Lady Anne Halkett

Suzanne Linda Trill

LADY ANNE HALKETT

An in-depth examination of Lady Anne Halkett's writing is long overdue. Although Lady Anne Halkett is beginning to receive much warranted critical attention, to date scholars have concentrated almost exclusively on her autobiographical 'Memoirs'. Consequently, her extensive 'Select and Occasional Meditations', have been neglected or marginalised. While these texts are devotional in nature, they also bear witness to Halkett's own sense of self and subjectivity. The structure of this edition provides the first opportunity for scholars to place Halkett's 'Memoirs' in its moment of production an in relation Halkett's other writings. In so doing, we gain a unique insight into a particular early modern woman's devotional practice and her developing subjectivity.

Suzanne Trill's original introduction discusses how this combination of texts requires scholars to revise their representations of Halkett and her writing. Trill argues for a more detailed interrogation of Halkett's national and religious affliations; to this end, she offers an analysis of the religious conflicts between Scotland and England, 1660-1700, with particular reference to Halkett's representation of her ministers' experiences within this conflict.

Halkett's intense engagement with contemporary social, political and religious changes makes her writing more than simply the record of an individual woman's life. This edition of selections of her writings offers a new angle on Halkett's life and writing that will be of interest to literary scholars, historians, linguists, and to those interested in women's studies in general.

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Lady Anne Halkett

Selected Self-Writings

Edited by
SUZANNE TRILL
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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2007 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Halkett, Anne, Lady, 1622-1699
Lady Anne Halkett : selected self-writings. – (The early modern Englishwoman, 1500-1750. Contemporary editions) 1. Halkett, Anne, Lady, 1622-1699 2. Women authors, English – Early modern, 1500-1700 – Biography 3. Authors, English – Early modern, 1500-1700 – Biography 4. Great Britain – History – Stuarts, 1603-1714 – Sources
I. Title II. Trill, Suzanne
828.4'08

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Halkett, Anne, Lady, 1622-1699.
[Selections. 2007]
Lady Anne Halkett : selected self-writings / [edited by] Suzanne Trill.
p. cm. — (Early modern Englishwoman, 1500-1750. Contemporary editions)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-7546-5052-2 (alk. paper) 1. Meditations. 2. Christian women—Religious life—Scotland. 3. Women—Scotland—History—17th century—Sources. 4. Women—Scotland—Intellectual life—17th century. 5. Scotland—Church history—17th century. 6. Scotland—Social life and customs. 7. Scotland—History—17th century. I. Trill, Suzanne. II. Title.

BV4832.3.H35 2007
942.06092—dc22

2006030022

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-5052-2 (hbk)

For Phil, with all my love

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General Editors' Preface

Foregrounding women and gender has created a genuine revolution in the way we construct the early-modern period, and the aim of *Contemporary Editions* (like its sister series, *The Early Modern Englishwoman, 1500–1750: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works*) is to encourage and perpetuate this revolution by making available the texts that in so many ways have generated it.

Contemporary Editions shares with the facsimile series a desire to recover neglected or unknown texts as well as to make more readily available texts that the feminist rereading of the period has now brought to light. Apart from the inherent differences in editorial methodology between the two series, the format of the new series permits a fuller response to the wide range of writings of and about women. *Contemporary Editions* is designed to provide distinguished editions, in both modernized and old-spelling format, of writings not only by but also for and about early-modern women. Volumes include long, interpretive essays and range widely in format from anthologies to single texts.

We hope that this series will capture the energy of the many scholars who are engaged in the reinterpretation of the early-modern period, and that *Contemporary Editions* will in time become, like its sister project 'a library of essential works' for the study of early-modern women and gender.

Acknowledgements

My work on Lady Anne Halkett began during a year's Research Fellowship funded by the Leverhulme Trust, 2001-2. That year was spent tracing early modern women's writing in manuscripts held in the Edinburgh archives, particularly the NLS. The intended outcome was to produce a checklist of such writing, which was recently published in *Woman and the Feminine*, edited by Sarah M. Dunnigan et al. During the process of this research, however, I became increasingly fascinated with the most prolific of the women writers I discovered: Lady Anne Halkett. I have been engaged in continuing research on her since that date and my work on this remarkable woman has been greatly assisted by a wide range of individuals and institutions.

My early work on Lady Anne Halkett benefited greatly from the support of my then flat mates, Lauren Martin and Laura Stewart. Lauren was working on the *The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* and Laura was a postgraduate in the Edinburgh University Scottish History department. Not only did I benefit from general discussion with them, but their expertise in historical research in Scotland played a vital role in enabling me to uncover various sources and resources with which I was unacquainted. They also introduced me to other members of their department, including Julian Goodare who has been a generous reader and has helped me to avoid some potential historical pitfalls. David Mullan's enthusiasm for my project was a source of inspiration; I am grateful for many discussions, both in person and by email, which increased my understanding of the study of Christianity in Scotland during this turbulent period. I have also gained further insight from the many helpful comments and suggestions made by colleagues at conference and seminar presentations; particular thanks here to Elaine Beilin, Marie-Louise Coolahan, Crawford Gribben, Diane Henderson, Randy Robertson, Michael Schoenfeldt, Adam Smyth, Alison Thorne, Helen Vincent, and Sue Wiseman. In addition to David, Julian and Sue, I would like to thank Vicki Burke, Melanie Osborne and Diane Purkiss for their comments on earlier drafts of my introduction. I have also profited greatly from detailed discussions with Faith Lanum and Sara Murphy, both of whom have recently completed post-graduate dissertations on Lady Anne Halkett's life and writing. Although I was supervising Sara's M.Phil., the relationship was more of an exchange than is usual in such circumstances. We were on a voyage of discovery together and it was a source of inspiration to us both to be able to indulge our mutual obsession in conversation over, often extended, lunches. In addition to this, however, Sara deserves a special mention for assisting me towards the final stages by double-checking my transcriptions. I must also thank Sara for introducing me to Alasdair Raffe, with whom I have had some interesting discussions about late seventeenth century representations of Episcopalians and Presbyterians in both Scotland and England.

In addition to the assistance offered at the NLS and the BL, I would also like to thank Penny Hatfield, Librarian at Eton College, who helped me to clarify Thomas and Jane Murray's positions at the college in the early seventeenth century. Details concerning the Halkett genealogy were shared and supplied by Steve Halkett and Sheila Pitcairn. I would also like to thank Sheila for generously giving me an in-depth guided tour of Abbott House and for taking me to see what remains of the Pitfirren estate. Sheila's enthusiasm and local, historical knowledge is seemingly boundless. I look forward to continuing our discussion in the future. Other practical assistance has been given by the Edinburgh University Computing Services and Linda Morris who painstakingly converted my manuscript into Camera Ready Copy. While Linda carried out the work, I must also thank the University of Edinburgh for providing the financial assistance that made this possible. Furthermore, the University also granted me funding for the reproduction of the images contained within this edition and, indeed, for the necessary permissions. For supporting me in these applications, I would like to thank Cairns Craig and Sarah Carpenter, my successive heads of department. While my work was initially supported by the Leverhulme Trust, it was completed with a combination of research leave from the University of Edinburgh and an AHRB (now AHRC) Research Leave award. I am very grateful to both bodies for enabling me to concentrate on this research, which would certainly not otherwise have been finished so quickly. For helping me to obtain these awards in the first place, I would like to thank Hamish McAndrew (Edinburgh Research and Innovation) for guidance on the application process and Dympna Callaghan, Elspeth Graham, Helen Hackett and Jonathan Sawday for their references.

As anyone who has embarked on an editing project will know, it is a time-consuming and often challenging process, especially in a context in which what it means to be an editor and how much one should intervene has been the source of much recent debate. I would sincerely like to thank the General Editors of the series, Betty Travitsky and Anne Lake-Prescott, for steering me through this project. Their enthusiasm for it encouraged me through some of the darker moments, and both acted as tireless and engaged readers of my work, through its many stages and made sure I avoided possible pitfalls. Thanks also to Erika Gaffney and the Ashgate team for practical assistance and advice during the process of turning my manuscript into this printed edition. While they, and many others, have helped to eradicate some potential faults, any remaining errors are, of course, my own.

More informal support was supplied by friends and colleagues; especially Kate Chedgzoy, Sarah Dunnigan, Ruth Evans, James Loxley, Jackie Jones, Andy Taylor and Olga Taxidou. My family have been a constant source of support, but I would particularly like to thank my parents for taking the time to read extracts of earlier drafts and becoming almost as excited as me about the project. While most of the manuscripts are located in the NLS, the autobiography is held at the BL. For their many years of love and support, and for their extensive hospitality during various research trips to London, I would like to thank Melanie, Keith, Carey and Alastair Osborne. Melanie's love and strength has long been a source of inspiration to me. Carey and Alastair deserve a special mention for their patience when I had

less time for them than they (or I) desired. Their joy and beauty brings much delight into my life. Devoting oneself to a project such as this can often take a toll on personal relationships; I am incredibly fortunate that my husband, Phil Gavigan, is such an understanding man. Despite loosing me increasingly to the computer, he rarely complained; instead, he provided me with endless love and a variety of fantastic food. On occasion, he also took his life in his hands and insisted that I take some time off. For this, and so many other reasons, he is much more than 'the best of Husbands'.

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I would like to thank the British Library for permission to publish Lady Anne Halkett's *Autobiography* and for permission to reproduce two images from the manuscript. The rest of Halkett's writing is deposited at the National Library of Scotland and is published by the kind permission of the Trustees. I am also grateful to the NLS for the permission to reproduce both images from Halkett's manuscripts and contemporary maps of Edinburgh and Dunfermline. I would also like to thank Sara Murphy, Faith Lanum, Marie-Louise Coolahan and Sheila Pitcairn for giving me permission to cite work that is at present unpublished.

Abbreviations

BCP	*Book of Common Prayer*
CB	*Complete Baronetage.* Ed. G.E. C[ockayne], 5 vols. Exeter: Polard & Co., 1900-6).
CSP(Dom)	*Calendar of State Papers (Domestic).*
'Desc'.	Sheila Pitcairn. 'Descendants of Sir James Halkett'. Unpublished Genealogy.
FES	Hew Scott. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*. Volume V. Synods of Fife, and of Angus and Mearns. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1925.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. All entries accessed between September 2004 and December 2005 http://www.oxforddnb.com.
OEDO	*Oxford English Dictionary Online*. All entries accessed between September 2004 and December 2005 http://dictionary.oed.com.
HMBI	Smith, David L. *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1703-1707: The Double Crown*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
KJV	*King James Version*.
Life	C[ouper], S[imon]. *The life of the Lady Halkett*. Edinburgh: A. Symson and H. Knox, 1701.
Loftis	Loftis, John C. Ed. *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
TCE	*The Chicago Encyclopedia Online*. All entries accessed between September 2004 and May 2005 http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org.
TSG	*The Scottish Genealogist*.
TSP	Balfour, Sir James. Ed. *The Scots Peerage founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peeerage of Scotland*. 9 vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904-14.

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Introduction

Locating Lady Anne Halkett

Lady Anne Halkett occupies a curious position in the existing canon of English Literature. As Margaret J.M. Ezell points out, there are 'extremely few … devoted Halkettites' ('Devotions' 228), which partly explains the current paucity of detailed, critical discussions of her writing.[1] Conversely, Halkett frequently appears in accounts of the development of autobiography as a genre, often favourably compared with a wide range of celebrated eighteenth and nineteenth century novelists.[2] Whether perceived as peripheral or pivotal, she is best known for her *Autobiography* or *Memoirs*.[3] Recently, an excerpt from this volume, 'Springing the Duke', was included in the canon-making *Norton Anthology of English Literature*. This passage vividly describes her role in assisting the then Duke of York, later James VII/II, to escape from St. James's Palace in 1648: collaborating with Colonel Joseph Bampfield, Halkett procured female clothing with which to disguise the Duke. Although this is a notable incident about a heroic act, it is unfortunate that it has come to epitomise Halkett's life and writing, for the excerpt also refers to the damaging relationship that precipitated a scandal that would haunt her throughout her life. Despite Bampfield's proposal of marriage and his repeated assurances that his first wife was dead, it became apparent that he was not telling the truth. The exact nature of their relationship has not been definitively established, but Halkett thus inadvertently found herself in a potentially adulterous relationship.[4] Despite her marriage to Sir James Halkett, Laird of Pitfirrane (2 March 1655/6), rumours associated with this liaison affected her until her death, 22 April 1699.[5] Current critical accounts have constructed an image of Halkett as a spirited, if somewhat misguided, royalist heroine whose main aim in life was to find fulfilment in romantic love. By contrast, my edition reveals that she wrote her

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1 The articles which discuss Halkett in detail are: Ezell, 'Posthumous'; Kearns; Keeble; Ottway; Rippl; Stevenson, 'Lady'; Trill (forthcoming); Walker; Wiseman.

2 As well as supposedly anticipating the subject matter of eighteenth-century fiction in general, Halkett has also specifically been associated with Richardson, Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and Scott. See Bottrall 153; Delany 162; Jelinek 29; Rippl 26; Stauffer 214; Stevenson *Lady* 206; Sutherland 263.

3 This manuscript volume deposited at the British Library, Add. MS. 32, 376, is titled and catalogued as 'The Autobiography of Lady Anne Halkett'. Loftis's 1979 edition, however, is entitled *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*. See xxxvii, below.

4 The crucial pages in the manuscript are missing. For more detailed accounts, see Bamfield; Alan Marshall, *ODNB*; Ottway.

5 In a late entry, Halkett commemorates her wedding day and reflects on 'the many misfortunes' she experienced before her marriage (MS. 6502: 232-4).

account of her life precisely to defend herself against the scandal arising from her involvement with Bampfield. Rather showing her pleasure in romantic dalliances, Halkett's writing as a whole demonstrates the destruction such ill-advised attachments can cause. Indeed, it also divulges that Halkett sought to (re)construct herself in accordance with the rather more solemn, biblical example of 'a Widow Indeed'.[6]

Whatever the current focus on her autobiographical memoirs, we should recall that Lady Anne Halkett composed twenty-two manuscript volumes over a period of fifty years.[7] Fourteen of these are extant and are deposited at the National Library of Scotland. Until very recently, they have been virtually ignored, unread it seems since John Gough Nichols consulted them in the nineteenth century.[8] This may be partly the result of geography, but generic considerations are also a factor. These volumes are catalogued as 'Religious Meditations' and have been summarily dismissed by one reader as 'worthy, but nothing more'. The same critic is vexed by the abrupt ending of Halkett's autobiography, speculating that she broke it off because she 'was unhappy at her description of her married life' (Stevenson, 'Lady' 202). The inaccuracy of both these points, though, is apparent in the selection included in this edition. The 'Meditations' are stylistically sophisticated, providing detailed insights into Halkett's life and experiences as a wife, mother and widow from 1659 to 1699. A rich repository of information about a particular aristocratic woman's life, they present the opportunity to analyse her changing and developing subjectivity. Her intense engagement with contemporary social, political and religious change, however, makes her writings more than a record of an individual woman's life, and the 'Meditations' frequently provide answers to issues that are currently the topics of critical speculation. This edition thus offers an opportunity radically to reassess Lady Anne Halkett's historical and literary significance.

Lady Anne Halkett: a Revisionary Biography

Although most scholarship on Halkett identifies her as an *English* royalist, to understand her writing fully it is necessary to relocate her within a *Scottish* context. She was, after all, 'Scots by blood, English by birth and upbringing' (Stevenson, 'Lady' 191). According to her own account, Halkett, née Murray, was born in

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6 From '[V]pon my deplorable beeing a widow', 34-7 below.

7 The *Life* lists twenty-one volumes, but this list does not include the autobiography. Seven volumes (I-IV; VIII, XI, XIV) are now missing, but extracts from most of them were published in 1701-2: *Meditations ...Seven Gifts*; *Instructions* and *Meditations ... twenty-fifth Psalm.* Only two of the missing volumes are listed as having contained 'Occasional Meditations' (VIII and XIV).

8 Nichols apparently intended to include some of the meditations in his edition. Some of his notes on 'Meditations' are among the 'Pitfirrane Papers', MS. 6503: ff. 98-139. So far, the only modern critics to publish references to the 'Meditations' are Ezell and Wiseman. Two recent dissertations discuss them in detail: Marion Faith Lanum Eales and Sara A. Murphy.

London, 4 January 1621/2, but her parents, Thomas Murray and Jane Drummond, were Scottish; they had travelled south to take up employment in James VI/I's court in England.[9] Her father held prestigious positions at court and generally enjoyed the King's favour.[10] By 1605, for example, he was tutor to Prince Charles, later Charles I, and, despite an unfortunate incident relating to the prince's planned marriage to the Spanish Infanta, became Provost of Eton in 1622.[11] He died during an operation to remove a kidney stone only a year later when Halkett was very young. Although she can hardly have known him, she may have inherited his literary skills, for he wrote some Latin poetry that was posthumously published.[12] Halkett states that on his death, the Prebends of Eton petitioned to keep her mother in his place for the next year; whatever accuracy of this account, the post of Provost did remain empty for a year after Murray's death and an extant letter claims that '[t]he Provostship of Eton is likely to remain void a while for Mrs Murray's benefit, and then Sir Robert Ayton will have both her and it'.[13] It is more certain that Jane Drummond was made Sub-Governess to the Princess Elizabeth and, on the death of the Countess of Roxburgh, that she officially succeeded to the position of Governess. After her husband's death, Drummond was awarded a pension of £500 a year, to be inherited by her son Henry for his lifetime. She also had income from the lands of Berkhampstead Manor.[14] This was bequeathed to Anne, but the estate was sequestered during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and,

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[9] The year of Halkett's birth has been a matter of dispute. Most scholars have suggested 1622 or 1623, but the series of entries she writes on her birthday show that as far as she was concerned she was born 4 January 1621/2. See, for example, the entry for that day in 1687/8, in which she states that she is 66 (MS. 6497: 342-3; Trill 'Halkett'). Halkett meticulously maintains a dual dating system, commemorating New Year's Day, as was the custom, on 1 January but double-dating her entries between that New Year's Day (the official start of the year in the Gregorian Calendar that England had rejected) and 25 March, official start of the new year in Britain, which retained the old Julian Calendar. Britain did not officially adopt the Gregorian calendar until 1752, although there is some evidence that James VI/I introduced the new calendar to Scotland as early as 1599 (see Snowden and McCorkill).

[10] *CSP(Dom)* CX.83 (1619-23): 81; CXXVII.128 (1619-23): 350; CXXVIII.9 (1619-23): 354; CXXVIII.41 (1619-23): 356. See also Smuts, *ODNB*.

[11] *CSP(Dom)* CXXII.88 (1619-23): 284-5.

[12] Smuts, *ODNB*. There is a Latin epigram by Thomas Murray on Prince Charles in BL. Add. Ms. 43377, fol. 26.

[13] 'Letter from D. Carleton to Sir Dud. Carleton' (*CSP(Dom)* CLX. 58 (1623-25) 10 March, 1624). According to Penny Hatfield, there is no record of any such petition, although Jane Murray did retain a connection with the College, for 'there are references to payment for men delivering a buck she sent them at Election' (e-mail, 4 August 2004). A full list of the Provosts of Eton can be found on the College website, http://www.etoncollege.com. Despite Halkett's claims for her father's popularity, little evidence of this survives, in part because of the brevity of his occupation of this position and also because both his predecessor (Sir Henry Saville) and his successor (Sir Henry Wotton) were arguably the two most significant Provosts in the school's history (Card 55).

[14] *CSP(Dom)* CXLV.26 (1619-23): 587.

despite later petitions for either the return of the lands or an alternative equivalent, it was never recovered.[15] Thus, although her family were minor gentry, Halkett grew up near the centre of a court in which many influential courtiers were likewise Scottish. She reveals little else about her early life. We know that she was the youngest of at least five children: three elder brothers (Charles, Henry and William) and one elder sister (Elizabeth).[16] Tutors taught her and her sister to write, to speak French, and to play the lute and the Virginals; a gentlewoman taught them all kinds of needlework. However, Halkett received her most important instruction from her mother: she emphasises that she was brought up according to the patterns of devotion outlined by the Church of England and delineated in *The Book of Common Prayer*. In 'vpon a dispute with my Selfe new yeares day 1661', she explains that 'Education & coustume hath inured mee to say prayers euery night & morning euen from my infancy' (MS. 6491: 85-6).[17] She records her attendance at court sermons; hearing 'a Sermon Mr Gaile preached (att St Iames)', for example, prompts the young Anne Murray to set aside some time immediately after dinner to pray 'for the establishment & preseruation of the king in peace & safety'.[18] Her allegiance to the Church of England was unwavering: in later life, she informs us that 'I esteeme itt the greatest honour I haue that I haue beene educated in y^{e} Church of England in the time <in> w^{ch} itt had greatest incouragements'.[19]

In her account of her life, Halkett abruptly changes the topic so as to recount her first love affair with Thomas Howard, an affair initially thwarted by parental disapproval and then by Howard's inconstancy.[20] Perhaps significantly, it was at about this time that the young Anne Murray began to write.[21] It is also interesting that these volumes are no longer extant, for this is the point at which she met Colonel Bampfield. Rumours surrounding her involvement in the Duke of York's escape prompted Halkett to leave London in September 1649, initially taking refuge with her long-term friend Lady Anne Howard and her husband Sir Charles

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15 *CSP(Dom)*, XX.89 (1660-61): 343; XXXVII.67 (1660-62): 343. Halkett leaves a detailed record of her due inheritance from her mother (MS. 6481: fol. 170; MS. 6409, no. 40).

16 These are the only siblings that Halkett names in her writing, but Pitcairn suggests that she had two other brothers ('Halkett' 124). Henry, Charles and William were employed in the royal household. Elizabeth Murray married Sir Henry Newton sometime in 1640 (Broadway).

17 'inured:' 'accustomed or habituated' (*OEDO*).

18 Left hand marginal note: 'Chaplain to the Countess of Deuonshire a good man & an excellent preacher' (MS. 6491: 86-7). He also privately marries her and Sir James; see 139, below.

19 See 162, below.

20 Thomas Howard (1625-1678), the son of Sir Edward Howard, first baron of Escrick, succeeded to his father's title in 1675 (Stater, 'Howard, Edward'; Greaves, *ODNB*).

21 According to the list in the *Life*, Halkett's first volume was written 1644-8 and the second from 1649-50. The first volume, however, also includes a meditation on Psalm 56: 12, 13, written after giving birth to her son Henry, 13 June 1658 (*Life* 59, 30).

Howard at Naworth Castle.[22] She remained there for a year and would probably have stayed longer had it not been for a curious episode that warrants closer attention. While staying at Naworth, Halkett once again found herself the potential object of sexual scandal. The family Chaplain, Mr Nicholls, sought to persuade her that Sir Charles Howard had fallen in love with her, to the anger and jealousy of his wife. In Halkett's narrative, Nicholls's motivation is not explicitly clarified, but he is certainly characterised as one who, despite his profession, is untrustworthy, especially with regard to women. In relating the estrangement between herself and Lady Anne Howard, Halkett inserts an interlude in which Nicholls's behaviour towards two other female guests shows signs of impropriety.[23] He is also clearly represented as duplicitous in his relation of conversations between himself and both Anne Murray and Anne Howard. Nor, Halkett later reveals, did his behaviour improve after she left Naworth Castle.[24] She draws parallels between this incident and her association with Bampfield, arguing that suspicion in this instance could not but confirm the 'Crime Laid to my charge with C. B and the more unpardonable because ignorance in this Could be noe excuse'.[25] But why include this episode, and at such length, when it could be more damaging to her than the Bampfield affair? This passage is only a 'problem', I think, if the autobiography is read as a straightforward romance. Some argue that her text follows a trajectory of love sought to love attained, but it is surely more appropriate to read this text as a cautionary tale about male duplicity and inconstancy: Howard reneges on his promises; Bampfield is deceitful; and Nicholls is contemptible. The Nicholls' incident is thus another episode in which Halkett's reputation is assailed but in which her response establishes her own constancy and virtue. That she succeeds where he fails is reinforced by her telling him she was married as a test of his character, a test he fails. He broke his promise of secrecy, which, to one of his profession, should have been inviolable.

After this incident, possibly through the mediation of Bampfield, Halkett travelled up to Scotland at the invitation of the earl of Dunfermline.[26] Importantly, with few exceptions, she was to live there the rest of her life, predominantly in Fife.[27] She arrived in Edinburgh in June 1650, but by September of that year she and the countess of Dunfermline had fled north to Fyvie (Aberdeenshire) in an attempt to evade the Cromwellian army's invasion of Scotland. The plan was not entirely successful, as by December of 1651 the English had occupied almost all of the country, including the Dunfermlines' residence.[28] In addition to Halkett's own involvement in royalist politics, her association with the earl and countess of

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22 Lady Anne Howard, sister of Thomas, married Sir Charles Howard, first Earl of Carlisle, in 1645 (Goodwin, *ODNB*).

23 See 78-98, below.

24 See 116, below.

25 See 87, below.

26 T.F. Henderson. Rev. Furgol, *ODNB*.

27 Halkett returned to London on only two occasions: in 1654-6, when she attempted to reorganise her finances and married Sir James, and in 1660-1663.

28 Dow, chapter 1.

Dunfermline meant that she had direct access to the King during his residence in Scotland. In 1650, the Earl of Dunfermline accompanied the King on his journey from the continent to Scotland (landing at Garmouth on 24 June, 1650) and entertained him in Dunfermline in July of that year.[29] Shortly after this, the 'vnexpected defeat' at the Battle of Dunbar led to much disquiet among the Scottish nobility as Cromwell's forces advanced with alarming speed.[30] On their journey north to Fyvie, Halkett and the countess of Dunfermline encountered 'poore wounded soldiers … that looked desperately ill'. Halkett, who had presciently gathered together ingredients for making balms and dressings thinking 'they might bee usefull', claims to have treated over sixty soldiers, for which she later received a personal message of thanks from the King and fifty pieces of gold. Her narrative amply demonstrates her continuing involvement in royalist politics as she negotiates with marauding English soldiers at Fyvie and later engages in a remarkable conversation with the Cromwellian Colonel Robert Overton in which she prophesies the restoration of the monarchy. Her companions during her time in Scotland were all actively engaged in the King's service, and Halkett was at the centre of these activities, many discussions taking place in her chambers.[31] Her involvement in this circle led to another daring exploit: travelling to Fife to warn the earl and countess of Balcarres of their imminent arrest.[32] The adventure also introduced her to her future husband, Sir James Halkett. Although she is initially distrustful of him, his proven constancy eventually persuades her to marry him, if only after she is persuaded by David Dickson[33] that her relationship to Bampfield is no hindrance and that she has done everything within her power to set her finances straight. Unlike her former suitors, Sir James did not love her 'att an ordinary rate' and she consistently defines him throughout her 'Meditations' as

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[29] Henderson, T.F. Rev. Furgol, *ODNB*. The Scots' support of Charles II does not necessarily make them 'royalists'. Many supported him because he signed the Covenants and appeared to accept their agenda (see Morrill. Ed.).

[30] 'Battle of Dunbar', 3 September 1650. Dow comments that the Kirk party's implementation of the Act of Classes and its determination to eradicate Malignants and Engagers had a disastrous 'effect on military discipline and moral … and undoubtedly contributed to the Scots defeat' (8). David L. Smith indicates the scale of the defeat: 'although outnumbered by nearly two to one, Cromwell routed Leslie's [David Leslie, Lieutenant-General of the Scottish army] forces at Dunbar. Four thousand Scots were killed and a further ten thousand taken prisoner' (*HMBI* 175).

[31] Sir Robert Moray 'was an integral part of Scotland's underground royalist movement, along with Balcarres, Dunfermline, Middleton, Halkett, Mackenzie of Tarbat, and others' (Allen, *ODNB*). With the exception of Middleton, Halkett has connections with all of these figures.

[32] 'Lord Belcarres': Alexander Lindsay, first earl of Balcarres (David Stevenson, *ODNB*).

[33] David Dickson, c. 1583-1662, was ordained minister of Irvine, Ayrshire in 1618. During the 1620s and 1630s a member of the radical section of the Scottish Kirk, by 1650 he had apparently altered his allegiances and ultimately sided with the 'Resolutioners' rather than the 'Protestors'. He was also a well known and respected theologian, which partly explains Halkett's decision to consult him about her erstwhile relationship with Bampfield (Holfelder, *ODNB*).

'the Best of Husbands'.[34] This phrase and her description of married life suggest that her relationship with Sir James may have been more pragmatic than passionate, but the two clearly had sexual relations: although married at the relatively late age of 34/5 and widowed after only fourteen years, Halkett was pregnant at least six times. While only her second son Robert, affectionately called Robin, survived into adulthood, Halkett gave birth to three other children who lived into their infancy—Elizabeth ('Betty'), Henry and Jane.[35] She also emotionally describes at least one miscarriage and alludes to others.[36] The extant 'Meditations' suggest that this was a happy marriage. The only notes of discord are Halkett's intimations of the effects of her fiery temper. She continually seeks to contain her passionate nature, and even in later life recalls incidents in which she wishes she had been less outspoken to her husband. Despite this, as her biographer indicates, the period of her marriage was Halkett's most settled time, particularly financially (*Life* 31).

This, however, did not remain the case. Everything changed with the death of her husband on Saturday 24 September 1670.[37] In her entry, Halkett alludes to her fears for her future. These fears were well founded for, on his return to his family home, her step-son (Sir Charles Halkett) ejected her from the family seat.[38] Halkett's 'Meditations', moreover, as well as extant letters and legal documents, indicate that her step-son was tardy in paying her jointure, which frequently placed her in financial jeopardy.[39] Once again, she found herself dependent on the earl of Dunfermline's assistance. He allowed her to reside at Abbot House where, apart

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[34] See 30, below.

[35] Elizabeth, b. 26 November 1656, d. 13 November 1660; Henry, b. 13 June 1658, d. 12 May 1661; Robert, b. 1 February 1659/60, d. 5 October 1693; Jane, b. 11 October 1661, d. 11 February 1665/6. See 6-10 below and Mss. 6490: 297; 6491: 52-6.

[36] 'Vpon my Miscarying of 2 children March 2 1658/9' (MS. 6490: 1-9). In her entry describing Betty's death, Halkett alludes to other miscarriages, see 16 below.

[37] See 30-34 below.

[38] Sir Charles Halkett, first baronet of Pitfirrane, b. 26 September 1639, d. 21 October 1697. He was the eldest son of Sir James Halkett and his first wife Margaret Montgomery. In MS. 6492, Halkett makes a brief note in the back of the volume saying that 'vpon Satturday the 10th of december 1670 my Son <in Law> Came home to Pitfirane. Lord make itt a day of Mercy to him & all Concerned in this familly'. He was created a baronet on 25 January 1671 and given a 'charter of the lands of Knockhouse, etc., co. Fife, 17 Feb. 1670/1'. He was 'M.P [S.] for Fifeshire, 1682-83, and for Dunfermline, 1689, till his death in 1697, and was a member of the Committee which resolved, in 1689, that King James had forfeited the crown', *CB*. iii. 334. He married Janet, daughter of Sir Patrick Murray of Pitdennis, on 5 August 1675. They had nine children, eight daughters and one son ('Desc.' 7-11). Sir Charles was also Provost of Dunfermline, 1678-83 and again from 1686 to his death in 1697. He died within three weeks of being re-elected as Provost; the funeral arrangements and his family relations are described in Ebenezer Henderson, *Annals*. His father in law succeeded him as Provost, while his son, James, became the second (and last) Baronet of Pitfirrane.

[39] MS. 6406: no. 12, nos. 24-8; MS. 6407: Ff. 20r, 22r-23v, 24r, 26r-27v, 28r-29v; 145r-v; 146r-v, 147r-148v; MS. 6424: f. 66. Further letters and accounts can be found at the National Archives of Scotland, see GD 29/1963, nos. 1-19.

from a brief period in which she ran the Pitfirrane estate during her step-son's absence, she would live for the rest of her life.[40] Her desire to be 'a Widow Indeed', and her concern for the sinfulness of Dunfermline, made her determined to be an exemplary figure within the community.[41] By her own admission Halkett was no saint, yet her 'Meditations' suggest that she fulfilled the biblical criteria for exemplary widowhood: the extent of her 'Meditations' and the time she spent on them, as well her time instructing her household in prayer and devotion, indicate that she continued her supplications day and night; her good works included operating a weekly surgery for the poor, sending medical supplies to those in need, and often acting as a midwife for women of different social positions; she also brought up children and lodged 'strangers' when she took in young boarders, who could then attend the local Grammar school.[42] These activities likewise testify to her assisting the afflicted, which she also endeavoured to do with regular alms giving. Her good works occasionally conflicted with her good reputation: one incident that Halkett relates shows how her behaviour was interpreted as a sign of her 'Popery' (MS. 6493: 291). Halkett in fact was Episcopalian, and while this might not seem controversial, she was living in the predominantly Presbyterian county of Fife and so her allegiance was frequently a source of communal conflict.[43] Similarly, her stalwart support for James VII/II positioned her as a Jacobite, which was not only contentious but, strictly speaking, seditious.[44] These activities and issues occupied Halkett throughout her widowhood. Despite at least one proposal, she never re-married, remaining a faithfull widow for the twenty-nine years from Sir James's death until her own. During this time, she also lost her beloved son Robin who, having survived imprisonment for serving in James VII/II's forces, died of a fever while en route to further conflict in Holland.[45] She also outlived her step-son, Sir Charles Halkett. This was probably less of an affliction emotionally, but his death did nothing to improve her finances. Indeed, despite a small annuity granted her by James VII/II in 1688, she was continually plagued with financial troubles.[46] These were, it seems, eventually alleviated with the assistance of her relative Sir Robert Murray, but not until just before she died.[47]

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[40] Sir Charles took part in the third Anglo-Dutch war; his exact date of departure is unknown, but he returned to Pitfirrane on 13 April 1674. In an entry written that day, Halkett gives thanks 'for the preseruation of my Son who y^{e} Lord hath brought Safe home againe through all the dangers & fatigues of a Long & hazardous Sea fight' (MS. 6493: 288).

[41] See 37 below.

[42] Information about Schools in Dunfermline can be found in Beale, Shearer and Henderson, *Annals*.

[43] While the Presbyterians are thought to have been strongly represented in Fife, it is difficult to ascertain exact figures for individual religious allegiance; see Lenman, 'Nobility' and 'Episcopal'.

[44] See xxix-xxxi below.

[45] See *Life* 49.

[46] *CSP(Dom)* (1689-1690): 383.

[47] See 193 below.

The Politics of Religion: Royalist, Episcopalian and Jacobite

The organisation of the Church and its relation to the government were subjects of major debate throughout seventeenth-century Britain, although historians have recently begun to question vigorously what constituted 'Britain' in the early modern period and to show new interest in the complex relations between religion and politics within and among the 'Three Kingdoms' or the 'Four Nations'.[48] Halkett's writing is best understood in this context: Scots by birth and living in Scotland, she self-consciously identifies herself as English and observes the practices of the Church of England. Like Scots' rejection of Charles I's attempts to impose a standard liturgy in 1637 led to the 'Prayer Book Riots' (a major factor in the ensuing Wars of the Three Kingdoms), Halkett's adherence to the Church of England *BCP* undermines any notion of 'Prayer Book Protestantism' as conformist and uncontroversial.[49] Unsurprisingly, her open advocacy of such practices made her unpopular with many of her ardently Presbyterian neighbours and placed her in an oppositional position when control of the Kirk was won by the Presbyterians. The history of religion in late seventeenth-century Scotland has so far received less attention than that in the earlier seventeenth century and critical accounts that do exist tend to focus on the Covenanters and the restoration of Presbyterian Church government in the 1690s. Yet, as David Mullan argues, current emphasis on the Covenanters 'needs to be supplemented by a detailed and nuanced portrait of Scottish divinity' (*Scottish* 7).[50] Halkett's writing offers an opportunity partially to redress this imbalance. Significantly, she also provides a rare example of a committed adherent of the Church of England who, unlike many of her fellow believers south of the border, firmly refused to accept the 'authority' of King William III and Queen Mary.[51] In a period when many aristocrats, in both England and Scotland, often switched allegiances, Halkett's determined royalism and advocacy of hereditary succession makes her a confirmed Jacobite, something reinforced by the fact that the majority of the children who boarded with her in her later life were the offspring of Jacobite Scottish nobles.[52] Halkett's home was a site of political, as well as religious, dissent.

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48 See Pocock; Levack, and Connolly.

49 For a variety of perspectives on this topic, see John Morrill. Ed. On 'Prayer Book Protestantism', see Maltby. As G.D. Henderson notes, in Scotland the *BCP* was used only 'in family worship, and it was not till 1680 that even this was made permissible by the Privy Council' (149).

50 For more information on the later period, see Buckroyd and Jackson.

51 Straka viii, 34, 37.

52 Although Halkett does not give full details about her boarders, she does name the following: on 6 October 1687, Sir George Mackenzie's son arrives (by which time she apparently had other boarders, for she records her annoyance at their behaviour), and on 9 April 1688, Lady Rosehaugh's neice arrives (MS. 6497: 327, 357); on 28 October 1690 Sir William Bruce's second grandchild arrived (MS. 6499: 35); and on 20 July 1694 came Lord Cumberland, grandson to the Countess of Argyll (MS. 6500: 330; see also 168-9, 171 below).

To understand Halkett's religious and political identifications one must address the context in which her opinions were formed. As mentioned above, her formative religious influences were her mother and the Church of England, which during her younger years was under the controversial influence of Archibishop Laud (Fincham, 'Episcopal' 71-91). Her connections to the court, her ardent royalism and her descriptions of her pious practices suggest that she was sympathetic to many aspects of Laudianism. Defining Laudianism is notoriously difficult, but Halkett's practice is extremely close to that described by Peter Lake in his 'crude and summary outline' of its main characteristics (185). Although Halkett does not have much to say directly about 'the material fabric of the Church', she demonstrates a life-long commitment to ceremony, liturgy and reverence, meticulously observing the daily readings and the church festivals as prescribed in the *BCP* (Lake, 'Laudian' 165). In the early 1660s, her select 'Meditations' include an extensive collection of 'Meditations and Prayers vpon euery <seuerall> day that is ordained to bee kept holy in the Church of England' (MS. 6491: 96-257). In 1687 she composes a lengthy series of 'Meditations vpon the Passion of our Lord for euery day of the Weeke', and the final volume, composed in 1699, contains an explication of 'The twelue articles'.[53] Halkett also regrets the Scots' antipathy to the celebration of Christmas; in addition to mentioning this in her autobiographical memoirs, Halkett engages the debate on this question and regularly composes commemorative entries at Christmas in her 'Meditations'.[54] Since these texts have remained 'private', insofar as they currently exist only in manuscript form, it could be argued that Halkett 'hid her light under a bushel' (Matt. 5.15, Luke 11.33). But it is obvious that her private devotions were also manifested in public practices. It is only in 1687 that Halkett records her decision to forbear kneeling to receive the sacrament. In an entry dated 7 June, she describes how she

> satte though I had much rather haue kneeled butt that I resolued against sattisfying my selfe, hauing heard y^{t} itt was a stumbling to others (who obserued what I thought was vnperceauable to any) that I formerly vsed to kneele and therfore they did forbeare to communicate with mee[. F]or I thinke the posture nott so essentiall a thing as to bee the occation to make any one forbeare the partaking of so great a benefitt (MS. 6497: 286).

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[53] Mss. 6497: 123-273; 6502: 1-74. Although the Church of England has, in total, Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the Twelve Articles to which Halkett refers are based on the principles enshrined in the Apostle's Creed (see *BCP*).

[54] Halkett notes that at Christmas 'the Coustume of this place denys mee y^{e} aduantages of Going to y^{e} howse of God there to ioyne with a Solemne assembly yet they Cannott hinder my priuate deuotion from beeing offred vp with all the Adoration praise & thanksgiuing y^{t} my Soule is Capable to giue' ('[V]pon Christmas Day 1674', MS. 6493: 322). In a later meditation, she comments that 'the oposers of this festiuity obiect that the very day of the Lords Natiuity is vncertaine And that there is noe expres command in Scripture <for itt>;' however, she argues that such uncertainty should not prevent celebration altogether ('Christmas day Thursday 25th De 1690', MS. 6499: 52-5). She also regularly celebrates New Year and Easter.