

## Notes and Comments

INVERARAY CASTLE MANUSCRIPTS. During the winter of 1949-50, at the Duke of Argyll's invitation, I made an examination of his family papers at Inveraray Castle. It could be only cursory, since few of the papers are arranged and there is no modern inventory. But it was possible to ascertain the general nature of the collection and to form a rough assessment of its main categories. My detailed notes have been entered in the National Register of Archives.

There was no sensational discovery: that is to say, no large group of important manuscripts hitherto unknown came to light. It is certain that the most important of the historical documents have been all either summarised or printed in full by the Maitland Club (*Letters to the Argyll Family*, 1839), the Historical Manuscripts Commission (4th and 6th Reports, edited by Sir William Fraser), Willcock (*The Great Marquess*, 1903, and *A Scots Earl*, 1907), and the Scottish History Society (*Highland Papers*, ed. Macphail, 1914, 1916, 1920, 1934).

The present Duke intends to make his papers, in due course, available to historians, but this public-spirited design will have to await the undertaking of proper sorting and cataloguing. At present, apart from the old charters which the late Duke carefully arranged and in most cases transcribed, some bound old inventories, and some bound volumes of the most important letters down to the late seventeenth century, the papers are distributed in largely haphazard order between the leaves of about 70 very large leather-bound albums and in about 20 large deed boxes. There is also a quantity of ledgers, notebooks, and portfolios of estate papers, business correspondence, and accounts, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the number of which I estimate at 225; and an incalculable mass of family correspondence of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Inveraray charter room, fitted up by the 8<sup>th</sup> Duke, is an ideally secure repository, fire-proof, dry, and well ventilated. But many of the papers dating from before 1700 are in very bad condition, stained with damp, tattered, fragile, and in many cases partly rotted away. For this the

vicissitudes of the family history in the seventeenth century must be blamed.

The Earls of Argyll kept their papers at Inveraray or at Carrick Castle on Loch Goil, which was burned by the Royal Navy in 1685.<sup>1</sup> In the previous year, before the Marquis of Atholl occupied Inveraray, the papers were removed for safety, and placed first 'in ane kill', then 'in ane barn', and then 'aboard of ane scout' in the Holy Loch.<sup>2</sup> Family tradition says that many were saved from discovery by being hidden in what is still known as the Paper Cave, near Lock Eck; but at least 8 barrels of them were found in September 1684 'in a mean tennent's house' and brought by Glasgow carriers to Edinburgh<sup>3</sup> where they were lodged 'in the Exchequer house'<sup>4</sup>. These adventures help to explain the ravages of damp; and a discharged account of May 1679 in the Inveraray papers hints at least one other evacuation, for it includes in suggestive juxtaposition payments to 'men who went up to the braes for intelligence of the McDonalds,' to 'Wm. Christie to buy pakthreid to bind up the papers of the charter chamber,' and 'to one to go to Port Sonachen for boats at my Lord's appoyntment'.

All the same, this period's records seem remarkably complete. The notable gaps are at later dates. For example, there is very little correspondence of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> Dukes. What there was presumably comprised the 'Campbell Papers' used by Coxe for his books on the Walpole and Pelham administrations. These papers descended through the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke's illegitimate son William Williams to the latter's son, an otherwise unidentified Archibald Campbell, from whom Coxe borrowed them.<sup>5</sup> Much of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke's correspondence has also failed so far to come to light, including the originals of what the 9<sup>th</sup> Duke published as *Intimate Society Letters of the 18th century* (1910). But the 1745-6 correspondence of Major-General John Campbell, afterwards 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll, which also left the family by inheritance, is now, except for a few

<sup>1</sup> Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, 374–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles of the Atholl-Tullibardine Families* (1908), i, 194.

<sup>3</sup> Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, ii, 559.

<sup>4</sup> H.M. General Register House, *State Papers*, 265/12.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas's *Peerage* (1813), i, 115.

letters still at Inveraray, safely in the National Library of Scotland.

Despite all disappointments, however, the quantity of surviving papers is very great. I found enough of those which Sir William Fraser printed or summarised in his two reports for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1873-4 to feel sure that all he saw are still in the Castle, although the careful order in which he must have left them has been totally destroyed. He undoubtedly selected for report practically everything of major interest in the collection. But the following samples of what he did not mention indicate how much material there still is on the social and economic history of the West Highlands, on the political and military activities of the Argyll family, and on their domestic life. There is no doubt that a companion volume to Miss Gladys Scott Thompson's *Life in a Noble Household* could be compiled from the Argyll papers, and would shed an immense amount of light on the habits and manners of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ESTATE PAPERS include a great quantity bearing on the development of the Argyll estates, including rentals, accounts, and instructions to chamberlains and factors. In this category are about 80 volumes of eighteenth century accounts for the Kintyre estates alone. Miscellaneous items are 'the rental of the lies' for 1541-2 'maid be David Wod of the Craige comptrollar and utheris commissioneris appointit to that effect at the castell of Sagadall [Saddell]'; 'Inventare of the fewes and taks produced be the fewares and tennentis of Lochhead,' 1637; a volume of Argyll estate rentals for the years 1604-48; examination by the Marquis of Argyll of his tenants in Kintyre, the lands they possessed, and the rentals, 3 June 1653-6 closely written foolscap pages bearing many tenants' signatures; rental of the lordship of Cowal, 1662-5; an album of papers recording the debts of the Marquis of Argyll;<sup>6</sup> 'A general description of the island of Tiree,' included with the rental of Tiree for 1768; list of inhabitants of the Argyll estates in 1779; report (18 pp.) on the state of the Duke of Argyll's Kintyre farms in 1769-70; detailed report on emigrations from Mull in 1803.

DOMESTIC papers include tradesmen's bills for bread, malt and meal

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Willcock, *The Great Marquess*, 294-7.

supplied to Castle Campbell in 1583, for clothes supplied to Archibald, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll, in 1593 and 1594, and for stabling, 1678; the Master of the Household's accounts for the movements of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl's household, November, 1600, to May, 1601; bookseller's bill (1668); shoemaker's bill (1669); apothecary's account running from 1685 to 1697; smith's, wright's, joiner's, glazier's, cooper's, saddler's, and tailor's accounts of the late seventeenth century; funeral accounts for the burials of the Marchioness of Argyll in 1678 and the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke in 1704; account of wines drunk by the Duke's family at Inveraray (1748), inventory of wines in the cellar (1749), cellar book (1800-5); inventories of the furniture of the old castle of Inveraray (1650), and of the present castle in 1826 and 1850; inventory of the plenishing of Castle Menzies in 1713.

**BUILDINGS.** Besides accounts for 'repairing of the house of Carrick' in 1639, and 'sclaitting the hous of Dunstaffnage' in 1691, and details of repairs to the old castle of Inveraray in 1720, there is a remarkable collection of papers dealing with the building of the present castle and the modern town of Inveraray. These include lists of workmen employed and accounts of their pay from the first preparation of the site of the new castle, with instructions and plans. The most valuable item is the letter-book of Roger Morris, the architect of the new castle, including correspondence from William Adam of Maryburgh who acted as Master of Works, his son John who succeeded him, and others, and containing numerous rough sketches and working drawings. Robert Adam's designs for the ceilings of the main rooms are preserved. There are also records of the building of the new town of Inveraray, and plans and street maps of Campbeltown in the early eighteenth century.

**MILITARY.** Various accounts and memoranda, additional to what is noted in Fraser's second Report, section VIII, relating to expeditions undertaken by the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> Earls against the Mclans, Macleans, and Macdonalds in 1625, 1644, 1674-5, and 1679; details of livestock and other property stolen by the Macdonalds of Glencoe and the Stewarts of Appin in 1598, by Sir Rorie Macleod from the tenants of Canna in 1665-6, and by the Camerons in 1672; records of the Argyll levies in the service of the Government in 1715-6 and 1745-6; 20 letters from Major-General John Campbell (afterwards 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Argyll) to his son John (afterwards 5<sup>th</sup>

Duke), 1745-6; 8 letters from Captain Caroline Scott to Major-General John Campbell during the siege of Fort William, March, 1746, and some other military correspondence of this period; solicitations for army appointments and promotions addressed to the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke (late eighteenth century).

A bill for clothing and equipping a piper for the Glenaray company of the Argyll militia (7 January 1746) records that his dress was a tartan short coat, waistcoat, trews, and bonnet, and the details included 2 dozen 'large yallow mettle buttons' and 'a yard black and yallow ribine'.

JUDICIAL records include the minutes of a court held by the bailie of Kintyre (13 pp.), 23 September 1627; minutes of the bailliary court of Nether Cowal, 5 Nov. 1656; and numerous records of processes before the Justiciary Court of Argyll in the seventeenth century.

ECCLESIASTICAL papers include a report of the proceedings of the commission of Parliament for planting kirks in Argyll, 1651; a petition from the parishioners of Campbeltown (21 signatures) to the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll, 3 January, 1681, to procure 'ane able minister' for their vacant parish; a memorial of the state of the Lowland or English congregation of Inveraray, 1778, recording that a tenth of the inhabitants of the burgh did not understand Gaelic.

A discharged carrier's account (30 September 1641) mentions the transport of 3 bells formerly belonging to Iona from Glasgow to Inveraray; a letter from one Dugal Campbell (10 April 1718) requests 'one of the bells of Icolimkill for our new church at Southend' as 'there are 3 bells lying uselesse in that old monastery'; a letter written by the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke (28 August 1819) refers to some sailors' having stolen from Iona 'the hands and crozier of the Abbot McKinnon'.

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