

Lillias the Widow – Breadalbane's God-Daughter & Her Joynture

Chapter 11

Note that in letters quoted in this paper, some of the hardest to read are translated to modern spelling. Those written by Lillias herself show the spelling as written, as the spelling expresses her character and the letters show her to be educated and fluent in style.

Although the preceding series of papers takes the family at Inverawe from the Middle Ages to the death of Archibald, erstwhile governor of Duart for Argyll, in 1705, there is reason for this extension of another five or six years into the 18th century. He left a widow.

Rare it is, among all the stiff old folded parchments or papers of these families, to find much about the ladies whose lives made all possible. And when it does occur there is a virtual inevitability that it will involve either birth, marriage or death. When two of these come together there may be a rare shaft light tilted towards a widow and her marriages. Although her letters echo pain, as much of insecurity as of loss, the letters of Lillias Campbell, 'the Lady Inverawe' written to her Godfather the Earl of Breadalbane are revealing.

Lillias' father was Sir James Campbell of Lawers on Loch Tay. He was Lord Lyon King of Arms and a nephew of the Earl of Loudoun. He married twice, having a son James by his first wife, a Macleod of Dunvegan. Lillias would seem to have been a daughter by his second wife whom he had married in August 1678. So her mother was Ann, daughter of Sir William Stewart of Grantully. Lillias' full brother was also named James Campbell, and he succeeded his half brother James on the 12th of July 1703 as Campbell of Lawers. The family descended from a younger son of Sir Colin Campbell, first of Glenorchy, the second son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell.

Given the date of her parent's marriage, it would seem likely that Lillias was about 20 years old in 1700. Although had she been married before, as seems possible, perhaps she was a child of the first marriage and therefore in her thirties. That she was still considered of childbearing age seems clear.

On the 15th of July 1700, old Archibald MacConnochie Campbell, 7th of Inverawe was writing to his cousin and agent in Edinburgh, Alexander Campbell, merchant and burgess there. His mind was full of his familial task of acting on behalf of Alexander's brother, the prosperous and highly social Captain Dougall Campbell, merchant in London, in obtaining a tack of the lands of Ichrachan from Campbell of Cawdor. This was a place southwest across the River Awe from Inverawe. His business letter rattles along until he hits a painful personal note, likely responding to good wishes sent to his lady by Alexander:

....for the Tutor [of] Cawdor promises to be in this country next month. And although your Commission be full that you sent it is always at your brother's disposal. Let me know of your condition and send my letter to your brother by the first [post]. There is no hope of my wife's recovery who is now five months bedfast. Naught else, but my respects to you and your bedfellow. I rest,

Your Affectionate Cousin,

A. Campbell of Inverawe

You may back [address] your brother's letter where he may be found.¹

There had been no children of this long first marriage of Inverawe to Mary McNeill. When they first married she had been the young widow of Campbell of Duntroon. The payments of her 'joynture' or liferent allowance as widow had bankrupted that place, resulting in its being sold to a cousin. But the joynture had still to be paid, and was. So the couple's lives were made easier through intermittent payments by subsequent Duntroons. With her death those payments would end.

Lacking a son of his own, on the 15th of September 1684 Inverawe had given Sasine of his lands to his brother Duncan, who had an heir in his son, also called Archibald, and hereafter called 'Archie' to differentiate him from his uncle Archibald of Inverawe. Archibald had kept the responsibility for the people on the lands during his lifetime and this measure only clarified who would be his heir and his hopes for a son of his own. The Sasine was,

preceding on a Disposition by the said Archibald dated the 26th of August of the lands of Inverawe and others, with reservations that if it shall please God to bless the said Archibald with any son of this or any other marriage, then the said Duncan by acceptance of this Disposition shall be obliged to denude himself of his right to the said lands in favour of the said son and heir; and reserving the liferent of Mary MacNeill, spouse to the said Archibald. Witnesses included John Campbell, brother of the said Archibald.²

In the event, his brother Duncan died before the 17th century was out, and so it was the younger Archie who was now his heir. Clearly Archibald of Inverawe had hoped to have a son to succeed him, but his disappointment had been mellowed by the easing of life through Mary's company and her joynture. And now, in 1700, she was 'not long for this world.' No record appears to survive giving the date of Mary's death. No stone at Ardchattan has been found for around that year of 1700 to mark her grave. Yet before July the next year, her funeral must have been held. For on the 10th of July 1701, Alexander Campbell of Glenure was writing to his nephew, Alexander Campbell of Barcalline:

Loveing nephew,

I have received your last letter with the bearer dated the 3rd July instant I have thought seriously on what yow have written concerning Mrs. Lillias Campbell and has acquainted some others of her friends therewith And as we have a great dale of respect for Mc:Connochie [Archibald of Inverawe] and his familie who carrie a very Creditable Character – if he and that Gentlewoman be so happie on both sides as mutually to agree in their affections I have not the least doubt bot the choice prove comfortable to both, and until they satisfie them selves in yt [that] material point yr [there] can be the less said yr [there] anent. She staves at present with her Aunt at Machanie. Her principles and his will agree very weill if they fancie on another. Bot to say the truth, we can say little or rather nothing anent tocher. Her brother [Lawers] who is lyke to be a very prettie Gentleman being left under some incumbrances which yow know some of his friends has made very uneasie to him. Withall, that Gentlemane's years and [being] in the Highlands should induce him to turn over if he fancie her to seek nothing with her [i.e. in tocher], She being very well bred of a Creditable familie and a weill favoured proper Gentlewoman that might make a desirable wife to aney in the natione. If he think fitt to see her when yow acquaint me yr [there] with I shall endeavour to speak with her before that tyme

And if yr [there] be aney thing of friendship or from these who are her relations yt [that] can be advance his interest yr [there] shall be none more willing to him and his than he is who is

Your affectionat Uncle to the
Outmost of my power
Al^{exr} Campbell³

This and other documents suggest that Lillias was already widowed. And yet it seems as though she were not receiving any widow's liferent from an earlier source since she writes often to say that she was very short of funds. Negotiations were evidently successful, since that same year Lillias Campbell married Archibald Campbell of Inverawe. On the 13th of October 1701 a postnuptial Contract of Marriage had been signed on behalf of Lillias Campbell, now wife of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe and [daughter] of Sir James Campbell of Lawers.⁴ Sasine was given for 'Mrs. Lillias Campbell, spouse of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe' on the 6th of 7th of November that year, infesting her in an annuity of £1,000 Scots from the lands of Carbachen [not Cabrachan but Cruachan] and Barmaddie.⁵

James of Lawers was evidently not in a position to pay the £2,000 tocher or dowry that had been agreed. The marriage of Lillias and Inverawe had taken place before the next surviving document was written. This was a letter from Archibald to the Earl of Breadalbane, dated on the 17th of February 1704 at the island castle of Fraoch Eilean on Lochawe, one of Inverawe's places. This appears to be a negotiation concerning the arrangement for the liferent for Lillias of Lawers whom Archibald had married. The letter appears to have been written by one of Archibald's servitors, since it is mercifully not in his scrawling hand, although he signs. As usual, Breadalbane, although a cousin of Inverawe's, was pushing for the maximum gain. Inverawe mentioned 'my friends' which in this case mean his colleagues or advisors in the negotiations. They are not accepting the earl's proposals:

My Lord,

I am very sensible of your Lordship's kindness now and always and I and my friends are very will content to secure my wife in a thousand merks of annuity out of land in Argyll that within this seven years had paid an hundred pound sterling, that [in] those bygone evil years, which your Lordship may know by experience of your own lands. Which I hope will grow daily better. As to the penalty of not paying a thousand merks we are content to pay it [at] Inveraray or Clachandysart [now Dalmally] as your Lordship mentions, under any ordinary penalty out of readiest of my lands on Lochawe what that the full rent paid eighteen hundred merks. Your Lordship knows this is the ordinary method of securing annuities, nor will my friends agree to any alternative whereby she may enter to the lands further than for the payment of a thousand merks yearly. And seeing your Lordship is for accommodating matters its hoped your Lordship will propose nothing that may raise differences between her and my friends, which this alternative turnover proposed will certainly do. I hope your Lordship upon second thoughts will give such instructions as we may agree to, or defer it until you [are] coming to this Country. I find your Lordship has given direction to your Chamberlain that i could not be paid until his return to you and until the teinds of Appin were paid, which

much postpones me by reason of my urgent creditors, so that I shall earnestly entreat that your Lordship acquaint me by the first what I may expect. I remain,

Your Lordship's affect. And Humbler servant

Fraoch Eilean the 17th of A. Campbell of Inveraw⁶
Febry 1704

Lillias' brother, James Campbell of Lawers had got into trouble and in debt. On the 4th of April 1699 Mungo Campbell, a Factor for Breadalbane, had written to the earl that things at Lawers were in a state of confusion. His [Lawers] tenants were being oppressed by someone called Archibald, and some have left... He wishes Lawers to be put in his right 'that a wrights sone or a rogue like Archibald may not be called any longer Laird of Lauers.' He hears that Archibald intends to do a flitting, the Scots word for leaving quietly and suddenly.⁷ Mungo was seemingly Mungo Campbell of Kinloch or Caenloch, a cadet of Lawers, who died in about 1736 when his will is recorded at Dunkeld on the 29th of January. Who Archibald was is not clear, although his curious 'proxy-laird' relationship to James of Lawers, Aberuchill's comment about 'instability, and James' unusual death, could be explained had they been 'in a relationship'. That James, while overseas, had appointed a friend called Archibald to be 'laird' in his stead when normally a Factor [manager] would be appointed, suggests that the relationship was unusual. A later concern over one McIldonich going to Flanders as James' servant, mentioned in one of Lillias' letter, might also be interpreted in this way, were he young. When the comment about Archibald the 'wright's son' was made, James would only have been about 21.

However on the 2nd of July 1701 Campbell of Aberuchill, another of Breadalbane's Factors, wrote to the earl that there had been more trouble with Lawers 'due to Mungo's folly' and that Lawers was 'unstable.' James would eventually be murdered in his bed in Greenock by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie on the 22nd of April 1723.

So perhaps it was Breadalbane who was coming up with Lillias' Tocher, since James was unable to do so. But meanwhile all negotiations were stilled by force of nature.

That spring, Archibald of Inverawe, once governor of Duart for Argyll, died on the 21st of May 1705 at Inverawe. Lillias, now likely about 25, was a widow with her tocher unpaid and her liferent or annuity due to her. But, given the state of the late Archibald's debts, the latter would not be a simple or swift matter. The date of his death is contained in his Testament that was registered on the 5th of November 1705 in Argyll Testaments at Inveraray.

Young Archie, the old man's nephew, would now be responsible for the people of the communities on Inverawe lands and, most immediately, for the funeral arrangements. For the next nine months he would be conscious of whether Lillias might be pregnant with an alternative heir. While the text of the Testament is terse and involved, it unfolds the state of his affairs and what Archie, now of Inverawe, would face. Alexander was the cousin who was the Inverawe agent in Edinburgh. Bonds were I.O.U.s – meaning that Inverawe had borrowed money. Cautioners were responsible guarantors.

Testament Dative of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe who died on the 21st of May 1705, given up by Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh, executor qua creditor to him in respect of the defunct's Bond of the 27th of March 1702 to him for 1,000 merks, and a Bond by the said defunct as principal and Archibald Campbell,

[Archie] son of Duncan Campbell, his brother german, as cautioner, dated the 15th of December 1701 to Patrick Campbell, Writer in Edinburgh, for 1,000 merks, assigned on the 20th of July 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell; also a Bond by the defunct as principal and Alexander Campbell of 'Duchelze' [Duchollie] as cautioner dated the 5th of March 1705 to Dougall Campbell, brother german to the defunct, for 600 merks, assigned on the 24th of August 1705 to the said Alexander Campbell.

The defuncts estate consisted of cattle, horses and victual with household plenishings, valued in all at £1,006. 13s. 4d. There was due to him by James Campbell of Lawers by Bond of the 13th of October 1701 the sum of £2,000 and interest there-upon. John Campbell, brother german to the defunct, is cautioner for the executor.⁸

Later, on the 15th of April 1713, Archie would register the Testament showing further debts due to and by the late Inverawe:

Testament Dative of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe who died on the 21st of May 1705, given up by Archibald Campbell, now of Inverawe, brother's son and executor.

There was due to the defunct £132 of principal with annual rent and expenses by Archibald Campbell of Auchacha by his Bond with consent of Dougall Campbell of Stronchormaig and Duncan Campbell, brother to the said deceased Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, to the said defunct dated May 1699; also £43. 6s. 8d. due by Dame Julian McLeod, widow of Sir Allan McLeod, now spouse to James Campbell of Glendaruel, which the defunct desired the deceased John Campbell, his brother, to obtain payment of; also by Duncan Campbell, fiar of Asknish, certain teind victual of the lands of Kilbryde contained in his Bond of the 14th of August 1691 to the defunct.⁹

Breadalbane had an accounting drawn up of the late Inverawe's debts on the 28th of May – known as Whitsun or Whitsunday, a Term of Quarterday in Scotland.

Accounting for Breadalbane related to Inverawe's debts. Annualrent is shown as @rent:

Double [copy?] Stated Account McConnochie of Inverawe to ye Earle of Broadalbane Princ[ipa]l Summ [as?] . . .	1600 : 00 : 00
@rent yrof from Martt[inmass] 1701 to Martt 1702	88 : 00 : 00
@rent yrof from Martt 1702 till Martt 1703	<u>88 : 00 : 00</u>
	176 : 00 : 00
Deduce ye Superplus Duty of Glenoe For ye said 2 years being	<u>72 : 00 : 00</u>
Rests of @rent	04 : 00 : 00
@rent from Martt 1703 to Martt 1704	<u>88 : 00 : 00</u>
Summa[ry of] @rent to 1704	192 : 00 : 00
Summa[ry] of Princ[ipa]l	1600 : 00 : 00
From @rent of ye Principal Summe	
From Martt 1704 till Whit[Sunday] 1705	44 : 00 : 00
Summ[ary] princ[ipa]l and @rent att Whit 1705	1836 : 00 : 00 ¹⁰

The late Inverawe's widow Lillias was understandably concerned about her annualrent or annuity of her joynture. She had evidently written to her Godfather Breadalbane. His reply, from his place in Perthshire, has survived:

Addressed as The Lady Inverawe.

Madam
Taymouth yr 19th July
1705

I know it was the expectation you had of seeing me soon in yr shire, that promissed you not to come here when you was in this Cuntry, but now if you will not be

disappointed, I judged it fitt to send this . . . [torn] to acquaint you yt bussiness detains me so long here . . . [torn] am althogether uncertain when to be in yr Cuntry, that yr by you may have yr thoughts when yr brother in law Dougall [Bailie of Nether Lorn, later of Shirvan] comes home to send for some of your ffrinds in this Cuntry to treat wt him, and by your advisement I shall add my desire to ym to [goe?] up, if ye yr do not agree among your selves wt out you by yr help of such ffrinds as you have in yt Cuntry. And if neither of those alternatives will doo, I know Dougall will not decline to wait upon you to this Cuntry if it be found necessar, and I shall give my best advice and assistance to both parties

And I remain

Madam

Your affectionate Godfather

& humble servant

Breadalbane¹¹

By the 23rd of July, Lillias had received the earl's letter and dated her reply from the castle of Finlarig at the west end of Loch Tay. She had evidently been invited to stay there by the earl while matters were arranged for her. On the doquet of the letter, written on receipt, Lillias is called 'Lady McConechy'. When her husband Inverawe had died in 1705 Lillias' £2,000 dowry or tocher had not been paid by her penniless brother, so while she had a liferent due from Inverawe, her late husband's nephew Archibald, now of Inverawe, was evidently advised by his uncles Dougall, Bailie of Nether Lorn, and Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin, that the issue should be negotiated with Breadalbane as the head of her kindred, since she was a Campbell of Lawers in Breadalbane. Lillias mentions Kinloch [Caenloch] and Lachlan, both presumably servitors or agents for the earl detailed to look after her interests. Kinloch was likely Mungo Campbell, 3rd of Kinloch, a family descended from a younger son of the first Campbell of Lawers and therefore a distant cousin of Lillias'. 'Lods' or 'Lod' were standard abbreviations for Lordship. She wrote:

My Lord

I would have weted on your Lods before I cam from Finlarige (Finlarig) if I had not been expecting to have sine your Lor: at finlarige and then barcaldine cam he told me your Lod: was to be soon in this shyre that indewced me not to go to Taymouth your Lod: may be shour I would not be so far out of my dutie if I head not expected to have sine you soon in this shyre.

My brother [in-law] Dowgall [Bailie of Nether Lorn for the earl and the late Inverawe's half brother] is not come hom as yet but so soon as he comes I shall aquent your Lod; that you may plesse to order Cinloch and Lochlan to come hear and if Lochlan can not be got Turirich may come with Cinloch and what direction your Lod: pleases to give them, I humbly thank your Lod: for the ceare yow have been plesed to have of me it is more than I am able to express but I trust the Lord will reward your Lod: for having a care of the widow and fathiless [fatherless] I am sorie I can never be enough dutifull to your Lod: for your fatherlie ceare yow have been pleased to have of me

I ever am Yor Lord:

Most obliged humbell servant

Ardmadie

Lilias Campbell

Ye 23 July 1705¹²

On the 17th of the following month of August, Lillias was writing again to the earl, this time from Invrawe where she had evidently returned. The letter is doqueted: Lady McConchy about her jointure, and addressed to: The Right honourable The Erle of Bredalbnies

My Lord

I receved your Lord: kind leter and gives your Lord: a great manie thanks for your ceare of me, I have taken your Lord Advses to me i excepting [accepting?] of ane Annuity and a sum. . . [stained and so unreadable] for my share of the mouables [furnishings], thay will not give ther security but as Kinloch will inform your Lord: how all matres was thay are willing to give it out of the first and [rediss?] of the wholl effet, if your Lord: think this good security I am setisfied, I was willing to have gone along with Kinloch, at this tim but at furder Consideracion it was thought proper I should stay hear untill my busines wer ended for I would be obliged to com to the countrie agen if I went out of it [as?] I out now.

So I hop your Lord. Will pleas to put it to a clos for shon as posable and let me have your Lord: answer for I most continow hear till my ofers [affairs] be ended and your Lord: may be shour it is varie wurlesomt [worriesome] to me to be at such wunfertutas [unfortunate] as I am at all this whell, if I head not verie keind frinds in this countrie for all of them has ben allong ... Keind to me, spelay [specially] my tow brothers [in-law], so shoun as your Lord: thinks it convenient

Asking pardon for this truble I menen

Our Lord most obliged

Inverawe

humbel servant

August 17 1705

Lilias Campbell¹³

One of Archie of Inverawe's uncles was Dougall Campbell, Bailie of Nether Lorn for the earl and later of Nether Rhudle and Shirvan. He and his brother Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin were both negotiating between Archie and the Earl of Breadalbane over Lillias' tocher and annuity or joynture. On the 6th of September Dougall was at Inverawe from where he wrote to Breadalbane. Some of his letter had to do with Lillias' interests. She was clearly highly insecure about obtaining her liferent when Archie of Inverawe was in trouble with debts, but Dougall and his brother Alexander of Kilmartin were working on solutions and had enlisted their cousin Alexander Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh in the matter. Dougall explained that Archie could not give security of liferent out of the lands of Inverawe until those lands had been secured to him himself by Argyll. This may also have concerned whether Lillias was or was not pregnant

with old Archibald's son. The Duke of Argyll was hardly likely to confirm the responsibility for the people on the lands to Archie as 'of Inverawe' when Lillias might still produce a more direct heir.

Inverawe 6th September 1705

My Lord,

I have the favour of your Lordship's letter of the 28th of August and can guess no other ways at the meaning of Alexander's answer to Carwhin [the earl's cousin and agent] but [that] he has no mind to meddle in any other business but his own, which I believe may at this juncture keep him so throng [busy] that he can spare little time to any other. But in a little time my nephew [Archie of Inverawe] must make up that loss by employing some fit person. And were he returned from the market [tryst at Crieff] I shall endeavor to bring it to a concert. Meantime, seeing it is advised that he can make no security until he is once secured himself by his superior, I hope it will not be thought either design or breach of communication that the one lie by until the other is perfected. And it is so much in the heir's interest to have both go on that it will be his greatest study and first work. But not so easily nor suddenly to be done as may appear at first view to such as know not his circumstances with his superior, there being some other great difficulties in the way to be removed, ere that is done or they may become insuperable to the heir thereafter. This I have discoursed Barcaldine [a local cousin and agent of the earl's] of in particular and I hope he is satisfied of the reasonableness of it. And seeing the heir is thus necessarily obliged to adjust some other things with his Grace [the superior of the lands, the Duke of Argyll], previous to the Entry [Archie being given Sasine of the lands of Inverawe and all others for whose people that family was responsible] and that the not doing of it them may be of considerable disadvantage, I hope your Lordship and the Lady's other friends will be ready to agree with herself that her affair[s] lie rather over for a little time, than [that] Archibald [Archie of Inverawe] should put himself upon a lock to the disadvantage of the family. The management of this is already left to fit persons at Edinburgh who I expect will take pains to have it cleared [before] his Grace go for England. And to give the spur to them I have written to Alexander Campbell anew to keep them in mind of it. The lady can be of no disadvantage by this delay, being always secured by her Contract of Marriage to an Annuity during her widowhood, and thereafter to a certain locality [area of land] whereby she has the heir still in reverence until the communing is perfected. I know nobody suspects the least variation from the Lady or her friends. And did Archibald regard no more but his own interest, there can be no room to question him either. Your Lordship has the new state of the matter which is only to satisfy your Lordship but not to be discovered to the folk at Edinburgh, lest some may be so officious as to make the wrong use of it...¹⁴

The remainder of the letter answers Breadalbane's questions about the price of board to build a boat.

Lillias' next letter to Breadalbane has no date but 'Friday night'. She appears to have returned to Finlarig, unless this should be earlier in the order of her letters. But it is shown here in the order that these letters are catalogued in the Breadalbane Index.

My Lord,

I have answered your Los letter sooner but that I waited Kinloch's going up, I heard from him this night that his wife being tender he desires to be excused at this time, as I believe he has writ to your Los the same.

I understand by your Los that Inverawe is now satisfied I should hold me by my Contract which I believe will prove interest rather than to be at so much trouble as by appearance I do expect to find, I do not understand what they mean by taken off the airescape [heritable?] goods for by my Contract your Los knows I have the half of all free so that I suppose that they are under some mistake.

As to the proposal made to your Los about my selling my jointer I am of the opinion, it were better for me to do so, if they would give reasonable and ready money, but without that I believe your Los would not advise me to it.

I presume to give your Los the trouble desiring your Los would be pleased to speak to Inverawe to send me money for I am very much straitened at present, and if it prove necessary for me to go up to that country tis very hard I cannot command as much as would carry me there.

I have not writ to Inverawe at this time having writ severall times desiring money but can get nothing but fair answers which obligess me to trouble your Los with this hoping your Los will let them understand. I expect money immediately and be pleased to excuse this trouble by

Your
Los most dutfull humble

Finlarige
Friday night

servant

Lilias Campbell¹⁵

The following letter from Archie at Inverawe to his cousin and agent Alexander Campbell in Edinburgh has no direct bearing on Lillias, yet shows that he is not signing himself as 'of Inverawe', due likely to the delicate situation with his superior mentioned earlier by his uncle Dougall, and that he is taking up the care for members of the kindred that is expected of him in his paternal role.

Inverawe the 16th Janyr 1706

Affectionat Cousine

I am Informed That Duncan Campbell present servitor to Mr Duncan Robertson Wryter in Edr: Your Cousine & myne Is intended to Admit Notar Public & Mess[enge]r this Current session And seing that Cautiners in such cases most seigne the Books of Notarie & Messengerie at Edr: Therefore I desire you doe me the ffavour As to engadge Cautioner for him both as to Notar & Messenger And I heartily obleidge me to Warrant & Releve you of all Inconveniencies you shall sustaine therthrough in tyme coming And also to grant ane Ample bond of Relieff to you of both Cautionries and tht upon Demand I suppose my Uncle Bailzie Dougald hes alsoe wryten to you heiranent ffeall not in this As you would obleidge

Sir

Your affectionat Cousine
A Campbell ¹⁶

The following shows that Breadalbane owed Archie, now of Inverawe a debt of £800 Scots. This accounting was dated on the 8th of July 1706

I, Archibald Campbellof Inverawe grant me by these prttts [presents] to have Receiv'd from ane noble Earl John Earl of Breadalbane ane accompt resting be the tenants in Glenorchy subscribed by John Campbell his Lop's Chamberlain for Croke and Martinmass last yr and Febry yrs ammounting in hail to the summe of Eight Hundred Pounds Scots money to be applyed towards my payment of the equivalent summe resting [remaining] to me and contained in an Adjudication had at the Instance of Duncan Campbell my deceased ffather against the said Earl and his Estate. Therefore I be this prttts not only bind and oblige me my airs . . . and successors successfully to hold compt to the said Earl his airs . . . and successors for such summe or summs as I shall happen to intromit with or . . . of the said account of the Rests. But also to grant sufficeint acquittances and Dischages of the same to the said Earl and his for[said]s of the Equivalent owing to me by virtue of the said adjudication and yt . . . the first of January next to come. In witness qrof I have subscribed this prttts att Castle Kilchurn the eighth of July [17] and six years before these witnesses: Dougall Campbell of Rhudaill and the said John Campbell his Lop's Chamberlain wryter heir of. A Campbell
 Dug: Campbell witness
 John Campbell witness.¹⁷

On the 13th of July 1706 a partial letter or memorandum, almost certainly from the Earl of Breadalbane was sent to his agent Campbell of Carwhin, or his lawyer Patrick Campbell of Monzie concerning the agreement over the liferent and tocher of Lillias (widow of Inverawe). There had clearly been further negotiations with Arcie and his 'friends' or uncles.

Doquet: 'Carwhin to Draw up the Bonds'

That as soon those three days as taken up wt McConnochies and his friends affairs not the Lady setting in sable ['widow's weeds'] shapes as tho bearer can inform you and the inclosed proposal is one of three we thought most conducable to her advantage – one Inch beyond it they will not doo – and it is evident that they rather it should break off by refusing those ...[?] than it should - and which I am most unwilling it should for many reasons that I know better than [?b yours?] yrfor my oppinion is to ...[?] [enough?] of them – and if your and Carwhin be of the same may immediately draw up the [tacks?] in such a style as knows best to be sent not ane to the Lady att Stronmellochen as also Draw up a Bond of Borrowed money be McConnochie and his uncles will wind up her to signe papers and she is to goe along not you to Inverawe to [Debtor?] up the [petishone?] and to record ye 1000 mks Bond and the 500 pound Bond mentioned in the proposal and to stay until those papers come up concluding ...[?]

Carwhin is in that country and in that caise she expects her answer against Tuesday night but if he be not their send this letter wt me ... to Gdn [Gordon?] that he may exped the papers thair and estimate you wt all Dilligence bydr ways his opinion and her b...[?] upon the proposall that they are not pleased wt it, for I doo not fynd her [Melyned?] to end not you wtout both their aprobatons, if she doe not send not you upon those their terms I doe not see a found [foundation or basis] for her to goe to Law not your and to maintaine her untill she recover her own from them. Therefore it is fitt she make the best of ane ill Bargain, It has been troublesome to me and postponed me in my own business some says qt obliged me to stay the longer here but had hopes to be clear against Munday or Tuesday att [end page]¹⁸

Not long afterwards, on the 26th of July, Dougall, uncle of Archie, was writing to the earl from Ardmaddy in Nether Lorn. This further concerns the settlement of liferent for Lillias, widow of Archibald of Inverawe who died in 1705, and the difficulties of Archibald now of Inverawe, his nephew, who is obliged to find the funds for her. Again, Carwhin – here spelt ‘Carghuin’ – was the earl’s cousin and agent.]

My Lord

Ardmadie 26 July 1706

I have the Favour of your Lordships] letter of the 23rd: It is no matter Thoe Carghuin take his own tyme to Extend the tack If it be finished at long run without any materiall additiones to the proposalls given him - If otherwayes it will marr the settlement And to present this I wish your Lo[rds]hip] may pleas Read the extended tack befir it is sent us That your Lo[rds]hip] may give us your thoughts of the Draught, Wee designe to dealt Candidlie And franklie And it will be unnecesar to multiply Clauss[es] beyond the ordinar stile to obleidge us - Nor will we who have no uther Concerne in the matter Bot to serve the Lady and McConachie put ourselvs vnder any ambiguous or unusuall tyes.

McConachie is Doeing his best to provyde money for the Lady And will certanlie take all the cair he can to make it vp ag[ains]t the Returne of the Marcat if the goods he sends afeild be sold.

I had not the good fortune to see Captain] Dugall for I fell to be unweell the day

I wes to goe, Bot my brother Alexander wes with him And told him what had passed in our Communeing with the Lady - My Brother sayes that Dugall is verie Inclineable to serve the interest of the Families And might be prevailed with to send McConachie some moe'

If the Lady had proposed such tearmes els might Encouradge McConachie and his freinds to enter to them - Bot when he understood she had Rejected the offeir made her at the Castle He and the rest then w[i]t[h] him thought it needles to deliberat or hear any more of it, If the Lady and her freinds come yet to be better disposed we shall of new dale with Dugall and resolve in it how son we have his Retwrne...

I am My Lord Your Lordships] most humble servant
Dug Campbell.¹⁹

Lillias wrote again to Breadalbane on the 27th of July 1706. All the communications that July suggests that affairs were coming to some conclusion, although Archie had not yet been confirmed in the lands of Inverawe by the Duke.

Doquet: Lady McConochie’s Ltr anent the ...

Inverawe 27 July 1706

My Lord

I recvd your Lods and is very glad to hear of your Lod being in good health after your Journey

I am ashamed of the truble your Los hies head about my small affair all along and by all apirance now, your Los will bring it to a close. I feind your Los his been plesed to go thorow the proposalls given by my Brother in law, with my Lord Glenourchie and Carquhien, I am sorie that the Contract was not ther when Carquhien was in the Countrie

according to your Lod desaiet. I shall return to Finlarige so soon as possible I can travel that the contract may be pleased to be sent to Carquhien - the weather is so bad that no body can go out of a hows - desierien to be in that Country so soon as the weather will allow me to travel - I shall do no more - I am

Your Lordships Most obliged dut[i]full

Inverawe July 27
1706

humbell servont
Lillias Campbell²⁰

Lillias' next letter to the earl, on Tuesday night the 3rd of August 1706 was from Finlarig where it was clear that negotiations continued with Inverawe and his uncles. She mentioned the idea of selling her jointure which would relieve Inverawe of having to pay yearly, if he could come up with a single payment in settlement. She asked Breadalbane to get her stepson Inverawe to send her money, since she has written to him herself but gets nothing but 'fair answers.' Of course he has none.²¹ Later, she was writing again from Finlarig in an undated letter:

My Lord,

I am very sensible of your Lo's Care and Kindness in being pleased to concern your self so much in my small affairs, and now by all appearance your Lo has brought McConiche and his friends to some probability of settling which encourages me to come up to that country before your Lo comes away, to end all particulars with them, but Kinloch at present is not at home, so that I delay sending our Lo's letter to him till I be sure of his being in the Country, and then I shall write to them to come here to me as your Lo has advised me.

And according to your Lo's desire I shall go up if I can get one of them to be pleased to turn to come up with me, there being now some appearance of their settling with me since Kilmertien and Belie Dougall has now consented to concern themselves, I do not doubt of being well paid and free of trouble they being men of honour and credit and whose kindness I very much rely upon - having formerly been much obliged to them both and if the Memorandum your Lo has been pleased to send me be agreed at our meeting, I am sure your Lo is sensible it is my loss to be quite so much though I must say it would be a trouble to me to think of prejudging McConich's interest for the standing of his family is what I shall ever think myself concerned in, I shall add no more till I see your Lo and then I shall be advised by your Lo in every particular, hoping your Lo will be pleased to forgive this trouble to your Lo.

Most Doubtfull humble

Finlarige

servont

Friday night

Lillias Campbell

I presume to desire your Lo would be pleased to speak to them to provide money for me against I go to that Country.²²

The next letter Lillias wrote to the earl was also from Finlarig. She was concerned for her share of the furniture at Inverawe.

My Lord,

I have received an answer from Inverawe telling me he would provide money as soon as possible, but that it was very ill to be got in that Country this year, I desire to send to have my share of the furniture divided fearing it will be spoiled if not looked after, I desire

to know if your Los has heard from them any thing concerning the Moveables, and begs your Los advice to me what I shall do about them for by all appearance they have no thoughts of settling me in the maner was agreed upon at our last comuneings so that it is time for me to do something for my self, and I will never push more for any other settlement then the contents of my Contract, for my consending to a new one was as much thire advantage I thought as my own which if they had taken it so I fancy they would have settled it in that maner befor this time. I have not yet ben paid one farthen of my joynter and have got but an part of my settlement, so that if they do not clear me of all at this Whit/term it may prove a debt upon them which may be of trouble to them as well as to my self for I cannot live without my own, so that I deseir our Los advice what your Los would have me writ to them, I am not in the least inclined to do anything to prejudice Inveraws fameley and if any difference falls out it shall never be occasioned by me. I hope your Los will be pleased to give me your advice soon what I shall say to them and I will delay sending to that Country till I have your Los answere, I am
 Finlarige
 Seturday
 Morning
 1706

Your Lordships Most
 doubtfull humbell
 servont
 Lillias Campbell.²³

In her next letter Lillias writes that she was sorry that the earl was upset with her for sending her servant to Inveraw to be sure that her furniture there was being properly looked after. She was evidently mediating for her brother over one McIlldonish who was pressed to go to Flanders with her brother as his servant. Whether he was the same as the Archibald mentioned earlier is not known. This concern over McIlldonish could relate to her brother's sexual orientation and therefore concern for the man's relationship to James, although this is very much reading between the lines. 'To return to themselves again' could refer to McIlldonich's parents. James leaving the country was possibly to escape his creditors.

My Lord,

I recved your Los and have had no occasion sence to return yow an answere, I am very well pleased your Los opened the letters for by them our Los did see ther answere to me was very littell satisfaction for I had no drect answers what they would do nor any mony from them, so that I have no incouragement to quite [quit?] to them, sence they have failed to me, tho I would willingly do all I could for Inverans fameley, but without sufficient casioners [cautioners] I beleve your Los will not advice me to quite any thing, haveing experenced ther neglect of me, I am very unwilling to make a journey upon littell porpose so that I have sent to Kinloch who will go soon as your Los advartise me, I doubt not but your Los has seen Inverawe and belzie [Bailie] Dougall by this time, so that I belev that your Los knows what they will do and I hope your Los will give me your advice what is proper for me to do,

Kinloch can say all that I can say tho I were ther relying upon your Los directions to him, I have sent a Memorandum of the Contents of my Contract which your Los ordered to be drawn out befor your Los went from this, I am sory your Los is displeased at my sending up my servont to look after the furnature it was for fear that they shold spoyle and in the last communing I never deired to quite [quit or leave] the half of the furniture as B[ailie] Dowgall very well knows.

It sims your Los has heard that McIlldonish was pressed to go to Flanders with my brother but to show the contrary I have sent according to your Los desaur to have him

return to themselves againe or to send a line to show it was his own choyce to be my
brothers servont hoping your Los will forgive this trubel from

Yours

Finlarige
Friday morning
1706

Los Most doubtfull
humbell Servont
Lilias Campbell.²⁴

Then, seemingly like a bolt of lightening our of a blue sky, came the news of a fresh development that would simplify a number of issues. In a letter from Arghie's uncle Dougall to Breadalbane on the 8th of August 1706 he passes on the latest development:

His sister [in law] Lillias, widow of the late Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, has married Campbell of Dunstaffnage at Inverawe 'privatelie but regularlie.' He added that 'She wold fain wrytt your Lordship the account of it Bot her Modestie would not allow her.' Dougall defends his own conduct in the affair.

He then reverts to business: 'Mr. Colin's [Carwhin's?] house [Ardmaddy?] is to be roofed.' Further news is that his cousin 'Captain Dougall's resolution is to ask advice of his friends where to settle and we all agreee to it ffor thoe our own lott be hier – we must own it is not desyreable not [at]tempting to come from London to it.'²⁵

The mention of Captain Dougall combined with 'London' confirms that the captain, who was a rich merchant in London and a cousin of Inverawe, may have been approached to try to find funds to help provide for Lillias. At that time Breadalbane may have been in the south himself, since about the same date his son Lord Glenorchy wrote to him with the final line of the letter being 'Lady Inveraw is married to C: Dunstafnadge.'²⁶

Lillias' new husband was Angus Campbell of Dunstaffnage, a man then in his mid forties who would live until 1742. They had an only child, Catherine, who is said to have married John Campbell of the Glenshellach family.

So on his death in 1742, Lillias' husband Angus was succeeded as Captain of Dunstaffnage by a cousin, Niall Campbell. Young Niall was born in 1700 to Marjorie, Archie of Inverawe's sister. She had married in 1695 to Donald Campbell, son of an earlier Niall Campbell of Auchanard and Fayard, younger brother of an earlier Dunstaffnage.

By the early 18th century, the living space at the castle of Dunstaffnage consisted of two houses, the tower house and the west range. The former, perched on the parallel vaults of a cellar and entrance tunnel, had three useful floors above, while the west range house had two floors, the upper only recently added or repaired. On the whole, Lillias may well have found herself in a more salubrious dwelling than at Inverawe. Hopefully her cherished share of the furnishings fit well and made a secure home where her concerns about funds were over.

Post Script

Sadly, Lillias' brother James died relatively young. He had never married and is said in more recent Campbell historical material to have been 'murdered in his sleep by Duncan Campbell of

Edramuckle in Greenock on the 22nd of April 1723.’²⁷ I am most grateful to Professor Ronald Black for producing the following broadsheet from the National Library of Scotland archives which offers some clarification. His interest was in the Gaelic text at the end of the document. That James had ‘an excessive affection’ or an ‘irregular passion’ for his cousin rather adds to the impression that he had been in a relationship with the Archibald mentioned earlier as being put in by James as proxy laird of Lawers. The difference or similarity between ‘Duncan Campbell of Edramuckle’ – or Edramuckie – and ‘Patrick Campbel, Baron of Braemuckly, in the County [sic] of Broadalbin’ has yet to be clarified. It may suggest duncan used the name Patrick in an attempt to cover his tracks when escaping.

Murder of James Campbell of Lawers.

Broadsheet headed:

‘A

True and distinct ACCOUNT, Of the Murder of James Campbel of Lawers.’

First there are two paragraphs of moral sentiments. Then:

‘James Campbel of Lawers, Esq; only Son and Heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawers, a Gentleman of bright Parts, and immaculat Honour, an early Cadet of the Ancient and Noble Family of Argyle, [Glenorchy] being occasionally at Greenock with his Cousin Patrick Campbel, Baron of Braemukly, in the County [sic] of Brodalbin, and too deeply tasting the Juice of the Grape fell into a fatal Quarrel; the Foundation of which, they being alone, cannot be known so that he drew his Sword, which he designed to run thro' the Body of his dear Friend, for whom he had an excessive Affection. Braemuckly finding himself inclosed, snatch'd at a Pistol lying on the Table belonging to Lawers - discharged the Shot in his Heart, and sent his Soul to the wide World of Spirits in a Purple Torrent, on Fridays Ev'ning, the 19th Instant. Braemukly seeing his Friend had received a deadly Wound, left his Body in Streams of Blood, run quickly down Stairs, and with a great deal of seeming Composure, called for and mounted his Horse, entreating the Hostess to make Apology for his hasty Departure, to Lawers, for Bussiness [sic] of Moment called him away.

Thus died that unfortunate Gentleman in the Flower of his Age, being only entered upon the thirtysixth Year, after he had gained the Affection of a fine Lady, a Lady eminent for Virtue, Birth and Beauty, Daughter to Colonel Campbel of Finnab, and the Marriage design'd to have been solemniz'd within a few Days, if this deplorable Accident had not happened.

Tho' this Murderer made his Escape, unsuspected of so cruel an Action, and came directly to Edinburgh, where he lodg'd for some Hours, in a Stablers at the Sign of the Glasgow Arms. He will not escape the avenging Hand of the Almighty, who in all Ages hath shown his Vengeance against Murder, and miraculously interpos'd in the Probation.

May this short Lecture, thrown out to the Street, be of Use to the Bulk of the People, and fill them with a lasting Abhorrence of shedding of Blood, and all these irregular Passions that have a Tendency to it.’

There followed the Gaelic text of Psalm VII, verses 13-17, then 'finis'.²⁸

James' and Lillias' mother is mentioned in the book *In Famed Breadalbane*, p. 243: 'She had a son, James, who was served heir to his half-brother, James, on 12 July, 1703. This James was murdered by Duncan Campbell of Edramuckie while asleep in his bed at Greenock, on 22 April, 1723.' The differing accounts of the killing would no doubt be due to one being the story of the murderer himself and the other of the family, wishing to avoid any scandal. Who the family were, other than Lillias, is not yet clear.

What is of course of great interest here is that this suggests that James was engaged to be married to the 'Lady eminent for virtue, birth and beauty, daughter to Colonel Campbel of Finab.' She would be Jean Campbell, daughter of Finab and his wife Susan Menzies, who would later marry Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, great-nephew of Archibald, Lillias' late husband and son of Archie of Inverawe and his wife Janet Maclean of the Torloisk family. So Jean, daughter of Finab may have been saved by that murder from a marriage of perhaps limited physical experience.
