

Ladies of the Covenant

LADY ANNE MACKENZIE, COUNTESS OF BALCARRES, AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF ARGYLL.

LADY ANNE MACKENZIE was the eldest daughter and coheiress of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, by his wife, Lady Margaret Seton, third daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Dunfermline. In an old MS., her father, who was the most powerful of the Highland chiefs next to Argyll, is described as “a most religious and virtuous Lord. He caused build the Castle of Brahan, and [in] every barony of his highlands caused build a church, and left a donation to the town of Channorie, called Fortrose, to hold up a grammar school. He was much liked by his king and by all that ever was with him.” [*Quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p.33.*] Lady Anne, in early life, lost her father, who died on the 15th of April 1633, leaving behind him another daughter, Lady Jean. Lady Jean was married, first, to John, master of Berriedale; and, secondly, to Alexander, first Lord Duffus; having, to her first husband, three sons, among whom was George, sixth Earl of Caithness; and to her second, four sons. She died in childbed, on the 31st of March 1648. Lady Anne and her sister Lady Jean were served heirs-portioners of their father on the 29th of November 1636, and on the 28th of February 1637. As in these retours Lady Anne is placed first, it may be concluded that she was the eldest daughter. The titles devolved on her father's brother, George, who thus became second Earl of Seaforth. [*Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 482.*]

Lady Anne received, in her tender years, a scriptural education, and her heart appears even then to have been touched by Divine grace with love to God, and engaged to attend in good earnest to the things which belonged to her everlasting peace. Besides the religious instructions received under the domestic roof, she enjoyed the advantages of an evangelical and faithful gospel ministry. She had also opportunities of frequently mingling in the society of such as feared God. Subjected to these and other religious influences, she increased in piety as she advanced in days and years; growing in love to God, in love to his service, and in love to those who gave evidence of being his children. This we learn from the references which Richard Baxter, the celebrated nonconformist divine, makes to her early life, in a Dedicatory Epistle addressed to her, prefixed to his treatise entitled, “The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance and the Benefits of Self-acquaintance.” Speaking of her soul as “replenished with the precious fruits of the Spirit, and beautified with the image of her Lord,” he says, “There you can peruse the records of his mercy, and think with gratitude and delight how he did first illuminate you, and draw and engage your heart unto himself; what advantage he got upon you, and what iniquity he prevented by the mercies of your education, and how he secretly took acquaintance with you in your youth; how he delivered you from worldly snares; how he caused you to savour the things of the Spirit; how he planted you in a sound well-ordered church, where he quickened and conducted you by a lively faithful ministry, and watered his gifts by the constant powerful preaching of his Word; where discipline was for a defence; and where your heart was warmed with the communion of the saints; and where you learned to worship God in spirit and in truth; and where you were taught so effectually by God to discern between the precious and the vile, and to love those that are born of God, whom the world knoweth not, that no subtleties or calumnies of the serpent can unteach it you, or ever be able to separate you from that love.” [*Baxter's Works, folio, London, 1707, vol. ii., p. 762.*]

In addition to early piety, Lady Anne, as she advanced to the age of womanhood, possessed great personal

attractions, and a combination of the best qualities which can adorn the female mind. David, Lord Balcarres, who was married to her aunt - her mother's sister, Lady Sophia Seton, fourth daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Dunfermline, and in whose family, on paying them a visit, she occasionally staid for some time, describes her as of a "mild nature and sweet disposition," "and wise withal." To this nobleman she afterwards became more nearly related, by her marriage with his son Alexander, her full cousin, who was "so hopeful a youth, that he had the respect and love of all that knew him," and who, in 1650, became Earl of Balcarres. [*He was served heir to his father on the 24th of October 1643; and on repairing to Charles II, upon the arrival of his majesty in Scotland in 1650, was created by him Earl of Balcarres.*] She had early made a deep impression on the heart of Alexander, and his affection for her he had long cherished, without making it known either to herself or to any one else. But, at length, about the close of the year 1639, at which time she had been staying for some time with his parents, the strength of his passion overcoming, to a certain extent, the bashful timidity of early and honourable love, he told both his father and mother, three days before she left them, which was in November, of his strong attachment to her, that it had "been rooted in his heart this long time, and [that he] could conceal it no longer." He also told his mother that he "had never shown any such thing to her by word," and earnestly desired her to speak to the young lady in his behalf; which, however, she did not do, though she afterwards wrote to her on the subject. His addresses were cordially received by Lady Anne, who, indeed, appears very soon to have been as deeply smitten with the tender passion as himself. But, as the proverb says, the course of true love seldom runs smooth. Her uncle, the new Earl of Seaforth, from motives of self-interest, was opposed to the union, though it was highly agreeable to all the other friends of both parties. The hearts of the two lovers were, indeed, too fully engaged for his opposition being deemed a sufficient obstacle to the completion of their wishes; but they were very desirous, if possible, to secure his consent; and this occasioned an interesting correspondence between the families, from which our space, however, will permit us to give only one or two extracts. The first letter in the series is from the father of young Balcarres to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated November 1639, in which he informs him of his son's attachment to Lady Anne M'Kenzie, and of the Earl of Seaforth's opposition to their marriage, "because he thought he had no new alliance by it." Lauderdale, in his reply, which is dated 28th December, after expressing it as his opinion, that the Earl of Seaforth, though she married without his consent, would be bound to pay her the portion left her by her father's will, notwithstanding the obligation it imposed upon her to marry with the consent of her uncle, adds, "If the case were my own, I would gladly go about to obtain his consent; but if he should prove too docile, I would, as the proverb is, 'Thank God, and be doing without his approbation.'" By this opposition on the part of the lady's uncle, the pride of young Balcarres was somewhat wounded, and his temper, in some degree, riled; but, secure in her affection, it was his resolute purpose, should Seaforth prove unyielding, to act upon the only alternative then left him - according to the Earl of Lauderdale's advice - to marry her without his consent. The spirited youth, mustering up his self-respect, thus writes to John, Lord Lindsay, of Byres: - "Indeed, my Lord, I shall be very glad to have his consent to it, and shall use all means for it, since he is her uncle; but if he will not, I believe your Lordship shall as publicly see how little power he has either of her or her means, and that I am as little curious for alliance with him as he is with me if I had no other end before me; for, in truth, it is neither his alliance nor her means has made me intend it." Appeals were made to the Earl of Seaforth, in favour of the match, in letters written to him by Lord Lindsay of Byres, and by the Earls of Winton and Dunfermline; and young Balcarres also wrote him on the subject in a firm but respectful tone. At last, Seaforth, finding that his opposition would prove unavailing, gave a tardy and reluctant consent; and the happy pair, after this vexatious delay, which young Balcarres, it would appear, bore with no small degree of impatience, were united in wedlock, in April 1640. [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., pp. 34-44.*]

Among the friends of Lady Anne, who warmly advocated the union, was the Earl of Rothes. After her marriage, this nobleman wrote her a "homely, but a warm-hearted letter," particularly enjoining upon her the duty of economy, in the new situation into which she was now brought. The letter, which is dated "Leslie, 15th May 1640," begins thus: - "My Heart, - I have sent Mr. David Ayton with your counts, since my intromission; [*That is, since I acted in your affairs.*] they are very clear and well instructed; but truly your expense hath been over large this last year; it will be about 3,600 merks, which indeed did discontent me, when I looked on it. I hope

you will mend it in time coming.” “Your husband,” his lordship adds, “hath a very noble heart, and much larger than his fortune, and except you be both an example, and exhorter of him to be sparing, he will go over far: both he, my lord and lady, love you so well, that if ye incline to have those things which will beget expense, they will not be wanting, although it should do them harm, . . . therefore go very plain in your clothes, and play very little, and seek God heartily, who can alone make your life contented here, and give you that chief content, the hope of happiness hereafter. The Lord bless you!” [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 44.*]

“This good advice,” says Lord Lindsay, “was not thrown away. Never did any marriage turn out happier. Lady Anne proved a most affectionate wife, a most kind and judicious mother; and though of the ‘mild nature’ and ‘sweet disposition,’ praised by Lord Balcarres, was truly, as he adds, ‘wise withal,’ and capable, as events afterwards proved, of heroic firmness, and the most undaunted resolution.”

In the stirring times in which they lived, young Balcarres joined the Covenanters, whom he greatly aided both by his counsels in the cabinet, and by his valour in the field. He commanded a troop of horse in the Covenanters’ army, at the battle of Alford, 2d July 1645, when General Baillie was defeated by the Marquis of Montrose. He was one of the commissioners despatched by the Parliament of Scotland, 19th December 1646, to king Charles I, with their last proposals, which his majesty rejected; upon which the Scottish army surrendered him to the English Parliament, and retired from England. He was, however, of undaunted loyalty to his sovereign, which indeed he carried too far, supporting the Duke of Hamilton’s engagement - an undertaking justly considered inconsistent with the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. When Charles marched into England, in 1651, he was left to command the troops on the north of the Forth, and in the Highlands, where, through his marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Seaforth, and his friendship with the Marquis of Huntly, and the clans, he had great power. But the affairs of Charles becoming, on the defeat of his army at Worcester, to all appearance hopeless, the Earl, in December that year, capitulated with the English on favourable conditions, and disbanded his regiments. In 1659, he settled with his family at St. Andrews, keeping up a correspondence with his exiled sovereign; and, in 1658, he again took up arms, and joined in a last ineffectual attempt to uphold the royal cause against Cromwell. In January 1654, his estates were sequestered by Cromwell; [*Lamont's Diary, p. 66. “One George Fleming had a charter of Balcarres, 8th December 1653, and sasine of Balcarres was passed in favour of Hew Hamilton, bailie of Edinburgh, by Oliver Cromwell, 7th March 1655. Haigh Muniment-room.” - Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., pp. 104, 105.*] and he withdrew to the Continent, joining Charles II at Paris. [*Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 167, 168.*]

Lady Balcarres, from the strength of her affection for the Earl, shared in the hardships and dangers to which he was exposed, in those troublous times, accompanying him in all his military wanderings. “The Earl of Balcarres,” says Baxter, was “a Covenanter, but an enemy to Cromwell’s perfidiousness, and true to the person and authority of the king: with the Earl of Glencairn he kept up the last war for the king against Cromwell; and his lady, through dearness of affection, marched with him, and lay out of doors with him on the mountains.” [*Sylvester's Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 121.*] And when the Earl was driven out of Scotland by Cromwell, she accompanied him to the Continent, where, for several years, they followed the court. During her abode in France, “being zealous for the king’s restoration (for whose cause her husband had pawned and ruined his estate), by the Earl of Lauderdale’s direction, she, with Sir Robert Murray, got diverse letters from the pastors and others there, to bear witness of the king’s sincerity in, the Protestant religion.” [*Sylvester's Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 121.*]

Amidst all these vicissitudes in her lot, Lady Balcarres experienced much domestic happiness. Her esteem, tenderness, and affection towards the Earl, were reciprocated by a corresponding esteem, tenderness, and affection on his part towards her. He knew her worth; he reposed with much confidence in her judgment; and the lapse of time produced not the slightest abatement of the ardour of early affection. They were favoured with fine children, who promised to be lovely and good like themselves, and the blessing of Heaven seemed to

rest upon them. Baxter, in writing to her, speaking of God's goodness to her, both in a temporal and spiritual respect, says, "You may read in these sacred records of your heart, how the Angel of the covenant hath hitherto conducted you through this wilderness, towards the land of promise; how he hath been a cloud to you in the day, and a pillar of fire by night; how the Lord did number you with the people that are his flock, his portion, and the lot of his inheritance; and led you about in a desert land, instructed you, and kept you as the apple of his eye, Deut. xxxii. 9, 10. His manna hath compassed your tent; his doctrine hath dropped as the rain, and his words distilled as the dew; as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass, ver. 2. As his beloved, you have dwelt in safety by him, and the Lord hath covered you all the day long, chap. xxxiii. 12. When storms have risen, he hath been your refuge; and when dangers compassed you on every side, he hath hid you as in his pavilion, and his angels have pitched their tents about you, and borne you up. You have been fortified in troubles, and enabled comfortably to undergo them. In war and in peace; in your native country and in foreign lands; among your friends and among your enemies; in court and country; in prosperity and adversity, you have found that 'there is none like the God of Israel, who rideth upon the heaven in your help, and his excellency on the sky: the eternal God hath been your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms,' Deut. xxxiv. 26, 27." [*Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to treatise on The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, Baxter's Works, vol. ii., pp. 762-764.*]

Baxter, who thus addresses her, personally knew both her and her husband. The Earl of Balcarres had, upon the recommendation of Lord, afterwards Duke, Lauderdale,* read some of the works of Baxter, which, after a

* Lauderdale, at first, seemed eminently religious; was a warm Presbyterian, and zealous for the Covenant. He was detained prisoner, after the battle of Worcester in 1651, in different places, and was released from Windsor Castle just before the Restoration. In a letter to Baxter, dated "Windsor Castle, December 14, 1658," there is the following passage: - "I wish I knew any were fit to translate your books; I am sure they would take hugely abroad; and I think it were not amiss to begin with the 'Call to the Unconverted.'" - Quoted in Dr. Calamy's Life by Himself, in a foot note by the Editor, vol. i., p. 102. This sounds strangely when compared with Lauderdale's future character.

careful perusal, he reckoned among the best of uninspired theological writings. Nor did Lady Balcarres, who had also been induced to read them, fall short of her lord in the judgment she formed of their great merits; and, from reading them, she had acquired a veneration for the character of "the Hercules of nonconformity," as Baxter is styled by Foster, even before she had seen him. On their becoming personally acquainted, he was often a visitant at her residence, being at all times welcome; and, when resident in London, she regularly attended his ministry. Baxter, on the other hand, was much attracted by the Christian excellence of her character, and regarded her as one of the most eminently pious ladies of her day. Some of his practical works were published at her request; and it is to the Dedications of some of his works to her, and to his History of his Life and Times, written by himself, that we are chief indebted for what we know respecting her during the first half of her life. In the following passage from the work last referred to, he informs us of the origin of his friendship with her, and pronounces a high encomium upon her Christian excellence: - "When the Earl of Lauderdale, his [Lord Balcarres's] near kinsman and great friend, was prisoner in Portsmouth and Windsor Castle, he fell into acquaintance with my books; and so valued them that he read them all, and took notes of them, and earnestly commended them to the Earl of Balcarres, with the king. The Earl of Balcarres met, at the first sight, with some passages where he thought I spoke too favourably of the Papists, and differed from many other Protestants, and so cast them by, and sent the reason of his distaste to the Earl of Lauderdale, who pressed him but to read one of the books over; [*Over, i.e., through*] which he did, and so read them all (as I have seen many of them marked with his hand); and was drawn to over-value them more than the Earl of Lauderdale. Hereupon his lady, reading them also, and being a woman of very strong love and friendship, with extraordinary entireness swallowed up in her husband's love, for the books' sake, and, her husband's sake, she became a most affectionate friend to me, before she ever saw me. Her great wisdom, modesty, piety, and sincerity, made her accounted the saint at the court. When she came over with the king, her extraordinary respects obliged me to be so often with her, as gave me acquaintance with her eminency in all the aforesaid virtues. She is of solid understanding in religion for her sex, and of prudence much more than ordinary; and of

great integrity and constancy in her religion, and a great hater of hypocrisy, and faithful to Christ in an unfaithful world; and she is somewhat over-much affectionate to her friends, which hath cost her a great deal of sorrow in the loss of her husband, and, since, of other special friends, and may cost her more when the rest forsake her - as many in prosperity use to do those that will not forsake fidelity to Christ. . . . Being my constant auditor, and over-respectful friend, I had occasion for the just praises and acknowledgments which I have given her." [*Sylvester's Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 121.*]

Lady Balcarres had not been many years on the Continent, when she was visited with a severe domestic affliction, in the death of the Earl. His political opponents having, by their slanders, prejudiced the mind of Charles against him, he was, for a time, forbidden the court; "the grief whereof," says Baxter, "added to the distempers he had contracted by his warfare on the cold and hungry mountains, cast him into a consumption, of which he died." [*Sylvester's Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 121.*] But death did not find him unprepared. His life had been that of the righteous. According to a sketch of his character, in a MS. of the period, he made "conscience of all his actions, as if every day he was to render an account to Him that made him. . . He had his times of devotion three times a day, except some extraordinary business hindered him: in the morning, from the time he was dressed until eleven o'clock, he read upon the Bible and divinity books, and prayed and meditated; then at half an hour past . . . till near seven; then at ten o'clock to eleven." [*Quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii, p. 107.*]

During the whole of his last illness, the Countess watched by his bedside with the most affectionate tenderness; and painful as it was to her to look upon his sufferings, she had the consolation - the highest she could have enjoyed in the circumstances - of witnessing the heavenly peace and joy which filled his soul in the prospect of eternity. On one occasion he comforted her in these words, "You ought to rejoice, because I may say, as my blessed Saviour did, when he was to depart from his disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, for I go to my heavenly Father; I go from persecution and calumny to the company of angels, and spirits of just men made perfect." He added, "How sweet is rest to a wearied soul, and such a rest as this is that I am going to! O blessed rest! where we shall never cease, day nor night, from saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!' where we shall rest from sinning, but not from praising." At another time, Mr. Patrick Forbes [*Mr. Patrick Forbes was the son of Mr. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who was banished his majesty's dominions for life, in the reign of James VI, for defending the liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Deserting his father's principles, he conformed to Prelacy, after the Restoration, and was made bishop of Orkney.*] having asked him, "My lord, do you forgive all your enemies, that have so maliciously persecuted you?" he replied, "Ay, ay, Mr. Forbes, long ago; I bless God that is not to do." On the last day of his life, the Countess asked him, "My love, how is it with you now; have you gotten that measure of assurance you desired?" He said, "All I can answer to you is, that I bless my Redeemer for it! I am as full of joy, with the assurance I have that my Redeemer is mine, and I am his, as my heart can hold." After some little struggling with death, he said to her, "My dear, I follow a good Guide, who will never quit me, and I will never quit him." "Hold you there, my dear," she replied, "for there you are safe; he is a shield and buckler to them that trust in him; he is the munition of rocks." He often observed, that afternoon that the Lord called him, using these words, "Come, Lord Jesus, thou tarriest long!" Finding that his death was fast approaching, the Countess said to him, "Have courage, my love! your redemption draws near; your blessed Lord is making fast ready, accompanied with his angels, to attend you to that mansion he prepared for you before the world was; he will go through the valley of the shadow of death with you." Upon which he laid both his feeble hands about her neck, and, with the small strength he had, drew her in to him, and said, "I must take my last farewell of thee, my dearest!" and, after expressing the ardour of his affection for her, desired her to pray that the passage might be easy. It was remarkably so indeed; for soon after, having looked up to heaven and prayed, he gently breathed out his soul into the hands of the Saviour who redeemed it. He died at Breda, on the 30th of August 1659, at the early age of forty-one, [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., pp. 104-110.*] and his body was brought over to Scotland, and buried in the church at Balcarres. [*Lamont's Diary, p. 123. "The remains of Lord Balcarres," says this writer, "landed at Elie, 2d December 1659, and some days after were carried to Balcarres, and this 12th Jan. [1660], were interred at Balcarres, in the ordinary burial-place, with suiting solemnity."*] This nobleman, as

he well deserved, obtained a high place, in the estimation of his country, for ability, wisdom, virtue, and piety. Robert Baillie describes him, as “without doubt one of the most brave and able gentlemen of our nation, if not the most able;” [*Letters, vol. iii., p. 437.*] and Baxter, as “a lord of excellent learning, judgment, and honesty; none being praised equally with him, for learning and understanding, in all Scotland.” [*Sylvester’s Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 121.*] His zeal in the cause of the Covenant, with the exception of his concern in “the engagement,” is attested by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, who, as those who have read his Letters will readily admit, was not disposed to speak with flattering lips to the greatest. In a letter to him, dated “St. Andrews, December 24, 1649,,” he says, “Lord Balcarres, whose public deservings have been such, that I esteem him to have been most instrumental in this work of God. I hope, my lord, you will pardon me to make a little exception in the matter of the late sinful engagement.” [*Rutherford’s Letters, Whyte and Kennedy’s edition, p. 716. This letter is published in that edition for the first time.*] Cowley wrote an elegiac poem upon his death; in which he celebrates his talents, virtues, and piety, and deploras his premature removal; nor does he forget to commemorate the worth of the noble lady of the departed, The following extracts are from the concluding verses: -

“Noble and great endeavours did he bring
 To save his country and restore his king;
 And whilst the manly half of him, which those
 Who know not love, to be the whole suppose,
 Performed all parts of virtue’s life;
 The beauteous half, his lovely wife,
 Did all his labours and his cares divide;
 Nor was a lame, nor paralytic side,
 In all the turns of human state;
 In all th’unjust attacks of fate
 She bore her share and portion still,
 And would not suffer any to be ill.”

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“His wisdom, justice, and his piety,
 His courage both to suffer and to die,
 His virtues, and his lady too,
 Were things celestial.”

By this nobleman, the Countess had issue two sons and three daughters: - 1. Charles, second Earl of Balcarres, who died in 1662; 2. Colin, who, on the death of his brother Charles, became third Earl of Balcarres; 3. Lady Anne; 4. Lady Sophia; and 6. Lady Henrietta.

The death of the Earl, whom she loved so tenderly, inflicted a deep wound on the heart of Lady Balcarres, though she sorrowed not concerning him as those who had no hope, and sought consolation by unburdening her grief to her heavenly Father, trusting that, true to his promise, he would never leave nor forsake her. Having resolved on bringing home his body for interment at Balcarres, she left Breda for Scotland, accompanying or following his mortal remains, to their final resting-place. After the last sad offices of respect were performed to his mortal part, she started from Balcarres for London, on the 12th of July 1660, taking her children along with her. [*Lamont’s Diary, p. 123.*] In London, where she stayed a considerable time, she had many opportunities of meeting with her friend, Richard Baxter, a man well qualified to administer religious consolation to her, under the loss of the husband of her youth. But while resident in the English capital, a new, and an unexpected trial befell her in the conversion of her daughter, Lady Anne, to Roman Catholicism. Lady Anne appears to have been a young person of high promise; but, led away by the artful and insinuating persuasions of the Jesuits about the court (and the Queen dowager seems to have been privy to the business), she became enchanted with Popery, and openly embraced it. On receiving the news of this conversion, Lady Balcarres was so deeply grieved, as, it would appear, to suffer considerably in her health; [*“Hearing that the*

Countess of Balcarres was not well, I went to visit her, and found her grievously afflicted for her eldest daughter, the Lady Anne Lindsay, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, who was suddenly turned Papist, by she knew not whom." - *Sylvester's Reliquiae Baxterianae, part ii., p. 219.*] and, anxious for the recovery of her daughter to the truth, she requested Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, to endeavour to get a meeting with the corrupters of the young lady's faith, in order to his arguing with them in her presence against the Popish doctrines. But she was unfortunate in the choice of her man; Dr. Gunning, from his bigoted high church principles, being more fitted to confirm her daughter in Romanism than to convert her from it. "The Countess of Balcarres," says Baxter, "told me, that when she first heard of it, she desired Dr. Gunning to meet with the priest, to dispute with him, and try if her daughter might be recovered, who pretended then to be in doubt; and that Dr. Gunning first began to persuade her daughter against the Church of Scotland, which she had been bred in, as no true church, and after disputed about the Pope's infallibility, and left her daughter worse than before; and that she took it to be a strange way to deliver her daughter from Popery, to begin with a condemnation of the reformed churches as no true churches, and confess that the church and ministry of Rome was true." [*Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., pp. 219-229*] She next applied to Baxter, a more suitable man, who, to promote her object, was willing to discuss the question of the Romish faith with any champion of the Romish church, in the presence of Lady Anne. But all the efforts of Baxter to obtain such a discussion [*These efforts are stated at length in Reliquiae Baxterianae, part ii., pp. 219, 220, to which the reader is referred.*] were without success; for the perverters of the young lady's faith kept themselves behind the curtain, and they were, besides, sufficiently conscious of their inability to grapple with a man of Baxter's calibre, as well as too cunning to expose themselves to the risk of losing a convert of whom they seem to have prided themselves not a little. At last they stole her away secretly from her mother, in a coach. A servant went after her, and overtook her in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. She positively promised to the servant to come back, saying, she went only to see a friend. But she never came back. [*How speedily does Popery pervert the mind! "Her mother told me," says Baxter, "that before she turned Papist, she scarce ever heard a lie from her and since then she could believe nothing that she said." Among other instances of her disregard to truth, he mentions, that "she complained to the Queen-mother, of her mother, as if she used her hardly for religion, which was false;" and yet, such are the delusions of Popery, that, writing to her mother from Calice, in France, she says, "I felt no true love to God in my soul before; but as soon as I turned Papist I did, and have now the Spirit of God, and his image, which before I never had."*] She was conveyed to France, and there placed in a nunnery, where, to put the most charitable construction upon her conduct, she possibly might expect to escape the temptations she would encounter in the world, and live without distraction, in constant meditation upon God and Divine things - for that is the reason assigned by the Roman Catholics for the unnatural seclusion of the cloister - but where she would be deprived of the opportunities of benevolent activity, which are only to be found by mixing with the world, and where she would meet with the temptations peculiar to the recluse, and peculiar to Popish nunneries. Baxter, writing to the Countess, August 25, 1661, when enumerating the mercies of her lot, says, "You may remember your comfort in your hopeful issue, though abated by the injury of Romish theft, which stole one of the roses of your garden, that they might boast of the sweetness when they called it their own: I may well say *stole it*, when all the cheat was performed by unknown persons in the dark; and no importunity by you or me, could procure me one dispute or conference in her hearing, with any of the seducers, before her person was stolen away." [*Baxter's Works, vol. ii, p. 761, Dedication of his "Mischiefs of Self-ignorance," dated August 25, 1661. Baxter sent a letter to her the day before she was stolen away, dated December 1, 1660, which is inserted in Reliquiae Baxterianae, part ii., pp. 219-221.*] Not long after her departure, Lady Anne sent a letter to her mother, from her nunnery, dated Calice, and subscribed, "Sister Anna Maria," giving the reasons why she had changed her religion. Her mother showed the letter to Baxter, and desired him to write an answer to it; which he did, though he knew those, in whose power she now was, "were not likely to suffer her to read it;" and it was sent to her by her mother. It is dated January 29, 1661; and among other things he says, "We shall have leave to pray for you, though we cannot have leave to instruct you, and God may hear us when you will not; which I have the more hopes of, because of the piety of your parents, and the prayers and tears of a tender-hearted mother, poured out for you, and your own well-meaning pious disposition." But all the means employed to recover her to the Protestant faith were in vain. She continued to the day of her death in the nunnery to which she had been carried away, but the particular year in which she died is unknown. What made the fate of Lady Anne the more trying to her mother was, that she was her favourite daughter. "This," says Baxter, "was the darling of that excellent, wise, religious lady, the widow

of an excellent lord, which made the affliction great, and taught her to moderate her affections to all creatures.” [*Reliquiae Baxterianae, part ii., pp. 219-229.*] He adds, “This perversion had been a long time secretly working before she knew of it; all which time, the young lady would join in prayer with her mother, and jeer at Popery, till she was detected, and then she said, she might join with them no more.”

Lady Balcarres continued in London for some months after the flight of her daughter to France. At length, when about to depart for Scotland, feeling the death of her husband still pressing heavy upon her, aggravated by the fate of her eldest daughter and “being deeply sensible of the loss of the company of those friends which she left behind her,” she desired Baxter to preach the last sermon she was to hear from him, on these words of the Saviour, in John xvi.32, “Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.” This passage of Scripture had often recurred to her thoughts; and it seemed so extremely appropriate to her condition, and had proved so powerful a means of soothing her grief, that she was very desirous of listening to such reflections upon it, as might suggest themselves to a man of so enlarged an understanding, and so matured experience, as was Richard Baxter. With her request Baxter readily complied; nor was she content with hearing it preached, but requested him to give her a copy of it in writing; and judging it was fitted to be useful to such as might be placed in circumstances similar to her own, she was urgent with him to publish it. [*Reliquiae Baxterianae, part i., p. 120. He published the sermon in the close of the year 1662, in his work entitled, “The Divine Life;” which, besides that sermon, enlarged under the title, “Conversing with God in Solitude,” contains two other treatises; the first, “Of the Knowledge of God,” from the text John xvii .3, and the second, “Of Walking with God,” from the text Gen. v. 24. To this work is prefixed a Dedicatory Epistle, addressed to the Countess.*]

The exact time when Lady Balcarres left London for Scotland is uncertain. From some statements made in Baxter’s dedication to her of his treatise, to which reference has already been made - “The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, and the Benefits of Self-acquaintance, opened in diverse Sermons, at Dunstan’s-West; and published in answer to the ACCUSATIONS of some, and the DESIRES of others”- it would appear that she had left London previous to the 25th of August 1661, the date of the dedication. “If one kingdom,” says he, “do not hold us, and I should see your face no more on earth, yet, till we meet in the glorious, everlasting kingdom, we shall have frequent converse by such means as these, notwithstanding our corporal distance. And as I am assured of a room in your frequent prayers, so I hope I shall remain, madam, your faithful servant, and remembrancer at the throne of grace.” [*Baxter’s Works, vol. ii., p. 761.*] Lady Balcarres had heard the sermons which compose that volume delivered from the pulpit; and so eminently calculated, in her judgment, were they - from the importance of the subject, and from the judicious manner in which it was treated - to be of general utility, that she earnestly solicited Baxter to publish them to the world. His dedication commences thus: “Madam, though it be usual in dedications to proclaim the honour of inscribed names, and though the proclaiming of yours be a work that none are like to be offended at that know you, they esteeming you the honour of your sex and nation; yet, that you may see I intend not to displease you by any unsafe or unsavoury applause, I shall presume to lay a double dishonour upon you; the one, by prefixing your name to these lean and hasty sermons; the other, by laying part of the blame upon yourself, and telling the world that the fault is partly yours that they are published. Not only yours, I confess; for had it not been for some such auditors as Christ had - Luke xx. 20, and Mark xiii. 13 - and for the frequent reports of such as are mentioned, Ps. xxxv. 11 - I had not written down all that I delivered; and so had been incapable of so easily answering your desires. But it was you that was not content to hear them, but have invited them to recite their message more publicly; as if that were like to be valued and effectual upon common hearts, which, through your strength of charity, and holy appetite, is so with yours.” [*Ibid.*]

About this time, the Countess was visited with severe bodily affliction; on learning which, Baxter, subsequently to his writing the above dedication, added a “Postscript,” dated November 1, 1661, giving expression to his sympathy; reminding her that she had not to do with an enemy, but a Father; and subscribing himself her “brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.”

She recovered from this illness; but, in the following year, she lost her eldest son, Charles, second Earl of Balcarres, a very promising boy of about ten or twelve years of age, who died at Balcarres on the 15th of October 1662, [*The Countess had returned to Balcarres in May preceding. "In May 1662, viz., the sixth day, the said Lady returned to Balcarres, her two sons having come some months before."* - *Lamont's Diary*, p. 123.] of a singular disease; a stone being found in his heart, of great magnitude.* He was buried in the church of Balcarres on the 21st of that

*[*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, part i., p. 121. "When he was opened," says Wodrow, "there was a stone, or stony substance, found in his heart, and that about two inches long, which Sir Robert Murray presented either to Gresham College, or some other public collection of curiosities. He was an excellent youth, of great parts and piety." - *Analecta*, vol. i., p. 356. Wodrow, in the same place, says that he "died at London," which is a mistake. He also asserts that "Baxter, in one of his books, which he dedicates to his [the child's] mother, says, '*Though he died of a stone in his heart, yet he had not a heart of stone!*'" He evidently quotes from memory; the words printed in italics not being used by Baxter, though he plainly refers to the piety of the boy.]

month, "in the night season." [*Lamont's Diary*, p. 156.] The Countess sent the stone taken from his heart to Lord Lauderdale, with a view to medical inspection, accompanied with a letter. "I have sent your lordship," she says, "with my Lord St. Andrews, [*Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews.*] a poor pledge for so rich a jewel; this is all I have now for my dear child, my little saint, I may rather say, who is now, I hope, a star of the first magnitude. O, my sweet child! how distressed, how sorrowful has he left me, with an afflicted family. . . . Were it not too tedious, I think I could have written, though not so learnedly, yet more fully, and that which your lordship and physicians (that, I think, will be astonished with the bigness of the stone, how his little heart could contain it) would have made use of. My lord, pray let me know what physicians say of it, and if there could have been help for it; and whether they think he has had it from his conception, or but lately grown." [*Letters of Lady Margaret Burnet to the Duke of Lauderdale*, p. 92.]

Shortly after the death of this child, Baxter, on hearing of the Countess's bereavement, addressed to her a consolatory letter, dated December 24, 1662. This forms the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to his treatise entitled "The Divine Life," to which reference has already been made. It is chiefly employed in suggesting such consolatory considerations as might tend to mitigate her grief under this affliction; and a portion of it may be quoted, both because it illustrates the train of reflection suggested to her mind on this occasion, and because it is well adapted to be useful to Christian parents, when tried, in the course of Divine providence, with the death of their children. "Madam," says he, "in hope of the fuller pardon of my delay, I now present you with two other treatises, besides the sermon (enlarged) which, at your desire, I preached at your departure hence. I knew of many and great afflictions which you had undergone, in the removal of your dearest friends, which made this subject seem so suitable and seasonable to you at that time; but I knew not that God was about to make so great an addition to your trials in the same kind, by taking to himself the principal branch of your noble family (by a rare disease, the emblem of the mortal malady now reigning). I hope this loss also shall promote your gain, by keeping you nearer to your heavenly Lord, who is so jealous of your affections, and resolved to have them entirely to himself. And then you will still find that you *are not* alone, nor deprived of your dearest or most necessary friend, while the Father, the Son, the sanctifying and comforting Spirit, is with you. And it should not be hard to reconcile us to the disposals of so sure a friend. Nothing but good can come from God; however the blind may miscall it, who know no good or evil but what is measured by the private standard of their selfish interests, and that as judged of by sense. Eternal love, engaged by covenant to make us happy, will do nothing but what we shall find at last will terminate in that blessed end. He envied you not your son, as too good for you, or too great a mercy, who hath given you his own Son, and with him the mercy of eternal life. Corporal sufferings, with spiritual blessings, are the ordinary lot of believers here on earth; as corporal prosperity, with spiritual calamity, is the lot of the ungodly. And, I beseech you, consider that God knoweth better than you or I, what an ocean your son was ready to launch out into, and how tempestuous and terrible it might have proved; and whether the world, that he is saved from, would have afforded him more of safety or seduction, of comfort or calamity - whether the protraction of the life of your noble husband, to have seen our sins, and their effects and consequents, would have afforded him greater joy or sorrow. Undoubtedly, as God had a better title to your husband, and children, and friends, than you had, so it is much better to be with him

than to be with you, or with the best or greatest upon earth. The heavenly inhabitants fear not our fears, and feel not our afflictions. They are past our dangers, and out of the reach of all our enemies, and delivered from our pains and cares, and have the full possession of all those mercies which we pray and labour for. Can you think your children and friends, that are with Christ, are not safer and better than those that yet remain with you? Do you think that earth is better than heaven for yourself? I take it for granted you cannot think so, and will not say so. And if it be worse for you, it is worse for them. The providence which, by hastening their glorification, doth promote your sanctification, which helpeth them to the end, and helpeth you in the way, must needs be good to them and you, however it appear to flesh and unbelief. O, madam, when our Lord hath showed us (as he will shortly do) what a state it is to which he bringeth the spirits of the just, and how he doth there entertain and use them, we shall then be more competent judges of all those acts of providence to which we are now so hardly reconciled! Then we shall censure our censurings of these works of God, and be offended with our offences at them; and call ourselves blind, unthankful sinners, for calling them so bad as we did in our misjudging unbelief and passion. We shall not wish ourselves or friends again on earth among temptations and pains, and among uncharitable men, malicious enemies, deceitful flatterers, and untrusty friends! When we see that face which we long to see, and know the things which we long to feel, and are full of the joys which now we can scarce attain a taste of, and have reached the end which now we seek, and for which we suffer, we shall no more take it for a judgment to be taken from ungodly men, and from a world of sin, and fear, and sorrow; nor shall we envy the wicked, nor ever desire to be partakers of their pleasures. Till then, let us congratulate our departed friends on the felicity which they have attained, and which we desire; and let us rejoice with them that rejoice with Christ; and let us prefer the least believing thought of the everlasting joys, before all the defiled, transitory pleasures of the deluded, dreaming miserable world. And let us prefer such converse as we can here attain with God in Christ, and with the heavenly society, before all the pomp and friendship of the world.”

The Countess continued to reside for several years at Balcarres, watching with maternal care over the education of her only remaining son, Colin, who succeeded his brother as third Earl of Balcarres, and of her two daughters, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta. After remaining in a state of widowhood for upwards of ten years, she was secondly married, on the 28th of January 1670, to Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, [*Argyll was a widower. His first wife was Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Moray. She died in May 1668.*] who suffered martyrdom in 1685, and whom she survived for above twenty years. This marriage had the effect of lessening, in some measure, Argyll’s political power, by alienating from him the Duke of Lauderdale, whose lady’s niece was his first wife. Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and Argyll had formerly been united in politics; but, previous to this marriage, a difference had arisen between Tweeddale and Argyll. Lauderdale, however, continued to retain, his former kindness for Argyll, till rumours were afloat that Argyll intended to marry the Countess of Balcarres, when Tweeddale succeeded in engaging Lauderdale in his quarrel, by persuading him that the young Earl of Balcarres, their cousin and pupil, would be ruined by the match. Tweeddale prevailed upon Lauderdale to desire Argyll to leave off the contemplated marriage; but Argyll, scorning to do so to please Tweeddale, the refusal inflamed Lauderdale, whose friendship for Argyll, after that, soon declined. [*Sir George Mackenzie’s Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, pp. 179-181.*]

For nearly eleven years after the second marriage of the subject of our notice, whom we must now call the Countess of Argyll, her domestic happiness was undisturbed by any great domestic trial; and she resided sometimes at Inverary, sometimes at Edinburgh, and sometimes at Stirling, where the Earl had a house. When at Inverary, the principal place of her residence, she sat under the ministry of Mr. Patrick Campbell, who, for nonconformity, had been ejected, after the Restoration, from that parish, of the Highland congregation of which he was minister, but who resumed his labours there in 1669, under the first indulgence, which was granted that year. [*Wodrow’s History, vol. i., p. 328; and vol. ii., p. 133.*] When at Edinburgh and at Stirling, and when occasionally sojourning in other places, she attended the sermons of the ejected ministers, both in private houses and more publicly. [*Diary of her daughter, Lady Henrietta, Wodrow MSS. in Advocates’ Library, vol. xxxi., 8vo, no. 8.*]

Her two daughters, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, in whom she found more comfort than in her daughter Lady Anne, “though widely different in character, the one being as gentle and retiring as the other was energetic and enterprising, were united in one faith, one love to their Saviour, their mother, and each other.” Like-minded with their mother in regard to the persecuted Presbyterian church, they preferred the sermons of the proscribed ministers to those of the hireling curates. Of the gentle and retiring Lady Henrietta, it is unnecessary here particularly to speak, as she will form the subject of the subsequent sketch. “Solitude and retirement, in which she could commune with her own heart and be still, had ever a peculiar charm for her. Lady Sophia, on the contrary, was a woman remarkable for the brightest faculties, cheerful, and witty, and endowed with that presence of mind, in the hour of need, which is justly denominated heroism.” [*Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 144.*] By her sprightliness and humour, she diffused an agreeable hilarity over the society in which she mingled; and her jesting powers she sometimes exercised at the expense of the unprincipled persecutors of her day, for whom she entertained a just contempt. The following anecdote - relating to a visit she paid to Adam Blackadder (son of the famous John Blackadder), then only an apprentice boy to a merchant in Stirling, when, about the close of the year 1674, he was imprisoned in the tolbooth of that town for refusing to sign the bond in reference to conventicles, called “the black bond,” and for being at conventicles - well illustrates both her principles and character, though an instance only of sportive pleasantry, in which she indulged in the free and unrestrained exuberance of her youthful spirits - for she was, probably, at that time, not more than eighteen years of age. “While I was in prison,” says Adam, “the Earl of Argyll’s two daughters-in-law, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, and Lady Jean, his own daughter, - did me the honour, and came to see me, where, I remember, Lady Sophia stood up upon a bench, and arraigned before her the Provost of Stirling; then sentenced and condemned him to be hanged, for keeping me in prison: which highly enraged the poor fool Provost, though it was but a harmless frolic. [*The Provost, according to Adam's account, was “a violent persecutor and ignorant wretch.” When, on being apprehended early in the morning by two messengers, Adam was brought to the Provost, the first words the Provost (putting on his breeches) spoke to him were, “Is not this bra’wark, sirr, that wi maun be troubled with the like of you?” Adam answered, “You have got a bra’prize, my lord, that has clacht a poor prentice.” - Blackadder's Memoirs, pp. 301, 302.*] It seems he complained to the council of it, and the good Earl was like to be brought to much trouble about it.”

When resident in Fife, Lady Sophia went to hear the sermons of Mr. John Blackadder and others, who preached very frequently there, both in the fields and in private houses. In Blackadder’s Memoirs, we are informed that, on Sabbath, the 11th of January 1674, when only about seventeen years of age, she came to hear that venerable minister preach at the house of Alexander Hamilton, laird of Kinkell, a man of eminent piety, liberality, and courage, whose house was a shelter to many of the persecuted ministers in their wanderings, and in which, though it was within a mile of St. Andrews, the seat of Archbishop Sharp, they often preached to great numbers, none being excluded who came to hear. She was, however, prevented from hearing sermon on that day, by one of those interruptions which conventicles at that time so frequently met with. The militia of St. Andrews, hurried out by the wife of Archbishop Sharp, a woman of a similar spirit with himself, came to Kinkell, with muskets, lighted matches, and pikes, under the command of one lieutenant Doig, with above a hundred of the rabble, and many of the disaffected students, gentlemen, and some noblemen’s sons, and drew up before Kinkell House gate, at some distance. They did not, however, interrupt Blackadder, who was delivering a lecture from Psalm ii. to a numerous auditory; the long gallery and two chambers being full, and also a multitude in the close. But some of the ill-disposed, having, after the singing of the Psalm at the close of the lecture, got into Mr. Hamilton’s stable, and having taken away his horse, and the horses of some others, Mr. Hamilton, who had been standing without the gate, and looking on, observing this, struck with a cane at the fellow who had taken his horse; upon which, some of the disaffected students from behind his back took hold of the cane, pulling it out of his hand, which occasioned his falling to the ground. This was followed by an altercation between the friends of Mr. Hamilton and the militia; but no serious harm was sustained by any of the parties. At this time, many who were proceeding to the meeting turned back, on hearing the alarm, among whom were Lady Sophia Lindsay and some company with her, who were coming down the brae above the house of Kinkell. An old man, flying from the meeting, called out to

them to stay; and, on their inquiring what was the matter, he cried, in great terror, "A massacre, a great massacre, yonder, for I saw some of the best (meaning Mr. Hamilton) fall ere I came away, and they were stripping the women." This so affected them, that they went back to a landwart man's house. Meanwhile, the lieutenant, with the militia and the rabble, marched back to St. Andrews; after which the people again convened; and the gates being shut, and a watch set on the battlement to observe the motions of the militia, they heard, without interruption, Blackadder preach a very moving sermon on these pathetic words in Jeremiah, xxxi. 18, "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus: Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God." But Lady Sophia, and those with her, were not present at the sermon. Not knowing that the militia had left Kinkell, they sent a boy to ascertain the state of matters. The boy, on coming to Kinkell House, was admitted within the gate, and allowed to hear with others in the close, but not suffered to go away till the sermon was ended. This made Lady Sophia and her company conclude that, all was not well, and they remained where they were, expecting to hear distressing news. After sermon, the boy returned; and, on being asked what detained him, he said he had been hearing a preaching, where all the folk were weeping; which yet alarmed them more, till he told them that no injury had been done to any one. Upon this, "Lady Sophia, with several in her company, came and stayed in Kinkell House that night with the laird and the minister, with whom she then made good jest of the pitiful alarm she had got." [*Blackadder's Memoirs, MS, copy; see also printed edition, pp. 160-163.*]

That the Countess of Argyll exerted a beneficial influence in promoting, in the Earl, both a sense of piety and the love of liberty, is undoubted. During the first eleven years of their union, already referred to, as well as during several previous years, he was connected, it is true, with the persecuting government of Charles II, and complied with it, to an extent which was unworthy of the son of the protomartyr of the Solemn League and Covenant, and of so eminent a saint as was his mother. But, while this is admitted - and it occasioned him afterwards deep remorse, drawing from him free acknowledgments and deep contrition on the scaffold - it is, at the same time, and justice to state, that he rather passively yielded to the persecuting measures pursued by the majority of the government than gave them his cordial approbation, or actively carried them into effect. He sometimes shielded the Presbyterian ministers from persecution. Owing to his protection, Argyllshire suffered less for nonconformity than many other counties of Scotland. [*Letter of Mr. James Boece, minister of Campbeltown, after the Revolution, to Wodrow, among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi., 4to, no. 190, MSS. in Advocates' Library.*] Towards the close of his career, the principles of religion and of civil freedom, which had been instilled into him in early life, asserted their claims, elevating his patriotism above personal considerations. And these redeeming traits of his character were owing, in no small degree, to the influence exerted on his mind, by the benevolent sympathy and favour for the persecuted Presbyterians which distinguished his lady, [*See Appendix, no. xi.*] and her pious public-spirited daughters, by her first husband, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, for both of whom he entertained a high esteem, as well as a strong and tender affection.

During the persecution, many excellent women, as we have already seen in the Introduction, even when they did not suffer by any proceedings of the government instituted directly against themselves, yet suffered greatly through the unjust and, illegal proceedings of the government against their husbands. About the close of the year 1681, the Countess began to experience this kind of trial. After the Parliament had enacted that all officers in church and state should take the test - an oath which, as Wodrow well observes, "is a medley of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and self-contradiction," [*The Parliament passed their act concerning the test on the 31st of August 1681. In taking it, the swearer, among other things, owned the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch in its fullest extent; condemned, as unlawful, all resistance to the king, under any pretext, or in any circumstances whatsoever; and renounced the obligation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant; while, at the same time, with flagrant inconsistency, he professed his adherence to the Scotch Confession of Faith of 1567, which asserts that Christ is the only Head of the church.*-*Wodrow's History, vol. iii. pp. 295, 297.*] - Argyll, on being called to take it, November 3, 1681, as a privy councillor and one of the commissioners of the treasury, though he had in his place in Parliament opposed its imposition, swore it with this explanation, which he subscribed, "I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion; and I declare, that I mean not to bind up myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, not

to wish or endeavour any alteration which I think to the advantage of church or state, not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of my oath.” For taking it with this explanation, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 9th of November, prosecuted before the justiciary court, and, by the unanimous verdict of a jury of his peers, was found guilty of high treason, leasing-making, [*Leasing-making was a crime - the creature of an act of Parliament - which consisted in misrepresenting the actions of the king to any of his subjects; or, vice versa, those of the subjects to the king. It inferred capital punishment.*] and leasing-telling, but was acquitted of perjury by a plurality of votes. [*Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., pp. 160, 161, 166. Drummond's Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, pp. 206, 207.*] The privy council, upon this verdict being given in, sent a letter to the king, informing him of what had been done, and desiring permission to give orders to the justiciary court to pronounce sentence upon Argyll, in conformity with the verdict; it being the design of the Duke of York, the prime agent in all this, to bring him to the scaffold, that the Protestant party might be deprived of a head, and to annex his jurisdiction to the crown, and to parcel out his lands. [*Fountainhall's Decisions vol. i., p. 166. Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 337.*] The Countess was now greatly alarmed for his safety, as indeed there was too much cause of alarm; and she would, in all probability, have at this time been subjected to the trial which befell her in 1685, when he was beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh, had not her daughter by her first husband, Lady Sophia, been the means of enabling him to escape from the Castle.

Influenced by sympathy with her mother, as well as by affection to the Earl, and probably also impelled by the tender passion of love - for she was supposed to be, at this time, affianced to the third son of the Earl, [*This was the Honourable Charles Campbell. The date of the marriage is uncertain; and none of their descendants in the male line exist.- Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 105.*] by his first wife, to whom she was afterwards married - Lady Sophia undertook to effect his escape; and effected it, with singular dexterity and success, about eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 20th of December 1681.* Whether the plan was of her own contrivance, does not appear; but the manner in which she put it into execution, as related to Lady Anne Lindsay by her father, Earl James, Lady Sophia's nephew, is as follows: - “Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half-hour, she contrived to bring, as her page, a tall, awkward, country clown, with a fair wig, procured for the occasion; who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering, she made them immediately change clothes. They did so; and, on the expiration of the half-hour, she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity, and with a slow pace,” [*Memoirs of Lady Anne Barnard, quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 147.*] led by the gentleman who had accompanied her to the Castle, Argyll following as her page, holding up her train. In passing the guards, Argyll was in no small danger of being discovered, the suspicions of some of them being awakened; but, with singular tact, she succeeded, by an ingenious device, suggested on the spur of the moment, in allaying their suspicions. “The sentinel at the drawbridge,” continues the same writer, “a sly Highlander, eyed her father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her; she twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hand, and dropping it in the mud, ‘Varlet,’ cried she, in a fury, dashing it across his face, ‘take that - and that too,’ adding a box on the ear, ‘for knowing no better how to carry your lady’s

* On the 19th, the day preceding, believing that his life was in danger, the Earl began to entertain thoughts of attempting his escape; and, on the morning of the 20th, he had some intention, though no fixed resolution, of attempting it that evening, but had not then disclosed his intention to any individual. Learning, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that the Duke of York had absolutely refused to suffer him to see him till his Majesty's return; and learning further, about noon, that some troops and a regiment of foot were come to town, and that the next day he was to be brought down from the Castle to the common jail, from which criminals were ordinarily carried to execution, he determined to attempt his escape that very night; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he gave directions in reference to it, not intending to make the attempt till near ten o'clock. About seven o'clock in the evening, a friend, who came up from the city, dissuaded him from his purpose, alleging the impossibility of its succeeding, new orders having been privately given for more effectually securing him, the Castle guards being doubled, and none suffered to go out without showing their faces, which several ladies had already been required to do. But this information, by increasing his apprehension of his danger, only strengthened his determination; and, in less than an hour after, he was enabled, by the aid of his favourite step-daughter, to carry it into effect. These particulars are taken from a scarce folio, entitled, *The Case of the Earl of Argyll*, privately printed and circulated by his friends after his escape, p. 122.

garment.' Her ill treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel, that he let them pass the drawbridge unquestioned." [See also *Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. i., p. 167; *Wodrow's History*, vol. iii., p. 337; *Law's Memorials*, p. 210. In "The Case of the Earl of Argyll," it is said (p.122), that "within half an hour after [that is, after a friend had visited him at seven o'clock in the evening], by God's blessing, he got safe out, questioned pretty warmly by the first sentry, but not at all by the main-guard, and then, after the great gate was opened, and the lower guard drawn out double, to make a lane for his company [that is, Lady Sophia, in whose train he followed], one of the guards, who opened the gate, took him by the arm, and viewed him. But, it pleased God, he was not discerned."] Having passed all the guards, she entered her coach, which was waiting for her at the outer gate; while Argyll, agreeably to his assumed character, stepped on the hinder part of the coach; and, on its coming opposite the Weigh House, he slipped off, and shifted for himself.



Escape of Argyll from Edinburgh Castle.

The ability and, success with which Lady Sophia effected the escape of Argyll, lifted off a load from the mind of her mother; who had now the comfort of reflecting, that though he was still exposed to the risk of apprehension before he reached Holland, that sanctuary of safety, he was, in the meantime, out of the hands of his enemies; and while her daughter became, from this heroic action, more endeared to her than ever, she did not forget that her first and highest acknowledgments were due to God, who, in his merciful providence, had crowned this enterprise with success. [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*] Very different were the feelings of the government; who, on being informed of Argyll's escape, and of the manner in which it was brought about, were so enraged, that it was even proposed, in the privy council, publicly to whip the young lady through the streets of Edinburgh. "So gallant," says Aikman, "were the Scottish cavaliers!" [*Aikman's History*, vol iv., p. 591.] No punishment was, however, inflicted upon her at present; [*Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. i., p. 167.] though she was afterwards imprisoned several weeks for the noble deed.

After his escape from the Castle, Argyll, according to a previous arrangement, met with Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlee, who conducted him in safety to Northumberland, to the house of Mr. William Veitch; who, again, conducted him safely to London, where, and in the neighbourhood, he was concealed, and hospitably entertained, by Mrs. Smith, the wife of a wealthy confectioner, and a woman of eminent piety, wisdom, liberality, and patriotism, till he found the means of getting safely over to Holland. It was when at this time sheltered in London, that he wrote a poetical address to Lady Sophia, his fair deliverer. It is dated London, April 18, 1682; and though it has no peculiar merit as a poetical composition, a part of it may be given, as interesting from the circumstances in which it was written. It commences thus: -

“Daughter, as dear as dearest child can be,
Lady Sophia, ever dear to me;
Our guardian angels, doubtless, did conspire
To make you gain, and me to give this hire,
Not to requite, what I can never do,
But somewhat suitable from me to you.

“I am not rich, guineas tempt not your eyes,
Yet here are angels you will not despise.
You came an angel in the case to me,
Expressly sent to guide and set me free.
The great gate opened of its own accord, [*On margin, Acts xii. 10.*]
That word came in my mind, I praise the Lord.
He that restrained of old the Shechemites, [*Gen. xxxv. 5.*]
I hope will now the cruel Benjamites;
Priests that do want the pity of laymen,
Judges and counsellors that cry, Amen.
When I was out, I knew not where I went,
I cried to God, and he new angels sent.
If ye desire what passed since to me,
Read through the book of Psalms, and think on me.”

What follows are some of the concluding lines: -

There’s nothing meant but pride of tyranny,
A dainty way to uniformity.
The triple crown, and this new glorious head,
May make brave work when you and I are dead.
All is but cheat till holiness get place,
Till gospel laws be rules, and God give grace.
God’s secret laws are not still [*Still, i.e., yet.*] understood,
The wrath of man may work the church’s good;
What we may see is far from me to say,

But God doeth what he will in his own way.

Peace is not promised here, yet we may see
Religion flourish to a great degree,
And Zion freed from human tyranny.
This may be here, but certainly above
There shall be always peace, and always love.

O happy place! where we shall always see
The blessed sight, perfect felicity.
A place beyond our Essachosan* far,
Where there is always peace, and never war.
Let you and I meet at the throne of grace
By prayer now, till we see face to face;
Since as your page I could no longer stay,
Pray God reward you, and himself you guide,
And all good people wish, to you provide.

The noble friends I found here, greet you well,
How much they honour you, it's hard to tell;
Or how weel I am used, to say it all,
Might make you think that I were in Whitehall,
I eat, I drink, I lie, I lodge, sae weel,
It were a folly to attempt to tell;
So kindly cared for, furnished, attended,
Were ye to chalk it down, you could not mend it."

[Wodrow MSS., vol. ix., 8vo, no. 23.]

* At Inverary "there are several avenues of great beauty, one of the principal of which is a long avenue which leads from the castle to Essachosan. . . . There are also many trees worthy of notice, on account of their great size and beauty. There is a lime near Essachosan, called the marriage tree, on account of the union of the branches, which is often visited by strangers. From a bole of considerable size, it throws out two principal branches, a little above the ground, which are firmly knit together at about twenty feet above the point of separation, by a bar or branch, formed of a process issuing from one, or probably from both." This extract, from the Statistical Account of Inverary, Argyllshire, in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, will enable the reader to form an idea of the Earl's allusion in the text.

Though the escape of the Earl greatly relieved the mind of the Countess, the unjust and illegal proceedings of the government against him in his absence, proved to her a new cause of distress. The privy council, having communicated the intelligence of his escape to the king, and, at the same time, desired to be informed what measures they should take in consequence; the king, in reply, allows sentence of forfeiture of life and fortune to be pronounced upon him, as a traitor, but not to be executed till his pleasure should be further made known. On the receipt of the king's letter, which was on the 22d of December, the second day after Argyll's escape, the council gave orders to the judiciary court to pronounce upon him, in his absence, the above sentence, Learning the determination of the council, the Countess presented a petition to the lords of judiciary, humbly supplicating that no sentence might be passed upon him in his absence, and supporting the prayer by many strong reasons, founded both on justice and on the law of Scotland; but the judiciary lords, being now mere tools in the hands of the privy council, disregarded her petition, not even deigning to answer it, and pronounced sentence upon him in terms of the act of the privy council. [Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 340.]

During the time that the Earl was in Holland, the Countess, it would appear, remained, in Scotland, residing chiefly at Stirling. She, however, continued to correspond with him by letter; and Major Holmes, whom Bishop Sprat describes as Argyll's "long dependant and friend, a man active in the times of Cromwell, and always disaffected to his majesty's government," was employed by Argyll in conveying his letters to her, as well as to others of his correspondents, and in conveying her letters to him. [Bishop Sprat's "True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy," &c., p. 82.]

At length, about the close of the year 1683, she was put to trouble, in consequence of some of the Earl's letters, and of a letter which she had written to him, falling into the hands of the government. The Rye House

plot had been discovered in June that year; and the government having received intelligence that Argyll, who was still in Holland, had corresponded with the conspirators, Major Holmes, to whom all Argyll's letters were addressed, was taken into custody; and his house being searched, there were found in it several of Argyll's letters, written in ciphers, and a letter of the Countess to Argyll, also written in ciphers, together with the key of the correspondence. [*Ibid.*; compared with *Acts of Privy Council afterwards quoted.*] All these documents were immediately sent down to Edinburgh, to the privy council; who, upon receiving them, summoned the Countess to appear at their bar. This subject, having come under their consideration at their meeting of the 18th of December 1683, the council "remitted to the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, and Duke of Hamilton, to speak with the Lady Argyll anent the deciphering of her letter to the late Earl of Argyll, her husband, and to report to the council. These members, having gone aside and spoken with her, reported that she was unwilling to satisfy them in that matter upon oath. The council then remitted to the Earl of Perth, the Lords Register and Advocate, to tell her of her danger if she refused to do so; and these lords having also spoken with her, and reported that she was willing to depone, the council remitted to the Earl of Perth to examine her upon oath, and communicate the result of her examination to the Lords Chancellor and Treasurer in the afternoon." [*Register of Acts of Privy Council.*]

She was summoned again to appear before the council, at their meeting on the forenoon of the 20th of December; and having made her appearance, she was solemnly sworn concerning the letter above mentioned, and then made her depositions thereupon. The Earls of Perth and Tweeddale, the President of the court of session, and the Lord Advocate, were appointed to examine her more particularly. Her depositions have not been registered in the records of the proceedings of the privy council, but the substance of them has been preserved by Fountainhall, an industrious chronicler of the events of those times. She acknowledged that she had corresponded with Argyll, which, in strict law, was criminal for her to do, though his wife, he being a condemned traitor. She also owned, that the letter above referred to was written by herself to him, but that she could not now decipher it, having, about four months ago, burnt the key, judging, upon the discovery of the English plot, such a mode of corresponding dangerous, and liable to suspicion. She further deponed, that ever since his affair with the M'Leans, about the Isle of Mull (the M'Leans having laid wait for his letters, to know his design), it was the Earl's practice to write to her and his friends, even of his private affairs, in ciphers, but that, as has been said before, she had burnt the key, and could not now read or explain the ciphers; but that all the letters she received from him contained nothing concerning the plot, and related only to his own private affairs, and to his friends; "and it would be a very cruel law indeed," she added, "were a wife compelled to detect, and reveal such matters." Unsatisfied with her answers, which, contrary to their wishes, discovered nothing to criminate the Earl, the committee pronounced them disingenuous; and accordingly, they sent in all haste for Mr. George Campbell in the Canongate, and one Gray, of Crechie, in Angus, who were skilled in the art of reading letters written in ciphers. Such were the proceedings of the committee of council. The council itself, at the same diet (December the 20th), "continued the advising the oath until their next meeting, and the Earl of Balcarres was desired, that the lady [his mother] might be in readiness at any time, when she should be thereafter called for." [*Register of Acts of Privy Council, compared with Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 251.*]

The Countess was again brought before the committee of the privy council, on the 1st of January 1684. By this time, Mr. Gray, of Crechie, and Mr. George Campbell, had succeeded in deciphering her letter to the Earl, *

* We have not met with the Countess's letter; but the following is the alphabetical key which opened it: -

	a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u w x y z &
Alphabet 1st...	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34
“ 2nd...	40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64
“ 3rd...	70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94

Carstairs' State Papers, p. 106.
As a specimen of this mode of correspondence between her and the Earl, see a short letter which he wrote her in the middle alphabet, in Appendix, no. xii.

with the exception of some capital letters with figures placed above them on the right hand; as, D₄₃, which stood for the relatives *he, his, him*, the import of which they did not discover, until explained by the Countess herself. It does not appear, that at this meeting they read her own letter to her, or made her fully aware of the extent to which they had succeeded in deciphering it; but, ignorant that D₄₃ was put for the relative pronoun, and ignorant of the use made of another hieroglyphic H₇₅, they supposed, and hinted to her, that, by these signs which occurred, in her letter, her son, the Earl of Balcarres, was intended. Finding that her son was thus in danger of being implicated, she said that she now remembered that D₄₃, was only a relative particle in the key between her husband and her, and so meant Lord Maitland, [*Richard, Lord Maitland, eldest son of Charles, third Earl of Lauderdale (formerly Lord Hatton, brother to the famous Duke of Lauderdale), was married to Lady Anne Campbell, second daughter of the Earl of Argyll.*] who was immediately mentioned before. As this involved that nobleman in the charge of corresponding with, and receiving letters from Argyll, a traitor, the committee immediately sent for the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Maitland's father, and sent with him Captain Graham, and Sir William Paterson, their clerk, to seal up all the papers, trunks, and cabinets of Lord Maitland, who was then in London, till they should be examined. [*Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 256; compared with Register of Acts of Privy Council.*]

At the meeting of the privy council on the following day (January 2), the committee give in a verbal report of what they had done. They state, "upon information given to them, that a gentleman in Mearns, named ___ Gray, of Crechie, by rules of art, [is] able to unfold ciphering; by their order, the letter in ciphers found in Major Holmes' house at London, and the key, sent down with some other papers - which letter is by the Countess of Argyll acknowledged to be a letter from her to her husband - were delivered to him, who, having considered thereof [deciphered the letter], except some letters placed, as it seems, for monosyllables, or names of persons, whereby the import of the whole letter is fully discovered." They further state, that in consequence of the explanation which the Countess had given of certain letters with figures placed above them, being put for monosyllables, or relative particles, whereby Lord Maitland seemed implicated in the crime of corresponding with Argyll, a condemned traitor, "they have yesternight given order to Sir William Paterson, clerk to the council, and Captain Patrick Graham, to go to the Earl of Lauderdale's house, and to secure all the papers belonging to the Lord Maitland, and to examine all the servants upon oath, as to the Lord Maitland's cabinets, boxes, and coffers where any of his writes were, that none of them were abstracted; and to seal and secure the same, and the doors and windows, that none might enter the room where they were." They further inform the council, "that Sir William Paterson and Captain Graham had, conform to the said order, gone to the Earl of Lauderdale's house, and called for the keys of the rooms where any of the Lord Maitland's papers were, or suspected to be, and examined the haill servants of the house, as to their knowledge of any other papers belonging to him, or if the same were abstracted; and that thereafter they had sealed the boxes and coffers wherein they were informed to be, and the doors and windows of the chamber where they left them, and produced the keys thereof before the committee: as also, that, by their order, they had gone to the Countess of Argyll, and given her an account of the deciphering of the said letter, and what they had observed therein, that she might not be surprised, but might recollect herself for clearing her oath." In fine, they state that they had "found it necessary to write a letter to the secretaries, with the said deciphered letter, for his majesty's information." "And the said deciphered letter, with the committee's order to Sir William Paterson and Captain Graham, and the account of the obedience given by them thereto, being read, and considered by the lords of council, they approved thereof, as necessary and good service done to his majesty." [*Register of Acts of Privy Council.*]

Such was the stir created by a letter which the Countess wrote to her husband. No criminating disclosures of any moment, it would appear, were made against Lord Maitland, if we may judge from the silence preserved on the subject in the records of the subsequent proceedings of the privy council. The Countess, also, it would seem, was not further annoyed in this matter, it being manifest, that whatever might be discovered of Argyll's intrigues with those concerned in the Rye House plot, it was to be discovered from his correspondence with others, and not with her; and, accordingly, the government specially addressed itself, and ultimately with success, to the task of unravelling the letters of Argyll to other parties, found in the possession of Major

Holmes.

In the summer of 1685, being informed of the sickness of her daughter, Lady Henrietta (then the wife of Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck), who was residing at the Castle of Carnassary, in the parish of Kilmartin, Argyllshire, the Countess went to visit her, and, upon her recovery, brought her along with her other daughter, Lady Sophia, who had been residing some weeks with her sister at the Castle of Carnassary, to Stirling, to live with her there for some time. [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*] Lady Henrietta had a strong affection for her mother, and bears a high testimony to her Christian worth. "Her tender care and, affection," says she, "have been greatly evidenced to all hers, and particularly to myself, which I desire to have a deeper sense of than can be expressed, as my bounden duty; and I cannot but reckon it among the greatest earthly blessings to have been so trusted, having early lost my dear father, eminent in his day, when insensible of the stroke, and whose memory has much of a lasting savouriness among those of worth that knew him; and when so young, not two years old, and deprived of his fatherly instruction, it may justly be ground of acknowledgment that the blessed Father of the fatherless, on whose care I was left, did preserve so tender-hearted a mother, whose worth and exemplariness, in many respects, may be witness against us, if undutiful or unthankful to the great Giver of our mercies." [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*] Hitherto, the Countess had suffered by the forfeiture of the estates of the Earl, and by his long banishment. Now, she was to suffer by being personally imprisoned, and still more severely by the tragical fate of her husband. The Earl, who, for some years, had been living on the Continent, and who had, on the death of Charles II, resolved upon his unfortunate expedition of rescuing his country from Popery and slavery, set sail for Scotland on the 1st of May 1685, with three ships, and a considerable number of arms, but with few men, not exceeding three hundred in all. In three days he reached Orkney, and touched there - a great error; for thus his motions were made known to the Bishop of Orkney, who immediately communicated the intelligence to the privy council. Two of Argyll's friends, Mr. William Spence, his secretary, and Dr. William Blackadder, son of Mr. John Blackadder, having gone ashore at Kirkwall, were also seized by order of the bishop, who refused to surrender them; upon which Argyll seized and carried off five or six of the Orkney people as prisoners. From Orkney he steered his course, by the inside of the Western Isles, for Islay; thence he sailed to Mull: thence to Kintyre; and, on arriving at Tarbet, published his Declaration to his clan; but, being joined by fewer in the Highlands than he had anticipated, and meeting with various disasters, he at last found it necessary, in order to secure his personal safety, to disguise himself under the dress of a countryman. Riding in disguise on horseback, he was attacked, on the 17th of June, by two of the militia, who were also on horseback, at the water of Inchinan. They laid hold on him, one on each side, all the three being on horseback; and the Earl grappling with them both, one of them fell with him to the ground. His lordship got up, and kept both at bay by presenting his pocket pistols; and he would have made his escape, had not some come to the aid of the two militia. A weaver there being awakened by the noise, came out with a rusty broad-sword, and struck Argyll on the head; which so stunned him that he fell into the water, and in the fall cried out, "Ah! unfortunate Argyll." On knowing who he was, they seemed not a little grieved; and would have let him go, had not the terror of being punished by the government prevented them. He was brought in prisoner to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, on the 20th of June 1685, under a strong guard. He lingered so long by the way, that it was near ten o'clock at night before he arrived at the Watergate. On his arrival there, he was met by Captain Graham's guards, who were appointed to conduct him to the Castle; and his hands being tied behind his back by the hangman, he walked on foot, bareheaded, to the Castle, the hangman going before him. But, from the lateness of the evening, few were spectators of his ignominious treatment.

Though the Countess of Argyll had no share whatever in this insurrection, yet the privy council, on receiving intelligence that the Earl had touched at Orkney, immediately issued orders that she should be apprehended, and imprisoned in the Castle of Stirling - that town being, at that time, the place of her residence. After being confined there a short time, she was conducted, on a Sabbath morning, May the 10th, to Edinburgh, and on Monday secured a prisoner in the Castle, where she was confined for five or six weeks. [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell; Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 362; and his Historical Observes, p. 189.*] This step was altogether

unexpected on her part; nor is it easy to see what important object the government could gain by making her a prisoner. She was in no danger of taking up arms and joining the standard of the Earl, like his son James, and his brother Lord Neil; who, with many of the most substantial of the name of Campbell, that they might be prevented from joining him, were seized, and made close prisoners. But arbitrary and despotic governments have often wreaked their vengeance on the innocent and helpless relatives of such as have risen up against their tyranny and oppression; and, in the present instance, they had, at least, the plea that the Countess, by corresponding with the Earl after he had been denounced a traitor, had rendered herself obnoxious to punishment. They, besides, seem to have intended this as a retaliation upon the Earl for his taking five or six of the Orkney people prisoners. "His lady," says Fountainhall, "and my Lord Neil, his brother, and his son James, were secured prisoners in Edinburgh; and they were threatened, that as he used the Orkney prisoners, so should they be used." [*Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 167.*] The Countess's daughter, Lady Sophia, was, at the same time, imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for an old offence - for her concern in Argyll's escape from the Castle in 1681 - for which, though threatened at the time, she had never before been punished. Lady Sophia continued prisoner during the same period as her mother. [*Meanwhile, her husband, the Honourable Charles Campbell, narrowly escaped an ignominious death. He had accompanied his father from Holland, on his expedition to Scotland; and being twice sent ashore on the coast of Argyllshire; at one time, to bring intelligence of the disposition of the gentlemen and common people; and the second time, to levy men, he fell sick of a fever when sent ashore this second time, and was taken by the Marquis of Atholl, who, by virtue of his justiciary power, resolved to hang him at his father's gate at Inverary. "But," says Fountainhall, "the privy council, by the intercession of sundry ladies (for it was said he was married to Lady Sophia Lindsay, Balcarres's sister, who conveyed his father, in December 1681, out of Edinburgh Castle) stopped it (July 16, 1685), and sent for him to be brought prisoner to Edinburgh." On the 21st of August, he was forfeited, and banished for life. In 1689, his forfeiture was rescinded. - Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 367; Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 105.] It was fortunate for her, unprincipled and tyrannical as were the men who then ruled in Scotland, that none of them equalled in brutal, or rather diabolical, cruelty, Jeffreys, the chief-justice of England - a man after James VII's own heart - who presided at the western assizes after the suppression of Monmouth's insurrection; else she would assuredly have been condemned, without mercy, to atone for her heroic deedy by being burnt alive; or, if any favour had been granted her, it would have been only the poor favour of being first strangled, and then thrown into the fire and consumed to ashes. Such was the fate to which, by the sentence of that infamous man, one Mrs. Gaunt was subjected, at Tyburn, for assisting one of Monmouth's insurgents in making his escape, and for giving him money; which was just a case similar to that of the share which Lady Sophia Lindsay had in the escape of Argyll from the Castle of Edinburgh. [*Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 222.*]*

On learning, after she had been imprisoned ten days in the Castle of Edinburgh, that the Earl had been apprehended, and was also a prisoner in the Castle, the Countess was in great affliction. Her fears respecting his fate caused her more distress than her own personal sufferings; for she was fully persuaded, and upon too good grounds, that he would now fall a victim to the rage of his enemies. In these circumstances, she was extremely anxious to be admitted to an interview with him; but so cruel was the privy council, that this was not granted till a week after his imprisonment in the Castle, and three days before his execution. The cruelty of this she deeply felt, but she sought, and found support and comfort in God. Her daughter, Lady Henrietta, who, on being informed, though incorrectly, that her own husband, Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck, was apprehended, had gone to Edinburgh to learn his fate, says, concerning her mother, after learning for certain that he had escaped, "I was then more enabled to make inquiry after my dear afflicted mother, who was harshly treated, and seeing her under so great affliction, by the approaching suffering of such an endeared husband, and [that she] had no access to him, till eight days after this fatal stroke; this did again renew a very mournful prospect of matters, which at this time had a very strange aspect, so that if the Lord of life had not supported, we had sunk under the trouble." [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*]

The Countess was admitted to see the Earl, for the first time, on the evening of Saturday, the 27th of June. He was now bound in irons - a precaution taken, from the moment he was imprisoned in the Castle, to prevent his making a second escape; and just before she entered, he had received information that a letter had arrived that evening, from the king to the privy council, ordering them to bring him to condign punishment, within three

days after the letter came to their hands; but, amidst all that was distressing in the interview, it was comforting to her to find, that his mind was in a state of calm submission to the Divine will, and of humble trust in God for supporting grace under his sufferings. [*Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 298.*] Instead of being brought to a new trial, he was, on the 29th of June, condemned, by the lords justiciary, to be publicly beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on the following day, in pursuance of the sentence formerly pronounced upon him, in his absence, for high treason. [*Drummond's Memoirs of Sir Ewen Campbell of Locheill, p. 216.*]

On the forenoon of the day on which he was executed, the Countess was again admitted to see him before he died; and who, but such as have been placed in similar circumstances, can conceive the agonizing feelings which agitated their bosoms, at this their last interview! Scenes like this are so deeply affecting, that even jailors, who have been accustomed to scenes of suffering, have been unable to witness them without being moved to tears. There was, however, in the present case, every alleviating circumstance which Christian character and Christian consolation could afford. Though he was soon to die, and the penalty could not be avoided, he had done nothing of which she had reason to be ashamed, or for which he deserved death at the hands of men. Though when admitted by the jailor into his cell, she found him loaded with chains, she found him not abject and crushed in spirit by remorse, but enjoying the tranquillity of conscious innocence, and that peace of God which the world can neither give nor take away; and this greatly sustained and soothed her mind. "The day being appointed for his suffering," says her daughter Lady Henrietta, "she had access to him, and though under deep distress, was encouraged by seeing the bounty and graciousness of the Lord to him, in enabling him, with great courage and patience, to undergo what he was to meet with, the Lord helping him to much fervency in supplication, and nearness in pouring out his heart with enlargedness of affection, contrition, and resignation, which did strangely fortify and embolden him to maintain his integrity, before his merciless enemies; and by this he was helped at times to great cheerfulness, and fortified under his trial, and the testimony he was to give of his zeal and favour to that righteous cause he was honoured to suffer for." [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*] On the morning of the day on which he was executed, "he spoke freely of the joy with which the Lord had blessed him during the time he had been in Holland - that, as he observed, being the sweetest time of his life, and, of the mercifulness of his escape to that end; but rejoiced more in that complete escape he was to have that day from sin and sorrow; and yet in a little he fell into some damp," [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*] and found the last interview, and especially the final parting with his Countess, a severe trial to his fortitude; nor was it a less severe trial to hers. They indeed felt it to be the greatest trial they had to undergo. "In parting with my mother," says Lady Henrietta, "he was observed to have more concern than in any circumstance formerly; and it was to her a bitter parting, to be taken from him whom she loved so dearly." [*Ibid. The final parting between that illustrious patriot, Lord William Russell, who was condemned to be executed for the Rye House plot, and his lady, who had an uncommon affection for him, was, in like manner, felt by them to be the most trying scene through which they had to pass. A few days before his execution, when Lord Russell left his apartment, he observed that "the parting with her was the greatest thing he had to do, for he feared she would hardly be able to bear it." But both of them were enabled, on that occasion, wonderfully to control their emotions, and to display great magnanimity of spirit. "With a deep and noble silence; with a long and fixed look, in which respect and affection, unmingled with passion, were expressed," they took their last farewell of each other; "he great in this last act of his life, she greater. His eyes followed her while she quitted the room; and when he lost sight of her, turning to Dr. Burnet, who attended him as his chaplain, he said, 'The bitterness of death is now past.'"* - *Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i., pp. 31, 32.*] After their final adieu, and when she was removed from his cell, "he recovered a little; and as the time of his death drew near, which was some hours after, the Lord was pleased wonderfully to shine on him, to the dispelling of clouds and fears, and to the admitting him to a more clear and evident persuasion of his blessed favour, and the certainty of his being so soon happy." [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*]

The last memorial of the Earl's affectionate remembrance of her, which the Countess received, was the following letter, which he wrote to her from the "Laigh Council House," whither he was brought a short time before his execution. It is brief, for then his time was short and precious; and is as follows: -

"DEAR HEART, - As God is of himself unchangeable, so he hath been always good and gracious to me,

and no place alters it; only I acknowledge I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it; but now, above all my life, I thank God I am sensible of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favour, through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory.

“Forgive me all my faults; and now comfort thyself in him, in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee, my dearest! Adieu, my dear! - Thy faithful and loving husband,

ARGYLL.”

[*Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 303.*]

This letter had a very consoling effect upon the mind of the Countess. It had been her earnest prayer, that God would impart to the Earl supporting grace to the last, and prepare him for a happy eternity. Her prayers were heard; and great as was her mental anguish, her heart was filled with gratitude to God, who had enabled him to display the faith and the heroism of the martyr. “The certainty of his being so soon happy,” says her daughter, Lady Henrietta, “of which he expressed his sense, in his last letter to my dear mother, could not but sweeten her lot in her greatest sorrow, and was ground of greatest thankfulness, that the Lord helped him to the last, to carry with such magnanimity, resolution, contentment of mind, and true valour, under this dark-like providence, to endless blessedness. And though the loss of so great a Protestant was grief of mind to all that had any tender heart, and to friends, was a universal, inexpressible, breaking-like dispensation, yet in so far as he was enabled, under cruel suffering, to such tranquillity, peace and comfort, this was to them ground of praise, and an answer to their prayers.” [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*]

The Countess's two daughters by her first husband, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, also received each of them a letter from the Earl. Both these letters are without date, but they were probably written in the “Laigh Council House,” at the same time when he wrote his last letter to his Countess. For his letter to Henrietta, the reader is referred to our sketch of the life of that lady. The letter which Lady Sophia received from him, bears testimony, like that which he wrote to her mother, to the heavenly joy which filled his soul in the near prospect of death. It is as follows: -

“MY DEAR LADY SOPHIA, - What shall I say in this great day of the Lord, wherein, in the midst of a cloud, I find a fair sunshine. I can wish no more for you, but that the Lord may comfort you, and shine upon you, as he doth upon me, and give you that same sense of his love in staying in the world, as I have in going out of it. Adieu!”

“ARGYLL.”

“P.S. My blessing to dear Earl of Balcarres. The Lord touch his heart, and incline him to his fear!” [*Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 303.*]

According to his sentence, Argyll was beheaded on the afternoon of the 30th of June. His behaviour on the scaffold is particularly narrated by Wodrow. It has been said, that he was somewhat appalled at the sight of the maiden, and that he therefore caused bind the napkin upon his face, ere he approached it, and was then led to it. [*Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 194.*] It is, however, admitted by all, that he met death with much Christian fortitude. Among other things, he said on the scaffold, “I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever.” His last words, which he repeated three times as he lay with his head on the maiden, were, “Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory.” It is a remarkable fact, that, as is recorded by Fountainhall, after his head had been struck off, his body, by the great commotion and agitation of the animal and vital spirits, started upright to his feet, till it was held down, and the blood, from the jugular veins of the neck, sprung most briskly, like a cascade or jet of water. [*Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 194.*] “Thus fell,” adds the same writer, “that tall and mighty cedar in our Lebanon, the last of an ancient and honourable family.” [*The following scene, which occurred at the execution of Argyll, as described by Fountainhall, may be quoted, as illustrating the manners of that period. “It was reported,” says he, “when Argyll's corpse were carrying away off the scaffold, a woman of the Popish religion followed the bearers, with railing and wished she could wash her hands in his heart blood; some other women, hearing this, it did so far provoke their choler, that they seized on her, and dragged her to a close foot, near the*

North Loch side, and there beat her soundly, and tore her clothes, and robbed her of her crucifix and beads.” - Historical Observes, p. 197.]

In the month of August, after the execution of the Earl, the Countess accompanied her daughter, Lady Henrietta, to London, with the design of assisting her in her intercessions with the government, in behalf of her husband, Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck, who had been involved in Argyll's insurrection, and had taken refuge in Holland. She remained in London with her daughter, in prosecution of this object, for about seven or eight months; after which, all their efforts proving unsuccessful, she returned to Scotland; while her daughter, in March or April 1686, embarked for Holland, to join her husband. On her return to Scotland, she resided during the summer of that year at Stirling. [*Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.*]

Of the subsequent history of the Countess, little is known. We meet with an allusion to her in a letter addressed by Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate of Scotland, to Mr. William Carstairs, dated “Edinburgh, September 14, 1697.” The passage relates to her anxiety about her son, Colin, third Earl of Balcarres, who had become obnoxious to the government of King William, in consequence of his concern in the plot of Sir James Montgomery, of Skelmorly, to restore King James. [*This plot was discovered in 1690; upon which, the Earl of Balcarres left the country. He waited on the abdicated monarch at St. Germain, who received him with great affection. He published, in 1714, a small work, entitled, “An account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution, 1688.” On the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1715, he joined the Pretender's standard; but, through the clemency of the government, he escaped unpunished. He died in 1722, aged about seventy. - Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 169-171.*] “I also acquainted you,” says the Lord Advocate, “how I was ordered to prosecute the process of treason, remitted by the Parliament 1695 to the justice court, which was not my inclination at this time; but now that I move in it, it much alarms the Lady Skelmorly for her husband's memory. . . . The Countess of Argyll is also much troubled for her son Balcarres; she says it will waken his creditors, and mar his daughters' marriages. I told her that her son, if he pleased, might now apply to the king, at the Hague.” [*Carstairs' State Papers, p. 343.*] Colin walked on foot to the Hague, and solicited the friendly offices of Carstairs; who told King William that a man he had once favoured [*See Appendix, No. XIII.*] was now in so low a condition, that he had footed it from Utrecht that morning, to desire him to speak for him. “If that be the case,” said the generous William, “let him go home; he has suffered enough.” The Earl “accordingly returned to Scotland,” says Lord Lindsay, “towards the end of 1700, after ten years' exile; and his mother had thus the happiness of once more embracing him before her death.” [*Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 190.*] “On his being permitted to return from exile,” says the same writer, “she was still living at Stirling; she even survived in 1706, but of the precise period of her death I am ignorant. Few lots in life have been so chequered as hers; and few, doubtless, ever laid down their head on the pillow of death with more heartfelt satisfaction. During a long and active life, she had but few gleams of unalloyed earthly happiness; and it was well for her that her hopes were anchored on another and a better world, ‘where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.’” [*Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., pp. 119-155.* For extracts from a very interesting and able letter which the Countess wrote to her son Colin, Earl of Balcarres, see Appendix, No. XIII.]

