



Hugh Owen
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June the
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A
CLOUD OF WITNESSES,

FOR THE

ROYAL PREROGATIVES

OF

JESUS CHRIST;

OR,

THE LAST SPEECHES AND TESTIMONIES

OF THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FOR THE

TRUTH IN SCOTLAND,

SINCE THE YEAR 1680.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

Containing the Queensferry Paper; Torwood Excommunication; a Relation concerning *Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Donald Cargil, and Henry Hall*; and an Account of those who were killed without process of law, and banished to foreign lands: with a short view of some of the Oppressive Exactions.

These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.—REV. vii. 14.

Fiftieth Edition Enlarged and Corrected,

With the Testimonies of John Nesbit, younger, John Nesbit of Hardhill, Robert Miller, Thomas Harkness, &c. A letter of John Semple's and of Archibald Stewart's. The paper found upon Mr. Cameron at Airmoss, and an Acrostic upon his name. The Testimony of John Finlay in Kilmarnock. The Epitaphs upon the grave-stones of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. John Welwood, and the noble patriots who fell at Pentland-hills, &c.

Pittsburgh:

PRINTED FOR DAVID REED, BY EICHBAUM & JOHNSTON.

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1824.

Western District of Pennsylvania, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the fifteenth day of October, in the forty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1823, DAVID REED, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A Cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ; or, the best Speeches and Testimonies of those who have suffered for the truth in Scotland, since year 1680: with a copious Appendix.

In conformity to the act of the congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

R. J. WALKER,

Clerk of the Western District of Pennsylvania.

PREFACE.



Christian Reader,

THE glorious frame and contrivance of religion, revealed by the ever blessed JEHOVAH, in the face or person of Jesus Christ, for the recovery of lost mankind into a state of favour and reconciliation with himself, is so excellently ordered in the councils of infinite wisdom, and exactly adjusted to the real delight, contentment and happiness of the rational world; that it might justly be wondered why so many men in all ages, have not only had a secret disgust thereat themselves, but laboured to rob others of the comfort and benefit of it, and make the world a chaos of confusion, by persecutions raised against it; had not the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures laid open the hidden springs of this malice and enmity, which exerts itself in so many of the children of men. We are told in these divinely inspired writings, that the first source of this opposition that the true religion meets with in the world, flows originally from Satan, that inveterate enemy of God's glory, and man's happiness, who having himself left his original state of obedience to, and enjoyment of God his Creator, hath no other alleviation of his inevitable miseries, but to draw the race of mankind into the like ruin, which is the only satisfaction that malicious spirit is capable of. This restless adversary perceiving, that through the grace and love of God manifested in Christ, a great number of these whom he thought he had secured to his slavery are redeemed, and called by the gospel out of that intolerable servitude into a glorious liberty, and secured by faith to salvation, labours by two great engines of open force and secret fraud, to keep them in, or regain them to his obedience; hence the sacred Scriptures describe him, both as a dragon for cruelty, and a serpent for subtilty. But, because he either cannot, or thinks not fit to do this visibly in person, therefore he does it more invisibly, and so more successfully by his agents, in whom he works; who, because of their unreasonable unbelief, are called children of impersuasion. These he acts and animates as it were so many machines, to endeavour by crafty seduction, or violent persecution, to draw or drive the followers of the Lamb from their subjection, obedience, and loyalty, to the Captain of their salvation, that he may drown them in perdition and destruction. This is the latent origin of all persecution, the mint where all the other more visible causes of the bloody violence of the people of God meet withal are struck and framed. This is the grand design to which they tend, to root out the obedience of faith out of the world, and deprive the Son of God of his rightful dominion over his subjects whom he hath chosen, redeemed and sanctified for himself.

As this holds true of all the persecutions raised against the church and truths of God, whether in the persons of Jews or Christians, by whatever hands, Pagan or Antichristian, so it is eminently verified of the persecutions of the Church of Scotland, prosecuted by a profane wicked generation of malignant prelatists, during the reigns of the late kings Charles II. and James VII. For as the other persecutions were all levelled against some point of truth or other, wherein the obedience of faith was concerned, respecting either the existence and worship of the true God, or the person, nature or offices of Jesus Christ, &c. so this persecution was directly bended against that office and authority of Jesus Christ, whereupon his formal claim to the obedience of his church is founded, viz. his headship over his church.

Jesus Christ, the only begotten of the Father, having received the Church of Scotland, as one of the utmost isles of the earth for his possession, by solemn grant from JEHOVAH, was pleased, as to call her from the deplorable state of Pagan, and reform her from the ruinous condition of Antichristian darkness; so to dignify her in a peculiar manner, to contend and suffer for that truth, that he is king and lawgiver to his church, having power to institute her form of government, to give her laws, officers, and censures, whereby she should be governed

and hath not left it ambulatory and uncertain, what government he will have in force for the ordering of his house, but hath expressly determined in his word every necessary part thereof, and hath not put any power into the hands of any mortal, whether pope, prelate, prince, or potentate, as a vicarious head in his personal absence, whereby they may alter the form of government at their pleasure, and make what kind of officers, canons, and censures, they please; but all the power that this king hath left in his church, concerning her government, is purely and properly ministerial, under the direction and regulation of his sovereign pleasure, revealed in his written word.

This is the most radiant pearl in the Church of Scotland's garland; that she hath been honoured valiantly to stand up for the headship and royal prerogative of her King and Husband, Jesus Christ, in all the periods of her reformation. For no sooner had she thrown off the yoke of the pope's pretended jurisdiction and authority, but presently, while she was labouring by means of these censures that Christ had institute, to root out the damnable heresies which that enemy had sown, all on a sudden King James VI. naturally ambitious, and instigated by interested and projecting counsellors, attempts a rape upon her chastity and loyalty to her husband and Lord; and by his royal orders stops her freedom of sitting, voting, and acting in her supreme courts, imprisons some of her most zealous and faithful ministers, calls them before his council, indicts them of treason and lese majesty, for their making use of the freedom Christ had given them; and after their declining his and his council's usurped authority in spiritual matters, and so witnessing a good confession for the royal dignity of their Master, banish them their native country.

But the church's sun of prosperity is soon at the tropic; scarce was that spring-time well begun to blossom and bud, when behold a world of malignant vapours, arising out of the earth, clouded all her sky again, and turned her spring to a deplorable winter. Various heresies in England, growing popery in Ireland, public resolutions for advancing malignants to places of power and trust in Scotland, like so many inundations breaking in upon the church of Christ, laid all her pleasant things waste. And no sooner was Charles II. advanced to the exercise of the royal authority, but drowning the sense of all sacred obligations with a glut of sensual pleasures, he authorized a malignant crew of statesmen to persecute and destroy the people of God for their adherence to the covenants, which himself had entered into as the fundamental stipulation of government, and to that reformation which he had sworn to maintain and practise; and for their bearing witness against the grand principle and foundation upon which he built his power of overthrowing religion, and setting up a new frame thereof in Britain; namely, the blasphemous headship of ecclesiastical supremacy.

Hence it is evident to a demonstration, that the grand state of the quarrel, upon which the martyrs laid down their lives during the late tyrannical reigns, was really one and the same with that for which the zealous and faithful ministers suffered such hardships in the time of King James VI. and afterwards. This being the precise foundation upon which all the other acts and oaths were built, which the enemies made a handle of, to involve honest people into the crime of treason and rebellion against the state, as it was then determined by their iniquitous laws. For as it was still the principle question put to them, Own ye the king's authority? and the chief article of their indictment, if they either answered in the negative or kept silence; so it is evident, that by this question they really meant, not his civil authority only, but also his pretended claim to supreme headship over the church; for no sooner had he authorized a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, under the inspection of that malignant wretch, John Earl of Middleton, anno 1661, but that generation of enemies to the work of God, intending the utter ruin thereof, set up this Dagon of the royal prerogative, not only with respect to things civil, as in the choice of his officers of state, counsellors and judges, act second; in the calling and dissolving of parliaments, and making laws, act third; in the militia, and making peace and war, act fifth, which were great invasions upon the national liberties of the subjects; but also in things sacred, in the making of leagues, and the conventions of the subjects, act fourth, wherein all the former work of reformation is condemned, and the covenants made for its defence are declared treasonable and rebellious actions against the royal prerogative: and in consequence hereof, it is declared, act seventh, "That the league and covenant is not obligatory upon this kingdom, nor doth infer any obligation on the subjects thereof, to meddle or interpose in any thing concerning the religion and government of the churches of England and Ireland; and all the subjects are discharged to renew the same, as they will answer at their highest peril." And in the

oath of allegiance and acknowledgment of his majesty's royal prerogative, statute by the eleventh act of said parliament, all persons of whatsoever trust, post, office, or employment, are obliged to swear, "That they acknowledge the king only supreme governor of this kingdom over all persons, and in all causes. And that they do with all humble duty acknowledge his majesty's royal prerogative in all the particulars, and in the manner aforementioned."

And to make the matter clearer, what they meant by the king's authority, in the preamble of the first act of the second session of the same first parliament, they assert, that the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of this church, doth properly belong unto his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. And upon this bottom, he, with the advice and consent of the estates of parliament, sets up the Episcopal form of church government, the jurisdiction of bishops and archbishops over the inferior clergy, with their concomitant of patronages; and rescinds cases, and annuls all acts of parliament, by which the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this church, doth stand in the church, and in the general, provincial and presbyterial assemblies, and kirk-sessions; and all acts of parliament or council, which may be interpreted to have given any church power, jurisdiction or government to the office-bearers of the church, their respective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependance upon, and subordination to, the sovereign power of the king as supreme. And in pursuance hereof, in the second act of the foresaid second session, intituled, act for preservation of his majesty's person, authority and government, he doth, with advice of his estates of parliament, declare, that the assembly kept at Glasgow in the year 1638, was in itself (after the same was by his majesty discharged under the pain of treason) an unlawful and seditious meeting: and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping council tables, that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on the late troubles, (thus they call the work of reformation) were unlawful and seditious; and that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the National Covenant, and the other a Solemn League and Covenant, were and are in themselves unlawful oaths; and therefore declares their obligation void and null, and rescinds all acts or constitutions, ecclesiastic or civil, approving them. Nor does it suffice them to rescind these covenants, and other proceedings for carrying on the work of reformation, as contrary to his royal prerogative of ecclesiastic supremacy; and to inhibit all persons to speak, write or act any thing in defence of the same, and against the said prerogative; but likewise in the fifth act of the foresaid session, all persons in any place, office or trust, are obliged to swear all the particulars contained in the foresaid acts, in that most impious oath, commonly called, the Declaration. And again in the fourth act of the third session, of the foresaid parliament, intituled, act for establishment and constitution of a national synod, it is declared, That the ordering and disposal of the external government of the church, and the nomination of the persons, by whose advice matters relating to the same are to be settled, doth belong to his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his prerogative royal, and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical. And in the first act of the second parliament, holden by that apostate, John Earl of Lauderdale, intituled, act asserting his majesty's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, commonly called, the Act Explanatory, it is expressly declared, That his majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom; and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church, do properly belong to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent right to the crown; and that his majesty and his successors may settle, enact and emit such constitutions, acts and orders, concerning the administrations of the external government of the church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit.

From all which acts it plainly appears, that the true sense of that authority, which they would have their private thoughts about was really, as the martyrs understood it, his ecclesiastic supremacy, and that no less than a recognition hereof would serve their turn: and though some of the martyrs offered a distinction in between the two, professing to own his civil authority abstract from the ecclesiastical (as, for instance, Mr. John Dick) yet they were not absolved, because they would not own his authority in gross. And besides, their including the supremacy over church matters, into the formal notion of the king's authority, they could be pleased with no less from any that they called before them

than an owning the whole acts and laws, and entire exercise and administration of things in church and state, which was an implicit condemning of all the preceding reformation, and consenting to the persecution and murder of the saints, who stood up for its defence.

It is true indeed, these things were so impious and abominable, that had they been proposed without mask, they would presently beget a horror in the mind of any, who was not entirely lost to all conscience and goodness; and therefore these children of the old serpent had so much of their father, that they made it their work to hide these horrid hooks with some specious baits, that they might the more easily entice simple people into that snare they had laid for them: and hence, knowing how much it is the effect of the true religion to make men loyal, and that the Presbyterians were of all others the readiest to yield all lawful subjection to their rightful princes, they still made use of the specious title of authority as a blind to hide the ecclesiastical supremacy, and bloody exercise of their government, from these they laboured to insnare. They saw the supremacy they intended to fix in the king, was such a *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, Hecate atque Erebo ortum*, that without some veil of this nature, no man would be so mad as to embrace it. But when this would not do, but that still its ill favoured face appears through the vizard; and all good men saw, that that authority which sought no other way to maintain itself, but by blood and rapine, was really degenerated into tyranny, then they pretended to come some steps lower, and said, that they required no more at the hands of the people in order to dismiss them, but that they would at their desire pray for the king in their prescribed form of words, viz. God save the king; or that they would drink the king's good health. These were by them represented to be so minute and easy things, and by a great many professors looked upon as so trivial and indifferent, that they were in the fair way either to insnare, or with more opportunity to expose such as refused to the contempt of indifferent spectators, as being such scrupulous fools, and brain-sick persons, as were transported with an extravagant wild zeal without knowledge, who had rather have a hand in their own death than do so small and indifferent a thing in order to prevent it. And hence not the persecutors only, but even a great many who professed presbyterian principles, stood not to call them murderers, instead of martyrs.

But all this notwithstanding, it is certain they had nothing else before them, but to bring people to a tame submission and slavish compliance with the whole course of their Christ-dethroning, and land-enslaving constitutions and administrations; for they intended the same thing by urging people to say, God save the king, as by the oath of Allegiance, Declaration, or Test; namely, an acknowledgment of their authority, wherewith they had vested him in the fore-mentioned articles, and others of like nature. Less than this could never serve their design, which was still the same, whatever alterations might appear to be in their way of prosecuting it: for either these things were so insignificant and indifferent as they gave them out to be, and as others conceived them, or they were not; if we say the former, then what monsters of mankind were these persecutors, who pursued poor innocent people to death, and inflicted such cruel tortures upon them for trifles and things of indifferency. This is what themselves (I suppose) would never admit, to be reckoned a degree further lost to humanity than a Nero or Caligula, so as to torment and destroy men for sport: nay, they still pretended, that all these persecutions were made upon weighty and just causes. If then we say the latter, namely, that they were not so very inconsiderable things as some conceived, wherein could the moment and weight of them consist, but in this, that they were in owning of the authority, as it was contained in the laws. And what else was the scope of the most openly impious oaths, tests, and bonds, but this? And besides, when any yielded this much, they were still urged further, till they had debauched them out of all conscience and integrity, as much as themselves.

The rest of the questions put to them, and made causes of their indictment, were all but so many branches from this root, and rivulets from this spring. The chief was that about defensive arms which their law had declared rebellion; which all the martyrs, without the least jar or discord, did steadfastly maintain, as being a thing so very consonant, not only to the positive commands of God in his word, but also to the very law of nature stamped on the heart, and to the laws and practices of all kingdoms; and undertaken upon so necessary grounds as the defence of the gospel, and the lives of the innocent, in consequence of their covenant engagements, which, however these wicked persecutors had declared void and null, and the adhering to them capital, yet all such as had any love for

God, and zeal for his cause, believed to be perpetually obligatory upon them and the nation, and therefore adhered to them with a steadfastness, and courage invincible, against the most bloody opposition. And it is observable, that whatever any of the martyrs had not so much light in as others, or differed from others ament, or was silent when interrogate upon it, yet they all agreed perfectly, and were clear abundantly in owning, and bold, harmonious and courageous in asserting the lawfulness, and avouching the obligatory force of the covenants. National covenants were the means that God had constantly, from the beginning of the reformation, made use of and blessed, to cement and strengthen his people in Scotland, and their adherence to the truth; by means of these, his church was a strong city and incorporation, prosecuting all the same common cause of religion and liberty; so that by that common bond, the injury offered to any one of her members, was taken as done to all; and beside the express commands of the word, this was a blessed tie and engagement, to every one in their place and station, to stand up for the purity of the doctrine, simplicity of the worship, beauty and order of the government and discipline of Christ's house, and his royal supremacy over the same. And hence malignant and disaffected persons, perceiving that there was nothing so conducive to the advancement and preservation of national reformation, as these mutual bonds and sacred covenants, set themselves chiefly to destroy these, and in an ignominious manner burnt them; declared them treasonable and seditious, made the owning of them criminal, and persecuted such as adhered to them; and on the other hand, God was pleased mightily to animate his suffering saints, both with light and zeal, in the defence of them, against all the efforts of hellish violence.

Wherefore, when this alone was not like to effectuate their designs, these persecutors betook themselves to another stratagem, and fell upon more mild, but more successful measures, of giving out indemnities and indulgencies, so restricted and limited, as the acceptors should be gained to a peaceable compliance with, and submission to their impious laws, and taken off from their zeal, in maintaining the work of reformation, and divided from their covenanted brethren: by this means, they weakened the remnant that had not complied with Prelacy, set them at variance one against another, allured the one to sit quietly still, till they had made an end of their brethren; and in short, rent and almost quite ruined the poor Presbyterian church of Scotland; and hence, as the suffering remnant, which was by far the smaller part, were much opposed and reproached by these ministers and professors, who accepted or made use of these pretended favours, so it became a necessary head of testimony, to witness against the indulgence and acceptance thereof, or sinful connivance thereat. The particular disquisition of this affair is not consistent with the narrow limits of a preface. Wherefore the reader may see, for his satisfaction therein, "The history of the Indulgence, Informatory Vindication, Hind let loose," &c.

Afterwards, when the persecution became sore and violent against the remnant that refused these deceitful baits, and stood to their covenanted religion and liberty, and that both by the open violence of the enemies, and false slanders and calumnies of pretended friends, they were obliged to emit several declarations of their principles, and to defend themselves from these unjust slanders and calumnies; which declarations, so soon as the persecutors got into their hands, thinking they had got a good handle therein, for taking away the lives of all such as should adhere to them, in regard that therein they had more explicitly and fully cast off the authority of the tyrant Charles II. and specified the reasons why they could not own his authority, they never failed on all occasions, to make that a part of their examinations, Own ye the Sanquhar Declaration, the papers found at Queensferry? &c. And many were indicted upon their adherence to these declarations, and other papers. I conceive it is not necessary to swell this preface with a particular defence of these declarations, that being so well done by themselves in the Informatory Vindication, which the reader may have recourse to; and as to the paper found upon Mr. Hall of Haughhead, when he was murdered at Queensferry, the reader shall see it, with a short relation, concerning that worthy gentleman's death, in the appendix to this book.

Another question commonly put to sufferers was, Whether they owned the excommunication at the Torwood? which they did with much freedom, as a necessary duty and lawfully performed, so far as that broken state of the church would permit, and upon most weighty and sufficient grounds. The form and order of which excommunication is also added by way of appendix to this book.

But their finest topic, wherein they insulted and gloried most, was the death of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, which they reckoned a cruel mur-

der, and therefore hoped, that if the sufferers should approve of the same, they would have a colour to destroy them, as being men of assassinating and bloody principles, deserving to be exterminate out of any well governed commonwealth; and therefore it was still one of their questions, Was the bishop's death murder? to which question some answered directly, That it was a just and lawful execution of God's law upon him, for his perjurious treachery, and bloody cruelty, others were silent, or refused to answer any thing directly to the point, as conceiving that it being no deed of theirs, they were not obliged by any law, divine or human, to give their judgment thereupon, especially when they could not exactly know the circumstances of the matter of fact, and saw that the question was proposed with a design to insnare them, or take away their life. Yet was their very silence or refusal to give their opinion, made a cause of their indictment, and ground of their sentence, and some were put to torture to make them give their sentiments anent it. If any would be farther satisfied on this head, let them see Hind let loose, head VI. page 633.

But however these murderers of the servants and people of God made use of such questions as these to entangle them, yet still the grand state of the quarrel was, Whether Christ alone, or king Charles, should be owned as head and lawgiver to the church? and, Whether the divine form of government and discipline, which Christ had institute, should continue in her? or if an usurper should have leave to mould it as he pleased, and conform it to the pompous dress of the Romish whore?

And hence it is also evident, that the state of the sufferings before the engagement at Bothwell, was really one and the same with that which was after it, as to the main, though things came to be clearer after it, concerning the civil authority, when by that and many other instances, it was made evident, that the pretended rulers were setting themselves directly to ruin the whole interests of the subjects, as well civil as sacred; and that it was in vain to be any longer in suspense, waiting for a satisfactory redress of grievances, or opportunity to represent the same.

So that the charge of rebellion laid against them, not only by our episcopal passive obedience men, but also by the indulged, and such as tread their steps, is a most groundless imputation; for king Charles had violated all the conditions of government, and manifestly degenerate into a tyrant, long before they rejected his authority, and had refused all claim to the subject's allegiance, upon the account of the contract which he entered into at his coronation, and had no other pretence to authority but hereditary right and force, with the consent of such profligate noblemen and gentlemen as sat in these packed and pretended parliaments, which could never, in law or reason, oblige the honest and faithful subjects of the kingdom to comply with these tyrannical courses, and submit to him, who had as really forfeited his right to be king of Britain, as did his brother afterwards by his abdication.

But it is no new thing for the followers of Christ to meet with this charge of rebellion, if a Jezebel wants a Naboth's vineyard, and he stands up for his property, she will not want sons of Belial to bear witness, That he blasphemed God and the king. Do the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin intend to stop the building of Jerusalem, they will not want a Rehun the chancellor, and Shimshai the scribe to write, "That this city is a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old time." Would Haman have all the Jews destroyed, because Mordecai will not honour him, this is the charge he lays against them, as most likely to have affectuate his purpose, "That their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's law." Have the presidents a purpose to be rid of Daniel, this is the engine, "That Daniel, who is of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king! nor the decree that thou hast signed." Is a Tertullus to employ his eloquence against Paul, here's the artifice, "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among the Jews." Were the Romans desirous to have the christians exterminated out of the empire, what shift took they? why, truly, this was it, The christians are rebellious and seditious; they wou't swear by the life of Cesar, nor adore his image; and therefore *Christians ad Leonis*. If we look through the whole ecclesiastic history, we shall scarce find a persecution raised, but this is an article of the charge. But it is no paradox, "the servant is not greater than his Lord;" even Christ himself was accused and condemned as an enemy to Cesar, and a mover of sedition. But I shall not enter into this argument; the sufferers for Christ in Scotland have been frequently vindicated from the charge of rebellion, by more learned pens, and

yet still we have a generation of absurd men, who will not fail to renew it; nor can the strength of argument silence them, while they have brow enough to return railing in the room of reason.

The reader having thus briefly seen the causes, upon which they laid down their lives; it were necessary to proceed to a short delineation, both of the cruelty of the persecutors inflicting, and of the courage, patience and cheerfulness of the martyrs, suffering these severities: but as for the former, what tongue can express, what pen can describe the barbarous cruelty, and hellish rage of the sons of wickedness? One might write a volume upon their cruelties, and after all fall far short of drawing them to the life, or giving any just idea of them, they were so extremely inhumane, and brutish. At first, they began with noblemen, gentlemen and ministers, who had been eminent for the cause of God; beheading some, and placing their heads upon the ports of Edinburgh, in token of the highest contempt, banishing others, ejecting all from their charges, but such as would subject to Prelacy, and the blasphemous supremacy; and vitiating all the springs and seminaries of learning. Next, they fell to compel the common people to hear curates, by vast and exorbitant fines, extorted by troops of soldiers, plundering, quartering, beating, wounding, binding men like beasts, chasing them away from their houses, compelling them, though sick, to go to church, consuming and wasting their provision with dogs, and promiscuously abusing, as well those that conformed, as them that refused; and if any testified their resentment at these vermin of ignorant and scandalous curates, or refused to give them their tithes, they were imprisoned, scourged, stigmatized, and banished to Barbadoes, or other foreign parts. Any that were hearing their own ministers in private houses, were seized, dragged to prisons, and close kept there in great hardship, and that of every age and sex.

These were their tender mercies, and but the beginnings of sorrows; for after the defeat at Pentland-hills, beside what were killed upon the spot, such as surrendered upon quarter and upon solemn parole to have their life, were, contrary to the law of nature and nations, treacherously and bloodily murdered, to the number of forty; one of them, a much revered young minister, had his leg squeezed to pieces in the boots, and was afterwards hanged, though he was not in the fight, but had only a sword about him.

Soldiers were ordered to take free quarters in the country, to examine men by tortures, to compel women and children to discover their husbands and fathers, by threatening death, wounding, striping, torturing by fire matches, &c. Crowded into prisons so thick, that they could scarce stand together, in cold, hunger, and nakedness; and all this, because they would not, or could not discover who were at that expedition. Likewise many insnaring bonds, oaths and tests were framed, and imposed with rigour and horrid severity; people obliged to have passes, declaring they had taken them, or to swear before common soldiers, under pain of being presently shot dead. Severe laws were made against ministers that came to Edinburgh for shelter, they and their wives were searched for, by public search, crowded into prisons, sent to foreign plantations to be sold as slaves. Dragoons were sent to pursue people that attended field-preachings, to search them out in mosses, muirs, mountains and dens of the earth. Savage hosts of Highlanders were sent down to depopulate the western shires, to the number of ten or eleven thousand, who acted most outrageous barbarities, even almost to the laying some countries desolate.

After the overthrow of the Lord's people at Bothwell, they doubled these severities, issued out more soldiers, imposed cess, localities, and other new exactions, forced people to swear *super inquirendis*, and delate upon oath all that went to field-preachings, set up extraordinary circuit courts, enlarged their Porteous rolls, pressed bonds of comparance to keep the peace, to attend the church, refrain from field meetings, &c. examining country people upon several questions which they had no occasion to understand, as concerning the death of King Charles I. and the Archbishop of St. Andrews; and condemning them to death for not answering, quartering some alive, cropping their ears, cutting off the hands of some, and then hanging them, cutting their bodies in pieces after they were dead, and fixing them upon poles in chains, and upon steeples and ports of cities, beating drums at their executions, that they might not be heard speak, detaining others long in prison, loaded with chains and fetters of iron, and exposed to greater tortures than death itself, and after all sent to be sold as slaves, to empty the prisons: exercising all these bloody deaths and cruelties upon poor country people, which had no influence to do hurt to their government, though they had been willing; yea, upon women of tender age, whom they hanged and

drowned, for refusing their oaths and bonds, and resetting the Lord's suffering people.

It would be endless to enumerate all their barbarities exercised upon particular persons. Only for a swatch, take these inflicted on that excellent gentleman David Hackstoun of Rathillet. He was taken out from the place of judgment to his execution, and his body, which was already wounded, was tortured while he was alive, by the cutting off both his hands, which was done upon a high scaffold prepared for the purpose; thereafter being drawn up by a pulley to the top of the high gallows, by the rope which was about his neck, and suffered to fall down a very considerable way upon the lower scaffold three times, with his whole weight; then he was fixed at the top of the gallows, and the executioner with a big knife cutting open his breast, pulled out his heart, while he was yet alive, as appeared both by the body's contracting itself, when it was pulled out, and by the violent motion of the heart when it dropt upon the scaffold, which the executioner taking upon the knife, shewed it to the people upon the several corners of the stage, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor," and then threw it into a fire prepared for the purpose upon the stage, together also with his other inwards and noble parts; and having quartered his body, fixed his head and hands on a port at Edinburgh, and the other quarters at Leith, Coupar of Fife, and other places. Such was the size and proportion of their persecutions, while yet they pretended to bring them to the knowledge of assizes and colour of law.

But being now weary with these persecutions, according to the tenor of their own laws; the counsellors, to rid themselves of this trouble, gave out an edict for killing them, wherever they might be found, immediately upon the spot, unless they would take the oaths, and shew their pass, which they behoved to swear, that it was not forged; and if they found any arms or ammunition upon them of any sort. By means of which edict, many were suddenly surprised and shot dead, by the brutish and merciless soldiers, who were either peaceably living at home, following their lawful employments, or wandering in mountains, to hide themselves from their bloody enemies, not being allowed time to recommend their souls to God; and the country was engaged by oath to raise the hue and cry against them, in order to deliver them up to the hands of these burriors. The chief contrivers and framers of this horrid murdering edict, were the Earl of Perth, chancellor, duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Athol, and particularly the Viscount of Tarbet, now Earl of Cromarty, who invented this murdering device, wherein yet he carried so cunningly, that he procured the dispatch of the act to the king with such suddenness, that he found a way to shift his own subscribing it; and though he wants power now to practice such bloody mischief, yet it is evident, he has not repented thereof, but is, as yet, a contriver of the present encroachments made upon the established church, by the late mischievous acts of parliament.

But I must not launch any further into the relation of these cruelties, the true history of which would commence into a volume. I own indeed, that a fuller narration of these things, with pertinent observations thereupon, would have been proper enough for the intended work; but hoping that the Lord may yet raise up some of better abilities for such an undertaking, to set these sufferings in a true light, and to give an impartial recital thereof, this short hint, together with some account of these cold blood murderers, in the appendix, may suffice at present.

Let us next view a little, with some attention and concern, with what undaunted courage, holy resolution, and greatness of mind; with what unshaken steadfastness, and constancy those worthy sufferers underwent all these bloody severities. Those disciples of Jesus had been so trained up in his school, and learned the great christian doctrines of bearing the cross, mortifying the flesh, and contemning the world; they had been so thoroughly instructed by this great Master of assemblies, who teaches to profit, "and leads the blind in a way they know not," to discern the exceeding preciousness of truth, and excellency of the knowledge of Christ, that they were made willing to forego riches, honours, pleasures, liberty, and life itself, when they came in competition, with a steady adherence to the truth, and honour of their lovely Lord. Love to Jesus Christ, was the great spring which set all the wheels of their affections in motion, to do and suffer for him, whatever he called them to. Every one of them could say to their persecutors, what Chrysestom said to the Empress Eudoxia, who sent him a threatening message, *Nil nisi peccatum timeo*, I fear nothing but sin. They saw so much of the evil of sin, and beauty of holiness, that they would rather undergo the severest of suffering than stain their consciences with

the least sin, or lose the smallest filing of this fine gold of truth. Many of the things for which they suffered, were reckoned small by the indifferent world, but to them they appeared in their just magnitude. Tertullian in his book, *De Corona Militis*, tells us, That when a certain christian soldier, in the emperor's army, refused to wear a crown of bays upon his head, as all the rest of the soldiers did, upon a day sacred to one of the heathen idols, he was not only mocked at by the infidels for his nicety, but even by many of the christians, conceiving it a folly that this one man, for such a small and indifferent thing, should endanger both himself, and other christians; but Tertullian defends him, and says, "This soldier was more God's soldier, and more constant than the rest of his brethren, who presumed they might serve two Lords, and for avoiding persecution, comply with the heathen in their superstitious rites" And when some christians, who, like our indulged people, would rather comply, than endure the hazard, objected, "Where is it written in all the word of God, that we should not wear bays upon our heads?" Tertullian answers, "Where is it written that we may do it?" We must look into the Scriptures, to see what we may do; and not think it enough, that the Scripture doth not forbid directly this, or that very particular. They knew, with the same Tertullian, in the forecited book, "That the state of christianity doth not admit the excuse of necessity: there is no necessity of sinning to them, to whom it is only necessary not to sin." And hence they would not so much as seem to call in question any of the truths of Christ: when the enemies would have given them time to deliberate and advise anent them, they were so confirmed in the present truth, that they answered their adversaries, as Cyprian once did his, *In materia tam justa non est deliberandum*, In so just a cause there needs no deliberation. When they were urged with the example of other Presbyterians, ministers and professors, who had complied, and were far wiser and better than they; this did not shake them, but rather heightened their zeal. As Chrysostom tells us, these two holy martyrs, Juventius and Maximus, when they were urged by their persecutors with this argument, "Do not you see others of your rank do this?" Answered, for this very reason we will manfully stand and offer ourselves as a sacrifice for the breach that they have made: so the sad defections of their brethren, made them the more emulous to witness for Christ, when so many Demas like had forsaken him, having loved this present world.

These martyrs had such large discoveries of Christ's love, especially under the cross, that their hardest trials were accounted light. As Stephen the protomartyr got the fullest view of Christ, while before the council, so these had most lively sights of him under their sharpest sufferings; and hence they could not find in their heart to deny so kind a Master. As Polycarp that holy minister of Christ at Smyrna, answered the proconsul, bidding him deny Christ, and he should be discharged, Fourscore and six years (said he) have I been his servant, yet all this time he hath not so much as once hurt me, how then may I speak evil of my king and sovereign, who hath thus preserved me? They were under a lively sense of their vows and obligations to Christ, personal and national, and therefore durst not, could not deny his name, nor break his bonds, and cast away his cords, as the wicked hath done. They were of the resolute disposition of Victorianus, who being solicited by the Emperor to turn Arian, told him, "You may try all extremities, torture me, expose me to wild beasts, burn me to ashes, I had rather suffer any thing, than falsify my promise made to Christ my Saviour in baptism." And as Christ had been very kind to them, so they trusted much to him, and depended on him for strengthening influence, being very sensible of their own weakness; and they durst promise much on Christ's head; they could say as Vincentius to the tyrant Darius, "Rage, and do the utmost, that the spirit of malignity can set you on work to do: you shall see God's Spirit strengthen the tormented more than the devil can do the tormentors." And as Zuinglius to the Bishop of Constance, "Truth is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted."

As they were well instructed in the necessity, so in the usefulness and benefit of the cross; they knew, that as the church and nation deserved to be chastened and punished of God, so it was far more eligible to be chastened by sore adversities, inflicted by a loving father, than by severe impunities of an incensed and just judge. They knew that the grief they suffered was medicinal, not penal; the correction of a father, not the indignation of an enemy; and that they needed such merciful files and furnaces of adversity, to scour off the rust they had contracted in prosperity. Nay, they were not only content to undergo these fatherly corrections, but accounted it a singular kindness and condescension, that what they deserved should be their punishment, was made their glory, crown and

honour; that they who had merited to be scattered into corners, and have their remembrance made to cease from among men, for their lightly prizing the precious and glorious gospel, should be gathered into such a Cloud of Witnesses; and have their remembrance made everlasting, as honoured martyrs for Christ, and the defence of the gospel: that when they had provoked God, by their sinful lusting after a malignant to be their king, they should be dignified to contend for the kingly prerogatives of such a glorious and good sovereign, as the King of kings. And as they had a good understanding in the doctrine of the cross, so likewise in the promise of the crown, that is upon the back of the cross; they had their eyes at the recompense of reward, and therefore endured, because by faith they saw him who is invisible. "It was their looking unto Jesus, who endured such contradiction of sinners against himself," that made them bear all their reproaches, slanders, scoffs and jeers, from enemies and professed friends, with such invincible patience.

Thou hast here, christian reader, the dying speeches of some of these noble heroes; and as the speeches of dying men are remarkable, the speeches of dying christians more remarkable; how remarkable must the speeches of dying witnesses for Christ be? It is reasonably expected, that dying men, much more dying christians, and most of all, dying martyrs, should speak best at last. They are immediately to give in their last account, they are disinterested from all the worldly views, that use to darken our understandings, and bias our affections, while living in health and prosperity: they are upon the borders of eternity; and as the motions of nature are the stronger the nearer they are to the centre, so saints are most lively and heavenly, when nearest heaven. Martyrs have a special promise, "That it shall be given them in that hour, what they shall speak." The last speeches of Christ's dying witnesses have extorted, even from heathens, "acknowledgments to the honour of God; *Vere magnus est Deus Christianorum*, Truly great is the Christian's God." They have been made the means of conversion to many thousands of sinners; as Justin Martyr testifies of himself, that the dying words of the christians made him fall in love with the life of christianity.

I own, they are not bedecked with the embellishments of oratory and fine language; who can expect that from people of so mean education? But they are full of the language of heaven, which is many degrees more forcible than all our artificial rhetoric. One will find several mistakes in grammar, no doubt, in them; but they were never intended for the reflections of critics, but for the instruction of christians; and their plain, rude discourses, may, through God's blessing, do more good to the latter, than the most elaborate composures can do to the former. They may serve both as a comfort and encouragement to sufferers, and as an instruction and example to saints. Herein, as in a glass, we may both see our blemishes, wherein we come short of them, and learn to dress ourselves with the like christian ornaments of zeal, holiness, steadfastness, meekness, patience, humility and other graces.

But, alas! how can the best of us read these testimonies, without blushing, for our low attainments and small proficiency in the school of Christ? How unlike are we to them? How zealous were they for the honour of Christ? How lukewarm are we, of whatever profession or denomination? How burning was their love to him, his truths, ordinances, and people? How cold is ours? How self-denied and crucified to the world were they? How selfish and worldly are we? How willing were they to part with all for Christ, and what an honour did they esteem it to suffer for him, to be chained, whipped, haltered, staked, imprisoned, banished, wounded, killed for him? How unwilling are we to part with a very little for him; much less to endure such hardships and account them our glory? Alas! are we not ashamed of what they accounted their ornament, and accounting that our glory, which they looked upon as a disgrace? How easy was it for them to chuse the greatest sufferings, rather than the least sin? How hard is it for us not to chuse the greatest sin, before the least suffering? Oh that their christian virtues could upraid us out of our lethargy of supine security! That their humility, meekness, and patience could shame us out of our pride, haughtiness and impatience! They were sympathizing christians, active for the glory of God and good of souls, diligent to have their evidences for heaven clear, and having obtained assurance of God's love to their persons, and approbation of their cause, they went cheerfully on their way, fearless of men, "who can only kill the body," and ready to die the most violent death at God's call. But oh! how little fellow feeling is there now among christians? But instead thereof, bitterness, emulation, wrath, envy, contentions and divisions.

How little concern for the work and cause of Christ? How dark are the most part, both as to their spiritual state, and their proper and pertinent duty? And how much is the fear of man prevailing above zeal for the glory of God?

I know, it is objected by some, that they much wanted that virtue which is the greatest ornament of christians, and truest character of martyrs, namely, a forgiving disposition; because they lay their blood at the door of the principal contrivers and executors of their death, which the objectors suppose not to have been done by any of the former sufferers for Christ. But to this I oppose, 1st, Granting for argument sake, that they had expressed themselves with some more fervency on that head, than others formerly have done, and that this was a piece of their infirmity; it will not follow that we should presently admit the invidious inference, that therefore they were not martyrs for Christ: for as neither the many gross failings of the Old Testament saints, nor the mistakes of the primitive christians, about the truths for which they suffered, could deprive either of the honour of saintship or martyrdom, so neither ought any infirmity of theirs to be improv'd against them for that end. Solomon tells us, that "oppression makes a wise man mad;" and they met with it in the highest degree, and that not from the hands of Pagans, Turks, or Papists, but of those who had been their covenanted brethren by profession: and when a holy self-resigned David had much ado to bear reproaches from the hand of one that had been his equal, guide and acquaintance, with whom he had formerly sweet fellowship; it was not to be wonder'd, if they were put upon some vehemency of expression, by their severe sufferings from such hands; and should rather be favourably constructed of.

————— Si quid

Intumuit Pietas, si quid flagrantius actum est.

But, 2^d, more directly, I am bold to deny the charge; for they every where distinguish betwixt the injuries done to them, considered simply in themselves, and the injuries done to Christ, and to his image in them: the former they declare they forgive, as they desire forgiveness themselves: the latter they leave to God's sovereign disposal, withal wishing, that God might give them repentance; nor is the thing unprecedented: for beside the example of Jeremiah, who laid his innocent blood at the door of the princes, if they should take his life, there might be several more recent parallels adduced. It shall suffice to instance one of our own nation, imprisoned for bearing witness to the same truth, namely, worthy Mr. John Welch, who, in his letter to Lady Fleming, hath these express words, "The guilt of our blood shall lie upon bishops, counsellors, and commissioners, who have stirred up our prince against us; and so upon the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve, or by crying peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the wicked, that they cannot return: and, in the mean time, make the heart of the righteous sad. Next, upon all them that sat in council, and did not bear plain testimony of Jesus Christ and his truth, for which we suffer: and next, upon those that should have come, and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been to the hazard of their lives. Finally, all these that counsel, command, consent and allow, are guilty in the sight of God." Sure I am, this is as full as any thing they have on this head, and proves, that what they did, was consistent with a christian and forgiving temper of spirit.

And as they went off the stage, both with magnanimity and meekness, so it has been observed concerning many of their persecutors, that they departed this world with visible symptoms of God's wrath and judgments, especially with hell in their souls, I mean, the horror of an awakened conscience, under the sense of God's indignation; than which there can be no greater torment in this life.

————— Siculi non invenerunt;

Tormentum majus. —————

Well, these martyrs are now in heaven, in Abraham's warm bosom, enjoying the crown laid up for them, confirmed in an unchangeable state of rest and blessedness; we are yet in the stage of action and place of probation; we have our trials before us; let us imitate the Cloud of Witnesses, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. We know not what storms are abiding us. The Canaanite and the Perizzite are yet in the land. A restless Popish and Jacobite party, projecting a new revolution of affairs; as sanguinary and cruel yet as ever, and retaining as much of the old malignity and enmity against the covenanted work of reformation as ever, only waiting an opportunity to exert it, and many things in the present aspect of affairs portending, that they may be our scourge in the hand of our displeas'd Lord, for our misimproving mercies and deliverances, satisfying ourselves with our own things, not minding the

things of Christ; chiefly for our undervaluing the offers of the blessed Son of God in the gospel, and visible breach of national obligations to be for him and his cause. Seeing then such clouds are gathering and threatening a dismal tempest, let us arm ourselves with the same mind, to stand up for the truth upon all hazards, whether we be called of God to do or to suffer, for the joint interest of true religion and national liberty; for these, like Hippocrates' twins, weep or laugh, live or die together. "Righteousness exalteth a nation," said the wise Solomon; and Theodosius the emperor owned, That the establishment of a christian state depends chiefly upon piety towards God. On the other hand, civil liberty is an excellent bulwark to religion, without which its purity cannot long be preserved; for, as the same emperor said, *Multa inter ecclesiam et rempublicam cognatio intercedere solet; ex se invicem pendunt, et utraque prosperis alterius successibus incrementa sumit.* There is a great sibness between the church and the commonwealth, they depend one upon the other, and either is advanced by the prosperity and success of the other.

'Tis to be feared, this time of ease and outward peace, has so effeminated and softened our spirits, that we'll find it hard to face a storm; we may complain with Lusebius, *Res nostrae nimia libertate in mollietate segnitie degenerarunt.* Too much liberty has made us soft and sluggish. The vigorous exercise of christian discipline has been much intermitted, and therefore we have ground to expect severe correction from the hand of God. Cyprian observes, that this was the procuring cause of God's correcting the church in his time: *Quia traditionem nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat, jacentem fidem, et pene dicerim dormientem, censura coelestis crevit.* Because long peace had corrupted the divinely instituted discipline, therefore there needed heavenly chastisement to awaken the faith of the church, which was lying low, and almost fast asleep. All these dying witnesses, assure us of judgments abiding this church and nation; and our present condition seems to say, that we are the people that are to meet with them; how much need then had we of the christian armour, the divine Panoply, which made these christians proof against all the fiery darts of Satan and the wicked; and of the holy submission which made them bear the indignation of the Lord patiently, because they had sinned against him.

Having thus briefly ushered thee into the following sheets, christian and candid reader, I shall detain thee no longer from perusing them, save only by the way to take notice of these few advertisements.

1. It is not pretended, that here are all the Speeches and Testimonies of those that suffered in Scotland since the year 1680; for many of them, which, no doubt, are extant, have not come into the hands of the publishers of this collection, and some of them that were in their hands, did so far coincide with others in matter and phrase, that they left them unpublished, with some remark upon them, to keep up the memory of these honourable sufferers, being desirous that the book should not swell to such a bulk, as might make it less useful to country people, who have not much money to buy, or leisure to read bulky volumes. And if encouragement be found in this attempt, there may more of them come to be published afterwards. Only, this the collectors of these testimonies can say, that they have left out none, which were in their hands, that they conceived might be for the benefit of the public, upon any sinister view or account; and, if any shall find any alteration in any of them from their own manuscripts, (except it be in the grammar, wherein they took some little freedom, where necessity required it) they are to impute it to the variety of copies, whereof they had several, and those that which they conceived the most genuine.

2. As for the Testimonies of the banished, they being much the same, as to all material points, with these of the dying witnesses, they are omitted, and a list of their names added in the appendix.

3. The last speeches of those, who suffered on account of the Earl of Argyle's attempt, in the year 1685, are advisedly premitted, both because some of them are already published in a book entitled, the Western Martyrology; and likewise, because it is the opinion of the encouragers of this work, that their testimony was not so directly concert, according to the true state of the quarrel, for the essential interest of the Church of Christ in Scotland, as it ought to have been, though they intend not hereby to rob them of the glory of martyrdom for the Protestant religion. Nor can this be any prejudice to others, who may incline more fully to publish the transactions of these times.

May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enabled his people to witness so good a confession for his truth and cause, make these dying Speeches useful, to animate all the lovers of the reformed religion, with the like christian magnanimity and resolution, to stand up for its defence, against a Popish, Prelatic, and Jacobitish faction, endeavouring its overthrow. May He make us in the way of truth and duty, to strive together for the valuable interest of our Religion and Liberty.

A

DISMAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

FORM OF BURNING

THE

Solemn League & National Covenant,

WITH GOD AND ONE ANOTHER,

At Linlithgow, May 29, 1661,

BEING THE BIRTH-DAY OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

DIVINE Service being ended, the streets were so filled with bonfires on every side, that it was not without hazard to go along them: the magistrates about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the Earl of Linlithgow's lodging, inviting his lordship to honour them with his presence at the solemnity of the day; so he came with the magistrates, accompanied with many gentlemen to the market-place, where a table was covered with confections; then the curate met them, and prayed, and sang a psalm, and so eating some of the confections, they threw the rest among the people. The fountain all the time running French and Spanish wine of divers colours, and continued running three or four hours. The Earl, the magistrates and gentlemen, did drink the King and Queen's good health, and all royal healths, not forgetting his majesty's commission'er's health, Lord Middleton, and breaking several baskets full of glasses.

At the market-place, was erected an arch standing upon four pillars, on the other side whereof, was placed a statue, in form of an old hag, having the covenant in her hands, with this superscription, *A glorious reformation*: on the other side, was placed a statue in a Whigmuir's habit, having the Remonstrance in his hand, with this superscription, *No association with malignants*; within the arch, on the right hand, was drawn a committee of estates, with this inscription, *An act for delivering up the King*. Upon the left hand, was drawn the commission of the kirk, with this superscription, *A commission of the kirk and committee of estates, and act of the West-kirk of Edinburgh*, and upon the top of the arch stood

the Devil, as an angel of light, with this superscription, *Stand to the cause*; and on the top of the arch hung a table with this litany,

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
 From Remonstrators with associate bands,
 From such committees as govern'd this nation,
 From kirk commissions, and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.

On the pillar of the arch, beneath the covenant, were drawn kirk-stools, rocks and reels; upon the pillar beneath the Remonstrance, were drawn brechams, cogs and spoons; on the back of the arch, was drawn the picture of rebellion in a religious habit, with turned up eyes, and with a fanatic gesture, and in its right hand holding *Lex Rex*, that infamous (rather famous) book, maintaining defensive arms, and in the left hand, holding that pitiful pamphlet, (rather excellent paper) *The causes of God's wrath*, and about its waist, were all the acts of parliament, committees of estates, and acts of general assemblies and commission of the kirk, their protestations and declarations, during these twenty-two years of rebellion, (so they called the-time of reformation) and above, was this superscription, *Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*. Then at the drinking of the King's health, fire was put to the frame, which gave many fine reports, and soon burnt all to ashes: which being consumed, there suddenly appeared a table, supported by two angels, carrying this superscription,

Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
 And to his kingdoms happily restor'd:
 The Queen's arriv'd, the mitre now is worn,
 Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.
 Fly hence, all traitors, who did mar our peace,
 Fly hence, schismatics, who our church did rent,
 Fly, covenanting, remonstrating race;
 Let us rejoice, that God this day hath sent.

Then the magistrates accompanied the noble Earl to his palace, where the said Earl had a bonfire, very magnificent. Then the Earl and magistrates, and all the rest, did drink the King and Queen, and all royal healths. Then the magistrates made procession, through the burgh, and saluted every man of account, and so they spent the day, rejoicing in their labour.

AN
ENCOMIUM
ON THE
FOLLOWING MARTYRS.



LO! here of faithful witnesses a cloud,
For Christ their King resisting unto blood,
Lo! here upon their Pisgah top they stand;
Just on the confines of Emmanuel's land:
Leaving the ungrateful world, longing to be
Possess'd of blessed immortality.
Lo! here they stand, accosting cruel death
With Christian braveness, to their latest breath:
The views they have of heav'n's eternal joys,
So far eclipse all sublunary toys,
Their souls are only charm'd with things above,
Exulting in their sweet Redeemer's love.
Lo! here they stand, and will not quit the field,
They'll die upon the spot before they yield.
Lo! with what courage and brave resolution
They bear the shock of bloody persecution.
Hell's rage, Rome's fury, nor the scorn of those
Pretending friendship, though the worst of foes,
Could never shake their steady loyalty
To Zion's king, for whose supremacy
Over his church, thus boldly they contend,
And by his grace endure unto the end;
Refusing e'er to make a base surrender
Of Christ's regalia to a vile pretender;
Who swoln with more than Luciferian pride,
Could not in his own princely place abide;
But would usurp the spiritual pow'r and throne,
By God JEHOVAH giv'n to Christ alone.

And having thus 'gainst heav'n display'd a banner,
 'The Covenant he swore in solemn manner,
 He broke and burnt; divine and human laws,
 'Trode under foot; and to advance his cause,
 Made bloody violence the only claim,
 Whereby he wore the royal diadem.
 Being serv'd with beasts devoid of human sense;
 Much more of honour and of conscience;
 Who slew God's dearest saints in field and city,
 'Gainst law and reason, without sense and pity:
 Whose sharpest sufferings could not assuage,
 Nor death itself allay their hellish rage.
 As if their bodies dead felt sense of pains,
 Cut all in parts, they hung them up in chains;
 Heads, legs, and arms, they plac'd on ev'ry port
 Of burghs, or other places of resort,
 As standing trophies of their victory,
 O'er divine truth, and human liberty.
 Well, have they kill'd, and ta'en possession too?
 Is this the utmost that their rage could do?
 Only to send Christ's loving subjects home
 To their dear country; where they long to come:
 What matter where their dusty parts do lie?
 Interr'd in earth, or lifted up on high?
 While as their souls eternal anthems raise,
 In sweet accents to their Redeemer's praise.
 And will not Zion's King regain his crown?
 Throwing such vain aspiring mortals down
 Into that direful pit, from whence did flow
 'These mists of pride, which did enchant them so.

Come then, behold these noble witnesses
 Adorn'd with holy zeal and faithfulness;
 Who like a cloud, do us environ round,
 Viewing (as 'twere what way we'll stand our ground.)
 Let's run our race with equal patience,
 With eyes intent upon our recompense.

THE
LAST SPEECHES AND TESTIMONIES
OF
THE SUFFERERS FOR THE TRUTH
IN SCOTLAND,
Since the Year 1680.



The last Speech and Testimony of the Reverend Mr. DONALD CARGIL, sometime Minister of the Gospel, in the Barony Parish of Glasgow, delivered by him in writing, before his execution at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

THIS is the most joyful day that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth; my joy is now begun, which I see shall never be interrupted. I see both my interest, and his truth, and the sureness of the one, and the preciousness of the other. It is near thirty years since he made it sure; and since that time, (though there has fallen out much sin, yet) I was never out of an assurance of mine interest, nor long out of sight of his presence. He has dandled me, and kept me lively, and never left me behind, though I was oft-times turning back. O he has shewed the wonderful preciousness of his grace, not only in the first receiving thereof, but in renewed and multiplied pardons! I have been a man of great sins, but he has been a God of great mercies. And now, through his mercies, I have a conscience as sound and quiet, as if I had never sinned. It is long since I could have adventured on eternity, through God's mercy, and Christ's merits; but death remained somewhat terrible, and that now is taken away; and now death is no more to me, but to cast myself into my husband's arms, and to lie down with him. And however it be with me at the last; though I should be straitened by God, or interrup-

ted by men, yet all is sure, and shall be well. I have followed holiness, I have taught truth, and I have been most in the main things; not that I thought the things concerning our times little; but that I thought none could do any thing to purpose in God's great and public matters, till they were right in their conditions. And O that all had taken this method! for then there had been fewer apostasies. The religion of the laud, and zeal for the land's engagements, are coming to nothing, but a supine, loathsome and hateful formality; and there cannot be zeal, liveliness and rightness, where people meet with persecution, and want heart renovation. My soul trembles to think, how little of regeneration there is amongst the ministers and professors of Scotland. O the ministers of Scotland, how have they betrayed Christ's interest, and beguiled souls! "They have not entered in themselves, "and them that were entering in, they hindered." They have sold the things of Christ, and liberties of his church, for a short and cursed quiet to themselves, which is now near an end: and they are more one, and at peace with God's enemies, after they have done all their mischiefs, nor they were at first, when they had put hand to them. And I much fear that though there were not one minister on all the earth, he would make no more use of them; but there will be a dreadful judgment upon themselves, and a long curse upon their posterity.

As to our professors, my counsel to them is, that they would see well to their own regeneration, for the most part of them has that yet to do; and yet let never one think, that he is in the right exercise of true religion, that has not a zeal to God's public glory. There is a small remnant in Scotland, that my soul has had its greatest comfort on earth from. I wish your increase in holiness, number, love, religion, and righteousness; and wait you, and cease to contend with these men that are gone from us, for there is nothing that shall convince them, but judgment. Satisfy your consciences, and go forward: for the nearer you are to God, and the further from all others, whether stated enemies, or lukewarm ministers and professors, it shall be the better. My preaching has occasioned persecution, but the want of it will (I fear) occasion worse. However, I have preached the truths of God to others; as it is written, "I believed, and so I preached;" and I have not an ill conscience in preaching truth, whatever has followed; and this day I am to seal with my blood all the truths that ever I preached: and what is controverted of that which I have been professing, shall (ere long) be manifested by God's judgments in the consciences of men. I had a sweet calmness of spirit, and great submission as to my taking, the providence of God was so eminent in it; and I could not but think, that God judg-

ed it necessary for his glory, to bring me to such an end, seeing he loosèd me from such a work. My soul would be exceedingly troubled anent the remnant, were it not that I think the time will be short. Wherefore hold fast, for this is the way that is now persecuted.

As to the cause of my suffering; the main is, "Not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the supremacy and explanatory act." This is the magistracy that I have rejected, that was invested with Christ's power. And seeing that power taken from Christ, which is his glory, made the essential of the crown, I thought this was, as if I had seen one wearing my husband's garments, after he had killed him. And seeing it is made the essential of the crown, there is no distinction we can make, that can free the conscience of the acknowledger, from being a partaker of this sacrilegious robbing of God, and it is but to cheat our consciences, to acknowledge the civil power, for it is not civil power only that is made of the essence of his crown: and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain; for otherwise, it is to deny our testimony, and consent to his robbery.

After he was come to the scaffold, standing with his back towards the ladder, he fixed his eyes upon the multitude, and desired their attention; and after singing a part of the cxviii. Psalm, from verse 16th to the close, he looked up to the windows on both sides of the scaffold with a smiling countenance, requesting the people to compose themselves, and hear a few words that he had to say, which (said he) I shall direct to three sorts of folk, and shall endeavour to be brief. First, All you that are going on in persecuting the work and people of God, O beware, for the Lord's sake! and refrain from such courses, as you would escape wrath eternally, which will be a torment far beyond what we are to endure by the hands of cruel and bloody murderers. Upon this the drums were beaten, at which he smiling said, Now ye see we have not liberty to speak, or at least to speak what we would; but God knoweth our hearts. But, O ye that are called ministers, and professors in the church of Scotland, who are wearied in waiting upon the Lord, and are turned out of his way, and run into a course of gross defection and backsliding; truly, for my part, I tremble to think what will become of you; for either you shall be punished with sore affliction, I mean, in your consciences, because of sin, or else you shall be tormented eternally without remedy, which shall be shortly, if mercy prevent it not, which I pray God may be the mercy of all these to whom he has thoughts of peace. All ye that are the poor remnant, who fear sinning more than suffering, and are begging for his returning to Scotland to wear his own crown, and reign as

King in Zion, in spite of all that will oppose him, whether devils or men: I say to you that are thus waiting, wait on, and ye shall not be disappointed; for either your eyes shall see it, or else ye shall die in the faith of it, that he shall return, and "if you suffer with him, you shall also reign with him," which reign, will be glorious and eternal. I come now to tell you for what I am brought here to die, and to give you an account of my faith, which I shall do as in the sight of the living God, before whom I am shortly to stand. First, I declare I am a christian, a protestant, a Presbyterian in my judgment, and whatever hath been said of me, I die testifying against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all manner of defection from the truth of God, and against all who make not the Scriptures, which are the word of God, their rule, that so they may commend Christ and his way to strangers by a holy and gospel conversation. The cause for which I am sentenced to die here this day, is my disowning of authority in the unlawful exercise thereof, when they, instead of ruling for God, are fighting against him, and encroaching upon his prerogatives, by that woful supremacy which my soul abhors, and which I have testified against since I was apprehended; and now again, I disown all supremacy over the consciences of men, and liberties of Christ's church. Whereupon the drums were again beaten, and he kept silence a little, and then said, Of this subject I shall say no more. Only I think the Lord's quarrel against this land is, because there has not been so much heart religion and soul exercise among either ministers or professors, as there seemed to be, when the land owned Christ and his truths: I wish there were more true conversion, and then there would not be so much backsliding, and for fear of suffering, living at ease, when there are so few to contend for Christ and his cause.

Now, for my own case, I bless the Lord, that for all that hath been said of me, my conscience doth not condemn me; I do not say, I am free of sin, but I am at peace with God through a slain Mediator; and I believe that there is no salvation, but only in Christ; and I abhor that superstitious way of worshipping of angels and saints, contrary unto the word of God; as also I abhor the leaning to self-righteousness, and Popish penances. I bless the Lord, that these thirty years, and more, I have been at peace with God, and was never shaken loose of it; and now I am as sure of my interest in Christ, and peace with God, as all within this Bible, and the Spirit of God can make me; and I am no more terrified at death, nor afraid of hell, because of sin, than if I had never had sin; for all my sins are freely pardoned, and washen thoroughly away, through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ; and I am

fully persuaded, that this is his way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland, but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I entreat you, be not discouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him, as it can desire to be. And now this is the sweetest and most glorious day, that ever my eyes did see. Now I entreat you, study to know and believe the Scriptures, which are the truths of God, these I have preached, and do firmly believe them. O! prepare for judgments, for they shall be sore and sudden. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God, but ere long they shall be enraged one against another, to their own confusion. At this the drums were beaten a third time. And then being taken to the north side of the scaffold, he stood a little, during the space that one of the rest was singing. And then being carried to the south side of the scaffold, he prayed. Thence he was brought to the east-side of the scaffold, and then he said, I entreat you prepare presently for a stroke, for God will not sit with all the wrongs done to him, but will suddenly come and make inquisition for the blood that has been shed in Scotland. Then he was commanded to go up the ladder, and as he set his foot on the ladder, he said, The Lord knows I go up this ladder, with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach. And when he was up, he set himself down, and said, Now I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure; for I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, and men, and sin; they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs that any of the elect has done against him. I pray that sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty. Then having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin, and said, Farewell all relations and friends in Christ; farewell acquaintances, and all earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches and sufferings. Welcome joy unspeakable, and full of glory. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit. Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over praying.

Because this dying testimony and last speech are but short, which was occasioned through want of time, and the persecutors severity, who took his larger testimony from him the day before he died, paper and ink being conveyed to him secretly, by a cord through the window, the night before his death, it is thought proper to subjoin these following letters of his, (they being all of public concern) to give a more full discovery of the testimony which he held: and particularly, of his witnessing against the errors, about that time, broached by the infamous John Gib, as the letter written to the prisoners in the correction-house manifests.

*A Letter from Mr. Donald Cargil, to Mr. James Skeen,
who suffered Martyrdom in Edinburgh.*

DEAREST FRIEND,

There is now nothing upon earth, that I am so concerned in (except the Lord's work) as in you and your fellows; that you may either be cleanly brought off, or honourably and rightly carried through. He has begun in part to answer me, though not in that which I most affected, yet in that which is best. My soul was refreshed to see any that had so far overcome the fear and torture of death, and were so far denied to the affections of the flesh, as to give full liberty to the exoneration of conscience, in the face of these bloody tyrants, and vile apostates: and yet these, by our divines, must be acknowledged as magistrates, which very heathens, endued with the light of nature would abominate, and would think it as inconsistent with reason, to admit to, or continue in magistracy, such perjured, bloody, dissolute, and flagitious men, as to make a wolf the keeper and feeder of the flock. But every step of their dealing with God, with the land, and with yourself and brethren, is a confirmation of your judgment anent them, and sufficient ground of your detestation, and rejection of them; and it is the sin of the land, and of every person in it, that they have not gone along with you, and these few in that action; but since they have not done that, they shall not now meet with the like honour, if ever they meet with it, till vengeance be poured out upon them: and they and their king shall either be kept together in wrath, or divided in wrath, that they may be one another's destruction. But go on valiant champion, you die not as a fool, though the apostate, unfaithful and lukewarm ministers and professors of this generation think and say so; they shall live traitors, and most of them die fools: I say, traitors, as some men live upon the reward of treachery, for their quiet and liberty: if it may be called a liberty, as it is redeemed with the betraying of the interest of Christ, and the blood of his people. But he himself hath sealed your sufferings, and their thus saying, condemns God, and

his sealing condemns them. But neither regard their voices, nor fear, for God will neither seal to folly nor iniquity; he then not only having sealed your sufferings, but your remission, go on to finish and perfect your testimony, not only against them, but against all that subject unto them, side with them, or are silent at them. And as for these men that will be our rulers, though they have nothing of worth or virtue in them: I am persuaded of this, that none can appear before them, and acknowledge them as they have now invested themselves (standing on a foundation of perjury, which is an act recissory of their admission to the government) with Christ's crown on their head, and a sceptre of iniquity, and a sword of persecution in their hand, but must deny Christ. And in effect, the whole land generally hath denied Christ, and desired a murderer. And as for that unsavoury salt, that lately appeared, acknowledged them, and was ashamed of this testimony, and in so doing, gave the first vote to your condemnation; and proclaimed a lawfulness to the rest of the assizers and murderers, to follow in their condemnations; God shall require this with his other doings at his hands; and I am somewhat afraid, if he be not suddenly made the subject of serious repentance, he shall be made the subject of great vengeance. But forgive and forget all these private injuries, and labour to go to eternity and death, with a heart destitute of private revenges, and filled with zeal to God's glory, and assign to him the quarrel against his enemies, to be followed out by himself in his own way, against the indignities done to God, and against the mocking perfidiousness, impieties and lukewarmness of this generation. And for yourself, whatever there has been either of sin or duty, remember the one, and forget the other: and betake yourself wholly to the mercy of God, and the merits of Christ: ye know in whom ye have believed, and the acceptableness of your believing, and the more fully you henceforth believe, the greater shall be his glory, and the greater your peace and safety. Farewell, dearest friend, never to see one another any more, till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale, and a fair entry into his kingdom. that may carry sweetly and swiftly over the bar, that you find not the rub of death. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you. Yours in Christ,

D. CARGIL.

A letter to some friends before he went abroad.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I cannot but be grieved to go from my native land, especially from that part of it, for whom and with whom I desired only to live: yet the dreadful apprehensions I

shall
aving

what is coming upon this land, may help to make me submissive to his providence, though more bitter: you will have snares for a little, and then a deluge of judgments. I do not speak this to affright any, much less to rejoice over them; as if I were taken, and they left; or were studying, by these thoughts, to alleviate my own lot of banishment; though I am afraid that none shall bless themselves long upon the account that they are left behind. But my design is, to have you making for snares and judgments, that ye may have both the greatest readiness and the greatest shelters, for both shall be in one. Clear accounts, and put off the old, for it is like that what is to come will be both sudden and surprising, that it will not give you time for this. Beware of taking on new debt. I am afraid that these things that many are looking on as favours, are but come to bind men together in bundles for a fire. I am sure if these things be embraced, there shall not be long time given for using of them; and this last of their favours and snares is sent to men, to show that they are that which otherwise they will not confess themselves to be. Tell all, that the shelter and benefit of this shall neither be great nor long; but the snare of it shall be great and prejudicial. And for myself, I think, for the present he is calling me to another land. But how long shall be my abode, or what employment he has for me there, I know not; for I cannot think he is taking me there to live and lurk only. I rest,

DONALD CARGIL.

A letter to John Malcolm and Archibald Allison, prisoners.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Death in Christ, and for Christ, is never much to be bemoaned, and less at this time than any other; when these that survive have nothing to live among but miseries, persecution, snares, sorrows and sinning; and where the only desirable sight, viz. Christ reigning in a free and flourishing church, is wanting, and the greatly grieving and offensive object to devout souls, viz. devils, and the worst of the wicked, reigning and raging, is still before our eyes; and though we had greater things to leave, and better times to live in, yet eternity does so far exceed and excel these things in their greatest perfection, that they who see and are sure, (and we see indeed, being made sure) will never let a tear fall, or a sigh go at the farewell, but would rather make a slip to get death, nor to shun it, if both were not equally detestable to them upon the account of God's commandments, whom they neither dare nor are willing to offend, even to obtain heaven itself. And there are none who are his, but they must see themselves in

initely advantaged in the exchange; and accordingly hasten, if sin, the flesh, and want of assurance, did not withstand: and there is no doubt, but these must be weak and poor spirits, that are bewitched or enchanted, either with the fruitions or hopes of the world. And as earth has nothing to hold a resolute and reconciled soul, so heaven wants nothing to draw it; and to some to live here, has been always wearisome, since their peace was made, Christ's sweetness known, and their own weakness and unusefulness experienced; but now it is become hatefully loathsome, since devils and the worst of men are become the head, and dreadful by their stupendous permissions, loosings and lengthenings in their reigning, and friends are become uncomfortable, because they will neither christianly bear and bide, nor rightly go forward to effectuate their own delivery. But for you, there is nothing at this time, (if you yourselves be sure with God, which, I hope, either you are, or will be) which can make me bewail your death: though the cause of it doth both increase my affection to you and indignation against these enemies. Yet for you, notwithstanding of the unjustness of the sentence, go not to eternity with indignation against them upon your own account. Neither let the goodness of the cause ye suffer for, found your confidence in God, and your hope of well-being; for were the action ever so good, and performed without the least failing, which is not incident to human infirmity, it could never be a cause of obtaining mercy, nor yet commend us to that grace from which we are to obtain it. There is nothing now which is yours, when you are pleading and petitioning for mercy, that must be remembered, but your sins; for in effect, there is nothing else ours. Let your sins then be on your heart, as your sorrow, which we must bewail, before we be parted with them, as the captive her father, not because she was to leave him, but because she had been so long with him. And let these mercies of God, and merits of Christ be before your eyes, as your hopes, and your winning to these as the only rock upon which we can be saved; if there be any thing seen or looked to in ourselves but sin, we cannot expect remission and salvation allenarly through free grace, in which expectation only it can be obtained: neither can we earnestly beg, till we see ourselves destitute of all that procures favour, and full of all that merits, and hastens vengeance and wrath.

And besides, it heightens the price of that precious blood, by which only we can have redemption from sin and wrath; it being the only sufficient in itself, and only acceptable to the Father, and so it must be, being the blessed and gracious device and result of infinite wisdom, which makes the eternal God to be admired in his graciousness and holiness, having

found out the way of his own payment without our hurt, and which makes all return to their own desires, and there to rest in an eternal complacency; for this way returns to God his glory, to justice its satisfaction, to disquieted consciences of men, frightened and awakened with the sight of sin and wrath, ease, peace and assurance, and to the souls of men, fellowship with God and hope of eternal salvation. Now, the righteousness of Christ being made sure to us, secures all this for us, and this both is believed and apprehended by faith, it being the hand by which we grip this rock, and if it be true, it cannot but be strong, and we saved. Look well then to your faith, that it be a faith growing out of regeneration, and the new creature, and have Christ for its righteousness, hope and rejoicing, and be sealed by the Spirit of God: and what this sealing is, when it comes it will abundantly show itself; and there can be no other full satisfaction to a soul than this. But seek till ye find, and whatever ye find for the present, let your last act be to lay and leave yourselves on the righteousness of his Son, expecting life through his name, according to the promise of the Father. Dear friends, your work is great, and time short; but this is a comfort, and the only comfort in your present condition, that you have a God infinite in mercy to deal with, who is ready at all times to forgive, but especially persons in your case, who have been jeoparding your lives upon the account of the gospel, whatever failings or infirmities in you, that action hath been accompanied with; for it is the action itself which is the duty of this whole covenanted kingdom, and not the failing, for which you are brought to suffering. Seek not then the favours of men, by making your duty your sin; but confess your failings to God, and look for his mercy through Je-sus Christ, who has said, *Whosoever loseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto eternal life.* And though it will profit a reprobate nothing to die after this manner, for nothing can be profitable without love, which only is, or can be, in a believer, yet it should be no disadvantage, but, in a manner, the best way of dying; for it would take some from his days that he might have lived, and so prevent many sins that he would have committed, and so the sin is lessened that is the cause of eternal sufferings.

And let not this discourage you, or lay you by, that the work is great, and the time short, though this indeed should mind you of your sinful neglect, that were not better provided for such a short and peremptory summons, which you should always have expected. It also shews the greatness of the sin of these enemies, that not only take away unjustly your bodily life, but also shorten your time of preparation, and so do their utmost to deprive you of eternal life. Yet, I say, let

not this either discourage, or lay you by, for God can perfect great works in a short time, and one of the greatest things that befall men, shall be effectuate in the twinkling of an eye, which is one of the shortest. I assure you he put the thief on the cross through all his desires, convictions, conversion, justification, sanctification, &c. in a short time, and left nothing to bemoan, but that there did not remain time enough to glorify him on earth that had done all these things for him. Go on then, and let your intent be seriousness; the greatness of your sorrow, and the height of love, in a manner, make a compensation for the shortness of time, and go on though ye yourselves have gone short way; for where these things are, one hour will perform more than thousands where there were not either such enforcements or power; and be persuaded in this, you have him as much and more hastening than yourselves; for you may know his motion by your own, they being both set forward by him. And dear friends, be not terrified at the manner of your death, which to me seems the easiest of all, where you come to it without pain, and in perfect judgment, and go through so speedily; before the pain be felt the glory is come: but pray for a greater measure of his presence, which only can make a pass through the hardest things cheerful and pleasant. I bid you farewell, expecting, though our parting be sad, our gathering shall be joyful again. Only your great advantage in the case you are in, is to credit him much, for that is his glory, and engages him to perform whatever ye have credited him with. No more, but avow boldly to give a full testimony for his truths, as you desire to be avowed of him. Grace, mercy and peace be with you.

DONALD CARGIL.

To the Prisoners in the Correction-house of Edinburgh.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I think ye cannot but know that I am both concerned and afflicted with your condition; and I would have written sooner, and more, if I had not feared that you might have been jealous (under your distempers) that I had been seducing you to follow me, and not God and truth. It has been my earnest and frequent prayer to God, (as he himself knows) to be led in all truths; and I judge, I have been in this graciously answered: but I desire none, if they themselves judge it not to be truth, to adhere to any thing that I have either preached, written or done, to any hazard, much more to the loss of life. But I have been afflicted with your condition, and could not but be more, if God's great graciousness in this begun discovery, and your sincerity and singleness gave me not hope, that God's

purpose is to turn this to the great mercy of his poor church, and yours, if ye mar it not; and yet the great sin and pillar of Satan that is in this snare, makes me tremble. It was God's mercy to you that gave such convictions, that made you, at least, some of you, once to part with these men; and it was undoubtedly your sin that you continued not so, but after convictions, did cast yourselves into new temptations; for convictions ought to be tenderly guided, lest the Spirit be grieved from whom they come; but this second discovery, though it be with a sharper rebuke, as it makes God's mercy wonderful, so it shall render your perseverance in that course, sinful and utterly inexcusable; for God has broken the snare, and it will be your great sin, if you go not out with great haste, joy and thankfulness, when God's wonderful discovery has made such a way for your delivery; for God having now shown you the ringleaders and authors of these opinions to be persons of such abominations, calls you not only to deny credit to them, but also to make a serious search of their tenets, which will, I know, by his grace, bring you undoubtedly to see that these things are contrary both to God's glory and truth, that they so much pretend to.

And now, dear friends, as I cannot be tender enough of you, who in your zeal and singleness have been misled; for though this did bewray a great simplicity and unwatchfulness, yet it did also betoken some zeal and tenderness, that being beguiled, it was in things that were veiled and busked with some pretences to God's glory, and public reformation. And on the other hand, I cannot have great enough abhorrence of these persons, who knowing themselves to be of such abominations, did give out themselves to be of such familiarity with God, and of so clear illumination, to make their delusions more passing with devout souls. Let nothing make you think this is malignity, or natural enmity against the power of godliness, or progress in reformation, that is venting itself in me: for though I cannot win forward as I ought, yet I have rejoiced to see others go forward. And I am sure, there lies in this bed within you, a viper and a child. Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, has put these two together, to make it passing with some, and to be spared of others, who are of tenderness. But my soul's desire is, to kill the serpent, and keep the child alive; and God is calling you loudly to sever the good from the bad, that the wit of Satan's subtilty has mixed together, and to deliver yourselves speedily, as a roe from the hand of the hunter; and not only return, but bitterly mourn for your high provoking of God, in offering such foul sacrifices to his glory, and sewing your old clouts upon that new garment; in your making the enemy more to despise that cause and com-

Donald Cargil.

pany, who are enough despised already, and discouraging those who were following, and going forward with joy in that which was right, so that now, neither have they heart nor hand for the work, nor can they look out, till God recover them again. There is much in the whole of those, that may, and does weight and overwhelm some spirits; but there is nothing in all their cogitations about it, that they found comfortable, unless it be, that he is cleared in afflicting us, and continuing to afflict us, because there were such persons among us. I speak this but of some of you, and beloved by us, though ignorantly; and we wish that this be the last and great stop that was to be removed before his coming to revenge himself and reign. I would not say, but by this also, he shewed his tenderness, of preserving integrity of doctrine, and sound reformation, and his purpose not to suffer errors and heresies to prosper. This I told you, when I met with you, that there were some things ye were owning which were highly approved of God; such as an inward heart-love and zeal to God's glory, which I perceived to be in some of you, so far as it can be perceived, and setting up of that before you, as your end, in pursuing it always as your work, and a forgetting of all other things in regard of it, excepting only these things, without which we cannot glorify him, (as a workman that intends his work, must mind his tools) even our own salvation, and the salvation of all others, as if they were not things wherein he is greatly glorified, for his glory is in righteousness and mercy, and in, and by these, is the salvation of man infallibly advanced, and to these it is inseparably connected.

Next I would advise you, to set apart more, yea, much more of your time, for humiliation, fasting and prayer, in such an exigence, when the judgments of God appear to be so near, and so great, so that it be done without sin, for God cannot be glorified by sin; *For if my lie hath more abounded to his glory, why am I judged as a sinner?* I was against such who deny nature, and others, their right dues; for he that allows dues to others, allows them to be paid also: and we must be like prisoners, who are of great debt, and honest hearts, who know they cannot pay every one their full sums, yet are resolved to give every one some, and to the greatest most, and to the rest accordingly. And as there cannot be a total abstinence from meat, without self-murder, so there cannot be a total denying others their due, such as the benevolence of husband to wife, and a total abstaining from work, without a transgression of God's commandments and laws, which can never be a glorifying of him, which the more impartially they are kept, the more he is glorified. Next, ways are allowed of him, that ye may make yourselves free, so much as in you lies, of all the

public defections: whatever may involve you in these or contribute to their upholding, without either an overpowering force, or an indispensable necessity: for I may buy meat and drink, in necessity, whatever use the seller may make of that money I give for my meat and drink. Next, he allows these particulars of reformation, such as change of the names of days, of weeks, of terms of the year, and such like, warranted by the word, and example of the christians in scripture, that have been neglected before in our reformation; so that there be not too much religion placed in these things, and other things more weighty, (which undoubtedly, have more moral righteousness in them) made little in regard of them: but in these good things, Satan will quickly, if it be not already, overdrive you in your progress, and leave you only to hug a spurious birth. But there are other things that ye maintained, when I spoke with you (and the viper has more since appeared) as truths, and part of God's glory, that are utterly contrary to, and inconsistent with the glory of God. As, *first*, Laying aside of public preaching; some of them saying no less, nor they had no missing of it: so that ye thought, *ye had reigned as kings without us, and would to God ye had reigned.* Your flourishing should have delighted, though we had not been the instruments and means thereof. But alas! this your liberty, that you so much bragged of, would have lasted but a little while, and was among your other beguiles; and was nothing else but Satan stirring you about to giddiness, and raising of fantastic fumes to the tickling of the imagination; but leaving you altogether without renovation of heart, or progress in sanctification: so that I cannot compare this your liberty to any thing else, but to an enchanted fabric, where the poor guests, only placed in imagination, imagine themselves to be in a pleasant place, and at a royal entertainment; but when God comes, and delusion vanisheth, they will find themselves cast in some remote wilderness, and they left full of astonishment and fears.

I told you, while I was with you, that the devil was sowing tares among your thin wheat; but I was not long from you, exercised in thoughts about you, but I saw clearly, there was sorcery in the business: and now I tell you, I fear sorcerers also. I know I have spoken this against mine own life, if they get the power they desire; but I am in a defiance of them, and I know also in a defence by him who hath preserved, and I know will preserve me, till my work be finished. But if your liberty that you talked of had been true, it would at least have stayed till it had brought you to other thoughts, other works, and other comforts: and it might have been easily discerned not a true liberty, but a temptation that led you from public preaching, the great ordinance of God's

glory, and men's good; as the apostle has that word, *Forbidding us to preach to the Gentiles*. But especially to leave public ordinances at this time, when they are the only standards standing, which shows Satan's victory against Christ's kingdom in Scotland not to be complete.

Yet, dear friends, when you hear this, let not Satan cast you as far to the other side, (for it is rare to see the most devout souls altogether out from under his delusions and temptations) as to make you believe that it is impossible to attain unto any thing of certitude of truth, liberty, manifestations and communion with God, if that which seemed to be so firm, be delusions; but shall Satan have such power to make men believe lies, and shall not God go infinitely beyond him, in making men to see and believe truth? There were many that thought themselves at the height of assurance, when under the greatest temptations, as Psalm lxxiii. 13, *Verily I have cleansed my hands in vain*. And yet they have a greater certainty when they come to see, that there is no such unquietness of spirit under this, as they found in the former. And seeing it is so, rest not till ye attain that assurance of your own interest, and of his main truths, which is both above doubt and defect, that ye may be able to say, *Now we believe, and are sure*.

But in the next place, you will join with none in public worship, but these who have infallible signs of regeneration. This seems fair, but it is both false and foul; false, because of its false foundation, viz. that the certainty of one's interest in Christ may be known by another; whereas the scripture says, *That none knows it, but he that has it*. Foul also, for this disdain has pride in it, and pride is always foul; and though there be a difference amongst men, and that we should have regard of repentance and brokenness of heart, yet these who have well sought and seen their own filthiness, will judge themselves the persons, of any, that should be thrust out of the assemblies of God's people; and that not only in regard of what they have been, but also in regard of what they daily are. Next, ye would have all to be prayed to eternal wrath, who have departed and made defection in this time: alas! we need not blow them away, the great part is going fast enough that way; but this, I am sure, is not to give God his glory, but to take from him, and limit him in his freedom and choice, in the greatness of his pardon. It is remarkable, that the angels in their *glory to God*, joined also with it, *good will to men*. Next, ye have rejected the Psalms, with many other things, by a paper come from some of you; and I cannot see upon what account, except it be, because it is man's work, in turning the Psalms out of prose into metre. Then you must reject all the other Scriptures, because the translation of them

is of man's work; ye have not yet learned the original languages, ye must betake yourselves altogether to the spirit, and what a spirit will that be, that is not to be tried by the Scriptures! I told some of you, when I last saw you, that ye were too little led by the Scriptures, and too much by your own thoughts and suggestions, which indeed opens a wide door to delusion, and alas! lays yourselves open to Satan's temptations.

As for the rest, of your denying all your former covenants and declarations; this cannot be from God, they containing nothing but lawful and necessary duties; and suppose they did not contain and include a complete reformation, yet they did not exclude it; so that still holding them, we might have passed on to more perfection, and they might be inviolable obligations with us. And next, your cutting off all that were not of your mind, and delivering them up to devils, was not justice and religion, it being done neither in judgment nor righteousness, upon conviction of their crimes, but unbridled rage and fury. But these things I cannot fully speak to now; yet there is somewhat that I cannot pass; but must tell you, that I fear there shall remain some of the leaven within, that shall not only spoil an orthodox Protestant, but also a true, tender, and humble christian, and give us nothing instead of it, but a blown bladder; for I am persuaded, if Satan should have the tutory but a while, he should bring it to this; for it has been his way with some, first to make them saint-like, and afterwards to settle them at atheism; like a cunning fisher, running a fish upon an angle, who at last casts it on dry ground. God is my witness, my soul loves to see holiness, tenderness and zeal, in such a generation, where there is nothing but untenderness, unconcernedness, and lukewarmness; and by his grace, I shall ever cherish it. I desire you then, in the bowels of Christ, to retain your zeal; but see well to this, that it be for his glory. Indeed, the more that you are zealous, and the further ye go forward, so that the word of God direct your course, ye are the more pleasing to God, and shall be the dearer to us. And persuade yourselves, that though I cannot equal or go before, yet it is the sincere desire of my heart to follow such. And my soul wishes you well, though it may be I cannot here point, nor lead you the way to well being, yet this I must say, that if I could lead you the way that he has led me, I should let you see eternal life, without these things that I am desiring you to relinquish. Hold truth, glorify God, be zealous to have him glorified; but think not to desire the condemnation of any man, simply upon that account, that they dare not come and continue where you are; or to put a bar by prayer between them and a return, is a glorifying of God: we glorify him in this kind, when, as he himself desires, we ac-

quiesce in his sentence, when it is past, though we wrestle against it, before it be known to us.

I cannot bid you go forward in all, but I desire you to go forward in that which is surer and better. And dear friends, let not the world have that to say, that when ye are become right, ye are become the less zealous; only take the right object, and let your zeal grow. O let not your sufferings be stained with such wildness, and think it not strange that ye have not such liberty in your return, as ye seemed to have before; if ye take the right way, and hold on, ye shall find it, in his time, greater and better, and surer. I shall only add, that there must be an express owning of his truths, whereof ye have been persuaded before now, which now are either denied or doubted, otherwise you will come to nothing of religion, or worse; this will either state your sufferings right, or be a mean to obtain a cleanly liberty from God in his due time. Grace, mercy and peace be with you. Amen.

DONALD CARGIL.

The dying Testimony and last Words of Mr. WALTER SMITH, Student of Theology, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

DEAR FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES,

As I desire, while in the body, to sympathize somewhat with you in lamenting your various cases, and the case of the church whereof we are the sons and daughters; so I must lay this request upon you, and leave it with you, that ye take some of your time, and set it apart particularly, to solace your souls, in blessing and magnifying your God and my God, for the lot he hath decreed and chosen out for poor unworthy me, from eternity, in time, and to eternity; in the immediate enjoyment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, incomprehensible and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth; and that because he hath made me a man, and a christian. And now I set to my seal to all his truths, revealed in his word; and particularly these: 1st, That he is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But alas! who can think of him? who can hear of him, or write of him aright? O he is God! he is God! 2d, That he made man perfect; and though we have destroyed and incapacitate ourselves to do any thing that is right, while out of Christ, yet we are under the obligation of the whole law, which is the perfect rule of righteousness. 3d, That my Lord (yea, through free grace, I can say, my Lord Jesus Christ) came to the world to save sinners: and though I cannot say that I have been the

greatest of sinners, yet I can say, that he hath covered, pardoned, prevented and hid from the world, sins in me that have been heinous by many aggravations. 4th, That *except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* My friends, this is the new birth, this is regeneration, that I am speaking of, to which the great part, even of professors, I fear, will be found strangers. 5th, I set to my seal to the truth of that precious promise, Josh. i. 5, repeated Heb. xiii. 5, *For he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;* together with all the other promises to that purpose: and I am sure, he hath carried me through divers conditions of life, many various and singular difficulties and damping discouragements. But omitting these things whereof the profane persecutors may as much boast as to the outward as any, he hath led me through the several steps of soul exercise, and the pangs of the new birth, into himself. This, this my friends, is the cognizance and distinguishing character of a saint, indeed; and by this, and this only, *we pass from death to life.*

And as I adhere to the Confession of Faith, and work of reformation, as I shall afterwards speak to; so particularly, I set to my seal to these truths in the eighteenth chapter thereof, anent the assurance of grace and salvation. Alas! the ignorance of this generation is great. My dear friends, I leave this as my last advice to you, make use of that book which contains the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Practical Use of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God's Wrath, &c. And let none think this work below them, for the spiritual enlightening of the mind, which requires the literal with it, is the first work of the Spirit, after we first begin to come to ourselves, or rather to what we were in innocency, and ought to be by grace. But as to this, I do confidently refer you to Shepard's Sound Believer; which, in my poor apprehension, is the surest ye can meet with. And 6thly, I set to my seal to the covenant of grace, particularly that clause of it, Isa. lix. 21, *As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit that is upon thee, &c.* And here I leave my testimony against all Atheists, speculative (if there be any such) and practical; and all mocker of godliness, all formalists and hypocrites, Quakers and Enthusiasts, who either pretend to the Spirit, neglecting the word, or lean upon the word, neglecting the teaching of the Spirit. And what shall I more say, but by what of truth I have in experience seen, I am bold to believe what I have not seen: his testimony is a ground sufficient, and there can be no deceit under it.

And now I am to die a martyr: and I am as fully persuad-

ed of my interest in Christ, and that he hath countenanced me in that, for which I am to lay down my life, as I am of my being. And let the world and biassed professors say their pleasures, I am here in no delusion; I have the free and full exercise of reason and judgment; I am free of passion and prejudice, and, excepting that I am yet in the body, I am free of Satan's fire and fury: I have no bitterness nor malice at any living; so that what I am owning and dying for, I am solidly and firmly persuaded to be truth and duty, according to my mean capacity. And this is the main point this day in controversy, upon which I was peremptorily questioned, and desired positively to answer, yea, or nay, under the threatening of the boots, viz. Whether I owned the king's authority as presently established and exercised? which I did positively disown, and denied allegiance to him, as he is invested with that supremacy proper to Jesus Christ only. And who knoweth not that at first he was constitute and crowned a covenanted king, and the subjects sworn in allegiance to him, as such, by the Solemn League and Covenant? This was the authority wherewith he was clothed, and the exercise of it was to be for God, religion, and the good of the subjects; and is not all this, as to God and his people, overturned and perverted? But, 2dly, The whole of this pleaded for authority at present, is established on the ruin of the land's engagements to God, and to one another. But I say no more as to this. Consider things seriously, and ponder them deeply; zeal for God is much gone: look to it, and labour to recover it; your peace shall be in it, as to duty; though Christ's righteousness, I see, is the only sure foundation.

I leave my testimony against malignancy, ungodliness and profanity, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, professed and owned by the reformed anti-erastian Presbyterian party in Scotland, whereof I die a member and professor, being fully satisfied and content with my lot. And as to my apprehending, we were singularly delivered by providence into the adversaries hand, and, for what I could learn, were betrayed by none; nor were any accessory to our taking, more than we were ourselves: and particularly let none blame the lady St. Johnskirk in this. I have no time to give you an account of the Lord's kindness and tenderness to us, in restraining the adversaries fury; for they began very brisk, by making us lie all night bound, and expressly refused to suffer us to worship God, or pray with one another, until we came to Linlithgow. But the Lord hasteneth to come; beware of going back, wait for him, be not anxious about what shall become of you, or the remnant; he is concerned, his intercession is sufficient: get him set up, and kept up in his own

room in your souls, and other things will be the more easily kept in theirs. Be tender of all who have the root of the matter; but beware of compliance with any, whether ministers, or professors, or adversaries. As to my judgment, insignificant as it is, I am necessitate to refer you to the draught of a paper, which I drew, at the desire of some societies in Clydesdale, entitled, *Some Steps of Defection, &c.* Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptoiness, and ignorant zeal, which hath been the ruin of some, and will be the ruin of more, if mercy prevent not. I was withdrawn from by some, as having given offence to them by my protesting against their way in particular, wherein, I am sure, as to the manner, they were wrong; and though they had been right, it was not a ground to have made such a separation from me, much less from those who joined with me: and if any division be longer kept up upon that account, they will find it a great iniquity, if rightly considered. I can get no more written, nor see I great need for it; for the testimonies of martyrs are not your rule. Farewell.

Sic subscribitur,

WALTER SMITH.

From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

Being come to the scaffold, he accosted the multitude to this purpose: all ye beholders, who are come here upon various designs, I entreat you, be not mistaken anent the cause of my suffering this day; for however ye may be misinformed, yet it is of verity, that we are brought here upon the matters of our God; because we testified against the supremacy, and would not consent to the setting of Christ's crown upon the head of him who had by usurpation aspired thereto, contrary to his former engagements. Upon this they caused the drums to beat, which obliged him a little to silence; but beckoning with his hand, he said, I shall only say something to three particulars: and *first*, Anent that which some are apt to believe, that we are against authority; but we detest that, and say, that we own all the lawful exercise of authority; and we hope there are none that are christians will allow us to own the unlawful exercise, or rather tyranny of authority. At this the drums were again beat; and so he sung a part of the ciii. Psalm from the beginning, and prayed; which done, he turned his face to the cross, and said, I bless the Lord, I am not surprised, neither terrified with this death or the manner of it. I confess the thoughts of death have been sometimes very terrible to me, when I have been reflecting upon my mispending of precious time: yea, sometimes the strength of temptation, and my own weakness, have made me herein to raze the

very foundation of my interest; but my God builds faster than he permits the devil and my false heart to cast down. I have had some clouds even since I came to prison, but blessed be God, these are all removed: for my God hath said to my soul, *Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.* And the faith of this makes me not fear grim death; though it be called the king of terrors, yet it is not so to me: for this that you think a cruel and sudden death, is but an inlet to life, which shall be eternal. Let none be offended at Christ and his way because of suffering, for I can persuade you, there is more of Christ's help, and supporting grace and strength in a suffering lot, than all that ever I heard of by the hearing of the ear: but now I am made to find it in my own experience, and I can say, *He is altogether lovely.*

But a *second* thing that I promised to speak to, is, That I detest and abhor all Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all other steps of defection from the truths of God, and turning aside to the right and left hand. Also, I testify against all errors, as Quakerism, Arminianism, &c. and all that is contrary to sound doctrine, who walk not according to the Scriptures, and make not the word and Spirit of God their rule to walk by. I have lived, and now am ready to die, a christian, a protestant, and a Presbyterian in my judgment; therefore, let none hereafter say, that we walk not by the Scriptures; for once Britain and Ireland, and especially Scotland, were deeply sworn to maintain what now they disown; therefore beware of standing in the way of others, seeing ye will not go in yourselves. *Thirdly*, I exhort all you that are the poor remnant, to be serious in getting your interest cleared; you that are in the dark with your case, take not flashes for conversion: study a holy conversation; be at more pains to know the Scriptures, and believe them; be serious in prayer; slight not time; take Christ in his own terms, and resolve to meet with trials, and that shortly; slight not known duties; commit not known sins, whatever suffering ye may meet with for your cleaving to duty. Lippen to God, and you will not be disappointed. Construct well of him under all dispensations; weary not of suffering; lie not at ease in a day of Jacob's trouble. I have one word more to speak to all that are going on in persecuting the way and friends of Christ, and that is the very words of our Lord, Remember, *whatever you do to one of these little ones, you do it unto me.* I pray the Lord, that he may open the eyes of all the elect, who are yet strangers to regeneration; and also convince such of them as are fallen from their first love. Now, my friends, I have this to say in my own vindication, that, however I have been branded by some, and misconstrued by others, yet I can say

in the sight of the Lord, before whom I am now to appear, that I am free of any public scandal; I say, I am free of drunkenness, I am free of whoredoms, thefts, or murder; therefore let none say, that we are murderers, or would kill any, but in self-defence, and in defence of the gospel. I truly forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of the Lord; but as for the wrongs done to a Holy God, I leave these to him who is the avenger of blood; let him do to them as he may be glorified. Now I say no more, but pray that all who are in his way, may be kept from sinning under suffering; and that every one may prepare for a storm, which I do verily believe is not far off.

Then stooping down, he saluted some friends, and said, Farewell all relations and acquaintances: farewell all ye that are lovers of Christ and his righteous cause. And beckoning to the multitude, he said, farewell also. And so he went up the ladder with the greatest discoveries of alacrity, and magnanimity; and seating himself upon it, he said, Now this death of mine I fear not, for my sins are freely pardoned; yea, and I will sin no more, for I am made through my God, to look hell, wrath, devils, and sin, eternally out of countenance. Therefore, farewell all created enjoyments, pleasures and delights: farewell sinning and suffering; farewell praying and believing; and welcome heaven and singing; welcome joy in the Holy Ghost; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit. When the executioner was about to untie his cravat, he thrust him away, and untied it himself; and, calling for his brother, threw it down, saying, 'This is the last token you will get from me. After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and said, I have one word more to say, and that is to all that have any love to God and his righteous cause, that they will set time apart, and sing a song of praise to the Lord, for what he has done to my soul; and my soul says, *To him be praise.* Then letting down the napkin, he prayed a little within himself, and the executioner doing his office, threw him over.

The last Testimony of Mr. JAMES BOIG, Student of Theology, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681, written in a letter to his brother.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have not now time to write that which I would, but to satisfy your desire, and the desire of others who are concerned in the cause and work of God, that is now, at this time, trampled upon; I have given out mine indictment to a friend of

yours, and now I shall give you an account of the enemies prosecution against us. Mine indictment did run upon three heads: 1st, That I had disowned the king's authority. 2dly, That I said, the rising in arms at Bothwell bridge was lawful, and upon the defence of truth. 3dly, That I owned the Sanguhar Declaration in the whole heads and articles thereof. And having again owned this before the justiciary and assizers, I held my peace, and spake no more; because I saw what was spoken by others was not regarded, either by our unjust judges or mocking auditors; all that our speaking did, was the exposing of us to the mockery of all present. But the reasons that were given in thus, for our defence in the first head were, That we could not own the authority, as now presently established, unless we should also own the supremacy, which the king hath usurped over the church. By our doing of this we should rob Christ of that which is his right, and give that to a man which is due to no mortal; the reason is, because the supremacy is declared, in their acts of parliament, to be essential to the crown; and that which is essential to any thing is the same with the thing itself; so that in owning their authority, we are of necessity obliged to justify them in their usurpation also. But there is another argument, which to me is valid, though I spoke it not before them; and it does not a little trouble me that I should have passed it. The advocate in his discourse to the assizers, among other things, said, that we were overturning these acts and laws, which they (the assizers) had consented to, and were owning. Now, I suppose their consent to the present acts and laws was never formally required of them, but that which is taken for their consent, is their simple silence, when these acts were made and published, and owning these parliaments as their representatives; so that I may clearly argue from this, that, even in their own sense, my owning of the present authority now established as lawful, and the present magistrates as my magistrates, is a giving my consent to the present acts and laws, and so consequently to the robbing of Christ of that which is his right. As to the second, it being but one particular fact, deduced from that principle of the lawfulness of self-defence, and this principle being as positively asserted by all of us, I look upon the principle to be as expressly sealed with our blood as that particular fact of rising in arms at Bothwell bridge is. As to the third, it being a deed consequential from the first. I looked upon them both to stand and fall together, and he that owneth the first, must of necessity, own the last also. And as to that of declaring war, I did always look upon it to be one and the same, though differently expressed, with that contained in the paper found at the Ferry, and that the main design of it was, to vindicate

us before the world, in our repelling unjust violence, and clearing us of these aspersions that were cast upon us, viz. The holding as a principle the lawfulness of private assassinations, (which we disown) and murdering of all those who are not of the same judgment with us. These are the truths which we are to seal with our blood, to-morrow in the afternoon, at the Cross of Edinburgh. As to other particular actions, we declined to answer positively to them, as that of the bishop's death; we told them, we could not be judges of other men's actions: as to the excommunication, because we declined them, as not competent judges to cognosce upon an ecclesiastic matter, they did not proceed upon it.

And now, dear brother, you may see our quarrel clearly stated to be the same that Mr. James Guthrie laid down his head for; beside whose, mine and my other two friends' heads are to be set. There were many other things past in private betwixt me and Mr. William Paterson, sometime my regent, now council clerk, with some others who strongly assaulted me with their snares; but now, I hope, I may say, that *my soul hath escaped like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*. And as to your second desire, of knowing how it went with my soul; many and strong have been the assaults of Satan since I came to prison; but glory to God, who hath not been wanting to me in giving me assistance, yea, many times unsought; and is yet continuing, and I hope, shall do to the end, to carry me above the fear of death, so that I am in as sweet a calm as if I were going to be married to one dearly beloved. Alas! my cold heart is not able to answer his burning love; but what is wanting in me, is, and shall be made up in a Saviour complete and well furnished in all things, appointed of the Father for this end, to bring his straying children to their own home, whereof (I think I may venture to say it) I am one, though feckless. Now, I have no time to enlarge, else I would give you a more particular account of God's goodness and dealing with me; but let this suffice, that I am once fairly on the way, and within the view of Immanuel's land, and in hopes to be received an inhabitant there within the space of twenty-six hours at most. Farewell all earthly comforts, farewell all worldly vanities, farewell all carnal desires. Welcome cross, welcome gallows, welcome Christ, welcome heaven and everlasting happiness, &c. I have no more spare time. Grace, mercy and peace be with you. Amen.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES BOIG.

From Edinburgh Tolbooth. July 26, 1681.

The Testimony of that valiant and worthy gentleman, DAVID HACKSTOUN of Rathillet, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 30, 1680.

His Interrogations and Answers before the Privy Council, Saturday,
July 24, 1680.

1st. Whether or not had you any hand in the murdering of the late bishop of St. Andrews? Answered, He was not obliged to answer that question, nor be his own accuser. 2d. What he would declare as to the king's authority? Answered, That authority that disowns the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to Jesus Christ, is no more to be owned; but so it is, the king's authority is now such, therefore it ought not to be owned. 3d. Whether the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews was murder, yea, or not? Answered, That he thought it no sin to dispatch a bloody monster. 4th. If he owned the new covenant taken at the Queensferry, from Mr. Cargil, one of their preachers? Answered, That he did own it in every particular thereof, and would fain see the man that in conscience and reason would debate the contrary. 5th. If he were at liberty, and had the power to kill any of the king's council, and murder them as he did the bishop of St. Andrews, whether he would do it, yea, or not? Answered, That he had no spare time to answer such frivolous and childish questions.

The chancellor told him, that if he were not more ingenuous in his answers, he would presently be tortured. He answered, That is but a little addition to your former cruelties, and I have that comfort, that though you torture my wounded body, yet ye cannot reach my soul. The chancellor urged him with several other questions, which he refused to answer. But, said he, I would gladly speak a little if I could have liberty, which was allowed him. Then he said, Ye know that youth is a folly, and I acknowledge that in my younger years I was too much carried down with the spait of it; but that inexhaustible fountain of the goodness and grace of God, which is free and great, hath reclaimed me, and as a firebrand hath plucked me out of the claws of Satan; and now I stand here before you as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, for adhering to his cause and interest, which hath been sealed with the blood of many worthies, who have suffered in these lands, and have witnessed to the truths of Christ these few years bygone; and I do own all the testimonies given by them, and desire to put my mite among theirs, and am not only willing to seal it with my blood, but also with the sharpest tortures that you can imagine. Then being interrogate by the bishop of Edinburgh,

what he would answer to that article of the Confession of Faith, That *difference of religion doth not make void the magistrate's right and authority?* He answered, He would not answer any perjured prelate: the bishop replied, He was in the wrong to him, because he never took the covenant, therefore he was not perjured, and so deserved not that name. But some of them asked him, how he would answer that question? He answered, That question was answered long ago by the Solemn League and Covenant, which binds us only to maintain and defend the king in the defence of the true religion; but now the king having stated himself an enemy to religion, and all that will live religiously, therefore it is high time to shake off all obligation of allegiance to his authority. These interrogations were all read to him in the face of the council, and he owned them all. The next day that he was arraigned before the council, they asked if he had any more to say?—He answered, That which he had to say was said already in every particular thereof; and, said he, I will not only seal it with my blood, but with all the tortures ye can imagine.

Follows the Extract of the proceedings of the Privy Council, Edinburgh, July 29, 1680.

In presence of the Lord's Justiciary, Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary, compared David Hackstoun of Rathillet, and declines the King's Majesty's authority of the commissioners of justiciary as his judges, and absolutely refuses to sign this declaration, as being before persons who are not his judges. He refuses to answer concerning the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and says, the causes of his declinement are, *Because they have usurped the supremacy over the church, belonging alone to Jesus Christ, and have established idolatry, perjury, and other iniquities; and in prosecuting their design, in confirming themselves in this usurped right, have shed much innocent blood.* Therefore the said David, adhering to Christ, his rights and kingly office over the church, declines them that are his open enemies and competitors for his crown and power, as competent judges; refuses, as formerly, to sign this his declaration, dated from his own mouth; whereupon his majesty's advocate takes instruments, and requires the commissioners of justiciary to sign the same in his presence, as for him; and his majesty's advocate takes instruments, that the said David has declined his majesty's authority, and the authority of his commissioners, and refused to deny the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and requires Messrs. John Vas, James Balfour, and the men of the Court witnesses to the fore-said declaration. *Sic Subscrittor,* Sir Robert Maitland, James Foulis, David Balfour, David Falconer, Rodger Hodge.

Upon Friday, July 30, being again brought before the council, it was asked of him if he had any other thing to say? He answered, That which I have said I will seal it. Then they told him, they had something to say to him; and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence; which willingly he did, but told them they were all bloody murderers, for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that these years bygone they have not only tyrannized over the church of God, but have also grinded the faces of the poor, so that oppressions, bloodshed, perjury, and many murders were to be found in their skirts. Upon which he was incontinent carried away to the scaffold, at the market Cross of Edinburgh, where he died with great torture inflicted upon his body, not being permitted to leave any testimony to the world, except what is comprehended in these missives directed to some of his christian acquaintances, from his prison in the tolbooth of Edinburgh; which are as follows:

The copy of a letter written by David Hackstoun of Rathillet, to his christian friend N. Dated from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 26, 1680.

DEAR ACQUAINTANCE,

I know, this late dispensation of providence will occasion much sadness to you, and other lovers of the Lord's truth, now in this day, when so few, by their practice, prove themselves to be zealous for God, or lovers of his truth; but instead of that growth in the graces of God's Spirit, and steadfastness which should be in christians, have made defection from the truth, and are fallen from their first love, to the strengthening the hands of usurpers of the crown of Christ, in their unlawful encroachments on the privileges of the Son of God. Wherefore I entreat you, and all others, as you would not offend God, and provoke him to more anger, do not murmur, but bless and praise him, and submit to him in all humility; for if this be one of the steps of Zion's deliverance, and God's glory, why should not we praise him for every thing? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spill it. He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm and orders all affairs. The faith of this would silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief. I desire you would charge all that have love or affection to me, not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God has so honoured me in all I have been trusted with: for as he took me when I was a slave to Satan and sin, and cast his love upon me, and plucked me as a brand out of the fire, and brought me into Covenant with him, to pro-

mote and carry forward his work, without fear of what man can do unto me; and as he helped me to make the bargain with him upon good terms, which was a renouncing of my own strength, and a resolution to do all in his strength; so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to, and hath passed by my many gross failings and breaches of my conditions to him, and hath done to me above what I could ask of him. O that I could commend him to all, and stir up all to fear, admire, and praise him, and believe on him! But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters, (which in his condescendency to his church he hath reserved as his declarative glory) and neutrality in these things are come to so great a height among professors, that, I think, God is laying a stumbling-block before them, one after another, that when they are fallen (whom he will have to fall) he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands, because of their fearful idolatry, perjury, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is, this day, guilty of. Think not strange that I say, all are guilty; there are none free, nor shall be reputed free in the sight of God, but mourners in Zion. Lord grant repentance, and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well pleasing unto God; and I prove all guilty. First our representatives, (and so we in them) established these sins, in our national decrees, which we have homologate in owning them ever after; and much more have we homologate their sins, in contributing, one way or other, to the strengthening of their hands against God, as alas! but few be free of this, this day! O that preachers would preach repentance, and professors would exhort one another to mourn, in secret, and together, because of sin; and with their mourning would believe, for these are very consistent together. I find flesh and blood great enemies to faith, and friends, yea, fosterers of sinful fears. It is above nature to believe, especially when dispensations seem to contradict our faith: but if any hath faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle their faith, but rather strengthen: there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined; but over the belly of all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, either to a remarkable delivery, or through-bearing, as he sees most for his own glory.

Wherefore let us submit to his will, and lie before the throne in behalf of Zion and her children; and O! that you yourself would, and desire others that are faithful, to hold up my case to Zion's God, that he would glorify himself in me, and let your prayers be in faith; *To him that believeth, all things are*

possible. There are many feckless, misbelieving prayers, that prevail not with God because of unbelief. I know, these sufferings will be a great stumbling to many, otherwise gracious, but let it not be to you: I bless the Lord, it is not (as yet) so to me, but rather the power, yea, the love of God to me; for it was not altogether unexpected unto me: for (not to reflect upon any that have sealed that truth and cause, as we stated it, with their blood) I cannot deny, but it was over the belly of conscience, that I joined with some of our party; for some of them had not their garments clean of the late defections, and there was too much pride amongst us: neither dare I allow that taking of satisfaction for practices which are the homologating of the public sins, which we did about half an hour before our break; which checked me exceedingly in the time. I think, real sorrow would make men like the prodigal, to think themselves not worthy to be employed in that work; real evidences of reconciliation with God should be seen before admission to such an employment. O that all would take warning, by my reproof, not to venture to follow any man over conscience! There were choice godly men among us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the want of faith among us, first and last, and all amongst our late business: I know, many mouths will be opened against me because of what I did before this business, but I dare not but speak it, this is a stumbling-block laid to drive them to more sin; and alas! that I did not more to purge us of every sin, especially known sin among us. These that abode within, and came not out with us, let them remember Meroz's curse; I am afraid, God will think them not free of our blood, for not joining to our help.

And now, knowing ye will be anxious to know how it was then, and how it hath been since with me. First, We getting notice of a party out seeking us, sent two on Wednesday night late to know their motion, and lay on a muir-side all night; and Thursday, about ten hours, we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and desired them to consult with the first two, who had not come to us, but were lying down to sleep, who all four returned and told us, it was unnecessary to send any for intelligence, they having secured it. Whereupon, after we had gotten some meat, we came to a piece of grass, and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us; and so making ready, we saw them coming fast on; and that about three or four hours in the afternoon; and each one resolving to fight, I rode off to seek a strength for our advantage, and being desired by a countryman to go into such a place for the best strength, I went, and they followed; but coming to it, I found we could go no further; and so turning and drawing up quickly eight horse on

the right hand with R. D. and fifteen on the left with me, being no more; the foot not being forty, and many of them ill armed, in the midst. I asked all, if they were willing to fight? who all said, Yes; especially I. G. The enemy advanced fast, whom I took to be above one hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sending first about twenty dragoons on foot to take the wind of us, which we seeing, sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced fast on the enemy, being a strong body of horse coming hard upon us, whereupon when we were joined, our horse fired first, and wounded and killed some of them, both horse and foot: our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other; I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, I then rode in amongst them, and went out at a side, without any wrong or wound; I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they followed me, and sometimes I followed them, at length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance: we both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage to one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with three on horseback behind me: and receiving three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me, and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much; where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed, I did not see, nor know; but as they told me after the field was theirs. I was brought toward Douglas. They used me civilly, and brought me drink out of a house by the way. At Douglas, Janet Cleland was kind to me, and brought a surgeon to me, who did but little to my wounds, only stanch'd the blood.

Next morning I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others; who asked many questions at me, but I not satisfying them with answers, Dalziel did threaten to roast me: and carrying me to the tolbooth, caused me to be bound most barbarously, and cast me down, where I lay till Saturday morning, without any except soldiers, admitted to speak to me, or look my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought me and John Pollock, and other two of us, near two miles on foot, I being without shoes, where that party which had broken us at first, received us. They were commanded by Earlshall. We were horsed, civilly used by them on the way, and brought to Edinburgh about four in the afternoon, and carried about the north side of the town to the foot of the Cannongate, where

the town magistrates were, who received us; and setting me on a horse with my face backward, and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad's back; and so we were carried up the street to the parliament-close, where I was taken down, and the rest loosed; all was done by the hangman. I was carried up to the council, and first put into a room alone, where the chancellor came, and asked if I knew him? I answered, Yes. He (after some protestations of love, to which I answered nothing) went his way; and then I was brought in before the council, where the chancellor read a ditty against me. First, anent the bishop's murder; to which I answered, I was obliged by no law, either of God or man, to answer to it: and neither to accuse myself, nor reveal others by vindicating myself, or any other way. The advocate asked, Where I was the third day of May was a year? To whom I answered, I am not bound to keep a memorial where I am, or what I do every day. The chancellor asked, If I thought it murder? To which I answered, though I was not bound to answer such questions, yet I would not call it so, but rather say, It was no murder. The advocate said, Sir, you must be a great liar, to say you remember not where you was that day, it being so remarkable a day. I replied, Sir, you must be a far greater liar, to say, I answered such a thing. Whereupon the chancellor replied, My lord advocate, he said only, he was not bound to keep in memory every day's work.

The chancellor asked, if I adhered to Mr. Cargil's papers, which they called the New Covenant taken at the Ferry? I answered, I would know what any would say against them. He asked, if I owned the king's authority? I told, though I was not bound to answer such questions, yet being permitted to speak, I would say somewhat to that. And first, that there could be no lawful authority but what was of God; and that no authority, stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and that I knew of no authority nor judicatory this day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful, and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting bougerers, murderers, sorcerers, and such others at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill and destroy the Lord's people. The chancellor and all raged, and desired me to instance one of such so set at liberty and employed. I answered to that, Though it were enough to instance any such when I saw a judicatory to execute justice, yet I would instance one; and I instanced a bougerer, liberated at the sheriff court of Fife, and

afterwards employed in their service. At which the chancellor raged, and said, I behoved to be a liar: but I offered to prove it. Bishop Paterson asked, if ever Pilate and that judicatory, who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges? I answered, that I would answer no perjured prelate in the nation. He answered, that he could not be called perjured, because he never took that sacrilegious covenant. I answered, that God would own that covenant when none of them were to oppose it. They cried all, I was prophesying: I answered, I was not prophesying, but that I durst not doubt, but that God, who had such singular love to these lands, as to bring them into covenant in so peculiar a manner with him, would let it be seen that his faithfulness was engaged to carry it through in opposition to his enemies. Some asked, what I answered to that article of the Confession of Faith concerning the king? I answered, It was cleared in these two covenants. The advocate asked, What I said of that article of the covenant, wherein we are bound to maintain and defend the king? I desired him to tell out the rest of it, which was, in defence of religion, but not in the destruction of religion. The chancellor threatened me with boots, and other terrible things; and said, I should not have the benefit of a sudden death. To which I answered, it would be but an addition to their cruelties used against God's people before, and that I was there a prisoner of Christ, owning his truths against his open enemies, and referred it to their own acts of parliament and council, to let their cruelty and opposition to God and his people be seen.

After this, they called for a surgeon, and removed me to another room; where he dressed my wounds. In which time, the chancellor came, and kindly asked, if ever I said to a shepherd on the Mounthill, That if I thought they would not put me to an ignominious death, I would refer myself to the chancellor? I said, No. He said, a shepherd came to him and said so. I said, that he, or any other who had said so to him were liars. I was asked by some concerning our strength. To which I told how few we were, and how surprised by such a strong party; and that knowing with what cruel orders they came against us, we were forced to fight. After dressing of my wounds, I was brought back to them, and these things being written, were read over to me; to which I adhered: and being asked, if I would sign them, I said, Not. The chancellor said, he would do it for me. Some one of them asked, at the first time, concerning my being at some other business: to whom I answered, That though I was not obliged to answer such questions, yet I adhered to all that had been done on behalf of that cause against its enemies. After which, I

was sent to the tolbooth, and have met since with all manner of kindness, and want for nothing. My wounds are duly dressed, which, I fear, may prove deadly, they being all in the head; the rest of my body is safe.

In all these trials (I bless the Lord) I was stayed, unmoved, no alteration of countenance in the least, nor impatience appeared. Some of them have come to me, and regretted that such a man as I should have been led away with Cameron. I answered, He was a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and as for me, I desired to be one of these despicable ones whom Christ choosed. They said, it was a Quaker-like answer. I told it was the words of Christ and his apostles. Bishop Paterson's brother, unknown to me, had a long reasoning with me, but I think, not to truth's advantage. He told me, that the whole council observed, that I gave them not their due titles: at which I smiled, and made no reply. He said, I was ill to the bishop. I told, that I asserted the truth. He said, that he never took the covenant, and so could not be perjured. I answered, Prelacy itself was abjured by the whole nation. He told me, that the whole council found, I was a man of great parts, and also of good birth. I replied, for my birth, I was related to the best in the kingdom, which I thought little of; and for my parts they were small; yet I trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which I was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice as to let his cause be disputed, I doubted not to plead it against all that could speak against it. It was cast up to me both at the council and here, that there were not two hundred in the nation to own our cause. I answered at both times, that the cause of Christ had been often owned by fewer. I was pressed to take advice: I answered, I would advise with God and my own conscience, and would not depend on men, and refused to debate any more, since it was to no purpose, being troublesome to me, and not advantageous to the cause. At the council, some said, I was possessed with a devil; some one thing, some another. The chancellor said, I was a vicious man: I answered, While I was so, I had been acceptable to to him; but now, when otherwise, it was not so. He asked me, If I would yet own that cause with my blood, if at liberty? I answered, Both our fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before me. Then was I called by all, a murderer. I answered, God should decide it betwixt us; to whom I refer it, who were most murderers in his sight, they or I.

Ye have an account, as near as I can give, of what passed among us. Be ye, and desire all others to be, earnest with God in my behalf; for I am weak, and cannot stand without

constant supplies of the graces of his Spirit. O! I am afraid lest I deny him: I have rich promises, but I want faith. Pray and wrestle in my behalf, and in behalf of the rest. And shew this to my friends in that cause with me, especially D. K. Let all lie before the Lord, that he would shew us the cause of his anger against us: and let me know with the first occasion who of us were slain. Commend me to all friends; and let none stumble at the cause, because of this. It was often in my mouth to almost all, *That if we purged not ourselves of the public and particular sins among us, God would break us, and bring a delivery out of our ashes.* Let none murmur at what we should think our glory. And let ministers and others be afraid to be more tender of men than God's glory. And however it be a stumbling to some, let it be a token of the love of God, to his church, to you, and all that love his truth. Pray for the out-lettings of all the graces of God's Spirit to me, and all the rest. I have need of patience, submission, humility, love to, and zeal for God; hope and faith above all, without which I am but a frail worm, and will fall before these enemies of mine, inward and outward. And thus recommending you to his grace, who hath bought us with his precious blood, and remembering my love to all friends, I am yours in our sweet Lord, and sympathizer in our afflictions.

Sic subscribitur.

DAVID HACKSTOUN.

P. S. You may let others see this, but have a care of keeping it; because I have no double, and it may be all my testimony. Send nothing to me, for I am fully seen to, and have met with kindness from all sorts, only friends have not liberty to see me. My love to you and all friends. I said to Clerk Paterson, that I should have seen Mr. Cargil's papers, before I had answered anent them.

The copy of another letter written by David Hackstoun of Rathollet, to a gentlewoman of his acquaintance. Dated from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 28, 1680.

My dear,

The bearer shows me, your ladyship desires to know what I mean by the Achan I mentioned in my other; which I shall explain: an' alas! that I have such a wide field to walk in, when I meet such a thing: for I know not how to find out the man that is free of the accursed thing among us, for which God is contending against the land; especially against such as would be most free of the public sins, and most downright for God. Only I desire both to reverence, and admire the holy

wisdom and loving kindness of God, that is, by these dark-like dispensations, purging his people, that he may bring forth a chaste spouse to himself in Scotland. These are tokens of his fatherly love; and I fear a delivery, while we stand guilty of such things, as are so open whoredoms against our married Husband, might rather be looked upon as a bill of divorce, than joining again in a married relation. And first, I must explain the national sins, according to the light God hath bestowed upon me, out of his free grace, who is not tied to any, but chooseth and revealeth himself to whom he will; and often glorifies his free grace, in making use even of the greatest sinners, as I confess I have been one: which national sins are contained in our national decrees.

And first, the whole land is become guilty of idolatry, as it is established by the Acts of Supremacy, especially in the Act Explanatory; wherein all the declarative glory and prerogatives of Jesus Christ are given to the king, which is fearful idolatry, in ascribing that which he hath purchased with his precious blood, and received from his Father, as his gift, and hath reserved as his peculiar glory; giving this, I say, unto a creature, whom, by this blasphemous decree, we have set up in the room of Jesus Christ, as governor and absolute head and judge in all ecclesiastic affairs: and by the same decree, all acts and laws contrary to it are rescinded, and the whole word of God, contained in the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments, are a law contrary to it, and so by this are rescinded. Now, besides this sin of idolatry, by the act recissory, all other acts, oaths, covenants and engagements, that the lands are lying under, sworn to God, and in his name, are rescinded, and declared null: and in contempt of God, to whom, and in whose name they were so solemnly sworn, and so often renewed, are burnt by the hands of the hangman, through several places of these covenanted kingdoms. This is a legal perjury and breach of covenant, unparalleled in sacred or profane history. Besides, in contempt of the presence of God, seen at the meetings of his people convened in his name, they have declared them rendezvous of rebellion: and by another act, have accounted it presumption for a minister to preach without doors. Thus contemning the call of Christ; whereby they set themselves above God. I could instance many horrid things acted and done by them, in their prosecuting their design of having that idol of theirs fixed in the usurpation of the prerogatives of Jesus Christ: yet not doubting but your ladyship knows many of them, I shall for brevity's sake omit: only the land is filled, from the one end to the other, with innocent blood, shed on that account; and with other terrible abominations detes-

table among Turks and Heathens: I think in God's righteous judgment, these men are given up thereto, for the upfilling of the measure of their iniquity, that he may be glorified in the stroke of his justice upon all ranks, which is fast hastening; and that inevitably.

But next, to mention who are guilty hereof; I know not how to do it; only I may say, I know none can be called free, and a freeing of any, or ourselves thereof, is but a hardening ourselves against God, and a defending sin against him, who is a *swift witness*, and *will not be mocked*, but *will bring forth the hidden things of dishonesty to light*. And therefore, not to mention the idol of the Lord's jealousy, or these that are prosecuting his wicked commands under him, nor prelates and their adherents, I judge, and I fear, God will esteem all guilty of these forementioned sins, that have any way owned any of these, after their wickedness was discovered, and much more such as have by their personal deeds homologate these wicked decrees, and that either by paying cesses for strengthening them in their down-bearing of the meetings of God's people for his worship, met in opposition to these wicked decrees, which is their consent to, and contribution for, the strengthening them in all their wickedness against God: or yet by subscribing any manner of bonds to them, which is, an acknowledging them in that relation wherein they stand, and are designing to fix themselves; when they are pursuing, taking, imprisoning, and letting them out on these bonds again; for their end in all their prosecutions of this nature, is to confirm themselves in this usurpation of the crown of Christ, as head of the church: and a subscribing any manner of bond prescribed by them, is and will be, in the sight of God, an acknowledging them as head of the church, in the several stations wherein they have stated themselves; the king as head, and they as factors under him, prosecuting his will, and putting in execution his commands: and an acknowledging any other head, any manner of way, over the church, is directly a denying of Christ before men, in his kingly office, which is a plain denying of him, and hath sore threatenings annexed thereunto.

I could mention many other circumstances, wherein this generation has touched the accursed thing, and has bowed the knee to that Baal-like idol of the Lord's indignation and anger: but I shall only mention besides these two, a third, of some who have appeared in arms against God, for, and in company with his enemies. Now that way of giving and taking satisfaction for these sins, which some are for, I cannot consent to: For first, These sinful practices being practices *immediately against God*, and the first table of the law, no sat-

isfaction to man can be sufficient. I close not that door that God hath opened in mercy to the really penitent, but, I say, real evidences that God has forgiven, should be, before a joining with such in society. I know the gospel should be preached to all, that they may repent, that being the means God hath appointed for conversion, when men have sinned: but Oh! when men after light fall into these things, and others counsel and advise them to such things, fearful shall their doom be, if God prevent them not in his mercy! Now, madam, there were some such among us; and, as I have observed, God has still punished that party that has been appearing for him, when they have taken in, and joined with, the men of these abominations; and has, as it were, laid by such as have complied with the times' apostacy, I doubt not, reserving them to the general stroke he is threatening the whole lands with. O that one and all were making their soul's interest sure with God!

Madam, I shall not mention the several steps of apostacy and defection from God in these lands, in complying one way or other to the stated enemies of the living God, to the strengthening them in their usurpations of Christ's crown and privileges, and hardening them in their sin, in shedding, so many ways, so much innocent blood, and their other wicked courses: neither shall I mention that idolizing of men that is among us, to the provoking of God, to let, yea, cause them fall: neither that selfishness that is among us in our appearances for God, which cannot away with a holy, spotless and jealous God, who *will not give his glory to another*. Oh! that one and all were mourning for, and acknowledging our own and the land's guiltiness in these things, and were seeking brokenness of spirit, which is a sacrifice well pleasing to God, that God might be reconciled to us, and set up by his spirit, his standard, and gather in his own people thereto; and might let out his spirit to one and all that are called by his name. I doubt not but God will save a remnant, but it will be of such in whom his free grace will be glorified, and not of the great ones, that have not rendered to the Lord, according to the talents he bestowed on them. Remember me to my fellow prisoners, especially such as are keeping their garments clean of these pollutions; and be earnest with God in my behalf, that he would keep me standing, by his free grace, in this trial, in patience, humility, and godly fear. And I am, madam, your ladyship's, in all humility, in Jesus Christ,

DAVID HACKSTOUN.

A copy of a third letter written by David Hackstoun, during his imprisonment, to his christian friend N. Dated July 28, 1680.

DEAR AND CHRISTIAN ACQUAINTANCE,

My love being remembered to you and all friends in Jesus Christ; these are to shew you and all others that I know and love the truth, as it is this day owned by the smallest handful that pretend thereto; that I was yesterday before the lords of justiciary; they charged me with several things. I declined the king's authority as an usurper of the prerogatives of the Son of God, whereby he hath involved the lands in idolatry, perjury, and other wickednesses: and I declined them as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ; who, in carrying on their designs of confirming themselves in their usurpations of the crown of Christ, had shed so much innocent blood throughout the land: and that therefore I, as an owner of Christ's right, and his kingly office, which they by their wicked decrees had taken from him, durst not, with my own consent, sustain them as competent judges; but declined them as open and stated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging alone to him; whereupon I was dismissed, and at night my indictment to compear to-morrow before an assize was intimated. Therefore I entreat you will, for I know you have moying with God, and cause other faithful friends set time apart, and inquire the Lord's mind concerning me; and be earnest with him in my behalf, that he will glorify himself in me. You may send your letter to—— with a sure hand, who will give it to me. Wherever Mr. D. C. is, acquaint him with my case, or send him this line; for I know the mind of God is with him; and desire him to writeto me. I think, I dare not misbelieve, but when fears assault me, I think there is a voice saying to me, *Fear not.* Let none stumble at our cause, because of the late dispensation; it is God's cause, which was and is in our hands, though he has punished us with his fatherly chastisements, because of sin amongst us. *Every tree that bringeth forth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.* But that which decayeth and goeth backward, is laid by as useless. John Pollock has been in the boots, but I am informed, he is not discouraged, but is likely to be well again. My wounds are very sore, but, blessed be God, he keeps me in a good temper, both of body and mind. I am kindly enough used, wanting nothing. I recommend you, and all the faithful, to the protection of him, who is the Almighty God, and everlasting Father. No more, but rests yours in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ,

DAVID HACKSTOUN.

A letter to his Sister.

LOVING SISTER,

I received yours, and the other with it, both to my contentment and satisfaction: it makes me afraid, that the eyes of many should be on me. Let all look to God; I am frail, but Christ is strong: I have his promise of through-bearing, and assurance that he should honour me in his cause, before this. Lie low before the Lord, and let others that are yet faithful be earnest on my behalf: and do it in faith: *The prayers of the faithful avail much.* Have you nothing, and tell all friends to have nothing to do with such, as have ado with these that are sitting in that seat, and exercising that power, which belongs alone to Christ. The stroke of the Lord's anger is ready to be poured forth; and these that have received greatest talents from God, and have made that use of them, to strengthen enemies hands by bonds, or otherwise owning them, shall be most remarkable in the stroke; and shall not be honoured to testify for Christ, despised Christ, robbed Christ, contemned Christ, by this generation. Remember me to all relations and friends: and give warning to all to cleave to Christ's truths and interest. If the free grace of God be glorified in me, ought not all to praise him? *Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners.* Many of this generation think they have so much grace that they cannot sin; but I must tell them, grace doth not warrant from sin, and they may so think of it.

Sic subscribitur,

DAVID HACKSTOUN.

The dying Testimony of ARCHIBALD ALISON, who lived in the parish of Evandale in Clydesdale, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 13, 1680.

There have been many such sights seen in this place of execution, since the year 1660, for this interest and cause, for which I have received the sentence of death; and here I am in your presence, to lay down my life this day; for which I charge thee, O my soul, and all that is within me, to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, who can perfect his praise and bring a testimony out of the mouths of babes or sucklings; yea, before he want some to seal his testimony, even if it were from the beasts of the field, he will not want, as in Balaam's days, the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, gave a testimony against the madness of the prophet. Wherefore, unworthy as I am, I am come here, and begs your ear and attention; ye who are spectators and auditors, if the Lord shall permit me to speak a few words, and I shall be but brief.

There are many come here this day to hear and see me lay down this tabernacle of mine, that hath various ends, but our Lord knows you all and your ends both: it is true, God is my witness, that I judge myself the unworthiest person of any that have lost their blood for this honourable cause. He has been pleased to take a testimony from noblemen, gentlemen, ministers and poor ploughmen lads, and tradesmen of several sorts, which is a token for good, that he has yet a kindness for these covenanted lands. And I bless the Lord, with all my heart, that ever he called me with his heavenly calling: I bless the Lord, that I have a life to lay down for his sake; glory to the Lord, that I shall have blood and wounds in his cause.

But to come more particularly to the purpose in hand. the articles of my indictment are these. 1st. They charged me with rebellion, for joining with these they call rebels, and declared enemies to the king, and enemies to all good government: for my own part I never called them so. I declare here where I stand before him who will be my judge within a little, my design in coming forth with arms, was to hear the gospel preached truly and faithfully, and I know it was the design of that poor handful to defend the gospel, and to keep up a witness and testimony against the abounding corruptions that this land is filled with from end to end, and to plead with the Lord that he would not make a total removal therefrom. Yea, I heard Mr. Richard Cameron say, "My friends, we are not to compare ourselves with Gideon's three hundred men, no not at all; our design is to have you examined, how ye are, and what ye are; to choose two or three of the foot and two or three of the horse, that are found fittest qualified for elders, to try your principles, to try your life and conversation, and to have you being christians. Our number was more the last day, and we gave them free leave to go home, and only but a few handful to stay; for we design not to fall upon any party of the forces, except they be few in number, and oppose us in keeping up the gospel in the fields. for I am persuaded that one meeting in the fields has been more owned and countenanced by his presence with his people, than twenty house-meetings as they are now bought; and therefore make no strife among yourselves about officers, because they are but men; yea, I think, there is not a man among you all meet for it; we are not meet to be a minister to you, only we are to wait till the Lord provide better; and ye that are not satisfied to stay in defence of the gospel, good-morrow to you, whatsoever ye be." And so I thought it was rational and warrantable both from the word of God, and our solemn vows and covenants, which you and the whole land are engaged unto. Now ye

see what was my motive to join with that handful, and in this I have peace, and on this ground I lay down my life. There is a second motive I had, for which I thought myself bound to own that persecuted cause and interest of my blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ: I being about two years ago in Carrick, and hearing the precious gospel of Jesus Christ; in these glorious days, the shining of the countenance of our Lord was discernibly seen there, both upon his ministers and people; I thought it my duty to mark it. The Lord did so soften and animate my heart at that time, that I made it my work how I might win to clearness how to state myself, being among the deceitful indulged ministers, and finding several places of Scripture calling me out from them, as that known Scripture, *If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him. Come out from among them, my people, and touch not the unclean thing, &c. Touch not, taste not, handle not, which are all to perish with the using.* I thought it was dreadful to be halting between two opinions. On the other hand, I had some Scriptures concerning the cross that attends pure religion and undefiled. The Lord who has called me here to day, to seal these truths, wrought with an irresistible power on my heart, that good word of his in the xviii. Psal. 46, 47, 48 verses, *The Lord liveth, and blessed be my rock, &c. This makes me rejoice. The Lord of hosts is on my side. The God of Jacob is my defence, &c.* O so strongly as this binds and obliges me to suffer, and count all joy now to go up this ladder! And I had occasion to be at several other meetings, I bless the Lord for it: I bless the Lord that ever he made choice of me, who was a miserable sinner, to lay down my life for his cause: and so I die not by constraint or force, but willingly at his command.

There is another clause in my indictment, and sentence of death. They say, that I walked up and down the country, murdering, destroying, and oppressing the subjects. But I say, I did never mind the like. And so they have (as they have done to many an one) assized and sentenced me wrongously; for I did never mind to murder or rob any man: therefore I am clear to charge them guilty of my blood, and to give my testimony against them, as murderers of the servants and people of God, in their being about the service and worship of God, as I was.

In the next place, I believe that all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of the eternal and ever-living God, given by divine inspiration; and that every duty commanded therein ought to be obeyed and performed upon the greatest peril and hazard, and that every crooked and false way should be avoided and guarded against, whatever

be the seeming advantages which may accompany the embracing of it, under the pain of being led forth with the workers of iniquity, when he shall pronounce peace on his Israel. 2d. I give my witness and join my adherence to the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, National and Solemn League and Covenant, with our Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties. 3d. I adhere to the church government by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, according as it was established in the year 1648. 4th. I give my testimony to that faithful declaration at Rutherglen, the 29th of May, 1679. 5th. I adhere, and give my testimony to the declaration at Sanquhar, June 22, 1680, together with the paper gotten at the Ferry, upon Henry Hall, June 3, 1680. 6th. I give my testimony and set to my seal to all the former testimonies sealed by the blood of them who have been murdered on scaffolds, in the fields, and in the sea, from the year 1660, to this day; and by all the imprisonments, and banishment of exiled and wandering ones, and by all the spoilings and robbings, oppression, stigmatizing, scourging, and booting, and other horrid cruelties, which have been committed by the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, 1st. I enter my protestation before the Judge of all, both living and dead, before whom I am to appear within a little time, against all the encroachments made upon the prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ, particularly against Popery, Quakerism, and Prelacy, and all their underlings and the joiners with them; and against all supremacy that is contrary to the word of God; and against all Erastianism; and against both the indulgences first and last, and all the joiners with, connivers at, and supporters of it; and against the silence in watchmen at this day, in not giving faithful warning, according to that in Isa. lviii. 1, *Cry aloud, and spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, shew Israel their sins, and the house of Jacob their transgressions.* And against her ambiguous and dark applications, so that the sin of the times is not touched, lest they irritate the magistrates, and bring themselves in hazard of our Lord's cross; which was an evil creeping in long ago, which the assembly condemned in the ministers; and ordered them to be suspended, if they did not amend; and seeing no humiliation for such a great sin, they were to be deposed. 2d. I enter my protestation against all those who have declared themselves opposite to our Lord Jesus Christ, and have displayed a banner for Satan; not only tolerating, but acting and committing all manner of abominations, and horrid cruelties in things civil and ecclesiastical. 3d. I enter my protestation against all declarations, procla-

nations, bonds, cess, and militia-money. for keeping standing forces with a displayed banner against our Lord. and against all profanity, looseness, and lukewarmness, and all the back-slidings of the Church of Scotland, since our entering into covenant with God to this day.

Now, sirs, I have given you but a short hint of my faith and principles; and also of the motives which moved me to join with the serious seekers of God; and also the grounds of my indictment, and sentence of death; also some little glance at the corruptions of the times. I have here joined my testimony to the sufferings of the people of God, and I have entered my protestation against some open sins, which are obvious to all who have not willingly yielded themselves to work wickedness. O it is but little that I can say! it would take a long summer day to rank them up, and not win at them all: for my part, I am but ignorant, my capacity can but reach little thing. It may be ye will take but little notice of what the like of me says, but I cannot help it. Now, as a dying man, I leave all these things to your consideration, if this prelatie and indulged party be the party to be meddled with and owned, pleaded for and defended; what think ye of them that have gone before us? What think ye of Argyle and Mr. Guthrie, that were men of understanding? What think ye of Mr. Kid and Mr. King, and that gentleman that suffered last at the cross? Nay, what think ye of religion and the cost of it? What think ye of heaven and glory that is at the back of the cross? The hope of this makes me look upon pale death as a lovely messenger to me. I bless the Lord for my lot this day.

I shall come shortly to a close, only I beg leave to speak a word or two of three sorts of folks; and I think, all may be comprehended under these three. I entreat you take heed: I wish I may not be a stumbling-block to any, that is looking on me this day. *Blessed is he, says Christ, that shall not be offended in me, and my followers.* The first sort is the seekers of God; I have a word to you: ye have kirk and state upon your top; ye get leave to weep a long night, and have none to comfort you; and if you cry, *Watchman, what of the night?* the watchmen are drunk and fallen asleep, they cannot tell. *Can these dry bones live? Lord, thou knowest.* Ye are seeing the godly cut off, one way and another; ye are hearing them that have the root of the matter in them crying up a sinful union; and ministers will not tell you what is your duty or danger. O my dear friends, cast not away your confidence; ye must come through many tribulations; but there is a begun heaven for you at night. *Seek ye the Lord, ye meek of the earth; ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger.* There is no persecution in heaven, where our Lord's enemies shall never come:

I shall not take upon me to say, who of them will not come to heaven; but this I may say, if they come, it will be more than ordinary humiliation they must have: as it is said of Manasseh; *That he humbled himself greatly before the Lord God of his fathers.* Friends, give our Lord credit; he is always good; but O he is good in a day of trial, and he will be sweet company through the ages of eternity. *There is none like the God of Jeshurun, that rides upon the heaven in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky. And underneath are the everlasting arms, and he will save his people.* And secondly, I have a word to say to you that are godly; but alas, you have wronged the cause; for which, I fear, ye have lost the countenance of God, and will not get it again in haste; ye have *waved fat and kicked*; ye have flung at God, (so to speak) ye have said a confederacy with enemies for a false peace; ye have been crying peace and union with the indulged, because they are godly men. I say before the Lord, that ye and these godly men, have most basely betrayed the kirk of Scotland; ye shall go to heaven in a fiery chariot, ye shall hardly get leave to suffer but go away in a stink, for your complying and shunning the cross. *Thirdly,* A word to the ungodly. O ye atheists and ungodly magistrates, full of perjury and bloodshed, ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter. The blood of the Lord's martyrs, that has been shed these eighteen or nineteen years within this city, will be charged home upon you, as well as upon the assizers. Ye counsellors, your work will be rewarded. Ye criminal lords, remember, *the saints shall judge the earth,* and shall shortly be in equal terms with you; and they shall stand upon mount Zion with the Lamb, and give their consents against you; and shall shortly cry, *Hallelujah, hallelujah,* to your condemnation. And therefore I obtest you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will desist from your wicked courses, and lie in the dust, and mourn for all your abominations; *Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Ye ignorant and profane drunkards, swearers, and sabbath-breakers, repent, or else ye shall likewise perish. And now I take my farewell of all the serious seekers of God for a short time: and you that are calm, prudent professors, I leave you under process till you repent, for casting off Christ and his cross, and for *bringing up an evil report on the good land,* and for your wronging of the cause. And ye rulers, farewell for evermore, without repentance and deep humiliation, for wronging of Christ and his people. Return my soul unto thy quiet rest. Farewell all created comforts in time; and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

The dying Testimony of JOHN MALCOLM, weaver in the parish of Dalry, in the sheriffdom of Galloway, who suffered martyrdom at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 13, 1680.

I desire the audience of you, who are here spectators and auditors, to hear some words of a dying man, ready to offer up this tabernacle in your sight, who would have it among my last wishes, that you would consider your ways and your doings, that are not good; and not harden your hearts as in the provocation; for ye have to do with an holy God, who is quickly about to come in flaming fire, to take vengeance on all the ungodly profane persons, who are living at ease in Zion, and rejoicing in the afflictions of the people of God. I would obtest you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would break off your pernicious ways, and make peace with God while he would make peace with you, lest ye be destroyed in the overflowing flood of his wrath. There has been flockings and gatherings to see others, who are gone before me, that have been wonderfully countenanced and owned with the evident presence of God, convincingly helping some to go through the jaws of death, rejoicing and looking profane on-lookers out of countenance; and have given their testimonies against the abominations committed in the land. And I am come hither, who am the unworthiest of any that have gone before me. Now, before I come further, I would ask you, What you think of religion? What think you can it be, that makes men go to death with so great peace and sweetness? Ye have heard what malefactors have had to say. Think ye not strange, that a rational man can enter in upon eternity, leaving such a testimony as ye have heard? And I hope the Lord will help me in less or more to be faithful and free in leaving my testimony in the sight and presence of him, who is the sovereign judge of all the earth, before whom I must stand in a short time.

The cause of my coming here this day is, because I was found with that poor persecuted handful, which is the people that was singly adhering to the honour and glory of God; now when he is threatening to bring in his sore plagues upon this apostate church, that has *played the harlot with many lovers*, for which he will bring on indignation, wrath and pain upon many. But this is ground of encouragement to the seekers of God, 1st, That he is keeping up a party in the land, that see it their duty to contend for his cause and interest, and shall *overcome through the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, who are not loving their lives unto the death*; to contend for his cause and interest. For he hath said, Ezek.

vii. 16, *But they that escape of them shall escape, and be like the doves upon the mountains, mourning every one of them for his iniquities.* Now, I seeing and considering upon the one hand, what treacherous dealings are hatched up among the ministers and professors in this poor church, and on the other hand considering what the Lord had done formerly, I thought, I was convinced in conscience, and from respect to the honour of God, which I had before mine eyes, and the good of my own soul; I was constrained by an influence of the Spirit, bearing in that word upon my heart, which we have, 1st Kings xviii. 21, *And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, then follow him; but if Baal be God, then follow him.* The Lord determined me to join myself with that party, and I do not repent it this day. I count it my duty, and no sin nor rebellion. I think it my credit to serve such a noble master: and indeed I wonder at his condescendency, that ever he sought service from such a wretched sinner as I have been, who lived a stranger to him all my days; but O wonderful love! O wonder at the matchless acts of the Lord's condescendency, and incomprehensible ways with me! that he has made choice of such a poor, weak, frail, pickle of dust as I am; and has led me out and in, and has brought me to this place of execution, to give my testimony to his work, cause and interest; and has passed by the eminent, wise and prudent in the land, and has made choice of such a feeble nothing as I am; but blessed be his glorious name, that will have his word made out, that *out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, he can perfect his praise.* 2d, And this likewise is ground of hope to you that are weak, and cannot venture on suffering, being sensible of your own weakness; *To the weak he increaseth strength.* And this is another ground of hope, that he takes the blood and wounds of poor weak things to seal his truths.

It cannot be expected that I shall be very formal in what I say, I being no scholar, nor yet old in experience. And besides, after I had received my sentence, I was taken out of a private room, and put in the irons among bad company, except two days before this. The ground of my indictment was, 1st, That I am against the king's forces, and fired upon them, under the command of Earlshall. I declare, I intended not to resist, but being put to it, in defence of the gospel, and my own defence, I did resist them to my power. 2d, That I had been with that party in the months of April, May, and June. I was but two days with them, intending no other thing, but to hear the gospel, and for this I suffer; I bless the Lord, *not as an evil doer, but for my duty:* for ye know we are all bound in covenant, both kirk and state, according to the cove-

nation oath, the covenants were owned and sworn, both by the supreme magistrate, the nobles, gentry, and commons of all sorts. The Lord did wonderfully shine upon this land, so that it became the glory of the whole world; the fame of it went abroad, and was renowned through the nations. I have heard, that if a stranger of another kingdom had come into a church of this land, there was such a frame of spirit among the people, that the stranger would have thought that they had been all saints. The church then was *fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners*. But we have not been content with these days: then the swearer was bound up from oaths, and the drunkard's throat ran dry; *iniquity stopped her mouth*. The Lord was with his people in those days; the gospel was successful: and yet I can say, there have been as great days of the gospel in the West of Scotland, in the foresaid months, in the fields, as were in Scotland, since it was Scotland. I am sure, the gospel preached by Mr. Richard Cameron especially, was backed with the power and presence of Christ; as much of Christ and heaven were found, as finite creatures on earth were able to hold, yea, and more than they could hold; the streams of the living waters ran through among his people at these meetings like a flood upon the souls of many, who can witness, if they were called to it, that they would not have been afraid of ten thousands: *The shout of a King was heard among them*; the fruits of it, I am hopeful, shall appear after this. All the troopers and dragoons in the three kingdoms will never get that fire of love that is kindled in the breasts of some in that country quenched; it will never be quenched: it will not rot. The fathers will be telling the children of it, when they are old men, who are not taken away from the wrath that is coming on, to avenge the quarrel of a broken covenant; they will be telling, "That in the year 1680, there were as great days as there are now, (when there were Prelates through these lands) upon the mountains up and down this West: it was then that I got on the zeal of God upon my soul." And they shall say, "Who were they that preached in mosses and mountains, and not in the kirks nor houses? Did not all the godly ministers, when the apostate Prelates were in the land, go out and witness and testify against them, with their lives in their hands?" And the fathers will say, "Know, my children, they had run well for a season. But they wearied, and yielded up the church's liberties to a tyrant king, of the name of Charles; and he set up the Prelates, and they made the land full of curates under them; and after that, some that staid off a while, then turned council-curates, and these council-curates beguiled the rest of them, and Erastianism was miiv/

sal; but the moderate indulged in judgment, would have silenced Mr. Richard Cameron from preaching, but the Lord had said to him, *Go, and I will go with thee*; and so he was wonderfully helped. Indeed the Lord countenanced him after that, and deserted them, and he died a martyr, and had his head set up upon a post, beside other three of his brethren; and many that wrote against him, and had him in derision, went away with a stink." They will have this to say, and tell to the young ones yet unborn; *the righteous man shall be had in everlasting remembrance*. Indeed, my friends, if any such be hearing me, I may say, truly a great man in our Israel fell at Airmoss the 22d of July, 1680. And now, if I were set at liberty, with a provision that I were not found with Mr. Donald Cargil, whom I pray the Lord may keep from sinning, I would yet again join with that persecuted party, although they should use me, as they did that eminently worthy gentleman that suffered before us. So I am not in the dark how and for what I suffer. I am clear that I was in my duty, and I have peace in it since, and I grow still clearer in it, glory to his name: for it is true that after I got my indictment, and received my sentence, I wanted the countenance of God; for I never knew that the Lord loved me, but since that time; but I was never in the dark about the righteousness of the cause: I knew it would bear a suffering unto blood and death. And now, I am clear of my interest, and clear as to the grounds that I am laying down my life for this day. I could wish that every hair of my head were a life for his sake, and his persecuted cause. I die in the faith of the true protestant religion, in doctrine, discipline and worship, as it was received in the year 1658, and in the year 1649. I join my adherence to the government of this church, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Transubstantiation and supremacy. And I join my cordial testimony to the church's laws and statutes at that time, as she was governed by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, visitations and sessions; and to days of humiliation for sin, solemn days of thanksgiving in receipt of mercies bestowed, and censures for trying out persons of erroneous principles, either ministers or private persons. I adhere to the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagements to Duties, the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and the Protestation at St. Johnston. I join my testimony to, and approbation of these papers at Queen's Ferry, the 5d of June, 1680. I adhere to that faithful testimony at Rutherglen, the 29th of May, 1679. I join my testimony to that last testimony or declaration affixed upon the market-cross of Sarnquhar, the 22d of June, 1680. I witness my tes-

timony to the late appearance at Airsmoss, the 22d of July, 1680, where the Lord's worthies fell. Likewise I witness my testimony, and set to my seal against that horrid murder of that eminently worthy and famous, godly gentleman, David Hackstoun of Rathillet. Likewise against all the blood shed in the fields, scaffolds, and the sea, these nineteen years. I enter my protestation against Popery, Curiaism, Supremacy, Erastianism, Indulgences first and last; and against arbitrary power over civil and ecclesiastical matters, further than the bounds appointed by the word of God. Likewise I witness my testimony against the pleaders for union, siding, joining, halting with usurpers of Christ's crown, silence is watchmen, and all their contrivances, impositions, instructions, or limitations, they put upon the young men to be licentiate, prescribing a rule to them, to order their ministry so and so; their papers and pamphlets they have put out lately, to lead men over to that woful indulgence, under the fair pretext of union, which is dreadful under-hand dealing, to bring the people under the shadow of the Lord's adversaries. I enter my protestation against the national declaration put forth in the year 1661, and all their declarations since, and all their bonds and oaths imposed upon the Lord's people. Likewise against the paying of cess and militia money; and against their imprisements, stigmatizing, looting, and burning with fire-matches, fuing and confuing, robbing and spoiling, banishment, oppression and rigour of masters of tolbooths. And because of that mistake, that they say in my indictment, that Presbyterians, and I amongst the rest, had cast off all fear of God, and are against all good order and civil law; I declare I adhere to kingly government, but not to perjury and tyranny, turning upside down church and state, contrary to the word of God, our Covenants, and the laws of the nation; and contrary to the declaration at Danfermilne, the coronation-oath, and the acts of general assembly, and acts of parliament, ratifying presbytery, and abjuring this prelatie hierarchy, which is now established, and presbytery rescinded. And I bear my testimony against those that have been, and yet are pleading for the favour (as they call it) of the act of Indemnity, after the murdering of Mr. King and Mr. Kid, who wore execute that day the proclamation was read over the cross, the 14th day of August, 1679; and against their justiciary courts, to insnare and pannel the poor people of God in the West of Scotland.

I shall draw to a close shortly; but I might (if I had time) enlarge further upon these. I will say only this to you, who are looking upon me this day, That my lot is hard, but I bless the Lord for it; *The captain of my salvation was made per-*

fect through suffering. No man has wronged me by counsel or advice: so I am persuaded that the cause is the Lord Jesus Christ's cause, and he will own it. *And whosoever touches any of his people, touches the apple of his eye.* For he sends none a warfare upon their own charges, and in his own time he will make inquisition for the blood of all his saints, because, it is right precious in his sight. And when he makes inquisition after their blood, and searches them out that troubled his people, I would not be the king of Britain, nor a counsellor, prelate, or malignant, for a world; and whatever I be, yet I am persuaded, they have the blood of his dear saints in their skirts, which are this day under the altar, crying, *How long, O Lord, holy and just, wilt thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth!* You got Mr. King's advice on the scaffold, to be more sparing of shedding more blood; for within a short time, he told you, he would be on equal terms with you that judged him guilty of death: but that doth not warn the rulers of this kingdom. Do not think that I am quarrelling for the taking of my blood; no, it is love to your souls that obliges me to speak thus. O what can be expected, but that the Lord has his sword furbished for blood, and he will have a day of nobles' blood! The Lord has been smiting and wounding his church and people, and blood has touched blood. Pentland-hills have touched Mr. Guthrie's blood; and Bothwell touched Pentland: and the drowned in the sea touched Bothwell; and Airsmoss the drowned in the sea: and our blood toucheth that which was spilt the 22d of July last. O that at last ye would be persuaded to desist, and spill no more blood; O that the Lord himself would stop the effusion of more innocent blood, if it may stand with his honour. But if any more be for his honour and service, Lord, keep thy people when they are called to it, to say with David, *Here am I, let him do to me as seemeth him good.*

I am also apprehensive, that the Lord hath a great sacrifice of the bodies of multitudes, and that he will give the flesh and blood of many to the fowls of the air: and he intends to give the fowls and birds a feast of flesh and blood. O Scotland! wilt thou never be wise, until thou be betrayed into the hands of thine enemies? Truly, I think it is incredible, that this Lord will get leave to pass long, and not be swayed with the bosom of justice: the Lord is really angry with his land: for I know no person, no not one, but he has just ground of controversy with. It is astonishing to me, to think on the sparing mercies of God towards these lands. For my part, I am glad that he calls me away after this manner, for which I desire with my soul to bless him, for his kindness to me, in taking this method and way with such a wretched sinner as I am, who deserves

nothing but wrath, and only wrath; but glory to the riches of his grace, who *came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief.* He is a noble high-priest indeed. I must draw to a close; I intreat your patience a little, and I shall say but these three or four things shortly. 1st, I would entreat you that are strangers to God, make haste and flee in unto God for your life; from this consideration, that all who had union and communion with God are now landed in glory, have died in the faith of it, that there are glorious days coming, and that the Lord will reckon with his enemies, and pay them liberally, for all the wrongs done to his cause and people. *And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall punish the host of the high ones that are on the earth, and the kings of the earth, upon the earth; they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered into the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days they shall be visited; then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord shall reign over mount Zion and Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously.* You may read it at your leisure, in the xxiv. chap. of Isaiah from the 21st verse to the end. There is another word in the xxxvi. of Job, verse 18: it is a word of advice, given by Elihu to Job; *Because there is wrath, beware lest he take you away with a stroke; then a great ransom cannot deliver you.* 2d, It is my comfort this day, that my enemies are God's enemies. It is the allowance he bestows on poor things, in the following of their duty; though they have not much knowledge in religion, nor great experience, yet if they be faithful in the little, he helps them to be faithful in much. Ye know, he says, *Because thou hast been faithful in what I committed to thee, have thine rule over five cities.* I know, that it is commonly reported, That they have not much grace that adhere to this persecuted way; as I take in myself among them, who never had great gifts, nor parts, nor heart experience; yet he has told me, since I received the sentence of death by men who are the Lord's sword, "That faithfulness in this juncture of time, in not denying his name, shall be an excuse for many infirmities." Among all the strong contenders, none get the prize but the sincere man, the resolute man, and they who are determined, as Esther was, to go, though it should cost them their life. And this is the time that the people of God should be at holding and drawing, rugging and riving, or ever the enemies of our Lord possess his crown, and bruik it with peace. And this I must add to these that are biassed, I shall be a dying witness against ministers and professors that made it their work to brand and clothe that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ with odious names and notorious lies, in calling him a Jesuite, and saying that he received the Pope's gold, and that he was

a great favourite of the duke of York, a declared Papist; which I know, and many eminent christians know, that he hated him as a limb of Satan; and also they said, that the troopers had commission to pass him by, rather than any man, even after the declaration came out, to give 5000 merks for him dead or alive. Go and lie in the dust for what you have said of him; and what you have said of Mr. Kid: I bless the Lord that ever I saw his face, and that ever I heard him preach. 3d. Give me leave to say this much; I am afraid the apostacy of Scotland, the neutrality and formality that is among both ministers and professors, have shapen out this church and land of Britain in length and breadth, with the church of Laodicea, whom the Lord threatens *to spue out of his mouth*, as a loathsome thing, and then he will have pleasure in his Zion. Yet ye see, he is snedding down a Guthrie, a Welwood, a King, a Kid, a Brown, a Cameron, and the like of a Henry Hall and a Robert Dick, that were contending for the truth, and for restoring the privileges of the church: and these were counted disturbers of your sinful union with the enemies of the Lord. Lay it to heart; now their blood is shed for the cause, and ye are not free of it; but ye can wipe your mouth, and say, ye are innocent? Remember that in the 50th Psalm, and 18th ver. *When thou sawest a thief, thou joinedst with him; and this the Lord hath seen, and kept silence: Remember and mourn for it, lest he tear you in pieces, when there is none to deliver.* The court favour is too short a covering, it will not hide you: therefore as a dying man, I warn you as from the Lord, *Consider your ways and your doings, that have not been good, and cast yourselves out of the court favour, otherwise I declare ye shall not get the favour of God.*

4th, If ye will set about some days of humiliation before the Lord, and take with you your sins, and the sin of crying up this clatty liberty, which is the price of blood. *If ye will return to the Lord, then return with all your heart; for he is merciful and gracious, and repents him of the evil that he threatens, neither will he give way to his anger.* He did so to me; I no sooner began to look to him, but he made me welcome, and put me to work, though I be but young, and know nothing: he was tender of me, he took me to Bothwell bridge, to own his cause; and I had many temptations to stay; what from my mother, and from one hand and another; but I durst not for my soul stay behind: I thought it my duty to join myself with that party against the Lord's enemies, and the Lord was good to me there many ways; he covered my head in the day of battle, and suffered not one hair of my head to fall to the ground, and he suffered many better than me a thousand times, to fall on all hands of me: so I thought then I held my

life of him; and the Lord brought me to the Gray-friars church-yard, though I came almost naked, yet he mounted me better than ever I was before with clothes, and wonderfully provided for me, beyond many others. I bless the Lord, my mother's sickness did not keep me from Bothwell bridge; and when I was in the Gray-friars church-yard, I was threatened with death by the justice-general, who swore a great oath, that I should die if I would not take the bond. I told him, as it was true, that many better than I had been hanged; but I was brought out of his hand; and the Lord took me to the sea, and did deliver me from the ragings thereof, when he suffered many better to lose their lives. And when he laid his hand upon me by sickness, he made me to be favoured by all my enemies; he healed me, and brought me home; and then he called me out to hear the gospel; for which I desire to bless him, and within a little while, I shall praise him for it.

The Lord was so seen amongst his persecuted handful there, that he did engage me to join with them, who were hazard-ing their lives upon the fields for him. I was at that late engagement, and the Lord took some work off my hand there; and has brought me to this place, this day, to lay down my life for his sake; and this is the last combat I shall have; I shall work no more: I must take my leave of you all, and so rest in his love. I go where *all tears shall be wiped away; where the servant is made free from his master. To the land where the inhabitants shall not say, they are sick.* Now be not discouraged at the ways of God's providence to me; for I can assure you, the cause is his own, and he will own it. *For lo, thine enemies shall perish.* I would have every one of you seeking the favour of God: for ye will have ado with it at death and judgment: the greatest persecutor or malignant will have sore missing of his favours in that day. O seek him in time! and the Lord help his poor young wrestling people well through their trials; the Lord help them to be faithful, and to endure to the end; for they have the promise of being saved. Join with his people and cast in your lot with them, and do not stand on the other side; let his cause be your cause in well or woe. O noble cause! O noble work! O noble heaven! O noble Christ that makes it to be heaven! and he is the owner of the work: O noble Mediator of the new covenant! O noble Redeemer, who is powerful to help in time of need, and will help such as trust in him. There was never one that trusted in him that came to loss, he made them always up, sometimes with an hundred-fold in this life, and heaven after.

I lay down my life, not as an evil doer, but as a sufferer for Christ. I shall say no more, but a word or two. One is anent that which some would be informed in, whether I took

the bond that was tendered to the prisoners? I acknowledge, there was a supplication drawn up, containing two articles; one was, craving the benefit of the act of indemnity: the second was, that I should not lift arms against the king, or any in lawful authority; but because it was not authority only, but lawful authority, it was not granted. And, at that time, there were pains taken by some persons of note, that persuaded me to take the bond as it was tendered by the bloody council. Indeed it hath been a thing heavier than the sand to me, and hath made me groan. I think for that, and for many other private failings, the Lord did not give me his countenance; the Lord pardon that, as I hope he will, that I should have put my hand to a pen, and blackened paper in that supplication: but for the bond, I bless the Lord, I did not subscribe it. The second thing I am reputed guilty of is, that I supplicated for a delay some short time, and that I called it rebellion that I was at Airsmoss. Indeed I subscribed no such things; but it was only this, that it might please them to grant us some more time, for we were in confusion, because of the shortness of time; we desired some more time, that we might get our souls ease laid to heart, and our peace made with God through Jesus Christ. I shall say no more, but wish that ye would all seek repentance in time, before it be hid from your eyes. I recommend my soul and spirit to him, *that is able to save to the utmost all that come to him through Christ*; and desire to take my leave of all created comforts. Farewell all relations, farewell world, farewell sin. Welcome Christ, welcome heaven and glory for evermore.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN MALCOLM.

The last Testimony of Mr. JAMES SKEEN, brother to the Laird of Skeen, who suffered at Edinburgh, December 1, 1680.

His Interrogations and Answers before the Privy Council, related by himself, in a letter to his brother.

DEAR BILLY,

To satisfy your desire, I send you this line, to let you know, that when I came before the council, (York and Rothes being there, two bishops, viz. Burnet and Paterson, the advocate, Clerk Paterson, Linlithgow, and many more, sitters and standers, Dalziel the general, being porter, walking proudly up and down, not as a servant) none was admitted to come in with me. I saluted them all civilly, and kept off my hat, because they kept off, that they might not say that I was a Quaker. Rothes asked me, Was I at Bothwell or Airsmoss? I answered, I was at home in the north both these times. They

asked, if I did own Sanquhar declaration, and the testimony at Rutherglen? I told them, I did own them both. He asked, did I own the king's authority? I said, in so far as it was against the covenant and interest of Christ, I disown it. He asked me, thought I it not a sinful murder the killing of the Arch-prelate? I said, I thought it was their duty to kill him, when God gave them opportunity; for he had been the author of much bloodshed. They asked me, why I carried arms? I told them it was for self-defence, and the defence of the gospel. They asked me, why I poisoned my ball? I told them, I wished none of them to recover whom I shot. He asked me, why I carried a dirk? I told them, they might ask Mr. George M'Kenzie, if it was not our country-fashion; and he presently told the chancellor it was so. They asked, if I knew Cargil? I said, it was my comfort I knew him. Then they reproached him, and me for conversing with him. I said, I blessed God, he gave me sweet peace in it. They asked, would I kill the soldiers, being the king's? I said, it was my duty if I could, when they persecuted God's people. They asked, if I would kill any of them? I said they were all stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the declaration at Sanquhar I counted them my enemies. They asked, if I would think it my duty to kill the king? I said, he had stated himself an enemy to God's interest, and there was war declared against him. I said, the covenant made with God was the glory of Scotland, though they had unthankfully counted it their shame. And in direct terms, I said to the chancellor, I have a parchment at home, wherein your father's name is, and you are bound by that, as well as I. They asked, why I called the chancellor, Sir? I said, Sir was a title for a king, and it might serve him. The chancellor asked, if I knew his Royal Highness? I never saw such a person. York looks out by (for he sat in the shadow of Bishop Burnet) and said, why did I wish the king so ill? I told, I wish no ill to any; but as they were in opposition to God I wished them brought down: and he spoke no more. The chancellor said, would I not adhere to the acts of parliament of this kingdom? I said, I would not own any of them which were in opposition to God and his covenant. Mr. M'Kenzie said, if the king were riding by in coach, would you think it no sin to kill him? I said, by the Sanquhar declaration there was war declared against him, and so he needed not put that in question. So Mr. M'Kenzie came out by to the bar, and said, I know your relations and mine are sib; be ingenuous in all that is demanded of you, and I will save you from torture. I said, sir, I know you, and ye know me and my relations; I have been as free and ingenuous as I could imagine, because I reckon it my credit, and my glory,

to give a full and free confession for my blessed Lord's interest, that is reproached and borne down. They asked me where I saw Cargil last? I said, I met him last in the West-bow, to my comfort. They asked me, who were owners of the house? I said, I really could not tell them, I knew them not. They said, would I know the house? I said, yes. They said, would I show it to some whom they would send with me? I told them, I was free in what concerned myself, but to hurt any else, I could not mar my peace with God; but if they were advertised to go out of the house, I should show it to them. Then they desired me to go my ways. The general opened the door, and rounded in my ear, ye must go down with some soldiers, and show them that house. I said, I will not do it to hurt any; these indwellers must be advertised to flee the house first.

Then I was ordered to the guard, which was of Linlithgow's soldiers, which took me, and walked (after Achibald Stewart and John Sproul, who were examined) to the Tron, and back to the council house of the town: I being alone, and only six soldiers with me. I took me to prayer, and was comforted; and then sent money for meat and drink: and then worshipped in public with the soldiers. At night, a person from J—— kindly wakened me, and brought me bread and ale, and sugar, and some confectioned carvel. After that I was carried to a committee, where were present the chancellor, Hatton, Paterson, Justice-Clerk, Wigtoun and Linlithgow; and they shewed me two letters of mine to Mrs. Simpson, wherein I owned the declaration at Sanquhar, and told I would do much to persuade many that it was just, from Mr. M'Ward's advice that was given to the prisoners. I owned the letters, and told them, I did what I could to dissuade professors from paying them cess, which they ordered for bearing down the gospel: at which they laughed. The chancellor said, why did I not call him Lord? I told him, were he for Christ's interest I would honour him. Then he said, he cared not for my honour; but he would have me to know he was chancellor. I said, I knew that. He said, I was not a Scotsman but a Scots-beast. At which Wigtoun gloomed at him, and he laughed. He then rounded to me, that he would be my friend, would I be ingenuous. I told him, I wished him no ill. They asked me, what Mr. William Alexander was it that I wrote off? I said, Mr. Paterson the Bishop, and Mr. Ross at Glasgow knew him, and persecuted him unjustly: I then related to them how it was. Paterson said, I told that which I knew not to be truth: he pitied me. He said to the chancellor, certainly I forgot to write. I was before the justiciary court, where my confession was

read, and after I read it again, and told them. I thought it my honour to subscribe to it. I assented to all that was recorded by the clerk; I owned it, and counted it my honour so to do. The justice-clerk, Hatton's son, being there, said he pitied me, I being a gentleman; he knew my friends. I said, were I an earl's son, I would esteem it my honour. I desired them to canvass well that they did, for they would be pannelled before God for it. He said, I might prepare for another world. I said, I hoped the Lord would prepare me.

Now, dear Billy, I have given you an account of the truth, as I confusedly remember; but I entreat you take all the praise you give me, and put it upon my Lord, for I am but a poor, simple, sinful worm: it is from him I had this courage. Wigtoun and the justice-clerk, desired me to shew them that house, saying, that I was free enough in all except that; and if I were obstinate, I might belike get the boots. I said, let them do with me what they pleased, in what concerned myself I was free, but to do hurt to others I would not, to bring them under their wrath; I would not mar my peace with God so far. The general said, he would parole to me, that the indwellers of the house should be advertised. I said, I would not have his parole. The chancellor boasted me for denying his parole. I said to the chancellor, I was a gentleman that had blood relations to his relations, the earl of Mar's mother and I being sister-bairns. He said, he was sorry I was so related. I said, the cause I was there owing honoured me; and I would it befel my friends. So thus, I hope, you will not too critically reflect on my confused writing, since I am in haste; ye know, it may be, I may be cited before these bloody men this forenoon. I will not order for my funeral till I know my sentence: I may possibly not be allowed a burial. My Lord comforts me, and I leave all on him to bear me through this storm, through the valley and shadow of death. Dear Billy, bid all you see, of our serious friends help me with their prayers, that I may be helped of the Lord to be faithful unto the death: and that he will give me the faith of assurance, that I shall enjoy my Lord's love through all eternity: the want of this clouds me much, I am so unworthy a wretch. I am, dear Billy, your unworthy friend, and loving brother,

JAMES SKEEN.

From my Lord Jesus' house, which he has made a sweet palace, wherein he shews me his wonderful free love, the close prison above the iron-house, in the high tolbooth of Edinburgh, November, 1680.

P. S. I told the chancellor, the cause was just, for which the king and others were excommunicate; though I was not there, yet I adhered to it.

Another letter from Mr. James Skeen, to all professors in the shire of Aberdeen, especially Mr. William Alexander, Mr. William Mitchel, and Mr. John Watson, my dear acquaintances. Being the last testimony for the interest of Christ from Mr. James Skeen, now in close prison for Christ's interest, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

DEAR FRIENDS,

The Lord having dealt so graciously with me, in wonderful free love, as to bring me to the love of himself, his truths, and despised interest, as that he engaged me in a particular covenant with himself, which, by his honouring me to make me a prisoner to evil men, for his despised interest, he has evidently confirmed to me, that he accepted of my bargain with himself, when most unworthy and wretched; though many times, by reason of a prevailing body of sin and death, I provoked him to cast the bargain; yet still by new obligations he engaged me to renew it. My mercy has been great, that providence ordered some time my coming south, where most suffering has been for our Lord; and for that reason, most light has been given to professors here, that they might see what was clear duty in these trying, tempting and backsliding times. And whenever the Lord helped me to see our covenant-obligations, which are the glory of Scotland, I was serious and zealous, ye know, to impart to all of you, whom I was acquaint with: the Lord always making my love to him to abound, I thought no travel ill-warded, or any hazard too great on any occasion, whereby I might propagate his despised interest among you. You know how much I have contended with you for paying of that cursed cess, ordered by the convention of estates, for bearing down the gospel: as I was honoured to witness against it at a committee on Saturday last at night: you are not aware how you bring the blood of saints on your heads, by this obedience to the stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, your opposing that which was, and is the judgment of the most tender professors, in withdrawing from indulged ministers: and from these ministers that favoured them, and so did not, nor would not declare against the indulgence as a sin, that most heinously and rebelliously dishonours our blessed Lord as head of the church, and set up a tyrannous usurper in his place, was a particular I much contended with many of you; in my hearing you pleading for a sinful union with these who have conspired to dethrone our blessed Lord; some of you opposed that which was an honourable testimony for our Lord at Rutherglen, and that declaration at Sanquhar; and the testimony or covenant that was taken at the Queensferry, calling

these rash and inconsiderate, whom the Lord called out to be valiant contenders for his truth and interest, which is now contemned by a wicked apostate generation, and to seal all of them with blood: by all these the Lord has been calling his people to come from among Babel's brood; its cursed brood, who by many subtile satannical ways; what by Prelacy, Quakerism, Arminianism, Latitudinarians, and indulged ministers, and ministers and professors, that love so their quiet that they will not declare against, and decline that usurping traitor on the throne, Charles Stuart, and all the cursed crew of pretended magistrates in Scotland, having forfeited their right of government, as appears by their wicked and unparalleled apostacy from that Solemn League and Covenant, upon that foul pretext, that we are not in a probable capacity to extirpate them, or put them out of office. When in our place and station, we give our witness against these usurpations, we so far contend for God, and witness for his trodden-down and despised interest, and testify our unwillingness, that our Lord should totally give up with this poor land. O! this hath been many times a sad heart to me, ye have looked more to the credit of men than the glory of our great Lord God. I fear this testimony be unacceptable and hazardous to you to maintain; because of that they call treason in it; but ah! there is so much done to advance a mortal creature, a stated enemy to Christ, a furious hasty cruel murderer of God's saints, that there is fear of disowning of God, and a palpable denying of him before men, when you own tyrannous oppressors. Your estates you cannot part with; your credit and pleasures, and your quiet in the world you will not part with: you will rather imagine arguments to cheat yourselves in defending your practices that are clear breaches of covenant: if your too great carnal love to the world did not blind you, and your unwillingness to quit your life for Christ, which soon will come to an end, however with less comfort, than you would certainly have when you adventure all for our blessed Lord.

As for you, Mr. Alexander, I may say, I have found you willing on good information, to be for tender cleaving to your dear Master, and bad information, making it a question, if it was duty to dethrone the pretended king? which Mr. T. H. and Mr. R. M. opposing, biassed you from that principal duty: by which we are singularly known to be true covenanters, and leave these that are blind, and follow your dear Master in the duties he calls his people to, and he will own them, and I am persuaded he has owned them who have owned him in this duty. You did quarrel at field-meetings, enemies ordering against them, and consenting that house-meetings be enjoyed; but here is your testimony, when you keep the fields you de-

clare that our Lord's church has liberty to keep her meetings and ordinances where she pleases, and ought not to be at the arbitrament of men.

To Mr. Mitchell I say, I have had a great esteem of you as a true lover of piety; and I doubt not, the Lord has sealed your ministry sometimes, and some witnesses of it I have known. But, O sir, what a fearful snare are you in, by complying with curates in hearing them, and taking both sacraments off their hands! Oh! if ye quit not all carnal love to the world, to credit, and friends, that will oppose your coming off, the hazard is great, the Lord may rank you with them that have opposed the rising of his kingdom: however, I am sure, he will make you mourn for it, and I doubt (if ye shortly come not off from that accursed crew) that the Lord will send you a sorer trial, than sufferers for him meet with.

To Mr. Watson, I write this as my last testimony; O how unfaithful is his ministry! he dare not, for fear of losing his ministry, declare against the heinous breach of covenant by all the pretended magistrates in the land. I grant your clearness as to other things was much one with my own. O sir, quit men as they quit Christ's way and interest, else you will never be clear in truths, as the Lord lets out light, and increaseth it. And this is most dreadful, to be so ensnared to walk in darkness, and so be in opposition to our blessed Lord! O let love to the Lord Jesus Christ assuredly overcome you, and then admiring of men, and cleaving to them who are out of Christ's way, will be no small matter, but a heinous sin. Oh! will you adventure your salvation on it, to cleave to them who are reproaching our Lord, his people and interest, by mixing in with the cursed curates? that person ye cleave to, draws on him the guilt of all the saints' blood that is shed in maintaining his interest and covenant, whose judgment ye cannot decline, he being judge of all the world. Ye may say much more, every one of you that know me: I was many times negligent of a tender walking, by seeking of settlement, and if that had been my lot ye had not heard of this testimony. You know every one of you, this testimony I gave you formerly: even when with you, I many times wished from my heart the Lord would not order a settlement to me among you. My heart was broken with your lukewarmness and indifference. And this I testified to several of you, and I rather choosed, I said often, to be a sheep-keeper in the south, where I might be encouraged in godliness, than to live in pomp and ease at home, with an ill conscience; and when I came away last, I was sorry at my purpose of leaving Scotland, when I heard all were agreeing to apostacy, in my judgment 'then, from our best covenanted God, and I was determined

for Ireland then, being ill informed of every one of the kingdoms, there not being a people tenderly owning the covenant in Ireland, but all some way owning the usurper Charles Stuart; but in poor Scotland, here in the south, I found a poor handful, and about one faithful minister, whom the Lord called out, viz. Mr. Donald Cargil, to be his messenger to his people, and give witness against the apostacy of ministers and professors; even those who were great lights in the land are now in obscurity and avowedly reproaching our Lord's interest and people, whom yet the Lord will clothe with shame and make their peace they boast of, and quiet sleep, to their great confounding. As for the call I have to suffer, I found it my only peace to quit thoughts of Ireland, that I might not be involved in their guilt of denying to have our Lord Jesus Christ to be king over them. O that poor party I find only for maintaining his prerogative royal, to which I am joined. Mr. Donald Cargil being the only faithful ambassador our Lord has in Scotland, I following the ordinances on Friday last, being as well armed for defending the gospel and myself as I could; beyond expectation, a party of Linlithgow's soldiers is sent out to my lodging, and not dreading danger in the day time, I thought our persecutors had never heard of my name; I was apprehended, and now at last brought hither to close prison, the Lord having honoured me to give an ample testimony before the council and lords of justiciary for my wronged Lord Jesus, and supposing I must seal it with my blood, I leave this testimony to you, my friends and acquaintances in Aberdeenshire, and subscribe it, November 17, 1680.

JAMES SKEEN.

From my delectable prison, in which my Lord has allowed me his peace and presence, and comforted me with that. I shall reign with him eternally, for I am his, and bought with his precious blood.

To his friend and fellow-prisoner N.

MUCH HONOURED FRIEND IN CHRIST,

I give it under my hand, I have no cause to rue my sweet bargain. His cross is easy and light yet: and that which is most terrifying, I hope he will make comfortable. O lovely Lord! what could make him to choose me to suffer for him! what is all the world to me if his honour be at the stake? If his honour be advanced by my death, O happy me! I have oftentimes wished a suffering lot. I heard and saw so much of God's goodness, that I thought the cross and comforts of Christ could not be separated: and I have no reason to complain; the Lord is oft the joy of my heart, that I am forced to wonder at it; leaving further troubling you, hoping you will

be as good as your word. Be much in prayer, for these two or three days. It is likely on Thursday next I will need no help of prayers, being come to the immediate vision of my Lord, to see him as he is: I will be stupified, as it were, and amazed at it. If his merits were not of infinite value, I might question, What would I do? But he has promised, *That I shall reign with him.*

JAMES SKEEN.

To his friend and fellow-prisoner A.

MY DEAR FRIEND IN CHRIST,

I received yours, encouraging me to hold on in my blessed Lord's way, which he hath pathed to me. I am not unmindful of you, as I can; and I desire you to pray, that none may offend at the Lord's interest for me, there being a willingness on my part to suffer, though justly they cannot condemn me; for they offer me a delivery, if I would submit to the duke's and council's mercy; but it is often evidently seen, that *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.* I find no liberty to deny my Lord for fear of death: I hope he will make up my loss in himself. All I can desire of you is, to pray much for me, that the Lord will own me, for his own cause; before the adversaries, and in my dissolution. I wish the Lord to comfort his people, and tenderly own his despised interest. Mr. Carstairs said, "He was ashamed of that principle we maintained; and that we were not sound Presbyterians; and wished the Lord might preserve him from the like." I am no whit troubled at this, I bless my Lord. They would have me conferring with him: I said, I would not notice him if he came near me. Tell my friend, I would have written, but had no time. I wrote yesternight to him. I need both your helps, by supplications, and strong cries to the Lord, to carry me through the valley and shadow of death. I must leave here: wishing the Lord to bear you up under all trials. I thought you should have been in eternity before me; but now I think, I shall leave you in the vallies, when I shall arrive at the blessed harbour. I am, dear friend, your well-wisher, and Christ's prisoner,

JAMES SKEEN.

P. S. A double of my confessions you may have from a friend whom I shall desire to send it to you. I got my summons for eternity with sound of trumpet yesternight, and my indictment with five shouts of the trumpet, and pursuivants in their coats, at seven of the clock, was a grave sight: but my Lord helped me not to be afraid at it, since all was from him.

The last Speech and Testimony of Mr. James Skeen, brother to the Laird of Skeen; which he intended to have delivered on the scaffold, December 1, 1680.

DEAR PEOPLE,

I am come here this day, to lay down my life for owning Jesus Christ's despised interest, and for asserting that he is a king, and for averring that he is head of his own church, and has not delegated or deputed any, either pope, king, or council, to be his vicegerents on earth. Since my blessed Lord Jesus Christ has in his love engaged me by a particular covenant, in his own terms, to renounce and resign myself to him, in soul and body, assuring me by his word, and testifying his acceptance of my resignation by his holy and blessed Spirit, promising to redeem me from all sins, giving me assurance of a saving interest in himself; and now having called me in his providence, contriving this my suffering, by permitting his ungodly enemies to apprehend and take me prisoner, having wickedly plotted my taking, in my going on the way to attend what the Lord had to work on my soul by his preached gospel, to give a testimony for his covenant, interest and people that are reproached and borne down by a perjured, God-contemning generation: and to seal my sufferings and testimony with my blood, I most willingly lay down my life for his interest. I leave my testimony to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, which are founded on the Scriptures, the word of God, which are written by the prophets and apostles in the Old and New Testament, which has Jesus Christ, the blessed object of our faith, for the chief corner-stone of the building. I also leave my testimony to Mr. Donald Cargil's paper taken at the Queensferry, called a New Covenant, according as they agree to the true original copy.

I adhere to Presbyterian government, and the whole work of reformation of the church of Scotland, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, consulted well, and written by the Assembly of Divines, except that article about magistracy, when ill expounded, in the 23d chapter, * because our magistracy is but pure tyranny, exercised by the lustful rage of men, yea, rather devils in the shape of men, whom God has permitted in his holy and spotless wisdom, for a trial to his people, and a snare to some others, to oppress, tyrannise, and blasphemously tread under foot his truth, interest and people;

* Let none mistake this sentence, as if this worthy gentleman thereby disowned that unshaken principle of the Protestant religion, that "infidelity or difference in religion does not make void the magistrates just and legal authority;" for it is plain, he rejects only the false sense that was then put upon it, to make it an argument for defence of tyranny and arbitrary power.

yea, that article is expounded in the National Covenant, where we have vowed to the Almighty God, not to maintain the king's interest, when he disowns the covenant, and well settled church government by presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies of the church of Scotland. I adhere to the testimony for the interest of Christ at Rutherglen; at which time the wicked acts of parliament, and the blasphemous declarations, by which they have sworn to be enemies to the interest of Christ, were solemnly burnt. I adhere to the Sanquhar declaration, whereby we that were true Presbyterians did depose that tyrant Charles Stuart; who is head of malignants and malignancy; from his exercise of government as to us: and we do no otherwise than the people of Libnah, 2d Chr. xxi. 10, *The same time also did the people of Libnah revolt from under the king of Judah, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers.* And this practice is not so gross that I own, in declaring against that monstrous tyrant on the throne of Britain, as many conjecture, if seriously folk would consider the injustice practised in civil matters, by himself, and all his adherent inferior magistrates (yea inferior tyrants, for he is the head and supreme tyrant) that no poor man that has a just cause, if he be not as profligate and wicked as themselves, can have justice; and his usurpation in ecclesiastic matters; which is too great a task for any on earth, since they must take upon them to dethrone our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, *who is given to be head over all things to the church*, Eph. i. 22, Psal. ii. 8. You would canvass the justice of disowning his authority, which to do, you are engaged by oath to God, he overturning the whole work of reformation, which was the great ground of his enthronement in Scotland, to maintain the covenant and work of reformation. His wicked burning of the covenant, and causes of God's wrath, is cause enough to me to disown his authority, which is so maintained by perjury; Ezek. xvii. 15-19, *Shall he break the covenant and prosper?* Consider likewise his oppression, in ordering military forces to oppress God's people, to obstruct, impede and hinder the worship of God, the ordinances in houses or fields, and compel them to join with a cursed crew of prelates, curates, and some indulged ministers. Yea, his tyranny is so great, that he ordered an host of armed men in the year 1678. to invade a peaceable country in the West, who robbed, stole from, and oppressed poor people, for no other reason, but because they would not pollute their consciences, and be subject to Prelacy; which Erastian government he has contended for these several years, and kept up in this land. If there were no other cause of his rejection, they might suffice to justify any, who are engaged by God, having time and place to cut him off: for, by the law of God.

murder, adultery, and oppression, are punishable by death, and kings are not exempted, far less tyrants, that are lawfully excommunicate. But to these horrid impieties is added, the shedding of the blood of poor innocents, which aggravateth his guilt; so that though the Lord should make him penitent, he deserves death by the law, according to which, *blood cannot be expiated but by the blood of him who shed it.* For confirmation of what I have said, see Ezek. xxi. 25, 26, 27; read also Ezek. xliii. 9, *Put away the carcasses of your kings far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of you for ever.* Consider how our fathers contended for truth, and must we lose what they have gained?

Ah! this atheistical generation of perjured, adulterous, and bloody powers, are ripe for God's vengeance! I give my testimony against the cursed persecuting soldiers: the blood of God's saints is on their heads, and mine is laid on them, especially Serjeant Warrock who apprehended me; my blood is on the justiciary,* who subscribed to my sentence; and on the fifteen assizers, James Glen, stationer, being clerk; and on the chancellor; and on Mr. George M'Kenzie, who pleaded for my condemnation; and Thomas Dalziel who ordered my taking; and upon Andrew Cunningham who condemned me; and upon all the rest who are accessory in the least thereto; yea, the privy council are to be accountable for my blood; and my blood is on the head of Mr. J—C— who condemned my testimony against these bloody tyrants, asserting me to be a Jesuite. I leave my testimony against receiving that accursed traitor James Duke of York, and all Papists, Quakers, Prelates, Curates, Latitudinarians, indulged ministers, and their favourers; the Hamilton declaration, and other papers and actings, directly or indirectly against the truth. I leave my testimony against the lukewarm professors, who write and speak grievous things to reproach the truly godly, and who keep silence when God calls them to give a free and full testimony for his despised covenant, and whole work of reformation, against a treacherous, backsliding, and adulterous generation. And as in this place, or any other of my papers, I could not have designed God's enemies any otherwise than by their pretended offices; thus far, dear people, I crave your liberty, and let none think, that thereby I own them in the least point.

* These and the like sentences, which may possibly be met with in some other testimonies, ought not to be mistaken, as the effects of a revengeful, ungodly spirit, but rather as a simple declaration of their being guilty of blood in condemning them, to serve as a warning to the persecutors, not to proceed further in these wicked courses, and to waken them to repentance, if possible, for what they had already done; and is much paralleled in its nature with that of Jeremiah, in his apology before the princes, chap. v. 15.

Likewise, whereas my sufferings were delayed, the Lord, in whose pre-ence I must appear ere long, knows what a soul grief it is to me to remember it. When the day I was sentenced to die for my dear Lord's interest came, I vainly expecting that my relations that were great in court, who had seen me, should have procured a reprival for me; but being disappointed, a fear of death surprised me, hearing that all were presently making ready for my execution, and then my carnal relations almost weeping on me, engaged me, by their insinuations, to supplicate that bloody crew for it myself. A carnal well-wisher drew it up in these terms: *James Skeen prisoner, earnestly desires your lordships to grant him a reprival for some days, till he canvass these things he was sentenced for with learned and godly men; and your lordships' answer.* After I subscribed it, a great confusion and horror of spirit fell on me; I went to prayer, wishing in my heart it were not granted; but such was my trouble, I could not say any thing but nonsense. My heart was afflicted sore with this straitening, and the more when the reprival was granted. I thought, I having shifted the cross, my Lord might deny me that credit again, and put a worse on me in requital of my slighting him. I judge the Lord left me thus to slip, to humble me; and that he hid his face to make me exemplarily punished for untender carrying under his cross, which he had chosen for me, to warn others under the cross, that they would be circum-spect and zealous for keeping from being polluted with any compliance with the defections of the times, that they may have a cleanly suffering. From this backsliding I recovered not for two days after, but found it sad for my soul, the Lord hid his face from me: but now my God has had compassion on me, and this time of the eight days reprival, he has preserved me from such a backsliding, when the devil by his emissaries has had much artifice to turn me aside from the way of the Lord. Yet I will say this far, all I have done was not in order to own that wicked council as lawful rulers: but my life being in their tyrannous hands, I thought then I might desire as much favour of them as of a robber, that had the dagger at my breast: and I truly look on all their actings in courts, either higher or lower judicatories, in matters civil or ecclesiastic, that they act as murderers, oppressors, and tyrants only.

And now these bloody oppressors say, because I will not sinfully renounce my Lord and his interest, and look on them as magistrates, and say, I spake rashly what I did, on which terms, craving them pardon, I would soon get remission, and be at liberty, that they look on me as guilty of my own blood: but I hope my God will not account me guilty, who knows I dare not so sinfully disown him for all the hazard of my poor

life; there being a dilemma in my case, either I must sin or suffer: I have found it my only peace with my Lord, to choose suffering, and hate the way of sinning. And this I thought good to insert in my dying testimony, that others may beware of an untender walk with God, *who is a consuming fire to all impenitent sinners.*— Now my Lord has sealed my remission for this extravagance, and has entered into a new covenant with me, and I have resigned myself wholly to him, to be at his disposal; and it is my rejoicing that he is calling me out to honour me so much as to suffer for his sake. A poor country-man with us, would think it his credit to be called to signify his loyalty to a nobleman who were his master, whose courage obliges him to fight for his safety to the loss of his life: but O! what a disparity is in my case! I am but a base, wretched, sinful worm, and I am called to signify my love and loyalty to the King of glory, before treacherous and perfidious powers that sit at ease, and disown, yea, declare against my Lord, that he is not our covenanted King and Lord. And the two despised covenants are not despicable, but our glory. I will first declare they are traitors, and ought to be disowned as magistrates or lawful rulers; and so many of them as have imbrued their hands in the blood of the saints, either by commissions, or votes in councils or other courts, or have lived oppressing God's people, in adultery, uncleanness, wickedness and witchcraft, they are guilty of death. And when there are no other magistrates who will duly punish these impieties, it is my duty, out of zeal to the Lord, I say it again, if the Lord would employ me, to cut them off: as that zeal of Phineas, though mocked at by them in their proclamation, is a good example.

Thus I end, wishing what I have here penned for a testimony to the Lord's despised interest, may have weight with any, who consider, that what I have written, I must ere long reckon for; and so I have laboured to be single-hearted before the Lord in it.

Now, having touched every thing I can remember, concerning my judgment of things controverted, as also some reason of my principles, asserted in face of a great council, and twice before the justiciaries, which I gladly sign with my subscription, glorifying the Lord, who owned me, so that I was not ashamed, but judged it my glory to give my full and free testimony for my blessed Lord's despised interest, against that wicked and treacherous pack of God's declared enemies. Now, farewell all dear friends; I hope the Lord will have a glorious church in Scotland, and he will raise his glory out of the ashes of a burnt covenant. Now, farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell Holy Scriptures. O! I am going to a li^z
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where I shall no more be troubled with a body of sin and death; O! I am going to a mansion of glory, that my Lord has prepared me. I shall have a crown of life, because I have been, by my blessed Lord's assistance, (though I slipped aside) made faithful to the death. Now, welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, thou hast redeemed me by thy price, and by thy power: O Lord God of hosts, into thy hands I commit my Spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES SKEEN.

In the close prison of Edinburgh, Nonember 30, 1680, being the day before my execution, according to the unjust sentence of a perfidious court.

The Testimony of ARCHIBALD STEWART, who lived at Borrowstounness, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, December 1, 1680.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

It is like, the most part of you are come here to gaze and wonder upon me, rather than to be edified; but I hope there are some here, that are witnessing and sympathizing with me. But while ye are strangers to God, and ignorant of his word, and what our Lord has suffered for us, and that he has told us, *That through many tribulations and afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of God*, it is no wonder ye count us fools; for while I was in black nature myself, I was as mad as any of you all; but blessings to his holy name, that *whereas once I was blind, now I see*, and therefore *I abhor myself in dust and ashes*: and I desire the more to magnify his free grace, for all that he hath done to me; it is nothing in myself. Therefore, why should I not be content to follow the footsteps of my blessed Master that has gone before me from time to eternity, though in this manner it is unpleasant to natural sense? and he is calling for my mite of a testimony for his despised truth. For it was by the hearing of the gospel by his suffering servants, both here and in Holland, that I was brought to the love of God, and his only Son Jesus Christ: since which time he has engaged my heart to seek him in the same way, I found him, where he was most eminently holden forth, and witnessed for, and my sins and the sins of the land holden forth to me: and it is for this, that I am accused and condemned of men; for my following the gospel preached in the fields: because I was following that poor handful that fell at Airsmoss, where Richard Cameron had been preaching, and was to preach: and because, when the bloody soldiers came upon us, we offered to defend ourselves; whatever other causes they have to lay to my charge.

And that ye be not mistaken with me, and the Lord's people dare

ple and his way; though they allege that we are of bloody principles, (as the indulged ministers give it out that we are of jesuitical and bloody principles;) yet the Lord knows, and I declare, that I have desired to know his will, and walk in it; and I have been studying that which all the land are obliged to, which is, to hear and keep up the gospel, and defend my own life and the lives of my brethren, who have been so long hunted, and to defend the gospel, which has been so long borne down. So then, however I and that suffering remnant be mistaken, in that they give out in their declaration, that I said, I would kill the king or any of the council; it is an untruth and forged calumny, to reproach the way God, more like themselves and their own principles, who have killed so many of the people of God, both in the fields and upon scaffolds, and us among the rest, to please that bloody tyrant Charles Stuart's brother, who has been thirsting for the blood of these three nations; and to make men believe that we have been contriving a plot to murder them: though indeed, if they were brought to any trial of a just law, according to the word of God, or the laws of the land, most of them have done, or consented to more than might take their lives, both against the people of the Lord, and his borne down truths, and against the commonwealth and laws of the land. But I never said, that I would do it; and when I was before them, especially in the justiciary court, upon trial of my life, they would hardly give me leave to speak for, or explain myself; more like men designed to catch advantage, and to cheat me out of my life, than just judges. I know, they must answer to their great Judge for what they do.

And this being the testimony of a dying man, they that fear the Lord will believe my declaration before their proclamation, which may be easily seen to be a plot in them, and not in us, to blind the eyes of a secure generation, and make strangers approve of their persecution, and believe they do it justly, and laugh at our calamity, until they can win to bring about that bloody Popish design against all that will not follow them in the three nations: although they now spare some men, and flatter them to take favours from them, whereby they engage them to lie by, till they destroy his remnant, that dare not but witness against them, and the common sins of the land, for which I desire to mourn, and pray the Lord's people to mourn over them, and witness against them, as they desire to be marked with the mourners, when a Holy God shall come to take vengeance on all ranks that have so forsaken and betrayed his Christ, and set up a man in his place, which will be found to be the great idol of jealousy, besides the many other idols that have drawn away the true and kind

love and fear that the generation owes to God. And because we desire to love and fear God, and to follow his sweet Christ, we are reproached and staged with tongues of many, as these that are out of the way, and are of jesuitical principles. I declare, I have in some measure been desiring and intending to know, love and follow the truth, both in obedience to his commands, and for the hope of glory, though, I confess, through much weakness and infirmity.

I am a Presbyterian in my judgment, though I be looked upon as otherwise, because of my declaring my thoughts freely before men: and I own and adhere to that work of reformation, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the National and Solemn League and Covenant, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God's Wrath. Also I own all the testimonies of our worthy sufferers, that have gone before us: as also I own the Sanquhar declaration, and that Excommunication at the Torwood. At the writing hereof, I prayed that the Lord would open their eyes, and let them see their sins, and grant them repentance, all of them that are of the election of free grace; and they that are not, I pray that the Lord would ratify in heaven what was done on earth by his faithful servant, as it is according to his will; which has been all our desires.

Now I leave my testimony against the cursed Prelates, and all their hirelings; who have been the instigators and drivers on of the council and bloody soldiers, to all the tyranny, oppression, and blood which they have shed. And I leave my testimony against the woful indulgences, and all that have been either embracers of them, or any that have been strengtheners of their hands, or their favourers: they have broken and divided the people of the Lord, more than all their former persecutions could ever do. I leave my testimony against all lukewarm and unfaithful ministers and professors, that have turned their back upon Christ and his cause, and have fallen away from their first love, and the doing of their first works; for they are pulling down that which they first builded. I leave my testimony against the oppression, tyranny and robbery done against the people of God, either by one or other, and especially by these wretches, Glencairn and Halyards, whose names shall be recorded for generations to come, as robbers of the widow and fatherless, *who have lien in wait against the dwellings of the righteous, and have spoiled his resting place:* and have turned many a widow and orphan out of their dwellings.

I leave my testimony against those tyrants that have forfeited all the rights that they now lay claim to, and usurp over the people of the Lord and the whole land, and all their

unjust laws; but especially that accursed supremacy, by which they set up a miserable, adulterous wretched man in Christ's room, who thinks to wrong our Lord, and carry his crown; but it will be too heavy for him, though all the wicked lords, prelates, malignants, and indulged be joining hand in hand to hold it on, down it shall come, and whosoever wears that crown. And it is because of his wearing my lovely Lord and King's crown, and wronging him, that I am contending; and as he and they have proclaimed me a rebel and a traitor to man, so I disown him and them, and declare him and them traitors and rebels to God and his Christ, my desirable and holy Lord and King. But let me entreat you, that desire mercy, to forsake your wicked ways, and fall in love with Christ, and seek peace with God through him, who is the only peace-maker; for there are sad judgments coming on the land; and all your peace with these wicked men will not keep you from the dreadful wrath of God coming on the land, because of slighting of the gospel, when it was to be had in God's own way; and the perjury, covenant-breaking, idolatry and profaneness, treacherous backsliding, apostacy and other abominations, that all ranks of the land are guilty of; and because of their receiving and entertaining of this bloody Popish Duke, who must be welcomed with a draught of our blood now, as he was the last time with the blood of our brethren.

I bless the Lord, I have great satisfaction in my owning this despised way of God, for which I lay down my life; and also, that the Lord has drawn my heart after him, and made me heartily willing to be at his disposal: and I have sweet peace in what I have done, and would entreat all to more tenderness, and to watch over all their ways; for there are many looking on us, and waiting for our halting in the way of God: O that the Lord would help you to wait on him, *until the day break, and the shadows, and all those clouds, fly away!* for this is a heavy day upon the church of God. O! to be labouring to lie in the dust, and to hide ourselves, and shut our mouths, and be silent: for the Lord hath rubbed shame on all faces, because of many backslidings and upsitting in duty, and that both public and private, which, I think, the Lord is contending for this day. O! dear friends, all ye that desire to keep the way of God, and be carried faithfully through amidst all these tribulations and astonishing dispensations, forsake not your christian fellowships, wherein so much of the power and presence of God hath been found, among those that meet together out of love and zeal for God, to pour out their hearts before him, and converse one with another. I think the forsaking and upsitting of christian meetings, is as sad a token of God's leaving the land, at any that I see; and therefore I not only exhort you to this

duty, but, as a dying man, I charge you, as you will answer at the great day, to set about that duty with fear, love, and zeal to God, having his glory before your eyes: and let love to Christ be the principle and motive to draw you to this, and all other duties. Let none be stumbled at the way of Christ for what we are suffering, (if I durst call it suffering) for all the steps of the way are easy to me, through faith in a slain Mediator: for it is those that keep the word of his patience, that he will keep in the hour of temptation. O! labour to keep up these lovely field-meetings, wherewith my soul has been refreshed. And let it be your work to keep patience, whatever sufferings you meet with from enemies, or reproaches from pretended friends, who I fear, will be found secret and heart-enemies to God. This I leave to you as my last advice.

And now I bless God for all that he hath done for my soul, and for this way that he hath taken with me, in carrying me to the land of praise, where I shall sing that sweet song throughout the ages of eternity, which shall never have an end. O! long to be with him; for if ye knew what I have got of his love and presence, ye would whiles be giving a look to time, and bidding it be gone. Now even let it be gone, that I may enjoy my best beloved. Now I take my farewell of all friends and relations, and all earthly comforts, and all created glory; and welcome sweet Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

Sic Subscribitur.

ARCHIBALD STEWART.

P. S. Upon the scaffold he sung the second Psalm, and read the third of Malachi: but they would not suffer him to pray publicly, for when he began to speak, saying, "O Lord, what wilt thou do with this generation? what wilt thou do with bloody Charles Stuart?" incontinent the drums were beaten, and his mouth stopped, that he got no more said.

The Testimony of JOHN POTTER, a farmer, who lived in the Parish of Uphall in West Lothian, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, December 1, 1680.

All you spectators and auditors, I desire your attention in a few words, and I shall be brief. And before I begin, I must tell you, you must not expect such a testimony from me, as ye have had from some of them that went before me, I not being a learned man, as some of them have been; however, I desire to look to God, who not only can give me what to speak, but can also bless what I speak: so as it may be for his glory, and the good of them that love him, and wait for his coming, which is the desire of my soul. Now, being to step out of

time into eternity, I hope you will not think that I shall say any thing now, but what my conscience binds me to say.

In the first place, I must tell you for what I am come here this day to lay down my life: it is for owning and adhering to my sworn principles. I am a Presbyterian; and herein I do rejoice, that I am to suffer for his cause only: for adhering to the word of God, and our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, our Covenants, National and Solemn League, together with our solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, wherein all Scotland were once engaged, and thought it their duty and honour to be so; and this is the reason for which I am sentenced to death by men; but God, to whom vengeance doth belong, will avenge himself for all the wrongs done to his glory, cause, interest, and people. I was born under the pure light of the gospel, and was taught to own Christ as King in Zion only, and head of his own church: and this I own to be my duty: but I am here charged with rebellion, which I deny, because I was never of that opinion, that it was rebellion to hear the gospel, for the word of God binds us to it, as our duty; otherwise why should God have told us, that *we should go from sea to sea, to seek the word of the Lord and should not find it.* And the practice of our Lord and his apostles in preaching of the gospel to the people that heard them, is a sufficient ground to prove it to be duty to hear the gospel whether in fields or houses, when it cannot be had elsewhere; and if it be duty to hear the gospel, as it is, then certainly it is duty to defend the gospel, when preached in purity, according to the word of God, and according to the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we are bound to assist and defend all that enter into covenant with us, and to the utmost of our power, with our lives in our hands, much more to defend the gospel, which teaches us the fundamental principles of our holy religion.

And to take away that vile and malicious aspersion, which they cast upon us, charging us with an intention to have murdered the duke of York, and others with him; I declare, I had never such a principle as to murder any man: neither did I ever hear of it, till the council told me; which I knew to be a vile and hell-hatched aspersion, cast upon the way and people of God: but they judge others by themselves, for that is their principle to murder the gospel of God, as they also do. Next, I was charged, whether or not I adhered to the Sanquhar declaration? I answered, I not only adhere to it, but also will lay down my life cheerfully and willingly as I do this day, for adhering thereto: yea, if every hair of my head were a life, and every drop of my blood were a man, I would willingly lay them all down for him and his cause. I come here to tell

you, 1st. That I adhere to all the written will and word of God; and I adhere to the Confession of Faith, and our Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to our Covenants, National and Solemn League, and to the solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all the covenants made betwixt God and us, wherein I stand engaged. 2d, I adhere to all the testimonies that have gone before me. 3d, I adhere to all that has been done for maintaining and defending the gospel, against a tyrannising and bloody enemy, when the actors thereof had the glory of God before their eyes, as the chief motive that drove them thereto, whether at Pentland, Drumclog, Glasgow, Bothwell, Airmoss, or any other place in Scotland, where there has been any rencounter of that kind. 4th, I adhere to that action of Excommunication at the Torwood, it being according to the word of God, and done by a faithful minister of the gospel, and in as legal a way as the present dispensation and circumstance of time could permit: and also the persons excommunicate being guilty of such crimes, as justly do deserve that act to be passed against them. 5th, I adhere to the testimonies of all that have borne testimony against silent and unfaithful ministers, by their withdrawing from them, which is a declaring that they do not own them as faithful ambassadors of Jesus Christ, because of their unfaithfulness: and I hope, none will condemn me for saying, that I have not had clearness to join with them, while they remain so unconcerned with the cause of Christ, and the oppression of his people. 6th, I adhere to the way of salvation agreed upon between the Father and the Son before the creation of the world, that through the Son we should be made perfect, which I hope to obtain, before this body of mine be cold, and in his perfection I shall be made perfect, and through his suffering I shall be conformed to him, *who suffered without the gate, bearing his reproach.* And I am well pleased with my lot this day. *O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name, for all that he hath done for my soul, and for his way of bringing me here this day to lay down my life for him. I am not afraid of grim death: I know that God has taken away the sting of death, through the suffering of his Son.*

In the next place, being here as a dying witness for Christ and his cause, I do therefore leave my testimony against all abominations done in the land against a Holy God, and in contempt of his image; particularly, 1st, I testify against all that woful and hell-hatched act of Supremacy, wherein they acknowledged the king to be head of the church, and thereby have invested a mortal creature with Christ's crown, sword and sceptre. 2d, I bear witness and testify against the breaking of the National and Solemn League and Covenant,

and making them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through Scotland, so contrary to their solemn engagements. 3d, I witness and bear my testimony against the reception of Prelacy, so contrary to the word of God, and our covenants; for then it was that the Covenanters in Scotland should have withstood both king and council, and all that joined with them in that head, and should have testified against them with their swords in their hand, until they had resisted unto blood, according to the 6th article of the Solemn League and Covenant. O! that all that are alive this day, that were men when the covenant was burnt, were taking with their sin, and were lying in the dust; every one for his share in that sin, and every one for the land's guiltiness. 4th, I leave my testimony against all the horrid bloodshed that has been in the land, whether of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, or any others, that have suffered in Edinburgh, or any other place, whether on scaffolds, on gibbets, in the open fields, or on the sea; particularly that horrid act of murdering so many men after they had taken them prisoners, and promised them their lives, which was done by Thomas Dalziel, called general, who took them prisoners, and after promising to set them at liberty, delivered them up to the bloody council, who most cruelly murdered them, against, and without all law and reason, never speaking of conscience, for they had lost all of that that they ever had, when they burnt the covenant, and murdered the marquis of Argyle, and my Lord Warristoun, and that eminent minister Mr. James Guthry, who were murdered against the very act of their own laws. 5th, I bear witness and testimony against the cutting off heads and hands, and setting them up upon the ports of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through the kingdom of Scotland, as if they had been thieves or malefactors. 6th, I testify and bear witness against all the imprisonments, finings and confinings of the people of God, for adhering to his word and our covenants. 7th, I testify and bear witness against the pressing of the declaration against our covenants upon the consciences of the Lord's people. 8th, I testify and bear witness against the imposing and paying of cess and militia-money, both for oppressing the consciences, and grinding the faces of the poor. 9th, I testify and bear witness against that cruel and hell-hatched act of sending the Highland Host, and the rest of that cabal, to oppress and plunder the people of God. 10th, and lastly, I bear witness against all the oppression, spoiling, robbing, and hunting of the people of God, and that against all manner of law and reason. I shall be a standing witness against them, ay and while they repent. O! that the Lord would pour out of his Spirit upon all that have so

grievously turned aside, and make them to lie in the dust, and to take with their sins; but I fear a Holy God has given them up to themselves, and sealed their hearts with obduration, and so they are become proof against all dispensations; but sure such as will not bow to God, shall be broken by the mighty rod of iron that is in his hand to bruise the nations. I have here left my testimony against the perjury, bloodshed and oppression of the people of God, which has been done by him who is called the king of Britain and Ireland; and the perjury and bloodshed acted by noblemen and gentlemen, that have been assisting and strengthening his hand in bloody and cruel courses; and therefore I leave my testimony against them, and my blood upon their heads, and especially against such as were present in the council when I was examined, and these perjured lords of the criminal court, where I was sentenced to die here in this place of execution; and also I leave my blood upon the head of assizers, and all others who said amen to my sentence, whatever they have been, and yet are, except they repent, my blood shall be charged upon them. Likewise I leave my testimony against all who carried arms to guard me to this scaffold, they shall be guilty of my blood, if mercy and grace prevent it not.

Likewise I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the reception of the Duke of York, first and last, that professed Papist, who has been laying out himself to carry us back to Rome, and that not only by the bloody council, and other perjured noblemen and gentlemen, but also by the city of Edinburgh, that went out of the port to receive him, as though he had been a king, with shooting of guns, sounding of trumpets, beating of drums and kindling of bonfires; which is contrary to the word of God and our covenant, after he had been cast off justly by the other kingdom of England: I shall be a witness against that action in the great day. And particularly, I leave my blood upon that wretch and bloody tyrant the Duke of York; for it is to satisfy him, and to quench his implacable thirst after blood, that I am brought hither this day. The last time he came to Scotland, he got a sacrifice of the blood of these five that suffered at Magus-muir, who were indeed highly honoured, and nothing short of these that went before them; and now he must have this our blood to quench his thirst upon; but that heart of his that is so rejoicing at the hearing and seeing of our death, ere long shall tremble, when my heart shall sing hallelujah to the Lamb of God, and join in my note, and pass my sentence with the great Judge against him, and all the enemies of God, if great repentance and free grace prevent it not.

And with respect to that for which I am sentenced to death,

because of many mistakes, even among the godly, through wrong information; I here as a dying man declare, I had before me no design but only the glory of God, and the coming of Christ's kingdom, and his reigning as king in Zion. And for this I am sentenced, and for this I lay down my life this day, and I do it willingly and cheerfully, and not by constraint; for if I had been left of a holy God, so far as to quit one hoof of his truth, I might have redeemed my life as some have done, that were as deeply engaged to stand by the truth, even to the resisting unto blood, as I was; and seemed to be as deeply concerned as I was. How they have come out of prison I know not, but God knows, and to him they will, and must give account thereof, and to him I leave it; but I think there are few that come out of prison now, that can say, they have neither touched, tasted, nor handled the abominations of these times wherein they live: therefore I leave my testimony and witness against all that have come out of prison, by taking of the bond, if it were but to compear before these bloody enemies of God, in as far as they were convinced that it was sin; as some of them were, otherwise their tongue and pen have lied; which I leave to God and their own conscience to determine, whether or not they have sinned in so doing. Next, I here, as a dying man, do declare, that if the blotting of paper to them would save my life, I would not do it at that rate; for I see they are setting themselves to ensnare poor things; and I see neither ministers nor professors to give their advice in this matter, if it be not to make them take the bond, as they did to these poor things in the church-yard. Also, I leave my testimony, and bear witness against all the unfaithfulness of ministers and professors. First, I bear witness against the unfaithfulness of these ministers, that were with the public resolutions, to bring in, or keep in, any of these men that were open and avowed malignants and enemies to God, so contrary to our covenants. 2d, I bear testimony against that act at Glasgow, wherein six hundred ministers and upwards did quit their charge and turn their back upon their flock; and since, many of them are turned ravening wolves and greedy dogs that cannot bark, according to that word, Ezek. xiii. 4, 5, *O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the desert, who have not gone up to the gap, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle, in the day of the Lord.* Had it not been their duty to have stood by their charge until they had been driven out of their pulpits? 3d, I leave my testimony against both indulgences, first and last, and against all that comply and go on with them in that sinful course, ay and while they repent, I shall be a standing witness against them. Surely, if they be found with clean fingers when God comes

to inquire after blood, I am mistaken: but O! what will they answer, when Christ will say, 'Come here, sir, give me an account of your talent: What did you do with your ministry? laid ye it aside at the command of Charles Stuart and the bloody council? And had ye more delight to be a doctor or chamberlain, than ye had to be a minister?' Oh! let the unfaithful minister remember that word in Ezek. xxxiii. 6, *But if the watchmen see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.* I fear that the blood of many souls will be required at the hands of the most part of the ministers of Scotland.

I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of many ministers, who have left their wonted love and burning zeal, which they had when they ventured upon the high places of the earth in preaching the gospel. And now, in the last place, I bear testimony against all that have preached, written against, or reproached that poor party that were occasionally met at Airmoss, only for the hearing of the gospel.

And now, when I am stepping out of time into eternity, I declare that I adhere to all the doctrines that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron, or Mr. Donald Cargil preach; and my soul blesseth God that ever I heard either of them; for my soul hath been refreshed to hear the voice and shouting of a king among these field-meetings, wherein the fountain of living waters has been made to run down among the people of God, in such a manner that armies could not have terrified us. O! I am sure the blood that has been shed in the fields, and on scaffolds in Scotland for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, will have a glorious crop, in spite of devils and men; and I am sure, the seed sown at Airmoss will have as glorious a vintage, as ever any seed in Scotland had.

And now, O ye that are the poor remnant that are to stay behind, who are the butt of the fury, not only of the open and bloody enemies, but also of many ministers and professors, who have gone out of the way themselves, and will not suffer others to walk in it: I have this to say to you, be earnest and constant in kything of love to Christ: walk with more fear, lest ye offend a holy and jealous God. O beware that ye quit not your integrity; there are many waiting for your halting, yea, and longing for it. Cast not off the way of Christ because of suffering. If ye knew what of his love and comforting presence I had, since I was called to witness for him against these bloody traiters, that are thirsting after the blood of the Lord's people, ye would long for such proofs of his love;

seek him early, and ye shall find him. Be not troubled because of our death, it is not a death unto the soul, but an inlet of life to it; for *to be dead to the world is to be alive to Christ.* *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.* And rejoice, O ye poor of the flock, that wait with fear and trembling, and with faith and love in exercise; it is to you that he will come: he meeteth him that rejoiceth in, and worketh righteousness. *Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall be comforted.* *Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth.* *Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.* *Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled.* *Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.* *Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.* *Blessed are they that are reproached for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* *Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil of you falsely for my sake.* O friends, it is only you that have ground to rejoice; if ye by him be helped to keep the word of his patience, he will keep you in the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth.

O dear friends and followers of Christ, hold on your way, weary not, faint not, and you shall receive the crown of life. It is those that overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, that shall stand, being clothed in white robes, before the throne, for these are they that come out of great tribulation. Remember, that there is a book of remembrance written, and the names of these are written in it, *that speak often one to another.* O my friends, let it be your study to keep up private fellowship-meetings, wherein so much of the power and life of religion is to be found. Remember, that here I, as a dying sufferer for Christ, leave this charge to every one of you, that have any love to Christ; set about this and other duties with more fervent love and zeal than heretofore hath been done, and be much in private prayer; wrestle with God upon the account of Jacob's trouble. I will say this, that the more ye seek for Zion, the more ye will get for yourselves. Let not the reproaches cast upon the way of God stumble you. And see that when you are reviled, ye revile not again; but rather with meekness and love, in the fear of the Lord, study ye to gain others; but if they will not hearken when this is done, then be free and faithful in testifying against them for so doing; but especially let your conversation testify your dislike of these sinful courses. And now, my dear friends in Christ, I leave you to him, who has promised to be with you

in the fire and water, and bear the weight of all your reproaches, and is afflicted in all your afflictions.

As for you that are lying in black nature, I exhort you to repent of your sins, and come out of that woful estate, wherein ye are now lying, and close with a slain Mediator upon his own terms. O fall in love with the way of salvation. O can ye think of the way of redemption, and not stand and wonder at the condescendency of free grace? I tell you, *Except you repent, ye shall all perish.*

I have a word to speak to you that are cruel and open enemies to Christ and his cause. Remember, *The saints shall judge the world;* and then we shall not get leave to stand on equal terms with you; but we shall be set on thrones, with crowns on our heads and harps in our hands, to sing praise to the Lamb; and then we shall pass our sentence, with the great Judge, upon all the enemies of God, and you shall be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God, if ye repent not. I pray that the Lord would open your eyes that you may see your sins, and turn from them and live. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done, or can do to me; but for the wrongs done to Christ, in robbing him of his right over his church and people, I know vengeance belongs to God, and he will repay them; therefore I leave them under process, ay and while they repent. And now I begin to enjoy him who is invisible; for it is but little we can see of him now; but this I am sure of, that I shall be made conform to him through his sufferings. Therefore I take my leave of all the world, and the enjoyments thereof. I leave my wife and child to my covenanted God, who gave them to me, and willingly quit and give them up to him, hoping, that *he will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless,* according to his promise. I hope that the friends of the Lord will remember the living for the dead's sake. Farewell wife and child, parents and relations, and all friends and acquaintances. Welcome heaven, angels and saints; welcome God and Father; welcome lovely Jesus Christ; welcome Holy Spirit of grace, into thy hands I commend my soul and spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN POTTER.

The last Speech and Testimony of ISABEL ALISON, who lived at Perth, and suffered at Edinburgh, January 26, 1681.

The Interrogations of Isabe Alison before the Privy Council.

When I was brought before the council, they asked me, where did ye live, at St. Johnstown? Answer, yes. What was your occupation? to which I did not answer. The bishop

asked, if I conversed with Mr Donald Cargil? I answered, sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to. He desired another to ask the same question: I answered, I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener. They asked, if I owned what he had done against the civil magistrate; I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I could read the the Bible? I answered, yes. They asked, if I knew the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? I answered, when the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the Scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws and ordinances on them. They asked, if I owned the Sanquhar declaration? I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I owned the papers taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall? I answered, you need not question that. They asked, if I knew Mr. Skeen? I answered, I never saw him. They asked, if I conversed with rebels? I answered, I never conversed with rebels. They asked, if I did converse with David Hackstoun? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. They asked, if the killing of the bishop of St. Andrews was a pious act? I answered, I never heard him say, that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked me, when saw ye John Balfour that pious youth? I answered, I have seen him. They asked, when? I answered, those are frivolous questions, I am not bound to answer them. They said, I thought not that a testimony. They asked, what think ye of that in the Confession of Faith, that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens? I answered, it was another matter, than when these who seemed to own the truth, have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it. They asked, who should be judge of these things? I answered, the Scriptures of truth, and the Spirit of God, and not men that have overturned the work themselves. They asked, if I knew the two Hendersons that murdered the lord St. Andrews? I answered, I never knew any lord St. Andrews. They said, Mr. James Sharp, if ye call him so. I said, I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked, whether or not I would own all that I had said? for, said they, you will be put to own it in the Grass-market; and they bemoaned me, in putting my life in such a hazard in such a quarrel. I answered, I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed me

from everlasting wrath and redeemed me; and as for my body, it is at his disposal. They said, I did not follow the Lord's practice, in that ancient Pilate. I answered, Christ owned his kingly office, when he was questioned on it, and he told them, *He was a King, and for that end he was born.* And it is for that, that we are called in question this day, the owning of his kingly government. The bishop said, we own it. I answered, we have found the sad consequence of the contrary. The bishop said, he pitied me for the loss of my life. I told him, he had done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives they had taken; for it had much more affected me, that many souls were killed by their doctrine. The bishop said, wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, that was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it. They said, your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than some of your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there. I said, they had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said, they pried me, for (said they) we find reason and a quick wit in you; and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hoped not to change now. They inquired mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, Quakers use to do so. They asked, if I did own Presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked, if I was distempered? I told them, I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name. I told them, if they had staged one, they might remember my name, for I had told them already, and would not always be telling them. One of them said, may ye not tell your name? Then another of themselves told it.

The Interrogations of Isabel Alison before the criminal lords.

Being called before the criminal lords, they asked me, if I would abide by what I said the last day? I answered, I am not about to deny any thing of it. They said, ye confessed that ye harboured the killers of the bishop, though ye would not call it murder. I said, I confessed no such thing. The advocate said I did. I answered, I did not; and I told them, I would take with no untruths. He said, did ye not converse with them? I said, I did converse with David Hackstoun, and I bless the Lord for it. They said, when saw you him last? I answered, never since you murdered him. They desired me to say over what I said the last day. I said, would they

have me to be my own accuser? They said, the advocate was my accuser? I said, let him say on then. Then they went over the things that passed betwixt the council and me the other day; and put me to it, yea, or nay. I said, ye have troubled me too much with answering questions, seeing ye are a judicature which I have no clearness to answer. They said, do ye disown us, and the king's authority in us? I said, I disown you all, because you carry the sword against God, and not for him, and have these nineteen or twenty years made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing year after year against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature which is due to him alone, and have rent the members from their head Christ, and one another. Then they asked, who taught you these principles? I said, I was beholden to God that taught me these principles. They said, are you a Quaker? I said, did you hear me say I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord, I profited much by the persecuted gospel; and your acts of indemnity after Bothwell cleared me more than any thing I met with since. They said, how could that be? I said, by your meddling with Christ's interests, and parting them as ye pleased. They said, they did not usurp Christ's prerogatives. I said, what then mean your indulgences, and your setting up of Prelacy? for there has none preached publicly these twenty years without persecution, but these that have had their orders from you. Then they caused bring Sanquhar declaration, and the paper* found on Mr. Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queensferry, and asked, if I would adhere to them? I said, I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked, if ever Mr. Welch or Mr. Riddel taught me these principles? I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them, if they would have me to lie? I would not quit one truth, though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour. They said, when saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous, and tell us, if ye saw them since the death of the bishop? I said, they appeared publicly within the land since. They asked, if I conversed with them within these twelve months? at which I kept silence. They urged me to say either yea, or nay. I answered, yes. Then they said, your blood be upon your own head, we shall be free of it. I

* This paper being taken from him, at his death, by the enemies who slew him, no copy thereof, for ought I know, has ever been procured, and hence it cannot be certainly known what was the nature of it.

answered, so said Pilate: but it was a question if it was so; and ye have nothing to say against me, but for owning of Christ's truths, and his persecuted members. To which they answered nothing. Then they desired me to subscribe what I owned: I refused, and they did it for me.

Account of what Isabel Allison said before the Assizers.

DEAR FRIENDS,

These are to shew you what passed betwixt the black crew and me. They read my indictment, and asked, if I had ought to say against it? I said, nothing. They read the papers as they did formerly, and asked, if I owned them? I said, I did own them. Then they called the assizers and swore them. Then I told them, all authority is of God, Rom. xiii. 1; and when they appeared against him, I was clear to disown them; and if they were not against him, I would not have been there; I take every one of you witness against another, at your appearance before God, that your proceeding against me is only for owning of Christ, his gospel, and members; which I could not disown, lest I should come under the hazard of denying Christ, and so be denied of him. And when the assize came, they asked, if I had ought to say against them? I said, they were all alike, for there would no honest man take the trade in hand. They said to the assize, it was against their will to take our lives: I said, if that had been true, they would not have brought me so far off, pursuing me for my life. This is the substance of what past, as I remember.

Account of Mr. Archibald Riddel's examination of Isabel Allison and Marion Hurrie.

About seven of the clock at night the good man of the tolbooth caused call us down, against our will, to be examined by Mr. Riddel, at the council's order. So we came down, and were brought to the west side of the house, to an empty room, where they brought him unto us: the goodman of the tolbooth being present, and the keepers, and some gentlemen with them, and they caused us sit down. The goodman of the tolbooth said, Mr. Riddel, the council caused me bring you to confer with these women: to see if ye can bring them to repentance. Then we protested, and said, as for repentance, we know not what fault we have done: then said they, you cannot be the worse to have one of your ministers to confer with. We told them, these ministers being their servants we looked no more upon them as ministers of Jesus Christ; and therefore he is no minister to us. Mr. Riddel asked, if the council

would send Mr. Cargil to us, would we not confer with him? we said, he was not at their command; but if Mr. Cargil would do as ye and the rest of you have done, we would do the like with him. So he offered to pray; we said, we were not clear to join with him in prayer. He said, wherefore? we said, we know the strain of your prayers will be like your discourse. He said, I shall not mention any of your principles in my prayer, but only desire the Lord to let you see the evil of your doings. We told him, we desired none of his prayers at all. They said, would we not be content to hear him? we said, forced prayers had no virtue. Then we said, what means he to pray with us more than he did with our brethren that have gone before us? Mr. Riddel said, Mr. Skeen conversed with Mr. Robert Ross. We said, he did not send for him, but he intruded himself upon him. The goodman of the tolbooth said, he conversed with Mr. Meldrum, and we smiled at that, and said, he might talk to him of his perjury, but for no other thing. So they urged prayer again. We said, it would be a mocking of God. They said, why so? we said, because we cannot join in it. So Mr. Riddel began to debate with us, and said, we would not find it in all the Scripture, nor any history, to disown the civil magistrate. We answered, there were never such magistrates seen as we have. He instanced Manasseh, who *made the streets of Jerusalem to run with the blood of the prophets*. We said, it was a question if he came the length in perjury. He instanced Joash; we answered, he was but a child when that covenant was sworn, and it was not so with these he now pleaded for. He then instanced Nero, how he set the city on fire, and robbed the churches; and yet notwithstanding the apostle exhorteth submission to the magistrates then in being. We answered, it was in the Lord, and as they were a terror to evil doers. He said, although they were wicked, yet they should not be altogether cast off. We said, before their excommunication we would not have been so clear to cast them off. He said, there were but only seven in the excommunication, then why do ye cast off all the rest? we answered, these seven carried the great sway, and the rest came in under them. He said, how can one man take upon him to draw out the sword of excommunication, for the like was never heard tell of in no generation? we answered, why not one man, since there were no more faithful, and the church hath power to cast out scandalous persons, be they high, be they low. He said, who is the church? we said, if there was a true church in the world, that little handful was one, though never so insignificant, of which handful we own ourselves a part: and though our blood go in the quarrel, yet we hope, it will be the foundation of a new building, and of a lively church.

He said, thought we all the ministers wrong? We answered, we desire to forbear, and not to add; for we desire not to speak of ministers faults. And we desired him to forbear, and let us be gone; but he urged his discourse, and fell upon the papers that were taken at the Queensferry, chiefly on that part of them; "When God gives them power, it is a just law to execute justice upon all persons that are guilty." And he came to us, and laid by his coat, and said, would ye stab me with a knife in my breast, even now? And we smiled, and said, we never murdered any. But, said he, they swore to do so. We said, why did he not debate these things with men, and not with lasses? for we told him, we never studied debates. He said again, thought we all the ministers wrong? We answered, they were wrong, and forbade him to put us to it, to speak of ministers faults; for if he knew what we had to say of them, he would not urge us. So we desired to be gone. And he said, if ye come to calm blood, desire me or any other of the ministers to speak to you, and ye may tell the keepers and ye may have them: and there was a surgeon among them, and the goodman of the tolbooth said, he might draw blood of us, for we were mad. We said, saw ye any mad action in us? This is all we can mind at present.

The dying Testimony and last Words of Isabel Alison.

I being sentenced to die in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, January, 1681, thought fit to set down under my hand, the causes wherefore I suffer. I being apprehended at Perth, in my own chamber, by an order from the council, and brought to Edinburgh with a strong guard, and there put in prison, and then being examined first by a committee, and then by the criminal court; the manner of my examination was, 1st, If I conversed with David Hackstoun and others of our friends? Which I owned upon good grounds. 2d, If I owned the excommunication at Torwood, and the papers found at the Queensferry, and Sanquhar declaration, and a paper found on Mr. Cameron at Airsmoss? All of which I owned. Likewise I declined their authority, and told them, that they had declared war against Christ, and had usurped and taken his prerogatives, and so carried the sword against him, and not for him: so, I think, none can own them, unless they disown Christ Jesus. Therefore let enemies and pretended friends say what they will, I could have my life on no easier terms than the denying of Christ's kingly office. So I lay down my life for owning and adhering to Jesus Christ, his being a free king in his own house, for which I bless the Lord, that ever he called me to that.

Now in the first place, I adhere to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and likewise I adhere to the Confession of Faith, because according to the Scriptures; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and our solemn Covenants, both National and Solemn League, as they were lawfully sworn in this land; and I adhere to the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties; I adhere likewise to these forementioned papers, and to the excommunication at Torwood, they all being according to the Scriptures of truth, and so both lawful and necessary. Likewise I adhere to the Rutherglen testimony, and to all the testimonies of our worthies, who have suffered in Edinburgh, and elsewhere.

In the next place, I enter my protestation against all the violation done to the work of God these twenty years bygone. First, the burning of the covenant made with God, and causes of God's wrath, and the thrusting in of prelates into the Lord's house, contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. I leave my testimony against Popery, which is so much countenanced at this day, against the receiving that limb of Antichrist the duke of York. Likewise I leave my testimony against all the blood shed both on scaffolds and in the fields and seas: and against all the cruelty used against all the people of the Lord. And I leave my testimony against the paying of that wicked cess, for maintaining these profane wretches, to bear down the work of God. I leave my testimony against all unlawful bonds. And likewise against the shifting of a testimony, when clearly called by the Lord to give it. I leave my testimony against profanity of all sorts, and likewise against lukewarmness and indifferency in the Lord's matters. I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of ministers, first and last, their silence at the first, when their Master's work was broken down, for the most part they slipped from their Master's back, without so much as giving one word of a testimony against the wrongs done to him; and now are become a snare to the poor people in going to hear the curates, and poor things following their example are ensnared; my finding the sad experience of it, brings it the more into my memory. Yet notwithstanding of their being convinced of their error in this, many of them carry now, as if they rued that ever they came forth to the fields to proclaim their Master a free King in his own house: and now they are fallen in under the shadow of the sworn enemies, and alas they are become profound to lay snares; yea, *they are a trap upon Mispah, and a net spread upon Tabor!* Oh, for the sad defection both of ministers and professors in Scotland! It is like our carriage may make many of our carcasses to lie in the wilderness. I leave my testimony against the indulgences, first and

last, and against all that comply therewith, or connive thereat. I leave my testimony against the censuring of worthy Mr. Cameron, or any other whom God raised up to declare the whole counsel of God, and to witness against the evils of this generation. I fear when God makes inquisition for blood, ministers hands will not be found free thereof.

As for charging my blood on any particular person. I cannot, for I have never gotten the certainty of what hath brought me to the stage: but if any have done it willingly, I leave it to God, and their own conscience. But I may warrantably charge it upon all the declared enemies of God within the land.

And 1st. I leave it upon the bloody council, that sent an order to take me, for they are guilty of it. 2d. The sheriff clerk of Perth, and these that were with him when he took me, are guilty of it: the sheriff clerk of Kinross, and the men that guarded me, are likewise guilty of my blood: and I leave my blood on Sir George Mackenzie, and the rest of that bloody court; and I take the Lord to witness against them, whether or not it was on easy terms, that they offered me my life; they said only, they would not trouble me with their bi-shops; but I said, that supremacy was as evil as Prelacy. And they said that I behoved to say, that the king was not an usurper, and pass from all my former confession, and that it was my duty to obey authority. I told them, that they were sworn enemies to God, so that it was impossible to obey God, and them both; so I told them, I would not retract a hair-breadth. They said, thought I ever that he was our lawful king? I said, yes; for he entered into covenant with God, and with the land: but he hath broke and cast off that tie, and hath exercised so much, both tyranny and cruelty, that I had just ground to decline him, and them both: then they bade my blood be upon my own head; but I told them, they would find it on their heads, for it was for my owning of Christ's kingly office, that they put me to suffer, say the contrary who will. Now, I bless the Lord I am free from jesuitical principles. The Scripture is my rule, and when obedience to men is contrary to obedience to God, I am clear to disown them.

I leave my testimony against Mr. Riddel, for his obeying these wicked men to ensnare us, and to hold out to us, before these accursed enemies of Christ, that were seeking our lives for our adhering to the truth, that it was all delusion that we held. I many times rued that I bare so well with him; and now I hear, that he denies that which we wrote. But if ye will believe me, who am in a little to appear before God, there was nothing added, but rather wanting: I wish the Lord may forgive him. I bless the Lord, what strikes against myself only, I can very heartily forgive: but what strikes against God and his truths, I leave that to God, who is the judge of all.

Now, I would only say this to you, who are seeking to keep your garments clean, *Be sober, be vigilant, for your adversary the devil goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.* And as I would have you be zealous for the truth, and not to quit one hoof; so I would have you labour against a spirit of bitterness; beware of self; and be more ready to mourn for the slips of others, than to make them the subject of your discourse; and labour to make earnest of religion, for I find there is need of more than a good cause, when it comes to the push. O the everlasting covenant is sweet to me now! And I would also say, they that would follow Christ, need not scar at the cross, for I can set my seal to it, *His yoke is easy, and his burden is light.* Yea, many times he hath made me go very easy through things that I have thought I would never have win through. He is the only desirable master; but he must be followed fully. Rejoice in him, all ye that love him. *Wherefore lift up your heads and be exceeding glad, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh.* Let not your hearts faint, nor your hands grow feeble. Go on in the strength of the Lord, my dear friends, for, I hope, he will yet have a remnant both of sons and daughters, that will cleave to him, though they will be very few; *even as the berries on the top of the outmost branches.* As for such as are grown weary of the cross of Christ, and have drawn to a lee-shore that God never allowed, it may be ere all be done it will turn like a tottering fence, and a bowing wall to them, and they shall have little profit of it, and as little credit. But what shall I say to the commendation of Christ and his cross! I bless the Lord, praise to his holy name, that hath made my prison a palace to me; and what am I that he should have dealt thus with me? I have looked greedy-like to such a lot as this, but still thought it was too high for me, when I saw how vile I was; but now the Lord hath made that scripture sweet to me, Isa. vi. 6, 7, *Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand--And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.* O how great is his love to me! that hath brought me forth to testify against the abominations of the times, and kepted me from fainting hitherto, and hath made me to rejoice in him. Now I bless the Lord that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him. Now, farewell all creature comforts; farewell sweet Bible; farewell ye real friends in Christ; farewell faith and hope; farewell prayers and all duties; farewell sun and moon: within a little I shall be off from sin, and all the sorrows that follow thereon. Wel,

asked,
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everlasting enjoyment of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, everlasting love, everlasting joy, everlasting light.

Sic subscribitur,

ISABEL ALISON.

Edinburgh Tolbooth, Jan. 26, 1681.

Being come to the scaffold, after singing the lxxxiv. Psalm, and reading the xvi. of Mark, she cried over the scaffold, and said, *Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; and again I say, rejoice.* Then she desired to pray at that place, and the major came, and would not let her, but took her away to the ladder foot, and there she prayed. When she went up the ladder, she cried out, *O be zealous, sirs, be zealous, be zealous! O love the Lord all ye his servants; O love him, sirs! for in his favour there is life.* And she said, *O ye his enemies, what will ye do, whither will ye fly in that day? For now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord's own people.* Then she said, *Farewell all created comforts; farewell sweet Bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison; farewell christian acquaintances.* Now, *Into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* Whereupon the hangman threw her over.

The last Speech and Testimony of MARION HARVIE, who lived at Barrowstonness, and suffered at Edinburgh the 26th of January, 1681.

An Account of her Answers before the Privy Council.

They asked first, how long is it since ye saw Mr. Donald Cargil? I said, I cannot tell particularly when I saw him. They said, did you see him within these three months? I said, it may be I have. They said, do ye own his covenant? I said, what covenant? then they read it to me: and I said, I did own it. They said, do ye own the Sanquhar declaration? I answered, yes. They said, do you own these to be lawful? I said, yes; because they are according to the Scriptures, and our covenants, which ye swore yourselves, and my father swore them. They said, yea; but the covenant does not bind you to deny the king's authority. I said, so long as the king held the truths of God, which he swore, we are obliged to own him; but when he brake his oath, and robbed Christ of his Heve mey rights, which do not belong to him, we are bound to nothing at him, and you also. They said, do ye know what ye give him. I said, yes. They said, were ye ever mad? I answered, I can very be the wit that ever God gave me; do ye see any of his truths, Ilea

act in me? They said, where was you born? I answered, in Borrowstounness. They asked, what was your occupation there? I told them, I served. They said, did ye serve the woman that gave Mr. Donald Cargil quarters? I said, that is a question which I will not answer. They said, who did ground you in these principles? I answered, Christ by his word. They said, did not ministers ground you in these? I answered, when the ministers preached the word, the Spirit of God backed and confirmed it to me. They said, did ye ever see Mr. John Welch? I said, yes; my soul hath been refreshed by hearing him. They asked, if ever I heard Mr. Archibald Riddel? I answered, yes; and I bless the Lord that ever I heard him. They said, did ever they preach to take up arms against the king? I said, I have heard them preach to defend the gospel, which we are all sworn to do. They asked, if ever I swore to Mr. Donald Cargil's covenant? I said, no; but we are bound to own it. They said, did ye ever hear Mr. George Johnstoun? I said, I am not concerned with him: I would not hear him, for he is joined in a confederacy with yourselves. They said, did ye hear the excommunication at the Torwood? I said, no; I could not win to it. They asked, if I did approve of it? I answered, yes. They asked, if I approved of the killing the lord St. Andrews? I said, in so far as the Lord raised up instruments to execute his just judgments upon him, I have nothing to say against it; for he was a perjured wretch, and a betrayer of the kirk of Scotland. Then they asked, what age I was of? I answered, I cannot tell. They said among themselves, that I would be about twenty years of age, and began to regret my case, and said, would I cast away myself so? I answered, I love my life as well as any of you do; but will not redeem it upon sinful terms; for Christ says, *He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.* They said, a rock, the col and bobbins, were as fit for me to meddle with, as these things. Then one of them asked, when the assize should sit? and some other of them answered, on Monday. Then they asked if I could write? I answered, yes. Will you subscribe, said they, what you have said? I answered, no. They bade the clerk set down, that I could write, but refused to subscribe. Then they asked, if I desired to converse with one of our ministers? I said, what ministers? they said, Mr. Riddel. I said, what would ye have me to do with him? they said, he might convince you of that sin. I said, what sin? they said, the sin of rebellion. I smiled, and said, if I were as free of all sin, as the sin of rebellion, I should be an innocent creature. They asked, if they should bring Mr. Riddel to me? I said, it was an evidence he was not right, since they had him so much at their

will. And I told them, I would have none of their ministers. This is all I can remember, at this present.

Her Discourse before the Justiciary Court.

First, I was brought and set in the pannel, with the murderers, and they read over my indictment, and asked me, if I did confess with these things? I answered, yes. Then they read Sanquhar declaration, and asked, if I owned it? I answered, yes. They read that paper which they call the New Covenant, and asked, if I owned it? I answered, yes. Then I protested they had nothing to say against me, as to matter of fact; but only because I owned Christ and his truth, and persecuted gospel, and members, of which ye have hanged some, others you have beheaded, and quartered quick. To that they replied nothing; but called the assizers who had no will to appear, till they were about to fine them, and then they came forward. One of them said, he did not desire to be one of the assize, but they would have him. He bade them read our confession: for he knew not what they had to say against us. They bade him hold up his hand, and swear that he would be true, and he could not, but fell a trembling. The advocate bade the assizers look if I had any thing to say against them. I said, I knew none of them, but what were all bloody butchers together. And when the assizers were set in a place by themselves, I said to them, now beware what ye are doing, for they have nothing to say against me: but only for owning Jesus Christ and his persecuted truths: for ye will get my blood upon your heads. So that man that fell a trembling before, desired them to read my confession to him, and they read it. And after that, the advocate had a discourse to them, and said, ye know these women are guilty of treason. The assize said, they are not guilty of matters of fact: he said, but treason is fact; and taking himself again, he said, 'tis true, it is but treason in their judgment: but go on according to our law, and if ye will not do it, I will proceed. And when they had read my confession, they had set down, that I had said, the ministers had taught me these principles. I said, that is a lie, and it is like the rest of your lies: for I said, that it was Christ by his word, that taught me. They answered nothing to that, but said, would I own the rest of my confession? I answered, yes. The advocate said, we do not desire to take their lives; for we have dealt with them many ways, and sent ministers to deal with them, and we cannot prevail with them. I said, we are not concerned with you, and your ministers. The advocate said, 'tis not for religion that we are pursuing you: but for treason. I answered, 'tis for religion

that ye are pursuing me; for I am of the same religion that ye are all sworn to be of; but ye are all gone blind. I am a true Presbyterian in my judgment. So they put the assize into a room by themselves, and removed me without the guard into another room; then they read the delay till Friday at twelve of the clock: and I charged them before the tribunal of God, as they should answer there; for, said I, ye have nothing to say to me, but for my owning the persecuted gospel.

The dying Testimony and last Words of Marion Harvie.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES,

I being to lay down my life on Wednesday next, January 26, 1681, I thought fit to let it be known to the world wherefore I lay down my life; and to let it be seen, that I die not as a fool, or an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters: no, it is for adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and avowing him to be king in Zion, and head of his church; and the testimony against the ungodly laws of men, and their robbing Christ of his rights, and usurping his prerogative royal, which I durst not but testify against; and I bless his holy name, that ever he called me to bear witness against the sins of the times, and the defections of upsitten ministers and professors. 1st, I adhere to the holy and sweet Scriptures of God, which have been my rule in all I have done, in which my soul has been refreshed. 2d, I adhere to the Confession of Faith, because agreeable to the Scriptures. 3d, I adhere to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4th, I adhere to the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and the work of reformation. 5th, I adhere to all the faithful testimonies, which have been left by our faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, either on scaffolds, or fields. 6th, I adhere to the papers found at the Queensferry, on Henry Hall. 7th, I adhere to the declaration at Sanquhar, and the testimony at Rutherglen, and the papers found on worthy Mr. Richard Cameron. 8th, I adhere to the excommunication at the Torwood: 9th, I adhere to the excommunication of the bishops, and their underlings: and I die in the faith of it, that the Lord hath ratified that in heaven, which his faithful servants have done on earth, as to casting out these traitors to God out of the church. And now, I desire to bless the Lord for my lot: *My lot is fallen to me in pleasant places, and I have a goodly heritage.*

* I leave my blood upon the traitor that sits upon the throne: then on James Duke of York, who was sitting in the council when I was examined the first day. And I leave my blood

* Understand this paragraph with the caution given, p. 83.

on the bloody crew that call themselves rulers. And I leave it on James Henderson in the Northferry, who was the Judas that sold Archibald Stewart and Mr. Skeen, and me, to the bloody soldiers for so much money. I leave my blood on Serjeant Warrock, who took me, and brought me to prison. I leave my blood on the criminal lords, as they call themselves, and especially that excommunicate tyrant George Mackenzie, the advocate, and the fifteen assizers: and on Andrew Cunningham that gave me my doom: and on that excommunicate traitor Thomas Dalziel, who was porter, that day that I was first before them, and threatened me with the boots.

I give my testimony against the burning of the covenants, which were solemnly sworn by the three nations, with uplifted hands, to the great God of heaven and earth. I leave my testimony against all the bloodshed and massacres of the Lord's people, either on scaffolds or in the fields. I protest against banishments and finings, and cruel murderings, especially the inhuman murder of worthy David Hackstoun; I leave my testimony against the paying of the cess, employed for the bearing down the preaching of the gospel, and the taking and killing the poor followers of Jesus Christ. I leave my testimony against the professors that say, this is not the truth of God for which I suffer, and call the way of God delusion. I leave my testimony against Mr. Archibald Riddle, who became servant to the bloody lords, and made it his work to make me deny Christ, and betake myself to the ungodly laws of men, and call the truths of God, delusions, which I am to seal with my blood: and I rejoice that ever he counted me worthy so to do. O! I may say, *What am I, or what is my father's house, that he should have called me out to seal his truths with my blood?* Which truths, both ministers and professors have counted prudence to disown and deny, for which the laud will be to mourn and sorely to smart, ere all be done. I leave my testimony against Mr. John Blair, that said, I had no more grace than his staff had, and was witness to my sentence, that day I got it; and his wife, that said, I had no more grace nor her old shoes; as if grace were not free, and as though Christ had not enough to give me. I leave my testimony against both ministers and professors, that have joined themselves in any of these courses of defection with the enemies, and are fast in their camps.

I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and indulgency, and desires to mourn for it, that ever I joined with them in hearing them, or any of those that connive at them. I leave my testimony against all jesuitical principles, although our professors say, that I adhere to them; I deny it, and I take God to be my witness, that I hate all opinions that

are contrary to the sound truths of God. And since ever God called me to follow his persecuted gospel, it was still my desire to stick close by him, and the rule he has set down for poor sinners to walk by. And it was always my rejoicing to serve him, and to act and do for his truth, and to vindicate it. And many a sore heart I have had with them, in vindicating his truths, when they have been denying them, and casting dirt in the faces of the faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ; and I desire all these that are endeavouring to contend for Christ and his truths, that they would be faithful in their witnessing for him, and eschew the least appearance of sin. For I, a dying witness of Christ, obtest you, as you will answer, when you stand before him in the day of your appearance, that ye be faithful in owning him, in all his truths, and not yield a hoof to these ungodly, perjured, bloody and excommunicate traitors, and tyrants; for there is much advantage to be had in faithfulness for Christ; and that I may set to my seal to the truth of. And I think Christ is taking a narrow view of his followers at this time; for there are few that yield a hair-breadth of the truths of God, that readily win to their feet again; but go from one degree of defection to another.

And again, I desire to bless and magnify the Lord, for my lot, and may say, *He hath brought me to the wilderness to allure me there, and speak comfortably to my soul.* It was but little of him I knew when I came to prison; but now he has said to me, *Because he lives, I shall live also:* and he has told me, *I am he, that hath blotted out thine iniquity, for my own name's sake.* Kind has he been to me, since he brought me out to witness for him. I have never sought any thing from him, that was for his glory, since I came to prison, but he granted me my desire. For the most part, I have found him in every thing, that hath come in my way, ordering it himself, for his own glory. And now I bless him, that thoughts of death are not terrible to me. He hath made me as willing to lay down my life for him, as ever I was willing to live in the world. And now, ye that are his witnesses, be not afraid to venture on the cross of Christ. *For his yoke is easy, and his burden is light.* For many times have I been made to think strange, what makes folk cast at the cross of Christ, that hath been so light to me, that I found no burden of it at all, he bore me and it both. Now, let not the frowns of men, and their flatteries put you from your duty. Keep up your societies, and the assembling of yourselves together; for there is much profit to be found in it. Many times hath it been found comfortable to me, to hear of the few in Scotland, in which Christ was delighting: and that there was much love to God's glory, and

zeal for his honour amongst them. Now, be humbled, and lie in the dust, and never give over crying in behalf of the church, which is so small, that it can scarcely be discerned, and never give over till he appear; for I think he is near at hand. O watch, and double your diligence, and *hold fast till he come, and let none take your crown, for he is good to the soul that seeks him.* If I were to live again, I would let that perjured crew see, that I should be more guilty of that which they call rebellion, in serving my lovely King, and in acting and doing for him and his glory, if he called me to it: and it is my grief, that I have not been more faithful for my master Christ. All his dealings with me have been in love and in mercy. His corrections have been all in love and free grace. O free love! O! I am oft made to wonder, what it was that made him take a blasphemer to witness for him and his truths. I may say, *I am a brand plucked out of the fire: I am a limb of the devil plucked out from his fire-side.* O! I am made to wonder and admire at his condescending love! Now I leave my testimony against Jean Forrest, for saying, that I am going to the grave with a lie in my right hand, and charging my blood on my own head. O my friends, *come out from among them, and touch not the unclean thing.* It will never be well, till there be a separation from sin. I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Cargil, that faithful servant of Jesus Christ; I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron, my soul has been refreshed with the hearing of him, particularly at a communion in Carriek, on these words in Psalm lxxxv. 8, *The Lord will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints; but let them not turn again to folly.* Now I leave my testimony against all the back-sliding ministers, who, when I began to bear the gospel, preached the same truths, which I am to lay down my life for at this time; but now they are joined in a combination against God. And for the most part, are all at the enemies will; for when I got my sentence, the bloody traitors promised to bring any of our ministers to us, when before them: and so this gives me ground to say, they are become their servants.

Now the Lord knows, I have a sore heart to mention these things; but when I saw some of them there, and they offering us any of the rest, it gives me ground to set it down with a sore heart. Now what shall I say? I have sinned against him, and I am guilty of the defections, for which my carcass must lie in the wilderness, and not see the King come home to his habitation. But O! I am content, and heartily content, that he gives me my soul for a prey: and well it is for me, I think myself not behind. O my love! O my love! O my love! my altogether lovely Christ! The common report through the country is,

that I might have had my life on very easy terms; but I could have it on no easier terms, than the denying of my Lord and Master Christ. First, they asked, if I would retract my former confession, and particularized all the papers I had owned before, and if I would not call Charles Stuart an usurper and the devil's vicegerent: I told them, I would not go back in any thing, for ye have nothing, said I, to lay to me but for the avowing Christ to be King in Zion, and head of his own church. And they said, they did not usurp Christ's crown: but I said, they were blinded and did not see. They said, there was but a few of us for these principles. I said, they had all the wite of it, and it was most bitter to us, that our ministers had spoken against these truths. And indeed I think they had not been so cruel to me, were it not for these ministers. And so I think, our ministers are not free of our blood; for when they spake against us and the way, it hardened these bloody traitors, and emboldened them to take our lives.

I leave my testimony against them, for they have caused many poor things to err from the way of God, and many have made ministers their rule, and so the blind have led the blind, and both have fallen into the ditch together. And some think and say, "O can we quit so many godly ministers?" We do not quit them; but I assure you, ye shall get a share of the wrath and stroke, which God hath prepared for these backsliders and betrayers of their trust.

Now, farewell lovely and sweet Scriptures, which were ay my comfort in the midst of all my difficulties; farewell faith, farewell hope, farewell wanderers, who have been comfortable to my soul, in the hearing of them commend Christ's love. Farewell brethren, farewell sisters, farewell christian acquaintances, farewell sun, moon and stars. And now welcome my lovely and heartsome Christ Jesus, into whose hands I commit my spirit throughout all eternity. I may say, few and evil have the days of the years of my pilgrimage been, I being about twenty years of age.

MARION HARVIE.

From the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the woman-house on the east side of the prison, January 11, 1651.

This martyr, though both young in years and of the weaker sex, was so singularly assisted of the Lord in his cause, and had such discoveries of his special love to her soul, that she was nothing terrified by her adversaries: when she was brought from the tolbooth to the council-house, to be carried to her execution; as she came out of the tolbooth door, several friends attending her, she was observed to say with a surprising cheerfulness and air of heavenly ravishment, behold, I hear my be-

loved saying unto me, Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away. And being brought to the council, bishop Paterson being resolved, seeing he could not destroy her soul, yet to grieve and vex it, said, Marion, you said, you would never hear a curate, now you shall be forced to hear one, upon which he ordered one of his suffragans, whom he had prepared for the purpose, to pray: so soon as he began, she said to her fellow-prisoner, Isabel Alison, come Isabel, let us sing the xxiii. Psalm, which accordingly they did; Marion repeating the Psalm line by line, without book, which drowned the voice of the curate, and extremely confounded the persecutors. Being come to the scaffold, after singing the lxxxiv. Psalm, and reading the iii. of Malachi, she said, I am come here to-day for avowing Christ to be head of his church, and King in Zion. O seek him, sirs! seek him, and ye shall find him; I sought him and found him, I held him, and would not let him go. Then she briefly narrated the manner how she was taken, and recapitulated in short the heads of her written testimony, saying to this effect; "I going out of Edinburgh to hear the persecuted gospel in the fields, was taken by the way with soldiers, and brought into the guard, afterwards I was brought to the council, and they questioned me, if I knew Mr. Donald Cargil? or if I heard him preach? I answered, I blessed the Lord I heard him, and my soul was refreshed with hearing him, for he is a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. They asked if I adhered to the papers gotten at the Ferry? I said, I did own them, and all the rest of Christ's truths. If I would have denied any of them, my life was in my offer; but I durst not do it, no, not for my soul. Ere I wanted an hour of his presence, I had rather die ten deaths. I durst not speak against him, lest I should have sinned against God. I adhere to the Bible and Confession of Faith, Catechisms and covenants, which are according to this Bible." The most of her discourse was of God's love to her, and the commendation of free grace; and she declared, she had much of the Lord's presence with her in prison, and said, "I bless the Lord the snare is broken, and we are escaped;" and when she came to the ladder foot she prayed. And going up the ladder, she said, "O my fair one, my lovely one, come away;" and sitting down upon the ladder, she said, "I am not come here for murder, for they have no matter of fact to charge me with, but only my judgment. I am about twenty years of age; at fourteen or fifteen I was a hearer of the curates and indulged, and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme, nor break the sabbath, and the Bible became my delight." With this the major called to the hangman to cast her over, and the murderer presently choked her.

The joint Testimony of WILLIAM GOUGER, CHRISTOPHER MILLER, and ROBERT SANGSTER, who lived in the shire of Stirling, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, March 11, 1681. Directed to the shire of Stirling.

The Lord in his holy providence having singled us out of that shire to seal his controverted truths with our blood; we could not but leave a line behind us, (we being Stirlingshire men) to let you know wherefore we are come here this day, to this place of execution; that it is for adhering to that which ministers and professors are disowning; and the Lord seeing it fit to honour us beyond others, now in this day of defection and backdrawing from the truth. We tell you, that it is truth we are to suffer for; although ye condemn us in it, and say that we have a hand in our own death; yet we durst not, for our souls, do otherwise, or else we would have been sure of the broad curse of God on us, and our life both. You may think that it is a novelty of our head that we are brought hither for; but if any of you had that love to the Lord, that you seemed to have once a-day, you would count it your duty, as well as ours, to contend for the sweet truths of God, when you see him so wronged, and his rights so usurped and taken from him, who was both sweet and kind to poor things at hill-sides, and especially among you of that shire. O sirs! you may take shame to you, for all that you have done against the honour of God, that have seen his goings so stately among the meetings of his people; that will not contend for lovely Christ. O! do ye not think that a sad day will come on you, for joining with God's enemies, who have broken covenant with him, and shed the blood of the saints, and trampled on the honour of God, and ye will not fear to join with them for all the blood they have shed, you will still go on with them; and though you profess that you have love to the Son of God, and that your zeal for the Lord God of hosts is not abated, yet you will go on with them; and bond and comply in paying of cess and militia-money to maintain a party against God and his work, which once in a-day you were forward to maintain, and would have ventured your life in the maintaining of it against all the Lord's enemies. You may justly take shame to yourselves, for your preferring the things of time to the sweet cross of lovely Christ. O sirs! what think you will your doom be, that have done so much against the honour of a Holy God? indeed you may look out for wrath, and that of the saddest sort.

Now, as dying men, we tell you, that there are sad days abiding you, for what you have done against the honour and

glory of God, if ye get not speedy repentance. Therefore as you would answer in the great day, make conscience of what ye do. Remember that you will count and reckon for all that you have done, and will be reckoned as guilty of the blood of the saints, as the worst enemies amongst them all. Therefore as dying men we charge you to take with guilt, or else it will be worse for you. O sirs! fear the Lord's wrath, and fall to and mourn for what you have done. O cry mightily for repentance, or else you will get Judas' reward. For you are the persons that have betrayed the Son of God, and expelled him out of your coasts. You were thinking that he was like to prove a costly Christ, and therefore you of that shire would consent to banish him away from among you. You would not hear of a field-preaching for fear of hazard. O sirs! take it to consideration, and lay it to heart what a hand you have in banishing Christ and the gospel out of Scotland, and we are sure, it was not your parts to have done so. No, no, it was not your part to have given lovely Christ such an affront; the sweet days that you have had long since might have made you give royal Jesus better quarters, though you should go to the gibbet for it, and lose your gear. For your doing as you have done is a denying of him before men. Take it as ye will, we must tell you, as in the sight of a living God, before whom we are now to appear, and get our sentence for all that we have done; you are the only shire that has denied lovely Christ quarters, for he sent an offer to you to the Torwood, and ye would not hear it. Well, it is likely there are many of you that will never get another; there are some of you that would not go to hear, but forbade others to go, and thought it was not duty to go; and some of you were at that preaching and made a bad use of it. O remember, sirs, you have rejected Christ. We tell you it, as dying men, you will count for it ere it be long, for our Lord did not send the gospel to the Torwood for nought, but it will accomplish that for which it was sent. O sirs, be afraid and tremble, for judgment is at the door, and indeed your sentence will be sore to abide, it will be more tolerable for open enemies in the day of judgment than for you. We are afraid, when we think, what judgments will be on you shortly, for considering what pains has been taken on you of that shire, and how tender the Lord has been of you, in training you up for suffering, and has given you trials, and you have endured them, and he has taken them off again, and given you sorer trials, and he has delivered you out of these. It had been better for you that you had been at that preaching though you should have gotten the gallows the very next day, than to have done what ye did, and that you will find ere it be long.

O what of his kindness have you met with at such places? You dare not say, *That he hath been a barren wilderness, or a land of drought* to you. Testify against him if he was not kind to you, so long as ye abode by him he abode by you, and he was tender of you so long as ye kept faithful to him; but after ye turned into the enemies' camp, then he turned to be your enemy, and fought against you, and in all you do God will be seen to be against you. You may thrive in the world, but it will be a dear thriving to you, you will get the wrath of God with it. But ye have done with thriving in the worship of God. Indeed there are many of you that hold your life no more of God. Remember we tell you of it, who are within a few hours of eternity. Now it is like you will not notice what the like of us say, but will allege that we are dying as fools, and have no Presbyterian principles, but notions; but we say the contrary: we say, we are not fools as to that, however the world may think and look on us as such: we say, we have Presbyterian principles, and are Presbyterians in our judgments, and will make it appear that we die as christians, and as those that own the truths of God, and are standing to what ministers once taught us, although this day, they are turned to the contrary, and condemning us, and saying, that we have nothing but notions of our own heads, that make us do such things, but they will not find it so in the day of accounts.

And first, you may say, that it is not a Presbyterian principle to cast off magistrates. We grant with you; but where are the magistrates? indeed they were once placed such; but they cast out themselves when they brake the covenant, and set up a cursed supremacy, insulting over the Lord's inheritance; and when they have done that, we think they are no more to be owned as magistrates by Presbyterians; but to be cast off and witnessed against; and when it comes to that part of the play, do ye not think that it was our part to contend for truth? O sirs! do ye not believe Jesus Christ to be the eternal Son of God, and *that all things were made for him and by him, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers?* What is not his? and that by free gift and donation, by an eternal decree intimate to us in the 2d Psalm, where, in a more particular manner, he is declared to be King in Zion, and all the heathen promised to the enlargement of his kingdom. O sirs, do ye not believe that Scotland became his with its own consent, as the product of that decree, and the fruit of his intercession and purchase; and that he allows no authority to be owned and submitted unto in Scotland, but only so far as they keep the line of subordination to the Son of God? Or do you believe, that Scotland should have no

other magistrates, but such as should be of God's choosing. *Men of truth, able men, fearing God, hating covetousness.*— And that the land was bound by covenant to have such, *under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of soul and body in the day of the Lord's fearful appearance to judgment?* We believe, many a man's wit in that day shall be counted foolishness. Then if this be a ground, we are sure we must say, that day that Charles Stuart was crowned, perjury became national; only professors as to this point were free.

Do ye think, we would without perjury and treachery to God, own Charles Stuart's authority any longer, when he held not his authority of God? but it being manifest, that in Middleton's parliament, he disclaimed that title to authority, we think, we were bound to witness our loyalty to another, and that we were freely absolved from obedience and fidelity to him then, and could not own his authority without gross perjury, he declaring, he would have no homage upon account of the covenant: would ye not count him a distracted man that would cleave to him upon that account whether he would or not? Yea, and whoever does it, we know they will find themselves fools. Do you believe, that in the day that that covenant was taken, any within the nation was not bound to perform and prosecute it, and that God would punish the destroyers of that covenant? do ye think that act Explanatory of the supremacy is not a plain renunciation of the word of God, the law of nature, the covenant, and human society, and setting up devilism and confusion, without a full, free and direct testimony to the contrary? we are sure that every public breach of covenant requires public repentance. We think, there can none be absolved without this: for in express terms our Lord says, *Whosoever denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Now there should not only be a testimony given, but a walking according to it afterwards. O sirs, would ye have none to witness against the abominations of this day? indeed you are all mistaken, for our Lord will not want witnesses to witness for him, however few and feckless they be: yet *He will make the things that are not, confound the things that are.* O sirs! think ye it not a sin to join with them that have rejected the living God, and will not have him to reign over them? do ye not think it duty to protest against them that are trampling our Lord's glory under foot? O sirs, do not you think yourselves guilty of breach of covenant, that have connived at these men, that have their hands reeking in the blood of the saints, when you are strengthening their hands in the doing of it? we think you guiltier nor these wretches: because ye join with them in sin, whereas you should have protested against them in the committing of such

acts. We wot well, if ye read the Bible, ye will count yourselves as guilty as they are, and the guiltiest of the two; for it was your part to have contended for the truth, and stood in defence thereof, unto the losing of lives and liberties, and all that you had. The Lord has cast them off, and yet you will do what in you lies to hold them up, who shed the blood of those, who were once in a-day your dear brethren. It may be, you will say, that Samuel knew that Saul was rejected of God, and yet he did not cast him off? we answer, he did what lay in his power to get him cast off; for he went and anointed David in his stead, and durst not do it publicly, but secretly for fear of Saul, neither did Samuel converse much with Saul after that. Next you say, that David's heart smote him, for taking and cutting off the lap of Saul's garment, and said, *That he would not stir the Lord's anointed*. Now we say, he had two reasons that we have not. 1st, He had that reason, that he was the Lord's anointed. 2d, It was his own particular quarrel; because he was to reign in his stead. So we say, that Charles Stuart is not the Lord's anointed, neither is it our particular quarrel, but in defence of the gospel; and in so far as he is an enemy to God and the way of salvation, which is sufficient ground to cast out any person out of the church, and witness against him in defence of the gospel, unto the losing of life, liberty and all other things. And believe us as ye will, we do not think them christians, that will not contend for lovely Christ and his sweet truths, in witnessing against this bloody excommunicate traitor, and not owning them as rulers, seeing they have disowned *the Just and Holy One*, and are trampling on his sweet truths, and would never have them to rise again; but would have the stone sealed, that there might be no more mention made of the honour of God. And you have a deep hand in this, because ye are not faithful and free in witnessing for his despised glory: and if ye will not do it, *Delivery to the church shall come from another airth*, and you shall be destroyed; for he will be up again in spite of all your hearts, and he will make your fears and theirs both come on you; for he will make inquisition for all his truths; and when he comes, indeed we would not abide the reproof that you the professors of Stirlingshire will get, for all the gold in Europe; there will be no excuse heard then; your wife and children, or lands, will be no excuse; for he hath told in express terms, that *whosoever will not forsake all, and follow him, cannot be his disciple*. Wife and children, houses and lands, must all go for him; and you must take up his cross daily, and wander through at his back, it may be, hard bestead, with a borrowed bed, borrowed fire-side, and live upon providence: we wot well, there are some of you that can say to your sweet

experience, that you never lived better than on God's providence, although now ye have rejected and betaken yourselves to the world. Have you done so? well, you may be doing; but ere long ye will rue it. Remember we told you it, when we were going into eternity, that you would meet with much woe and sorrow, for what you have done against the honour of God, if you repent not.

2d, You say, it is not a Presbyterian principle, to own that party that is jeoparding their lives for the honour of God, and witnessing for his despised truths, that this day is so abused and nick-named by you and others: but we say, it is, and maintain it to be a Presbyterian principle, to own that despised party, for they are the party that are only designing the glory and honour of God, and have no other view before them but his sweet truths, which are dear to them; and they will quit with life and liberty, before they quit with an hoof of truth; which has been made out by their valiant sufferings. O but truth has been sweet and dear to them! they have not counted their lives dear unto them on the account of it. They have cheerfully gone to the scaffold for truth, and have been honourably carried through, and the Lord's presence seen in their through-bearing; as we hope, shall be made out on us, ere it be long: also they study to spend their time and strength for God. When all other means have failed them, they study to keep up that mean of reading, singing and praying, as the Lord will assist and help them; although the indulged and their consorts have a great envy at them, and do what they can to get them off the earth: for they are the main actors in taking of that poor party; and all is, because their practices condemn theirs; although they take the Scriptures for their rule, and study to walk so, as they may get God's approbation in the day of accounts.

3d, You say, it is not a Presbyterian principle, to own these papers, that our worthies have set out, or the work that they have done, which many of them have sealed with their blood; but we say, that it is a Presbyterian principle; because all that they did was agreeable to the word of God, and our covenants. For consider these papers when you please, you will find them consonant to the Scriptures, and just and lawful for Presbyterians to own; and say the contrary who will, we do not think them Presbyterians, nor yet covenanters, that will not own them; for there is nothing in them, but what we will with all our hearts seal with our blood as Presbyterians, and as having these principles.

4th, You say, it is not a Presbyterian principle, to confess all these things: but we say, it is a Presbyterian principle, to confess and avouch him and his truths, before this adulterous

generation: now when the quarrel is thus stated, we should not put them to prove what is truth. Stephen made a free confession of his faith, and so have all our worthies. And now seeing we own these things, and they being the controverted truths of the day, and the Lord calling us to own and maintain them; we never thought it our part to smother and hide them, but with courage to avouch them, to the losing of our lives in the quarrel. We seeing our dearest Lord's truths trampled on, and a pack of you that seemed to be fair before the wind, for owning of truth, and witnessing for him, never so much as putting to your hand to help; but turning your back on truth, and the way of God. Indeed we fear, that ye shall never be honoured to witness for God any more; it is like, you care not for that honour; but we tell you, that you will rue it, when you will not get it mended; and remember we tell you it here, as dying witnesses for truth, you will meet with as sad a judgment, as ever a shire met with; if you repent not, your judgment will be unparallelable for your denying him before men.

We are come here this day to witness freely and faithfully against you, and all others, for their complying with the enemies against the work of God. And we say, as in the sight of a living God, you will count for it ere it be long. O! but we think it a sweet thing to be honoured this day to contend for truth, and to be *overcomers by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of our testimony*. Indeed we are called to it, *to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints*. And we think, if we had not been free and faithful, before these bloody wretches, we would have held our life no more of God, if we did not speak for his truths before them, when he bade us speak; for he sought a proof of our love to him, and his nick-named despised way, and to poor Zion, whom no man is seeking after. And think you that we durst hold our tongue and not speak, when he bade us? Indeed our life was not dear to us, when his truth came in question. We might have gone away with our life, and the broad curse of God upon it, to go with us; if we had denied him at this time, we would have held our lives no more of him, of whom we held it all our days; and now we might cheerfully lay it down at his command and bidding; for this we know, that devils or men could not stir a hair of our head, without our Lord's determination; and therefore we are the less afraid of what they could do.

And now, as dying men, we charge you not to speak of that poor party, that this day is so reproached and spoken against by a party of them that are called ministers and professors. O take shame to you altogether; and as you will be answerable, in the day of accounts, we tell you, not to have a wrong

thought of them, for all the reproaches that can be said against them; for they are a godly people, and have much of his mind. And if you go on with enemies, and others that have turned their backs on the way of God, go your ways; but *it were better that a millstone were hanged about your neck, and ye cast into the midst of the sea*, than that ye should speak at such a rate as ye do. For let you and others, reproach as you will, they design nothing but the honour of God, and have the Scriptures to be their rule, and walk as becomes the gospel, and they study a holy carriage: although there be many among them that have an unsuitable carriage, by reason of whom *the way of God is evil spoken of*: yet the way of God is not a hair the worse to be liked. It may be there is a Judas among the twelve: and what of that? we say, the rest are not to be cast at for all that, seeing they keep the truth. We know there are many of you that say, that we do not keep by the Scriptures: but we declare the contrary; for with all our heart, we set to our seal and testimony to the holy Scriptures, which have been sweet to us; and our testimony to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Confession of Faith, as agreeable to the word of God, and to the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to all that our worthies have done in the defence of the gospel: we join our hearty testimony to all their appearances in the fields, both first and last.

And we protest against all the actings of the enemies against the Lord's people in all their proceedings, both first and last, and every thing that they have done against our worthies, when they were in defence of the gospel: and we abhor and testify against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, Erastianism, indulgency, and all other connivers with them, be who they will: and against jesuitish principles, which you say we hold, which sect we most basely abhor, and give our testimony against all such erroneous sects and principles: we give our testimony against all you that say we have such principles, and that we have got new principles, and new light; but we do say the contrary, and declare, that we hold by these principles, which ministers did teach both you and us to stand to in the defence of, until we had lost our lives and all in that quarrel. Now, you that say such things of us, we exhort you to repent, or else you will meet with a sore day of wrath, for it is not a light thing to speak of sufferers, as you do: therefore we obtest you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be sober in your speeches against that party, and make a right choice, and fairly side yourselves, and come out from among the tents of the wicked, and be separated from among them, and join yourselves to the poor suffering remnant, and be not at ease now in the day of Zion's trouble. Do not think that you will enjoy your ceiled houses,

and your warm fire-sides in such a day as this. If you be single for God, he will have you out from all these things, and denied to them all, for *wo to him that is at ease when Zion is in trouble*, and is not concerned in all the afflictions of Joseph; you must either now get a waking, or else you will get a waking, when the wrath of an angry God comes on the land for sins.

Indeed, sirs, we think, that religion has not cost you much heart-work. We think, you have not been at much pains in seeking of God, for as fair a shew as you seem to have. Indeed when the gospel was in its purity, and many seeking to preachings, the Lord seemed to be kind to you, and you seemed to have much love to him, and his despised way, and you seemed as if you would have ventured your life in the defence of the gospel; but when we would have looked through you at preachings, and going to them, and in coming from them, it would have made some of us a sore heart to see your unconcernedness and unsuitable carriage, even among you that seemed to be the heads of them. And when we would have been in some of your companies, either coming or going, your talk did always smell of the world, and so is come of it. O! repent, and come out from among your lusts and idols, that you are so wedded to, and take hold of a Mediator, and seek the Lord with all your heart. O! you town of Stirling, and the shire, repent, for sentence is past against you for what you have done, although it be not put in execution yet; but it will be put in execution ere long, if you repent not. Though the Lord is seeing it fit to take us away from the evils which are coming on this land, for breach of covenant, and a slighted gospel, we tell you, it may be, you will find it when we are gone, it is better to endure all torments that devils and men can inflict on you here, than to endure one drop of the wrath of an angry God, that will be poured out without mixture on all ranks, that have not the work of the day upon their spirits, be who they will, ministers or professors, indulged, or not indulged; for if they be not taken up and concerned with the case of the church of God, this day, as it is stated, he will come and reckon with them all, and count them all turners aside, and *will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity, when peace shall be on Israel*. Therefore we would desire you to have a care, and look well about you what you are doing, and beware of speaking against that party.

There are some of you that say, they are of bloody principles. You should beware of speaking these things, for the contrary is known, that they are not murderers, nor have any such intentions, as some of yourselves know, although ye be speaking the contrary, for you never heard of their killing

any, except it was in defence of the gospel, and their own defence.

Likewise you say, that we are cursers and criers for vengeance on the land. Now, we must not stay to argue this out, we being this day to lay down our lives, but we think any that has tender love to the Son of God, and his cause, cannot but be grieved to see ministers and professors so avowedly betray the truth, that is sweet and dear to us, yea, dearer than our lives; and when we think on what ye have done to the sweet truths of God, we cannot but pray against your courses: and as for any thing ye can do to us, we heartily forgive you; but the wrongs ye have done to the Holy God, we cannot get them borne, for they are weighty to us. If it were our enemies, we would bear with it, but when it comes from the like of you, we cannot get it borne. Truly, sirs, we think ye will embrace Popery ere it be long: your entertaining of that excommunicate Duke of York, a profest Papist, says, that you would do more yet. There was not one of you all in town, or shire, that moved your tongue against him, but as if you had been all profest Papists, you let him come in among you, and kindly entertained him; we leave our testimony against your so doing.

But we break off, having no more time, and request you to take these things to your consideration, and lay sin to heart, and mourn bitterly before the Lord, for what you have done. We here obtest you to come off these ways of yours, and make conscience of duty, as in the sight of a Holy God, before whom you must shortly appear. Slight not time, for it is precious; wrath is at the door: O! make haste, and lay these things to heart, and study to have a more tender respect to the honour of God. We desire to leave it on you now, when we are going into eternity, that you would mind your engagements and vows to God. And so we bid you farewell, and bid you mind the poor groaning kirk that we are to leave behind us, which was dear to us. Now, we bid farewell to poor desolate Zion, and pray the Lord may mind her case. Farewell all things in time, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

WILLIAM GOUGER.
CHRISTOPHER MILLER.
ROBERT SANGSTER.

*Subscribed at the Iron House, a little before we }
sent out to the sea, the 11. March 11, 1661. }*

It is remarkable, that this martyr, William Gouger, had a little paper in his Bible, which he minded to throw over the scaffold; but when he was taken into the council house with

the other two, it was someway got by the murderers, who having read it, commanded the executioner to tie him staiter than ordinary, so that he could scarce go up the ladder, and afterwards they stopped him from praying. When he was upon the ladder, he began to speak, and said, I am come here for owning Christ to be Head and King in Zion, whereupon they caused to beat the drums, seeking to damp and astonish him, that they might trample upon his conscience; and when they offered him his life, upon condition he would own the king, he replied, I will own none but Christ to be King in Zion. Then they said, will ye not retract any thing, sir? He answered, no, no; I own all, I adhere to all. Upon which they immediately called the executioner to throw him over, which he did incontinent, not allowing him to recommend his spirit to the Lord.

There are extant particular testimonies of these three martyrs, but because it is doubted, that they may not be genuine, but vitiated by John Gib, or some of these that were tainted with his errors; therefore they are here omitted. And moreover, whereas some are suspicious, that these three martyrs themselves, or at least the two last, were in some danger from the errors of John Gib; yet in regard that it was not upon any such account they suffered, but for testifying against the ecclesiastical supremacy, they ought to be recorded among the rest, as dying witnesses for Jesus Christ.

The dying Testimony of LAURENCE HAY, weaver, who lived in Fife, and suffered at Edinburgh, July 13, 1681.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

Having by serious consideration, joined in giving a testimony against the enemies of God, and all that have joined with them in any thing which tended to the overthrow of the work of reformation; for which I am come, in your sight, to lay down this life of mine, which I engaged to do in that testimony, through his strength, if he called me to it; because it was according to the word of God, and the covenanted reformation; and seeing I engaged in the strength of the Lord to seal it with my blood, and now he in his holy and wise providence has put me to seal it; although I be the feckledest and unworthiest of all that society, I here in your presence, with all my heart, set to my seal to it with my blood, as was promised at the end of the paper. And if all the hairs of my head were men, having lives, I would think them all little enough, to seal the cause of my dearest and sweetest Lord Jesus, who has been sweet and kind to me, in carrying

me through every step of the work, which he put in my hand. O love him, sirs! O but he is worth the loving! O but he has been kind to me since I was apprehended! For he told me then that Satan would cast some in prison, that they might be tried; and he bade me *be faithful to the death*, and he promised me *a crown of life*; and he hath helped me since to fulfil the conditions, and hath also given me a right to the promise. And this was all my desire, *That the trial of my faith might be found precious, to the praise of his sweet name*: that his cause might not be wronged, nor his ark get a wrong touch by me. And herein he hath heard my desire, according to that Scripture. *He will hear the desires of the humble, and the expectation of the poor shall not be lost.* For he keeps the covenant with thousands of them that love him, and keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous, but his yoke is easy, and his burden light. And he has said, *He that forsaketh wife, or children, houses or lands, for my name's sake and the gospel's, shall receive in this life an hundred fold, and in the world to come, life everlasting.* And he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.

Therefore, dear friends, give not over to contend for his borne down truths, that this day are in debate betwixt him and his enemies in covenanted Scotland, according to that Scripture, *Contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.* O contend, contend, and give not over; for he will arise for the oppression of the poor, and for the sighings of the needy; for he will have an opportunity to be about with all his enemies, and he is weary with forbearing. Therefore trust in the Lord, *trust in him at all times*: for they that trust in him shall not be ashamed; for they shall stand in the gate unashamed to speak unto their foes. O sirs! give him much credit; for he hath disappointed me of my fears, in that wherein I feared appearing before men, and helped me to stand before them; so that I had no terror or amazement, more than they had been the meanest of creatures: although I cannot say, that *I have fought the good fight*, as that eminent apostle said; yet I can say (praise be God) *He hath given me the victory through Jesus Christ my Lord*, over principalities; and hath confirmed me, that *neither death nor life, nor any creature shall separate me from the love of my secret Lord Jesus Christ*; who is love-worthy, praise-worthy, worthy to be feared and honoured; who in his absolute sovereignty, set apart poor me, to give a testimony for his glorious and honourable work of reformation, *who am less than the least of all saints*, but he is an absolute Lord, and shews mercy to whom he will shew mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth; and he keeps the souls of the faithful, and plentifully rewards the proud doer.

Therefore, being called to suffer this day, in this place, for the following of my duty, and for that in particular, in giving a testimony against the dreadful defections of these times, by the means of these backsliding ministers, who have left our sweet Lord Jesus, with his back at the wall, and his poor flock scattered upon the mountains, as sheep having no shepherd. But dear friends, comfort yourselves in this, that in his own time, he will search his sheep, and find them out; although, alas! I fear lest they shall be sorer scattered than yet they are: but wait on him; “for he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. And his reward is with him, and his work is before him. And the Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant.” But, O dear friends, labour to be “steadfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. And give all diligence to make your calling and election sure; and if you do these things, you shall never fall. And commit the keeping of your souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator: for he is able to keep that which is committed to him, against that day, and present it spotless before the Father.” Although, alas! I was loath to adventure, or to credit in his hand; but now he hath discovered to me, that he is the best hand that I can venture on; and has gained my consent, and has become the surety for me of a better covenant, *well ordered in all things and sure.*

Therefore, considering my engagements to him, I leave my testimony to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the version of the Psalms in metre, and the work of reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God’s Wrath, the Confession of Faith, as being conform to the Scriptures, and the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter; I give my adherence to all the faithful testimonies given by the worthies, to the maintenance of the work of reformation, from the year 1660, until this day, either by their appearances in the fields, or on scaffolds, or in the seas; I adhere to the Sanquhar declaration, the Torwood Excommunication, and the papers found at the Ferry, and to that joint testimony given in the shire of Fife, by that society, whereof I was a member, though a worthless one, and I adhere to all things contained therein, because they are according to the Scriptures. And I give my testimony to the faithful preaching in the fields, and to the keeping up of societies, and christian fellowships commanded in the word of God. *Not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is, and so much the more as you see the day approaching; especially now when his glory is at the stake, which is*

of more worth than our souls; and when men are seeking to get his work razed, and the name of Israel blotted out, that it may be no more in remembrance.

Likewise, I leave my testimony against all these, who have joined with the declared enemies of the Lord Jesus Christ, both ministers and professors; and against all these, who maintain any principle contrary to the word of God, especially these who deny the authority of the Scriptures, and all the work of reformation, and have razed the fundamentals of true christianity; some of them the Lord has given up to strong delusions, to believe lies, and to deny Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and maintain new lights, in meddling with the decrees of God, which his word never approved, and against every one of their principles. Likewise, I leave my testimony against all who brand us with an implicit faith; which one declared to myself in my hearing in the room below where I was a prisoner; which I questioned, if he durst in conscience say, that I lived by an implicit faith, or the example of others? So he said, that there were some in the room with me that had been murderers of others who had suffered. And I told him, that the xv. Psalm reached him a very sad reproof, *for speaking evil against his neighbour*; and also I said, *We speak what we do know, and testify what we have heard*. And I declared that I had seen no such thing of any that was in the room with me; but you have wronged (said I) God and his cause, by shifting his cross, and therefore you will not stand to wrong your neighbour.

And as for our being branded, that we hold our principles of men, and are dying to please men, I altogether abhor such aspersions, for I hold my principles of none but of God and his word; and that which carries the sway with me is, the controverted truths of Jesus Christ, that are at this day in debate betwixt him and his enemies; especially his kingly office, on which I dare venture life and liberty, and my salvation also, because the Father hath declared him to be *King on his holy hill of Zion by an unalterable decree; and there to reign till all his enemies be brought under his feet*. Therefore, as I have left my testimony against all who cast such aspersions on me, or any other who have suffered in this manner; I leave my blood also to witness against them, who will adventure to do it, whether enemies or pretended friends. Likewise I leave my testimony against the encroachments made upon the rights of our Lord Jesus Christ and the privileges of his church, by that usurper Charles Stuart, and all the bloody crew under him. Likewise I leave my testimony against that excommunicate traitor the duke of Monmouth, for his appearance against the work of God and his people, joined for the defence of the gos-

pel and interest of Jesus Christ, and all that joined with him. Likewise I leave my testimony against that avowed Papist, York. Also I leave my testimony against that designed parliament to put power in his hand. Also I leave my testimony against these abominable wretches that sat in these associations and falsely accused and sentenced me to death, and against these fifteen assizers who gave me my sentence, and against that wretch called the clerk, and Andrew Cunningham who gave me my doom. Likewise I leave my testimony against all who have joined with the declared enemies, whether ministers or professors, especially in the shire of Fife, who have delivered up the testimony to these abominable wretches, particularly Balgrumma, and Vederstar. Likewise I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and that woful Erastian supremacy and indulgencies first and last, which hath been the *dagger, the haft whereof hath gone in after the blade*, and hath wounded the church in the innermost part of the belly, and the dart that has stricken her through the liver. O! how sharp are the wounds of a friend? They go down *to the innermost parts of the belly*. *If it had been an enemy, I would have borne it*. And it is evidently seen that our mother-church hath been, and is this day wounded in the house of her friends; for which the Lord will sadly reckon with all such as have done so, if they do not repent and mourn for it. Likewise I leave my testimony against all them, that are any way instrumental of bearing down our poor mother-church, either by appearance in arms, or furnishing of others for that effect, by paying of cess or militia-money, or any other way, homologating the acts, or strengthening the hands of her declared and avowed enemies.

Now, dear friends, being straitened for want of time, I am forced to draw to a close; only desiring you to be earnest in contending for the broken down work of reformation, that this day is brought very low: but be not discouraged, although his ark be tossed this day upon the waters, like the poor ship in the midst of the sea, and the poor disciples afraid lest they should sink, and the Master asleep (as it were) upon a pillow; yet go to him and cry, *Master, Master, save us, else we perish*; for he is easy to be entreated, and he likes well to have his poor people coming to him in the time of their distress; for *he is a present help in the time of need, a God rich in mercy, and near to all that call upon him in truth*. But O dear friends, beware of backdrawing, for he hath said, *If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him; and he that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of heaven; but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved*. Be not ashamed of him, *For if any man be*

ashamed of him, or his words, of him also will he be ashamed before the Father and the holy angels. O dear friends, the more that ye see a perverse generation crying him down, be ye the more at the work of crying him up; for he is well worth the commendation of all that can commend him. O dear friends, in all things let him have the pre-eminence, and count all things loss and dung that ye may win Christ; and press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus: looking unto Jesus who is the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Strive to enter in at the straight gate; for many shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able. Now friends, beware of sinning, and beware of snares; for they are at this day very thick and many; but our God has promised that he will not suffer his poor people to be tempted above what they are able, but will with the temptation make a way that they may escape. So I bid you all farewell; desiring you to be kind to my wife and children when I am gone; farewell sweet Bible by his blessing; farewell sun, moon and stars; farewell meat and drink; farewell all created comforts and enjoyments, wherewith I have been abundantly supplied; farewell my dear wife and children, the Lord be better to you than ten husbands, when I am gone: farewell mother, brethren and sisters; farewell sweet societies, and preached gospel, whereby I have been begotten by the seed of the word; farewell sweet prison and reproaches for sweet Christ and his cause. And welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghost; welcome everlasting life, and the spirits of just men made perfect. Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

LAURENCE HAY.

At the Iron-house, July 13, 1681.

The Testimony of ANDREW PITTLLOCH, Lend-labourer in the parish of Largo in Fife, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, July 13, 1681.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

Wherefore are you come here this day? will you tell me, if that be your intention, to be edified by the words of a poor thing, witnessing for my lovely Lord Jesus Christ? and if that be your intention in your coming hither, it is well: now when I am going off time, to bid farewell to you all, O that I could commend my lovely Lord Jesus and his sweet cross to you. O sirs, will you come taste and see that God is good. You will never do better, nor come and see; for since the Lord honour-

ed me to be his prisoner, he has letten me know nothing but love; he has made my prison no prison. O sirs, *All his ways are ways of pleasantness, and his paths peace.* And his cross is sweet and easy; although worthless I cannot commend it to you. But, O sirs, sear not at the sweet cross of royal and sweet Jesus; but contend for him and his noble cause, for I can assure you, I had never such a sweet life as I have had since he brought me to the like of thir trials. O sweet indictment! O sweet sentence for my lovely Lord! O sweet scaffold, for contending for the cause, covenant and work of reformation! O sirs, quit all for holy Jesus, for I can promise you that you will never die better, than for contending for King Christ. Indeed, sirs, ministers and professors, as they call them, say, that we are dying as fools, and giddy headed professors; but glory to his holy and sweet name, that has made it out to my soul that it is otherwise: and now, that my conscience doth not condemn me, how dare any mortal creature condemn me?

O friends! what is the reason that you will not take him, who is the *chief among ten thousands, that is altogether lovely,* and without compare? *There is no spot in him.* O prefer him to your chief joy! there are many of you who have preferred other things to him. O fear and tremble for wrath will be upon you very suddenly! O be afraid, for our Lord has said, *'If ye will not quit all for him, you cannot be his disciple.'* And so you have neither part nor lot in our sweet Lord; you may read the x. of Matt. from the 16th verse to the end. O sirs, go not with the indulged, nor yet side with them; cleave to the Lord with all your heart, and be not put off with any but himself. O he is sweet to be with; O his way is sweet to keep, but I cannot commend him to you, his sweetness is without compare. O take him, and be restless till ye get him *to your mother's house, and to the chamber of her that bare you.* Pray much for your mother-church, that ministers and others have wronged: I witness and testify against them, for their unrighteousness, both first and last.

First, for leaving of their kirks, without a public testimony against enemies, at the incoming of Prelacy. 2d, For their conniving at one another's sins. 3d, For their leaving the fields when there was so much need of preaching to poor things; when wrath and judgment were coming on the land, they did not set the trumpet to their mouth, and give the people a faithful warning. They say, we have cast them off, but they are mistaken, for they have cast themselves off, by changing their head; and the Scriptures have cast them off, and I cannot join with them. I would with all my heart have a ministry; but I would have it according to the word of God. Men that will *preach in season, and out of season, whether people will hear,*

or whether they will forbear; that will be faithful in preaching against sin of all sorts, and will hide nothing of the mind of the Lord; but they that do play fast and loose in the matters of a holy God, and will not witness against enemies; I own none of these, but I leave my testimony against them for their unfaithfulness. They will preach to poor things to stand for God and his truths, and not yield a hair, for the saving of their lives; and yet they yield and comply themselves: and when they come before enemies, never a word of a testimony before them, but pass the sworn covenant and work of reformation in silence, and for fear of their lives will not hit them on the sore. Indeed they will wale their words so as they may not give their enemies offence. You condemn us, because we do that, that once a-day you would have accounted it your honour to do; and say, that we are all distracted, and have distracted notions in our heads. And say you so? wilt thou tell me man, if thou thinkest that a distracted notion, to confess the covenant and work of reformation? but you will say, it is not for that that I lay down my life, but for the subscribing of that paper: and I do think it well worth the sealing with my blood: and will you tell me what could we do less? you ran away and left the work, and the enemies were carrying all before them: and we durst not but leave a testimony against them. My heart was like to bleed, when I saw enemies carry the day, and robbing the Lord of his rights, his crown and kingdom, and not so much as one to move their tongue against them, and say, that is ill done that they have done. I leave it to God and your own conscience, whether or not it be duty to contend for truth this day when it was so much neglected. I leave my testimony against you and your hearers, and the joiners with you, ay and while they repent. I bid you repent and come off, and witness for the Lord: and if ye will not do it, as sure as God is in heaven, he will be about with you: escape who will, ye will not escape: for it is like he will begin at the sanctuary.

Take warning in time, I leave it on you now, when I am going into eternity: for I am persuaded, this is the way to the kingdom of heaven: for the Lord hath confirmed it to my soul, and hath made my life a sweet life to me. O read Isaiah xli. for it was sweet to me when I was taken, and O that I had as many lives to lay down for him as there are hairs on my head, I would think them all too little! O what is my life? nothing in comparison of his glory. O wo to you, idle shepherds, for ye deceive poor things! *If it were possible, I think, ye would deceive the very elect:* you take God to be your witness, that ye are in his way yet, and have not quit one hoof; but your practice condemns you. You may read Malachi ii. 1, 2, 3. "And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If

ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory to my name, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings: yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay it to heart." Therefore, "behold, I will corrupt your seed, and spread dung upon your faces, even the dung of your solemn feasts, and one shall take you away with it." Matth. vii. 15, 16, "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" And that xxxiv of Ezek. 2d v. "Son of man, prophecy against the shepherds of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flocks?" I leave my testimony against them that say, we hold our principles of men, and that we die for pleasing men; but it is not so, for I never thought that little of my life as to lay it down for the pleasing of any; for it is a most base aspersion of some cast on us, because our practice condemns theirs, and they can get no other thing to brand us with but that. And glory to the Lord, the contrary is seen both by our practices, and our through-bearing; and it is made out, that we hold our principles of none, but of God and his word.

I leave my testimony against the four men in the Cannongate tolbooth, or any other that join with them, for wronging of the holy and sweet Scriptures. Some brand me with that, that I am of their judgment, which thing I exceedingly abhor and detest, as the mire in the streets; and I count them guilty of death, for wronging of the Scriptures. If we had judges in the land, that were for God, they should not live. I leave my testimony against that tyrant on the throne, and all his underlings; and, I say, it will never be right with our land, "till Haman and his ten sons be hung up before the sun." I leave my testimony against them that rule as judges; and I leave my blood on the assizers, doomster, soldiers and all of them, and all that acknowledge or aid them as magistrates, ay and while they repent." I leave my testimony against enemies of all sorts; and against all sorts of compliance in less or more, and against all that has been done against the work of God these twenty years bygone; against the test, and compliance with, or compearing before God's enemies in less or more. I leave my testimony against the ministers and professors in Fife, for the wrongs they have done to my lovely Lord and his sweet cause; and my head shall be a standing witness against them, and preach to them from Cupar tolbooth, ay and while they repent. As for any thing that they have done to me, I freely forgive them, and pray that the Lord may forgive

them. I leave my testimony against all them that will not hear Mr. Donald Cargil, and own him as a faithful minister of the gospel, and none but he is faithful this day. I leave my testimony to the holy and sweet Scriptures, which many a day I have been refreshed with; I bless the Lord, that ever I could read a line of them. Now, I adhere to the faithful preached gospel, and to all that our worthies have done, which I need not particularly mention here.

And you that are the people of the Lord, O be ye busy and improve your time, and make use of your Bibles, while you have them, for it is like there may be a bonfire made of them yet, as well as of the covenant. And covenant with him and contend for him to the utmost of your power; for I have found more of his sweet love, in contending for him, than ever I got in prayer, or hearing the word. O his sweet work, let it not slip through your fingers. It is like ye will have sad days of it, when I am gone. Popery is begun, and it is likely to overspread the whole land, and there is none to move their tongue against it, although the land be sworn in solemn oath against it. O sirs! "lift up your voice for the remnant that is left." Fast and pray, cry and weep, let not the apple of your eye cease, the wrath is like to be great, that will overtake us. O cry, that the days may be shortened, for the elect's sake, lest no flesh should be saved. O look out for sad days, dear friends; it may be you will get the saddest stroke that ever a poor land was tryed with: ye may read through the Scriptures, and ye will find what judgments followed such sins, pestilence, sword and famine, which ye may look for. I leave it on you, that ye be not slack handed, for it may come to that, that "the tender and delicate women may eat their own children for straitness in the siege." It is to be feared, that the plagues that are coming on Scotland, for a broken and burnt covenant, will make their ears to tingle that hear of them; but I will not be to see it. The Lord is taking me away from the evil to come, which was often my desire; for the sad hearts that ministers and professors have made me, with their complying and wronging his glory, made me oft wish to be away; and now it does not trouble me to lay down my life in your presence this day. O it is sweet to be a sufferer for truth! I wonder what doth ail the generation to scar at him or his sweet cross; for there is no cause of ruing or wearying, for all that is come. There is a beauty in holiness. O! commend him, sirs! O bless and praise him that ever he honoured such a wretch as I am, to be a martyr for his sweet truth! O sweet honour he puts on poor things! O sirs, cast in your lot with the suffering remnant that this day is in the furnace. Sink and swim with his church. O prefer Jerusalem to your chief

joy! but O be persuaded to come and taste of his goodness: this is the way, although the whole world should condemn it. It will not be the learned clergy or great heads of wit, that he will honour with carrying on of his work, for they have all denied him. There are none of the ministers that will witness for him, nor yet any that the Lord has bestowed great parts on; their wit leads them by the cross, and beyond suffering. They will not suffer if petitioning will do it, or hiring of advocates, or learned speakers; they can put in petitions, and say, they never intended the death of any man, but in the defence of their life; but never a word of the defence of the gospel, the work of reformation, or the sworn covenant. Nay, if they had done that their life would go. But they were bound by covenant to own and maintain religion against Popery and Prelacy, Quakerism, indulgence, and whatsoever else is contrary to sound doctrine, with their lives in their hands; and to quit with all "for the faith once delivered to the saints:" and though they never mention a word of all this, yet they will say, they came clearly off. But I say, now when I am going into eternity, that God's wrath will be on such a liberty, and God will count with them for what they have done against his honour; for there can none come clearly out from among their hands, that is once before them, without wronging his glory. O fear and tremble, sirs! you that get the favour of God's enemies, and yield your conscience to the lusts of men. I leave it on all persons, now when I am to appear before my Judge, that they do nothing but what is according to the holy and sweet Scriptures; take them to be your rule, and go no farther than they allow you. They do not bid you petition enemies for your liberty, nor yet hire advocates.

Now, my advice to you that are taken prisoners is, that you seek no favour of God's enemies; black not paper with them, in good, cheap nor dear; stand for your sweet Lord with your life in your hand; own and avouch him to be *King and head of his own church*. Count not your life dear unto you, when it comes in competition with truth. And now, as for you that are the poor seekers of the Lord, O act faith on him, give him much credit. Live as brethren, dwell in unity; let peace and truth be among you: but good Lord, let never peace be without truth. Keep up fellowship and society meetings: for my soul hath been often refreshed in the fellowship of the saints. O stand for your despised Lord, and his wronged glory.

Now I being straitened for want of time, it being short, I forbear, and bid you *be strong in the Lord, and the power of his might*. Now, farewell my dear friends; farewell holy and sweet Scriptures; farewell sun, moon, and stars; fare-

well sweet reproaches and crosses for my sweet Lord Jesus; farewell all things in time, reading, praying, and all duties; farewell relations; farewell my dear wife, the Lord be to you better than ten husbands. Glory be to his great name, that made me so sweetly to submit to his will, whatever he tryed me with. Farewell mother and sisters, and all relations; farewell all my christian acquaintances for a while; farewell sweet society in Fife, the Lord's blessing be on you all. And now welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome sweet company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome everlasting songs of praise. Now, into thy hands, Holy Father, I commit my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW PITILLOCH.

The Testimony of WILLIAM THOMSON, who lived in the shire of Fife, and suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

I being a prisoner for Christ's sake, and for my adhering to truth, being taken at Alloa, coming out of Fife, from hearing of the gospel preached by Mr. Donald Cargil, the last Sabbath of June, this present year; and not knowing when I may be taken and murdered by the stated enemies of our Lord (for they neither walk after the equity of their own law, nor God's law) I have, for fear of inconveniences, laid hold of this opportunity to set down, under my hand, or from my mouth, an account of my life and conversation, and my testimony to the truth of Christ, and against all the abominations of the times.

I was, before the year 1679, running away with the rest of this generation, to God-provoking courses: and about that time, when I saw the people of God going to draw together, to adventure their lives in the Lord's quarrel, the Lord took a dealing with me at that time, so that I could neither get night's rest, nor day's rest, till I resolved to go with them. And on the other hand, was afraid lest I should have been the Achan in the Lord's camp; but again I remembered the Lord's promise, that is held out in the word,—*Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of Hosts, Mal. iii. 7.* Now, I do with all my heart bless the Lord, for his wonderful workings with me, since he began with me. I think when I look on his dealings since that time till now, I must say, that I am a braud plucked out of the fire. O that my heart and soul could praise him, for all that he hath done for me! And now I am content to die a dyvour to free grace, and in Christ's debt. I was charged with being guilty of rebellion against

their prince: I answered I was not so, for I was there a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and for his sake: and told them, I adhered to his covenant, and all things in it. I am not convicted from the word of God of any crime, as to him whom they call king; no any thing worthy of death committed against any man, either in thought, word, or deed: so my blood shall cry, with the rest of the innocent blood shed in the land, for vengeance from heaven, on the inhabitants of the earth, great or small, who are in the least accessory thereto, ay and while they repent. It is not my doing, but their own that hath procured it; and God is just to seek after them for the same: neither is it in any man's power to forgive that, as being a breach of God's holy law, without repentance, nor then neither; for the furthest they can come is, but to declare unto them from God's word, That that and their other sins shall never be charged upon them, if they have truly received Christ upon his own terms, and *walked worthy of the Lord, unto all well-pleasing.* But now the thing is clear, the ground whereon they intend to take away my life is, the disowning Charles Stuart for my king, because, he will have no homage upon the account of the covenant from me; or any other, and God only requires the performing of vows, and keeping and fulfilling the covenants, Psal. l. So in this case, I cannot serve two masters, and I resolve to obey God rather than man.

Now, I here as a dying man, ready to step into eternity, having health and strength, and being in my right mind, declare, I adhere to the protestant religion, as that which is God's true religion, and the christian religion. I adhere to the holy rule of the word of God, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, containing the will of God to man, and a-ment man; and that the Scriptures are a full rule of faith and manners to us. I adhere to the work of reformation in Scotland, to the Covenants National and Solemn League, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Confession of Faith, in regard it agrees with the foresaid writings; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as most reasonable, sound, and according to the Scriptures, and well worth the reading, considering and practising what is therein set forth. I say, I adhere to the Rutherglen testimony, to the paper commonly called Mr. Donald Cargil's covenant, of the date of June, 1680; I adhere to the original copies of these papers, as they were corrected and revised by the authors. And likewise I adhere to every sound paper tending to the good of religion; as, the Directory for Worship and Catechising; and I adhere unto the doctrine, discipline, worship, and government of the church of Scotland. I bear my testimony unto all the lawful wrestlings of the people of God for truth,

and in the defence and preservation of their civil, natural and divine rights and privileges, contained and held forth in the foresaid papers against all encroachers thereupon and betrayers thereof; especially by the sword, as a mean most lawful and commanded of God, to be made use of in that quarrel; which is to be carried to preachings, and other assemblies of the Lord's people, and so much the more, as the enemy discharges it, as the case now stands.

In the last place, I give my testimony and protestation against all wrongs and injuries done to God and his people throughout the whole world this day: and more particularly, against all that hath been done in Scotland, since the beginning of the work of reformation, unto this day, in prejudice of God's glory, his work and people: and especially these crying sins: 1st, The corruption of the worship of God, profanation of his holy things, mocking, misbelieving, and belying of God, and carrying as if there were no God; yea, which is worse, saying he approves of all that they do. O this heaven-contemning generation! 2d, Against the defrauding, mocking, murdering and oppressing the people of God, in their bodies, consciences and estates, and punishing them as evil doers; yea, as the vilest monsters of cruelty, and that only for following their duty; and making them to stink, as it were, above the ground; and making their names to rot by calumnies and reproaches, and doing all they can to drive them to sin; and then blaming them as the main instruments of all the mischievous villanies and abuses in the land; so that it is come to that with it, *The man that departs from iniquity, makes himself a prey.* And scarcely can these who design honesty get a night's quarters in any house in the land: so that the people of God are become *a scorn to their foes, and a fear to their friends, and especially reproached of those who are their nearest neighbours,* as the Psalmist complains. 3d, I leave my testimony against all that make peace with the stated enemies of God, these Christ-despisers, these heaven-contemners, and non-such fighters against God: whether by bonds, oaths or promises: they being persons worthy of no credit nor trust, who will not keep faith nor trust upon any account, but where it may contribute for fulfilling their lusts, and prosecuting their wicked designs and hell-hatched enterprises. If they were brought to straits, possibly they might feign themselves: but he is unwise that will give them so much trust as a dog: as Solomon says, *When he speaks fair, believe him not, for there are seven abominations in his heart;* which I have a proof of in my taking, by a poor wretch who hath sold soul and conscience to the lust and arbitrament of a faithless apostate wretch like himself. And if ye will not

be persuaded to leave off seeking their peace, and covenanting with them by bonds, oaths, and promises: well, see what David the king of Israel says, by the Spirit of God, when he is making his testament, 2d Sam. xxiii. 6, 7, "But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands: but the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron, and the staff of a spear; and they shall be utterly burnt with fire." But ye that are much more seeking peace with enemies than with God, think with yourselves to which of them are ye most beholden, and which of them have done you most good; which of them have most power over you; which of the two hath the best quarrel by the end; which of the two is the most precious and lovely; and which of the two will be your judge at the last day. Well, if you have done well in seeking the peace of enemies, with the loss of the peace of God, then rejoice ye in them and with them, and let them do so with you: and if otherwise, the Lord, no doubt, will reward you, as the cause requires, for what ye have done to God's work, cause, covenant and people. 4th, I leave my testimony against all that contribute of their means, for the downbearing of God's works and people, and upholding his and their enemies, seeing it is so expressly against the covenant, and in that case they being called to suffer, and not to sin, to which practice is annexed a gracious promise; "He that loseth life, lands, goods, or relations, for Christ's sake, and the gospel's, shall receive an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting." And against all that otherwise waste and abuse them to God's dishonour, but only using this world, as not abusing it: for all within the nation being dedicate and given away by covenant to God, and this being often renewed, calls all men to be tender of the oath of God, and see how they administer their stewardship, for to him they must be accountable. But, alas! for that account which many of them have to make. I leave my testimony against the rendering up the power of the kirk and state into the hands of malignants. I do really think they have been all dreaming, or wilfully or wickedly sinning against the light of their own consciences. Well, God hath discovered them since, in an ugly manner; and now they sin more and more: they hold fast deceit, they refuse to let it go, and will not return. It is the old professors and ministers, I mean, in a special manner; but more particularly the ministers: for when the time was to speak they held their peace, and slipped from their Master's back, without so much as testifying against the horrid sins then committed; and did never to this day make up the hedge, and build that which they brake down. And, as I am informed, a great part have

been dreadful compliers with, and conformers to the sinful courses of this apostatizing generation; yea open persecutors of their more godly and faithful brethren, ministers and professors; and now they are the greatest opposers of the work, and persecutors of the godly, both under hand, and to their faces; and instead of edifying and binding up the weak, strive to break all they can, especially when they are among the enemies hands. In the last place, I bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, as the only desirable upmaking and rich lot of the people of God this day in Scotland. O it is the portion of poor things, who desire to seek God, and design honesty in the land! I think they want a good bargain of it that want it; and I think they want nothing that have it, and get leave to carry it heartsonely, and his presence under it. I would advise you all to take it on: I dare say thus much for your encouragement, that it is easy and sweet. There is no better way to carry the cross right than to cast all our care upon Christ, and trust him for all things, and use our single endeavours in the matter, and speak what he bids us, and obey his voice in all things. Now, I declare I hate all ungodliness. Now farewell all things, wherein I have been troubled with a wicked world, and evil heart of misbelief, a subtle, powerful, and malicious devil, and tempted with a company of men, who have shaken off the fear of God. Now, welcome Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commit my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

WILLIAM THOMSON.

[This following Testimony having a large preamble, wherein he gives his private opinion concerning some things then in debate, which do not relate to the causes of his suffering, and which are of no use now, these vain jarglings and unprofitable strifes of words being ceased, and his opinion about them not being a testimony for the truth, nor espoused by any of the godly as a head of suffering or contending for; the encouragers of this work have thought fit that the preamble be past by, and the testimony itself only published.]

The last Testimony of WILLIAM CUTHIL, seaman in Borrowstounness, who suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

I here, as one ready to step into eternity, and one of the subjects of a kingdom covenanted to God, and one of Christ's sufferers, enter my protestation, and give in my testimony against all that hath been done against Christ's reigning, and the thriving of his kingdom in Scotland, since the beginning of the work of reformation. And more particularly, against all the several steps of backsliding: as,

1st, The admitting Charles Stuart to the exercise of kingly power,* and crowning him, while they knew he carried heart enmity against the work and people of God, and while in the mean time there was so much of his treachery made known to the parliament, by his commissionating James Graham earl of Montrose to burn and slay the subjects of this kingdom, that would not side with, or would withstand him in the prosecuting of his wickedness; which is recorded in the causes of wrath, and the remonstrances of the gentlemen, ministers, and commanders attending the forces in the West, in the year 1650.

2d, Against the unfaithfulness, connivance and compliance of ministers, and others, at the wickedness perpetrated in the land during the time of Cromwell's usurpation; for, as I am informed, few testified against him, for trampling all the interests of Jesus Christ under his feet, in giving toleration to all sectaries (whereof the abominable and blasphemous Quakers are a witness, whose religion is nothing but refined Paganism at the best, yea, I think it is much worse) which was to set up their thresholds beside Christ's, and their altars beside the Lord's, in a land covenanted to God, never to suffer the like, and lying under the same bonds.

3d, Against the public resolutions, for the bringing in malignants to the places of power and trust; which have been the rod in God's hand above the heads and upon the backs of God's people, ever since they lusted after them; and now, I suppose, they are convinced (at least some of them) that God hath given them on the finger-ends for it: but we have not seen them confessing before God and his people, in public (for it should be as public as the sin was) that *they have added this sin to all their other sins, in asking them a king, whereas the Lord was their King.*

4th, I bear my testimony against that unparalleled practice of ministers, in quitting their charges; and that, which doth more aggravate their guilt, at his command, who had no power to act, nor right to be obeyed, neither in that, nor yet in civil things; for then he had unkinged himself; and their going away without almost ever a testimony who should have been the main men that should have told the people what to do. Oh and alas, for that practice! yet they were put away without being convicted of any crime done against him; but is it not against Presbyterian principles, that a king should depose ministers of the gospel, though he had a just right, all that time, to rule the civil state? for it was without controversy

* This ought not to be understood of the manner of his coronation, which is owned by all Presbyterians to have been most consonant to God's word, and the national constitution of Scotland, but of his disposition and practice, which was too evidently contradictory to the sacred engagements he came under.

that he had imprisoned some of Christ's ministers, without being ever summoned, or treated by any legal procedure, as Naphtali records, and usurped the ecclesiastic officers seat to depose the rest of them.

5th, I hold it as one of the causes of God's wrath against the land, and one of the causes of God's breaking and scattering that poor handful of men at Pentland, that renewed the covenant at Lanerk, and did not keep out his interest out of it; for it only binds us to its maintainers, not to its destroyers.

6th, I bear testimony against the procedure of the ministers, when they came to the fields again after Pentland, because they did not first begin with public and private fasts, and make up the hedge and gap for the church of God in Scotland: and then only preaching to cases of conscience, and not catechising the people, nor informing them in the duty of the day: but did let them pay curates stipends, and other revenues of that nature. But I think they were engaged to God under the pain of losing soul and body, in the day of God's fearful judgment, to tell the people to chase them out of the land. Seeing Prelacy was abjured and cast out like an abominable branch, as it was, were they not worthy to die the death, that would, against so much light, defile God's land with that abjured abomination? but forsooth, to this day, they must be fed like birds in a cage upon the fattest in the land, and the spoils of Christ's crown.

7th, I bear my testimony against that course carried on by the ministers; their conniving at, countenancing of, and complying with these indulged, that have quit Christ, and taken on with another master. O the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously! yea, they were open persecutors of the really godly, thereafter for their faithfulness, and were about to stop their mouth, and to make that indulgence the door by which all the ministers were to enter to their ministry.

8th, I bear my testimony against their treachery at Bothwell bridge, in stopping the drawing up of the causes of God's wrath, and keeping a fast day, and changing their declaration; and in hindering the purging of the army: and to mend all, they raised the ugliest clamour and report among them that minded and spoke honestly and truly, that could be.

9th, I bear my testimony against their treachery at Edinburgh, when a proclamation came out to the view of the world, blaspheming God's true religion, and declaring that all that belonged to God was due to Charles Stuart, which is the plain sense of the act: and they sat in an assembly, and voted for a liberty coming from him to preach by: though the very same day that that was proclaimed, two of their more worthy and faithful brethren were murdered: I think this people are

grown like brute beasts. O how much pomp and jovialty was that day in rejoicing over the ruins of the work of God and his people, yea, over himself! There was first a scaffold made on the east side of the cross, and a green table set down on it, and two green forms; and then the cross was covered; and about twelve hours of the day, the pursuivants, and lyon heralds, and lyon king at arms, and eight trumpeters went up to the cross, and fourteen men on the foresaid scaffold, and seven of them with red gowns of velvet, and seven with black, and then that act was read, and at night the bells were ringing, and bonfires burning. O I think it was a wonder, that God made not all the town where such wickedness was acted against and in despite of him, to sink to the lowest hell.

10th. I leave my testimony against them, for running away and leaving God's flock after Bothwell-bridge, when they had drawn them to the fields: the Lord be judge this day between them and his flock, and let their sentence come out from before his presence, and let his eyes behold those things that are equal. O their skirts are full of the blood of souls! they say, the people hath left them, but it is more evident than that it can be gainsayed, that they have left the people. Does not the Scripture say, that they who are in the watchmens place, should warn the people when they see the sword come; and have not the ministers of Scotland had the first hand in all these courses of backslidings? Should they be pure with unclean hands, and the unjust balance (so to say) and the bag of deceitful weights. Well, their sins are known to be no more sins of weakness, but sins of wickedness.

11th. I bear testimony against them, because they did not join with their brethren in the work of the day, in preaching to the people in the fields, with Mr. Richard Cameron and Mr. Donald Cargil. And will ye tell me, although there were never one to open their mouth in that thing, does not the work of the one confound them to silence, and the work of the other justify and plead for them? But there is one thing, I have learned from the practice of all this people, and God's dealing with them. They have sought their own, and one another's credit, more than God's, and he hath discovered their wickedness in their ugliness.

12th. I bear my testimony against their obstinacy, in refusing to return and amend their manners. They hold fast wickedness, and refuse to let it go, and that against the light of God's word, their own consciences, their vows and engagements to God, the cries of bloodshed, the cries of wrong done to God and his work, and against these their former preachings and practices; that they will not come out and rid the ground, so to speak, and seek out the causes of God's wrath, and set days

of humiliation apart, and see that they be kept, and renew their engagements, and carry themselves like ministers of Jesus Christ afterward. Is this erroneous? Is not this according to Presbyterian principles? Does not the Confession of our Faith say, these who offend the church, and their brethren, shall make their repentance as public as their offences have been? Is not this the plain meaning of that article, yea, the very words almost, of the Confession of Faith, chap. xv. art. last? without which thing be done, (if any would take my counsel, who am looking to receive the sentence of death every hour) I would say, meddle not with them, for they have not only sinned against the church of God and their brethren, and their own souls, but against God: and have they not been light and treacherous? whereof many instances may be given. Have they not polluted the sanctuary? have they not done violence to the law? have they not been unfaithful? are they not walking very openly amongst God's stated enemies, while the people of God dare not be seen? I fear, if they make not haste to come off these courses, that God's wrath shall overtake them, ere it be long. And lastly, I bear my testimony against them, for their untenderness to weak consciences, and making use of their gifts and parts to wrest the word of God, to put out that light which God has given poor things: of which I, among others, have a proof: for one of them came into the prison, and told me, that he had been dealing with him, who had been pursuing us to death, (the king's advocate) that he would not take innocent blood upon him: and out of love and tenderness to our souls, he came to pay us a visit, and said, he was neither a curate nor an indulged man, but a minister of the gospel: so he said, that we would be well advised what we were doing, for the advocate had said, we were shortly to be before the criminal court. And I asked, what he advised us to do? and began to tell him the ground whereupon we were accused, which was this, that Charles Stuart, having broken and burnt God's covenant, and compelled all that he could by his forces to do the like, and slain many upon that account: upon this head I declined his authority: and being hard questioned, confessed, that I thought it lawful to kill him, but I did not say by whose hands: and he said, all that would not see me from being his subject, and instanced Zedekiah's case to prove it: but I was not in case to speak to him, (being confused with a distracted man who was in with us) only I told him, there was as great a difference betwixt that of Zedekiah, and this in hand, as east was from west, and he called us James and Jambres, who withstood the truth, when we would not hear him: and said, there was no such thing as any condition holden out in the form and order of the coronation,

that did free us from allegiance to Charles Stuart upon that account. But what? do they think, that every one can reason and debate with them, or else that they are not christians, but gainstanders of the truth? hath not God given to every man his measure of light and grace both? If they know not this, and walk not accordingly, they were never worthy to be ministers of the gospel. He said, that he would send me any of the ministers whom I pleased to call for: I said, that I heard tell Mr. Donald Cargil was taken, would he send him to me, and I would take it as a great kindness off his hand; but he said, that he had taken a way by himself. But what shall I say, my heart is like to sink, when I think on them, and the case of the laud. O I think, it is a desperate like case! only I know God can, and I hope he will cure it.

Next, I bear my testimony against all that pay cess and locality to uphold Christ's enemies, the bloody soldiers, or any of that cursed crew; yea, against all that give them meat or drink, when they come to their houses, it being so expressly against Christ and the covenant; and against all that pay customs or duties, belonging to the crown of Scotland, unto Charles Stuart, his officers, collectors, or taxmen; seeing all that is employed against Christ, and against all that shall do it, till they wot well that it be otherwise employed; and against all bonders with them, or to him, or any in his name, or delegated by him, or clothed with his authority; seeing they are persons worthy of no credit; whereof I have a proof in my taking. Ye would do well to believe the wise man, Solomon, who says, *When he speaks fair, believe him not, for there are seven abominations in his heart.*

Next, I leave my testimony against all that side with, or strengthen the hands of the adversaries of the Lord, in less or more, against clear conviction from the word of God, or sound reason; and particularly against this duke, that bold and truculent Papist, who hath defiled the Lord's land with his altars and images. And I protest against this ensuing parliament, for putting power in his hand to do what he pleaseth; for by the word of God, and the laws of the land, he should die the death. And also, I bear testimony against these who have sided with, or strengthened the foresaid enemy, and will not come off again. O if they will not help the people of God, that they would let them alone, and not help their adversaries.

Next, I leave my testimony against the gentry and commonalty, for letting so much innocent blood be shed, some of which ranks, I think God hath a turn to put in their hands yet, if they would espouse his quarrel, and turn to him with all their hearts, and not suffer the work to go as it does; but indeed they must keep company with God's stated enemies, and learn

the court fashion. I will tell you one thing, ye have lost the manners of the court of heaven, by learning the manners of the courts of men. O what think ye to do? or how think ye to be accountable to God? will ye but speak your minds; who think ye hath the best end of the controversy? will ye let the fear of men and the devil prevail with you more than the fear of God? or what think ye this duke would do to you, when he sees his opportunity? will ye trust bloody Papists? it may be, ye may be put to suffer on worse accounts yet, if ye will not own God, and his people; but there are but very few of you now, who are ought but mockers. Will ye turn to the Lord with all your hearts. Is it any shame to you to take shame to yourselves, in glorifying God by confessing your sins, and turning from them? but will you tell me now, who think ye can be at one with you, while ye are standing out against God? will you read but the first chapter of Isaiah, and consider it, and the first two chapters of Jeremiah, the second of Joel, the prophecy of Haggai, Isa. xii. Ezek. vii. O consider, and if not, the Lord and you take it between you. Read and consider, Psal. l. 5.

Now, what shall I say to you, who own and adhere to God's cause, against all his enemies? O that I could let you see the inside of my heart! Will ye learn christianity; seek the Lord and get him on your side. I think, it is a good token of a sanctified heart, that longs more to be in God's company, nor other folks; that sees the worst of evil lies in committing sin. Beware of heart-risings and grudgings one against another; know, that there is a great difference between sins of weakness, and sins of wickedness; ye may not mark every failing, for if ye do, ye shall not have two to stay together in Scotland. O but there be much need of the gospel, and these ministers will not come out and contend for Christ! without which, though I were at liberty, God knows, I durst not meddle with them, and I would rather keep a-back from them nor other folk; for I think, there are many of them either unconcerned, or then dreadfully misled, for how can it be otherwise, not bearing with tender consciences, for they will rather strive to break folk than build them up; but how can any that has love to Christ look on them with good-will: I do verily think, if ever they turn again, the world shall hear tell of it. It is beyond all controversy, that they have quit their first works, and their first love. O will ye learn to be sober and grave. Cleave to your covenants and engagements: I say, mind your engagements; look what becomes of covenant-breakers. I would say unto you, take no courses by the end, till God give you cleanness; but indeed, I know, that God will reprove many in this generation, because they

put away light from them. Now ye are deprived of all cleanly preaching; but will ye observe Christ's answer to the spouse in the Song, when he says, "Where makest thou thy flocks to rest at noon?" He says, "If thou knowest not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds tents:" Beware of "turning aside after the flocks of his companions." Beware of these ministers of Charles Stuart, these indulged and these Prelatic, these mockers of God, and contemners of the godly, these Christ-deserters, these undervaluers of heaven, these scandalous and insignificant time-servers, whom God hath blasted, to the conviction of all the generation that see any thing; these monsters of men, the disgrace of the ministry, the just contempt of the generation. God hath sometimes had a church without a ministry, but he never had a ministry without a church. Doth not the Scriptures say, *That for many days Israel shall be without a priest, without a teraphim, &c.* Do we not see in the Revelation, *The two witnesses slain, and lie three days and a half.* But O cry to God, *That he would send forth labourers to his vineyard; for verily the harvest is great, but the labourers are few.* If there be a casting at the gospel on the people's side, then I think they shall be in extreme hazard of losing their soul, if God's mercy prevent it not; for then they refuse to be guided by God: but if *when the hireling sees the wolf come, he run away, and leave the sheep, because he is an hireling,* then I think the mercy of God is engaged for the sheep, because *they have no shepherd.* It is not the first time that Israel has been *scattered as sheep having no shepherd;* but it is as sure as the sun shines, none can keep himself, nor guide himself: *it is not in him that walketh, to direct his steps.* And God hath "sown a joyful light to the upright;" and he has said, "Him that sitteth in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the Lord, and stay himself upon his God." But could the spouse rest in Jerusalem, and her husband not to be found? It is beyond debate, that she made all the fields ado before she wanted him. Can the spouse see another wear her husband's clothes, and be well satisfied? yea, one that has robbed, spoiled, and shut him to the doors, with disgrace, contempt and shame, and as one unworthy to manage the affairs of his own house; and has defied him to take any thing back again, and has set up legs and arms, heads and hands, and quarters of the children, as trophies of victory, over the goodman of the house, and has triumphed with spite and contempt, and is only seeking it of the poor widow, the wife and the bairns to be quiet, and accept of him for a husband and father: so I say, shall the wife and children of such a husband and father be peace-

able to see this? I trow, there are few earthly folk would do so: but O! who can shew the difference here, as to searching out it cannot be. The Lord keep you from dwelling at ease, under one roof, with such an one. Beware of making any treaty of peace with such a robber and murderer as this; beware of feeding these his soldiers, or giving them quarters, when they come to your houses. O but the kings of Assyria knew well enough, that *the kings of Israel were merciful kings!* If ye will not use the sword at God's bidding, God will put it (as he hath) into the hands of his and your enemies, to use it against you. Indeed I think, "till Saul's sons be hanged up before the Lord, the plague of famine shall not be stayed from Israel."

Now, in the next place, I witness by this testimony, my adherence to the Scriptures of truth, the Holy Bible, the Old and New Testament, which has been made sweet to me. The fault is not in them that we understand them not, but in us, and this we have as our old father Adam's heirship. I witness my adherence to the Covenants, National and Solemn League; Confession of Faith; only there is in it something concerning the magistrate's calling a Synod of ministers, by virtue of his magistratical power, which ought to be cautiously understood, according to the general assembly's explication. I adhere to the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, Psalms in metre, Directory for worship, Form of Church-government; the doctrine of the church of Scotland, as it is held out in the word of God, and laid down in the foresaid papers. I adhere to all the faithful testimonies for truth in Scotland, of one sort and another, and particularly these three, the papers found at the Queens-ferry of the date of the 3d of June, the Sanquhar declaration, the Rutherglen testimony, and every other paper tending to the good of religion, particularly the Causes of Wrath; and I request all to read and consider them. I leave my testimony against them that say, that I am a self-murderer, because I speak that which God gave me to speak, before his adversaries: and I think that it is my great mercy, that he hath helped me to be free before them in matters of truth, relating to the dis-owning of them, and standing to our God's, and our own rights. This paper I leave as my testimony, and formed and deliberate thoughts; and request all to bear with faults of weakness, especially when the sword of the adversary is above a man's head. Now, farewell world, and all things in it. Welcome Lord Jesus Christ, into thy hands I recommend my spirit.

See subscriber,

WILLIAM CUTHBERT.

The dying Testimony of ROBERT GARNOCK, hammerman in Stirling, who suffered at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, October 10, 1681.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

I having received a sentence of death from men for adhering to the truth, against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism and indulgences first and last, and all that was contrary to sound doctrine; am now to leave a line behind me, as the Lord will help me to write, and to tell you, that however this generation may condemn me, as having a hand in my own death, I declare that it is not so; for I die a Presbyterian in my judgment. For I considering, how solemnly Scotland was bound to defend truth against all encroachments made thereon, with their lives and liberties, and how they of this nation had so easily broken their vows and engagements; and then seeing through the Scriptures, how deep covenant-breaking draws, and what a great and heinous sin this is in the sight of God; could do no less than give in my protestation against all their proceedings, in their hell-hatched acts that were so contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants; and it is for that, that I am come in your presence this day, to lay down this life of mine; for which I bless the Lord that ever he honoured the like of me with a gibbet and a bloody winding-sheet, for his noble, honourable and sweet cause. O will ye love him, sirs! O he is well worth the loving, and quitting all for! O for many lives to seal the sweet cause with! if I had as many lives as there are hairs in my head, I would think them all too little to be martyrs for truth. I bless the Lord, I do not suffer unwillingly, nor by constraint, but heartily and cheerfully. O but the Lord hath taken great pains on me to train me up for this great work. I bless his holy name, that over he counted me worthy of such honour; his love hath been to me beyond many. I have been a long time a prisoner, and have been altered of my prison; I was among, and in the company of the most part who suffered since Bothwell; and was in company with many ensnaring persons, though I do not question but they were godly folk; and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counsel. Glory, glory be to his holy and sweet name. O but it is many a time a wonder, how I have done such and such things! but it is he that hath done it: he hath done all things well, both in me and for me; holy is his name. O if I could get my royal King Jesus cried up, and all the world down! O will you fall in love with Christ! friends, what ails you at him, and his sweet cause? I can assure you, he is no hard master to serve. O he is lovely! *He is white*

and ruddy, the chief among ten thousands. I desire none of you to think, I suffer as an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters; or that it is out of blind zeal, that I am come here this day: no, for it was after serious consideration that I did it, and after great weights and pressures. It was great grief of soul to me, to see my Master's truth so wronged, trampled on and abused by a God-daring generation, and none to speak for him. And now my Lord is highly honouring me for that; glory to his great name for it. For he hath honoured me and my neighbours with irons, and the thieves hole, which were sweet and refreshful to us, and then honoured us wonderfully to go in before these bloody men, and get our sentences.

Our interrogations are known, I have not time to write them. But I disowned them, for disowning of the covenant, and adhered to my protestation given in against them: and now am come to the Gallowlee, to lay down my life, and to have my head cut off, and put upon a port. It is known, how barbarously I have been used by them, and how honourably such a silly wretch as I am hath been carried through: glory be to his sweet name for it. Indeed it was the bargain betwixt Christ and my soul long since, that through his strength I should be for him, and at his bidding, whatever piece of work he put in my hand; and he promised, that his grace should be sufficient for me; and that his strength should be seen in my weakness; and that go whither I would, he would go with me, through fire and water, the flames would not scorch me, nor the waters overflow me. O take him sirs! for he is faithful who hath promised, and he will perform. Now, as a dying martyr for Christ, I would leave it on all of you to make haste, and prepare for strokes, for they are at hand; and do not think, that they will not come, because they are delayed. No, he will come, and that as a thief in the night, and will surprise many of you, if not all: Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. I would not have you secure, but take warning in time, before his wrath break forth. He hath waited long on Scotland's repentance: it is like, he will not bear much longer. Do not sleep, as do others, but rise, make haste, get on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand. It is dangerous now to be out of God's gate; it is not good siding with God's enemies; it will be dangerous to be found in their camp. I would not be in their stead for all the gold of Ophir, who have saved their lives with prejudice to the work and people of God. I would have them take warning. They say, they have done nothing, but what was lawful and right; but they commit transgression, and (with the whore) wipe their mouth, and say, they have done no evil. Indeed they may

put off men so, but they will not get God and their own consciences put off. They need never go about the bush, for I see not how any that is faithful, being once brought before them, can win honestly off; for if ye will but say, ye disown their authority, then your life must go. For they had as little to lay to my charge as to any, yet I could not win off with a good conscience, but to the gallows I must go: and glory to his great name, who hath honoured me; or that ever he gave me a head to be set on a post for his sweet name and cause. Now, as for what I own or disown, I being straitened by reason of the want of time, cannot get it set down here; and another thing I see, that martyrs testimonies are of no value, and very lightly esteemed.

I give my testimony to the holy and sweet Scriptures, Covenants, Confession of Faith, which are according to the Scriptures, Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all that our worthies have done, in defence of the gospel, at Pentland, Loudon hill, Bothwell bridge, and Airsmoss; to Rutherglen testimony, and Sanquhar declaration, Ferry papers, and Torwood excommunication, the Fife testimony, D—ie, K—le, and P—'s protestations, and all that hath been done in defence of the gospel, wherever it hath been done. And I, as a dying martyr for the truth, give my testimony against all the encroachments on our Lord's rights, in less or more, as Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and indulgences first and last, and all that side with them. And I, as a dying witness for Christ, desire friends to the cause of Christ, to beware of them; 'for, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. They will neither enter the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor will they suffer others to go in thereat.' Beware of their fair speeches, for they and the devil thought to have made me break with my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, that noble bargain betwixt him and my soul. O! but the professors of this generation are evil and bitter against the sweet way of the Lord, and his poor people.

Next, I give my testimony against all the enemies of God, and all that join with them, in paying cess, locality, militia-money, or whatever is for the strengthening of their hands. And now I leave it again on you, that ye would not brand me with having a hand in my own death; for I could not get my life saved, unless I had taken upon me all the blood of the people of God, and owned that as lawful authority which had taken away my dear brethren's lives; and said, that it was just and right what they have done. And indeed, they seek no more of any, if they will but own them in what they do. They think, they are right enough in taking away our lives, when they who are called Presbyterians own them and their tyran-

ny to be authority. And now when I am to go away, I would have you to lay to heart, how deeply owning of them draws, and how much of the wrath of God ye draw on you in so doing. O sirs! I would have you beware, and look what a weighty business it is: and *obey God rather than man*. I bless the Lord, I am this day to step out of time into eternity; and I am no more troubled than if I were to take a marriage in the earth, and not so much. I bless the Lord, I have much peace of conscience in what I have done. O! but I think it a very weighty business for me to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled. Indeed the Lord is kind, and hath trained me up for this day, and now I can want him no longer. I will get my fill of love this night; for 'I will be with him in paradise, and get a new song put in my mouth, the song of Moses and of the Lamb;' I will be in amongst 'the general assembly of the first born,' and enjoy the sweet presence of God and his Son Jesus Christ, and 'the spirits of just men made perfect:' I am sure of it.

O dear friends, I would, as one going to eternity, obtest you, that you make good earnest in religion, and be restless until you get a clearness of an interest in Christ; for it is a dangerous time to live in the dark. I would have you consider what a weighty business it is to deny the Lord of glory before men. There has strange things of this nature fallen out in this our day. O! look to yourselves: I would entreat you, to be for God, and he will be for you; confess him, and he will confess you. As good soldiers, endure hardness, wax valiant in suffering. Resist unto blood, for it is the cause of God that is at stake. O! there are none of you lamenting after God; ah! is there none of you that hath love to the Lord, and will take part with him, against all his enemies? O! but it be sad to see you with such whole hearts, and so little grief among you, for the robbery that the Lord of glory is getting. I declare my suffering is nothing, but when I see you who are professors, what an unconcerned people ye are, it makes my soul bleed to see you in such a frame, when the church is in such a condition. I wish the Lord may help poor young ones, that are brought up under you with the want of the gospel. O for the gospel back again to Scotland! Oh for one faithful minister in all the land! O but the harvest be great, and the labourers few! As for my part, now when I am going into eternity, I declare, I see not, nor hear of a minister in all Scotland, who is at the duty the Lord calls for at ministers hands, in preaching against all sorts of sin: *in season, and out of season, rebuking, reproofing, and exhorting*. As for my part, I cannot join with them who are not so.

Now, my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himself;

and honouring me after my worthy pastor, Mr. James Guthrie; although I knew nothing when he was alive; yet the Lord hath honoured me to protest against Popery, and to seal it with my blood; and he honoured him to protest against Prelacy, and to seal it with his blood. The Lord hath kept me in prison to this day for that end. His head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine must go on another. Glory, glory to the Lord's holy and sweet name, for what he hath done for me. O set days apart, and bless his holy and never enough exalted name, for what he hath done for me. O sirs! his cross hath been all paved over with love all alongst, and it is sweeter now than ever. O will ye be persuaded to fall in love with the cross of royal Jesus? O take him. Will ye be entreated to come and taste of his love! O sweet lot this day, for me to go to a gibbet for Christ and his cause! I think the thoughts of this do ravish my heart and soul, and make me to fall out in wondering, that I am within so few hours of that endless joy, that paradise, among these flowers and trees, that are on each side of that *pure river, clear as crystal*, where the tree is, that *bears twelve manner of fruits, and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations*. O that I could leave this weight upon you: yea, with as great weight as it lies on my spirits, to see how few of you are travelling to that land. O be much above, and be here as strangers: I mean, in respect of conformity to this world, though hated of it, and studying to live the life that our Lord hath commanded in his word: and "suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." Now, I bless the Lord, I am not as many suspect me, thinking to win heaven by my suffering; no, no: I know there is no winning of it, but through the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye who are the true seekers of God, and so the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent, and run fast; time is precious: O make use of it, and act for God, contend for the truth, stand for God against all his enemies. Fear not the wrath of men. Love one another. Wrestle with God mutually in societies. *Confess your faults one to another; pray with one another; Reprove, rebuke, exhort one another in love.* Slight no commanded duty; be faithful in your stations, as ye will be answerable in the great day.

Now, having no more time, I bid farewell to you all. Farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, wherewith I have been refreshed many a day. I would have you read much of them, and pray over them to the Lord, that ye may get his blessing with, and the right use of them. O! make use of your Bibles, my dear friends, so long as you have them. Seek not counsel from men. Follow none further than they hold by truth.

Now I request you have a care: this land is like to come under great errors. Now, farewell sweet reproaches for my lovely Lord Jesus, though once they were not joyous, but grievous, yet now they are sweet: I bless the Lord for it. I heartily forgive all men, for any thing they have said of me; I pray, that it may not be laid to their charge in the day of accounts. As for what they have done to God and his cause, I leave that to God and their own consciences. Farewell all christian acquaintances and relations, father and mother, brethren and sisters; farewell sweet prison for my royal Lord Jesus Christ: it is now at an end; farewell all crosses of one sort and another; and so farewell every thing in time, reading, praying, and believing. Welcome eternal life, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

Sic Subscibitur,

ROBERT GARNOCK.

The last Testimony of PATRICK FORMAN, who lived in Allou, and suffered at the Gallowee, October 10, 1681.

I thought it fit, being sentenced to die within three days, to write this testimony, to shew you, that I die not as a fool; and I declare I am in my right mind, and not prodigal of my life, as some allege, but I love life as well as any, and would do as much to save it: but when my life comes in competition with the truths of Jesus Christ, I dare not buy it with the denial of the smallest truths (if any may be called small) but know, that the least of the truths are of greater moment than the whole world, and the inhabitants thereof. Now, therefore, do not asperse me when I am gone, with not being a Presbyterian, for though in great weakness, I am a Presbyterian, both in profession and practice, though my failings be many.

1st, I believe there is but one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: one Redeemer, one way of salvation, and that it is through Jesus Christ, according to that word, John xxiv. 6, *Jesus saith unto them, I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.* And likewise I leave my testimony to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and my soul desires to bless the Lord, that ever they were in our mother tongue. My soul hath been refreshed in conversing with them, when the Spirit of the Lord has backed them; but I knew likewise, they are but a killing letter without the Spirit; yet this I would advise you, as a dying martyr for Christ, to search the Scriptures, and seek the Lord's mind in them; for there are none noble, but these who

search the Scriptures; and O that I could recommend them to you, as they have been sweet and refreshful to me; yea, they are as a garden of sweet-smelling flowers; in them are cures for all diseases, and remedies for all distempers; yea, they commend themselves, they need none of my commendation. Make good use of them, while ye have them; for if idolaters get their will, they will not be long amongst you; I pray the Lord may prevent it.

2d, I leave my testimony to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I bear my testimony to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant. Likewise I adhere to all the faithful testimonies that have been given for the truth, since the year 1638; especially the Sanquhar declaration, and Rutherglen testimony, and the papers found on Henry Hall at the Queensferry, called the New Covenant; and to the lawfulness of Torwood excommunication, and all the testimonies of the martyrs, who are gone before me, according to truth, both in fields, on scaffolds, and in the seas; and likewise I leave my testimony to that poor persecuted remnant that are yet left as berries on the tops of the utmost branches, wandering about, being desolate, afflicted and tormented, groaning under the sad yoke of tyranny. O Lord, deliver them in thy own way and time; and encourage them now when there is no encouragement from men, and their eyes cannot behold their teachers. And now, my friends, I tell you, being within a few hours to step out of time into eternity, that ye beware of casting aspersions on any of the Lord's people, for owning their duty, which is avowing and declaring Jesus Christ to be King in Zion, head of his people, and only Lord of your consciences; and declining all powers which are contrary to and inconsistent with our Lord's kingly power. And now I declare, I own magistracy, as it is an ordinance of God, and offered my willing subjection unto them; but when the magistrate becomes a tyrant by overturning the whole law of God, and the just laws of the nation, he or they being once covenanted to the contrary, then I think it my duty, as I am bound by the Scripture, and our covenants, and my own conscience, to show, in my station, my dislike of the wrongs my lovely Lord and Master is getting; for as the Scripture declares, *There are no powers but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God.* Then consequently that power cannot be of God, that murders the people of God; otherwise ye must say, that the Lord is the author of evil, which were horrid blasphemy. Now therefore, my dear friends, suppose that they will take away our lives, under the name of treason and rebellion, (as they have done to our brethren these

twenty years) yet it is not so, but for religion and loyalty to our Lord and Master, and to every ordinance of man, as it is consistent with the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, as ye would be answerable at the day of our appearance: when we shall stand naked and bare before the Judge of all the earth, speak not against us, lest ye be reckoned amongst the fighters against Jesus Christ: for I declare, I have owned nothing, but that which is the duty of the whole nation, as well as mine. And I doubt not but the Lord will reckon with this generation, ere it be long, for maintaining that throne of iniquity these twenty years.

And now, I declare, as a dying man, that it is but justice that is come upon this poor nation; for when the Lord set them free from that yoke of bondage they were lying under, by that old tyrant Charles I. who designed to cut off the Lord's people, which he put in practice, in murdering the Lord's people in Ireland, by the hands of the bloody Papists, and thought to have done so to England and Scotland, but the Lord prevented him, and put a stop to his tyranny, by suffering men to take away his life, and causing his family to be banished; and brake the yoke off our neck, and became our Lord, King and head; we soon wearied of the Lord, and cast him off, and said, *We will have a king to rule over us, like the nations;* and ye may judge, whether he has reigned Saul-like or not? and I doubt not but he shall be taken away in wrath, because he was given in the Lord's anger; and though his time has been a groaning time, yet his end shall be terrible, and the people shall find the smart of it, as the children of Israel did, when they fell at Gilboa. Friends, look for sad days when we are gone. O therefore, I entreat you, as ye would tender the glory of God, and desire the salvation of your own souls, mourn for the wrongs ye have done to the glory of God, in your owning of that tyrant, who is the malignant's head and god. And now I am sure, ye are left without excuse, if ye will not cast him off; and they who will say, he hath power over civil matters, must say, God is unjust, and he is the author of evil, which were horrid blasphemy.

The matter of my condemnation is, because I will not yield to their iniquitous laws, and call tyranny authority, and a constitution of wickedness, a constitution of God; which I dare not, for my soul, have the least thought of. And now, my friends, I am to die for protesting against Popery, and the inbringing of that Papist the Duke, to defile the Lord's land; and declining their power, because they had murdered my brethren these twenty years, and testifying against all the wrongs my lovely Lord and Master hath got. Therefore I charge you, to beware of speaking against me, or any of my brethren; for my

head and my right hand shall be a witness against you, who shall condemn us; whatever I have been, I am now highly honoured to witness for Christ's cause. And now, my dear friends, I must tell you, that grace is free, and I am a debtor to free grace, and I am as a brand plucked out of the fire; yet my Lord hath loved me with an everlasting love. And I bless the Lord, I am in my right mind, and has hatred against no man's person, but in so far as they are fighting against my God, and plotting against his holy child Jesus; but as it is written, Psal. ii. 9, *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potsherd.* I leave my testimony against Charles Stuart, for his breach of covenant, and for his setting forth that hellish act of supremacy; whereby he rescinded the law of God, and the just law of the land, that he might murder the Lord's people. I likewise leave my blood upon him, and these bloody counsellors, justiciary and assizers; because they take away my life, and the lives of my brethren, without a shadow of law or justice; for there were none of us guilty of action or crimes, and the protestation we gave them, shall be a standing witness against them. 2d, I leave my testimony against Prelacy, because they have taken upon them the place of Lords, which is proper to none but Jesus Christ; for we have but one God, one Lord, one Saviour and Master, &c. and they have our blood upon their heads. I leave my testimony against all the proceedings against the Lord's people, for their murders in the fields, and in the sea, and on scaffolds. I leave my testimony against the bringing home of that tyrant, Charles Stuart, after they knew that he had broken all bonds that could bind men, and was no more to be believed. I likewise leave my testimony against the duke of York, and against the reception of him, first and last, because they knew he was a professed Papist, and was seeking nothing but the lives of the Lord's people, as his actions declare: first, he behoved to have a draught of these five men's blood at Magus meir, and next, of Mr. James Skeen, John Potter, Archibald Stewart, and the rest of our brethren since: O bloody wretch! he is filling himself drunk with the blood of the saints; and when he was declared vice-roy and high commissioner, as they call him, he behoved to have a draught of blood to sit down with, viz. of that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargil, and the other four; and then they sat down to their parliament, for enacting these hell-hatched acts, placing Charles Stuart and his succession for their god; and that they call law and authority for their Bible. And now when they have taken their breath, they must have our blood to stocken them. I leave my testimony against the parliamenters, and my blood upon them, I am sure they will find

it, and my brethren's, lying heavy upon them. Likewise leave my testimony against bonders, cess and locality payers, for strengthening the hands of these wicked ruffians, the troopers and soldiers, who destroy the Lord's people. Now therefore, dear friends, I warn you, as you would fly from the wrath to come, shake yourselves of these things, if so be there may be hope; it may be if ye be serious, ye will be hid in the day of the Lord's anger: take warning, and fly from the wrath that is to come.

Likewise I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of the watchmen of Scotland, for they have not fed the flock, but fed themselves. Therefore I, as a dying man, must tell you, that it will be a wonder, if ever ye be honoured to be faithful, for your turning your backs on your Master, when all men are set against him, and your seeking to save your lives, when the Lord is calling you to suffer, rather than to yield, or quit one hair of the truth. Ye think nothing to call tyranny lawful magistracy, and by that ye say, that all the martyrs, who have suffered under tyranny these twenty years, have suffered justly. If that word be true, *There is no power but of God*; then certainly Charles Stuart's power must not be of God; for his unheard of murders, perjuries and adulteries. Now I say, those who call him a magistrate, they say, that God is the author of sin, which is horrid blasphemy; and I think, there are few ministers in Scotland, who are free of that horrid sin, and are not in some sort guilty of their brethren's blood; for ye are an upcast to poor sufferers. Now therefore, I advise you to repent, for I shall wish you no wrong. I might say much to that purpose, but I shall forbear, only I desire the Lord may forgive you, for your lukewarmness, neutrality, indifferency and sinful silence, where there is none to speak for Jesus Christ. And now I advise you that are his people, to take warning from me as a dying man, not to join with them, till their repentance be as visible as their sin hath been. O seek teachers from the Lord, for he will not want ministers, when he hath an errand to send them. Wait on the Lord, for he doth all things well. Now, my dear friends, who desire to live godly, look out for tribulation and affliction, and the scourge of tongues, and the envy and malice of devils. The ministers will reproach you and condemn you, and the worldly-wise professors will advise you to run at leisure, and not condemn the godly for their failings: it is true, I grant the godly may fall and rise again; but alas! their apostacy in denying their Master, and defending it, will be found very hard and terrible in the sight of the Lord.

Now, I must not tarry, being surprised with shortness of time, having the king of terrors to grapple with. Only this I

say, (my dear friends) make haste, get your peace made with God, and in your stations contend for him; labour to have nothing before your eyes but the glory of God, and ye shall undoubtedly get employment of him: make it your main work to seek the Lord. And now, that I am to step out of time into eternity, I bless the Lord for the way he hath taken with me; for all that I have met with, hath been in loving kindness; and I can say, that from my experience, he hath been kind to me in my wanderings and imprisonments; irons and stocks have been made sweet to me; yea, evil company hath been made useful to me. Yea, these antiscrypturists were made instructive to me; for I saw these four men (I mean John Gib and his followers) were once as fairly on the way, by appearance, as any I knew; but I see gifts are not graces, and now I think, they are hopeless; and I advise none that tenders the glory of God to meddle with them; for they are turned horrid blasphemers, and deniers of the Scriptures.— Beware of them; for I have no time to give you a particular account of them.

Now, my dear friends, farewell, with whom I have been refreshed many times; the love of God be with you, and carry you through. Farewell holy Scriptures, wherewith I have been comforted; farewell praying; farewell sweet imprisonment; farewell sweet stocks and irons for Christ's sake; farewell wanderings and sweet reproaches for my Lord's sake; farewell sun, moon and stars; farewell day and night; farewell all created comforts. Welcome death; welcome gallows, for Christ's sake; welcome eternity; welcome angels; welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome praises that shall never have an end. There I shall rest through all the ages of eternity, in Immanuel's land. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I recommend my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

PATRICK FORMAN.

The last Testimony of DAVID FARRIE, who suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, October 10, 1681.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I desire to bless the Lord, that I am sentenced to be a martyr for Christ and his cause, by wicked men, whose actions prove what they are; yet glory be to the name of God, that this day, I do not suffer as an evil doer, but for the testimony of the truth, in owning Jesus Christ as head in his church; yea, in the church of Scotland, and not only so, but covenanted to be so, as he was with the children of Israel, in the sight of the nations; which covenant, made betwixt Jesus Christ and

this land, I bless the Lord, that, by his strength, I have been enabled to own, before all these accusers of mine, especially the bloody committee, the bloody council, and the dreadful bloody assizers of the people of God, and givers of them their sentences of death, all instituted by Charles Stuart, who was once by his profession, and by his oath, an owner of that covenant. Now the grounds of my sentence are to be seen in my interrogations before the committee, council, and justiciary so called; at which I was asked, if I owned my former speeches? I said, what I had said, I had said: but in case that any might think, that I had heart-malice at him whom they called king, I told them, I wished neither him nor them, nor their souls, any more evil nor I wished my own; but since he had broken the covenant with God, and turned out all our ministers, obtruded Prelacy on the church, and overturned the whole work of reformation, I could not own him as a king and them as judges, seeing he and his emissaries were proceeding to bring in Popery into the land; and I disowned them as my judges; and told them, there was a day coming, wherein they and I would be arraigned before a judge, ere it was long, and receive righteous judgment, and that I in that day would be a witness against them for their unrighteous sentences against the people of God, and their unrighteous proceedings against us, to take away our lives for owning and adhering to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. And when I was asked again the same questions, I answered, what I had said, I had said; for I had said as much as would be for the wo and sorrow of all present, except those that were penitent. Now let men judge whether or not it becomes any to own Charles Stuart as king and them as judges, seeing they have broken the covenant, and overturned the work of reformation, and shed so much of the people of God their blood; and not only so, but also have made a duke, Popish by profession, heir to the crown, to be the door whereat they may receive Popery into the land. For I think there are none, but in some measure they allow Popery, that will not witness against, and withstand him and them in their proceedings, especially that black test, which that wicked parliament hath put forth, amongst all their other proceedings, these twenty years against God, his work and people; whereof the overturning our ministry, and thrusting in of Prelacy, the unlawful acts of indulgence first and last, the killing and murdering of the people of God, in fields, and scaffolds, and seas, in one place and another, are a witness. O the great witness, that is, and will be standing against the said Charles Stuart, and his unlawful council and parliaments, and all their proceedings! The Lord in the second commandment threatens his wrath against the children for the fathers

iniquity, unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate him; and if the Lord visit not the successors of this generation aforementioned, with dreadful judgments, I am mistaken; yea, and all these that join and comply with them, either ministers or professors, I mean the indulged, and all these that bond with the enemies, or give them clats of gear for their liberations, when they are brought to prison upon the account of owning the truth; or in any manner of way acknowledge them as magistrates; I say, (without repentance) I see no way that they can miss God's wrath.

But I think, I need not insist much on these subjects; for all the warnings they have gotten (which are many) by ministers and professors, one way or other, especially on scaffolds, since Mr. James Guthrie to this day, have not been effectual; their actings prove them to be more hardened in their sin than when they began. Therefore I think it seems, that the Lord will either give them no more warnings, or else take them shortly away, or both: indeed he may give them more warnings, but if ever they do the most part of this generation any good, I greatly question, I mean these whom I have named; for I think, with several others who are gone before me, and are going off the stage by death, that there will be dreadful judgments to follow on this generation, for breach of covenant with God, and open rebellion against him, by these iniquitous laws of theirs, in taking away their lives, liberties, and privileges of the people of God, and not only so, but in making Charles Stuart head of the church, which becomes not him nor any mortal; for Jesus Christ is head of his own church, and Lord over the consciences of men. And as for me, I would not have my conscience tied by Charles Stuart's belt, nor any who are called his subjects, though I were to live an hundred years; no, though I could have the whole world for my pains; for I might as well tie my conscience to the devil and my own corruptions, as do it, by yielding submission to his iniquitous laws, by either bond or cess, or any thing relating thereto. Now I bless the Lord, I hope, that he who hath led me hitherto, will lead me away from him, and his, and my own corruptions, and the devil, ere the tenth day of this month pass over.

And as for my own particular interest, I bless the Lord, I am in some measure, as clear of my interest in Christ, as I am that my pen is writing on this paper; for I hope, that the Lord will carry me honourably through, and give me that which he hath promised: ay when I asked him faith, he gave me faith, life, light, and a heart to believe, and love to him, and his glory, interest, cause, covenant and work of reformation, and strength to stand, and withstand my enemies inward and outward, who many a time have assulted and tempted me, striv-

ing to drive me away to sin. Indeed it is true, I lived most lewdly, ay till within a little more nor these four years. O if I could go to the stage, blessing and magnifying the Lord, that it hath pleased him to bring me from the devil's fire-side, as it were, and draw me out to hear the gospel of Christ! I bless the Lord, the first field-preaching that ever I heard, I entered in covenant with him to follow him, though it should cost me my life; and at a communion in Irongray in Galloway, I had the clear manifestation of my interest. O free grace! O free love! O free mercy! what am I, that he hath been so kind to me! O me! O poor me! and not only so, but also when he discovered the evils of the woful indulgence, from the supremacy, that he made it known to me, and also made me to stand and withstand that woful evil, and to join with that party, by the bond found upon Mr. Richard Cameron, whom he honoured to witness against it; and for this I desire to bless him. O! I think, it is Scotland's mercy this day, that he hath opened the eyes of the blind to see these abominations, especially among the ministers, I mean, the indulged, and those who plead for them! O! Scotland's mercy hath been great, that notwithstanding of their rebellion, and joining with rebles by that supremacy, the Lord opened the eyes of the blind to see these abominations, and to testify against them: O! I say, this is Scotland's mercy; though some may think otherwise; for if the Lord had not opened up that evil to poor things, it had been a token that he would have gone his way, and not owned his covenanted land any more; but it is a token for good yet to the land, that notwithstanding of all our rebellions against him by breach of covenant, he continues yet to discover to his people, what is sin and duty. And this also is a token that the Lord will not leave Scotland, though he may chastise it very sore; his taking the blood and lives of his saints, on fields, seas and scaffolds, to witness for his covenants: for the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. And this is another token for good to the church, that there is a remnant (though small) that is weeping and lamenting over the broken case of the church, and over the unconcernedness of the people of God, or of these who say they are the people of God, and that there are so few to keep clean garments, and to wrestle, and witness against the sins of this generation of covenant-breakers and usurpers. O sirs! is not this a sweet cordial yet, for all that is come upon us? O sirs, take courage, and plead with the Lord, and also, through his strength, plead with your whorish-mother, viz. the indulged, and their deeds, which they have done, and those that plead for them. O plead, and plead in patience; let not self rise, let not passion rise and vex you; *Be sober, be not soon an-*

gry; fear not reproaches; but beware of giving the enemies, or professed friends, just ground of reproach; walk in the sight of God and man both, without offence and reproach; and then if men will be offended, let it be for your duty, and not for your sin. But O be tender of the glory of God: let there be no vain janglings, or foolish and unlearned questions among you, knowing that they gender strife. Be tender one of another. Do not reprove every small circumstance, till ye have God with you in your reproof, and the thing be a known sin. Avoid evil company, and rather draw yourselves to prayer alone, and with company when ye can have the occasion, and miss no occasion; for it will be the ready way to cause the Lord leave you and the land; and then, *Wo to you, if he depart from you.* O invite one another to prayer, especially young folks; for I think, if the Lord do good to this generation, it will be to young folk. O babes and sucklings set to the work; for the Lord hath promised, that *out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, he will perfect praise.* Who knows, if ye be at your duty, but the Lord will yet send teachers, who will stand in the gap, to hold away wrath; but till the Lord send them, stand in the gap yourselves; and when ye have got them, lay not all the stress upon them, lest the last plague be worse than the first.

O keep warfare against corruptions, and the devil, in every thing. O do not make an idol of the godly, though they be really godly, zealous, judicious and prudent; I do not mean the prudence that the deniers of Christ and his kingly office mean. Let God be your only God, and not another. Use all things to the use of edifying, and strengthening one anothers hands. Own and maintain your brother's just cause, when it comes to an hearing, especially in the matters of God; and receive one another, *but not to doubtful disputations.* Join with, and own the godly who are penitent, though there be faults and failings, providing they be sensible of their guilt; *for the Lord maketh more of one prodigal, or of one lost sheep that is come home, or is found, than he doth of ninety-nine, who went not astray.* So ought ye to do among yourselves; but beware of any sinful union. Do not grip after ministers till they at least come to take up the work where Mr. Donald Cargil left it. Ye will not find them honest till ye find them so: for I know, there is none who will venture all for Christ and his cause, I mean their lives, liberties and fortunes, till they be such; and there are none but such who can be counted faithful, for he hath said, *He that loveth father or mother, wife or children, houses or lands, better than me, is not worthy of me;* and that they who do so, *cannot be my disciples:* therefore ye must of necessity look to these things among

yourselves, till the Lord send shepherds who will search for the flock; and not leave, nor tear the flock, in delivering them into the hand of their enemies, as we have the sad experience of it this day. O! I would not be in the case of the ministers of Scotland this day, for the world. Consider Luke xvii. 10, *So likewise when you have done all these things, say, we are unprofitable servants.* Let the law of God be your rule; and when you have done all to keep the law, yet consider, that it cannot merit any good thing, but ye must lean only to the merits and suffering of Jesus Christ: but yet the law must be observed and obeyed. It is true, *no mere man is able perfectly to keep the commandments of God;* but let not this be your snare, for it is the snare of many of this generation.

O sirs! study the Scripture; walk by the strictness of the law of God, and the liberty of the gospel of peace; but do not abuse your liberty, to cause the way of God be evil spoken of. I speak as a dying man, that which I have learned from the word of God, and the turnings of dispensations. O! he hath taught me by his word and gospel, and the teaching of his Spirit, many things that I cannot express, not one of a thousand. O! he hath filled my mouth many a time with arguments, till I could go no further. I desire to speak it to the commendation of free grace. O if the enemies knew what true grace were, they would not do as they do: but truly I think, the judgment shall be terrible that they shall be trysted with. O! it hath been weighty to me, to think on their destruction and misery, which I have thought upon many a time to be eternal; and yet I have thought upon the other hand, that it was my duty, when God's justice passed the sentence, to say, Amen, (as it were) and so have desired that the Lord would let his determination be execute upon them. Now, there needs none of the suffering remnant be discouraged, for God is God, and his word is his word; and there is no change of times, nor alteration of dispensations, but the word will clear all, in some places of it, and there is no sin that can be committed, but there is a reproof in the word of God to suit it; nor one objection in the heart, but there is an answer for it from the word: so study the word of God, and implore his presence in reading of it.

Make much use of the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechism; mind our Covenants, National and Solemn League. Be not drawn away with the tyranny and perjury of the time. Know that God is God, and that he will not sit with the wrongs he hath gotten by the tyranny and perjury of these men; I mean him whom they call supreme magistrate, Charles Stuart, and these under him. God be thanked, his church is well quit of him, though a gallows be

set up for the church, and all the Jews; yet, it is like, Haman must have a swing of his own weight on the gallows he hath prepared, or else some disgracefuller death. Mind Rutherglen testimony, and Sanquhar declaration, and the papers found at the Ferry: do not think that these will fall to the ground. Mind our martyrs' testimonies, and every thing consistent with the word of God. Do not think but God will be about with this generation, for letting so light of such things, and casting them behind their backs. For I declare, I adhere to every sound writing, that is according to the word of God, be the author who will; I say, I declare it as a dying man. Indeed this generation think no better sport, than to take any person and cast him into prison, and if they but find, when they have searched them most barbarously, a paper that there is any religion in, be they man or woman, lad or lass, presently they impeach them with treason; yea, but I am sure of this, that God will not sit with such things, but he will be about with them, be who they will. O! but it is sad to see such things; this land doubtless is ripening for a stroke, and a judgment will pursue it. O! who would have thought that Scotland would have quit with their covenanted God, and have trode upon all who have the image of God, in any manner to be seen in them. It is true, *all things work to the good of them that love him*: it is this that makes a prison, a banishment, a gallows (where none uses to be hanged but murderers) sweet indeed. They think it will be for our disgrace, ignominy and shame, to take us to the Gallowlee to be execute: but they are all beguiled, it will be for our honour; our God is wise enough for all that. They think it is the disgrace of the Presbyterians in Scotland, to have our heads hanging, and to be hanged up before the sun. Nay, but they are all beguiled; for it will be recorded from one generation to another, that there was a party of ministers and people, who sealed the covenant with their blood, and their heads were set up for a token of the Lord's kindness to the land. But for my part, I think myself unworthy to be reckoned among such, yet I hope that it shall be said amongst them in these days, that if there had not been a party, to suffer in our cities, they would have had nothing but vile Popery in the land; and will be rejoicing that ever there was any to suffer for Christ in Scotland. O Scotland! is there any land so highly honoured as thou art? None that is to be seen or heard of; but yet thou hast been of all nations the most treacherous and bloody. Was there ever a land so blood-thirsty!

I can say no more, but O be earnest with God, and do not leave off your duty, or otherwise I can see nothing, but that the dreadful judgment of God shall both pursue you and the

land; indeed if ye remain at your duty, it may be that ye shall prevail with the Lord, both for yourselves and for the land. But I must leave you to him, who is your God, to lead and guide you in all truth and honesty, both towards God and man. So I leave you to him. Now, farewell thou vile Scotland; farewell thou highly honoured Scotland: farewell ye friends in Christ, and all friends and acquaintances; farewell life and liberty in this life. Welcome Christ, heaven, and eternal salvation, for ever and ever.

Sic subscribitur,

DAVID FARRIE.

The last Speech and Testimony of JAMES STEWART, who suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, October 10, 1681.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I being in prison for Christ, and his persecuted cause, though some may say otherwise, and that upon the account of my taking; but I do not care what they say, for I have had, and yet have great peace in my sufferings. But some will be ready to say, that it was an imprudent and an unsure action, and so might have been forborne: and suppose it be so, it is not the head of my suffering, for it was not that upon which I was staged, for I was presently staged for the truth, the next day after I was taken, being brought before a committee; though indeed I was not so free as I should have been. There is a passage, Acts xxi. of Paul's going up to Jerusalem, which, some say, he might have forborne, but more especially his going up to the temple, and doing these things which are according to the law; he might, I say, have forborne this, and walked consonant to his former practice, doctrine and writings: but though his going to the temple was the occasion of his taking, yet not the head of his suffering; so, I say, though that which I did in relieving my brother, was the occasion, yet my suffering was stated on another head. But I cannot see, how it is as ye say; for I seeing it my duty, and finding opportunity, had a clear call for all that I did. And besides all that, we being bound in covenant to defend and maintain one another, we are bound as well to relieve one another out of prison, when there is a probability seen. But I need not stand much in making this out, it being the way that the Lord took to bring me to my suffering; and I am heartily content with my lot, and desire with my soul to bless him for it. Though I was dreadfully aspersed when that bond of liberation was offered to us, for though some had clearness to take it, yet I could never have thoughts of taking it in peace; and I bless the Lord who kept my hand from it: it was neither

strength nor sharp-sightedness in me that withheld me from yielding to the temptation; but the Lord hath shewed himself graciously favourable and kind unto me. now when I am set up like a beacon upon the top of an hill, and the eyes of many being upon me, and all are wondering at me, and calling me distracted, and saying, I am a fool, but (the Lord be thanked) I have all the senses that ever I had, though distressed, yet I despair not. Neither am I suffering as a fool; for I know assuredly, this is the way to obtain the promise. There is nothing in it meritorious, I confess; for all my suffering he may put me into hell; but I say, the suffering of reproaches and the scourge of tongues, is a symptom or mark of his way, when it is for his sake, Matth. v. 11. *Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and speak all manner of evil against you, and persecute you for my name's sake.* It is for his name's sake that I am suffering, and this confirms me of it, Matth. x. 22, *Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endureth unto the end, shall be saved.*

Now, it is for Christ's kingly office that I am suffering; and this being the main head on which my suffering is stated, even that great truth, viz. Jesus Christ is King and Head of Zion, I desire and charge you to beware of misconstruing my sufferings, and saying, that I was suffering for disowning of authority, and declining of judges; for it is not so, I being a Presbyterian in my judgment, and owning both magistracy and ministry, according to the word of God, and as he hath ordained them: but if Charles Stuart's authority be according to the word of God, I am mistaken. If he be exercising his power to the terrifying of evil doers, or the encouraging of them that do well, I die in an error. I say, beware of your judging, for I am a Presbyterian in my judgment, and a member of the church of Scotland, and am to seal it with my blood.

I adhere to that blessed transaction between the Father and the Son, that holy device, devised from all eternity, the Father to send his Son, and the Son to come and satisfy divine justice, and so redeem lost man. I adhere to all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are all standing in force until this day, and obligatory upon us, except the ceremonial law, with a part of the judicial, which is now abrogate and abolished by our Lord's coming, he being the end of the law. I adhere to our glorious work of reformation, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, though they be abused and misconstrued by many. And I adhere to the Sum of Saving Knowledge, wherein is held forth the life and marrow of religion. I adhere to all the testimonies that have been given. Mr. Guthrie, Argyle, and Waristoun, they

gave in their testimony according to the light that the Lord gave them; and I do not condemn their testimony, as some say, for at some times the Lord gives more light than at other times; so it cannot be said that we contradict or disown their testimony, though it hath pleased the Lord, through continuance of time, to give more light of the abounding abominations that are still growing and abounding in this generation; and so whatever they omitted through want of that light, which it hath pleased the Lord to let us see, makes no contradiction. I adhere to the Rutherglen and Sanquhar declarations. I adhere to the paper found upon Mr. Richard Cameron at Airmoss, July 22, 1680. I adhere to the papers that were found at Queensferry upon Henry Hall. I adhere to any writings that are according to the word of God, for truth is truth, come by whom it will. Now, as a dying man, I adhere to all these things. I have received an unjust sentence from men, for owning and adhering to the same, and for protesting against the inbringing of Popery to defile the land. And likewise upon these accounts, I disown Charles Stuart to be my king and sovereign. First, because of that hellish act of Supremacy, and that act Recissory, whereby they have overturned and wrested all the laws, acts and constitutions of the land: for in the aforesaid act, he assumeth that unto himself which belongs properly to our Lord and Master, and says, that he rules over all things both spiritual and temporal; and then, when he hath made himself supreme over all things, he rescinds the laws that are of God, and sets up other laws to satisfy his own lusts, in murdering, killing, and destroying the Lord's people; and this is the reason why I disown him; and likewise his dreadful perjury and blasphemy in his covenant breaking. I decline them as judges, for the opening a door there to Popery, which they have done, by receiving that popish duke in among them, which I protest and leave my testimony against; it being contrary to our engagements to suffer papists to dwell amongst us, and to have a profest papist to usurp over us, it being repugnant to our principles. I leave my testimony against Prelacy, it being a limb of that antichristian whore of Rome. I leave my testimony against all the abominations of this generation, as blaspheming of the holy name of the Lord, drunkenness, stealing, whoring, sodomy, and all manner of uncleanness. I leave my testimony against all indifferency and lukewarm neutrality in our Lord's matters. I leave my testimony against the indulgences first and last, as having a greater hand in breaking of the church of Scotland, nor all the enemies living in it could have done; for they sold their Master's truths, and gave away their pleasant things with their own hands, and so came in under Charles

Stuart, and took him for their head, and have cast off their rightful head Jesus Christ; Eph. i. 22, *And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church.* Wo will be unto them for what they have done to the poor kirk of Scotland. I leave my testimony against silent and unwatchful ministers. Remember, there are many taken away, and it is to be feared in their iniquity; and do ye think that ye are free of their blood? Ye may look what warning ye have given, and if it be faithful, then ye may say that ye are not guilty. But there is not a minister this day, who dares say, he is at his duty. They refuse to give counsel when asked at, as I myself can witness; for when that liberation was granted, I sent to one of them, and charged him as I judged him faithful, to tell me his mind, which he refused; and said, silence might serve for an answer, I was not suffering for truth. But I heartily forgive him and all men, what they have done to me, as for my own particular; but how they have reproached Christ and his way, it is not mine to forgive them.

O the ministers of Scotland are become light and treacherous persons, as well as revolters; they are become ravening wolves; so I cannot see how they have not unministered themselves. If Abiathar was turned out of the priest's office for leaving David and following Adonijah, how much more ought the ministers of Scotland for leaving him, who is the true Head of the church, and choosing Charles Stuart for their head? It is not long since they were preaching that to be sin, which they are now practising. I have no doubt, but ere long there shall come out fire from Abimelech, and destroy the men of Shechem, and fire from them and devour him. And ere long, Mr. Donald Cargil, and Mr. Richard Cameron, their names that now stink among ministers and professors shall have a sweet smell; and these that calumniate and asperse them, their names shall go away with a stink, and fly away with smoke; but I am sure, that that now glorified martyr, Mr. Donald Cargil, his name shall last from generation to generation; and he shall have cause to rejoice in his King, Head and Master, who is Jesus Christ; when those who condemned him, shall not know where to flee for shelter, and shall be weary of their head, king and master, who is Charles Stuart; and what brethren (disaffected as they were) did cast upon him as a shame, was his glory and decorement. He was of a high heroic spirit, and was free of a base and Simonian carriage. He was a man hated of his brethren; but the great Elijah in his time was so. Time and tongue would fail me to speak his commendation. He was the man who carried the standard without the help of any visible: but he had the help

and assistance of his Master, at whose command he was ay wandering here without residence, yet knew of one above, and had full assurance of his dwelling place.

I leave my testimony against uplifting or causing uplift cess or excise, or any thing for the maintaining that tyrant, or any of his emissaries; it being for nothing but maintaining these ruffian troopers and soldiers, who are kept for nothing, but to suppress and bear down the gospel, and banish it out of the land. I leave my testimony against all declaration-takers and bonders, especially the taking that bond of liberation as they call it, of the date of August 5, 1680, as far as they were convinced it was sin, as some of themselves said it was. I leave my testimony against that test, and all the rest of their proceedings, and acts of parliament. I leave my testimony against jailor-fee paying; it being an acknowledgment of their tyranny to be lawful, which how unjust it is, I have a proof among others; for that night I was before York, and the rest, being October 1, 1681, I being examined by Sir George M'Kenzie, York and Mr. William Paterson coming unto me, when I was silent, and would not answer to some things they asked me, he threatened to take out my tongue with a pair of pincers, if I would not: and he held him as a witness against me. And though I told him, that he was a judge the other night, and would ye hold him as a witness against us before your justiciary? yet they did it; which was neither according to law nor reason. If there were no more but that passage, it proves them to be unjust judges, as there are many worse than that is. I leave my testimony against the mounting of militia, and uplifting of money for his service. I leave my testimony against every thing that may strengthen his hands, or weaken the hands of the people of the Lord.

Now, I desire you, as a dying man, who am within forty-eight hours, or little more of eternity, to disown Charles Stuart to be your king and sovereign. I charge you so to do, as you would have peace with God: for I never knew what true peace was till I did it, and took Jesus Christ for my king and law-giver. This is not that I disown kings or kingly government, for I own both: but when their actions are such as his are, and a covenanted king as he was, we cannot in conscience yield to him: for he hath murdered the Lord's people our brethren: and when we acknowledge even his civil authority, I cannot see what way we are clean of their blood, it being by a shadow of law and authority that he takes away their lives, and so we cannot own him in that: and to own him in ecclesiastic matters, I think there will be none so absurd, as to say, we should do that, he having nothing to do in church matters: he only received the sceptre in his hand, to be a hedge about, and to

defend her against all opposition; and now ye may see how he hath destroyed her, instead of defending her. I give you it in short, and desire you to ponder and consider it, and ye will not find me so mad as many of you say I am; for I am not prodigal of life, neither have I a hand in my own death; for I love my life as well as my neighbours, and it is as dear to me as any of yours is to you: but when it comes in competition with my Lord's truths, I dare not seek to save my life with prejudice thereunto. Neither am I wearied of my life, though it is true indeed, there is nothing here to be coveted, that is not enough to weary one, neither am I wearied of it; therefore I charge you that ye do not brand me with aspersions when I am gone. I leave my blood on all the assizers, who after we had given in our protestation against all their proceedings, both in their council, and justiciary, and told them, that it was for no action that we were suffering, but only on the matters of conscience and judgment that we were panned; yet notwithstanding of our charging them with our blood, they most unjustly took away our lives. Do not think this flows from a spirit of malice, spite, bitterness or revenge; for I desire to bless the Lord, I am free of the spirit of bitterness or revenge: but they take away my life without and against any just law; I cannot get it passed. Do not think that I am an enthusiastic, and take on me a bare impulse of the spirit for a call to suffer on, or the word as it lies literally, for a call, for it is not so; I having desired and used some endeavours, though it has been in great weakness I confess; yet I dare say, in some respect, my desire to the Lord about it hath been sincere, that he would help me to get his word and my own conscience consulted, and try the word by the spirit, and the spirit by the word; for it is but a dead letter without the spirit. And likewise my blood is lying and will be heavy on that popish duke. And I will not say but the Lord will permit him to usurp the crown of Scotland, but the blood that he hath got to welcome him home to it, and to satisfy his own lust, will weigh him down from the throne; but indeed I fear, that he get his design drawn to a great length, and get the ark carried away, even to your apprehension, out of Scotland; but remember the Philistines carrying away the ark, and the men of Bethshemesh looking into it, how the Lord smote them: and so I think, when they have got the kirk banished and destroyed, and the witnesses all killed, when they will look on the church as carried clean away, and thereupon shall turn secure, will not the Lord be avenged on them, and charge them with all the blood they have so heinously shed? But indeed we have deserved no less than the Lord's leaving of this land, and to give them into the hands of our enemies: but as long as there

is no appearance of a better church in the whole world, we need not fear that the Lord will enhance Scotland's right of a church to any other. He suffered the children of Israel many a time to fall into and lie under the hands of their enemies: but he never forsook them altogether, until there came a better in their place. Likewise my blood is on all these parliamenters and counsellors, and these of the justiciary, as they call it.

Now, dear friends, I am going to eternity, ere it be long, from whence I cannot return: and as a dying man, I give you warning, and bid you take heed what ye are doing. Be tender of the glory of God, and take no unlawful gate to shun suffering, nor sinful shifts to come by the cross. But when there is a cross lying in the way, see that ye seek not to go about it: and venture upon suffering before sinning: for he never sent any a warfare upon their own charges. If any knew the sweetness of a prison, they would not be so afraid to enter upon suffering: ye would not join with the Lord's enemies as ye are doing. O dear friends, take warning now, for it is a question if ever you get any more warnings of this kind: for it is a sad juncture that your lot and mine has fallen into: but now I am going away home. O! the Lord is kind to me who hath honoured me so highly, and is also taking me away from the evil that is to come: for indeed I think there are sad days abiding poor Scotland. O sirs! be busy and venture all upon him, and put all in his hand: and whatever you have been, let not that scar you: if you have been a great sinner, I say, let not that hinder you from coming to him, and closing with him: for the greater sinner you be, the more free grace is magnified in reclaiming you. I may speak this from my own experience: for I was as a brand plucked out of the fire: and he hath brought me through many difficulties, temptations, and snares, and made my soul escape as a bird out of the cunning fowler's net, and brought me to a prison at length to suffer bonds for him. He made all things sweet to me, the company sweet to me, even bad company: he made reproaches sweet. I have been made to wonder at his kindness and love to me-worth: and now he hath brought me this length, without being feared what enemies can do to me, and that is a great confirmation to me of true love, that perfect love casts out fear. Now, he is faithful into whose hands I commit my spirit and soul, and he will keep it against that day.

Now when I am going, farewell all friends and christian acquaintances: farewell sweet and holy Scriptures, wherewith my soul hath been refreshed: farewell reading, singing and praying: farewell sweet meditation: farewell sun, moon and stars: farewell all created comforts. Welcome death, welcome sweet gallows, for my sweet and lovely Lord; welcome

angels; welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome eternity; welcome praises; welcome immediate vision of the Sun of righteousness.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES STEWART.

There suffered also at the same time and place. one Alexander Russel, whose testimony differing nothing in substance from the rest, and being in some things not very conveniently expressed, it is not thought necessary to be published at large; only these heads in it are remarkable. First, He declares, that for the space of fourteen years, while he heard the curates, he was a person given to all manner of licentiousness, keeping company with the profane; drinking, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and reproaching the people of God. 2d. That the first field-preaching ever he heard, to which he went merely out of curiosity, it pleased the Lord to convert him. 3d. That the means of his being called out to the help of the Lord's people at Bothwell, was the death of three of his children within ten days space, which extraordinary providence impressed his heart so, that he durst not sit God's call to that work. 4th, He confessed his having taken the bond for living orderly (as it was called) and with great remorse acknowledges his failings, in that he took not opportunity to confess that sin publicly. All the other heads do coincide with the testimonies of the other four who suffered with him.

The last Testimony of ROBERT GRAY in Northumberland, who suffered for the truth, in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, May 19, 1682.

His Interrogations by a committee of the Council, May 13.

ROBERT GRAY being called before the chancellor, and a committee of council, appointed for public affairs, and interrogate, if he knew John Anderson, prisoner at Dumfries? he declared, he did not know him, but had writ a letter to him; and that letter being produced to him, he owned the same, as he testified under his hand write and subscription, at the end thereof. And being asked, if he thought of the king and government, as is expressed in that letter? he said, he did, and he owned that in his judgment. And being asked, if he thought the king a tyrant? he said, he had written so, and owned it, and that he had wrote his letter to John Anderson, as his duty to his brother.

Follows the foresaid letter, which was all the ground of his indictment.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I received yours, and am much refreshed to hear of any in this day, that is holding by the truth, and is helped to witness against the wrongs done to our Lord and Master, which is the main thing that we are called to at this time, by which God is glorified, and which shall bring peace to us at the end of the day. As in answer to that, about owning this tyrant in ecclesiastic matters, I hope, it is without all doubt and debate, with all the zealous exercised christians in Scotland, that he should not be owned at all in it, whatever the time-servers, that will sail with any wind that blows, do, we are not concerned; who are like Esau, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. And as for owning him in civil things, to me it is very clear, now as matters are stated, that he should not be owned: in a word, for his breach of the civil law, his pardoning and setting free murderers and bougerers, and murdering of poor innocents, and making his will a law, and placing none in public trust but these that have taken that black test, utterly to disown the whole work of reformation; with which way I cannot meddle directly or indirectly, without saying a confederacy with them.

There might be more said upon this head, if time would permit; but I think this, with what our late worthies did in casting this tyrant off, and out of the church, might give full satisfaction not to own them in any thing, seeing they have acted for the devil more than ever: and it has prospered more in their hands than formerly. Indeed, if we consult men at this time in the matters of godliness, no wonder we be in the dark; but O beware of that, and fly to the holy word of God. Beware of looking out at any back door, or halting betwixt two opinions; for of a truth there is a halting this day, that will not be approven of God, in meddling with this malignant party directly or indirectly. It is a thousand to one if they see it. As anent Barscob, and Major Lermont, they got their sentence on Friday last, to die on the 28th of this instant, and other two, Hugh Micklewraith and Robert Fleming, got their sentence on that day too, and should have died on this Wednesday last; but they have got a remission to the 28th day, and it is reported, that Barscob and the rest have offered to take the test, and they have sent up to the tyrant on that account, to save their lives; and as for John M'Clurg and R. N. there is no word yet what they will do with them; I shall give you an account afterwards. My soul is grieved to see the treachery that is used in the matters of God among

the prisoners, and their seeking sinful shifts to shun the cross of Christ. O dear friends, seek to be kept steadfast in the day of trial. Now, I can say no more; but leaves you in his hand, who has brought you to the trial, and can carry you cleanly through it. I rest, your fellow-prisoner and friend,

ROBERT GRAY.

The last Testimony of Robert Gray.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

I having got my sentence of death from men, who are unjustly taking away my life, merely for adhering to my principles, and have no matter of fact to prove against me; but only adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and testifying against their sinful laws and actions, which my indictment will testify. They take away my life for declining their authority, and calling Charles Stuart a tyrant, and speaking against their test, that they have made to overturn the whole work of reformation, in calling it the Black Test. Now many may condemn me, and no doubt do, in my writing that letter to John Anderson, whom I own as my brother in Christ, suffering upon the same heads in Dumfries prison. I do not much care what the time-servers say; but I hope none of the zealous exercised christians in the land that are concerned with the wrongs done to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, will do it; I having a right call to do what I did, he writing to me, and I giving him an answer, in which I have great peace, notwithstanding it has brought me upon the trial, and my God has owned me in it. And let such as will condemn me, mind that Scripture, *It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?* I bless the Lord, that ever I was honoured to testify against the wrongs done to my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, either by word or write. O wonder! what am I, that ever he should have chosen the like of me, who have been one of the vilest of sinners! If the world had seen me as he saw me, they would not have chosen me. no, not to have kept company with: but O wonder, that his condescending love has not only taken me to be a servant, but to be one of the children of the family! and has said to me, as John xiv. 19, *Because I live, ye shall live also.* He has chosen me, and not I him, John i. 15, Isa. xlvi. 10, *Behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction, for mine own sake, even for mine own sake will I do it.* Now, I had his promise before ever I came to a prison, that he should honour me. As Psal. xci. 14, 15, *Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will*

set him on high, because he hath known my name. He shall call upon me, and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him. Now, this is the ground upon which I have holden till now; I mean, when I covenanted with my God, to take him upon the terms of his offer. It is a year bygone, being the first week of May, 1681, since I personally subscribed my name to be the Lord's; for before that, I played many times fast and loose with God, for which I take shame and confusion of face to myself, (which is my due) but since I have been kept free of what formerly I was guilty of, though the assaults of Satan have not been wanting. I durst not look back, nor yet take my word again; but desired to act and contend for my Lord and Master Jesus Christ's rights, and not to quit them to any, which he helped and owned me in.

O dear friends, all of you that are contending for Christ's truths, get once a right in himself, and ye cannot then, nor dare not but contend for him. But while ye are in the dark about your interest, ye can never walk upon sure grounds; but like a man walking in the dark, that has hopes of getting to his lodging, but knows not the way: and the thing that steals many of this generation off their feet, is, they go to seek the way from others that are also in the dark of it themselves, and they seek the way from men, and follow the example of men, because they think they are godly men, and by their practice they think they have the image of God; and because of that they follow them, and take their advice, and do what they do, thinking they cannot do wrong; but I am clear of it, that is not the way of God in this dark day, to seek it from blind guides, and not from the true guide Jesus Christ, *who is given for a leader and a commander to his people*, and ought to be led by none, nor have counsel from none but himself; for the Spirit of God says, Isa. xxx. 1, *Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit, that they may add sin to sin; and walk, and go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth.* O but this is the very thing, that I have seen at this day, especially since I came to prison. O the treachery against God, which has been there, which was my only burden and grief, and made me weary of the prison, and desire to be gone; they taking counsel from men, and placing vile and unworthy men, to agent and plead for them in Christ's matters, and dare not trust him with it themselves: and so it is no wonder, that he leave them, and they go a black gate. I take the walls of the Cannongate tolbooth (which I was prisoner in near ten months) to be witness against the wrongs done to my Lord and Master Jesus Christ there, both before

and since; and I take the good maintenance they have had, to witness to their conscience at the great day of accounts. They had never reason to complain of wants, or to say, that our Lord was a hard master; and yet they wrong him, most treacherously and cunningly hiding from the eyes of the world their compliance with their agents; and like the whore, wiping their mouth, and saying they have done no evil, and saying, they have peace. O but my soul trembles to think of that peace, to seek peace with the enemies of God, and say, they have peace in it. I'll not say, but ye may have peace at present, when ye go out of prison, because ye are going home to your idols and Delilahs, whatever they be, either your wives or children, or lands or enjoyments; but I will say this, that if you have wronged the work of God for them, they shall be accursed to you, and prove a snare to you; and then you shall see what peace you will have. Let such as have meddled, or are meddling with these perjured men, see that Scripture as anent their peace, Isa. lix. 8, *They have made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.* And I am convinced of it, that these that meddle with them directly or indirectly, when called to witness for truth, or staged thereupon, and yield to them in their desires, that are sinful, shall break their peace with God, and shall hinder themselves to get the bargain made with him; and if they have made it, it will be very much if the bargain stand, without drawing a new engagement, and deep mourning for the wrongs done to him: for our Lord is now taking a narrow look of Scotland, and seeing who did put the hand to the plough to carry on the work of reformation, to banish Popery out of Scotland; and now he is seeing who is countenancing Popery, and this Popish duke, that has gotten in his foot in Scotland, which will be the blackest sight ever poor Scotland saw: but whoever of the nobles or gentry of the land is guilty, yet I will assure you, as sure as the Lord is in heaven, ministers, yea, Presbyterian ministers, are not free of Popery's coming into the land; because they have not testified against it, who should have set the trumpet to their mouth, and have given faithful warning, and so they would have delivered their own souls and the souls of others, whereas now poor things are ensnared; but their blood will be required at ministers' hands; and ye that are old wily professors, that have taken the lee side of the brae, and are advising others to do so, ye are not free of the innocent blood shed in Scotland, and the loss of poor souls, because of your practice of seeming piety and holiness, so ye blind their eyes, and what ye do, that is a godly man, in the town and country parishes, in going to hear the curates, that have taken that black test, or any other thing, because ye do

it to save your gear, they follow your practice; but assure yourselves, the loss of their souls will be required at your hands, who are ring-leaders in an evil course, be who you will, in prison, or out of prison; our Lord is now near his coming, and is begun to tread upon Scotland's sea, and will within a little tread upon the necks of his enemies, and come and deliver his church, which I die in the faith of: but it will be a costly delivery.

Now, I adhere and give my testimony to that glorious work of reformation, in reforming this land from Popery. And I adhere to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I adhere to the testimonies of our worthies that have gone before, and these of late, that are so much condemned by the professors of this generation; but this I will adventure to say, that these who are condemning them, whom God hath justified, shall never be honoured to give a testimony to the truths of Christ, and against his enemies. I adhere to all the meetings and assemblies of the people of God, that have been in Scotland in defence of the gospel. I adhere to Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, and Airsmoss, where our worthies fell; which blood (I die in the faith of it) shall have a glorious spring: which quarrel the God of heaven, the covenanted God of Scotland, will resent. I also adhere to and heartily join with the Rutherglen declaration; and I disown the Hamilton declaration, because it took in the malignant interest. I adhere to the Sanquhar declaration, and Queens-ferry papers, and the excommunication at the Torwood, as lawful and right, in casting off Charles Stuart, and the rest of the malignant party; and it shall be seen within few years, that that party that the Lord stirred up for that use, was in their duty, and these that lay by were not. I also adhere to and heartily join with that noble testimony given at Lanerk, against that black parliament that at last, to overturn the whole work of reformation, and made that black test, that has defiled the whole land, and made an open door for Popery to come into the land. I leave my testimony against all these that have taken it, or against those that have or may take favours from men, that have taken that test especially. I leave my testimony against prisoners, who being in upon the account of religion, do tamper any way with these black testers to wrong the interest of God. Wo, wo, wo will be to them that give the enemy such ground to say, we are but fanatics, and will do any thing before we lose our lives, which I myself heard some of them say, which was a grief to my soul, and did sting me to the heart. I leave my testimony against such professors and

preachers, as can sit in such company, and hear such talk, and not resent it; it being an acquiescing to the discourse to keep silence. I leave my testimony against all giving bond and caution, or petitioning the stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ. I leave my testimony against all these cess payers, and doing any other thing that strengthens the enemies hands, and against jailor fee paying, for by so doing it says, we have done wrong to them; which I deny that we have done any, but they have done to us.

I leave my testimony against these ministers that sat in a presbytery against worthy Mr. Richard Cameron, that highly honoured martyr of Jesus Christ, and thought to have deposed him from his ministry. I also leave my testimony against that meeting that sat at Sundowal in Nithsdale, which I was a witness to: ye will see it more fully spoken to in that paper of mine which was found at Kelso, which I own, and desire that it may be put in with this;* and they may go together, and my indictment with the letter. I am called to set to my seal to the faithfulness of that worthy man's doctrine, viz. worthy Mr. Richard Cameron, who was the man the Lord made use of to establish me in the faith. I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, or was honoured to be in his company. I bless the Lord that ever I was in the company of worthy Mr. Donald Cargil. I am likewise here to bear witness to the faithful warning these two worthies gave in Northumberland. I likewise leave my testimony against the professors in Northumberland, that *came not out to help the Lord against the mighty*: when I myself gave them warning, some of them mocked at me; for which I will be a witness against them, at the great day of accounts. I leave my testimony against the giving bond to assizers or sessions, or answering their courts. My work, while I am here, is only to witness against the sins of the times wherein I live, and the wrongs done to my Lord and Master. I leave my testimony against these four men that were prisoners in the Cannongate tolbooth, John Gib, and the other three that held his principles; I disown, detest and abominate their principles, though some were pleased to brand me with them since I came to prison. I heartily forgive them whatever they have said of me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father which is in heaven.

Now, my time here is but short; and I think it needless to write any more, the testimonies of the worthies being so little valued by this generation, that nothing will do it but wrath and judgments, that though an angel should come down from heaven, it will avail nothing; for nothing I can see but wrath,

* This cannot be done, no copy of that paper being found.

wrath, wrath; judgments, judgments, sad judgments coming on this land very suddenly; but my eyes shall be closed, and I shall not see it, and well is me for this: therefore I am content, and heartily content, seeing I get my soul for a prey.

I have only a short word to say to the remnant of the Lord's people that is to be left behind, who was only my delight in the world: my soul trembles to think what was amongst you this day, especially those of you that were in one mind in contending for the truths of our Lord Jesus Christ: whatever has fallen out among you or any that have fallen back, seek to reclaim them, that they may be brought in again. Let self be done away, and partiality, and let the way of God be taken in time, for it will be but short that ye will have it: and think not that ye will wait for better times and opportunities: wait not for that, for ye have time and opportunity now, that ye shall not have afterwards; and if ye get not together presently, you shall meet with something shortly that will make you blyth to be together; and *let those that think they are standing, take heed lest they fall.* Now, these that have gone out from us, by complying with the malignant party, and pleading for Baal's interest, I mean Charles Stuart's interest, and taking shelter under their wings, I have less hope of them than any. If ye can set up your face to God, and say, that ye never durst comply with these tyrants and usurpers, to wrong the interest of God for the loss of your life, or gear; then I will assure you of your soul for a prey. Though ye have lost all that ye have in the world, your children shall see brave days, and ye shall have all your wants made up, when ye shall get Christ himself.

Now, I can stay no longer, nor take up my time no more: for my work is finished, and I have fought the good fight, and finished my course. Strong have been the assaults and trials that I have had from the devil, by all sorts, both ministers and professors, but my God hath helped me to withstand them, for which I bless his holy name, and desire to praise him while I am here. O let all the zealous godly in Scotland praise him on my behalf, that he choose the like of me, who has been a vile sinner. Now, I am this day free of the blood of all men in the world. I desire to forgive all men the wrongs done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father which is in heaven. But for these who have wrongfully taken away my life, simply for adhering to truth, and for no matters of fact, for my part I forgive them, but my God shall resent it, with the rest of my dear brethren's blood, that has been shed on fields and scaffolds.

Now, farewell all creature comforts in time: farewell sweet societies of the Lord's people, that were my only delight in the world: farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, which only

were my comfort in all my straits; farewell all friends and christian acquaintances; farewell mother, brother, and all relations in the world; and farewell sun, moon and stars. Welcome scaffold, for my sweet Lord Jesus Christ; welcome gibbet; and welcome heaven; welcome immediate presence of God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who only has redeemed me by his blood; welcome angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, where we shall never part again. Now, Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit, that is thine. Now, come Lord Jesus Christ; come quickly and receive me hence to my resting place, where my portion is.

ROBERT GRAY.

Account of some of his last words in the council-house, and on the scaffold.

This worthy martyr coming out of the tolbooth, to the place of execution, was taken, as the custom is, first into the town council-house, where the town-council desired, that he would purge the city of his blood. And he told them, that judgment would overtake the city, for the innocent blood shed therein, and bade them assure themselves of it, for it was without doubt. They said to him, that he had access to pray, if he would. He told them, that he had committed himself to God already. Then they said, if he had not freedom, they were there who would pray for him; but he looking round, said, he saw none whom he would employ, but he had an Advocate with the Father. Then being brought from thence to his execution-place, after a little discourse to the pretended magistrates of the city, some of them being present, he sung the lxxxiv. Psalm, and read the xv. chapter of the gospel according to John, and after the reading thereof, he said to the multitude, sirs, ye would remember that that is the word of God, and not of man, and that we are to follow no man further than he follows the word of God: and said, if light had not come into Scotland, they had been more excusable, but now they have no cloak nor excuse for their sin, and their wrongs done to God; and because of despised light, and the despised gospel, there is assuredly great wrath coming upon them. And then he prayed, and after prayer went up the ladder, and looking about to the multitude said, sirs, you are feeding your eyes upon me, but what see you upon me? Surely you see not the wrath of God upon me: but if ye would look up to the heavens, ye may see the wrath of an angry God against yourselves. And he said, I am brought out of another nation to own that covenant which ye have broken, and to seal it, and the glorious work of reformation with my blood. Which cov-

enant ye have not only broken, but ye have given it under your hands, that ye shall never own God any more, nor have any more of him. And he blessed the Lord, saying. Glory, glory, glory, be to his name, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him, in witnessing against his enemies, and the wrongs done my Lord and Master Jesus Christ. And said, the Lord be judge between me and you, who have taken away my life, which of us have been in the wrong to other; and assure yourselves there is wrath, sad wrath, hanging over this city, for the innocent blood shed therein. But as for you, who are the remnant of the Lord's people, I would say this to you, keep your ground, and beware of turning aside to one hand or another, and I will assure you, the Lord will prepare a Zoar for you. Cleave to truth, and cleave to one another, and as sure as God lives, ye shall yet see glorious days in Scotland; for I die in the faith of it, that he is on his way, returning to the land: but wo, wo, wo will be to those who are enemies and strangers to him. Then praying a little within himself, when some bade put him over, and others cried out, spare him a little; he cried, I am ready. Whereupon the executioner threw him over.

The last Testimony of JAMES ROBERTSON, who lived in the parish of Storchouse, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

His Interrogations before the Council.

Question 1. Is the king your lawful prince, yea, or not?

Answer. Since you have made your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate upon them: but seeing I am put to it, I answer, as he is a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well, he is, or is not. *Q. 2.* Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? *A.* They being in their own defence, and the defence of the gospel, they are not acts of traitory or rebellion; self-defence being always lawful, which I prove by the Confession of Faith, in that article whereon ye ground yourselves; which is, that subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny. *Q. 3.* But wherein lies his tyranny? *A.* If robbing the privileges of the church be not an act of tyranny, I refer it to be judged. *Q. 4.* Is the king a tyrant? *A.* I refer it to his obligation in the coronation oath, and his present actings and practices, in robbing the privileges of the gospel, with the usurpation of the church's liberties, and the prerogatives royal of Jesus Christ, the anointed of the Father, in making himself supreme: and I refer it to persons at home, and nations abroad. *Q. 5.* Was

you at Bothwell-bridge? *A.* Ye count it an act of traitory, and also rebellion, which is criminal: bear witness of it and so make it evident. *Q.* 6. They said, purge yourself by oath, and so we offer to set you at liberty. I answered, I will say no more of it, for when I told the truth to some of you, I was not believed. One of them said, now I will try if ye be a man of parts. *Q.* 7. There was an act of parliament, when the Confession of Faith was made, declaring, that the king was supreme, and it was owned by the Presbyterians of that time. *A.* How could that be owned, seeing the Confession was owned. And I called for the act, but it was not brought. *Q.* 8. Was the bishop's death murder? *A.* When I am judge set on the bench, I shall pass sentence thereupon. Being questioned further anent it, I said, I have answered that already, I will say no more to it. *Q.* 9. Own you Lanerk and Sanquhar declarations? *A.* I cannot own any thing, till I see and consider it. *Q.* 10. Keep you your parish kirk? *A.* If the minister have ought to challenge me with, he may do it. *Q.* 11. Now as a test of your loyalty, will you say, *God save the king?* *A.* Prayer ought to be gone about with composure and deliberation, and I am not in a composure for it. *Q.* 12. Would ye not seek a blessing if at meat? *A.* If ye were present ye would see. One of them said, these principles will condemn you. I answered, if I be absolved of God, it is the less matter though men condemn me.

The last Testimony of James Robertson.

DEAR FRIENDS, true lovers of Zion's righteous cause,

If I could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church and kingdom of Scotland; I have surely many things to do it for. 1st, That he trusted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship, whereas he might have letten my lot be among the Pagans and heathen nations that know nothing of the true God. Or, 2d, He might have ordered it to be among these that are worshipping antichrist, that whore of Rome, that monstrous beast, that "sitteth upon many waters;" whose sentence may be read, Rev. xiv. 9, "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand," ver. 10, "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of his holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;" ver. 11, "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever; and they have no

rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name," &c. So that it is as sure as God is God, and the holy Scriptures are his word, according to which all men that have heard or seen it, shall be judged, having the sentence of absolution, or condemnation past according thereto. Rom. ii. 12. "For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law." So that it is clear, that the first will surely perish, viz. all infidels, Atheists, and Pagans, that know not the true God, nor his law. *And as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law, &c.* So that whatever vain hopes Papists may have of being saved, living and dying Papists, or whatever charity loose protestants have upon that account to give them, they are as far from being saved in that unconverted condition, as devils which are eternally cast out of his presence. 3d, I have him to bless for this, that, my lot is not in and among the corrupt protestant churches abroad, Lutheranism, and other corruptions and abounding errors, both in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, sectarian, Episcopal, or Erastian; but in the reformed church of Scotland, where all these things have been cast over the hedge, as not plants of his planting; and where Christ hath been owned in all his three offices, King, Priest, and Prophet; though alas! he may say of us, in a great measure, as to the church of Israel of old, "I have planted her a noble vine, but how is she become a degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me!" In that day of planting, we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1, "We have a strong city, salvation will God appoint her for walls and bulwarks," &c. Lam. iv. 11, "The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof." Ver. 12, "The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would not have believed that the adversary and the enemy should have entered into the gates of Jerusalem." Ver. 13, "For the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests, that have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her;" Ver. 14, "They have wandered like blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments," &c. This may be our regret before God, as it is in the seventh verse here in this chapter, "Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire." Ver. 8, "Their visage is blacker than a coal, they are not known in the streets; their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick," &c. And O! how unnatural-like were it for

the mother to let her child, the son of her womb, perish for lack of the breasts; were she free of the child's blood, it perishing for want of its natural food? And O! how many are this day perishing for want of the lively preached gospel; ver. 3. "Even the sea monsters draw out the breasts, they give suck to the young ones; the daughters of my people are become cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness." 4th, I have him to bless for this, that I am not this day fighting against him in an open war; and so bearing arms against him, his work and people, for there is no more in me as of myself, than these that are deepest imbruing their hands in the blood of the saints. 5th, I have him to bless for this, that ever he hath opened my eyes to see the mystery of iniquity that abounds and hath its seat in the heart, and also in some measure hath given me a sight of the remedy in the blood of Jesus Christ, with his Spirit engaging me to himself, letting me see himself to be altogether precious, making me see that it is better to be *a door-keeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the tabernacles of sin*: Psal. lxxiii. 24, *Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.* Ver. 25, *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee* 6th, I have his holy name to bless, that ever he made me to know any thing, how small soever, of his controverted truth, viz. the privileges of his crown and kingdom, now when by their acts and laws they have taken his crown and sceptre, and royal robe, and settled the whole government of his house upon a man that is but a worm: but this I believe, his decree will stand, oppose it who will; Psal. ii. 6, *Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion, &c.* Isa. xlii. 8, *I am the Lord, that is my name, my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images, &c.* Now, is not that his declarative glory, which that usurper hath taken to himself? yea, he that *leadeth captivity captive*, according to his royal word, will reclaim his own glory; he it is alone that hath given Christ to be the sure foundation whereon all the building is fitly framed: "That stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the corner." Isa. xxviii. 16, "Thus saith the Lord God, behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation. a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste." Ver. 17, "Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place." 7th, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, that hath called me to be a sufferer for his work and interest, counting it not my shame, but a high privilege **and dignifying of me, when many famous in this generation**

have been denied of it, though indeed most of this generation have brought up an ill report upon the cross, endeavouring by their practice to render it of none effect; but I have this Scripture for my encouragement, 1st Pet. iii. 13—17, *And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* &c. 8th, I have this great and glorious Prince to praise for this; and O! let all the true children of Zion laud and praise this praise-worthy God, that hath not only called me to bear witness to the truth, but hath helped me not to deny his name, titles and attributes; for that is the thing that the enemies and usurpers of my lovely Lord's crown are seeking, to deny allegiance to him, *who is given of the Father to be a leader and commander to the people*, even he, *on whose shoulders the government is laid*, committing the ordering of his house to faithful stewards, to order his affairs according to his own appointment in his holy word, and hath not left it to the prudence of men, how learned soever. Gamaliel, that learned Pharisee and doctor of the law, erred in the exposition of the law, not knowing Christ to be *the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth*. And seeing these great learned rabbies erred every one in that which was the great and main end of the law, viz. Christ, *to whom Moses and all the prophets bear witness*: now much more shall they err where it is left to their own wisdom, having no plat-form to walk by, as the maintainers of the prelatie hierarchy would be at. Solomon was as wise as any, yea the wisest man that ever was, or ever shall be, and he erred, having the rule of the law to walk by. Were not all the laws and forms of the house given by God to Moses, as well for manner of worship, as the matter thereof?

And further, as to that which is so much pleaded for by this generation, his authority in civil matters, which as matters now stand, cannot be given, neither will they have it without the other: for by their acts of parliament they have made them equally essential to the crown: likewise there cannot be an authority without a foundation. If any shall say, he hath it from that which he received at his admission to the government, as he entered upon the terms of the coronation oath. To this I answer, he hath rescinded that, in and by that act rescissory in his first parliament: for when he annulled and rescinded that, from which he had his power and authority, he thereby rescinded his own authority also: so that from this he hath no just power, having oftener than once burnt the covenants, which were his coronation oath, without which he could not enter the government. If it shall be said, that the foundation of his power is built upon the test, wherein he is made absolute supreme judge, over all matters and persons,

as well ecclesiastical as civil: that is so far from giving him a right, that it maketh him a complete monster, having one head and two bodies; and if that authority should be owned by me, being a free born member of the church of Scotland, which is Christ's mystical body, and in my baptismal oath given away to him, and having given my oath of allegiance to him as king and head of his own house; shall I own that authority, without being guilty of leese-majesty against the King of Zion; and so of the highest degree of sacrilege? 2d, I shall thereby deny my allegiance to God Creator, under whom the magistrate should rule in a direct line; he ruling by his own arbitrament, which is contrary to our obligations in covenant, we being bound in covenant to defend the civil rights and liberties of the crown and kingdom, as we are born subjects thereof. 3d, That which they have done in condemning the true sons of the church, and subjects of the kingdom, to death, which is open murder under the colour of law: now that it is such, these whom they have proceeded against, being adherers to the word of God, which is the only rule of faith and manners, owning God as God, Christ as Redeemer, the Holy Ghost as Sanctifier; and they having nothing to charge them with, but their adherence to the true christian principles, and they sentenced upon the same heads, this must be the deepest of murder. 4th, These being owners of the true reformed religion, and all the fundamental laws of the church and kingdom; and they refusing to judge and sentence according to the word of God, according to which all sentences of life and death ought to pass, as also refusing to judge according to the laws, as they received them at their admission to the government; which was, not to rule the law, but it to rule them, and they to rule the people according to that law, and the people remaining in subjection to the law of God, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, and the persons of lawful governors, being made treason; and this must certainly not only be a murdering of men, yea, true christian men, but also a murdering of justice. And thus the land is defiled with blood. Read the sentence of such, Num. xxxv. 55, *So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are; for blood it defileth the land; and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.* Such as are owning and pleading for this present power, let the end of magistracy be considered, Rom. xiii. 3, "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; will thou not then be afraid of the power? do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same." Ver. 6, "For this cause pay you tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing." 1st Pet. ii. 14;

“Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”

Now, it is undeniably evident from what is aforesaid, that piety is suppressed and iniquity nourished, and the sword in their hand used against these that do most entirely cleave to the Scripture rule, and the sworn principles of the church of Scotland, and the ancient fundamental laws thereof. Prov. xx. 8, *A king that sitteth on the throne of judgment, scattereth away all iniquity with his eyes, &c.* Now I dare herein appeal to the sentence of all single, unbiassed and judicious persons, whether or not the present exercise of their power be not both injustice and tyranny, for there is no public power in the land, but what is founded on perjury, sacrilege and tyranny, and exercised according thereto. And seeing it is so, ye that are owners of such a power, ye must needs be upon the matter, owners of all these: comparing before their courts, and paying them tribute, placing advocates and pleading your cause before such unjust judges: and more especially such as are prisoners for the truths of the gospel, and so ought to witness a good confession for his trampled-upon truth, who was not ashamed to witness a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to wit, that he was a King: John xviii. 37, *Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, &c.*

Now, ye who are charging me this day, and others of my brethren, sufferers for truth, to be guilty of self murder, and so a breach of the sixth commandment, which is very false, for self-preservation must stoop to truth's preservation. Did our blessed Lord establish an advocate to plead for him? Did that valiant champion Stephen do it? But was free and positive in asserting his testimony. Or did Paul do it? Or shew me any such precept or practice from Scripture? Yea, consider the nature of witnessing, it proveth the contrary. But I prove such as do this to be actually guilty of the breach of the second commandment, which is, that *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image*, Exod. xx. 4. For as I have proved before, he is set up in Christ's room, and exerciseth authority in and by that abominable arrogate supremacy, and having intermixed things civil and ecclesiastic, by their acts of parliament, making them both alike inherent to the crown; and so cannot be owned in neither without sacrilegious idolatry, and so a breach of this commandment; as also of the fifth commandment, which concerneth natural and civil parents, which are to be owned and obeyed only in the Lord, which cannot in the least allow of any man's being ab-

solutely supreme, even in civil matters, it being the ordinance of God, and a lawful magistrate the minister of God, bound to dispense his ordinance, according to the rule in the word, and according to the ancient laws of the kingdom: for in the obeying of lawful power, it is obedience to this commandment: so upon the contrary, the owning and obeying an unlawful power, (such as theirs) certainly must be a breach of it. And can any deny that to be an owning of them, to establish one of the members of their court, to plead for no other effect, but to hale men out of the true principles and practices of the true reformed church of Scotland, when the pannel is called by his lot, to witness for them and give a confession thereof, before such an evil and adulterous generation, these being Christ's truths questioned; and truth is himself, *I am the way, the truth and the life*, &c. If any should object, and say, they are small things: to this I answer, no truth is small. Luke xvi. 10, *He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.* &c. And such as are supplicating the enemies, are guilty here; for a supplication ought not, nor can be given in, but to a lawful power, and for a lawful thing. 3d, Such are guilty who are coming out of prison upon bond and caution, binding themselves to compear before their judicatories, at such a particular time, or at demand; for we ought not to bind to compear or answer before a judicatory, but a lawful one, such as theirs is not; so that such are actually guilty, but especially such as formerly joined in declining them.

This generation seems to be a generation, in a great measure, given up to work all manner of wickedness with greediness, considering what profanity and robbing of God, mocking him and religion, instability, and the giving away his and the church's due: Mal. iii. 7, "Even from the days of your fathers, ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept them: return unto me and I will return unto you saith the Lord of hosts: but ye said, wherein shall we return?" ver. 8, "Will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me: but ye say, wherein have we robbed thee? In tythes and offerings." ver. 9, "Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation," &c. I am not to take upon me to speak any thing for future times, but this generation seems to have the marks and evidences of a generation of his wrath; fitted for judgment and destruction. Take these Scriptures as an evidence, Micah vi. 16, *For the statutes of Omri are kept.* Isa. xxiv. 1—6, *Behold the Lord maketh the earth empty*, &c. Now read Israel's sins here, and compare them with Scotland's sins, and see if they be not parallel: and seeing it is so, what can be expected but the punishments, and

plagues shall be parallel also; I cannot shake the thoughts of this off my spirit, but that there is a fourfold vengeance to be poured out on this land. 1st, The vengeance of God, for the intrusions on, and usurpations of his sword, crown, sceptre and robe royal. 2d, A temple-vengeance which is not a small one, for the laying his sanctuary desolate. 3d, A gospel-vengeance, viz. for the slighting of the great and rich offer of Christ and salvation, offered in such purity and plenty. 4th, A covenant-vengeance, for the great perjury and apostacy in the breach of, and falling from the prosecuting the ends of these covenants; which the Lord highly honoured this land with, to bring it into covenant with himself, and make it Hephzibah and Beulah unto him, Isa. xxxiv. 5, 6, 7, "For my sword shall be bathed in heaven, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse to judgment," &c. Jer. xxii. 6—9. "For thus saith the Lord unto the king's house of Judah, Thou art Gilead unto me, and the head of Lebanon: yet surely I will make thee a wilderness, and cities which are not inhabited," &c. This land hath not only departed from God, in and by their own sins, in refusing the rich offer of the gospel, and breach of covenant; but have homologate that broken and despised idol's sin, that hath overturned the work of reformation, by their owning of him now, when he hath taken the whole privileges of Christ's crown and kingdom to himself. And this I am persuaded of, that if there be a family in the christian world, that comes under Amalek's curse, viz. *With whom he will have war for ever*; it is that family called the royal family; whom, I think, God is about to sweep off the throne, so that no root thereof shall be left to exercise in the government; Isa. xl. 23, 24, *That bringeth the princes to nothing; he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity,* &c.

Now, as to the articles of my indictment, whereon my sentence of death is founded, is, First, the owning and maintaining, that it was lawful to rise in arms at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge: which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness, they being in their own defence, and in the defence of the gospel; and took that article for proof in the Confession of Faith, that they have given out to be the confession of their own faith, professing to build that abominable and ridiculous test upon; which shews, that they are ill builders, the building being so far off the foundation. But I refer you to the draught of a paper, which I drew as my testimony against that test: which with the consent and advice of others, was affixed on the parish kirk door of Stonehouse: and I am of the mind, that this proof, as it did enrage them, *being like a wild bull caught in their own net*: so it did give them no small damp.

A second was, speaking treason (as they call it) and declin-

ing their authority, which consisteth in this. First, when asked, if their king, or rather their idol, were a tyrant? I referred it to his obligations in his coronation oath, to be considered with his present actings and practices, with his usurpations upon the privileges of the church, and prerogatives royal of Jesus Christ, *who is the anointed of the Father*: and the refusing to say, (God save the king) which we find was the order that was used in and among the children of Israel, at the king's anointing to that office; and used in our own nation at the coronation. Now, this being only due to a lawful king, ought not to be given but to a lawful king, and so not to him, being a degenerate tyrant: for if I should, I thereby had said amen to all that he hath done against the church and liberties thereof, and to all his oppression by unlawful exactions, and raising of armies, for no other effect, but to deprive us of the hearing of the gospel, and troubling or molesting the subjects, both in their consciences and external liberties, and also their bloodshed and murders made upon the people of God, and free subjects of the kingdom; and so *bid him God speed*, contrary to that in the second epistle of John, verse 10. And seeing it cannot be given to any that have thus used their power to a wrong end, in such a measure and manner; so much less, when they have set him up as an idol, in the room of God incarnate. And shall I pray, to bless that man in his person and government, which God hath cursed? for it cannot be expected, but that he shall be cursed, that thus ventureth upon the thick bosses of the buckler of God Almighty.

Now, I shall here give in short, an account of my principles, which I shall do, as in the sight of an all-seeing God, viz. I am a true christian, truly anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-sectarian, anti-schismatic, anti-erastian, a true Presbyterian, owning the true protestant religion, now owned and professed by the poor wrestling and suffering remnant in Scotland; and whatever men have said, or may say of me, I have lived, and now I die thus.

Wherefore, in the first place, I give my testimony to the truth, fulness and authority of the Scriptures; and to all the truths contained therein, and warrantable therefrom. 2d, I bear my testimony to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ; and that by his satisfaction the moral law was not abrogated, but fulfilled: and that the moral law is as binding on the christian truly interested in him, this day, as it was that day that it was given to the children of Israel; only the condemnatory sentence thereof loosed to all such as are believers indeed. 3d, I bear my testimony to the work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other errors; as it is contained in the **Confession of Faith**,

Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Covenants, National and Solemn League, Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God's Wrath, drawn up by the general assembly of this church, after the evil in meddling with that rotten hearted malignant, Charles Stuart, was seen. 4th, I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the remonstrators against malignants and the malignant interests, which are the very things this day contended for, by the true Presbyterians of the church of Scotland. 5th, I bear my testimony (not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest) to that noble testimony given at Lanerk, against that tyrant, and the test enacted by the late parliament; which I could not but look upon, in the time of the carrying on of it, and yet doth, that the remnant was therein owned of the Lord. 6th, I bear my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the martyrs that have gone before us, on scaffolds, in the fields, or in the seas.—7th, I bear my testimony to all the appearances in arms, for the defence of the gospel. 8th, I bear my testimony to the faithful manner of the delivery of the gospel, that hath been in the open fields, by the faithful and sent servants of Jesus Christ, exercising according to his own commission; preaching days, communion days, and fasts; particularly one holden at Auchingilloch by three ministers, two of them now glorified, viz. Mr. Donald Cargil and Mr. Richard Cameron: where the land's guilt was freely and faithfully discovered. 9th, and lastly, I bear my testimony to the fellowship-meetings of the Lord's people, particular and general, and my soul hath many a time been refreshed in them.

Likewise on the other hand, I leave my testimony against the public resolutions for taking in that malignant interest; for which this poor church is this day smarting, and feeling the weight of that tyrant's hand, for such eager lusting after a king. 2d, I leave my testimony against Hamilton declaration, which is one and the same thing with the resolutions—First, for taking in the foresaid interest, contrary to the land's engagements in covenant—Second, for corrupting the army. But my mind more fully of this, with several other things, such as the excommunication, tyrant's interest, cess and locality, is more fully expressed in a paper, entitled, *Some few grievances, set down by way of query*: which was occasioned by a minister being preaching near the place of my residence, and some falsely accusing me for casting at ministers, and so at ministry; and to shew that my not hearing was not from any schismatical design, but of conscience, of duty, judging him deficient and faulty, in not being faithful. I therefore drew my grievances to be presented; and referreth to this and

the forementioned paper, as a part of my testimony against the wrongs done to a holy God in this backsliding age. 3d, I leave my testimony against all unfaithfulness in ministers—First, for their dark and ambiguous manner of preaching, in not giving free, full and faithful warning of the duty and dangers of our day—Second, they either altogether leaving off preaching, as if seeming and apparent hazard loosed them from that command, which is to preach in season and out of season, &c. Or turning the edge of their doctrine against the most faithful in the land, and taking the faults and failings of the saints in Scripture, to defend them in their sinful, defective, conniving and complying courses; which is a wresting of the Scripture, for these are set down for our admonition, not to split upon such rocks. And O! how many professors are guilty also in this matter, they cannot deny it to be a fault, viz. such and such things; yet they cannot state their sufferings on them. Now undeniably, this is a presumptuous sinning, venturing upon it, because God is merciful; this is a daring of him to his face. Surely David was not of this mind of it, Psal. xix. 12, “Who can understand his errors, cleanse thou me from secret faults.” ver. 13, “Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins, let them not have dominion over me,” &c. Numb. xv. 30, “But the soul that doeth aught presumptuously, whether he be born in the land, or a stranger, the same reproacheth the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.” 4th, I give my testimony against that Erastian indulgence, and such as join with them, because they entered not by the right door, but by the order of the usurper, whereas Christ is the only door—John x. 1. But this I will say, that those who will not, nor dare not take that usurper’s portion, lest they be defiled thereby, *their countenance shall outshine the other, and be fatter and fairer in the day when they are to be proved before the king*—Dan. i. 15.

5th, I give my testimony against all the hearers of these abominable tested curates throughout the land; so in particular against the corner of that land, viz. Kilmarnock and the country thereabout, where I was apprehended, which I was then persuaded of, and yet am, that it was so ordered, that I might in particular witness against them for their compearing at courts, subscribing bonds, paying fines, which includeth in it an acknowledgment of a fault, building that which formerly they did destroy, and destroying that which formerly they builded, and that according to God’s word; and these who formerly were leaders in the way of truth, elders and old professors, are now as active by example and advice in the present course, and so are a stumbling block to others. *Offences must come, but wo to them by whom they come; better it were,*

that a millstone were hanged about their necks, and they were cast into the midst of the sea. O that ye who have formerly known the way of truth, would study more stability, and let not your liberty become a stumbling block to others. 6th, I bear my testimony against all profanity and profane persons, against all Atheism and Atheists, practical and professed; not only such as deny the true God by profession, but even such as do it by practice, belying their profession: against all enthusiasm and enthusiasts, although these black-mouthed Erastian writers, are pleased to call the way that is now followed by the poor remnant, such; yet my endeavours have always been to be both cleared in matters of truth and practice, according to the word and Spirit. But this I think, that the Lord is about to let this generation stumble, fall, and break their necks upon their own carnal wisdom, and each of them upon another: but mind this, *That the world by wisdom knew not God:* for it seems, it is the nothings of this age, that he will make use of: *Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he will perfect his praise.*

Now, I would speak in short to three sorts: 1st, You that are strangers and enemies to this lovely Lord, let your estrangement be done away; break off your sins by repentance; consider the hazard you are in, even of eternal wrath and scorching hell fire for ever. O this condescending love of God, that is laid out in this manner! O ye that are enemies to his interest and people, mind that justice, even wrathful justice, is ready to be poured out upon you! O therefore come off! repent and turn in unto this so favourable and merciful a God: leave off your persecution, come unto him, *there is mercy with him that he may be feared;* and if ye will not return, then his wrath will be upon you to all eternity. 2d, Ye that have sometimes known what it was to be in God's favour, and had much love and tenderness for him, his work and interest, cause and covenant, as it was reformed in this land, now are fallen from your first love, O endeavour to have in mind the love of your espousals, when ye and Christ were hand-fast: O consider aright what a great difference there is between your love, faith, zeal, tenderness now, in regard of what it was. Therefore take a right look of matters, and weigh them aright in the balance of the sanctuary, both as to your own particular case, and the case of his church; and turn to him with speedy and unfeigned repentance: for he that turns aside to crooked ways, *shall be led forth with the workers of iniquity.* O therefore turn in time, lest *repentance be hid from your eyes.* O! as ye love the glory of God, the good of your own souls, and the advantage of the church, if such an one as I may be so bold as to invite you, now going out of time into eternity; as

ye would not be partakers of the plagues that are to come upon such a generation, come off with speed. 3d, You that are in good terms with God, and helped to keep by his way, break not your peace by turning aside to crooked ways, entertain love, keep and hold fast your integrity, in this day, when many have broken the bargain with him, now when the language of many is this, *These are hard sayings, who can bear them?* And now, that this is his language to you, *Will ye also leave me?* O! let this be the language of every ingenuous soul, *To whom shall we go? for thou hast the words of eternal life.* Make sure salvation to yourselves, thereby ye shall be the more fit to follow him in this day, when he is casting forth his red flag, and marching. Many follow him when the white flag of peace is flourishing; but they are ill worthy of the sweet, who will not take part with him in the bitterest and sharpest sufferings; for what is the greatest of sufferings that can come from man, coming upon his account, in regard of what he suffered for us, even the heavy wrath of God, which would have pressed us down to the pit through all eternity: and may not the consideration of this oblige you? I can speak it to his commendation, that he can make the cross light and easy, for he will bear it and you both. And seeing everlasting arms are underneath, have you not ground to expect that he will not let his own arm be crushed. He can straw the cross all with roses. I dare not say that ever I met with a cross; for when the strait hath been greatest, then he kythed his kindness most. O the rich manifestations that he giveth to the soul under the cross! yea, it is all paved with love. Who would not go through a sea of bloody sufferings with him and for him? He is *the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the vallies; he is fair and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand* of thousands: O! who can describe him? he is the only precious object, *altogether lovely.* If he were seen and known, who would not love him? He is both lovely and loving. The soul may solace itself in him, under the greatest of straits. Now, ye that have received him, walk worthy of him. O! who knows what is in love? 1st *John* iv. 17, *Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because as he is, so are we in this world.* How is that? *Though in the world, yet not of the world.* Ver. 18, *There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment: he that feareth is not made perfect in love.* Now the reason of our love is, ver. 19, *We love him because he first loved us.* Now, dear friends, ye that are helped to keep by him, think it not strange though the world hate you, it hated himself: *He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own.* Should we not be

as pilgrims and strangers, travelling, seeking after an heavenly country. There is a rest for the people of God, and to whom is this rest appointed, but to the weary passenger.

Now, I am given out by the enemies and professors as being prodigal of my life, and leading of my two brethren to the death; but they are both false charges: for I have found more straightness and steadfastness in them, than I can find in myself. As for the other, I have so much of humanity, that I love my life; but cannot redeem it with the loss of my integrity, and denial of any of his precious truths. I durst not make a shift to have any favour of the enemies, nor to touch, taste, or handle with them, for their dainties or deceitful meat. And there is one Scripture which at my first coming to prison confirmed me, Philip. iv. 6, *Be careful for nothing: but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.*

Now, dear friends, encourage yourselves in the Lord, and stand fast in one spirit, striving together for the faith of Jesus. Let nothing damp your courage, zeal, tenderness, and faithfulness, for this so lovely a Lord; and let brotherly love always continue. Beware of rocks, both on the right and left hand; we have beacons set up for both, to our sad experience, in this poor church: beware of peremptoriness, passion, and pride; for there may be, and I fear is, a spiritual pride, as well as a natural. Carry suitably to these who are without, and to them that are within. Endeavour to have an union in the Lord obtained, and entertained. Mix not the fire of true zeal with the wild sparks of carnal passion; but let meekness of spirit, with a christian, godly and faithful conversation, adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. The breakings of the remnant, I may warrantably say, have lien heavier upon my spirit, than all that I have met with from the enemy. And if ye will not get together, wrath will be upon you. O! for that day, when they shall be made "one stick in his hand," when it shall be as in Isa. xi. 13, "The envy of Ephraim also shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." Ver. 14, "But they shall flee upon the shoulders of the Philistines towards the west, and they shall spoil them of the east together," &c. And that Scripture, "Suffer not sin upon thy brother's soul, but in any wise reprove him." Seek to reclaim them that are fallen: "Ye that are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." Follow a gospel method, beware of self-seeking, "and let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." &c. I am not here speaking to these that are going on in homologating these God-provoking, Christ-dishonouring, church-ruining, and land-desolating courses; but to the wrestling remnant.

Now death is not a whit terrible to me, 1st Cor. xv. 55, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Ver. 56, "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law." Ver. 57, "But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ." I think this is his language to me. Micah ii. 10, "Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest: because it is polluted," &c. 2d Cor. v. 1, "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Now, as to his way with his church, it is mysterious; *his way is in the deep, his paths in the mighty waters*; but the thoughts of this I cannot put off my spirit, but that he hath thoughts of good and not of evil; to give this poor church an expected end. But I am persuaded of this, that he hath some other work ado, before that be accomplished, for falling from her first love, and the great ingratitude for the great and high privileges formerly enjoyed. But be not discouraged, nor sinfully anxious, neither about the church nor the remnant, but wait on God in his own way, and commit all to him, and he shall bring it to pass: it may come in a way least expected (I have no doubt about it) that his power, infiniteness, and sovereignty may yet appear.

Now, I declare I am free of the blood of all men, and though man had never public scandal to charge me with, yet I am one of the chief of saved sinners. And in respect of original, actual, and omissional sin, there hath been as much guiltiness in me, as might and would have weighed down to the pit the whole world; but my lovely Lord hath shewed me warm blinks of his love. O for love to give to this lovely Lord Jesus, according to that Scripture, *Come and I will tell you what the Lord hath done for my soul*. Upon the day before I received my sentence, I met with a great measure, and a full gale of the Spirit, wherein my heart was both melted and enlarged, winning near to him, both alone and with the rest: but a little thereafter going to him alone, I found him hiding, and being sensible of it, my heart, in some measure, panted after him, yet absent; so going to the word, was directed to 1st John v. 14, "This is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us." Ver. 15, "And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him:" which did in no small measure settle and comfort my spirit: so meditating a little, and considering how these two could consist together, was answered thus; *because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God*. And since, I bless his holy name, I have had great composure of spirit.

Now, according to my blessed Lord's command, I am not prepossessed with malice, or a spirit of revenge, but can bless when cursed. As for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, not only contrary to the law of God, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, but even contrary to their own law; for what they are doing against me as I am in myself, I can freely forgive them and all others; but as they do it against the image of God in me, and upon his truth's account, and so against himself, that is not mine to forgive, but I leave it to him to whom vengeance belongeth, to deal with them as he may best glorify himself. Now, I rejoice in my lot, for it hath fallen to me in pleasant places; and I have a goodly inheritance; I would not exchange it with the greatest monarch upon earth. O! let heaven and earth praise him, sun and moon praise him: O all the creation praise him, angels and glorified saints praise him, and my soul shall praise him through all the ages of eternity. Now, farewell all things in time, farewell holy Scriptures; farewell prayer, meditation, faith, hope: farewell all true friends. Welcome heaven; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; welcome angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The last Speech and Testimony of JOHN FINLAY, who lived in the Muirside, in the parish of Kilmarnock, and suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

Shewing you that I am condemned unjustly by a generation of bloody men, who is thirsting after the blood of the saints of God, and upon no other account, but for my being found in the way of my duty in the sight of God: glory to his holy name for it, though gone about with many failings, much imperfections, for adhering to Christ and all his offices, as Prophet, Priest, and King; and for my following him in all his persecuted gospel truths. The articles of my indictment were for, 1st, My keeping company with the persecuted people of God, ministers and others, for which, with my whole soul, I bless him that ever he honoured me with such company; and in token of his countenance he hath kept me in that company. 2d, For my being in company and converse with Mr. Donald Cargill; (for which, with my whole soul, I desire to bless and magnify the riches of his grace, that ever he conferred such company upon such a sinful wretch) and Mr. King,

Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Kid, in particular. 3d, My refusing to call the bishop's death murder, which I durst not do, it being God's righteous judgment upon him. 4th, My not calling Bothwell-bridge rebellion; it being in defence of themselves and the gospel, which is lawful in God's sight; and therefore I durst not call it rebellion. 5th, My giving meat, drink, and comfort to the persecuted people of God; which I did willingly and with my whole heart; and herein I have sweet peace this day; as in Matt. x. 42, "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward:" which he hath made out to me abundantly to the full. 6th, For my being commanded to say, *God save the king*, which I durst not do for my very soul; their bidding us to do it in the test of our loyalty, to save him in his person and government, and authority, which is a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done, in his usurpation upon Christ's prerogatives and privileges, they having made him supreme head in all matters and causes; civil and ecclesiastic; which if I had done, it had been a flat denying of Christ, and a joining with him and them, I mean Charles Stuart, in all that they have done in overturning of the glorious work of reformation in these lands, and all the wrongs done to the gospel and people of God in this day, which would have made me odious in the sight of God, and before the world; for which I bless him, he hath kept me from: as the Scripture saith, *He that is not faithful in little, will not be faithful in that which is much.* 7th, Being asked, if I would not pray for the king? I said, yes. Do it then. I said, according to the Scripture. They said, he will pray for him as he is a man, but not as he is king, which is high treason and rebellion. Now, my friends, I being conscientious to myself that my owning him as my king, was a casting off Christ Jesus who is head and King in Zion, and taking on with him, and so would have incurred the wrath of God, and homologate all the bloodshed, and all the horrid bloody abominations they have committed in the land, with avowed defying of the great God. O who dare join with such avowed enemies of our God, and so cast off the society of the saints, and give the hand of fellowship to such bloody and man-sworn wretches, that is making it their whole work to root out godliness out of this covenanted land, that the name of Israel shall no more be made mention of: but they will be all beguiled, for Christ will reign till all his enemies be made his footstool.

1st, I give my testimony to the sure word of God, which is the Scriptures of truth. 3d, I give my testimony to the way

of salvation through Jesus Christ, and that by his satisfaction: 3d, I bear my testimony to the work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other errors, as it is contained in the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4th, I give my testimony to the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and to the Causes of God's Wrath, drawn up by the general assembly of the church, after their meeting with the rotten-hearted malignant, Charles Stuart. 5th, I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the remonstrators, against the malignant interest, that is the very thing contended for by the true Presbyterians of the church of Scotland. 6th, I give my testimony, not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest, to that notable testimony given at Lanerk against that tyrant, and the test, intimated by that late parliament, which I could not but look upon it in the time of carrying on of it, and yet doth, that the remnant was owned of the Lord. 7th, I bear my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the martyrs, that have gone before us, whether on scaffolds, or on the fields, or in the seas. 8th, I bear my testimony to all appearances in arms, for defence of the gospel. 9th, I bear my testimony to the faithful preaching of the gospel that hath been in the fields by the faithful and sent messengers of Jesus Christ, according to his own mission, preaching days, communion days, and fast days, by Messrs. Cargil, King, Kid, Cameron, and Douglas. 10th and lastly, I bear my testimony to the fellowship-meetings of the Lord's people, particular and general: my soul hath been many a time refreshed with his presence in company with them.

Likewise I bear my testimony, 1st, Against the public resolutioners for taking in the malignant interest, for which this poor church is smarting for this day, and feeling the weight of the tyrant's hand, for such eager lusting after the king. 2d, I bear my testimony against Hamilton declaration, which is one and the same with the resolutioners, for taking in the fore-said interest, contrary to the land's engagements in covenant. 3d, For corrupting the army and other things, such as the ex-communicate tyrant's interest, cess and all other impositions of that nature, for the down-bearing of Christ's interests, doing it against a holy God. 4th, I bear my testimony against indulged ministers, for their not coming in by the door, but by the mission of men; John x. 1. *He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.* They being entered by the tyrant and not by the door, they are become men-servants, and not servants to Jesus Christ, and so is become an Erastian

party, which hath wronged our Lord and King more than the bloody prelatie party hath done these twenty years bygone, by their renting the church's bowels, and for dividing many a bosom-friend, to the great hurt of the gospel. 5th, I leave my testimony against all corrupt ministers, sheltering themselves under their wings, strengthening the stakes of that plantation, and for their dark and ambiguous preaching in not declaring the whole counsel of God. 6th, I leave my testimony against all the enemies and wrongers of my Lord's glorious privileges and prerogatives, all in general. I leave my testimony against that bloody murderer John Reid, who murdered a woman in the town of New-milns, and now is carrying arms against Christ and his followers; who took me, and confest to me that he had not an order for it. And against that party that carried me to Edinburgh; and especially Alexander Gemmil, my neighbour, for he vexed me more than all that party, for he said I married folk and baptized children, and mocked me most dreadfully.

A line of advice to two or three sorts of folk. To you that are old professors and covenanters in the west of Scotland, and especially in Kilmarnock parish, what are ye doing? Where are ye now be when ye swore the covenant, and swore against Popery, Prelacy and all that faction, side and party? How are ye prosecuting the ends of that covenant, now in the sight of God, and the oath of God, that ye swore with hands lifted up to the Most High, and before heaven and earth, sun and moon? O my soul trembles to think what bad example ye are to the young generation, ye who should have been as the he-goats before the flock, to train them up in the way of God, and the way of holiness and righteousness, and now ye are leading them just the contrary. Should ye not have been more tender of the blood of the souls of the young generation, as to turn your back upon your profession, and turn in with the men of these abominations in all things? O fear the wrath of that God who has said, *Shall any break the covenant and be delivered?* Now therefore, I desire, as ye tender your own souls, that ye would turn again to your first husband, for it was better with you than it is now. Next, you that are the young generation, men and women, what are ye doing? are ye following the footsteps of your fathers in their courses of defection. joining in hearing these perjured curates, answering at their courts, joining in their worship with them, in their abominable and soul destroying courses, contrary to the word of God, our solemn Covenants, and Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the order of the church of Scotland, in discipline, worship and government; as they, ye, and I, are sworn, with hands lifted up to

the Most High God, which no power on earth is able to loose nor undo, nor free from no man nor woman baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. O therefore take heed how ye think to answer before the great sin-avenging God, before whom I am to appear within a little space, and before whom I and all the world will stand and be judged with righteous judgment.

And likewise seeing that I dare not but show you my mind anent some persons and their carriage in this day of Jacob's trouble, when Zion is laying waste and ploughing like a field. 1st. I give my testimony against these men called elders in my own parish, because of their complying with every course of defection and abomination that comes alongst through the country. 1st. They being thought to be faithful elders in the time of the Presbyterian government, and then turned elders to the curate Carnagie, and then turned elders to Mr. Wadderburn, that indulged minister, and now are sessioners to this curate. And seeing this is true that they have shewed themselves to be men of no principles, and the spirit of God saying expressly, *Meddle not with them that are given to change*: who can blame me to disown them.

I give my testimony against John Boyd, called bailie of Kilmarnock, for his bloody courses in many things, and especially in his uplifting of the cess and bloody lines, and in oppressing the poor in their consciences, and laying on of dragoons upon them most cruelly, which he did upon me four times; I wish God may forgive him for what he has done in that matter.

Now, according to my blessed Lord's command, I am not possessed of malice, or a spirit of revenge, but blesses when cursed. As for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, not only contrary to the law of God, and the ancient laws of the land, but even contrary to their own law; now for what they are doing to me, as I am in myself, I can freely forgive them and all others: but as they do it against the image of God in me, and upon his truth's account, and so against himself, that is not mine to forgive, but leaves it to him, to whom vengeance belongs, that he may deal with them as he may most glorify himself. O if I could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church of Scotland, I have surely many things to say, for that he trusted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship; whereas he might justly have letten my lot be amongst Pagans, and heathen nations, that knew nothing of the true God. Or, 2d. He might have ordered it to be among these that are worshipping antichrist, that whore, that monstrous beast, that sits upon many waters; whose sentence

may be read in Rev. xiv. 9, "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand," ver. 10, "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:" ver. 11, "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." And so, as sure as God is God, and the holy Scriptures are his word, according to which all men that have heard or seen it shall be judged, having the sentence of absoluti^on or condemnation passed according thereto, Rom. ii. 12, "For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law." So it is clear, that the first will surely perish, viz. all Infidels, and Atheists, and Heathens, and Pagans, that know not the true God nor his law: "And as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law." And so whatever vain hopes the Papists may have of being saved, living and dying Papists, or whatever charity loose professors have on that head to give them, they are as far from being saved as devils, which are eternally cast out of his presence.

3d, I have him to bless for this, that my lot is not among corrupt protestant churches abroad, Lutherans and other corruptions and abounding errors, both in doctrine, discipline, worship and government, Sectarian, Episcopal, or Erastian; but in the reformed church of Scotland, where all these things have been cast over the hedge, as not plants of his planting, where he hath been owned in all his offices, Prophet, Priest, and King, though he may say of us, in a great measure, as to the church of Israel of old, "I have planted thee a noble vine, but thou art become a degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me," &c. In that day of planting we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1, "We have a strong city, salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks." Lam. iv. 11, "The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof." Ver. 12, "The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the adversary and the enemy should have entered the gates of Jerusalem." Ver. 13, "For the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests, they have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her." Ver. 14, "They have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their gar-

ments." This may be our regret before God, as in verse 7, "Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire:" verse 8, "Their visage is blacker than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered, it is become like a stick," &c. O how unnatural-like were it for the mother to let the child, the fruit of her womb, perish for lack of the breasts; were she free of the child's blood, it perishing for want of its natural food? And O how many are this day perishing for want of the lively preached gospel: "Even the sea monsters draw out the breasts, they give suck to their young ones; the daughters of my people are become cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness," verse 3. And,

4th, I have him to bless for this, that I am not this day fighting against him in an open stated war, and so bearing arms against him and his people, for there is no more in me, as to myself, than these that are imbrewing their hands deeply in the blood of the saints.

5th, I have him to bless for this, that ever he opened mine eyes to see the mystery of iniquity that abounds, and bath its seat in the heart: as also in some measure, a sight of the remedy in the blood of Jesus, with his spirit engaging me to himself, letting me see himself altogether precious, making me to see that *it is better to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the pleasures of sin for a season.* Psalm lxxiii. 24, *Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory.* Verse 25, *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.*

6th, I have his holy name to bless that ever he honoured me to know any thing, how small soever, of his persecuted truths, viz. his crown, kingdom and privileges, now when many by their acts and laws, have taken his crown and sceptre and royal robe from him, and settled the whole government of his house upon a man that is but a worm: but I believe his decree will stand, oppose it who will. Psalm ii. 6, *Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion:* Isa. xlii. 8, *I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.* Now it is his declarative glory which that usurper hath taken to himself. Ay, but he that leadeth captivity captive according to his royal will and word, will reclaim his own glory: he it is alone that hath given him to be the sure foundation, whereon all the building is fitly framed, that stone that the builders hath rejected is made the head of the corner: Isa. xxviii. 16, "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure

foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste." Ver. 17, "Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place."

7th, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, that hath called me to be a sufferer for his work and interest, counting it not my shame, but a high privilege and dignifying of me, when many famous in their generation have been denied of it, when so many are denying, and by their practice are rendering the cross of Christ of no effect. O my friends, bless and magnify your God for this, that ye are privileged with these things, and strive to walk worthy of him in your places, callings and stations, and relations, as a husband, as a wife, as a master, as a servant, as a christian; study to have a blameless conversation, as becomes the gospel, as far as ye can, walk void of offence towards God and man. My dear friends, I have sweet peace in my lovely Lord; he has made my prison become a palace unto me, and he has made me many a time to bless him for my lot, for which my soul shall praise him through all eternity. Therefore, my dear friends, let none of you think it strange, concerning the fiery trial, as though some strange thing had happened unto me, for it is in his holy wisdom he hath made my lot sweet; for he has made out his sweet promises unto me, one of which is of more worth than all the world, giving me the witness of his Spirit, bearing witness with my spirit, that I have a right to them all.

Now farewell all things in time; farewell holy Scriptures; farewell all christian friends; farewell prayer and meditation; farewell faith; farewell hope. Welcome heaven; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; welcome angels, and the souls of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN FINLAY.

The last Testimony of WILLIAM COCHRAN, who lived in the parish of Evandale, and suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

LOVING FRIENDS,

Seeing I am going off time to eternity, I think it fit now to leave my testimony to the truths of God. And 1st, I own the Scriptures, and acknowledge them to be the only rule to the church and people of God at all times, and under all dispensations. 2d, Jesus Christ to be the only Saviour of his people, and head of his church, and sole governor of his house. 3d, I adhere to the covenanted work of reformation, Confession of Faith, and the Covenants and Catechisms: and I think

it my great honour and glory, that I was born a member of that church, and desire to bear my testimony to all the privileges of that church: and also I desire to bear witness against all her enemies, especially against supremacy and Prelacy, and all prelatie and Erastian courses, and against all joiners and compliers whatsoever with such like.

Now I desire every believer in the church of Scotland, to take a look how matters stand between God and their souls, in such a day as this: for it seems to me, that that religion which would have done your turn at other times, will not do it now; for his way is now in the deeps, and ye would need look where ye stand, when so many are falling; and see whether ye have made religion your only choice or no: for except Christ be the only pearl of price to you, and his law your delight, ye cannot hold out; for it seems to be a great work to be self-denied, and part with all things, when they come in competition with the truths of Christ. Your going to kirks, and answering courts now, when they are founded upon perjury, and seated upon the ruins of the church; I cannot see, but it is a direct contradicting of the work of reformation, which we are sworn to maintain in its purity, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, for we should not be divided directly nor indirectly; and a joining with the enemies of the truth, when we should neither touch nor taste with the men of these abominations. O look where ye are, and what will be the end, if mercy prevent it not; when once ye are fanged in their snares, ye stand stoutly to the defence of it, and of these that join with them in these ensnaring courses. I desire you would look through the causes, why the Lord contends with this poor land, and leaves them thus to consume away unto dross, for the whole land is involved in perjury, for they are all joining together to destroy that which we were bound and sworn to maintain both in kirk and state.

Ye know that the land was given away to the Lord by covenant, and we, with all our substance, lives and fortunes, sworn to defend it to the utmost of our power. O therefore consider where ye are now, you may date your perjury from the changing of the government, and the coupling up of the work of reformation, and your being witness to it, and to the taking and beheading of Argyle and Mr. Guthrie, without either resisting or resenting of it, which is astonishing to me to think upon, for ye were bound to defend the lives of these two men, though all your lives should have gone for it; I am put to wonder at Scotland's blindness. Ye may see your crowning and entering into covenant with Charles Stuart hath been a thing contrary to the will of the Lord, for he and all his predecessors have still been known to be in opposition to

the ways of the Lord. It seems that the Lord is still contending with the land, and will contend, until he consume him and the land, because the king's sins become the people's sins, when not witnessed against and withstood. Now we know how he hath ensnared the whole land by his acts, but especially his supremacy over the church, and intrusion on Christ's prerogatives; and so many ministers being in the land, and yet have not witnessed against it, but have either kept silence, and thereby declared their unfaithfulness to the Lord, and the souls of them they were set over; for the ministers ought to preach *in season and out of season, and set the trumpet to their mouths*, and give the people warning of every sin, or else the Lord will require their blood at the ministers' hands. I fear the ministers of Scotland will be found very guilty of this; they have not given the people faithful warning against the hearing of the curates and indulged, for the people's testimonies lay partly in forbearing to hear; for they were thrust in by the king's supremacy, and entered not in at the door: and the indulged have done more hurt to the church, than all the curates have done; for they were looked upon to be godly men, and poor things not considering, but following them blindly, not looking to the Scripture, and the government of the church, and so have broken and divided the people.

And our noblemen and gentlemen, from whom other things were looked for, have deserted the cause to the stain of their memory to after generations. The ministers ought to have given the people warning, and not have been so tender of men when truth was so wronged: for the people, many of them were like to have taken warning; but we see that juggling with the Lord first and last hath been our ruin and wrack, and now we are brought to nothing, and our worldly wisdom is seen to be foolishness with the Lord. But I perceive, within these two or three years, the Lord is beginning to let us see our former ground again; and I desire you his poor people to labour to win at it, and to hold in it, and to be as tender of one another as ye can, without sinning against the Lord; for we will be all found guilty of the defection in less or more: therefore I desire you to humble yourselves before the Lord, and to make conscience of mourning and heart-brokenness and weeping; for if ye had the sense of it deeply impressed upon your hearts, as I have had since I was a prisoner, and the heart-breaks that I have had both from one and another, but especially from mistaken friends, ye could not but have weeped with all your heart. But dear friends, be not discouraged, but hold on; for this way that I am now to suffer and lay down my life in, is, and will be found at length to be the way of God. There is much need of tenderness of, and zeal to God's glory, and

watchfulness; for I find there are snares on all hands, and fear some of the Lord's choice people will be permitted to fall. And likewise, I desire, dear friends, that ye would keep a spirit of sympathy with one another: I fear your straits be but coming: and I desire, when ye fall upon debates upon the matters of the Lord, that ye would follow the methods of the Scriptures, and his Spirit there, and cease from your bitterness, one of you against another: *For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of the Lord:* but be humbled under the sense of the public sins that have caused us to be smitten with such sharp dispensations from the Lord. But I think Scotland's case is like the case of Jonab, who fled from the presence of the Lord, till he could win no further, and the Lord pursued him unto the whale's belly, till he was forced to cry out unto the Lord. O! that ye would cry, and cry aright with broken hearts, and confess to the Lord, and forsake. Lay it home to each one of yourselves in particular, as David did, when he transgressed against the Lord, and numbered the people. O that ye would plead with the Lord, and come in his mercy, and plead for the young generation, that have not sinned away the gospel, as we have done, and say to the Lord, what have these silly sheep done? O plead hard with the Lord, for I am persuaded he hath a kindness for Scotland; he is dealing with the hearts of some of the young generation, and as yet he has heaped up a party contending for his work, and will keep up some witnessing still: yea, I think he will still keep a contending party for his work and truths until he return again: and I think the hopes of this should encourage your hearts.

Now, the main article of my indictment upon which I have received my sentence of death from men, was that I would not say *God save the king*, which (as they have now stated him an idol in the Mediator's room) I could not do, without being guilty of saying amen to all that he hath done against the church and people of God, and true subjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof; and have done contrary to that in the second epistle of John, ver. 10. "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed: for he that biddeth him God-speed, is partaker of his evil deeds." And also ye know, that taking of the name of God in our mouths, is a part of worship, and so a worshipping of their idol; for before our faces they said, that he was king over all persons, and over all causes; which is putting him in God's room. But they sentenced me, because, said they, that I disowned authority, which was a diving into the thoughts of my heart. Now, in obedience to what my Lord hath com-

manded, I can freely forgive, as I desire to be forgiven, any thing that is done to me, as I am in myself; but what hath been done against me upon the account of truth, and so striking against God, I am not to set myself above him, but I leave that to himself. Now, I have great satisfaction in my lot, and I rejoice that he hath called me to it, and I bless him that I have been all along helped to join with his despised work and people. And now many are pleased to say, that I had not been apprehended as a prisoner, if there had not been some of the suffering people of God frequently about my mother's house; which is a commanded duty, much commended by Christ; *If any man give a cup of cold water to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, he shall not want a disciple's reward.* Therefore seeing it is such, let none offend at such a work, who look upon themselves as members of that body; what may follow, leave that in the Lord's hand, who doth all things well, and nothing can harm his people, being found rightly in the way of their duty. Now, as to those who count the pure way of truth a wild principle, I count it a greater mercy to be wild from the way of sinning, than to be tamed thereunto; as, alas! most of the generation are.

Now, farewell all true friends in Christ: farewell holy and sweet Scriptures; farewell sinning and suffering. Welcome heaven and the full enjoyment of God through all eternity.

Sic subscribitur,

WILLIAM COCHRAN.

The last Speech and Testimony of ANDREW GUILLINE, weaver, who lived in the shire of Fife, and suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, July, 1635.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

Being here to die for my dearest Lord's precious truths, I thought fit to leave this with you, as my last advice. Seek to do good to all in your day. Let your moderation be known unto all men. Study to be employing your God, for there is sudden wrath pronounced from heaven against all that have been doing, or continue to do evil: for he hath said, Jer. x. 25, *Pour out thy fury upon the heathen.—and upon the families that call not upon thy name.* We had need to know what we shall answer, when we shall come before him, with whom we have to do; for he is a Holy God, and a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity. Wherefore, dear friends, study holiness in all manner of conversation; make it your earnest care to have your conversation as becomes the gospel, and then he will be forth-coming unto you. My friends, I leave you with the Lord, who hath promised to be the God of

his people. He is given of the Father to be a leader and commander to his people, and he will lead them. And I entreat every particular person, never to be at rest, till they give away themselves personally in covenant to God, and promise through his grace, to be for him, and not for another. I leave you to him, who *leads Joseph like a flock*. If you would have him speaking peace to you in your life, and in your end, cleave to the Son of God and his truths. And remember, if speedy repentance do not prevent, you will utterly ruin your immortal souls. Now, my dear friends, ye that are desiring singly to stand for God, hold on your way, and wait for the Lord, and quit not a hoof of the truth: He will be an upmaking God to you, and he has promised to be a present help to you in the time of your need.

There is a great confluence come here at this time; I would wish with all my heart, they would get good by their coming. I am come here to lay down my life: I declare I die not as a murderer, nor as an evil doer; although this covenant-breaking, perjured, murdering generation lay it to my charge, as though I was a murderer, on account of the justice that was execute on that Judas that sold the kirk of Scotland for 50,000 merks a year. And we being bound to extirpate Popery and Prelacy, and that to the utmost of our power, and we having no other that were appearing for God at that day, but such as took away his life, therefore I was bound to join with them, in defending the true religion, and all the land. Every man was bound in covenant, when he had sold the church, they were bound, I say, to meet him by the way, when he came down from London, and have him presently put to the edge of the sword, for that heinous indignity done to the Holy Son of God. But it is, alas! too apparent that men have never known God rightly, nor considered that he is a Holy God. O terrible backsliding! they will not believe that God will call them to an account for what they owed to God: but assure yourselves, as he is in heaven, he will call every one to an account, how they have stood to that covenant and work of reformation. I need say no more; but I would have you consider, that in breaking the covenant, we have trampled under foot the precious truths of Jesus Christ.

Now, being straitened of time, I must leave off writing. Wherefore, farewell holy Scriptures, wherewith my soul hath been many a day refreshed; farewell sweet societies with whom I have been, whose company was only refreshful to me; farewell my mother, brethren, sisters, and all other relations; farewell all earthly pleasures; farewell sun, moon and stars. Welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome angels; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into whose hands I commend my spirit.

ANDREW GUILLINE.

The inhuman treatment this martyr met with ought not to be forgot, as a pregnant instance of the hellish rage and fury of these persecutors, and of the Lord's rich grace, who wonderfully countenanced and strengthened him to endure the tortures inflicted upon him, with an undaunted braveness of spirit: for besides the tortures he suffered in prison, they ordered both his hands to be cut off, while he was alive: and it was observed by onlookers, though (by reason the executioner was drunk) he received nine strokes in cutting them off, yet he bore it with invincible patience. And after the right hand was cut off, he held out the stump in view of the multitude, saying, *As my blessed Lord sealed my salvation with his blood, so am I honoured this day to seal his truths with my blood.* Afterwards being strangled a little, his head was cut off, and it, with the hands, placed upon the Netherbow-port of Edinburgh; and his entrails being taken out, his body was conveyed to Magus-moor, and there hung up in chains, on a high pole.

The last Testimony of JOHN COCHRAN, who lived in the parish of Lesmahago, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, upon the 30th of November, 1683.

Being brought before the lords of justiciary, they asked, where I went in to the rebels? I answered, I went in to the people of God, whom ye call so, at Drumclog. They asked, if I had arms? I told them, I had a fork. They asked, if I thought it rebellion? I said, no. And they said, what was it then? I told them, it was in defence of the gospel. They asked, if I did own the authority? I told them, as far as it did agree with the word of God. Then they asked, if I would pray for the king? I told them, that prayer should be gone about in decency and order. Then they asked, if I would say, *God save the king?* And I refused. Then they said, was I not bound to pray for him? I told them, that I was bound to pray for all that were within the bounds of election. Then they said, was the bishop's death murder? I told, I was no judge. Then they asked, if I was at Bothwell? I told, I was. They said, was it rebellion? I said, no. Then I was taken back to prison again, and the irons laid on me: but blessed be the Lord, that was no discouragement to me; for when the storm blew hardest the smiles of my Lord were at the sweetest. It is matter of rejoicing unto me, to think how my Lord hath passed by many a tall cedar, and hath laid his love upon a poor bramble-bush, the like of me. And O! that I could bless the Lord for it, and say, "Come all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my

soul." And now I am made to say, "That the Lord doth all things well, and holy is his name." And as for my part, I have good cause to bless the Lord, that ever I was a hearer of the persecuted gospel; and however the world think of us, that our lot is hard in a world, yet remember, that he saith in his holy word, that "whosoever will live godly, must suffer persecution; and whosoever will not take up his cross, and follow me, is not worthy of me." And "fear not him that can kill the body," but he hath said, "I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear, fear him that can kill both soul and body, and cast both into hell." And "if judgment begin at the house of God, where shall the wicked and ungodly appear in that day, when he shall take vengeance on them that fear him not, and obey not the gospel?" And now, alas! I am afraid, that even much of the gospel amongst us, will be a witness against us; for it was the judgment of Capernaum, that so many mighty works were done in it, and yet they believed not; and yet for all that came upon it, it was said to be exalted up to heaven; and then we hear of its being thrust down to hell: even so I fear the having so much light be the plague of our land; for it was once a praise to all the earth; but now a mocking, even among the heathens.

And now, as a dying man, I do heartily declare my adherence unto all the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and preaching of that blessed gospel, by a faithful, sent, Presbyterian, gospel ministry. As also, I do, with all my soul and heart, agree with, and assent unto the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, the National and Solemn League and Covenants, Directory for Worship, the Solemn Acknowledgment of public Sins and Breaches of the Covenant, and Engagement to all Duties, together with all and whatsoever is contained within the foresaid book. And likewise I do hereby heartily witness and testify against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, heresy, and other errors, especially Quakerism, and whatsoever is disconform and disagreeable to the holy Scriptures, and these other sound writings above-mentioned. And sick-like, I witness and testify my abhorrence and detestation of that abominable and blasphemous test, which is now so violently pressed upon the people, tending to the destruction of their souls. Moreover, I leave my wife and six small children to the care and protection of Almighty God, who hath promised *to be a father to the fatherless, and an husband to the widow;* and my soul to God who gave it, for whose cause I now willingly lay down my life. And now I bid farewell to all earthly and carnal comforts. Farewell all christian acquaintance: and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I do commit my spirit.

JOHN COCHRAN.

At the same time also suffered upon the same heads of truth, and adhering to the same testimony, these two pious martyrs, John Whitelaw and Arthur Bruce, who were interrogate upon the same things before the council or lords of judicary, and do agree with the foregoing martyr in every respect, and express in their testimonies the like satisfaction with their lot, and cheerfulness under the cross, and their adherence to the same principles, and abhorrence of the same errors.

A Letter from JOHN WHARRY, who suffered at the market-cross of Glasgow, June 11, 1683: written during his imprisonment, to his mother and other relations.

DEAR MOTHER, BROTHER AND SISTERS,

I beseech you, in the name of my sweet and altogether lovely, incomprehensible, matchless, precious, beautiful and glorious Redeemer, captain and conqueror over all his enemies, be not discouraged; for through his free love cast on me in black nature, who was born an heir of sin and wrath, I am now, by his blessed purchase, made free, by the laying down of his sweet life for poor sinners, of which I was one of the chiefest in the world: that I might get life eternal, which is his own gift bestowed on me. And now, through his blessed hand of providence, has made choice of poor unworthy me to be his prisoner; who ordereth all things well to these whom he sets his love on; and *these whom he loves, he loves unto the end.* I do not question his all sufficiency. Dear mother, do not ye question it, but that he is sufficient to make me conqueror over my inward and outward enemies. O mother, bless the Lord that ever he gave you a son, and flesh and bones, to be honoured to be a sufferer for his precious name, truths and interest, cause, covenant, and concerns, according to his own rule in his blessed word, which is contained in the Old and New Testaments, agreeable to all truths contained therein. O mother, will ye be entreated for his love's sake, to give me back again to him in a free-will offering? O I am persuaded, that it would please my matchless Lord, and then it would fare better with me, and you both. O if ye knew what of the kisses of love and kindness I got, since I was brought to carts, stocks and irons! O unworthy I, that should be honoured with this! O mother, I beseech you for his love's sake, that ye do not repine, and thereby provoke the Lord to anger. O bless him, for making all things pleasant and delightful, refreshful and comfortable to my soul, and my brother's. I cannot express what of love I met with, since they

apprehended me, and my brother. O bless him for dealing so with me. I beseech you, mother, be serious with the Lord, that what he hath begun, he may also perfect in us to his own glory, and for his own work in the souls of all that are within the compass of the decree of election of free grace. I cannot describe him, he is incomprehensible, and he is without compare. O he is beautiful and glorious, strong and almighty, powerful to break through difficulties, and to bring through his own elect: all which is necessary, and nothing less, that his own being cast in the furnace for the trial of their faith and patience, may be helped to endure; for he knows well enough to purge away the dross and the scum of his own elect. O! but some souls he plunges over and over: to others he limits and permits their winnowing by Satan. O! but true faith, believing and casting all the weight upon the promises, will bring you to the accomplishment, if ye endure with patience, he is the same always to poor sinners, to make them to conquer over all their inward and outward enemies, to these that have received him in the precious offers of the gospel, holden out to poor sinners freely, and to poor me: and he hath engaged my heart to fall in love with him, and to follow the blessed persecuted gospel, through good report and ill report, upon all hazards whatsoever through his strength. O! bless him, all that is within me, that ever he made me to act faith on his great and precious promises, and also to trust to the faithful outmaking of them to his own in particular straits, and also to the church in general, in his due season, against all oppositions that can come from a tempting devil, and a wicked, conspicing and desperate heart, and the wicked, flattering, deceiving and bewitching world. O! but these be three strong, arch, cunning and subtile enemies! I fear, if this question were asked at professors in the land, if they knew these? they would answer, they knew them very well; though I fear the contrary: and it appears much in our day and generation. Wo is us! where is this married land gone to, judge ye? I bless him that he has made me his prisoner, though I be unworthy: he has stooped low, and with his delicates has come to me in my irons and cords, in that chamber in Glasgow, with his own wine, apples and flagons. O! if ye knew what a life we have here: if ye knew the want of him, ye would have longed for him, and would not have thought a prison, cords, stocks, irons, hard to bear for his comely presence, and refreshing of our souls. O! glory to his blessed and everlasting name, whose loving kindness lasts for ay. O friends! give all the praise to precious and lovely Christ. O friends! wrestle and hold on: use importunity with him for your bleeding mother-church: for it is no!

time to be slack. O pray for us, that we may get more and more of his support, that we may be strong in our Almighty God, who has done great things for his church, and is beginning to do great things for us in our prison. O! praise him all ye people; it may be nearer to the breaking of the day of our king royal, than ye are aware. God has long been silent, and conscience dumb amongst people. O be ye aware, that ye have not these two, when he arises to make war for all the wrongs he has sustained. We beseech you, in his own name, try whose ye are, what ye are, and in whose list ye are. Know ye not, that true *faith is the substance of things not seen, but hoped for* in him, and will be made forthcoming to the sensible feeling of his own elect.

JOHN WHARRY.

A Letter written by JAMES SMITH, who suffered for the truth at the market-cross of Glasgow, June 11, 1683, to his father and mother.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,

I beseech you to forgive me all the offences I have done to you, for ye know it is natural to children to offend and grieve their parents. Now this I seek in his name, and for his sake, and I heartily forgive any provocations, that my father has given me, as I am of myself, and desire the Lord may take a dealing with your heart, O my father. Now my dear father, seek the Lord that your soul may live; and make religion your main work, and let it not be a by-business to you, but strive and wrestle to get time spent rightly in the fear of the Lord, minding always, and at all times, that the eye of a holy and just God is upon you; and be serious with God, and deal in earnest with him, that he would help you to self-denial, to be denied to all things beneath the clouds; and study to win at mortification, and let your affections follow nothing further than ye can be mortified to it; and be submissive to his holy will. Now the Lord himself persuade you to fall in love with lovely Christ. And I desire the Lord may give you unfeigned repentance, and faith in Jesus Christ, and strength to stand out and resist these insnaring courses, viz. locality paying, and compearing at courts, and hearing of curates, and the like. Dear father, mother, brethren, and sisters, quit with me, and give me up to the Lord, who gave me to you. Give me up freely without any hankering and repining; for he loveth a cheerful giver. I dare not say but he has been kind to me; O matchless love! O praise, praise him that ever he honoured the like of me with cords on my arms, and stocks on

my legs; irons have been sweet and easy to me, and no trouble. Now hold up my case to the Lord, and doubt not of his faithfulness and all sufficiency, for he is both able and willing, and he has said, *In all your afflictions, I am afflicted; and he carries his and their cross both, and he sends none a warfare on their own charges.* John xii. 24, *Verily, verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.* And ver. 25, *He that loveth his life, shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.* And I can say upon good grounds, I am well helped of my lovely Master in all that I have been trysted with. I desire with all my heart and soul to bless and praise the holy name of my God for his love, and that ever he looked on the like of me, a poor sinful thing. O praise him, and rejoice with me, that it is so well with me. Now the manner of my taking was not surprising to me: I was not afraid, for I dare not question but it was the place, and also the time was come: glory to his name in so ordering of it. No more at present, but have my love remembered to you, and desires you all to take up yourselves with your duty. Now I quit you all to him *who is able to save to the utmost.* Be much taken up in the church's condition, and be not at ease in the time of Zion's trouble. My brethren, my advice to you is, to join yourselves in a society or fellowship meeting, in the strength of the Lord.— Now my lovely Lord, give thy blessing to all thine, and pardon the sins of all the elect.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES SMITH.

These two zealous martyrs were precluded from having any formal testimony, by the rage and cruelty of the persecutors, who having suborned witnesses against them, to depone that they saw them kill a soldier at Inchbelly bridge, in relieving a prisoner there, did presently take them forth to the cross of Glasgow, and with the greatest of inhuman rage, hanging them on a gibbet till they were half dead, caused cut them down, and laying them in that condition upon a cart, carried them to the said Inchbelly bridge, to be there hung up in chains. And it is worth the recording to the praise of his grace, for whose royal dignities they witnessed, that they endured all these hardships inflicted upon them, with a great deal of christian magnanimity and alacrity, even to the conviction of enemies.

The Interrogations proposed to JOHN NISBET, younger, who lived in the parish of Loudon, and suffered at Kilmarnock, April 4, 1683. Sent by him in a letter to some friends.

DEAR FRIENDS,

The manner of my examination (as I remember) was this:
First Q. When saw ye John Nisbet? *A.* I did not see him this good while. *Q.* But when did you see him, and where did you see him? *A.* Although I could, I would not answer, to discover my neighbours. The major said, he would make me tell, or he would make me sit three hours in hell. I answered, that was not in his power. *Q.* Are ye under an oath that ye will not tell of the rest of you? *A.* I am under no oath but what the Covenant binds us to. *Q.* Took ye ever the communion? *A.* No. *Q.* Did ye ever preach, or expound the Scriptures? *A.* I could never read the Rudiments. Yet (said they) there were men who did preach, that were not learned. I told them I knew none but the Quakers, whose principles I dis-own. Then said they, say *God save the king.* I answered, it was not in my power to save, or condemn him. *Q.* Would you not say, *God save your beast*, if it were fallen into a hole? *A.* No; because it is a taking of his name in vain. *Q.* Was you at Bothwell, at the rebellion? *A.* Seeing you count it rebellion, it is criminal, witness of it. *Q.* Is the bishop's death murder? *A.* I am not a judge to cognosce upon it. And being asked again my opinion of it, I answered, I had said all that I could say of it already. *Q.* Was Bothwell rebellion? I answered, it was self-defence, which was lawful. *Q.* How prove ye that? *A.* By that Confession which ye build your Test upon. Then they said jeeringly, I was a grammari-an. *Q.* Own ye a law? *A.* Yes. *Q.* Own ye the law as it is now established? *A.* Since ye make your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to consider upon them. *Q.* Own ye the king in all matters, civil and ecclesiastic, and to be head of the church! *A.* I will acknowledge none to be head of the church but Christ. *Q.* Who is lawgiver? *A.* Christ. *Q.* Is the king the king, or not? *A.* He was once a covenanted king. *Q.* Is he the king now? *A.* I refer it to his obligations in his coronation oath, to be considered. *Q.* Is he your king, or not? I told them, I would not answer any more such questions at this time. This is all that passed, for the most part, except a number of senseless questions. No more at present, but has my love remembered to all friends in Christ. I am very well borne through, blessed be the Lord for it.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN NISBET.

The last Testimony of John Nisbet.

DEAR FRIENDS, and true lovers of Zion's righteous cause,

If I could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church and kingdom of Scotland, surely I have many things to do it for. 1st, That he hath trusted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship, discipline and government; whereas he might justly have ordered it to have been among those that are worshipping antichrist, that whore of Rome, that monstrous beast that sitteth upon many waters, whose sentence may be read, Rev. xiv. 9, "And the third angel sounded, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand," ver. 10. "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, that is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of his holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;" ver. 11. "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." 2d, He might have ordered it to have been among the corrupt protestant churches abroad, Lutherans, and other corruptions and abounding errors, but in the reformed church of Scotland, which was *fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.* The day was, when we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1, *We have a strong city, salvation will the Lord appoint for walls and bulwarks.* 3d, I bless the holy name of my God, that I am not this day carrying arms against him, his work and interest: for there is no more in me as of myself, than in these that are deeply imbruing their hands in the blood of the saints. 4th, I bless and magnify his holy name, that ever he brought me out of the state of nature, and brought me into an estate of grace and salvation, through the virtue of the blood of Christ: and exalted be his holy name, that he hath given me a sight of my own weakness, and also a sight of the deceitfulness of my own evil heart, and the mystery of iniquity abounding there: and also a sight of the remedy of the blood of Christ, with his spirit engaging me to himself, and letting me see himself altogether lovely and precious: so that I may safely say: that *there is none in heaven, or in earth that I desire besides him,* Psalm lxxii. 25. And 5th, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, who hath given me a sight of his controverted truths, now when it is come in question, whether Christ be head of his own house or not, whereas there is no truth clearer in all the

Scripture; yet it must not be spoken of, if ye resolve not to suffer for it. 6th, I bless his name, that ever he counted me worthy to suffer for him, counting it not my shame, but a high privilege and dignifying of me, when many famous in their generation have been denied of it, and are endeavouring by their practice to render the cross of Christ of no effect. 7th, I bless and magnify his holy name, that he hath kept me from denying of his name, in his titles and attributes; for that is the thing which the enemy and usurpers of my lovely Lord's crown are seeking to have me to deny allegiance to him, who is given of the Father to be a leader and commander of his people; Isa. xxviii. 16, "Thus saith the Lord, behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation, he that believeth shall not make haste." Ver. 17, "Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place." But this may be our complaint, Lam. iv. 4, "The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst, the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them." Ver. 3, "The daughter of my people is become cruel as the ostriches in the wilderness." Mal. ii. 8, "But ye are departed out of the way, ye have caused many to stumble at the law: ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts." Ver. 9, "Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kepted my ways, and have been partial in the law." For now it is with the land as it is in Ezek. xxiv. 7, "For her blood is in the midst of her, she set it upon the top of a rock, she poured it not upon the ground to cover it with dust." Ver. 8, "That it might cause fury to come up, to take vengeance: I have set her blood upon the top of a rock, that it should not be covered." Ver. 9, "Therefore thus saith the Lord, Wo to the bloody city, I will even make the pile for fire great." For the iniquities of a land, many are the judgments thereof; therefore we had need to mourn, for we will all be found guilty of the sins of the land, in less or more. It makes me to tremble, to think of Scotland's unfaithfulness in all ranks, for as it is with the people, so with the priests, for all have wandered out of the way, and followed their idols, especially the sins of the corrupt rulers; Micah vi. 16, "For the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels, that I should go far from my sanctuary; therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people." Lam. iv. 11, "The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, he hath kindled a fire in Zion, it hath devoured the foundations

thereof." Ver. 14. "They have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments." Now his glory is trampled under foot, but he hath said, Isa. xlii. 8, "I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images."

Now, is it not his declarative glory, which that usurper hath taken to himself? yea, but he that leadeth captivity captive, and giveth gifts unto men, will reclaim his own glory, for *the government is laid upon his shoulders*, Isa. ix. 6. Eph. i. 22, *And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head of all things to his church*. Now, I being a free-born member of the church and kingdom of Scotland, and joining with all the fundamental laws thereof, and they refuse to judge and sentence me according to that law, that must without doubt be murder: and further, they refuse to judge according to the Scriptures, which is an higher wickedness. O what will come upon Scotland, for the high abominations committed therein? Surely it cannot but meet with odious judgments. Isa. xxxiv. 5, *For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse to judgment*. For I see nothing appearing in this land, but defection from the way of truth: for there is no public power now in the land, but what is founded upon perjury, sacrilege, and tyranny; Ezek. xxii. 6, *Behold, the princes of Israel, every one were in thee, to their power to shed blood*. And compare Scotland's sins with Israel's sins, in that of Ezekiel, and see if they be not parallel. And seeing they are so, what can be expected, but that their punishments and plagues shall be parallel also? for there are few mourning for all the abominations done in the land.

Now, these that are charging me with self-murder, which is a breach of the sixth command, which is very false: for self-preservation must stoop to truth's preservation. And further, I have that much of humanity, that I love my life, but cannot redeem it with the loss of my integrity: but I prove such as do these things, which they would have me to do, are actually guilty of the breach of the second commandment, which is, *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image*. For I cannot say, but it is a worshipping of images, to yield to them in these things, now when they have seated themselves in Christ's room: therefore I exhort you all, to beware of joining with them in their sins, lest ye partake with them in their plagues, now when they have made it manifest, that they will have no king but Charles Stuart: wherefore I think it is our duty to cleave to Christ: we must either quit Christ or Charles. Indeed there is some folk pretend to keep both; but I defy any, if they be called to a public testimony, but they must

either quit Christ or Charles; for they will not have the civil law without the ecclesiastic: so I cannot see how they can be owned in either: for by their acts of parliament they have made them alike inherent to the crown: and shall that authority be so owned by me, being a free-born member of the church of Scotland, which is Christ's mystical body, without being guilty of high rebellion against God? And further, he having broken all obligations, which was the tenor by which he entered into the government, and without which he could not have entered into the government, the covenant being the coronation oath: which he hath not only broken, but made it death to all that speaks of them. And further, having seated himself in the Mediator's chair of state, which is enough to denude him of authority, even in civil matters. If it shall be said, the land has given him that supremacy, and so cannot take it from him again: to which I answer, every individual person in the land hath not given him that; and therefore is free to reject him upon that head, when they are called to it. But O! the sins of Scotland is great in departing away from God; for Scotland hath slidden back like a backsliding heifer, for they declare their sin like Sodom, they hide it not; the shew of their countenance do witness against them. But, however, it will be well with these that keep their garments clean; for ye will find enough ado when it cometh, although ye should live christians twenty years; therefore slight not time when ye have it; for if death come upon you, it will not be easy: but well is that soul that can say upon good grounds, that Christ is all in all to them; but the worldly-mindedness, and slavish fear of this generation, makes their practice declare to the world, that Christ is not worthy the suffering for, otherwise they durst not adventure to forsake him, who is altogether lovely; for he will bid none go his errands upon their own charges.

Now, as to the articles of my indictment, upon which my sentence of death is passed, is chiefly these. 1st, My owning it as lawful, my rising in arms at Bothwell bridge, which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness, it being self-defence, and in defence of the gospel; for my own part, the only end I had before me there was, the glory of God, if I was not deceived; therefore I could not think it rebellion, or unlawful against God, although the laws of men be against it, who have set themselves in opposition to all the commands of God. 2d, It was my disowning the curates to be faithful ministers, which I did very boldly; and they said, if I disowned the curates, I disowned all authority, which may testify, that they have set themselves in Christ's stead. 3d, My owning Mr. Donald Cargil, Mr. John Kid, and Mr. Richard Cameron, to be faith-

ful ministers of Jesus Christ, which I did, and I bless the Lord that ever I heard them, and I set to my seal to the faithfulness of these men's doctrine. 4th, My not praying for the king in his person and authority, which I durst not do, it being a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done. Some may object, and say, that I am against the Scriptures in this, because in several places in the Old Testament, we find, that the kings of Israel were anointed to that office by the Lord, and obedience to them thereupon enjoined. But this was only done to lawful kings, and so could not be to ours, he having set up himself in the room of God incarnate. And we may justly say, as the children of Israel said, 1st Sam. xii. 19, *For we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king;* because we follow him in things contrary to the command of God. And should I pray for that man, to preserve him in his person and government, who hath thus ventured upon the thick bosses of the buckler of God Almighty. If one should object, and say, these are small things: to which I answer, no truth is small: Luke xvi. 10, "He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much."

Now, I shall give an account of my principles, and I shall do it as in the sight of God. I am a true christian, truly anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-schismatic, anti-sectarian, anti-erastian, a true Presbyterian: and whatever many have said of me, or may say, thus I have lived, and so now I die. Now, 1st, I close with Christ in that way of redemption, which he hath purchased, for the redemption of sinners: 1st Tim. i. 15, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief." Ver. 16, "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy." 2d, I give my testimony to the followers of the holy Scriptures, for they are the rule that men are to walk by, and they declare the revealed will of God to men, ament man's salvation. 3d, I give my testimony to the work of reformation in the church of Scotland; and I bless the Lord that I was born a member of that church, but chiefly against Popery, Prelacy, and Quakerism, and Independency; and finally, from under all the errors of the church. 4th, I give my testimony to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the order of the church of Scotland. 5th, I give my testimony to the divine worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, both by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. 6th, I give my testimony to the Covenants, National and Solemn League and Covenant. 7th, I give my testimony to the faithful actings of the protes-

tors, called remonstrances, against malignants and malignant interests, which is the very thing this poor church is contending for this day. 8th, I give my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the people of God, that have been given for that noble work, whether on scaffolds, or in the fields, or on the seas. 9th, I give my testimony to the faithful actings of the last martyr; although this generation is calling sin a duty, and duty a sin, because of hazard; for if this generation get leave to go on in their pernicious ways, they will not believe that there is a God in heaven to punish such sinners and sins as are committed in the land. Mal. iii. 9, "Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation."

Now, 1st, I witness my testimony against the public resolutioners, for bringing in the malignant party to places of power and trust, for which this poor land is smarting, and bearing the weight of their hands to this day. 2d, I leave my testimony against that act of Supremacy, and the act Rescissory, by which two they have overturned the whole work of reformation, both in kirk and state. 3d, I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of ministers, both indulged, and others, who are sheltering themselves under the wings of those who have declared themselves enemies to all godliness: and I wonder how they can say, they are even-down for God, yet never one of them is troubled, be troubled who will; for before my face, one of these ministers said, (viz. Mr. Anthony Shaw by name) he prayed, God save him from the man, that would not pray for the king in his person and government: to whom I said, magistrates ought to punish evil-doers: indeed so he doth, said he. 4th, I leave my testimony against the wrongs of my lovely Lord's crown, all in general. 5th, I leave my testimony against the hearers of these perjured curates, throughout the land; but especially in that corner of the land, to wit, Kilmarnock, for their going to kirks, subscribing of bonds, paying of fines, which includeth in it the acknowledgment of a fault, which I deny we have done, but they have done it to us, and yet never a watchman to testify against it. 6th, I leave my testimony against paying of the cess, or any other thing that may strengthen the hands of evil-doers: Isa. lxxv. 11, *For ye are they that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish a drink-offering unto that number.*

Now, I will speak a word to three sorts of folk: 1st, To you that are strangers, enemies to my lovely Lord, let your estrangedness be done away, fly to him, ere he break out in fury against you. O consider how near you are to the destroyer, if ye fly not unto him: and if you fly in unto him he will abundantly pardon. Therefore I entreat, that ye would turn from your evil ways, and leave off your persecution, and flee

to him, for there is mercy with him that he may be feared; and if ye will not turn, wrath will be upon you to all eternity. A second sort, are these that formerly have known God, and now are fallen from their first love: O consider your former ways, and turn again to your first husband, lest there be no space to repent; for all the ways that ye have taken to win by trouble will not hide you from him who is the great sin-revenging God; and he will bring all your sins, and your compliance, to stand witness against you: therefore delay not repentance, for ye will find death have enough ado with itself. A third sort, are these who desire to walk in his way, and to keep themselves from the crying wickedness of these times. O stand fast in the faith: for there is no other burden laid upon you, but *hold fast till he come*. O for that day when ye shall be made one stick in his hand, and have fervent charity among yourselves, and *let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall*, for ye will find enough ado with it when death comes; therefore let the main thing be your study, and get once that made sure that cannot be taken from you; for ye have many enemies to fight with, if ye win through, for the way to heaven is very strait: for it is no wonder Satan seek to tempt poor christians, when he essayed to tempt our blessed Lord and Master. Let none of you think it strange, concerning what hath befallen me, for it is in his holy wisdom he hath carved out my lot such; and I have been made to bless him for my lot. O! study to wrestle against your own corruptions, which are very heavy to me sometimes, but his love hath been great in bringing me out of the state of nature, and hath brought me to see my own weakness, and also hath given me a sight of the remedy, for which my soul shall be made to praise him throughout all eternity.

Now, my dear friends in Christ, study to walk blameless in all manner of conversation, as becometh the gospel; let your light so shine before the world, that they may be ashamed that shall accuse your good conversation in Christ: for now ye need not think if ye keep the way of God, but ye will have many enemies, both within and without, therefore seek strength from him who is able to give it: ye need not think that all the stock of grace that a man hath, will be sufficient when the trial comes, if there be not fresh supply given in the time of need. O! wrestle with him, that ye may be hid in the day of his wrath, that seems to be poured out on this generation, for their great treachery and departure from God, the breach of his laws, and subjecting to the laws of men: but my eyes shall be closed, that I shall not see it; and I am well content, seeing I get my soul for a prey, then I shall have no loss.

Now, as for his way with his church, it is mysterious to

me; but this I think is a token for good, that he is taking some to witness for his despised and trampled upon truths, and he will keep some witnessing still, until he return again: but indeed I think it seems it is but very few that will see him return again in this generation. Now, death is called *the king of terrors*, but I think it is not so with me; 1st Cor. xv. 55, *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* 2d Cor. v. 1, *For we know if this earthly tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens: For which we long earnestly, to be absent from the body, to be present with the Lord, which is far better.*

Now, I declare I am free of the blood of all men; and although men have no public scandal to charge me with, yet by original and actual transgression, I am the chief of sinners; but his love hath been great, the manifestations of his presence hath been great also; for Satan hath not been wanting to assault, but yet glory to his name, who hath resisted him, and hath not permitted him to get his will. Now, as my last words, I recommend it to all, to be tender one of another, without sinning; and be in earnest with God, for ye will find death will have enough ado with itself; therefore delay not repentance, lest he come when ye are not aware. Now, as for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, only for adhering to the truth, and for no other end; now for what they do to me, as I am of my-self, I freely forgive them and all others, and especially these blinded soldiers, that do what they do ignorantly some of them; but as they do it to the image of God in me, that is not mine to forgive: but I leave to him, *to whom vengeance doth belong*, that he may do with them what may most glorify himself.

Now, my work is finished, I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness; but let such as will condemn me, read that Scripture, Rom. viii. 33, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? it is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? For my lot is fallen to me in pleasant places; I have a goodly heritage;* for I would not change my lot for the greatest man's upon earth. Men and angels praise him for this: all the creation praise him: O! my soul shall praise him, through all the ages of eternity.

Now, farewell all true friends in Christ; farewell christian relations: farewell sweet and holy Scriptures; farewell prayer and meditation; farewell sinning and suffering. Welcome heaven, welcome innumerable company of angels, and the church of the first-born, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome prais-

es for evermore. Now, dear Father, receive my spirit, for it is thine, even so come Lord Jesus.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN NISBET.

The Testimony of JOHN WILSON, writer in Lanerk, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinaburgh, May 16, 1683.

His Answers before seven or eight of the Council, April 17.

The chancellor said, we having called James Laurie, produced to him a letter wrote by you to him, wherein you reprove him for calling Bothwell rebellion. He owned, that it had convinced his conscience, and said, that he was sorry for what he spoke, and we produced him a letter supposed to be writ in answer to yours, which he denied. Tell us, who wrote that letter? John Wilson answered, I will not tell by whom, only it was not wrote by James Laurie. *Q.* Who is the lady mentioned in the end of the letter? *A.* I dare not burden my conscience to tell. *Q.* Do you own authority? *A.* What authority? *Q.* What think you of Bothwell? was it not unlawful to rise in arms? *A.* I dare not say that it is unlawful; for the confession contained in your test says, *Article 15. That it is a good work to defend the life of the harmless; and however God hath disposed of those people, yet I suppose the Lord will own these, that hearing their neighbours had been worshipping God, (for defending themselves against those that sought their life) were in jeopardy of their lives, thought it their duty to rise for their relief.* *Q.* Was Pentland rebellion? *A.* The oppression of these poor people was such, that the then rulers condemned Sir James Turner for his cruelty. Upon this, one answered, that he knew Sir James went not the length of his commission. *Q.* Was the bishop's death murder? Have me excused gentlemen, I will not answer to that. Being urged farther, he said, it being nothing concerning my salvation, I do not pry into it. Upon this they said, did Bothwell concern your salvation? To which he replied, there are none that engage themselves in service to God, but it behoves them to be at his call, and it being for saving the life of the harmless, I durst not sit God's bidding. *Q.* Are you a minister? *A.* No. They here alleged some of his letters importing so much: and being desired to read the place, they read somewhat about a call to some ministry, nothing relating thereto. *Q.* Will ye not condemn the bishop's death as murder? *A.* I dare not, for fear God having justified some of these actors, they should rise in judgment and condemn me. *Q.* Is there no other way but to rise in arms against the king? *A.* I suppose you have

read Bishop Honnyman's answer to Naphtali, wherein he says, *A king may be resisted, in case he should alienate the kingdom to strangers*: and that being granted, religion being taken away, was as dear to us as any outward interest. One replied, the bishop got little thanks for that. *Q.* Think you it lawful to rise against a state that are not of your opinion? Will ye go to Bothwell again? These questions they gave him not leave to answer, but ordered him to be taken away, asking, if he was a captain at Bothwell? Which he assented to.

His Answers before the Council, April 17.

Omitting what he answered at his former appearance, which needs not be repeated (their questions being always the same) they asked, is Bothwell rebellion or not? *A.* No, it being for the defence of the harmless, who for hearing a preaching, and defending themselves; and the confession of faith contained in your test, says, *It is a good work to defend the life of the harmless.* *Q.* Then you approve of the test; will you take it? *A.* I am not speaking of the test, but of the confession of faith therein contained. *Q.* Think you it lawful to rise against magistracy? *A.* Will you condemn the reformation from Popery carried on by John Knox? We are not come here (said they) to answer questions, but to ask: But (replied he) the answering of that to me would be a full answer by me to your question. Then said the bishop, the reformation was good, but the way of carrying it on was ill. *A.* That is a marvellous thing, to think God would approve the actors in such actions, and yet the method be ill; and they to have a most solid peace in these actions, and to have such a mouth to defend it, as all the wits in their days could not be able to withstand, as will be clear to any that read the history of the reformation. O, said they, he has read the history of the reformation: Ay, but you will not find it in the Scripture, said they, that the people may resist the prince, for then they take the magistrates part on them, and therein declare themselves to be above their prince. *A.* The people resisted Saul, and would not let him kill Jonathan, (1st Sam. xiv. 45.) The bishop said, the people were in the wrong. *A.* The Scripture never condemns the deed. *Q.* Do you own authority? *A.* Authority may be taken several ways; 1st, For the simple command of the prince. 2d, For the more public command of the prince and people. 3d, For a power a prince may be clothed with by a people. 4th, For a prince's right to govern. In all which ways Gouldman's Dictionary, the ordinary expositor of words, takes it. And in the first two

senses, since many both of the prince's edicts, and public acts of parliament, are directly against Presbyterians and Presbyterian government, to own it in these senses, I should deny myself to be a Presbyterian. In the third sense, since the people have clothed the king with the headship of the church, I cannot own that; because the eleventh article of the Confession of Faith, contained in the test, says, *That office belongs properly to Christ alone, and that it is not lawful for man, or angel, to intrude therein.* As for the last sense of authority, his right to govern, I have not seen through it. *Q.* Will you venture your life on these things? *A.* My life is in God's hand. After these questions they set down, that he was a captain at Bothwell, and an imperfect recital of his words, which they desired him to subscribe; but he refused.

At his last appearance before the criminal court, the advocate accosted him thus, Though, sir, you have been a rebel, and though ye have studied to draw that poor man Laurie to the gallows; yet you see how merciful the king is to these men, (which were four who swore the test) and there is place left to you for mercy, if you will not obstinately persist in your opinion. He answered, I have neither done any deed, nor given you an account of any opinion, but what I have justified from the Confession of Faith, which you have lately sworn; from the ancient reformation, which ye cannot condemn; and from the concessions of your own doctor. What! (says Perth) will you justify your taking arms at Bothwell? *A.* Your own test justifies the defence of the life of the harmless. The advocate says, all the indulged, yea, almost all Presbyterians condemn it. Then says he, will ye bond before sentence, for there is no place left for the king's mercy after sentence? *A.* I will not; but remember, that one day, all sentences will be canvassed before the great Judge of heaven and earth.

Follow some reasons of his answers, and reflections made thereupon by himself.

When I was on my journey betwixt Edinburgh and Lanerk, and several times before, having considered the bold testimony of Stephen, Acts vii. 51, 52, *Je stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart,* &c. and Peter's testimony, Acts v. 30, *Whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree;* and his desire that with all boldness they might make mention of the name of Jesus: And lastly, that promise, Phil. i. 28, *In nothing terrified by our adversaries,* &c. I say, considering these, I resolved to use the utmost of freedom with the council; but being come to this town, and having considered, that the council

desired to pick such quarrels with any in our condition, as might give the least umbrage to the world of the justice of their dealing. 2d, Considering that by many professed friends we are judged imprudent: yea, so far condemned, that they stick not to say, that we have a hand in our own death. 3d, Their own public proclamations still bearing, that our design was not religion, but covetousness, to possess ourselves of the government. For eviting of these, I resolved to be as cautious as I could, without prejudice to truth. So that taking my answers for defensive arms out of the test, which they had sworn; from the concessions of their greatest doctors; and from the deed of their predecessor council, whereof some present were members, I thought it had been a ridiculous thing to make me condemn that which they had ratified by an oath, their great doctor had yielded, and their predecessor council had approved. But that I might have God's approbation in demeaning myself so, and do what I did therein in faith; I took that rule, 1st Pet. iii. 15, *Be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.* And as I thought I had reason to bless God, that had guided my tongue so, that I was not a whit concerned either with shame or fear, so I came back to prison with a heart sorry that I should have left these two questions of the chancellor's unanswered, viz. *Thought I it my duty to rise in arms against a state not of my opinion?* In answer to which question, I thought, if ever I had occasion, I would have been punctual in telling them, the question was wrong stated; for the right state of the question was, "When a state destroys the true profession of godliness sworn to by the land, and persecutes the owners thereof." The second question; "If I would have gone to Bothwell again?" I thought, if such a question came in my way, I would have told them, *That I behoved to be at God's call.* And likewise I was sorry that I had not been nimble enough to have taken opportunity, when the question anent authority was moved, to have testified against the ecclesiastical headship and sinful acts against God's church; I say, my omission, occasioned through their confused asking, bred me humiliation after I returned to prison.

As to my second examination, as I desired opportunity to testify against the headship of the church, and other sinful acts destroying God's work, so I got opportunity, and so I discharged my conscience. But yet there was something left to exercise me with; and that was, 1st, When the bishop said, that it were a distracted act for the king to alienate the kingdom to strangers, that I said not, it was an act of more distraction to destroy religion. 2d, That in citing the words of the eleventh article of the Confession against the headship,

I should have said simply, it was unlawful to presume to intrude on that office; whereas the Confession itself calls them blasphemers, and thereby mincing his word. 5d. When the bishop said, it were a Turkish way to carry on reformation by the sword, I had not opened their present practice and violence in pressing men's consciences; and have said, since they looked upon conscience as so tender a thing, to beware of squeezing it so by oppression. I know I have an infirmity in answering off hand, anent which I hope all God's people will observe the rule of bearing one another's infirmities. Next, I am sure that the Lord hath not supplied me as to these answers, for my further exercise. As to the reason why I said, I could not see through the denial of authority in the last sense, (for though I could not see through it, yet it being such an abominable stating of themselves, in a continual opposition unto God and godliness, I scunnered to own it) the reason that moved me to say, that I could not see through it, was, I desire to tread the paths of our old reformers, who delayed the casting off authority, till they had a probable power to back it; yet afterwards considering his breach of covenant to us, and these deeds done by that authority, that in any well guided commonwealth, would annul his right; I thought I had worded authority ill in the last sense, and that it had been more proper, I had said, "I could not see through the denying of obedience to such commands as were indifferent, or according to God's word." And indeed till God had furnished us with a probable power, I could never see through this; and I am verily of that opinion, that we having lusted for a king, got him in God's wrath; and that since we have entered into covenant with him, God will take his own way to take him away in his displeasure, and will not let it be by our hand: though I grant that his breach of paction to us looseth us, our paction being still conditional, to own him in defence of religion; and my earnest desire is, there may be no difference among Presbyterians anent this, for I have a strong opinion, that God will take that question out of the way shortly.

As for the bishop's death, I could not call it murder, because of Jael, Ehud, and Phinehas, their facts: Jael using that expression, "Turn in thither: and that there was peace between Heber the Kenite and Jaban:" Jael being of that family, and whatever may be alleged against these extraordinary acts, and that to do such deeds is to take the magistrate's power; I am sure Phinehas was a priest, and it was none of his office to kill any man, and yet his fact is commended. Next, Knox his preaching to, and abiding with the killers of Cardinal Beaton; and Calderwood's history, which was ap-

proven by the assembly, calling them men of courage and resolution, whom God stirred up. Next, the lord Ruthven and others killing a companion that abused Queen Mary by his ill-council, and yet approven in Knox's history. Therefore if the killers of the bishop, having a zeal against the blood-thirstiness of that wretch, and being deeply affected therewith, and with love to the brethren, whom he like a wolf, was seeking to have devoured, and had devoured, slew him, I durst not call it murder; but if the actors were touched with any thing of particular prejudice or other by-ends, I am very confident that Scripture of avenging the blood of Jezebel upon the house of Jehu, would not suffer me to justify it: so not knowing the actors' hearts therein, I could neither say, yea, nor nay; but christians should judge charitably. I forgot likewise to tell them, that the bishop of Glasgow's laying down his gown, upon making the act explanatory, might be an aggravation of my sin, if I should own the king's headship over the church, which I had really resolved to say, but forgot.

Follow the reasons why he refused at first to supplicate the council for a reprieve, being importuned by his relations to do it.

Upon the 7th of May, 1683, being desired to petition, I answered, I could think upon no petition, nor arguments that could be acceptable with them, but such as were either directly or indirectly a receding from what I had professed. The reason of my petition was moved thus, to seek a longer time till I was better advised anent my answers given to the council. To which I answered, that would say to all the world, that for as tenacious as we were of our principles, yet we might seem to call them in question; and it might say, that I was pressing with others to die on these principles, that death put me to a stand anent myself: and so I should give ground of hardening to enemies. 2d. It was moved, that through my confusions since I came to prison, I should seek a reprieve. To this I answered, I durst not slander Christ's cross, wherein every step to me hath been mercy and truth; and my rebellious flesh needed no less (conform to my own acknowledgment to God) than what was come to subdue it; and that I could not well see through that, fearing it would be bad company so near my death; that I firmly trusted all should work for my well; and to say that, were to contradict my conscience and God's goodness, and make me contradict my own prayer, viz. "Let neither flesh nor spirit be moved and failed, lest enemies rejoice." 3d, That I should petition, that I might have a longer time, simply to prepare for

eternity. To which I said, I could not do it in faith: for ever since I came to prison, God has made me believe, that he who has begun a good work in me, would also finish it: and that he would perfect that which concerned me, according to his own word; and however little a business this may seem in the eyes of the world, yet to me it imports my going to another airth, for perfecting and finishing of this work begun by God. Then if they refused it, they might taunt and say, whatever confidence he had at his death, yet it is gotten of a very short space; and if a reprival should be given, they might at my sentence say, I was their debtor for it. And besides all this, I fear, when I come back to God for preservation, he should send me to the broken cistern I had been hewing out, Jer. ii. 13. And I know, if conscience would permit me to do it, enemies would think, either he is lying, in pretending want of preparation, and so it is the best time to hold to him, when he has committed sin; or otherwise they would think, I were speaking truth, and so say, the only best way is to hold to him, when he is tottering.

Notwithstanding all these reasons against petitioning, he regrets it, that his relations induced him to supplicate twice: First, on account of his wife's case, who was then great with child, and in danger of death through grief: next, on his own account; whereupon he obtained a reprival. During which time he had a conference with Sir William Paterson; which being on the same heads with his answers before the council, for brevity's sake are omitted.

The last Speech and Testimony of the said John Wilson.

Now, being called to lay down my life, which I declare I do cheerfully, I do declare, I adhere to the Confession of Faith; anent which, for exoneration of my own conscience, I am under a necessity to leave this caution, in reference to that clause contained in chap. xxiii. § 24, viz. That "infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority," &c. That the composers having an eye to the Pope's scurvy usurpations, to dethrone protestant kings, and dispose of their kingdoms under the notion of heretics, did put it in: yet I could find no further proof for that in the Scripture, but what only respects christians scattered up and down in a heathenish empire; and that it can be no prejudice against deposing a protestant king, turning Papist or Pagan; since among the people professing God, the idolater should die the death, for then it would seem to juggle with Queen Mary's deposition in our ancient reformation: de-

signing offence to none hereby, but the satisfying of my own conscience. Also I adhere to the work of reformation, former and latter: and I think our catechisms well worded, for evading of errors. As also the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, in anno 1648, and Engagement to Duties: Covenants, National and Solemn League; and particularly to the Government of the church by a parity of ministers, and subordination of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, according to the Prebyterian way; as being the most exactly according to the word of God, and as tending most to the furtherance of purity and godliness; and I profess myself a member thereof, as being reformed from Prelacy and Erastianism, &c.

I leave my testimony against the indulgence, as making a breach of the sweet unity, that should have been among Presbyterians, and as depending on the magistrate as to the exercise of their office; and for their over-weening love of ease; and for being bound up as to the shewing of public duties, and reproving of public sins; and for refusing the exercise of their office, to these without their parish, of marrying and baptizing, denying themselves thereby to be ministers of the church catholic, and declaring plainly thereby, they will follow the injunctions laid on them by men. Yet I advise all the godly to leave off hatred towards them, and to cherish any thing that may look like good in them. I leave my testimony against the paying cess, the payment whereof is a perfect test of the prayer's adhering to the rooting out of conventicles, as the rendezvouses of rebellion, and acknowledging the king's grandeur over church and state, as it is presently established by the laws of this realm; this being the very narrative and foundation of that act; and I have found the indulged averse to condemn it, the narrative of their license being somewhat sib thereto. But as to the other public burdens, such as the common revenue of the crown, or locality (though I speak not this to justify myself, these not being my tentations) I desire a tenderness to be used to all such as have not clearness therein, in respect the apostle seems to difference them, 1st Cor. x. 28, "But if any man say unto you, this is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not."

I leave my testimony against hearing of curates, especially by profest Presbyterians; as being contradictory to the covenants, binding us to the utmost of our power for the extirpating Prelacy. Our active power being stopped, our next should be to leave a testimony by suffering, and as being contrary to the rule of faith: for what Presbyterian can pray for a blessing to that ordinance, where the chief dispenser is a blasphemer, by swearing the test; wherein the headship of the church, Christ's prerogative, is sworn by them to pertain to a

man: and as being expressly contrary to that scripture, John x. 5, "My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow, but flee from him." And here I think it not amiss to add the words of Philpot, that learned and godly martyr, of the joiners of the papistical church, seeing the reason he gives holds good here. "We can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, (whereof he is the only head) nor to seem to have forsaken her, by cleaving to her adversary; and that God's jealousy in the day of vengeance, will cry for vengeance against such, unless they cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ: and that there must be no counterfeit illusion with them in this; and there must be no presence of the body there, we being commanded to glorify God as well in body as spirit." These are his words imperfectly, yet truly, as I remember; and since the prelatial church has not Christ for her only head, the reasons hold still good.

I could heartily wish that all the serious godly would leave off their joining with the indulgence; for in respect (to my own view) it has been attended with a coldrifeness as to public sins, a gluedness to the world, and an infatuateness as to approaching judgments; and lastly, being a countenancing of them in that compliance with enemies. But since I have little hopes thereof, I wish all the seriously godly to be tender towards such, whose eyes are not enlightened to behold the evil of it, and to restrict their withdrawments to persons of their own number, who recede from what they profess; since the end proposed by that rule (*withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly*) is to make ashamed, it cannot be supposed to attain its end any where else: and to study to do that which may be most edifying to all men, *Let all things be done to edifying.*

I leave my testimony against that abominable Test. Declaration, act of Supremacy, and all other acts overturning the work of God, and against all the blood shed upon that account.

And next, I think no man coming before the council can acknowledge the king's authority simply, (considering that he is clothed with one of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, viz. the headship of the church, wherein to intrude is blasphemy for man or angel) unless they be guilty of giving him that usurped title. And this is the ground of my suffering, mainly for affirming Christ's headship over the church, to be his prerogative alone, which is the occasion of the brunt of the ruler's anger. And herein I have a most solid peace; for Christ says he came to bear witness to that truth, that he was a King; and so I think that my sufferings are merely a part of Christ's sufferings. And though some say, I might have been sparing

as to this confession; I say, I durst not keep up my lips, they themselves having that in the Confession of Faith, in their test, which I affirmed, namely, that it is a blasphemy for man or angel to usurp this title; yet is the great heat of malice stated hereon: but there is no piece of my sufferings yields me more content. Nor can any christian come before them acknowledging authority simply, without being guilty of yielding this, it being declared essential to the crown, as Mr. Donald Cargil well notes in his testimony. And I think that question of authority being propounded, a man has a fair open door to witness against the encroachments on Christ's rights. I understand somewhat more of the mystery of this state than I did; and conform to my weak conceptions, you may take it up thus:

The king, having through straits abroad, been complimented, and probably supplied by Papists, lies under engagements to introduce Popery; and for that effect takes this method to overturn the hedge of church government and discipline, and turn out all honest-hearted ministers, and force people to a compliance with hirelings, to debauch men's consciences; and from one degree to another to bring in Popery; but he being a man so addicted to pleasures, (and whiles counteracted by parliaments) loving ease; wherefore Papists practise to put him in mind of his engagements by aiming at his life. He finding himself in this strait, and being in straits through his lavishness to court ladies, these straits must be supplied by the king of France and the Pope; and for requital thereof, the management of the government must be turned over to his brother, who must have a cardinal, and some Jesuites to contrive the mystery of iniquity, and bring this land to Babylon. In order thereunto, statesmen must be set up, who are emulators of others, and men that studied to pick quarrels with others, and then comes a general mittimus from court, to act after such a method of cruelty: for the Jesuits know, where two contrary parties act this game, they will be sure, for fear of their places, to consent to go alongst to the utmost of cruelty. The next mystery is to convene the whole country by circuit courts, as guilty, some of treason, some for one transgression, and some for another (the whole country being generally guilty by their law) and force them to rise in arms; and then gather Papists, and take occasion to burn and slay all the country over. The Lord in his mercy take them in their own net; but I fear Popery shall once overspread. And I am really of that opinion, that God shall root this race of kings, root and branch, away, and make them Zeba and Zalmuna-like, not only for taking God's house in possession, but also emitting in their last printed proclamation or indemnity, that they resolved to root out the seed of the godly, under the name of Fanatics:

My advice and humble request to ministers is, to be tender toward any this day that has zeal, though knowledge be not so great; and to be less fearful of outward danger, and more active where persecution hath been hottest, where they may have any freedom. My advice to all professors is, to lay no imposition on minister's consciences; and that for the Lord's sake, they would study to take some in among them, that have light and judgment to withstand the flood of defection and Popery that is like to overspread the land. And again, I leave another advice to ministers and professors, that where any have suffered for their consciences, they would be sparing to condemn them.

I come now to declare my first engagement with God, which was about ten years hence; which was through reading of the fulfilling of the Scriptures, and Scripture truths therein contained, and the grounds of out-making thereof, which gave a check to my atheism, which is naturally seated in all men's hearts. The next was Gray's Sermons on Prayer; and the last, Guthrie's Trial of an Interest in Christ: all which, God so powerfully laid home to my conscience, that I then covenanted with God; and though at that time I could not get the faith of perseverance, yet I had a respect to all his statutes; so that the Bible was a most sweet book to me; and I took up my whole time for near a year thereafter in studying religion, (the most pleasant time that ever I had in my lifetime) yea, it was a burden to me to turn me to my necessary affairs in the world. I found religion sharpened me in all my natural parts; yea, bring me, who was naturally a most anxious, fretting, grudging creature, to such a calmness and serenity in cross providences, that I thought, though there were neither hell nor heaven, religion was a reward to itself. And I was so taken up with Christ's gracious condescendency, that his name was most pleasing; yet durst I not draw a conclusion of an assurance and perseverance; yea, was put to question the work itself, upon account of the quality of my repentance: but meeting with Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, I found sensibly, that swallowed up a law-work in love; but I found this, that there is not a more excellent piece of the armour of God, than the helmet of salvation, and which Satan is most busy with a christian to keep it off. I found likewise, as knowledge and grace grew, that presumption grew; that is, that with what I had gotten, I could walk alone: but that truth, "Without me ye can do nothing," was known to my sad cost. But after all this sweet time, yea, I may say, most sweet time, falling more and more engaged in worldly affairs, I found an impossibility to me to be instant in business, and fervent in spirit; so that some throngs in these, abated that

life which I had; and accordingly as love grew to outward things, so decreased that power and life I had attained; yet so all alongst, I find that God has still been holding me by the hand: and I desire, with submission to other men's judgments, to say, I think a person falling in love with godliness, covenanting with God, to have a respect to all his statutes without exception, counting the cost, and seeing the cost of themselves imprestable, and believing that Christ, who was the author, will be the finisher of such a work; I say, I cannot think that ever God will part with such, who do so covenant with him; yea, it has been a comfort to me, when I could see no more of my interest in him, but that I said, "Thou art my God." And as I cannot conceal the loving kindness of God, so upon the other hand, without compliments, as the words of a dying man, I look upon myself as the most worthless object that ever free love has paged and waited upon through the world, compassed about with so many sins, and clothed with such a perverse nature: but it is he with whom I made the bargain makes crooked things straight, and rugged places plain.

Next, I advise all sufferers to beware of proposing to themselves, to do this and the other thing, for safety of life, which is sinful; for if such a false mind be in folk, "God will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity;" and they will not miss stumbling-blocks to be laid before them, I say this to them who have sinned, and yet continue in the furnace; I fear that be their doom. Jer. xxii. 10, "They shall go from their native land, and return no more." As for you that have tested, that which has been a terror to me, may be now a terror to you; "it is impossible for these who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, if they fall away," &c. by putting Christ to open shame, "to renew them to repentance." As for unconcerned folk, I shall only say this, think ye nothing of men's choosing death before life. I know I have gotten Roman gallantry cast up to me, since I came to prison; but for my own part, I could never hear tell, that it set up the head of it in the world, to face a gallows, since the word of hell became so rife in the world. But let me tell you this one thing, that though I have read of some single ones dying for opinion, (not truth) yet could I never read of a tract of men, such as has been in Scotland these twenty-two years, laying down their lives for a naked opinion, so calmly, so solidly and composedly, with so much peace and serenity. As for my own part, I am a man naturally most timorous, yet the Lord has made sufferings easy. It might do you good to inquire into the cause of our sufferings, so owned by God. It is a bad cause that is defended with swords, and beating of drums on sufferers. And besides the Lord has forced a tes-

timony from the mouths of several of our dying adversaries, and from the mouths of executioners and apprehenders. Yea, in this place, some Psalms they (being clear of the application thereof to themselves) would not suffer them to be sung. And as to professed Presbyterians, too many of you for your unconcernedness, I am sure the Lord says, ye shall drink of another sort of a cup, that is brewing for you, shun it as you will, by your compliance. As for our really concerned friends, I pray the Lord to protect you, and multiply his grace towards you. I am confident, when you are beneath the rod, ye shall find it an ease to your own smart, however great a lift you have taken of other's sufferings.

Next, I say to all that come under the rod, let no terrors of men, nor temptations of Satan anent eternity come into your mind; but go to God with them, acknowledging your unworthiness of his protection and counsel, and you will find him faithful, "not to suffer you to be tempted above what you are able." It is no new thing to be assaulted with "terrors without, and within with fears." The apostle, a most experienced christian, wanted not this. I see a christian to be a most passive creature in his own salvation: yet there must be an All of diligence, otherwise the roaring lion will soon get advantages. And you must know this, that the sufferers have a large allowance: and although his own want not in their sufferings to the faith of adherence to him, yet ye must not think to sail that way in a bed of roses to heaven: but that ye must have fire in your trial; I mean, a deserting God as to apprehension: yet wait patiently, and at length he will incline his ear, and you shall not want experience to say, "For a moment lasts his wrath."

And now, I leave my dear wife, children and sisters upon the Lord, who gave me such sweet refreshing relations, and desire all the people of God to be kind to them: and I bless the Lord he has enabled me to quit them to him: and though the Lord has made every one of them so sweet and so pleasing to me, that I have been forced to curb my affection with the bridle of religion; yet herein I bless the Lord, he has given me heart to go through my cross with forgetfulness of all; yea, to be most unconcerned in the tears and weeping of my relations.

And now, I leave all God's people, and others, with this, that his cross is beautiful; yea, though I had occasion of escaping prison since sentence, yet I durst not without a check of conscience have done it: and though I did petition, yet there was (to me) two necessary ends therein: First, they designing to make me odious, that I would not seek my life; and I desiring to make my suffering clear to their own consciences.

ces, to be unjust: and next, if any thing ailed my wife, I might lay her blood at their door. But I would advise all to beware of them, for there must be frequent consulting with God, and a reasonable judgment to discern their snares; it being their main design to ensnare. I advise any called to suffering, never to quit with the faith of adherence, and they shall not want the faith of assurance; for since ever I came to prison, I saw and believed God's design to me was love: and having emptied me of all promises to sufferers, and of all my own righteousness, made me close with him, and take him for all, and believingly to rest on him, and to have recourse to him, for grace to supply necessity, and give me a believing (though to me incomprehensible) of "seeing him as he is, and knowing him even as I am known of him."

Now I die, commending to all the people of God that duty of unity, conform to 2d Tim. ii. 22, "Follow peace with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart." And that, 1st John i. 7, "If we have fellowship one with another, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth from all sin." I do not say this to make up an union or joining with these I testify against.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN WILSON.

This worthy judicious martyr being obliged to write his testimony in several papers, and convey them out secretly by parts, by reason of the strictness of the persecutors, who searched the martyrs about this time with much severity, could not get it reduced to order; wherefore it is hoped the candid reader will not be offended, if he finds the method altered a little from what it was in the manuscript, seeing there is nothing in the sense, or phrase of the author changed, but only his additions put in their proper place of the testimony, some very few things less material being left out for brevity's sake.

The last Testimony of GEORGE MARTIN, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, upon the 22d of February, 1684.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

After four years, and near four months captivity and bondage, for this glorious and honorable cause of Jesus Christ, for which I have been kept sometimes in bolts and fetters, night and day, without fire and other necessaries; and now at the end of the foresaid space, being sentenced to die, I thought it fit to signify to you why I was so sentenced, as the adversaries gave it forth: and it is thus; I could not own nor allow of the king's authority, as it is now established, nor pray for

him in a superstitious and idolatrous manner, nor call the late prelate of St. Andrews, and the late king's death murder, nor Bothwell-bridge rebellion, and abjure the Covenant; all which I refused, and could do upon no terms.

As to the first, I could not own nor allow of the present government, as it is now established, because it is derogatory to the crown and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in robbing him of his royal prerogatives: in their setting of their threshold by his threshold, and their posts by his posts, and the wall between him and them, they have even defiled his holy name, by their abominations that they have committed," Ezek. iv. 3, 8. And, Ezek. xlv. 6, 7, 8, "And thou shalt say to the rebellious house, even to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary to pollute it, even my house, when ye offer my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant, because of all their abominations. And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things: but ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves." "Shall even he that hateth right govern? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just?" Job xxxiv. 17. Who durst do it and be guiltless? And moreover, "Which say to the seers, see not; and to the prophets, prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits. Get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel cease from before us," Isa. xxx. 10, 11. And I cannot, nor dare not pray for him so superstitiously. 1st, Because it imports a set form of prayer, which is most superstitious, and that which is their dreadful design. 2d, It imports idolatry, like unto the cry of the people made mention of Acts xiv. 18, who had a cry for the space of two hours, of that idol, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," which was rejected by some of their own sort, with some kind of reason, though heathens, and much more ought it here. 3d, Another reason why I cannot pray after such a manner, is, I find when prayer is rightly discharged, and seriously gone about, in the manner, time and place, as is warranted by the word of God: God is thereby worshipped and honoured: and if irreverently gone about, he is dishonoured, and his name profaned, and taken in vain, which is abomination to him, and which he saith his enemies do, and for which he will not hold them guiltless. 4th, I dare not pray so superstitiously for him, because I find Jeremiah three times expressly forbidden to pray for a people, not guilty of all the things that he is guilty of, though he be guilty of all their sins, and many others also. See for this Jer. vii. 16, where it is said, "Pray

not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee." Jer. xi. 14, "Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them; for I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble." And Jer. xiv. 11, 12, "Then said the Lord unto me, pray not for this people for their good: when they fast, I will not hear their prayer." Psalm xlv. 20, 21, "If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange god; shall not God search this out; for he knoweth the secrets of the heart." 1st John v. 16, "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death; I do not say, that he shall pray for it." I fear some sins in this land have too near bordering with that sin. Innumerable scriptures are to this purpose, but these may suffice at present. Another thing makes me scruple, because they command no more prayers to be prayed, "save unto thee, O king," Dan. vi. 7. And lastly, I dare not pray it, because all the profane profligate persons have it always in their mouth, especially when they are drunk; and if I do what they do, I fear I go where they go: but blessed be the Lord, who has yet prevented me from the paths of these destroyers. Much of this was spoken when I was before them, and so I shall forbear to speak any more as to this question.

The next question is, in order to the prelate's death, whether it was murder or not? Murder I dare not call it, more than Eglon's, Sisera's, and Balaam's deaths, but the just judgment of God for his fearful apostacy and backsliding, together with the horrid murders committed by him upon the saints and servants of God. The third is, that of the death of the late king; whether it was murder or not? I am not much to meddle with it; but the many thousands that were slain in England, the horrid murder committed by the Irish in Ireland, and the dreadful slaughter of the protestants in Scotland, causes great thoughts of heart, that it was a fatal stroke. A fourth thing, whether Bothwell bridge was rebellion? which whether it was so or not, may appear if ye consider our former engagements to that effect. And fifth, anent owning and adhering to the covenants? we answered publicly before the court, that in all the Scripture it was warrantable both to make covenants, and also to keep them, and that there was never a covenant so broken, but that which was punished by signal judgments and plagues by the Lord. These were the answers to the indictment, whereupon the sentence of death passed, or for not answering to some of these questions; for which I must lay down my life. And if this be not murder, let christian na-

tions bear witness if ever the like was done in any christian kingdom heretofore.

But now being straitened for want of time and other inconveniences, I cannot say much more to you. Only I leave it with you as my last advice; that you would endeavour to keep the way of the Lord sincerely, and not to meddle with them that are given to such changes, which alas! too many plead for, and are given to this day: and that ye would not be so formal in many things, concerning godliness, and the work and worship of God. Formality, may be feared, will give many a beguile, when it cannot be mended. As first, I beseech you, be more observant in keeping the Lord's day, in rising betimes in the morning, and in spending the whole time in worshipping God sincerely: take heed to your thoughts, words and actions. And when ye set a day apart, I mean of humiliation, give God the whole day, and notice what success ye have had, and how ye have found the work thrive and prosper among you: and use less disputings even in things seemingly necessary: and be more in examination and edification both of yourselves and others: and believe it, a well spent sabbath will be helpful to spend the week well. And also labouring to have your conversation aright through the week, will be a noble presage to begin the sabbath. And what ye spare of your ordinary diet, bestow it upon the poor and needy. There is this among many, who profess to be religious, which is odious, that they take well with it to be called religious, and yet they have little or no scruple to do wrong, and speak wrong of others, and towards them. I beseech you sin not, though there were no eye to see you but God, either by doing, or suffering: you will never perform religious duties aright, till ye be at this, that ye dare do wrong in no kind to any. "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God." Alas! it is sad to see and hear judgments and plagues multiplied, and sin so much increasing. O for more tenderness one towards another! and of a spirit of meekness and zeal for God, give yourselves to be ever in prayer one with another, and one for another: wrestle with him in behalf of his church, and ruined work now borne down, and that he may return to the land and pity his people: and be importunate with him in this, lest the ruin thereof be found to be under your hand.— I fear you may expect judgments to come suddenly upon this sinful land: so that ye will think, happy were they that got away before they came: therefore so many of you as would in any measure escape the deluge of wrath, that is coming on this sinful generation, keep clean hands, and be free of the sinful abominations committed therein; and for witnessing against them, we are to lay down our lives this day.

And now as a dying man and a dying christian, I join with, and approve of all the holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; both of threatenings and promises therein. As also I agree with, and allow of that excellent book, called the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and particularly, I adhere to and allow of the two Covenants, both National and Solemn League and Covenant, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, with all others contained in the forenamed book. As also I do witness and testify my dislike of the breaches and burnings of these covenants, and of all other horrid abominations of that nature. And likewise I abhor and detest all compliance or joining with the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ; and more particularly of bonding, bargaining, and informing, or putting them to do hurt, any manner of way, to any of the Lord's poor, afflicted, borne down, wandering and distressed people. And in like manner, I hate and detest all communing with, speaking favourably of, or eating or drinking with any such, except in case of necessity. And in like manner, I testify my dislike of that dreadful, blasphemous, and abominable, unparalleled test, and of all pretended magistrates and ministers, which have taken the same, and of all that meddle or join with them; or of payers of fines for hearing the gospel, or transacting or colleaguings with any such, any manner of way, upon the foresaid account. And lastly, I hate too much covetousness in prisoners who are in any capacity to maintain themselves, and yet are burthensome to other poor, mean (though charitable) people. And I join heartily with the testimonies of our dear suffering brethren, who suffered either formerly or of late. And likewise I join my testimony to a faithful preached gospel, by faithful Presbyterian, lawfully called and authorised ministers, and lawful magistrates placed and empowered, as is agreeable and warranted by the word of God, and none other. And notwithstanding I be branded with not admitting of magistracy and kingly authority, I do hereby declare and make it known to the world, that I do allow of lawful authority, agreeable and conformable to the will and command of God, the only lawgiver, as much as any man in my station in Scotland, and accounts a land happy and blest, in having and enjoying of such.

And now, being honoured to die for adhering to the truth, and to die this same day, being the 22d of February, 1684, I do hereby forgive all persons all wrongs done to me, and wish them forgiveness, as I desire to be forgiven of God. And now I leave all my friends and christian relations to the good governing of Almighty God, and bid you all farewell in the Lord;

Farewell all worldly enjoyments, and created comforts. And welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

GEORGE MARTIN.

Together with this martyr suffered John Gilry, wright in the parish of Haunum in Teviotdale, whose indictment was founded upon the same heads, and his testimony is much of a piece with his. He dies admiring and praising free grace, adhering to the truths of Jesus, and firmly trusting in him for salvation.

The last Testimony of JOHN MAIN, who lived in the parish of West Monkland, and suffered at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19, 1684.

It cannot be expected, every thing considered, that ye shall have such a testimony under my hand, as ye have had from the hands of many that have gone before me: but seeing God in his infinite wisdom hath seen it fit to bring me upon the stage for truth, I thought myself bound and obliged in his sight, to testify before the world, my close adherence to his written word, and what is conform thereto. And first, I testify my adherence to the Bible, the Old and New Testament, as the only and alone rule of faith and obedience. I know, it stands not in need of my approbation: but to let the world know, I die not as a fool, I think it my duty to assert my adherence unto it, declaring, that I take it for my only rule, rejecting the traditions of men as not canonical. 2d, I testify my adherence to the Confession of Faith (saying nothing to that 4th article of the 23d chapter, but only that it is mis-constructed, and made use of for another end than ever the honest and faithful ministers of Jesus Christ had before them, when they gave their approbation of the same) and Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, our Covenants, National and Solemn League, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Sum and Practical Use of Saving Knowledge. 3d, To the work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, and malignancy; even to that work, as it is a direct opposition to every sin, and motive to every duty: and particularly to the remonstrances, protestations and testimonies against the malignant party and malignant actions, they being found out to be inconsistent with, and contrary to the written word of God, and the sworn principles of the church of Scotland, and being found to be hurtful to christian society, not only by the effects of them, but as to the nature and quality of them, even simply considered in themselves, besides the bad effects aggravating them in the sight of the tru-

ly godly, and rightly zealous ministers and professors of this church. 4th, To the faithful preaching of the gospel, upon muirs and mountains, and high places of the fields, and particularly the preaching down the sins of the times, and up duty. 5th, I leave my testimony to the lifting arms, for personal defence, and for defence of the gospel: for seeing that other means were failed, and an occasion offering for that, the law both of God and nature does warrant and allow the same. I need not go to quote Scripture for the probation of it, since the whole scope of it runs in this strain; and also ye may read several places of Scripture, particularly and expressly allowing, yea, commanding the same, and many imitable Scripture examples, where the people of God lifted arms against kings, as the people's resisting of Saul. I testify to the lawfulness of that hostile defence at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge, and several field-meetings, where they were put to it by the violent and bloody assaults of their enemies. 6th. In a word (for I study brevity, being necessitate) to all the faithful testimonies of the godly, given on scaffolds, and some other testimonies given in hostile manner, viz. the testimony given at Rutherglen, May 29, 1679, and the declarations published at Lanark, in the years 1680, and 1682. I disown and testify against the declaration published at Hamilton, in the year 1679, particularly, because it takes in the interest of Charles Stuart; for though he was once a king, he is now a tyrant, by his cutting the neck of the noble government established in this land, and overturning the main and fundamental conditions, whereupon he was constitute; and it is notour to all in this kingdom, and I believe to part of our neighbour nations also, that he carries on a course contrary to the word of God, and light of nature, and destructive to all christian and human society; yea, a course that very heathens would abhor, even the thing itself, abstract from its aggravations.

I come now, in short, (desiring ye may pardon escapes) to let you know what I testify against. And 1st, (not to go further back) I leave my testimony against many ministers, for their leaving their Master's work, at the simple command of usurpers, as if they had been only the servants of men; and I declare my disapprobation, yea, my testimony against the sinful silence of ministers, after they had left the vineyard where their Master had placed them to labour, and their not acknowledging publicly their unfaithfulness: for which (together with their other grievous failings) the Lord is this day contending with them. I know not what plagues are so sad as to be plagued by the hand of God, by being laid aside from his work; I say, their unfaithfulness, in not stand-

ing in the way of the people, when they were so generally drawn away to hear curates. Mistake me not, thinking that I looked upon the people as innocent, when I speak of the sins of the ministers; for I see it my duty to testify against both, and there will not one of them excuse another: but remember, that the ministers must count for the people who perish through their default. 2d. Against ministers their tampering with that woful and hell-hatched indulgence, and more particularly their accepting thereof. I testify against the actual accepters of it, and against a woful connivance in the non-accepters of the same; and whereas there ought to have been an open testifying and protesting against it. I shall study to say but little; but I die in the faith of it, that God shall send a clear discovery of matters, and these that have betrayed their trust, and have not been as they should and ought to have been, shall see and be ashamed; but Lord grant that many may see the evil of their doings in time, and many mourn for the same, or otherwise it will be sad for them; but every one shall see first or last. But remember Esau, who found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. 3d, Against the ministers, their woful yielding unto and joining with the malignant party and interest at Bothwell-bridge, and their woful yielding unto the usurpation made upon the prerogatives royal of our wronged Lord and Prince Jesus Christ, by their acceptance of liberty, granted after Bothwell-bridge, and taking occasion to preach in houses according unto the liberty granted, refusing to preach without doors, notwithstanding of the great necessity sometimes requiring the same, and many of them refusing to preach when any of the people stood without doors; this was notourly known in the time, and I think it be not yet forgot, and however it may be forgot by us, yet I assure you, it is not forgot by a Holy God. I testify against their sinful silence, and not jeoparding their lives for their wronged Lord and provoked Master, especially at a time when Mr. R. C. and D. C. went to the fields. I testify against their condemning of these two worthies in discourse and preaching, and also in their practice. In short, against every thing in ministers and professors contrary unto, or inconsistent with the Presbyterian principles of the church of Scotland. 4th, I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and every thing contrary to the word of God, and particularly against Quakerism, Anabaptism, Independency, and all Sectarians, and whatsoever is not warranted by the holy Scriptures. 5th, Against the imposing of that cursed cess; not that I call cess lifting in itself unlawful; but I call that cess unlawful, which was imposed by a corrupt convention of es-

tates who met at Edinburgh, in the year 1673. For some things that are in themselves lawful, are sometimes so circumstantiated, as that they become unlawful; as sometimes the end of an action makes the action unlawful: I may give the cess for an instance of this: for the end of imposing it (as themselves declare) was mainly to bear down field-meetings, and other innocent associations of the people of God, disdainfully and wickedly called by them rendezvouses of rebellion; which meetings all Scotland was bound to maintain; but they ought to have been in the places constitute for worship, and would have been there, had bonds and engagements been conscientiously minded by all that were under them. O let not this perfidious generation think that they are loosed from the ties of these covenants; for as sure as God is in the heavens he will make them know another thing, even that it was not in their power to rescind these covenants, and by going about so to do, they have brought much wrath upon themselves and their posterity after them, if they repent not. But oh! do they not look like a generation of his wrath? and, not to pass the bounds of charity, I fear they will be the objects of his wrath; and it will be a dreadful day, see it who will, when the wicked shall be as stubble and tow, and the wrath and vengeance of God shall seize upon them as fire, and burn them up, for they will not escape. And 6th, Against the payers of the cess; for it was a sad thing in a people, that should have opposed all courses of that kind, instead of opposing, to contribute to the carrying on of that very course, that they ought to have opposed. O! that they would consider, and lay it to heart, and set themselves to redeem time, mispent and abused time! 7th, And against locality and fine-paying, seeing that it contributes to the strengthening of the adversaries hands; as for the locality, we may easily see it to be sinful, since they (the enemies) have imposed it for the maintenance of a party raised and kept up for no other use (as their daily practice declares) but to harass, rob and spoil the poor people of God, for their close (O that it were closer) adhering to their sworn principles, and to kill them for not denying of these principles. And as for the paying of fines, it would be considered, that these fines are imposed upon people for their duty; and fines imposed by right and justice, ought always to be for transgression; neither can a fine be imposed by right, but for a transgression: so that by paying of these fines so imposed, we must be said either to yield active obedience to an unjust course, which we ought always to oppose, or we may be said to make ourselves transgressors, and these duties (in which we ought to venture life and fortune) to be transgressions. I say, one of these will consequently

follow, if not both. But alas! those things that are grievously sinful many ways, are become so habitual, that they are never noticed nor thought any thing of, nor will be, till God come in his power and great glory, to disclose the secrets of all hearts. 8th, I leave my testimony against the people their hearing of curates, basely leaving the way of truth, and following a course dishonouring to God, and destructive to themselves. Also, against the joining with the indulged and unfaithful ministers, vindicating themselves thus, *That it is good to hear the word*; not considering, that these ministers have so far gone out of the way of God, in the free accepting that indulgence, as that they ought to be testified against, and when they go on obstinately in that crooked way, ought to be withdrawn from. It may be some will say, that this is ignorantly reasoned; but I fear, if they would search things narrowly by the Spirit of God, they would find, that God is not countenancing them in it. And also, that they ought to have given far other sort of testimony against that course, than to have joined and gone alongst with it, as far as their station would have required; but now the obstinacy of this generation is so great (and we have many sad evidences of this) that I fear, there will nothing convince them but the judgments of God, which has made me the less careful to write any thing although I could, that might, being from the hand of a dying man, be any way convincing to them.

But as it becomes one laying down his life for his royal and princely Master, Jesus Christ, I leave my testimony against joining with them; yea, against that which they call simple hearing, and this I have done to exoner my conscience in the sight of a holy and jealous God; and do declare, that if mercy in Christ prevent not (which will not be found but in mercy's gate, which is believing and repentance) they shall smart under the heavy wrath of God for their complying with such crooked and God provoking courses. And as a man laying down my life for the interest of my sweet Lord, do warn all and every one of them, who have joined with these evil courses, to fly from the wrath to come, which will be on this generation inevitable; yea, I obtest you to flee from it, as ye tender the glory of God, and the good of your own souls. O flee from it by speedy repentance, and lay hold upon the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ for that effect, and study to have your names scraped out of the black catalogue of these soul-destroying despisers of that precious blood and righteousness, purchased for that end, to take away the sins of all that will come, and by faith lay hold upon it, and to reconcile them to a provoked God. God's wrath is burning against the children of disobedience, and he has said, "That such as turn

aside to crooked ways, he will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity;" and in another place he says, "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." 9th, I leave my testimony against the taking of that cursed test, and the takers thereof, and I declare it to be a horrid wickedness, a God disowning, and a God daring course. 10th, Against comparing before their courts, and I declare it to be a thing inconsistent with a faithful testimony for truth at this time; it being—First, An owning of that authority, founded upon that usurped supremacy over the prerogative royal of our Lord, which thing ought to be so far testified against, as not to own or answer to any court fenced in the name of Charles Stuart, because he hath quite forfeited his right to rule as king—Second, It is a clear condemning of such as have suffered the loss of means upon that account, and these who have laid down their lives against the owning of that authority; and let none think me foolish in adjoining my testimony to the testimonies of these, nor in my disowning of that authority. 11th, Against the lifting of militia, and the paying of militia-money. 12th, I testify against the proceedings of that abominable wretch John Gib, and these testimonies wrote by him in the name of others, as being a thing prejudicial to the interests of our Lord.

And now as to the articles of my indictment, they are all of them such things as cannot be made criminal. As to the first, viz. My making my escape out of the tolbooth, I was doing it most innocently, doing hurt to no person, neither did I ever hear that it was criminal. As to the second, viz. That I had confessed that I was at Bothwell-bridge; I cannot see how that can be made criminal. If I got but the lash of their own law, (if it be not abuse of language to call it law) and no further; for all that were on-lookers that day, could not be said to be in the action. As to the third, viz. My conversing with *Gavin Wotherspoon since Bothwell, whom they call a notorious rebel, but cannot prove him so; neither can they shew me that law founded on the word of God, that makes conversing with him criminal; and since they cannot upon sufficient grounds call him a rebel, what they say and do without ground, I do not see myself obliged to answer it; for that rebellion that the law strikes against, is that which can be proven rebellion against powers acting for God, and so consequently rebellion against God. And sure I am while a man followeth his duty (for it is merely for following his duty that they call him a rebel) he can never be said to be in rebel-

* This was a very eminent and zealous sufferer, who being forfeited of his land and possession, for adherence to the truth, suffered many hardships of persecution: but was brought through without compliance, being stedfast in the way of the Lord till his death, which was about two years since.

lion against God. As to the fourth article, That I refused to call Bothwell-bridge rebellion, I would see the law that makes a man's silence, when interrogated, criminal. And also, as to the thing itself, who knows not, that it was mere defence? And who can make it out to be rebellion against powers acting for God? for as is before said, this and no other, is the rebellion that the law of God, and the law of our nation strikes against. And the fifth, viz. That I said, the owning of the covenants were lawful. Who knows not that these covenants were once approven of as lawful, and solemnly sworn by the whole nation, and the Confession of Faith taken, and sworn unto as fundamentals of our religion? and I deny (although by an act of a pretended parliament, they may pretend to rescind the same) that it was in their power to rescind or overturn such a constitution, until they had made the unsoundness of it appear; and made it appear wherein another was better, and till they had been in case to set up a better in in the room thereof. So that their so doing, was not a walking according to the will of God, but according to their own wills, contrary to the will of God, for the satisfaction of their own base lusts, and no ways shewing themselves to be studying either the glory of God, or the good of his people: so that these covenants remain binding to this day, and, I hope, shall be when they are gone, who so wickedly set themselves against them. As to the sixth article, That I would not answer if it was lawful, yea or not, to obey Charles Stuart? it is only silence, which no law nor reason can make criminal. And as to my dis-owning his authority, as they say, they had only my silence also, which can never in law take away a man's life. As to my not asserting that the death of the late king was murder, I find they would have every one saying and attesting what they say and assert, whether they know it to be so or not. I leave my testimony, as a dying man, against all such implicit walking; and especially I testify against any laying hold implicitly upon the bare assertions or dictates of the enemies of God. And as to the prelate's death, I declare, as a dying man, that I think none can certainly judge that action, if it was murder, or not murder. And who sees not what these enemies to God, and his Son Jesus Christ, are driving at, when they would compel men to assert things only for their pleasures, that no human understanding can judge of, themselves who were the actors only excepted. And now it is notour to all persons of any capacity, and who will but use the light of nature, that there is no manner of just sentence, past against, or put in execution upon us; but that we were murdered only for the satisfaction of men, who are worse than heathens.

And now this my testimony I seal with my blood, dying in

the faith of the protestant religion, adhering to the Presbyterian government of the church of Scotland, and witnessing against every thing that tends to the hurt thereof; exhorting every one who desires to be found of God in love, to settle and fix here. And let none fear to venture upon the cross of Christ: for I can say from experience, (glory be to him for it) that he has borne the cross and me both, or otherwise I could never have undergone it with so small difficulty. And the great reason of many their fainting under the cross, is their laying so little weight on Jesus Christ, and so much upon themselves, and upon any bit of attainment they think themselves to have. O let every one study that holy art of independency upon all things besides him, and depend only upon himself. And now I bid farewell to the poor remnant of the church of Scotland, and I leave them to God, and his good hand; I bid farewell to friends and acquaintances; I bid farewell to my mother, and commit her to God, who only can provide for her, things necessary both for soul and body; I bid farewell to my two sisters, and commit them to God, who can be instead of all things to them, and can soon make up the want of a brother to them, which want I think may be easily borne as the time now goes; farewell praying and believing, reading and meditating; I bid farewell to all temporal things, mercies and crosses. Welcome gallows for the interest of my sweet Lord; welcome heaven and everlasting glory; welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome angels; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

JOHN MAIN.

With this martyr suffered other four, viz. John Richmond, Archibald Stewart, who lived in the parish of Lesmahago, James Winning, tailor, in Glasgow, and James Johnston in North Calder, all very zealous and judicious christians. The heads of their indictments are all the same with these of this martyr, and their answers before their examiners have been very much to the same effect; all of them freely and fully owning the covenant, avouching it before their persecutors, and likewise the lawfulness of defensive arms, for maintaining the faithfully preached gospel, and absolutely denying the king's ecclesiastic supremacy. Declining all of them to answer the impertinent questions concerning the bishop's death, and that of king Charles I. in regard they knew not the circumstances of these facts, nor could make a judgment upon them, and found themselves obliged in no law, divine or human, to give their opinion about them; and yet upon this their prudent silence, was their sentence founded, and execute with rage; having scarce forty-eight hours allowed them before their ex-

ecution. As for the heads of truth to which they leave their testimony, and of defection and corruption, against which they leave it, they are so near the same with these contained in the foregoing speech, that it would be but superfluous to repeat them word for word as they stand; only some few expressions shall be here inserted out of them, to shew how cheerfully they underwent their sufferings; to which purpose these words of John Richmond are very remarkable: "Scar not at the cross of Christ; for, O! if ye knew what I have met with since I came to prison, (what love! what matchless love from my sweet and lovely Lord) ye would long to be with him, and would count it nought to go through a sea of blood for him." To the same effect, see with what heavenly delight and complacency that stripling, Archibald Stewart, a youth of nineteen years, accosts a violent death, while he saith, "Now this is the sweetest and joyfullest day that ever I had since I was born. My soul blesseth the Lord, that ever he made choice of me to suffer for his noble cause and interest; that ever he set his love upon the like of me, to give a faithful testimony for his controverted truths, who was born an heir of hell and wrath; but now he hath redeemed my soul through his precious blood and suffering, from the power of sin and Satan, and hath made me overcome by the blood of the immaculate Lamb of God." And thereafter: "I die not by constraint: I am more willing to die for my lovely Lord Christ, and his truths, than ever I was to live; and my soul blesseth the Lord, that ever he did accept of a testimony from the like of me. Scar not at the way of Christ, because of sufferings. If ye knew what of his love I have got since I was honoured with imprisonment for him, and what sweet ingredients he hath put into my cup, ye would not be afraid of suffering. He hath paved the cross all over with love, and hath made all sweet and comfortable to me, and hath made all my troubles fly away, like the morning shadows. O! I cannot express his matchless love to me, neither can I make mention of his goodness! O! it is but little I can speak to the commendation of my lovely Lord and his cross," &c. At the same rate, James Winning, having bewailed his being so long a hearer of curates, subjoins with a sweet and ravishing turn, "I bless the Lord, because of his goodness to me, who notwithstanding of all my compliance with enemies, hath not left me in that woful case, but hath brought me hither to witness for his opposed, burdened and ruined cause and glory. O! I desire to bless him for it, and call in all the creation to help me. O the wonderful power, riches and goodness of the Lord; glory to his rich and excellent name, who hath discovered to me the need of a Redeemer, who will wash me from my sins, and make me pure and spotless before his throne in heaven."

James Johnston, among other heavenly expressions, hath these concerning his lot of suffering; "For this I bless the Lord, for I could never have ventured upon the cross, especially upon death itself, unless that he had helped me to it." They died all with a forgiving spirit, imitating their Lord and Master, and his holy apostles, in praying for forgiveness to their persecutors; though withal assuring them, that their blood would be required at their hands if they did not repent, for what they had done against the image of God in them.

The copy of a Letter written by the forementioned ARCHIBALD STEWART, who suffered martyrdom at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19, 1684, to his christian acquaintances.

MY DEAR AND LOVING FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES,

You and I must take good night of one another for a while; but I hope it shall not be long; for you know that this time that we have on earth lasts but for a moment; and we are but as a flower that grows up in the night, and is cut down in the morning; like the shadow that flees away and is no more seen upon earth again; even like Jonah's gourd, that grew up in a night, and perished in a night. Now you and I must part, and take good night, you of me, and I of you, as willingly, and with as great satisfaction, contentment, and submission to the will of our God, as if we were going to our sweet and comfortable fellowship meetings, where our souls many times have been refreshed with the fresh gales of the Spirit of our God, which indeed was the life of our meetings; for had it not been the love that we bare to God and his ways, he would never have made our meetings so sweet to us; so that the longer that we continued, and the oftener that we met, the Lord made more of himself known to us, in giving us new confirmations of his love, and tokens of his kindness. Now, my loving friends, I am going to my Father's house, to reap the fruit of all these waking nights that you and I had together, when none knew of it but ourselves and our heavenly Father; and I die in the hope of it, we shall come "to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God," John xx. 17, to your Redeemer and my Redeemer, to reap the fruit of all these meetings we had together; O! but that will be a joyful harvest time: I am now going to reap the fruit of all my reading, praying, singing, conversing and meditating, and the fruits of all my trouble, toil and labour. Instead of bitterness, I will enjoy sweetness, instead of trouble, rest, instead of sorrow and grief, joy and gladness; *For sighing and sorrow shall fly away.* I am going to reap the fruit of my wounds,

and all the reproaches that they have cast upon me: I am going to reap the fruit of all my sighs and groans, especially these since I came to prison, where I have had very many of them. I am going to reap the fruit of my fetters, irons and imprisonment for my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ; and I am going to reap the fruit of my unjust indictment and unjust sentence. O! but the fruits of these forementioned things will be a weighty crown of glory within a little time upon my head, up at my Father's throne, "when I shall go no more out, and come no more in, having the name of my God written upon my forehead, and the song of Moses and the Lamb put in my mouth," to sing through all the ages of eternity!

Now, dear friends, I cannot get him praised, for the riches of his free grace, freely bestowed on me. O! I cannot get him praised for bringing my soul out of the pit of destruction, and for reclaiming my soul from the gates of hell. O my soul and heart, and all that is within me, praise the Lord for his wonderful love to me! and also, my soul invites all the works of creation to praise him for what he hath done to my soul; for now I can say with David, from my own experience, "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul." And likewise I can say with David, Psal. xvi. 6, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage." And more than all, that he hath said to my soul, that he will quarrel no more with me for sin, for my God hath said to me, Isa. xliii. 1, 2, "But now, thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt: neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." And Matth. ix. 2, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee." Now all is sure and well with me, I am brought near unto God, through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ; and I have no more to do, but to lay down this life of mine that he hath given me, and take up house and habitation with my lovely Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, who purchased life and salvation to me by the price of his own blood and sufferings: O! but I have got an easy cast of it: O! but I am come well and easy to my purpose, of redemption, peace and happiness. But O! I cannot get him glorified; and I will never get him enough glorified, as long as my soul liveth, and I shall live as long as he liveth, and that is life without end.

No, my dear and loving friends, it is but little advice that I can leave to you, how to order your life and conversation: yet I

shall leave you my last advice, as the Lord shall help me. As God hath once made you to accept of him, upon his own terms and way, hold fast by him, and claim a right to him, from his own promises and former loving kindness, wherein he hath manifested himself to you. And although you be made many times to think, that he hath left you, when you are casten down, and under desertion, yet claim a right to him; though you have destroyed yourself, threap kindness upon him; and resolve with Job, that *though he should slay you, yet will ye trust in him*: for you must not want your down-castings and desertions; for all these things are given you for the trial of your faith. And you may know something of this from experience, that we cannot guide our Lord's presence, when we get it, we are so lifted up, that he must cast us down again; for our old bottles cannot bear with the new wine of heaven, none of us can be free of desertion; for as long as we live in this earth, we are often under an Egyptian cloud of darkness. Spend much of your time in prayer and meditation, for I think, that in these is the life of religion; and spend time in christian converse with any of your own judgment, and private prayer, as you and I did when we were together: and if you can get none, do your own part, and the Lord will make up all your loss, for he hath engaged to make up all your wants. Now, double your diligence, and make ready for the trial, for you will not get it shifted, if ye continue faithful to the end. I am not saying that the trial will take away your life; but I am persuaded, you will come through difficulties, if the Lord see fit to spare you, to see the glorious days that shall be seen in Scotland again, and to reap of the fruit of it. This will be a high honour, for they will be a happy people, that will be the remnant of the church.

Now, dear friends, hold fast, and let no man take your crown; for it is ready at the end of your race; run and never halt nor look back, till you obtain the prize. I have gotten the first start of you a little; but, I hope, you will follow me, before it be long, and we shall meet again, and O! what a joyful meeting shall it be? Study deniedness to your life, and die daily. that death may not surprise you.

But I must forbear. my time is so short, that I cannot get all said here, that I have to say; but what is wanting, himself make it up to you. Now I take my leave of you for a little time, hoping to meet again up above in our Father's house. I pray, that God's eternal blessing may rest upon you; and wish you even as my own soul. Farewell in the Lord. Your dear and loving christian friend, brother and soul's well-wisher,

ARCHIBALD STEWART.

Glasgow tolbooth, March 15, 1684.

The last Testimony of Captain JOHN PATON, who lived in the parish of Finwick, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, May 9, 1684.

DEAR FRIENDS AND SPECTATORS,

You are come here to look upon me a dying man, and you need not expect that I shall say much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus, as ever any poor sinner had to say. I have been as great a sinner as ever lived: strong corruptions, strong lusts, strong passions, a strong body of death have prevailed against me: yea, I have been chief of sinners. I may say on every back-look of my way, though the world cannot charge me with any gross transgression this day, for which I bless the Lord, O! what omissions and commissions, what formality and hypocrisy, that even my duties have been my grief and fear, lest thou a holy God had made them my duties, and mayest do: my mi-improven time may be heavy upon my head, and cause of desertion: and especially my supplicating the council, who has, I think, laid their snares the closer to take away my life, though contrary to their own professed law. I desire to mourn for my giving ear to the counsels of flesh and blood, when I should have been consulting heaven, and to reflect upon myself, though it lays my blood the closer to their door, and I think, the blood of my wife and bairns. I think, their supreme magistrate is not ignorant of many of their actings, but these Prelates will not be found free when our God makes an inquisition for blood. And now I am come here, desired of some in-leed, who thirst for my life, though by others not desired. I bless the Lord, I am not come here as a thief or a murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, but hate bloodshed directly or indirectly. And now I am a poor sinner, and could never merit any thing but wrath, and have no righteousness of my own, all is Jesus Christ's and his alone, and I have laid claim to his righteousness and his sufferings by faith in Jesus Christ, through imputation they are mine, for I have accepted of his offer on his own terms, and sworn away myself to him to be at his disposal, both privately and publicly many times: and now I have put it upon him to ratify in heaven all that I have essayed to do on earth, and to do away all my imperfections and failings, and to stay my heart on him. I seek mercy for all my sins, and believe to get all my challenges and sins sunk in the blood and sufferings of Jesus and his righteousness, and that he shall see of the travail of his soul on me, and the Father's pleasure shall prosper in his hand. I bless the Lord, that ever he led

me out to behold any part of his power in the gospel, in kirks; or fields, or any of his actings for his people in their straits. "The Lord is with his people while they be with him:" we may set to our seal to this, and while they be unite: and O for a day of his power in cementing of this distempered age. It is sad to see his people falling out of the way, and of such a fiery spirit, that look to be at one lodging at night, especially these who profess to keep by our glorious work of reformation and solemn engagements to God, and to hold off the sins of these times. O hold off extremities on both hands, and follow the example of our blessed Lord and the cloud of witnesses in the 11th of the Hebrews. And let your way be the good old path, the word of God and the best times of the church, for if it be not according to his word, it is because there is no truth in it. Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. They asked me, how long I was at them? I said, eight days: and the assize had no more to sentence upon, for the advocate said, he would not pursue for Pentland, by reason of an indemnity, before the privy council. The council asked me, if I acknowledged authority? I said, all authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things, as if I had been a rebel since the year 1640, and at Montrose's taking at Mauchlin muir. Lord forgive them, they know not what they do.

I adhere to the sweet Scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, and preached gospel by a faithful sent ministry, whereby he many times communicated himself to the souls of his people, and to me in particular, both in the kirks, and since on the fields, and in the private meetings of his people for prayer and supplication to him. I adhere to our solemn Covenants, National and Solemn League, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, which became national. I adhere to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Causes of Wrath, and to all the testimonies given by his people formerly, and of late, either on fields or scaffolds, these years bygone, in so far as they are agreeable to his word, and the practice of our worthy reformers, and holy true zeal, according to his rule. I adhere to all our glorious work of reformation. Now, I leave my testimony as a dying man against the horrid usurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown right, I mean that supremacy, established by law in these lauds, which is a manifest usurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be head of the church, Col. i. 18, 19, "And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father, that in him all fulness should dwell." And against

all Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and all that depends upon that hierarchy, which is a yoke that neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, which the poor remnant is groaning under this day, by that horrid cruelty renting their consciences by tests and bonds; taking away their substance and livelihoods by fines and illegal exactions, plunderings and quarterings, and compelling them to sin, by hearing, joining and complying with these malicious curates. Matth. xxiii. 13, "Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in." I leave my testimony against the indulgence first and last, for I ever looked on it as a snare, and so I never looked upon them as a part of the hopeful remnant of the church, and now it is sad to see how some of them have joined by their deeds in the persecution of the poor remnant, and almost all in tongue persecution.

Now, I would speak a short word or two to three sorts of folk, but I think, if one would rise from the dead, he would not be heard by this generation, who are mad upon idols and this world. First, These who have joined deliberately with the persecutors, in all their robberies and haling innocent souls to prison, death and banishment. The Lord will not hold them guiltless; they may read what the Spirit of God hath recorded of them in Judé 11th ver. and downward, and Obadiah's prophecy. A second sort is, these who seem to be more sober and knowing, yet through a timorousness and fear, have joined with them in all their corrupt courses for ease and their own things: do not think that these fig-leaves will cover you in the cool of the day; it is a hazard to be mingled with the heathen, lest we learn of them their way. O sirs, be zealous and repent; seek repentance from Christ, he purchased it with his blood; and do your first works, if ever there was any saving works on your souls; for he will come quickly, "and who may abide the day of his coming." O sirs, the noble grace of repentance grows not in every field; many could not get it, though they sought it carefully with tears. O work while it is to day, the night draweth on, and it may be very dark. The third sort is, those who have been most tender; and O who of us can say, that we have out of love to his glory singly followed him; upon examination we fear we find it not so, but that we have come far short. We fear we find not him such as we would, nor he us such as he would. O we may say, "From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no place clean." None can cast a stone at another; we are all wounds, bruises, and defilements. We must put this work upon him who is the foun-

tain to wash foul souls, who "breaks not the bruised reed, nor quenches the smoking flax." Give him much ado, for we have much ado for him. O that there were no rest in our bones because of our sin. It is the Father's pleasure that he should see his seed, and the pleasure of the Lord prosper in his hand. O that he would make every one of us understand our errors, and seek after the good old path, followed in the most pure times of our church, and get in to our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith in his righteousness, by imputation and virtue of his sufferings for sinners, and keep by him. There is no safety but at his back: and I beseech you, improve time, it is precious when right improven; "For ye know not when the Master calleth, at midnight, or at cock crowing." Dear friends, the work of the day is great, and calls for more nor ordinary. O be oft at the throne, and give him no rest to make sure your soul's interest. Seek pardon freely, and then he will come with peace; seek all the graces of his Spirit, the grace of love, the grace of holy fear and humility. O! but there is much need of this and the promised Spirit.

Now, I desire to salute you, dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ, both prisoned, banished, widow and fatherless, or wandering and cast out for Christ's sake and the gospel's, even the blessings of Christ's sufferings be with you all, strengthen, establish, support and settle you, and the blessing of him who was in the bush, which while it burnt, was not consumed, and my poor blessing be with you all. Now, as to my persecutors, I forgive all of them; instigators, reproachers, soldiers, privy council, justiciaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me; but what they have done in despite against the image of God's name in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them; but I wish they would seek forgiveness of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedness.

Now I leave my poor sympathising wife and six small children upon the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who hath promised to be "a Father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and the orphan's stay;" be thou all in all unto them, O Lord. Now, the blessing of God, and my poor blessing be with them. And my suit to thee is, that thou wouldst give them thy salvation. And now farewell wife and children; farewell all friends and relations; farewell all worldly enjoyments; farewell sweet Scriptures, preaching, praying, reading, singing and all other duties. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I desire to commit my soul to thee in well-doing. Lord receive my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHN PATON.

The last Testimony of JAMES NISBET, who lived in the parish of Loudon, and suffered at the Howgate-head of Glasgow, June 5, 1684.

Now, I am brought hither this day, to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and for asserting him to be Head and King in his own house, and for no matter of fact, that they have against me. Wherefore, dear friends, and all true lovers of Zion's cause, if I could either speak or write any thing to the praise and commendation of my lovely Lord and princely Master Jesus Christ, King and Head over his own church and people: although the most part of the men of this generation is counting it death to call him so, yet I as a dying man, live and die in the faith of it, that he shall appear to their confusion, and for his own glory now trampled upon, and lying so low: for he has said in Isa. xlii. 8, "I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory I will not give to another," &c. Now, I am to lay down my life, and indeed I do it willingly, and not by constraint: and I bless him, that ever he carved out my lot such, as to be a sufferer for him, who am such a poor unworthy thing: for if I would have acknowledged a mortal man to be supreme, I might have redeemed my life, viz. Charles Stuart to be supreme over all causes civil and ecclesiastic, as they have now set him up, which belongs to no mortal man upon earth, and to have prayed for him. And shall I pray for that man in his person and government, who hath broken down the work of the Lord, and "has laid waste the sanctuary of our Lord," who was given of the Father, as it is said, Eph. i. 22, "And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church;" and in the second Psalm. Now, I say, it is for the hope of Israel, and a witness for the name of Jesus Christ, of which hope I am not ashamed. Now I invite all who love his name, and the welfare of Zion, to praise him, for I may set to my seal to it, that he is a good Master to all who will come to him; for I may say, he hath been good to me, who has letten me see a sight of my sins, and a sight of the remedy that he has purchased by his blood, and through his death to me, who was born an heir of hell and wrath by nature; but glory be to his great name, who has made me free from my sin, and made me as if I had never sinned. O glory and praise be to himself. But what shall I say? for heart cannot conceive, hand cannot write, tongue cannot express! for surely, if I could say any thing to the praise and commendation of my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, I have many things for which to do it. 1st, For that, that he has not let-

ten me deny his truths and cause, and persecuted work; for there is nothing in me, as I am of myself, but I might have been amongst those that have displayed a banner against God, and have made the blood of his people to run in the streets, and have dyed their garments with their blood. And 2d, That he has carved out my lot be in a land where he hath set up his pure ordinances, both in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; for indeed he might have trusted it to have been among these that are worshipping antichrist, that whore of Rome, whose sentence may be read, Rev. xix. 12. And if Charles Stuart has not overturned his work, and corrupted the whole land, by overturning the whole fundamental laws, both civil and ecclesiastic, I leave it to any judicious person, that is not biassed and drawn away, by that woful Erastian supremacy, which is like to overspread the whole land. 3d, That he hath given his word for a rule to walk by, which word is truth, and the true word of God. He has made me to walk by it, and it to be my rule; and by his word and Spirit bearing witness with my spirit, making me spotless and clean, and I shall be clothed with these robes of his righteousness, which are spotless and clean.

Now, I shall only give a short account of my principles, as the Lord shall assist; and the Lord help me to get it done in truth and sincerity; for there are many eyes looking on me; the eyes of an all-seeing God, "who is of purer eyes than that he can behold iniquity," and the eyes of men who are thirsting for my blood. 1st, I adhere and sweetly set to my testimony to the covenant of redemption, betwixt the Father and the Son, made before the foundation of the world, for the redemption of poor lost mankind, I mean of those who are elected, called, justified and sanctified; for which my soul shall bless the Lord that ever I heard tell of the same, and that ever I heard tell, "that he came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." 2d, To the sacred Scriptures, that they are the true word of God; and that there is life everlasting to be had in them, if ye will apply your hearts to search diligently, and pursue after them with a sincere and diligent seeking, with all the soul and heart; and without sincere endeavouring to make it your rule, there is no life; for says our blessed Lord, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." 3d, To the work of reformation as it was reformed in all the several steps thereof, from under Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and all other errors whatsoever, not agreeable to the Scriptures, the written word of God. 4th, To the Confession of Faith, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship and Discipline, and to our Catechisms, Larger and Shorter. 5th, To the Covenants, National and Solemn League, where-

by these lands were engaged unto the Lord; and Scotland may bless the Lord, that ever he engaged them in a covenant with himself. I say to you that desire to own the same, make it your ground to plead with the Lord, till he come back again to these lands. 6th, To the preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it was faithfully preached by faithful ministers, called and commissioned, and sent by himself; and also my testimony to the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and the Causes of the Lord's Wrath against this land this day: but alas! it may be said, many have gone backward, and not forward; the most part of this generation have refused to walk any more with him, ever since Bothwell, only these two, viz. Mr. Donald Cargil and Mr. Richard Cameron, which I desire to set to my seal to the faithfulness of these two men's doctrines, for my soul has been refreshed by them. And I set to my seal to all their proceedings and actings in the work they were called to, and my soul blesseth the Lord, that ever I heard them preach. 7th, To all the appearings in arms in defence of the gospel, and self-defence, both before Bothwell and since. 8th, To the excommunication at the Torwood, by Mr. Donald Cargil, as it is just and lawful, and will stand in force and record, ay till repentance make it null, of which there is little appearance. 9th, To the testimony given at Rutherglen, May 29, 1679, the declaration given at Lanark, June 11, 1682, by a party, whom the Lord raised and stirred up by his Spirit, and owned them in that work, to give a public testimony against that soul-destroying, and land-ruining thing called the test, although many in this generation be pleading for the lawfulness of it, and disowning the covenant which we are all bound to. O my heart trembles to think, what will come on this generation, for their dreadful apostacy and departing from the way of the Lord. 10th, To all the fellowship meetings of the Lord's people, for reading, praying, and singing of psalms, and all the other duties proper for, and incumbent upon them. I mean these that desire to wrestle and hold up the cause of his ruined work, and his poor suffering remnant. 11th, To the eight articles, called the New Covenant, taken at the Queensferry off worthy Henry Hall.

Now, as I have left my testimony in short to the truths of God: so I desire to leave my testimony against the defections of the time, as the Lord shall help and assist. Therefore I, dying as a witness, leave my testimony, 1st, Against Popery and Prelacy, which is so much countenanced and set up in Scotland this day, especially by those who seemed to be most eminent, as it is in Gal. i. 6, "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, un-

to another gospel," &c. 2d, Against Quakerism, Independency, and all other errors, which are not according to the word of God, and our solemn Covenants and Confession of Faith. 3d, Against the tyrant upon the throne of Britain and Ireland, for his tyranny, oppression and bloodshed, and for overturning the laws, both civil and ecclesiastic, and not making the law his rule to be ruled by, but he ruling the law, and not the law him; which is not according to the word, as it is in 2d Sam. xxiii. 3, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God," &c. Even against that tyrant, and all the upholders, aiders, assisters and maintainers of him. O what will become of this generation for their apostacy and departing away from God? 4th, Against the oath of supremacy, for the setting up of persons as supreme, and following and making them their rule, and not taking the word of God to be their rule. 5th, Against that bond taking in the Gray-friars kirk-yard, although there be many that denied it, until that the Lord in his own due time made it appear, when the trial come to a greater length; for he has said in his word, that "there is nothing done in secret, but he will have it manifested in the light." 6th, Against the bond called the bond of regulation, for their binding to walk according to the will of men, and not according to the will of God. Surely it is not according to the practice of the apostles, Acts iv. 19, "But Peter and John answered and said unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye?" 7th, Against the bond pressed by the Highland host in the west country. O what may be said of this generation! It may be said, ye have gone away backward from my ordinances, and ye have forsaken me the living God, and have hewed you out broken cisterns that can hold no water. 8th, Against that land-ruining and soul-destroying thing called the test. 9th, Against all coming out of prison upon bond and caution; whatever men may say of it, it is a complying with the avowed enemies, and a binding themselves to be the prisoners of men, and not the prisoners of Jesus Christ. 10th, Against all compearing at courts and paying of fines; for it implies, that we have done a fault against them, and also it approves of these as just judges, that are imposing these things; but ye may see what they are, for there is no sober man will get leave to plead an action there. And can these be called judges, and owned as judges, who are grassators and land-judgments? 11th, Against all cess and locality, which is imposed for the down-bearing of the gospel, and for maintaining bloody and avowed enemies to banish Christ and his gospel out of the land, and to hunt, plunder, rob, spoil and persecute the poor people of God; for in the very narra-

tive of the act, it is set down for that end, and declared to the world; see what is said against it, Isa. lxx. 11, "But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink-offering unto that number. Therefore I will number you to the sword," &c. 12th. Against hearing of curates, because they are wolves and boars thrust in upon the Lord's people to kill and destroy; and against the indulgence first and last; and against the hearing of them, and joining with them, or pleading for them; because they are not entered in by the right door, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men; therefore they are in so far not the ministers of Jesus Christ, but the ministers of men, as it is said, John x. 1, "Verily, verily I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." And against all ministers and professors, who are now lying at ease, when Zion is in trouble, and are shifting their duty for fear of hazard, and are sheltering themselves under the shadow of these avowed enemies, pleading in their favours, and have broken the poor people of God, and rent the bowels of the church; and especially these who appeared once in the fields, to hold up a banner for our lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ, I shall be a witness against them if repentance prevent it not.

Now, ye that are the poor wrestling remnant, weary not of the cross of Christ, for he is a good Master, and he sends none a warfare on their own charges, for he will own them in all that he carves out for them. O double your diligence, and give him no rest till he come back again, as in Isa. lxii. 7, "And give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." O what will come of poor Scotland for the horrid iniquities and abominations, perjury and bloodshed, and covenant-breaking? O Scotland's punishment will be sad; but my eyes shall be closed, and I shall not see it, and I am well content, seeing I get my soul for a prey. Now I am afraid God will not know many of this generation that have gone such a dreadful length in defection and backsliding. But O what shall I say! I leave it to himself to do as he may most glorify himself, in preserving a seed and remnant to serve him. Now I die in the faith of it, that he has a seed whom he will have preserved when he sends forth instruments with slaughter weapons, that he has a party that he will set a mark on, as it is said, Ezek. ix. 4, "And the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark on the foreheads of the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof." Now, I say, weary not

of the cross of Christ, although ye should suffer persecution, for he has said, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have peace." And O but he taketh exact notice what is done to his people. Obad. ver. 13, "Thou shouldst not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, thou shouldst not have looked on their affliction in the day of their calamity; nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity." O but that be a sweet word, 2d Tim. ii. 11, 12, "It is a faithful saying, for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he will also deny us." O sirs? lose not heaven for mammon, and your own souls for what ye can suffer here. It is true, none can merit heaven by their sufferings, but it is as true that he has said, "He that will not forsake all, and take up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my disciple." Now I know there will many brand me with self-murder, because I have got many an offer to go to Carolina upon such easy terms. But as to that I answer, self-preservation must stoop to truth's preservation. There are indeed many of this generation who pretend to keep their present ease, and to be followers of Christ; but I defy any, if they be called to a public testimony, but they shall either lose their present possession, or else that which is of more worth, even their immortal souls and everlasting salvation.

Now as to the heads of my indictment whereon they have sentenced me to die, they are mainly these. 1st, My approving of Drumclog and Bothwell, and being at Glasgow, to be lawful and in defence of the gospel, and in self-defence, which both the law of God and nature allow. And 2d, For adhering to the National and Solemn League and Covenant; and they declared before my face, that both their king and council had disowned the covenant, and had taken that away by their acts of parliament; and said, that they were both unjust and unlawful: and shall such be owned and adhered to, who have declared themselves against King Christ, and have broken his laws, and have seated themselves in the room of Jesus Christ, which belongs to no mortal man upon earth, and much less to him who is an usurper and a tyrant, I mean Charles Stuart? And here I, as a dying witness, leave my testimony against that monstrous beast, for our Saviour calls Herod a fox, and says, "Go tell that fox, I work to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected." 3d, and mainly, my sentence was, that I disowned their authority: for since they had rejected the covenant, I was the more clear to disown them to be my judges or governors over the land; and they asserted it treasonable, because I said, none

of the people of God would say otherwise. And in plain terms and direct words, I deny them to have any power to rule either in civil or ecclesiastic matters. Also these avowed enemies who are thirsting for my blood, charged me with going up and down the country plundering and murdering, and so by their law made liable to punishment, even to the loss of my life; but I declare, who am within a little to appear before the righteous Judge, that I never intended to wrong any man. And so it is evident they take away my life upon the account of adhering to truth, and I bless the Lord that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him, and that ever he counted me worthy to lay down my life for his persecuted truth. O matchless free grace that is making choice of the like of me, and poor weak things to confound the strong, and the poor foolish things to confound the wise.

Now, there are three sorts of folk that I would speak a word to, the first is, these that have begun in the way of the Lord, and seemingly have gone a good length, and when the storm of persecution arose, for fear of the rough sea of trouble, have drawn back. O mind that word in Heb. x. 38, "But if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." And Rom. viii. 35, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" &c. And many more places of Scripture. A second sort are these who are going on in rebellion against God openly and avowedly; as ye may see in Psal. ii, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? he that sitteth in heaven shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision, then shall he speak to them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure." O poor Scotland, that was once married away to the Lord, and now has provoked him to depart and leave it, and give a bill of divorcement, as it were! O Scotland has sinned dreadfully, what by covenant-breaking, bloodshed, lying and swearing. Now a third sort are these who desire to keep their garments clean, and undefiled, with the abounding sins of this generation. Go on in the way of the Lord, and fear not what man can do, for he has said, "Fear not them that kill the body, and after that can do no more: but fear him who after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell," &c. I can set to my seal to it, that Christ is a good Master, and well worthy the suffering for. And now I can freely and heartily forgive all men what they have done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father who is in heaven: but what they have done against a Holy God, and his image in me, that is not mine to forgive them, but I leave that to him to dispose on as he sees fit, and as he may most glorify him-

self. Now I am to take my leave of all created comforts here; and I bid farewell to the sweet Scriptures; farewell reading and praying; farewell sinning and suffering; farewell sighing and sorrowing, mourning and weeping; and farewell all christian friends, and relations; farewell brethren and sisters, and all things in time. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome heaven and everlasting joy and praise, and innumerable company of angels and spirits of just men made perfect. Now into thy hands I commit my spirit, for it is thine.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES NISBET.

This martyr was so inhumanly treated, and constantly watched, that it was with much difficulty he got any thing written, and that only now a line and then a line, and hence some few repetitions which were in the manuscript were left out, which is hoped will be liable to no misinterpretation.

The last Testimony of ARTHUR TAKET, tailor in Hamilton, who suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, Aug. 1, 1684.

Being appointed to die in the Grass-market, I thought it was a duty lying upon my conscience before the Lord, to leave this short word of testimony behind me, in testification of my close adherence to all these controverted truths, as they are all agreeable and conform to the written word of God. And now I desire to bless his name with my whole heart and soul for this, that ever he made choice of the like of me, such a poor, weak, feckless, insignificant thing as I am, in counting me worthy to suffer for his noble cause and controverted truths, his name, interest and covenant, now controverted and brought in bebate by this God-daring, Christ-dethroning, and God-contemning, adulterous and bloody generation, wherein my lot is fallen. And this I can say, through his grace, I am well satisfied and heartily content with my lot, that God in his infinite wisdom has seen fit to carve out unto me: and through his grace I am well helped to great quietness, calmness and serenity of mind before the Lord, and a holy submission to what is his will towards me in this; that if every hair in my head, and every drop of my blood were a life, I would willingly lay them down for my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Some will possibly say, that this is an untruth, and so cannot be believed by them, notwithstanding of all this. But whether it be believed or not, it is true: for I am not dying by constraint and unwillingness; for this I dare say in his sight (my

conscience bearing me witness, that I am a thousand times more willing to die this day for my lovely Lord and Master's noble cause, and controverted truths, than ever I was to live: and the truths of God that are so much controverted, are become more precious and clearer unto me at death, than ever they were heretofore in my life: as David says, Psal. xxiii. 4. "Though I walk through the valley and shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." This I have been made really sensible of by my experience in all that I have met with, that the cross of Christ has been all payed over with love, that it has been made to become like unto a bed of roses unto me: and all that ever I have met with, first and last, has been made sweet and easy unto me, and no trouble in the least: and that he has been a loving and a kind Lord unto me, and he has been as good as his word. This I can say to his commendation, and to the commendation of the cross of Christ, that he has borne always the heavy end of the cross himself, that to me it was no trouble in the least. O praise, praise to the riches of his free grace, for his matchless and inexpressible love that I have met with since I was brought to prison, and when I was sorest put at, and threatened with torture by these cruel and bloody tyrants, the more of his love and kindness did I meet with. This I have been made really sensible of, when I was hardest dealt with, as David says, Ps. xxviii. 6. "Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications." Ver. 7. "The Lord is my strength and my shield: my heart trusted in him, and I am helped: therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth;" for I have been well helped and owned of the Lord, and that in a very singular manner, that his presence has made my soul to sing and rejoice, through the greatest of difficulties and trials that ever I was tryed with: and this is a sweet promise and noble encouragement for me, in Isa. xli. 10. "Fear thou not, for I am with thee: be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." Ver. 11. "Behold, all they that are incensed against thee, shall be ashamed, and confounded: they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish." Ver. 12. "Thou shalt seek them, and shalt not find them, even them that contended with thee: and they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought." Ver. 13. "For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, fear not, I will help thee." Which has been well made out unto me in all things that I have met with. For since I was brought to prison I have been well helped of the Lord, that the fear of hell, death and the grave, and the fear of all things is taken away fully

from me, that I am not afraid to venture upon a gibbet for my lovely Lord and Master's noble cause, and for his controverted truths; and this I am really persuaded of, that the truths of God were never so much controverted as now. But I am sure of it, that the truths of God, when they are most controverted, ought to be most zealously owned by his people. I may well acquiesce and assent unto Psalm lxxiii. 23—25, "Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee." This I dare say, as in his sight, (my conscience bearing me witness) that there is nothing in heaven or in earth so desirable unto my soul as precious Christ: for I am confident and persuaded, that this is his language to me, "Arise and depart, for this is not your rest, because it is polluted:" As Paul says, 2d Cor. v. 1, "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands," &c. And as Paul says, 1st Cor. xv. 50. "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." I can clearly say by experience, that through Jesus Christ, whom I desire to take for my King, Priest and Prophet, and my only Lord and Lawgiver, I have been made more than a conqueror over death, hell and the grave, and all things in this life.

Now, to come to shew you the only head that my sentence of death is founded upon by men, it is mainly for my being in arms at Bothwell; which was merely in defence of ourselves, and in defence of the gospel preached, and standing to the defence of the covenant of God, which the whole of the land was solemnly sworn and engaged to, with hands lifted up to the Most High God, and so bound to stand to the defence thereof; for which I am unjustly sentenced to death by men, of which sentence I am not ashamed this day, but counts it my only glory, honour and dignity, whilst he passed by such tall cedars, which is a matter of wonder and admiration to me. But as he has said in his word, "In nothing be ye terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition; but to you of salvation, and that of God; for it is not only given you to believe, but also to suffer for his sake:" so suffering is a gift not given to every one; and I desire to bless his name, with my whole heart and soul, that he has counted such a poor thing as I am worthy of the gift of suffering.

Now, this is to let you all know, worthy and dear christian friends, that are desiring to keep the way of the Lord, that there was not one word, of all they interrogate me upon, in

the sentence of death that these bloody tyrants past against me, but only for being in arms at Bothwell-bridge. And let none think that I am sentenced to death upon that head, that I was so cruelly threatened with torture by these bloody tyrants for, which was, for being at the Black-loch, and because I would not declare who was the minister, and what persons I knew. And though men have, by a permissive and limited power, passed a sentence of death against me, to take away my natural life, this I know, and am persuaded of, that there is a Judge above, who has passed a sentence of life in heaven unto my soul this day, which shall never be recalled or reversed again, which is my only encouragement; and this he has promised to as many as believe in him, to "give them everlasting life: those that suffer with him, shall reign with him; and these that be dead with him, shall live with him also:" As Paul says, in Rom. x. 9, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Ver. 10. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." For the Scripture saith, "Whosoever believeth in him shall not be ashamed;" which is my only comfort, and a noble sweet encouragement for me. And this he hath promised in his word, that "he shall feed his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young." I have found by my experience, that the Lord my God has sweetly and gently led me through the greatest difficulties that I have been trysted with since he made choice of me to suffer for his noble cause. O if ye knew what of his love I have met with, and what sweet ingredients of the Lord's matchless love has been intermixed and put in my cup, ye would not be afraid to venture upon the sweet cross of Christ, which has been made sweet and easy unto me.

[Because the heads of truth this martyr gives his testimony to, and the defections he witnessed against, are much the same with the preceding testimonies: therefore to avoid all impertinent repetition, they are omitted. He is both full and accurate, passing by nothing of the heads of sin and duty, which at that time were controverted: particularly (which hath not been met with in any of the former) he gives his hearty testimony to that faithful and called minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Renwick, for his holding up the fallen down banner of our Lord, and jeoparding his life in the open fields: although some are pleased to say, that he is not lawfully called and ordained to the ministry, but that he was admitted by the

Erastian ministers of Holland; such as Cocceians and Labadeans: but it is faithfully witnessed, that he was admitted without them, and by the purest of the ministers of the church of Holland, according to the church of Scotland's discipline and government, Covenants and Confession of Faith. And he dies with a spirit of meekness, declaring that he forgives his enemies all the wrongs they had done him, personally considered; though witnessing against the indignities which they had done to Christ, and him as a member of that body whereof Christ is the head. And whereas he was branded with disowning magistrates, he declares before God and the world, that he owns and allows of all magistrates, superior or inferior, as they are conform to the written word of God, and our solemn covenants, and as they are "a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well."]

The last Speech and Testimony of THOMAS ROBERTSON, who lived at Newcastle, and was put in prison there, for refusing the oath of allegiance, and having made his escape thence to Edinburgh. was taken at a public search there, Nov. 29, 1684, and suffered at the Gallowlee, the 9th day of December thereafter.

Now, dear friends, time seems to me to be but short; O now welcome long eternity. It is and has been the butt of my desire this considerable time, to eye God's glory; and I preferred it to my own soul's salvation: yet when I heard my indictment, it had a strange effect upon me; and although death hath sometimes been my desire for the cause of Christ, yet it seemed not a little terrible unto me, and that for the space of six or seven hours; so that sometimes it had such a prevalency, that I was afraid I should have turned back; and I was so put to it, that I had nothing to hold by but former purposes and determinations: and from the consideration of Christ's faithfulness, I grappled like a man more than half drowned. At last I got hold, a small hold of him, whom I could not see; and that small grip which I got, through his mercy, I kept till I got more: so that now he has discovered himself unto me, and he was pleased to stay and make with me a new contract; so that now through his grace, I am resolved not to let him go, let the cost be what it will. Now, my friends, I say not this for the discouragement of any that is beginning to follow Christ, or any that is already begun; only I do it as a warning. I would fain have poor things to make sure work, and to get sure hold of him: for although he seems to cover himself, and that when poor things think they stand

in most need, yet he will return unto them in his own appointed time, and that for the greater advantage of them that are thus trysted. O for hearts to love him! It hath been my great trouble, that I could never love him much, nor fall upon the right way of worshipping him. O to have my soul soundly knit to him! O for strength! O for strength to be carried straight and cleanly through, so that I may lose neither hair nor hoof of the truths of Christ! In so far as I am able to understand, it hath been my great care always to know what was sin, and what was duty; I think I have not been out of my duty in so doing: and I think it is the duty of all persons to be concerned in that matter; for how can persons know how to avoid the one and cleave to the other, except they distinguish betwixt the two. Now, I shall say no more to that, but only, O that folk would make it a great part of their work, to distinguish betwixt the two.

Now, 1st, I adhere to the covenant of redemption betwixt the Father and the Son, before the foundation of the world, for the redemption of poor things, that he has chosen out of the world. O for love to him! O for love to him! O now to be with him! that I may experience the benefit of that covenant which cost him his precious blood! And now seeing he is calling me to give a testimony, I think if every hair of my head were a man, it is all too little to lay down for him. O for love to this non-such Jesus Christ. 2d, I adhere and leave my testimony to the word of God, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, by which I must be judged; for if we take any other way, we will be sure to go wrong; for the Spirit of God witnesseth with our spirits, that the word of God is the only rule, by which we ought to walk. 3d, I leave my testimony to the work of reformation once glorious in our land: although alas! now defaced, and the hedge and government of Christ's house broken down, and the Kingly office of Christ usurped, by a cruel and blood-thirsty man, to whom I could wish repentance, if it were the will of God; and to all that associate and join with him: but alas! I think it is hid from their eyes. Now I leave my testimony to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge; and several parts of reformation to this day of my death. Also, I leave my testimony to all the faithful ambassadors, and sent servants of Jesus Christ, and to the preached gospel itself; to Mr. Donald Cargil, that worthy servant of Jesus Christ, who kept up the standard and banner of Jesus Christ, when the rest fled from him and the Lord's standard. Also, I leave my testimony to Mr. James Renwick, as a faithful and lawfully ordained and called servant of Jesus Christ. And I leave

my testimony to all the testimonies of the faithful martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ, that have laid down their lives for the cause of Christ, and are banished to foreign lands for the name of Christ, and his noble cause, and also, I disown, disclaim and witness against all this evil and adulterous generation, a generation of revolters, backsliders and evil doers, that will meet with severe punishment, great wrath and judgments, and eternal death besides, except they repent. And now in a special manner, being convinced of my sin and folly in adhering to Prelacy, and spending the most part of my time in hearing of curates, and thereby approving of them and their corruptions and corrupt doctrines, notwithstanding that I came always away from hearing them, with more hardness of heart, than when I went to hear them: but at last I began to consider that matters were not right with me in this case, and hearing that there was a people in the place that were hearers of Presbyterian ministers, but not being acquainted with them, I knew not what to do to be acquainted: however I presumed to tell my case to one of them, who took me to the place where I heard a Presbyterian minister preach; which left a conviction upon my conscience of my former courses, and that I was out of the way of the Lord for salvation and eternal life: after which time I went no more back to follow them, that are in direct opposition to the way of the Lord, our covenants and work of reformation; and by degrees came to see clearly, that the ministers that were most even-down for God, and against the defections and abominations of the time, and this adulterous generation, were only they that the Lord honoured with the revealing of his secrets to, and his mind concerning the duties of the day: as Mr. Donald Cargil, and these that were faithful to the death, and sealed the cause with their blood. And O! how did I love and long to be a witness for him, both against my own former ways, and the ways of that abominable Prelacy, which now I hate; and to get leave to lay down my life for Christ and his precious truths! And now he has granted me my heart's desire, and I seal this with my blood, that this is the way of God, and his truth, which I now lay down my life for. Not having time, I shall say no more, but leaves my wife to the good guiding of the Lord, and commends him and his way for her to follow, and my love to her, and all my dear friends in Newcastle. Farewell, farewell in our blessed Lord Jesus. And welcome Lord Jesus for whom I suffer, and whose love I long to have in possession; welcome heaven and holy angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, through the blood of the Lamb; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

THOMAS ROBERTSON.

The Testimony of JAMES NICOL, merchant, burges of Peebles, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 27, 1684.

His Interrogations before the Privy Council, August 18.

First, I was interrogated by two in a room privately thus.
Q. Was you at Bothwell-bridge? *A.* I am not bound to be my own accuser. I am not (said one of them) to desire you, but only say, upon your honest word, that you were not there.
A. I am not bound to satisfy you, but prove what you have to say against me, and especially you, till I come before my accusers. Well, said he, I am one of them. Then I answered, I was there. *Q.* How came you to rise in arms against the king? *A.* Because he has broken the covenant of the Lord my God. *Q.* Was the prelate's death murder? *A.* No, it was not murder. *Q.* Was Hackstoun's death murder? *A.* That it was indeed. *Q.* How dare you own the covenant, seeing the king gave orders to burn it by the hands of the hangman? *A.* Yes, I dare own it: for although ye should escape the hand of men for so doing, yet ye shall all pay for it ere all be done, and that to purpose: as for me I would not do it for the whole earth. Then I was interrogate by other two, who asked some frivolous questions, which I balled to silence. Then I was brought in before the bloody crew. What now, sir, said they, do you own the king's authority? *A.* I own all things that the precious word of God owns in less or more, and all faithful magistrates. *Q.* But do you not own king Charles also? *A.* I dare not for a world, because it is perjury, for he has unkinged himself in a high degree, and that in doing all things contrary to the word of God, and Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, larger and shorter. *Q.* Know ye to whom ye are speaking? *A.* I know I am before men. But (said one of them) ye are speaking to the chancellor and members of council, sir. But, said I, I have told you already that he has unkinged himself, and so have ye degraded yourselves from being princes. *Q.* If the king were here, what would you say, sir? *A.* I know how I ought to speak to the king, if he were king: sir, is ordinarily said to him: and so to let you know that I am no Quaker, or erroneous in any thing, but a pure Presbyterian, and of a gospel apostolic spirit, I call you, sirs, because ye are noblemen by birth, but not because ye are my judges. *Q.* Will ye not say, *God bless the king's majesty?* *A.* I dare not bless them whom God hath rejected: "If any man bring another doctrine than ye have received, bid him not God speed, nor receive him into your house." 2d John 10, and Psal. xvi.

near the beginning, says David, "Their drink-offerings will I not offer, nor take up their names in my lips," viz. them that hasten after other gods, and therefore I dare not pray for him. *Q.* And will ye not pray for him? *A.* If he belong to the election of grace, he hath part of my prayers: and also if he were a king that had kept covenant with God I would give him a double share, and make mention of his name, but he is an apostate. (So, my friends, they looked still one to another at every question and answer.) *Q.* How old are you, sir? *A.* I am fifty-one years. *Q.* How dare ye own the covenants, seeing we have burnt them by the hand of the hangman? *A.* Sir, I dare own them upon all perils whatsoever, to the utmost of my power, all the days of my life. And with that they smiled, and laughed one to another, and to me, and said, my days were near an end. I said, I am now in your power, but if ye take my blood, ye shall take innocent blood upon yourselves; as in Jer. xxvi. 14, 15, "As for me, behold, I am in your hand; do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof." And as for me, if ye take my blood, it is as innocent blood as ever ye did take; for I did never wrong any man to this day. *Q.* Do ye go to the church? *A.* I went ay to the church, where I could get any faithful minister to go to: but for your Prelate's kirks, and Baal's priests, I never heard any of them, nor never intends to do, if I were to live an hundred years. But, said they, ye shall not live long now, sir. *Q.* How do you prove by the Scripture what ye say against the Prelates? *A.* By many Scriptures; "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors; but it shall not be so among you; but he that is greatest among you, shall be the servant of all:" not like your glutton, Epicurean, belly-god Prelates, who are riding in coaches, in great pomp. But they would not suffer me to speak more, nor cite more places, but asked several questions, which I have not good memory of: only this word I said, concerning the tyrant, he was brought home by Mr. Livingston and others, and put into a nobler estate than any king in the whole world, crowned a covenanted king with the eternal God, to be for him, and to carry on his work and cause, he and all his people; which if he had continued in, he would have been the greatest king in all lands and nations in the world, and would have been a terror to all the kings in Europe; but now he hath made himself base, and a reproach to all the nations, so have all of you. And another reason why I dare not own

him, or you either, is, because he and you have robbed Christ of his crown, although it be not in your power to do it. They bade take me away to the iron-house, and put on the irons on me, which they did on both my hands, that I could write none that day, till I got a mean to put them off the one hand.

Then on Tuesday they called me before them again, being the 19th day of this instant. *Q.* What say ye the day, do you adhere to all you said yesterday? *A.* I adhere to all and hail upon all perils whatsoever. *Q.* Do you approve of Bothwell-bridge? *A.* Yes, I do. *Q.* Do you go to the kirk at Peebles? *A.* No, nor never intends to go there, nor no place else which pertains to the perjured Prelates. *Q.* Do you own the covenants? *A.* I adhere to every point of them, because they are, in short, an obligation, to the whole sum of the Scripture; and as the sum of the law is, "to love the Lord our God with all our soul, and heart, and mind, and with our whole strength, and our neighbour as ourselves:" So it is the whole duty, which the Lord requires of me and all men. *Q.* And how do you reject the king, seeing the Scripture commands you to obey him? *A.* Because the coronation sermon, and the coronation itself does openly declare, that the people makes a king, and not the king, a people, and that he was received home, and crowned for no other thing or end, but to maintain that interest to the utmost of his power; and no longer to be owned as king, than he did own that wherefore he was crowned; so that we were freely loosed from him, as soon as he played his base pranks, in taking the malignants by the hand, and murdering a prince and a prophet, viz. Argyle, who set the crown upon his head, and Mr. Gontarie, who was a godly reformer in our land. Next I said, what thought ye of Mr. Douglas, who preached and gave him all his injunctions at Scoon? They said to me, he should have been hanged for his pains; but I said, God would be about with them all for rejecting the word of the Lord in these directions. *Q.* How do ye disown him, seeing the most part, both of ministers and professors do pray for him? *A.* Because the general assembly at the West kirk disowned him altogether, till he made a declaration of humiliation for his own sins, and his father's: and the parliament being then sitting at Edinburgh, did ratify the assembly's act, and disowned him till he should do that, which accordingly he did, and so we are loosed freely. *Q.* Do ye own Airsmoss, Sanquhar, Rutherglen, and Lanark declarations? *A.* Yes, I do, because they are agreeable to the covenants, and work of reformation. And many more questions they asked, which I cannot now particularly remember. But I told them in general, that I was against Popery, Prelacy, malignancy and profanity, and

And that is against sound doctrine, discipline, worship and government; and all errors whatsoever, which are contrary to sound Presbyterian doctrine, be what they will; for there is none other right, but erroneous, how fair a face soever they have, which shall be found not agreeable to the apostle's doctrine. And then they read something of what I had said, and questioned, if I would subscribe what I had said. I answered, no. *Q.* Can ye write? *A.* Yes, I can write. Then do it, said they. But I said, I would not do it at all. Now, my friends, I say, these are a part of my interrogations.

Again, I was brought before the justiciary (as they call themselves) on the 19th of this instant, and interrogate thus: *Q.* What now, sir, what think you of yourself the day? *A.* I praise my God I am the same I was. *Q.* What think you of what you said yesterday, before the chancellor and the council? I hold all and decline nothing; no, not one ace. *Q.* Were you at Bothwell-bridge? *A.* Yes, that I was. *Q.* Had ye arms? *A.* Yes, that I had. One of them said, God help you: And I said, I wot not if you can pray for yourself. But, said he, I wish you better nor you do yourself. But I said, no; for ye would have me disown my great Lord, the King of Zion, and obey men, yea, base men, "whose breath is in their nostrils," who gave out laws and commandments contrary to his. *Q.* How dare ye rise in arms against the king? *A.* It is better to obey God than man, and he is an enemy to God. *Q.* Would you rise yet in arms for the covenants against the king's laws, if ye had the occasion? *A.* Yes, that I would, say the contrary who will, upon all peril. *Q.* What think you of yourself in spoiling the country of horse and arms, sir? *A.* Sir, I had not the worth of a spur whang of any man's but was mounted with horse and arms of my own. *Q.* Where have you been all this time? *A.* Sometimes here and there, in England and Scotland. *Q.* Whom have ye conversed with? *A.* I was about my business, being a merchant. They said, ye have been about another business; for ye are found to be a fugitive and a vagabond. *A.* I have been a merchant from my youth. *Q.* But where had you your chamber in this town? *A.* I had none these several years. *Q.* Where quarter you in this town? *A.* I have not been much in it these seven or eight years. *Q.* But where was you the night and the last night before the execution? *A.* I was not in town, I came but in at the port just when the first was cast over. Then they looked one to another, and whispered together: but they would fain have had me wronging my landlords in all the parts of the country, and in all burghs; but glory to my Lord, I have wronged none yet, nor yet hopes to do; for it was ay my care, and prayer to God earnestly,

that I might wrong no man, and that I had rather suffer before any were wronged by me, which he has kept me from to this day. Then they read what I had said. *Q.* Will you subscribe what you have said? *A.* No, no. *Q.* Can you write, sir? *A.* Yes, that I can. Well, said they, write down, that he can, but will not. They told me five or six times, that my time should not be long; and said to me, will you have a minister? *A.* I will have none of your Baal's priests; if I could have gotten leave, I should have made them abominable to them, and also at every question, I would have made them ashamed.

After relating the occasion of his being apprehended, which was thus; he having seen three of his dear christian brethren, condemned before the justiciary, at ten in the forenoon, and going to the West-port to take horse, was obliged to stay till his saddle was mended; when he was ready to mount his horse, he hears that the three men were brought to the place of execution; at two afternoon he went thither, and seeing that barbarity of the enemies in murdering his dear brethren, moved with a strong zeal against these murderers, cried out, in the style of the prophet Amos, "A cow of Bashan has pushed three men to death at one push, contrary to their own base laws, in an inhuman way." He subjoins, therefore cease to kill me with your reproaches, when I am dead, as ye did while I was living; for ye laboured to kill and murder my name this many a year, which I forgive you with all my heart, and pray the Lord may forgive you. (And having related, how that upon the 22d day of August, one brought him his indictment, withal telling him, that upon the 27th he would be sentenced, and go immediately from the bench to the scaffold: he adds,) now, my dear friends, I think all that I have written is confused, because I could hardly get leave to write two lines, but was either put from it by the keepers, or called from it by one confusion or other, therefore ye must excuse me; but although it be not accurately written, yet there is no error in it: it is what I lay down my life for, and adhere to as the testimony of a dying man, who must very shortly appear before my Lord, and give an account of all that I have done and written. However, my friends, mistake me not, although it be confused, and ye find some things twice over, for there is no more fear on me now, than the quietest time that ever I had, as to what man can do to me; although I be sad as to matters betwixt God and me, betwixt my glorious Lord and me, as good cause I have, who knew it as I do; but I hope, I shall get a glorious outgate, (when his time comes, which I have always waited upon and not mine) for which I bless him this day.

What further this martyr wrote in prison, cannot be published as it stands, in regard that he being perpetually interrupted by the keepers, and having the irons on his hands, (as himself testifies) could not get it written with that composure which he would. Wherefore take some of the more remarkable heads of it, mostly in his own words, as follows: 1st, He declares his cheerfulness to lay down his life for the cause of Christ, and faith once delivered to the saints. Admiring the riches of the free grace of God, in Christ's laying down his life for poor sinners, and blessing them with such a noble, precious and excellent blessing, as to be called the sons of God, which the angels cannot take up, although they have been a long time prying into it; and invites others to the same exercise of admiring and praising God's love, in making, through the blood of Christ, rebels and enemies, friends and servants. 2d, He rejoices in his lot of suffering thus: O but it be an excellent thing to be called of the Lord, to lay down my life for him and his glorious interest! to me it is more than all the world: I cannot prize it. It has been my desire these twenty-four years to die a martyr for my Lord, and to witness for him, if it be his will, and not else; I bless my Lord for it, I have subscribed a blank, and put it in his hand, to do with me, whatsoever is the determinate counsel of his will and decree, and not to call myself. 3d, He blesses God, that though he would have got his life for doing what others, whom he calls better than himself, have done; yet the Lord had made it his glory, honour and crown, to *hold fast till the Lord come*, which he hoped would be quickly to himself, and also to the land. 4th, He testifies his assurance of God's love to him, and his children, whom he heartily and cheerfully gives away to God, as he had oft devoted them to him in covenant; he exhorts them in the words of a dying father, to be for God, in their generation, live in love and unity, leaving them to the protection and provision of his God, charging them not to be moved for his sufferings, which he protests he would not exchange for the whole world. 5th, He charges them all to beware of wronging themselves by reproaching him anent the manner of his being apprehended, shewing what a hand of divine providence there was in it, and blessing God for it, and for the sweet peace he had in suffering. 6th, He owns himself to have been the greatest sinner upon the earth, and hence takes occasion to magnify the redeeming love of Christ, in calling him effectually, and keeping him in the right way, and from the national sins and corruptions of the age. 7th, He refers to a list of papers written by him, declarative of his judgment concerning the duty of the day, as a reason among others, why he wrote no for-

mal testimony in the prison, save only that he testifies, First, Generally, against all things contrary to any point of truth in the Old and New Testament, or contradictory to the covenants and work of reformation; and more particularly, against the sinful silence of ministers in Britain and Ireland, at the command of a bloody, vile, adulterous, perjured tyrant, and his underlings; against the indulgences and indemnities; against compounding and conforming either with a perjured tyrannical crew of statesmen, or with base, vile, filthy, Prelatists, their blind guides, and Baal's priests; against back-slidden ministers and professors, (who condemned a poor young generation for adhering to truth) for slaying Christ in his members, for pleasing men, and displeasing a never enough exalted and glorious Lord. And finally, disowns all that is contrary to a gospel and apostolic spirit. 8th, He proceeds to warn and exhort all sorts of persons, and more especially the young generation to repentance and amendment of life, enforcing his exhortation with the consideration of judgments, and strokes to come upon the land, upon which head he is exceeding large, founding his assertions upon the threatenings pronounced in the word against these sins, whereof he demonstrates Scotland, England, and Ireland to have been eminently guilty. Interposing withal sweet and ravishing considerations of God's love to him, and his other suffering witnesses, which after large and pathetic ejaculations of praises to God, for his redeeming love, protesting that he expects salvation not by any merit, but of free grace, saying, "I have been beginning to pray and praise these thirty-six years, weekly as I could; but yet I am just to begin this night, both to praise and pray: for I lay no more stress upon all that I have said and done, believed and suffered, nor on a straw, God is my witness; so that I must have salvation upon Wednesday at three or four of the clock, as freely as the thief on the cross." He winds up, in imitation of David, with these words, "And what can poor silly James Nicol say more?" resuming again the consideration of God's wrath against the land, to stir up all ranks to repentance.

After he had concluded his speech with the usual formality of bidding farewell to his suffering brethren, and all sublunary things, embracing and welcoming the heavenly joys, and eternal enjoyment of God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, into whose hands he commits his spirit: he adds by way of post-script:

"Now dear friends, my testimony being finished, and I being near the borders of eternity, having forgot that which I see a great necessity to leave my testimony against; I think it a most concerning and necessary duty to leave my testimo-

ny against James Russel and Mr. John Flint, because James Russel and these in fellowship with him, have separated themselves from the persecuted suffering remnant of the church of Scotland, and Mr. John Flint has taken upon him, with their consent, to officiate the work of a minister, contrary to the word of God; he has run, although not sent of God, nor called, nor ordained of lawful church members: and now he and they have risen up in opposition to God, his cause and persecuted remnant in the church of Scotland, calling them all perjured, that are suffering unto death, imprisonment and banishment for precious Christ. And therefore, I as a dying witness for him, even my Lord Jesus, my only Saviour, who converted me thirty-six years since, and has these twenty-four years helped me to pray to him, to enable me to witness against all error and defection, and has kept me right and straight to this day of my longed for desire, do leave my testimony against Mr. John Flint and James Russel, and all that adhere to them."

Upon the 5th of March, 1684, suffered that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Dick, student of theology; whose elaborate and judicious testimony had been here inserted, but that it has been lately published in print by itself, and so is in a great many people's hands already, and the reader may have recourse to the said print for it; which upon perusal, he will find second to none, for a steady zeal and adherence to the reformation, an orderly method, pithy and pertinent defences against the cavils of the adversaries, and proper and necessary advices to fellow-sufferers, abating only his adherence to Hamilton declaration, wherein he seems to differ from the rest of the sufferers at that time; and owning the king's authority, which yet he does in such a limited and restricted sense, as thereby not to own the wicked laws, and exercise thereof; though it is true the restrictions and limitations with which he declared his owning it, were such as did no way agree to the tyrant, and consequently it was a real, though not a formal denial thereof. Only in the said printed testimony, there are several errors of the transcriber, or the press, which the judicious reader will not impute to the author.

The joint Testimony of THOMAS HARKNESS, in Locherbane, ANDREW CLARK, in Leadhills, in Crawford parish, and SAMUEL M'EUVEN, in Glencairn parish; who were sentenced, and suffered at Edinburgh, August 15, 1684.

DEAR FRIENDS AND RELATIONS WHATSOEVER,

We think it fit to acquaint you, that we bless the Lord, that ever we were ordained to give such a public testimony, who are so great sinners. Blessed be he that ever we were born to bear witness for him. And blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, that ordained the gospel and the truths of it, which he sealed with his own blood, and many a worthy christian gone before us have sealed them. We were questioned for not owning the king's authority: we answered, that we owned all authority that is allowed by the written word of God, sealed by Christ's blood. Now, our dear friends, we entreat you to stand to the truth, and especially all ye that are our own relations, and all that love and wait for the coming of Christ. He will come, and will not tarry, and reward every one according to their deeds in the body.

We bless the Lord, we are not a whit discouraged, but content to lay down our lives with cheerfulness, and boldness, and courage; and if we had a hundred lives, we would willingly quit with them all for the truth of Christ. Good news! Christ is no worse than he promised.

Now we take our leave of all friends and acquaintances, and declare, we are heartily content with our lot, and that he hath brought us hither to witness for him and his truth. We leave our testimony against Popery, and all other false doctrine, that is not according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which is the only word of God.

Dear friends, be valiant for God, for he is as good as his promise, "He that overcometh, he will make a pillar in his temple." Our time is short, and we have little to spare; having got our sentence at one of the clock this afternoon, and are to die at five this day. And so we say no more; but farewell all friends and relations. Welcome heaven and Christ, and the cross for Christ's sake.

T. HARKNESS, A. CLARK, S. M'EUVEN.

A Letter from Samuel M'Euen to a friend, after his sentence was pronounced.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am this day to lay down my life, for adhering to the truth of God, and I bless his holy name that ever he honour-

ed me, a poor country lad, having neither father nor mother to witness for him. And now I can set to my seal to all the truths in the Bible. Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, National and Solemn League and Covenants, and all the protestations and declarations given by the poor remnant, agreeable to the same word of God. Though in much weakness, yet I love all that is for his glory, and desire you not to be discouraged, for I bless the Lord, I am heartily content with my lot. It was my desire, though most unworthy, to die a martyr; and I bless the Lord, who has granted me my desire. Now, this is the most joyful day ever I saw with my eyes. Farewell all earthly enjoyments, and friends in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ; and farewell Glencairn, my native parish. Welcome my sweet Saviour, into thy hands I commit my spirit, "for thou art he, O Jehovah, God of truth, who hast redeemed me."

SAMUEL M'EUEN.

The joint Testimony of JAMES LAWSON and ALEXANDER WOOD, who suffered at Glasgow, Oct. 24, 1684.

Now, this is the most joyful day that ever we had in all our life, and we join our hearty testimony to the written word of God, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament, and to the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Engagement to Duties, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and to the Covenants both National and Solemn League, and to the Causes of God's Wrath; and we also join our hearty testimony to the true and faithful preached gospel, by his true and faithful sent ministers, both formerly and of late, commissioned and clothed with his message to declare the whole counsel of God, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism and Supremacy. We also join our hearty testimony to the testimonies of those that have gone before us, both formerly and of late, who suffered for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ. And likewise to all the appearances of the Lord's people, and their being in arms, for the defence of the gospel, and self-defence, viz. Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell-bridge, and the declarations given at Rutherglen, the 29th of May, 1679, and Sanquhar, and to the papers found upon Henry Hall at the Queensferry, and to that declaration put forth at Lanark, by the suffering remnant. We also join our hearty testimony to the christian fellowship-meetings, whereby our souls have sometimes been refreshed.

Now, likewise, we shall shew you what we disown: 1st. We disown and leave our testimony against Popery and Prelacy, Quakerism, Erastianism, and all other errors, that are contrary

to the word of God. Likewise we leave our testimony against all the indulgences, both first and last; because they have disowned Christ from being Head of the Church, and have taken their liberty from a mortal man. Likewise we leave our testimony against all these that have left the standard of Christ, and taken themselves to a sinful quietness, to shun suffering; and also their condemning of the faithful practices and preaching of these two worthies, who sealed the truth with their blood, viz. Mr. Donald Cargil, and Mr. Richard Cameron, who declared the whole counsel of God faithfully. We desire to bless the Lord, that ever we heard them preach. Likewise we leave our testimony against the declaration at Hamilton, because of the taking in of that tyrant's interest. Likewise against Charles Stuart, because he hath seated himself in Christ's room, and has taken to himself the prerogative of our Lord, to be head of the church, which belongs to no mortal man on earth, but Christ only. Likewise we leave our testimony against that hell-hatched test, and against that oath, called the oath of allegiance; against compearing at courts, coming out of prison upon bond and caution. Ye will find the unlawfulness of it in John viii. 34, "Verily, verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin." And in Rom. vi. 20, "For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness." "What fruit had ye in these things, whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of these things is death." And 2d Pet. ii. 19, "While they promise you liberty, themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." And against the cess and locality, or any paying of militia money, or any other thing, which may strengthen the hands of those open and avowed enemies of Jesus Christ. Likewise we leave our testimony against these wicked men called judges, which ought not to be called judges, but rather tyrants, because they are thirsting for blood; for they charge us in one of the articles of our indictment, with murder, and shaking off all the fear of God: but we bless the Lord we are free of all such crimes as murder.

Now, dear friends, we exhort you to cleave close to Christ, keep his way, and do not scare at it because of suffering; or we can assure you, that the cross has not been troublesome to us, but easy; for he paves the cross all over with roses, and never lays a grain weight of affliction more upon his people, than he gives sufficient strength to bear: and this we can say by experience, *He sends none a warfare upon their own charges*, but he gives still sufficient strength to carry them through. Therefore it is our earnest desire and request, that ye will follow on to know the Lord, for if ye follow on to know him, he

has promised, *that ye shall know him.* Therefore we desire you to follow his way, and fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils, but fear God and keep his ways. Keep at a distance from the least of sin; for the least sin deserveth death: but his love hath been great and condescending to us, for he hath taken us, who were the vilest of sinners, for we have destroyed ourselves by original sin, and corrupt nature; but now he hath redeemed us, and plucked us out like fire-brands out of the midst of the burning. Now we may say, he hath letten out such a gale of his condescending love, that he hath gained our feckless love; so that we dare say, that if every hair of our head were a man, and every drop of our blood a life, we would willingly lay them all down for Christ and his cause, if he called for them at our hand; “for he is altogether lovely, the chief among ten thousands;” he is without compare, he is incomprehensible, glorious and mighty. Therefore it is our desire to all friends, that ye would ware your love on him, and credit him: and labour to get the inheritance made sure, that Jesus Christ hath purchased. Now cleave close to him, and close with him, and then lose what ye will in this world, ye shall be noble gainers, and no losers.

Now, we heartily forgive all men any wrong they have done us, or can do to us, as we desire to be forgiven of the Lord; but what they have done against God and his cause, we leave that to himself, to do in it as may most glorify himself. Now, we bid farewell to all earthly comforts and enjoyments; farewell all christian friends and acquaintances in the Lord; farewell sweet societies, and christian fellowship-meetings; farewell hearing of the precious gospel; farewell reading, singing, praying and believing; farewell sweet prison and irons for our lovely Lord; farewell holy Scriptures; farewell sun, moon and stars, and all created comforts in time. Welcome heaven; welcome singing of praises; welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands we commit our spirits.

Sic subscribitur,

JA. LAWSON, A. WOOD.

The interrogations of GEORGE JACKSON, tenant to Pollock, who was apprehended at Glasgow, and suffered at the Gallowlee, December 9, 1684.

At Glasgow after he was taken, and had been asked some few questions by them who apprehended him, he was brought before the bishop of Glasgow, who interrogate him thus. *Quest.* What now, Mr. Jackson? *Ans.* I was never a scholar. *Q.* Can you read the Bible? *A.* Yes. *Q.* Was you

at Bothwell-bridge? *A.* Yes. *Q.* What arms had ye? *A.* A halbert staff. *Q.* Was you an officer? *A.* No, I was but sixteen years of age. *Q.* Who was your captain? *A.* A young man. *Q.* How called they him? *A.* I am not bound to give an account to you. *Q.* Was you at Bothwell rebellion or not? *A.* I allow myself in no rebellion against God. *Q.* Whether was it rebellion against the king, or not. *A.* I have answered that question already. *Q.* Would you go to it again? *A.* The question is like yourself; I know not. *Q.* Will ye say, *God save the king?* *A.* It is not in my power to save or condemn. *Q.* Will you pray for him? *A.* I will pray for all within the election of free grace. *Q.* Whether is the king within the election or not? *A.* If you were the man you profess to be, you would not ask such a question at me: it belongs only to God. *Q.* Do you own the authority as it is now established? *A.* No; but I own all authority, so far as it is according to the written word of God. *Q.* Did you own the king and inferior magistrates? *A.* In so far as they are *a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.* *Q.* Are they not that? *A.* When the Lord Jesus shall sit judge, they and you and the like of you, will count for it, whether ye be or not. *Q.* Is the bishop's death murder, or not? *A.* If your questions be upon these matters that I am not concerned with, I will keep silence. Then the bishop asked him concerning some papers that were found in the room where he was apprehended, he refused to answer any further anent them, having answered the same question in the guard to these who took him. Whereat the bishop enraged said, sir, the boots shall make you free. To which the said George replied, if my Master think me worthy of them, I will get them; and if not, it is in his power to preserve me. *Q.* Will ye subscribe what ye have said? *A.* No. *Q.* Wherefore will ye not? *A.* Because it is an acknowledgment of your unjust laws. After this he was transported from Glasgow to Evandale on the Lord's day. He relates in his letters, what sweet joy and consolation he had by the way. After his having gone about the worship of God, in presence of the soldiers, who at first kept on their hats, but afterwards ere he had done, discovered. In came one Bonsay their commander, and said, prepare you for a bare horse back to-morrow, and your head and feet shall be bound hard and fast together. George answered, it is not in your power to do it. Bonsay said, I will let you know it shall be in my power, and offered him the king's health: he refused, saying, I am not dry to drink healths, especially on the Lord's night. To-morrow when they were set on horse back, Bonsay caused sound a trumpet, holding it to George's ear, and said, sound him to hell: at which the martyr smiled. So

they came to Edinburgh upon the 13th of May, 1684. Being called before a committee of the council, he came with his Bible in his hand. The advocate jeeringly said, there's him and his Bible; come away, let us see where the text is: George answered, I was never a seeker out of texts; that is the proper work of a minister. Then the advocate said, put up your Bible, for we are not for preaching at this time. He answered, I am not come to preach, for I never could; but, sir, this is the word of God, whereby I am come here to be judged, and I charge you, and not only you, but all of you, that as ye shall answer in one day before our Lord Jesus Christ, when he shall sit and judge betwixt the just and unjust, that ye judge me by what is written in this holy Bible; otherwise remember ye, and the rest of you, shall make account for it in that day, when our Lord shall sit as judge, and ye shall stand naked and bare before him; and if ye do it not, I shall be a witness against you. To this they returned, that he was come to be judged and not to judge: and after a while's silence, when he demanded who were his accusers, the advocate replied, I am your accuser; and interrogate him thus: *Q.* Was you at Bothwell? *A.* I have answered that in my first examination. *Q.* But, said the advocate, you must answer it now. *A.* It being criminal by your law, you must prove it. *Q.* Do you hold these that were there as rebels? *A.* I allow myself to be among no rebels; but whom call you rebels? the advocate said, these that were rebels to the king. George answered, if they be not rebels to God, the matter is the less. *Q.* Do you approve of them? *A.* Yes, in as far as they were for Christ and his cause. *Q.* Do you allow yourself to rise in arms against the king? *A.* No. *Q.* Wherefore then did ye rise in arms? *A.* I have warrant in the word of God to rise in arms in defence of the gospel and work of reformation, according to our solemn engagements, wherein we are sworn to uphold and defend to the utmost of our power the work of reformation. *Q.* What, are ye engaged to be against your king? *A.* You heard not me say that, but I said, I am for the king and all authority, as far as they are for the work of God, but no further. *Q.* Do you own the present authority? *A.* I own no unlawful authority. *Q.* Will you take the bond of regulation, and you shall win your way? *A.* I will have nothing to do with you or your bonds either. Being desired to subscribe what they had wrote down as his confession, he refused.

At his second compearance before the council, after they had read to him and several other prisoners, the declaration emitted at Sanquhar, they asked, if he approved of that paper, which casts off the king and all his authority and laws, and declares open war against him, and approves to murder his

soldiers, militia, gentlemen or intelligencers, wherever they can have the occasion? He answered, I disown all murder. *Q.* But do you approve of that paper? *A.* As far as it owns truth. *Q.* Knew ye of it before? *A.* I knew not of it this morning when I arose, no more than the child unborn. *Q.* Who set it out? *A.* You have it there, perhaps it has been yourselves for ought I know. *Q.* Was you never in these meetings called *societies* or *general correspondencies*? *A.* Since ever the Lord made me to hate sin and follow duty, it was my desire to be in the company of the godly, and to go where I might have edification to my soul. *Q.* Would you think it lawful to kill the soldiers, if they were going to take you? *A.* Yes, in self-defence.

This account is abstracted out of his own letters. As for his large testimony, it hath not been thought necessary to publish it, for these answers, which he gave, were his testimony before the enemies; these were the grounds of his indictment and sentence of death: these are the chief points of truth upon which he enlarges his testimony: and moreover, it appears from the many repetitions of the same matter, that the severity of his persecutors has occasioned his large testimony to be writ with less accuracy than he would. He insists much in praising God, for calling him to, and strengthening him under his sufferings: professes a great cheerfulness in laying down his life for the cause of Christ: exhorts others to forsake the love of the world, and embrace the cross of Christ, and undergo the hatred of the world; he is full in enumerating the heads of truth to which he adheres, and national sins against which he bears witness; so that he passes scarce any point of truth touched in the former testimonies, though they are not so orderly disposed as in some others. He forewarns all of the hazard of approaching judgments, encourages the godly with a respect of Christ's return to the land, and invites them to take hold of him, and wrestle with him for his return; withal deploring the case of the church, on account of such wrestlers and mourners; and with a solemn farewell to earthly relations, friends, acquaintances and enjoyments, with a welcome of heavenly ones, he concludes his dying testimony: in the whole he gives evidences of one near and dear to Christ, and supported and strengthened by him.

Together with the foresaid martyr, William Keagow, in Kilkeagow, received his indictment, specifying the same causes, viz. being at Bothwell, under the command of Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Preston, issuing out treasonable proclamations, and declarations, which he owned as his duty in defence of the gospel and covenanted work of refor-

mation, and refusing to call the death of the arch-bishop of St. Andrews murder, and not being free to pay cess to the king, &c. But whether he left any testimony or not, it has not come to the hands of the publishers.

Upon the 14th of November, 1684, suffered John Watt in the parish of Kilbride, and John Semple in the parish of Glasart; whose testimonies (if they be extant) came not to the hands of the publishers of this collection; only it is certain from their indictments that they died for their adherence to the same truths, at the Gallowlee, which was in the twilight of the evening. While they were singing the 11th section of the cxix. Psalm, particularly these words in ver. 84, "How many are thy servants days? when wilt thou execute just judgment on these wicked men that do me persecute?" The soldiers made such a hellish noise, and turned back so upon the people that were spectators of the action, that the people verily conceived they should have been trodden down and massacred on the spot, which occasioned all to flee, so that none of their christian friends durst stay to do the last duty to them, in dressing their dead bodies, but they were left to the insolent soldiers' disposal.

A copy of a Letter written by JOHN SEMPLE in Craighthorn, while in prison. Directed to his mother and sister, who were then in prison.

LOVING MOTHER AND SISTER,

This is to let you know, that that day which I was brought to the tolbooth of the Cannongate, and we were put into the irons, and the shackles put upon our arms, and to-morrow about 11 o'clock, I was brought before the council, and they shewed me the paper which was found upon the crosses and kirk doors, and they asked, if I knew it? I answered, what know I what is in that paper? The duke having it in his hand, and the rest of the council bade him read it to me; he read some lines of it, and then said to the rest, it would take a long time to read. They offered to give it to me to read, and promised me time to consider it, if I would give my judgment of it. *A.* I will not have it, neither will I be judge of papers. *Q.* Own ye the king's authority, as it is now established? *A.* I own all authority, as is agreeable to the word of God. *Q.* Will ye own this paper or not? *A.* What know I what is in that paper. Then they said, to be short with you, own ye the covenants and Presbyterian principles? *A.* I own the covenants and Presbyterian principles with my whole heart. Then said they, so, that is a frank and free fellow. Then

they caused to take me away for a while; and I was brought before them again; and then they said, come and declare the truth, and give your oath, what you know concerning the contrivers and publishers of these papers. *A.* I am not bound to wrong my neighbours, neither will I give an oath. After some questions and answers, the chancellor said, he should make me do it; for he said, he would make me as small as snuff. I answered, sometimes the persecutors have caused the saints to blaspheme. The bishop's brother said, I was a liar, for the Scripture says no such thing. I said, that it says the same thing, and I told him where it was. Then they caused take me away; and then a little after they brought me before them again the third time, and pressed upon me again to declare: I utterly refused. Then they caused the executioner to take me a little back, and made me sit down with my back to the bar, and threw on the thumbkins upon my thumbs, until I fell into a swoon; and when I overcame again, they were standing about, looking upon me and bidding me rise; and then I rose. Then some of them said, what will ye say now to the chancellor? I said, I will say nothing to him. Then they took me to the town tolbooth, to the iron house.

Now, I desire that I could bless the Lord for this, that he kept me, for in the time of the torture I spake not a word good or bad, but got it borne until I fell into a swoon. All their countenances dashed me nothing; for I did not fear their faces, nor the faces of hundreds who were gazing upon me, from about 11 o'clock, till 7 o'clock in the afternoon. And I thought, that that was a sign of God's presence: but the shining of his countenance was not with my spirit. But I was helped to believe and hold fast: for I knew not but that day or to-morrow might have been my last day.

The next morning I was brought before one of them into a chamber. He said, how are ye advised to day? I said, as I was. *Q.* What is the reason that ye will not tell the truth to the chancellor? for it is a sin not to do it. *A.* Doeg told the truth, when he told Saul that he saw David come to Abimelech, and that Abimelech gave him bread, and did inquire of God for him; and yet the Scripture calls it lying, Psalm lii. 3. And therefore there is a sinful pernicious speaking of the truth, which is a great sin, and accounted as a lie. I said to him also, that I, knowing the terror of the Lord, I thought that the terror of men was the lighter to be borne, and that I would say no more than I had said, though they should torture all the fingers and toes that I had, till they should be cut off! but as the Lord should give me strength, I would stand.

After this, he never opened his mouth more, but humbred

and rose up, and went his way, and the keeper brought me back to the iron house, where I remain. One thing is come to my mind, which he said more; that it was for rebellion against the king that they were pursuing for. I answered, so did the persecutors of the Son of God say, that it was for rebellion; for they called him an enemy to Cæsar. Moreover they threatened me with the boots. Now what the Lord will permit them to do, I know not; but there are hard things determined against me; and I am very weak, for flesh and blood is but weak; therefore forget not my case. I am well contented with my lot, blessed be the Lord, only I am afraid of my own weaknesses, lest I wrong the truth.

No more at present, but wisheth that the Lord's presence may be with you, my dear mother and sister. Give my love to my dear brother and sisters. I am in good health, blessed be God; my thumbs, they are not very sore, only they are something feeless; and I and others thought they should scarcely have ever served me, at least for a long time.

JOHN SEMPLE.

The last Testimony of JAMES GRAHAM, tailor in Corsmichael, in the Steuarty of Galloway, who suffered at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1684.

MEN AND BRETHREN,

I am come here this day to lay down my life for the cause of Christ, and I bless the Lord, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for such a noble cause; and now I wish this day that every hair of my head, and every drop of my blood were a life, I would willingly lay them down for him, for it is all too little I can do for him. O it is a wonder, that ever he should have chosen me, or the like of me, to witness or die for him in such a cause! for he hath no need of me, or any of the lost sons of Adam; but he hath testified in his word, that he will make the poor things of the earth, to confound the prudent. And now I bless the Lord, that I die not as a murderer or a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters. The heads whereupon I am indicted, are, because I refused to disown that paper, which is most agreeable to the word of God, and to our sworn covenants and work of reformation; and because I would not swear to that which I durst not for my soul do. Now, I giving a short account of what I am indicted for, I shall likewise give an hint of what I adhere to. First, I adhere to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to the whole work of reformation, as it was once es-

tablished in our land, although now, alas! defaced, and denied by the most part of this generation. 2d, To the Covenants, National and Solemn League, to which we are sworn with hands uplifted to the Most High God, and bound to maintain it. 3d, To the Sum of Saving Knowledge, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. 4th, To the preached gospel, as it was faithfully preached in our land, by the sent messengers of Jesus Christ; especially by Messrs. John Kid, John King, Donald Cargil, and Richard Cameron, who took their lives in their hands, and went forth upon all hazards, when the rest of their brethren turned their back upon the cause. 5th, To Mr. James Renwick, as a faithful sent servant of Jesus Christ, who has lifted up the standard where Messrs. Donald Cargil and Richard Cameron left it, who sealed the cause with their blood. 6th, To all appearances in arms in defence of the gospel, and our sworn covenants, and the whole work of reformation. 7th, To the excommunication at the Torwood by Mr. Donald Cargil. 8th, To the Sanquhar declaration, as a thing most agreeable to the word. 9th, To the declaration at Rutherglen. 10th, To the paper that was taken off worthy Henry Hall, at the Queensferry. 11th, To the burning of that hell-hatched thing, called the test, at Lanark. 12th, To the fellowships of the Lord's people, for reading, singing and praying; according to the Scripture in Mal. iii. 16, and Heb. x. 25, and several other Scriptures which warrant this. 13th, To all the testimonies of the faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, from the appearance in arms at Pentland hills to this day. 14th, To that paper upon which I was indicted, in so far as it is agreeable to the word of God, and our sworn covenants, and work of reformation.

And now, on the other hand, I shall desire to let you see what I shall witness and testify against, so far as I am enabled by his Holy Spirit. 1st, I leave my testimony against all breach of covenant, which is a sin that hath overspread the whole land. 2d, Against the accepters of the indulgence, first and last, because they have fled from their first engagements, which engagement was to be faithful ministers to the church of Christ, which they have broken and rent. 3d, Against the hearers of curates, because they have broken our sworn covenants and work of reformation. 4th, Against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all heresy, and whatsoever is contrary to the word of God. 5th, Against paying of the cess and locality, and against paying of fines, because it is a bearing up of these soul-murderers, and an acknowledgment that we have done a fault in following our duty. 6th, Against Charles Stuart, in regard he hath broken the covenant that he

was once sworn to, and put forth his hand against the people of God. 7th, Against that perjuring and abominable thing called the test, and the oath of allegiance, which is an oath against our covenant. 8th, Against Gib, and all his followers, and all their pernicious ways. 9th, Against the overthrowing of our work of reformation, which we had from our Lord and Master, and his faithful servants, to be comforts to our souls. Now, the time being short, I shall say no more, but farewell mother, brethren and sisters; farewell all christian friends and acquaintances in the Lord; farewell holy Scriptures which have been my comfort many a day; farewell meat and drink, sun, moon, and stars. Welcome eternity; welcome heaven; welcome holy angels; welcome God in Christ, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES GRAHAM.

The last Speech and Testimony of ROBERT POLLOCK, cordiner in Kilbride, who was taken at Glasgow, and suffered at the Gallowlee, January 23, 1685, betwixt eight and nine of the clock in the morning.

[The body of this testimony being much of a piece with several of the foregoing, as declaring his adherence to the same truths, and abhorrence of the same errors and abominations; the reader will find here only the preamble and postscript, as follows.]

DEAR FRIENDS,

I being sentenced to die by men, thought it fit to leave this short word of testimony behind me. Now, if I could say any thing to the commendation of Christ, I have as much to say to his commendation, as any poor sinner ever had to say. For he has done more for me than heart can think, or tongue can speak, or hand can write, for he has made good his promise to me, Isa. xxiii. 2, "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flames kindle upon thee." This promise I can say upon good ground has been made out to me. And I can say with the spouse in Song ii. 6, "His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me. A bundle of myrrh is my beloved unto me," Song i. 13. And I cannot study to save my life without prejudice to his name and vindicating of evil doers. For I desire to fear and love him, and also to confess him, that hath said in his word, Psal. 32, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before

men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven." Ver. 33, "But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." And he has said in Luke ix. 62, "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." And also he hath said, Heb. x. 38, "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved," Matth. xxiv. 13. Now, I say, death and life, heaven and hell, even Christ being on the one hand, and the world on the other hand, and Christ holding forth an offer of himself to me, and making me welcome to come to him, I desire rather to suffer any thing he is pleased, than to run after the multitude: and now truth being so much controverted, I think I cannot refuse to be at his disposing in suffering for it.

And now, I being somewhat confused in the time of my writing, and therefore could not keep order; wherefore I take leave to leave my testimony to several things that I forgot before. And now as a dying man I leave my testimony to the Sanquhar declaration, and to the late declaration, November, 1684. And now I have two particulars to leave my testimony against, viz. the duke of York, and the duke of Monmouth. Against the duke of York, for marrying a strange woman, and as he is a Papist himself. And against the duke of Monmouth for coming down to Scotland, to help the enemies of God to kill the Lord's people, for hazarding their lives in defence of the gospel. And now I am come here this day to lay down my life for the hope of Israel, of the which hope I am not ashamed this day; for I desire to bless his holy name, that these twelve years and more, my soul has loved him; and many times my soul has been refreshed, when I thought upon suffering for him. Now, I do not say I am free of sin, but I am at peace with God through a slain Mediator, and he shall make my soul as clean of sin, as I had never sinned. And now I am to step out of time into eternity, where I shall be as full of him as my soul desires to be. And now again, I take my farewell of all created comforts in time; and let none say that these are not my words, for they are even my last words. And now, I being never loosed out of the shackles on my hands, I cannot write myself, but I do subscribe myself; and whether any think it right or not, I have peace in doing of it. But it may be some will say, that I have not been right principled, and have been in error: and it may be some will say, that they would not have ventured their life on such grounds. But I can say, the least of the controverted truths is sufficient ground to lay down my life for. And the main thing is authority, that now is cried up,

and Charles Stuart to be supreme: if any join with that, and approve of his deeds, it will never be asked whether they fear God or not; although they were the greatest blasphemers that ever lived, if they will approve of the acts and laws made by these that are now rulers, though they rule wrong, there is no more sought of them: they never ask whether they fear God or not, and that says that they fear him not themselves, and that they study no further than to please Charles Stuart, which will be their ruin in the end.

And now I have this to say to the commendation of Christ, that he is without parallel or comparison; he is altogether lovely, and in the greatest of straits he is most comely: his countenance is refreshful to me, and has been in the greatest of straits and difficulties; his countenance has refreshed me, and it is delightsome to a weary soul. Nor is there any comfort like unto him, "His yoke is easy, and his burden light." Yea, he has been so kind to me, that I have not gone one hair's breadth on my own charges. He spares not expenses; he gives enough to all them that are about his work; for ay when I was put sorest to it, I got enough from my lovely Master to bear my charges with. Now, my advice is to all them that desire to be upright for Christ, walk on, and do not draw back, for ye will not want enough to do your turn; for he does not stand to ware any thing upon his servants.

And now, I as a dying man, intreat you all not to fear imprisonment; fear nothing; for if ye can trust in him, there is no fear you shall be left to do the work yourself. I can say no more to make you love him; but only this I can say, that he has ay made me victorious, since I was his prisoner. And now I can say, I am not afraid to venture upon a gibbet for him, and for the vindication of his cause. And now let none say, it is a sore matter that my life should be taken away for such a cause; for I say unto you, that I would never have gotten such an offer to quit my life for; and let none be sorry, that I am taken away out of the gate of God's wrath; for there are many in Scotland that will not know where to fly from his wrath pursuing them: yea, even many that are not much concerned with these things now. And therefore, I say, fly unto Christ, all that would study not to be trampled down in his fury, and these that would not have the wrath of the Lord poured out upon them; my advice is, to make your peace with the Prince of peace: for sad will the calamities be that are coming on this land. O! prepare for judgment, for he will come and make inquisition for the blood that hath been shed in Scotland, before the controversy end, and the calamity overpass. It looks very like that the fowls of the air will eat the bodies of the dead men and wo-

men not being buried. I shall say no more, but study to fly out of the way of God's wrath; only fly unto him, and forsake your evil ways. And now it is not, I declare, upon the account of suffering; that I expect to be saved; nor any righteousness of mine own, but only through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, through his merits and intercession; for I have no righteousness of my own, neither can I merit any thing by my suffering: but it is as sure that he has said, "He that denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven, and before the holy angels." And now I am brought here this day, to lay down my life for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, and for no other thing: and I desire to bless the Lord, that I am not suffering as an evil doer, and that I die not as a fool. And I desire to bless the Lord that ever he honoured me with suffering for him, for many times my soul has been refreshed, when I saw any thing like that, that I would be a sufferer for him. Now, I desire to take my farewell of all things in time: Farewell sweet Scriptures, reading, singing, praying, and believing; farewell sun, moon, and stars, and all created comforts in time. Welcome heaven and happiness; welcome innumerable company of angels; welcome spirits of just men made perfect; welcome praising without ceasing, or wearying in the least; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

ROBERT POLLOCK.

The last Testimony of ROBERT MILLAR, mason, who lived in the parish of Rutherglen, and suffered for the truth at the Gallowlee of Edinburgh, upon the 23d of January, betwixt six and seven in the morning, 1685.

LOVING AND DEAR FRIENDS,

I being sentenced to die by men, have thought it fit to leave behind me this mite of a testimony; and to let you know upon what ground I suffer: and it is only because I would not acknowledge the present authority, which is in a direct opposition to the word of God; and also because I would not take that oath against the Apologetical declaration, and swear myself an enemy to the covenant and work of reformation; which I durst not do, no not for my soul.

Now, I confess, I have been a great sinner against God, but I never acted any thing against man, worthy of death, bonds, or imprisonment. Now, glory to him, for he hath not been wanting to me; I have seen, in some measure, his hand of providence, ay in less or more, from my very infancy,

guiding me to this day. But now it is about fifteen years since he engaged me wonderfully to him, although I have many times turned my back on him, and also though I followed my duty, with many failings, yet he never suffered me to go, but still kept me with a long respect to him, and his persecuted truths; and ay when I was like to be snared with strong temptations from Satan, the world, and my own wicked heart, then "he broke the snare, and I escaped as a bird out of the hand of the fowler." And, according to that word, he hath, in a wonderful measure, "made all things work together for my good." O how many times have I turned back, and provoked him to hide his face, and to desert me, and to plague me with hardness of heart! but ay when I was ready to sink, then he manifested his power, and brought me up out of the great depth; and also made out that word, Psal. xxvii. 10, "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." Now, I say, glory, glory to him, who hath plucked me as a brand out of the burning, and hath made a prison, and irons, sweet and easy to me. O! what an honour is it, to tread the same steps that my loving Lord hath gone before me! O! now he is become "altogether lovely, and the chief among ten thousands." I can now say from my experience, "that my beloved is mine, and I am his."

First, Now, I heartily adhere, and leave my testimony to that covenant of free grace, agreed upon between the Father and the Son, that noble work of redemption; and desire to take him in all his offices, as King, Priest, and Prophet. 2d, I heartily adhere to the holy and sacred word of God, with which my soul many a time hath been refreshed. 3d, And also to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4th, And also to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. 5th, And also to that glorious work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery and Prelacy, and all other errors. 6th, And likewise I leave my testimony to all the fellowship-meetings of the Lord's people, for keeping up of the fallen down standard of our Lord. 7th, And likewise I leave my testimony to these worthy men's doctrine, viz. Mr. Donald Cargil, and the rest who jeopard'd their lives upon the high places of the earth for the bearing up of the fallen down standard of our Lord, when the rest most shamefully left it at the command of men. 8th, And likewise I heartily adhere, and leave my testimony to that worthy man's doctrine, called Mr. James Renwick, who is now carrying on that great work, when there is so few to own it; and I desire to bless the Lord, that ever I heard him preach. 9th, And likewise I leave my testimony to the excommunication at the Torwood, passed by Mr. Donald Cargil, against these

enemies of God. 10th, And likewise I leave my testimony to all protestations and declarations given by the Lord's people against his enemies. 11th, And also, to the making use of defensive arms. 12th, And likewise I desire to tell you what I disown, and leave my testimony against.

And in the first place, I leave my testimony against Popery, and Prelacy, and Erastianism, and all other errors not agreeable to the word of God, and against all these that adhere to, and own these abominable practices and principles. 2d, I leave my testimony against that tyrant that is now upon the throne, viz. Charles Stuart, who hath not only broken the covenant, but burned it, and overturned the whole work of reformation, which he was sworn and engaged unto; and is yet going on with uplifted hands, in his perjury, and making to do the like, according to that of Jeroboam who made Israel to sin; and also for his supremacy over the prerogatives of our Lord. 3d, And also, I leave my testimony against those called the council of Scotland, who at this day sleep not, except they have done mischief, and they are now taking away my life, not having any matter of fact against me, either worthy of death or bonds, but only because I would not perjure myself, and state myself an open enemy to God, and his truth, which I durst not do, no not for my soul. 4th, And likewise I leave my testimony against that wicked thing called the test, invented by Satan. 5th, And also against all bonds and declarations sent forth by these who are called the council of Scotland. 6th, And likewise I leave my testimony against cess and locality paying, which is for no other use, but to bear down the gospel of our Lord Jesus. 7th, And also against militia money, which is for that same use. 8th, And also against all intelligencers and apprehenders of the Lord's people, Obad. verse 10. 9th, And likewise against all compearing at courts, or coming out of prison upon bond or caution, or paying of jailor's fees; for it says, that we have done them wrong, whereas we have done them none; and although they be forced to it, yet that will not excuse them, for there is not a liberty in all the word of God, to say a confederacy with his open and avowed enemies. 10th, And also I leave my testimony against the hearing of these tested curates, who are these that are mentioned in God's word, viz. wolves and bears, which would devour the Lord's flock. 11th, And against all the bloodshed, before and since Pentland, in the fields, and on scaffolds, and also in the seas. 12th, And against all the indulgencies first and last, who lay down the service of the Lord at the command of men, and have engaged themselves in that wo. that is pronounced against such as are at ease, when Zion is in trouble: for since I had any

knowledge I never had any clearness for ministers, who acknowledged any to be the head of the church, but Jesus Christ. 13th, And against all sort of compliance, because I see there is few that ever complies with them, that ever gets leave to look behind them, till they be the full length. And now, I must tell you, I have not been free of the thoughts of it this many a day, that the church of Britain and Ireland shall be upon the borders of Babylon, before they get a delivery.

Now, dear friends, study to be diligent in your duty, and also make good use of your Bibles, for I have not gotten the thoughts of it off my spirits this many a day, that ere long it shall come to that, that it shall be death to the person with whom a Bible is found: and also I must tell you, that there was nothing more confirming to me, that they were enemies to truth, than to see their carriage when I was before them. Now, I am not taking upon me to prophesy, but they are blind, who see not there are sad days abiding these poor lands. Now, I say, O study holiness and labour to follow your duty, in sad earnest, for there is a black cloud of judgment ready to break upon these lands. And now I dare not doubt, but Christ is upon his way to return again to these lands, and O be earnest with him, that he would spare a remnant, and that he would not pass that sad sentence mentioned in Ezek. ix. 6, "Where he hath given a commission to slay utterly old and young;" and also ver. 10, where he hath said, "His eye shall not spare, neither will he have pity." Now, I say likewise, be earnest with him, that ye may be marked by the man with the writer's inkhorn by his side, that ye may be kept in the hollow of his hand, in the day of Scotland's sad calamity.

Now, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, and employ your strength, in the holding up of the fallen-down standard of our Lord, if ye be found real in this duty, ye shall either be members of the church militant, and see that glory of the second temple, which shall be a glorious sight, or else ye shall be transported, and be members of the church triumphant; so ye shall be no losers, but noble gainers either of the ways, for I dare not doubt, but that Christ is upon his way, and that he will keep a remnant even of holy seed, which shall yet be the substance of poor covenanted Scotland. Now I desire to die a Presbyterian, although one of the meanest and poorest sinful things that ever followed him and his way. But O praise! praise and glory to him, who hath taken this way of dealing with me, as to honour me with suffering for him, and his controverted truths, and royal prerogatives, kingdom and sceptre. And now, in a word,

I am fully persuaded, that it is his truth I am suffering for; and in this case, have both his word and Spirit on my side, and so I shall not be disappointed of my expectation.

Now, I desire heartily to forgive all men, what they have done to me, as I am of myself; but what they have done against the image of God in me, that is not mine to forgive, but I must leave it before the great Judge to be decided, in his own time, when he shall arise and plead Zion's quarrel. Although men have buried his work and sworn it shall not rise again, yet the commission shall go forth, "Arise and sing, ye that dwell in the dust." But I must leave it, because my time is but short; but I have one word more to say to the poor remnant, fear not to venture upon the cross of Christ, for although ye see but the black side of it at the beginning, yet when ye come to a trial upon his truth's account, then he will appear, and be a present help in time of trouble, according to his word; and the more sharp your trial be, the more he will be seen perfecting strength in your weakness, according to that, Isa. xl. 29, "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might, he increaseth strength." Ver. 31, "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," &c.

Now, I say, fear not to contend for the truth, but labour to be as free of self in it as ye can; for I can tell you, Christ and your idols will not lodge in one house together, but if ye can say upon good ground, that it is pure love and zeal to his glory upon which ye are suffering, then I say, come away, for ye shall not want experience to the full. Many Scriptures I might instance for your encouragement in this, but I can say from experience, that he is a prince of his word. O! they are not too mean who are in the furnace, if the Son of God be with them. For I may now say with godly Mr. Rutherford, "he hath paid me many hundred fold, and one to the hundred." O! who would not praise him, who hath carried through a poor dwarf mounted upon the wings of omnipotency.

Now, my time is but short, but I give glory to the great name of my God, for my interest is now made sure, and I have had much of his sweet presence, since I was prisoner for him, and his persecuted truths; and many times before: and now, I bless his great name, he hath perfected his work in me, and I shall have the full enjoyment of him through all eternity; for I have freely given away myself to be at his disposal, and have taken him to be my King, Priest and Prophet; and now I think, I may say with Job, xix. 25, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth." Ver. 26, "And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God:" Ver. 27, "Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall

behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me."

Now, my dear friends, I must bid farewell to you, and leave you to him who hath promised to be a little sanctuary to his own, to be kept by his mighty power unto salvation, and also I bid farewell to sun, moon and stars: and I must bid farewell to all the sweet societies of the Lord's people; farewell reading, and singing, and praying; farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, with which many a time my soul hath been refreshed; and to conclude, farewell all created comforts in time. And welcome the sweet fellowship of angels, and the souls of just men now made perfect, and the sweet fellowship of the first-born; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit, for it is thine.

Sic subscribitur,

ROBERT MILLAR.

UPON the 11th of May, 1684, Margaret Lauchlane in the parish of Kirkkinner, and Margaret Wilson in Glenvernock, in the shire of Galloway, being sentenced to death for their non-compliance with Prelacy, and refusing to swear the oath of abjuration, by the laird of Lagg, Captain Strachan, Colonel David Graham, and Provost Cultron, who commanded them to receive their sentence upon their knees, which they refusing, were pressed down by force, till they received it: and so were by their order tied to a stake within the sea mark, in the water of Blednoch, near Wigton; where, after they had made them wrestle long with the waves; which flowing, swelled on them by degrees; and had sometimes thrust them under water, and then pulled them out again, to see if they would recant; they enduring death with undaunted courage, yielded up their spirits to God. The former was a widow woman of about sixty-three years, of a most christian and blameless conversation, a pattern of piety and virtue, who having constantly refused to hear the curates, was much pursued and vexed, and at length taken by the soldiers, while she was devoutly worshipping God in her family; and being indicted of being at Bothwell-bridge, Airmoss, and twenty field conventicles, and as many house conventicles, after sore and long imprisonment, without necessary refreshments of fire, bed or diet, at length suffered this cruel death. The other (Margaret Wilson) a young woman of scarce twenty-three years of age, after she, with her brother, who was about nineteen, and her sister, fifteen years old, had been long driven from their father's house, and exposed to lie in dens and caverns of the earth, wandering through the mosses and mountains of Carrick, Nithsdale, and Galloway; going to

Wigton secretly to visit the foresaid Margaret Lauchlane, was taken by the fraud of one Patrick Stuart, who, under colour of friendship, having invited her and her sister to drink with him, offered them the king's health, and upon their refusal of it, as not warranted in God's word, and contrary to christian moderation, went presently out and informed against them; her sister was dismissed, as being but fifteen years of age, upon her father's paying 100l. sterling for her ransom; she being detained and examined, whether she owned the king as head of the church? and would take the abjuration oath? Not answering to their pleasure, but adhering to the truths of Christ, was in like manner condemned; and after great severities of imprisonment, suffered the foresaid death. Being put oft into the water, and when half dead, taken up again, to see if she would take the oath, which she refused to her last breath: while her fellow-sufferer was wrestling with the waves, as being put first in to discourage her; the persecutors asked her, what she thought of that sight? She answered, what do I see but Christ (mystical) wrestling there! One of the times that she was taken out of the water they said, say, God save the king. She returned with christian meekness, I wish the salvation of all men, but the damnation of none. Upon which one of her friends, alleging she had said what they demanded, desired them to let her go; but they would not, seeing she refused to take the oath. During her imprisonment, she wrote a large letter to her friends, wherein, besides the lively and feeling expression of her sense of God's love, she doth, with a judgment not usual for her age and education, disclose the unlawful nature of the abjuration oath, hearing of curates, owning the king's supremacy, which was the thing the persecutors meant by his authority; and proves the necessity of her suffering upon these heads.

The last Testimony of THOMAS STODDART, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 12, 1685.

MEN, BRETHERN AND FATHERS, HEARKEN,

I being to take my farewell of the world, I leave this my dying testimony, according to the form of the christians of old. I having like the same ground for it, that he had, who used that word, that was Stephen, who was condemned, because he spoke blasphemous words against the law and the temple. So because I will not adhere to, or approve of their laws, which now have power in their hands, they condemned me to die, though they could not witness so much against me for speaking against them, and they never essayed to prove

the sentence upon me; which now I shall study in a word to give you an account of. And first, I received my sentence of banishment, and then notwithstanding of that, I was committed to the justices to abide the assize, and they past upon me the sentence of death, for no other cause, as I can give, but because I could not give such an answer to their questions about the government and the king's authority, (as they called it) as could satisfy their lusts, and that I durst not disown the Apologetic declaration; and so I humbly conceive it will come to this as the ground of my suffering, that I could not own Christ's enemies, nor the power that they have taken to themselves against him, nor disown Christ's friends and their actings, as they required, and therefore I am sentenced, albeit I owned as much of the authority as any christian can be obliged to, that is to say, lawful authority according to the word of God; but I desire to be submissive to his will, who hath called me to this, and to have high thoughts of him. I cannot get words to set him out, but I find something to say to the commendation of Christ, as it is said in Cant. ii. 1, "He is the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys;" the sweetest rose that ever I smelled, and never sweeter than when under the cross, and suffering upon his account. Now, I shall not be long; I have told you upon what account I suffer, it is out of love to Christ, and by faith in his mercy, that I venture upon it. I shall end it with a word; I thought it my duty to adhere to the word of God, and to every thing agreeable thereto: and I would suffer for every thing as a ground, which I think is right, and taken out of the word of God, having encouragement from his blessed promises, Isa. xliii. 1, "But now, thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee. O Israel, fear not; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee." And I have this to say also, that in all my imprisonments he was wonderfully seen in owning me, and carrying me through all the temptations that I was trysted with. If I would tell you them all, they would take up much paper and time; and time being very short, I cannot get it done; but I think I must speak something to the commendation of free grace, that hath made me to suffer all cheerfully. I have read in the apostle, 2d Tim. ii. 11, "It is a faithful saying, for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with him." It is good at all times, but especially now. O but the people of this generation be greatly involved in sin by reason they are so greatly and deeply involved in the breach of covenant; which though it must not be owned by the laws of the land, yet I dare not

but own it. I would fain say as it is said, 1st Kings xviii. 15, "And Elisha said, as the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely shew myself to him to-day." I own it before all, and I own myself to have joined, and do allow it heartily, in joining with that poor persecuted party so much disowned; the thing that I did in that case, I thought it my duty: I leave my testimony to my owning of it; and that I have joined myself to that which is most agreeable to the word of God. I leave my testimony in behalf of these that I joined with, that little handful in their societies and fellowships, which have been very refreshful to my soul, and I have been much delighted in these; for I thought it was the church of God.

And therefore, I leave my testimony against all superstition and error, contrary to that way I received of the Lord there; and every thing contrary to the word of God. I leave my testimony against all unlawful deeds, and all murdering acts and actings whatsoever they be. I leave my testimony against Popery and Prelacy, and whatsoever plant is not of my heavenly Father's planting, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness. I leave my testimony also against these that hear the curates, and against all them that have said in effect, the word is a lie; that is, because they will not take it to be their rule; for that is the only thing we should take to be our rule, in all the steps of our sojourning here.

Now, I think I must take my farewell of all created comforts, and all the things of the world; which have been so great a mean to make many of this generation scare at the cross of Christ, which is much mistaken by the world. He was so condescending, that he paved the way for poor sinners himself, and made it straight and easy, and wonderful it is to think upon. The way that leads to heaven is very straight, and very easy also to those that believe. He is that universal king, that lives and reigns for ever; and all who subject themselves and obey him, and consent to his terms, shall even know peace, and shall enjoy his presence, which is the chief of all things. It is peace with God, that is the matter of the believer's rejoicing, and makes them all to flighter with joy in following him, who is "the way, the truth, and the life;" and "whom to know is life everlasting;" that doth and may give great courage to those who love this way of his that is so greatly reproached by the people of this generation. I think ye may conceive what I mean by the saying of this. And now, my dear friends and fellow sufferers, and brethren in the Lord, O but the counsel of the Lord be wise in bringing me hitherto! And I shall say no more, but touch at one thing, and that is,

that here I join my hearty testimony with all that ever the people of God did in his way, and for his cause in his gospel terms; to all the blood that has been shed for the gospel, in all fields and scaffolds whatsoever. So I take my farewell of all things under heaven. Farewell to the world, the flesh, and sin; and also to all friends and relations, and kinsmen and brethren, and also I take my farewell of my mother and brethren, and sisters; and also, I bid farewell to all my wonted privileges and enjoyments: as also, I take my farewell of all the sweet societies, that have been so refreshful to my soul several times; farewell friends in Christ; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome heaven; welcome my God, and angels, and glorified spirits; and so come, Lord Jesus.

THOMAS STODDART.

Together with the foregoing martyr, two others received the sentence of death, viz. Matthew Brice and James Wilkie, who suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1685. The former whereof declares in his testimony, that they were interrogate only on these two questions. 1st, Will ye take the oath of allegiance? to which they answered, no, we will not take it. 2d, Will ye own the authority? they answered, we will own all authority according to the word of God. Upon which they were immediately all three sentenced to be hanged. Whence the said martyr very justly infers, that they had nothing else to charge upon him as the cause of his death, but that he spoke of the word of God. His testimony, as to all the material heads, is consonant with that of Thomas Stoddart's.

The last Testimony of EDWARD MARSHAL of Kaemuir, in the parish of Morvenside, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 4, 1685.

First, I leave my testimony against all that have joined with the malignant party, either in rising in arms, or in paying of cess, or any manner of way contrary to our covenants, and work of reformation, once famous, and maintained by the whole ministry, noblemen, gentlemen, and commons of all sorts, but now opposed and borne down by the generality of this kingdom. And particularly against such as once owned the covenant, and avowed the cause of Christ, and are now employing their strength for the overturning the same; as it is in Psalm lxxiv. 6. Now, the things upon which I was accused and sentenced were, my joining in arms with that party at Bothwell, and owning of the truth and covenants, and for adhering thereunto: for they questioned me, if I would call

it rebellion? but I would not, but accounted it my duty. Then they asked me, if I would own James VII. as king of Britain? and I told them, I owned him as far as he owned God, his cause and people. Then some of them said, that was not all. Then they asked, if I would pray for the king of Britain? I answered, this is not a place appointed for prayer. Then they laughed, and said, remove you.

Now, dear friends, be not discouraged although they threaten you with imprisonment or death, for the cause of Christ; for he that calls you to suffering, is able to support and bear you up under it; for I found more of his presence since I came to prison than I did heretofore. For Christ suffered imprisonment and death for us, and ought not we to suffer for him? As concerning this, that my enemies and carnal friends, reproach me with self-murder, I am conscious to myself, that it is not so, but out of love to Christ and his covenanted work. Now, I recommend my wife and seven children to the good guiding of my God, who hath hitherto protected me; for he has promised, to be "a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless," providing they will "walk in his ways, and keep his commandments." Now, I recommend my soul to God, who hath preserved me hitherto, and who unexpectedly has singled me out to suffer for him, who am the unworthiest of all sinners; and I never thought that he should have so highly privileged me, as to account me worthy to give a testimony for him; though sometimes it entered into my thoughts, O if I would be called to it. Now, farewell dear wife and sweet children; farewell all friends and relations, especially such of you as have given up your names to Christ; farewell sun, moon, and all worldly enjoyments. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic subscribitur,

EDWARD MARSHAL.

On the 4th of December, 1685, suffered John Nisbet of Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, whose testimony, although omitted in some of the former editions of this book, is now inserted immediately after this short relation concerning him, wrote by one of his near relations, who had full knowledge of the whole matter.

About the year 1664, he having received the sacrament of baptism to his child, from one of the outed ministers, came to be troubled by the enemies on that account; and the curate declared out of the pulpit, his purpose to excommunicate him the next Lord's day, but was prevented by sudden death. When that handful of the Lord's people renewed the covenant at Lanark, and appeared in arms at Pentland hills, he engaged

in the covenant with them, and was sore wounded in the fight, insomuch that he was left for dead: but by God's goodness he recovered. And all alongst testified against the abominations of Prelacy, supremacy, arbitrary government, and indulgence, till the rising in arms at Bothwell, where he did good service, being not only a zealous christian, but a courageous soldier. After this the enemies seized all his goods, expelled his wife and four small children from house and hold; offered a large sum of money for himself, but the Lord preserved him, while he had work for him.

He was a close follower of the gospel, faithfully preached in the fields, was kept steadfast in the truth from extremes on right or left hand; and was assistant in publishing the declarations for truth, emitted during that time. At length, in November, 1685, being in a poor man's house in the parish of Finnick, with other three, after being sore wounded, he was taken by Lieutenant Nisbet's party, the other three being shot dead on the spot. The Lieutenant having caused tye him, asked, what he thought of himself now? he answered, I think as much of Christ and his cause, for which I suffer, as ever; but I judge myself at a loss, being in time, and my dear brethren in eternity, whom you have unjustly murdered. The bloody wretch swore, that he had reserved him for further judgment. He answered, if the Lord stand by me, and help me to be faithful to the death, I care not what piece of suffering I be put to endure. He was carried first to Kilmarnock, from thence to Ayr next morning; and being brought back to Kilmarnock again, was thence transported to Edinburgh; where, being brought before the council by the foregoing Lieutenant Nisbet, who demanded his money for him. They interrogate him to this effect. *Q.* Was you at that conventicle? (naming time and place.) *A.* Yes. *Q.* How many men and arms were there? *A.* I went there to hear the gospel preached, and not to take an account of what men and arms were there? *Q.* Which way went ye when the preaching was done? *A.* Which way we could best think of to escape your cruelty. *Q.* Where keep you your general meetings, and what do ye. at them? While he was about to answer, one of the counsellors interrupted him, telling in his fashion, what was done at such general meetings, and that there was one of them kept at Edinburgh; and asked the prisoner, if he was there? who answered, no. Then they said to him, we hope you are so much of a christian, as to pray for the king. He answered, prayer being an holy ordinance of God, we ought to pray for kings, as well as others; but not when every profligate bids us. *Q.* Do you own the king as sole sovereign? *A.* He being popish, and that from his youth, and I a protestant, of the Presbyterian cov-

enanted persuasion, I neither can nor will own him, while he remains such. Whereupon incontinent, without further process they passed sentence upon him; which he received, not only with christian submission, but with much thankfulness; blessing and praising God who had counted him worthy to suffer for his name. And during the time of his imprisonment he was wonderfully assisted, and graciously supported of the Lord under his cross: having both the assurance of the pardon of all his sins, and his peace with God, and also a firm persuasion of the justness of the cause and work to which he adhered, and for which he was put to such sufferings. Besides the seven wounds which he received when he was apprehended, he had a merciless weight of irons upon him during the whole time of his imprisonment.

The last and dying Testimony of JOHN NISBET of Hardhill, which he delivered to a friend in the iron-house, when he was taken out to the scaffold in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, where he died, Friday, December 4, 1685.

I have always thought, that to live for Christ, and die for Christ, is a sufficient testimony for truth; yet now when I am within a few hours of eternity, to prevent mistakes, to satisfy my dear friends, and let them know how it is with me, and to let the world know what I die witnessing for, and testifying against, I judge it proper to leave a few lines behind me.

As for myself, it hath pleased the Lord Jehovah, of his superabundant goodness, and infinite mercy, powerfully to determine my heart to close with, and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as he is made offer of in the everlasting gospel, for my King, Priest and Prophet. And that conquest captivating of me to his obedience, who was an heir of wrath, and a mass of sin and sinful corruption, is the fruit of electing love, according as it is manifested in the covenant of free, free, free grace, will evidently appear from these Scriptures following; which he, by the power and concurrence of his Holy Spirit, hath made effectual to the convincing, converting, strengthening and enabling of me to be his, and to be for him through well and through wo, through good report, and through bad report; and they are so many sweet cordials to my soul, when stepping out of time into eternity.

Psalm cx. 3, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." Rom. ix. 11, "For the children being not yet born; neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth." Ver. 15, "For he saith to Moses,

(see Exod. xxxiii. 19) I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." Ver. 16, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." 2d Thess. ii. 13, "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth." Prov. viii. 30, "Then was I by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." Ver. 31, "Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth, and my delights were with the sons of men." Ver. 32, "Now therefore," &c. to verse 36. Rom. viii. 29, "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first born among many brethren." Ver. 30, "Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified." Ver. 35, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" Ver. 37, "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us." Eph. i. 13, "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise," ver. 14, "Which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." 2d Tim. i. 9, "Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling: not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." Tit. iii. 5, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;" ver. 6, "Which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." 1st Cor. i. 9, "God is faithful, by whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. iii. 24, "Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ;" ver. 25, "Whom he hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God." And chap. iv. 6, "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." Heb. ix. 14, "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." 2d Cor. v. 19, "To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto

himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." Eph. iii. 17, "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye being rooted and grounded in love." &c. Gal. ii. 16, "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; even we have believed in Jesus, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." Rom. v. 17, "For by one man's offence, death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ." John vi. 37, "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." Ver. 39, "And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." Rom. xiv. 17, "For the kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Chap. viii. 1, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." 1st John ver. 13, "These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God." Eph. iv. 23, "And be renewed in the spirit of your mind." Philip. iii. 9, "And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." Ver. 10, "That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death." Rom. vi. 4, "Therefore we are buried with him by Baptism unto death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father: even so we also should walk in newness of life." Prov. iv. 18, "But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." Philip. i. 6, "Be confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ." Psalm lxxxix. 33, "Nevertheless, my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail." Ver. 34, "My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips." Rom. v. 1, "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ;" ver. 2, "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God." 1st Pet. i. 5, "Who are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time." Rom. viii. 17, "And if chil-

dren, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we also may be glorified together." Chap. i. 16, "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." Col. i. 29, "To whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory." Matth. xi. 29, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Psalm lv. 22, "Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee; he will never suffer the righteous to be moved." 2d Cor. x. 4, "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." Psalm lvii. 2, "I will cry unto God most high; unto God that performed all things for me." Prov. xxvii. 13, "He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." Psalm lix. 16, "But I will sing of thy power; yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy in the morning; for thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble;" ver. 17, "Unto thee, O my strength, will I sing: for God is my defence and the God of my mercy." Psalm lxxviii. 18, "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them." Ver. 19, "Blessed be the Lord who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah." Ver. 20, "He that is our God, is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death." 2d Cor. v. 1, "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Heb. xii. 23, "To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator," &c. Psalm xlv. 1 to 9, John i. 1 to 15, and chap. xviii. throughout; Isa. liii. to the end, with many more.

Let none reflect upon me for citing so much; for the Scripture hath been to me from my youth the living oracles of his divine and sacred lips. When I was crying, "What shall I do to be saved?" And when I was saying, "How shall I know the way of the Lord that I may walk therein?" Then his word was "a light to my feet, and a lamp to my path," exhorting me as it is in Isa. lv. 1, "Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk, without mo-

ney and without price." Ver. 2, "Wherefore do ye spend your money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good; and let your soul delight itself in fatness." Ver. 3, "Incline your ear and come unto me; hear and your soul shall live: and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." Ver. 4, "Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people." Ver. 5, "Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee." Ver. 6, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near." Ver. 7, "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." Ver. 8, "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." John vi. 35, "And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." Rev. iii. 20, "Behold I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me." Jer. iii. 13, "Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God, and hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under every green tree, and ye have not obeyed my voice, saith the Lord." Ver. 14, "Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you: and I will take you, one of a city, and two of a family; and I will bring you to Zion." Ver. 22, "Return ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. Behold, we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God." Ver. 23, "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains; truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel." Hosea xiv. 1, "O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity." Ver. 2, "Take with you words, and turn unto the Lord: say unto him, take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously; so will we render the calves of our lips." Jer. xxxi. 18, "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus, thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: Turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God." John xiv. 6, "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Rev. xxii. 17, "And the Spirit and the bride say, come. And let him

that heareth, say, come. And let him that is athirst, come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

When I was grappling with sin, Satan and the world, and my own wicked and deceitful heart, the enemies of my salvation, his words were as props and pillars to me: so that though I got my wounds, and was oft sorely beat; yet at the last I came off victorious, by the help of him who is God all-sufficient to all who, through grace, lay hold on him for help. It is by him, that I have fought the good fight, that I have finished my course, and that I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day. It is by him shining in his word, that I know all my manifold sins and transgressions are freely pardoned, and that I have a just right and title to what is expressed, 1st Cor. i. 30. So that now the guilt and condemning power of sin being fully pardoned by a judicial act of God's free and sovereign grace, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, especially applied and witnessed unto by the Holy Spirit, upon, and to my spirit, there is no room left me to doubt any more of my being freely justified by him, of my being in union with him, and in a state of grace; or the power, dominion and filth of sin, original and actual, being subdued, taken off, and washed away by the virtue of the spirit of sanctification, being created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, and being sanctified throughout in soul, body and spirit, and made meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, by him who loved me, and gave himself to the death for me, and redeemed me by power and price.

Now, being in such a case of communion with him, I am pained till I be freed of the remains of a body of sin and death, till I be freed of the world and all things therein, and also of this natural life, and be possessed of himself, and with himself in his eternal inheritance, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; a place which he hath provided for all whom he hath chosen, for all whom he hath called, for all whom he hath justified, for all whom he hath sanctified: O to be there, where I shall sin no more, where I shall be tempted no more, neither feel any more of the withdrawals of his Spirit's presence, and light of his glorious countenance; but shall be ever with him, see him as he is, and serve him for ever and ever.

Now, my dear friends in Christ, I have always, since the public resolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my duty to join with the Lord's people, in witnessing against these sinful courses; and now we see clearly that it has ended in nothing less than making cap-

tains that we may return to Egypt, by the open doors, that are made wide to bring in Popery, and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land, to defile it, and thereby to provoke him to pour down fierce wrath upon it, and the inhabitants thereof. Wherefore it is the unquestionable and indispensable duty of all who have any love to God, to his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, to the thriving of his kingdom, to their own soul's salvation, and to the following generation, to act a close, constant, and needy dependance on the Lord Jehovah's all-sufficiency, for light, for counsel, for direction, for strength and ability, to make conscience in bearing testimony for him, for his persecuted truth, work and interest in these lands, which was sworn to with uplifted hands to God the searcher of hearts: and O that herein all could act a faithful part for him who hath done so much for poor wretched us! when we were lying, dying and rotting in our blood-red sins, when passing by us with his love and life-giving visit, saying unto us, live, live. And on the other hand, to witness faithfully, constantly and conscientiously against all that the enemies have done, or are doing to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation; and banishing Christ out of these lands, by robbing him of his crown-rights, (for he, and he alone, is head of his own church) and by burning the covenants, which are the marriage bond betwixt him and these lands; and by persecuting his gospel ministers and members, who are labouring to keep their garments clean, and their hands free of all the corruptions, and compliances, in these evil times: and however it be, that many, both ministers and professors, are turning their backs upon Christ and his cross, reproaching and casting dirt upon you and the testimony of the day; yet let not this weaken your hands, stumble or discourage you from going on in the strength of the Lord your God, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and witness a good confession for him and his cause, resisting unto blood, striving against sin; and herein let your souls possess themselves with patience; for I assure you, it will not be long to the fourth watch; and then he will come with garments dyed in blood, to raise up saviours upon the mount of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau; and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, Prelates and Papists shall be stubble, the flame whereof shall be great.

But my generation work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and washed me from all my sins; to him who has counted me worthy to suffer for his name: and O that I had many lives to lay down for him, and much blood to seal his noble and honourable cause with, even he who graciously pitied, and hath now given me the full assurance of being a

member of his church triumphant, which is the new Jerusalem, and the city of the living God!

I die adhering to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the undoubted word of God, an unerring rule of faith and manners, and a firm foundation for principle and practice in the ways of godliness and true holiness. 2d Tim. iii. 16, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God: and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." And the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, as agreeable thereunto, and safely founded thereupon. 2d Tim. i. 13, "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." Heb. vi. 1, "Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God." The Sum of Saving Knowledge, the Directory for Church government in her doctrine, worship and discipline. I own all the attained unto pieces of reformation in the church of Scotland, particularly betwixt the years 1638 and 1649. The Covenants, National and Solemn League; the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I own the protestation given by the remonstrators against the public resolutions, the Apologetical declaration, and all declarations hitherto emitted at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, and Lanark; with all dying speeches and testimonies of these who have sealed the truth with their blood, so far as they agree with God's holy word.

I own all the appearances in arms that have been at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, Airmoss, and elsewhere, against God's stated enemies, and the enemies of the gospel, as it hath been preached by all Christ's faithful ambassadors in Scotland, since the reformation; and now by that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. James Renwick; and the testimony of the day, as it is stated and carried on by him and his adherents at home and abroad; and kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God, and entering covenant ways, and with covenant qualifications. But I am persuaded, Scotland's covenanted God will cut off the name of the Stuarts, because they have stated themselves against religion, reformation, and the thriving of Christ's kingdom and kingly government in these lands. And although men idolize them much now, yet ere long they shall none of them be to tyrannize in covenanted Britain any more.

On the other hand, I die protesting against, and disowning Popery in all its superstitious bigotry and bloody cruelty; and Prelacy the mother of Popery; and all that depends upon that hierarchy; and the unhinging and overthrowing of the glorious

work of reformation, by their woful act Rescissory: burning the covenant, turning out gospel-ministers, filling their rooms with profane, erroneous curates, and setting up Charles Stuart to be head of the church; and so robbing Christ of his royal and incommunicable prerogatives, by their cursed of act supremacy.

I protest against the putting malignants in places of power and trust in church, state, and armies; and all declarations* any where published tending thereunto; and against all paying of stent, cess, and locality, to strengthen the enemie's hands to persecute Christ's people in fields, prisons or any other ways; and robbing, plundering, or spoiling them of their goods; and all raising of the hue and cry after them; and all sinful oaths, such as the oath of supremacy, the bond of peace, the test, the oath of conformity, the abjuration oath, and the oath *super inquirendis*.

I die testifying against the woful indulgences, the fruits and consequences of which have so much strengthened the enemy, increased our divisions, widened our breaches, and deadened the spirits, and cooled the zeal of the Lord's people, stumbled and offended the weak, and in a great measure retarded the carrying on of a testimony for truth, for condemning the things contended for, and reproaching these that contend for truth.

Wherefore I leave my testimony against all the accepters thereof, and all ministers and professors, who are any way guilty of any of the woful defections, and sinful compliances with the enemies of truth, or any way guilty of condemning, reproaching or ridiculing Mr. James Renwick, and his correspondents, or the testimony which they are carrying on. And let all such ministers and professors know, that this their practice at the best is a denying of Christ, and a shifting of his cross: therefore let them take warning, and ponder these Scriptures. Matth. x. 32, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven." Ver. 33, "But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." (See Luke xii. 8, 9.) Ver. 37, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." Ver. 38, "And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." Matth. xvi. 24, "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." (See Mark viii. 34.) Mark viii. 35, "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it.

* See the short relation before this testimony.

but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it." (See Matth. x. 49, also chap. xvi. 25.) Matth. xvi. 26, "For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (See Mark viii. 36, 37.) Mark viii. 38, "Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and my words, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels." Isa. viii. 11, "For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying," ver. 12, "Say ye not, a confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, a confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid." Ver. 13, "Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread." Ver. 14, "And he shall be for a sanctuary: but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." Ver. 15, "And many among them shall stumble and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken," (as it is expressed ver. 9. 10.) Prov i. 10, "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not." Ver. 11, "If they say, come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause." Ver. 12, "Let us swallow them up alive as the grave, and whole as those that go down into the pit." Ver. 13, "We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil." Ver. 14, "Cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one purse." Ver. 15, "My son, walk not thou in the way with them, refrain thy foot from their path." Ver. 16, "For their feet run to evil and make haste to shed blood." Isa. v. 20, "Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." Ver. 21, "Wo unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight." Ver. 23, "Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him." Ver. 24, "Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff; so their root shall be rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust, because they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the holy One of Israel." Prov. xvii. 15, "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord." Amos v. 10, "They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly." Gal ii. 18, "For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." Psalm l. 16, "But unto the wicked, God saith, 'What hast thou to do to declare my sta-

tutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?" Ver. 17, "Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee." Ver. 18, "When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers." Ver. 19, "Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit." Ver. 20, "Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, thou slanderest thy own mother's son." Ver. 21, "These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes." The prophecy of Obadiah throughout, the first and last chapters of Isaiah to the end, with many more.

Now, it is my last request and soul's desire that all who have made Moses' choice, "to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;" and are true lovers of Zion's righteous cause; that you set much time apart and mourn and afflict your souls, for your original sin, heart-plagues, sins of persons and families, sins of kings and kingdoms; and for all the dreadful apostacies, hateful compliances, and sinful sidings of ministers and people, with the enemies of God and godliness, and mourn that there is not more faithfulness and zeal for the cause of God among his people. Read Psalm l. Ezra ix. Neh. ix. Jer. ix. Lam. iii. and Ezek. ix. to the end.

My dear friends, forbear your contentions and censuring one of another; sympathize with and love one another, for this is his commandment; keep up your sweet fellowship meetings, and desirable general meetings, with which my soul has been often refreshed; and what is agitate in them, for carrying on of a testimony for truth, and against defections, let it be managed with scripture light for direction, and with zeal temperate with knowledge, and with the spirit of meekness accompanied with patience and humility. Be always ready to give a reason of your faith, and be much denied to the world, to yourselves and to your natural life; and when God in his providence calls you to lay it down for him, do it cheerfully, and embrace the cross of your sweet Lord Jesus with open arms; for he will not send any a warfare on their own charges.

Take for your rule and encouragement these Scriptures, with others, that I leave to your own search. Gal. v. 19, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness," ver. 20, "Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies," ver. 21. "Envy, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Ver. 22, "But

the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith," ver. 23, "Meekness, temperance; against such there is no law." Ver. 24, "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." Ver. 25, "If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit." Ver. 26, "Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another." Chap. vi. ver. 7, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Ver. 8, "For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." Ver. 9, "And let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." Ver. 10, "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith." Mal. iii. 16, "Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name." Ver. 17, "And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him." Ver. 18, "Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not." Isaiah iii. 10, "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings." Ver. 11, "Wo unto the wicked, it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Ver. 9, "The shew of their countenance doth witness against them, and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not: wo unto their soul, for they have rewarded evil unto themselves." And chap. viii. ver. 20, "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no truth in them." Mal. iv. 2, "But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth and grow up as calves of the stall." Isa viii. 17, "And I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him." Phil. i. 27, "Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving for the faith of the gospel." Ver. 28, "And in nothing terrified by your adversaries; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God." Ver. 29, "For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake." Rev. x. 11, "And he said unto me,

Thou must prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings." Heb. x. from the 11th verse to the end; and chap. xii. 11, "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." Ver. 12, "Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees." Ver. 13, "And make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed." Ver. 14, "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Ver. 15, "Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up, trouble you, and thereby many be defiled."—Rev. xiv. 1, "And I looked, and lo, a lamb stood on the mount of Sion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his father's name written in their foreheads." Ver. 2, "And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of great thunder; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps." Ver. 3, "And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders, and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth." Ver. 4, "These were they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins; these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, these were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God, and unto the Lamb." Ver. 5, "And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God." Jude, ver. 3, "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation; it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints." Eph. vi. 10, "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." Ver. 11, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." Ver. 12, "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Ver. 13, "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand." Ver. 14, "Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness." Ver. 15, "And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace." Ver. 16, "Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked." Ver. 17, "And take the helmet of

salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

And scare not at his sweet, lovely and desirable cross; for although I have not been able, because of my wounds, (that I received at my taking) to lift up or lay down my head, but as I was helped, yet I was never in better case all my life; he has not given me one challenge since I came to prison, for any thing less or more; but on the contrary, he has so wonderfully shined on me with the sense of his redeeming, strengthening, assisting, supporting, through-bearing, pardoning and reconciling love, grace and mercy, that my soul doth long to be freed of bodily infirmities and earthly organs, so that I may flee to his royal palace, even the heavenly habitation of my God, where I am sure of a crown put on my head, and a palm put in my hand, and a new song put in my mouth, even the song of Moses and the Lamb, that so I may bless, praise, magnify and extol him for what he hath done to me, and for me. Wherefore I bid farewell to all my dear fellow-sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, who are wandering in dens and caves. Farewell my children, study holiness in all your ways, and praise the Lord for what he hath done for me, and tell all my christian friends to praise him on that account. Farewell, sweet Bible, and wanderings and contendings for truth. Welcome death; welcome the city of my God, where I shall see him, and be enabled to serve him eternally with full freedom; welcome blessed company, and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect. But above all, welcome, welcome, welcome our glorious and alone God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou art worthy. Amen.

JOHN NISBET.

The last Speech and Testimony of the Rev. Mr. JAMES RENWICK, minister of the gospel, who suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, February 17, 1688. Emitted from his own hand, the day before his suffering.

MY DEAR FRIENDS IN CHRIST,

It hath pleased the Lord to deliver me into the hands of men; and I think fit to send you this salutation, which I expect will be the last. When I pose my heart upon it, before God, I dare not desire to have escaped this lot; for no less could have been for his glory and the vindication of his cause on my behalf: and as I am free before him of the profanity, which some, either naughty, wicked, or strangers to me, have reported, that I have been sometimes guilty of; so he hath kept

me from the womb, free of the ordinary pollutions of children, as these that have been acquainted with me through the tract of my life, do know. And now my blood shall either more silence reproaches, or more ripen them for judgment: but I hope, it shall make some more sparing to speak of those who shall come after me; and so I am the more willing to pay this cost for their instruction, and my succeeders ease. Since I came to prison, the Lord has been wonderfully kind to me, he hath made his word to give me light, life, joy, courage and strength; yea, it hath dropped with sweet smelling myrrh unto me, particularly these passages and promises, Gen. xxii. 12, latter part of the verse, "For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son." Neh. viii. 10, latter part of the verse, "Neither be you sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength." Job. iii. 17, "There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest." Ver. 18, "There the prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor." Job. xxiii. 10, "But he knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold." Ver. 11, "My foot hath held his steps, his way have I kept, and not declined." Ver. 12, "Neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips, I have esteemed the words of his mouth, more than my necessary food." Ver. 13, "But he is in one mind. and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth." Ver. 14, "For he performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with him." Psal. cv. 19, "The word of the Lord tried him." Luke xxi. 12, "But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings for my name's sake." Ver. 13, "And it shall turn to you for a testimony." Ver. 19, "In your patience possess ye your souls." Heb. xii. 23, "To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." James i. 12, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." 1st Pet. v. 7, "Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you." Ver. 8, "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." Rev. iii. 8, "I know thy works: behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it; for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name." Ver. 10, "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of tempta-

tion, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth." Ver. 11, "Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." Ver. 12, "Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name." Rev. xix. 20, "And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone." Ver. 21, "And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceedeth out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh." And many other Scriptures.

O what can I say to the Lord's praise! It was but little that I knew of him before I came to prison; I have found sensibly much of his divine strength, much of the joy of his Spirit, and much assurance from his word and Spirit concerning my salvation; my sufferings are stated upon the matters of my doctrine, for there was found with me the sum of my last two sermons at Braid's-craigs, which I wrote after I preached them; the former whereof was upon Psal. lxi. 10, "Be still and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth." And the latter upon Heb. x. 38, "Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." And so I was examined upon the application made therein unto the sins of the time: all which I owned once and again, as it is to be seen in my indictment: and I being tried, and an assize set, I adhere to my former confession explicitly; so my sentence of death was drawn forth, upon these heads: First, Because I could not own James VII. to be my lawful sovereign. Secondly, Because I taught the unlawfulness of paying the cess, expressly exacted for the suppressing the faithful and free preaching of the gospel. Thirdly, Because that I taught that it was the people's duty to carry arms at the preaching of the gospel, now when it is persecuted, for defending themselves, and resisting of unjust violence.

I think such a testimony is worth many lives, and I praise the Lord, for his enabling me to be plain and positive in all my confessions: for therein I found peace, joy, strength, and boldness. I have met with many assaults in prison, some from some of the indulged party, and others from some of the prelatie; but by the strength of God, I was enabled to stand, that

they could neither bow me, nor break me. I was also assaulted by some of the popish party, (I suppose they were some of the ecclesiastic creatures) but they found none of their own stuff in me. I told them, after sundry debatings, that I had lived, and should die an enemy to their way. However, some that knew me not, reproached me with Jesuitism. I was pressed by sundry to seek a reprieve, and my answer was always, that I adhered to my former confession, and if they pleased to let that appointed time of my death stand, let it stand; and if they pleased to protract it, let them protract it; for I was ready and willing both to live and die; howbeit there came a reprieve for eight days, but I had no hand in it. They still urged, would I but say, that I desired time for conference with some persons anent my principles: I answered, that my time was in the Lord's hand, and I was in no hesitation, or doubt about my principles myself; I would not be so rude as to decline conference with any, so far as it might not be inconvenient for me in my present circumstances, but I will seek it with none. I have no more to say on this head, but my heart doth not smite me for any thing in the matters of my God, since I came to prison. And I can further say to his praise, with consciousness of integrity, that I have walked in his way, and kept his charge though with much weakness, and many infirmities, whereof ye have been witnesses.

Now, my dear friends in precious Christ, I think I need not tell you, that as I have lived, so I die in the same persuasion with the true reformed and covenanted Presbyterian church of Scotland; that I adhere to the testimony of the day, as it is held forth in our Informatory Vindication, and in the testimony against the present toleration; and that I own, and seal with my blood all the precious truths, even the controverted truths, that I have taught. So I would exhort every one of you, to make sure your personal reconciliation with God in Christ: for I fear many of you have that yet to do; and when ye come where I am, to look pale death in the face, ye will not be a little shaken and terrified, if ye have not laid hold on eternal life. I would exhort you to much diligence in the use of means, to be careful in keeping up your societies, to be frequent and fervent in secret prayer, to read much the written word of God, and to examine yourselves by it. Do not weary to maintain, in your places and stations, the present testimony; for when Christ goes forth to defeat antichrist, with that name written on his thigh and on his vesture, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS, he will make it glorious in the earth: and if ye can but transmit it to the posterity, ye may count it a great generation-work. But

beware of the ministers, that have accepted of this toleration, and all others that bend that way; and follow them not, for the sun hath gone down upon them. Do not fear, that the Lord will cast off Scotland; for he will certainly return again, and shew himself glorious in our land. But watch and pray, for he is bringing on a sad overthrowing stroke, which shall make many say, that they have easily got through, that have got a scaffold for Christ; and do not regard the present sufferings of this world, for "they are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed."

I may say to his praise, that I have found his cross sweet and lovely unto me, for I have had many joyful hours, and not a fearful thought since I came to prison; he hath strengthened me to outbrave man, and outface death, and I am now longing for the joyful hour of my dissolution; and there is nothing in the world that I am sorry to leave but you: but I go to better company, and so I must take my leave of you all. Farewell beloved sufferers, and followers of the Lamb; farewell christian intimates; farewell christian and comfortable mother and sisters; farewell sweet societies; farewell desirable general meetings; farewell night-wanderings in cold and weariness for Christ; farewell sweet Bible, and preaching of the gospel; farewell sun, moon, and stars, and all sub-lunary things; farewell conflicts with a body of sin and death. Welcome scaffold for precious Christ; welcome heavenly Jerusalem; welcome innumerable company of angels; welcome general assembly, and church of the first-born; welcome crown of glory, white robes, and songs of Moses and the Lamb; and above all, welcome, O thou blessed Trinity, and one God! O eternal One! I commit my soul into thy eternal rest.

JAMES RENWICK.

A Letter to his Christian friends, writ in the time of his reprieve.

MY DEAR FRIENDS IN CHRIST,

I see now what hath been the language of my reprieve, it hath been, that I might be further tempted and tried; and I praise the Lord, he hath assisted me to give further proofs of steadfastness: I have been often assaulted by some Popish priests; but the last time they came, I told them, I would debate no more with such as they were, and that I had lived and would die a protestant, and testify against the idolatries, heresies, superstitions, and errors of that antichristian way. But yesterday I was cast into a deep exercise, and made to dwell under an impression of the dreadfulfulness of every thing that might grieve the Spirit of God. I found sin to be more

bitter than death, and one hour's hiding of God's face, more insupportable. And then at night, I was called before a part of the council, and the chancellor produced the Informatory Vindication, and asked, if I knew it: I answered, I know it. And being interrogate, I confessed that I had a great hand in writing of it: they pressed me to tell my assistants: I told them, they were those whom they persecuted; but would satisfy them no further. They also urged me upon pain of torture, to tell, where our societies were? who kept our general correspondencies? and where they were kept? I answered, though they should torture me, which was contrary to all law, after sentence of death, I would give them no further notice than the books gave. I was moreover threatened to tell my haunts and quarters, but I refused to make known to them any such thing: so I was returned to prison. Such exercise as I had was very needful for such a trial; and I would rather endure what they could do unto me, than have dishonoured Christ, offended you, and brought you into trouble.—But I hope, within less than three days, to be without the reach of all temptations. Now I have no more to say: farewell again in our blessed Lord Jesus.

A short account of his Last Words upon the Scaffold.

Before he went out of the tolbooth, he was at dinner with his mother and sisters, and some christian friends, when the drum beat the first warning to his execution; which so soon as he heard, he leapt up in ravishment of heavenly joy, saying, “Let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come:” and I can say in some measure, “The bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herself ready.” And till dinner was over, he enlarged upon the parallel of a marriage, and invited all of them to come to the wedding, meaning his execution. When he was come to the scaffold, the drums being beat all the while, none of the distant spectators could hear any thing that he said; only some very few, that were close by him did hear it, whereof one has collected the following account: he delivered himself to this effect:—

Spectators, or (if there be any of you) auditors, I must tell you, I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer; nay, I bless the Lord, that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any thing for him; and I desire to praise his grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from many ordinary pollutions of children; and such as I have been stained with he hath washed me from them in his own blood. I am this day

to lay down my life for these three things: 1st, For disowning the usurpations and tyranny of James duke of York. 2d, For preaching, that it was unlawful to pay the cess, expressly exacted for bearing down the gospel. 3d, For preaching, that it was lawful for people to carry arms, for defending themselves in their meetings for the persecuted gospel ordinances. I think a testimony for these is worth many lives, and if I had ten hundred, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

Dear friends, spectators, and (if any of you be) auditors, I must tell you, that I die a Presbyterian protestant. I own the Word of God as the rule of faith and manners. I own the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, &c. Covenants, National and Solemn League, acts of general assemblies, and all the faithful contentings that have been for the work of reformation. I leave my testimony approving the preaching of the gospel in the fields, and the defending of the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all that hath been sealed by blood, shed either on scaffolds, fields or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. Against all profanity, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine; particularly against all usurpations made on Christ's right, who is the PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, who alone must bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom, the church; and in particular, against the absolute power usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of JEHOVAH; and against this toleration flowing from that absolute power.

Upon this, he was bid have done. He answered, I have near done. Then he said, ye that are the people of God, do not weary in maintaining the testimony of the day, in your stations and places; and whatever ye do, make sure an interest in Christ; for there is a storm coming that shall try your foundations. Scotland must be rid of Scotland, before the delivery come. And you that are strangers to God, break off your sins by repentance, else I will be a witness against you in the day of the Lord. Here they caused him desist. Upon the scaffold, he sung a part of the ciii. Psalm from the beginning, and read the xix. chap. of the Revelation. And having thus finished his course, served his generation, and witnessed a good confession for his Lord and Master, before many witnesses, by the will of God, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God who gave it.

He was the last that sealed the Testimony of this suffering period in a public way upon a scaffold.



AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE
FOREGOING TESTIMONIES, AND OTHER
SUFFERINGS OF THAT TIME.

*A short relation concerning the Rev. Mr. Richard Cameron,
Minister of the gospel, who was killed in a rencounter at
Airmoss, July 22, 1680.*

BECAUSE in the foregoing Speeches, there is frequent mention made of the Reverend Mr. Richard Cameron, and testimony given to the faithfulness of his ministry; it will not be (perhaps) ungrateful to some, to insert the following relation of some remarkable things anent his call to the ministry, which was rehearsed by himself a little before his death; where he told some christian friends, that after his having gone through the ordinary course of university learning, he was a school-master and a precentor to a curate at Falkland, for some time, and at some occasions used to attend the sermons of the indulged ministers, as he had opportunity. At length it pleased the Lord to incline him to go out to the field-meetings; which when the curates understood, they set upon him, partly by flatteries, partly by menacing threats, and at length, by more direct persecution, to cause him forbear attending these meetings. But such was the powerful and wonderful working of the Lord by his Spirit upon him, that he entirely deserted these prelatie curates, having got a lively discovery of the sin and hazard of that abominable Prelacy. And no sooner was he enlightened anent the evil of Prelacy, but beginning more narrowly to search into the state of things, that he might know what was his proper and necessary duty, the Lord was pleased to discover to him the sinfulness of the indulgence, as flowing from that ecclesiastical supremacy, usurped by the king; and being zealously affected for the honour of Christ, wronged by that Erastian acknowledgment of the magistrate's usurped power over the church, he longed for an opportunity to give a testimony against it: and accordingly being in the family of Sir William Scot of Harden, who attended the indulged meetings, he took opportunity (notwithstanding many strong temptations from Satan to the contrary) to witness in his station against the indulgence: particularly, one Sabbath, after he was called to attend the lady to the church, he returned from the entry, refusing to go that day, and spent the day in his chamber, where he met with much of the Lord's presence (as

he testified) and very evident discoveries of the nature of these temptations and suggestions of Satan, which had like to have prevailed with him before. And upon the Monday, giving a reason to the said Sir William Scot and his lady, why he went not to church with them, he took occasion to be plain, and express in testifying against the sinfulness of the indulgence, in its complex nature, and original rise and spring from whence it flowed; and thereupon leaving that service, being no further acceptable to them, because of his faithfulness, he came to the south, and having met with the Reverend Mr. John Welch, he stayed in his company a considerable time; who finding him a man qualified for the ministry, pressed upon him to receive a licence to preach, which he refused for some time, chiefly upon this reason, that he having such clear discoveries of the sinfulness of the indulgence, could not but testify against it explicitly, so soon as he should have opportunity to preach in public; and considering, that none of the outed ministers, who had been of standing and experience in the ministry, had yet expressly declared the sinfulness thereof in public, he was afraid that his being singular in it, considering his youth, and his being but new entered upon the work of the ministry, might perhaps make his doctrine the less useful and weighty to the people. But the force of his objection being removed, by Mr. Welch's serious solicitations, he was prevailed with to accept a licence from some of the outed ministers, who had not complied with the indulgence, and and were as yet preaching the gospel in the fields. And having preached occasionally with Mr. Welch and others, in several places of the western shires, and finding the people warmed and affected with his doctrine, by the good hand of God blessing the word; he adventured sometimes, as the Lord assisted him, to be express and clear in declaring the sinfulness of the indulgence, and of joining with the accepters thereof; whereupon the ministers, who had licensed him to preach, conceiving it prudence not to be so explicit anent that step of compliance, began to prosecute him with censure for his freedom in preaching against it; and called three several meetings upon that account, one at Dunscore in Nithsdale, another at Dendough in Galloway, and a third at Edinburgh.

After his return from Holland, where he received ordination to the exercise of the ministry, he went to some of these outed ministers, inviting and pressing them much to come out and preach in the fields, as they had done before the overthrow at Bothwell: but the persecution being then very hot against all such as had not accepted the indulgence and indemnity, they refused to adventure upon that hazard. Wherefore, notwithstanding such sad discouragements from the professed

friends, and violent persecutions by the declared enemies of the reformation, he adventured, upon all hazard, to preach publicly in the fields, in order to discharge the dispensation of the gospel, which the Lord had entrusted him with : and he continued so doing, till he sealed that cause and testimony with his blood; being, after some valiant resistance in his own defence, killed by a party of soldiers, under the command of Earlshal, and his head and hand cut off by one Robert Murray, were brought and laid before the council, who ordered them to be placed upon the Netherbow-port of Edinburgh.

The following bond of mutual defence, was found upon him when he was killed; subscribed by him, his brother Michael Cameron, Archibald Stewart, John Potter, and about thirty others; which justly deserveth to be inserted here in its proper room, being most agreeable to the true state of the testimony which these renowned martyrs sealed with their blood.

We under subscribers bind and oblige ourselves to be faithful to God, and true to one another, and to all others who shall join with us, in adhering to the Rutherglen testimony, and disclaiming the Hamilton declaration, chiefly, because it takes in the king's interest, which we are loosed from by reason of his perfidy and covenant-breaking, both to the Most High God, and the people over whom he was set, under the terms of his propagating the main ends of the covenants, to wit, the reformation of religion; and instead of that, usurping to himself the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and encroaching upon the liberties of the church; and so stating himself, both in opposition to Jesus Christ the Mediator, and the free government of his house.

And also, in disowning and protesting against the reception of the duke of York, a professed Papist, and whatever else hath been done in this land (given to the Lord) in prejudice to our covenanted, and universally sworn to reformation. And although, as the Lord who searcheth the heart knows, we be for government and governors, both civil and ecclesiastic, such as the word of God, and our covenants allow; yet by this, we disown the present magistrates, who openly and avowedly are doing what in them lies, for destroying utterly our work of reformation from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other heresies and errors. And by this we declare also, that we are not any more to own ministers indulged, and such as drive a sinful union with them: nor are we to join any more in this public cause with ministers or professors of any rank, that are guilty of the defections of this time, until they give satisfaction proportioned to the scandal and offence they have given.

R. CAMERON, M. CAMERON,
A. STEWART, J. POTTER, &c.

AN ACROSTICK

Upon the Name of that godly, faithful and zealous Minister and Martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr. Richard Cameron. Done by a true lover of his memory, and owner of the honourable cause which he sealed with his blood.

MOST noble Cameron of renown,
 A Fame of thee should ne'er go down;
 Since truth with zeal thou didst pursue,
 To Zion's King loyal and true.
 Ev'n when the dragon spew'd his flood,
 Resist thou didst unto the blood;

Ran swiftly in thy christian race,
 In faith and patience to that place,
 Christ did prepare to such as thee,
 He knew would not his standard flee.
 A pattern of valour and zeal,
 Rather to suffer than to fail;
 Didst shew thyself with might and main,

Counting that dross, others thought gain;
 A faithful witness 'gainst all those,
 Men of all sorts did truth oppose;
 Ev'n thou with Moses did esteem,
 Reproaches for the God of heav'n;
 On him alone thou didst rely,
 Not sparing for his cause to die,

W. W.

Torfoot, November 28, 1749.

A Relation of some remarkable passages in the life of Mr. Donald Cargil.

These foregoing testimonies every where speaking so honourably of the Rev. Mr. Donald Cargil, as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ; a true and full relation of his life, and more especially of his ministry, would be very necessary to a right understanding of the state of their testimony: but by reason that there are not in the hands of the publishers such well attested narrations thereof, as might furnish them with an exact and full history thereof, let it suffice at present to set down these following accounts, collected by that worthy and religious gentleman, Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston; who ushers them in with this personal character of Mr. Cargil. "First, saith he, as he was of a most holy, strict, ten-

der and composed practice and conversation, so he was affectionate, affable, and tender-hearted, to all he judged had any thing of the image of God in them: sober and temperate in his diet, saying commonly, 'it was well won that was won off the flesh.' Generous, liberal and most charitable to the poor, a great hater of covetousness, a frequent visiter of the sick, much alone, loving to be retired, but when about his Master's public work; laying hold of every opportunity to edify; in converse still dropping what might minister grace to the hearers; his very countenance was edifying to beholders; often sighing with deep groans: preaching in season and out of season, upon all hazards, ever the same in judgment and practice."

There were several things remarkable in the manner of his calling to the ministry; for after he had perfected his philosophy course at the university of St. Andrews, his father, a godly and religious gentleman, pressed much upon him, to study divinity, in order to fit him for the ministry; but he, through his great tenderness of spirit, constantly refused, telling his father, that the work of the ministry was too great a weight for his weak shoulders; and requesting him to command him to any other employment he pleased. But his father still urging, he resolved to seek the mind of the Lord therein, and for that end set apart a day of private fasting, and after long and earnest wrestling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel's prophecy, and chiefly these words in the first verse, 'Son of man, eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel,' made a strong impression upon his mind, so that he durst never after refuse his father's desire, to betake himself to that study, and dedicate himself wholly to that office. And having got a call to the barony parish of Glasgow, divine providence ordered it so, that the first text upon which the presbytery ordered him to preach, was in these very words of the third of Ezekiel, which he had got clearness from before; whence he was the more confirmed that he had God's call to that parish. The parish had been long vacant, by reason that two ministers of the public resolution party, viz. Mr. George Young, and Mr. Hugh Blair, had still opposed the settlement of such godly men as had been called by the people, and had practised secretly with the council of Glasgow, not to suffer any to be settled there, that might be against the public resolutions: but in reference to Mr. Cargil's call, they were by God's good providence much bound up from their wonted opposition. Mr. Cargil perceiving the lightness of the people, and their unconcernedness under the word, was much discouraged thereat, and resolved to return home, and not to accept the call, and when

urged by the godly ministers not to do it, and his reason asked, he answered, *They are a rebellious people.* The ministers solicited him much to stay, but could not prevail. At last when his horse was drawn, and he just about to take journey, being in Mr. James Durham's house, when he had saluted several of the christian friends that came to see him take horse, as he was bidding farewell to a certain godly woman, she said to him, "Sir, you have promised to preach on Thursday, and have you appointed a meal to poor starving people, and will ye go away, and not give it? If you do, the curse of God will go with you." This so commoved him, that he durst not go away as he intended, but sitting down, desired her and others to pray for him. So he remained, and was settled in that parish, where he continued to exercise his ministry with great success, to the unspeakable satisfaction of his own parish, and of all the godly who heard and knew him, till after the introduction of Prelacy, he was first put from the exercise thereof in public, and likewise chased and pursued for exercising it privately, by the bloody violence of persecutors.

For upon the 29th of May, which was then consecrated to King Charles, in commemoration of his happy (unhappy) restoration, he had occasion to preach in his own church, it falling upon the ordinary week day, wherein he used to preach, he saw an unusual throng of people come to hear him, as thinking he had preached in compliance with that solemnity; upon his entering the pulpit he said, "we are not come here to keep this day upon the account for which others keep it. We thought once to have blessed the day wherein the king came home again; but now we think, we shall have reason to curse it. And if any of you be come here in order to the solemnizing of this day, we desire you to remove." And he enlarged upon the unlawfulness of solemnizing it, with several weighty arguments. This did extremely incense the malignant party against him, so that being hotly pursued and searched for, he was forced to abscond, remaining sometimes in private houses of his parish, sometimes lying without all night among broom, near by the city, yet never omitting any proper occasion of private preaching, exercising, catechising, visiting families, and other ministerial duties. And after a while he returned to his church, and preached publicly, and gave the communion, not without great fear among the people, lest he should have been taken out of the pulpit by the persecutors. At length, when the churches were all vacated of Presbyterians, by an act of council, commonly known by the name of *the Act of Glasgow*: Middleton sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him, who coming to the church, found

him not, he having providentially just stepped out of the one door, a minute before they came in at the other; whereupon they took the keys of the church door with them, and departed. Mean time the council past an act of confinement, banishing him to the North, but he did not regard it; and so being at length apprehended at Edinburgh, was brought before the council, and strictly examined; being signally strengthened to bear faithful testimony to his Master's honour, and his persecuted cause and truths. But by the interposition of some persons of quality, his own and his wife's relations, he was liberated. And he returned presently to Glasgow, and there performed all the ministerial duties, as when he was in his own church, notwithstanding the diligence of persecutors in searching for him.

During this time, partly the great grief he conceived for the ruin of the work of God in the land, partly the toils and labours of his calling, and inconveniences of his accommodation, did so break his voice, that he could not be heard by many people together, which was a sore exercise to him, and a discouragement to come and preach in the fields. But one day, Mr. Blackadder coming to preach at Glasgow, he essayed to preach with him, and standing on a chair, as his ordinary was, he lectured on Isa. xlv. 5, "I will pour water on him that is thirsty, and floods on the dry ground," &c. The people knowing that his voice was sore broken, were very much discouraged lest they should not have heard, by reason of the great confluence; but it pleased the Lord so to loose his tongue, and restore his voice to that distinctness and clearness, that none could readily exceed him in that respect ever after: and not only his voice, but his spirit was so enlarged, and such a door of utterance given him, that Mr. Blackadder succeeding him, said to the people, "Ye that have such preaching as this, have no need to invite strangers to preach to you: make good use of your mercy." After this he continued to preach within a very little of the city, a great multitude still attending upon and profiting by his ministry, being wonderfully preserved in the midst of dangers; the enemies several times sending out some to watch him, and catch something from his mouth, whereof they might accuse him. Particularly one day the archbishop of Glasgow, sent one of his domestic servants to take notice what he would say concerning the Prelates; he knowing nothing thereof, was directed of the Lord to have these words in prayer, while he was bewailing the overthrow of the work of God: "What shall we say of the Prelates, the good Lord make us quit of them; for we will never have a day to do well, till once the Lord remove that abominable party that has destroyed the vineyard"

of the Lord:" which was all that the spy had to return to his master with.

To relate all the surprising deliverances that he met with, in escaping very narrowly from his enemies, would take much time; take only a few instances. In the month of October, 1665, they made a public search for him in the city; he being informed of it, took his horse and rode out of the town, and at a narrow pass of the way, he met a good number of musketeers, and as he passed by them, turning into another way upon the right hand, one of them asked him, *Sir, what of the clock is it?* He answered, *it is six.* Another of them knowing his voice, says to his fellows, *There is the man we are seeking,* which he hearing, put the spurs to his horse, and escaped. He most usually resided for the space of three years and upwards, in a chamber in the house of one Margaret Craig, a godly and honest woman, lecturing evening and morning to such as came to hear him; where, though they searched frequently for him, yet divine providence so ordered it, that all the times he was either casually or purposely absent, though they managed their searches with much closeness; but the Lord was so graciously kind to him, that he left him not without some peculiar notices of approaching hazards. (Our atheistical wits perhaps will call them enthusiasms: but *the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.*) As for instance, on a certain Sabbath, when he was going to Woodside to preach, as he was about to mount his horse, the one foot being in the stirrup, he turned about to his man, and said, *I must not go yonder to-day;* and within a little, a party of horse and foot, came in quest of him, and not finding the mark they aimed at, fell upon the people apprehending and imprisoning many of them. Another remarkable escape was, at a search purposely made for taking him in the city; they came to his chamber, and found him not, for he was providentially in another house that night. The search was so strict, that several other ministers were taken, but they were not permitted to come near the house where he was. But the following is yet more remarkable. One day while he was preaching privately in one Mr. Callender's house, they came and beset the house; the people within put him and a friend with him out of the window, closing the window up with books; and the two stood at the outside of the window all the while of the search, which was so strict, that they searched the very ceiling of the house, till one of them fell through to the lower loft. Had the searchers removed but one of the books, they had infallibly apprehended him, but the Lord so ordered it, that they did it not, for when one of the soldiers was about to take up one of them, a maid cried to the commander, that he was

going to take her master's books; so he was ordered to let them alone. Thus narrowly he escaped this danger. Another not imparallem was, that one day hotly pursued upon the street, being obliged to flee into the first house he could come at, which happened to be a soldier's house; yet the soldier's wife was so far from discovering him, that she kept him safe till the search was over.

A little before the fight at Bothwell, he was pursued from his own chamber out of the town, being forced to go through several thorn hedges; and no sooner is he out but he sees a troop of dragoons in rank, right opposite to him: back he could not go, soldiers being every where posted to catch him; wherefore he went forward near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, till he was gone by them; but coming to the place of the water where he intended to go over, he saw another troop standing upon the opposite bank of the water, who called to him; he made them no answer: but going a mile farther up the water, escaped to Langside, and preached there next Sabbath, without interruption. At another time, being in a house beset with soldiers; he escaped through the throng of them, they taking him to have been the good-man of the house. So much anent his remarkable deliveries.

After Bothwell, he fell into deep exercise anent his call to the ministry, but by God's grace he happily emerged out of that, and had also much light, anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender against the enemies usurped power in granting, and ministers and professors lukewarmness, and sinful compliance in accepting indulgencies and indemnities, oaths and bonds, and other corruptions and abominations of the time, till at length he suffered for his testimony.

Among other parts of his contendings against the enemies of truth and godliness, that which exasperated the enemies most was the Torwood excommunication; wherein he, moved with zeal against the indignities done to the Son of God, by overturning his work, and destroying his people, delivered up to Satan some of the most scandalous, and principal promoters and abettors of this conspiracy against Christ, as formally as he could, in his circumstances; who having earnestly sought the concurrence of his brethren, could not obtain it; and therefore was left to do the work alone, or leave it undone, which he could by no means think of; considering that all other sorts of weapons had been used against them, save that of ecclesiastical censure, and the neglect of it might bring upon this church that severe reproof given to Pergamus, Rev. ii. 14, 15, for having in her communion the Nicolaitans, and them that held the doctrine of Balaam: and that sore animadversion made upon the church of Thyatira for suffering

that woman Jezebel, &c. And lest the Lord might come and fight against his church with the sword of his mouth, on account that such were not expressly cast out of her communion. Wherefore in September, 1680, after sermon upon Ezek. xxi. 25, 26, 27, *And thou profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, &c.* Having made a short and pertinent discourse on the nature, subject, causes, and ends of excommunication, and declared his motives leading him to it, not to be any private spirit of passion, but conscience of duty and zeal to God, he pronounced the sentence as follows:

We have spoken of excommunication, of the causes, subject and ends thereof, we shall now proceed to the action, being constrained by the conscience of our duty and zeal for God, to excommunicate some of these who have been the committers of so great crimes, and authors of the great mischiefs of Britain and Ireland, but especially these of Scotland: and in doing of this, we shall keep the names by which they are ordinarily called, that they may be the better known.

I being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do in his name, and by his Spirit, excommunicate Charles II. king, &c. and that upon the account of these wickednesses—1st, For his high mocking of God, in that after he had acknowledged his own sins, his father's sins, his mother's idolatry, and had solemnly engaged against them, in a declaration at Dunfermline the 16th of August, 1650, he hath, notwithstanding of all this, gone on more avowedly in these sins than all that went before him. 2d, For his great perjury, after he had twice, at least, solemnly subscribed that covenant, did so presumptuously renounce, disown, and command it to be burned by the hand of the hangman. 3d, Because he hath rescinded all laws for establishing of that religion and reformation engaged to in that covenant, and enacted laws for establishing its contrary: and is still working for the introducing of Popery into these lands. 4th, For commanding of armies to destroy the Lord's people, who were standing in their own just defence, and for their privileges and rights, against tyrannies, oppressions and injuries of men; and for the blood he hath shed in fields, on scaffolds, and in the seas, of the people of God, upon account of religion and righteousness. (they being most willing in all other things to render him obedience, if he had reigned and ruled them according to his covenant and oath) more than all the kings that have been before him in Scotland. 5th, That he hath been still an enemy to, a persecutor of true protestants, a favourer and helper of the Papists, both at home and abroad, and hath hindered, to the utmost of his power, the due execution of just laws against them. 6th, For his relax-

ing of the kingdom, by his frequent grant of remissions and pardons for murderers, (which is in the power of no king to do, being expressly contrary to the law of God) which was the ready way to embolden men in committing murders, to the defiling of the land with blood. Lastly, To pass by all other things, his great and dreadful uncleanness of adultery and incest, his drunkenness, his dissembling with God and man; and performing his promises where his engagements were sinful, &c.

Next, by the same authority, and in the same name, I excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, James duke of York, &c. and that for his idolatry, (for I shall not speak of any other sins but what have been perpetrated by him in Scotland) and for setting up idolatry in Scotland, to defile the Lord's land, and his enticing and encouraging others to do so, &c.

Next, in the same name, and by the same authority, I excommunicate, and cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, James duke of Monmouth, &c. for coming into Scotland, upon his father's unjust command, and leading armies against the Lord's people, who were constrained to rise, being killed in, and for the right worshipping of the true God; and for his refusing that morning at Bothwell bridge a cessation of arms, for hearing and redressing their injuries, wrongs and oppressions, &c.

Next, I do, by virtue of the same authority, and in the same name, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, John duke of Lauderdale, &c. for his dreadful blasphemy, especially that word to the Prelate of St. Andrews, *Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool*. His atheistical drolling on the Scriptures of God, scoffing at religion, and religious persons. His apostacy from the covenant and work of reformation; and his persecuting thereof, after he had been a professor, pleader and presser thereof: for his perjury in the business of Mr. James Mitchel, who being in council, gave public faith, that he should be indemnified, and that to life and limb, if he should confess his attempt upon the prelate; and notwithstanding of this, before the justiciary court, did give oath that there was no such act in council: for his adulteries and uncleanness: for his counselling and assisting the king in all his tyrannies, overturning and plotting against the true religion: for his gaming on the Lord's day. And lastly, for his usual and ordinary cursing.

Next, I do, by virtue of the same authority, and in the same name, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, John duke of Rothes, &c. for his perjury in the matter of Mr.

James Mitchel; and for his adulteries and uncleanness; for allotting the Lord's day for his drunkenness: for his professing and avowing his readiness and willingness to set up Popery in this land at the king's command: and for the heathenish, barbarous and unheard of cruelty, (whereof he was the author, contriver and commander, notwithstanding that he had otherwise engaged lately) to that worthy gentleman, David Hackstoun of Rathillet. And lastly, for his ordinary cursing, swearing and drunkenness.

Next, I do, by virtue of the same authority, and in the same name, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Sir George M·Kenzie, the king's advocate, for his apostacy, in turning into a profligateness of conversation, after he had begun a profession of holiness: for his constant pleading against, and persecuting to death the people of God, and alleging and laying to their charge things which in his conscience he knew to be against the word of God, truth, reason, and the ancient laws of this kingdom: and his pleading for sorcerers, murderers, and other criminals, that before God and the laws of the land, ought to die: for his ungodly, erroneous, fantastic and blasphemous tenets, printed to the world, in his pamphlets and pasquills.

And lastly, I do, by virtue of the same authority, and in the same name, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Thomas Dalziel of Bins, &c. for his leading armies, and commanding the killing, robbing, pillaging and oppressing of the Lord's people, and free subjects of this kingdom: and for executing of lawless tyrannies, and lustful laws: for his commanding to shoot at a post one Finlay at Newmilns, without any form of law, civil or military, he not being guilty of any thing that they themselves counted a crime: for his lewd and impious life, led in adultery and uncleanness from his youth, with a contempt of marriage, which is the ordinance of God: for all his other atheistical and irreligious conversation. And lastly, for his unjust usurping and retaining of the estate of that worthy gentleman, William Muir of Caldwell; and his other injurious deeds in the exercise of his power.

I think, none that acknowledge the word, can judge these sentences to be unjust; yet some, it may be, to flatter the powers, will call them unorderly and unformal, there not being warning given, or probation led. But for answer, there has been warning given, if not of all these things, at least of a great part of them: and for probation, there needs none, the deeds being notour and public, and the most of them such as they themselves do avow and boast of. And as the causes are just, so being done by a minister of the gospel, and in such a

way as the present persecution would admit of, the sentence is just: and there are no kings nor ministers on earth, without repentance of the persons, can reverse these sentences upon any (such) accounts: God who is the author of that ordinance, is the more engaged to the ratifying of them; and all that acknowledge the Scriptures ought to acknowledge them. Yet some, perchance, will think, that though they be not unjust, yet that they are foolishly rigorous. We shall answer nothing to this, but that word which we may speak with much more reason than they did who used it, "Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?" Should they deal with our God as with an idol? Should they deal with his people as murderers and malefactors, and we not draw out his sword against them?

A brief relation of the persecutions and death of that worthy gentleman, Henry Hall of Haughhead, who suffered martyrdom at Queensferry, June 5, 1680.

Henry Hall of Haughhead, having had religious education, began early to mind a life of holiness; and was of a pious conversation from his youth; he was a zealous opposer of the public resolutions, insomuch that when the minister of the parish where he lived complied with that course, he refused to hear him, and went to Ancrum, to hear Mr. John Livingston. Being oppressed with the malicious persecutions of the curates and other malignants for his nonconformity with the profane courses of abomination, that commenced at the unhappy restoration of that most wicked tyrant Charles II. was obliged to depart his native country, and go over the border into England in the year 1665, where he was so much renowned for his singular zeal in propagating the gospel among that people, who before his coming among them were very rude and barbarous; but many of them became famous for piety after. In the year 1666, he was taken in his way to Pentland, coming to the assistance of his covenanted brethren, and was imprisoned with some others in Sessford castle, but by the divine goodness he soon escaped thence through the favour of the Earl of Roxburgh, to whom the castle pertained, the said earl being his friend and relation; from which time, till about the year 1679, he lived peaceably in England, much beloved of all that knew him, for his concern in propagating the knowledge of Christ in that country; insomuch that his blameless and shining christian conversation, drew reverence and esteem from his very enemies. But about the year 1678, the heat of the persecution in Scotland obliging many to wander

up and down through Northumberland and other places; one colonel Struthers intended to seize any Scotsman he could find in those parts; and meeting with Thomas Ker of Hayhope, one of Henry Hall's nearest intimates, he was engaged in that encounter upon the account of the said Thomas Ker, who was killed there: upon which account, he was forced to return to Scotland, and wandered up and down during the hottest time of the persecution, mostly with Mr. Richard Cameron and Mr. Donald Cargil, during which time, besides his many other christian virtues, he signalized himself for a real zeal in defence of the persecuted gospel preached in the fields, and gave several proofs of his valour and courage, particularly at Rutherglen, Drumclog, Glasgow, and Bothwell-bridge; whereupon being forefaulted and violently pursued, to eschew the violent hands of his indefatigable persecutors, he was forced to go over to Holland; where he had not stayed long, when his zeal for the persecuted interest of Christ, and his tender sympathy with the afflicted remnant of his covenanted brethren in Scotland, then wandering through the desolate caverns and dens of the earth, drew him home, choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting fury, than to live at ease when Joseph was in affliction, making Moses' generous choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy that momentary pleasure the ease of the world could afford; nor was he much concerned with the riches of the world, for he stood not to give his ground to hold the prohibited field-preachings upon, when none else would do it; he was a lover and follower of the faithfully preached gospel, and was always against the indulgence; he was with Mr. Richard Cameron at these meetings where he was censured.

About a quarter of a year after his return from Holland, being in company with the Rev. Mr. Donald Cargil, they were taken notice of by two blood-hounds the curates of Borrowstounness and Carridden, who went to Middleton, governor of Blackness-castle, and informed him of them; who having consulted with these blood-thirsty ruffians, ordered his soldiers to follow him at a distance by two or three together, with convenient intervals for avoiding suspicion; and he (the said Middleton) and his man riding up, observed where they alighted and stabled their horses; and coming to them, pretended a great deal of kindness and civilities to Mr. Donald Cargil and him, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When they were set, and had taken each a glass, Middleton laid hands on them, and told them they were his prisoners, commanding in the king's name all the people of the house to assist, which they all refused, save a certain waiter, through

whose means the governor got the gates shut till the soldiers came up; and when the women of the town, rising to the rescue of the prisoners, had broke up the outer gate, Henry Hall, after some scuffle with the governor in the house, making his escape by the gate, received his mortal blow upon his head, with a carabine by Thomas George, waiter, and being conveyed out of the town by the assistance of the women, walked some pretty space of way upon his foot, but unable to speak much, save only that he made some short reflection upon a woman that interposed between him and the governor, hindered him to kill the governor, and so to make his escape timeously. So soon as he fainted, the women carried him to a house in the country, and notwithstanding the care of surgeons, he never recovered the power of speaking more. General Dalziel being advertised, came with a party of the guards, and carried him to Edinburgh; he died by the way: his corpse they carried to the Canuongate tolbooth, and kept them there three days without burial, though a number of friends convened for that effect, and thereafter they caused bury him clandestinely in the night. Such was the fury of these limbs of antichrist, that having killed the witnesses, they would not suffer their dead bodies to be decently put in graves.

There was found upon him the rude draught of a paper, containing a mutual engagement to stand to the necessary duty of the day against its stated enemies; which was called by the persecutors, Mr. Cargil's covenant, and frequently in the foregoing testimonies, the Queensferry paper, because there it was seized by the enemies. This paper divine providence seems to have made as it were the dying words and testimony of that worthy gentleman; and the enemies made it one of the captious and ensnaring questions they constantly put to the sufferers, and therefore it will not be impertinent here to insert the heads of it, as they are compendized by the learned author of the Hind let Loose, page 133. For it was still owned by Mr. Donald Cargil, that the draught was not digested and polished, as it was intended, and therefore it will be so far from being a wrong to recite the heads of it only, that it is really a piece of justice done him, who never intended it should see the world as it was when the enemies found it. I shall not pretend to justify every expression in it, but rather submit it entirely to better judgments; nor did the sufferers for most part adhere to it, without the limitation (so far as it was agreeable to the word of God, and our national covenants) and in so far as it seems to import a purpose of assuming to themselves a magistratical authority, their practice declares all a long, that they did not understand it in that sense.

The tenor of it was an engagement,

1st, To avouch the only true and living God to be their God, and to close with his way of redemption by his Son Jesus Christ, whose righteousness is only to be relied upon for justification; and to take the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the only object of faith, and rule of conversation in all things. 2d, To establish in the land righteousness and religion, in the truth of its doctrine, purity and power of its worship, discipline and government, and to free the church of God of the corruption of Prelacy, on the one hand, and the thralldom of Erastianism on the other. 3d, To persevere in the doctrine of the reformed churches, especially that of Scotland, and in the worship prescribed in the Scriptures, without the inventions, adornings and corruptions of men; and in the Presbyterian government, exercised in sessions, Presbyteries, synods and general assemblies, as a distinct government from the civil, and distinctly to be exercised, not after a carnal manner, by plurality of votes, or authority of a single person, but according to the word of God, making and carrying the sentence. 4th, To endeavour the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness, and whatsoever is contrary to the kingdom of Christ, especially idolatry and popery in all its articles, and the overthrow of that power that hath established and upheld it—And to execute righteousness and judgment impartially, according to the word of God, and degree of offences, upon the committers of these things especially, to wit, blasphemy, idolatry, atheism, buggary, sorcery, perjury, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's day, oppression and malignancy. 5th, Seriously considering,—there is no more speedy way of relaxation from the wrath of God, that hath ever lien upon the lands since it engaged with these rulers, but of rejecting them, who hath so manifestly rejected God,—disclaiming his covenant—governing contrary to all right laws, divine and human—and contrary to all the ends of government, by enacting and commanding impieties, injuries and robberies, to the denying of God his due, and the subjects theirs; so that instead of government, godliness and peace, there is nothing but rapine, tumult and blood, which cannot be called a government, but a lustful rage—and they cannot be called governors, but public grassators and land judgments, which all ought to set themselves against, as they would do against pestilence, sword, and famine, raging amongst them—Seeing they have stopped the course of the law and justice against blasphemers, idolaters, atheists, buggerers, murderers, incestuous and adulterous persons—and have made butcheries on the Lord's people, sold them as slaves, imprisoned, forfeited, &c. and that upon no other account, but their main-

taining Christ's right of ruling over their consciences, against the usurpations of men. Therefore, easily solving the objections: 1st, Of our ancestors obliging the nation to this race and line; that they did not buy their liberty with our thralldom, nor could they bind their children to any thing so much to their prejudice, and against natural liberty, (being a benefit next to life, if not in some regard above it) which is not an engagement to moral things: they could only bind to that government, which they esteemed the best for common good; which reason ceasing, we are free to choose another, if we find it more conducive for that end. 2d, Of the covenant binding to defend the king; that that obligation is only in his maintenance of the true covenanted reformation,—which homage they cannot now require upon the account of the covenant which they have renounced and disclaimed; and upon no other ground we are bound to them—the crown not being an inheritance, that passeth from father to son, without the consent of tenants. 3d, Of the hope of their returning from these courses, whereof there is none; seeing they have so often declared their purposes of persevering in them. And suppose they should dissemble a repentance,—supposing also they might be pardoned for that which is done—from whose guiltiness the land cannot be cleansed, but by executing God's righteous judgments upon them,—yet they cannot now be believed after they have violated all that human wisdom could devise to bind them.

Upon these accounts they reject that king, and those associate with him in the government,—and declare them henceforth no lawful rulers, as they had declared them to be no lawful subjects,—they having destroyed the established religion, overturned the fundamental laws of the kingdom, taken away Christ's church-government, and changed the civil into tyranny, where none are associate in partaking of the government, but only those who will be found by justice guilty as criminals.—And declare they shall, God giving them power, set up government and governors according to the word of God, and the qualifications required, Exodus xviii. 20—And shall not commit the government to any single person or lineal succession, being not tyed as the Jews were to one single family,—and that kind being liable to most inconveniences, and aptest to degenerate into tyranny.—And moreover, that these men set over them, shall be engaged to govern, principally by that civil and judicial law, (not that which is any way typical) given by God to his people Israel—as the best, so far as it goes, being given by God—especially in matters of life and death, and other things so far as they reach, and are consistent with christian liberty—exempting divorces

and polygamy, &c. 6th, Seeing the greatest part of ministers not only were defective in preaching against the rulers for overthrowing religion—but hindered others also who were willing, and censured some that did it—and have voted for acceptance of that liberty, founded upon, and given by virtue of that blasphemously arrogant and usurped power—and appeared before their courts to accept of it, and to be enacted and authorized their ministers—whereby they have become ministers of men, and bound to be answerable to them as they will.—And have preached for the lawfulness of paying that tribute, declared to be imposed for the bearing down of the true worship of God.—And advised poor prisoners to subscribe that bond,—which if it were universally subscribed,—they should close that door, which the Lord hath made use of in all the churches of Europe, for casting off the yoke of the whore,—and stop all regress of men, when once brought under tyranny, to recover their liberty again.—They declare they neither can nor will bear them, &c. nor any who encouraged and strengthened their hands, and pleaded for them, and trafficked for union with them. 7th, That they are for a standing gospel ministry, rightly chosen, and rightly ordained,—and that none shall take upon them the preaching of the word, &c. unless called and ordained thereunto.

And whereas separation might be imputed to them, they repel both the malice, and the ignorance of that calumny.—For if there be a separation, it must be where the change is; and that was not to be found in them, who were not separating from the communion of the true church; nor setting up a new ministry, but cleaving to the same ministers and ordinances that formerly they followed, when others have fled to new ways, and a new authority, which is like the old piece in the new garment. 8th, That they shall defend themselves in their civil, natural and divine rights and liberties.—And if any assault them, they shall look on it as a declaring a war, and take all advantages that one enemy does of another—But trouble and injure none, but those that injure them.

A List of the Banished.

To speak nothing of those whom the cruelty of the persecutors forced to a voluntary exile, of whom there can be no particular account had, besides the six or seven ministers that were banished and went to Holland, and seven or eight country people to France, several others to Barbadoes, before the year 1666; after the year 1678, there were banished to be sold for slaves, for the same cause for which others suffered death at home; of men and women about 1700, viz. anno 1678,

to Virginia 60, whereof three or four were ministers, who were all by the mercy of God delivered at London; *Item*, anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America 250; who were taken away by — Paterson merchant at Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, laird of Barnton, the man that first burnt the covenant; whereof 200 were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mule-head of Darness near Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches, 50 escaped; whereof the names, so many of them as could be had, follow; these who escaped are printed in italic characters, for distinction's sake. Out of the shire of Clydesdale and city of Glasgow, Francis Wodrow, Walter M'Kechie, Alexander Pirie, William Miller. Out of the parish of Govan, Andrew Snadgrass. Out of the parish of Kilbride, Robert Auld, John Struthers, James Clark, John Clark, William Rodger. Out of the parish of Shots, Peter Lermont, Robert Russel, John Aitkin, Robert Chalmers, *John Thomson*, John Killen, Alexander Walker. Out of the parish of Cambusnethen, *William Secular*. Out of the Monklands, *William Waddel*, William Grinlaw, Thomas Mathie, William Miller, John Wynet, James Waddel, *John Gardner*, Thomas Barton. Out of the parish of Bothwell, — *More*, William Breakenrig. Out of the parish of Evandale, John Cairnduff, John Cochran, Robert Alison, Andrew Torrence, Thomas Brownlee, John Watson, William Alison, Andrew Aiton. Out of the parish of Calder, *William Fram*. Out of the parish of Glasfoord, John Miller, John Craig. Out of the parish of Carnwath, Thomas Crichton, James Couper. Out of the parish of Quathquan, *James Penman*, James Thomson, Thomas Wilson. Out of the parish of Carstairs, *Thomas Swan*. Out of the parish of Biggar, John Rankin. Out of the parish of Lesmahago, George Weir, Robert Weir, *George Draffin*. Out of the shire of Air and parish of Finnick, James Gray, Andrew Buckle, David Currie, David Bitchet, Robert Tod, John White, *Robert Wallace*, John Wylie, William Bitchet. Out of the parish of Loudon, Thomas Wylie. Out of the parish of Damellington, Hugh Simpson, Walter Humper, *Walter Humper*, younger, *Hugh Cameron*, *Quintin Mac.Idam*. Out of the parish of Cumluck, John Gemil, James Mirrie. Out of the parish of Ochiltree, Andrew Welsh. Out of the parish of Auchinleck, Andrew Richmond. Out of Dindonald, *Andrew Thomson*. Out of Mauchlin, William Reid, William Drips. Out of the parish of Moorkirk, John Campbel, Alexander Paterson. Out of the parish of Digen, James Bouston. Out of the parish of Gauston, James Young, Geo. Campbel. Out of the parish of Kilmarnock, Thomas Finlay, John Cuthbertson;

William Brown, *Patrick Watt*, Robert Anderson, James Anderson. Out of the parish of Stewarton, Thomas Wylie, Andrew Wylie, Robert Wylie. Out of the parish of Bar, Alexander Burden. Out of the parish of Colmonel, Thomas M'Lurg, John M'Cronock, John M'Clellen. Out of the parish of Girvan, William Caldwell. Out of the parish of Dalry, David M'Cubin, William M'Culloch. Out of the parish of Maybole, William Rodger, Mungo Eccles, John M'Whirter, Thomas Horn, Robert M'Garron, John M'Harie. Out of the parish of Craigie, *George Dunbar*. Out of the parish of Straiton, James M'Murrie, Alexander Lamb, George Hutcherson. Out of the parish of Kirkmichael, John Brice, Robert Ramsay, John Douglass, John M'Tire, James M'Connel. Out of the parish of Kirkosel, John White, Thomas Germont. Out of the shire of Fife and parish of Newburn, James Beal. Out of the parish of Largo and Kilconquhar, Andrew Prie, James Kirk. Out of the parish of Ceres, John Kirk, *Thomas Miller*. Out of the parish of Stramiglo, Robert Bog. Out of the town of Kinross, James Lilburn. Out of the parish of Orwel, *Robert Kirk*, *Robert Sands*. Out of the shire of Perth, and parish of Kilmadock, John Christison. Out of the parish of Kincardine, Patrick Keir, John Donaldson. Out of the parish of Glendovan, John Murie, Andrew Murie. Out of the shire of Renfrew and parish of Eastwood, James Cunningham. Out of the parish of Neilston, John Govan. Out of Paisley, William Buchan, William Anchinclose. Out of the shire of Lennox and parish of New Kilpatrick, James Finlayson. Out of the shire of Stirling and parish of Drummond, Daniel Cunningham. Out of the parish of Kippen, James Galbraith. Out of Gargunnoch, Thomas Miller, Patrick Gilchrist, *James Sands*, Thomas Brown, James Buchanan. Out of the parish of St. Ninians, *Thomas Thomson*, *Andrew Thomson*, John Neilson, John M'Nure. Out of the parish of Denny, James M'Kie. Out of the parish of Airth, Andrew Young, John Morison, Robert Hendrie. Out of the parish of Falkirk, *Hugh Montgomerie*. Out of Morreside, Thomas Phalp. Out of the shire of West-Lothian, in the parish of Torphican, John Allan, John Thomson, *John Pender*, James Easton, *John Easton*, Andrew Easton, John Addie, Alexander Bishop. Out of Dalmannie, John Thomson. Out of Livingstoun, Thomas Ingles, Patrick Hamilton, John Bell, Patrick Wilson, William Younger, William Henderson, John Steven. Out of the parish of Kirkliston, John Govan. Out of Bathgate, David Ralton. Out of the parish of Abercorn, John Gib, James Gib. Out of the parish of Linlithgow, Thomas Barthwick. Out of the parish of Kinneil, Andrew Murdoch. Out of the shire of Mid-Lothian and parish of Calder, James

Steel, Thomas Gilchrist, James Graze, John Russel. Out of Mid-Calder, John Brown, Alexander Mutray. East-Calder, *David Samuel*, Alexander Bissit. Out of the parish of Stow, Thomas Pringle. Out of the parish of Temple, James Tinto. Out of the parish of Liberton, *Thomas M'Kenzie*. Out of the parish of Crichtoun, James Fork. Out of the parish of Cranstoun, Thomas Williamson. Out of the town of Musselburgh, William Reid.

Out of the shire of East-Lothian, and parish of Dunbar, James Tod. Out of the shire of Nithsdale, and parish of Glencairn, David Makervail, John Ferguson, Robert Milligan, *John Milligan*, *John Murdoch*, *John Smith*, *William Ferguson*, James Colvil, Thomas Rosper. Out of the parish of Closeburn, Thomas Milligan, John Kennedy. Out of the shire of Galloway, and parish of Kirkcudbright, James Corsan, *Andrew Macquhan*, *John Macbratney*, *John Macgie*. Out of the parish of Balmaghie, *Robert Caldow*, James Houstoun. Out of the parish of Kelton, James Donaldson. Out of the parish of Kilmackbrick, Robert Brown, Samuel Beck, Samuel Hannay. Out of the parish of Penningham, John Mactagart, *Alexander Murray*. Out of the parish of Borgue, Andrew Sprot, Robert Bryce, *John Richardson*, *John Martin*, John Bryce, William Thomson. Out of the parish of Girthon, Andrew Donaldson. Out of the parish of Dalry, *John Smith*, *John Malcolm*. Out of Irongray, Andrew Wallet. Out of Balmacellen, *John Edgar*. Out of Lochrutan, *Andrew Clark*. Out of Etrick or Forrest, John Scot. Out of the parish of Gallowashiells, *Robert Macgill*, Robert Young. Out of the shires of Merse and Teviotdale, and parish of Nethen, Samuel Nisbet, John Deans, *James Atchison*. Out of the parish of Cavers, *James Leidon*, *John Glasgow*, *William Glasgow*, John Greenshields, Richard Young, Samuel Douglas, *James Young*, James Hobkirk. Out of the town of Kelso, William Hardie. Out of the town of Jedburgh, John Mather. Out of the parish of Ancrum, George Rutherford. Out of the parish of Sprouston, Walter Waddel, and Thomas Cairns. Out of the parish of Melross, John Young and Andrew Cook. Out of the parish of Castletoun, William Scot, John Pringle, Alexander Waddel, and John Unnes. Out of the parish of Askirk, William Herd. Out of the parish of Bandon, Andrew Newbigging. Out of the parish of Sudon, James Couston, *William Swanston*, John Elliot. Out of the parish of Hobkirk, John Oliver.

These seven following were sentenced and banished to West Flanders, who departed the kingdom, March 4, 1684. Thomas Jackson, George Jackson, James Forrest, elder, James Forrest, younger, John Coline, James Gourlay, — Gillics.

Afterwards were banished to Carolina thirty, who were

transported in James Gibson's ship, called sometime Bailie Gibson in Glasgow, of whom it is observable, that in God's righteous judgment he was cast away in Carolina bay, when he commanded in the Rising Sun. They received their sentence, June 17, 1684. The names of such as subscribed the joint testimony, are these: Matthew Machan, James M'Clintock, John Gibson, Gavin Black, John Paton, William Ingles, John Young, John Galt, John Edwards, Thomas Marshal, George Smith, William Smith, Robert Urie, John Buchanan, Thomas Bryce, John Symon, Hugh Symon, William Symon, Archibald Cunningham, John Alexander, John Marshal.

Thereafter in July 19, 1684, John Mathison, John Crichton, James M'Gachen, John M'Chesnic, James Baird, were banished to New Jersey in America. Thereafter were taken away in banishment by one Robert Malloch, fourteen men, whose names are not recorded—Anno 1685. In the time of Queensberry's parliament, of men and women were sent to Jamaica two hundred. And the same year, one Pitlochie transported to New Jersey one hundred, whereof twenty-four were women. And in the same year, thirteen more were sent to Barbadoes: their names are not in the hands of the publishers, if they be at all recorded. Anno 1687, one and twenty men and women were sent to Barbadoes, whose names that subscribed the joint testimony, are as follows: John Ford, Walter MacMin, Adam Hood, John MacGhie, Peter Russel, Thomas Jackson, Charles Dougal, James Griston, John Harvie, James Forsyth, George Johnston, John Steven, Robert Young, John Gilfillan, Andrew Paterson, John Kincaid, Robert Main, James Muirhead, George Muir, John Henderson, Anaple Jackson, Anaple Gordon, Jean Moffat. Anno 1687, March 30, were banished to Barbadoes, John Stewart, James Douglas, John Russel, James Hamilton, William Hannay, George White, Gilbert M'Culloch, Thomas Brown, John Brown, William Hay, John Wright, John Richard, Alexander Baillie, Marion Weir, Bessy Weir, Isabel Steel, Isabel Cassils, Agnes Keir.

A short account of those who were killed in the open fields, without trial, conviction, or any process of law, by the executioners of the council's murdering edict, whose names are here specified.

To give an account of the many hundreds, who either died or contracted their deaths in prison, by the severities they met with of cold, hunger, thirst, want of room and air, fetters, tortures, stigmatizing, whipping, &c. would be a work of immense labour, nor can any full account thereof be had, considering both the vast numbers of such, and the neglect of writing memoirs of these things, or their being seized by the

persecutors, who were industrious to suppress such accounts of their own villanies from the view of posterity. The number of such as suffered under colour of law, and judicial trial, from Mr. James Guthrie the first, to Mr. James Renwick the last, has been computed to amount to about 140. But the counselors, willing to ease themselves of that lingering way of doing business, not content with Popery's gradual advancement, were for doing their work all at once; and accordingly authorised captains, lieutenants, serjeants, and single soldiers to shoot all suspected persons wherever they could catch them, without further trial of their pretended crimes. And accordingly betwixt the years 1682 and 1688, when a revolution of affairs put a stop to their career of blood-shed, there were murdered in the open fields, the following persons besides others that no certain list has been got of, as they are enumerated in a print, entitled, *A short memorial of the sufferings and grievances of the Presbyterians in Scotland*. Printed in the year 1690. Which is as follows:—

John Graham of Claverhouse, viscount of Dundee, in the year 1682, with a party of his troop, pursued William Graham in the parish of — in Galloway, making his escape from his mother's house, and overtaking him, instantly shot him dead. *Item*, the said Claverhouse, together with the earl of Dumbarton, and lieutenant-general Douglas, caused Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, (who were taken by the laird of Lee) William Fiddison, and John Buening to be put to death upon a gibbet, without legal trial or sentence, suffering them neither to have a bible nor to pray before they died, at Mauchlin, 1684. *Item*, the said Claverhouse coming to Galloway, in answer to the viscount of Kenmure's letter, with a small party surprised Robert Stewart, John Grier, Robert Ferguson and James MacMichael, and instantly shot them dead at the water of Dee in Galloway, December, 1683. Their corpse being buried, were at his command raised again. *Item*, the said Claverhouse, in May, 1685, apprehended John Brown in Priesthill, in the parish of Moorkirk, in the shire of Air, being at his work, about his own house, and shot him dead before his own door, in presence of his wife. *Item*, the said Claverhouse authorised his troops to kill Matthew Micklewrath, without any examination, in the parish of Colmonel in Carrick, Anno 1685. Colonel James Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, together with lieutenant John Livingston, and a party with them, surprises five men in a cave at Ingleston, in the parish of Glencairn, being betrayed by Andrew Watson: their names were John Gibson, Robert Grierson, Robert Mitchel, James Bennoch and John Edgar, all which were at the command of the said colonel Douglas brought forth, and immediately shot dead, with

out giving them so much time as to recommend their souls to God. One John Ferguson, sometimes a professed friend, thrust one of them through, supposing he was not dead: this was done in the year 1685. *Item*, the said colonel James Douglas and his party shot to death John Hunter, for no other alleged cause, but the running out from the house at Corehead, the same year, 1685. *Item*, the said colonel or lieutenant-general James Douglas, with lieutenant Livingston and coronet James Douglas, surprised six men at prayer at the Calduns in the parish of Minigaf; viz. James Dun, Robert Dun, Andrew Mackale, Thomas Stevenson, John MacCloud and John Stevenson, in January, 1685. *Item*, the said colonel or lieutenant-general James Douglas, caused take Andrew Macquhan out of his bed, sick of a fever, and carry him to Newtown of Galloway, and the next day shot him dead, the foresaid year, 1685. *Item*, the said colonel or lieutenant-general Douglas, commanded Thomas Richard, an old man of seventy years, to be shot in time of prayer; (he was betrayed and taken by Peter Inglis) Anno 1685, at Cumnock, in Kyle. Captain Douglas finding one — Mowat, a tailor, merely because he had some pieces of lead belonging to his trade, took him, and without any further trial shot him dead, between Fleet and Dee in Galloway. *Item*, the said captain Douglas and his men finding one — Achenleck, a deaf man, for not making answer, through defect of his hearing, instantly shot him dead off horseback, near Carlinwork, Anno 1685. Sir Robert Dalziel and lieutenant Straton, having apprehended Daniel M'Michael, not able to flee by reason of his being sick, and detained him twenty-four hours prisoner, took him out and shot him at Dalveen, in the parish of Durisdeer, in Nithsdale, January, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Dalziel, and lieutenant Straton, with their men, found William Adam hiding in a bush, and instantly killed him at the Walwood in Kyle, Feb. 1685. Captain Bruce, captain of Dragoons, apprehended James Kirko, at the intelligence of one James Wright, carried him to Dumfries, detained him prisoner one night, next day brought him forth to the water sands, and without any process shot him dead. The dying man desired a little time to make his peace with God: the captain answered oftener than once or twice, *Devil a peace ye get more made up*. Some gentlewomen coming to beg his life, were hindered by one John Craig of Stewarton. The foresaid Dalziel's second son was one of them that shot him, though without command, June, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Bruce surprised at Lochenkithil, in the parish of Kirkpatrick, in Galloway, six men, and instantly killed dead four of them, viz. John Gordan, William Stewart, William

Heron and John Wallace; and carried the other two, Edward Gordon and Alexander MacUbine prisoners, and the next day he and monstrous Lagg, without any trial, caused hang upon a growing tree, near the kirk of Irongray, and left them there hanging, February, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Bruce and his men took out of his bed William MacHaffie, sick of a fever, and shot him instantly, in the parish of Straton, in Carrick, January, 1685. *Item*, James Douglas, coronet of Dragoons, commanded to shoot John Semple, essaying to escape out of a window, in the parish of Dellie, Anno 1685. Kilkerran shot him. *Item*, the said coronet Douglas apprehended Edward Mackeen, and by search, finding a flint stone upon him, presently shot him without any further trial, February, 1685. Lieutenant-general Drummond commanded, without any process of trial, John Murchie and Donald Micklewrock to be instantly shot after they were taken, in the parish of Colmonel, in Carrick, Anno 1685. At the same time his soldiers did shoot dead Alexander Lin. Captain Ingles and his dragoons pursued and killed James Smith, at the burn of Ann in Kyle, 1684. Peter Ingles, his son, killed one John Smith, in Cunningham, 1685. *Item*, the said Peter or Patrick Ingles killed one James White, struck off his head with an axe, brought it to Newmilns, and played at the foot ball with it, he killed him at Little Blackwood, the foresaid year, 1685. *Item*, the said Peter Ingles shot John Burrie, with his pass in his hand, in Evandale, April, 1685. Major Balfour, together with captain Maitland and their party, apprehended at their work, Robert Tom, John Urie, and Thomas Cook, and instantly shot them, at Pomadee, near Glasgow, May, 1685. Colonel Buchan, with the Laird of Lee and their men, shot John Smith in the parish of Lesmahego, February, 1685. Lieutenant Lauder shot to death William Shillilaw, at the Woodhead, on the water of Air, Anno 1685. Lieutenant Nisbet and his party shot to death John Ferguson, George Whiteburn, and Patrick Gemmil in the parish of Fennick, in the said year. Lieutenant Murray and his party shot one John Brown, after quarters given at Blackwood, in Clydesdale, March, 1685. Lieutenant Crichton did most barbarously after quarter, shoot David Steel, in the parish of Lesmahego, December, 1686.

The laird of Stenhouse, Sir Robert Laurie of Maxwellton, and John Craig of Stewarton, did instigate and urge coronet Bailie's party of dragoons to shoot William Smith in Hill, after he had been prisoner one night, (it was the day of Maxwellton's daughter's marriage) who also refused to let him be buried in the church-yard. This Douglas of Stenhouse, being a laird of mean estate, was advanced for such services as this,

and his excessive harassing, spoiling and fining of the people of God, and because he was a Papist, to the honour of being secretary for Scotland to James VII. But the wicked's honour is short lived; his name is extinct, having neither root nor branch, male nor female, nor any remembrance left unto him. The said Laurie of Maxwellton's steward reported, that a cup of wine, delivered that day into his hand, turned into congealed blood: but be that as it will, himself died by a fall from his horse some years after. Sir James Johnston of Westerhall, caused apprehend Andrew Hyslop, in the parish of Hutton, in Annandale, and delivered him up to Claverhouse, and never rested until he got him shot by Claverhouse's troops; Claverhouse would have delayed it, but Westerhall was so urgent, that Claverhouse was heard to say, *This man's blood shall be upon Westerhall.* At length, upon his urgency, Claverhouse ordered a Highland captain, who was there to do it, but he refused; and drawing off his Highlanders to a convenient distance, swore, *That her nain-sell would fight Claverhouse and all his dragoons first.* Whereupon he caused three of his own dragoons to do it, May, 1685. It is observable of this Westerhall, that he was once a great professor, and one who had sworn the covenant; and when the test was framed, he bragged that he was an actual covenanter, and scorned the test; but when he had the trial, he embraced it and became a bitter enemy to the work and people of God: and this man having been taken in his ground, he would have him shot, to give proof of his loyalty. He died about the revolution, in great torture of body, by the gravel, and horror and anguish of conscience, insomuch that his cries were heard a great distance from the house, as a warning to all such apostates. Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, having the command of a party of Claverhouse's troop, and Strachan's dragoons, surprised John Bell of Whiteside, David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, Andrew M'Crabit, James Clement, and Robert Lenox of Irlintoun, and barbarously killed them after quarter, without time allowed to pray. When John Bell of Whiteside begged a little time to pray, Lagg answered, *What devil have ye been doing? Have ye not prayed enough these many years in the hills?* and so shot him presently in the parish of Tongland, in Galloway, February, 1685. *Item,* the said laird of Lagg, with the earl of Annandale, having command of some troops of heritors, pursued another David Halliday, and George Short, and apprehended and shot them under cloud of night, in the parish of Twynhame, in Galloway, Anno 1680. The laird of Lagg, who was so wicked an oppressor and destroyer of the people of God in Galloway and Nithsdale, is now a justice of the peace, notwithstanding his being excommunicate for his adultery and impenitent obstinacy.

The laird of Colzean, for that time captain of a troop of militia and heritors, killed William M'Kergue, at Blairquhanmiln. Anno 1685. *Item*, the laird of Colzean, with the laird of Ballochmiln, shot Gilbert MacAdam in the parish of Kirkmitchal, July, 1685. A party of Highlanders, killed Joseph Wilson, David Dun, Simeon Paterson, and other two, near the water of Kyle, in a moss in Kyle, Anno 1685. The laird of Ardenkeple commanding a party of Highlandmen, killed Robert Lockart and Gabriel Thompson, about that time also. Likewise, William Paterson was shot at Strevan, uncertain by whom, 1685. Also, John M'Clorgan was killed at Drumellian's house, in the night time, not known by whom. John Reid, belonging sometimes to Craigie's troop, did, under cloud of night, kill by a shot, one George Wood, about 16 years old, without asking one question at him, in Tinkhornhill, in Kyle, June, 1688. In sum, their number amounts to seventy-eight.

Besides these cold-blood murders, there were many killed at several skirmishes at Pentland, Bothwell, Airsmoss, &c. while fighting in their own defence, and the defence of the field meetings, the number whereof amounts to about 400, and some odds.

A short account of the oppressive exactions.

Excepting that others who have the particular informations of matters of fact by them, will be concerned to publish a more full account of these illegal fines and robberies, it shall suffice at present to transcribe only the general account of some of them, out of the forementioned *Memorial of Grievances*. Which runs thus:—

For fines, and other exorbitant and illegal exactions of money, the particular sums cannot be here enumerated; but their vastness, when together calculate, may be easily collected by the scraps already gathered off some poor families of farmers, cottars, servants, &c. and many of these omitted or not known (which would very considerably augment the sum) in some few shires, viz. Clydesdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway, Nithsdale and Annandale, only but for a few years, viz. since Bothwell-bridge insurrection, amounting to above 288000*l.* Scots. Besides the many honest families, which have been cast out of their houses, harassed and spoiled of their all; some of their houses being thrown down, some burnt, some shut up, their goods and moveables seized upon, their crop and cattle also disposed of, at the will of their persecutors, in the forementioned shires, amounting to above 200*l.*

The immediate authors, actors and instruments of these

oppressions, were principally the curates, instigating the privy council, which empowered the forces, and noblemen and gentlemen of the country to prey upon the poor people. All cannot be here expressed, but some of the most noted in the western shires shall be named, who were the greatest persecutors and oppressors, by fining, and other exactions. Of officers of the forces, Colonel Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, exacted above 2000*l.* Scots money, in Galloway, Nithsdale, shire of Air, and other places. Lieutenant-general Drummond, besides the forfeitures of gentlemen, did also exact monies of the poor in the shire of Air. The earl of Linlithgow, and his soldiers, spoiled much in Galloway. The earl of Airley and his troop, in the same shire. The Lord Balcarras, a great oppressor in Galloway, besides all the robberies he committed in Fife. — Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards viscount of Dundee, with his brother, and subaltern officers in Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale, exacted by fines and otherwise, above 13500*l.* Scots money. Colonel Buchan, a most violent persecutor in Galloway and shire of Air, by robberies took from the people upwards of 4000*l.* Scots. Major Cockburn, a great oppressor in Galloway, Major White in Clydesdale, and shire of Air, exacted by fines, and otherwise, above 2508*l.* Scots. Major Balfour, a great oppressor and persecutor in Clydesdale, Captain Strachan in Galloway, Inglis in Galloway, Air and Clydesdale; Douglas in Galloway, Dalziel in Annandale, and Bruce in Clydesdale, oppressed and spoiled the people much. — Meldrum in Clydesdale, took from poor families upwards of 2800*l.* and vast sums in Merse and Teviotdale, with the earl of Hume, and Ker of Grandoun, with the laird of Hayning and Blindle, and in Tweeddale, with the laird of Possa. Lieutenants Winram and Barns were very vigilant persecutors in Galloway, and took much spoil. Lieutenant Lauder in Air, Bonshaw, a highwayman, and Duncan Grant, a cripple with a tree leg, in Clydesdale, oppressed the people excessively; this last exacted in Clydesdale, 1500*l.* The chief of the oppressors among noblemen and gentlemen, were in Clydesdale, Summervail of Spittel, who exacted from the poor people above 1200*l.* Halyards more than 5800*l.* Bonytoun and Symme, were also great and violent exactors. In the city of Glasgow, Provost Johnstoun and Barns; Balies Anderson, Zuil, Graham, and Stirling, exacted above 20,000*l.* In Renfrew, the earl of Glencairn exacted above 2400*l.* Likewise Semple, a Papist, Alexander Hume in Egleshome, and Ezekiel Montgomery, were all great exactors. In the shire of Air, the earl of Dumfries exacted above 1000*l.* Likewise the Lord Craigie, William Crichton, sheriff-depute, Crawford of Ardmillan, Montgomery of Bozland, the laird of Broyche,

and clerk Ogilvie, were all great and wicked persecutors. In Galloway, Grierson of Lagg, who exacted there, and in Nithsdale, above 1200*l.* Liddesdale, Isle and Canon of Merdorate, were also great oppressors. In Nithsdale, Queensberry and his sons, and John Alison his chamberlain, who when dying said, *He had damned his soul for the duke his master;* and George Charter, another of his factors, who vaunted, *He had made twenty-six journeys in a year, in pursuit of the Whigs.* John Douglas of Stenhouse, a Papist, exacted 15,000*l.* The laird of Closeburn above 700*l.* Sir Robert Dalziel 400*l.* from a few families. Sir Robert Laurie of Maxwelltown, was also a great oppressor and persecutor. In Annandale the earl of Annandale persecuted much; and likewise in Galloway the laird of Westerhall exacted above 11,000*l.* Sir Patrick Maxwell of Sprinkel, was also a very active and violent persecutor. The lairds of Powdeen and Castlemilk, Robert Carruthers of Remarskel, Thomas Kennedy of Heybeiths, were most violent persecutors of the poor people.

From these short accounts of the oppressions, bloodshed and illegal tyranny exercised in this land, it may be conjectured what the total would amount to, if a history thereof were published: but all these, however great persecutions, are but little in comparison of what the mother of harlots and her children intended against us; which that the Lord may prevent, ought to be the serious prayer and strenuous endeavour of all them that have a regard to the greatest interests of themselves and posterity.



THE

Epitaphs or Inscriptions

UPON THE TOMBS OR GRAVE-STONES OF THE MARTYRS, IN SEVERAL CHURCH-YARDS, AND OTHER PLACES WHERE THEY LIE BURIED.*

The Inscription and Epitaph upon the monument in the Grayfriars church-yard at Edinburgh.

Upon the head of the tomb there is the effigies of an open Bible drawn with these scripture citations, Rev. vi. 9—11, "And when he had opened the first seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God,

* The reader is desired to remember, that these Epitaphs being mostly composed by illiterate country people, one can not reasonably expect neatness and elegant poetry in them, and therefore will readily pardon any harshness in the phrase or metre which he may meet with.

and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, how long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." Rev. vii. 14, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Follows the verse.

Halt, passenger, take heed what you do see,
 This tomb doth shew, for what some men did die.
 Here lies interr'd the dust of those who stood,
 'Gainst perjury, resisting unto blood;
 Adhering to the covenants, and laws
 Establishing the same; which was the cause
 Their lives were sacrific'd unto the lust
 Of Prelatists abjur'd. Though here their dust
 Lies mixt with murderers, and other crew,
 Whom justice did justly to death pursue:
 But as for these, no cause in them was found
 Worthy of death, but only they were sound,
 Constant and steadfast, zealous, witnessing,
 For the prerogatives of Christ their King.
 Which truths were seal'd by famous Guthrie's head,
 And all along to Mr. Renwick's blood.
 They did endure the wrath of enemies,
 Reproaches, torments, deaths and injuries.
 But yet they're these who from such trouble came,
 And now triumph in glory with the Lamb.

Thereafter follows this prose.

From May 27, 1661, that the noble marquis of Argyle suffered, to the 17th of February, 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were executed at Edinburgh, about an hundred of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most part of them lie here.

Upon the foot of the monument stands a crown, with this inscription; "Be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of Life."

Inscription upon a grave-stone in the church-yard of Hamilton, lying on the heads of John Parker, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton and Christopher Strang, who suffered at Edinburgh, Dec. 7, 1666. Their Testimony is extant in Naphtali, p. 306.

Stay, passenger, take notice what thou reads,
At Edinburgh lie our bodies, here our heads;
Our right-hands stood at Lanark, these we want,
Because with them we sware the covenant.

Inscription upon a stone in the high church-yard of Glasgow.

Here lies the corpse of Robert Bunton, John Hart, Robert Scot, Matthew Patoun, John Richmond, James Johnston, Archibald Stewart, James Winning, John Main, who suffered at the cross of Glasgow, for their testimony to the covenants and work of reformation, because they durst not own the authority of the then tyrants, destroying the same, betwixt 1666, and 1688.

Years sixty-six, and eighty-four,
Did send their souls home into gloire,
Whose bodies here interred lie,
Then sacrific'd to tyranny;
To covenants and reformation
'Cause they adhered in their station.
These nine, with others in this yard,
Whose heads and bodies were not spar'd,
Their testimonies, foes, to bury,
Caus'd beat the drums then in great fury,
They'll know at resurrection day,
To murder saints was no sweet play.

Inscription on the stone lying on John Wharry and James Smith, who are buried at Inchbelly-brùlze.

Halt, passenger, read here upon this stone
A tragedy, our bodies done upon.
At Glasgow cross we lost both our right hands,
To fright beholders, th' en'my so commands:
Then put to death, and that most cruelly,
Yet where we're slain, ev'n there we must not lie;
From Glasgow town we're brought unto this place,
On gallow-tree hung up for certain space:
Yet thence ta'en down interred here we lie
Beneath this stone: our blood to heaven doth cry.
Had foreign foes, Turks, or Mahometans,
Had Scythian Tartars, Arabian Caravans,
Had cruel Spaniards, the pope's bloody seed,
Commenc'd the same, had been less strange their deed;

But protestants, once Covenanters too,
 Our countrymen, this cruel deed could do:
 Yet notwithstanding this their hellish rage,
 The noble Wharry leapt upon the stage,
 With courage bold, he said, and heart not faint,
This blood shall now seal up our covenant.
 Ending, *They who would follow Christ, should take*
Their cross upon their back, the world forsake.

*Inscription on James Nisbet, James Lawson, and Alexander Wood, buried
 at the gallows foot at Glasgow.*

Here lie martyrs three,
 Of memory,
 Who for the covenants did die;
 And witness is
 'Gainst all these nations perjury.

*Inscription on a stone in Eastwood parish, lying upon the corpse of James
 Eagle, and John Park, who suffered at the cross of Paisley, for refusing
 the oath of abjuration, in the year 1685.*

Stay, passenger, as thou goes by,
 And take a look where these do lie:
 Who for the love they bare to truth
 Were depriv'd of their life and youth.
 Tho' laws made then, caus'd many die,
 Judges and 'sizers were not free;
 He that to them did these delate,
 The greater count he hath to make;
 Yet no excuse to them can be:
 At ten condemn'd, at two to die.
 So cruel did their rage become,
 To stop their speech caus'd beat the drum.
 This may a standing witness be
 'Twixt Presbyt'ry and Prelacy.

*Inscription on the grave-stone at Cathcart, lying on the bodies of Robert
 Tann, Thomas Cook, and John Urie, who were shot at Pomadie, May 11,
 1685.*

The bloody murderers of these men
 Were major Balfour and captain Maitland,
 And with them others were not free,
 Caus'd them to search in Pomadie.
 As soon as they had them out found,
 They murder'd them with shot of gun,
 Scarce time to them did they allow
 Before their Maker their knees to bow.
 Many like in this land have been,
 Whose blood for vengeance cries to heav'n.

This horrid wickedness you see
Was done in lane of Pomadie;
Which may a standing witness be
'Twi'xt Presbyt'ry and Prelacy.

Inscription on a stone in the church-yard of Eglesham, upon the bodies of Gabriel Thomson and Robert Lockhart, shot by a party of Highlandmen and dragoons, under the command of Ardencauple, May 1, 1685.

These men did search thro' moor and moss
To find out all that had no pass.
'These faithful witnesses were found,
And murdered upon the ground.
Their bodies in this grave do lie,
Their blood for vengeance yet doth cry:
This may a standing witness be
For Presbyt'ry 'gainst Prelacy.

Inscription on the monument at Airmoss, lying upon the bodies of them that fell there, July 20, 1680, namely, the Reverend and faithful Mr. Richard Cameron, minister of the gospel, Michael Cameron, John Hamilton, John Gemmil, James Gray, Robert Dick, John Fuller, Robert Paterson, Thomas Watson, &c.

Halt, curious passenger, come here and read;
Our souls triumph with Christ our glorious head,
In self-defence, we murder'd here do lie,
To witness 'gainst this nation's perjury.

Inscription on a grave-stone in the church-yard of Strevan, on the corpse of William Paterson, who lived in the parish of Cambusnethan, and John Barrie in Evandale, anno 1685.

Here lie two martyrs; severally who fell
By captain Inglis, and by bloody Bell.
Posterity shall know they're shot to death,
As sacrifices unto Popish wrath.

Inscription on the stone lying at Blackwood in the parish of Lesmahago, upon the corpse of John Brown, who was shot by ——— Murray, without sentence of law, anno 1685, and buried there in the open fields.

Murray might murder such a godly Brown,
But could not rob him of that glorious crown
He now enjoys. His credit, not his crime,
Was non-compliance with a wicked time.

Inscription upon a stone lying on the corpse of John Brown, who lived in the parish of Moorkirk, who was shot dead by Graham of Claverhouse, at his own door, May 1, 1685, and lies buried there in the open fields.

I n death's cold bed the dusty part here lies
O f one who did the earth as dust despise,
H ere in this place from earth he took departure;
N ow he has got the garland of the martyr.

Butcher'd by *Clavers* and his bloody band,
 Raging most rav'nously o'er all the land.
 Only for owning Christ's supremacy,
 Wickedly wrong'd by encroaching tyranny.
 Nothing, how dear soever, he too good
 Esteem'd, nor dear for any truth his blood.

Upon the grave-stone of David Steel, in the church-yard of Lesmahago, is this motto.

David, a shepherd first, and then
 Advanced to be king of men,
 Had of his graces in this quarter,
 This heir a wand'rer, now a martyr.
 Who for his constancy and zeal,
 Still to the back did prove good STEEL.
 Who for Christ's royal truths and laws,
 And for the covenanted cause
 Of Scotland's famous reformation;
 Declining tyrants usurpation;
 By cruel Crichton murder'd lies,
 Whose blood to heav'n for vengeance cries.

Upon the grave-stone of Andrew Hislop, lying in Craickhaugh in Eskdale moor, being the place where he was shot by Claverhouse, and Sir James Johnston of Westerhall.

Halt, passenger, a word with thee or two,
 Why I lie here wouldst thou truly know?
 By wicked hands, hands cruel and unjust,
 Without all law, my life from me they thrust.
 And being dead they left me on the spot,
 For burial this same place I got:
 Truth's friends in Eskdale, now rejoice their lot,
 To wit, the faithful, for truth my seal thus got.

In the church-yard of Dumfries, upon the grave-stone of John Grierson, who lived in the parish of Irongray, and suffered January 2, 1667, is this inscription.

Underneath this stone doth lie
 Dust sacrific'd to tyranny:
 Yet precious in Immanuel's sight,
 Since martyr'd for his kingly right.
 When he condemns these hellish drudges,
 By suff'rage, saints shall be their judges.

Upon the grave-stone of William Welsh, in the same church-yard, who lived in the same parish, and suffered at the same time with the former, there is this epitaph.

Halt, passenger, read, here interr'd doth lie
 A witness 'gainst poor Scotland's pejury,

Whose head once fixt. upon the Bridge port stood,
Proclaiming vengeance for his guiltless blood.

In the same church-yard, on the grave-stone of James Kirkoe, who lived in the parish of Kier, and was shot dead on the sands of Dumfries, by Captain Bruce, June, 1685, is this motto.

By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright,
I lost my life in great despite.
Shot dead without due time to try,
And fit me for eternity;
A witness of Prelatic rage,
As ever was in any age.

On the grave-stone lying on Edward Gordon and Alexander McUine, executed at the church of Irongray, at the command of the laird of Lagg, and Captain Bruce.

As Lagg and bloody Bruce command,
We were hung up by hellish hand;
And thus their furious rage to stay,
We died at Kirk of Irongray;
Here now in peace sweet rest we take,
Once murder'd for religion's sake.

Upon a stone lying in a Muir near Lochenkithil, on the grave of John Gordon, William Stewart, William Heron and John Wallace, shot by Captain Bruce.

Behold here in this wilderness we lie,
Four witnesses of hellish cruelty.
Our lives and blood could not their ire assuage,
But when we're dead, they did against us rage;
That match the like, we think, ye scarcely can,
Except the Turk's, or duke de Alva's men.

Upon three several grave-stones, lying on John Gibson, James Bennoch, Robert Edgar and Robert Mitchel, who were shot at Inglistoun, in the parish of Glencuirn, by Colonel Douglas and Lieutenant Livingstone, anno 1685, are these verses.

1. *On John Gibson.*

My soul's in heaven, here's my dust,
By wicked sentence and unjust
Shot dead, convicted of no crime,
But non-compliance with the time,
When Babel's bastards had command,
And monstrous tyrants rul'd the land.

2. *On James Bennoch.*

Here lies a monument of Popish wrath;
Because I'm not perjur'd, I'm shot to death

By cruel hands; men godless and unjust
Did sacrifice my blood to Babel's lust.

8. *On Robert Edgar and Robert Mitchel, both under one stone.*

Halt, passenger, tell if thou ever saw
Men shot to death without process of law.
We two, of four, who in this church-yard lie,
Thus felt the rage of Popish tyranny.

Upon a stone in Tynron church-yard, lying on William Smith, who being a youth of eighteen years of age, was shot at the bridge end of Minni-wee, by the command of Sir Robert Lawrie, laird of Maxwellton, and John Douglas of Stenhouse, May, 1685.

I William Smith now here do lie,
Once martyr'd for Christ's verity.
Douglas of Stenhouse, Lawrie of Maxwellton
Caus'd coronet Bailie give me martyrdom,
What cruelty they to my corpse then us'd,
Living may judge; me burial they refus'd.

Upon Daniel MacMichael, who was shot by Dalziel of Kirkmichael, January, 1685, lying in the church-yard of Dwisdeer.

As Daniel cast was into lion's den,
For praying unto God, and not to men;
Thus lions cruelly devoured me,
For bearing unto truth my test'mony.
I rest in peace, till Jesus rend the cloud,
And judge 'twixt me and those who shed my blood.

Upon the grave-stone in the church-yard of Balmaghie, upon the corpse of David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, shot by the laird of Lagg, February, 1685, and of David Halliday in Glenap, shot by the laird of Lagg and the earl of Annandale, in the same year, 1685, is this epitaph.

Beneath this stone two David Hallidays
Do lie, whose souls now sing their Master's praise.
To know if curious passengers desire
For what, by whom, and how they did expire?
They did oppose this nation's perjury,
Nor could they join with lordly Prelacy.
Indulgence-favours from Christ's enemies
Quench not their zeal: This monument then cries,
These are the causes not to be forgot,
Why they by Lagg so wickedly were shot.
One name, one cause. one grave, one heaven do tye
Their souls to that one God eternally.

Upon the grave-stone in the church-yard of Anwirth, lying on the corpse of John Bell of Whiteside, who was most barbarously shot to death, at the command of Douglas of Morton and Grierson of Lagg, in the parish of Tongland in Galloway, anno 1685.

This monument shall tell posterity,
 That blessed Bell of Whiteside, here doth lie;
 Who at command of bloody Lagg was shot;
 A murder strange, which should not be forgot.
 Douglas of Morton did him quarters give;
 Yet cruel Lagg would not let him survive.
 This Martyr sought some time to recommend
 His soul to God, before his days did end;
 The tyrant said, *What devil! ye've pray'd enough!*
These long seven years, on mountain and in cleugh.
 So instantly caus'd him with other four,
 Be shot to death upon Kirkconnel muir.
 So thus did end the lives of these brave saints,
 For their adhering to the covenants.

Upon the grave-stone lying on the corpse of Robert Stewart, son of Major Robert Stewart of Ardoch, and John Grierson, who were murdered by Graham of Claverhouse, at the water of Dee, in Galloway, anno 1684.

Behold! behold! a stone here's forc'd to cry,
 Come see two martyrs, under me that lie,
 At water of Dee, who slain were by the hand
 Of cruel Claverhouse and's bloody band.
 No sooner had he done this horrid thing,
 But forc'd to say, *Stewart's soul in heaven doth sing.*
 Yet strange, his rage pursu'd even such when dead,
 And in the tombs of their ancestors laid,
 Causing their corpse be rais'd out of the same,
 Discharging in church-yard to bury them.
 All this they did, because they would not abjure,
 Our covenants and reformation pure;
 Because like faithful martyrs for to die
 They rather choos'd than treacherously comply
 With cursed Prelacy, the nation's baue,
 And with indulgency, our church's stain.
 Perjur'd intelligencers were so rife:
 Show'd their curs'd loyalty, to take their life.

Upon a grave-stone lying on the corpse of William Hunter and Robert Smith, who were sentenced and hanged at Kirkeudbright, anno 1684, by Captain Douglas, Graham of Claverhouse, and Captain Bruce.

This monument shall shew posterity,
 Two headless martyrs under it do lie,
 By bloody Graham were taken and surpris'd,
 Brought to this town, and afterwards were 'siz'd;

By unjust law were sentenced to die,
 Them first they hang'd, then 'headed cruelly.
 Captain Douglas, Bruce, Graham of Claverhouse,
 Were these that caus'd them to be handled thus:
 And when they were unto the gibbet come,
 To stop their speech, they did beat up the drum,
 And all because that they would not comply
 With indulgence and bloody Prelacy.
 In face of cruel Bruce, Douglas and Graham,
 They did maintain, *that Christ was Lord supreme;*
 And boldly owned both the covenants:
 At Kirkcudbright thus ended these two saints.

Epon a stone in the church-yard of Balmacellan, on the body of Robert Grierson, who was slain by command of Colonel James Douglas at Inglestoun, in the parish of Glencairn, 1685.

This monument to passengers shall cry,
 That godly Grierson under it doth lie,
 Betray'd by knavish Watson to his foes,
 Which made this martyr's days by murder close.
 If ye would know the nature of his crime,
 Then read the story of that killing time,
 When Babel's brats with hellish plot conceal'd,
 Design'd to make our south their hunting-field.
 Here one of five at once were laid in dust,
 To gratify Rome's execrable lust.
 If carabins with molten bullets could
 Have reach'd their souls, these mighty Nimrods would
 Them have cut off; for they could no request
 'Three minutes get, to pray for future rest.

Besides these mottos in verse, there are in the stewarty of Kirkcudbright in Galloway, several other monuments, both in church-yards and open fields, the mottos whereof are in prose, intimating that they died for their adherence to the covenants and work of reformation. Namely, in the church-yard of Kirkcudbright, upon the corpse of John Hallum, who was wounded in taking, and sentenced by captain Douglas to be hanged, in the year 1685. In the church-yard of Borgue, upon the body of Robert Macquhae, shot to death in that parish, by the said captain Douglas, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Girthon, upon the body of Robert Lenox, sometime in Ir-lintoun, shot by the laird of Lagg, anno 1685. In the same parish, in the muir of Auchencloy, upon the body of Robert Ferguson, shot by Graham of Claverhouse in that place, anno 1684. In the parish of Tongland, in Kirkonnel-hill, upon the body of James Clement, shot to death there by the laird

of Lagg, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Balmaghie, upon the body of George Short, shot by the same laird of Lagg, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Kells, upon the corpse of Adam MacQuham, who being sick of a fever, was brought from his own house to Newtown of Galloway, and next day shot dead by command of lieutenant-general Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, 1685. *Item*, upon the corpse of William Graham, who was shot while making his escape from his mother's house, by a party of Claverhouse's troop, anno 1682.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Air, lying on the bodies of James Smith, Alexander MacMillan, James MacMillan, George MacCartney, John Short, John Graham and John Muirhead, who suffered martyrdom at Air, December 27, 1666.

Here lie seven martyrs for our covenants,
A sacred number of triumphant saints.
Pontius MacAdam th' unjust sentence past;
What is his own the world shall know at last.
And Herod Drummond caus'd their heads affix;
Heaven keeps a record of the sixty-six.
Boots, thumbkins, gibbets, were in fashion then;
Lord, let us never see such days again.

Upon a stone lying beside the gallows of Air, upon the body of Andrew MacGill, who was apprehended by the information of Andrew Tom, and suffered there, November, 1684.

Near this abhorred tree a sufferer lies,
Who choos'd to fall, that falling truth might rise.
His station could advance no costly deed,
Save giving of a life the Lord did need.
When Christ shall vindicate his way, he'll cast
The doom which was pronounc'd in such a haste.
And incorruption shall forget disgrace,
Design'd by the interment in this place.

Upon the stone at Machline, lying on the bodies of Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, William Fiddison, and John Bruning, who were apprehended and hanged up there without trial, anno 1685.

Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas and Dundee,
Mov'd by the devil and the laid of Lee,
Dragg'd these five men to death with gun and sword,
Not suffering them to pray, nor read God's word.
Owning the work of God was all their crime,
The eighty-five was a saint-killing time.

Upon the tomb-stone at Irvine, lying on the bodies of James Blackwood, and John McCoul, who suffered there December 31, 1666.

These honest countrymen, whose bones here lie,
A victim fell to the Prelate's cruelty;

Condemn'd by bloody and unrighteous laws,
 They died martyrs for the good old cause,
 Which Balaan's wicked race in vain assail;
 For no enchantments 'gainst Israel prevail.
 Life and this evil world they did contemn,
 And died for Christ, who died first for them.

Upon a stone at Kilmarnock, lying on the heads of John Ross and John Shields, who suffered at Edinburgh, the 27th of December, 1666, and had their heads set up at Kilmarnock.

Our persecutors mad with wrath and ire;
 In Edinburgh members some do lie, some here;
 Yet instantly united they shall be,
 And witness 'gainst this nation's perjury.

Upon another stone at Kilmarnock, lying upon the corpse of John Nisbet, who suffered there the 14th of April, 1683.

Come, reader, see, here pleasant Nisbet lies,
 His blood doth pierce the high and lofty skies;
 Kilmarnock did his latter hour perceive,
 And Christ his soul to heaven did receive.
 Yet bloody Torrence did his body raise,
 And buried it into another place;
 Saying, shall rebels lie in graves with me?
 We'll bury him where evil-doers be.

Upon a grave-stone at Finnick, lying on the dust of John Furgushill, and George Woodburn, who were shot to death by Nisbet and his party, anno 1685.

When bloody Prelates, once this nation's pest,
 Contriv'd that curs'd self-contradicting test;
 These men for Christ did suffer martyrdom,
 And here their blood lies waiting till he come.

Upon another grave-stone there, lying on the corpse of Peter Gemmel, who was shot to death by the same Nisbet and his party, anno 1685.

This man like holy Anchorites of old,
 For conscience sake, was thrust from house and hold,
 Blood-thirsty red coats cut his prayers short,
 And ev'n his dying groans were made their sport.
 Ah Scotland! breach of solemn vows repent;
 Or bloody crimes will bring thy punishment.

Upon a third stone, lying on the body of James White, shot by Peter Ingles and his party, 1685.

This martyr was by Peter Ingles shot,
 By birth a tyger rather than a Scot;

Who, that his monstrous extract might be seen,
Cut off his head and kick'd it o'er the green
'Thus was that head, which was to wear a crown,
A foot-ball made by a profane dragoon.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Wigton, on the body of Margaret Wilson, who was drowned in the water of Blednoch, upon the 11th of May, 1684, by the laird of Lagg, &c.

Let earth and stone still witness bear,
There lies a virgin martyr here,
Murder'd for owning Christ supreme,
Head of his church, and no more crime,
But her not owning Prelacy,
And not abjuring Presbytery.
Within the sea ty'd to a stake,
She suffered for Christ Jesus' sake.
The actors of this cruel crime
Was Lagg, Winram, Strachan and Graham.
Neither young years, nor yet old age,
Could quench the fury of their rage.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Colmonel, on the body of Matthew Melkewrath, who was killed in that parish, by Claverhouse.

In this parish of Calmonel,
By bloody Claverhouse I fell,
Who did command that I should die,
For owning covenanted Presbyt'ry.
My blood a witness still doth stand
'Gainst all defections in this land.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Stratoun, on the body of Thomas M'Haffie, who was taken out of his bed, being sick of a fever, and shot by Captain Bruce, in that parish, 1685.

Though I was sick and like to die,
Yet bloody Bruce did murder me;
Because I adhered in my station
To our covenanted reformation.
My blood for vengeance yet doth call,
Upon Zion's haters all.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Tweed's-muir, lying on the body of John Hunter, who was shot at Corehead, by Colonel James Douglas, 1675.

When Zion's King was robbed of his right,
His witnesses in Scotland put to flight,
When Papists, Prelates, and indulgency,
Combin'd 'gainst Christ to ruin Presbytery,
All who would not unto these idols bow,

They sought them out, and whom they found they slew.
 For owning of Christ's cause I then did die,
 My blood for vengeance on his enemies doth cry.

Upon the grave-stone of Thomas Burn, James Wood, Andrew Sword, John Waddel, and John Clyd, who suffered martyrdom at Magus-muir, November 25, 1689, and lie buried in a corn-field near Magus-muir, is this inscription.

'Cause we at Bothwell did appear,
 Perjurious oaths refused to swear;
 'Cause we Christ's cause would not condemn,
 We were sentenc'd to death by men,
 Who rag'd against us in such fury,
 Our dead bodies they did not bury;
 But up on poles did hing us high,
 'Triumphs of Babel's victory.
 Our lives we fear'd not to the death,
 But constant prov'd to the last breath.

When the grave-stone was set up in October, 1728, the chains were taken out of their graves, and some of their bones and clothes were found unconsumed, now 47 years after their death.

Upon the grave-stone of Andrew Gulline, who suffered at the Gallowlee of Edinburgh, July 20, 1683, and afterwards was hung upon a pole in Magus-muir, and lieth buried in the Long-Cross of Clermont, near Magus-muir, is this inscription.

A faithful martyr here doth lie,
 A witness against perjury;
 Who cruelly was put to death,
 'To gratify proud Prelate's wrath;
 They cut his hands ere he was dead,
 And after that struck off his head.
 'To Magus-muir then did him bring,
 His body on a pole did hing.
 His blood under the altar cries,
 For vengeance on Christ's enemies.

Monumental Inscription on a grave-stone at Rullion Green, Pentland-hills.

Here, and near to this place, lies the Rev. Mr. John Crookshanks, and Mr. Andrew M'Cormock, ministers of the gospel, and about fifty other true covenanted Presbyterians, who were killed in this place, in their own innocent self-defence, and defence of the covenanted work of reformation, by Thomas Dalziel of Binns, upon the 28th of November, 1666. *Rev. xii. 11.*
 Erected September 28, 1738.

On the opposite side of the stone is the following verse.

A Cloud of witnesses lie here,
 Who for Christ's interest did appear,
 For to restore true liberty,
 O'erturned then by tyranny;
 And by proud Prelates, who did rage
 Against the Lord's own heritage;
 They sacrific'd were for the laws
 Of Christ their King, his noble cause.
 These heroes fought with great renown,
 By falling got the martyr's crown.

Upon the grave-stone of John Murehie, and Daniel Meiklewarath, near the Cross-water of Dusk, in Colmonel parish.

Here in this place two martyrs lie,
 Whose blood to heaven hath a loud cry;
 Murder'd contrary to divine laws,
 For owning of King Jesus' cause,
 By bloody Drummond they were shot,
 Without any trial, near this spot.

Upon the grave-stone of James Smith, in Muir-kirk church-yard.

When proud apostates did abjure,
 Scotland's reformation pure,
 And fill'd this land with perjury,
 And all sorts of iniquity.
 Such as would not with them comply,
 They persecute with hue and cry.
 I in the chase was overta'en,
 And for the truth by them was slain.

Upon the grave-stone of John Law, in a kail-yard of New-mans.

'Cause I Christ's prisoners reliev'd,
 I of my life was soon bereav'd
 By cruel enemies with rage,
 In that rencounter did engage,
 The martyr's honour and his crown,
 Bestow'd on me, O high renown!

Call me
you

THE
TESTIMONY

OF SOME

Persecuted Presbyterian Ministers of the Gospel,

UNTO THE

COVENANTED REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

AND TO THE PRESENT EXPEDIENCY OF CONTINUING TO PREACH
THE GOSPEL IN THE FIELDS, AND AGAINST THE PRESENT AN-
TICHRISTIAN TOLERATION IN ITS NATURE AND DESIGN, &c.

Given in to the Ministers at Edinburgh,

BY MR. JAMES RENWICK,

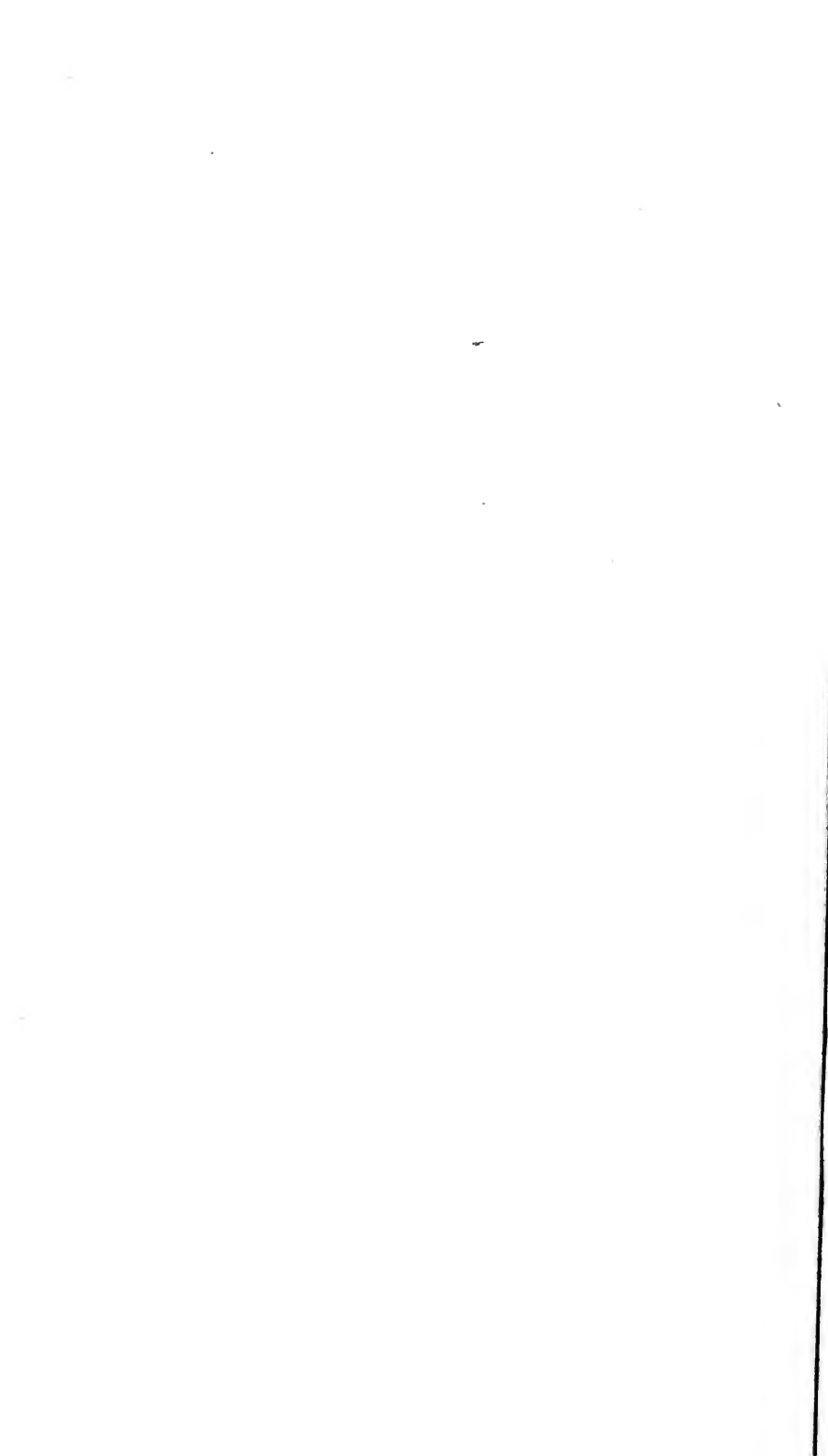
Upon the 17th of January, 1688.

Hos. ii. 1, 2, 3. "Say ye unto your brethren, Ammi, and to your sisters, Ru-
hamah. Plead with your mother, plead; for she is not my wife, neither am I
her husband: let her therefore put away her whoredoms out of her sight,
and her adulteries from between her breasts; lest I strip her naked," &c.

ISA. lviii. 1, 2. "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and
shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. Yet
they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righte-
ousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God," &c.

LAM. ii. 14. "Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, and
they have not discovered thine iniquity, to turn away thy captivity; but have
seen for thee false burthens, and causes of banishment."

JER. vi. 14. "They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people
slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace."



TO THE READER.

Christian and Candid Reader,

SUCH is the iniquity and unhappiness of these times, wherein judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter; yea, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey, whereat the Lord is displeased, when he sees there is no man, and wonders there is no intercessor: that now, when the case of confession is very clear and clamant, to aim at these indispensable and ever heretofore indisputable duties, of *pleading for truth, seeking the truth, being valiant for it, standing in the gap to turn away wrath, pleading with our mother to turn away her whoredoms*, always called for in such a case, is flouted at with disdain, and exploded with indignation, as a ridiculous impertinency. And so declaredly are these duties declined, and so industriously are these declensions daubed, that the common dialect used and known among the confessors of Christ is inverted, and the very name and notion of these things professedly perverted, under the interchanged designation of their opposite extremes: when now *tyranny* passes under the name of *authority*, and *arbitrary absoluteness* under the notion of *magistratical prerogative*; compliance with mischiefs framed into laws by a throne of iniquity goes for *loyalty*; acceptance of a popish, religion-undermining, reformation-overturning, liberty-perverting, law-subverting, truth-enslaving *toleration*, improving a *liberty* to preach the gospel; sinful and shameful silence and unfaithfulness, passing over the indignities done unto Christ, his cause and covenants broken, burnt, and buried, and encroachments made upon his kingly prerogatives, and kingdom's liberties, without a witness, is counted wary and witty *prudence*; stupid indifferency in the Lord's matters, preferring their own things to his, postponing his precious interest to present ease, and selling truth to purchase an unhallowed peace from and with Christ's enemies, is called and encouraged as *moderation*. On the other hand, to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free," that is taken for licentiousness; to maintain *religion* with human *liberty*, that is rebellion; to stand at a distance from and withstand these land-defiling and destroying sins, that is *faction*; to abstract and abstain from all accession to saying a *confederacy to all to whom the people say a confederacy*, for fear of the Lord, lest the benefice of his sanctuary be forfeited, that is

schism and sinful separation; to give every thing its own name, in plainness and gospel simplicity, that is raillery, and pitiful silliness; faithfulness, that is folly; zeal, that is wildness; tenderness of conscience, that is superstitious and preposterous scrupulosity; a testimony can no sooner be named, than it is suspected of giddiness, hot-headedness, and presently huffed and puffed at, cast away and laid by, as an ignorant, impertinent, insignificant ridicule Under such distempers and prejudices, it must needs be very difficult and discouraging to offer a testimony for the precious truths of Christ; especially for the hunted hidden ones, incessantly chased, continually pursued, indefatigably persecuted by the rage of enemies, contempt of friends, and reproach of all; and labouring under such disadvantages, that the sense of their own incapacity to exhibit it, with any suitableness to the matter and moment of it, the want of the concurrence of those that are better accomplished for it, little hope of the countenance of these that do not concur, of acceptance with those that do not give their countenance, or of access to communicate it to those that do not accept it, (without exposing themselves to manifest hazard) or of getting their help to publish it, to whom they dare not freely communicate it, cannot but demur, daunt and discourage them from any such essay.

The following testimony was attended with those disadvantages; which contrary to the intention of the authors, did both retard the publishing of it in the manner first resolved, and precipitate the printing of it in the present exigence. For it was first intended to have been given in to some solemn meeting of Presbyterian ministers who preach under the present toleration, that by them it might be communicated to whom they pleased, and jointly cognosced upon, and thoughts of it returned. But such meetings being hid from us, and hardly access to persons in our circumstances, the principal author, a faithful minister, and now glorified martyr of Christ, Mr. James Renwick (now above the reach of rage and reproach, and crowned with victory over sin and sorrow, pride of men and strife of tongues, with which, for his Master's sake, he had a continual conflict, until he overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of his testimony, not loving his life unto the death, by which also he sealed this present testimony) with the consent of others concurring, thought it expedient to slip no time, but take the first and the fittest opportunity of spreading it among them in such way as might be least offensive. And accordingly, hastening towards the time of his appointed dissolution, a little before his being taken, he delivered it, upon the 17th of January, as it were his dying testimony, into the hands of a reverend and learned minister,

whom he supposed to be the moderator of the meeting at Edinburgh: who not knowing him (for if he had, its like his known loyalty, and respect to the council's sentence of intercommuning, would have made him more reserved; as he shewed himself afterward, when one of the *Informatorie Vindications*, was offered to him, which he superciliously refused) at that time, received it very courteously, and promised to consider and communicate it to his brethren: which for some time was expected, in the hope that either he or some other, should have had so much regard to the importance of the matter of it about which it treats, or respect to him who set to his dying seal to it, or tenderness to our souls, who adhere to it, if they think us in an error, or zeal for the covenanted cause, if they think that thereby wronged, as to signify their sentiments of it, in approving what is right, and disapproving what is wrong in it. Yet instead of this, after it hath been much spoken of, and inquired after, by occasion of its being confirmed by a martyr's testimony, it hath been not only smothered and imbezzled, but when sought for, represented as insignificant, impertinent nonsense, not worthy of their cognizance. Which indeed is the easiest way, and shortest cut to answer all things: and perhaps it were not worth the while, to vindicate the weakness of some of our hands in it from some such charge. But suppose it were, the matter of it (though weakly managed) is of some consideration. It is a testimony against the addressers for, accepters of, and all that have any interest in, or accession to this *toleration*; with reflections upon the Granter's design, and the Receiver's sin. Surely if they have loyalty for the granter, and love to the benefit granted, and peace in improving it, they must justify it; and however it is incumbent to watchmen to shew whether it be sin or duty to these that challenge and allege it to be sin. It is a testimony for the *covenants*, now interdicted to be owned; which all Presbyterians must avouch, or else their adherence thereunto will be suspected. It is a testimony for the present expediency of *field-meetings*, not long ago generally approved of by Presbyterian ministers, and even of them who now condemn them in the same circumstances, wherein they themselves maintained them: it is worthy of some cognizance either to purge themselves of unsteadfastness, or impute to them folly who charge it, and to tell whether it be sin or duty, when people are daily brought to suffering upon this head. What if it have no significance, hath it no signification? Or cannot these masters of sense and learning understand the scope of that which conscience speaks, and it concerns theirs to hear, though it do not observe the rules of grammar. What if it be folly? Yet they know not but the

case may be such as makes the answer expedient, *lest we be wise in our own conceit*, when they do not discover our folly: or shall we allow ourselves to think, they care not what conceits or deceits we run upon? but we rather conjecture, the other case of answering folly, that the wise man determines in the negative, doth more bind our brethren, that is, they will not answer, *lest they be like unto us*: for either they may fear to discover some folly too, and then they will be like unto us; or else, by breaking silence, and the boundaries prescribed in the terms wherein they are tolerated, they may break the toleration, lose their patron's protection, and then they will be like unto us. And there is some reason to think this policy preponderates with them, which indeed as they are circumstantiated may conciliate pity: for, if they answer, without discovering the constantly asserted principles of Presbyterians, concerning tolerations of or from Papists, and owning the obligation of the covenants, &c. all will suspect them either of prevarication or palpable defection; if they do not discover them, they will forfeit the fancied benefit of the pretended favour. But we would have them also to consider, that if they be altogether silent at such a time, though their known learning and sense will absolve them from inability to answer it, yet their disdain of our ignorance will not clear them of the censure of unfaithfulness. And let not their fear of Papists and malignants, if they do speak, make them altogether misregard our constantly resolved testifying against them, if they do not speak, insignificant and impertinent as it is. However the present industry to cover and smother it, together with the inconvenience of incorrect copies, and the mocks and jeers, wherewith they are entertained, do provoke us to make it more public, and to take this way of publishing it; that impartial, unprejudiced readers, may see with their own eyes, and at least be invited and incited to search and try, whether the course here testified against, be to be approved or reprov'd, and consequently whether to be countenanced or discountenanced: and what light they obtain by searching the Scriptures, whether these things be so, it is desired they may ascribe all the praise of it, to the Father of lights, and not astrict all the profit of it to their own breasts, but impart it also to others; and not withhold it from those who own this testimony; who desire nothing more than to be friendly admonished of any wrong in their way, that being convinced thereof, they may confess and forsake it, and to do to others whatsoever they would that men should do to them. Farewell.

The Testimony of some persecuted Presbyterian Ministers of the Gospel, unto the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, namely, to the perpetual obligation of the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and to the present expediency of continuing to preach the Gospel in the interdicted Meetings in the Fields: and against this Antichristian Toleration, in its Nature and Design, tending to bury all these in oblivion, lately obtruded upon, and accepted by the body of this nation.

It was ever reckoned the renown of the church of Scotland, though now brought very low, and like to be lost as a prey in the dragon's mouth, that Christ's conquest of that land which the Roman legions, while heathenish, could not subdue, among the first fruits of the Gentiles. And when overcome, and long overrun by Roman locusts, when antichristian, his glorious outstretched arm did emancipate and redeem his inheritance from the bondage of antichrist, unto such a pitch of reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, that it became a pattern to other churches, and had this prerogative above them all, that at once and from the beginning, nothing was left unremoved or unreformed, that ever flowed from the man of sin: and every part of the reformation was regulated by the measuring line of the sanctuary, the word of God: and not only established by righteous and laudable laws ratifying the same, with the sanction of the penal statutes against the enemies thereof; but confirmed with the strictest engagements to preserve and promote it, in the national and solemn league and covenant, whereby Scotland became the inheritance of the Prince of the kings of the earth, by manifold and undoubted rights, by his Father's grant, by his own purchase, and by our own solemn surrender and dedition by covenant: whereof ever since he took infestment, he hath continued his possession, and maintained his title by the testimonies of his witnesses against all invasions thereupon, through all the periods of this church, which also hath ever been reputed the glory of this reformed and covenanted church, that nothing was ever attempted against any part of her reformation, but was faithfully witnessed against by ministers and professors, from time to time: especially from its first establishment, and abolition of Popery, no essay could ever be made to introduce, or procure the toleration of any of its superstitious fopperies, but the zeal of the Lord's witnesses was found to flame against it with a peculiarity of fervour.

It was never known in Scotland, before this last fatal de-

generation, that ever a favour could be obtained to Papists to practise their idolatries, without a resolute protestation against it; much less was it ever heard, that the open profession of it, should not only be allowed without control, but applauded in the congratulatory addresses of some called Protestants and Presbyterians, for a toleration declaredly designed to introduce it. The addresses of Protestants on such an occasion, used to run in another strain. There is one dated May 27, 1561, presented to the council, "Shewing that honesty craved them, and conscience moved them to make the secrets of their hearts patent; which was, that before ever these tyrants and dumb dogs empire over them, they were fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever they had received of God in temporal things: and that these enemies of God might assure themselves, that if the council put not order to them, they should shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debtors to them." Nor were ever wanting in their warnings and witnessings against the least remissness in zeal against Papists, or any tendency towards favouring them: as when the mischievous Mary, the daughter of the degraded Q——, returning from France. set up the mass but in her own family, the godly at that time gave plain signification that they could not abide, that the land which God by his power had purged from idolatry should in their eyes be polluted again, and that *idol* be suffered again to take place in this realm. And a proclamation being then emitted to protect the queen's domestic servants that were Papists, there was not wanting a peremptory protestation against it. That if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof, in that case this proclamation should not be extended to them, nor be a safeguard to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit murder. But that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against adolaters, wherever they might be apprehended without favour. Mr. Knox had such an impression of the danger of such a toleration, that he counted it a joining hands with idolatry. And declared that one mass was more fearful to him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed of purpose to suppress the whole religion, for, said he, in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt, but both God's amiable presence, and comfortable defence will leave us, and what shall then become of us? Therefore in the reign of king James VI. upon the discovery of the plots of the popish lords conspiring with the king of Spain,

who yet favoured by the king's indulgence, it was resolutely declared by Mr. Davidson that it savoured much of defection in those days, that such notorious rebels to God, and the country, should be so treated with; and that a door should not be opened to God's enemies. And when a convention in Falkland was consulting to call home these conspiring traitors, Mr. Andrew Melvin thought it his duty to go thither uncalled, and when rebuked by the king for his boldness, took the confidence to charge him and the estates in the name of Christ and his church, not to favour Christ's enemies whom he hateth, nor go about to make citizens of these who have traitorously sought to betray their city and native country, with the overthrow of Christ's kingdom. And to challenge them with treason against Christ, his church and the country, in that purpose they were about. Afterwards when the covenanted reformation was upon the ascendant, and meeting with multifarious assaults from all hands, how impartial and uniform the witness of the faithful was against the toleration of pernicious errors, the warnings and testimonies of the general assemblies do evidence beyond contradiction. And after the invasion of the sectaries, the testimonies of sundry ministers of the gospel in the provinces of Perth and Fife against their vast toleration is yet in the hands, and recent in the hearts of these that desire to retain former principles: besides the many writings of truth's champions against it, which are yet on record. This hath been the constant tenor of the testimonies of the witnesses of Christ, ever before this woful and wretched catastrophe, which puts an indelible infamy on the shameful security, and ass-like stupidity of this generation: that having received such an excellent testimony, deposited and transmitted to us through a continued tract of witnessings and wrestlings of our worthy ancestors, now to let it slip and slide through our feeble fingers. Whereby as we have forfeited the honour of being esteemed the offspring of such heroes, (while we not only suffer and consent to, but congratulate and applaud the introduction and establishment, at least do embrace and close with that which is introductive of idolatry and tyranny, popery and the slavery, they built with so great expense) so we may fear the curse of posterity for interrupting the propagation of so excellent a testimony to succeeding generations, who when they shall read the flattering and fawning addresses of this age to, and of their so hasty and hungry embracements of, ensnaring and destructive favours, from an antichristian tyrant, so palpably designed for, and so properly and natively tending towards the undermining and overturning of the reformation, will disdain and disown such for their fathers, with indignation at their memory, for such disorderly and

dastardly yieldings. *O let it not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askelon*, that the ministers are so far degenerate. Alas! all that hear of them will hiss at them for this, that as they had been silent and omitted a seasonable testimony against abjured prelacy, and blasphemous supremacy, when these were introduced; so now also, even when this mystery and conspiracy of popery and tyranny twisted together, in the present design of antichrist, had made so great a progress, and was evidently brought above board: so except what was endeavoured in a protestation emitted at Sanquhar, May 28, 1685, (which here we homologate) the generality were left to forego this opportunity of a testimony also, to the reproach of the sometimes renowned church of Scotland. Yea, the very rabble may arise in judgment against them in that they testified their detestation of the first erection of the idolatrous mass; and some of the soldiery, and such as had no profession of religion, suffered unto death for speaking against popery, and the design of the king, while the ministers were silent: and some of the curates and members of the late parliament, made some sticklings against Papists, while the Presbyterians, from whom might have been expected greater opposition, were sleeping in a profound submission. Wherefore though we be very insignificant nothings, and therefore both uncapable and unworthy to aim at supplying this vacancy of a testimony, and dare not aspire unto the presumption of thinking to fulfil it, with any proportion to the moment and merit of the matter of this clamant case of confession; yet considering the weight and worth, profit and price of those truths, now committed to us to testify and suffer for; our indisputable duty as ministers and members of this church; the indispensable obligation of our holy covenants; the imminent dangers, imminent on the land, apparently ineluctable, if not prevented by giving and taking timely warning: we cannot, must not, dare not forbear to offer our mite of a testimony, for the present precious word of our Lord's patience, and the covenanted reformation of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; and against all the injuries, insolent indignities, and audacious encroachments, done unto and made upon the same, by which God is highly dishonoured, the throne of his glory affronted, the kingdom of his Son undermined, and many souls dreadfully involved in the guilt of this confederacy against him. And so much the more confidence we have, and necessity we find, to prompt to this undertaking, that both this duty is abandoned by others, and imposed upon us by reason of the still continuing and growing persecution incessantly pursuing us, without relenting, notwithstanding others are flattered with pretences of clemency, and

tenderness to conscience, which is both encouraging and engaging to us to maintain this testimony for which we suffer, and being so sequestered from others, and separate (we say not from the benefit, but from the snare and curse of this toleration) by the late proclamation against us, we take the more boldness, and have the more advantage to speak our minds, that what we say, as it is not by communication with others, so it can not endanger any but ourselves. And for what danger we may be exposed to upon this so honourable account, we are not careful in this matter: our God is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and if not, we think it rather a matter to be ambitious of, than of shame or fear, to be endangered thereupon.

The present invader of the regal power, in his proclamation of the 20th of February last past, 1687, hath by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which he requires all his subjects to obey without reserve, granted a toleration to Papists, to Quakers, and to moderate Presbyterians, under certain restrictions and limitations. In which proclamation the moderate Presbyterians are tolerate only to meet in their private houses, and only to hear such ministers as accept of this indulgence, and none other (whereby all adhering to old Presbyterian principles and protestations against such a vast toleration are excluded, and such admitted to be heard who have receded from them) who are thereby obliged to say or do nothing contrary to the peace of his reign, seditious, or treasonable, under the highest pains these crimes will import, (and consequently must not declare that part of the counsel of God, which concerns his antichristian enemies, but consent that faithfulness to Christ be reputed a crime) nor are they to presume to build meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns (but content themselves with the confinements whereunto they are restricted in preaching the gospel.) In the mean time, all preachers, assisters and connivers at field-meetings are to be persecuted according to the utmost severity of the laws made against them. Nevertheless, all laws or acts of Parliament, customs or constitutions, made or executed against any of the popish way, are suspended, stopped and disabled (and consequently all the legal establishments of the protestant religion are unhinged) so that they shall be in all respects as free as any protestants whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, &c. which he shall think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming (whereby he may put in any popish priest, in any parish church, when he pleases) wherein also he claims a power of vacuating and annulling heritable rights (and by that same power may invade men's heritable properties, when he is pleased so to exert his

absoluteness) and of casting and discharging all former oaths: and in place of all, substituting a new one, wherein he requires all his subjects, or such of them as he or his council shall please, to swear that they acknowledge him to be rightful King and supreme Governor of the three realms, and over all persons therein. (Not over all causes, for the ecclesiastical supremacy is restored to antichrist from whom it was borrowed, and for which there is no use at present, absolute power may do the turn as well as this) that they hold it unlawful for subjects on any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever (even though he should command his popish janizaries to massacre all protestants, which is the tender mercy and burning fervent charity of Papists) to rise in arms against him, and that they shall never practise, or assist the practisers of the same; and that they shall never resist his power, nor oppose his authority to his person, which is the compend of all the former oaths, and further comprehends an engagement to justify all his personal administrations, though never so outrageous, as acts of lawful authority; but upon the other hand shall to the utmost of their power, defend and maintain him, his heirs and successors, in the exercise of their absolute power and authority, against all deadly. Where they are to engage not only to own his power, paramount and transcendent to all law divine and human, and to mancipate their religion and reason with all their religious and civil liberties, to the lustful rage, and unbridled will of a tyrant; but if he should erect the formal and direct worship of devils, and bring all their necks under the bow-string, they must neither resist it, nor contradict it, but upon the other hand actively concur with him, in doing all his will to the greatest excess of riot; and must become executioners of their fathers, mothers, wives and children, if it shall please him to put forth his absolute power in that exercise: for herein he claims, and hereby is given a power to command what he will, and obliging subjects to obey whatsoever he will command, to obey absolutely without reserve, without reserve of conscience, religion, honour, honesty, or reason: which proclaims him in whose name the proclamation is emitted, the greatest tyrant that ever lived in the world, far surmounting all the lust, impudence and insolence of any Roman, Sicilian, Turkish, Tartarian, or Indian tyrant, that ever trampled upon the liberties of mankind.

But finding this proclamation was not well approven, because of the palpable odiousness of this oath; therefore, to mend the matter, in a letter to the council (dated March 31, 1687, the supreme law at present) he granted to all that should desire on these terms, the benefit of the said indulgence, without being obliged to take the oath, during his pleasure only,

or so long as the council should find them behave themselves regularly and peaceably without giving cause of offence to him, or any in authority or trust under him. By which none of the former restrictions are taken away (the oath only excepted) but further explained, that they shall not only say or do nothing contrary to the peace of his reign, seditious or treasonable, but that they behave themselves regularly and peaceably, without giving any cause of offence to him, which comprehends lesser offences than sedition or treason, even every thing that will displease a tyrant, and a Papist, that is all faithfulness in reasonable duties or testimonies. But taking to his consideration that some may easily put such interpretations upon his foresaid proclamation as may discover his drift and design; and lest his different procedure in this project with England and Scotland should make his pretences to conscience suspect of treachery; therefore he hath fallen upon a more plausible way, and given forth a more smooth proclamation, of the date the 28th of June the same year, superstructed upon the former, in which are further explications but no taking off of former restrictions (except the oath) seeing he further declares, that by the same sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, he suspends, stops, and disables all penal laws. And to the end that by the liberty thereby granted, the peace and security of his government, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered (that is, that his tyranny may be secured in the peaceable possession of all his encroachments upon our religion, laws and liberties, in the practice of this toleration) he gives his subjects leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner (every way which is their own, and according to their model, if it be not in Christ's way) in private houses, chapels, or hired places, so that they take care that nothing be preached or taught, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him or his government (and consequently no faithful warning must be given of the sins, duties, or dangers of these times, or testimony against the wickedness of this toleration, or the wickedness of the tolerator, by any that accept it, for these would be interpreted to have a tendency to alienate from the government) and that their meetings be peaceably held (suitably to this commenced confederacy with antichrist, who here requires of all who take the benefit of the present truce with him, and binding to the good behaviour) and publicly all persons freely admitted to them, which is for the informing trade, that Jesuits spies may have access to observe and delated how the instructions are kept; and that they signify to some of the next privy counselors, sheriffs, &c. what places are set apart for the uses, with the names of the preachers (whereby they are restricted to the

terms of a formal bargain, and must have their lease and license for every place of preaching, and no persons are admitted, but such as give up their names, excluding hereby all that for any measure of faithfulness in duty are obnoxious to their wicked laws) in the mean time field-meetings are strictly prohibited, and all laws and acts of Parliament are left in full force and vigour against them; for which now he says after this favour, surpassing the hopes, and equalling the very wishes of the most zealously concerned, there is no shadow of excuse left: which may hold too true of some, who by this acceptance discover their hopes and wishes, and zeal to be terminate upon peace rather than truth, ease rather than duty, and their own things rather than the things of Christ: but as for us, it some way answers our fears, and corresponds with our jealousies; and therefore while others are jealousing under the shadow of such a bramble, we think it matter of mourning, not because we are excluded from the benefit of it, but that so many are included in the guilt of it, and exposed to the curse of it; and do look upon it as a seasonable and necessary testimony for the cause of Christ, and the interest of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the country, all overturned and subverted by this toleration, to keep our meetings as in former times in the open fields, whither his tyranny hath driven us.

But these who are carrying on wicked designs know not what course to take as most effectual for gaining their ends, and do change their methods so oft as they change their thoughts about the means most apparently successful: so he hath again thought fit to give out another proclamation of the date of the fifth day of October, the foresaid year, declaring not only that all persons, preachers and hearers, that are present at any meeting in the open fields (which are their greatest eye-sore, because the rights of the crown and kingdom of Christ are there pleaded, asserted and vindicated) but also all dissenting ministers who shall take upon them to preach in houses, without observing the foresaid directions, as are prescribed by the late proclamation, viz. (that nothing be preached or taught among them, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from this absolute and uncontrollable monarch or his government, and that their meetings be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of his privy counsellors, sheriffs, stewards, bailies, justices of peace or magistrates of royal boroughs, what place or places they set apart for these uses, with the names of the preachers) shall be also persecuted with the utmost rigour and severity that their laws will allow. And to make all sure,

he requireth every one of his foresaid officers, to whom such intimation shall be made, to send to the clerks of the privy council, once every month, the names and surnames of the preachers, and the times and places of their meetings. In all this unexpected clemency (as he terms it) not satisfying himself with what he hath delivered against field-meetings, in the foresaid proclamations concerning them, he giveth out yet another of the date of the 18th of October last, against such meetings, calling such assemblies for the worship of God, rendezvouses of rebellion, authorising all officers, civil and military, to apprehend, secure in firmance the persons of some ministers, and for encouragement, ensures them the sum of 100*l.* sterling for each of these ministers: a goodly price, wherewith not only they, but their master and message are prized, and put upon some, who ever since the first of these proclamations have been so unhappy as to be innocent of these things laid to their charge, being out of the kingdom, and so out of capacity to concur in that duty of carrying and following Christ's standard in the preached gospel, indispensably required of all his confessors that are in it. Which as it proclaims the manifest impudence of those lies, wherewith the proclamation is stuffed: so it may provoke all who are touched with zeal against the indignities done to Christ, and would be accounted among his faithful witnesses, against the present antichristian design, to an ambition of exposing themselves to the reproach of such lying mouths, the greatest honour of the servants of Christ.

Having now in this delineation of the foresaid proclamations, already discovered somewhat of the obvious iniquity of the present design against the covenanted reformation, we shall now proceed to offer our testimony for the same, against the present attempts to ruin and raze it. And therefore in the first place, testify against the toleration; and next for the obligation of our covenants, and the necessity and expediency of keeping our meetings in the fields, the suppression of which being one of the wicked designs of the toleration, that suspends other laws, but leaves all in force and vigour against these.

But ere we begin with the first of these, that we may clear the matter, prevent mistakes, and preoccupy reflections, we must premit: 1st, That lawful magistrates are placed in the commonwealth by God, the supreme governor of the whole world, to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well; so they rule not for men, but for God, with whom is no iniquity: but as tyrants and usurpers have no more interest in this than robbers have in the authorization of rightful proprieties; so where magistrates are lawful, and acting law-

fully, they will find it their duty to be a terror to these evil doers who are now tolerated, and a praise to them who are now persecuted. 2d, We cheerfully subscribe to that article of our Confession of Faith, chap. 23. § 4, That infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from the due obedience to him: but we think it no way inconsistent therewith to say with Naphthali, *p. 26, Prior Edit.* Let the words be considered, and we are confident, that no sober man will think the acknowledgment of just and legal authority, and due obedience, a rational ground to infer that tyranny is thereby either allowed or privileged. Further, we grant all that is in the Confession, viz. *Dominium non fundari in gratia*; yet this we assert, that a prince, who not only is of another religion, but an avowed enemy to, and overturner of the religion established by law, and intending and endeavouring to introduce a heretical, false, blasphemous and idolatrous religion, can claim no just and legal authority; but in this case, the people may very lawfully decline his pretended, usurped authority. For though infidelity or difference of religion, does not make void authority where it is lawfully invested with consent of the people, and without encroachment on their religious and legal liberties; yet it may incapacitate a person, and lawfully exclude him from authority over a christian people, having the reformed religion established by law, and confirmed by solemn and national covenants, both according to the laws of the land, which do incapacitate a Papist of all authority, supreme or subordinate; and by the oath of coronation, which obliges all kings at the reception of their princely authority, to make their faithful promise to maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus (by which ever since the framing of that oath, was meant only the protestant religion) and shall abolish and gainstand all false religions, &c. And consequently must not so much as tolerate popery, which no Papist can engage, or be admitted to swear, according to the word of God, which forbids expressly to set a stranger over us, who is not our brother, Deut. xvii. 15: which includes as well a stranger of a strange religion, as one of a strange country. This is not our notion only; it is asserted by Dr. Guild in his exposition, 2d Sam. v. 1, 2. Observe 5, *p. 104.* We infer the general rule of the election of magistrates, as well in regard of his qualities and form of election, as of the end wherefore he is to be elected. As for his qualities, 1st, He must not be a stranger in birth, much less in religion, but must be of a conjunction natural and spiritual with them whom he governeth, otherwise there can be no sympathy nor symbolizing between them. 2d, He must be able to govern.

which is called here to lead out and in. Next, the form of his election should be by common and voluntary consent, according to the constitution of the state, and oath or obligation of right administration, the rule whereof should be the law of God, and positive constitutions of the realm, and last, the end should be to feed the people, caring that they be spiritually fed in the food of life, and temporally, that they be not spoiled or bereft of their means of the life corporal; to be their guider, protector, father, patron, and to have a regard to all necessities, as the good pastor hath to his sheep, and the father to his family. And before him, it is affirmed by famous Mr. Knox, whose four propositions as they are to be read in the account of his life, before his history in quarto, and prosecuted in his second blast, we shall here insert. 1st, It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign over a people professing Christ Jesus, and his eternal verity, but in his election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges must be observed. 2d, No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public regiment, honour or dignity in any realm, province or city, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and his blessed evangel. 3d, Neither can oath or promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God, and his truth known. 4th, But if rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one, as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruel persecutors) most justly may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint and elect. And besides we are to remember, the practice of these venerable divines, that penned that excellent Confession, how avowedly they professed and prosecuted and animated and encouraged the Parliament to an opposition to the then king, abusing his authority to the detriment of religion and liberty, and to the obstruction of reformation: and the declared principle of the general assembly of this church, when they refused to concur in that unlawful engagement, for restoring of Charles the I. till security were had by solemn oath under his hand and seal, that he should for himself and successors give his assent to all acts and bills, for enjoining Presbyterian government, and never make opposition to it, nor endeavour any change thereof. July ult. 1648, sess. 21. And when they refused to admit Charles the II. to the exercise of his power, except he should take the covenant, as it is to be seen in their reasonable and necessary warning, July 27, sess. 27, 1649. And in the act of the West Kirk, August 13, 1650, where-

in they declare that they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the covenant. By all these it is evident, that our renowned reformers, were not men of such a principle, as that people were bound to own, obey, and maintain a tyrant against God and his truth: and that neither the authors of our Confession of Faith in England, nor owners thereof in Scotland, did ever understand that article so, as that a malignant enemy to our covenanted reformation, let be an idolatrous, heretical enemy to the christian religion, could be capable of bearing rule, or owned to be a rule over the Lord's people in Britain and Ireland: and that could ground the entire loyalty superstructed upon it by the citizens and inhabitants of Edinburgh and Canongate, that give out themselves to be of the Presbyterian persuasion, and professed by them in their address to the person and government of such an one as the Duke of York. 3d, It is the right and duty of magistrates to use an imperative, coercive, and cumulative power about church matters, in commanding ministers to do their ministerial duties, prescribed unto them, by their only Head and Master Christ; in restraining idolatry, superstition, error and profaneness; in giving to the ambassadors of Christ their protections, and add their civil sanction to just and lawful ecclesiastic decrees. And it is the duty of ministers, to grant unto the magistrate all the foresaid power, and to be thankful to God, and grateful to them, for the benefit of the right exercise of it: and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. But for usurpers to assume to themselves a sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, to ranverse their constitutions, tolerate idolatry, and allow meetings for gospel ordinances only with restrictions to persons who may preach, places where they may preach, and matter what they shall preach, cannot be allowed by any, who dare not have a hand in betraying the church, and yielding to all such encroachments on her liberties: and to pray for the prosperity of tyrants, that we may be enslaved in our religion and liberty is a wicked thing. 4th, It is indeed the honour of kings, and happiness of people, to have true humane and christian liberty established in the commonwealth; that is, liberty of persons from slavery, liberty of privileges from tyranny, and liberty of conscience from all impositions of men, consisting in a freedom from the doctrines, traditions, or the commandments of men, against or beside the word of God, in the free enjoyment of gospel ordinances in purity and power, and in the free observance and establishment of all his insti-

tutions of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, in subordination to the only rule of conscience, the revealed will of its only lawgiver Jesus Christ. When this is ratified as a right, by the sanction of approved authority, and countenanced and encouraged as religion by the confirmation of laws, approving whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, to be done for the house of the God of heaven (which is the full amount of all magistrates authority) then we are obliged to accept of it with all thankful acceptance: but such a liberty as overturns our rights, our privileges, our religion, and tolerates it only under the notion of a crime, and indemnifies it under the notion of a fault to be pardoned, and allows the exercise thereof only in part, so and so modified, cannot be accepted by any to whom the reproach thereof is a burden, and to whom the reproaches of Christ are in esteem, in such a day, when even the hoofs of Christ's interest, buried in bondage, are to be contended for. What liberty this may be to some consciences, it is none to the tender, according to the rule of conscience. 5th, It is certain a magistrate ought to restore what right or liberty he hath robbed from the church, if it be the same liberty restored that was taken away. Yea, we concede, if a magistrate shall grant a simple permission and liberty to the ministers of the church, to exercise all the parts of their office, without any encroachment upon any kind of power seated in churches judicatories, and having no sinful tendency, ministers may lawfully improve it for the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ: but this is so far from being the same that was taken away, that no part of it is restored as it was robbed, but so defaced and depraved with antichristian and tyrannical modifications, that none that adhere to Scotland's reformation, can receive it, as a part of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. 6th, As it is ministers duty, by virtue of their commission and charge from Christ, to exercise all the parts of their office fully and freely, whether magistrates will or not; so if we might have liberty so to exercise our function, in a freedom from civil restraints, we would willingly take and improve it. Yea, as we abhor the continued persecution against us, not so much for the wrongs we sustain by it, as for the wickedness thereof; so we detest the extending of it against any for religion or conscience sake, or the offering violence to any man's conscience, and in a safe sense could allow that principle, which he would make the world believe to be his, who now seeks to withdraw all consciences from the true and only rule of it, that it ought not to be violated, or (as it is said in the English declaration) "forced in matters of mere religion; or that invincible necessity ought not to be used against any man on

the account of his persuasion." If his constant encroachments upon our lives, laws and liberties, and all our interests as men and christians, besides the known bloody tenets of Papists, did not manifest the impudence of this lying pretence, and if it were not notour that even since this pretended liberty, many have been banished, imprisoned and pursued, merely for conscience sake. And it must be great blindness not to see, and great boldness willingly to wink at, that double faced equivocation, in matters of mere religion, or using invincible necessity; by which he can elude when he pleases all these flattering promises of tenderness, by excepting at the most necessary and indispensable duties, if either they be such, wherein any other interest is concerned, beside mere religion; or if the trouble sustained thereupon be not altogether invincible necessities. Hence the plain falsehood and doubleness of his assertions, as to what is past, may give ground to conclude his intended perfidy in promises of what is future. But to accept of a liberty clogged with encroachments upon the liberties of Christ's free kingdom, or either formally or interpretatively, directly or indirectly, to give way to a toleration of idolatrous or false ways of worship, is odious to all that know the rule of conscience. Though conscience is not to be forced either to religion or irreligion; and religion is not to be propagated by force; yet the open efforts and overt-acts, and propagation of irreligion, atheism, idolatry, blasphemy, &c. ought to be restrained by force, and every person pretending to conscience, constrained to give outward respect to the lawgiver and rule of conscience. And what liberty is either intended, or does natively tend to tolerate what is dishonourable to God, or destructive to conscience, cannot be embraced by any who are tender in keeping a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

These things premittid, we come in the next place to declare our testimony against the toleration. And this we shall do, both as it is simply and complexly considered.

First, Considering it simply, we cannot but testify against it.

1. In regard that it doth palpably cross and contradict the will of God revealed in the Scriptures of truth, Gen. xxxv. 1—4. Exod. xxiii. 31—33, chap. xxxiv. 12—15. Deut. vii. 2, 6, 25, 26, chap. xiii. 6, 12, &c. Joshua xxii. 10, 12, chap. xxiii. 11—13. Judges ii. 1—3. 1st Sam. iii. 13, 14. 1st Kings xviii. 40. 2d Kings ix. 22. 2d Chron. xv. 15, 16. Psalm ci. throughout. Prov. xx. 8. Can. ii. 15. Ezek. xliii. 7, 8. Zech. xiii. 2—4. John iii. 15, 16. Rom. xiii. 3, 4. Rev. ii. 2, 14, 20. Prov. xvii. 16.

☞ The commissioners of the general assembly did plainly

and fully witness against the toleration that was in the bud, anno 1649. And the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, have in the Larger Catechism, in the exposition of the second commandment, reckoned the toleration of false religion amongst the sins forbidden therein. And in the Confession of Faith, chap. xx. §. 4, asserted that such opinions or practises as are contrary to the light of nature, or the known principles of christianity, or destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, they may be proceeded against, by the censures of the church, and by the power of the civil magistrate. And chap. xxiii. §. 3, that it is the magistrates duty to take care that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemy and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed.

3. In regard that a toleration is utterly repugnant unto, and inconsistent with the indispensable oath of God in the national covenant very expressly condemning it, and more particularly the solemn league and covenant: it is not the way to maintain (nay cannot consist with maintaining) reformation, to carry on a uniformity to extirpate heresy, superstition, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; to free our souls from the guilt of other men's sins, to make the Lord one, and his name one; all which we are engaged and sworn unto in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intent to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

4. In regard of the sad and sinful effects that it produceth, such as the growth and increase of heresy, superstition and error, the profaning the Lord's day, the contempt and casting loose of church discipline, the subversion of souls, the offence of the godly and faithful: instead of reformation, deformation; instead of the power of godliness, vain jangling; instead of love, bitter heart-burnings and jealousies; instead of union, schism and division; instead of peace, contention and strife; and instead of government and order, anarchy and confusion, as it is elegantly held forth and evidenced by the ministers of Perth and Fife in their forecited testimony, page 51. The General Assembly of our church, in their declaration and exhortation to their brethren in England, say, what is liberty of conscience, but liberty of error, scandal, schism, heresy, dishonour of God, opposing the truth, hindering reformation, and seducing others. And the ministers of the county Palatine of Lancaster, in their harmonious testimony against toleration, subscribed by them March 7, 1647, do

fitly add, that a toleration is the putting a sword into a mad man's hand, a cup of poison into the hand of a child, a letting loose of mad men with fire-brands in their hands, an appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to flee to, a laying of the stumbling-block before the blind, a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon his lambs, a toleration of soul-murder (the greatest murder of all other) and for the establishing whereof, damned souls in hell would accurse men on earth. Could it be to provide for tender consciences, to take away all conscience: if evil be suffered, it will not suffer good: if error be not kept under, it will be superior. In fine, let any read Mr. Durham in his excellent treatise of scandal, particularly part III. chap. ii. page 146, 147, and they will see how he holdeth forth the toleration and suffering of error, to be a thing most hateful in itself, most hurtful in its consequences, and most displeasing to Christ: for if error (saith he) be an evil that thwarteth, 1st, Both with God's holiness and truth: and 2d, That hazardeth so many souls, (for never a plague hath so destroyed the face of the visible church, nor carried so many souls to hell, as error hath done) then the suffering of it cannot but be hateful to him who loveth his church. There is no way whereby the devil reproacheth ordinances, and the word, more than by this, by turning them to the quite contrary end, as if he would outshoot the Lord in his own bow, (which is abominable to mention) and invert his own means, and turn his own weapons upon him, and suffering of this is a conniving at his design. 4. There is no way by which the devil may so get in on Christ's servants to seduce them, as by this, as in the epistle to Thyatira is clear. And can there danger come so nigh Christ, and he not displeased with what strengtheneth their snares. 5. This doth equal, yea, in some respect, prefer the devil to him, so far as in us lieth, and so cannot but provoke his jealousy: for so the devil hath liberty to vent his lies with truth equally: and there being many lies, though there be but one truth, he hath by this more doors opened to him than the gospel hath. 6. This doth make even the truth, ordinances, and religion itself, to be thought light of: when all these have toleration, it is on the matter a proclaiming an indifferency to be in these things; than which, nothing can more reflect on the jealous God, who in his word putteth such a difference, and sheweth such detestation at indifferency. 7. This bringeth huge confusions on the church: for 1st, If these errors and corrupt teachers prevail, they carry souls after them and destroy them; and ought that to be thought light of? 2d, If they prevail not, yet they cross, afflict, and offend them; and so prove a snare and burden to them of whom the Lord is tender.

8. Toleration doth either account little of error, as being no hurtful thing, and so there can be no esteem of truth; or it doth account little of the destruction of souls; both which must be abominable. 9. Error doth not only break God's law, but doth teach others to do so; and suffering thereof must be a maintaining of teachers to transgression and rebellion against the Lord.

Next we witness against this present toleration complexly considered. And that we do,

1. In respect of the granter, considered either as to morals, or religion, or relation. He is to all considering men, a person of that character, whose dainties are not to be desired; and that when he speaketh is not to be believed: for there are seven abominations in his heart, Prov. xxvi. 25. His plots and practices in his known accession to the burning of London, 1666; in the popish plot discovered 1678; in the murder of the Earl of Essex, do give some swatch and specimen of his former craft and cruelty, and of what further he may be suspected to intend as meritorious to atone for such villainies, to wit, the extirpation of the protestant religion; than which, in the esteem of Papists, nothing can be more meritorious: and for which he hath deserved to forfeit all trust with men of knowledge and conscience. He is known of all to be an excommunicate Papist, and a sworn votary and vassal of antichrist, and enrolled in the society of Jesuites; and, therefore, being in his principles professedly treacherous, yea, obliged to be both treacherous and truculent, by that religion, he cannot be trusted in the least concerns, let be those of such momentous consequence, without a stupid abandoning of conscience, reason, and experience. When both that known principle, *that no faith is to be kept to heretics*, espoused by all Papists, does to them justify all their lying dissimulations, equivocations and treacheries imaginable; and that Lateran canon, *that enjoins kings to destroy and extirpate heretics under the pain of excommunication*, does oblige him to be cruel to protestants, by him esteemed to be such: besides that in his relation he cannot be looked upon as a rightful or righteous magistrate, by any that understands and considers the institution, constitution, characters and boundaries of that sacred ordinance, and knows by what dreadful and detestable means he usurped that place, who can say a confederacy unto, make transaction with, or take any security from such a granter, that expects the benefit of the Lord's sanctuary, Isa. viii. 12, 13. If it was the Shechemites sin and shame to strengthen naughty Abimelech, and strengthen themselves under the shadow of his protection, Judges ix. 9, much more must it be to take protection for religion, as well as peace, from a man of cruelty and treachery.

2. In respect of its design : which he himself expresseth to be to unite the hearts of his subjects to him in loyalty, and to their neighbours in love : which is to incline and induce them by flattery, to lawless loyalty, and a stupid contented slavery, and make them actively co-operate, in setting up, and settling his tyranny in the undisturbed possession of all his usurpation : and to incorporate them with Babylon : for, who are the neighbours he would have them unite with in love. but the Papists, against whom all the lovers of Christ must profess irreconcilable enmity. But in the sense and sentiments of all sound and zealous protestants, the design of the work and worker is to get unto himself an acknowledgment of all his blasphemous absoluteness, and to advance it over all laws, in a way which will be best acquiesced in by the people, till he be so strengthened in it, that he fears no control; to get all the accepters, one way or other, to operate with him in his popish and bloody ends : to get our penal laws against the subjects and promoters of antichrist's kingdom, with the less contradiction, stopped and disabled, which by this esteemed gracious grant, and grateful acceptance of it, he hath already effectuated. And now, by the same measures, he is encouraged to achieve the total rescinding and repealing of them. In the meantime his drift is very visible, and palpable to increase differences, divisions and animosities amongst protestants; to hire these Presbyterians, whom he calleth moderate, to command his clemency, while he is exercising it in pillaging, plundering, hunting, apprehending, stigmatizing, banishing and killing other conscientious non-conformists; to stop the mouths of protestants with this morsel of liberty, while he is filling all the places of power and trust, with men devoted to his way, by taking off the penal laws, disabling them, and then when all power is in the hands of bloody Papists, none shall dare to mutter against the setting up of the public masses. And finally, he designs to infatuate the body of the land, and lull them asleep, by this intoxicating opium; or at least to lay them by from all opposition, till he undermine and overturn the protestant religion, and establish popery and slavery, which he intends either to accomplish by these smooth flatteries, by peace to overturn truth, and by getting the laws against the popish repealed, to make way for rescinding these for the protestant religion; or rendering them secure, as the Zidonians who dwelt carelessly, to make his bloody massacreing attempts upon the whole body; and what he intends to do with the whole, if they came not to the full length of compliance, may be seen in his outrageous beginnings with the West of Scotland, *the old butt of his malice*, which as sometimes he hath expressed his desire, so now it seems he designs to make a *hunting field*. We may see through the tragical history of

former ages. what wicked and hellish design the men of his character have had, in their protestations and proclamations of pretended favour. It is known how Julian the apostate, amongst other devices he used to root out christianity, gave a toleration to all the different professions that were among christians. whereof there were many heretical in those days; and he commenced this cursed contrivance, by calling home the orthodox bishops, whom Constantius banished, that the church might be embroiled by a civil war of contention among themselves, as Sozomen observes, *lib. 5.* And in the mean time conniving at, and encouraging the lawless outrages of barbarous Heathens against them, which they thought they were well enough authorised, in knowing it would please the emperor, which was an unwritten law to them, which afterwards was followed with a more open-faced and declared war against all that professed Christ; which is exactly aped by James the apostate now for the same end. So the massacre of Paris was carried on with the king's marrying his sister to the king of Navarre, a famous protestant prince, and with many public and solemn protestations and declarations of favour to the protestant church, while in the mean time they were plotting and conspiring how to massacre them all, whereunto he was instigated by Jezebel his wife, though he was forward enough himself, his genius leading him that way, and which was carried on by the duke of Guise, as the main leader of these murderers, who still cried out, (which was all the law and reason he used, for instigating these bloody ruffians to that hellish outrage) *Courage my fellows, this is the king's command; it is his express will and pleasure.* And after butchering the famous Coligni, they went through the streets (at the tolling of the royal bell, which was the sign of that horrid perpetration) killing all protestants, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, so that in the space of two hours, or there about, ten thousand were cruelly put to death in that city. The like villany was committed through the rest of France, and the carrying on of the present and almost unparalleled persecution there, with the tyranny and treachery of that bigot arbitrary, after so many laws and edicts seemingly securing the protestants against all fears, may let us see what may be expected of those princes who devote themselves to the lust and rage of popish orders; these locusts come out of the bottomless pit. We have also a recent instance of the cruelty and treachery of that fiery little tyger, the duke of Savoy, against some of the relicts of the old Waldenses in the valley of Piedmont; who, after some ruffles received, promised unto them the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, if they would lay down their arms; but after he had got them spoiled

of their outward defence, caught many thousands of them, killing them in prisons with hunger and cold. And as the Duke of York doth affect much the absoluteness of the French monarch, so we may expect no better of him (whatever he promise) who can do, and undo, by virtue of his declared prerogative, being as absolute over promises as over laws, and however many do extol him as a gracious prince, than that he shall trace the steps of his falsehood, treachery, cruelty, Romish zeal; that so we may have an instance of Babylon's deceit and rage acted in Britain and Ireland, which may make other instances not to be remembered. They are blind who do not see, and stupid who have not the sense of the dreadful-ness of these designs of this tolerator, which he thinks to accomplish by this toleration, unto which it is very subservient, and which cannot be counteracted, but very much strengthened by this acceptance of it.

3. In respect of its fountain, from whence it flows, and is given forth, a despotical and arbitrary domination, outvying, and surmounting the height of Ottoman tyranny. It proceeds from, and is refounded on the Leviathan of sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all are to obey with reserve. Which is a power loosed from, and above all laws, only regulable by the royal lust, which cannot be owned by any who know what religion or liberty is; being contrary to nature, contrary to the ends of all government, the glory of God, and the good of human societies; mancipating all the interests of mankind to the lust of one impowered to destroy all; against the exorbitancy whereof, no means are left to prevent its obstructing all the fountains of justice, and turning all into anarchy and confusion, inconsistent with any security people can have, either of religion or safety, and so cannot be the ordinance of God, nor the person assuming it, his minister for good: a lawless power, making all laws void, needless and useless, and so tyrannical in *actu signato*, claiming a power *jure* to tyrannize when he pleases; a power destructive to the people's liberties, under which the people cannot be secured in the possession of any thing they have in the world; a power invading the incommunicable prerogative of the Universal King, who only is absolute, whose glory is to have his will for the rule of his power, Psal. cxv. 3, Eph. i. 11, Isa. xlvi. 10, a power expressly condemned as tyranny in Scripture, Dan. v. 19, 20, Amos. vi. 12, 13, which, in a word, cannot be better named, nor represented under a better notion, than that which the famous and faithful Mr. Andrew Melvin calls it, *The bloody gullie of absolute power*, as he inveighs against it, in the assembly, 1582. This is the fountain and foundation of this toleration,

by which, indeed, the name and common profession of the protestant religion, may be for a time suffered precariously *durante bene placito donatoris*, until his pleasure shall be to command the establishment of popery, which then he will expect must be complied with without control. But all avowed adherence to old protestant and Presbyterian principles is here interdicted; so all the tenure that protestants have for their religion, is only the arbitrary word of an absolute dominator, whose principles oblige him to break it, and his absoluteness to disdain to be a slave to it. Howbeit, it cannot be denied, that the acceptance of this grant, declaredly proceeding from such a power, and professedly requiring the acknowledgment of it, in the acceptance does imply the recognizance of this power that the granter claims in granting it.

4. In respect of its conveyance, and that is through the conduit of the most apparent means of establishing popery, and subverting protestancy, by stopping and disabling all these penal laws and statutes enacted against Papists, and leaving in force, yea, commanding to execute according to their rigour, all laws made against honest Presbyterians, the most true, and faithful protestants, and stopping none of the most cruel of them, but emitting more and more barbarous edicts against them; for the most cruel are such as are made against field-meetings, which are hereby left in full vigour. What mean can be more effectual to destroy our reformation, than to suspend all laws against any that shall attempt the utter subversion of it, and ratify all wicked acts against such as would most avowedly assert, or own the obligation of all sacred bonds to preserve it? Hence, as he hath presumed by absolute power, to suspend all laws, made for the protection of our religion, so by the same, when he will, he may repeal all laws for its establishment. And these who approve the one, by such an acceptance, cannot disallow the other; but must recognise a power in this tolerator to subvert all laws: and so by accepting this lawless and law-subverting liberty, they make themselves guilty of the palpable breach of the national covenant, where the laws are contained, which this toleration suspends, and dreadfully accessory to all the sad effects of this undermining all the legal bulwarks of our religion.

5. In respect of the nature and extent of it. It is toleration, which is always of evil, for that which is good cannot be *tolerated*, under the notion of good, but countenanced and encouraged as good. Therefore it reflects upon our religion, when a toleration is accepted, which implies such a reproach; seeing it is not ratified as a right, nor encouraged as a religion, but tolerated under the notion of an evil to be suffered.

And such a toleration as makes the professors of Christ partners in the same bargain with antichrist's vassals, and sets up the ark in the place, and under the same place with Dagon; and the devil's threshold by the Lord's threshold; and whereby a sluice is opened to let the enemy come in like a flood, none lifting up a standard against them. Since it is a toleration not only of archbishops, bishops, and curates, but of all Quakers and Papists, reaching all idolatry, blasphemy, heresy; which to accept, is contrary to Scripture, our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, as was shewed above; and clearly inconsistent with the principles of the church of Scotland, with the covenants, National and Solemn League, where we are bound to *extirpate popery, &c. preserve the reformation, defend our liberties*, and so never to accept of a toleration, in its nature and tendency, eversive of all these precious interests we are sworn to maintain.

6. In respect of its conditions, limitations and restrictions, by which all the kinds of power that Christ hath seated in his church, is invaded, invalidated, and evacuated. As 1st, The dogmatic power whereby ministers are to judge of truth and error, in point of doctrine, according to the word of God only: this key is extorted out of their hands, for according to the foresaid proclamations, nothing may be taught by the moderate Presbyterian ministers, in their tolerated meetings, that can be interpreted by the court (according to their will, or their law, for all is one) *to have any tendency to alienate the hearts of the people, from this incontrollable tyrant or his government*. Now, by virtue of this condition, they may not doctrinally discover unto people the affronted wickedness of this unparalleled prerogative; they may not shew the iniquity of the laws, nor warn of the evil thereof; they may not testify against the introduction of popery, nor these means that give an inlet unto it; they may not once mention any wicked design, in all this course of a cursed toleration; they may not teach the obligations of the covenants, neither witness against the breaches thereof expressly, nor reprove the public sins of the time, nor warn of the dangers thereof, nor exhort them against compliances in particular with any course established by law: for all this may be interpreted by court expositors, to have a direct tendency to alienate people's hearts from the man, and his government. Accordingly Mr. Hardy is apprehended, imprisoned, and proceeded against, for giving conscientious testimony against the taking off the penal laws and statutes, which would be thought could not have offended any protestant. 2d, The dictatic power, whereby the courts of Christ are to discern the circumstances of the worship of God, as time, place, &c. for order, decency, and edification, ac-

cording to the general rules of the word: this power is invaded, the key of order is wrung out of their hands in like manner: for now the places of worship are determined in the royal proclamations, which must be made know to some of the court patrons on whose warrant they are tied to depend. What may be the hidden design of this intimation we know not; we heartily wish and pray, it may not be to do with them, as Jehu with the priests of Baal. In the mean time, field-meetings for the worship of God, which have been signally countenanced of the Lord, are severely interdicted; whereby the word of the Lord is bound and bounded; and by the accepters consent to such a model, the bloody laws against preaching in the open fields, where people have freest access with convenience and safety, are justified. The manner of meeting is also restricted to be in such a way, as the peace and security of the government may not be endangered; and that they be peaceably and publicly held: yea, it is expressly required in the proclamation, October 5th, that all who shall preach, by virtue of this royal grant, at any time, or in any place, make intimation of their preaching, as to time and place, *to some one or more of the next privy council lords*, which shall be sufficient for them, during their abode only: whereby they not only are engaged to keep the peace with antichrist, or his lieutenant, in all their meetings, and not only to give accession to all his clandestine censures, to observe how they keep their instructions; but formally must mancipate their ministry, and the freedom of its exercise, to a dependance upon the license of his trustees: which is not only a formal bargaining with the enemies of truth and godliness, but a becoming their servants; and so a forfeiting the honour of being esteemed, while they continue so enslaved, the faithful and free servants of Christ: especially considering how as to the matter of their preaching also, they involve themselves in such inconveniences, that either they must forbear some part of the counsel of God, and decline the testimony of this day, or else expose themselves as a prey to the lust of enemies, who hereby have brought them into a hose net. 3d, The critic or corrective power, which the courts of Christ have to censure delinquents, and absolve the penitents, according to the word of God, is also invaded and made void; for not only doth this toleration rob the ministers tolerated, and the accepters consent to be robbed of that power of impartial censuring those scandals that are tolerated thereby, and all that make themselves guilty of complying with the same, or have been involved in sinful scandalous compliances with wicked courses formerly, such as taking of sinful oaths, subscribing of sinful bonds, paying of sinful exactions, and

other scandalous breaches of covenant; nor dare these that are free of them censure or remove from among them their guilty brethren, and so remove the clean from the unclean: but also invades and usurps this power, formally, in investing the tolerator with authority to inhibit, and discharge some ministers the exercise of their office, whom the standing laws of this church do authorize, and to allow others whom the word of God and constitutions of our church, require to be laid aside, and suspended from that function. 4th, Finally, the exousiastic power of trying, sending and authorizing office-bearers in the church, is made useless and void by this toleration: however an allowance is pretended to keep assemblies, and send out ministers to answer the people's call, neither are these assemblies lawfully constitute of, nor free for all that have right to sit there: nor is their mission of ministers, nor the people's call, of any significancy or value, except intimation be made to this exotic power, of their names that are to officiate under this toleration, and they be found such as please the court patrons, which is the worst of patronages that ever burdened this church. Hence, if a minister were never so lawfully ordained, never so blameless in his personal deportment, never so formally appropriate to a particular flock, he cannot exercise his function, in any place unless the next privy counsellor, sheriff, &c. give their allowance. They will, forsooth, have the judging whether he be so qualified or not; and if he have not the new *conditio sine qua non*, that only qualification of them that are to be tolerate, *moderation*, in the court sense, which is nothing but loathsome luke-warmness in the things of Christ, and court loyalty to a vassal of antichrist, which is disloyalty to Christ, he can have no liberty to exercise his office.

7. In respect of the manifest and manifold scandal of it, we cannot but witness against the acceptance thereof, so offensive to the generation of the righteous, so dishonourable to God, disgraceful to the protestant religion, and prejudicial to the interest thereof. As we would not be accounted unfaithful to Christ, yea, betrayers of our native country, and compliers with the design of antichrist, who hath always mischief in his heart, and intends this as a preparative, for inducing and enforcing all that are hereby lulled asleep, either to take on this mark, or bear the mark of his fury hereafter. Hereby foreign churches may think Scotland is now in a fair way of reconciliation with antichrist, when his harbinger's favour is so kindly accepted; and it cannot but be very stumbling to them to see the ministers of Scotland, whose testimony used to be terrible to the popish, and renowned through all the protestant churches, purchasing a liberty to themselves,

at the rate of burying and betraying the cause in bondage and restraint, and thus to be laid by from all active and open opposition to the designs of the Papists in such a season. Alas! sad and shameful have been the scandals given and taken, by and from the declining ministers of this church heretofore, which have rent and racked the poor remnant, and offended many both at home and abroad: but none so stumbling as this, which to the present and succeeding generation, will appear to be a succumbing at length, and yielding up the cause, and surceasing from any more contending for it, a contemning of former wrestlings for the same, tending to harden and hearten open adversaries in their wicked invasions on our religion, laws and liberties; a sad evidence of being weary of the cross of Christ, and that they would fain have ease upon any terms, and a weakening of the hands, and condemning the practices of these that suffer, when others are at ease.

Next, as we must testify against the accepters of this toleration, who must be interpreted to take it as it is given, and receive it as convoyed from its fountain of absolute power, through its channel of an arbitrary law-disabling, and religion-dishonouring proclamation, with consent to the sinful impositions with which it is tendered; against all which there is no access for a protestation, consistent with the improvement of it, being granted and accepted on these very terms, that there shall be no protestation: for if there be, that will be found *an alienating of the hearts of the subjects from the government*, which by that proclamation would be reflected upon. So in a particular manner we must testify against the *addressers* for it, who have formally said a confederacy, and congratulated the tolerator for this toleration, and all the mischiefs he is machinating and effecting thereby; especially seeing they have presumptuously taken upon them to send their addresses *in the name of all Presbyterian ministers*, we think it concerns all honest men, zealous christians and faithful ministers of that persuasion and denomination, in honour and conscience, to declare to the world, by some public testimony, that they are not consenters to that sinful, shameful and scandalous conspiracy, with which all will be interpreted consenters, that are not contradicters; and charged with the guilt of it, that doth not make the resentment of it notour. We cannot express with what horror and sorrow our hearts were filled, to see an address in the name of all the Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, and another from the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh and Canongate, who call themselves of the Presbyterian persuasion, who having been always forward in a catholic loyalty, or slavery of their persons and consciences,

are now ambitious not to be behind any in a flattering profession of it: we say, we are filled with wonder, that they should assume to themselves the name of Presbyterian ministers, and give out their addresses in the name of all, and that it was *at their desire*; when as the contents of it are clearly contrary to Presbyterian principles, by justifying an antichristian usurper, in undermining religion and approving the abrogation of the national covenant, confirming the laws now disabled, by thanking the tolerator for opening a door to introduce popery, which we are sworn to extirpate, by consenting to limitations and restrictions upon the exercise of their ministry, by accepting of a bounded toleration, wherein idolaters and heretics have the greatest share, contrary to our Confession of Faith, in the place forecited, chap. ii. xxiii. which, notwithstanding, they have insinuated that they do own, wherein either they bewray great inconsiderateness in acting so contrary to themselves, or else no small impudence, in laying claim to that Confession, which doth so condemn their way: therefore we testify against these addressers. 1st, Because of the ground for which they address. What can they allege for this? It is either for the liberty granted to the exercise of their ministry, or else the toleration complexly considered. If the former, then suppose they had got a full and free liberty, it would have been but what was due; and to thank a man for giving what is not his own, seemeth to insinuate a recognizing a power to him to withhold it; but now their liberty is loaded and clogged with sinful and scandalous conditions, which is little ground of thanks. If the latter be said, then they give their consent to set up Popery and Quakerism, for these are also tolerated. Also, it is not to be passed, that there is nothing in all the proclamations concerning this toleration in the least protested against by the addressers; so we cannot see how they can free themselves of congratulating their *clement benefactor*, for all the woful evils in the foresaid proclamations that respect their imaginary favour, *more valuable to them* (as they say) *than all earthly comforts*. 2d, Because of the sinful and shameful deficiency of the addresses, they speak not a word against the openly designed introduction of popery; no resentment of the eversion of civil and religious liberties; no representation of the wrongs sustained under the grassation of the two brothers; no protestation against the invasion made upon the power that Christ hath seated in the courts of his church, and consequently, upon his own incommunicable Headship: not a word of the covenants; but they are passed over in silence, as if they were ashamed of them: they say nothing of the reformation whereunto we once attained, and were solemnly engaged. 3d, Because of their law-

less and unlimited loyalty. This is professed by the foresaid ministers, *To his Excellent, To his Gracious, and to his Sacred Majesty: loyalty not to be questioned, an entire loyalty in doctrine*, which is in effect disloyalty to Christ, in not observing their instructions received from him, but keeping silent at the wrongs done to him, and not declaring against the invasion of his open enemies: *a resolved loyalty in practice*, whereof also the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Canongate will have him assured. This is no less than betraying religion and liberty, in lying by from any active testimony and opposition to the open destroyers of both. *A fervent loyalty in prayers*, which we shall not now insist upon, being to speak of them afterward. This *loyalty* of theirs is not a *christian loyalty*, or profession of subjection for conscience sake to a minister of God for good, who is a terror to evil doers; nor a Presbyterian loyalty to a king as it is qualified in the national and solemn league and covenants; but a stupid subjection, and absolute allegiance, to a minister of antichrist, who gives liberty to all evil men and seducers; a loyalty to a tyrant in his overturning religion, laws, and liberties, and protecting and encouraging all iniquity. 4th. Because of their foulsome flattery: we need not instance how the ministers in their address say, “From the deep sense they have of his majesty’s gracious and surprising favour, finding themselves bound in duty to offer their most humble and hearty thanks to his sacred majesty, the favour being to them valuable above all earthly comforts:” And how the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh and Canongate express themselves. “We cannot find suitable expressions to evidence our most grateful acknowledgments of your majesty’s late gracious declaration.” The matter were less, if they did not speak a lie; for they say they are allowed the free and peaceable public exercise of their religion. Peaceable and public it is, they know not how long; free it is not, for their ministers are bounded with sinful restrictions, as is shown above. And again they add, “Could we open our hearts, your majesty would undoubtedly see, what deep sense and true zeal for your service, so surprising and signal a favour hath imprinted upon our spirits,” &c. This is worse than flattery. We say we need not adduce particular instances of their adulation, for their whole strain is a rhapsody of flatteries more becoming sycophants and court parasites, than ministers and professors that give out themselves to be of the Presbyterian persuasion. 5th, If the addresses were only stuffed with flatteries it were less; but we cannot conceal our horror and astonishment at some expressions, which (if they come not near the borders of blasphemy) are equivocations inconsistent with ingenuity: *The ministers bless the great God*

who hath put this in his royal heart: which must either be understood in that sense, where it is said, Rev. xvii. 17, "God hath put in their hearts to give their kingdom unto the beast;" which they durst not express to him whom they address, neither durst they bless the Lord for it with application to him: and to say this with such a reserved meaning, were odious to protestants, and all honest men. Or, if they be ingenuous, then they bless God for putting it in his heart to project all this wickedness, discovered in the design, tendency, and nature of this popish toleration; which is not far from blasphemy, to make the Holy One the Author of that which he hath declared his detestation of in his word. They further express their resolution, "by the help of God, so to demean themselves, as his majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish his favours towards them:" which upon the matter is either a double equivocation, or else it must be understood, they resolve to demean themselves so, as that a zealous Papist shall find cause to enlarge his favours to them, and shall not find any cause of displeasure at them. They know what he maketh criminal against others, to wit, their teaching the obligation of our covenants, the lawfulness of defensive arms, their testifying against the encroachments made upon the kingly power of Christ, and against the taking off the penal statutes that concern Papists, and the like pieces of faithfulness: and, consequently, they resolve they shall be as unfaithful and silent ministers as ever pleased a Papist; for if they be faithful, they may be assured, he will *find cause to diminish his favours towards them*. Now to purpose this by the help of God, comes very near blasphemy. The citizens of Edinburgh and Canongate, do engage *to continue still in their prayers, for blessing his person and government;* and shew by what argument they plead for it, to wit, that *by the God of heaven, kings reign, and princes decree justice*. Which with application to the person whom they address, is absolutely impertinent, otherwise to bring it forth as adulatory equivocation, with a reserve that they intend only to offer that general proposition in *thesi*, without application to him; in the mean time, making him believe they assert the divine approbation of his government: or else it hath the appearance of blasphemy, to extend that proposition to him, which they cannot do, except they turn it thus, by the Lord tyrants reign, and usurpers decree justice; which to say, according to the Lord's preceptive and approbative will, as that Scripture must be understood, were a blasphemous indignity to the Holy One, with whom such a throne of iniquity can have no fellowship, whereof the professors are set up. but not by him, and he disowneth them, Hos. viii. 4, 6. Because the minis-

ters in their address, disown these who avouch an adherence to the covenanted reformation, and avow an opposition to antichristian usurpers (which they call *promoting disloyal principles and practices*) humbly beseeching the tolerator *not to look upon such as any of their confederacy*. They needed not have been so solicitous upon this head, for all that abide in the principles and practices of the church of Scotland, (which they have deserted) would count it a sin and scandal, laying them obnoxious to the displeasure of the holy and jealous God, and a shameful reproach, exposing them to the contempt of all of whom they might expect sympathy, to be reckoned of their association, who have thus betrayed the cause and the country. 6th, Because of their mercenary prayers, that are disagreeable to the will of God: the ministers pray for *divine illumination and conduct*, (they durst not say *conversion*, for that would have reflected upon the man, either as a wicked man or a Papist, or both, but they warily term it *illumination and conduct*, that he might interpret it to be for light and leading in this antichristian way of his) *with all other blessings ever to attend his person and government*; therefore they cannot pray for bringing down the kingdom of satan, seeing they pray so heartily for the support of an eminent prop of it: they pray not that God may remove such an absolute tyranny, but that *temporal and spiritual blessings may attend it*. And the loyalists of Edinburgh and Canongate, after their dutiful and faithful assurances, "That as they had not been formerly wanting in praying for him," (where we fear they are not wanting in flattering dissimulation) for so refreshing and unexpected a favour (so term they the toleration) "will much more engage them to offer up their desires to God, to bless his person and government." We wonder whence they have the impudence to seek of God, that he would bless a government loosed altogether from his law, and diametrically opposing it, and regulated only by the lust of an arbitrary: and after all, that he would crown such a popish zealot with an incorruptible crown of glory in heaven. Can they be ignorant of the revealed will of God, that such prayers do clash with it? can they be unmindful of that, which is generally professed by protestants, to wit, *That a Papist, living and dying true to the principles of the church of Rome, cannot be saved*. They would have him to think, that heaven is to be gotten very easily, when after all his idolatry, atheism, murder, tyranny, and treachery, (without any word of repentance) he may attain to that everlasting blessedness. Heaven is not a city for unclean things. How such prayers will find acceptance with God, let any who read the Scriptures judge.

Upon these considerations, having witnessed against the ac-

cepting of, and addressing for this toleration, we come now to testify against the sinful and scandalous conjunction of that incorporation which is made up of so strange a mixture; some having embraced the former indulgencies; some having given bond to the council not to preach for an indefinite, or a longer or shorter time; some having ordinarily heard and communicated with the curates; some having come under sinful bonds and oaths to the persecuting adversaries, repugnant to the oath of our covenants; and others of them having gone on in sundry other steps of defection, and in no small contradiction to Christ's more faithful sufferers and witnesses: admitting also some to the charge of ruling elders amongst them, who had habitually complied with prelacy, and had borne the name of that office under the curates, and all this without any resentment of such horrid courses that the world can hear of: and so they are a corrupt mixture of all sorts of compliers, and suffers those who have gone on in dreadful apostacy, and sworn the wicked oaths, even the *test* itself, to present their children to the sacrament of baptism, without any profession of repentance. Now likewise, they must, according to the royal proclamation, have one common purse with the curates, by casting in their baptism and marriage money together, like that in the Proverbs, chap. i. 14, "Cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one purse;" but who would regard the will of the Lord must regard what follows, verse 15, "My son, walk not thou in the way with them, refrain thy feet from their path." This confederacy of theirs, is as the conspiring of the prophets in the midst of Jerusalem, like a roaring lion ravening the prey, Ezek. xxii. 25. Can such a work be of God, and can it stand, which hath such a foundation, such a superstructure, such measures and such workers? We must in like manner testify against the constitution of their ecclesiastic meetings, to wit, their presbyteries, synods and assemblies; in regard that they are made up of such a corrupt mixture of members, who (for the most part) by the word of God, and decrees of our church, would be suspended, if not deposed from their office, and brought in as delinquents to undergo censure, and not as constituent members of a judicatory; in regard that the accepters of this toleration hold their ministry upon a dependance upon the courts of men; and in regard that they carry on a course of defection contrary to the Scriptures, our covenants, and the acts and constitutions of this church. And further, we testify against all that they may conclude that may be any way prejudicial to our reformation, or corroborating to this course of apostacy: and plainly protests, that whatsoever determinations, acts or commissions that shall be given by them, may not be interpreted as binding to the church of Scotland,

But now to put an end to this sad and deplorable declamation, which we can say with some singleness of heart, that only zeal for our Master's glory, love to our brethren involved in such a sad snare, and the exoneration of our own consciences, hath extorted from us, having no access in any other way to acquit ourselves in our duty to them; we must subjoin a sorrowful, but necessary consequential inference, and thereupon subsume that we cannot avoid, but are constrained in conscience to warn all the zealous and faithful lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ, who are desirous to confess Christ before men, and to be listed among his called, chosen and faithful followers, who must side themselves for him now, in adhering to his standard, when the enemy is coming in like a flood, and the war is declared between Christ and antichrist, as they would not be involved in this confederacy, and so forfeit the hope of his sanctuary, in a day when he is a stone of stumbling and rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, and so many are fallen, broken, snared, and taken; and as they would not be found accessory to, nor guilty of the innumerable evils that are either implied in, or do natively follow upon this new way, to come out from among, discountenance and withdraw from the promoters, abettors of, carriers on, concurrers with, this course of defection, we mean the addressers for, and accepters of this toleration, whose iniquity we have endeavoured in some measure here to discover. We abhor that principle that we are invidiously calumniated with, of casting off the ministry, or disowning all the ministers of the church of Scotland: we hope all are not, and shall not be so far left in this hour of tentation, so to abandon the word of the Lord's patience, as thus to forget and forego the hitherto continued testimony for the covenanted reformation, by embracing a toleration so plainly and palpably eversive thereof; and doubt not but there are some of our dear and reverend brethren who dare not concur in this conspiracy, who both mourn in secret, and are willing to witness their dislike at the sins and scandals of this course, as they find occasion, whom only misinformation by the industry of our traducers does demur from concurring in this testimony. But as for our declining brethren, involved in the guilt of this defection, though we respect and reverence them in the Lord, as our beloved brethren; yet out of love to them, and to the souls of the people whom they and we must answer for; we cannot but witness against them, and obtest them in the bowels of Christ, to relinquish this course, or otherwise we must warn all that would be free of the sin of it, and escape the judgments wherewith it is like to be pursued, to discountenance them, while they continue in it.

1st. Because by this bargain and confederacy with the tolera-

tor, in the acceptance of this antichristian toleration, receiving upon certain conditions what he gives, complying with what he demands, obeying what he commands, relying on what he promises, and acquiescing in what he offers upon the very terms that he offers it, (which is a formal confederacy) they become in the exercise of their ministry the servants of men, and bound to please them; whereby they forfeit the honour of the free servants of Christ, Gal. i. 10, and change the holding of the freedom of their ministry with changelings, of which sort it is not good to meddle, Prov. xxiv. 21. Mr. Durham in a digression of hearing ministers, Revel. chap. 1. page 55, in quarto, shews that by palpable defection from the truth and commission given to ministers in their call, they may forfeit their commission, and so no more are to be accounted ambassadors to Christ, or watchmen of his flock, than a watchman of the city is to be accounted an observer, when he hath made public defection to the enemy. and taken on with him. Seeing then they have made such a palpable defection from the truth, as is evidenced above, and from the commission Christ hath given them, they so far take on with the enemy as to address him, and accept of his favours, with a cessation of the war they should maintain against antichrist, they must be looked upon *in tantum, and pro tempore*, as having *jure* forfeited the wonted respect due to Christ's faithful ambassadors, while they continue in that defection. 2d, Because they cannot be submitted to, without consenting to the great encroachments made upon both the privileges of this church, and liberties of this kingdom; for they are fixed in such and such places by a warrant from counsellors, sheriffs, &c. And others are discharged, they are a thorised to preach there, by a power encroaching on the privileges of the church, and usurping the freedom of their ministry. 3d, Because while they are under this pretended liberty, not only must they keep truth in bondage, not daring to declare the sins, snares, duties of the times faithfully, but people are in hazard of being perverted from some parts of our covenanted reformation, by the loyalty of their doctrine and prayers, savouring more of sinful compliance with and flattering of wicked men, than of loyalty to and zeal for Christ as King; and while in the application of their doctrine, they condemn such essential parts of the present testimony, as are the known and received principles of the church of Scotland, in her best and purest times; and in the mean time recede, and justify their recession from their former way of preaching and praying, who used to preach up the reformation, and the obligations of the covenants, and cry against the sins of the time, and especially the heaven-daring usurpations of the court; and used to pray against the

throne of iniquity, the kingdom and seat of the beast, and all that gave their power to the beast, to support that tottering kingdom: but now people must expect another strain in their doctrine, and another style in their prayers, since they received this hire of liberty, who to the sad stumbling of many, and observation of all, are found to have an apparent tincture of mercenariness: while instead of joining with the incessant cry of all the elect for vengeance against Babylon, and the destruction of the whore, they pray for all blessings upon the person and government of a chief pimp of hers; who knows but ere long, by such prayers, people may be induced to such a remitting of their zeal against popery, as to think it tolerable to pray for the Pope, as well as for a popish tyrant. By such doctrine and prayers they may be caused to err from the words of knowledge, and to receive that instruction that Solomon bids us cease to hear, Prov. xix. 27. Surely it hath a tendency to cause divisions and contentions contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and therefore such as cause them, are to be marked and avoided, Rom. xvi. 17. 4th, Because as there are many terrible charges and adjurations laid upon ministers in reference to a faithful diligence in their ministerial function, and a suitable testimony concerning the sin and duty of the time, as is well observed by the judicious author of *Rectius Instruendum Confut. 3. Dial. chap. page 21*. So for their negligence and unfaithfulness herein, there are many scripture woes and threatenings thundered against them, and the people for adhering to them, Isa. ix. 16, chap. xliii. 27, 28. Jer. xiv. 15, 16, chap. xxiii. 14, 16. Lam. iv. 13. Ezek. iii. 18, chap. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 18, 22, chap. xxii. 25, to the end. And therefore as people would not be partakers of the judgment with which this toleration will be pursued, we must warn them to beware of adhering to those who are palpably unfaithful, in not witnessing against, but justifying the sins of this course. 5th, Because communion with them in these circumstances, will infer a participation of their sin, being a communion in sacred things, which makes the partakers of the bread to be one body, 1st Cor. x. 17, 20. And an unequally yoked fellowship to be separated from, 2d Cor. vi. 14, 17, since it is such a communion as in the present circumstances is interpreted to be a *tessera* of incorporation with them, and sign of approbation of them in this new way of theirs. 6th, Because of the scandal in countenancing them in this way, it would be forbore, not only with respect to their own consciences who join not with them, but of others also, giving none offence neither to the Jews nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God, 1st Cor. x. 28, &c. Mr. Durham in the forecited digression, makes that a reason of

forbearing joining with some, that it carries offence along with it, in reference to the party joined with, it proves a strengthening and confirming of him, and so a partaking of his sin: in reference to others, it either strengthens them by that example to cast themselves in that snare, or it grieves them and makes them sad, who are tender of such things, and makes all difference of that kind to be thought little of. Since then the toleration itself, addressing for it, and accepting of it, there is such a manifest scandal, there must also be a manifold offence in countenancing those that are so tolerated, and consent thereunto; it strengthens and confirms them, it strengthens others to incorporate with them, and weakens the hands of these that witness against it. 7th, Because our duty to themselves, yea, our greatest office of love we owe to them in order to their conviction, does oblige us to withdraw from them, to shame them out of their sin, and not suffer it upon them; especially because they are brethren, 1st Cor. v. 11, that walk disorderly, against and without the order of their office. and the order of the church. *Qui quod sui est ordinis atque officii non faciunt, et facientes turbant;* 2d Thes. iii. 6—14. We plead not here for schism or sinful separation, only we apply to this present case the constant doctrine of Presbyterians: wherefore we shall here subjoin some plain quotations out of their writings. Mr. Rutherford in his *Due Right of Presbyteries*, p. 253, &c. distinguishes a separation from the church, in her worst and most part, and a separation from the best and least part: and page 258, when the greatest part of a church makes defection, the lesser part remaining sound, the greatest part are separatists. Truth is like life, that retireth from the manyest members into the heart, in case of danger. So it is the major part that hath made defection, which are to be accounted separatists, and not such who stand to their principles, though they cannot comply or join with the corrupt majority. *Apolog. Relat. sect. 14, p. 291*, saith, there may be a lawful withdrawing where the ordinances and ministry are not cast at, so long as people does not cast at the ordinances. but are willing to run many miles to enjoy them; nor cast at the church as no church (though they sadly fear that God shall be provoked by that dreadful defection, to give her a bill of divorce) nor at the ministry, for they love those that stand to their principles dearly, and are most willing to hear them either in public or private. The grave author of *Rectius Instruendum Confut. 3, Dial. chap. 1, p. 7*, &c. allows that every separation is not schism, even from the church which hath essentials, yea, and more than essentials, if it be from those, though never so many, who are drawing back from any piece of duty and integrity attained; for this is still to be held

fast according to many scripture commands. Next, he says, if we separate in that which a national church hath commanded us as her members to disown, by her standing acts and authority, while these from whom we separate own that corruption. He asserts there likewise, there is a lawful forbearance of union and compliance with backsliders in that which is of itself sinful or inductive to it, which is far from separation strictly taken; the commands of abstaining from all appearance of evil, and hating the garments spotted with the flesh, do clearly include this. He adds, many things will warrant separation from such a particular minister or congregation, which will not warrant separation from a church national, nor infer it. Lastly, he says, there is a commanded withdrawing from persons and societies, even in worship: the precepts, Rom. xvi. 17. 2d Cor. vi. 17. Prov. xix. 20. Acts ii. 40, will clearly import this by consequence. Surely the ministers and professors adhering to her reformation, must be the true church of Scotland, though the lesser number. These soldiers who keep the general's order, are the true members, not the deserters of the same.

In the next place, considering how our covenants are slighted, the obligation of them forgotten, and they like to be buried in oblivion: we judge we are necessarily called to speak a word of our covenants, national and solemn league, desiring to bless the Lord, who put it in the hearts of his people to engage themselves to enter into holy covenants unto his Majesty, and one to another in subordination to him, in order to these things that concern truth, righteousness and holiness. And we do testify our cordial approbation of, and real adherence unto these memorable engagements, for we are persuaded in our minds; that it is the duty of people and nations who profess the name of the Lord, to enter into covenant with him. It is the first and great commandment, that we should have no other gods before him, Exod. xx. 3, and that we do his statutes and judgments, and to avouch the Lord to be our God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes and commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken unto his voice, Deut. xxvi. 16, 17, and whereof we have many precedents in the book of God, of entering into and renewing the covenant of Israel by Moses, Deut. xxix. by Joshua, chap. xxiv. by Asa, 2d Chron. xv. by Hezekiah, 2d Chron. xxix. by Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. by Ezra, chap. x. by Nehemiah, chap. ix. 38, chap. x. 29. And we are also no less convinced in our consciences, that the obligations of our covenants is perpetual and binding upon posterity: and to confirm this, we shall add these few considerations. These engagements are national promises, laying in pledge the public

faith. Certainly that promise of the Jewish nobles and rulers, not to exact usury of their brethren, would have brought their posterity under the curse if they should have done it, Neh. v. 12, 13. They are national vows, whereby they devoted themselves and their posterity to be the Lord's people. Jacob's vow at Bethel, *that the Lord should be his God*, Gen. xxviii. 21, did oblige all his posterity virtually comprehended in him: *He found him at Bethel, and there he spake with us*, saith Hosea many hundred years after, chap. xii. 4. So the Rechabites were bound to observe the vow of their forefather Jonadab. They are national oaths and these do oblige posterity. Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel to carry up his bones to Canaan, Gen. l. 25, which the posterity going forth of Egypt in after ages, found themselves straitly sworn to observe, Exod. xxx. 19, and accordingly buried them in Shechem, Joshua xxiv. 32. They are national covenants, wherein king, parliament and people do covenant with each other, to perform their several and respective duties, as to religion and liberty: these oblige the posterity as Israel's covenant with the Gibeonites, Joshua ix. 15, 19, for the breach whereof many ages after the posterity was plagued, 2d Sam. xxi. 1. They are national attestations of God, as witness for the perpetuity as well as fidelity thereof. Such are these covenants wherein the name of God is invoked as witness, and so they are called the Lord's covenants, as that which Zedekiah brake, and wherefore the Lord punished him, Ezek. xvii. They are national covenants made with God, as party contracting, which none can dispense with: such were the covenants of the Lord's people renewed by Joshua, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, Ezra, Nehemiah. They are for the matter national covenants about things moral, objectively obliging and so perpetual, Jer. l. 5. They are for their ends, which may be all summed up in this, preservation of religion and liberty inviolably, because these ends are constantly to be pursued. They are national adjurations, under the pain of a national curse, which doth make the posterity that brake them obnoxious. They are for their legality national laws, because solemnly ratified by parliament, and by the king, and made the foundation of their compact with him, at his inauguration, whereby they became the *leges regnandi*. They are national covenants of an hereditary nature, like that of Israel, Deut. xxix. 14, 15, which did oblige not only the present, but the absent, and consequently the posterity. Now, considering these things concerning the obligation of our covenants, the rejoicing that was at the oaths of God, when they were taken, the singular manifestations of his Spirit at that time, and his testifying in his works of providence, his approbation of what

his people did in these things, according to his word, by his going forth with his people and their armies, and making the enemies to fall before them. We cannot but profess the sorrow of our hearts, and testify the abhorrence of our souls, against all the breaches, injuries and affronts, that have been, or are offered or done to our covenants, national and solemn league; which now, alas! are like to be despised and buried in forgetfulness: even when now they are not only nationally broken, but burnt, and the owning of them is declared criminal, by an act of Queensberry's parliament, which makes it a case of confession to assert their obligation; particularly we testify against the sinful, shameful, and scandalous defection of many ministers in this point, by their laying by these sacred covenants, forbearing (under this toleration) to preach plainly the obligation of them, to discover particularly the breaches of them, and to mention them in the engagements which they require of parents when they present their children to baptism: though at first publication of the foresaid act of parliament, many of them did privately preach against it, when there were none to challenge it; but being exposed to the court censures, in their public and peaceable meetings, they are submissively silent. We find the forgetting and breaking of the covenant of the Lord, lieth under most heavy threatenings, and hath been punished with most sore judgments, Lev. xvi. 15. 16, 17. Deut. xxix. 14, 15, 19, 21. 1st Kings ix. 8. 9. Jer. xxii. 8, 9. Zech. v. 3, 4. Mal. iii. 5. We cannot slight that which the ministers of the county Palatine of Lancaster, in their harmonious testimony against toleration (of which we have spoken before) do say in the like case. if we shall now cast by the covenant, after we have reaped so much fruit and benefit by it, who knows but that we may be forced to take it up again to save our lives.

In the last place, because field-meetings for gospel-ordinances, dispensed in freedom and faithfulness, which the Lord hath often signally owned and countenanced to the conviction of many, in the conversion, confirmation, edification and consolation of many poor souls, are now by wicked and sanguinary laws (left still in force, when the righteous laws against Papists are suspended) interdicted and discharged under pain of death; therefore we must testify our abhorrence of this cruelty, when others are silent at it; and signify also our reasons of endeavouring to maintain these interdicted meetings with respect to the conveniency, secrecy and safety of the people to whom we preach: not daring to trust these who are thirsting insatiably after our blood, nor give them such advantage as they are seeking to prey upon us, by shutting ourselves within houses. And, moreover, taking our-

selves to be called indispensably in the present circumstances, to be as public, or more than ever, in our testimony for the preached gospel, even in the open fields. We grant that under the evangelical dispensation, there is no place more sacred than another to which the worship of God is restricted; and that when we are persecuted in one place, we may flee into another; and that if a magistrate should prohibit one place, and leave all other free, we should not strive for a spot; if we were only excluded out of one place, and not included and restricted to other places, nor otherwise robbed of the church's privileges. But this is not our case, for we are interdicted of all places, and have to do with one from whom we can take no orders to determine our meetings. It is not then the place of fields or houses which we contend for; nor is it that which he mainly opposes; but it is the freedom of the gospel faithfully preached, that we are seeking to promote and improve, and he seeking to suppress: and therefore as an enemy to the matter and object of these religious exercises, which are the eye-sore of antichrist, he prosecutes with such fury and force, vigour and rage, cruelty and craft, the manner and circumstances thereof. But for the expediency and necessity of our continuing to keep up our meetings in fields, in our circumstances, we offer these reasons: 1, It is necessary at all times that christians should meet together for gospel-ordinances, whether the magistrate will or not; the authority of God, their necessity, duty and interest makes it indispensable in all cases. If then there must be such meetings, for such ends, then, when they cannot meet within doors, with conveniency and safety, they must do it without: if they cannot get the gospel in houses, they must have it wherever they can, with the freedom and favour of God, cost what it will. 2, These meetings must be as public as may be with conveniency and prudence, especially in an evil time, when wickedness is encouraged, and a witness for truth suppressed. Then the meetings of the Lord's people, that endeavours to keep clean garments, should be more frequent, public and avowed. For, 1st, then the call of God, by his word and works, is more clamant for public and solemn humiliation, in order to avert imminent judgments, and impending strokes from God, Zeph. ii. 1—3. Joel ii. 15, 16. 1st Sam. vii. 2, 6. The way that the Scriptures point out to evade and avert public judgments, is, to make our resentment of these indignities done to our God, our mourning over them, and our witness against them, as public as the sins are, at least as public as we can make it, *by a public pleading for truth*, Isa. lix. 4, *a public seeking of truth*, Jer. v. 1, *an avowed valour for the truth upon the earth*, Jer. ix. 3, *a making up*

the hedge, and standing in the gap, Ezek. xxii. 30, *a public pleading with our mother*, Hos. ii. 2: these things cannot be done in private, but by way of testimony. 2d, The nature and end of meeting for gospel-ordinances is for a public testimony for Christ, against all sin, and every dishonour done to the Son of God: the preached gospel being not only the testimony of Christ but a testimony for Christ, Psal. cxxii. 4. Matth. xxiv. 14. Rev. vi. 9, chap. xii. 11. Wherever then the gospel is preached, it must be a testimony; but it cannot be a testimony except it be as public as can be. 3d, It is the great work of the day to carry the gospel, and follow it, and keep it up as Christ's banner of love over his friends, and the standard of war against his enemies: when now Zion is labouring to bring forth as a woman in travail, and made to go forth out of the city, and to dwell in the field, and that which will prompt to bear men out in this public work, must be a public spirit, aiming at no less than Christ's public glory, the church's public good, the saint's public comfort, a public concern for all Christ's interests, a public sympathy with all Christ's friends, and a public declared opposition to all Christ's enemies, which, where it is, will put his zealous lovers and votaries to a public appearance for him, and avowed seeking of him. Cant. iii. 1, 4, chap. v. 7. Psal. cxxxii. 5, 6. 4th, The privilege of the gospel, to have it in freedom, purity, power and plenty, is the public concern of all the Lord's people preferable to all other interests; and, therefore, more publicly, peremptorily and zealously to be contended for, than any other interest whatsoever: and, therefore, we must resolve, they shall sooner bereave us of our heart's blood, than of the gospel in freedom and purity; but we cannot contend publicly for it if our meetings be not public. 5th, The nature and business of the gospel ministry is such, that it obliges them that exercise it to endeavour all publicness, without which they cannot discharge the extent of their instructions. Their very names and titles do insinuate so much, being witnesses, heralds, ambassadors, watchmen, light that cannot be hid. The instructions given them infer the necessity of it. Isa. lviii. 1, chap. lxii. 6, 7. Jer. vi. 17. Ezek. ii. 5, 6, chap. xvi. 2, and xx. 4. Matth. x. 27. These things cannot be done in a clandestine way: and, therefore, now, when there is so much necessity, it must be the duty of all faithful ministers to be laying out themselves to the utmost, to give a public testimony against all the evils of the time, notwithstanding of any prohibition to the contrary, in the most public manner, according to the example of all the faithful servants of the Lord, both in this Old and New Testament; though it be most impiously and tyrannically interdicted, yet the laws of God stands unrepealed: and therefore all that have a trumpet and a mouth, should set the trumpet to the mouth, and sound a certain sound, not in secret, (so that will not alarm the people) but in the most public manner they can have access: therefore seeing meetings must be as public as they can be. That they should be in houses, safety will not permit; to us to go to the streets or market-places, neither safety nor prudence will admit: what can we do then, but go to the fields? 3 Keeping of field-meetings now is not only most convenient for testifying, but a very significant testimony in itself. 1st, Against the pe-

pish toleration: reason and religion both will conclude that this is to be witnessed against by all that will adhere to the cause of reformation thereby overturned, and resolve to stand in the gap against popery, thereby to be introduced, and will approve themselves honest patriots, in defending the laws and liberties of the country, thereby subverted. Seeing then it must be given, it is certainly most expedient to do it there where the meeting is without its covert, and interdicted by the same proclamation that tenders it; and where the very gathering in such a place is a testimony against it: for to preach in houses constantly, and leave the fields, would now be interpreted an homologating the toleration, that commands preaching to be so restricted, or, at least, an aiming at compliance with it. 2d. It is a testimony against that wicked law, that discharges them as criminal, which cannot be lawfully obeyed when, in some respect, it is come to a case of confession: for if Daniel's case, praying with open windows, when public prayer was discharged under the pain of death, was a case of confession, then must our case come near to it; when public preaching is discharged to us under the same penalties: though to us, we reckon it as indispensably duty from these Scriptures, 1st Cor. ix. 16. 2d Cor. vi. 4, 8, 9. 2d Tim. iv. 2. It is equivalent to an universal discharge of all public preaching, when that manner of it is discharged, which we can only have with freedom and safety, in a way of public testimony; which can be none other in our circumstances, but in the fields. 3d. It is a testimony for the headship, honour and princely prerogative of Jesus, which hath been, and is the great word of his patience in Scotland, and by an unparalleled insolence encroached upon by usurpers in our day; since in these meetings there is a particular declaration of our holding our industry, and the exercise thereof, from Christ alone, without any dependance on, subordination to, or licence from his usurping enemies, and that we may, and will preach in public, without authority from them. 4th. It is a testimony for our covenants, national and solemn league, the owning whereof, is declared criminal by that same law that discharges these meetings. Since then the owning of these meetings, and our covenants, are both discharged together, and the owning of the covenants does oblige to a public opposition against the discharge, and an avowed maintenance of the church's privileges, whereof this, in a manner, is the only and chief liberty now left to be maintained, to keep meetings where we may testify against them, without dependance on their toleration, it must follow, that these meetings are to be maintained, which only can be in the fields with conveniency. 4. To give over field-meetings altogether, at this time, would be very stumbling, both to friends, who might look on it as a fainting and succumbing at least in our contendings for the cause of Christ, as being quite overcome; and to enemies prove very hardening and encouraging in their wicked design of banishing all meetings out of the land; for certainly it will not terminate upon a simple suppression of meetings of this sort, but further is intended to extirpate all meetings for gospel-ordinances, in which there is any testimony against the antichristian enemy. To comply, therefore, with such a forbearance of them at this time, would lay a stone of stumbling before them in these their designs, when they shall see their contrivances so universally complied with, wherein they might boast that at length they had prevailed to put quite away that eye-sore, the freely preached gospel of Jesus Christ.

But to come to an end, we shall conclude with that pertinent epilogue of the ministers of Lancaster in England, used by them in their testimony against toleration: thus fearing lest if we had altogether held our peace, at this time, God might have sufficiently vindicated his truths by other instruments; but for our baseness, judged us unworthy to be entrusted any longer with so precious a treasure as truth is; we have therefore chosen rather to approve ourselves faithful unto God, though, for so doing, we should be never so much persecuted and condemned by men, than by our sinful silence, seem to be ashamed of Christ, his truth, our covenants, reformation, and the faithful confessors of Christ in all ages, although thereby we might be assured to gain the whole world. And now, having discharged our consciences in this point, however our actions may be misconstrued by some, yet knowing that our witness is in heaven, and that God is our righteous Judge, we are hopeful that the testimony of our consciences (that herein we have aimed at nothing but the glory of God, the defence of his truth, the health and recovery of his bleeding and declining church, the casting some discountenance upon this woful toleration, and to testify our adherence to our covenants and reformation) will abundantly support us against the worst of evils that can befall us, for witness-bearing to the truth.

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