth, probably after a period as a tacksman of the Duke, established his family as 'of Whitestone' in Kintyre. Another became a merchant in Glasgow, and the youngest Dugall (with whom we are most concerned) became Bailie on the Earl of Breadalbane's lands of Nether Lorn.

Dugall was a prolific letter writer, especially to Breadalbane and Glenorchy on estate matters but he also kept up a regular exchange of family news with two of his cousins—another Dugall (always known as Captain Dugall) who had made a small fortune as a Merchant in London, and Alexander who was a merchant in Edinburgh—less successful but extremely busy, and relied on by the whole family for advice and financial assistance. When Alexander died, his place in this three-cornered exchange of news 1690–1720 was taken by his son-in-law, another Alexander Campbell, an advocate. Their place may be seen in the family tree shown in Fig. 1.

In this correspondence, affairs of state such as the coming of King William, the Treaty of Union and the first Jacobite rebellion, receive only the briefest mention. The one thing that concerned them deeply (apart from business) was the problem of coping with the younger generation.

The three men were much of an age and were clearly attached to each other: internal evidence suggests that they had probably been brought up together either at the parish school at Kilmartin or at the Grammar School at Inverary. The two Dugalls seem to have been specially close and one would like to think that they were the Dugall Campbell Major and Minor who were in the same class at Glasgow University in 1676, but a letter of Captain Dugall's suggests that he, at any rate, went straight from school to a legal training. Many years later, when arranging for one of his nephews to leave school, he wrote:

My cus Dugall did last yeir tell me he wou'd send my nephew to Edr. tho not the tyme when, But since he is sent, I aprove of your putting him with some writing chamber and I think Ronald's may be as well as any—But be assured I designe he shall be keept in the most



frugal manner that may be. If you can conveniently keep him in yor own family and under yor eye for the first half year I am willing to pay for his board and after that he must provide for himself and get his own bread as I did my self—When I was younger than he, I got my bread, tho in a very scrimp manner, by writing in a chamber as he now does. Therefor let not the gentleman be pufted up as if he was to expect great matter from me . . . I know by experience there can be nothing so beneficial to young men as to begin with hardships at their first coming into the world (CP 121, 10 Dec. 1717).

The upbringing of the three cousins was in troubled times and they must have been influenced by the traditions of their elders. Not only the long history of cattle reiving, but also the religious differences of the times must have had their influence on the boys. Alexander was attended on his death-bed in 1711 by the deposed Bishop of Edinburgh and Captain Dugall left money to the poor episcopal clergy of Scotland but their views are more likely to have been decided by the ethos of Edinburgh and London than by the influence of the parish minister of Ardchattan when they were growing up. The Rev. Colin Campbell was more interested in mathematics (about which he corresponded with Newton)—and in extricating himself from an unfortunate charge of pre-marital intercourse with the daughter of the Laird of Calder—than in the Episcopalianism which he espoused only so long as it was the official religion of the country: he abandoned Bishops readily enough in 1694 (Fasti 1923:81). Certainly at school at Kilmartin or Inverary, the boys were more likely to have come under Presbyterian influence: Bailie Dugall, when against his better judgment he allowed his wayward son to go to Edinburgh, tried to find a Presbyterian minister for him to live with.

The Bailie was a busy and successful man who took his job seriously. He sent to Edinburgh for a copy of Mackenzie's *Criminalls*, as also for 'one fair little periwig of a roundabout for myself' and some thread to mount 'the enclosed set of buttons, either haire or silke as ye think fashionablest and strongest.... I pray that the wig may be good hair and pretty fashionable, not too thin of hair' (CP 53, 3 May 1693).

Apart from his court work, he must have been a busy man. He was collector of the vacant stipends in the former Bishoprics of Argyll and of the Isles, and he was Commissioner for Supply. He bought cattle on his own account (83 cows at £16 each in 1693) and sold them. And he looked after the extensive Breadalbane estates in Mid Argyll, collecting the rents, balancing the books and arranging the lets. In this work, he was not without his critics, as may be seen from a scrap of paper dated 1709:

Ane compt of this business of giftes to Dugall Campbell, your Lordship's Chamberlain. Allan McDougall in Luing ane cow for the change of land Nill McLaerlich... ane boll of bear for the change of land and did not get it but the bailie kept it the boll of bear; the bailie putting Sandars McDugall out to Melfort one year and brought him back and did give him land in Beallchewan sett and he did give him ane cow for doing that favour.

Archibald M'Fyer your Lordship's Maltman informed me of all this of which he is willing to give his oath (Breadalbane 17/1).

However, Dugall vindicated himself and, indeed, seems to have been generally liked and trusted in the neighbourhood.

The Bailie's cousin, Alexander, was no less busy as a merchant in Edinburgh, trading in every kind of commodity especially to Belfast and the Netherlands—cloth, wine, toys, jewellery, masks, spectacles, beads and so forth. His letters show that, apart from business, he had a most unhappy time because of the women in his life. For him, there was a generation gap upwards as well as downwards.

Shortly after their father's death, he and his brother had to write to their cousin the Provost of Dumbarton. March 1682:

We do doubt not but that ye also will, with the rest of the burgh and shire of Dumbarton have heird how this good honest woman, with no small travail, wee must own for our mother has behaved herself since her husband and our father deceased She has been released from prison seven times and been banished four times so that our greatest fear was that the hangman would have gotten his hands upon her . . . It would but trouble you and us to give you all the particulars of her life since April 1680 so we shall forbear it, only in short we do with shame tell you that she is a thief, a drunkard and as we hear a whore. . . . She has so abused her sons in public wherever she was apprehended that wee are now as well known in this place by our mother's as by our own names so that we are advised by Succoth and our other kindest friends here, to prevent further disgrace to herself, and to us, to commit her to the Tolbooth of yor town because she is there best known, to be kept prisoner for the space of two months or three, to see what hopes there may be of an ammendment in her . . . we expect you will secure her and let her spend her time with the greatest disrespect imaginable . . . and for her diet, since we designe to give her no drink but water for some time we think that two shillings or half a crowne a week may keep her scrimply (CP 35).

How long she was kept in the Tolbooth we do not know but the unfortunate Provost was sent money for her keep, certainly for the next ten years; £10 a quarter till 1688 and then £12 a quarter when a new lodging had to be found for her and a completely new outfit of clothes. Unless the clothes were provided, wrote the ex-Provost, he would no longer be responsible for her, because he was ashamed of her nakedness.

Unfortunately, Alexander's wife seems to have been nearly as difficult as his mother. Captain Dugall was probably not an impartial observer but the view he expressed in this letter to Alexander's widow was certainly shared by the lady's son-in-law:

London 28 Dec. 1711

Dr Sister

I have received a letter from you some weeks agoe which I would have answered sooner but the truth is I had heard such horrid and strange reports from so many people of your barbarous and inhumane behaviour to my dear brother, both before and on his deathbed, that I could not, till now, prevaill with myself to put pen to paper to you. But hearing now, again, from so many good hands that ye continue to persecute my poor brother's memorie even when in his grave, I could no longer be silent and therefore I doe, according to my duty,

conjure you as ye have any regard for your own soule, to your reputation, to your own and your children's interest in this world, to leave off that malitious, hellish and most scandalous way your fury has put you in, and put on a resolution of living decently and like a Christian with all your friends and relations especially with your sone-in-law to whose care the best of husbands and fathers very prudently left both yourself and your children, a person who is known by all his acquaintances to be a man of honner, sense and religion so that what-soever ye say to his prejudice will have no creditt with any that know him. And let me beg of you to throw off that idle tattling flattering mean beggarly company, which I hear ye keep, to the ruine of your owne family, and if I hear that ye doe this I shall be encouradged to continue the resolutione that I always had of looking upon you as my sister, and your children as my owne. But if you persist and goe on as you have done I doe assure you that neither yourself nor any child that was ever born of your body, shall be one groat the better by me, except one who I hear was allways dutifull to her poor ffather, and then you may safely judge what your children will say and think of you, when they come to consider what they have lost by such a mother.

I pray dear sister, ffor God's sake, for your soull's sake, for peace sake, for your owne and children's sake, be resolved on a new course of living, as ye desire to be happy heir or hereafter, and consider what an affectionate loving tender husband you had and consider what an expensive chargeable sickly peevish ill-natured wife he had of you, and yet with what Christian patience he bore it.

Consider when your husband's debts are payed that there will be but little, very little, left to be divided; and consider withal what very little fortune ye brought to your husband. I could offer a good deall more to your consideration but I hope that this will be enough at this time to convince you how much I am troubled at such reports of you, ffor I perceive you are not only the subject of the coffee houses' talk at Edinburgh but even here also, by all that do know my poor brother, which I hope you'll have the grace to put a stop to for the future, to the great satisfaction of all your friends, and I am sure it will be so in a very particular manner to, Dr Sister, your loving brother, if you mend your life Dugall Campbell

Sic Subscr (CP 126)

That Captain Dugall in London, the third of our correspondents, was a person of some force of character needs no further stressing. How and when he earned his military rank is unknown, but it was before 1692 when we first hear of him 'at London'. Since he became a man of business to the second Duke of Argyll, the origin probably lay there. But if the Captain could be a vigorous critic, he had a warm heart: he remembered individually no fewer than twenty nephews and nieces in his will, and also made large bequests to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to charity schools in London and in the Highlands, to small debtors in the Marshalsea to help release them about Christmas-time, to Heriot's Hospital, and for similar purposes such as buying good books to be dispersed in Argyll (CP 169). He was very proud of belonging to the family of Inverawe, and provided money for the education of any poor boys of that family. Not long before he died, he had three two-handled, silver loving-cups made, engraved with the coats of arms of Bailie Dugall of Nether Rudil and Shirvan, his other brother

Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin, and the then head of the family, Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, with the following inscription:

When out of this you Chance to Drink Remember on your Friend to think These cupps are called the Three Brothers

(Wimberley 1898:20)2

(The Shirvan cup is lost, but the other two have survived). Inverawe also got £300 in the Captain's will to help pay off his debts, and the Bailie received a gold watch and seals 'as a token of his affection'.

Where the Captain came into conflict with the younger generation was not with his own family (his only child died as an infant) but over his attempts to help his nephews and nieces. In 1699 Alexander's second son, John, had been sent to London to serve some sort of an apprenticeship with a Mr Mill, and his eldest daughter, Ann, to live with Captain Dugall, to widen her horizon and to get some schooling. At the time, neither project was a success. The Captain reported on them both:

London 25 Apr 1699

D. Brother

I have not wrot to you now of a good whyle nor have I had any from you . . .

I have not been in the Citie never since I entered upon the passing of this acte but my cusen Patrick, who was latly ther, brought me complaints of Jno that he does not wait on his business as was expected, but uses too much freedome and goes abroad lyke a master on post might, and leaves word that he is to be found in such and such a place if ther be occasion for him. I wrot to Mr. Mill to send him to me but he never came, soe that I presume the mater is accommodated amongst them for some time. I am told he gives Mr. Mill and Blean very impertinent language and wishes he had known a little sooner that his attendance was to be soe strict; and for Mr. Blean, he says he is non of his master and therfor has nothing to do with him. I understand there is a private correspondence between him and his mother which I wish you may find out. I have not seen him but once When he comes to this end of the town he calls for his sister privately, and I doubt does her noe good, and this I believe the rather that I intercepted a letter of hers to her brother, and another to Mrs. Linn wherein she is earnest to goe to Scotland with Mrs Linn, and I am afraid this humor proceeds from some privat commission from her mother by Jon. For I do assure you, brother, I would not take the trouble I am forcd to have with her to make her doe well if anybody would give me 100 £, a yeir, if she were not your chyld but, as she is, I doe us her as my own in all respects. I doe say nor promise I can please her mother in keeping her soe strictly but without it there's nothing to be done with her. Her whole business of the day is first to say her pr. [torn] while she was at schooll then sh. [torn] its a little and then she works a . . [torn] of her own which has been her nor . . [torn] business of the day indeed my wife will not let her goe abroad but with her self, or when she sends her maid with her to walk, and will not let her gallop about the fields with idle girls that doe nothing but swear and ramp and dirty their cloaths, and this the lady thinks a hard imprisonment, as she calls it in her letter to her broyr, which I have enclosed to you, by which you will see how little she has improved in her writing and spelling. I am sure my wife is as kynd to her as if she were her

own and loves her as well as such stubborn temper can be loved . . . I cannot imagine why the girle should continue soe chyldish soe long as to love nothing but play and ramping. My wife carried her to dinner the other day to my Lord Grandison's wher my Lord was soe kynd and civil to her as if she had been my Lord Argyl's daughter . . . but her mother, and her play, and idleness, runs soe much in her head that she can think of nothing else . . . My wife gives you her service and bids me tell you that any child of yors shall be as welcome to her as any of her owne and I am sure it is soe. Adieu.

I hope Dugall³ does well with you since you had him. I am confident he will prove the best of yor children. My wife and daughter had alwayes that opinion of him.

The pathetic little enclosure reads:

Aprall the 24 1699

Dear brothe

I hope you wiell be so kind as to comen to see me ofener then you have done for if you know how great apleaseur it is to me yor wod. I might gone home with my cousen line not but I shud be exstremly sorey to part with you Dear brother but as I am har I am verey werey of my life I am verey mush obligd to my couse line for hear a bodoy is kipte as a presiner I toke the opertonity to ris this morning to rito you and my cousen line pray my sarvis to Mr Mill but I hop you wiell be so kind as to see mee with my cousen to moroy theas is all att present from yor erloving sister ann

Campbell (CP 44)

However, the story has a happy ending. Ann eventually became one of the Captain's two favourite nieces. When nine years later she was married he wished her and her husband 'both a great deal of happiness. I shall God willing this night drink their healths with some friends and shall be glade to doe them a better service when I can' (CP 445, 5 June 1711).

Ann is also the daughter singled out for praise in the letter on page 4; and, in Dugall's will, she is left not only £,500 but also a personal gift of 'a new case with six silver spoons forks and knives of the new fashion and two new fashioned salts, a silver sugar box, a pr of gilt candlesticks and snuffers.'

No more is heard of John, who must have died young, and Dugall ends up as the Captain's principal heir, in spite of some threatening words on the grounds of his lack of consideration during his father's last illness. 'As for Dugald, he is but a weak silly young fellow that knows no better but I hope he'll grow wiser, though I will assure him he will be a loser by his folly and his ungrateful carriage at this juncture' (CP 121, 21 July 1711).

The really black sheep of this family was the third son. 'I'm heartily sorry for the account you give me of Thomas', wrote his half-brother, Alexander Campbell, Advocate, who, as Alexander's son-in-law, had taken control of the merchant's family when he died in 1711,

and I'm much afraid he'll not prove a pin better than his godfather. I sent him credit upon John Campbell for £9 Scots but he writes me so far from being upon the frugall that the

cloaths he bought stand him above 10 and writes for more money. If ye see it necessary, intreat John Campbell in my name to advance him four or five lib. more . . . for cloaths victualls and lodging . . . he tells me that the ship gets to see in a month, so I hope this may serve him till that time. I know I need not desire your being at pains with him to go to sea again and shift for himself a little, until some more than pays the debts can be got in of his father's effects.

The answer came back by return:

London 19 June 1712

D[ear] N[ephew]

As to your broyr Thom, I can confirm what you say of him that he is the very picture of his worthy uncle. He has taken out his discharge and left the ship. He has received by ticket for all the pay due to him and was going to sell 36 £ for the one half, but he was pleased by somebody's advice to come to me and tell me of it, soe I got John Campbell to advance him £20 upon his ticket and if any more is got he will account for it, soe there is no occasion to advance more money at present. He told me he owed about 20 £ thogh I know not how he could owe anything except for his cloaths, and those he has not payd, nor do I believe he designes it. Among his other good qualities he is the greatest lyar ever spoke. I expect not to see him any more nor do I desyre it. He talks of going to Scotland where he will be a disgrace to all of you if he mend not his maners...

Yours most affectionally, nephew,
D. Campbell (CP 121).

And, if that family were not enough to worry Captain Dugall, he also undertook the financing of the three sons of his other brother Patrick, a merchant in Greenock, who had died earlier that year. They were Allan, Archibald and (inevitably) Dugall; their subsequent careers may be forecast by their ranking in the final will: Allan £100 (the same as Thomas), Archie £400 and Dugall £500 and all the Captain's books save four.

Allan was old enough to be allowed to go to Edinburgh, but Archie and young Dugall were put under the care of Bailie Dugall back home in Argyll so that they could go to school in Kilmartin. Archie was to be 'set up for a trade' but the eventual hope for both him and Allan was 'Praise God willing I doe designe to give them both such a fortune as may enable them to live as country gentlemen of the lowest size. And for Dougall, if he prove a scholar and a young fellow of any metal, he will be the fittest to push his fortune abroad'. The sister was to go home 'and mary among her relations as other do for I see many inconveniences in women's coming abroad' (CP 121, 22 June 1714).

Dougall evidently did work hard. He went on to the grammar school at Inverary, and then to Edinburgh—but not to University. The Captain wrote to the Advocate, 5 July 1716:

I have lately had two letters from my Cusine Dugall [the Bailie] who tells me his opinion that I had better have my nephew (Patr's son) either to the latron or to serve some writer,

as I myself did when I was of his age [rather] than to send him to the Colledge, because he's observed that very few of the youth, there, make that good use of it that's expected of them, which I am convinced of. And therefore as I am told that the boy is a pretty good Latin scholar already. . . . Think seriously how you would have me to dispose of him at Edr. My meaning is whether you would think it proper to take him into your own familie for some little tyme till he knows a little of the wayes of the towne (CP 121).

But of the other two:

I wish that foolish young boy Allan were got into some kind of service that he be not lost—and (18 April 1717) about Archie:

As to the third commission from my Cusin Dug: of R. in relation to my two nephews, I aprove of the ten pounds you sent him, and do desire you to send him what more he calls for, towards defraying the expenses of my nephew, for I am well assured he'll manage as well as he can. He tells me the eldest who, I perceive is ane idle rogue, talks of coming up here to me. If he doos, I do assure him, I shall be so far from doing anything for him that I will not see his face; and so you may tell him if you see him, for I perceive by my Cusine that he has squandered away the little stock was given him to set up with. But if you and my cusin can think of any ordinary trade to put him to, according to his capacity I shall be willing to pay the prentice fee, thogh I find he'll never be good for much and therefore would not alow above ten or 12 £, to set him up (CP 121).

Alexander the Merchant was dead before all this, and the Captain was, after all, only dealing with nephews. It was the Bailie who must have suffered most. Normally, he kept his own counsel about his two daughters and his one son Archibald but there is genuine concern in a letter written, while he was ill, to the Advocate in Edinburgh.

D Cusine 22 May 1716

In answer to your last letter . . .

I thank you for taking so many pains with the chirurgeon. I returned answers to his queries and hope he'l prescribe something for me. I verie much need it

I was not for my son's going afield this summer but he was so earnest yt I aggreed to it. And the rather that he has promised faithfully to follow advyse from provost Campbell and you in everiething. And is willing to settle in any quarter you advyse. If it was in a presbiterian Minister's house which I wish he could come to; ffor, as bad company corrupt good manners, Good company may mend bad ones. Therefore, I intreat ye, be at some pains to settle him in good company. And I hope you'l not find him soe foolish in his opiniones as he has been, in a little tyme. By all means, desire him to keep the Kirk. If he takes advyse I shall grudge the the less to hasten on his learning. I fear he'l soon tire of it. I reckon he is just upon winning or losing, soe D.C. I hope you'l take the greater concerne for him . . .

D.C. your own Dug. Campbell

(CP 143).

As it turned out, it was not in Edinburgh but while the young man, Archie, was at home that the worst occurred. He had two illegitimate sons (by daughters of tenants on the Nether Lorne estate) and he entailed on them the fine estate which his father had acquired. Neither Archie nor the sons proved any good and Bailie Dugall's worst fears were realised.

Perhaps the older generation worried too much. Perhaps it would have been happier for all concerned if these young men had been allowed to 'go to the Colledge' after all, and to get it out of their system. But attitudes of mind die hard. When, eighty years later, the Bailie's two great grandsons were minors and orphans, the chief preoccupation of their trustees was still the same: how, asked one of them, could they prevent the heir (or his brother) from falling into the society of

some of the more dissipated young men in the country before he acquires more firmness and experience, lest he should get into habits of expense that would be the ruin both of his fortune and his morals; both his father and his uncle splitt upon that rock. They spent their estate before they succeeded to it (Shirvan letters 1801).

The solution then—until both boys could be commissioned in the Army during the Napoleonic Wars—was to make the younger a Midshipman and to send the heir⁵ to Germany for two years with a suitable clergyman as tutor. *Tout ça change*...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mr John Imrie, Keeper of the Records of Scotland, kindly drew my attention to 'this business of giftes to Dugall Campbell'. This and other documents in the Scottish Record Office are quoted with his approval.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Mrs Graham-Campbell of Shirvan for permission to quote unpublished letters in her possession.

NOTES

- In 1710, at least 15 out of 36 parish ministers were younger sons of landed families (Fasti 1923: passim).
- 2 Wimberley (1894) did not know of Alexander's existence, and is inaccurate in several of his references to Captain Dugall. The cups are also mentioned in CP 121, 22 Jan. 1714.
- 3 The Dugall referred to in the postscript was Alexander the Merchant's eldest son, who had also spent some time in London with Captain Dugall.
- Another daughter in that family is described as a 'female monster', but even she and the wicked Thomas got small bequests in Dugall's will. Fortunately the youngest of all turned out well. Ten years later (CP 175) he is writing home from Paris in order to send his sister a scarlet apron embroidered with gold and silver flowers, and a scarlet and gold ribbon.
- The arrival of the boy and his tutor in Weimar is mentioned in an interesting account of the sort of life led by other Scottish boys there in 1801 (Gillies 1969: 39).

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