

THE LADIES OF THE COVENANT

Lady Anne, Duchess of Hamilton

LADY ANNE, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON, was descended from an ancient and honourable family, which originally came from Normandy, [*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 689.*] and which at one time was for fifty years together presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland. From the year 1543, when King James V died, leaving his only daughter, Queen Mary, but a few days old, till the year 1593, when Prince Henry was born, there were only Queen Mary and her son, King James, of the royal blood; and, in the event of their death, the crown would have fallen by right to the then representative of the house of Hamilton, who was their nearest kinsman. [*Burnet's Preface to his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.*] Lady Anne was born in the year 1630. Her father, James, third marquis and first Duke of Hamilton, [*He was created Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Avon and Innerdale, by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, to him and the heirs male of his body, which failing, to his brother and the heirs male of his body, which failing, to the eldest heir female of the Marquis's body, without division, and the heirs female of the body of such heir female, they bearing the name and arms of Hamilton, which all failing, to the nearest legitimate heir whatsoever of the Marquis. - Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 704.*] a distinguished man in his day, espoused with ardent zeal the cause of Charles I, in which, however, he was actuated more by personal attachment to Charles than by a sincere desire to establish prelacy, or to elevate the royal prerogative. He was his Majesty's high commissioner to the famous General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in 1688, and he dissolved it abruptly; but, the dissolution was disregarded, and the Assembly continued to sit till they abolished prelacy. In the subsequent year he was sent down, by the king's orders, to Scotland, with a fleet and three regiments, to subdue the Covenanters, and appeared in the Firth of Forth. It was on this occasion that his mother, the Marchioness Dowager of Hamilton, headed a troop of horse on the shores of Leith to oppose his landing. In 1648, an army being raised in Scotland with the design of rescuing Charles from the English Parliament, and restoring him to liberty and power, without his being required to make any concessions to his subjects, the duke was appointed by the Parliament commander-in-chief, and entered England in July, 1648. But the enterprize, which is usually called "The Engagement," proving unsuccessful, ultimately brought him to the block. [*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 704, 705.*]

The mother of the subject of this sketch was Lady Mary Fielding, daughter of William, Earl of Denbigh, and Lady Susanna Villiers, sister to the Duke of Buckingham. This lady was married to her father when he was only in the fourteenth year of his age. "Her person," says Burnet "was noble and graceful, like the handsome race of the Villiers; but, to such as knew her well, the virtues of her mind were far more shining. She was educated from a child in the court, and esteemed and honoured by all in it. . . . She was lady of the queen's bed-chamber, and admitted by her majesty into an entire confidence and friendship; and not only was her honour unstained, but even her fame continued untouched with calumny, she being so strict to the severest rules as never to admit of those follies which pass in that style for gallantry." But her crowning excellence was her genuine piety. Though living in a court, she allowed no day to pass over her in which she did not spend large portions of her time in devotional exercises in her closet. She had to the marquis first three daughters, Mary, Anne, and Susanna; and then three sons, Charles, James, and William; but all her sons and her eldest daughter died young. A year before her death she was in a languishing condition, and at last fell into a consumption, which, after a few months' sickness, carried her off. About a month previous to the great change, calling for her children, she gave them her last blessing and embraces, and ordered that they might not be brought near her again, lest the sight of them should kindle too much tenderness in her mind, which she was then studying to raise above all created objects, and to fix upon the things of eternity. She died on the 10th of May, 1638. [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 407.*]

Thus Lady Anne, in the eighth year of her age, was bereaved of a valuable mother, from whose instructions and example, her opening mind, as may reasonably be supposed, might have derived the greatest advantage. Her reli-

gious education does not, however, appear to have been neglected. Her father, who had been trained up by a pious mother, and who, there is reason to hope, notwithstanding the errors of his public life, into which he was betrayed by his warm loyalty and ardent ambition, had not ceased to make religion a matter of personal concern, always recommended to her the fear and love of God, as that in which he himself had found his only joy and repose. The following words are a part of one of his letters to her and her sister, Lady Susanna, which he wrote a little before his going to England on the fatal enterprize of the Engagement: "In all crosses even of the highest nature, there is no other remedy but patience, and with alacrity to submit to the good will and pleasure of our glorious Creator, and be contented therewith, which I advise you to learn in your tender age, having enjoyed that blessing myself, and found great comfort in it while involved in the midst of infinite dangers." [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 404.*]

When only a child, she was promised in marriage to Lord Lorn, eldest son of the Marquis of Argyll, who suffered in 1661. About the eleventh year of her age, in 1641 or 1642, a contract of marriage was agreed to betwixt her father on her part, and the Marquis of Argyll on the part of his son, Lord Lorn, to be celebrated when the two children should be of age. The marriage portion is a hundred thousand merks, the yearly jointure fifteen thousand merks, and the penalty to him who resiled thirty-six thousand merks, all remedy of law excluded. [*Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 202.*] These two noblemen were then, and had been for a considerable time before, on terms of very intimate friendship, but shortly after this contract was signed, "their sweetest wine became their sourest vinegar;" [*Scot of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen.*] for they fell out and assumed positions of mutual hostility. Hamilton supported Charles: Argyll, changing his opinions, became the uncompromising champion of the Covenanters. Two great parties thus came to be formed in the nation, of which these two noblemen were the respective heads; the one called the Hamiltons, the other, the Campbells; and the Engagement was the great point upon which they were divided. In consequence of these differences, the contemplated marriage between Lady Anne and Lord Lorn never took place. [*Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 178, 192, 198. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 204.*] In times of civil commotion like those which then passed over Scotland and England, the leaders of the contending parties are peculiarly exposed to the risk of falling a sacrifice to the fury of one another; and Lady Anne was doomed to undergo the trial of seeing her father, upon the disastrous issue of the Engagement, condemned to suffer a violent death. His forces being routed by the English at Preston, on the 20th of August, he surrendered himself to Lambert, at Uttoxeter, on the 25th of that month, and was imprisoned at Windsor. He succeeded in making his escape, but was retaken in Southwark, and committed to prison at St. James's. While he lay there, urgent applications were made to the Marquis of Argyll, who had then the chief power in Scotland, that the Committee of Estates would, as a means of saving at least his life, own that what he did was by the authority of that kingdom; but Argyll declined to interfere. Lady Anne herself left no means untried to prevail with him to interpose for the life of her father; but her exertions were without effect; for, he said, that since the English had murdered their king, notwithstanding the protest of the Scottish commissioners against the deed, it was not to be expected that the interposition of the most influential in Scotland in other things would be of any weight; nor was it fit they should any more address the murderers of their sovereign.

On the 6th of February, 1649, her father was brought to trial before the same court which had condemned Charles to the block, and on the 6th of March he was sentenced to be beheaded on Friday, the 9th of that month. In terms of the sentence, he was executed in palace Yard, Westminster, in the 43d year of his age. He died in a very pious manner, and with much fortitude. Having delivered his last speech on the scaffold, he uttered a most fervent prayer, concluding with these words, "O glorious God! O blessed Father! O holy Redeemer! O gracious Comforter! O holy and blessed Trinity! I do render up my soul into thy hands, and commit it to the mediation of my Redeemer, praising thee for all thy dispensations, that it hath pleased thee to confer upon me, and even for this. Praise and honour, and thanks be to thee from this time forth, and for evermore!" After some religious discourse with Dr. Sibbald, whom he chose as his chaplain, on the scaffold, and who exhorted him to look to the fountain of the blood of Christ as his only hope, he embraced his servants who were present, commending their fidelity to him, and praying the Lord to bless them. He then turned to the executioner and told him he was to

engage shortly in prayer while he lay with his head on the block, after which he should give him a sign, by stretching out his right hand, telling him, at the same time, that he freely forgave him, as he did all the world. Upon the giving of the sign, the executioner at one blow severed the head of the unfortunate nobleman from his body, which was received in a crimson-taffety scarf, by two of his servants kneeling by him, and was, together with his body, immediately put in a coffin, which was ready on the scaffold, and, according to his orders, sent down by sea to Scotland, and interred in his family burial place at Hamilton. [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 401- 405.*]

To Lady Anne, who was now in the 19th year of her age, and to her sister, Susanna, who was somewhat younger, this was a great affliction. The loss of a father who loved them with an almost unequalled parental tenderness, and to whom they reciprocated the tenderest filial affection, was calculated, considered in all its distressing circumstances, to lacerate their feelings in the most painful manner; and the more especially at their green age, when the feelings were most tender, and when, consequently, the bereavement would pierce the heart with the intensest agony. It was happy for them that in their uncle, Duke William, [*Their father was succeeded in his titles and estates, in terms of the patent, by his brother William.*] who was distinguished for his personal piety, as well as for his accurate views of divine truth, they found a relative both affectionately disposed, and well qualified to administer to them the religious comfort they needed, and to take the place of their father in caring for them. Lady Anne, who had already given evidence of the pious temper of her mind, sought under this dispensation consolation in religion; and, by divine grace, she was enabled to exercise that Christian resignation and submission to the will of God, which is our bounden duty under the greatest trials of life.

The last memorial she and her sister received of their father's affection for them, was a letter which he wrote to them on the day of his execution, but which would not come to their hands till he had passed from time into eternity. It is as follows: -

“MY MOST DEAR CHILDREN, - It hath pleased God to dispose of me, as I am immediately to part with this miserable life for a better; so that I cannot take that care of you which I both ought and would, if it had pleased my gracious Creator to have given me longer days: but his will be done, and I with alacrity submit to it, desiring you to do so, and that above all things you apply your hearts to seek him, to fear, serve, and love him; and, then, doubt not but he will be a loving father to you while you are on earth, and thereafter crown you with eternal happiness. Time will permit me to say no more, so the Lord bless, guide, and preserve you, which is the prayer of your most loving father,
“HAMILTON.
“St. James's, 9th March, 1649.

“Let this remember me to my dear sisters, brothers, and other friends, for it is all I write.” [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 397.*]

On the day preceding his execution, he had written a letter to his brother William, requesting him to be a father to his two daughters, that they might not be forced to marry against their wills. Nor did Duke William fail in the duty he owed to these orphans. “He entailed his friendship for him,” [his brother,] says Burnet, “on his daughters, who have desired me to acknowledge to the world that in him they met with the tenderness of a father, the kindness of a friend, and every thing that was generously noble and obliging.” So high was the opinion he formed of Lady Anne that, at his going to England, he professed he was glad he had no sons to lie in her way to the enjoyment of her father's estates and honours, adding, that if he had forty sons, he rather wished it to her than he could do to any of them. On his part, nothing was wanting to promote her happiness: whatever his estates could procure was at her command, and the authority with which he invested her at so early an age, indicates the confidence he placed in her judgment and discretion. Writing to her from Campheer, 10th June, 1649, he says, “Dear Niece, - Amongst all my just afflictions, there is none lies so heavy upon me as that I am still made incapable of paying that duty to you which I owe you. It is the greatest debt I owe on earth, and which would most joy me to pay, as well from inclination as from nature and obligations; but all happiness being denied me, I can-

not hope for that which would be the greatest. Before this I hope you are settled in Hamilton, where you have, as is most just, the same power your father had, and I beseech you to dispose as absolutely upon every thing that is there. All I have interest in, so long as they will acknowledge me, will obey you; and I shall earnestly beg, that, if there be any failings, (either from persons, or in providing what you shall think fit to call for, which the fortune can procure,) you advertise me thereof, and if it be not helped, (so my fortune can do it,) let me be as infamous as I am unfortunate. I will trouble you no longer, but pray the Lord to bless you with comfort and health.

-Dear Niece, your real servant,

“Hamilton.” [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.*]

As a farther proof of his esteem and affection for her, he nominated and appointed her (failing heirs male of his own body) his sole executrix, in his last will, written by himself, at the Hague, in Holland on the 28th day of May, 1650, and freely bequeathed to her “all his jewels, silver plate, hangings, picture broads, and whatsoever goods were his to be disposed of.” And after nominating and appointing, in the event of her removal by death before himself, her sister, Susanna, his sole executrix, and freely bequeathing to her the foresaid articles, he recommends the care of his five daughters to such of his nieces as should succeed to his dignity and estate, expressing his confidence that they would be careful of their education and faithful in paying them what had been provided for them. [*Commissariat of Edinburgh, 28th September, 1652, MS. in her Majesty's Register House, Edinburgh. In that Record, the will of the Duke is recorded at length. It is a very interesting document, from the remarkably pious spirit which it breathes throughout.*]

We shall quote at length another of the letters of this amiable man to Lady Anne, both because it affords a pleasing illustration of his own christian character, and because, from its tone, it is evident that she had then been brought, in good earnest, to attend to the things of God and eternity. The letter was written only eight days after the terrible defeat and slaughter which the Scottish royalists sustained, on Sabbath, July 20, 1651, at Inverkeithing in Fife, from the English parliamentary army under Cromwell. [*So prodigious was the slaughter, that a rill, at the scene of action, called Pinkerton Burn, is said to have run red with blood for three days.*] This disaster greatly discouraged the royalists; and what rendered their condition still more desperate was, that Cromwell was now betwixt the king and the northern counties of Scotland, which were most devoted to the king's interest, and from which he expected provisions and supplies of men. It being thus impossible to maintain the war longer in Scotland, his majesty resolved to march into England, where he hoped for large additional forces. But many of his soldiers, and some of his officers, broken in spirit by their late defeat, and despairing of future success, deserted the army. It was in these circumstances, and when about to march into England, that Duke William wrote the following letter: - [*Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 426.*]

“DEAR NIECE, - Indeed I know not what to say to you; I would fain say something more encouraging than my last was, but I cannot lie; our condition is no better, and since that time we have a thousand men (I fear twice that number) run from our army. Since the enemy shuns fighting with us, except upon advantage, we must either starve, disband, or go with a handful of men into England. This last seems to be the least ill, yet it appears very desperate to me, for more reasons than I would trouble you with: I fear your own reason will afford you too many. Dear niece, it is not your courage I will desire you to make use of in this extremity; look for strength to bear it from a higher power; all your natural virtues will not resist it; therefore, look to Him who hath in former times assisted you to resist a great addiction, and can do it again, if you seek to him aright; you have already lost so much, that all other worldly losses were drowned in that. Those you meet with now are christian exercises, wherewith, oftentimes, the Lord visits his own, to wean their affections from things here below, that we may place them upon himself, in whom we have all things; and if we could, as we ought, set our hearts upon him, we should find ourselves very little concerned in most things which bring us greatest trouble here on earth, where we are but for a minute in our way to eternity. O! consider that word ETERNITY, and you will find we struggle here for that, that's even less than nothing; why trouble we ourselves for earthly losses? for when we have lost all we have, there are thousands as dear to God as we, as poor as we. We are rich though we lose the whole world if we gain him: let us set before our eyes the example of those, who, to give testimony to the truth, rejoiced to lay

down their lives; nay, let us, with humble presumption, follow the pattern of our blessed Saviour, who for our sakes suffered more than man can think on, the burden of all our sins, and the wrath of his Father: and shall we then repine to lay down our lives for him when he calls for it from us, to give us a nearer admittance to Him than we can hope for while we are clogged with our clay tenements. Dear niece, I should never be weary to talk with you, though this be a subject, I confess, I cannot speak of well; but even that happiness is bereft me, by the importunity of a crowd of persons that are now in the room with me, grudging the time I take in telling you that while I am, I am yours, &c. [“Hamilton.”]

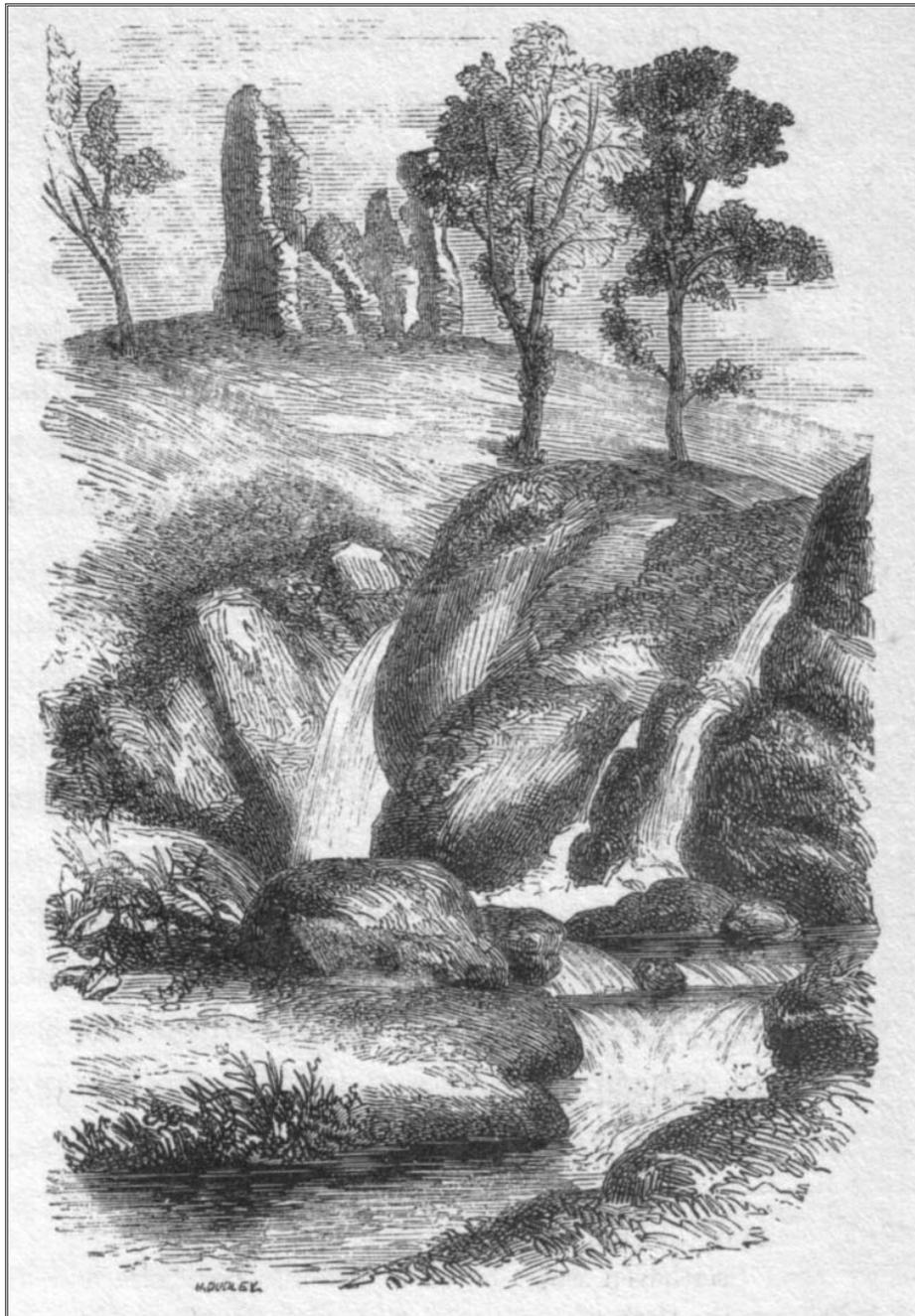
“Stirling 28th July, 1651.” [*Burnet’s Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 426.*]

Duke William, having proceeded to England and engaged in battle with Cromwell’s forces at Worcester, was mortally wounded. After receiving the wound, and feeling that his end was approaching, he wrote to his lady a letter, which contains the following reference to Lady Anne and her sister: - “I will not so much as in a letter divide my dear nieces and you. The Lord grant you may be constant comforts to one another in this life, and give you all eternal happiness with your Saviour in the life to come! To both of your cares I recommend my poor children. Let your great work be to make them early acquainted with God, and their duties to him; and though they may suffer many wants here before removal from hence, yet they will find an inexhaustible treasure in the love of Christ.”

This nobleman died on the 19th of the month on which the above letter is dated, nine days after he had received the wound, in the 35th year of his age, and was interred in the cathedral church of Worcester. [*Anderson’s Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 145.*]

After her uncle’s death, Lady Anne, who succeeded him in his titles and estates, experienced the vicissitudes of fortune to which many of the Scottish nobility were subjected for their opposition to Cromwell, who had now laid Scotland prostrate at his feet. Her father was excepted from the benefit of Cromwell’s act of grace and pardon in 1654, and, his estates were forfeited, £400 a year being reserved out of them to Lady Anne, and £200 a year to her sister. [*Douglas’s Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 706.*] This was no doubt sufficient to secure them from privation; but for a family to be thus reduced which once possessed ample revenues, and was at one time presumptive heir to the Scottish throne, afforded a striking instance of the mutability of worldly wealth and greatness. Whether even this sum was regularly paid we do not know; but it is affirmed by tradition that, for a series of years, she was in so impoverished a condition as to have been dependent upon a faithful female servant, - the only one that remained with her, - who employed herself incessantly in spinning to procure the means of subsistence for her Grace. [*Tradition, in this instance, has probably to some extent exaggerated the facts of the case.*] It is pleasing, on the same authority, to record that, when the Restoration put an end to the misfortunes of the duchess by re-investing her with her estates, she “expressed her gratitude to her affectionate domestic by the substantial gift of a piece of land, near Lesmahago, sufficient to maintain her in ease and comfort all the rest of her life.” [*Chambers’ Picture of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 349, 350.*]

During Cromwell’s administration she resided alternately at Brodwich castle in Arran, and Strathaven castle, which was from an early period one of the seats of the Hamilton family. [*It is said to have been built by Andrew Stewart, grandson of Murdoch, Duke of Albany. - New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire, Avondale.*] The castle of Strathaven, or Avondale, stands upon a rocky eminence at the town of Strathaven, on the banks of a small rivulet called Pomilion, which winds round the greater part of it, and falls into the Avon about a mile below. Though now in a very dilapidated state, it was then in good condition and a place of considerable strength, being surrounded by a strong wall, with turrets at certain distances, and having the entrance secured by a drawbridge. A tradition is still current in Clydesdale respecting the duchess, while she resided in this castle in the time of Cromwell, which places her fortitude in adversity in a very interesting light, and reminds us of the fearless spirit of her grandmother. To the hero of the Commonwealth, whose vengeance was directed against her family on account of that determined opposition to him which had issued fatally both as to her father and uncle, she had, as might be anticipated, no friendly feelings; and it is said that when one of his generals passed the castle with some military going



Strathaven Castle

from Hamilton to Ayrshire, she gave orders to fire upon him as he approached the town of Strathaven. The general inquired who lived there, and being told it was a lady, he replied, "She must be a bold woman indeed." [Anderson's *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, p. 150. After the death of the duchess in 1716, the castle of Strathaven was allowed to fall into disrepair; and, as Chambers says, it now "overhangs the town of Strathaven, with its shattered and haggard walls, like the spirit of Fingal represented by Ossian, as looking down from the clouds upon his living descendants." - *Picture of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 349. "Though now in ruins, the castle is still a beautiful feature in our landscape." - *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanark-shire, Avondale.*] In the days of her adversity, her tenants and vassals in that neighbourhood showed to her ardent friendship and attachment. This she never forgot, when favoured with more prosperous days; and she made an annual visit to Strathaven at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, till she was prevented by the infirmities of old age. [Anderson's *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, p. 150.]

In the year 1656, she was married to Lord William Douglas, eldest son of William, first Marquis of Douglas. He was born 24th December, 1634, and created Earl of Selkirk, Lord Daer and Shortcleuch, by patent, dated 4th

August, 1646, to him and his males heir whatsoever. He was fined £1000 by Cromwell's act of grace and pardon, 1654. The minutes of a contract of marriage between the duchess and this nobleman, with consent of his father, the Marquis of Douglas, dated 1656, are still preserved among the Hamilton Papers. [*Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 202.*] After the Restoration, in consequence of a petition from the duchess, he had, by letters patent, on the 20th of September, 1660, superadded to his own honours the title and precedence of the Duke of Hamilton, and other titles, in right of his wife, on whom these honours had devolved. [*Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 172.*]

As might naturally be expected, the duchess hailed the restoration of Charles II with satisfaction and joy; for it put her in possession of her father's estates and honours, of which she had been deprived by Cromwell. But the policy of the government of Charles in overthrowing the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and in ejecting the nonconforming ministers from their churches, she contemplated with different feelings. This measure she perceived to be at once unwise in principle, and destructive in tendency. The duke, her husband, at a meeting of the Scottish council, held at London after the Restoration, to determine as to the ecclesiastical government to be established in Scotland, reasoned against the setting up of bishops. [*Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 390.*] He also opposed in the privy council, the act which they passed at Glasgow, October 1, 1662, requiring all ministers who had not conformed to prelacy, to desist from preaching, and to withdraw immediately from their parishes. He told the council that the numerous ministers liable to ejection, were highly esteemed and beloved by their people; and that it would be impossible to find a competent number of well qualified men to fill their places. [*Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., p. 261.*] The duchess was precisely of the same sentiments. She may not have studied, and Bishop Burnet informs us that she told him she had not studied, the subject of church government, and arrived at the same enlightened and thorough conviction of the *jus divinum* of Presbytery, to which she had arrived on other points. But she saw that the ministers to be visited by ejection were men of distinguished piety, of great diligence in the discharge of their ministerial duties, and of extensive usefulness in promoting religion and good order among the people. Not to speak, then, of her leaning to the side of the Presbyterian faith, which is manifest from her adhering to, and favouring it during her whole life, through evil report as well as good report; as a woman of piety, and a friend of public order, she regretted the ejection of such men as the infliction of a great calamity on the country. [*Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., p. 480.*]

The duchess, who had much influence upon the duke, greatly contributed, there is little doubt, to infuse into his mind favourable feelings towards the Covenanters, and to dispose him to make exertions for mitigating the oppressions under which they groaned. Such feelings he entertained, and such exertions he made. After the Restoration, he opposed, as we have seen, the setting up of bishops, and the act of Glasgow, by which some hundreds of ministers were ejected from their charges. During the persecution, he often acted as a drag chain upon the more violent of the members of the privy council, advocating a moderate and pacific policy, and opposing the terrible measures which were madly adopted against religion and liberty by the ruling party. In the parliament of 1673, he distinguished himself by his opposition to Lauderdale, whose rapacity, tyranny, and oppression were become intolerable, demanding that the state of the nation should be examined, and its grievances represented to the king, before the supplies were granted. On repairing to court towards the end of November, 1675, he earnestly dealt with the king for a more ample indulgence to the nonconforming ministers, by which he greatly displeased his majesty, who told him he had been informed of his too great kindness to, and compliance with, the non-conformists of Scotland. [*Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., p. 565. Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 178.*] In 1670, he was removed from his place in the privy council, for his manly and spirited opposition to the oppressive sentence of the council against the pious and patriotic Baillie of Jerviswood, who, for simply rescuing his brother-in-law, Mr. James Kirkton, from Captain Carstairs, was fined £500 sterling, and ordained to lie in prison till the fine was paid. [*Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 327.*] He was also prohibited to leave Scotland, but, notwithstanding this prohibition, he and thirteen others went up to court in March, 1678, to complain of the arbitrary and oppressive administration of Lauderdale in regard to the Highland host, the imposition of the bond, the charging them with law-borrows, and the other grievances under which the country laboured. On the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland in May, 1679, he and the other

Scottish lords of his party, then in London, offered, - an offer which was rejected, - to restore peace to the country without having recourse to force or the effusion of blood, provided the sufferings of the people were alleviated. [*Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 708.*] To these notices other facts of a similar kind, equally favourable to the patriotism and humanity of the duke, might be added. But we shall only farther state, that when some were tortured in 1684, in reference to the Earl of Argyll's conspiracy, he opposed such cruel proceedings, alleging, that, at this rate, they might, without accusers or witnesses, take any person off the street and torture him; and he immediately retired, refusing to be present, on the ground, that if the party should die in the torture, the judges were liable for murder, or at least severely culpable. [*Fountainhall's Notes, p. 103. See also Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii, pp. 118, 119, 121, 122.*]

Nor was the Duchess of Hamilton alone, among ladies of high life, in moderating the persecution by the influence they exerted over those most nearly related to them. The ladies and other female relatives of several others of the members of his Majesty's government were friendly to the persecuted cause; and by their influence, as well as by the deference shown to their predilections, individuals were often exempted from the hardships into which they would otherwise have been brought, while the violence of the persecution was sometimes considerably mitigated. Of this class were the first wife of the Duke of Lauderdale, [*Lady Anne Home, second daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Home. She was a great means of softening the spirit of Lauderdale, who during her lifetime was more moderate than after her death. From Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of Affairs in Scotland, we learn that she promised to procure indulgences for Welsh and the other Presbyterian ministers. - Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 244. She died at Paris about 1671.*] the Duchess of Rothes, [*Lady Anne Lindsay, daughter of the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay. A notice of this Lady is given afterward.*] both the first and the second wives of the Earl of Argyll, [*His first wife was Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Moray. She died in May, 1668. His second wife was Lady Anne Mackenzie, second daughter of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, and relict of Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres. A sketch of this Lady also is given afterwards.*] the Countess of Dundonald [*This Lady was Euphemia, daughter of Sir William Scot of Ardrross. She attended field conventicles, and entertained the field preachers at her palace at Paisley. - Blackadder's Memoirs MS. copy in Adv. Library.*] and others.

After the Restoration, Hamilton Palace, which is situated in a valley between the town of Hamilton and the Clyde, was the chief place of the residence of the duchess. Since the time she dwelt in that princely mansion, its aspect has very much changed. Great additions, in the best architectural style, were made to it in the year 1826, and, as a whole, it is now considered the most magnificent residence in Scotland, being extremely splendid in its interior, and having a picture gallery peculiarly rich in paintings by the greatest Italian masters. In the time of the duchess, it was a large building of moderate external elegance.

The town of Hamilton being in the vicinity of her place of residence, she at all times made the welfare, both temporal and spiritual, of the inhabitants of that town and parish the object of her special concern. As an instance of her desire to promote their spiritual good, as well as of her pious care for the sanctity of the Sabbath, it may be mentioned that, in co-operation with the duke her husband, and the baillies of Hamilton, she obtained, in 1661, an act of parliament changing the fairs of Hamilton from Saturday to Thursday, and its weekly markets from Saturday to Friday. The reason inducing the parties to apply for this act was, as is stated in the act itself, their "observing the daily inconveniences arising through the weekly market being upon the Saturday, whereby the people resorting to it were much occasioned in their return homewards to be late in the night, and sometime to encroach upon the Lord's day next ensuing, and so scandalous to God's worship therein." [*Acts of Scottish Parliament.*]

To her zeal for the temporal good of the town of Hamilton, ample testimony is borne by the town council records. In 1668, Charles II granted a charter to her, and in 1670 the magistrates then in office accepted a charter from her, with consent of her husband, by which Hamilton was constituted the chief burgh of the regality and dukedom of Hamilton. [*By this charter the family of Hamilton has the right of appointing a town clerk, and of electing two baillies annually, from a list of six names chosen by the council, (but including the baillies of the former year,) from their own number. The duke and duchess elected the first council, but the right of electing a new council annually in future, was vested for ever in the council of the preceding year. In the old deeds, the duchess is styled "high and mighty princess."*] And "during the course of her long life

she was a benefactor to the town of Hamilton, as she endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants, and always acted strictly in conformity to the charter. Hence the baillies and town council seem at all times to have looked up to her with a kind of filial respect, and were always ready to comply with her requests, which indeed were never incompatible with the interests of the community.” [Anderson’s *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, pp. 488, 489.]

During the persecution, applications were often made to her to employ her interest in behalf of the persecuted. To such applications she always listened with christian sympathy, and was ever ready to do all in her power to afford assistance and relief to the oppressed. The trials she had passed through in early life, had exerted the most beneficial influence in the formation of her character. The loss of an affectionate and beloved father, in circumstances so deeply distressing, and the death of an endeared uncle, also in painful circumstances, had chastened her spirit and strengthened that compassion for the suffering, and that benevolent interest in the welfare and happiness of others which she exemplified throughout life.

In the fate of the youthful Hugh M’Kail, who suffered martyrdom in 1666, she took a particular interest. His youth, his amiable dispositions, his eminent piety, and his promising usefulness as a minister of the gospel, as well as the excellent character of his father, excited her compassion, and after he had been tortured and indicted to stand trial for treason before the court of justiciary, she sent with his brother, Mr. Matthew, ten days before his trial commenced, a letter to the Duke of Rothes, his majesty’s high commissioner, earnestly beseeching him to do what he could to save the life of this excellent young man. With this letter, and another to the commissioner, from the Lady Marchioness of Douglas, her mother-in-law, his brother went, on the 8th of December, from Edinburgh to Glasgow, where the commissioner was at that time on a visit. What effect the intercessions of these ladies had upon the duke, or whether they moved him to write to the king on the subject, we have not ascertained. His majesty, however, not long after this, and previous to the execution of M’Kail, sent down a pardon to the prisoners concerned in the Pentland rising, who were not executed, and ordered them to be sent to Barbadoes. But the pardon failed of taking effect, through the baseness of Archbishop Sharp, who, besides feeling towards the Presbyterians that inveterate malignity which has, in every age, been characteristic of apostates, never forgot the terms which he fancied M’Kail had spoken concerning him in a sermon.* The prelate, who had been bidding

*M’Kail’s sermon referred to was preached from the Song of Solomon, chap. i. verse 7. The passage which proved so offensive was an elegant apostrophe, in which the preacher appealed to persecutors of past ages, whether God had not proved faithful to his threatenings against persecutors, as well as to his promises of deliverance to his church and people. “Let Pharaoh,” said he, “let Haman, let Judas, let Herod, let each of them speak from experience of God’s faithfulness! Let all, then, have ears to hear, and hearing, acknowledge that those who have made themselves remarkable for persecution, God has stigmatized by his judgments.” The malicious gloss which the party then in power put upon these words was, that the preacher had publicly marked out and threatened or stigmatized the King, Commissioner Middleton, Archbishop Sharp, and the Duke of York, the King’s brother, under the characters of Pharaoh, Haman, Judas, and Herod. - *Coltness Collections*, p. 47. Sharp was peculiarly sensitive to the slightest allusion, real or supposed, to the subject of his perfidy and apostacy; nor did he fail, when he found opportunity, to revenge himself on such as offended him on this score.

his time, had now full opportunity given him of gratifying his mortal hatred and revenge, and determined that, whoever was spared, M’Kail should not escape, he concealed the king’s pardon till M’Kail and other four with him were executed. [Naphtali, p. 363. M’Crie’s *Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 36. Row’s *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 506]

Another sufferer, on whose side the sympathies of the duchess were enlisted, was Mr. James Mitchell, who had attempted the assassination of Archbishop Sharp. It cannot be supposed that Mitchell’s attempt, which was condemned by the great body of the Presbyterians, was approved of by a lady so well informed, and so opposed to all extreme courses as was the duchess. Still the severity with which he was treated excited commiseration in many who condemned his rash and criminal act; and after he was laid in prison, some of this class of the Presbyterians were very active in endeavouring to obtain his liberation, and the more especially as they enter-

tained apprehensions which, as was afterwards proved, were too well founded, that he would be brought to the scaffold, a punishment for his offence, in their estimation, unduly severe. Among other means, one of them, a lady, applied to the duchess when she passed through Edinburgh, in November, 1675, on her way to London, requesting her to exert her influence at court to procure his liberty, or secure his personal safety. She received the application with much courtesy, and expressed her readiness to do everything in her power in behalf of Mitchell, who had then been imprisoned for nearly two years. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr. Robert M'Ward, dated November 29, 1675, speaking on this subject, says, "D. H. [Duke Hamilton] passed here [Edinburgh] with his lady and eldest daughter, for London, Monday last. . . . My friend [*Might not this be Mr. James Durham?*] spoke to her [the duchess] about our friend [Mitchell]. She was very civil, and told her there need-ed no interposing, if there should be any access to deal for that person." [*Wodrow MSS., vol. lix, folio, no. 38.*] But though Charles had considerable respect for the duchess, and, ungrateful though he was, sometimes expressed to her, and probably in some measure felt, the obligations under which he lay to her father and her uncle, who had sacrificed their lives in his cause, yet, at this time, her patronage of the Presbyterians had lowered her in the scale of the royal favour; and her intercessions were besides resisted, and again rendered ineffectual by Archbishop Sharp, whose vengeance would be appeased with nothing less than the blood of the man who had made an attempt on his life.

In 1670, when Archbishop Leighton proposed his scheme of accommodation between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, of which, among all his party, Dr. Burnet was the most zealous supporter, it was considered highly desirable to secure the mediating influence of the Duchess of Hamilton, in consequence of the high esteem in which she was held by the Presbyterians, and the great weight she had among them. Leighton sent to the western counties six of the most popular prelatial ministers he could engage, to go round the country to preach in vacant churches, and to argue in support of the accommodation with such as should come to hear them. Burnet, the most eminent of them, on his services being secured, went as if on a visit to the Duke of Hamilton, but in reality with the view of gaining over the duchess to the plan, and of prevailing with her to use her influence in inducing the Presbyterian ministers to embrace it. "I was desired," says he, "to go into the western parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went as on a visit to the Duke of Hamilton, whose duchess was a woman of great piety and great parts. She had much credit among them [the Presbyterians]; for she passed for a zealous Presbyterian, though," he adds, "she protested to me she never entered into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of government; only she thought their ministers were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: they were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours."*

* Jennet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., pp. 480, 481, 508. In this, and in the subsequent accounts given by Burnet of what the duchess said in reference to the Presbyterian ministers, there may, without questioning his veracity, be room for thinking that, unintentionally no doubt, he gives to her speeches a colouring derived from his own peculiar leanings and sentiments, just as we every day see the narration of facts deriving a colouring from the same cause. For example, we have some doubt whether the duchess, in speaking of the Presbyterian ministers, would say in these precise terms, that they were "devout *in their way*," as if her own personal piety was of a different type from theirs; the fact being that it was similar in character to that of the strictest of the Covenanters, - to that of such men as Durham, Binning, and the Guthries, - and that her views of doctrine, like theirs, were strictly Calvinistic. Such were the piety and religious sentiments of her uncle, Duke William, from whom she derived much religious instruction and spiritual profit, and such were the piety and religious sentiments of her daughter Catherine, Duchess of Atholl, who was educated under her own eye. Indeed, it appears that it was her personal piety and her Calvinistic views of doctrine, more than any settled opinion she had as to church government, which caused her decided preference of the preaching of the ejected ministers. The probability then is, that she simply said that they were devout, and that Burnet, influenced in his ideas of personal piety by his Arminian sentiments, unconsciously represented her as saying that they were "devout *in their way*." Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i., p. 481.

The duchess cordially approved of the plan proposed in the accommodation of admitting the Presbyterian ministers to the vacant churches. "The people were all in a phrenzy," says Burnet, "and were in no disposition to any treaty. The furiosest men among them were busy in conventicles, inflaming them against all agreements: so she

thought that if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in vacant churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers that were then most in vogue: this, she added, “would likewise create confidence in them in the government; for they were now so possessed with prejudice as to believe that all that was proposed was only an artifice, to make them fall out among themselves, and deceive them at last.” [Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 481.] She got many of the more moderate of the Presbyterian ministers to come to Burnet, and they all talked in a similar strain.

From the manner in which the terms of the accommodation were represented to her by Burnet, and from her not having closely turned her attention to the study of church government, she did not, however, perceive that the scheme, being at variance with Presbyterian principles, would have ultimately secured the triumph of prelacy, and could not therefore be conscientiously accepted by the Presbyterians. Even after the Presbyterian ministers had held meetings on the subject, and had rejected the proposed measure as inconsistent with their principles, she endeavoured to prevail with them to embrace it. She “sent for some of them, [and for] Hutchison in particular. She said she did not pretend to understand nice distinctions, and the terms of dispute: here was plain sense: the country might be again at quiet, and the rest of those that were outed admitted to churches on terms that seemed to all reasonable men very easy: their rejecting this would give a very bad character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might see cause to repent when it would be too late.” [Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i., p. 511.] But, fortunately, the advice of the duchess, which was, in fact, though she might not perceive it, to advise them to give up without a struggle the cause for which they had all suffered, and for which not a few of their countrymen had already sacrificed their lives, was not complied with, and thus the Presbyterian ministers proved true to their own consistency; and to the cause which they had vowed to defend. After conversing with Hutchison, and urging upon his attention the considerations already mentioned, she found that there was no chance of the scheme being accepted, and told Burnet that all she could draw from him was that he saw the generality of his brethren were resolved not to enter into it; that it would prove a bone of contention, and instead of healing old breaches would create new ones. [Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i., p. 511.] Thus the whole negotiation about the accommodation ended in nothing. There is, however, no doubt that the great anxiety of the duchess to get the Presbyterians to embrace the accommodation, proceeded from her sincere desire to see them delivered from the tyranny and oppression under which they had so long groaned.

In testimony of the same amiable features of her character, the following passage from a letter written by Mr. John Carstairs to Mr. Robert M'Ward, November 29, 1675, may be quoted: - “Things,” says he, “have still a sad aspect on us, and that disappointing parliament being prorogued, it's like we shall tyrannise it here at the old rate. D.H. [Duke Hamilton] went here, with his lady and eldest daughter, for London, Monday last, not sent for by the king, but it's like to see what he could do for the advocates. His lady told a person of honour, as I heard, that it should be seen that they went upon no account of their own, but for the good of the country, and of religion, though without all hope of coming speed as to any thing, and desired that friends might remember them.” [Wodrow MSS., vol. lix. folio, no. 38.] The duke, on this visit to the court, urged upon the king, as we have seen before, the granting of a larger indulgence as the most effectual means of quieting the country; a proposal with which his majesty, guided by his infamous adviser Lauderdale, refused to comply, taunting the duke as a favourer of non-conformists.

One thing which recommended Burnet to the duchess, besides his talents, was his tolerant sentiments in regard to matters of religion;* for although connected with the prelatial church, and from principle a supporter of prelacy, his temper was moderate, and, like Leighton, he was an enemy to persecution. In the family of Hamilton the sufferings of the Presbyterians, for adhering to their covenants, were not unfrequently the subject of conversation; and, when present on such occasions, Burnet was accustomed to speak in terms of high respect of several of the ejected ministers and sufferers, as well as of commiseration for them, and even expressed so high an opinion of the national covenant which abjured popery, as to affirm it to be his conviction, that it would never be well with Scotland until it was renewed. This spirit, so very different from that which animated the great body of the prelatial clergy, was highly gratifying to her Grace, with whose feelings and sentiments it so closely harmonized.

* So high was the opinion she formed of the talents and moderation of Burnet, that she engaged him to undertake the task of compiling memoirs of her father and uncle, from the many papers in her possession relating both to their public conduct and to their personal character. These papers she had carefully preserved, her uncle William having charged her to keep them with the same care as she kept the writings of her estate, as they would be found to contain a full justification of her father's as well as his own public actings; and desirous to vindicate the memory of these beloved relatives, who, notwithstanding the errors of their political lives, possessed many estimable qualities, she put all these documents into Burnet's hands, "This," says he, "was a very great trust, and I made no ill use of it. I found there materials for a very large history. I wrote it with great sincerity, and concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal several things that related to the king. I left out some passages that were in his letters, in some of which was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger." (Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i., p. 516.) The work was printed at London in 1677, and the Epistle Dedicatory, which is addressed to the king, is dated London, 21st October, 1673. It brings out the character of the duchess's father in a much more favourable light than Clarendon brings it out in his History of the Rebellion, but that history, which was not published for many years after its author's death, has, not without ground, been suspected of having been corrupted by the Oxford gentlemen who published it. See Appendix, no. v.

[Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. ii., p. 282: and his *History*, vol. iv.p. 271]

Though the duchess may not have desisted from hearing the curates of Hamilton, the parish in which she usually resided, - for on the subject of hearing the curates the Presbyterians were divided in sentiment, and she confessedly belonged to the less rigid portion of the body, - yet she frequented the ministrations of the ejected ministers, taking her children along with her; and she was in the habit of attending the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as administered by them, in various parts of the country. When Mr. William Violant became indulged minister at Cambusnethan, the Lord's Supper was frequently administered in that place, and was resorted to by people from all quarters. Among others, the duchess regularly went over to observe the ordinance, and, on such occasions, it was her practice to reside at Coltness, in the family of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, who was himself a man of sincere piety, and whose lady was distinguished, in no ordinary degree, for her christian virtues and graces. [*Coltness Collections*, p. 68.]

In attending the indulged ministers, she was keeping within the strict limits of law; but, breaking through the fences of the law, she sometimes also countenanced conventicles with her presence. This was one main reason of the strong opposition which her husband, the duke, made to the bond, which, by an act of privy council, August 2, 1677, all heritors, wood-setters, and life-renters were required to subscribe, engaging that neither they themselves, their wives, their children, their servants, nor their tenants should assemble at conventicles, or afford encouragement and protection to those who frequented them, or employ any outed minister in baptizing their children, and that under the highest penalties appointed by former laws, which are repeated in the proclamation. After recording the alarm which this bond created in the west, and giving an account of a meeting of noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors in the shire of Ayr, against it, presided over by the Earl of Loudon, Kirkton adds, "The bond found no better reception in Clydesdale, where there was a great meeting of heritors at Hamilton; and the Duke of Hamilton being at this time highly displeased with the proceedings of the council, and a great enemy to the bond, knowing well he could not answer for his own family; the bond was rejected even by those who were of no principle, but to save their estate." [*Kirkton's History*, pp. 377, 378.]

This opposition, however, proved unavailing. It raised Lauderdale's fury to such a pitch that, at the council table, he made bare his arm above his elbow, and swore by Jehovah he would make the refractory landholders enter into it. For the purpose of coercing them he brought down upon the West of Scotland, in 1678, a host of rapacious highlanders, to the number of not less than ten thousand. [*Burnet*, in his "*Own Times*," says 8,000, (vol. ii., p. 134.) *Crookshank*, in his *History*, more correctly makes them 10,000; (vol. i., p. 428.)] Another species of oppression to which the gentlemen who refused to subscribe the bond were subjected, was the serving upon them a writ of lawborrows. The term lawborrows is from burgh or borrow, an old Scotch word for caution, or surety, and means security given to do nothing contrary to law. The import of a lawborrows in Scotland is, that when two neighbours are at such variance that the one dreads bodily harm from the other, he procures from the justiciary (formerly from the council) or any other judges competent, letters charging the other to find caution or security that the complain-

er, his wife, bairns, &c., shall be skaithless from the person complained of, his wife, bairns, &c., in their body, lands, heritages, &c.; but before such letters can be granted, the complainer must give his oath that he dreads bodily harm, trouble, or molestation from the person against whom he complains. The propriety of magistrates issuing such a writ in the case of private individuals may be admitted; but its being issued at the suit of the sovereign against his subjects, simply on account of their refusing an unreasonable bond, was the height of oppression. [*Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 401, 403. Crookshank's History, vol. i., p. 434.*]

Yet, under the operation of this writ, the Duchess of Hamilton was threatened to be brought; and had Lauderdale succeeded in his wishes, she would have been subjected to its restraints and penalties; for the Duke of Hamilton had intimation sent him that it was designed to serve it upon him; [*Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii., p. 135.*] in other words, that he was to be obliged, according to the tenor of the act for serving lawborrows on the refusers of the bond, to enact himself in the books of the privy council, that he himself, the duchess, their children and their tenants, should keep his Majesty's peace, and particularly that they should not go to field conventicles, nor harbour nor commune with rebels or persons intercommuned, and that under the penalty of the double of his yearly valued rent, or such other penalties as should be thought convenient by the lords of the privy council or their committee. [*Wodrow's History, vol. ii, p. 401.*] Lauderdale, however, was compelled to abandon his intentions. The ravages of the Highland host, and the enactment in reference to lawborrows, "which looked like French or rather like Turkish government," created universal indignation. The Duke of Hamilton, and ten or twelve of the nobility, with about fifty gentlemen of quality, went up to London to complain, and the storm of opposition became so violent that Lauderdale was glad to recall the Highland host, and to suspend the execution of writs of lawborrows. [*Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii., p. 135.*]

Residing almost constantly at the palace of Hamilton, the duchess had full opportunity of learning the state of affairs in the district; and she entered much into the feelings of the people in the distressing and turbulent times in which she lived. She especially took a great interest in the welfare and comfort of her tenantry, and when, like others, they were exposed to persecution and lawless violence, she was always prepared, according to her ability, to throw the shield of protection over them. In proof of this, we may refer to the manner in which she acted when, in 1678, the Highland host, now adverted to, was let loose, like an army of locusts, to lay waste the western parts of the country. The injury done by the host to her tenantry was considerable, though perhaps less than that suffered by many others. In the parish of Strathaven, of which she was chief proprietor, by an account taken up a considerable number of years after the Revolution, from such sufferers as were then alive, there was lost, by free quarters and other extortions, the sum of 1,700*l.* 12*s.*; "and," as Wodrow remarks, "we may, without any stretch, double it, considering that many were dead in thirty years and more, after the Highland host were among them." In the small parish of Cambuslang, one tenant had fifty Highlanders of Atholl's men, with a lieutenant and quarter-master, quartered on him for eight days; another had sixteen quartered on him, also for eight days; and other three had each twenty-two quartered on him during the same period. In the return of the host from the more western parts, one lieutenant Stewart, and quarter-master Leckie, came to that parish with eighteen men, continuing five weeks in it during seed time; and they told the parish that they had orders to quarter eighty men, though they never showed their order. No more than eighteen of their men ever came, but they exacted from the parish money equivalent to free quarters for eighty, which amounted to 861*l.*, and whoever refused to pay had their houses rifled, and were forced to buy back their goods at a much larger sum than the sum for quarters would have amounted to. The tenantry in Hamilton parish were also sufferers from the same cause.

Indignant at these oppressions and hardships to which her tenants were subjected, the duchess instantly complained, and adopted measures for obtaining redress. Upon the 5th of April, she took an instrument against the Earl of Strathmore, insisting for the restoration of what had been illegally exacted from her tenants, in the parish of Hamilton, by his soldiers. This instrument bears, that on the 5th of April, in presence of a public notary and witnesses, John Baillie, her chamberlain, went to Patrick, Earl of Strathmore, who was for the time in the dwelling-house of William Hamilton, maltman, burgess of Hamilton, and there, in her name and behalf, showed the Earl that neither she nor William Duke of Hamilton, her husband, had ever seen any orders allowing any offi-

cers or soldiers in any troops or regiments for the time within the shire of Lanark, to have free quarters upon any person or persons of whatever class; and that, notwithstanding thereof, a considerable part of the regiment of foot, under the command of the Earl, sometimes more and sometimes fewer, had quartered upon her lands and property, within the parish of Hamilton, from the 16th day of March last bypast to this present day inclusive, without payment of any sums of money: as also, that the said soldiers had exacted diverse sums of money, or dry quarters (as they termed these exactions), from several of her tenants, and that over and above the entertainment of meat, drink, and bedding they had in the places where they were quartered. For this reason, and in respect no order had been shown for free quarters, or levying of money, over and above the same, Mr. Baillie, in name and behalf, and at command of the duchess, desired the earl either to pay, or cause payment to be made, to her respective tenants, for the quarters his soldiers had upon her respective tenants during the period of time above written; and also that the said tenants might be reimbursed of all exactions made by his soldiers from them. To this it was answered by the earl, that the bringing such of his regiment into Hamilton parish was at the command of his majesty's privy council, founded upon his majesty's warrant; that the way in which he had quartered them was conformably to orders from the major-general; that he had never commanded or allowed any exactions of any kind besides their quarters; and that such other exactions (if any were made), were expressly contrary to his orders. Upon which, this answer being judged unsatisfactory, Mr. Baillie, in name and at command of the duchess, as also the Earl of Strathmore, took instruments in the hands of a public notary. [*Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 430.*] Whether these tenants were reimbursed for their losses does not appear. The probability is that they were not, but the representations made by the duchess, the duke and others in reference to the proceedings of the Highland host so far succeeded, that these savages, after having ravaged the country for two months, were recalled.

The duchess was residing at Hamilton palace when the Covenanters, and the king's troops, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, fought at Bothwell Bridge, on Sabbath the 22d of June, 1679. The result of this unfortunate engagement is well known. The Covenanters were defeated and put to flight. Few of them were slain in the encounter, but some hundreds were slaughtered in the most barbarous manner in the neighbouring fields, whither they had fled. A great number of them sought for concealment in the wooded parks around Hamilton palace; and here they found effectual shelter; for the humane duchess, on being informed that many of the insurgents who had been defeated were lurking in her policies, and that the royal army was pursuing them, sent a message to the Duke of Monmouth, desiring that he would prevent his soldiers from trespassing upon her grounds. With this request Monmouth, whose humanity in restraining the soldiers is deserving of commendation, instantly complied by giving orders to that effect; and thus none of the fugitives who had taken refuge in her plantations were farther molested. [*Chambers' Picture of Scotland, vol. i., p. 357. New Statistical Account of Scotland, Hamilton, in Lanarkshire, p. 266.*]

In addition to her humanity, the duchess possessed a nice sense of the honourable and just in spirit and in conduct. And as by such principles she herself was uniformly regulated, it afforded her much satisfaction to meet with them in others. Of this we have a fine illustration in an interesting correspondence which took place in 1687, between her and Thomas Rokeby, son of Major Rokeby, for whose use part of the estate of Hamilton had been sold in Cromwell's time. This gentleman writes to her, informing her that he was the ninth son of Major Rokeby; that after much reflection with himself, he had come to the conclusion that Cromwell had no power to give away what was not his own; that by his father's death a tenth part of the price (two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling) had come to him, when a boy, which was the only part he had in the injury; and that, having suffered many hard conflicts with himself on that account, he had resolved to make restitution, as the first step to forgiveness, first from God, and then from her Grace. He wrote to her five letters on this subject. With these communications the duchess was much gratified, not indeed because she attached any importance to the amount of his share of her spoils which he was so anxious to restore, but because of the indication they gave of a high sense of honour and a scrupulous regard to justice, which, in such matters, is not very common, and of which she probably never met, during her long life, with a similar instance. In her answers to his letters she says little about the money, telling him that the duke took care of that; but she expresses her admiration at his conduct, "falling

almost before him as a votary,” and earnestly desires an interest in the prayers of a person endowed, in her estimation, with such superior excellence of character. These letters are preserved among the state papers and other documents in the palace of Hamilton, and Mr. George Chalmers, the well-known author of *Caledonia*, who had read them, says, “The beautiful simplicity that runs through this correspondence cannot be seen but in the letters themselves.” [*Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iv., pp. 183, 184.]

Of the Revolution which took place in 1688, the duchess was a warm friend, both because it delivered these nations from tyranny and popery, and restored the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to her rights and liberties. Lockhart styles her “a staunch Presbyterian, and hearty revolutioner.” [*Lockhart's Papers*, vol. i., p. 602.] Her zeal in the cause of the church was well known to King William, who delicately jested her on the subject; as we learn from the following anecdote, recorded by Wodrow. Writing, October 3, 1710, he says, “I hear that a little after the revolution, when this present Duchess of Hamilton was coming down from court, and had taken her leave of the queen, and took leave of King William, he, smiling, said, ‘You are going down to take care of the kirk.’ ‘Yes, Sir,’ she replied, ‘I own myself a Presbyterian,’ and offered to kneel to kiss his hand. The king presently supported her, and, as I think, did not suffer her to kneel, but said, ‘Madam, I am likewise a Presbyterian.’ This I have from one that was witness to it, and another good hand that had it from the duchess.” [*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i., p. 304.]

The duke, her husband, was also a zealous supporter of the revolution government; but her son, the Earl of Arran, devotedly adhered to James VII. He had been much courted by that monarch, who had conferred upon him various lucrative and honourable situations, such as the office of his majesty's lieutenant and sheriff in the shires of West Lothian, Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton; the office of groom of the stole, and first gentleman of the bed-chamber; the office of colonel of a royal regiment of horse, and of brigadier-general of all the horse; as well as the honour of a knight of the thistle. [*Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iv., p. 183.] Gained by these marks of royal favour, he supported James in opposition to the government of William; and, having been engaged in a plot for the restoration of James, he was twice committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained for many months, but was at length discharged without prosecution. While he lay in prison, the duchess, though disapproving of his conduct, naturally felt for her son, and wrote to the Earl of Melville interceding in his behalf, as she had often before interceded with men in high places, in behalf of those who had suffered in a better cause. The letter is as follows: -

“MY LORD, - The receipt of yours of the 4th, was a great surprise to me, to find, after so long a delay of that affair I commended so earnestly to your lordship, that there is so little done in it. I doubt not, but as you write, and as I am otherwise informed, the stop has not lain at your door, though there are who say it has, but I wish it were made evident who have been the obstructors. I hope my son's peaceable behaviour all this time will render his circumstances something more favourable than [those of] some others, and, when his majesty considers the service his father has done, will move him to renew the same favour he granted before to my son, his liberty on bail, which will be received as a great favour to all concerned; and if the ill condition of his health were known, it would plead compassion for him. But I have not time to add more, but my lords humble service to you, and that I am, my lord, your lordship's most humble servant,
“HAMILTON.”
“Holyroodhouse, 19 December, 1690.” [*The Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 587.]

In the year 1706, when the question of the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England was so keenly agitated, the duchess was a very zealous opponent of the measure. The union was indeed in the highest degree unpopular among all parties. The Cavaliers or Jacobites, perceiving that it would destroy all hopes of the restoration of the pretender, violently obstructed it in every stage of its progress. The Presbyterians, too, whose opposition was much more formidable, opposed it, though from very different views, dreading that the consequence would be the supplanting of their favourite Presbyterian church government, by the prelatic form established in England; and so strong was this apprehension, that it could not be removed by all the offers made of security to the established Presbyterian church. Burnet, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and a great courtier, says that

these fears were “infused in them chiefly by the old duchess of Hamilton, who had great credit with them.” [Burnet’s *History of his Own Times*, vol. vi., p. 277.] But this is perhaps ascribing to her Grace a larger amount of weight in the Church of Scotland, than, notwithstanding the great respect entertained for her, she actually possessed. Altogether independent of her opinion or influence, the intrinsic importance of the question itself roused the attention of the Presbyterians; and they considered that good affection and zeal for the just rights and liberties, both of the nation and of the Presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland, as then by law established, bound them to oppose the union. The duchess, however, did all in her power to prevail on her friends to set themselves against it. Among the Hamilton Papers there are still preserved several letters she wrote to her son the duke, inciting him to oppose it as ruinous to his country, and steadfastly to concur with the Duke of Atholl and those in the opposition. [Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 201.] Burnet states that “it was suggested that she and her son had particular views, as hoping that, if Scotland should continue a separate kingdom, the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after king James’s posterity.” [Burnet’s *History of his Own Times*, vol. vi., p. 277.] But such an insinuation is altogether gratuitous. The love of country, and attachment to the doctrine and government of the Church of Scotland, were the avowed reasons of her hostility to the union. That her motives were family considerations was the surmise of her enemies, which they could not support by a single word she had ever uttered or written, or by a single action she had ever performed.

Upon the preaching of the gospel and the public ordinances of religion, the duchess set a high value. She attended with exemplary regularity public worship on the Lord’s day; and after the Revolution, when the church was settled in a manner more consonant to her inclinations than before, she took a christian interest in the efficiency and success of the gospel ministry. To secure to the parishes where her influence extended, such probationers as, upon the best inquiry, were found to be acceptable to all ranks in the parish, was her great object. To the external comfort of the ministers of these as well as other parishes, she was ever ready to minister, and in other ways to encourage them in the faithful discharge of their pastoral duties. To provide more extensively the means of grace to the inhabitants of the district where she lived, and to the tenantry on her estate, was also her anxious desire. In testimony of this, she endowed a second minister in Hamilton, and another in Lesmahago. [Scots Magazine for 1773, pp. 5, 6. Chalmers’ *Caledonia*, vol. iii., p. 723. The parish at Lesmahago was served by two ministers long before this period. The second minister was established a considerable time before the Restoration, but from what source his stipend was then paid does not appear. The writer in the Scots Magazine, in recording the liberality of the duchess in endowing the second minister in the parish of Lesmahago, adds: “This is but one instance I have mentioned of her piety and generosity. It would be impossible to enumerate them all. On this account her memory will be revered, not only in Lesmahago, where she was so well known, but by all acquainted with her character, as long as a sense of virtue and religion remain in the world.”] She endowed a catechist, or preacher of the gospel, for Strathaven, who is always a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and assists the parish minister by visiting the sick, catechising the parish, and preaching one half of the year. By her deed of mortification, dated 1st April, 1710, the annual income secured to him is 500 merks, and his appointment is vested in the noble family of Hamilton. [Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 206.] To the stipend of the parish minister of Strathaven she added, by mortification, the annual sum of 5*l.*, which is regularly paid by the Duke of Hamilton. [New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire, Avondale.] She mortified, 15th August, 1715, a piece of ground and a barn, for the use of the minister of Borrowstounness and his successors for ever. [Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 206.] She also mortified, 13th October, 1694, to the university of Glasgow, the sum of 18,000 merks for the use of three theologues, from time to time, to be presented by the family of Hamilton. [Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 206.] Besides these deeds of liberality, “she founded and endowed several schools, built bridges, and performed many acts of benevolence, which make her name to be revered in Clydesdale to this day.” [Anderson’s *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, p. 150.]

We shall only advert to two other features of this lady’s christian character. The one is, the sentiments of humility which pervaded her spirit in the house of God. In other places, and at other times, she was not unwilling to receive the honour due to her rank; but there, sisted in the presence of the Divine Majesty, to whom all the tem-

porary distinctions of life are nothing, she wished to appear on the same footing with the poorest, feeling that she laboured under the same necessities as a rational and an immortal being; that she had equally merited God's wrath, and equally stood in need of his mercy. An instance of this pious humility which she cherished in the place of public worship is still preserved. At the stated times for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in the parish of Hamilton, she was a regular communicant; and on one of these occasions, when she was coming forward to the table of the Lord, a plain decent aged woman, who was just taking her seat at the table, on observing her, was about to step aside to give her the precedency; but the duchess, unwilling to receive in that place such marks of attention and respect, prevented her, saying, "Step forward, honest woman, there is no distinction of ranks here."

[This anecdote is taken from a MS. volume entitled "Memoirs of Catherine, Duchess of Atholl, in form of a Diary, Originally written by Herself. To which are prefixed, Biographical Notices of the Duchess's Parents, William, Third Duke, and Anne, Duchess of Hamilton; Of her Husband, John, First Duke of Atholl, and of Duchess Catherine herself." By the late Rev. Mr. Moncrieff, minister of the United Secession Church in Hamilton. The Notice of Duchess Anne is short, but interesting. I cannot here omit expressing my obligations to the Rev. W. G. Moncrieff, Musselburgh, who in the kindest manner favoured me with a perusal of that work by his father, with full permission to make full use of its contents.]

The other feature of her character worthy of special notice, is her pains-taking endeavours to train up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. "There is nothing," as has been justly observed, "which presents the duchess's character in a more favourable light, and recommends her more for imitation, than the decided interest she took in the religious education of her own family. To overlook all concern about having religious principles instilled into the minds of their children, has been often too common with those in conspicuous ranks, and their principal care has been to provide for them every facility of acquiring fashionable and polite accomplishments. A suitable care that her family might not be without the accomplishments becoming their high rank in society, was not overlooked by her Grace. But she also considered that it was a matter of the first, and of vital importance, that true religion should be understood, esteemed, and diligently practised in her family. Her children were much under her eye, and had a great respect and affection for her, especially her daughter, Lady Catherine, *[A Notice of this Lady is given in the close of this volume.]* who became the wife of the Duke of Atholl. There is every evidence, from the Diary of Lady Catherine, that, besides other means of information and improvement to which she had access, the instructions and example of her esteemed mother were of great use, by the blessing of God, in disposing her mind to that love of charity and religion which took deep root in her heart, and to that faithful discharge of her duties as a wife, a parent, and a Christian, for which she was so distinguished." *[Mr. Moncrieff's MS.]*

The duchess lived to a very advanced age, retaining the possession of her mental faculties to the last; and exhibiting the most exemplary christian patience under the infirmities of declining years. Mr. Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton, in a letter to Bishop Burnet, her old friend, dated October 29, 1714, says, "The good old duchess is still alive, entire in her judgment and senses, and labouring with a most exemplary patience and resignation under the infirmities of old age and frequent conflicts with the gout." *[Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 604.]* This was very nearly two years before her death; which took place at the palace of Hamilton, on Wednesday, October 17, 1716, at six o'clock at night. The Scots Courant of that year, in recording her death, states that she was then in the 86th year of her age, adding that she "was a pious and virtuous lady, and is much lamented." Her mortal remains were deposited beside those of her husband, father and ancestors, in the family burying vault at Hamilton.

The particulars of her last illness have not been recorded; but the manner in which she had spent a long life, had been such as to form the best preparation for another world, and it cannot be doubted that her latter end was peace. She came to the grave in a good old age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season. Men of different and opposite political and religious creeds, have united in paying homage to her virtue, piety and mental endowments. Bishop Burnet's testimony to these has already been quoted. Crawford describes her as "a lady who for constancy of mind, evenness of temper, solidity of judgment and an unaffected piety, will leave a shining character, as well as example, to posterity, for her conduct as a wife, a mother, a mistress, and in all other conditions of life." *[Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 212.]* Lockhart, a violent Jacobite, characterizes her as "a lady of great

honour and singular piety.” [Lockhart’s Papers vol. i., p. 597.] And so high was the reputation for christian excellence which she left behind her, that her memory was cherished with affectionate veneration long after her death, and even down to the present day, the “good Duchess Anne” is the name by which she is familiarly known in the district where she commonly resided, and where her piety and benevolence were best known.

