

Ladies of the Covenant

HENRIETTA LINDSAY,

Lady Campbell, of Auchinbreck*

HENRIETTA LINDSAY was the third and youngest daughter of Alexander, First Earl of Balcarres, by his wife, Lady Anne Mackenzie, the subject of the preceding sketch. She was born about the close of the year 1657, or early in the year 1658; as appears from a statement made in her diary, that at the time of her father's death, which took place in August 1659, she was not two years old. At so early an age, she could not remember her father, much less derive profit from his instructions and example. But in her eminently pious mother, she found an affectionate and well-qualified instructress in the things of God; as well as a constant pattern of the most attractive features of the Christian character. Nor was this great privilege lost upon her. From the exemplary piety of some female servants in the family, she also derived much religious advantage in her tender years. She mentions that this was the means of first stirring her up to aim, in some serious manner, at the duty of prayer, which, at times, was made sweet to her; and, from the experience of her younger days, she makes the following very judicious and important observation: "It cannot but be recommended, that care ought to be taken to have well-inclined and conscientious servants, of an agreeable temper about young ones."

When only a little past thirteen years of age, she made a public profession of Christ at the Lord's table, at Weems. In our day, a child of this age is seldom admitted to so solemn an ordinance; but such early admissions were by no means rare in the best days of the Church of Scotland. Henrietta was, however, far from being satisfied with the manner in which she made this, her first approach, to the table of the Lord. She acknowledges that there yet "remained in her great ignorance, and estrangedness from the life and power of Christianity, save by faint wishes, which prompted her to some formal going about duties," and to this duty among others; that, as she afterwards discovered, she had presumed upon it "from great rashness, and, no doubt, ignorance of the hazard of such an adventure;" and that, "therefore, no sensible benefit could be discovered; which, after some months, was made cause of dread and terror to her." These convictions of her having profaned the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were first produced on her mind at Inverary, under the ministry of Mr. Patrick Campbell, when, in consequence of the marriage of her mother to the Earl of Argyll, she was brought to reside at the Castle of Inverary, the seat of that nobleman. The sermons she there heard Mr. Campbell preach, had an awakening effect upon her, "which," says she, writing after his death, which took place subsequently to the Revolution, "will ever endear his memory to me." She also records that, at this time, a weekly catechetical exercise in the family of the Earl of Argyll, conducted by Mr. Gumming, a man "of eminent piety and learning," was made greatly useful to her, issuing in her greater liking to spiritual concerns. Brought, by these means, to a conviction of the danger of her natural state, she was led to renounce her own

*The materials of this sketch, unless when otherwise indicated by the references at the foot of the page, are taken from Lady Campbell's diary, a copy of which is among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, vol. xxxi., 8vo, no. 8. This copy was written out by Wodrow himself, from the original, which he received from Mr. John Anderson, minister of Kirkmaiden, who received it from Lady Campbell herself. Mr. Anderson, in a letter to Wodrow, dated Kirkmaiden, October 24, 1721, says, "I have Lady Henrietta Campbell's diary, written with her own hand, and carried down to her arrival at Edinburgh, anno 1689. She was pleased to compliment me with it the last time I parted with her, having a double of it for herself. The whole of it concerns her own exercises, from her early conversion and experience of the work of grace, to that time. I have seldom read anything more edifying; and, therefore, could wish to see what further accounts she has left to her last sickness, and could have hopes of getting the same from her son, Sir James, if I were at his house." - Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. no. 78. And, in a letter to Wodrow in January 1722, he says, in a postscript, "Since I wrote the above, I received yours, dated January 1st, and shall some time send you Lady Henrietta's diary, or, at least, bring it with me, about the end of April, or beginning of May. I design to take two weeks about Glasgow before I go to the Assembly." - Ibid., vol. xv. no. 81.

righteousness as insufficient to form the ground of her justification before God, and to seek salvation only in the finished work of the blessed Mediator. It, indeed, appears to have been her own impression, that it was only now that she became the subject of the regenerating and saving grace of the Spirit of God. Going with the Earl of Argyll's family to Kintyre, where they stayed a month or five weeks, she had "access to hear sweet and powerful truths at Campbeltown, under Mr. Cameron's and Mr. Keith's ministry, [*Mr. John Cameron was, at the Restoration, minister of Kilfinnan, from which he was ejected for nonconformity, and, in 1672, he was appointed, in the indulgence of the privy council of September that year, indulged minister of that parish. From the statement in the text, it would appear that he had been subsequently appointed indulged minister of Campbeltown. Mr. Edward Keith was, at the Restoration, minister of Lothead, from which he was also ejected for nonconformity. He was appointed, in 1672, indulged minister of Campbeltown.*- Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 328; and vol. ii., p. 204.] who were two eminent lights there." During this time, her young heart was drawn forth in ardent love to her Saviour, and she was much engaged in the secret exercises of religion, in which she found great delight.

After this she was brought, with Argyll's family, to Edinburgh. While residing in the capital, she had an opportunity of hearing the ejected ministers preach in private houses; and the powerful impression which their sermons made upon her own heart, as well as the blessed effects they produced upon many others who heard them, created in her mind an esteem for these excellent men, which she found it impossible to feel for the curates, whose ministry was attended with little evidence of the presence and power of God. Such was the, contemplative character of her mind, that even then, though only in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of her age, she had reasoned herself into the impropriety, if not the sinfulness, of hearing the curates; not only because of the cold and unimpressive character of their discourses, but also, because she believed that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, Britain was solemnly engaged against Prelacy. She thus writes: "After this we were brought to Edinburgh; where, after several months of ups and downs as to comfort, there was access unexpectedly to gospel ordinances in private families, that proved not empty cisterns to me, but were made as the conduit to derive streams from the fountain; for which, O to be helped to praise! and, though a time of persecution, yet the Lord favoured his people there with several powerful sermons, in these private meetings, which did engage, to great esteem and affection, to these his sent servants, who were peculiarly countenanced, beyond what I could perceive among others of a different persuasion. This was a privilege Mr. Gumming was instrumental in procuring. Learning then to lay to heart the misery our nation was groaning under, by being reduced to formal, lifeless, teachers that then were in our churches, and by the silencing our more faithful ministers, that were removed to corners, it became, from this time, matter of bitterness to me to hear any other than them; having the deep impression of the ties our nation was under to have abolished this woeful, Episcopal, tyrannical power, that had so sad effects."

Personal dedication to God, in a written form, in which the person gives himself, or herself, up to be the Lord's alone, and for ever, is an exercise which has often been engaged in by the pious young, in the youthful ardour of their religious feelings; and though, if performed in a self-righteous spirit, it may be the means of fostering dangerous delusion, yet, if performed evangelically, in the way of the person's renouncing all dependence on his own righteousness and strength, trusting to Christ's righteousness alone for salvation, and to God's grace for strength to perform the engagements come under, it may, and has often been, highly profitable to him, both at the time and afterwards, encouraging him to cleave to God and his service in difficulties, in peril, and even in death. So much was the heart of this young lady drawn out to God, under the sermons of the ejected ministers, that she resolved, by a solemn transaction of this nature, to make an entire surrender of herself to Him; and, upon her going to the country, where her greater seclusion afforded her more convenience for such an exercise, she engaged in it with peculiar solemnity. "But," says she, "in these corners there was such sweetness found in the preached word out of the mouths of his sent servants (as Mr. Gilbert Hall, that shining light, and Mr. George Johnston), as did lead me to a further solicitude how to close with these great gospel offers, the publication of a Saviour to undone sinners being then made sweet; so that I purposed, if the Lord should give opportunity, that I should essay that indispensable duty of covenanting; which, accordingly, I did in the sixteenth year of my age, when brought to the country; at Balcarres, [*i.e., at*

Balcarres House, the seat of her brother, the Earl of Balcarres, in the parish of Kilconquhar, Fifeshire.] where I enjoyed more of solitude in a retired lot." The covenant which she had written out, and subscribed with her own hand, has not been preserved; but her whole account of the transaction breathes a spirit strictly evangelical, as well as devout. She declares that she was much countenanced in that work, in the Lord's enabling her to improve the glad tidings of salvation, without which she felt herself to be a lost sinner. She also testifies, that this solemn dedication was the means of her attaining "great settledness and serenity of mind;" and that then she was "taken up more than usually in the exercises of delight and praise to the renowned name of him who is the blessed Rose of Sharon, and Lily of the valleys; which made those retirements from a vain world sweet to her for some weeks after." She adds, "The singing of Psalm xlv. was frequently made sweet to me, in those retired walks in Balcarres planting."

After this she resided for a time at Stirling; and she adverts to several private meetings for sermon, at which she was present - some of them in the night, because of the persecution - by which she was strengthened and edified.

Her early scruples about hearing the curates continuing to increase, she very soon altogether withdrew from attending their ministry; and, though frowned upon for this by some in high places, she had the moral courage to act in conformity with her deliberate convictions of duty, in spite of censures and sneers, and enjoyed the inward satisfaction which always accompanies fidelity to conscience. "Being again," says she, "some time after this, brought to Edinburgh, it was found greatly afflicting to attend on these time-serving formal sermons, which then were authorized by authority, and became matter of bitterness, and was such a grievance as did necessarily oblige me to withdraw from frequenting them, both at Stirling and at Edinburgh; and though ill looked upon by some then in power, for being scrupulous about this, yet there was more peace in this, from considerations that were considerable to a mind that was solicitous anent clearness."

Lady Henrietta had been early admitted to the Lord's Supper, and though she afterwards believed that she was then an unworthy partaker, yet this neither cast her into despair, nor led her to neglect the observance of this ordinance in future, but rather served to excite her to diligence in seeking after the qualifications of a worthy communicant. Numerous evidences occur in her diary, of the high veneration with which she contemplated that sacred institution, and of the spiritual comfort and profit she had derived from its observance. In that document, a particular account is given of not less than twenty of these solemn occasions, [*These are one at Weems, one at Pittenweem, one at Tillicoultry, one at Paisley, one at Cambusnethan, one at Killallan, one at Dirleton, three at Campbeltown, one at London, one at Delf, and eight at Rotterdam.*] at which she was a communicant. About this time she went to Cambusnethan, where Mr. William Violant, whom she describes as "that shining light," was indulged minister, to observe the Lord's Supper, though the distance was great from Balcarres, to which she had removed some time before, and she stayed in the house of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, where she met with much kindness, both from friends and strangers.

From Cambusnethan she returned to Edinburgh, where, for a season, through the violence of the persecution, she had no opportunity of hearing the gospel preached. She felt her "silent Sabbaths very bitter," though the secret exercises of religion were very comforting to her; and she again set apart some time for renewing her former transaction of self-dedication to be the Lord's, "which Bethel-day was made among the sweetest she ever had on earth," At length, in private houses, she frequently enjoyed "sweet gospel days, notwithstanding the severities enjoined;" and at these meetings, "which were wonderfully hedged and protected from that avenging persecution," Mr. Alexander Moncrieff and Mr. John Carstairs, "those great and shining lights, were helped marvellously to deliver great truths," and enabled to display "great boldness of spirit, and resolution in the discharge of their Master's work."

About this time she went to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Dirleton, and, returning home, she fell into a languishing condition of body; but, on her removal to Balcarres, she gradually recovered. When previously

residing at Balcarres, she had attended the curate of the parish, "whose ministry was a heavy burden in the place;" but now, more true to her convictions, she altogether absented herself; and yet, on this account, offensive as her conduct might be to the curate, neither her friends nor strangers frowned upon her. Returning to Inverary, she regularly heard Mr. Patrick Campbell preach once every Sabbath, and also derived much spiritual profit from the fellowship and example of some experienced Christians in the parish. She records that, about this time, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, "that eminent shining light," paid a visit to Inverary, and remained several weeks, during which time his ministry was accompanied with much evidence of the power and presence of God. Shortly after, she and several of her friends went to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Killallan, [*Killallan and Houstoun form a united parish, now generally called Houstoun.*] of which Mr. James Hutchison was indulged minister; and, on the close of this occasion, she spent some weeks with the Marchioness of Argyll, at her residence at Roseneath, where, for several sabbaths, she had the pleasure of listening to the pastoral instructions of Mr. Neil Gillies, indulged minister in that place.

Leaving the Marchioness of Argyll, she returned to Inverary, and was soon after united in marriage to Sir Duncan Campbell, fourth baronet of Auchinbreck, who was descended from the same stock as the Earl of Argyll, to whom he was only second in the county of Argyll. He succeeded his uncle, Sir Dugald, who died without issue, soon after the restoration of Charles II. [*Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 62.*] After her marriage, she went to dwell at the residence of Sir Duncan, at Lochgair, a mansion of great size, but which was cast to the ground when the property went to other hands. [*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kilmichael-Glassary, Argyllshire, p. 684. The Campbell of Auchinbreck family held their baron bailie courts at, Kilmichael, then a populous village, and a place of considerable importance, not only to the parish, but also in the county.*] Here she found her lot "abundantly creditable," and also very comfortable, meeting with "much fond affection and kindness," both from Sir Duncan and from his relations; "which," says she, "with all dutiful affection, will be ever remembered with the greatest gratitude." The only want she appears to have felt in this remote locality, was her deprivation of the preaching of the gospel, "these bounds being then as a heath in the wilderness, as to the means of grace;" for the minister of the parish, like too many of the intruded curates, was a corrupt insignificant teacher. On some occasions, however, though rarely, by reason of the persecution, she received visits from nonconforming ministers, by whose society and instruction she was greatly refreshed.

Previous to her confinement, she went to Edinburgh, where, on the 30th of January, her son James, a child whom she devoted to God from the womb, and who afterwards succeeded his father, was born. Some weeks after, she and Sir Duncan, with their child, returned to Lochgair; and, notwithstanding the severity with which the persecution then raged, they enjoyed much tranquillity during the most of that year. At this time, the Earl of Argyll paying them a visit, invited them to come and stay with him for a few months, at the Castle of Inverary. They readily accepted his invitation, and took along with them their infant boy, who was there "nursed with his grandmother with the greatest affection and tenderness."

In July, she and Sir Duncan, with their child, went to Kintyre, with the most of the Earl of Argyll's and her mother's families, forming a numerous company. Their society was exceedingly agreeable, and they had an opportunity of attending at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper in that place, on two Sabbaths in succession. [*Mr. David Simpson was indulged minister of Kintyre, in 1672. He was ejected from his ministry at Southend, after the Restoration, for nonconformity. - Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 328; and vol. ii., p. 204.*] All of them, but especially Lady Campbell and her mother, were much interested in the services of these solemn occasions; "which," says Lady Campbell, writing after the Revolution, "were made a double meal to many; and, indeed, as this meal was doubled to many, so many had a long journey to go in the strength of it, as was sweetly forewarned, and with great utterance and liveliness was told us. I never saw such a sight of young communicants, or more seriousness, the seeds whereof, it is hoped, do remain in that place, that is blessed again with a powerful signaling ministry." She adds, "These two eminent lights soon after were put out, by the removal of Mr. Cameron and Mr. Keith, as a sad presage to the place and to our nation; as indeed appeared immediately after, by the growing desolation and trouble that daily increased; to the putting a further restraint on ministers and people, many of

whom were imprisoned, harassed, chased to the hazard of their lives, the violating of the consciences of others, and the fearful bloodshed of many; retrenching our liberties, so that it was made a crime to meet, or convene to the worship of the living God, except in such a manner as our nation was solemnly sworn against; laying bonds on ministers not to preach, or people to hear, under such and such penalties, fines, hazards, as were endless to rehearse; things running to such a height, to the introducing of Popery itself, if the Lord had not prevented, that there were almost no thinking persons but were under the dread and fear of this approaching judgment. Thus, for several years, was this growing speat of persecution groaned under by many families and persons, which, when called to mind, cannot but excite to wonder, bearing witness to this cruel bondage, much like to the case of those in Psalm lxi. 12, 'Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place;' for which, O to be helped to go to thy house with burnt-offerings, that each of us may pay those vows which our lips have uttered and our mouths have spoken, when we were in this trouble!"

Lady Campbell's attachment to the cause of nonconformity, as might be expected, created her opposition, remote as was the part of the country where she resided; for in the most remote localities there were always some individuals - the curates, if no others - who made it their business to discover such as were hostile to Prelacy, and to entail on them the penalties of persecution. In the year 1684, an attempt was made, owing to the malignity or cupidity of base informers, to banish the worship of God from her house; as appears from her gratefully speaking of the Lord's "mercifully hiding her as in a pavilion, even from the strife of tongues, and of his never-to-be-forgotten mercy under the adversaries' bold attack to turn the worship of God out of her family." From this general statement, the particular circumstances of the case can only be guessed at. As it was then perfectly legal for the master of a family to assemble his own domestics for reading the Scriptures and for prayer, Sir Duncan - had the government been regulated by their own laws, which, however, was not always the case - could not have been found fault with, and punished for performing those duties himself. It may therefore be supposed that he retained in his family a Presbyterian chaplain, whose duty it was to lead the devotions at the domestic altar; and that the government being informed of this, Sir Duncan was threatened with prosecution, or actually prosecuted on that ground. The result she does not declare; but, as an evidence of their firmness of purpose, it may be mentioned, that, when the case was pending, and occasioning them no small anxiety, they cordially welcomed, into their house at Lochgair, an ejected minister, who unexpectedly paid them a visit, though such hospitality was then in no small degree perilous; and they, moreover, during his stay with them, though at the risk of heavy penalties, gladly converted their house into a little sanctuary, where their domestics and neighbours assembled to hear the words of eternal life at his mouth. "But," says she, "while thus under unaccountable thoughtfulness about the event, and great trouble, the Lord directed one of his faithful and chosen servants unexpectedly to our family, the Rev. Mr. Robert Muir, eminent in his day; and though the time was difficulting, yet Sir Duncan was moved to favour and welcome him, and would not part with him for some weeks; which was made a seasonable refreshing visit to some. Those lectures, and family exercise and sermons, were made often as life from the dead, not only instructing to the great conviction of severals, but were made strengthening and comforting to others; and though severals did meet together during his being with us, yet never did the least trouble follow, save to part again, which was not easy to many." Mr. Muir, as we shall see in the sequel, had afterwards an opportunity of repaying the kindness he at this time received from Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan, when his hosts were brought into circumstances of distress.

In the winter following, that is, about the close of the year 1684, or the beginning of the year 1685, Sir Duncan being unjustly and maliciously accused of uttering expressions reflecting on the government, for which he was in danger of prosecution, she proceeded along with him to Edinburgh, through a great fall of snow, with the design, it would appear, of leaving the country; but, on reaching the capital, they were happily relieved from this threatened trouble; and, staying there for some weeks, they had opportunity, though but seldom, of hearing the gospel preached by some of the nonconforming ministers. At this time Charles II died; an event which, severe as the persecution had been under his reign, excited, from the well-known cruelty and bigotry of his brother James, who succeeded him, the most alarming apprehensions in regard to the future. "In which time,"

says she, "King Charles' death fell out, which ushered in great agitation in the minds of many, who did foresee and fear what indeed did follow; matters being screwed to such a height, as Protestants could not but be greatly alarmed; which unquestionably gave rise to the late Earl of Argyll's project from Holland, the Lord seeing it meet to move the heart of severals to bestir themselves in behalf of their religion and liberty, when so largely run down; as did evidently appear by the scaffolding, dragooning, torturing, and barbarous practices among us, so that either our ruin or relief seemed to be at hand."

The summer after this, she and Sir Duncan were residing at Carnassary Castle, [*Carnassary Castle was the residence of Mr. John Carsewell, when, after the Reformation from Popery, he became superintendent of Argyll; and, after his death, which took place in the year 1575, it became the property and occasional residence of the Campbells of Auchinbreck. - New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kilmartin, Argyllshire, pp. 555, 556.*] which stood on an eminence, at the head of the valley of Kilmartin, anciently called Strathmore, and the ruins of which are still to be seen. While residing here, she enjoyed for some weeks the society of her "desirable sister," Lady Sophia. At the same time she was attacked by a high fever, and in her sickness was visited by her mother, who, on her recovery, prevailed with her to accompany her and Lady Sophia to Stirling, and live there with her and her sister, till her health should be more fully recruited.

During the time of her stay with her mother at Stirling, tidings came to the government that the Earl of Argyll had touched at Orkney; upon which, as has already been recorded, her "dear mother" was, by an order of the privy council, immediately apprehended, and carried prisoner to Stirling Castle, and thence, on a Sabbath morning, to the Castle of Edinburgh. Her "dear sister," Lady Sophia, was also imprisoned; and many of the most substantial of the Campbell name were seized, and made close prisoners in the Canongate tolbooth. Some days after, Sir Duncan, on receiving intelligence of the Earl's coming to Campbeltown, and the need he had of aid, willing to hazard his all to promote the design of this undertaking, went, through manifold difficulties, and even at the peril of his life, to join him, with a considerable number of his men, [*Wodrow says eight hundred. - History, vol. iv., p. 290. Fountainhall says two hundred. "Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck," says he, "with two hundred men, went to him, under the pretence he was bound by his charter to assist him; which cannot oblige him against the king, nor defend him for treason." - Decisions, vol. i., p. 363.*] who, however, continued not long together; for they were "scattered," says Lady Campbell, "to the unaccountable, grief and sadness of many, who were breathing for a deliverance."

With much bitterness of spirit she took leave of Sir Duncan at Stirling, when he was about to join Argyll; for she dreaded the result; nor was she altogether satisfied as to the expediency of the undertaking, though the laudableness of the object prevented her from making any opposition. "A time," says she, "not to be forgotten was this, and what this parting was when he left me at Stirling. And though it became me not to be so selfish, as to stand in the way of a more public concern, when so much seemed to be at the stake, yet I was far from encouraging him in it; because I had not that clearness in it that could have been wished. The seen danger he was exposed to at this time, was as the bereaving me of my life, so much was it bound up in him; but the Lord was graciously pleased to support, so that some of those days were made wonderful, and any time spent alone was more than ordinarily countenanced, and these loneliest times were made sweeter than could have been expected, although under the prospect of heavy times to follow." She continues, "The following day, we had the unaccountable, sad, and dismal notice of the ruin of that undertaking, wherein the expectations of many were sadly defeated; but the Lord's time was not come for our deliverance, and that which did greatly aggravate the terribleness of that stroke was the dreadful aspect these circumstances appeared to have, not possible to relate, sufferings of various kinds being from all airths expected, and an increase of our thralldom greatly dreaded."

On the subsequent day, at St. Ninians, she passed, in deep disguise, through several guards, in order to obtain more certain intelligence respecting her nearest friends; and, learning that they were in danger, she was greatly distressed. She watched during the greater part of that night, and returned at four o'clock in the morning to

Stirling; where, on being informed that Sir Duncan was on the road, her fears regarding his safety were heightened. Taking leave that day of her “dear Jamie,” whom “the Lord provided friends to care for,” though she left him very destitute, having no relative to whom she could intrust him - her mother and sister being at this time prisoners - she, with much confusion and agitation of mind, set out for Edinburgh, walking and riding alternately. When some miles on her journey, being then on foot, she unexpectedly met, near Falkirk, the Earl of Argyll, who was brought that length prisoner on his way to Edinburgh; “which,” says she, “was a mournful sight to one who bore him so great affection.” He does not, however, appear to have observed her. She was in deep disguise, and did not venture to come near him, but held up in the rear, at some distance, most part of the way, till the horse on which she was riding failed. Judging it more than probable that Sir Duncan was taken, and being informed by several persons on the road that such was the case, she was greatly troubled; but the report of his apprehension was unfounded; for, though searched for in several places, he was wonderfully preserved from falling into the hands of his enemies - a mercy “which, on many accounts, she desired to remember, with great thankfulness and praise.”

Before reaching Edinburgh, she was under the necessity of staying all night on the road, and had some difficulty in getting lodgings. Owing to the fatigue of travelling, and to great heaviness and pressure of mind, arising from her own personal concerns, from the calamities of various kinds which had befallen, or were about to befall, many who were concerned in Argyll’s attempt, and from fears respecting her husband, of whose safety she was ignorant, sleep departed from her eyes; but, as the Lord had commanded his loving-kindness in the day-time, so in the night of trouble his song was with her, and her prayer unto the God of her life, “who made this among the sweetest nights that ever she had, or durst have expected, so that sleep was neither missed nor sought after.”

Next morning, coming early to Edinburgh, at the opening of the gates, she received the afflicting news of the barbarous treatment the “dear Earl” of Argyll had met with in his being brought to the Castle; and also heard very painful rumours regarding several of her nearest relations, which again plunged her in distress. When revolving in her mind where to go, she was directed to the lodgings of “a dear sympathizing friend, Mr. Robert Muir;” with whom she “found much favour and kind reception, and whose company, on this afflicting Sabbath, was no small blessing to her; and what was I,” she adds, “that the Lord should thus regard me, that in most of my greatest troubles he hath been pleased to favour me with his people’s society and company; but he is gracious, and his compassions fail not.” Ever since Mr. Muir had stayed some weeks with her and Sir Duncan at their house at Lochgair, “his instructions, singular sympathy, and affectionate help,” had been of great advantage to them both; “and, therefore,” says she, “I hope and enjoin that it may not be forgot by such of mine as may outlive this acknowledgment; but above all,” she adds - for her pious spirit led her to see the hand of God in everything - “is to be acknowledged the wonderful compassion of the high and lofty One, in thus compassionating the exigencies of the indigent, and; ‘therefore, I will be glad and rejoice in thy mercy; for thou hast considered my trouble; thou hast known my soul in adversities,’ Psal. xxxi. 7.”

On the following day, she had certain information of Sir Duncan’s “safety, and marvellous preservation,” which greatly relieved her burdened mind concerning him; and she was then in better case to make inquiry after her “dear afflicted mother, who was harshly treated,” and who was greatly afflicted in prospect of the cruel death of her husband, the Earl of Argyll.

Lady Campbell and the Earl of Argyll entertained a high esteem and warm affection for each other. By the Christian excellence of her character she had gained upon his heart, and he always treated her with kindness, as if she had been his own child. She, on the other hand, cherished towards him the tenderness of a daughter. This, as well as sympathy with her mother, made his death a sore stroke to her. On the morning of the day on which he was executed, she obtained an interview with him, though not till he was brought to the council house. When admitted to him, she was greatly comforted in witnessing his composed edifying carriage, in circumstances so trying to human fortitude. After endearing expressions, he said to her, “We must not part like

those not to meet again.” And she testifies, that he went from thence to the place of execution “with the greatest assurance.” As a last memorial of his affectionate remembrance of her, he wrote to her a letter on the last day of his life, and it was probably written in the council house, immediately after this interview between them, at the same time that he wrote a letter to her sister Lady Sophia, and another to her mother. It is as follows: -

“June 30, 1685.

“DEAR LADY HENRIETTA, - I pray God sanctify and bless this lot to you. Our concerns are strangely mixed; the Lord look on them; I know all shall turn to good to them that fear God, and hope in his mercy. So I know you do, and that you may still do it more and more is my wish for you. The Lord comfort you! - I am, your loving father and servant,

ARGYLL.”

[Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 304. Some person had taken a copy of this letter at the time, and by this means it was preserved. Mr. John Anderson, minister of Kirkmaiden, in a letter to Wodrow, dated November 6, 1723, speaking of Wodrow's History, says, "I was much surprised when I read the Earl of Argyll's letter to my Lady Henrietta Campbell, seeing she had often told me she had lost it long ago; but, it seems, some person had got a copy of it, from whom you have had it." - Letters to Wodrow, MSS. in Advocates' Library, vol. xxi., 4to, no. 133.]

To the sorrow of Lady Campbell, occasioned by the execution of Argyll, and the condition of her mother, was added the sorrow occasioned by the cruel manner in which many of the Campbell clan were treated, the close imprisonment of her sister, and the rapine and violence committed upon Sir Duncan's property, and that of his friends and tenants. “At this melancholy time,” she says, “account came of many of our folks, that were taken and brought in like slaves, so as many prisons were filled; others spoiled of all that they had, who had been in jail all this time, and no way in arms; their houses rifled, and young ones put to flight. Many were harassed, and twenty-three gentlemen and feuars were executed in one day, by that bloody person who gave orders for it. *[The Marquis of Atholl. The whole territory of the Campbells was intrusted to him, when the Earl of Argyll fell a sacrifice; and, among other acts of cruelty and lawless violence which he committed, he caused to be executed four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after they had received quarter and protection upon their surrendering, and eighteen more at Inverary, without even the formality of a trial. A small, but chaste monument of chlorite, erected on the spot, close to the church, commemorates their tragical death, and, with great moderation of language, the cause in which they fell. - Wodrow's History, vol iv., p. 310; and New Statistical Account of Scotland, Inverary, Argyllshire.]* My dear sister was close prisoner, so as none of us had access to her; our whole bounds and interest laid waste; many put to flight; our house burned, *[Viz., the Castle of Carnassary.]* and many put to great hardships, as were unaccountable to relate; Sir Duncan's uncle *[Alexander Campbell of]* Strondour, slain at our gate, and *[Dugall Mactavish of]* Duardary, executed at Bowdraught. *[This account is confirmed by "a petition of Sir Duncan Campbell, for himself and his distressed friends, tenants, and vassals in Knapdale, Glassary, arid Kelislait," presented to the Estates of Parliament, after the Revolution. See Appendix, No. XIV.]* Yet,” she adds, “O the graciousness of the Lord, who gave a back for the burden, as is wondered at in looking back on it; as also on the bounty and goodness of the Lord, in the safety of so many in the same circumstances, who were designed to be a sacrifice, but were miraculously preserved.”

While, as is stated in the above extract, the Castle of Carnassary was burned by the enemy, and burned, too, in violation of a solemn treaty, her other and chief place of residence, Lochgair House, was, with the like perfidy, plundered of all its furniture. Sir Duncan's friends defended that house against the Marquis of Atholl's men for some time; but at length they entered into a treaty with them, and surrendered it upon condition that all the furniture, papers, &c., should be preserved, and that they should be allowed to convey them safe to Lady Campbell. But this treaty proved a frail security. Too perfidious to be bound by their own engagements, Atholl's men garrisoned the house and plundered it. The commander of the party, after having taken away and destroyed most of what was in the house, coveting the charter chest, which was of a very curious construction, broke it open, and turned out the papers on the floor of the chamber where it stood, sending away the chest for his own use. After this reckless spoliation, a party of soldiers lay in the house about eight or ten weeks. It is a singular fact, that, after the Revolution, when Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan returned from Holland, they found these papers lying on that chamber floor, exactly in the same state as when turned out of the charter chest, though they had then lain exposed nearly four years, the house being in ruins, and open to everybody.

On coming home, as the mansion at Lochgair was uninhabitable, they dwelt for some time in another house; in which they had not been long, when Lady Campbell wished to go and see their house at Lochgair, and desired Sir Duncan to send some person to look for his papers. He answered, that he was certain that they were all destroyed; but going up herself to see the condition of the house, she found them all lying in a heap on the floor, and caused them to be put up in several trunks and carried to Edinburgh, where, on examination, it was found that not one paper of value was amissing. [*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i., pp. 280-282; and *his History*, vol. iv., p. 310.]

After the execution of the Earl of Argyll, she experienced, for some weeks, much mental anxiety, from the great danger to which Sir Duncan was exposed, of falling into the hands of his enemies. By a proclamation, dated June 24, 1685, for apprehending the leading men who had been concerned in Argyll's attempt, a reward of 1,800 merks was offered to such as should deliver up Sir Duncan, dead or alive, to the government; and it was declared treason to harbour, reset, or correspond with him, or any of the persons named in the proclamation. [*Wodrow's History*, vol. iv., p. 312.] But, at the risk of incurring the penalties of treason, some had the generosity to shelter and harbour him; and this Lady Campbell piously attributes to the mercy of God, who had inclined their hearts to compassion.

In such a state of matters, she and Sir Duncan resolved to leave Scotland. While he should go to Holland for shelter, she was to go to England; with the view, if possible, of obtaining, from his Majesty, the favour of an act of indemnity, securing at once his life and his estates, over both which a deed of forfeiture was impending. His purpose of making his escape, Sir Duncan was enabled speedily to carry into effect. He arrived safely in Holland, on the 14th of August. Meanwhile, having left her child behind her, Lady Campbell and her mother, who determined to accompany her to England, proceeded on their journey; in which they met with several instances of providential preservation, which, with thankfulness, she desired to remember, though the relation of them is omitted in her diary. Many were the conflicting feelings which agitated her mind, in the trying circumstances in which she was now placed; but, like the king of Israel, she always had recourse to God's Word in the time of her affliction, and that was the source whence her comfort was derived. "After this," says she, "being on the road to England, at Durham, on the 9th of August [1685], being the Sabbath, and among strangers, and at a distance from those wished-for ordinances that had been enjoyed, when alone, and full of sadness and anxiety, O how sweet was that word made, and powerfully intimated to me with bowels of compassion - Rom. viii. 33, 'Neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, shall separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord!'"

Reaching London in safety, she continued there for several months; and during that period, which she calls "an afflictive time to both nations, as may be memorable to after ages," she and her mother left no means untried to obtain indemnity for Sir Duncan. But from King James - the consummation of tyranny, bigotry, and cruelty, who had declared, that it would never be well with Scotland until the south of the Forth, where the Covenanters chiefly abounded, was turned into a hunting field, and who had witnessed the limbs of the Presbyterians crushed and mangled in the boot, with exquisite and savage glee - she had little to expect; and the cold reception she met with from men in power, she devoutly contrasts with the benignity and mercy with which the Supreme Ruler of heaven and of earth ever welcomes the humble suppliant, who approaches his throne through Jesus Christ. "Among some sweet hours then," she writes, "though in a very troublesome attendance at Windsor, where great ones of the world were solicited and waited on with no little painfulness and charge, O how did it give occasion to commend the preferableness of his matchless service, who is King of kings and Lord of lords! who does not scare at petitioners because of their blemishes and importunity! there being no want of leisure at his blessed throne; no destitute case is slighted by him; no wilderness condition in a solitary way doth make petitions burdensome to him, but he satisfies the longing soul, and filleth the hungry with good things; no distress, peril, or sword separates from his love, nor does he break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax; with him the weary and heavy-laden find acceptance; no difficulty being too great for him who saveth to the uttermost all that come to God through him."

The sight she had of the court, when at London, was far from exciting in her mind the feelings of envy. Her aspirations were after nobler enjoyments than the pageantry and luxury of a court could bestow. She had chosen the better part, and she thanked God, that, by his grace, he had enabled her to prefer occupying a place among the wronged and injured of his people, to possessing all the wealth and honours of the world. She thus writes in her diary, and the sentiments bespeak the just views she had of the objects of ambition, which become a rational and an immortal being: - "*London, at King's Court.* - Soon after this [that is, after November 1685], having occasion to see the outward splendour of the court, and bravery of such as sit at ease in the world, and have all that their heart could wish, and are in the height of their enjoyment, all appeared to me to be according to the Lord's reckoning, and was esteemed to be but as shadows and dreams, that do vanish and bear little bulk when put in competition with the least amount or degree of enjoyment of God, in Jesus Christ, and did extort this short meditation: - 'O incomparably matchless choice, that can never be suitably esteemed, or enough valued, loved, or delighted in, it being found that there is no true tranquillity, nor sure peace or comfort but in God; once mine and ever mine; there being no change or alteration in his love.' And at this time it was made matter of praise, that ever he had discovered to me the preferableness of choosing affliction with the people of God, to enjoying the pleasures of sin for a season. The blessing of them that are ready to perish be for ever upon him, who has discovered and taught the meaning of that blessed promise, 'And every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life' (Matt. xix. 29); which is seen to be not only full of compensation, but wonderfully beyond any temporal enjoyment that ever was enjoyed elsewhere. His fellowship, his sympathy, his tender mercy, his matchless love; O incomparable felicity and portion! O to give thanks unto the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever."

At the time that Lady Campbell was in London, the English Puritans were greatly oppressed. King James was rigorously executing the severest laws in force against them. Richard Baxter was in prison; John Howe was in exile. Puritan congregations could only meet by night, in private houses, or in waste places; while their ministers were forced to preach to them in the garb of draymen, colliers, or sailors, and to steal into the houses where their hearers were assembled, through windows and trap-doors. [*Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., pp. 204; 214.*] To this distressing condition of the English nonconformists, various allusions are made in Lady Campbell's diary. She states that, while in London, she heard the word preached only in a very private manner, in consequence "of the spirit of violence and persecution which at that time raged in London." On one occasion, she there enjoyed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; but the privacy with which it was observed, and the means taken to prevent discovery, indicate the extreme rigour with which the laws against nonconformity were enforced. It was dispensed in the night-time, in a private house, where a select company had assembled for the holy service. The ministers who officiated, were two Scotsmen, Mr. Nicholas Blaikie, and Mr. George Hamilton - the former, minister of Robertson at the Restoration, from which charge he was ejected for nonconformity; and the latter, minister in the High Church of Edinburgh after the Revolution. The number of communicants was about forty. Speaking of this sacramental occasion, after the Revolution, Lady Campbell says, it "gave occasion for mournful considerations; and though a great privilege to be admitted to [this ordinance], yet now, when looking back on the distress, and barbarous treatment and hazard, that were in those days, which made meeting together about uncontroverted commanded duties to be a crime, this may heighten our notes of praise, and estimation of our privileges, that those restraints have so graciously been removed that now we have such gospel days. This is the doing of the Lord, and wondrous in our eyes."

Very different was the manner in which the Roman Catholics were dealt with by King James. While the most eminent of the Puritan divines were imprisoned, or in exile, friars and monks crowded the streets of London. While the Puritans were interdicted the freedom of the press, the presses of Oxford were throwing off, under a royal license, breviaries and mass books in thousands. While the Puritans could only meet to worship God, in the manner they judged most agreeable to his will, in private houses, by stealth, "the host was publicly exposed in London, under the protection of the pikes and muskets of the foot guards;" and the Popish worship was conducted in their chapels, in the most open and ostentatious manner. [*Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., p.*

204.] During her stay in the English capital, much of this actually fell under the observation of Lady Campbell; to whom, as to the great body of the Protestant community, it was a just cause of grief, as well as of painful apprehension, though it served to establish her faith in the truth of the Protestant doctrines. “One time there” [in London, 1685], says she, “going by a Popish chapel, with a very heavy heart, to see such crowdings so avowedly to this idolatrous worship, two or three of us went to the door to see the manner of their worship, who thus were deluded, being told we might, without going in, see them without being seen, which proved otherwise; for, being noticed as strangers to their foppery, after standing a while to observe and wonder at this abomination, to see it set up in a Protestant country, we had nearly been knocked down unawares, but narrowly escaped - from which the hazard was seen of venturing upon curiosity - yet blessed be God for this much of instruction, in seeing such a sight as helped to confirm us in the truth of the one Mediator between God and man.”

At London, her intercessions in behalf of her husband, Sir Duncan, met with so little success, that, at the very time of her being there, the government were proceeding against him, in his absence, to the greatest possible extremity. On the 11th of September 1685, when she had been in London a few weeks, the Scottish privy council ordered the king’s advocate to proceed against him, and others, before the justiciary court, for joining with Argyll; and, previously, to examine witnesses in accordance with the king’s letter. [*Wodrow’s History*, vol. iv., p. 320.] On the 12th of October, he and thirty-two Argyllshire heritors were “cited on sixty days, for treason;” and, on the 14th of December, being called at the justiciary court to be forfeited on probation, their case was delayed to the 5th of January 1686. [*Fountainhall’s Decisions*, vol. i., p. 370.] On the 5th of January that year, when she had been in London nearly five months, he and the Argyllshire heritors, already referred to, were tried on an indictment of rebellion and treason, for their concern in Argyll’s insurrection; and, their case having been remitted to a jury, who brought in a verdict of guilty, they were forfeited in life and fortune. [*Fountainhall’s Decisions*, vol. i., p. 389. *Wodrow’s History*, vol. iv., p. 355. *Fountainhall* says, that the witnesses against them were the Laird of Ellangreg, &c., though under process of treason themselves.]

At length, finding that all her pains at court in behalf of Sir Duncan were to very little purpose, she considered it needless to wait in London any longer. But, when about to leave the English capital in March 1686, she was in some difficulty whether to embark for Holland, or to return to Scotland. Her affection to, and sympathy with her distressed and endeared husband, inclined her to join him in Holland; but against such an intention her mother and others endeavoured to dissuade her, judging it would be more conducive to his interest for her to return to Scotland. But at last she resolved to go to Holland, convinced that this was her duty, though she confesses that it was afflicting to her to think of leaving in a strange land, and of not accompanying home, her dear mother, who had been at such pains and toil for her; and that “deference and duty to one of the best of parents, made her not complying with her mother’s demand very affecting.”

She accordingly parted with her mother in March or April 1686, to go to some seaport town in England, which she does not name, whence she was to embark for Holland. She was entirely alone, not having even a servant with her, in consequence of the severity of the times. In this place she was detained by contrary winds twelve days, during which time she was lodged in a boarding establishment, where she knew no individual, “save the Christian sweet woman to whose house she had been recommended.” But, though removed from friends and acquaintances, she here found favour among strangers, several providential instances of which she refers to, without being further particular. Interested in her case, from the information which, without her knowledge, he had received concerning her, the master of the vessel, unasked, took his wife along with him to accompany her during the voyage. Both of them were extremely kind to her; and the weather being highly favourable, the voyage was the most agreeable that could have been desired.

Landing in Holland at the Brill, she was cordially welcomed by Sir Duncan, who had come to meet her. They went together to Amsterdam, where they had the States’ protection, which secured him from the danger to which he would have been elsewhere exposed, in consequence of his forfeiture; and she observes, that “though

the place was lonely, and our circumstances not without discouragement, yet we were not wholly debarred from gospel means, which was several times refreshing, as the effect of gracious condescension undeserved, which many times supported us.” She adds, “In this place, the Lord stirred up friends in a strange land, and particularly some who are yet alive of our nation, who were most stedfast and friendly, the sense of which is desired to be borne with the greatest gratitude; and whose conversation, usefulness, painfulness, and ministry since, has many times been strangely countenanced to some, as doth leave a lasting impression to the charging such of mine as shall, I hope, survive me, to have the endearing sense of it, and, to their power, to requite with all suitable just veneration and esteem, leaving it as my desire not to be unmindful of it, since to such, I shall to my dying day, wish that the Lord may requite them with his special favour, and that grace and peace may be multiplied to them.”

The persecution continuing so severe in Scotland, as to present little hope of Sir Duncan being soon able to reside, with safety, in his native country, Lady Campbell returned to Scotland in June 1686, with the design of bringing over to Holland their only child, and of settling their little affairs, in order to their more fixed abode in that land of freedom. Leaving Sir Duncan for a time, “with a very sore heart,” she went to Rotterdam for a Scottish vessel, which was thence to embark for Scotland. The winds being contrary, she was detained in that city for some time, and on the Sabbath she heard sermon in the Scotch church there, by the minister of the church, Mr. Robert Fleming, whom she terms “that great and shining light in his day.” So highly did she estimate the public institutions of religion, that her detention in Rotterdam over the Sabbath was rather pleasing to her than otherwise, as it awarded her an opportunity of worshipping God in his sanctuary, a privilege which she the more highly prized, from the frequency with which she was deprived of it in her native land. The text from which she heard Mr. Fleming preach was John xi. 40: “Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?”

On the following Sabbath, she was on board the vessel, which lay at anchor in the Brill, and heard two sermons preached by Mr. William Moncrieff, minister of Largo after the Revolution [*For some notices of Mr. William Moncrieff, see Dr. Fraser’s life of Ebenezer Erskine, p. 209; and his Life of Ralph Erskine, p. 146.*] (a son of the excellent Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Scoonie, who had been ejected for nonconformity after the Restoration), who was coming over to Scotland in the same ship, from these words in Psal. xlv. 2: “Thou art fairer than the sons of men; grace is poured into thy lips;” by which she was much comforted and confirmed. Next Sabbath, they were tossed on the ocean by a great storm, which drove them back on the coast of Holland; but, when the seamen were about to cut the mast, the tempest was allayed. The Sabbath after, they lay at anchor at the Bass, where a considerable number of the Presbyterians were then in confinement; and she had “a sweet day of the sunshine of the gospel,” Mr. William Moncrieff having preached from these words in Isaiah xxxii. 2, “A man shall be an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.”

On landing at Leith, the severity of the persecution suggested it to her as prudent to disguise herself, to escape discovery; and she came in disguise to the house of her dear friend Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, the ejected minister of Scoonie, who was now residing, with his family, in Edinburgh. “Here,” says she, “I had much kind welcome and sympathy; from some who are now in glory, and others of them yet alive, whose sympathy and undeserved concern is desired to be borne in mind, with much gratitude.” But any uncertain abode she had was with her dear mother, at Stirling; of whose tender care and affection for all her children, and for her in particular, she speaks, as we have seen before, in the highest terms. She continued in Scotland eight weeks, during which time she looked after the worldly affairs of Sir Duncan, which had then a very ruined-like and discouraging aspect.

On her way to Holland with her only child, she encountered a great storm at sea, and was even in “hazard of being swallowed up among the waves;” under which, though she was “in anguish of spirit through excessive fear,” she got her “burdens devolved on the blessed Rock of ages.” On her arrival, she was “welcomed with

much affection and kindness” by Sir Duncan; and they took up their residence in Rotterdam. In this city, our expatriated countrymen enjoyed singular religious advantages. Mr. Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity at St. Andrews, [*Lady Campbell was personally acquainted with Halyburton; and to her his Memoirs, published after his death, were dedicated by his widow.*] who, in May 1685, when a boy, went with his mother to Rotterdam, whither she was obliged to retire by reason of the hot persecution, thus writes in his Memoirs: “On the Lord’s Day, we had three sermons and two lectures in the Scots Church; on Thursday, a sermon there likewise. On Tuesday, one of the suffering ministers by turns preached. There was a meeting for prayer on Wednesday. On Monday and Friday nights, Mr. James Kirkton commonly lectured in his family. On Saturday, he catechised the children of the Scots sufferers who came to him.” [*Halyburton’s Memoirs, part ii., chap. i.*] Lady Campbell speaks of “the powerful and great means of which she had a constant succession, under dear Mr. Fleming’s ministry;” and in her diary, there are many entries containing notes of the sermons she heard preached, both on ordinary Sabbaths and on sacramental solemnities, in the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, by Mr. Fleming, and other exiled Scottish ministers. In addition to other religious services in which they engaged, it was the custom of the English and Scottish ministers who had taken shelter in Holland from the persecution, to meet together once in the week, or more frequently, for solemn prayer, on account of the distressing state of affairs in their native land. Lady Campbell was in the habit of attending these meetings; and she was wont to tell a curious anecdote of John Howe, the celebrated English nonconformist divine, [*Howe had gone abroad in 1685, and, after travelling in various parts, settled at Utrecht in 1686.*] strongly illustrative of the uncommon fervour of his devotion. The anecdote, which we give in the words of Wodrow, is as follows: - “Mr. John Anderson tells me [1726] he had this account from Lady Henrietta Campbell, of the great Mr. Howe. He was a man that was the most mighty wrestler in prayer she ever knew, and gave one instance when in Holland, where he was about 1686. The banished and refugee ministers met weekly, or oftener, for prayer, where Lady Henrietta used to be present. After some had prayed, Mr. Howe’s turn came. He continued long, and with such fervour, that the sweat streamed down. Mrs. Howe, his wife, knowing his manner, and that it would not divert him in time of it, stepped to him gently, took off his wig, and with her napkin dried the sweat, and put on his wig again! This she was obliged to do twice, if not thrice, and Mr. Howe seemed not to know what was done to him.” [*Wodrow’s Analecta, vol. iii., p. 303.*] This exactly corresponds with the description Dr. Calamy gives of Howe’s gift of prayer. “He had great copiousness and fluency in prayer,” says that writer; “and the hearing him discharge that duty upon particular sudden emergencies, would have been apt to have made the greatest admirer of stunted forms ashamed of the common cavils and objections against that which is usually called extemporary prayer.” [*Calamy’s Life of Howe, prefixed to the imperial octavo edition of his Works, p. 1.*]

In the middle of July 1688, Lady Campbell was necessarily called to the Hague, there to attend the court several days; having, probably, been invited by William, Prince of Orange, and Princess Mary, to come along with Sir Duncan, who shared in the counsels of William, in reference to the contemplated invasion of Britain; the tyranny of King James having now become intolerable to the great majority of his subjects of all parties, with the exception of the Papists. She went, though “not without great reluctancy, and fear of the consequences.” But “the sight of the splendour of that court,” excited in her mind more agreeable feelings than the sight of the splendour of the court of King James; “it being a satisfaction,” she remarks, “to see great ones so promising, and even blessing-like to the church and people of God, and that, hitherto, had been such a support to many in distress;” and the enterprise, of the result of which, from the failure of Argyll’s attempt, she was not without apprehensions, was destined to have a more successful issue, being the means appointed by providence of delivering these lands from the grinding yoke of tyranny and persecution.

Preparations were for some time vigorously made for this undertaking; and when William’s intentions became known, they met with the cordial approbation of the great body of the population in Holland. The English and Scottish refugees embarked in the cause with ardent enthusiasm; and the Dutch poured forth their earnest and united prayers to Almighty God for its success. Lady Campbell thus describes the state of public feeling in Holland: - “About this time [September 16, 1688], the great design came to be above board, of forces coming to Britain, with the then Prince of Orange, wherein the Lord did marvellously appear, in animating of hearts to

a joint concurrence with this project, so that more than ordinary concern might have been read in the generality of persons, who were well-wishers to the Protestant interest; and after preparation made, and joint supplication appointed to be through all the churches in the Seven Provinces, though there wanted not great difficulties to grapple with, because of apparent danger and hazards; yet when accorded to, and time appointed for this undertaking, there was a wonderful resoluteness and forwardness that possessed, in general, all who were honoured with this undertaking, as if the Lord had endued them with more than ordinary resoluteness and courage, which must be ascribed to his doing only, who moved this design and carried it on for our deliverance; for which, O to be helped for ever to bless his name!”

Sir Duncan was among those who were appointed first to embark; and they attended, in their ships, nearly three weeks before the rest were ready. Previous to his embarkation, Lady Campbell took leave of him with a heavy heart; being now left alone in a strange country, and not knowing but the event might be terrible. “Yet,” says she, “there being so much at stake, each appeared to add his mite with more cheerfulness, resolution, and submission, than another, more than, without immediate support, could have been attained. That was made a time of more than ordinary concern, and even of liberty and enlargedness often, which was very supporting, and did much sweeten what, otherwise, would with great difficulty have been got over.”

About a fortnight after the embarkation of their friends, she, and several others, having been told that some of the ships lying at anchor were lost - a report to which they gave the more credit from the stormy and unfavourable state of the weather - resolved to visit their friends, though at a distance of two days' journey, in order to ascertain whether or not the report was true; that, in case of finding them safe, they might supply them with fresh provisions. Having travelled to the neighbourhood of the place where the ships were anchored, they went out to them in a small boat; in doing which their lives were exposed to imminent peril, the boat having been cast in among the fleet in a mighty storm. Missing Sir Duncan, Lady Campbell was greatly discomposed; but, on learning that no harm had befallen him, her mind was calmed, and she, with her fellow-visitors, were safely brought to land, notwithstanding the severity of the storm. She returned to her dwelling, at Rotterdam, on the Friday; and, for some days after, experienced much weariness, and great indisposition, in consequence of the fatigue and anxiety to which she had been subjected.

At length William's fleet, which consisted of more than six hundred vessels, being prepared for sailing, he took farewell of the States of Holland, at a solemn sitting they had on the 16th of October, on which day, also, public prayers were offered up for him in all the churches of the Hague; and, accompanied by the deputies of the principal towns to his yacht, he arrived in the evening at Helvoetsluys, and went on board “the Brill” - the name of the vessel in which he sailed. On the 19th of October, he put to sea with his armament, and “traversed, before a strong breeze, about half the distance between the Dutch and English coasts. Then the wind changed, blew hard from the west, and swelled into a violent tempest. The ships scattered; and, in great distress, regained the shore of Holland as they best might. The Brill reached Helvoetsluys on the 21st of October.” [*Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., pp. 476, 480.*] Lady Campbell describes the magnificent appearance of the fleet, when about to sail; the storm by which it was compelled to return; and the merciful providence observable even in this apparent disaster. “About this time, all the fleet were in readiness to sail, and jointly met to attend King William in this great expedition to Britain; multitudes being gathered together, on steeples, to see this splendid sight, which, in rank and file, went out this evening, as was esteemed a beautiful sight for grandeur, order, and comely fortitude, in this so great a design, that though there were some whose hearts were trembling within them, yet the most were rejoicing as if the arm of man could have accomplished this marvellous achievement, which, ere the next morning, was seen to be ascribed to a higher hand; this night there being raised so formidable a storm as did wholly scatter all this fleet, so that, generally, there were few this night who had any concern, but were put to their peremptors and sad conclusions, fearing them to be wholly lost (the dear princess, and several besides, sitting up the most of this night), and many were running to the coasts, to observe what shipwreck could be discerned. It was a most terrible night, both by sea and land. But O, the wonderful condescension of the Lord, who knew better than we did how to deliver, and how to

forward his own work, that made this the means of carrying it on; for, had they gone forward to their intended landing, they had met with a great army intended to have routed them. But, besides, several of those vessels having fallen short of provisions, by long attendance, and, also, they not having landing boats, all this made it soon after a marvellous providence, that they were made by this storm to return without the loss of one man, and with the loss of only one [vessel], and some horses that were thrown overboard. [Macaulay says that no life was lost, and that "one vessel only had been cast away." - *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 477. Wodrow has the following entry in his *Analecta*: - "Mr. John Anderson tells me that he had this from Lady Henrietta Campbell, who was in Holland at the time, that there were very great measures of a spirit of prayer in Holland, at the time of the Prince of Orange's coming off: that it was a very remarkable mercy to his design that he was put back the first time, for the French squadron was at sea, and would certainly have attacked him; and, through some mistake, their boats, and several other things necessary for landing, were left behind them, without which they could have done little, though they had gone forward." - Vol. i., pp. 280-282.] The ship that King William was in, was among the first that in safety returned, to the joy and rejoicing of all Holland, and particularly those of us who had our nearest and dearest relations embarked with him, all returning in safety to Helvoetsluys, where their abode was more than twelve days, till they were wholly recruited again." She adds, "My dear husband was among the first that arrived, and gave account of their safety; the seeing of whom so unexpectedly made me almost at the fainting with the surprise; which was a pleasant disappointment, and ground of thankfulness, that the Lord had been so gracious in disappointing the hopes of enemies, and fears of friends."

In the same evening on which Sir Duncan arrived, she went with him and some friends by water to Helvoetsluys, where, from the crowded state of the place, they, like many others, remained together in the harbour, in the yacht, for three or four days, till they found accommodation in a Dutch minister's house, in a country village near by, providing for themselves their own provisions. This village contained at this time many of the Scots and English, not less, it was computed, than several hundreds.

When William and his fleet were ready to put to sea a second time, she and others were allowed to attend their



Landing of the Prince of Orange, in 1688.

friends to their ships, “which,” says she, “was a beautiful sight to see such a number gathered together for the Protestant interest, in a time when so great an invasion was made on it, and our properties.” On the night on which the fleet set sail, which was on the evening of November 1, she was in a state of no inconsiderable agitation and anxiety of mind, “not only from the hazards that appeared to those in whom she was particularly interested, but even from the hazard so public and great a design might be exposed unto, if the Lord did not signally appear for them.” It seems to have been about this time that she dreamed the dream recorded by Wodrow, and which we shall here give in his own words: “Mr. John Anderson of Kirkmaiden,” says he, “tells me that he hath this from Lady Henrietta Campbell, that she went with her husband to the shore side, when he embarked with the Prince; and, after she came back, she slept but little that night: that in the morning after, she had fell to a slumber, and had this remarkable dream, which she communicated to the Countess of Sutherland and the Princess of Orange, who were much taken with it. She thought she was at the fleet, and they came safe to the coast of England, and at the place where they landed, there was a great high brazen wall before them. She thought they resolved to land, and when they were endeavouring to get over it, it fell all down before them in Bibles. She could not but reflect afterwards, upon the success of the expedition, upon this, as some emblem of that clear knowledge, and the settlement of the gospel, and the use making of the Scripture in opposition to Popery that followed the happy Revolution. This person is a lady of great piety and good sense, and no visionary.” [*Wodrow’s Analecta*, vol. i., pp. 280-282. Wodrow says, in another part of the same work, “Mr. John Anderson [May 1725] tells me several accounts of Lady Henrietta Campbell, which, I believe, are set down in some of the former volumes: That of her dream about the Prince of Orange being driven back, and the wall falling down in Bibles; that about a fellow coming in to her asking charity with a drawn dagger; that about the Lord’s supplying her straits, after a sweet Scripture was borne in upon her by means of the Princess of Orange.” - *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 196. The two last anecdotes here referred to are not recorded in the preceding volumes of the *Analecta*, as Wodrow supposes, and are probably now lost.]

The day after the fleet put to sea, Lady Campbell, and such others as had been taking farewell of their friends, journeyed to their respective homes; some of them on foot, and some of them in waggons, with more hope as to the issue, than, since the last disaster, they had been able to entertain.

Not long after, the Prince of Orange’s undertaking being crowned with complete success, and James being driven from his throne, she embarked in a vessel bound for England on her way to Scotland, where she and Sir Duncan had now the prospect of being able to live in peace, and of having restored to them their forfeited estates. But, pleasing as was this prospect, it was not without a pang that she left the land of her exile, to which, as the sanctuary that had sheltered her from persecution, her heart had contracted a grateful attachment; and it was particularly painful to her feelings to part with Mr. Fleming, from whose ministry and social intercourse she had often derived much comfort and edification; so that, to use her own words, “this parting was as the child being bereaved of the breast.”

On her arrival at London, she found the cause of William universally popular, and matters very different from what they were in 1685 and 1686, when, during her abode in the capital, she could hear sermon only by stealth, and observe the Lord’s Supper only during the darkness of the night, in a private house. Now, dissenters could assemble to conduct religious worship in the post public manner, without any to make them afraid. “There were acclamation and rejoicing,” she says, “even in the streets, for this great deliverance. And O how refreshing was it to find, that the Lord had opened a door so marvellously to gospel privileges, which, at leaving the place [London], there was so little probability of. But what marvellous things are with him who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working! And as this work was memorable and great, so it did greatly endear the instrument by whom it was carried on.”

She speaks, in a similar manner, of the state of Scotland on her reaching Edinburgh. “Our arrival at Edinburgh had its own mixture of great mercy, and of that crowning mercy of being welcomed with access to the purity of gospel ordinances; being the sweeter, on our calling to mind the restraint and difficulty that formerly had been seen there in later years, when made the seat of bloodshed and oppression.” [*Here the Diary of Lady Campbell closes.*]

On the triumph of the cause of civil and religious freedom, in which Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan had suffered so much, they were fairly entitled to some compensation, and William, when Prince of Orange, having promised to remember them, she reminded Lord Melville, secretary of state for Scotland, of their claims. [*See her letter to that nobleman, dated January 6, 1689, among the Leven and Melville Papers, p. 44.*] Nor was the government of William backward to do them justice, by at least restoring to them their own. Sir Duncan's name appears, among hundreds of other names, in the Act passed in the Scottish Parliament, July 1690, rescinding the forfeitures and fines incurred by the Covenanters on account of their principles, since the year 1665, and restoring such of them as were then alive, or their heirs and successors, to their goods, fame, and worldly honours, and warranting them to use all lawful means for the recovery of the same. And, on the 8th of July that same year, the Parliament, on hearing read Sir Duncan's petition formerly referred to, in relation to the cruelties, robberies, and oppressions committed on himself and his tenants, after the suppression of Argyll's insurrection, grant warrant for citing the persons named in the petition as the perpetrators, and the representatives of such of them as were dead, to compare before them within fifteen days after the charge, to answer to the complaint, provided the Parliament should be sitting, and otherwise to compare before the commission, appointed by an Act of this Parliament, entitled, "Act for rescinding fines and forfeitures;" the hearing of the parties, and the taking probation upon the points of the complaint, being remitted to the said commission, who were to report to the next session of that, or a subsequent Parliament. [*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*] In the Parliament of June 1693, the case relating to the repairing the damages of the baronet, and all other similar sufferers, is remitted to the lords of the privy council, in order to their sending a recommendation in reference to that matter to his Majesty. [*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*]

After the Revolution, Sir Duncan, intending to reside, with his family, at Lochgair, proposed, in a letter to the synod of Argyll, dated 4th August 1690, that a church should be planted there; promising to dedicate the tithes he had about that place as a part of the stipend of the minister to be settled, and offering to build a suitable church at his own expense. The proposal was favourably received, but, for reasons unknown to us, it was never carried into effect. [*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Glassary, Argyllshire, p. 694.*] Sir Duncan was a commissioner for the shire of Argyll, in the Scottish Parliament, for several years after the Revolution. He died in November 1700, as we learn from the Records of the Scottish Parliament; for, on the 14th of that month, a petition from the freeholders of Argyllshire was read before the Parliament, craving warrant to elect a commissioner in his room, in respect of his apparently hopeless indisposition, his own demission being read at the same time; and, in the proceedings of the 9th of the following month, he is mentioned as "deceased." It is a singular fact, that, in his last days, Sir Duncan embraced the Popish religion. In the petition of the freeholders of Argyllshire, another reason, besides his sickness, why they crave warrant to elect a commissioner to the Parliament, in his place, is, "that several members of Parliament had declared that he owned himself to be a Papist." This was a source of deep affliction to Lady Campbell; for "his eternal interest was no less coveted by her than her own, a duty she ever thought due to so near and dear a relation as a husband." But, from a passage in her diary, there seems some reason to believe that, on his deathbed, his sentiments underwent an important change, and that he built his hopes of heaven upon a more substantial foundation than the delusions of popery. After adverting to her solicitude about the welfare of his soul, and the enlargement she obtained in pleading at the throne of grace in his behalf, she adds, "who, I desire to hope, obtained mercy, as a thought of great consequence to some all the days of their life; that in a manner are deputed, while in the world, to go to the grave mourning for what was wrong in him, and yet not to mourn as those that have no hope."

Sir Duncan was succeeded by his son James, who was thrice married, and had, by his three wives, fifteen children. Sir James died, at an advanced age, in the year 1756. [*Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 62.*]

Lady Campbell survived the Revolution more than thirty years. Whether, during that period, she continued to keep a register of her spiritual exercise, and of the events of her life, is uncertain. If she did so, no such

document is now preserved; and little of her subsequent history is known. It is, however, certain that she maintained a high reputation to the last for Christian excellence and piety. The following anecdote, recorded by Wodrow, places the strict integrity of her character in a very interesting and instructive light: - "In the year 1703, this same Lady Henrietta Campbell was, with her brother, the Earl of Balcarres, at his house. He, with those of his kidney, were then very active in addressing the Queen and Parliament for a toleration, and they used all means to procure a multitude of hands to their address; and this was one: They made many believe that it was quite another thing that they were subscribing than it was, and read it otherwise than it was really written; and by this means got many well-meaning people to subscribe it. The Earl caused his manager of the address bring it to L[ady] H[enrietta], and told her such and such persons had subscribed, and pressed her much to do it; and she said she would subscribe nothing till she heard it. He read it, and it was pretty smooth. She desired it to read herself, not from a jealousy, but really to ponder it. This would by no means be granted, which made her suspect. She found means to get a sight of the address, and she found it perfectly another thing than was read to her. She reproached her brother with this base dealing with poor people. He begged she would not discover it, but she told him, unless he would stop it and tear it, she would; and, upon his refusal, she acquainted the minister of the place with it, who, upon the Sabbath, did very fully lay out the cheat to the people; who next came in and complained that they were abusers and threatened to send a counter-address, with an account of their treatment, to the Parliament. This, with the thing's spreading, marred that address effectually; and bred a great breach between the lady and her brother, for two or three years." [Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i., pp. 280-282.]

Lady Campbell died about 1721. Mr. John Anderson, minister of Kirkmaiden, in a letter to Wodrow, dated October 24th that year, formerly quoted, alludes to her as being then dead; and her death, it is probable, took place not long before, for Wodrow, when the second volume of his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* was going through the press, which was in the same year, speaks of her, in referring to the letter which the Earl of Argyll wrote to her on the day of his execution, as then alive. [Wodrow's *History*, vol. iv., p. 304.]

The particulars relating to her last sickness not being preserved, we have not the satisfaction of receiving, from her dying lips, a testimony to the truth and importance of religion; but, what is of greater practical value, we have the memorials of the Christian virtues and graces which she exemplified. The preceding sketch has been almost confirmed to the first thirty or thirty-two years of her life, there being few materials for illustrating her subsequent history. But what has passed under our notice during that period exhibits, besides some variety of incident, many features of Christian excellence worthy of imitation. The depth and fervour of her early piety cannot fail to have struck the reader; and the maturity which the Christian graces attained in her more advanced years, fulfilled the promising appearances of her childhood and youth. Casting in her lot, in the morning of her days, with the persecuted Covenanters, she suffered not a little in the cause of the civil and religious freedom of her country; but, under all her sufferings on that account which were endured in the prime of life, between the twentieth and the thirtieth years of her age, when she might naturally have expected the largest share of her earthly felicity, she displayed a patient continuance in well-doing, a faith in God's love, and a dependence on his providence, which bore testimony to the sincerity and the strength of her piety. Inspired with supreme love to God, she devoted much of her time to secret prayer, and the study of the Scriptures. On the Sabbath, for which she had a high veneration, she accounted it an invaluable privilege to listen to the lessons of piety delivered by the ministers of the Word; and when at any time deprived of this privilege, she spent the hours of that sacred day in the secret exercises of religion, in reading the Scriptures, in spiritual meditation, and in prayer. The observance of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to her the most delightful service in which she could engage. Careful in observing Divine providence, she contemplated everything in her lot - all her trials, as well as all her mercies - as proceeding from God; and, having chosen him as her portion, she was satisfied with the wisdom of her choice, all the things of the world, when compared with him, sinking, in her estimation, into utter insignificance. In every relation of life, whether as a daughter, a sister, a wife, or a mother, she acted an exemplary part. Warm and generous in her affections, she was a sincere and an attached friend. Amiable in her dispositions, and engaging in her manners, she almost

universally met with kind attentions among strangers, as well as among friends; and, singularly grateful in her temper of mind, the acts of kindness shown to her under her sufferings and wanderings she never forgot. They were preserved in her memory as if engraven upon adamant; and we find her leaving it, as a dying injunction upon those nearest and dearest to her whom she left behind, to remember and reward such proofs of sympathy and friendship; nor is it unimportant to observe, how her gratitude to man was mingled with her gratitude to God; for, while she refers with delight to the acts of kindness shown to her by man in the time of her affliction, she never fails to trace every such act of kindness to God, who, as she believed, disposed the hearts of men to pity and to befriend her. Such are some of the leading features of the character of this lady, on whom God had conferred such abundant grace, and who is so well entitled to a place among those pious women of Scotland, who, in the face of persecution, kept the commandment of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.



Arquebasier, time of Charles II.