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HISTORY

A CLOUD OF WITNESSES

by Rev. John H. Thomson

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INTRODUCTION

“THE CLOUD OF WITNESSES, an edition of which we now present to the reader in a new and handsome setting, was originally published as a small quarto volume of 290 pages. Its title page, of which we give a fac-simile, contains the name neither of printer, publisher, nor of compilers, but simply the year in which it was printed, viz., 1714. Considering the rude state of the art of printing in Scotland at that time, after the tyranny and oppression under which the land had groaned for so many years, when much of Scottish literature had to be printed in Holland, and was secretly brought over and circulated in the country, it may be considered a very creditable specimen of typography; the title page being printed in two colors with a considerable amount of taste. There are, however, a good number of typographical errors in the text, which the compilers apologize for, at the dose of the volume, in the following quaintly courteous sentence: — “Good Reader, — There being several mistakes of the press in this impression, too many to bear any reasonable apology; it is hoped thy candor and ingenuity will pardon the smaller, and thy pen amend the greater, which may mar or alter the sense; a list whereof follows.”

The frontispiece, of which a fac-simile is also given, shows, in a still more remarkable degree, the low condition of the engraver’s art in Scotland at that period, although in the next generation the future Sir Robert Strange learned in Edinburgh, under a Mr. Cooper, the rudiments of an art, in which he was yet to rank among its greatest masters. But rude as it is, it has a power approaching to the sensational, and, no doubt, would lead many to read the book itself.

The second edition is said to have been published in 1725, but, while the first edition is not uncommon, this is one of the rarest of books. It is not in any of the public libraries, and even the recent discussions on the authenticity of the story of the Wigtown martyrs have not been successful in bringing a copy to public view. The third edition is an 18mo of 388 pages, and was published in 1730. It contains several additions to the matter of the first, such as the inscription on the grave of Margaret Wilson

at Wigtown. The fourth edition was published in Glasgow in 1741, and is a 12mo of 408 pages. It gives for the first time the Testimonies of John Nisbet younger, John Nisbet of Hardhill, Robert Millar, Thomas Harkness, the letters of John Semple and Archibald Stewart, and the epitaph at Rullion Green. The fifth edition was published in Glasgow in 1751 and is one of the most correct as well as the most beautifully printed of the early editions. It adds to the matter of former editions the testimony of John Finlay. Edition after edition followed the fifth in quick succession: the eighth edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1765; the tenth at Aberdeen in 1778; and in the same year (evidently in ignorance of the one issued from the banks of the Dee), *another* tenth edition was published at Glasgow. "A new edition" was printed in London in 1794, a fifteenth edition in Glasgow in 1814, and it has been given to the world in many different forms since.

So early as 1686, the Societies entertained the design of collecting and publishing the testimonies of the martyrs. In a letter (found in substance in the "Faithful Contendings," but here given *verbatim* from the original autograph) to Sir Robert Hamilton, dated March 7th, 1688, Michael Shields, writing in their name, says —

"It hath been our design and desire more than two years by-gone to collect an account of the sufferings of this poor despised remnant, with what the rest of the land have suffered, under the domineering tyranny of the late deceased tyrant, and of the present usurper, to the end the same might be printed and published.... This we think a part of our generation work, and a duty laid upon us, as we would desire to have the cause of Christ, which we own and suffer for, handed down and transmitted to our posterity, and not be guilty of robbing them of such a rich treasure as the fragrant and refreshing account of the sufferings of the martyrs, witnesses, and confessors of Christ in this age is, and will be to those who come after us."

Through a difference of opinion that arose between the Societies and the person who was to edit this proposed collection of the testimonies of the martyrs, the publication did not take place, and it was not until some ten years after the Revolution that the proposal was again entertained.

The minutes, in manuscript, of the meetings of the General Societies, still in possession of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod. detail the steps taken for the publication of the “Cloud,” as well as for the erection of stones over the graves of the martyrs. These minutes are —

“Conclusions of the General Meeting at Crawfordjohn, *April 21, 1697.*

“That a true and exact account of all the persecutors within the several quarters; of the remarkable judgments and deaths, or what hath befallen to their families or estates; be made up and brought to the next general meeting.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, April 5, 1699.*

“That all the respective Societies send an index of all the late martyrs’ testimonies, not in ‘Naphtali,’ to the next general meeting.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, Oct. 29, 1701.*

“First concluded, that all the correspondences provide and make ready stones as signs of honor to be set upon the graves of our late martyrs as soon as possible; and all the names of the foresaid martyrs, with their speeches and testimonies, and by whom they were martyred or killed in house or fields, country or city, as far as possible to be brought to the next general meeting, in order for the epitaphs; and likewise an account of those martyrs’ carriage and behavior in the time of their martyrdom.

“Secondly concluded, a review of the former conclusions concerning the remarkable judgments of the persecutors, and the diligence of the correspondences and Societies to be diligently brought to the next general meeting.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, Oct. 21, 1710.*

“That an index of all the martyrs’ testimonies that are not in ‘Naphtali,’ who were martyred in Scotland, be had from all quarters against the next general meeting; likewise an account of all the martyrs’ names that suffered in this kingdom.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, February 23, 1711*

“The martyrs’ testimonies were given into Mr. Alexander Marshall and Hugh Clark their hands, to be by them compared, and the correctest transcribed for the general meeting, and the copies to be returned to the several correspondences from whom they were collected, and the said persons were appointed to go to the [Rev.] Mr. Linning [of Lesmahagow], and require a sight of the testimonies that he had from Mr. Alexander Shields, belonging to the general meeting, and their diligence to be returned to the next general meeting.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, Oct. 6, 1711.*

“The several correspondences were appointed to take a copy of the epitaphs engraven upon the martyrs’ gravestones in their several bounds, to be brought to the next General meeting, and that they be inquisitive what account can be had of any remarkable instances of God’s judgments upon persecutors in their several bounds, and to have an account as well warranted as can be.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, June, 1713.*

“It is enjoined to the several correspondences to be careful to see what money may be advanced for printing the martyrs’ testimonies, and an account, to be brought from each, of the quotas they think they can advance.

“*CRAWFORDJOHN, Oct. 26, 1713.*

“The several correspondences are appointed to take care to get a true list of the martyrs who were shot or otherwise killed without process of law, their names, abodes, time and place of their deaths, who killed them, and any other particulars about them, with a true duplicate of the elegies on all the gravestones, against the 1st of January, to be sent to Edinburgh.”

These extracts show that the Societies had been engaged in gathering the materials of the “Cloud of Witnesses” from at least 1697. Part of their first design, to notice what had befallen the persecutors, they seem to have laid aside, and to have been satisfied with the account given by Alexander Shields in his “Short Memorial of Grievances.”

Alexander Marshall and Hugh Clark, to whom the Testimonies were to be given in, were prominent members of the Societies. Thirty years after the publication of the “Cloud” Alexander Marshall was licensed as a probationer by the Reformed Presbytery, and was soon afterwards ordained. He was the first probationer licensed by the Presbytery after its constitution in 1743. We are inclined to attribute the drawing up of the Appendix to him. Hugh Clark acted as clerk to the general meetings of the Societies in 1714. After his death there was published a poem of thirty-two pages, entitled, “Meditations upon the love of Christ, in the redemption of elect sinners, written by the truly worthy, learned, and eminently religious Mr. Hugh Clark, sometime before his death, which was on the 15th day of February 1724, and of his age the 36th year.” Some of its lines are not without merit, and point him out to be the author of the “Encomium” following the Preface to the Reader in this volume, and possibly to have been concerned in writing the latter part of the Preface, and, it may be, some of the epitaphs on the gravestones of the martyrs. A paragraph taken at random from the “Meditations” will sufficiently show his powers:

*“O saints who share His love, in Him be glad,
 Who loved you, ere you a being had!
 Why should you doubt His love to you, because
 You cannot in yourself perceive the cause?
 ‘Twas not your worth of goodness could deserve
 That He at first from death should you preserve,
 Nor will your worthlessness, nor vileness make,
 Your loving Lord your souls again forsake.
 It was the goodness of His sovereign will
 Engaged him first, and will engage Him still,
 And since He loved you from eternity,
 Believe He’ll do the same eternally.
 Lay by your doubtings, then, ye saints, and raise
 Melodious songs to your Redeemer’s praise.”*

In a note to his “Vindiciae Magistratus,” Edinburgh, 1773, p. 152, the Rev. John Thorburn, minister of the Reformed Presbyterian congregation of Pentland from 1762 to 1788, says that “the Testimonies were given to Messrs Marshall and Clark, to be copied out fair for the press, and to be sent to John M’Main, A.M., teacher of a grammar school at Liberton’s Wyndfoot, Edinburgh, who, it is very probable, was the writer of the

Preface; or, at least, it behooved to be the work of one or other of these three.”

John M’Main, by the freedom of some strictures he had made upon the ministers of the Established Church, so provoked the Presbytery of Edinburgh, that they summoned him to appear before them, 29th November 1721, to answer for presuming at his own hand to keep a school within the city of Edinburgh, without license or warrant given him from any in authority. M’Main published his answer to the summons, in which, as might be expected, he has the better of the Presbytery. In 1724 he published Alexander Shields’ life of James Renwick. In the preface he takes Wodrow to task for his not very favorable reflections on some of the martyrs whose testimonies are given in the “Cloud.” In both the answer to the Presbytery and the preface to Renwick’s life, there seem evident traces of the vigorous pen that wrote the Preface to the “Cloud,” and it goes far to justify the probability of the opinion, that, to a large extent, it was his production. But, whoever drew it up, it is a comprehensive and masterly statement of the lawful and Scriptural character of the contendings of the martyrs, and is written with a calmness, an earnestness, and catholicity of tone, and a power of expression, that reflect the highest credit upon its authors.

The Preface makes it unnecessary that the aim of the “Cloud of Witnesses” should be here stated. It may be enough to say that the position taken up in these testimonies towards the government of the time, which has often been much excepted to, was simply an anticipation, by some years, of what the estates of the kingdom of Scotland at their meeting in the spring of 1689 found and declared, — “That king James the seventh being a professed Papist, did assume the regal power and acted as king without ever taking the oath required by law, and hath by the advice of evil and wicked counselors invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power, and hath exercised the same, to the subversion of the Protestant religion and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he hath forfeited the right to the crown, and the throne is become vacant;” while the testimonies themselves were the voice of liberty, at a time when freedom was denied to the press, when the right of meeting in public was taken

away, and when to utter an opinion different from the government was enough to expose to torture and death in its most cruel form. Hence the occasional sternness of the language in which they are clothed. The enemies of liberty compelled the martyrs to cast aside honeyed words, and to express themselves in strong terms.

This edition has been reprinted from the first. Great pains have been taken to ensure correctness. When difficulty has arisen, the fourth and fifth editions, which seem to have been printed with unusual care, have been referred to. No change, save in the spelling and manifest misprints, has been made in the text. Scotch or unusual words have been retained, and their signification given within brackets. Notes — historical, where such were required to elucidate the text; or biographical, when they could lend additional interest to the lives under review have been added, wherever there seemed occasion for them. In some cases, these notes have been derived from the traditions of the localities where the martyrs lived or suffered; but mainly they have been drawn from the pamphlets of the period, and the writings of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, and Patrick Walker.

Wodrow was minister of Eastwood, in Renfrewshire, and died in 1734, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-first of his ministry. The first volume of his “History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from 1660 to 1688” appeared in 1721, and the second in the following year. Its materials had been sent to him from all parts of the country, and he had been employed for about eight years in their arrangement. The book was folio, and the subscription price two guineas, yet there were 650 subscribers. Although it has no graces of style, it was immediately successful, and by almost all parties was felt to be a great work. The Jacobites smarted under its statement of the tyranny and cruelty of their idols, and did their utmost to depreciate its value, but their labors were in vain. Its voluminous collection of facts illustrative of the sufferings of the Presbyterians under Charles II and James II might be parodied, but their truth could not be denied. A very different class from the Jacobites found fault with the “History.” The Societies — the compilers of the “Cloud of Witnesses” — took exception to the manner in which he spoke of James Renwick and others for declining to take advantage of the Indulgence, or to associate with the indulged ministers. But they did not challenge its statements of facts. It was simply the historian’s inferences or reflections

that they called in question. Wodrow's father had accepted the Indulgence, and many of his friends were in the same position. These friendships manifestly biased the historian's judgment.

Patrick Walker was a prisoner in Dunottar for some months, and when brought to Leith for further trial, made his escape from the Tolbooth. He took a prominent part in the Societies at the Revolution on their presenting a statement of grievances to the government, but he soon afterwards withdrew from their association. When he published his "Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Semple, Mr. John Welwood, Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Alexander Peden, Mr. Donald Cargill, and Mr. Walter Smith," in 1727 and 1728, he seems to have been a chapman, and to have had a house in Edinburgh "within Bristo Port, opposite the Society gate." His "Passages" are a curious farrago of matter; but it is not difficult to pick out what must really have happened under his own eye, or that of trustworthy witnesses; and these narratives are often of interest and value as corroborative of the "Cloud of Witnesses" and Wodrow.

Of the martyrs' graves whose inscriptions are given in the Appendix, we have visited the greater number, and have been able to add to those contained in the first edition a goodly number of others, scattered about in various parts of the country. Of the original forty-six there is only one, that of Andrew M'Gill at the Gallows of Ayr, which we have been unable at this date to find. In visiting these graves it is impossible not to feel how much their present condition is due to a man whom the creative genius of Sir Walter Scott has immortalized — Robert Paterson, "Old Mortality." All over the south-west of Scotland his work is seen in the deeply graven letters, cut evidently by no hireling hand, but by a workman determined, that, so far as deep lettering would perpetuate the names of the witnesses for Christ's Crown and Covenant, until a generation should arise that would reverence their memory, it should be done by him. And he has succeeded. The indifference characteristic of the end of last century, and the beginning of this, to the memory of the martyrs in Scotland has passed away.

Of all the martyrs' monuments or gravestones that we have visited, we have not found one (with the single exception of that at Magus Moor) but

what is in excellent preservation, or in the course of being restored, or a new stone being placed alongside of that which had become illegible by age. On inquiry we have always learned that the inhabitants of the districts where they are, irrespective of denomination, have vied with each other to keep them in proper repair. The graves themselves seem, with few exceptions, to have been undisturbed, and they may be often detected by their being considerably lower than the surrounding ground, which has risen up by many interments since. This is nowhere more strikingly seen than in the Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh.

JOHN HENDERSON THOMSON.

EAGLESHAM, September 1871.

PREFACE

PICTURE: The Canongate Tolbooth

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 favor and reconciliation with Himself, is so excellently ordered in the counsels 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, otherwise of good intellectuals, have not only had a secret disgust thereat themselves, but labored 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 glow and man's happiness; who, having himself left his original state of obedience to, and enjoyment of God his creator, hath no other *levamen* 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, labors, by two great engines, 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 subtlety.

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 endeavor 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 which 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 the Jews or Christians, by whatever hands, Pagan or Anti-Christian, 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 King Charles II and James VII. For, as the other persecutions were all leveled 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, natures, or offices of Jesus Christ, etc.; 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. This was the peculiar *depositum* concredited to the Church of Christ in Scotland, and her distinguishing dignity, to have the royal supremacy of the King of Zion to defend against the kings of the earth, who, not content with the princely authority of ruling the persons of their subjects, according to the laws of God and the realm, would needs usurp a blasphemous sacrilegious prerogative of ruling the Church and consciences of men in room of the Mediator, by what laws and statutes they pleased, and found most subservient to their lust, for advancement of Popery and arbitrary government.

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 anti-Christian darkness, so to dignify her, in a peculiar manner, to contend and suffer for that truth, “that He is a 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, this is the most radiant pearl in the Church of Scotland's garland; that she hath been honored 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 laboring, by means of these censures which Christ had instituted, to root out the damnable heretics which that enemy had sown, all on a sudden King James VI., naturally ambitious, and instigated by interested and projecting counselors, attempts a rape upon her chastity and loyalty to her Husband and Lord, and by his royal order 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, banishes them their native country; *See* "Calderwood's History," from page 491 to page 536, and downward. [Wadrow Society Edition, vol. 6., p. 590.] Upon the same bottom of a pretended royal jurisdiction over the Church, he attempted, and in a great measure effected, the establishment of a Popish hierarchy and Romish ceremonies, by setting up Prelates, and bringing in the Perth articles, flattering some, and overawing others of the ministry into a compliance therewith, persecuting the zealous and faithful contenders for Christ's headship, and the government of His Divine institution, with vexatious prosecutions before High Commission Courts, suspensions from their office, wanderings, confinements, etc.

And in like manner, Charles I, following his father's example and instructions, endeavored, upon pretense of the same prerogative, to improve upon what his father had begun, and complete the Church's slavery, by obtruding upon her a liturgy and canons, formed *a la made d'Angleterre*, collected out of the Romish mass-book and canon law, which put the faithful sons of the Church of Scotland to much wrestling and contending, partly by humble and submissive, yet zealous and faithful addresses, supplications, remonstrances, and representations, partly by more bold and daring protestations and associations for mutual defense, even till they were forced to take arms for defense of religion and the liberties of their country. Which contendings for Christ's royal authority, and His Church's liberties, at length, by the blessing of God, issued in a glorious Work of Reformation through Britain and Ireland, wherein the Churches of Christ in these lands not only revived their former beautiful order, shining purity, and precious liberty, but also had several degrees of new attainments in purity and uniformity of religion added thereto.

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 vapors, 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 practice, 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 this was still the principal question put to them, “*Own ye the king’s authority?*” and the chief article of 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 ruining 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 2), in “the calling and dissolving of Parliaments, and making laws” (Act 3) in “the militia, and in making peace and war” (Act 5); which were great invasions upon the national liberties of the subjects; but also in things sacred, “in making of leagues, and the conventions of the subjects” (Act 4), wherein all the former work of Reformation is condemned, and the Covenants made for its defense are declared treasonable and rebellious actions against the royal prerogative; and in consequence hereof, it is declared 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 anything 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” (Act 7); and in the oath of allegiance and acknowledgment of his majesty’s royal prerogative (Act 11 of the 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 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 “doth rescind, cass, and annul 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 dependence upon, and subordination to, the sovereign power of the king as supreme.” And in pursuance hereof, in the second Act of the foresaid session, entitled, “Act for preservation of his majesty’s person, authority, and government,” he doth, with the 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 of Council Tables, that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late troubles (thus they call the work of Reformation) were unlawful and seditious; and particularly 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 obligations void and null, and “annuls 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 this royal prerogative of ecclesiastic supremacy, and to inhibit all persons to speak, write, or act anything in defense 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 fifth Act of the third

session of the foresaid Parliament, entitled “Act for the 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, entitled, “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, doth 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 administration 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 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 defense.

It is true, indeed, these things were so impious and abominable, that, had they been proposed without mask, they would presently have begot an 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 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 whom they labored to ensnare. 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-favored face appeared through the vizor; and all good men saw, that the 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 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 very 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 ensnare, 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 that authority, wherewith they had vested him in the forementioned 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 of 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 an 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 laws 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 defense of the Gospel and 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 anent, or was silent when interrogated 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 in their adherence to the truth. By means of these His church was as a strong city and incorporation, all prosecuting 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 command 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 defense of them against all the efforts of hellish violence,

Wherefore, when this alone was not like to effectuate their design, these persecutors betook themselves to another stratagem, and fell upon more mild but more successful measures of giving out indemnities and indulgences, 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 favors, so it became a necessary head of testimony to witness against the Indulgence, and acceptance thereof, or sinful connivance

thereat. The particular disposition 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,” etc.

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?” etc. 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 defense of these Declarations, that being so well done by themselves in the “Informatory Vindication,” which the reader may have recourse to; and as for 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 glorified most, was the death of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, which they reckoned a cruel murder, and therefore hoped that, if the sufferers should approve of the same, they would have a color to destroy them, as being men of assassinating and bloody principles, deserving to be exterminated 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 anything 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 ensnare 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 further satisfied on this head, let him see “Hind let Loose,” head 6 page 633.

[Edition 1744, page 646. — ED.]

But however these murderers of the servants and people of God made use of such questions as these to entangle timre, 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 instituted 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 degenerated into a tyrant, long before they rejected his authority; and had refused all claim to the subjects’ allegiance, upon the account of the contract which he entered into

at his coronation, and had no other pretense to authority but hereditary right, and bloody 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'll not want a Rehum 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 honor him, this is the charge he lays against them; as most likely to effectuate his purpose, that "their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's laws." Have the presidents a purpose to be rid of Daniel, this is the engine, "that Daniel, which 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 won't swear by the life of Caesar, nor adore his image!" and therefore *Christianos ad Leones*. 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 Caesar, 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 these sons of wickedness? One might write a volume upon their cruelties, and after all fall short of drawing them to the life, or giving any just idea of them; they were so extremely inhuman 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 on the ports [*i.e.*, gateways] 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 provisions 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 titles, they were imprisoned, scourged, stigmatized [*i.e.*, branded with a hot iron], and banished to Barbados 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 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 [Hugh M'Kail] had his leg squeezed to pieces in the Boot, 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, stripping, torturing by fire-matches, etc.; crowding 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 ensnaring bonds, oaths, and tests were framed, and imposed with rigor and horrid severity; people obliged, to have passes declaring they had taken them, or 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, and 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, moors, 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 their 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; they set up extraordinary circuit courts, enlarged their Porteous rolls, [*i.e.*, lists of persons summoned to appear before the Justiciary Courts], pressed bonds of compearance to keep the peace, to attend the church, refrain from field-meetings, etc.; examining country people upon several questions which they had no occasion to understand, 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 exiles, beating drums at their executions, that they might not be heard speak; detaining others long in prison, laden 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 the barbarities exercised upon particular persons, only for a swatch [*i.e.*, specimen], take these inflicted

upon that excellent gentleman, David Hackston 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 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 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 contracting itself, when it was pulled out, and by the violent motion of the heart when it dropped upon the scaffold), which the executioner, taking up upon the knife, showed to the people upon the several corners of the stage, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor!" and then threw it in a fire prepared for the purpose upon the stage, together also with his other inward and noble parts; and having quartered his body, fixed his head and hands on a port at Edinburgh, and the other quarters at Leith, Cupar 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 color of law.

But being now weary with these persecutions, according to the tenor of their own laws, the Councilors, 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 show their pass (which they behooved 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 [*i.e.*, executioners.] The chief contrivers and framers of this horrid murdering edict, were the Earl of Perth, chancellor, Duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Athole, and, particularly, the Viscount of Tarbat, now Earl of Cromarty, who invented this murdering device, wherein yet he carried so cunningly, that he procured the despatch 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 [*i.e.*, the Act of Toleration, requiring the taking of the Oath of Abjuration, the Act restoring Patronage, etc. — ED.]

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 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, yea, cheerfully willing, to forego riches, honors, pleasures, liberty, and life itself, when they came in competition with a steady adherence to the truth and honor 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. Everyone of them could say to their persecutors, what Chrysostom 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 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 tell us, these two holy martyrs, Juventius and Maximus, when they were urged by their persecutors with this argument, “Do not ye see others of your rank do thus?” 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 defy 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?" so 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 east away His cords, as the wicked had 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 anything than falsify my promise made to Christ my Savior 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 Decius, "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 had 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 honor; 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 honored martyrs for Christ and the defense of His 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 eye 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 these 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 center, 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 honor of God; “*Vere magnus est Deus Christianorum,*” Truly great is the Christians’ 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. [“Second Apology” chap. 12].

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 honor 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 honor 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 account that our glory, which they looked upon as a disgrace! How easy was it for them to choose the greatest sufferings rather than the least sin! How hard is it for us not to choose the greatest sin, before the least suffering! Oh that their Christian virtues could upbraid 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:

1. Granting, for argument's 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 no 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 honor of saintship or martyrdom, so neither ought any infirmity of theirs to be improven 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 wondered, if they were put upon some vehemency of expression by their severe sufferings from such hands; and should rather be favorably constructed of.

— *“Si quid,
Intumuit pietas, si quid flagrantius actum est.”*

But, **2.** More directly, I am bold to deny the charge; for they everywhere 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 of God 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, councilors, 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 meantime 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 these that should have come and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been to the hazard of their lives. Finally, all those that counsel, command, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of God.” Sure I am, this is as full as anything 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 invenere tyranni
Tormenturn rnajus.” —*

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; [the Jacobite insurrection in favor of the Pretender took place in 1715 — the year after these words were written. — ED.]; and many things in the present aspect of affairs portending, that they may be our scourge in the hand of our displeased 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's 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 pendent, et utraque prosperis alterius successibus incrementa sumit;*" there is a great sibness [i.e., close relationship], betwixt the Church and the Commonwealth; they depend the one upon the other, and either is advanced by the prosperity and success of the other.

It is to be feared, that 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 Eusebius, "*Res nostrae nimia libertate in mollietatem et segnitiam 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 traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat, jacentem fidem, et pene dixerim dormientem, censura coelestis erexit;*" 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 armor, the divine *panoplia*, 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 honorable 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, nor 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 sinistrous 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 chose that which they conceived 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.

1 The Last Speeches of those who suffered on account of the Earl of Argyle's attempt, in the year 1685, are advisedly pretermitted, 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 concerted, according to the true state of the quarrel, for the Covenanted 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 defense against a Popish, Prelatic, and Jacobitish faction, endeavoring its overthrow! May He unite us in the way of truth and duty, to strive together for the valuable interests of our religion and liberty!

AN ENCOMIUM

ON THE FOLLOWING MARTYRS.

PICTURE: The Greyfriars Churchyard: Eidenburgh

*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'll yield.*

*Lo! with what courage and brave resolution
They bear the shock of bloody persecution.
Hell's rage, Rome's fury, or 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, swoll'n 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
Trod 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 honor and of conscience;
 Who slew God's dearest saints in field and city,
 'Gainst law and reason, without sense of 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 every 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 Chrises loving subjects home,
 To their dear country where they long to come!
 What matter where their dusty parts do ly,
 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.*

DONALD CARGILL

PICTURE: The High Church of Glasgow: East View

PICTURE: The High Church of Glasgow: West View

DONALD CARGILL was the fourth minister, in succession from the Reformation, of the Barony parish, Glasgow; his predecessor being Zachary Boyd, the author of the quaint poem, the “Last Battle of the Soul,” and a metrical version of the Psalms. He was a native of the parish of Rattray in Perthshire, and received his early education in Aberdeen. From school he went to the University of St. Andrews, where he passed through the regular curriculum.

His father, a godly and religious gentleman, says Sir Robert Hamilton, in his “Relation of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Mr. Donald Cargill” (given in the Appendix to this volume), was desirous that he should study for the ministry; but he declined, under the conviction that the responsibilities of the office were greater than he could bear. His father still continued to urge him, when he resolved to set apart a day for fasting, and prayer for Divine direction. The result was, that he yielded to his father’s wishes.

Professor James Wodrow, the father of the historian, was a fellow-student, and was very intimate with him. The Professor says that he was shy and reserved, and for a time was troubled with grievous temptations, which drove him to such despair that he at length determined to put an end to his miserable life. Under the horrible fury of those fiery darts, he went out once or twice to the river Clyde, with a dreadful resolution to drown himself; but somebody or other coming by him, always stayed his purpose. The temptation still continued, and one day he was on the point of throwing himself into an old coal pit, when that word struck him in the mind, “Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven.” It put new life into him. His fears and doubts vanished, and his faith acquired the confidence that so strikingly appears in his after life.

He became minister of the Barony parish in 1654. Little, however, is known of him during his ministry, further than the general statement of

Wodrow, that he was “a pious and zealous minister,” and a “successful preacher of the Gospel.” In 1662 he refused to keep the anniversary day of thanksgiving for the restoration of Charles II, and to accept a presentation from the archbishop of Glasgow; and in November he was banished north of the Tay.

He was at the battle of Bothwell Bridge — June 22, 1679 — when he was severely wounded and taken prisoner, but was set free by his two captors when they found who he was. As soon as his wounds healed he went over to Holland; but after a short residence there he returned to Scotland, and lived in retirement at Queensferry. The escape he here made when surprised by his enemies, through Haughhead’s grappling with the governor of Blackness until he got safely away, is detailed in the Appendix, in the “Brief Relation,” etc., of Henry Hall. After this deliverance he preached much in company with Richard Cameron, until the fatal encounter at Airmoss — July 22, 1680 — left him well-nigh alone.

In September, before a great assemblage at the Tonwood, half way between Laxbert and Stirling, he pronounced sentence of excommunication upon Charles II, and the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir G. M’Kenzie, and Dalziel of Binns. The sentence itself is in the Appendix. The Government was now stirred up more than ever against him. On November 22, he was declared to be “one of the most seditious preachers,” and “a villainous and fanatical conspirator,” and a reward of 5000 merks offered to any one who should bring him in, dead or alive. In December following he made a second narrow escape from the governor of Blackness. He spent the next three months in England, where, according to Patrick Walker, “the Lord blessed his labors in the ministry to the conviction and edification of many souls.”

In April 1681 he came back to Scotland, and passed his few remaining weeks in almost constant preaching. His last sermon was preached, July 10th, at Dunsyre, a parish in Lanarkshire on the confines of Midlothian, and on the watershed between the east and west of Scotland. Next morning he was seized while in bed, and was immediately hurried on to Lanark, and thence to Glasgow; on the 15th he was brought before the Council in Edinburgh, and again on the 19th. His “interrogatories” and “answers” on both occasions are in Wodrow’s History. During his imprisonment

Professor Wodrow visited him. After some conversation, he asked how he found matters with him? Mr. Cargill answered, “as to the main point, my interest in Christ, and the pardon of my sins, I have no doubts there; neither have I been ever shaken since the Lord’s condescension to me in my extremity about twenty-five years ago, which communicated to you a little after; and no thanks to me, for the evidence was so clear that I could, never since, once doubt.”

He was tried on the 26th, along with Walter Smith, James Boig, William Thomson, and William Cuthill, martyrs whose testimonies are also in this volume. According to Patrick Walker, in “Some Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of that singular Exemplary, holy in life, zealous and faithful unto the death, Mr. Cargill,” when he was first brought before the Council, “they were very fierce and furious against him, especially Chancellor Rothes.” But, in the interval, Cargill’s words at the examination, as well as the spectacle of Rothes, now in sore suffering upon his death-bed, [so remarkably in accordance with the martyr’s answer to his threatenings: “My Lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me; for die what death I will, your eyes will not see it,”] had done much to allay their wrath; and it was proposed, that “as he was old, and had done all the ill he would do, to let him go to the Bass and be prisoner there during life.” It was put to the vote, but by the casting vote of the Earl of Argyle, who said, “Let him go to the gallows and die like a traitor,” it was carried that he be hanged next day.

Argyle’s vote afterwards troubled him. His premature rising in 1685 against the Government with which he had been so long associated, brought him few followers. One morning, after his landing, he was walking at the waterside very sad, when he was accosted by a Thomas Urquhart. “I am sorry to see your Lordship so melancholy.” “How can I be otherwise?” replied Argyle. “I see few coming to our assistance. I am persuaded I will be called Infatuate Argyle. But all does not trouble me so much as the unhappy, wicked vote I gave against that good man and minister, Mr. Cargill; and now I am persuaded I shall die a violent death in that same spot where he died,” a persuasion unhappily soon verified. On the morning of his execution, it is said that Argyle again spoke of the vote to some of his friends, and declared, “That above all things in his life, it lay heaviest upon him.”

The sentence passed upon Cargill and his fellow-sufferers was executed July 27th, 1681. "The hangman hashed and hagged off all their heads with an axe. Mr. Cargill's, Mr. Smith's, and Mr. Boig's heads were fixed upon the Netherbow Port; William Cuthill's and William Thomson's upon the West Port."

Donald Cargill's dying testimony, and the four letters that follow it, are all of the same character — earnest and evangelical, and written in nervous English. M'Millan's "Collection of Letters," Edinburgh, 1764, contains two by Cargill. They are of the same nature as those in this volume. John Howie of Lochgoon, in his "Collection of Lectures and Sermons," etc., has given four lectures and seven sermons, from notes taken by hearers. But they are obviously imperfect, and by no means do justice to Donald Cargill. One of them is said to be his last sermon. Patrick Walker gives the close of the same discourse, and in a form much superior to that of Howie, which indeed justifies Wodrow's commendation, as well as his own, of Donald Cargill as a preacher:

"I had the happiness to hear blest Mr. Cargill preach his last public sermons (as I had several times before, for which, while I live, I desire to bless the Lord) in Dunsyre-Common, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, where he lectured upon the 1st chapter of Jeremiah, and preached upon that soul-refreshing text, Isaiah 26, two last verses, 'Come, my people, enter into your chambers,' etc. Wherein he was short, marrowy, and sententious, as his ordinary was in all his public sermons and prayers, with the greatest evidences of concernedness, exceeding all that ever I heard open a mouth, or saw open a Bible to preach the Gospel, with the greatest indignation at the unconcernedness of hearers. He preached from experience, and went to the experience of all that had any of the Lord's gracious dealing with their souls. It came from his heart, and went to the heart; as I have heard some of our common hearers say, that he spake as never man spake, for his words went through them.

"He insisted what kind of chambers these were of protection and safety, and exhorted us all earnestly to dwell in the clefts of the rock, to hide ourselves in the wounds of Christ, and to wrap ourselves in the believing application of the promises flowing

therefrom; and to make our refuge under the shadow of His wings, until these sad calamities pass over, and the dove come back with the olive-leaf in her mouth. These were the last words of his last sermon.”

The following testimony, and those of Walter Smith and James Boig, are given first, because of their importance, and the high character and influence of Donald Cargill. With David Hackston a chronological arrangement begins which is strictly followed throughout the volume. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF THE REV. MR. DONALD CARGILL,

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 oftentimes turning back. Oh! He has showed 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 interrupted 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 anything to purpose in God's great and public matters, till they were fight in their conditions.

“And O that all had taken this method! for then there had been fewer apostasies. The religion of the land, and zeal for the land's engagements, are come 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 [*i.e.*, than] they were at first when they had but put hand to them. And I much fear, that though there were but one minister on all the earth, He will make no more use of them; but there wall 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 have 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 [*i.e.*, declared] 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 judged it necessary for His glory to bring me to such an end, seeing He loosed 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 this power, taken from Christ, which is His glory, made the essential of the crown, I thought it 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 acknowledged 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 Mr. Cargill 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 118th Psalm, from the 16th verse 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 endeavor 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 smilingly 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 into 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 woeful 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 truth. 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. Oh! 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 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 there he said, “I entreat you prepare you presently for a stroke, for God will not sit with [*i.e.*, disregard] 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 it, 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 sat 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 have 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, ms the letter written to the prisoners in the Correction House manifests.

A LETTER FROM MR. DONALD CARGILL

TO MR. JAMES SKENE, WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM AT EDINBURGH.

[A short notice of Mr. Skene, with his last Testimony, will be found in its proper place. — ED.]

“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 honorably and rightly carried through. He is 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 honor, 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 part 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 [*i.e.*, yield] to 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 scepter 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 unsavory 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 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, that he shall be made the subject of great vengeance." [The reference here is to the Rev. John Carstairs, minister of the Inner High Church, Glasgow, from 1650 to 1662. In 1662 he declined to take the oath of allegiance without giving an explanation of the sense in which he thought it might be taken, and

was imprisoned for several weeks until his health gave way. After the battle of Pentland, he went over to Holland, and preached in Rotterdam with great acceptance. In 1672 he returned to Scotland, when he was almost immediately summoned before the Council, but was set free on finding security for 2000 merks, *i.e.*, 120 pounds. When Skene was apprehended, some papers were found on him that brought Carstairs into trouble. He was summoned before the Council, says Wodrow, where “he owned the king’s authority and that of his courts. With a great deal of seriousness he disclaimed the follies and principles Mr. Skene and some others now advanced, and said he could not express his abominating their extremities with vehemency enough.” Carstairs seemed to have lived in retirement. He edited several of the posthumous works of his former colleague, James Durham, and the one-volumed edition of Calderwood’s History. His son was the well-known counselor of William III, Principal Carstairs. — ED.]

“But forgive and forget all these private injuries, and labor 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 Him, 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 merit 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, which 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. C.”

A LETTER TO SOME FRIENDS

BEFORE MR. DONALD CARGILL WENT ABROAD.

“DEAR FRIENDS, — I cannot but be grieved to go from my native land, and especially from that part of it for whom and with whom I desired only to live; yet the dreadful apprehensions I have of what is coming upon this land may help to make me submissive to this 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 yourselves prepared for snares and judgments, that ye may have both the greatest readiness and the greatest shelters, for both shall be in one.

“Clear accompts, [*i.e.*, 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 which many are looking on as favors are but come to bind men together in bundles for a fire.

“I am sure, if these things be embraced, there shall not belong time given for using of them; and this last of their favors 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 CARGILL.”

A LETTER TO JOHN MALCOLM

AND ARCRIBALD ALISON, PRISONERS.

*[See Note prefixed to their testimonies
in a later part of the volume. — ED.]*

PICTURE: Canongate Tolbooth: Eidenburgh

PICTURE: The Cross: Eidenburgh

“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, persecutions, 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 [*i.e.*, than] 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 infinitely 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 fruition 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 becomes 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 [*i.e.*, be the foundation of] your confidence in God and your hope of wellbeing; for were the action never 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 anything seen or looked to in ourselves but sin, we cannot expect remission and salvation allennarly [*i.e.*, solely] 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 favor, 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 truth 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 that it 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 jeopardizing 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 favors of men, by making your duty your sin; but confess your failings to God, and look for His mercy through Jesus 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 [*i.e.*, overcome you], that the work is great, and the time short; though this indeed should mind you of your sinful neglect, that you were not better provided for such a short and peremptory summons, which you should always have expected. It also shows the greatness of the sin of these enemies, who 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; conviction, conversion, justification, sanctification, etc., in short time; and left nothing to bemoan, but that there did not remain time enough to glorify Him upon earth, who 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 to be 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 our 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 CARGILL.”

A LETTER TO THE PRISONERS

IN THE CORRECTION HOUSE OF EDINBURGH.

[These prisoners were twenty-six women, followers of John Gib, of Borrowstounness. Cargill, when preaching at Darmead, heard that Gib and his followers were in the neighborhood, and, sending for them, had a long conference with them as to their opinions. Its sum and substance, according to Patrick Walker, is contained in the following letter. Gib and about thirty adherents had forsaken their homes, and had taken up their abode in the moors, under the persuasion that they would thus be more free from all snares and sins. Their extravagances attracted the notice of the government, and in the spring of 1681, they were taken by a troop of dragoons, and carried to Edinburgh. Gib and three male associates were imprisoned in the Canongate Tolbooth, and the twenty-six women in the Correction House, usually filled with the loose and abandoned of the city. Gib and his male adherents gave in a statement of their opinions to the Council, which will be found in Wodrow; and Donald Cargill seems to have come to the conclusion that they were so wedded to their errors as to be irreclaimable. Of the women he entertained better hopes, and hence sent them the following affectionate appeal. It says much for his kindness of heart, and for his patient and earnest desire to reclaim them. His efforts were not without success, for the greater part of them, according to Patrick Walker, came to their right mind after they had tasted the bitter fruits of these demented delusions. Gib himself was shortly after set at liberty, but in 1684 was again apprehended, and banished to America. After a Fife of much misery and wretchedness, he died in 1720. — ED.]

“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 had been my earnest and frequent prayer to God, as He Himself knows, to be led in all truth, 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 anything 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 you 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 in 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, 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 [*i.e.*, adorned] with some pretense to God's glory, and public reformation. And on the other hand, I cannot have great enough abhorrence of the 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 [*i.e.*, get] 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 subtlety 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 company who are enough despised already, and discouraging those who were following and going forward with you 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 this, that may, and does weight and overwhelm some spirits: but there is nothing in all their cogitations about it that they find comfortable; unless it be, that He is cleared in afflicting us, and continuing to afflict, 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 showed 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 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 as 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 dues, 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 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 parts 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 [*i.e.*, than that] 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 anything else, but to an enchanted fabric; where the poor guests, only placed in imagination, imagine themselves to be in a pleasant place, and at royal entertainment; but when God comes, and delusion evanisheth, they will find themselves cast in some remote wilderness, and left full of astonishment and fears.

“I told you, while I was with you, that the devil was sowing tares amongst your thin wheat; but I was not long from you, exercised in thoughts about you, but I saw clearly there was sorcery in your business; and now, I tell you, I fear sorcerers also. I know I have spoken this against my own life, if they get the power they desire; but I am in a defiance of them, and I know also in a defense 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 anything 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 53, '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, ye will join with none in public worship, but those 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 though we should have regard of repentance and brokenness of heart, yet those who have well fought 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, you 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 ye 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 in 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, which 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 ye 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. Alas 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 on that account, that they dare not come and continue where you are; or that 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 acquiesce 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 it 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 you 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 disowning of your errors and evils, and an express owning of His truths; whereof ye

have been persuaded before now, but 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 CARGILL.”

WALTER SMITH

WALTER SMITH was a devoted follower of Mr. Donald Cargill; he was taken at the same time, and suffered along with him. Patrick Walker has a life of him; “A Short Account of the life and death of that truly pious and worthy minister, Mr. Walter Smith,” etc. In substance, it is in John Howie’s “Scots Worthies.” The work, “Steps of Defection,” referred to in the following testimony, is given by Walker; also, “Rules and Directions anent private Christian Meetings;” together with a letter written by him when he was studying at Utrecht, to Janet Fimerton, a singular Christian, of deep exercises, high attainments, and great experience in the serious exercise and solid practice of godliness. The letter is a very excellent one, and speaks much for Smith’s piety and Christian knowledge.

Two books are specified in Walter Smith’s testimony —

1 “The book which contains the Confession of Faith,” etc.

This is the volume that in Scotland usually bears the tide of the Confession of Faith, although it includes the Catechisms, the Covenants, the Directory for Worship, and the Sum of Saving Knowledge. It is not known by what authority the Sum of Saving Knowledge has been put along with the others, for it has never been sanctioned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The “Causes of God’s Wrath” seems to have been bound up in the same volume in Smith’s time. Wodrow assigns its authorship to James Guthrie of Stirling, who suffered at Edinburgh, June 1st, 1661. The first words of the full title fix its nature and date: “Some General Heads of the Causes why the Lord contends with the land, agreed upon, after seeking of the Lord, by the Commission of the General Assembly 1650, with the advice of divers ministers from several parts of the kingdom, met at Edinburgh 1651.” One of the steps of defection from the Covenant mentioned is, “The authorizing of commissioners to dose a treaty with flue King for the investing him with the government, upon his subscribing such demands as were sent to him, after he had given many clear evidences of his disaffection and enmity to the work and people of God, and was continuing in the same.” The “Causes” was condemned, along with Rutherford’s “Lex Rex,” in a proclamation by the Committee of

Estates, dated September 19, 1660, and both were burnt, October 17th, at Edinburgh, by the hand of the hangman. “No doubt,” says Wodrow, “by order of the Committee, though I do not observe any clause for this in the proclamation. It was much easier to burn those books than to answer the reasonings and facts in them.” The “Causes” is now somewhat rare. It occupies eighty-five pages in Henderson’s collection of tracts, entitled “Testimony-bearing Exemplified,” 12mo, Paisley, 1791.

2. Shepard’s “Sound Believer.”

Thomas Shepard was a native of Northampton; but went out in 1635 to New England, and was speedily settled at Cambridge, where he was the chief means of erecting and endowing the well-known Harvard College, an institution that in this century has renounced the opinions of its founders, and become the chief seat of unitarian error. Shepard was an able and successful Gospel minister. His works, comprising twenty different publications, have been lately collected. He is best known on this side the Atlantic, by his “Parable of the Ten Virgins;” and his “Sound Believer,” a treatise on evangelical conversion; both of which have been frequently reprinted in this country. — ED.]

THE DYING TESTIMONY AND LAST WORDS

OF MR. WALTER SMITH,

*Student of Theology, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh,
July 27, 1681: —*

PICTURE: Utrecht

“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:

“First, 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? Oh! He is God! He is God!

“Secondly, That He made man perfect. And though we have destroyed and incapacitated ourselves to do anything that is right, while out of Christ, yet we are under the obligation of the whole law, which is the perfect rule of righteousness.

“Thirdly, 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.

“Fourthly, 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.

“Fifthly, I set to my seal to the truth of that precious promise, Joshua 1:5, etc.; repeated, Hebrews 13:5: ‘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 filings, 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 18, 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, etc. 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 soundest and surest ye can meet with.

“And **Sixthly**, I set to my seal to the Covenant of Grace, particularly that clause of it (Isaiah 39:21), ‘As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my spirit that is upon thee,’ etc. And here I leave my testimony against all atheists, speculative (if there be any such) and practical, and all mockers at godliness, all forrealists 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 persuaded of my interest in Christ, and that He hath countenanced me in that for which I am So 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 Christ Jesus only. And who knoweth not that at first he was constituted 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 secondly, 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 labor 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. John's Kirk in this. [It was the lady St. John's Kirk who persuaded Smith and Boig, against Cargill's judgment, to leave the house where Cargill would have passed the night, and go to Covington Mill, where all three were taken. Patrick Walker blames her very much. — ED.] 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,’ etc. Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptoriness, 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 offense to them by my protesting against their way in a 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.

“From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681

“Sic subscribitur,

“WALTER SMITH.”

BEING come to the scaffold, Walter Smith 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 our 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 beat the drums, 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 who 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 103d 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 misspending 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 to 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, 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 thais, and that shortly. Slight not known duties: commit not known sins, whatever suffering ye may meet with for your cleaving to duty. Lippen [*i.e.*, trust] 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 it is in the very words of our Lord; remember, ‘Whatever ye do to one of these little ones, ye 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 whoredom, thefts, or murder; therefore, let none say that we are murderers, or would kill any, but in self-defense, and in defense 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 shall 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 commend 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.

JAMES BOIG

PICTURE: Queensferry

LITTLE is known of James Boig than that he was son to a Mr. James Boig, merchant in Edinburgh. His testimony is a well written document, in keeping with his character as a student of theology. Wodrow records that “both he and Mr. Smith died under much comfort, joy, and full assurance.” The Sanquhar Declaration mentioned in his testimony was published by about twenty persons gathered together at Sanquhar, June 22, 1680, when Michael Cameron read it, and left a copy affixed to the Cross. It was the first public statement in which allegiance to Charles II was renounced, because of the supremacy he claimed over the Church. It is appended to the Informatory Vindication, which contains an explanation and defense of this Declaration by Renwick. Wodrow, in his History, gives a kindly plea for its authors, written by “a very worthy Presbyterian minister lately got to the joy of the Lord.” The Sanquhar Declaration roused the Government to fury. A counter proclamation was issued, declaring it to be “a most treasonable and unparalleled paper,” and offering 5000 merks for Richard Cameron, 3000 merks for Douglas, Cargill, and Michael Cameron, and 1000 for each one of the traitors, dead or alive, to be instantly paid to their captors.

The Queensferry paper, referred to in this and several of the following testimonies, was said to have been found upon Henry Hall of Haughhead, June 3, 1680. It was unsubscribed, was evidently an imperfect draught, and was never, as whole, owned by the societies. Hall was waiting for an opportunity to go over to Holland with it when he was captured. Though incomplete, it is yet an able document, and asserts in bold prominence a doctrine that must have been specially unpalatable to Charles II and the debauchees associated with him — the absolute necessity of moral character in a ruler, be his office what it may. The paper is in Wodrow, and the tenor of it is given in the appendix to this work. — ED.]

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 my indictment to a friend of yours, and now I shall give you an account of the enemies’ prosecution thereof against us.

“My indictment did run upon three heads —

“**1.** That I had disowned the King’s authority;

“**2.** That I said, the rising in arms at Bothwell Bridge was lawful, and upon the defense of truth;

“**3.** That I owned the Sanquhar Declaration in the whole heads and articles thereof And having again owned this before the Justiciary and Assizers [*i.e.*, the Jury], 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 defense 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 iasurped over the Church. By our doing of this, we should rob Christ of that which is His right; and give that unto 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 anything, is the same with the thing itself so that in owning the 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 dearly 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-defense, 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 of 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 Queensferry; 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 all those who are not of the same judgment with us.

“These are the truths which we are to seal with our blood, tomorrow, in the afternoon, at the Cross of Edinburgh. As to other particular actions, we declined to answer positively to them, as that of the Archbishop [Sharp’s] death. We told them that we could not be judges of other men’s actions. As to the excommunication [at the Torwood], 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 passed 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 He 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 Savior complete and well furnished in all things, appointed of the Father for this end, to their own home, whereof (I think I may adventure to say it) I am one, though feckless [*i.e.*, worthless].

“Now, I have no time to enlarge, to bring His straying children may adventure to say it) I am 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.

“I have no more spare time. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you. Amen. “From Edinburgh Tolbooth, July 27, 1681

“Sic subscribitur,

“JAMES BOIG.”

DAVID HACKSTON

PICTURE: Tolbooth of Edinburgh: South Front

DAVID HACKSTON, of Rathillet, in the parish of Kilmany, Fifeshire, was a gentleman of good family. He was present at the death of Archbishop Sharp, but took no share in the matter. He was at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. John Howie has given him a merited place among the Scots Worthies.

His sentence is in “Wodrow.” It is scarcely possible to conceive anything more savage and revolting. Burnet says of him, “He was so low, by reason of his wounds, that it was thought he would die in the Question if tortured; so he was, in a very summary way, condemned to have both his hands cut off, and then to be hanged. All this he suffered with a constancy that amazed all people: he seemed to be all the while in an enthusiastical rapture, and insensible of what was done to him. When his hands were cut off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if his feet must be cut off likewise; and he had so strong a heart, that, notwithstanding all the loss of blood by his wounds and the cutting off his hands, yet, when he was hanged up and his heart cut out, it continued to palpitate some time after it was on the hangman’s knife, as some eye-witnesses assured me.” Defoe and Patrick Walker give still more circumstantial accounts of the cruelties perpetrated on him at his execution. — ED.]

THE TESTIMONY

OF THAT VALIANT AND WORTHY GENTLEMAN,

*DAVID HACKSTON of Rathillet, who suffered at the Cross of
Edinburgh, July 30, 1680: —*

HIS INTERROGATIONS AND ANSWERS BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL, SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1680.

1. Whether or not had you any hand in the murdering of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews?

Answered, He was not obliged to answer that question, nor be his own accuser.

2. What he would declare as to the King's authority?

Answered, The authority that disowns the interest of God, and states [*i.e.*, sets] 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.

3. Whether the killing the Archbishop of St. Andrews was murder, yea or not?

Answered, That he thought it no sin to dispatch a bloody monster.

4. If he owned the New Covenant, taken at the Queensferry, from Mr. Cargill, 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.

5. If he were at liberty, and had the power to kill any of the King's council, and murder them as he did the Archbishop 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 spate [*i.e.*, flood] 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 in my mite among theirs, and am not only willing to seal it with my blood, but also to seal it with the sharpest tortures that you can imagine.”

Then, being interrogated 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, that 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 asking 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 defense 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 all. The next day 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 you can imagine.”

EXTRACT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL,
EDINBURGH, JULY 29, 1680.

In presence of the Lords, Justiciary Clerk, and Commissioners of Justiciary, compeared David Hackston of Rathillet, and declines the King's Majesty's authority, the 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 Archbishop 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 Archbishop of St. Andrews, and requires Mr. John Vass, James Balfour, and the men of the court witnesses to the foresaid declaration. *Sic subscribitur*, 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 murderers, for all that power they had was derived from tyranny, and that these years bygone they have not only tyrannised over the Church of God, but have also grinded the face of the poor, so that

oppression, bloodshed, perjury, and many murders were to be found in their skirts. Upon which he was incontinent [*i.e.*, instantly] 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 acquaintance from his prison in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, which are as follows:

COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN BY DAVID HACKSTON OF RATHILLET,

*To his Christian friend N. Dated
from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 25, 1680.*

PICTURE: Bothwell Bridge

“DEAR ACQUAINTANCE, — I know this late dispensation of Providence will occasion much sadness to you, and other lovers of God’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 to Zion’s deliverance, and God’s glory, why should not we praise Him for everything? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spill [*i.e.*, mar] it. He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm, and orders all affairs. The faith of this should silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief.

“I desire you will discharge all that have love or affection to me, not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God hath so honored me in all I have been trysted [*i.e.*, tried] 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 promote and carry forward His work without fear of what man could do unto me; and as He helped me to make the bargain with Him in 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.

“Oh! 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 amongst professors, that I think God is laying stumbling-blocks 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 which the whole land is this day guilty of.

“Think it 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 are the only sacrifices 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 homologated in owning them ever after, and much more have we homologated 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. Oh! 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 had faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle [*i.e.*, weaken] their faith, but rather strengthen it. 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 [*i.e.*, upholding] me as He sees most for His own glory.

“Wherefore, let us submit to His will, and lie before His throne in behalf of Zion and her children. And oh! that ye yourselves would, and that ye would 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 [*i.e.*, worthless] 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 God 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; — [referring to the discussions and fatal divisions immediately previous to the battle of Bothwell Bridge. — ED.] — for some of them had not their garments clean of their late defections, and there was too much of 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.

“Oh! that all would take warning, by my reproof, not to venture to follow any man over conscience! There were choice, godly men amongst us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the want of faith among us, first and last, and all along 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 do 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’ curse. I am afraid that God thinks 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 [at Airmoss], 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 [*i.e.*, ten o’clock], 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 [*i.e.*, three or four o’clock] in the afternoon; and each one resolving to fight, I rode off, to seek a strength [*i.e.*, a piece of rising or commanding ground] 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 running and drawing up quickly eight horse on the right hand with R. D[ick], 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 J[ames] G[ray].

“The enemy advanced fast, whom I took to be above an hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sent 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 on 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 several, with whom I fought a good space; sometimes they following me, and sometimes I following them.

“At length my horse bogged, and also 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 also brought several 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. [Nine were killed in all. The inscription on the monument erected where they fell is in the Appendix.] I was brought towards 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 chirurgeon [*i.e.*, a surgeon] to me, who did but little to my wounds, only stanchd 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 to my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next

morning they brought me and John Pollock, and other two of us, two miles on foot, I being without shoes, where that party which had broken us at first received us. They were commanded by [Bruce of] 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 Canongate, 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, whose I knew not, on a lad's back, we were so 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 up into a room alone, where the Chancellor [the Duke of Rothes] 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 dittay [*i.e.*, indictment] against me.

"First, anent the Archbishop'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 were 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. Cargilrs papers, which they called the New Covenant, taken at the Queensferry? 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 [*i.e.*, set up] 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 [*i.e.*, manifesting] 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 behooved 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 there were none of them to oppose it. They all cried that I was prophesying. I answered, I was not prophesying, but that I durst not doubt but 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 defense of religion, but not in the destruction of religion.

“The Chancellor threatened me with the Boots, and other terrible things, and said that 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 chirurgion, 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 that a shepherd came to him and said so. I said, That he, or any other that 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, knowing with what cruel orders they came against us, were forced to fight.

“After dressing of my wounds, I was brought back to them, and these things, being written, were read oyer 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 to such questions, yet I adhered to all that had been done in 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 staid, 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 disadvantage. 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 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 I was

called by all, a murderer. I answered, God, to whom I refer it, should decide it betwixt us, who are 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. Oh! 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 show this to my friends in that cause with me, especially D. K. Let all lie before the Lord, that He would show us the cause of His anger against us; and let me know with the first occasion, who of us were slain [at Airmoss].

“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 HACKSTON.**

“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. Cargilrs papers, before I had answered anent them.”

COPY OF ANOTHER LETTER

WRITTEN BY DAVID HACKSTONOF RATHILLET,

*To a Gentlewoman of his acquaintance, dated from the Tolbooth of
Edinburgh, July 28, 1680.*

“MADAM, — The bearer shows me, that your ladyship desires to know what I mean by the Achan I mentioned in my other, which I shall explain. And alas! that I have such a wide field to walk in, when I name 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, who 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 the 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 the Act Explanatory [*i.e.*, 1st Act of Second Parliament of Charles II, Nov. 16, 1669, asserting his Majesty’s supremacy over all persons, and

in all causes ecclesiastical, and the first act that was rescinded in the second session of the first Parliament of William and Mary. — ED.], 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 the 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 both of the Old and New Testament are a law contrary to it, and so by this are rescinded.

“Now, besides this sin of idolatry, by the Act Recissory, [Act 15 of the First Parliament of Charles II, entitled ‘Act rescinding and annulling the pretended Parliaments in the year 1640, 1641, etc.’ In virtue of this Act, there is a blank in the editions of the Scots Acts from 1639 to 1650. The original register of these Acts has been recently found in Her Majesty’s State Paper Office in London, and has been transcribed, and is about to be published by her Majesty’s Government, uniform with the other Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. — ED.], 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 burned by the hands of the hangmen, through several places of these covenanted kingdoms. This is a legal perjury, and breach of covenant, without a parallel 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 rendezvouses of rebellion [Act against Conventicles. Act 5, Second Session of Second Parliament of Charles II — ED.]; and by another Act, have accounted it presumption for any minister to preach without doors [this is done in the Act just mentioned, and also in Act 17 of the Third Session of Scottish

Parliament of Charles II — ED.]; thus condemning 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, detestable 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 of 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 those 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 aforementioned sins, that have any way owned any of these after their wickedness was discovered; and much more such, as have by their personal deeds homologated 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 fore-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, beside 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 satisfaction to man can be sufficient. I close not that door which God hath opened in mercy to the really penitent; but I say, real evidences that God has forgiven should be, before adjoining with such in society. I know the Gospel should be preached to all, that they may repent; that being the means which 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 which 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 time’s apostasy, I doubt not reserving them to the general stroke He is threatening the whole lands with. Oh! that one and all were making their soul’s interest sure with God!

“Madam, I shall not mention the several steps of apostasy and defection from God in these lands, in complying, one way or other, with 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 amongst 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 [*i.e.*, be endured by] 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 yet 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 HACKSTON.*”

COPY OF A THIRD LETTER

WRITTEN BY DAVID HACKSTON

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 show you and all others that I know, and [who] 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 a 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 compare tomorrow before an assize was intimated.

“Therefore I entreat ye will, (for I know ye have moyen [*i.e.*, power] with God,) and cause other faithful friends, to 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 M[r.] D[onald] C[argill] 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 write to me. I think I dare not misbelieve, but when fear assaults 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 rest,

“Yours in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ,

“*DAVID HACKSTON.*”

LETTER

WRITTEN BY DAVID HACKSTON

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 honor 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 use of them, to strengthen enemies’ hands by bonds, or otherwise owning them, shall be most remarkable in the stroke, and shall not be honored 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 truth 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 subscribilur,

“David Hackston.”

ARCHIBALD ALISON

TODROW'S account of Alison and of Malcolm, is all that is now known of them: "Upon the 4th of August, I find other two men who had been taken at Airmoss before the Justiciary; John Malcolm, of the parish of Dairy, in Galloway, and Archibald Alison, of the parish of Evandale, in Clydesdale. Their indictment runs in common form. They confess they were at Bothwell Bridge, and at Airmoss; and received their sentence to be hanged at the Grassmarket upon the 11th of August. That day, or, as other papers make it, the 13th, they were executed, and died in great assurance and comfortable hopes of well-being."

The Rutherglen Declaration, referred to in Alison's testimony, was the earliest indication of the position which the societies soon afterwards took up, of direct opposition to the Government. It was, however, never owned by the societies. It will be found at the close of the Informatory Vindication. Its substance is well stated in the Vindication: "The Lord stirred up a handful to publish the Testimony at Rutherglen, May 29, 1679, bearing witness against the sacrilegious Supremacy, the Declaration condemning our covenants, the Act for keeping the 29th of May as an holy anniversary day of thanksgiving for the upsetting of the tyrant, and against other nefarious Acts of Parliament, and all prejudices done to the interest of Christ in the land. And for confirmation of their testimony, they did burn the aforesaid Acts, according as the adversary had burnt our holy Covenants, and did extinguish the bonfires upon the same anniversary day."

The first Indulgence, also referred to in Alison's testimony, was issued June 7th, 1669. It permitted those outed ministers, that had lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they had resided, to exercise the functions of the ministry in their former parishes, but forbade persons from other parishes to come and hear them, and declared all who preached at or frequented conventicles to be seditious persons. The second was made up of three acts, issued September 2d and 3d, 1672. It was of the same Erastian character as the former, although it seemed to give more

liberty. It was the cause, as no doubt it was designed by its framers, of much division among the Presbyterians.

The spot where so many of the martyrs suffered in the Grass-market is at a central part in the east end. Robert Chambers, writing in 1823, says, that at this spot there remained till very lately a massive block of sandstone with a square hole in the middle. It was the stone which served as a socket for the gallows when it was the common place of execution. At the present day the spot is marked out by an arrangement of the paving-stones in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross.

Criminals of a higher class suffered at the Cross in the High Street of Edinburgh. Here Donald Cargill, David Hackston, Walter Smith, and others, were executed. — ED.]

THE DYING TESTIMONY

OF ARCHIBALD ALISON,

PICTURE: The High Church: Glasgow

Who lived in the parish of Evandale in Clydesdale, and suffered at the Grassmarket 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, oh! 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 beg 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 have 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 honorable 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 were these: *First*, they charged me with rebellion for joining with these whom 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, that 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 a Gideon’s 300 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 [*i.e.*, living] 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 [by the Indulgences]; and therefore make no strife among yourselves about officers, because they are but men; yea, I think there is not a man amongst 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 defense 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 [*i.e.*, get] to clearness how to state [*i.e.*, declare] myself, being among the deceitful indulged Ministers; and finding several places of Scripture calling me out from them, as these known Scriptures, '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.' '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 today, to seal these truths, wrought, with an irresistible power on my heart, that good word of His;

'The Lord liveth; and blessed be my Rock; and let the God of my salvation be exalted. It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivereth me from mine enemies: yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me: thou hast delivered me from the violent man' (Psalm 18:46-48).

This makes me rejoice.

The Lord of hosts is upon my side; the God of Jacob is my defense. Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, intend] 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 —

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** 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.

“**3.** I adhere to the Church government by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, according as it was established in the year 1648.

“4. I give my testimony to that faithful declaration at Rutherglen, the 29th of May 1679.

“5. I adhere and give my testimony to the Declaration at Sanquhar, June 22, 1680, together with the paper gotten at the Queensferry upon Henry Hall, June 3, 1680.

“6. 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; by all the imprisonments and banishments 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 —

“1. 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, which 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 Isaiah 38:1: ‘Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins;’ and against their ambiguous and dark applications, so that the sin of the times is not touched, lest they irritate the magistrate, 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.

“2. 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.

“3. I enter my protestation against all declarations, proclamations, 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 backslidings 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. Oh! It is but little that I can say; it would take a long summer day to rank them up, and not win [*i.e.*, get] at them all. For my part, I am but ignorant; my capacity can but reach little things. 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 [Hackston of Rathillet]? 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 to 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 one that is looking on me this day. ‘Blessed

is he,' says Christ, 'that shall not be offended in Me and my followers.'

“1. To the seekers of God. I have a word to you. Ye have Kirk and State upon your top [*i.e.*, seeking your ruin]; 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. Oh! 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 your 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 aye [*i.e.*, always] good; but oh! 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 excellence on the sky. And underneath are everlasting arms, and He will save His people.

“2. I have a word to say to you that are godly; but, alas! you have wronged the cause; for which I fear you have lost the countenance of God, and will not get it again in haste. Ye have waxed fat and kicked. Ye have flung at God, so to speak. Ye have laid 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 [*i.e.*, as an offense], for your complying and shunning the cross.

“3. A word to the ungodly. Oh! 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 you 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 ever more, 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.

“Sic subscribitur,

“ARCHIBALD ALISON.”

JOHN MALCOLM

It will be seen from John Malcolm's testimony, and from the list of the banished in the Appendix to this volume, that he was at Bothwell Bridge, and was one of the many prisoners taken after the battle. He was brought to Edinburgh, and, with several hundred more, was confined in the open air in Greyfriars Churchyard. After almost incredible privations, endured for nearly five months, two hundred and fifty-seven of their number, John Malcolm among them, were given over to one Paterson, a merchant in Leith, towards the close of 1679, to be shipped as slaves to the plantations in North America. The usage they received on shipboard was of the worst character. They had scarcely room to lie down; they were half-starved; and, to add to their misery, the ship met with such stormy weather, that a fortnight was spent in reaching the Pentland Firth. At last the vessel was wrecked on the Moul Head of Deerness, so striking an object to the voyager as he nears the Mainland of the Orkney Islands. Two hundred perished, and John Malcolm was one of the fifty survivors. After this, he appears to have joined the suffering remnant in the fields under Richard Cameron, and was taken in the fatal encounter at Airmoss.

The Bonds, protested against by Malcolm, and repeatedly alluded to in the testimonies, were imposed at different times during the twenty-eight years' persecution; but that which caused most suffering was the one issued in the close of 1677, or the beginning of 1678. The general refusal to sign it throughout the West of Scotland, was made the pretext for calling in the Highland host, and treating the country as if it were an enemy's, to be plundered by the soldiery at their will. Its ensnaring and cruel character will be best seen from its terms. It made heads of families responsible for any one of their household that attended a conventicle, and proprietors liable for the acts of their tenants and cottars; and forbade hospitality, or kindness, or even shelter, to be given to the intercommuned ministers. The following is a true copy of the Bond referred to:

“Glasgow, January 28, 1678. — “We faithfully bind and oblige us, that we, our wives, bairns and servants respective, shall no ways be present at any conventicles or disorderly meetings in time

coming, but shall live orderly, in obedience to the law, under the pains and penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there against: as also, we bind and oblige us, that our haill tenants and cottars respective, their wives, bairns, and servants, shall like-wise abstain and refrain from the said conventicles, and other illegal meetings not authorized by the law, and that they shall live orderly and in obedience to the same: and further, that we nor they shall not reset, supply, or commune with forfeited persons, inter-communed ministers, vagrant preachers, but shall do our utmost endeavors to apprehend their persons; and in case our said tenants, cottars, or their foresaids shall contravene, we shall take and apprehend any person or persons guilty thereof, and present them to the judge ordinary, that they may be fined or imprisoned therefor, as is provided by Acts of Parliament made there anent, otherwise we shall remove them and their families off our ground; and if we fail herein, we shall be liable to such pains and penalties as the said delinquents have incurred by law. — Consenting their presents, etc., Subscribed *ut supra*.”

The Cess and Militia-money, mentioned in Malcolm’s testimony, and often referred to throughout the volume, was a tax imposed by the Convention of Estates, June 1678, for the purpose of maintaining troops to put down the field-meetings. It was a great grievance to the body of the nation. Parliament, rather than the Convention of Estates, was the proper authority to impose taxes; but the Government would not summon a meeting of Parliament, lest it proceed to discuss the grievances of the nation. In the proclamation summoning the Convention, the troops, sought to be supported by the expected Cess, are declared to be for the purpose of putting down the execrable field conventicles. And lastly, in the Act of Convention offering to the king the L.1,800,000 pounds to be raised by the Cess, the field-meetings are stigmatized as dangerous field conventicles and rendezvouses of rebellion.

The Act of Convention led to much discussion, and the debates upon the lawfulness or unlawfulness of paying the Cess were not few. But debate as they might, all were ultimately forced to pay the tax in some form or other, and the greatest severity was practiced where in any case it was refused. — ED.]

THE DYING TESTIMONY

OF JOHN MALCOLM,

*Weaver, in the Parish of Dalry, in the Sheriffdom of Galloway, who suffered
Martyrdom at the Grassmarket 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. I 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 have 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 onlookers 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 has gone before me.

“Now, before I come further, I would ask you what you think of religion? What, think ye, 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 honor 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 other lovers, for which He will bring on indignation, wrath, and pain upon many.

“1. But this is ground of encouragement to the seekers of God; that He is keeping up a party in the lanct 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, in the seventh chapter of Ezekiel, 16th verse, ‘But they that escape of them shall escape, and shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning, every one for his iniquity.’ Now, I seeing and considering upon the one hand, what treacherous dealings are hatched up among 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 honor of God, which I had before mine eyes, and the good of mine own soul; I was constrained by an influence of the Spirit bearing in that word upon my heart, which we have in 1 Kings 18:21, ‘And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, 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! Oh! I 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 feckless [*i.e.*, worthless] 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.

“2. And this, likewise, is a 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 hoped 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, 1. ‘That I came against the King’s forces, under the command of [Bruce of] Earlschall, and fired upon them.’ I declare, I intended not to resist, but being put to it in defense of the Gospel, and my own defense, I did resist them to my power.

“3. ‘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 Coronation-oath, and 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 in 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 quenched that is kindled in the breasts of some in that country; 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 with 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 stayed off a while, then turned council-curates, and these council-curates beguiled the rest of them; and Erastianism was universal; 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 port [*i.e.*, gateway], beside other three of his brethren, and many of these 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 Cargill (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 [Hackston of Rathillet].

“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 1638 and in the year 1649. I join my adherence to the government of this Church, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, 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 sins, 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 Engagement to Duties; the National and Solemn League and Covenant; and the protestation at St. Johnstoun [*i.e.*, Perth]. I join my testimony to, and approbation of these papers at Queensferry, the third 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 Sanquhar, the 22d of June 1680. I witness my testimony to the late appearance at Airmoss, 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 Hackston of Rathillet. Likewise against all the bloodshed in fields, scaffolds, and the sea, these 19 years. And I enter my protestation against Popery, Quakerism, Supremacy, Erastianism, Indulgences first and last, and against arbitrary power over civil and ecclesiastic matters, further than the bounds appointed in the word of God.

“Likewise I witness my testimony against the pleaders for union, siding, joining, halving with usurpers of Christ's crown; silence in 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 underhand dealing, to bring the people under the shadow of the Lord's adversaries. I enter my protestation against that national declaration put forth in the year 1661 [*i.e.*, the act asserting the royal prerogative], and all their declarations since, and all their bonds and oaths imposed upon the Lord's people. Likewise, against the paying of the cess and militia money; and against their imprisonments, stigmatizing, booting and burning with fire-matches, fining and confining, robbing and spoiling, banishment, oppression, rigor of masters of tolbooths.

“And because of that mistake, which 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 Dunfermline, the coronation-oath, and the acts of general assembly, and acts of Parliament ratifying Presbytery, and abjuring this prelatie hierarchy, which is now re-established, and Presbytery rescinded. And I bear my testimony against those that have been and yet are pleading for the favor (as they call it) of the Act of Indemnity, after the murdering of Mr. King and Mr. Kid, who were executed on the day that the proclamation was read over the Cross, the 14th day of August 1679; and against their Justiciary Courts, to ensnare 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 perfect through suffering. No man has wronged me by counsel or advice, for I am persuaded that the cause is the Lord Jesus Christ’s cause, and He will own it. And whoso 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 counselor, prelate, nor malignant, for a world; and whatever I be, yet I am persuaded, that 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 for your souls that obliges me to speak thus. Oh! 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 hath touched Mr. Guthrie's blood: and Bothwell touched Pentland, and the drowned in the sea touched Bothwell; and Airmoss the drowned in the sea; and our blood toucheth that which was spilt the 22d of July last. Oh! that at last ye would be persuaded to desist and spill no more blood; Oh! that the Lord himself would stop the effusion of more innocent blood, if it may stand with His honor. But if any more may be for His honor and service, Lord, keep Thy people, when they are called to it, to say with David, 'Here am I, let Him do with 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 minds to give the fowls and birds a feast of flesh and blood. O Scotland, wilt thou never be made wise, until thou be betrayed into the hands of thine enemies? Truly I think, it is incredible, that this land will get leave to pass long, and not be swept with the besom of justice; the Lord is really angry with this land; for I know no person, no, not one, but He has a 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 deserve nothing but wrath, and only wrath. But glory to the riches of His free 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 entreat your patience a little, and I shall say but these three or four things shortly.

"1. 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, and 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 unto 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 high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited. Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of Hosts shall reign in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously.' You may read it at your leisure, in the 24th chapter of Isaiah, from the 21st verse to the end. There is another word in the 36th chapter of Job, 18th verse. It is a word of advice, given by Elihu to Job: 'Because there is wrath, beware lest He take thee away with His stroke; then a great ransom cannot deliver thee.'

“2. 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 thou 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 tiring [*i.e.*, earnestly struggling] ere the enemies of our Lord possess His crown, and bruik [*i.e.*, enjoy] it with peace. And this I must add to these that are biased: I shall be a dying witness against ministers and professors that made it their work to brand and clothe that faithful minister [*i.e.*, Mr. Richard Cameron] and martyr of Jesus Christ, with odious names and notorious lies, in calling him a Jesuit, and saying that he received the Pope's gold, and that he was a great favorite of the

Duke of York, a declared papist; while 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 ye have said of him, and what ye have said of Mr. Kid; I bless the Lord, that ever I saw his face, and that ever I heard him preach.

“3. Give me leave to say this much; I am afraid the apostasy of Scotland, the neutrality and formality that are 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 spew out of His mouth as a loathsome thing, and then He will have pleasure in His Zion. Yet ye see He is snedding down [*i.e.*, lopping off] a Guthrie, a Wellwood, a King, a Kid, a Brown, and 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 I Remember that in the 50th Psalm and 18th verse, ‘When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst 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 favor 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 favor, otherwise, I declare, ye shall not get the favor of God.

“4. 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 [*i.e.*, dirty] liberty, which is the price of blood; if ye will return unto 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 Greyfriars Churchyard; 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 Greyfriars Churchyard, 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 favored 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 hazarding their lives upon the fields for Him. I was at that late engagement [Airmoss], 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 shall suffer no more; I shall fear no more; I shall sin 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 favor of God, for ye will have ado with it at death and judgment. The greatest persecutor or malignant will have sore missing of His favor 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 proraize 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 weal and 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 aye up [*i.e.*, always recompensed them] 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 [taken after Bothwell Bridge]? 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 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 men 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, as I hope He will, that I should have put my hand to a pen, and blacked 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 thing; 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 the time. We desired some more time, that we might get our souls' case 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 spirit to Him that is able to save to the uttermost 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."

JAMES SKENE

PICTURE: The Boots

JAMES SKENE was connected with the best families in Aberdeenshire; his brother's estate of Skene being in the parish of that name, about ten miles to the west of Aberdeen. His association with Richard Cameron is somewhat remarkable, as he came from a county, the stronghold of prelatic principles in the North, as is manifest from the strong expressions in his letters to Mr. William Alexander and other of his friends. He was apprehended on the charge of being a hearer of Donald Cargill, at a time when he had no idea that even his name was known as one attached to the persecuted cause. Nothing could be brought against him, save what he himself said. He was sentenced to be hanged on the 24th November. He obtained a respite for eight days, but at its expiry was hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, at the same time with John Potter and Archibald Stewart, whose testimonies follow.

Skene's testimony against the tyranny and illegal character of many of the acts of the Government is expressed in stronger language than almost any other in the volume. The compilers of the "Cloud," in a note, guard against taking his expressions in a wrong sense. Wodrow finds much fault with the compilers for publishing Skene's testimony at all; he fears lest its strong language may lead Papists and Prelatists to bespatter the Protestant religion and Presbyterians in general. But no one who now dispassionately reads Wodrow's own history will entertain such thoughts. Indeed the marvel is, that the sufferers were able to restrain their just indignation, and speak so calmly as they did.

The Hamilton Declaration, noticed by Skene, and repeatedly referred to throughout the volume, was one of the papers issued between the battle of Drumclog and that of Bothwell Bridge. It stated the reasons for continuing in arms.

1. The defense of the Protestant religion, as established by law and sworn to by all ranks in the Covenants, and more particularly the

defending and maintaining the kingly authority of our Lord Jesus Christ over His church.

2. The preserving and defending the king's majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defense of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom.

3. The obtaining a free and unlimited Parliament, and a free General Assembly. The second of the above reasons gave offense to many, who believed it worse than useless to speak of defending the king's authority, when he had during a long course of years given so many proofs of his desire to take away liberty, and to rule as an irresponsible monarch.

Of the members of the Privy Council mentioned by James Skene as present at his examination, "York" was the Duke of York, afterwards James VII of Scotland. Though a Papist, he regularly attended the examinations of the persecuted Presbyterians. When any one was to be struck in the Boots, it had to be done in the presence of the Council. Burnet says: "Upon that occasion, almost all run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But the Duke was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him."

"Roths" was the Duke of Roths, and Lord Chancellor.

"Burnet" was Alexander Burnet, Bishop of Glasgow. He counseled the hanging of all the prisoners taken at Pentland, if they would not renounce the Covenant. He died in 1684.

"Paterson" was John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh; translated from the diocese of Galloway in 1679. In 1687, he was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow. The Revolution deprived him of his dignities. He died at Edinburgh in 1708. If the pamphleteers of that age are to be believed, his moral character was not of a high order.

“The Advocate” was Sir George M’Kenzie of Rosehaugh; a man remarkable for his literary attainments, and occupying an honorable place among the writers of his age; but, as a public prosecutor, he was merciless. His remains lie in the Greyfriars Churchyard, and tradition still points out his tomb as that of “bloody M’Kenzie.”

“Clerk Paterson” was Sir William Paterson, made clerk to the Privy Council in 1679.

“Linlithgow” was the Earl of Linlithgow; who was general over the royal troops previous to Bothwell Bridge, until the chief command was assigned by the king to the Duke of Monmouth.

“Hatton” was Sir Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton, a younger brother of the Duke of Lauderdale. He was Master-general of the Mint, and for some time was Lord Justice-Clerk. Shortly after Skene’s execution the Duke of Lauderdale died, August 24, 1682, and in the following October Sir Charles Maitland became Earl of Lauderdale. Being accused of malversation in his management of the Mint, he was found guilty, and, in addition to being heavily fined, was deprived of all his offices. With him fell the power of the Maitlands.

Skene mentions that he was accompanied to prison by Archibald Stewart and John Sproul. Stewart’s testimony follows Mr. Skene’s. John Sproul was an apothecary in Glasgow. He was twice put to the torture in the Boots; and, having been fined, 500 ponds sterling, was afterwards confined for six years in the Bass Rock. He survived the Revolution, and received from his friends the compellation of “Bass John Sproul,” whereof, says Wodrow, he needs not to be ashamed.

Mr. M’Ward, mentioned by Skene, was the well-known amanuensis of Samuel Rutherford while at the Westminster Assembly; he succeeded Andrew Gray in Glasgow. In 1661 he was charged with treasonable preaching, and banished the kingdom. He went to Utrecht, and then to Rotterdam, where he died December 1681. His life is in the “Scots Worthies.” The letter referred to is in “Wodrow.” — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF MR. JAMES SKENE,

Brother to the Laird of Skene, 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 BILLIE [*i.e.*, BROTHER, from same root as the German, ‘billig’ equal, fair], — 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., Burner 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 Airmoss? 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 disowned it.

“He asked me, Thought I it not a sinful murder the killing of the Archprelate [James Sharp]? 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-defense, and the defense 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 durk? I told them they might ask Mr. George Mackenzie, if it was not our country fashion; and he presently told the Chancellor that it was so.

“They asked if I knew Cargill? I said it was my comfort I knew him. Then they reproached him, and me for conversing with him. I said, I bless 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 [*i.e.*, declared] 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, ‘Sir, 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 said I never saw such a person.

“York looks out by [*i.e.*, from where he was], for he sat in the shadow of Bishop Burnet, and said, Why did I wish the king so ill? I told, I wished 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. Mackenzie said, ‘If the king were riding by in coach, would ye 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. Mackenzie came out by to the bar, and said, ‘I know your relations and mine are sib, [*i.e.*, connected by blood] 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 Cargill last? I said, I met with 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 them.

“Then they desired me to go my ways. The General [Dalziel] opened the door, and rounded [*i.e.*, whispered] 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 Archibald 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 confected caraway. After that I was carried to a committee, where were present the Chancellor, Hutton, Paterson, Justice-Clerk, Wigtown, and

Linlithgow; and they showed me two letters of mine to Mrs. Simpson, wherein I owned the Deduration 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 honor him. Then he said, he cared not for my honor; 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 Wigtown gloomed [*i.e.*, frowned] at him, and he laughed. He then rounded [*i.e.*, whispered] 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 of? I said that 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 honor to subscribe to it. I assented to all that was recorded by the clerk; I owned it, and counted it my honor 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 honor. I desired them to canvass [*i.e.*, consider] well what they did, for they would be paneled before God for it. He said I might prepare for another world. I said, I hoped the Lord would prepare me.

"Now, dear Billie, 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, simply sinful worm. It is from Him I had this courage.

“Wigtown and the Justice-Clerk desired me to show 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 [*i.e.*, engage] to me, that the indwellers of the house should be advertised. I said, I would not have his parole.

“The Chancellor, boasted [*i.e.*, threatened] me for denying his parole. I said to the Chancellor, I was a gentleman that had blood relation to his relations, the Earl of Mar’s mother and I being sister-bairns [*i.e.*, cousins]. He said, He was sorry I was so related. I said, The cause I was there owning honored me; and I would it befel my friends. So this I hope; you will not 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 Billie, bid all ye 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 Billie, your unworthy friend, and loving Brother,

“*JAMES SKENE.*”

“From my Lord Jesus, His house, which He has made a sweet palace, wherein He shows 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, whereby the king and others were excommunicate [at the Torwood]; though I was not there, yet I adhered to it.

A LETTER

FROM MR. JAMES SKENE:

“To all professors in the shire of Aberdeen; especially Mr. William Alexander, Mr. William Mitchell, and Mr. John Watson, my dear acquaintances. Being the last Testimony for the interest of Christ from James Skene, 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 truth, and despised interest, as that He engaged me in a particular covenant with Himself, which, by His honoring 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 [*i.e.*, break] the bargain; yet still by new obligations, He engaged me to renew it.

“My mercy has been great, that Providence ordered sometime 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 travail ill ward [*i.e.*, laid out], 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 honored 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 of that which was and is the judgment of the most tender professors (in withdrawing from indulged ministers, and from these ministers that favored them, and so did not, nor would not declare against the Indulgence as a sin that most heinously and rebelliously dishonors our blessed Lord as head of the Church, and sets up a tyrannous usurper in His place), was a particular I much contended [*i.e.*, insisted on] with many of you, on my hearing you pleading for a sinful union with those who have conspired to dethrone our blessed Lord. Some of you opposed that which was an honorable 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 I 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 out from among Babel’s brood; its cursed brood, who by many subtle satanical 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.

“Oh! this hath been many times a sad heart to me; that 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 main-rain because of that they call treason in it; but, all! 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 God, and a palpable denying of Him before men, when you own these 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, biased 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 fidds, you declare 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 for 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 [to] 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 [not], 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. Oh! 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 dearness 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! Oh! 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, 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 indifferency. 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 blessed 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 but one faithful minister, whom the Lord called out, viz., Mr. Donald Cargill, to be His messenger to His people, and to 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. Oh! that poor party I find only for maintaining His prerogative royal, to which I am joined, Mr. Donald Cargill 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 honored 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 SKENE.*”

“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.”

A LETTER

FROM MR. JAMES SKENE

To his Friend and Fellow-prisoner N.

“MY MUCH HONORED 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 for suffer for Him? What is all the world to me, if His honor be at the stake? If His honor 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 in Christ could not be separated. And I have no reason to complain; the Lord is so 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 stupefied, 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 SKENE.*”

ANOTHER LETTER

FROM MR. JAMES SKENE

To his Friend and Fellow-prisoner N.

“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 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 evidently often 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 [*see note, page 12*] said, 'He was ashamed of that principle we maintained, and that we were not sound Presbyterians, and wished the Lord to 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 cleanly through the valley and shadow of death.

"I must leave here, wishing the Lord to bear you up under all trials. I thought ye should have been in eternity before me; but now I think I shall leave you on the valleys when I shall arrive at the blessed harbor. I am, dear friend, your well-wisher and Christ's prisoner, "JAMES SKENE."

"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 SKENE,

Brother to the Laird of Skene; which he intended to have delivered on the scaffold, December 1st, 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 averting 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 Testaments, 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 Cargill’s papers, 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,

and 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 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, tyrannize, and blasphemously tread under foot His truth, interest, and people; 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.¹

“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 the head of malignants and malignancy, from his exercise of government as to us; and we do no otherwise than the people of Libnah, 2 Chronicles 21:10:

‘At 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 practiced 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 in all things to be head to His Church (Ephesians 1:22; Psalm 2:8). 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. ‘Shall he break the Covenant, and be delivered?’ (Ezekiel 17:15-19.)

“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 [*i.e.*, the Highland 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 than these proceedings, they might suffice to justify any, who were 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 those horrid irapetities is added the shedding of the blood of poor innocents; which aggregeth [*i.e.*, 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 Ezekiel 21:25-27; read also Ezekiel 43:9:

‘Let them put away the carcases of their kings far from me,
and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever.’

Consider how our fathers contended for truth, and must we lose what they 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 Sergeant Warrock, who apprehended me. My blood is on the Justiciary, who subscribed² to my sentence; and on the fifteen assizers, James Glen, stationer, being clerk; and on the Chancellor; and on Mr. George Mackenzie, who pleaded for my condemnation³ 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[ohn] C[arstairs], who condemned my testimony against these bloody tyrants, asserting me to be a Jesuit. [‘In charity, I shall believe that Mr. Skene was informed that the Rev. Mr. Carstairs had said so; but the same charity, and Mr. Carstairs’ known tenderness and temper, forbid me to believe that he said so.’ — *Wadrow.*]

“I leave my testimony against the receiving that accursed traitor, James Duke of York, and all Papists, Quakers, prelates, curates, latitudinarians, indulged ministers, and their favorers, the Hamilton Declaration, and other papers and acting, 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 traitorous, 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.

“Likewise, whereas my sufferings were delayed; the Lord, in whose presence I must appear erelong, 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 expected vainly that my relations, that were great in court, who had seen me, should have procured a reprieve 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 lit up in these terms: ‘James Skene, prisoner, earnestly desires your lordships to grant him a reprieve 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 anything but nonsense. My heart was afflicted sore with this straitening, and the more when the reprieve 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 circumspect 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 clays 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’ reprieve, 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 favor 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 honor me so much as to suffer for His sake. A poor countryman with us, would think it his credit to be called to signify his loyalty to a nobleman, who was his master, whose courage obliges him to fight for his safety to the loss of his life. But oh! 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 these 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 that 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 erelong reckon for; and so I have labored to be single-hearted before the Lord in it.

“Now, I have touched everything I can remember concerning my judgment of things controverted, as also some reasons of my

principles, asserted in face of a great council, and twice before the Justiciaries; which I gladly sign with my subscription, glorying in 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 my God's declared enemies.

"Now, farewell, all dear friends! I hope the Lord will have a glorious Church in Scotland, and that He will raise His glory out of the ashes of a burnt Covenant. Now, farewell sun, moon, and stars! Farewell, holy Scriptures! Oh! I am going to a life where I shall no more be troubled with a body of sin or death. Oh! I am going to a mansion of glory that my Lord has prepared for 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. Oh! Lord God of Hosts, into thy hands I commit my Spirit!

" Sic subscribitur,

"JA. SKENE.

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

ARCHIBALD STEWART

ARCHIBALD STEWART belonged to Borrowstounness. He had been in Holland, where, as well as at home, he had heard the Gospel, and it had been blessed to his conversion. He was several times before the Privy Council. On November 15th, the commissioners reported that they had examined him by torture. "A confession of his being at Airmoss was extorted, and he likewise discovered a great many of Mr. Cargill's haunts and places of hiding."

The Government fancied that a conspiracy had been formed to take away the lives of the king, the Duke of York, and their counselors. To obtain some grounds for their fancy, John Sproul, apothecary, Glasgow; Robert Hamilton, son of the chamberlain of Kenneil; and Archibald Stewart, were each put to the torture. We have no record of Stewart's torture further than the fact. Sproul, however, lived to tell of his sufferings at the hands of his enemies. What is told of him is no doubt similar to what could have been told of Archibald Stewart:

"Lord Hatton was preses of the committee to examine the said persons by torture, and the Duke of York and many others were present. The preses told Mr. Sproul, that if he would not make a more ample confession than he had done, and sign it, he behooved to underlie the torture. Mr. Sproul said that he had been very ingenuous before the Council, and would go no further; that they could not subject him to torture according to law; but, if they would go on, he protested that his torture was without, yea, against all law; that what was extorted from him under the torture against himself, or any others, he would resile from it, and it ought not to militate against him, or any others; and he declared his hopes, that God would not leave him so far asto accuse himself, or others, under the extremity of pain.

"Then the hangman put his foot in the instrument called the Boot, and at every query put to him, gave five strokes or thereby upon the wedges. The queries were — Whether he knew anything of a plot to blow up the Abbey [*i.e.*, of Holyrood] and the Duke of

York? who was in the plot, and where Mr. Cargill was? and if he would subscribe his confession before the Council? To these he declared his absolute and utter ignorance, and adhered to his refusing to subscribe.

“When nothing could be expiscated by this, they ordered the old Boot to be brought, alleging this new one used by the hangman was not so good as the old; and accordingly it was brought, and he underwent the torture a second time, and adhered to what he had before said. General Dalziel complained at the second torture, that the hangman did not strike strongly enough upon the wedges. The hangman said he struck with all his strength, and offered the general the mall to do it himself.

“Mr. Sproul was very firm, and wonderfully supported, to his own feeling, in body and spirit during the torture. When it was over, he was carried to prison on a soldier’s back, where he was refused the benefit of a surgeon. But the Lord blessed so the means he used himself, that in a little time he recovered pretty well.”

No specimen of the Boot is known to exist in this country. It is now only known from the pictures of the period. Burnet’s description of it is: “They put a kind of iron boot close on the leg, and drive wedges between this and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg; but I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin bone.” The Boot seems originally to have been brought from France, where it was known under the name of *Le Brodequin*.

In 1684, another instrument of torture was introduced; according to Fountainhall, by Generals Dalziel and Drummond, Who saw it used in Muscovy. So much were the Council impressed with its value, that they put the following Act upon record: — “July 23, 1684. — Whereas the ‘boots’ were the ordinary way to expiscate matters relating to the Government, and that there is now a new invention and engine, called the ‘thumbkins,’ which will be very effectual to the purpose and intent foresaid, the Lords of His Majesty’s Privy Council do therefore ordain, that when any person shall, by their order, be put to the torture, that the said boots and thumbkins both be applied to them, as it shall be found fit and convenient.”

A smaller instrument of torture for the fingers had already existed, made of two pieces of iron, that were screwed up with finger and thumb, but it was of no great power. William Carstairs, the first upon whom the new thumbkins were used, says they were of a size so large, that the whole hand could be used in turning the screw. He bore their torture for an hour and a-half, with great firmness. After the revolution, when Principal Carstairs, he got hold of the instrument that had caused him such suffering, and showed it to King William. The king put his thumb into it, and desired Carstairs to give the screw a turn. This he did with such vigor that the king cried out, “Hold, hold! Principal; another turn, and I would confess anything!”

There are several thumbkins in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. — ED.]

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 of 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 glorious and 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 Airmoss, where Mr. 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 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 [issued Nov. 22, 1680; the charge is repeated in a letter of the Council to the king — ED.], that I said I would kill the king, or any of the Council; it is an untruth and forged calumny to reproach the way of 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 amongst 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 that they do it justly, and laugh at our calamity, until they can win [*i.e.*, get] 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 favors 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’ mark; 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 [*i.e.*, accused without formal trial] 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, and 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 favorers; they have broken and divided the people of the Lord, more than all the former persecution 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 what 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 [Earl of] Glencairn and [John Skene of] Halyards, whose names shall be recorded for generations to come, as robbers of the widow and fatherless; who have lain 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 forefaulted [*i.e.*, 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 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 peacemaker; 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, 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 disposing; 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. Oh I that the Lord would help you to wait on Him, until the day break, and the shadows and all these clouds flee away! For this is a heavy day upon the Church of God. Oh! to be laboring 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 [*i.e.*, indifference] in duty (and that both public and private), which I think the Lord is contending for this day.

“Oh! 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 met 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 [*i.e.*, indifference for] Christian meetings, is as sad a token of God’s leaving the land, as 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 greatday, 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. Oh! labor to keep up these lovely field-meetings, wherewith my soul has been refreshed. And let it be your work to keep patience; whatever sufferings ye 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. Oh! long to be with Him; for if ye knew what I have got of His love and presence, ye would whiles [*i.e.*, sometimes] 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.”

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: Oh. Lord, what wilt thou do with this generation? What wilt thou do with bloody Charles Stuart?” incontinent [*i.e.*, immediately] the drums were beaten and his mouth stopped, that he got no more said.

JOHN POTTER

JOHN POTTER was at Airmoss, but not in arms. All that they had to lay to his charge was, that he had been a hearer of Donald Cargill, and that he owned the Sanquhar Declaration. It was he that related to Patrick Walker the last words of Richard Cameron: “When they saw the enemy so near, and no escaping, they gathered close about him, when he prayed a short word, and had these expressions three times: ‘Lord, spare the green and take the ripe.’ When ended, he said to his brother: ‘Michael, come let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the death that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord’s avowed enemies; and this is the day that we will get the crown.’ And to the rest he said: ‘Be encouraged, all of you, to fight it out valiantly; for all of you that shall fall this day, I see heaveifs gates cast wide open to receive them.’ “He suffered at the same time with James Skene and Archibald Stewart.

The Declaration stigmatizing the Covenants, testified against by John Potter, was ordained by the fifth Act of the second session of the first Parliament of Charles II, 1662. All persons in public trust were required to sign it. It was the cause of much of the suffering of the following twenty-six years. The Covenants had been solemnly sworn, and it really made perjury a necessary qualification in all admitted to office in Church and State. It was the first of a long course of ensnaring declarations, bonds, or oaths. Indeed, scarcely a year of the persecuting times passed by without some new form of oath. The Declaration, after a short introduction, was — “I do sincerely affirm and declare...particularly that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the ‘National Covenant,’ as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638, and thereafter; and the other, entitled ‘A Solemn League and Covenant,’ were, and are in themselves, unlawful oaths.” — ED.]

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 ‘o 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, I being to step out of time into eternity, I hope you will not think that I shall say anything 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; 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 honor 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 people of God, as they also do.

“Next I was charged, whether or not I adhered to Sanquhar Declaration? I answered, I not only adhered 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 —

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** I adhere to all the testimonies that have gone before me.

“3. 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 tencounter of that kind.

“4. 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.

“5. 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.

“6. I adhere to the way of salvation agreed upon betwixt 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. Oh! 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 sufferings 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:

“1. I testify against all that woeful and hell-hatched Act of Supremacy, wherein they acknowledge the king to be head of the Church, and thereby have invested a mortal creature with Christ’s crown, sword, and scepter.

“2. 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 engagement.

“3. 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 hands until they had resisted unto blood, according to the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant. Oh! that all that are alive this day that were men when the Covenant was burnt, were taking with [*i.e.*, confessing] their sin, and were lying in the dust; every one for his share in that sin, and every one for the land’s guiltiness.

“4. I leave my testimony against all the horrid bloodshed that has been in this land, whether of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, or any others, that have suffered in Edinburgh, or any other place, whether on scaffolds, on gibbets, in open fields, or on the sea; particularly that horrid act of murdering so many men [at Pentland. — ED.] 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 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 they ever had, when they burned the Covenant and murdered the Marquis of Argyle, and my Lord Warriston, and that eminent minister Mr. James Guthrie; who were murdered against the very acts of their own laws.

“5. I bear witness, and testify against the cutting off heads and hands, and setting them up upon the ports [*i.e.*, gateways] of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through the kingdom of Scotland, as if they had been thieves or malefactors.

“6. 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.

“7. I testify and bear witness against the pressing of the Declaration against our Covenants upon the consciences of the Lord’s people.

“8. 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.

“9. 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.

“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 or reason. I shall be a standing witness against them, ay, and while [*i.e.*, until] they repent. Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, confess] 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, who 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 the 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 found guilty of my blood, if mercy and grace prevent it not.

“Likewise I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the reception [October 1679, or October 1680] 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, who went out of the port [*i.e.*, city gate] 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. [The bill, October 1680, for excluding him from the throne, passed through the House of Commons without difficulty, but, by the influence of the king was rejected by the Lords. — ED.] 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 Moor, who were indeed highly honored, and nothing short of these that went before them [Thomas Brown, Andrew Sword, John Clyde, James Wood, John Waddell, were taken at Bothwell. They were condemned to be taken to Magus Moor, where Sharp was killed, and there hanged, November 1679. Their testimonies are appended to “Naphtali.” — ED.]. 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 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 came out of prison that now 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 cornpear 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 consciences to determine, whether or not they 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 churchyard [of Greyfriars, to the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge. — ED.]

Also, I leave my testimony and bear witness against all the unfaithfulness of ministers and professors.

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** I bear testimony against that act at Glasgow [October 1, 1662. By it, all ministers ordained since 1649, who had not been presented by the patron, and collated by the bishop, were banished from their parishes. Nearly four hundred were affected by it. The six hundred were those who submitted to the yoke of erastian supremacy. — ED.] 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, Ezekiel 13:4, 5, ‘O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts. Ye have not gone up into the gaps, 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?

“**3.** 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 [*i.e.*, until] 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, oh! what will they answer when Christ shall say, ‘Come here, sir, give me an account of your talent. What did ye 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 minister?’ Oh! let the unfaithful minister remember that word in the 33 of Ezekiel, verse 6,

‘But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; 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.

“4. 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 Cargill preach; and my soul blesseth God that ever I heard either of them; for my soul has 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. Oh! 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, oh! 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 [*i.e.*, showing] of love to Christ; walk with more fear, lest ye offend a holy and jealous God. Oh! 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 traitors 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 which die in the Lord from henceforth: they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.

“And rejoice, oh! 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. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers; 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 say all manner of evil against you for My sake. Oh 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.

“Oh I dear friends and followers of Christ, hold on your way, weary not, faint not, and ye 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 came 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. Oh! 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 ye 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. Oh! fall in love with the way of salvation. Oh! can ye think of the way of redemption, and not stand and wonder at the condescendency of free grace? I tell you, except ye 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 ye 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 ye 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 [*i.e.*, until] 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,

“Jo. POTTER.”

ISABEL ALISON

ISABEL ALISON lived very privately in the town of Perth, and was of a sober and religious conversation. She had now and then heard Mr. Cargill preach in the fields, and some few others before Bothwell, but not very often — field conventicles not being common in that part of the country. Upon her nonconformity at Perth, and speaking against the severity used upon some religious people there, she was seized; but nothing else could be laid to her charge, till she was brought before some of the magistrates, and, in her simplicity, voluntarily acknowledged converse with some who had been declared rebels. When the Government were informed of this, a party of soldiers seized her, living peaceably in her chamber at Perth, and carded her to Edinburgh.

The Acts of Indemnity referred to in this testimony were a Pardon and Indemnity, dated June 29, 1679, to all tenants and subtenants who had been at Bothwell, provided they submitted by a certain day; and a General Indemnity, July 27, 1679. Both are in Wodrow, of the latter of which he says, it was so clogged that it put no great stop to the harassing and spoiling of the country by the soldiers. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF ISABEL ALISON,

Who lived at Perth, and suffered at Edinburgh, January 26, 1681.

The Interrogations of Isabel Alison before the Privy Council:

“When I was brought before the Council, they asked me, Where did ye live; at St. Johnstoun [*i.e.*, Perth]? I answered, Yes.

“What was your occupation? To which I did not answer.

“The Bishop asked, If I conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill? 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 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 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 Sanquar Declaration? I answered, I do 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. Skene? 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 Hackston? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him; for I never saw aught in him, but a godly, pious youth.

“They asked, If the killing of the Archbishop 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 judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that.

“They asked me, When saw ye John Balfour [of Kinloch], 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 you 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? [Andrew Henderson and Alexander Henderson, in Kilbrachmont, are among the twelve mentioned by Russel as concerned in the deed. — ED.] 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 Grassmarket. And they bemoaned me, in putting my life in 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 anent 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 consequences 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 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 [*i.e.*, drawn] them aside; and although ministers say one thing today, and another tomorrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that.

“Then they said, they pitied 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 [*i.e.*, accused] me, they might remember my name, for I had told them already, and would not aye [*i.e.*, always] be telling them. One of them said, May ye not tell us 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 anything of it.

“They said, Ye confessed, that ye harbored the killers of the archbishop, 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 convene with David Hackston, and I bless the Lord for it.

“They said, When saw ye him last? I answered, never since ye 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 you 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 ye a Quaker? I said, Did ye hear me say I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord I profired much by the

persecuted Gospel; and your Acts of Indemnity after Bothwell cleared me more than anything 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 their orders from you.

“Then they caused bring Sanquhar Declaration and the paper¹ 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 [John Welch of Irongray. He was at Pentland, and at Bothwell Bridge headed the party opposed to Sir R. Hamilton. — ED.] or Mr. Riddell taught me these principles? I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak anything 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 archbishop? 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 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 ALISON SAID BEFORE THE ASSIZERS.

“DEAR FRIENDS, — These are to show you what passed betwixt the black crew and me. They read my indictment, and asked if I had aught 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 (Romans 13:1), 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 aught 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 passed, as I remember.

ARCHIBALD RIDDELL, an indulged minister, and brother to the laird of Riddell, was employed by the Council to persuade Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie to conform, but with no success. He seems to have been a

good man, but mistaken as to his views of the character of the men then in power, for he soon got into trouble with them. About September 1680, he was apprehended on the charge of frequenting field conventicles. His examination occupies about six pages in “Wodrow.” It justifies what Marion Harvie says of his excellence as a preacher. He was kept in prison for seven months, and then for three or four years in the Bass; but was ultimately allowed to go to America. On the tidings of the Revolution, he left America, June 1689, but on the way home the ship in which he had set sail was captured by a French man-of-war, and for twenty-two months Mr. Riddell suffered all the horrors which prisoners in that cruel age were made to undergo. He was at last exchanged, but now his ship was driven into Bantry Bay, where he and the ship’s company were plundered by the Irish, and for eleven days suffered all manner of hardship, until rescued by the Government.

Mr. Meldrum, alluded to by the goodman of the Tolbooth, was George Meldrum, minister at Aberdeen. In 1681 he left his charge rather than take the test. Shortly after the Revolution he was called to Edinburgh, where, says Wodrow, “he preached many years to great edification, and was a mighty master of the Holy Scriptures, and blessed with the greatest talent of opening them up or lecturing of any I ever heard.” — ED.]

ACCOUNT

OF MR. ARCHIBALD RIDDELL’S EXAMINATION

Of ISABEL ALISON and MARION HARVIE.

“About seven of the clock at night the goodman [*i.e.*, governor] of the Tolbooth caused call us down, against our will, to be examined by Mr. Riddell 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 into 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. Riddell, the Council caused me bring you to confer with these women, to see if you 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. Riddell asked, If the Council would send Mr. Cargill to us, would we not confer with him? We said, He was not at their command; but if Mr. Cargill 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. Riddell said, Mr. Skene 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 with it.

“So Mr. Riddell 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 that 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 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 east 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 you cast at 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 any 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 on 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, and desire me, or any other of the ministers, to speak to you; ye may tell the keepers, and ye may have them.

“And there was a chirurgeon 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.

PICTURE: Tolbooth of Edinburgh: South Front

“I, being sentenced to die in the Grassmarket 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:

“First, If I conversed with David Hackston and others of our friends? Which I owned upon good grounds.

“Second, If I owned the Excommunication at the Totwood, and the papers found at the Queensferry, and Sanquhar Declaration, and a paper found on Mr. Cameron at Airmoss? All 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 please, 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, He 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 aforementioned 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 the “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, and 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 tess, for maintaining of 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 all 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 clone 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 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 [*i.e.*, to trial]; 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 *first*, I leave it on the bloody Council, that sent an order to take me, for they are guilty of it.

“*Secondly*, 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 all 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 bishops; but I said that Supremacy was as evil as Prelacy. And they said that I behooved to say, that the king was not a 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 an hair-breadth. They said, Thought I ever that he [Charles II] was our lawful king? I said, Yes; for he entered into covenant with God and with the land; but he hath broken 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 would be on their heads, for it was for 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. Riddell, 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 within 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 dean; 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 to be zealous for the truth, and not to quit one hoof, so I would have you labor 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 labor to make earnest of religion, for I find there is need of more than a good cause when it comes to the push. Oh! the everlasting covenant is sweet to me now!

“And I would also say; they that would follow Christ need not scar [*i.e.*, be alarmed] at the cross, for I can set to my seal to it, ‘His yoke is easy and His burden is light.’ Yea, many times hath He made me go very easy through things that I have thought I would never win [*i.e.*, get] 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 heart 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, in the sixth of Isaiah, ‘Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: 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.’

“Oh! how great is His love to me, that hath brought me forth to testify against the abominations of the times, and kept 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 free from sin, and all the sorrows that follow thereon. Welcome everlasting enjoyments of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, everlasting love, everlasting joy, everlasting light.

“Edinburgh Tolbooth, Jan. 26, 1681.

“*Sic subscribitur,*

“***ISABEL ALISON.***”

BEING come to the scaffold, after singing the eighty-fourth Psalm, and reading the sixteenth 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,

“Oh! be zealous, sirs, be zealous, be zealous! Oh! love the Lord, all ye His servants, oh! love Him, sirs! for in His favor there is life.”

And she said,

“Oh! 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.

MARION HARVIE

MARION HARVIE was a servant-maid in Borrowstounness. She says, in her answers before the Privy Council, that her father had sworn the Covenants, so that, in all probability, she had enjoyed the advantage of a religious education. But she was fifteen before religious teaching produced good effect upon her mind, and it would seem that it was a sermon of Richard Cameron which awakened her to a sense of sin, and led her to the Redeemer. Henceforward she embraced every opportunity of hearing the persecuted preachers. She speaks of having heard Donald Cargill, John Welch, Archibald Riddell, and Richard Cameron.

She was apprehended in November 1680, through means of a scheme intended to entrap Mr. Donald Cargill. James Henderson of North Queensferry, an informer in the service of Middleton, the governor of Blackness, found out Cargill in Edinburgh, and got him persuaded to agree to come to Fife and preach. Meanwhile, a party of soldiers were lying in wait at Muttonhole, not far from Edinburgh on the way to Queensferry. James Skene, Archibald Stewart, Mrs. Muir, and Marion Harvie, set out on foot, while Donald Cargill and James Boig were to follow on horseback. When they came to Muttonhole, they were seized by the soldiers, but, in the confusion, Mrs. Muir escaped. She fled towards Edinburgh, and stopped Cargill and Boig when on the way, so that they both escaped. Marion Harvie, James Skene, and Archibald Stewart, were brought prisoners to Edinburgh. Henderson, says Patrick Walker, got the price of blood, and bought or built a passage-boat, which he called "The Katharine;" but many feared to cross the water in her. Henderson, after this, turned miserable and contemptible in the eyes of all well-thinking men, and, some affirm, died cursing, after he got that reward for his treachery.

Marion Harvie was brought before the Privy Council. Her answers to the questions put to her form the first part of her Testimony. There was the same levity in the questions which her enemies put to her, as in the examination of Isabel Alison; and Dalziel, with characteristic ferocity, threatened her with the Boots; yet her demeanor was calm and dignified.

On the 6th of December, she was brought before the Lord-Justice and the Commissioners of Justiciary. The books of the Justiciary Court have preserved the following record of her examination:

“Edinburgh, 6th December 1680. — In presence of the Lords Justice-Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary sitting in judgment, compeared Marion Harvie, prisoner, and being examined, adheres to the fourth article of the fanatics’ New Covenant, the same being read to her, and disowns the king and his authority, and the authority of the Lords of Justiciary, and adheres and abides at the treasonable Declaration emitted at Sanquhar, and approves of the same, and says it was lawful to kill the Archbishop of St. Andrews, when the Lord raised up instruments for that effect, and that he was as miserable and perjured a wretch as ever betrayed the Kirk of Scotland; declares that ministers brought them up to these principles, and now they have left them, and that she has heard Mr. John Welch and Mr. Riddell preach up these principles she now owns, and blesses God she ever heard them preach so, for her soul has been refreshed by them. She approves of Mr. Cargill’s excommunicating the king. Declares she can write, but refuses to sign the same.

“Sic subscribitur,

“MAITLAND.

“DAVID BALFOUR.

“DA. FALCONER.

“ROGER HOG.”

Marion Harvie’s indictment was drawn up from this statement, and she was tried on Monday the 17th of January 1681. “Her discourse before the Justiciary Court” forms part of her Testimony. She was found guilty, but sentence was delayed till the following Friday. Her sentence was, “that she be taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, upon Wednesday next, the 26th instant, betwixt two and four o’clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till she be dead, and all her lands, heritages, goods, and gear whatsomever, to be escheat and inbrought to our sovereign lord’s use; which is pronounced for doom.”

In her Testimony she emphatically condemns her enemies, and leaves her blood upon their heads. The first compilers of the “Cloud,” in a note, remind the reader that such statements are to be interpreted like those of James Skene, as a warning to persecutors rather than as manifestations of a revengeful spirit. The Rev. James Anderson, in his interesting volume, “The Ladies of the Covenant,” in his notice of Marion Harvie, has very appropriately quoted a passage from a letter of Gray of Chryston, one who suffered much himself during those times, to Wodrow, which quite agrees with the views of the compilers:

“As to their leaving their blood upon their enemies in general, or upon particular persons accessory to their trouble, I could never understand that they meant more by it than the fastening a conviction upon a brutish, persecuting generation, who vainly justified themselves as acting by law, and inferred that not they, but the legislature, were answerable, if any injustice was done.”

Marion Harvie’s Testimony closes with an account of her last moments. She preserved her faith and hope and confidence to the end. When she came to the scaffold, she and Isabel Alison sang the 64 Psalm, and it is said the tune they sung was the fine old tune, “Martyrs,” verifying the rude lines —

*“This is the tune the Martyrs sang
When at the gallows tree they stood,
When they were gaan to die
Their God to glorify.”*

After reading what was said by her and her fellow-sufferer Isabel Alison, Peden’s short but characteristic eulogium on them will be felt to be well merited: “They were two honest, worthy lasses.” No execution of those cruel times seems to have excited more sympathy or a deeper interest throughout the country. In the somewhat coarsely-executed, yet expressive engraving, prefixed to the first edition of Alexander Shields’ “Hind Let Loose,” published in 1687, “Women hanged,” evidently Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie, occupy a place side by side with “The drowned at stakes at sea,” viz., the Wigtown Martyrs, Margaret Wilson and Margaret M’Lauchlan. Fountainhall twice notices their end, and once tries to defend their execution. One of his chronological notes under 1680 is —

“Janet [Isabel] Alison in Perth, and one Harvie in Borrowstounness, two Cameronian women, were hanged at Edinburgh, 26th January 1681; they called the king and bishops perjured bloody men. There were five other women executed with them for murder of their children.”

In his “Historical Observes” he has this remark, under date — 26th January 1681. — “There were hanged at Edinburgh, two women of ordinary rank, for their uttering treasonable words and other principles and opinions contrary to all our government; the one was named Janet [Isabel] Alison, a Perth woman, the other [Marion] Harvie, from Borrowstounness. They were of Cameron’s faction, bigot and sworn enemies to the king and the bishops; of the same stamp with Rathillet, Skene, Stewart, and Potter; of whom *supra*, where we debate how far men (for women are scarce to be honored with that martyrdom, as they think it), are to be punished capitally for their bare perverse judgment without acting. Some thought that threatening to drown them privately in the North Loch, without giving them the credit of a public suffering, would have more effectually reclaimed them than any arguments which were used; and the bringing them to a scaffold but disseminates the infection. However, the women proved very obstinate, and for all the pains taken would not acknowledge the king to be their lawful prince, but called him a perjured bloody man. At the stage, one of them told, so long as she followed and heard the curates, she was a swearer, Sabbath-breaker, and with much aversion read the Scriptures; but found much joy upon her spirit since she followed the conventicle preaching.”

Mr. George Johnston, referred to in the questions, was minister in Newbattle. He was deprived of his charge by the Act of Council at Glasgow, 1662. In April 1670, he was seized in Edinburgh on the charge of frequently keeping conventicles, and confined to the parish of Borthwick during the Councils pleasure. In August 1675 his name, along with Donald Cargill, James Frazer of Brea, and many others, occurs in the Letters of Intercommuning issued by the Council. Some time previous to the trial of Marion Harvie he must have accepted the Indulgence. He survived the Revolution.

As to the “rock, cod, and boboons” spoken of in her answers before the Privy Council, the rock was a distaff, the staff around which the flax is arranged, and from which it is drawn for spinning; the cod, *i.e.*, the pincushion or pillow; and boboons, *i.e.*, bobbins, the small pieces of wood with a head on which the thread is wound, in making lace. The phrase is thus equivalent to spinning and lace-making.

Marion Harvie leaves her testimony on “Andrew Cunningham, that gave me my doom.” The Doomster, or Dempster, was at that time an officer of the Court of Justiciary, whose duty it was to proclaim formally the extreme sentence of the law on the prisoner at the bar. This odious office was usually held by the public executioner, — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF MARION HARVIE,

*Who lived at Borrowstounness, 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 Cargill? I said, I cannot tell particularly when I saw him.

“They said, Did ye 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 ye 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 by the truths of God, which he swore, we were obliged to own him; but when he

brake his oath, and robbed Christ of His kingly rights, which do not belong to him, we were bound to disown him and you also.

“They said, Do ye know what ye say? I said, Yes.

“They said, Were ye ever mad? I answered, I have all the wit that ever God gave me. Do you see any mad act in me?

“They said, Where were 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 Cargill 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.e.*, of Irongray]? I said, Yes; my soul hath been refreshed by hearing him.

“They asked, If ever I heard Mr. Archibald Riddell? 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 sware to Mr. Donald Cargill’s Covenant? I said, No; but we are bound to own it.

“They said, Did ye ever hear Mr. George Johnston? 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 [*i.e.*, get] 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 would not redeem it upon sinful terms; for Christ says, ‘He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.’

“They said, A rock, the cod and boboons, 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 any of our ministers? I said, What ministers?

“They said, Mr. Riddell. 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. Riddell 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.”

MARION HARVIE'S DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE JUSTICIARY COURT:

“First, I was brought and set in the pannel [*i.e.*, at the bar], 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 the 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 [I said] ye have hanged some, others you have beheaded and quartered quick’ [*i.e.*, alive, as Hackston of Rathillet]. To that they replied nothing; but called the assizers, [*i.e.*, jurymen], 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 on trembling.

“The Advocate bade the assizers look if I had anything to say against them. I said I knew none of them but what were all bloody butchers together. And when the assize 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 on 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, c But treason is

fact,’ and taking [*i.e.*, correcting] himself again, he said, ‘It is 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;’ so 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, ‘It is not for religion, that we are pursuing you; but for treason.’ I answered, ‘It is 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 as an evil-doer, or as a busybody 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 [*i.e.*, callous] ministers and professors.

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** I adhere to the Confession of Faith, because agreeable to the Scriptures.

“**3.** I adhere to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

“**4.** I adhere to the Covenants, National and Solemn League, and the work of Reformation.

“**5.** I adhere to all the faithful testimonies which have been left by our faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, either on scaffolds or fields.

“**6.** I adhere to the papers found at the Queensferry, on Henry Hall.

“**7.** I adhere to the Declaration at Sanquhar, and the testimony at Rutherglen, and the papers found on worthy Mr. Richard Cameron.

“**8.** I adhere to the Excommunication at the Torwood.

“**9.** I adhere to the excommunication of the bishops and their underlings [The bishops were deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly, at Glasgow, session 20, December 13, 1638. — ED.]; 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 the 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 on the bloody

crew that call themselves rulers. And I leave it on James Henderson in the North Ferry, who was the Judas that sold Archibald Stewart and Mr. Skene, and me, to the bloody soldiers for so much money. I leave my blood on Sergeant 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.¹

“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 banishings and finings, and cruel murderings, especially the inhuman murder of worthy David Hackston. 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 Riddell, 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 to 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. Oh! 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 land will be made 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 [*i.e.*, than] 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 desire 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 faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ; and I desire all these that are endeavoring 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 ye 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 [*i.e.*, close] view of His followers at this time; for there are few that yield a hairbreadth of the truths of God that readily win [*i.e.*, get] 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 anything 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 everything 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 adventure upon the cross of Christ, for His yoke is easy and His burden is light. For many times I have been made to think strange what makes folk cast at [*i.e.*, object to] the cross of Christ, that has 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 honor amongst them.

“Now, be humble 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. Oh! 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. Oh! free love! Oh! 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 fireside. Oh! I am made to wonder and admire at His condescending love.

“Now I leave my testimony against Jean Forrest, for saying that I was going to the grave with a lie in my right hand, and charging my blood on my own head. Oh! 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. Cargill, 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 Carrick, on those words in Psalm 65, ver. 8:

‘The Lord will speak peace to His saints and people,
but let them not return to folly.’

“Now, I leave my testimony against all the backsliding ministers, who, when I began to hear 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 own 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 Carcase must lie in the wilderness, and not see the King come home to His habitation. But oh! I am content, and heartily content, that He gives me my soul for a prey; and well is me for it; I think myself not behind. Oh! my love; Oh! my love; Oh! 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 a usurper and the devil’s vicegerent. I told them I would not go back in anything, ‘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 were but a few of us for these principles. I said they had all the wyte [*i.e.*, blame] 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 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: ‘Oh! can we quit so many godly ministers? We dow not [*i.e.*, cannot bring ourselves to] 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. Oh! I wonder what is the reason that men count it their wisdom to deny God, who has been so kind to them, and who have many a day delighted to commend His love to me, with the hazard of their lives; for which I shall be a witness against them.

“Now, I have no more to say: be faithful unto death, or else, woe! woe I woe! to you that are owning Him at this day, if ye do not own Him in all His offices, as King, Priest, and Prophet. Oh! my dear love! well is me that ever He let me know that His love was better than life. Woe to that creature that will not love my lovely Lord Jesus Christ.

“Now, farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, which were aye 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 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.

“From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the women-house on the east side of the prison, Jan. 11th, 1681.

“MARION HARVIE.”

THIS martyr, though both young in years and of the weaker sex (which heightens the discovery how brutally furious and mad these persecutors were), 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 Beloved 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 twenty-third 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 eighty-fourth Psalm and reading the third of Malachi, she said:

“I am come here today for avowing Christ to be head of His church and King in Zion. Oh! 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 was going out of Edinburgh to hear the persecuted Gospel in the fields; was taken by the way with soldiers, and brought in to the guard; afterwards I was brought to the Council, and they questioned me if I knew Mr. Donald Cargill, or if I heard him preach. I answered, I bless 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 them 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 (whereupon she clapped her hands upon the Bible).

“I also adhere to the testimonies given by the faithful witnesses of Christ, that have gone before us on scaffolds and in the fields.

“I leave my testimony against all Quakers, Jesuits, Indulgences and all profane and ungodly persons, and mainly all covenant-breakers, and persecutors of His way and truths, which I am here to seal with my blood; against all payers of cess, and bonders, and against all oppression or murdering. They say I would murder; but I declare I am free of all matters of fact. I could never take the life of a chicken but my heart shrinked. But it is only for my judgement of things I am brought here.

“I leave my blood on the Council and the Duke of York.” At this the soldiers interrupted her and would not allow her to speak any. But she cried out: “I leave my blood on all ungodly and profane wretches.”

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 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:

“Oh! my fair one, my lovely one, come away;”

and sitting down on 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 wylie 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.

[Wodrow adds: “I am informed they were executed with some three or four wicked women, guilty of murdering their own children, and other villanies, which was very grievous to these two. One of the Episcopal ministers of the town, who waited upon the others on the scaffold, railed bitterly upon these sufferers, and assured them they were in the road to damnation; while he, without any evidence of penitence, was sending the other wicked wretches straight to heaven. However, Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie were not commoved, but sang some suitable Psalms on the scaffold, and prayed, and died with much composure and joy.” — ED.]

WILLIAM GOUGER, CHRISTOPHER MILLER, AND ROBERT SANGSTER

WILLIAM GOUGER belonged to Borrowstounness; Robert Sangster is described as a Stirlingshire man; and Christopher Miller a weaver in Gargunnock, a village six miles to the west of Stirling. Miller was tried March 2d, 1681, on the charge of treason. He confessed that he had been at Bothwell Bridge, and that he might lawfully rise in arms against the king for the Covenant. He declared he could not write. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on the 11th inst. Gouger and Sangster were tried March 8th, on the same charge as Miller. Their confessions were similar. Both were condemned to die on the 11th of March. As will be seen from the statement by the compilers of the “Cloud,” at the close of the joint testimony, the soldiers showed great cruelty to Gouger on his attempting to speak to the people. He was hanged immediately, without giving him time to pray. — ED.]

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 11th, 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 honor us beyond others, now in this day of defection and back-drawing 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 lives both. You may think that it is a novelty of our own 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.

“Oh sirs! you may take shame to you, for all that you have done against the honor of God; that have seen His goings so stately among the meetings of His people; that will not contend for lovely Christ. Oh! 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 honor 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 fortyard 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. Oh sirs! what think ye will your doom be, that have done so much against the honor 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 to the honor 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 wall be reckoned as guilty of the blood of the saints — as the worst enemies

amongst them all. Therefore, as dying men, we charge you take with [*i.e.*, acknowledge] guilt, or else it will be worse for you.

“Oh sirs! fear the Lord’s wrath, and fall to and mourn for what you have done. Oh! cry mightily for repentance, or else you will get Judas’s 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 give consent to banish Him away from among you. You would not hear tell of a field preaching for fear of hazard.

“Oh sirs! take it to consideration, and lay 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 the 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 duty not to go; and some of you were at that preaching, and made a bad use of it. Oh 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 naught,. but it will accomplish that for which it was sent.

“Oh sirs! be afraid and tremble, for judgment is at the door; and indeed your sentence will be sore to bide [*i.e.*, endure] — 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 have 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.

“Oh! what of His kindness have you met with at such places! You dare not say, that He has 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 that 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 to 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.

“**1.** 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?

“Oh 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 decreemintimated to us in the second Psalm, where, in more particular manner, He is declared to be King in Zion, and all the heathen promised to the enlargement of His kingdom? Oh 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 in so fax 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 ye must say, that day that Charles Stuart was crowned, perjury became national; only prolessors 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 [held at Edinburgh, January 1661, in the Acts asserting the king’s majesty to be supreme in all causes, civil or ecclesiastical, and denying the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. — ED.] 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 the account of the Covenant.’ Would ye not count him a distracted man that would cleave to him on that account, whether he would or not? Yea, and whoever do it, we know they will find themselves fools. Do you believe, that in the day that Covenant was taken, any within the nation was not bound to perform and prosecute it, and that God will [not] 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 public 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.

“Oh sirs! would you 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 reckless [*i.e.*, feeble] they be; yet He will make the things that are not confound the things that are. Oh sirs! I think you it not a sin, to join with them who 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? Oh sirs! do ye not 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 [*i.e.*, than] these wretches; because you join with them in sin, whereas you should have protested against them in the committing of such acts. We wot [*i.e.*, know] 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 defense 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 [*i.e.*, hurt] the Lord’s anointed. Now, we say, he had two reasons, which we have not. First, he had that reason, that he was the Lord’s anointed. Secondly, 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 defense of the Gospel, and in so far as he is an enemy to God and the way of salvation; which is sufficient ground to east any person out of the Church, and witness against him, in the defense of the Gospel, unto the losing of life and 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 honor 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 sitall come from another airt [*i.e.*, quarter], and you shall all 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 us 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, and a borrowed fireside, and live upon providence. We wot [*i.e.*, know] 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 you have rejected and betaken yourselves to the world. Have you done so? Well, you may be doing; but ere long you 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 honor of God, if you repent not.

“2. You say, It is not a Presbyterian principle to own that party that is jeoparding their lives for the honor of God, and witnessing for His despised truths, that this day is so abused, and nicknamed 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 honor 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. Oh! 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 honorably 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 comforts 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 Scripture for their rule, and study to walk so as they may get God's approbation in the day of accompts [*i.e.*, accounts].

“3. 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.

“4. 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 so 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 puffing to your hand to help, but turning your back on truth and the way of God. Indeed, we fear, that ye shall never be honored to witness for God any more. It is like you care not for that honor. But we tell you that you will rue it, when you will not get it mended. And remember, we tell you 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. Oh! but we think it a sweet thing to be honored 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 troths 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 knew, 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. Oh! 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 east 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 ye will, they design nothing but the honor of God, and have the Scripture 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 an 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 [*i.e.*, objected to] for all that, seeing they keep the truth. We know there are many of you who 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 defense 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 acfings of the enemies against the Lord’s people in all their proceedings, both first and last, and everything that they have done against our worthies, when they were in defense of the Gospel; and we abhor and testify against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, Erastianism, Indulgency, and all the 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 do hold by these principles which ministers did teach both you and us to stand to in the defense 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 firesides, 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 woe

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 awakening, or else you will get a wakening when the wrath of an angry God comes on the land for sin.

“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 show as ye 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 defense 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 aye [*i.e.*, always] smell of the world, and so is come of it. Oh! 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.

“Oh! you town of Stirling and the shire, repent; for sentence is passed 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 the 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 you be speaking the contrary; for you never heard of their killing any, except it was in the defense of the Gospel, and their own defense.

“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 you have done to the sweet truths of God, we cannot but pray against your courses. As for anything ye can do to us, we heartily forgive you. But the wrongs you have done to a 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 professed 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 all been professed Papists, you let him come in among you, and kindly entertained him. We leave our testimony against your so doing.

[In the preceding month — the beginning of February 1681 — the Duke of York visited Linlithgow and Stirling, and was “entertained in the best manner the country could afford.” — ED.]

“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 ye must shortly appear. Slight not time, for it is precious. Wrath is at the door. Oh! make haste, and lay these things to heart, and study to have a more tender respect to the honor 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.

“Subscribed at the Iron House, a little before we went out to the scaffold, March 11, 1681.

“WILLIAM GOUGER.

“CHRISTOPHER MILLER.

“ROBERT SANGSTER.”

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 straighter nor [*i.e.*, 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 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 anything, sir?” He answered, “No, no; I own all; I adhere to all.” Upon which they immediately called to the executioner to throw him over which he did incontinent [*i.e.*, immediately], 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.

LAURENCE HAY

LAURENCE HAY and Andrew Pittiloch, whose testimonies immediately follow, and an Adam Philip, “three country people in Fife,” were brought before the Justiciary Court, July 11th, 1681. The three were members of a society in Fife for prayer and pious conference. The society had, in the preceding month of June, agreed to a paper entitled “a Testimony against the Evils of the Times.” This paper, which seems to have testified against the king as false to his Covenant engagements, was produced at their trial, and is referred to in their testimonies. They were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket upon the 13th July, and “their heads to be severed from their body and affixed to the tolbooth of Cupan” Wodrow, valuable as his history otherwise is, had no liking to Cargill and his followers. Hence he says, “their paper is very wild, and seems to smell of Gib and his delusions.” It will be seen, however, that both Hay and Pittiloch expressly condemn the principles of Gib. Crookshanks justly says their testimonies “breathe a spirit of true piety.” — ED.]

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 anything which has 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 Covehunted 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 fecklessest [*i.e.*, feeblest], 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.

“Oh! love Him, sirs! Oh! but He is worth the loving! Oh! 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 fulfill 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 desire of the humble, and the expectation of the poor shall not be lost.’ For He keeps 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 hundredfold, 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 the Scripture, ‘Contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.’ Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, avenged on] 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.

“Oh! 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, nor 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, praised be God, He hath given me the victory through Jesus Christ my Lord, over principalities, and hath confirmed to me, that neither death, nor life, nor any creature shall separate me from the love of my sweet Lord Jesus Christ, who is love-worthy, praise-worthy, worthy to be feared and honored; who, in His absolute sovereignty, set apart poor me, to give a testimony for His glorious and honorable work of reformation, who am less than the least of ‘all saints. But He is an absolute Lord, and shows mercy to whom He will show mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth: and He keeps the souls of the faithful, and plentifully rewards the proud doer.

“Therefore, I am 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 oh! dear friends, labor to be steadfast and unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. And give all diligence to make your calling and election sure; for 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 to 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 unto Him, I leave my testimony to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament and the version of the Psalms in metre, and to 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, and the Torwood Excommunication, and the papers found at the Queensferry, 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 preachings 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 whom the Lord has given up to strong delusions, to believe lies, and 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 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 15th Psalm reached him a very sad reproof, for speaking evil against his neighbor; 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 [*i.e.*, hesitate] to wrong your neighbor.

“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 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 Smart, 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 defense of the Gospel 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 woeful Erastian Supremacy, and Indulgences first and last, which have been the dagger, the helve whereof hath gone in after the blade, and hath wounded the Church in the innermost part of the belly, and the dart that hath stricken her through the liver. Oh! 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 in 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, and 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 time of need, a God rich in mercy, and near to all that call upon Him in truth.

“But, oh dear friends I 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. Oh! dear friends, the more that you see a perverse generation crying Him down, be ye the more at that work of crying Him up; for He is well worth the commendation of all that can commend Him. Oh! 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 forwards towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God that is 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 strait 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!

“At the Iron-house, July 13, 1681.

“LAURENCE HAY.”

ANDREW PITTILOCH

THE TESTIMONY OF ANDREW PITTILOCH,

Land Laborer in the parish of Largo, in Fife, who suffered at the Grassmarket 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 you coming hither, it is well. Now, when I am going off time, to bid farewell to you all, Oh! that I could commend my lovely Lord Jesus and His sweet cross to you.

“Oh! sirs, will you come, taste and see that the Lord is good. You will never do better, nor [*i.e.*, than] come and see; for since the Lord honored me to be his prisoner, He has letten me know nothing but love; He has made my prison no prison. Oh! 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 oh! sirs, scar [*i.e.*, start] 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 this trial. Oh! sweet indictment! Oh! sweet sentence for my lovely Lord! Oh! sweet scaffold for contending for the cause, Covenant, and work of Reformation! Oh! 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?

“Oh! friends, what is the reason that you will not take Him, who is the chief among ten thousands, who is altogether lovely, and

without compare? There is no spot in Him. Oh! prefer Him to your chief joy! There are many of you who have preferred other things to Him. Oh! fear and tremble, for wrath will be upon you very suddenly! Oh! be afraid, for our Lord hath said, if ye will not quit all for Him, ye cannot be His disciples; and so you have neither part nor lot in our sweet Lord. You may read the tenth of Matthew from the 16th verse to the end. Oh! 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 anything but Himself. Oh! He is sweet to be with. Oh! His way is sweet to keep; but I cannot commend Him to you; His sweetness is without compare. Oh! 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:

“**1.** For leaving of their kirks, without a public testimony against enemies, at the incoming of Prelacy.

“**2.** For their conniving at one another's sins.

“**3.** 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 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 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 [*i.e.*, choose] their words, so as they may not give their enemies offense.

“You condemn us because we do that, which once a day you would have accounted your honor 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 which 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 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 it 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 [*i.e.*, until] 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 [*i.e.*, avenge Himself on] 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. Oh! read the 41st of Isaiah, for it was sweet to me when I was taken. And oh! 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! Oh! what is my life? Nothing in comparison of His glory. Oh! woe to you idle shepherds, for ye deceive poor things; if it were possible, I think

you would deceive the very elect. You take God to be your witness, that you are in His way yet, and have not quit one hoof.

“But your practice condemns you, and the word of God condemns you. You may read Malachi 2:1, 2, 3:

‘And now, oh! 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, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will even send a curse on you, and I will curse your blessings; yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay it to heart: 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:’

the 7th of Matthew 15, 16:

‘Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheeps’ clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’

And that 34th of Ezekiel, second verse,

‘Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds; Woe be to the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves — shall 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; so it is but 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 Canongate Tolbooth [*i.e.*, Gib and his three associates then in prison. *See* Cargill’s letter to them, p. 19. — ED.] 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, dempster [*i.e.*, doomster], soldiers, and all of them, and all that acknowledge or aid them as magistrates, ay, and while [*i.e.*, until] they repent.

“I leave my testimony against all 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 [*i.e.*, until] they repent. As for anything 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 Cargill, 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 faithfully-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, oh! be 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. Oh! His sweet word; 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 like 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. Oh! 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; Oh! cry that the days may be shortened for the elect’s sake, lest no flesh should be saved.

“Oh I look out for sad days, dear friends; it may be ye will get the saddest stroke that ever a poor land was trysted [*i.e.*, visited] 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 heart 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. Oh! it is sweet to be a sufferer for truth! I wonder what doth ail the generation, to scar at [*i.e.*, fear] Him or His sweet cross; for there is no cause of rueing or wearying, for all that is come. There is a beauty in holiness. Oh! commend Him, sirs! Oh! bless and praise Him that ever He honored such a wretch as I am to be a martyr for His sweet truth I Oh! sweet honor He puts on poor things! Oh! sirs, cast in your lot with the suffering remnant that this day is in the furnace. Sink or swim with His Church. Oh! prefer Jerusalem to your chief joy!

“But oh! 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 honor 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 defense of their life; but never a word of the defense 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 honor; for there can none come clearly out from among their hands that is once before them without wronging His glory. Oh! fear and tremble, sirs; you that get the favor 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 further than they allow you; they do not bid you to petition enemies for your liberty, nor yet to hire advocates.

“Now, my advice to you that are taken prisoners is, that you seek no favor 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; oh! 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 oft refreshed in the fellowship of the saints. Oh! 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. Farewell 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 trysted [*i.e.*, visited] 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.”

WILLIAM THOMSON

WILLIAM THOMSON was a servant in Frosk in Fifeshire. Up till 1679 he had taken no interest in religious matters, but the preparations made for defense of Gospel truth after Drumdog excited his attention; he joined the Covenanters, and was at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. He seems to have escaped, and to have been unmolested till two years after the battle, when, on the last Sabbath of June, he was seized at Alloa while coming from Fifeshire, where he had been hearing Donald Cargill. He was examined on the 12th of July, before the committee for public affairs. Wodrow gives the substance of his examination; that he was at Bothwell; that he hath not taken the Bond; that he assisted at the relief of two prisoners in the town of Airth. As to Bothwell rising being rebellion, the king's authority, and the archbishop's death, he refuses to answer. Being asked if it was lawful to kill the officers of the army, he asked at the committee if it was lawful for them to kill the people of God? adding that, if they pleased, they might lay the one to the other. Being asked, if to save his life, he will say 'God save the king;' he answers, that he will not beg his life at so dear a rate as to commit any sin.

He was tried on the 26th along with Donald Cargill, James Boig, Waiter Smith, and William Cuthill. His sentence was, that he be hanged next day, July 27, 1681, and that his head be fixed on the West Port. Nothing is now known of his end, save that he remained faithful unto death. As might be expected from his position in life (a servant), his testimony is not so well written as those of his fellow sufferers, Cargill and Smith. It is that, however, of a pious, God-fearing man, who had cast all his care upon Christ, and trusted Him for all things. — ED.]

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 Cargill the last Sabbath of lune, 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,

‘Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you, saith the Lord’
(Malachi 3:7).

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 brand plucked out of the fire. Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, debtor] 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; who is not my king; nor of anything 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 [*i.e.*, until] 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 this 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, Psalm 1. 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 anent 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 seasonable, sound, and according to the Scriptures, and well worth the reading, considering, and practicing what is therein held forth.

“I adhere to the Rutherglen Testimony; to the paper commonly called Mr. Donald Cargill’s covenant, of the date June 1680; I say,

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 defense 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 Scoffand since the beginning of the work of Reformation unto this day, in prejudice to God’s glory, His work and people, and especially these crying sins:

“**1.** 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. Oh, this heaven-contemning generation!

“**2.** 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 villahies 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 honestly, get a night’s quarters in any house of 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 neighbors, as the Psalmist complains.

“3. I leave my testimony against all that make peace with the stated enemies of God, these Christ-despisers, these heaven-contemners, and none-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 had mid 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, 2 Samuel 23:6, 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 burned 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 most precious and lovely? And which of the two will be your judge at the last day? Well, if ye 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.

“4. I leave my testimony against all that contribute of their means for the down-bearing of God’s work 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, land, goods, or relations, for Christ’s sake and the Gospel’s, shall receive an hundredfold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting); and against all that otherwise waste and abuse them to God’s dishonor, but only using this world, as not abusing it; for all within the nation being dedicate and given away by Covenant to God j and this being often renewed, calls all men to be tender of the oath of God, and to 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 willfully and 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 once 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 apostatising 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 underhand and to their face; and, instead of edifying and binding up the weak strive to break all they can, and especially when they are among the enemy’s 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. Oh! 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 heartsomely, and His presence under it; I would advise you all to take it on. I dare say this 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 endeavors in the matter, and speak what He bids us, and when 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 hands I commit my spirit.

“Sic subscribitur,

“WILLIAM THOMSON.”

WILLIAM CUTHILL

ALL that is known of William Cuthill, is contained in his confession, read at his trial. He was taken by some of the Earl of Mar's men, with two pistols and a dirk about him.

“Being interrogated, if it be lawful to kill the king? answers, the king has broken the Covenant, and presses others to do so by his forces, and therefore he thinks he deserves to die, and denies his authority upon that account. As to the murder of the Archbishop, he thinks the persons who did it had the glory of God before their eyes; and refuses to sign.”

It must be remembered, that we owe this confession, which he did not sign, to his enemies, and they may purposely have made its language stronger than it really was. Like William Thomson, he suffered at the same time with Donald Cargill.

Several allusions in Cuthill's Testimony need explanation:

1. The commissioning Montrose. On the death of Charles I, the Scottish Parliament proclaimed his son, Charles II, but at the same time resolved not to admit him to the throne till he gave security for the liberty and the religion of the kingdom. Delegates were dispatched to wait on him and offer him the throne on these terms. But James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, and a few other nobles of like mind, were already with the king, and counseled him to reject the proposal of Parliament, and offered to do their utmost to place him on the throne by force of arms. With characteristic duplicity Charles listened to both. While he favorably negotiated with the delegates, he commissioned Montrose to make a descent on Scotland. In April 1650, Montrose, with about a thousand men, landed from the Orkney Islands upon the mainland, but rumors of former cruelties had gone before him, and the country people fled at his advance. He himself was surprised by Strachan, an officer under General David Leslie, and taken prisoner near the pass of Invercharron, on the confines of Ross-shire. The commission itself, and encouraging letters from the king, were found upon him when he was delivered up to Leslie.

2. For the Causes of Wrath, *see* page Walter Smith.

3. The Remonstrance of the gentlemen, ministers, and commanders attending the forces in the west, in the year 1650, was written by Patrick Gillespie, and was addressed to the Committee of Estates. It censured their rashness in admitting the king to desecrate the Covenant by swearing contrary to his known intentions, plainly seen in the commissioned invasion of his favorite, the Marquis of Montrose.

4. The Public Resolutions rose out of an Act entitled “The Act of Classes,” passed February 17, 1649. It “Ordained that no person that is malignant and disaffected to the present Work of Reformation and Covenants, nor any person given to drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, or any other scandalous offense, shall hereafter be chosen to be officer of an army belonging to the kingdom, or employed in any place of public power or trust.” The effect of this Act was, that many of Charles’ friends were excluded from office. In order to have some plea for repealing this wholesome statute, it was thought desirable to gain the consent of the General Assembly. A few members of the Commission of the General Assembly, December 1650, passed two resolutions favorable, with one or two restrictions, to the admission into the army of all fencible persons in the kingdom. The Parliament immediately repealed the Act, and Montrose and many notorious enemies of the liberties of the subject were speedily put in places of trust. Keen debates arose in the General Assembly, and those who approved of the resolutions were called the Resolutioners, and those who disapproved were the Protesters.

5. Naphtali was the precursor of the “Cloud of Witnesses.” Its title explains its nature or contents: “Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ, contained in a true and short deduction thereof, from the beginning of the Reformation of religion until the year 1667, together with the case, speeches, and testimonies, of some who have died for the truth, since the year 1660.” Its first part was from the pen of James Stewart, afterwards Sir James Stewart, and King’s Advocate after the Revolution. It is written with a fiery eloquence, and is remarkable for its happy use of Scripture, and the ability with which it shows the unscriptural nature of Prelacy, and defines the respective provinces of Church and State. The second part is the larger portion of the

volume, and is mainly narrative. It was written, says Wodrow, by a very worthy minister, the Reverend Mr. James Stirling, minister of the Gospel at Paisley. By a Proclamation of Council, December 12, 1667, Naphtali was ordered to be burned, and copies of it were ordained to be brought into the nearest magistrates before February 1, 1668; and all persons, after this date, in possession of copies, were to be fined ten thousand pounds Scots. This proclamation is the best testimony to the real merit of the book, for it is one of the most readable books of that period, and of no great size, — the edition of 1680 is an 18mo, of 243 pages, — and is just the book that Prelates and the supporters of arbitrary power would find easier to bum than to answer. Attached to the first edition is an appendix, containing the speeches and testimonies of the Marquis of Argyll, James Guthrie of Stirling, Lord Warriston, etc. The edition of 1680 contains a second appendix of “Papers left by Mr. James Mitchell, sentenced to die January 18, 1678;” “The Speech of the most faithful and pious servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Kid, minister of the Gospel, who suffered at Edinburgh the 14th day of August 1679,” etc, — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF WILLIAM CUTHILL,

Seaman in Borrowstounness, who suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1681.

(This 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 janglings and unprofitable strifes of words being ceased, and his opinion about them not being a testimony for 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 passed by, and the Testimony itself only published.)

“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 **1.** The admitting of 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 meantime, there was so much of his treachery made known to the Parliament.¹ By his commissioning 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 Remonstrance of the gentlemen, ministers, and commanders attending the forces in the west, in the year 1650.

“**2.** 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 a 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.

“**3.** Against the Public Resolutions for the bringing in malignants to 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.

“**4.** I bear my testimony against that unparalleled practice of ministers, in quitting their charges; and that (which doth more aggravate their guilt) at his [Charles II] 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 ally 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, 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 officer's seat, to depose the rest of them.

“5. I hold it 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 Lanark, and did not keep out His interest out of it; for it only binds us to its maintainers, not to its destroyers.

“6. 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 catechizing 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 of the land, and the spoils of Christ's crown!

“7. 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. Oh, 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.

“8. 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 upon them that minded and spoke honestly and truly, that could, be.

“9. 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 that same very day that this was proclaimed, two of their more worthy and faithful brethren [Messrs. John King and John Kid] were murdered. [The Indemnity after Bothwell, published August 14, 1679.] I think this people are grown like brute beasts.

“Oh, how much pomp and joviality 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 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. Oh! 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.

“10. 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. Oh, 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 gainsaid, that *they* have left the people. Does not the Scripture say, that they who are in the watchmen's 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.

“11. I bear my 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 Cargill. 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 dealings 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.

“12. 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 is 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, should make their repentance as public as their offenses have been? Is not this the plain meaning of that article,

yea, the very words almost of the Confession of Faith, chap. 15 sect. 6? 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 free 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 the west. And he called us Jannes 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 could send me any of the ministers, whom I pleased to call for. I said, that I heard tell Mr. Donald Cargill 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 land. Oh! 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 tacksmen, seeing all *that* is employed against Christ; and against all that shall do it, till they wit [*i.e.*, know] 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 [of York], 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. Oh! 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 commonality, for letting so much innocent blood be shed; some of which ranks, I think, God hath a turn [*i.e.*, piece of work] 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. Oh! what think ye to do, or how think ye to be accountable to God? Will ye but speak your minds, who ye think 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 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 aught 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 ye tell me now; who, think ye, can be at one with you while ye are standing out against God? Will ye 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, Isaiah 22, Ezekiel 7. Oh! consider, and if not, the Lord and you take it between you. Read and consider Psalm 1:5.

“Now, what shall I say to you who own and adhere to God’s cause against all the enemies? Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, than] other folk's — that sees that 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.

“Oh! 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 back from them nor [*i.e.*, than] 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 nor [*i.e.*, 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.

“Oh! 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 clearness. 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 she says: ‘Where makest thou thy flocks to rest at noon?’ He says: ‘If thou know not, Oh! thou fairest among women; go out by the shepherds' tents.’ Beware of turning aside to the flocks of His companions.

“Beware of these ministers of Charles Stuart, these Indulged, and these Prelatic, these mockers of God and contemn era 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 anything; 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 teraphim? Do we not see in the Revelation the two witnesses slain, and lie three days and a half? But oh! cry to God, that He would send forth laborers into His vineyard; for verily the harvest is great, but the laborers are few. If there be a casting at [*i.e.*, rejecting] the Gospel on the people's side, then I think they shall be in extreme hazard of losing their souls, 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: 'He 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 be found? It is beyond debate, that she made all the fields ado [*i.e.*, sought over all the fields] 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 anything back again, and has set up legs and arms, heads and hands, and quarters of the children as trophies of victory over the good-man of the house, and has triumphed with spite and contempt, and is only seeking it off 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 peaceable to see this? I trow [*i.e.*, believe] there are few earthly folk would do so.

"But oh! who can show 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. Oh! 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 Saur'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 my testimony, my adherence to the Scriptures of truth, the holy Bible, the Old and New Testaments, which have 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 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 Queensferry, of the date the 3d of June [1680], the Sanquhar Declaration, the Rutherglen Testimony, and every paper tending to the good of religion, particularly the Causes of God's 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 spake 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 disowning 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 tarewell world, and all things in it. Welcome Lord Jesus Christ; into thy hands I recommend my spirit.

“Sic subscribitur,

“WILLIAM CUTHILL.”

ROBERT GARNOCK

PICTURE: Netherbow Port: Eidinburgh

JOHN HOWIE in his "Scots Worthies," has given a life of Robert Garnock, taken from a manuscript autobiography written by him while in prison. It is one of the most interesting lives in the volume. He was a smith or hammerman in Stirling. Patrick Walker says he was esteemed by all to be a singular Christian, of deep exercise, high attainments, great knowledge and experience in the way of the Lord. He was apprehended at Stirling May 8, 1679, shortly after a skirmish between upwards of sixty soldiers and a small number of people who were assembling for a field-preaching in the neighborhood. He lay in prison for more than two years untried. At last he was tried, October 7, 1681, along with Patrick Forman, David Farrie, James Stuart, and Alexander Russel, whose testimonies follow Garnock's in this volume. George Lapslay, who signed along with them a joint protestation to the jury, had his trial delayed, November 7; but in the interval he escaped from prison.

The substance of Garnock's indictment is in Wodrow. With the other four he was sentenced to be hanged at the Gallowlee. Forman's right hand was to be cut off before death, and the hands and the heads of the others after death. Wodrow says that the sentence was executed against all of them at the Gallowlee, and the reason of this change of place was, that the executions at the Cross and Grass-market drew so many spectators, and the carriage and last speeches of the sufferers made such an impression, that it was found advisable to take them out of town, to a place where some of the most notorious criminals used to be hanged.

The Gallowlee was in Leith Walk, half-way between Edinburgh and Leith. It was a slight rising ground formed of sand, near the site of the tollhouse, and on the west side of the road. When the New Town of Edinburgh was in the course of building, the sand of the Gallowlee was an object of value for mortar, so that, instead of being a rising ground, it became a hollow, and is now a nursery garden. It was the usual place where were suspended all criminals whose bodies were sentenced to be hung in chains. But the

bodies of Robert Garnock and his four companions were buried at the gallows foot.

Patrick Walker gives a vivid description of their execution, of what was done with their remains that evening, and of their reinterment many years afterwards:

“The never-to-be-forgotten Mr. James Renwick told me that he was witness to this public murder at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, where he saw the hangman hash and hag off all their five head, with Patrick Forman’s right hand. Their bodies were all buried at the gallows foot. Their heads, with Patrick’s hand, were brought and put upon five pikes on the Pleasance Port. Some honest old men told me of late, that they were witness to the same, and saw the hangman drive down their heads to the foot of the pike, and thereby broke their skulls. Mr. Renwick told me also that it was the first public action that his hand was at, to convene friends, and lift their murdered bodies, and carry them to the West Churchyard of Edinburgh, and bury them there. Then they came about the city to the Nether Bow Port, with a design to take the heads, hands, and other parts of our martyrs’ bodies, down; but a woman, holding over a candle to let some people see the street, marred them. Then they took down these five heads and that hand; and the day being come, they went quickly up the Pleasance, and when they came to Lauristoun Yards, upon the south side of the city, they durst not venture, being so light, to go and bury their heads with their bodies, which they designed; it being present death, if any of them had been found. Alexander Tweedie, a friend, being with them, who at that time was gardener in these Yards, concluded to bury them in his yard, being in a box (wrapped in linen), where they lay forty-five years, except three days, being executed upon the tenth of October 1681, and found the 7th day of October 1726.

“That piece of ground for some years lay unlabored; and, trenching it, the gardener found them, which afrighted him; the box was consumed. Mr. Schaw, the owner of these yards, caused lift them, and lay them upon a table in his summer house. Mr. Schaw’s

mother was so kind as to cut out a linen cloth, and cover them. They lay twelve days there, where all had access to see them. Alexander Tweedie, the foresaid gardener, said, when dying, there was a treasure hid in his yard, but neither gold nor silver. Daniel Tweedie, his son, came along with me to that yard, and told me that his father planted a white rose bush above them, and further down the yard a red rose bush, which were more fruitful than any other bush in the yard. And he is persuaded that some others of our martyrs' heads were buried there, as Archibald Stewart, John Potter, William Cuthill, William Thomson; and others whose heads were fixed upon the West Port, but shortly taken away by friends.

“There were six of us concluded to bury them up, on the 19th day of October 1726, and every one of us to acquaint friends of the day and hour, being Wednesday, the day of the week upon which most of them were executed, and at four of the clock at night, being the hour that most of them went to their resting graves. We caused make a complete coffin for them in black, with four yards of fine linen, the way our martyr-corpses were managed. And having the happiness of friendly magistrates at the time, we went to the present Provost Drummond and Bailie Nimmo, and acquainted them with our conclusions anent them; with which they were pleased, and said, If we were sure that they were our martyr's heads, we might bury them decently and orderly.

“Accordingly, we kept the foresaid day and hour, and doubled the linen, and laid the half of it below them, their nether jaws being parted from their heads, but being young men, their teeth remained. All were witness to the holes in each of their heads, which the hangman broke with his hammer; and, according to the bigness of their skulls, we laid their jaws to them, and drew the other half of the linen above them, and stuffed the coffin with shavings. Some pressed hard to go through the chief parts of the city, as was done at the Revolution. But this we refused, considering that it looked airy and frothy to make such show of them, and inconsistent with the solid, serious observing of such an affecting, surprising, unheard of dispensation; but took the ordinary way of other burials from that place, to wit, we went east by the back of the Wall, and in at

Bristo Port, and down the way to the head of the Cowgate, and turned up to the churchyard; where they were interred close to the Martyrs' Tomb, with the greatest multitude of people, old and young men and women, ministers and others, that ever I saw together.

“However, some deny and others will not believe that all this is matter of fact; far less will many believe it forty, fifty, or sixty years after this; when boys and girls of six, eight, or ten years of age, who were witnesses to it, shall tell, That we saw five heads, wanting bodies, reburied forty-five years after they were murdered, for maintaining Presbyterian principles, in a time of persecution that was in the days of our fathers, by the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant faction.

“However some may reckon of that dispensation of the earth's now disclosing (as not being able any longer to cover) the blood of these slain witnesses, yet, doubtless, they are five witnesses, forty-five years old, of the tyranny and cruelty of that never-to-be-forgotten time.”

To this notice of the five martyrs, he adds a funeral poem, upon these five martyrs' heads. It extends to fifty lines, but its merit as a poem is small. Its best lines are its opening ones, viz.:

*“When for our fathers' sins, by angry Heaven,
To persecuting Prelates power was given;
Then they became the nation's scourge and rod,
And for a season on the saints they trode.”*

- ED.]

THE DYING TESTIMONY

OF ROBERT GARNOCK,

*Harman in Stirling, who suffered at the Gallowlee,
betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, October 10, 1681.*

“MEN AND BRETHKEN, — 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 these 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 honored the like of me with a gibbet and bloody winding-sheet, for His noble, honorable and sweet cause.

“Oh! will ye love Him, sirs? Oh! He is well worth the loving, and quitting all for. Oh! for many lives to seal the sweet cause with. If I had as many lives as there are hairs on 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. Oh! but the Lord hath taken great pains on me, to train me up for this great work. I bless His holy name, that ever He counted me worthy of such honor. 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. Oh! but it is many a time my 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. Oh! if I could get my royal King Jesus cried up,

and all the world down! Oh! will ye 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. Oh! He is lovely! the is white and ruddy, the chief among ten thousands.’

“I desire that none of you think I suffer as an evil doer, or as a busybody 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 honoring me for that. Glory to His great name for it! For He hath honored me and my neighbors with irons, and the thieves’ hole, which were sweet and refreshful to us; and then honored 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 I 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 honorably such a silly [*i.e.*, feeble] 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 should not scorch me, nor the waters overflow me. Oh! 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 arise, make haste, get on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand. It is dangerous now to be out of God's gate [*i.e.* way]. It is not good, siding with God's enemies. It will be dangerous to be found in their camps. 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 [*i.e.*, get] 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 honored me, or that ever He gave me a head to be set on a port 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 Scripture, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all that our worthies have done in defense of the Gospel, at Pentland, Loudon Hill, Bothwell Bridge, and Airsmoss; to Rutherglen Testimony, and Sanquhar Declaration, Queensferry papers, and Torwood Excommunication, the Fife Testimony, D____ie, K____le, and P____s Protestations, and all that hath been done in defense 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. Oh! 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 had 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 tyranny, to be authority. And now when I am to go my way, 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. Oh! 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 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. Oh! 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.

“Oh! 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 have strange things of this nature fallen out, in this our day. Oh! 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.

“Oh! 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? Oh! 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. Oh! for the Gospel back again to Scotland! Oh! for one faithful minister in all the land! Oh! but the harvest be great, and the laborers few! As for my part, now when I am going to eternity, I declare, I see not, nor hear not of a minister in all Scotland, who is at the duty the Lord calls for at ministers’ hands, in preaching against all sort of sin, in season, and out of season, rebuking and reproving, 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 honoring me after my worthy pastor, Mr. James Guthrie, although I knew nothing when he was alive; yet the Lord hath honored me to protest against Popery, and to seal it with my blood; and He

honored 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. Oh! set days apart, and bless His holy and never enough exalted name, for what He hath done for me. Oh! sirs, His cross hath been all paved over with love to me all along, and it is sweeter now than ever. Oh! will ye be persuaded to fall in love with the cross of royal Jesus? Oh! take Him. Will ye be entreated to come and taste of His love? Oh! 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.

“Oh! that I could leave this weight upon you; yea, with as great weight as it lies on my spirit, to see how few of you are travelling to that land. Oh! be much above, and be here as strangers, — I mean, in respect of conformity to this world, though hated of irreligious 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, oh I be diligent and run fast. Time is precious. Oh! 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 one with another. Reprove, rebuke, exhort one another in love. Slight no commanded duty. Be faithful in your stations, as ye will be answerable at 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. Oh! 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 anything they have said of me; I pray that it may not be laid to their charge in the day of accompts [*i.e.*, 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 or another; and so farewell, everything 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 subscribitur,*

“**ROBERT GARNOCK.**”

PATRICK FORMAN

LITTLE else is known of Patrick Forman than that he was of the parish of Alloa, and was tried and suffered along with Robert Garnock. Patrick Walker tells of his being a hearer of Cargill at a fast-day service held at London Hill, May 5, 1681. At the close of the afternoon sermon, a cry was raised, "The enemies are coming upon you," and immediately the dragoons came in sight. All fled. A shot fired at Cargill missed him, but the ball ploughed its way through Patrick Forman's hair, doing him, however, no other harm. Soon after this escape he was apprehended. He was charged with disowning the king. According to the account given by his enemies of his declaration before the Council, a knife was found on him with the inscription. "for cutting tyrants' throats." This may be the reason why his right hand was ordered to be cut off before death. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF PATRICK FORMAN,

Who lived in Alloa, and suffered at the Gallowlee, October 10, 1681.

"I THOUGHT it fit, being sentenced to die within three days, to write this testimony, to show 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 muck 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 of truths (if any of them 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.

“1. I believe that 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 14:6),

‘Jesus saith unto them, I am the way, and 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 Testament; 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 know 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 oh! 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.

“2. 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 the 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 outmost branches, wandering about, being desolate, afflicted and tormented, groaning under that sad yoke of tyranny. Oh! Lord, deliver them in Thine 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 our 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 First (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. Oh! 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 malignants' 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 [of York], 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 honored 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 have hatred against no man's person, but in so far as they are fighting against my God, and plotting against His holy child Jesus; as it is written, Psalm 2:9,

‘Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
thou shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.’

“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 laws of the land, that he might murder the Lord's people. I likewise leave my blood upon him, and these bloody Counselors, 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.

“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 Savior and Master and they have our blood upon their heads.

“I leave my testimony against all the proceedings against the Lord's people, their murders in the fields, and in the sea, and on scaffolds.

“I likewise 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 mens' blood at Magus Muir [Thomas Brown, Andrew Sword, John Clyde, James Wood, John Waddell. Their testimonies are in the Appendix to “Naphtali.” — ED.], and next, of Mr. James Skene, John Potter, Archibald Stewart, and the

rest of our brethren since. Oh! bloody wretch, he is filling himself drunk with the blood of the saints; and when he was declared Viceroy and High Commissioner, as they call him, he behooved to have a draught of blood to sit down with, viz., of that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargill, 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 slocken them [*i.e.*, quench their thirst]. I leave my testimony against the Parliamenters, and my blood upon them. I am sure they will find it, and my brethrens’, lying heavy upon them.

“I 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 ye would flee 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 flee 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 honored 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 a 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 brethrens' blood; for ye are an upcast [*i.e.*, a reproach] 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. Oh! 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. Labor 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 antiscriturists were made instructive to me; for I saw these four men (I mean John Gib and his followers) were once as fair 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

[*i.e.*, regards] 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 imprisonments. 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 Emmanuel’s land. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into Thy hands I recommend my spirit!

“Sic subscribitur,

“PATRICK FORMAN.”

DAVID FARRIE

LIKE his fellow-sufferer, Patrick Forman, little else is known of David Farrie, besides what he tells in his last Testimony. He was a stranger to the power of Divine grace till about four years previous to his martyrdom. According to his confession before the Council, he disclaimed the king's authority, called him a tyrant, asserted it lawful to kill murderers, and said the king is a murderer, because he hath murdered the people of God.

At the first field-preaching he ever attended — evidently in 1677 — he says he entered into covenant with the Lord, and at a communion in Iron gray he had a clear manifestation of his interest.

This communion was that of which John Blackader, the ejected minister of Troqueer, gives so graphic an account in his Memoirs. It took place in the summer of 1678. The services of the Saturday were held at Meiklewood in Nithsdale, about seven miles from Dumfries. Blackader preached in the forenoon from 1 Corinthians 11:24, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and John Welch, the ejected minister of Irongray, in the afternoon; but his text has not been recorded. On the Sabbath, the congregation assembled in a small valley in the Skeoch Hill, Irongray. Here they were secure from observation, as they were shut in by the rising ground all around them; while, from the heights above, sentinels could command a view of the surrounding country for many miles. Upwards of three thousand, including "gentlemen from far and near," were present.

"Mr. Arnot, late minister of Tongland, lectured in the morning, and Mr. Welch preached and broke up the action, which was his ordinary. The rest of the ministers exhorted and took their turn at the table service. Mr. Dickson preached in the afternoon. The whole was closed in the evening without disturbance. It was a cloudy and gloomy day, the sky lowering, and often threatening showers; but the heavy clouds did not break, but retained their moisture, as it were to accommodate the work; for ere the people got to their houses and quarters, there fell a great rain, which that night waxed the waters, and most of them had to pass through both the Cairn and the Cluden."

Just when the large assemblage was about dismissing, an alarm was given that the dragoons were coming. The men who had arms band they made a troop of horse and four or five companies of foot — instantly made preparation to receive them, and for three hours remained expecting their approach. But the tidings had either been false, or the dragoons, alarmed at the large number they found assembled, did not advance, for no enemy appeared.

Next day Blackader preached from Hebrews 13:1, “Let brotherly love continue,” on a hill-side in the same parish, but about four miles from the Skeoch.

The spot where the communion took place is carefully preserved by the surrounding inhabitants, in much the same state as it was in 1678. A tenant who some years ago removed a few of the Communion Stones to build a dyke, was compelled, in order to silence the voice of his neighbors’ indignation, to put them back where he found them. The stones that were used for seats when receiving the Sacrament are placed in four rows, each two rows forming one table, and giving accommodation in all for about an hundred and twenty communicants. Down the middle of each pair of rows are a few stones on which boards for the tables were fixed. At the one end there is a heap or pile of stones about four feet high, on which the bread and the wine were placed. — ED.]

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 call king, I told them, I wished neither him nor them, nor their souls, any more evil nor [*i.e.*, than] 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 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 woe 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 over-turned 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, among 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.

“Oh! 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 forenamed 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 [*i.e.*, scrapings together] of gear for their liberation, 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 [of Stirling] 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 the 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 con sciences 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 anything relating thereto. Now, I bless the Lord, I hope that lie, 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 [*i.e.*, the day of his execution].

“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 honorably through, and give me that which He hath promised; ay [*i.e.*, always] when I asked of 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 assaulted and tempted me, striving to drive me away to sin. Indeed, it is true, I lived most lewdly, ay, till within a little more nor [*i.e.*, than] these four years.

“Oh! if I could go to the stage, blessing and magnifying the Lord that it hath pleased Him to bring me from the devil’s fireside, 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. Oh! free grace! oh, free love! oh, free mercy! Oh! what am I, that He hath been so kind to me, oh, me! oh, poor me! And not only so, but also when He discovered the evils of the woeful Indulgence from the Supremacy, that He made it known to me, and also made me stand and withstand that woeful evil, and to join with that party, by the Bond found upon Mr.

Richard Cameron, whom He honored to witness against it. And for this, I desire to bless Him.

“Oh! I think, it is Scofiand’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 these who plead for them. Oh! Scotland’s mercy hath been great, that, notwithstanding of their rebellion and joining with rebels by that Supremacy, the Lord opened the eyes of the blind, to see these abominations, and to testify against them. Oh! 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 sin of this generation of Covenant breakers and usurpers. Oh! sirs, is not this a sweet cordial yet, for all that is come upon us? Oh! 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. Oh! plead, and plead in patience: let not self rise, let not passion rise and vex you; be sober, be not soon angry; 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 offense; and then, if men will be offended, let it be for your duty, and not for your

sin. But oh! 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 when 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 to leave you and the land; and then woe to you, if He depart from you. Oh! invite one another to prayer, especially young folk; for I think, if the Lord do good to this generation, it will be to young folk. Oh! 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.

“Oh! keep warfare against corruptions, and the devil, in everything. Oh! 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 Cargill 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 you 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. Oh! I would not be in the case of the ministers of Scotland this day, for the world.

“Consider Luke 17:10:

‘So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, “We are unprofitable servants!”’

Let the law of God be your rule; and when ye have clone all to keep the law, yet consider that it cannot merit any good thing; but you must lean only to the merits and sufferings 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. Oh! sirs, study the Scriptures. 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 to 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. Oh! 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. Oh! 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. Oh! if the enemies knew what true grace was, they would not do as they do. But truly I think the judgment shall be terrible that they shall be trysted [*i.e.*, visited] with. Oh! 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 executed 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 place 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 Catechisms; 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 [*i.e.*, endure] 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 more disgraceful death. Mind Rutherglen Testimony and Sanquhar Declaration, and the papers found at the Queensferry. Do not think that these will fall to the ground. Mind our martyrs’ testimonies, and everything consistent with the word of God.

“Do not think, but God will be about [*i.e.*, deal] with this generation, for setting 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 [*i.e.*, endure] such things, but He will be about with them, be who they will. Oh! but it is sad to see such things; this land doubtless is ripening for a stroke, and a judgment will pursue it. Oh! who would have thought that Scotland would have quit with their covertanted 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 executed; but they are all beguiled; it will be for our honor; 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 [there] will be rejoicing that ever there was any to suffer for Christ in Scotland. Oh! Scotland, is there any land so highly honored 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 ever a land so bloodthirsty!

“I can say no more; but oh! 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 honored 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.”

JAMES STUART

TODROW'S account of James Stuart is — "He was a young man, I might almost have termed him a boy, of good and serious inclinations, who had never been. as far as I can learn, engaged in anything for which the law could have reached him. He came in from the west country to see a relation of his [a brother] in prison at Edinburgh. By what means, I know not, the other got out, and he was found in the room whence the other escaped. Whereupon he was brought before a committee of Council, and soon ensnared by their questions. When he was silent in some heads, and would not answer, some papers before me bear that Sir George Mackenzie threatened to take out his tongue with a pair of pincers. [Stuart states this in his testimony.] Precisely upon his answers he was condemned, and in a few days after was taken and executed with the rest at the Gallowlee." — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF JAMES STUART,

Who suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, October 10th, 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 any 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 [*i.e.*, accused]; 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 21, 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 it was 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 showed Himself graciously favorable 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:

‘Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for My sake’
(Matthew 5:2).

It is for His name's sake that I am suffering, and this confirms me of it:

'Ye shall be hated of all men for My name's sake; but he that endureth to the end shall be saved' (Matthew 10:22).

"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., that 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, and 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 Testament, 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 abrogated 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. [James] Guthrie, Argyle, and Warriston. 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; and 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 the 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. And, I having 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 Rescissory, whereby they have overturned and wrested all the laws, acts, and constitutions of the land; for in the foresaid 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 professed 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 the breaking of the Church of Scotland, nor [*i.e.*, than] all the enemies living in it could have done; for they sold their Mastds truths, and did give 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; and have put all things under his [Charles Stuart’s] feet, and have given him to be head over all things to the Church. Woe 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.

“Oh! the ministers of Scotland are become light and treacherous persons, as well as revolvers. 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 of 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 practicing.

“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 Cargill 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 flee away with a smoke. But I am sure, that the now glorified martyr, Mr. Donald Cargill, his name shall last from generation to generations; 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 decorment. 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 to 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 aye [*i.e.*, always] 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 anything 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 that I was before York and the rest, being October 1st, 1681 (I being examined by Sir George Mackenzie), York and Mr. William Paterson coming unto

me, when I was silent, and would not answer to some things they asked at 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 one 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 everything 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 lawgiver. 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 in 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 scepter 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 my life, neither have I a hand in my own death; for I love my life as well as my neighbors, 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 paneled; yet, notwithstanding of our charging them with our blood, they most unjustly took away our lives. Do not think that 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 and revenge; but that they take away my life without and against any just law, I cannot get it passed.

“Do not think that I am 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 endeavors, 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 to 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 upon 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 weight 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 Church 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 their enemies; but as long as there is no appearance of a better Church in the whole world, ye 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 Councilors, 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 you are doing. Be tender of the glory of God, and take no unlawful gate [*i.e.*, way] 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.

"Oh! dear friends, take warning now, for it is a question if ever ye get any more warnings of this kind. For it is a sad juncture, or circumstance of time, that your lot and mine are fallen into; but now I am going away home. Oh! the Lord is kind to me, who hath honored 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. Oh! sirs, be busy and venture all upon Him, and put all in His hand; and whatever you have been, let not that scare 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-ward. 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 hand 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 STUART.”

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 of it are remarkable.

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** That the first field-preaching ever he heard, to which he went merely out of curiosity, it pleased the Lord to convert him.

“**3.** 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 [*i.e.*, disregard] God’s call to that work.

“**4.** He confesseth his having taken the Bond for living orderly (as it was called), and with great remorse acknowledges his failing, 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.

[Patrick Walker, who, along with his Defoe-like power of description, is ever finding fault with all others who had written about the martyrs, now with Wodrow, and now with the compilers of the “Cloud of Witnesses,” blames the publishers for withholding Russel’s testimony, and says, “it would have tended much to the commendation of the riches of the Lord’s free grace, in strengthening, supporting, and comforting him in all his sufferings, and in undergoing a violent death.” Doubtless, however, the reasons the compilers give, amply justify them for not publishing it. — ED.]

ROBERT GRAY

ROBERT GRAY, an Englishman, was apprehended in June or July 1681. From a sentence in the close of his testimony, it is evident that he had been known in Northumberland as warmly attached to the persecuted cause; but nothing is said of this in his indictment. In April 1682, ten months after his apprehension, he was still in prison in the Canongate Tolbooth, and untried. On the 18th, he wrote the letter (given in a following page) to John Anderson, a prisoner in Dumfries. Anderson was a stranger to him, but had heard of his imprisonment, and written to him. Robert Gray's reply to this letter fell into the hands of the authorities, and formed the ground of his 'Interrogations' by a committee of the Council, May 13. He was tried on the 17th.

His indictment strikingly shows for what little reason life was taken away in those times. It says nothing of the fact that he had already been in prison for nine or ten months. After the usual preamble it proceeds:

“True it is that you, the said Robert Gray, having shaken off all fear of God and respect to His majesty's laws, did most treasonably write a letter upon the 18th of April last, to John Anderson, prisoner also for treason in the Tolbooth of Dumfries, wherein you did declare our present sovereign, the best and most merciful of kings, to be a tyrant, and that therefore he ought not be owned as king.

“Likewise, you did by that letter incite his majesty's subjects not to obey him, and did deprave the late Act of Parliament made for taking the Test, calling it the Black Test, and destructive of all the work of Reformation.

“And you being called before the Lord Chancellor, and a committee of Council, upon the 13th of May instant, you did of new again not only adhere to the said letter and all that was in it, but did of new commit the foresaid crimes, by declaring that you owned all these principles, and that it was a duty upon you to write so to your brother who was in prison.

“Of the which treasonable crimes, you, the said Robert Gray, are guilty and actor, which being found by an assize, you ought to be punished with the forfeiture of life, lands and goods, to the terror of others to commit the like hereafter.”

He was sentenced to be hanged on the 19th. An account of his execution is given at the close of his Testimony. James Renwick was present at his execution. Alexander Shields records that Renwick told his mother, that, at the last execution which he was witness to (which was Robert Gray's), he thought, and had a strong impression of it, that he himself would be the next that he should see executed. And therefore, from that time he durst never appear, even though he was not known at an execution until he was brought to it himself.

“Barscob,” mentioned in the postscript of Robert Gray's letter to John Anderson, was Robert M'Lellan, a son or brother of John M'Lellan, laird of Barscob, who was so prominently concerned in the rising that ended in the battle of Pentland.

Major Learmont was fined 2000 pounds by Middleton's Parliament in 1662. He commanded in the second attack at the battle of Pentland. Law, in his Memorials, quaintly but expressively tells the story of his life: “March 1682, Major Learmont, an old soldier, and now about seventy-seven years, and a tailor to his trade, who was at Pentland Hills in the insurrection, 1666, and at Bothwell Bridge insurrection, 1679, was taken in his own house within three miles of Lanark, in a vault which he digged under ground, and penned [*i.e.*, arched] for his hiding. It had its entry in his own house, upon the side of a wall, and closed up with a whole stone, so close as that none would have judged it but to have been a stone of the building. It descended below the foundation of the house, and was in length about forty yards, and in the far end, the other mouth of it was closed with fail [*i.e.*, turf], having a fail dyke builded upon it, so that with ease he shut out the fail and closed it again. Here he sheltered for the space of sixteen years, by taking himself to it at every alarm, and many times hath his house been searched for him by the soldiers, but where he sheltered none was privy to it but his own domestics; and at length he is discovered by his own herdsman. He is carried before the Council, and examined; confesses he was at Pentland Hills, and at Bothwell Bridge fight, but came

only there to advise the people to accept of the Duke of Monmouth's offers he made them in the king's name. He was sentenced on the 8th April, but he was reprieved to the 28th. During the interval his friends got the sentence changed into perpetual confinement on the Bass Rock. He refused to take the Test, and was close prisoner for five years. The rigor of imprisonment so told on his health that his physicians declared he was dying, and he was let out on bail. Freedom revived him, and he lived to see the Revolution of 1688; and he returned to his own house at Newholm, where he died shortly afterwards in the eighty-eighth year of his age."

Hugh Macklewraith of Anchen floor, and Robert Fleming, seem both, as Gray reports, to have taken the Test.

In the Appendix, in the 'Short Relation concerning the Reverend Mr. Richard Cameron,' will be found an explanation of the references to that martyr, in the course of Robert Gray's Testimony. — ED.]

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 interrogated, 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 wrote this letter to John Anderson, as his duty to his brother.”

FOLLOWS the foresaid letter, which was all the ground of his indictment. [This letter has been corrected from the indictment as given in Wodrow. — ED.]

“DEAR FRIEND, — I received yours, and am very much refreshed to hear of any one 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 beyond 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 birthright for a mess of pottage.

“And as for owning him in civil things, to me it is very dear, now as matters are stated, that he should not be owned; in a word, for his breach of the civil law, 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 such as have taken that black Test, utterly to disown the whole work of Reformation; with which way I cannot meddle directly nor indirectly, without saying a confederacy with them.

“I cannot tell how much more might be said upon this head, if time would permit; but this, I think, 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 the work has prospered in their hand more than formerly. Indeed, if we consult men at this time, in the matters of godliness, no wonder we be in the dark; but, oh! beware of that, and flee to the holy word of God. Beware of looking out at any back-door, or halting between two opinions; for of a truth there is a halting this day, that will not be approved of

God, in meddling with this malignant party directly or indirectly. It is a thousand to one if they see it.

“P.S. — Barscob and Major Learmont got their sentence on Friday last, to die on the 28th, and Hugh Mucklewraith and Robert Fleming had their sentence that day too, and should have died this last Wednesday. But they got a remission to the 28th; and it is reported that Barscob and the rest have offered to take the Test, and they have sent up to the tyrant upon that account to save their lives. As for John M’Clurg and Robert N., there is no word yet what is to be done 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. Oh! dear friend, seek to be kept steadfast in the day of trial.

“Now, I can say no more; but leave you in His hand, who hath 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 honored to testify against the wrongs done to my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, either by word or write.

“Oh! 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, oh! wonder that His condescending love has not only taken me to be servant, but to be one of the children of the family! and has said to me, as John 14:19: ‘Because I live, ye shall live also.’ He has chosen me, and not I Him.

‘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’ (Isaiah 28:10, 11).

Now, I had His promise before ever I came to a prison, that He should honor me, as Psalm 91:14, 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 honor him.’

“Now, this is the ground upon which I have walked, and the grip I got, 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 by-gone, 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 [that time]

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.

“Oh! 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 [are] 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 [ye] ought to be led by none, nor have counsel from none but Himself; for the Spirit of God says:

‘Woe 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: that walk, to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth’ (Isaiah 30:1, 2).

“Oh! but this is the very thing that I have seen at this day, especially since I came to prison. Oh! 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.e.*, way].

“I take the walls of the Canongate Tolbooth (which I was prisoner in near ten months) to be witness against the wrongs clone to my

Lord and Master Jesus Christ, there, both before and since; and I take the good maintenance they have had, to witness in their conscience at the great day of accounts. They had never reason to complain of wants, nor 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 mouths, and saying, they have done no evil, and saying, they have peace. Oh! 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 will 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 employments. 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:

‘They have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace’ (Isaiah 59:8).

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 that 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 coming into the land; because they have not testified against it, who should have set the trumpet to their mouths, and have given faithful warning; and so they would have delivered their 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 or 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 ringleaders in an evil course, be who ye 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 filth 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 wonhies 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 honored 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 defense of the Gospel.

"I adhere to Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, and Airmoss, 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 Queensferry 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 the party which 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 Lanark, against that black Parliament, that sat 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 favors 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. Woe, woe, woe will be to them that give the enemy such ground to say, we are but fanatics, and will do anything 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 nay testimony against such professors and preachers, as can sit in such company, and hear such talk, and not resent it; it being an acquiescing in 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 the 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 them 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 honored 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 the parish of Dunscore], 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:¹ 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 mean that the Lord made use of to establish me in the faith. I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, or was honored to be in his company. I bless the Lord that ever I was in the company of worthy Mr. Donald Cargill. 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 Canongate 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 at 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, 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 were only my delight in the world. My soul trembles to think of what is 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 blythe [*i.e.*, glad] to be together; and let these 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 any 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

has helped me to withstand them, for which I bless His holy name, and desire to praise Him while I am here. Oh I let all the zealous godly in Scotland praise Him, on my behalf, that He chose 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. 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 THE LAST WORDS

OF ROBERT GRAY

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 87 Psalm, and read the 15 chapter of the Gospel according to John; and after the reading thereof, he said to the multitude:

“Sirs, ye would remember that this 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 you would look up to the heavens ye might 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 Covenant 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 to 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 one to another; and, as sure as God lives, ye shall see yet glorious days in Scotland; for I die in the faith of it, that He is on His way returning to the land. But woe, woe, woe 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, I am ready.”

Whereupon the executioner threw him over.

JAMES ROBERTSON

JAMES ROBERTSON belonged to Stonehouse, a parish in Lanarkshire. He was noted as a serious and a religious person. He was what in that age was styled a merchant, and went up and down the country with a pack of goods. In October 1682 he was in Kilmarnock in the exercise of his calling, and visited John Finlay, then a prisoner in jail. While talking with his friend, without giving the least offense or provocation, he was seized and carried to the guard-house. His pack was taken from him and never returned, and he was kept in close confinement for ten or twelve days. "During this time," Wodrow relates, "he was brought before Major White, who would have him give his oath *super inquirendis*, which the prisoner absolutely refused to do, whereupon he was very barbarously used. My accounts bear that the Major himself pulled him by the nose and wrung it about, till it gushed out in blood. After this treatment he was sent back to prison, and when there, whilst he and his fellow-prisoners offered to worship God together, the captain of the guard getting notice, came in with great rage, and, pulling the Bible out of James Robertson's hand, swore bloodily he would burn it if he offered to go about this work again. In a few weeks he was carried into Edinburgh under a guard. At Linlithgow he was pressed to drink the king's health, which he refusing, the soldiers treated him very rudely, and tied his head and feet together with cords, and left him in that posture upon the cold earth all night. Tomorrow [*i.e.*, next day], when on horseback, they tied his feet together, very hard, under the horse's belly, and in that posture carried him into Edinburgh."

He was several times examined by the Committee for public affairs. The substance of his answers, as forming part of his indictment, is in Wodrow. In their fullest form, so far as Robertson himself remembered them, they are given here as the introduction to his testimony. No other evidence was brought against him except his answers to their questions. They were determined, however, to take his life, for they supposed that he was the person who affixed a protestation containing several pointed reasons against the Test upon the church-door of Stonehouse.

The jury found him guilty of treason, and the court sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, on Friday, December 15, 1682.

As Wodrow says: —

“This harsh and iniquitous sentence was accordingly executed. When James Robertson offered to speak upon the scaffold, he was interrupted by the ruffling of the drums, and when complaining of this, Johnston, the town-major, beat him with his cane, at the foot of the ladder, in a most barbarous manner. This abominable rudeness to a dying man, and the patience and cheerfulness of this good man in suffering all this, I know, was the occasion of a deep conviction to some who were present, of the evil of persecution and prelacy. And there are several yet alive, who can date their first serious impressions of religion from their seeing some of the persecuted party suffer, as they themselves have informed me.”

James Robertson’s testimony is the longest in the volume. He had more time for writing than many of his fellow-sufferers. He was tried on Monday, December 11, and was executed the following Friday, whereas not a few were tried the one day and hanged the other, and sometimes even on the very day they received sentence.

James Robertson mentions Auchengilloch as a place where a fast was held, at which both Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron preached.

Auchengilloch is situated in the parish of Lesmahagow, in the center of a wild moorland district. It is a glen at the source of the Kype water, and is formed by a depression in the moor of about forty feet in depth, and is of size that will give sitting room on its sides for at least five hundred people. Although so large, it is not seen when walking over the moor until the traveler comes immediately upon it. At its south end the hill rises about 200 feet above the moor, and commands a view of the country for many miles round. On this hill watchmen were posted when a meeting was held in the glen beneath. Its central position, six to nine miles from Muirkirk on the south, Strathaven and Stonehouse on the north, Lesmahagow on the east, and Newmilns on the west, and the three or four miles of rough moor that must be gone over ere it be reached rendering it inaccessible to cavalry, combined to make it a favorite spot, where the general meetings of the United Societies were most often held during the persecution. Michael

Shields' "Faithful Contendings Displayed," contains the substance of the Minutes of Proceedings of five meetings that were held in the solitude of the glen in January 8, and February 12, 1685; May 5, and June 24, 1686; and October 5, 1687. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF JAMES ROBERTSON,

PICTURE: The Grassmarket: Edinburgh

*Who lived in the parish of Stonehouse, and suffered in the
Grassmarket of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.*

His Interrogations before the Council.

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

Answer "Since ye 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 he is not.

Question 2. "Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory?"

Answer "They being in their own defense, and the defense of the Gospel, they are not acts of traitory or rebellion, self-defense being always lawful; which I prove by the Confession of Faith, in that article whereon you ground yourselves, which is, that subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny.

Question 3. "But wherein lies his tyranny?"

Answer. "If robbing the privileges of the Church be not an act of tyranny, I refer it to be judged.

Question 4. "Is the king a tyrant?"

Answer "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.

Question 5. “Were you at Bothwell Bridge?”

Answer “Ye count it an act of traitory, and also rebellion, which is criminal. Bear witness of it, and so make it evident.

Question 6. “They said, Purge yourself by oath, and so we offer to set you at liberty.

Answer “I will say no more of it, for when I told the truth to some of you, it was not believed.

“One of them said, Now I will try if ye be a man of parts:

Question 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?”

Answer “How could that be owned, seeing the Confession was owned? And I called for the Act, but it was not brought.

Question 8. “Was the Bishop's death murder?”

Answer “When I am a judge, set upon 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.’

Question 9. “Own you Lanark and Sanquhar Declarations?”

Answer “I cannot own anything, till I see and consider it.

Question 10. “Keep you your parish kirk?”

Answer “If the minister have aught to challenge me with, he may do it.

Question 11. “Now, as a test of your loyalty, will you say, God save the king?”

Answer “Prayer ought to be gone about with composure and deliberation, and I am not in a composure for it.

Question 12. “Would you not seek a blessing, if at meat?

Answer “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 anything to the commendation of the covenanted God of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, I have surely many things to do it for.

“**1.** That He trysted [*i.e.*, appointed] 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 pagan and heathen nations, that know nothing of the true God.

“Or **2.** 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:

‘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, 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: 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’
(Revelation 14:9-11).

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 passed according thereto:

‘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’ (Romans 2:12).

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 to the second,] 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.

“**3.** 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,

‘We have a strong city; salvation will God
appoint for walls and bulwarks’ (Isaiah 26:1),

[but]

‘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. 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. 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, they have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments' (Lamentations 4:11-14).

This may be our regret before God, as it is in the 7th and 8th verses of the same 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; 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.' And oh! how unnatural-like were it for the mother to let the 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, oh! how many are this day perishing for want of the lively-preached Gospel. 'Even the sea-monsters draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones: the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness' (Lamentations 4:3).

“4. I have Him to bless for this, that I am not this day fighting against Him in open stated 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 deepliest imbruing their hands in the blood of His saints.

“5. 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.

'Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon the earth that I desire besides thee' (Psalm 73:24, 25).

“6. I have His holy name to bless, that ever He made me to know anything (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 scepter and royal robe, and settled the whole government of His house upon a man that is but a worm. But this I believe, that His decree will stand, oppose it who will.

‘Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion’ (Psalm 2:6).

‘I am the Lord; that is my name, my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images’ (Isaiah 42:8).

Now, is not that His declarative glory, which that usurper hath taken to himself? Yea, but 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.

‘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. 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’ (Isaiah 28:16, 17).

“7. 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; though indeed most of this generation have brought up an ill report upon the cross, endeavoring by their practice to render it of none effect. But I have this Scripture for my encouragement:

‘And who is he that will harm you,
if ye be followers of that which is good?’ (1 Peter 3:13-17)

“8. I have this great and glorious Prince to praise for this. And, oh! let all the true children of Zion laud and praise this only

praiseworthy 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 Him 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 everyone that believeth. And seeing these great learned Rabbis erred, every one in that which was the great and main end of the law, viz., Christ, to whom Moses and all the prophets bare witness, how much more shall they err where it is left to their own wisdom, having no platform to walk by, as the maintainers of the prelatie hierarchy would be at? Solomon was as wise as any, yea, the wisest 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 (the king's) 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 [the king’s] power is built upon the Test, wherein he is made absolute supreme judge over all matters and persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil:

“1. 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 shall 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 [*i.e.*, treason] against the King of Zion, and so of the highest degree of sacrilege?

“2. 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.

“3. 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 color 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.

“4. 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; 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,

‘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’
(Numbers 35:33).

Such as are owning and pleading for this present power, let the end of magistracy be considered;

‘For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God’s ministers, attending continually upon this very thing’ (Romans 13:3, 6).

‘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’
(1 Peter 2:14).

“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,

‘A king that sitteth in file’ throne of judgment,
scattereth away all evil with his eyes’ (Proverbs 20:8).

“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; compearing 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 truths, who was not ashamed to witness a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to wit, that He was a king.

‘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’ (John 18:37).

“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 show 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 thee any graven image’ (Exodus 20:4).

For, as I have proved before, he is set up in Christ’s room, and exerciseth authority in and by that abominable arrogate Supremacy, having intermixed things civil with ecclesiastic, by their Acts of Parliament, making them both alike inherent to the crown, and so cannot be owned in either, without sacrilegious idolatry, and so a breach of this commandment. As also of the fifth commandment, which concerneth natural or civil parents, which are to be owned and obeyed only in the Lord, which cannot in the least allow of any man’s being absolutely 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 His rule in the word, and according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. For, as 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 panel 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,' etc. If any should object, and say, they are small things; to this I answer, no truth is small.

'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' (Luke 16:10).

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.

"Such are guilty, who are coming out of prison upon bond and caution, binding themselves to compare before their judicatories, at such a particular time, or at demand; for we ought not to bind to compare or answer before a judicatory, but a lawful one, such as theirs is not; so that such are actually guilty, but especially such who 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 giving away His and the Church's due.

'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? Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation' (Malachi 3:7-9).

I am not to take upon me to speak anything 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,

‘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 make thee a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an hissing: therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people’ (Micah 6:16).

‘Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him. The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled: for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away; the world languisheth and fadeth away; the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate: therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left’ (Isaiah 24:1-6).

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 upon this land.

“**1.** The vengeance of God, for the intrusions on, and usurpations of His sword, crown, scepter, and robe-royal.

“**2.** A Temple vengeance, which is not a small one, for the laying His sanctuary desolate.

“**3.** A Gospel vengeance, for the slighting of the great and rich offer of Christ and salvation, offered in such purity and plenty.

“**4.** 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 honored this land with, to bring it into covenant with Himself, and make it Hephzibah and Beulah unto Him.

‘For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment. The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams: for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Idumea. And the unicorns shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls; and their land shall be soaked with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness’ (Isaiah 34:5-7).

‘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. And I will prepare destroyers against thee, every one with his weapons: and they shall cut down thy choice cedars, and cast them into the fire. And many nations shall pass by this city, and they shall say every man to his neighbor, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this great city? Then they shall answer, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God, and worshipped other gods, and served them’ (Jeremiah 22:6-9).

“This land hath not only departed from God, in and by their own sins, in refusing the rich offer of the Gospel, and [in the] breach of Covenant, but have homologated 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 forever; 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. ‘That bringeth the princes to nothing; He maketh the judges of the earth as vanity. Yea, they shall not be planted; yea, they shall not be sown: yea, their stock shall not take

root in the earth; and he shall also blow upon them, and they shall wither, and the whirlwind shall take them away as stubble’| (Isaiah 40:23, 24).

“Now as to the articles of my indictment, whereon my sentence of death is founded, they are —

“First, The owning and maintaining, that it was lawful to rise in arms at Penfiand and Bothwell Bridge; which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness, they being in their own defense, and in the defense 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 shows 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 upon 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 declining their authority, which consisteth in this —

“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 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 and molesting the subjects, both in their consciences and external liberties; and also to 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 2 John 1:10. And seeing it cannot be given unto 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 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. 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:

“1. I give testimony to the truth, fullness, and authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to all the truths contained therein, and warrantable therefrom.

“2. 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.

3. 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 the Lord’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.

“4. I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the Remonstrators against malignants and malignant interests, which are the very things this day contended for by the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland.

“5. I bear my testimony (not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest), to that noble testimony given at Lanark, 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 do, that the remnant was therein owned of the Lord.

“6. 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.

“7. I bear my testimony to all the appearances in arms for the defense of the Gospel.

“8. 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 Auchengilloch by three ministers, two of them now glorified — viz., Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron. Where the land’s guilt was freely and faithfully discovered.

“9. *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,

“1. 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.

“2. I leave my testimony against Hamilton declaration, which is one and the same thing with the Resolutions.

(1.) For taking the foresaid interest, contrary to the land’s engagements in covenant.

(2.) For corrupting the army.

But my mind 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 to the place of my residence, and some falsely accusing me for casting at [*i.e.*, despising] ministers, and so at ministry. And to show 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 refer to this and the aforementioned paper as a part of my testimony against the wrongs done to a holy God in this backsliding age.

“3. I leave my testimony against all unfaithfulness in ministers, for their dark and ambiguous manner of preaching, in not giving free, full, and faithful warning of the duty and dangers of our day; 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, etc.; 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 oh, 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:

‘Who can understand his errors: cleanse Thou me from secret faults. Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me’ (Psalm 19:12, 13).

‘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’ (Numbers 15:30).

“**4.** 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 10:1). 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 (Daniel 1:15).

“**5.** I give my testimony against all the hearers of these abominable Tested curates throughout the land; so in particular against that corner of the 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 bulldcal, 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 woe 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. Oh! 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.

“**6.** 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 endeavors have always been to be cleared both 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:

“1. 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. Oh! this condescending love of God, that is laid out in this manner! Oh! ye that are enemies to His interest and people, mind, that justice, even wrathful justice, is ready to be poured out upon you! Oh! therefore come off. Repent and turn in unto this so favorable 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.

“2. Ye that have sometimes known what it was to be in God’s favor, and had much love and tenderness for Him, His work and interest, cause and covenant, as it was reformed in this land, and now are fallen from your first love. Oh! endeavor to have in mind the love of your espousals, when ye and Christ were hand-fastened [*i.e.*, betrothed]. Oh! consider aright what a great difference there is between your love, faith, knowledge, zeal, tenderness now, in regard of what it then 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. Oh! therefore turn in time, lest repentance be hid from your eyes. Oh! 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.

“3. You that are in good terms with God, and are 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 hear them?’ and now that this is His language to you, ‘Will ye also leave me?’ Oh! let this be the language of every ingenuous soul, ‘To whom shall we go? 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 ye not ground to expect that He will not let His own arm be crashed? He can strew 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 [*i.e.*, manifested] His kindness most. Oh! 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 valley; He is fair and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand of thousands. Oh! 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. Oh! who knows what is in love?

‘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’ (1 John 4:17).

How is that; though in the world, yet not of the world? ‘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’ (verse 18). Now the reason of our love is ‘We love Him because He first loved us’ (verse 19). 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 an heavenly country? There is a rest for the people of God, and to whom is this rest appointed but to the weary passengers?

“Now, I am given out by the enemies and professors, as being prodigal of my life, and leading of my two brethren [John Finlay and William Cochrane] to the death. But they are both false charges, for I have found more straitness 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 favor of the enemies, nor to touch, taste, nor handle with them; for their dainties are deceitful meat. And there is one Scripture which at my first coming to prison confirmed me,

‘Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God’ (Philippians 4:6.)

“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 [*i.e.*, act] suitably to these who are without, and to them that are within. Endeavor to have a 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 Savior.

“The breakings of the remnant (I may warrantably say) have lain 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. Oh! for that day, when they shall be made one stick in His hand, when it shall be as in Isaiah 11:13, 14,

‘The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adv. ersaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines towards the west; they shall spoil them of the east together;’

and that Scripture, ‘Suffer not sin upon thy brothds soul, but in anywise 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. I am not here speaking to these that are going on in homologating these God-provoking, Christ-dethroning, Church-ruining and land desolating courses, but to the wrestling remnant.

“Now death is not a whit terrible to me:

‘O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ’ (1 Corinthians 15:5-7).

I think this is His language to me,

‘Arise ye, and depart; for this is not your rest,
because it is polluted’ (Micah 2:10).

‘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’ (2 Corinthians 5:1).

“Now, as to His way with His Church, it is mysterious. His way is in the deep; His paths are in the mighty waters; but the thought 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 more 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 omission sin, there hath been as much guiltiness in me as might and would have weighted down to the pit the whole world; but my lovely Lord hath showed me warm blinks of His love. Oh! 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 sentence, I met with a great measure and a full gale of the Spirit, wherein my heart was both melted and enlarged, winning [*i.e.*, getting] near to Him, both alone and with the rest. But a little thereafter, in 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, I was directed to 1 John 5:14, 15,

‘This is the confidence that we have in Him, that if we ask any thing according to His will, He heareth us; 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, I 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 the earth. Oh! let heaven and earth praise Him; sun and moon, praise Him. Oh! all the creation, praise Him; angels and glorified saints, 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."

JOHN FINLAY

JOHN FINLAY was “a dear comrade of James Robertson.” It was a visit to him, when in Kilmaruock prison, that led to Robertsoh’s apprehension.

His testimony does not appear in the first edition. It was added in the fifth edition, issued in 1751. In the first edition there is the following note at the close of James Robertson’s testimony:

“At the same time and place suffered John Findlay, who lived in the parish of Kilmarnock, whose testimony is not only the same in substance with this of James Robertson, they being sentenced upon the same heads, and adhering to the same truths, but also, for the most part, they agree in expression. And therefore, to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, it is here omitted.”

Its contents justify the description given of it by the compilers of the “*Cloud*.” It is very similar to Robertson’s testimony, and where it differs it is by no means an improvement. Indeed, perhaps, no one of the testimonies in the volume is so defective in expression. It must have been taken down from his lips, as he was no scholar. But although illiterate, John Finlay was a good man. He says, “I have sweet peace in my lovely Lord.” Wodrow gives from the “Justiciary Records” the interrogations put to him before the Council.

“Being interrogated whether it be lawful to rise in arms against the king? refuses to answer, these being kittle questions, and he a poor prisoner. Refuses to say God save the king, but says he loves the king as well as any person. Confesseth he was present at Drumclog, but without arms. Being asked, if he conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill within these two years? he refuses to answer otherwise than that a man is neither by the law of God nor man bound to have a hand in shedding his own blood. Declares he cannot write.”

For these answers his life was taken away. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF JOHN FINLEY,

Who lived in the Muirside, in the parish of Kilmarnock, and suffered in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

“MEN AND BRETHEREN, — Showing you that I am condemned unjustly by a generation of bloody men who are 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, and much imperfections, for adhering to Christ in 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—

“**1.** My keeping company with the persecuted people of God, ministers and others, for which with my whole soul I bless Him that ever He honored me with such company, and in token of His countenance He hath kept me in that company.

“**2.** 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. [John] King, Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. [John] Kid, in particular.

“**3.** My refusing to call the Bishop’s death murder, which I durst not do, it being God’s righteous judgment upon him.

“**4.** My not calling Bothwell Bridge rebellion; it being in defense of themselves and of the Gospel, which is lawful in God’s sight; and therefore I durst not call it rebellion.

“**5.** 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 Matthew, 10:42: ‘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.

“**6.** For my being commanded to say, ‘God save the king,’ which I durst not do for my very soul; their bidding us do it in 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 the little, will not be faithful in that which is much.’

“**7.** 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 of Zion, and taking on with him, and so would have incurred the wrath of God, and homologated all the bloodshed and all the horrid bloody abominations they have committed in the land, with avowed defying of the great God. Oh! 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 are 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.

“**1.** I give my testimony to the sure word of God, which is the Scriptures of truth.

“**2.** I give my testimony to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, and that by His satisfaction.

“3. 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.

“4. 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.

“5. I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the Remonstrators against malignants and the malignant interest, which is the very thing contended for by the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland.

“6. I give my testimony, not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest of that notable testimony given at Lanark against that tyrant, and the Test, enacted by that late Parliament, which I could not but look upon in the time of carrying it on, and yet do, that the remnant was owned of the Lord.

“7. 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.

“8. I bear my testimony to all appearances in arms, for defense of the Gospel.

“9. 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 Cargill, King, Kid, Cameron, and Douglas.

“10. 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:

“1. I bear my testimony against the public Resolutioners for taking in the malignant interest, for which this poor Church is smarting this day, and feeling the weight of the tyrant’s hand for such eager lusting after a king.

“2. I bear my testimony against the Hamilton Declaration, which is one and the same with the Resolutioners, for taking in the foresaid interest, contrary to the land’s engagements in Covenant.

“3. For corrupting the army and other things, such as the excommunicated tyrant’s interest, tress, and all other impositions of that nature, for the down-bearing of Christ’s interest, doing it against a holy God.

“4. I bear my testimony against Indulged ministers, for their not coming in by the door, but by the mission of men:

‘He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber’ (John 10:1);

they being entered by the tyrant and not by the door, are become men-servants, and not servants to Jesus Christ, and so are become an Erastian party, which hath wronged our Lord and King more than the bloody Prelatic party hath done these twenty years by-gone, by their rending the Church’s bowels, and for dividing many a bosom friend, to the great hurt of the Gospel.

“5. 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.

“6. 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, which murdered a woman in the town of Newmilns, and now is carrying arms against Christ and His followers, who took me, and confessed to me that he had not an order for it. And against that party that carried me to Edinburgh; and especially Alexander Gemmil, my neighbor, 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, by when [*i.e.*, since] ye swore the Covenant, and swore against Popery and 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 God, and before heaven and earth, sun and moon? Oh! 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, than to turn your back upon your profession, and turn in with the men of these abominations in all things? Oh! fear the wrath of that God, who has said, ‘ Shall any break the Covenant, and be delivered?’ Now, therefore, I desire, as ye tender [*i.e.*, regard] your own souls, that ye would turn again to your first husband, for then was it 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 frees from, no man nor woman baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Oh! therefore take heed how ye think to answer before the great sin-revenging 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! dare not but show you my mind anent some persons and their carriage in this day of Jacob’s trouble, when Zion is lying waste, and ploughing like a field:

“First, 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: they being first thought to be faithful elders in the time of the Presbyterian government, and then turned elders to the Curate Carnegie, and then turned elders to Mr. Wedderburn, that indulged minister; and now are sessioners to this curate. And seeing this is true, that they have showed 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 fines, 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 with malice or a spirit of revenge, but I 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 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 for to forgive, but I leave it to Him to whom vengeance belongs, that He may deal with them as He may most glorify Himself.

“Oh! if I could speak or write anything to the commendation of the covertanted God of the Church of Scotland!

“**1.** I have surely many things to say, for that He trysted [*i.e.*, appointed] 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 know nothing of the true God.

“Or, **2.** 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 Revelation 14:9-11:

‘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, 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: 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 absolution or condemnation passed according thereto:

‘For as many as have sinned without law,
shall also perish without law’ (Romans 2:12);

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 of 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.

“**3.** 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.’ In that day of planting we could have sung that song,

‘We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint
for walls and bulwarks (Isaiah 26:1).

‘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. 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. 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, they have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments, (Lamentations 4:11-14)

This may be our regret before God, as it is in tee 7th and 8th verses: ‘Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire: 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.’ Oh! how unnatural like were it for the mother to let the child, the son of her womb, perish for lack of the breast? Were she free of the child’s blood, it perishing for want of its natural food? And oh! how many are this day perishing for want of the lively preached Gospel? Ver. 3,

‘Even the sea monsters draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones: the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness.’

“4. 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 embruing their hands deeply in the blood of the saints.

“**5.** I have Him to bless for this, that ever He opened mine eyes to see the mystery of iniquity that abounds and hath 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 doorkeeper in the house of God than to dwell in all the pleasures of sin for a season,

‘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 beside thee’ (Psalm 73:24-25).

“**6.** I have His holy name to bless that ever He honored 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 scepter 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. ‘Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion (Psalm 2:6). ‘I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images (Isaiah 42:8). 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 which the builders have rejected is made the head of the corner.

‘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. 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’ (Isaiah 28:16, 17).

“7. 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 rendering the cross of Christ of no effect. Oh, 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, calling, 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 offense 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 has 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.”

WILLIAM COCHRAN

WILLIAM COCHRAN belonged to Camduff, a farm about three miles to the west of Strathaven. The first edition calls him Mungo Cochrane, but the fourth, together with Wodrow and Crookshanks, gives his name as above. His answers on examination before the Council are in Wodrow. and are substantially the same as those of John Finlay: “William Cochran, being interrogate if it be lawful for subjects to rise in arms against the king, refuses to answer. Being interrogate, whether the king be lawful king, answers these are kitfie questions, and will say nothing of them, being a prisoner. Being desired to say ‘God save the king,’ refuses to say anything. Can write, but refuses to sign his answers.”

His testimony, like John Finlay’s, is very similar to that of his fellow-sufferer, James Robertson. Its chief feature is the clearness with which it brings out the reason why he and many others who suffered to the death refused to say “God save the king.” It was not because they were unwilling to pray for the king, but because to say “God save the king” was regarded as an approval of all that he had done against the Church and people of God, and the true subjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF WILLIAM COCHRAN,

*Who lived in the parish of Evandale, and suffered in the
Grassmarket 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,

“**1.** 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.

“2. [I own] Jesus Christ to be the only Savior of His people, and head of His Church, and sole governor of His house.

“3. I adhere to the covenanted work of Reformation, Confession of Faith, and the Covenants and Catechisms. And I think it my great honor and glory, that I was born a member Of that Church, and I 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 Prelatic and Erastian courses, and against all joiners and compliers whomsoever, 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 the 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 needs 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 [we should not have] 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 [*i.e.*, caught] in their snares, ye stand stoutly to the defense of it, and of these that join with them in these ensnaring courses. I desire ye 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. Oh! therefore consider where ye are now. Ye may date your perjury from the changing of the government, and the coupling up [*i.e.*, overturning] of the work of Reformation, and your being witnesses 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 that 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 ye 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 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 testimony 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 [*i.e.*, wreck], 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 that the Lord is beginning to let us see our former ground again. And I desire you, His poor people, to labor to win [*i.e.*, get], 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 heartbreaks that I have had both from one and another, but especially from mistaken friends, ye could not but have wept 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 of watchfulness; for I find there are snares on all hands, and I 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 also I desire, when ye fall upon debates about the matters of the Lord, that ye would follow the method 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 Jonah, who fled from the presence of the Lord, till he could win [*i.e.*, get] no further, and the Lord pursued him unto the whale's belly, till he was forced to cry out unto the Lord. Oh! 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. Oh! 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? Oh! plead hard with Him, 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 kept 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 [*i.e.*, established] 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 [so would] have done contrary to that in the second Epistle of John, 10th and 11th verses: ‘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 the 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 they said that I disowned authority, which was a diving into the thoughts of my heart. Now, in obedience to what my Lord hath commanded, I can freely forgive

(as I desire to be forgiven) anything 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, for 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 rightfiy in the way of their duty. Now as to these, who account the pure way of truth a wild principle, I account 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.

“Sir subscribitur,

“WILLIAM COCHRAN.”

ANDREW GUILLINE

ANDREW GUILLINE, or GUILLAN, was a weaver near Magus Muir, two miles from St. Andrews, the scene of the death of Archbishop Sharp, May 3, 1679. He was called out of his house to hold the horses of the carriage, while Balfour and his associates were engaged in bringing the prelate's career to an unexpected end. In his testimony, Guilline justifies what was done to Sharp, yet he seems to have had no share in the deed further than that of a deeply-interested spectator. Wodrow says he endeavored to secure the archbishop's daughter from hurt and danger when she would interpose betwixt the actors and him. He had told Wodrow's informer that, when the commander ordered them to draw their swords, Sharp's courage failed him at the sight of the cold iron, and he made as hideous and terrible shrieks as ever were heard.

After the archbishop's death, Andrew Guilline found it prudent to leave Magus Muir, and seek employment elsewhere. In the "Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland," Helen Alexander says: "And about the year 1682, Andrew Guilline, who was execute, did sometimes come to my house; for I always thought it my duty to harbor any of the godly; and if I thought they were godly, though they differed in judgment, yet I willingly entertained them, but especially those who were straightest in their judgment, and those who were most persecute for righteousness' sake.... And so he being taken, it was thought that Mr. M'Naught, the curate, had informed against me to the Council, and the Council put it to the laird to apprehend me.... When I had been some days in prison, I was brought down from the prison to the Abbey by a guard of soldiers to the Chancellor and Bishop Paterson.... And when I was brought before the Chancellor (who was president) and Bishop Paterson, I was interrogated by Sir William Paterson if I went to the kirk. I said I would not go to the kirk though they should take my life from me. They questioned me if Andrew Gulon came to my house, and I said, He did. He asked me why I gave him cloth to work; I answered, He was honest. He asked if any vagabonds came to my house, and I said, No (for so they termed these sufferers)."

On the 11th of June 1683, four years after the death of Sharp, he was at work in Cockpen, a parish a few miles to the southeast of Edinburgh, when the curate came by, and asked him where he was last Lord's day, and if he attended the parish church? Andrew declined to own him as his minister, or to answer his questions. The curate now called for some of his adherents in the parish, who seized Guilline and carried him to the village of Cockpen. Here he was pressed to drink the king's health, which he refused to do, on the plea thlt he drank no healths. His refusal awakened further suspicion, and he was taken to Dalkeith prison, and from thence to Edinburgh, where, after examination, he was put into the iron house, a room on the second floor of the Tolbooth, specially appropriated for felons. The iron bar or goad, to which they were chained, a bar of wrought iron, twelve feet long by two and a half inches in diameter, is still preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

As yet nothing was known of his presence at the death of the Archbishop. By and by a rumor came to Edinburgh that he had been present, but there was no evidence to make the rumor a fact. Andrew Guilline himself was made to give the evidence desired. He was again examined, and the Advocate, while examining him, spoke of the death as a horrid murder, and affirmed, that when the Archbishop was upon his knees in prayer, they should have killed him. This misrepresentation was too much for Andrew, who had been unable to forget Sharp's prayerlessness in his last moments, and the unsuspecting man lifted up his hands in surprise, and exclaimed, "Oh! dreadful, he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him." This was enough for his enemies. An indictment was drawn up, and he was tried July 18. The jury brought him in guilty of the Archbishop's death. And he was sentenced to be taken to the Cross of Edinburgh upon Friday, July 20, and to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then hanged, his head to be cut off, and fixed at Cupar, and his body to be carried to Magus Muir, and hung up in chains.

At the close of his testimony an account is given of the cruel manner in which this sentence was carried out to the letter.

His body was not allowed to hang in chains many months. Some of his friends took it down. They seem to have been discovered, as the Records

of the Council, May 27, 1684, contain a sentence of banishment on them as owning the Archbishop's "horrid murder."

Guilline was the only one concerned in the death of Sharp who suffered on its account, for Hackstoun was taken at Airmoss. All the others escaped.

Fountainhall's notice of him is: "Andrew Gullan, weaver in Balmerino, who was at Archbishop Sharpe's murder, being taken at Cockpen, was execute the 13th July 1683; died hardened and insensible."

The first edition gives only the month, but not the day of his execution. It is left blank. We have supplied it from the record of his sentence given by Wodrow. Fountainhall, as he sometimes is in minor details, is clearly wrong in the date. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF ANDREW GUILLINE,

Weaver, who lived in the Shire of Fife, and suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, July [20] 1683.

"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 [yourselves for] your God, for there is sudden wrath pronounced from heaven against all that have been doing, or continue in doing evil; for He has said, 'Pour out Thy fury upon the heathen that know Thee not, and upon the families that call not on Thy name' (Jeremiah 10:25). 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 forthcoming 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 ye 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 up-making 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 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, or as an evil doer; although this covenant-breaking, perjured, murdering generation lay it to my charge as though I were a murderer, on account of the justice that was executed on that Judas [*i.e.*, Archbishop Sharp] 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 put him presently 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 Tightly, nor considered that He is a holy God. Oh! 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 commit my spirit!

“Sic subscribitur,

“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, that 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 I am honored 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 Muir, and there hung up in chains on a high pole.

JOHN COCHRAN

JOHN COCHRAN was a shoemaker in Lesmahagow. He was brought before the Council, November 26, 1683, and examined. On the 28th he was tried before the Justiciary Court on the charge of treason and being at Bothwell. No proof was brought against him, except his own answers, when under examination, which the Records of the Justiciary Court give very much as he states them himself in his testimony. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be executed at the Cross, on Friday, November 30, 1683.

As stated in the note of the compilers, John Cochran was tried and suffered at the same time with John Whitelaw and Arthur Bruce.

John Whitelaw belonged to New Monkland in Lanarkshire. At his trial his confession was read to him, a confession doubtless framed in the same way as that of John Cochran from his answers when examined before the Council. It is —

“John Whitelaw declares he thinks Bothwell Bridge lawful, that rising being in defense of the Gospel. He thinks himself and these three nations bound by the Covenants. That it is above his reach to tell whether the king be lawful king or not. Confesseth he was sometime with the rebels at Bothwell, but not at the battle, and that he had a sword. Refuses to say, ‘God save the king,’ this not being the proper place for prayer, and if it mean his owning his authority, he has spoken as to that already. Declares he can write, but will not sign what is above. Being interrogate if his judges were lawful judges, and if the Archbishop’s death was murder, he answers, these questions are above his reach.”

Arthur Bruce belonged to Dalserf, Lanarkshire. His confession was also the only evidence against him:

“Arthur Bruce confesseth he was at Bothwell, and had a sword; that he was with the party that took away one of Dalziel’s horses; refuses to say, ‘God save the king,’ but said, ‘God save all the election of grace;’ declares he cannot say whether the Archbishop’s death was murder or not.”

Wodrow testifies of all three that they died in much peace and comfort —
ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF JOHN COCHRAN,

*Who lived in the parish of Lesmahagow, 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, ‘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 defense 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 oh! 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 of so much light is 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 Testament; and preaching of the 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 siclike [*i.e.*, in the same manner] 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 the 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 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.

“Sic subscribitur,

“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 of Lords of Justiciary, 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.

JOHN WHARRY

JOHN M'WHARRIE, or JOHN WHARRY as he is called by the compilers of the "Cloud," was the younger brother of the laird of Scorryholm, a small property on the Logan water, about three miles to the southwest of Lesmahagow. He was at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. In Mr. J. B. Greenshield's valuable Annals of Lesmahagow, his sword, an Andrea Ferrara, is said to be in possession of J. G. M'Kirdy, Esq. of Birkwood. His presence at Bothwell Bridge seems to have been unknown to his captors, for he was apprehended on an entirely different charge.

Alexander Smith, of the parish of Cambusnethan, was seized in May 1681, and taken to Edinburgh on the charge of being at Bothwell. He escaped out of prison, disguised in women's clothing, but was afterwards captured. A party of soldiers were taking him again to prison, and when at Inchbelly Bridge, about a mile to the east of Kirkintilloch, a few country people suddenly attacked them and rescued the prisoner. In the affray some were wounded on both sides, and a soldier killed. The country people retired in good order, and Alexander Smith got off in safety. He lived to be taken prisoner in 1685, and was sent to Dunottar Castle, a lonely prison, now in ruins on a rock on the seashore, not far from Stonehaven. He soon afterwards again escaped, and was again captured in 1687, and was kept in prison till the Revolution of 1688 set him free.

After Alexander Smith and his friends were out of sight, the soldiers rallied and went in search of them. In a wood about three-quarters of a mile east from Inchbelly Bridge, at a spot still pointed out, they came upon John M'Wharrie and James Smith, sitting without arms, and merely with walking sticks in their hands. The soldiers alleged they belonged to the company that rescued Alexander Smith, and brought them to Glasgow prison. At their preliminary examination, the soldiers suborned of their number to depone they saw them kill the man at Inchbelly Bridge; but at their trial no witnesses were produced, and they made no confession. Nevertheless, the court judged the fact, that they were found near the place where the soldier was killed, a proof of their having been present. No judgment could have been more unreasonable, for had they known of, or

been at the rescue, they would have, like the others, speedily got out of the way, and certainly would never have thrown aside their arms. Such reasonings, however, were of no avail. They were sentenced to die on the 11th — according to the compilers of the “Cloud;” but according to Wodrow, other papers make it more justly the 13th — to have their right hands cut off, and then to be hanged, and their bodies to be carried to Inchbelly Bridge, and there hung in chains.

“Their carriage,” says Wodrow, “at their execution, was cheerful and gallant. John M’Wharrie was ordered to lay his hand on the block; he thinking they required him to lay his head down, did so Major Balfour said in a great rage, ‘It is not your head but your hand we are seeking.’ John answered, he had but was most willing to lay down not only his hand, but his neck, and all the members of his body, for the cause of Christ. When his hand was cut off, he was not observed to shrink; but holding up the stump with great courage, said, ‘This and other blood now shed, will yet raise the burned Covenants.’

“James Smith died in much peace and comfort, not in the least discomposed.

“I have some of their letters to their friends, from the prison at Glasgow, dated June 11th and 12th, full of pious matter, and discovering a very great measure of Divine joy they were under. They appear to have been sensible, serious Christians.”

Their testimonies amply justify Wodrow’s opinion. They have fervor and earnestness, and strength of faith, that show them to have been no ordinary men.

Fountainhall’s notice of them is characteristic. Although made from a government point of view, it justifies the statement that they were condemned without evidence. “Five of the king’s guards being conveying one Smith, a fanatic, prisoner to Glasgow, seven whigs fell on them at Inchbelly Bridge, rescued the prisoner, and killed David Murray, and wounded another; and two Lesmahagow men, called M’Wharrie and Smith, were seized in Stevenson Wood, on suspicion, and hanged at Glasgow, 13th June 1683.”

How long their bodies hung in chains is not known; but they were ultimately buried at the spot where they were taken, and a monument erected over them. The inscription is in the Appendix. Some years ago, the farmer disliking people walking over the field to visit the monument, moved it fifty yards to the south, close to the road-side, where it now lies under an iron railing. — ED.]

A LETTER

FROM JOHN WHARRY,

*Who suffered at the Market-cross of Glasgow, June 11th, 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, He 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 to 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.

“Oh! mother, bless the Lord, that ever He gave you a son, and flesh and bones, to be honored to be a sufferer for His precious name, truths and interest, cause and Covenant, and concerns, according to His own rule in His blessed word, which is contained in the Old and Hew Testaments, agreeable to all truths contained therein. Oh! mother, will ye be entreated for His love’s sake, to give me back again to Him in a free-will offering? Oh! I am persuaded that it

would please my matchless Lord, and then it would fare better with me and you both.

“Oh! if ye knew what of the kisses of love and kindness I got, since I was brought to carts, stocks, and irons. Oh! unworthy I, that should be honored with this. Oh! mother, I beseech you for His love’s sake, that ye do not repine, and thereby provoke the Lord to anger. Oh! bless Him, for making all things pleasant and delight-some, refreshful and comfortable, to my soul and my brother’s. I cannot express what of love I have met with, since they apprehended me and my brother. Oh! 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. Oh! 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. Oh! but some souls He plunges over and over; to others He limits and permits their winnowing by Satan. Oh! 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 fa. h in love with Him, and to follow the blessed persecuted Gospel, through good report, and ill report, upon all hazards whatsoever, through His strength.

“Oh! 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 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 wicked, conspiring, and

desperate heart, and the wicked, flattering, deceiving and bewitching world. Oh! but these be three strong, arch, cunning and subtle 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. Woe 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. Oh! 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. Oh! glory to His blessed and everlasting name, whose loving kindness lasts for aye. Oh! friends, give all the praise to precious and lovely Christ. Oh! friends, wrestle and hold on, use importunity with Him, for your bleeding mother-church, for it is not time to be slack. Oh! 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.

“Oh! praise Him, all ye people; but 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 [has been] dumb amongst people. Oh! 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.”

JAMES SMITH

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 offenses 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, oh 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 bye-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 [*i.e.*, get] 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 ensnaring courses; viz., locality paying, and the 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 hankering and repining, for He loveth a cheerful giver. I dare not say but He has been kind to me. Oh! matchless love! Oh praise, praise Him, that ever He honored 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.

‘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. He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal’ (John 12:24, 25).

And I can say, from good grounds, I am well helped of my lovely Master in all that I have been trysted [*i.e.*, visited] 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. Oh! 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 feared [*i.e.*, afraid], for I dare not question, but it was both 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 I desire 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.

JOHN NISBET, THE YOUNGER

JOHN NISBET, called the younger, to distinguish him from John Nisbet of Hardhill, belonged to the parish of London. On March 22, 1683, the Council granted a Justiciary power to Major White, stationed at Kilmamock, upon his apprehending John Nisbet, to prosecute him criminally on the spot, on the charge of being at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. He was accordingly tried at Kilmarnock. The only account extant of his trial is contained in his own statement of the interrogations proposed to him. He was sentenced to be hanged at Kilmarnock, on April 4, according to Wodrow; but according to the compilers of the “Cloud,” April 14, 1683.

His testimony is not given in the original edition of the “Cloud.” At the close of the Interrogations, the compilers state: “This martyr’s testimony, though otherwise very sensible and solid, is omitted, in regard that not only the matter, but even the very words of it are generally the same with the testimony of James Robertson.” It occurs, however, in the fourth edition, 1741, from which we have taken it.

Wodrow gives an account of his last moments. He says, “I have before me a large account of his carriage at his execution that day, and his last words on the ladder, taken from his mouth in short hand. He had a grave courage and staidness when he came to the place of execution. After he had prayed, he sang the 16th Psalm, from the 5th verse to the close, with a great deal of affection and joy; and then read the 8th chapter to the Romans, and prayed again.

“When he had delivered his Bible to his uncle, he made himself ready for the executioner, not expecting to get leave to say anything to the spectators; but essaying to speak, he continued a good while without interruption, in an extemporary discourse, pressing them to godliness, and recommending religion to them from his own feeling and experience. He notices, that this is the first execution of this kind at that place, and is of opinion, it is not like to be the last. He tells them death is before them all, and if it were staring them in the face as nearly as it was him at present, he doubts not there

would be many awakened consciences among them; but as for himself, though death be naturally terrible, and a violent death yet more terrible, the sting of it is taken away, and he can say, he reckons every step of the ladder a step nearer heaven.

“When going on to give some account of the cause of his sufferings, and his indictment, a confusion was raised by the soldiers, and he broke off, and drew the napkin over his face, and was turned off when commending his soul into His Father’s hands.”

The spot where the gallows stood, on which he. was hanged, is still marked by J. N., formed with small white stones, at the south corner of the cross of Kilmarnock. His remains lie in the Low Church burying-ground. Over them is a stone to his memory. The inscription is in the Appendix.

Anthony Shaw, referred to by John Nisbet in his Testimony, was minister of Belfast in 1646. He came to Colmonell in 1650, and along with so many other ministers was deprived of his charge in 1662. In 1683 he was in prison, but how long he had been, is not recorded. He was liberated, August 9, on finding caution to appear when called. He seems to have been the indulged minister at Newmilns, where it is likely John Nisbet met him. He was soon again in trouble. While assisting at a communion with the indulged minister of his old parish of Colmonell, he was led, owing to the great crowd in attendance, to preach in the open air instead of the inside of the church. For this so-called grave offense, he was summoned before the Council, January 10, 1684, and ordained to find caution not to preach, or remove from the kingdom. He refused to find caution, and was ordered again to prison. On January 22, the Council liberated him, “being old and infirm,” on the condition that he keep no conventicle, under the penalty of 5000 merks. — ED.]

THE INTERROGATIONS

PROPOSED TO JOHN NISBET, YOUNGER,

*Who lived in the parish of Loudon, and suffered at Kilmarnock
[April 14, 1863]. Sent by him in a letter to some friends.*

“DEAR FRIENDS, — The manner of my examination (as I remember) was this:

Question “When saw ye John Nisbet? [*i.e.*, of Hardhill.]

Answer I did not see him this good while.

Question “But when did you see him, and where did you see him?

Answer “Although I could, I would not answer, to discover my neighbors.

“The Major said he would make me to tell, or he would gar me [*i.e.*, make me] sit three hours in hell I answered, That was not in his power.

Question “Are ye under an oath, that ye will not tell of the rest of you?

“I am under no oath but what the Covenant binds us to.

Question “Took ye ever the communion?

Answer “No.

Question “Did you ever preach or expone [*i.e.*, explain] the Scriptures?

Answer “I could never read the first of the Rudiments [*i.e.*, of Latin].

“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 disown.

“Then they said, ‘Say, God save the king?’

“I answered, It was not in my power to save or condemn him.

Question “Would you not say, God save your beast if it were fallen into a hole?

Answer “No: because it is taking of His name in vain.

Question “Were you at Bothwell at the rebellion?

Answer “Seeing you count it rebellion, it is criminal; witness of it.

Question “Is the Bishop’s death murder?

Answer “I am not a judge to cognosce [*i.e.*, pronounce] upon it. And being asked again my opinion of it; I answered, I had said all that I could say of it already.

Question “Was Bothwell rebellion?

Answer “It was self-defense, which was lawful.

Question “How prove ye that?

“By that Confession which ye build your Test upon.

“Then they said jeeringly, I was a grammarian.

“Own ye a law?

Answer “Yes.

Question “Own ye the law as it is now established?

Answer “Since ye make your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to consider upon them.

Question “Own ye the king in all matters civil and ecclesiastic, and to be the head of the Church?

Answer “I will acknowledge none to be head of the Church but Christ.

Question “Who is lawgiver?

Answer “Christ.

Question “Is the king the king or not?

Answer “He was once a covenanted king.

Question “Is he the king now?”

Answer “I refer it to his obligations in his coronation-oath, to be considered.

Answer “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 have 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 [THE YOUNGER].

“DEAR FRIENDS, and true lovers of Zion’s righteous cause, — If I could speak or write anything to the commendation of the covenanted God of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, surely I have many things to do it for.

“**1.** That He hath trysted [*i.e.*, appointed] 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 —

‘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, 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:

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' (Revelation 14:9-12).

“2. He might have ordered it [my lot] to have been among the corrupt Protestant Churches abroad, Lutherans, and other corruptions, and abounding errors; but [He has ordered it] 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,

‘We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint
for walls and bulwarks’ (Isaiah 26:1).

“3. 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.

“4. I bless and magnify His holy name that ever He brought me out of the estate 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 73:55).

“5. 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.

“6. I bless His name that ever He counted me worthy to suffer for Him, counting it not my shame, but an high privilege, and dignifying of me, when many famous in their generation have been

denied of it, and are endeavoring by their practice to render the cross of Christ of none effect.

“7. 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.

‘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. 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’ (Isaiah 28: 16, 17).

But this may be our complaint,

‘The tongue of the stackling child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst: the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them’ (Lamentations 4:4).

And in the third verse of the same chapter,

‘The daughter of my people is become cruel as the ostriches in the wilderness.’ ‘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. Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law’ (Malachi 2:8, 9).

For now it is not with the land, as it is in Ezekiel 24:7, 9,

‘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; 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. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God; Woe 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 priest, for all have wandered out of the way, and followed their idols, especially the sins of the corrupt rulers.

'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 make thee a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an hissing: therefore, ye shall bear the reproach of my people' (Micah 6:16).

'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. They have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments' (Lamentations 4:11, 14).

Now His glory is trampled under foot; but He hath said,

'I am the Lord: that is my name: and My glory will I not give to another, neither My praise to graven images' (Isaiah 42:8).

"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 shoulder (Isaiah 9:6).

'And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church' (Ephesians 1:22).

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.

"Oh! what will come upon Scotland for the high abominations committed therein? Surely it cannot but meet with odious judgments.

‘For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold, it shall come
doan upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment’
(Isaiah 34:5)

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.

‘Behold, the princes of Israel, every one were in thee to their
power to shed blood’ (Ezekiel 22:5).

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 commandment, are 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 are some folk who 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 Scoffand, 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 speak 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 this I answer, every individual person in the land hath not given him that, and therefore is flee to reject him upon that head, when they are called to it.

"But, oh! the sins of Scotland are 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 show of their countenance doth witness against them. But, however, it will be well with those 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 flint can say upon good grounds, that Christ is all in all to them; but the worldly-mindedness and slavish fear-of this generation make 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, they are chiefly these:

"1. My owning it as lawful, my rising in arms at Bothwell Bridge; which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness, it being self-defense, and in the defense 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.

“2. 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.

“3. My owning Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. John King, Mr. John Kid, and Mr. Richard Cameron, to be faithful 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.

“4. 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, in 1 Samuel 12:19, ‘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 this I answer, no truth is small;

‘He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much, and he which is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much’ (Luke 16:10).

“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 and 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.

“1. I close with Christ in that way of redemption which He hath purchased, for the redemption of sinners.

‘This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy’(1 Timothy 1:15, 16).

“**2.** 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 man, anent man’s salvation.

“**3.** I give my testimony to the work of Reformation in the Church of Scoffand; and I bless the Lord that I was born a member of that Church; and I leave my testimony against the errors of that Church, but chiefly against Popery, and Prelacy, and Quakerism, and Independency, and finally, from under all the errors of the Church.

“**4.** 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.

“**5.** 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.

“**6.** I give my testimony to the Covenants, National, and Solemn League and Covenant.

“**7.** I give my testimony to the faithful actings of the Protesters, called Remonstrances, against malignants and malignant interests, which is the very thing this poor Church is contending for this day.

“**8.** 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 fields, or on the seas.

“**9.** 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.

‘Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me,
even this whole nation’ (Malachi 3:9)

“Now:

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** 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.

“**3.** 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 evendown [*i.e.*, sincere] for God; yet never one of them is troubled, be troubled who will; for, before my face, one of these ministers said (to wit, 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.

“**4.** I leave my testimony against all the wrongers of my lovely Lord’s crown, all in general.

“**5.** 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 that never a watchman to testify against it.

“**6.** I leave my testimony against the Cess, or any other thing that may strengthen the hands of evil doers.

‘For ye are they that prepare a table to that troop, and furnish a
drink-offering to that number’ (Isaiah 65:11).

“Now, I will speak a word to three sorts of folk:

“**1.** 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. Oh! 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 you, that ye would turn from your evil ways, and leave off your persecution, and fly 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. Oh! 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 [*i.e.*, escape] will not hide you from Him, who is the great sin-revenging God, and He will bring all your sins and all your compliance to stand and witness against you; therefore delay not repentance, for ye will find death [to] 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. Oh! stand fast in the faith, for there is no other burden laid upon you, but to hold fast till He come. Oh! 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 tiling 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 [*i.e.*, get] through, for the way to heaven is very straight. For it is no wonder Satan seeks to tempt poor Christians, when he assayed 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. Oh! 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 estate 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. Oh! 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 troths, 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.

‘O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?’
(1 Corinthians 15:55)

‘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’ (2 Corinthians 5:1).

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 transgressions I am the chief of sinners; but His love hath been great; the manifestations of His presence have 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 myself, 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 it 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:

‘Who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect? it is God that justifieth, who is He that condemneth?’ (Romans 8:33, 34).

For my lot is fallen to me in pleasant places, I have a goodly heritage; for I would not change my lot with the greatest man upon earth. Men and angels, praise Him for this; all the Creation, praise Him. Oh! 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 praises for evermore. Now, dear Father, receive my spirit, for it is Thine. Even so come, Lord Jesus.

“Sic subscribitur,

“JOHN NISBET.”

JOHN WILSON.

JOHN WILSON was a captain at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. His name is given in the “Proclamation against Rebels, June 16, 1679,” as “John Wilson, son to Alexander Wilson, town-clerk of Lanark.” In a proclamation, October 8, 1681, his name occurs along with eighty-eight others, as forfeited in life, lands, and goods, for being concerned in the rising at Bothwell. His sentence refers to a previous condemnation in March that same year:

“John Wilson, writer in Lanark, having been formerly condemned to die, and to be demeaned as a traitor when apprehended, and acknowledging himself that same person who was formerly condemned March 1, 1681, for rebellion, the Lords adjudge him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, May 9, betwixt two and four in the afternoon.”

It is not recorded when he was apprehended, but on April 17th he was twice before the Council, once before a committee of their number in Holyrood Abbey, and again before a full meeting. He himself has given the substance of his answers.

In his last speech he gives a single glimpse of his early history. Three books still prized in Scotland were the means of awakening him to a sense of sin, and leading him to give himself to God. The three books were: “The Fulfilling of the Scriptures,” by the elder Robert Fleming, the father of the writer of the “Rise and Fall of Papacy,” a work that twice over in its history — in 1793 and 1848 — has attained a fame such as its author could scarcely have dreamed of; the youthful Andrew Gray’s four discourses, entitled, “Directions and Instigations to the Duty of Prayer,” discourses that by their seriousness, and by their directness of appeal, were well-fitted to carry on the work begun by the “Fulfilling of Scripture;” and the *vade mecum* of John Owen, William Guthrie’s “Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ.”

Wilson’s trial took place May 4th. On the 7th he was induced by his relations to supplicate for a reprieve, and it was granted till the 16th.

Wodrow gives the conference he had with Sir William Paterson. Wilson's answers are able and catholic in their spirit, but neither changed in their opinions, and the sentence was carried into effect. No account has been preserved of his last moments. There was executed along with him David Macmillan, a man of a kindred spirit. Macmillan had been at Bothwell. Wodrow gives the substance of his testimony. He blesses God, that made him see the odiousness of his sin, his nakedness, and gave him white raiment from Himself, and made him close with Himself on His own terms. He closes by saying, "My soul shall bless Him through all the ages of eternity. — Amen."

The sentences in Wilson's testimony are occasionally somewhat involved, and are like those of a man not much accustomed to express his thoughts in writing, yet no one of the sufferers quotes or refers to so many books as he does. Besides Fleming, Guthrie, and Gray, already noticed, he refers to Honeyman, Gouldman, Calderwood, Knox, and Philpots. Calderwood's and Knox's Histories are well known. Andrew Honeyman was minister of Ferryport-on-Craig in 1642, and was successively transported to the second, and then to the first charge of St Andrews. In 1664 he was made Bishop of Orkney. When (July 11, 1668), Archbishop Sharp was fired at, as he sat in his carriage at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, Edinburgh, by James Mitchell, the shot missed him but struck Honeyman, as he was on the step, in the wrist, and so shattered the bone that ultimately it was the cause of his death. In his early years he was strongly Presbyterian, but shortly after the Restoration he adopted the principles of the Court. He died February 21, 1676. He was a man of some learning, although in his answer to "Naphtali," published in two parts in 1668 and 1669, he really weakened the cause he sought to defend. The fallacy of his reasoning was effectually shown by one of the authors of "Naphtali," Sir James Stewart, in his *Jus Populi Vindicatum*.

Gouldman's Dictionary has long been supplanted by other works, but it was of some repute in the seventeenth century. Its title is "Latin and English Dictionary," by Francis Gouldman, London.

Philpots is the English martyr, John Philpots, Archdeacon of Winchester. He suffered at Smithfield, December 18, 1555. The pas. sage quoted is from "Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs." It is quoted from memory, and

gives the sense rather than the exact words. It will be found at length in the “Parker Society’s Edition of Philpots’ Letters,” page 221.

James Laurie, mentioned in Wilson’s answers, was a writer in Lanark. He was at Bothwell, and was sentenced to be hanged, April 4, 1683. The Council registers record the granting a reprieve to November, and in April 1684 a recommendation for a remission of his sentence, which seems to have been granted.

The Test repeatedly alluded to by John Wilson and several of the other sufferers was a strangely contradictory oath enacted by Parliament, August 31, 1681, to be taken by all persons in places of public trust. As the Westminster Confession had been disowned in the Act Rescissory, it went back to the confession of Knox’s time, 1567. It took the swearer bound to own the true Protestant religion professed in this early confession, in whose eleventh article Christ is said to be “the only Head of His Kirk,” and “if man or angel presume to intrude” into this office, they are declared to be blasphemous to our sovereign and supreme governor Christ Jesus; and at the same time required him to acknowledge Charles II to be supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN WILSON, WRITER IN LANARK, WHO SUFFERED AT THE GRASSMARKET OF EDINBURGH, 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 writ by you to him, wherein you re prove 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 to him a letter supposed to be writ in answer to yours, which he denied. Tell us who writ that letter?”

John Wilson answered,

“I will not tell by whom, only it was not writ by James Laurie.”

Question “Who is the lady mentioned in the end of the letter?”

Answer “I dare not burden my conscience to tell.”

Question “Do you own authority?”

Answer “What authority? ”

Question “What think you of Bothwell? Was it not unlawful to rise in arms?”

Answer “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 neighbors had been worshipping God (for defending themselves against those that sought their life) [and] were in jeopardy of their lives, thought it their duty to rise for their relief.”

Question “Was Pentland rebellion? ”

Answer “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.

Question “Was the Bishop’s death murder? ”

Answer “Have me excused, gentlemen; I will not answer to that.” Being urged further, 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 behooves them to be at His call; and it being for saving the life of the harmless, I durst not sit [*i.e.*, disobey] God’s bidding.”

Question “Are you a minister?”

Answer “No.”

They here alleged that some of his letters imported so much, and, being desired to read the place, they read somewhat about a call to some ministry, nothing relating thereto.

Question “Will ye not condemn the Bishop’s death as murder?”

Answer “I dare not, for fear, God having justified some of these actors, they should rise in judgment and condemn me.”

Question “Is there no other way but to rise in arms against the king?”

Answer “I suppose you have read Bishop Honeyman’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.”

Question “Think you it lawful to rise against a State that is not of your opinion? Will you 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.

[These answers have been compared with Wodrow, and one or two clauses added from his version. — ED.]

Omitting what he answered at his former appearance, which needs not be repeated (these questions being always the same), they asked,

“Is Bothwell rebellion or not?”

Answer “No; it being for the defense of the harmless, who [were set upon for their lives] for hearing a preaching and defending themselves; and the Confession of Faith [The Scots Confession of 1560, chap. 14, ‘What works are reputed good before God.’ — ED.] contained in your Test says, ‘It is good work to defend the life of the harmless.’”

Question “Then you approve of the Test? Will you take it?”

Answer “I am not speaking of the Test, but of the Confession of Faith therein contained.”

Question “Think you it lawful to rise against magistracy?”

Answer “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 [Paterson],

“The Reformation was good, but the way of carrying it on was ill.”

Answer “That is a marvelous 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 [before God] 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 magistrate’s part on them, and therein declare themselves to be above their prince.”

Answer “The people resisted Saul, and would not let him kill Jonathan (1 Samuel 14:45).”

The Bishop [Paterson] said,

“The people were in the wrong.”

Answer “The Scripture never condemns the deed.”

Question “Do you own authority?”

Answer “Authority may be taken several ways:

1. For the simple command of the prince;
2. For the more public command of the prince and people;
3. For a power a prince may be clothed with by a people;
4. 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 [chapter] of the Confession of Faith, contained in the Test, says, ‘That office pertains 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 [or, I have not seen through the denial of it.]”

Question “Will you venture your life on these things?”

Answer “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 you 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 doctors.”

“What!”

says Perth,

“will you justify your taking arms at Bothwell?”

Answer “Your own Test justifies the defense 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.”

Answer “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 Lanark, and several times before having considered the bold testimony of Stephen, ‘Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart’ (Acts 7:51, 52); and Peter’s testimony, ‘Whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree (Acts 5:30) and his desire that with all boldness they might make mention of the name of Jesus; and lastly, that promise, ‘In nothing terrified by your adversaries’ (Philippians 1:28); I say, considering these, I resolved to use the utmost of freedom with the Council; but being come to this town, and

“**1.** 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 dealings;

“**2.** Considering that by many professed friends we were judged imprudent; yea, so far condemned, that they stick not to say, that we have a hand in our own death;

“**3.** Their own public proclamations still bearing that our design was not religion, but covetousness to possess ourselves of the government:

“For eviting [*i.e.*, avoiding] 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, [which] 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,

'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear' (1 Peter 3:15).

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 duty to rise in arms against a Stat not of my opinion?' In answer to which question, I thought, if ever I had occasion, I would have been punctual in telling them [that] 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 behooved 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 had 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 —

"1. When the Bishop [Paterson] said, c that 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.

"2. That, in citing the words of the 11th 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 the word.

“3. When the Bishop said, it were a Turkish way to carry on reformation by the sword, I had not opposed [*i.e.*, opposed] 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 to God and godliness, I scunnered [*i.e.*, loathed] 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 [if] 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 in 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 defense 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 Phineas, their facts; Jael using that expression, ‘Turn in hither;’ and that ‘there was peace betwixt Heber the

Kenite and Jabin;’ Jael being of that family, and, whatever might be alleged against these as extraordinary acts, and that to do such deeds is to take the magistrate’s power. I am sure Phineas 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 bidding [*i.e.*, remaining] with the killers of Cardinal Beaton; and Calderwood’s History, which was approved 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 counsel [Rizzio], and yet approved 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 anything 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 the making of 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 professed. The reason of my petition was moved thus:

“1. To seek a longer time, till I were better advised anent my answers given to the Council. To which I answered, that [this] 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, which death put me to a stand anent myself; and so I should give ground of hardening to enemies.

“2. 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 had been mercy and truth; and my rebellious flesh needed no less (conform to my own acknowledgment to God) nor [*i.e.*, 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 [*i.e.*, weal]; and to say that, were to contradict my conscience and God’s goodness, and to make me contradict my own prayer, viz., ‘Let neither flesh nor spirit be moved and failed, lest enemies rejoice.’

“3. 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 airt [*i.e.*, quarter.] 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 [*i.e.*, in] a very short space; and if a reprieve 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 (Jeremiah 2:13). 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 reprieve; 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, is 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 the 23d chap. sec. 4., viz., ‘That infidelity or difference in religion does not make void the magistrate’s just and legal power and authority,’ etc.; 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 people professing God, the idolater should die the death; for then it would seem to jostle with Queen Mary’s deposition in our ancient Reformation; designing offense 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 and Engagement to Duties, anno 1648, 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 Presbyterian way, as being 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, etc.

“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 showing 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 anything that may look like good in them.

“I leave my testimony against the paying Cess, the payment whereof is a perfect test of the payer’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 sibb [*i.e.*, akin] 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:

‘But if any man say unto you this is offered in sacrifice
unto idols, eat not’ (1 Corinthians 10:58).

“I leave my testimony against hearing of curates, especially by professed Presbyterians; as being contradictory to the Covenants, binding us to the uttermost of our power for the extirpating [of] 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; as being expressly contrary to that Scripture; My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow, but flee from him (John 10:5). And here I think it not amiss to add the words of Philpot, that learned and godly martyr of the joiners with 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 [*i.e.*, than] 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 that there must be no presence of the body there, we being commanded to glorify God as well in body as spirit. Thus are his words imperfectly, yet truly as I remember; and since the Prelatical Church has not Christ for her only head, the reason holds 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 coldrifeness [*i.e.*, indifference] as to public sins, a gluedness to the world, and an infatueness 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 anywhere 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, to wit, 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 sworn that in the Confession of Faith, in their Test, which I affirmed, namely, that it is 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 suffering [which] 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 Cargill 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 nor [*i.e.*, 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

practice 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 Jesuits 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 *millimus* 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 laws), 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 Zalmunna-like, not only for taking God's house in possession, but also, emitting in their last printed proclamation or indemnity, that they resolve 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 ministers' 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 Scriptural 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 sharpen 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 it swallowed up a law work in love; but I found this, that there is not a more excellent piece of the armor of God nor [*i.e.*, than] the helmet of salvation, and which Satan is most busy with a Christian to keep 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 [to which] I had attained; yet so, as 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 [*i.e.*, a work that cannot be performed by themselves], 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 [who], 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,

‘They shall go from their native land, and return no more’
(Jeremiah 22:10).

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 tasted the heavenly gift, if they fall away, by putting Christ to open shame, to renew them to repentance.’

“As for unconcerned folk, I shall only say this; think you 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, [and] 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 testimony 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 to be sung.

“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 others’ 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 the faith of adherence to Him, yet ye must not think to sail that way in a bed of roses to heaven, but that you 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 but 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 a 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 got 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 to be unjust; and next, if anything ailed my wife, [that] 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 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 Timothy 2:25,

‘Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart.’

And that,

‘If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin’ (1 John 1:7).

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.”

GEORGE MARTIN

PICTURE: The High Church: Edinburgh

GEORGE MARTIN was a ‘Notar,’ *i.e.*, a notary-public and reader at Dailly, in Ayrshire. Fountainhall adds, that he was a schoolmaster. The account of him in Wodrow is very meager, but from what Martin states in his testimony, his sufferings must have been very great. He was apprehended, on what charge does not appear, in the close of 1679, and he actually remained in prison untried for four years and four months. During this long period, he was occasionally in irons, night and day; and, during winter, without fire. His privations were borne with much patience. The marvel is that he lived through them to be at last tried.

The record of his trial, as it stands on the Justiciary books, is dated February 11, 1683:

“Being interrogated if he owns the king to be lawful king, and will pray for him; declares, he will not say he disowns him, but owns all lawful authority according to the word of God. He will not answer whether Bothwell Bridge be rebellion; he will not judge of other folk’s actings; he owns the obligation of the Covenant, and will adhere to it while he lives. He will not call Bothwell Bridge rebellion, but says, if it was a rebellion against God it was rebellion; if not, it was not rebellion, lie will not subscribe. Being interrogated if the late king’s death was murder, declares, they that did it had more skill than he; refuses to call it murder, and says, he does not think it pertinent to give a declaration anent it.”

Free of ground of condemnation as these answers are, yet, from them alone (for no witnesses were summoned), he was sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket. His testimony gives evidence of his piety, and of the judicial murder which his judges committed in his execution.

As stated at the close of his testimony, he was tried along with John Gilry, wright, in the parish of Hownam, in Roxburghshire. Gilry’s examination and answers were much the same with those of his fellow prisoner, and

they likewise formed the only matter brought against him. Still less is known of him than George Martin. All that Wodrow says of him is —

“I have before me two original letters, signed John Gilry, from the Iron House, December 27, 1683, which savor much of humility, self-diffidence, and meekness; wherein he offers many solid grounds of support to sufferers, and presses them to observe providences, and believe well of God. He died in much serenity and peace, adoring free grace, and adhering to the truths of Christ, and firmly trusting in Him for salvation.” In the Justiciary records John Gilry’s name does not occur, but that of John Ker, wright, in the parish of Hownam, does. Wodrow regards Ker as a mistake for Gilry. There is no doubt that a third person, James Muir, at Cessfordboat, in Roxburghshire, who was tried with them, but of him little else is known than his name and sentence.

Fountainhall’s notice of the three martyrs is a curiosity: “Martin, a notar and schoolmaster, and other two, condemned at the circuit, and hanged, 22d February 1684. They were offered their lives, but refused the same, being ingrained whigs.” — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF GEORGE MARTIN

*Who suffered at the Grassmarket 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 necessities; 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 this; I could not own, nor allow of the king’s authority, as it is now established, nor pray for him in a superstitious, 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 My thresholds, and their post by My posts, and the wall between Me and them, they have even defiled My holy name by their abominations that they have committed: wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger’ (Ezekiel 43:8).

‘And thou shalt say to the rebellious, 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 your 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’ (Ezekiel 44:6-8).

‘Shall even he that hateth right govern? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just? ’ (Job 34:17).

Who durst do it, and be guiltless? And moreover,

‘Which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits: get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the holy One of Israel to cease from before us’ (Isaiah 30:10, 11).

And I cannot, nor dare not pray for him so superstitiously:

“**1.** Because it imports a set form of prayer, which is most superstitious, and that which is their dreadful design.

“**2.** It imports idolatry, like unto the cry of the people made mention of in Acts 19:34, who had a cry for the space of two

hours, of that idol, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians,’ which was rejected, with some kind of reason, by some of their own sort, though heathens, and much more ought it here.

“**3.** 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, that God is thereby worshipped and honored; and if irreverently gone about, He is dishonored, 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.

“**4.** 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, Jeremiah 7:16, where it is said, ‘Therefore 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.

Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up a cry or prayer for them: for I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble’ (Jeremiah 11:14).

‘Then said the Lord unto me, Pray not for this people for their good. When they fast, I will not hear their cry’ (Jeremiah 14:11, 12).

‘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’ (Psalm 44:20, 21)

‘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’ (1 John 5:16).

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 (Daniel 6:7).

“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, cause 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 fifthly, 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, and 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 the Christian nations 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 ye would endeavor to keep the way of the Lord sincerely, and not to meddle with them that are given to such changes, which alas I 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, [it] 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 of 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 you 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 laboring 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. Ye will never perform religious duties aright, till ye be at this, that ye dare do wrong in no kind to any. Do justly, and 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 ye may expect judgments to come suddenly upon this sinful land; so that ye will think, happy were they that wan [*i.e.*, 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 Testaments, 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 other 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 favorably 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 all pretended magistrates or ministers, which have taken the same, and of all that meddle and join with them, or of payers of fines, for hearing the Gospel, or transacting or colloquing 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 are yet burdensome 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 authorized ministers, and lawtiff 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 account a land happy and blessed in having and enjoying of such.

“And now, being honored 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 friends and Christian relations to the good guiding of Almighty God, and bid all of you 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 Hownam, 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.

JOHN MAIN

JOHN MAIN suffered at the same time with four others, James Johnston, John Richmond, Archibald Stewart, and James Winning. Of all the five, little else is now known beyond the fact of their trial and martyrdom.

John Main lived in the parish of West Monkland. He was apprehended with arms about him, November 1683, in the Gorbals of Glasgow, at a time when a vigorous search was made after all suspected of hostility to the Government. Sometime during his imprisonment he made an attempt to escape, but he seems to have been surprised and taken, when just about to succeed.

Of James Johnston, it is simply said, that he belonged to the parish of Cadder.

John Richmond was younger of Knowe, a farm in Galston parish, about a mile to the south of the village of Darvel, in Ayrshire. He was seized in Glasgow, November 1683, the day previous to the apprehension of John Main. He was walking on the street when Major John Balfour tried to lay hold of him. Balfour knew nothing of him, but declared that, from his garb, he was one of the persecuted. A scuffle ensued, in which Richmond endeavored to escape, but was unsuccessful. He was overpowered, and, although there was no charge against him except that he tried to get away when Balfour sought to make him a prisoner, he was carried to the guardhouse. Here he was tied neck and heels together, and, notwithstanding he was bleeding from the wounds received in this effort to maintain his freedom, he was left lying on the ground till next day, when he was taken to prison, where he lay for about five months till his trial.

Of Archibald Stewart little more is known than his name and parish. He was a countryman, belonging to the parish of Lesmahagow, and in the twentieth year of his age.

James Winning was a tailor in Glasgow. He had long been a hearer of curates; but, from some private information, he was summoned, February 1684, to appear before one of the bailees. He was examined about Bothwell

and Archbishop Sharp's death. His answers were deemed unsatisfactory, and he was sent to prison.

The five were tried in Glasgow on the same day, March 17, 1684, before a special commission. Their indictment was of the usual nature. It charged them with being at Bothwell, and concealing fugitives or conversing with them. A great many witnesses were adduced, and their evidence, however improbable, was sustained, after the manner of the times. One witness was asked, if he saw John Main among the rebels with arms? and answered, he saw him coming from the eastward, while they were going westward. The preses, Lieutenant-Colonel Windram, declared this statement was material, and ordered the clerk to write, "depones, he saw John Main coming to the rebels, and going from them in arms," a statement nearly the opposite of what the witness said. Another affirmed that he saw John Richmond at Airmoss in arms. The preses asked how far he was from the prisoner? About half-a-mile, was the reply. Improbable as was this assertion, it was sustained, and was, indeed, the only evidence they had of his being at Airmoss. Richmond, in his testimony, mournfully complains, that four who witnessed against him were persons who, by their previous profession, were bound to defend him, rather than seek to take away his life. James Winning was asked if he had anything against the witnesses? and replied he had nothing, but solemnly professed, as he was to answer to God at the last day, that he never carried arms in his life, for or against any man. The preses scoffingly replied, it was enough if he was in company with the rebels, though he had but his needle with him.

The trial seems to have lasted the whole day. John Richmond says, it was eight o'clock at night when sentence was passed. They were sentenced to die in less than two days — on the 19th of March at two in the afternoon, and, in Richmond's case at least, his head was to be struck off and fixed upon the Tolbooth of Glasgow.

In the first edition of the "Cloud," he testimony of Main is the only one given in full, and the date, evidently by the printer's error, given as May 19, instead of March 9. Of the others, there are merely the extracts that immediately follow. Richmond's testimony first occurs in the third edition, and Stewart's in the fourth. All of them justify Wodrow's encomium, that they were "five worthy and good men."

Their bodies were buried in the churchyard of the Cathedral of Glasgow. A monument to their memory, and that of Robert Bunton, John Hart, Robert Scott, and Matthew Patoun, who suffered martyrdom December 19th, 1666, for their share in the Pentland rising, has been put upon the outer wall of one of the crypts of the Cathedral, at the north side. Its inscription is in the Appendix. There is also a monument to John Richmond in Galston Churchyard.

Gavin Wotherspoon, mentioned in a note of the Compilers, was an intimate friend of James Renwick. He was a man of large stature, and once when in company with Renwick, both were surprised and pursued by the soldiers. In his flight he lost his shoe, which his pursuers picked up, and seeing it to be very large, they concluded he must be a very strong man whose foot filled it, and that it would be dangerous for their small number to attack him, and thus both he and Renwick escaped. One of the best of Renwick's letters is that called forth by a letter which Gavin Wotherspoon had received from Robert Langlands, who had separated from and maligned the societies. Renwick answered the letter. In it occurs the often-quoted passage, "I beg ye would not give ear to busy bodies and tale bearers, their whispering in your ears. Such have had no small hand in widening of our breaches. I wish they may have pardon of God for what they have done. O that the Lord's elect were agreeing together in truth! O that all these that shall agree in heaven, were agreeing upon earth! I think if my blood could be a means to procure it, I could willingly offer it up upon that account. But I speak as a fool." Gavin Wotherspoon took a prominent part in the business of the societies after the Revolution. His name occurs several times in their minutes in MS. in possession of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod.

As is the case with several of the preceding testimonies in this volume, John Main testifies against John Gib. The reason for this was not anything worthy of notice in Gib or his followers, but the assertions of the enemies of the persecuted Presbyterians that they were identical in sentiment. Indeed, the publisher or editor of Sir George Mackenzie's "Vindication" goes so far as to put Gib's statement of his views alongside of the Solemn League and Covenant, in order, he says, to inform strangers of the seditious principles of the Scots Presbyterians. Hence the sufferers felt themselves

called upon to repudiate the idea of their similarity, and the compilers of the “*Cloud*” to give prominence to their repudiation. — ED.]

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, everything 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 Testaments, 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.

“**2.** I testify my adherence to the Confession of Faith (saying nothing to that fourth article of the twenty-third chapter, but only that it is misconstrued, and made use of for another end than ever the honest and faithful ministers of 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.

“**3.** 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 truly godly, and rightly zealous ministers and professors of this Church.

“4. To the faithful preaching of the Gospel, upon moors and mountains, and high places of the fields, and particularly the preaching down the sins of the time, and up duty.

“5. I leave my testimony to the lifting arms for personal defense, and for defense 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 upon 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 defense at Pentland and Bothwell Bridge, and several field-meetings, where they were put to it by the violent and bloody assaults of their enemies.

“6. 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 year 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 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 constituted; and it is notour to all in this kingdom, and I believe to part of our neighbor 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.

“1. (And not to go further back) I leave my testimony against many Ministers, for their leaving their masters 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 their vineyard, where their master had placed them to labor, 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 standing in the way of the people, when they were so generally drawn away to hear curates. Mistake me not, thinking that I look 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.

“2. Against the ministers, their tampering with that woeful and hell-hatched Indulgence, and more particularly their accepting thereof. I testify against the actual acceptors of it, and against a woeful connivance in the non-acceptors of the same; 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 may 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.

“3. Against the ministers, their woeful yielding unto and joining with the malignant party and interest at Bothwell Bridge, and their woeful 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 to 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 jeopardizing their lives for their wronged Lord and provoked Master, especially at the time when Mr. Richard Cameron and Mr. Donald Cargill 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 everything in ministers and professors contrary unto, or inconsistent with the Presbyterian principles of the Church of Scotland.

“4. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and everything contrary to the word of God, and particularly against Quakerism, Anabaptism, Independency, and all Sectarians and whatsoever is not warranted by the holy Scriptures.

“5. Against the imposing of that cursed Cess; not that I call cess-lifting in itself unlawful; but that cess I call unlawful, which was imposed by a corrupt convention of estates 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 ‘rendezvous of rebellion’ [in the Act against Conventicles, 5th Act of Second Session of Second Parliament of Charles II, passed, Edinburgh, August 13, 1670. — ED.], 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. Oh! 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 that 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.

“**6.** 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. Oh! that they would consider, and lay it to heart, and set themselves to redeem time — misspent and abused time!

“**7.** And against locality and fines ‘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 dose (Oh! 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 anything of, nor will be, till God come in His power and great glory to disclose the secrets of all hearts.

“8. I leave my testimony against the people, their hearing of curates, basely leaving the way of truth, and following a course dishonoring 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 their accepting of 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 along 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 anything (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 [*i.e.*, free] 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 I, 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 flee from the wrath to come, which will be on this generation inevitably; yea, I obtest you to flee from it, as ye tender the glory

of God and the good of your own souls. Oh! 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.'

“9. 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.

“10. Against compearing 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 [*i.e.*, opened] in the name of Charles Stuart, because he hath quite forefaulted [*i.e.*, 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 those 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.

“11. Against the lifting of militia, and the paying of militia-money.

“12. I testify against the proceedings of that abominable wretch, John Gib, and these testimonies writ 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., 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 see not 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 Witherspoon¹ since Bothwell; whom they call a notorious rebel, but cannot prove him so; neither can they show 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 which 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 rebellion 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 defense? 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 strike against.

“And the fifth, viz., that I said the owning of the Covenants was lawful. Who knows not that these Covenants were once approved 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 the room

thereof. So that their so doing was not a walking according to the will of God, but a walking according to the counsel of their own wills, contrary to the will of God, for the satisfaction of their own base lusts, and no ways showing 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 reason nor law can make criminal. And as to my disowning 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 that 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 a 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 passed against, or put in execution upon us; but that we are 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 everything 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. Oh 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 in 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 Lesmahagow, James Winning, tailor, in Glasgow, James Johnston, in North Cadder, 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, and 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 to 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 executed with

great rage, having scarce forty-eight hours allowed them before their execution.

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 show how cheerfully they underwent their sufferings.

To which purpose these words of John Richmond's are very remarkable,

'Scar not at [*i.e.*, be not afraid of] the cross of Christ; for, oh, 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 naught 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 joyfulest 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 [*i.e.*, be not afraid of] the way of Christ because of sufferings. If ye knew what of His love I have got since I was honored 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 flee away like the morning shadows. Oh! I cannot express His matchless love to me, neither can I make mention of His goodness! Oh! it is but little I can speak to the commendation of my lovely Lord and His cross.”

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 woeful case, but hath brought me hither to witness for His opposed, burdened, and ruined cause and glory. Oh! I desire to bless Him for it, and call in all the creation to help me. Oh! the wonderful power, riches, and goodness of the Lord I 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.

JOHN RICHMOND

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF JOHN RICHMOND,

Who lived in the parish of Galston, and suffered at the Cross of Glasgow, upon the 19th of March, 1684.

“Now I am brought here this day, to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the hope of Israel, which hope I am not ashamed of, and for owning that Christ is King, and Head of His own Church, for which I do this day willingly lay down my life, and not by constraint; 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 ecclesiastical, which belongs to no mortal man upon earth, but to our blessed Lord and Savior, who is given of the Father to be Head and King of His own Church, which I prove by His own word:

“And He is the Head of the body, the Church” (Colossians 1:18).

“And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church” (Ephesians 1:22).

And also the second Psalm. Now, I say, it is for the hope of Israel, and as a witness of Jesus Christ; of whom I am not ashamed, but desire with heart and soul to praise Him, and my soul shall praise Him throughout the ages of eternity, and I desire to invite all the creation to praise Him: for He has taken me as a brand plucked out of the fire, who was an heir of hell and wrath, and I also confirmed that heirship to myself, by my actual transgressions; but now my sweet and lovely Lord and Redeemer, through His blood and sufferings, has redeemed me from the devil, the world, and the flesh, and has sealed to me by His Spirit, bearing witness with my spirit, and confirming me by His precious Word, which Word is

truth, and the true Word of God, that He has redeemed me, and I shall be clothed with His righteousness, which is spotless and clean, and will make my soul as clean as if I had never sinned.

“Now I shall give you a short hint, as the Lord shall assist me, of my principles, what I am to adhere to; and also, what I am clear to disown and testify against, as a dying witness of Christ:

“**1.** I sweetly set to my seal to the Covenant of Free Grace, made betwixt the Father and the Son before the foundation of the world, for the redemption of poor, lost mankind; I say, of those who are elected, called and chosen, sanctified and justified, for which my soul blesses the Lord, that ever I heard tell of the same, and of a Redeemer.

“**2.** I leave my testimony to the Sacred Word of God — viz., The Old and New Testaments, that they are the true Word of God, and that there is life everlasting to be had in perusing thereof, with the whole desire of the soul, through a Redeemer; and without perusing and sincerely endeavoring to make it your rule of life and manners, there is no life; for our blessed Lord says, He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.

“**3.** I leave my testimony to the work of Reformation, in all the several steps thereof, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all other errors, not agreeable to the Word of God.

“**4.** I leave my testimony to the Confession of Faith, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Catechisms Larger and Shorter.

“**5.** I leave my testimony to the Covenants, National and Solemn League and Covenant, that these lands were engaged in to the Lord; which Scotland may bless the Lord for, that He brought them in Covenant with Himself. I say to you that desire to own the same, (I mean the poor wrestling remnant,) make it your ground to plead with the Lord, that He may come back to these lands again. And also, I leave my testimony to the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and the Causes of God’s Wrath.

“6. I leave my testimony to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, faithfully preached by the faithful ambassadors called and commissioned from Himself, in all faithfulness and boldness, in showing Jacob his transgressions, and Israel his sin, both before Bothwell and since; but few found faithful since. It may be said of the most part from that time forth, many went backward and walked no more with Him; their names may be written in very little bounds, that were found faithful; only these two I desire to record, Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron, which I desire to set to my seal, to the faithfulness of these two men’s doctrine, and all their procedure in the work they were called in, and my soul blesses the Lord that ever I heard them preach.

“7. I leave my testimony to all appearances in arms for the defense of the Gospel, both before Bothwell and since; and also my testimony to the carrying of arms for self-defense, and the defense of my brethren.

“8. I leave my testimony to the Excommunication at the Torwood, drawn out by Mr. Donald Cargill.

“9. I leave my testimony to the testimony given at Rutherglen, upon the 19th day of May, the year 1679.

“10. I leave my testimony to the declaration given at Sanquhar, upon June 22, 1680.

“11. I leave my testimony to the testimony given at Lanark, the 12th of January 1682, by a party who was stirred up by the Lord to witness faithfully for Him against the bloody acts and laws of men, and especially the dreadful snare, the land-destroying, the soul-ruining thing called the Test.

“12. I leave my testimony against that declaration drawn at Hamilton, by a party of men, who loved the praise of men, and the interest of men, more than the interest of our Lord and King, who will not give His glory and honor to any mortal man upon earth, because it took in the tyrant’s interest, and was carried on by them over the belly of a poor faithful remnant that was amongst them; but if God be God, serve Him; and if Baal be God, serve him.

“13. I leave my testimony to the eight articles called the New Covenant, drawn by Mr. Donald Cargill, and which was taken off worthy Henry Hall at the Queensferry.

“14. I leave my testimony to the fellowship and meetings of the Lord’s people, for reading and singing of Psalms, and praying to the Lord, and wrestling for the poor Church, and other duties incumbent to them in their place and station, and to all their proceedings for the keeping up the remembrance of Israel. Go on, and slack not your hands, seeing it is so warrantably by your Masters royal word, viz., Malachi 3, and many more. For my soul blesses the Lord that ever He counted me worthy to be in among the fellowship meeting of His people. I say, slack not your hands, for the Lord has accepted of your endeavors in keeping up the remembrance of Israel, making way to get poor young infants brought within His visible Church, which the Lord made me a sharer of, and an offering of Himself to poor treacherous Scotland, if they will embrace Him.

“15. I heartily, with all my heart and soul, leave my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the Cloud of Witnesses, that has been martyred for Christ and His truths.

“Now, I desire, before I quit the list of these that I have owned, here through grace to lay down my life, and the list of them is of more value than many lives.

“Now, I shall give a short hint, as the Lord shall assist, what I disown, that is done of men, against the Majesty of heaven.

“1. I leave my testimony against Popery and Prelacy, and Erastian Supremacy, and all that hierarchy.

“2. I leave my testimony against Quakerism, Independency, Anabaptism, and all other erroneous sects, that are contrary to the Word of God.

“3. I leave my testimony against that tyrant upon the throne of Britain, and his present authority, for his breach of the Covenants; the Covenants being the coronation oath, that he got the crown

upon; and for his overturning the whole work of God in the land, by taking upon him to be supreme over Christ's Church, and to rule the law, and not the law to rule him, and for burning these Covenants, and for putting the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ out of the land, and for killing, plundering, of the Lord's people in the fields, on scaffolds, drowning in the sea, banishing, plundering, oppressing, both in body and conscience.

"4. I leave my testimony against all the upholders of that tyrant, directly by aiding, assisting, or pleading for him, or for his interest; for he has openly and avowedly seated himself against King Christ; and these that plead for him, who have taken the crown off our blessed Lord's head; I say, they will be found pleading against Christ:

'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers' (Psalm 1:18).

"5. I leave my testimony against the Oath of Supremacy.

"6. I leave my testimony against that Bond that was taken in the Greyfriars' Churchyard.

"7. I leave my testimony against that bond called the Bond of Regulation, and against that bond and engagement to keep the kirk, as they call it; which is a binding to keep a place, put in it what they like, and it were even Popery the next day; and I warn you of it, that you shall have it ere long, except the Lord wonderfully prevent it; I say, it is a binding to the kirk, and not a following of our Lord Jesus Christ: 'For where is the house ye build to me?' saith the Lord.'

"8. I leave my testimony against that Bond, pressed by the Highland host on the west country.

"9. I leave my testimony against that dreadful, abominable thing called the Test.

"10. I leave my testimony against all coming out of prison upon bond and caution, being a shifting of the cross of Christ, and making themselves the prisoners of men, and not the prisoners of

Christ, and yielding unto men, while we are called to another thing, as it is said in the sixth of Romans, verse 16th, ‘To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are.’

“11. I leave my testimony against all compearances at their courts, because they are unjust judges, and have forfeited their right; and their judgment and sentence is contrary to the Word of God, and is stated for the ruin of the Church of God, and for oppressing the consciences of men, to sin against God.

“12. I leave my testimony against all cess and locality, for the maintaining of the enemies of God, to kill and murder God’s people, and bear down the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:

‘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’ (Isaiah 65:11).

“13. I leave my testimony against hearing of curates, because they are the ministers of men; yea, I may say, rather of Satan, for the flourishing of his kingdom; for they are thieves and robbers, and not the true ministers of Christ, for they are not entered by Him, and are set there for the maintaining of damnable heresy — viz., they preach another head of the Church than our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

“14. I leave my testimony against all Indulgences, first and last, because they have rent the bowels of Christ’s Church, by exercising their power and liberty under that Supremacy, yea, and exercising the very function of their ministry by the directions of men, by receiving their instructions from men; and so are no more the ministers of God, but the ministers of men; and there is this black effect that has followed, and been the fruit of their ministry and preaching, that never one according to my knowledge, that was indulged in their judgment, that wan [*i.e.*, got], the length of a scaffold for the cause of Christ, but did yield and go on with the abominations of the times.

“15. I leave my testimony against these ministers, who once appeared fair, and went a good length in bearing up the standard

and banner of our blessed Lord; but when the persecution rose somewhat hot, then biding [*i.e.*, remaining] by Christ and declaring of His message became out of season to them; they quitted the Lord's commission and precept by Paul to preach the Word in season and out of season, and so soon as ever they saw the wolf coming, they ran and hid themselves, and suffered the poor sheep of Christ to be scattered, torn, and destroyed, both in body and conscience. This I dare assert, they cannot say with Paul, that they are free from the blood of all men, and have declared the whole counsel of God.

“Now, as I said before, I am to lay down my life this day, for the defense of the Gospel at Drumclog, and for the defense of the Gospel at Hamilton, and for hearing of Mr. John King preach upon the Greenhill. End, being the east end of Galston Moor, and for being in company with John Nisbet; and of all the four articles, I am not ashamed this day; these counted criminal by the enemies of my Lord, whose Gospel-standard I desire to defend with life and fortune. I say, these being counted criminal, witness being led, proved the same, and witnessed me to death. If these had been enemies, I could have borne it; but it was they, mine acquaintance, mine equal, my guide, and we took sweet counsel together, and went into the House of God together (Psalm 55:12-14). So it was these that went a good length, and were also as deeply engaged as I was, yea, to defend my life, and not to have witnessed me to death; for what they have witnessed, I am not ashamed of; but this I leave behind me, my testimony against them; and my blood will be charged home upon them, and, without repentance prevent it, both upon them and their posterity; and I set down their names, that they may stand on record, and their names be known to aftercoming generations, their names being these — John Loudon in Mill of New Milns, John Paterson in Slacks, John Fram in Tonslen, James Connel in Bankherd.¹ I set them down here, that their names may be a stink and ill-savor to aftercoming generations, as apostate from the way of God, Demas-like, have forsaken the way of God, and chosen a present world; and now have not holden them there, but have become followers of the people of God to the

death, by their engagement and oaths to the enemies, taking that hell-hatched thing called the Test.

“Now, as I leave my testimony to the truth of God in part, so I have left my testimony against some of the prevailing sins of the times; and as I this day desire, with heart and soul, to adhere to all the truths of God, named and not named, so I also desire with my whole soul to disown, detest, and abhor, and loathe all manner of sin and defection, public and private; and I also leave my testimony against and disown all profanation and loose living, and vain speeches that are not for the use of edifying; and also against lukewarmness, and lying by as at ease in Zion, when she is in trouble now, when she is tossed upon the turbulent sea of affliction.

“But to you that desire to have your portion and stock in that ship, I desire to leave this word of comfort, that the Master shall awake and rebuke the storm, and make it calm, that such a calmness has not been yet. Look Isaiah 44 from the beginning to the 9th verse, and assure yourselves, that His faithfulness will not fail, nor His promise come to nought; for this day I set to my seal to the faithfulness of His promises to poor me, and what concerned my salvation; and oh! how much shall He not own His own inheritance, and His poor Church, which is given Him of the Father, to be King thereof! and will He give that which He hath purchased by His own blood and sufferings to the hands of man? No; Heaven and earth shall pass away, but one jot, or one tittle shall not pass, till all be fulfilled. Although that men be this day employing their power and strength for the down-bearing of the Church of God, yet all that burden themselves with her shall be dashed in pieces, and the snares and gins they have laid for the poor people of God, they shall be taken therein themselves; and although the whole generality, yea, all except a poor and contemptible and afflicted remnant, be joined hand in hand, to uphold the tyrannical power of a man, yet they and all that is against King Christ, shall be brought to ruin.

‘Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished’
(Proverbs 11:21).

And as for that abominable race and family, I mean the tyrant upon the throne of Britain, that race and that family shall fall under that command given from the Lord to Jeremiah, chap. 22 beginning at the 25th verse to the close, but especially the last verse, ‘Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.’

“And now, my dear friends — I mean the poor wrestling remnant, or any who shall follow the footsteps of them hereafter — scar not at [*i.e.*, be not afraid of] the cross of Christ, though that the afflictions and bondage of His poor people shall be lengthened out; for I say, yet again the Lord shall come and shall not tarry, to make good His promise, for the relief of His poor Church; ‘for the Lord is not slack concerning His promise, as some men count slackness, but is long-suffering,’ waiting for the outcoming of His people, and separating them from the people of these abominations; and not only public abominations, but His people must be separate from every heart-idol and every private sin, walking as in the sight of a Holy God, in all holy conversation, as the sons and daughters of the Living God. And also be encouraged to wait upon Him till He finish His own work; look that of Micah 7:8th and 9th verses,

‘Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His righteousness.’

So the poor Church comforts herself under all the indignation and correction she was under, that the Lord would plead her cause, and execute judgment for her; and then in the 13th verse,

‘Notwithstanding the land shall be desolate, because of them that dwell therein, for the fruit of their doings.’ Therefore, my dear friends, wait upon the Lord, weary not until He works His own work; for it is very likely that this land must be laid desolate,

before He comfort His people, and restore His church to her wonted privileges; yea, and I say, as a dying witness of Christ, that God's judgments shall be poured out upon Scotland till it be laid desolate. My dear friends, hold fast till He come, and be upon your watch-tower, and have oil in your lamps, that your light may be shining, and your lamps burning, for the bridegroom will come in an hour when ye are not aware, and in a way that ye are not looking for. Now I shall say no more upon this head.

"Now I leave my testimony against these called our judges, and against these assizers, both these that sat upon my brethren, and upon myself; my blood and my brethren's blood shall be required at their hands; and my blood shall be charged upon John Balfour, who took me, for he declared to me that he knew me by my garb, that I was one of the persecuted men, and so it was the ground he apprehended me upon, because I was a sufferer for the name of Christ. Now, as I am of myself, I can freely forgive them and all others, for what they have done to me, and do freely forgive them; but as they have done it against the image of God in me, and in despite against the work, cause, and interest of Jesus Christ, that is not mine to forgive; I leave that to Himself.

"And now, dear friends, I having little time, my sentence being passed upon the 17th day of March, at eight o'clock at night, to die the 19th day of the same, at two in the afternoon; and now this day I am to suffer martyrdom, and my head to be stricken off and to be fixed upon the Tolbooth, for the name of Jesus. Now, scar not at [*i.e.*, be not afraid of] the cross of Christ, for oh! 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 ye would count it naught to go through a sea of blood for Him. Oh, I invite you, dear friends, to stick to the truths of God, and bide by Him, that the name of Israel may not be rooted out; but this I desire to live and to die in the faith of, that the blood shed and spilt in Scotland shall have a glorious crop and vintage.

"And now, as for the generality of this generation, or these back-slidden and backsliding professors, I know not what to say of

them, but this is the language to me of their way, and I leave it as a dying witness for Christ, that these let, and will let, till they be taken out of the way.

“Now I leave my wife and my baby unto Him who gave them unto me; I fully quit with them, and leave them to my Lord and Master, Who can make us meet above the clouds. Now I take my farewell of you, and all created comforts, and I am also willing, and more willing ten thousand times to lay them down at His call, than ever I was to enjoy them. Now, farewell all friends in Christ. Farewell all relations. Farewell days and nights. Farewell sun, moon, and stars. Farewell suffering. Farewell irons on feet and hands. Farewell holy and sweet Scripture, which was the savor of life unto life to me. And welcome heaven and eternal life. Welcome the company and souls of just men made perfect through the blood of the Lamb. Welcome, welcome, and never enough welcomed my lovely Lord, my Father, and my Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit, for it is thine,

“Sic subscribitur,

“JOHN RICHMOND.”

ARCHIBALD STEWART

THE COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN BY ARCHIBALD STEWART,

*Who suffered martyrdom at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19,
1684. To his Christian Acquaintance.*

“MY DEAR AND LOVING FRIEND AND ACQUAINTANCE, — 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 upon 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 our lovely Lord’s will, — I say, with as great 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 way, 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 friend, 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 20:17), to your Redeemer and my Redeemer, to reap the fruit of all these meetings we had together.

Oh! 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 labor. Instead of bitterness, I will enjoy sweetness; instead of trouble, rest; instead of sorrow and grief, joy and gladness: ‘For sighing and sorrow shall flee 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. Oh! but the fruits of these aforementioned 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 praises through all the ages of eternity!

“Now, dear friend, I cannot get Him praised, for the riches of His free grace, freely bestowed on me. Oh! 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. Oh! 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,

‘The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a
goodly heritage’ (Psalm 16:6).

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, ‘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 burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee (Isaiah 43:1, 2). And ‘Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee’ (Matthew 9:2). 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. Oh! but I have gotten an easy cast of it. Oh! but I am come well and easy to my purpose of redemption, peace, and happiness. But oh! 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.

“Now, my dear and loving friend, 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, threep [*i.e.*, pertinaciously affirm] kindness upon Him, and resolve, with Job, that though He should slay you, yet you will 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; fm 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 you 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 honor, for they will be a happy people, that will be the remnant of the Church.

“Now, dear friend, 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 oh! 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 sours well-wisher.

“ARCHIBALD STEWART.

“Glasgow Tolbooth, March 15th, 1684.”

CAPTAIN JOHN PATON

JOHN PATON was born in the parish of Fenwick, at Meadowhead, a farmhouse, about a mile and-a-half to the east of the small village of Waterside. The present farmhouse of Meadowhead has been built within the century, with the exception of its west end, which is said to be part of that in which Paton lived. Behind the house is a barn, of some size, the gables of which are of dried mud, cased with stones, and overcast with a coating of lime. Within these gables, the tradition is, that Richard Cameron, sometime early in 1681, baptized twenty-two children.

In his younger days, Paton followed the usual outdoor occupation of the inhabitants of his native parish; but when he reached manhood, he left farming for a soldier's life. John Howie says, of the way and manner in which he went first to a military life, that there are various accounts, — one is, that he served under Gustavus Adolphus; and the other, that he was at the battle of Marston Moor. But both accounts are reconcilable with each other, for the battle of Lutzen, fatal to the Swedish king, yet triumphant to the Protestant cause he sought to advance, was fought November 6th, 1632, while Marston Moor was not till July 2, 1644.

Scotland seems, in the early part of the seventeenth century, to have been much in the condition of Ireland in later times, — it experienced the distress arising from a superabundant population. England, although by the accession of James brought under the same crown, was not a very friendly country, and so Scotsmen went in large numbers to the Continent. The General Assembly, Sept. 1, 1647, sent a pastoral letter “unto the Scots merchants, and others our country people, scattered in Poland, Swedland, Denmark, and Hungary,” and it refers to their numbers cc as many thousands of our countrymen, who are scattered abroad.” These merchants were mostly what in modern phrase would be called packmen, and traveled over the Continent, and, in an age when towns were few, and when in towns shops were far from being regularly open, gave the inhabitants an opportunity of buying articles of luxury or domestic use. With many, however, the occupation of a soldier was more popular than that of a travelling merchant. Hence Scotsmen were found in all the armies of

Europe. Sometimes they discovered themselves fighting against each other, and when a detachment would be scaling a breach, it is said, it was not unusual to hear some of the defenders address them in their own tongue, “come on, gentlemen! this is not like gallanting it at the Cross of Edinburgh.”

When Gustavus Adolphus, as the champion of Protestantism, declared war in 1630 against Austria, he had quite an army of Scotsmen under him. His Scotch brigade was so large, that its superior officers amounted to 34 colonels, and 50 lieutenant-colonels. One of the most curious and most interesting folios of that age, is Colonel Robert Munro’s expedition with the worthy Scots regiment, called Mackay’s Regiment,...discharged in several duties and observations of service, first, under the magnanimous King of Denmark, during his wars against the empire, afterwards under the invincible King of Sweden, during his majesty’s lifetime, etc. At Lutzen, the reserve of Gustavus was commanded by a Scotsman named Henderson, and the Scotch regiments, by their adoption of platoon firing, are said to have contributed largely to achieve the victory that did so much for the liberties of Protestant Europe.

Whether Paton was at Lutzen we are not told, but “it was for some heroic achievement,” says John Howie, “at the taking of a certain city, probably by Gustavus Adolphus, that he was advanced to a captain’s post.” What age he was when he went abroad is not recorded, further than that, “when he returned home, he was so far changed, that his parents scarcely knew him,” which may be taken to signify that he went away a lad of eighteen or nineteen, and came back a bearded and bronzed soldier, of six or eight and twenty.

It is not said when Captain Paton returned from Germany, but he joined the army which the Scots sent to the aid of the English Parliamentary forces, and was present at the battle of Marston Moor, July 1644, when the combined Scots and Parliamentary troops gained the victory, which both gave a fatal blow to the royal cause, and laid the foundation of Oliver Cromwell’s future greatness. After Marston Moor, he must soon have returned home, for he was called out, with the militia of his native parish, to resist the raid made by Montrose in favor of the king, and was present at the battle of Kilsyth, August 15, 1645. Here the daring purpose and

quick execution of Montrose carried the day, and the army of the Covenantors was totally defeated. Wishart, Montrose's chaplain, a divine evidently of the school of Baron Munchausen, affirms that the Covenantors lost from 4000 to 5000, while the loss of his master was no more than six men. But the statement carries with it its own refutation, for it is impossible that four or five thousand of the vanquished can have been slain, with a loss of six only to the victor. In the rout that followed the defeat, Captain Paton with difficulty escaped. John Howie tells the following story of what he and two associates did in the retreat:

“The Captain, as soon as he got free of the bog, into which the Covenantors had been driven, with sword in hand, made the best of his way through the enemy, till he got safe to the two Colonels, Hacker and Strahan, who all three rode off together, but had not gone far till they were encountered by about fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed except two who escaped. When they had gone a little further, they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of these they killed ten, so that only three of them could make their escape. But, upon the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the colonels said, in a familiar dialect, ‘Johnny, if thou dost not somewhat now, we are all dead men.’ To whom the captain answered, ‘Fear not, for we will do what we can before we either yield or flee before them.’ They killed nine of them, and put the rest to flight.”

This is plainly a soldier's story, much the better of the excitement that three hand-to-hand conflicts might well cause. But it is much more likely to be true than Wishart's fiction; especially if we remember what a weapon a sword in the hands of a soldier, skilled to use it, becomes, when his antagonists are of the character of Montrose's army, accustomed more to a whoop, a halloo, and a dash, than to fight in a regular manner.

Howie tells a similar story of his doings, when some soldiers of the Duke of Hamilton's army, under the command of Middleton, attacked a considerable party of the Covenantors at Mauchline, where they had been celebrating the communion. Paton and his friends from Fenwick, who, at his advice, had taken arms with them, made a spirited resistance. The captain himself killed eighteen with his own hand. In the unhappy dispute,

which ended in the Covenantors breaking up into two parties, Captain Paton took the side of the Protestors. He was present at the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, where he fought for King Charles II with his usual ardor; but the genius of Cromwell carried the day, and soon ended the war. Paton returned home to Scotland, and resumed the pursuits of his youth, by taking the farm of Meadowhead, and soon after married Janet Lindsay, but she died in a few months.

At Meadowhead, Paton continued to reside for the rest of his days. He sat under the ministry of William Guthrie, the well-known author of the "Christian's Great Interest," and was chosen to be one of his elders.

When, in 1666, the Covenantors of Galloway, fired by the insolent oppressions of Sir James Turner, took up arms in self-defense, and invited their friends to join them, Captain Paton could not resist the invitation. He was called to command "a party of horse from London, Fenwick, and other places." In the ill-judged march to the neighborhood of Edinburgh, he had the charge of the rear-guard. He was at Pentland, and was among the last to quit the field, when the overwhelming numbers of the royal forces made defense no longer possible. In his retreat he was overtaken by Dalziel himself, who knew him, and thought to have taken him prisoner. Each fired at the other; Paton's ball struck Dalziel, but without effect, for according to the practice of superior officers in that age, he wore chain armor; and, when Paton proceeded to load the other pistol with silver, said to be more effective than lead in piercing steel, and which he had with him for an emergency, Dalziel retreated behind his attendant, who was slain. Paton and two other friends from Fenwick on horseback, were soon surrounded by Dalziel's soldiery, but they cut their way through, when there were almost no others fighting on their own side save themselves, and after they had kept their position for nearly an hour.

How much was secured by the continued resistance of such as Paton, and by the dispositions of the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James Wallace, Mr. Dodds has been able to show from researches in the State Paper Office in his valuable volume, "The Fifty Years Struggle of the Scottish Covenantors." The great body of the Covenantors, very different from what happened in 1679 at Bothwell Bridge, escaped under the covert of night among the hills in their rear.

General Dalziel did not suffer Captain Paton to escape without at least another attempt to capture him. He sent three of his troopers in pursuit, after he had given them a description so as to recognize him. They overtook him, when he was about to leap a ditch, and out of which three terrified Galloway friends had just drawn their horses. The captain, after encouraging his friends, cleared the ditch, and faced about, sword in hand, to receive his pursuers. The head of the first he cut in two with a single stroke of his sword. The trooper's horse, deprived of its rider, and stunned by the blow, fell into the ditch or hag, and in its fall, drew in the two others along with it, where Paton left them, with the message — "My compliments to your master, and tell him I shall not be with him tonight." Paton got safely back to Meadowhead; but he had become a marked man, and henceforward he had many a time to betake himself for safety to the wild moors in his neighborhood. The winter following Pentland, he and twenty more had a narrow escape at Lochgoin, where they had gathered for prayer and pious conversation.

He was not with the brave company at Drumclog, but he soon after joined them with a number of horsemen from Fenwick and Galston, and was present at the fatal defeat at Bothwell Bridge. It is not said what part he took in the battle, but his presence there led to his being proclaimed a rebel, and to a sum being set upon his head.

Not long after Bothwell Bridge, he had another narrow escape at Lochgoin, the circumstances of which John Howie details at length. Although the soldiers surprised him in the house, he managed to escape. Two friends ran with him, and two others less quickly behind him, and now and then fired upon the enemy. One of the shots took effect, and wounded a sergeant in the thigh. This delayed the pursuit, and Paton and his four friends separated — they going together to attract the soldiers, and he by himself. He soon got hold of a horse in the moor, but he had scarcely mounted, when he came upon a party of dragoons, for Newmilns. However, as he was shoeless, the horse saddleless, and riding slowly, he escaped unobserved.

This second series of escapes was soon followed by a third. One of his children died. The time when it was to be buried came to the knowledge of the hireling of government, who drew the stipend of the parish, and he sent

word to the soldiers stationed at Kilmarnock to come and seize him in the churchyard. Paton followed the corpse to the burial, but, when near the churchyard, he was persuaded by some friends to turn back, and thus he escaped.

But Captain Paton was now an old man, and the vicissitudes of a soldier's life, the efforts he had made to advance the good cause, as well as the privations he had suffered through persecution, had added to his age. Hence, when his enemies at last came upon him, he was easily taken. In the beginning of August 1683, he was in the house of Robert Howie, in Floack, in the parish of Mearns, a house alongside of which now runs the new road from Kilmarnock to Glasgow, when a party of five soldiers claimed him as their prisoner. Contrary to his usual practice, he had no arms, but the inmates of the house offered him assistance — had it been ten years earlier, he had been able for the soldiers single-handed — but he declined their aid. He feared that it would bring them into trouble, and he was now well stricken in years, and worn out with fleeing from place to place; and moreover, he added, he was not afraid to die, for of his interest in Christ he was sure.

The soldiers, therefore, made an easy capture. They took him to Kilmarnock, under the supposition that he was some aged minister, for the inmates of Floack had not yet disclosed his name; but on the way, at a place still shown, called Moor Yett, a farmer, standing at his door, cried out — “Dear me, Captain Paton, are you there!” and thus the soldiers first learned the value of the prize they had taken. From Kilmarnock he was conveyed to Ayr, and from Ayr to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh.

Here, John Howie relates, General Dalziel met him, when compassion for his old companion in arms got the better of him — they had fought side by side at Worcester — and he took him in his arms, and said — “John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty, but now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write to his majesty for your life.”

His trial took place, April 16th. He was condemned on his own confession that he was at Bothwell, and was sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket, on Wednesday the 23d. He was prevailed on, as he laments

in his last speech, to petition the Council, and they delayed his execution till the 30th. On the 30th, the Council records further reprieve him:

“John Paton, in Meadowhead, sentenced to die for rebellion, and thereafter remaining in mosses and moors, to the high contempt of authority, for which he hath given all satisfaction that law requires, reprieved till Friday come sen’night, and to have a room by himself, that he may prepare more conveniently for death.”

Wodrow regards this entry so favorable to him, that he is persuaded the bishops had not been present when it was made, and that some further favor had been designed. Howie says that Dalziel was as good as his word, that he procured a reprieve from the king, but that it came first into the hands of Bishop Paterson, the same who annoyed Marion Harvie in her last hours, who kept it up till it was of no avail.

He was executed on the Friday, May 9, 1684. “He died,” says Wodrow, “most cheerfully.” When on the scaffold, he handed down his Bible to his wife, Janet Millar, from Eaglesham, whom he married some years after the death of his first. He left her a widow, with six children. His oldest daughter was about fifteen.

His testimony is a tersely expressed, soldier-like statement, and its evangelical savor tells how much he had profited under the preaching of his beloved minister, William Guthrie. Its closing paragraph is as remarkable for its beauty of expression as for its undoubting faith in a Covenant-keeping God.

His Bible is at Lochgoin. It is a 24mo, of date 1653. The metrical Psalms at the close are of a much later year, but they were put in by the author of the “Scots Worthies,” that he might use the book at Church. Captain Paton’s autograph is on the blank side of the title page. The inscription on the inside of one of the boards tells its history. It is

*“Captain John Paton’s bible,
which he gave to his wife from off the scaffold,
when he was executed for
the cause of Jesus Christ,
at edinburgh, on the 8th of may 1684.
James Howie received it from the
captain’s son’s daughterr’s husband,
and gave it to John Howie, his nephew.”*

At Lochgoin a sword 27_ inches in length is shown as his, but it is light and small, and much rusted, this granddaughter, Annabella Paton, married Gavin Rowatt, a much esteemed elder in connection with the Reformed Presbytery during the latter half of last century. Gavin’s eldest son was the Reverend Thomas Rowatt, a faithful and diligent minister, of the Gospel, in Penpont, from 1796 to 1832. In the possession of the minister’s nephew, Thomas Rowatt, Esq. of Bonnanhill, Strathaven, is a sword that has been handed down in the family from generation to generation as the Captain’s. It is an Andrea Ferrara of forty inches in length, and in excellent preservation. Its size and weight, when in the hands of a soldier like Captain Paton, would make it a formidable weapon.

John Howie has given a life of him in the “Scots Worthies.” It is, perhaps, the best in the volume. It contains more traditionary matter than in most of the others. Its close, though somewhat sesquipedalian in its language, is a good specimen of Howie’s manner. It is —

“Thus another gallant soldier of Jesus Christ came to his end, the actions of whose life, and demeanor at death, do fully indicate that he was of no rugged disposition, as has been asserted of these our late sufferers, but rather of a meek, judicious, and Christian conversation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulness for the cause and interest of Zion’s King and Lord. He was of a middle stature as accounts bear, strong and robust, somewhat fair of complexion, with large eye-brows. But what enhanced him more, was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergent occasion; and though his extraction was but mean, it might be truly said of him, that he lived a hero and died a martyr.”

Captain Paton was buried in the corner of Greyfriars’ churchyard, Edinburgh, in the sacred spot where the dust of so many martyrs lies. In

Fenwick churchyard his fellow-parishioners, soon after the Revolution, erected a monument to his memory. This monument fell down some years ago, but a new one has been erected in its place, and an inscription put on it, written in somewhat fulsome terms, very different from the simple yet all the more effective language characteristic of the monuments put up to the memory of the martyrs last century. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF CAPTAIN JOHN PATON,

*Who lived in the parish of Fenwick, and suffered at the
Grassmarket of Edinburgh, May 9th, 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 nor eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus as ever a poor sinner had to say. I have been a great 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), Oh! 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 dittays [*i.e.*, indictments], and mayest do. My misimproven time may be heavy upon my head, and cause of desertion, and especially my supplicating the council, who have, 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 counsel 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 indeed, who thirst for my life, though by others not desired. I bless the Lord, I am not come here as a thief or murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, but hate blood shed directly or indirectly. And now I am a poor sinner, and could never merit anything 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. And 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 kirk 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 united; and oh! for a day of His power in cementing of this distempered age. It is sad to see His people falling out by 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. Oh! hold off extremities on both hands, and follow the example of our blessed Lord, and the cloud of witnesses in the eleventh of the Hebrews. And let your way be the good old path, the Word of God and 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 Mauchline Moor.

“Lord! forgive them, they know not what they do.

“I adhere to the sweet Scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testaments, 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, pure 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 lands, which is a manifest usurpation of His crown, for He is given by the Father to be head to His Church; ‘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 should all fullness dwell’
(Colossians 1:18, 19);

and against all Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and all that depend on 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 rending 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.

‘Woe 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’ (Matthew 23:13).

“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 our 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 to two or three sorts of folks; 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 Jude 11th verse and downward, and Obadiah’s prophecy.

“A second sort are these who seem to be more sober and knowing; yet, through 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. Oh! 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 work on your souls, for He will come quickly; ‘and who may abide the day of His coming.’ Oh! sirs, the noble grace of repentance grows not in every field; many could not

get it, though they sought it carefully with tears. Oh! work while it is today; the night draweth on, and it may be very dark.

“The third sort are these who have been most tender; and oh! 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. Oh! 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 His work upon Him who is the fountain 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. Oh! 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. Oh! 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 the cock crowing. Dear friends, the work of the day is great, and calls for more nor [*i.e.*, than] ordinary. Oh! be oft at the throne, and give Him no rest. Make sure your sours 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. Oh! 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 blessing 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 burned, 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 sympathizing 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; the widow and orphans’ 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 wouldest 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 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.”

JAMES NISBET

JAMES NISBET belonged to Highside, a farm in the neighborhood of Darvel, in the parish of London, Ayrshire. He was related to John Richmond of Knowe, who was executed March 19, 1684, and he had come to Glasgow to be present at the funeral, when he was recognized by Lieutenant Nisbet, a cousin of his own, and apprehended. He was carried to the guard-house, where the usual questions were put, and not giving satisfactory answers, he was sent to prison.

Nothing is known of his trial except the brief notice he gives of it in his testimony. The chief ground of his condemnation, he says, was that he disowned the authority of the government.

From the note of the compilers, at the close of his testimony, it appears that he experienced much ill-usage when in prison, and it was with difficulty he got his last testimony written. "He died," says Wodrow, "in much peace and full assurance. And they saw good to execute him a little out of the town, and not at the Cross, which very little diminished the confluence."

The parishioners of London have erected a monument to his memory in Newmilns churchyard. There is one also over the place where his remains lie in Castle Street, Glasgow. The inscriptions on both are in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF JAMES NISBET,

*Who lived in the parish of London, and suffered in Glasgow at the
Howgate Head, 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 anything 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,

‘I am the Lord, that is My name; and My glory
will I not give to another’ (Isaiah 42:8).

“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., C[harles] S[tuart] 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,

‘And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the
head over all things to the church’ (Ephesians 1:52);

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 has 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 anything to the praise and commendation of my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, I have many things for which to do it.

“1. For that, that He has not letten me deny His truths and cause, and His persecuted work; for there is nothing in me, as I am of myself, but I might have been amongst these 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.

“2. That He has carved out my lot to be in a land where He has set up His pure ordinances, both in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; for indeed he might have trysted [*i.e.*, appointed] it to be amongst these that are worshipping antichrist, that whore of Rome, whose sentence may be read, Revelation 19:2. And if C[harles] S[tuart] 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 biased and drawn away by that woeful Erastian Supremacy, which is like to overspread the whole land.

“3. 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.

“1. 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 these 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.

“2. 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 endeavoring to make it your rule, there is no life; for, says our blessed Lord, ‘I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.’

“3. To the work of Reformation; as it was reformed in an 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.

“4. To the Confession of Faith, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship and Discipline, and to our Catechisms Larger and Shorter.

“5. To the Covenants, National and Solemn League, whereby 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.

“6. 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. D[onald] C[argill] and Mr. R[ichard] C[ameron], 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.

“7. To all the appearing in arms, in defense of the Gospel, and self-defense, both before Bothwell and since.

“8. To the Excommunication at the Torwood, by Mr. D[onald] C[argill], 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.

“9. To the testimony given at Rutherglen, May 29, 1679; the declaration given at Lanark, January 12, 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 were all bound to. Oh! my heart trembles to think what will come on this generation, for their dreadful apostacy and departing from the way of the Lord.

“10. 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 case of His ruined work, and his poor suffering remnant.

“11. To the eight articles, called the New Covenant, taken at the Queensferry off worthy H[enry] H[all].

“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,

“1. I, as a dying witness, leave my testimony 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 Galatians 1:6,

‘I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you
into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel.’

“2. Against Quakerism, Independency, and all other errors which are not according to the Word of God, and our solemn Covenants and Confession of Faith.

“3. 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 of God, as it is in 2 Samuel 23:3, ‘He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.’ Even against that tyrant, and all upholders, aiders, assisters, and maintainers of him. Oh! what will become of this generation for their apostasy and departing away from God?

“4. 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.

“5. Against that Bond taken in the Greyfriars kirkyard, although there be many that denied it, until the Lord in His own due time made it appear, when the trial came 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.

“6. Against that 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:

‘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’ (Acts 4:19).

“7. Against the Bond pressed by the Highland host in the west country. Oh! 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.

“8. Against that land-ruining and soul-destroying thing called the Test.

“9. 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.

“10. 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 [*i.e.*, robbers] and land judgments?

“11. 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 narrative of the Act, it is set down for that end, and declared to the world; see what is said against it:

‘But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget nay holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink-offering unto that number. Therefore will I number you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down to the slaughter: because when I called, ye did not answer; when I spake ye did not hear; but did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not’ (Isaiah 65:11-12).

“12. 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 doctrine 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:

‘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’ (John 10:1).

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 favors, and have broken the poor people of God, and rent the bowels of the Church; and especially those 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. Oh! double your diligence, and give Him no rest till He come back again. As in Isaiah 62:7,

‘And give Him no rest, till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.’

Oh! what will come of poor Scotland, for the horrid iniquities and abominations, perjury and bloodshed, and Covenant-breaking? Oh! 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 oh, what shall I say! I shall 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 in Ezekiel 9:4:

‘And the Lord said unto him, go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that 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 oh! but He taketh exact notice what is done to His people:

‘Thou shouldst not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, thou shouldst not have looked upon

their affliction in the day of their calamity, nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity' (Obadiah 13).

Oh! but that be a sweet word:

'It is a faithful saying, for, if we be dead with Him, we shall also live with Him; if we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with him; if we deny Him, He also will deny us' (2 Timothy 2:11-12).

Oh, 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 are many will brand me with self-murder, because I have got so 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:

"1. My approving of Drumclog and Bothwell, and being at Glasgow to be lawful and in the defense of the Gospel, and in self-defense, which both the law of God and nature allow.

"2. For adhering to the National and Solemn League and Covenant; and they declare before my face that both their king and Council had. disowned the Covenant, and had taken that way 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 a usurper and a tyrant, I mean Charles Stuart? And here. I, as a dying witness, leave my testimony against that monstrous beast; for our

Savior calls Herod a fox, and says, ‘Go tell that fox, I work today, and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.’

“**3.** 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 lie 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 are 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. Oh, mind that word in Hebrews 10:38,

‘But if any man draw back, My soul shall have no pleasure in him;’
and Romans 8:35,

‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?’
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 Psalm 2:1, 4, 5,

‘Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure.’

O poor Scotland, that 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! Oh, 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, ‘Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear Him, which, after He hath killed, hath power to cast into hell.’ 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 which 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 Himself.

“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 anything 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, it is hoped, will be liable to no misinterpretation.

ARTHUR TACKET

ARTHUR TACKET was a tailor in Hamilton. He was in his seventeenth or eighteenth year when the battle took place at Bothwell Bridge. He left his mother's house on the morning of the defeat with arms, in order to take share in the battle; but he seems to have done nothing further than give his presence, of which he speaks in his testimony, for he soon again returned home. The laird of Raploch shortly afterwards heard that he had been at the battle, and had him seized and carried prisoner to Edinburgh.

He seems speedily to have been set at liberty; but he, as an heritor, had some little property, and so, two years afterwards, in his absence, March 1681, he was adjudged to be a traitor. In the beginning of June 1684, he was apprehended, when coming from hearing Renwick at a conventicle at Blackloch.

The Council Registers, July 1, record, "Duke Hamilton informs the Council that Arthur Tacket, now a prisoner, is an heritor, and forfeited for the rebellion." Heritors present at Bothwell were excluded from the act of indemnity. "The Lords leave to the justices to proceed against him according to their sentence of forfeiture." Under July 22, Arthur Tacket "confesseth before the Council that he was in the rebellion at Bothwell, and lately with the rebels who were in arms in the shire of Lanark. The Lords ordain him to be questioned by torture tomorrow at nine of the clock, before the committee for public affairs." Tacket would not tell who had been the preacher at Blackloch, or whom he had seen when there, and hence the order that he be put to the torture.

When he was brought before the committee for torture, the Advocate assured him, in the name of those present, that if he would be ingenuous and free upon all that was to be asked, what he said should never militate against himself or another man. Tacket boldly answered that he could not credit them, since they had broken their promises, oaths, and subscriptions to God and man; and he could not think they would press him so much to declare who preached, if they were to make no use of what he said. On this the hangman was ordered to open the Boot, and he laid his leg in it. The hangman was about to proceed with the torture, when the surgeon present

desired him to wait a little. The surgeon then took the Advocate aside, and told him that from Arthur's youth, and the slenderness of the limb, a few strokes would crush it in pieces, and since they were determined to take his life, and nothing would likely be got out of him, it would be better not to proceed. Upon this statement the Advocate ordered the thumbkins to be brought, which he heroically endured without making any disclosure. The sentence which the Lords of Justiciary passed upon him was "that Arthur Tacket, being upon the 21st of March 1681, found guilty, by an assize, of being in the rebellion 1679, and adjudged to be demeaned and executed as a traitor when apprehended, he being now apprehended, the Lords appoint him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, Wednesday, July 30, betwixt two and four in the afternoon."

In the close of his Testimony, Arthur Tacket alludes to an allegation brought against Renwick by his enemies, that he was not lawfully called and ordained to the ministry. In the Informatory Vindication, this allegation is examined and set aside. It is said, "When he went abroad there was no hope of ordination here in Scotland to any who agreed with us, neither could it be safely sought after." In the next paragraph, while vindicating the classes of Groningen, the anti-sectarian and Catholic nature of the principles held by the societies very plainly appears. "Though the classes of Groningen, by whom he was ordained, differ from the Reformation of Scotland in her best times, in some things; yet considering,

- (1.) that in these differences they were never reformed, and so cannot be charged therein with defection;
- (2.) that they agree with the true Presbyterial Church of Scotland, in all principles against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all heretical and sectarian errors;
- (3.) that they did then object nothing against our present Testimony;
- (4.) that they come under a general, and, far other consideration, being of a foreign church, than ministers of the same original church, and under the same bond of Covenant with ourselves; for which cause, joining with them in that act of ordination, came under another consideration;

(5.) that in the act of ordination they did obtrude none of these differences, but did take him engaged to teach according to the Word of God, and the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, and the discipline thereof.

Upon all which considerations it was thought lawful to accept of ordination from the foresaid classes, especially seeing these differences were before them, and plainly and particularly protested against, which was sufficient in the circumstances.” It is then shown that no Cocceian took part in his ordination. By Cocceian was understood one who denied the moral obligation of the fourth commandment upon Christians under the New Testament. Cocceius, or John Koch, was Professor in Leyden, and died in 1699. His opinions on the Moral Law have been long forgotten, but his name still lives as the representative of the class of commentators who seek to find Christ everywhere in the pages of the Old Testament.

The Labadeans were the followers of John Labadie, originally a Jesuit, but who renounced Romanism, and became a zealous Protestant pastor. He seems to have been volatile by nature, and soon adopted opinions on the insufficiency of Scripture as a rule to man, without particular revelations from the Holy Spirit, that led him to decline subscription to the French Confession of Faith, when called to minister to a congregation in Middleburg, in Holland. After his death in 1674, his flock removed to Friesland. As Friesland is the adjoining province to Groningen, Renwick’s enemies fancied that Labadeans must have been concerned in his ordination. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF ARTHUR TACKET,

*Tailor in Hamilton, who suffered in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh,
August 1, 1684.*

“Being appointed to die in the Grassmarket, 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 [*i.e.*, worthless] 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 debate by this God-daring, Christ-dethroning, and God-contemning, adulterous, and bloody generation wherein my lot is fallen. And this I can say, that 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 of 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 contravened, are become more precious and clearer unto me at death, than ever they were heretofore in my life: as David says, Psalm 23:4,

‘Though I walk through the valley of the 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 paved 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.

“Oh praise, praise to the riches of His free grace, for His matchless and inexpressible love that I have met with since! 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 I did meet with. This I have been made really sensible of, when I was hardest dealt with, as David says,

‘Blessed be the Lord, because He hath heard the voice of my supplications. The Lord is my strength and shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth’ (Psalm 28:6, 7).

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 trysted [*i.e.*, visited] with.

“And this is a sweet promise and noble encouragement for me in that 41 of Isaiah verse 10-13,

‘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. Behold, all they that were incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded; they shall be as nothing; and they that strive with thee shall perish. Thou shalt seek them, and shalt not find them, even them that contended with thee; they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought. 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 are taken away fully from me, that I am not afraid to

venture upon a gibbet for my lovely Lord and Masters noble cause, and for His controverted truths; and this I am really persuaded of, that the truth of God was 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.

‘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 beside Thee’ (Psalm 73:23-25).

This I dare say 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,

‘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’ (2 Corinthians 5:1).

And as Paul says,

‘Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption’ (1 Corinthians 15:50).

I can clearly say by my 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 show you the only head that my sentence of death is founded upon; by men it is mainly for being in arms at Bothwell, which was merely in defense of ourselves, and in defense of the Gospel preached, and standing to the defense 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 defense thereof. For which I am unjustly

sentenced to death by men, of which sentence I am not ashamed this day, but count it my only glory, honor, 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 unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, 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 interrogated me upon, in the sentence of death that these bloody tyrants passed 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 Blackloch, and because I would not declare who was the minister, and what persons I knew. And although 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 ranversed [*i.e.*, reversed] again, which is my only encouragement; and this He has promised to as many as believe in Him, to give them everlasting life. These that suffer with Him, shall reign with Him; and these that be dead with Him, shall also live with Him. As Paul says in Romans 10:9-11, ‘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. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For the Scripture saith, ‘Whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed,’ which is my only comfort, and a noble, sweet encouragement for me; and this He has promised in His Word, ‘that He shall feed His flock like a

shepherd; He shall gather the lambs with His arm, 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 of difficulties that I have been trysted [*i.e.*, visited] with, since He made choice of me to suffer for His noble cause. Oh! if ye knew what of His love I have met with, and what sweet ingredients of the Lord's matchless love have 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 he gives his testimony to, and the defections he witnesseth 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 jeopardizing 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.

THOMAS ROBERTSON

THOMAS ROBERTSON was a native of a parish somewhere in the south of Scotland. In his testimony, he says he had been a hearer of curates. Under their ministry he received no profit, but came away from hearing them with more hardness of heart than when he went. Ere long, he came to the conclusion that matters were not right with him, and, learning that in the place where he lived there were some hearers of the persecuted Presbyterian ministers, he, though they were strangers to him, made bold to tell his case to one of their number. The result was, that he was taken to where he heard a sermon that left on his mind a conviction of the evil of his former courses. Henceforward he ceased to wait on the ministry of the curates. However, he soon found it prudent to flee into England, where he resided for sometime in Newcastle.

Here the oath of allegiance was tendered to him, which he refused, and he was thrown into prison. By some means or other he escaped, and got to Edinburgh, where, at a rigorous search, made in November 29, 1684, in consequence of the publication of the Apologetic Declaration against informers and intelligencers, he was apprehended. He was brought before the Council, and was speedily ensnared by the usual questions. The Council remitted him to the Lords of Justiciary.

His trial, along with that of nine others, took place on December 8th. Although it was impossible that he, and the others tried with him, could have had any share in the drawing up the Apologetic Declaration, they were indicted upon the charge, “that upon the 28th of October last bypast, they did emit a most barbarous and hellish proclamation.”

The trial was continued till next day. In the course of the trial, six of the accused were dismissed on renouncing the Declaration, but Thomas Robertson, and George Jackson, and James Graham, whose testimonies follow in a later part of the volume, and Thomas Wood, were brought in guilty, and sentenced to be hanged that day, December 9, 1684, at the Gallowlee, betwixt two and five in the afternoon.

The Apologetic Declaration was the natural result of the cruel measures of the government. A “proclamation against rebels” had been issued July 22, 1684, in which the king is made to assert that the monarchy had devolved upon him by God alone, and at the same time all the sheriffs and subordinate officers of government are charged, when any of the persecuted appeared in their jurisdictions, to call together the lieges, to raise the hue and cry against them, and to pursue them until caught. On August 1, 1684, the officers of the army were empowered to call for and examine all persons as can give them information respecting the so-called rebels.

At the general meeting of the United Societies, in October 15, 1684, it was resolved, in order to warn informers of “the wickedness of their way,” and to deter them from acting as spies, as well as to vindicate themselves from false charges, to issue a public declaration. James Renwick was commissioned to draw it up. It was published October 28, 1684, under the title of “The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelligencers and Informers.” It will be found in Wodrow, and it forms part of the Informatory Vindication. It declares:

“As we utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from us, it having no bottom upon the Word of God or right reason; so we look upon it as a duty binding upon us to publish openly unto the world, that, forasmuch as we are firmly and really purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever, but to pursue the end of our Covenants, in standing to the defense of our glorious work of Reformation and of our own lives; yet we do hereby declare unto all, that whosoever stretch forth their hands against us, while we are maintaining the cause and interest of Christ against His enemies, in defense of our covenanted Reformation, by shedding our blood...and all intelligencers, together with all such as raise the hue and cry after us...we say all and every one of such shall be reputed by us enemies to God and the covenanted work of Reformation, and punished as such according to our power and the degree of their offense.” To guard against individual efforts among their followers to take the law into their own hands, it is added, “Finally, we do

hereby declare that we abhor, condemn, and discharge any personal attempts upon any pretext whatsoever, without previous deliberation, common or competent consent, without certain probation by sufficient witnesses, the guilty persons' confession, or the notoriousness of the deeds themselves."

It will be noticed that the testimony of Thomas Robertson is somewhat out of the chronological order that has been followed since that of David Hackston of Rathillet, page 39. This is the case also with the short account of John Dick, and the testimony of Thomas Harkness, and his fellow-sufferers. All, however, are within the year 1684. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF THOMAS ROBERTSON,

PICTURE: Old Parliment House: Edinburgh

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, November 29, 1684, and suffered at the Gallowlee, the 9th day of December thereafter.

"NOW, DEAR FRIENDS, — Time seems to me to be but short; oh! 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 until 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 [*i.e.*, tried].

“Oh! 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. Oh! to have my soul soundly knit to Him. Oh! for strength. Oh! 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, oh! That folk would make it a great part of their work, to distinguish betwixt the two.

“Now, I adhere to the covenant of redemption betwixt the Father and the Son, before the foundation of the world, for redemption of poor things that He has chosen out of the world. O! for love to Him! Oh for love to Him! O! now that 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 nonsuch Jesus Christ!

“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.

“I leave my testimony to the Word 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 the 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 Cargill, 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 Renwich, as a faithfully 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 most noble cause.

“And, also, I disown, disclaim, and witness against all this evil and adulterous generation — a generation of revolvers, 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 honored with the revealing of His secrets and His mind concerning the duty of the day; as Mr. Donald Cargill, and these that were faithful to the death, and sealed the cause with their blood. And oh! 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 leave my wife to the good guiding of the Lord, and commend 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.”

JAMES NICOL

JAMES NICOL was a merchant burghess in Peebles. He was in arms at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, but had hitherto escaped capture, although he seems to have been in the list of those sought after by the government. He was in Edinburgh, August 15, 1684, and was present at the trial of Thomas Harkness, Andrew Clark, and Samuel M'Ewen, whose Testimonies are given in a subsequent page, where his spirit was roused to anger at the haste with which they were tried and condemned to death.

After the trial he was taking his horse in the Grassmarket to leave for home, when the guard came down with the three martyrs for execution. He delayed his departure, and joined the crowd to witness the execution. As he was coming away, he loudly cried out against the cruelty that had been perpetrated. He was immediately laid hold of and carried to prison. On the 18th, and again on the 19th, he was brought before the Privy Council. On the 20th he says he was before the Justiciary. On the 22d he was indicted for treason, and was finally tried, Wednesday, August 27.

The proof against him was his own confession that he was at Bothwell with arms, that he owns Sanquhar Declaration, and the paper published at Rutherglen. He was hanged that day between two and four in the afternoon, along with William Young from Evandale, a good man, but somewhat crazed in mind, who had been condemned on still less ground; for the chief points in his confession were that he had heard Donald Cargill, and that if he had been old enough he had been at Bothwell. James Nicol's examination must have struck Daniel Defoe; for, in his *Memoir of the Church of Scotland*, it is given with much the same fullness as in the "Cloud of Witnesses." He calls him another of these sufferers who cannot be forgotten when we are recording the zeal of the Church of Scotland's Martyrs, who, in imitation of the primitive zeal of the first centuries, offered himself to the sacrifice, without any one laying hand on him.

Fountainhall's notice of James Nicol is very different from Defoe's. It is: "15th August, — Three of the rebels taken at Enterkin sentenced to be hanged; the Council resolves, that any condemned for Bothwell, disowning the king's authority, or any other treason, shall be allowed but three hours,

and [be] executed the same day sentence is pronounced. At their execution there was one Nicol looking on (he was once a chapman, and had been at Bothwell), who cried to the hangman he would do him a mischief; who being taken, was examined, boldly disclaimed the king, owned the Covenant, and was condemned to be hanged, 27th ditto, for his being at Bothwell.”

Mr. Livingstone, mentioned by James Nicol, was John Livingstone, so well known from his connection with the revival at the Kirk of Shotts. John Howie has a life of him in the “Scots Worthies.” The share he had in bringing home Charles II. from Holland in 1650, is fully detailed by himself in his “Brief Historical Relation of his own Life,” in the Wodrow Society’s Select Biographies.

The Coronation Sermon is that preached by Robert Douglas, when Charles II was crowned at Scone in 1651. It is a discourse remarkable for its boldness, and the utterance of constitutional principles, that must have been extremely distasteful to a monarch so fond of arbitrary power as Charles soon proved himself to be. The Sermon has been several times reprinted. The last occasion seems to have been in a 12mo volume of “Several remarkable and valuable Sermons, Speeches, and Exhortations, at the Renewing and Subscribing the National Covenant and Solemn League,” published in 1741, with a preface by Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling.

James Russel, spoken of in the close of James Nicol’s testimony, troubled the Societies very early in their history. Michael Shields, in his account of the third general meeting held at Tala Linn, Tweeds-muir, June 15, 1682, speaks of him as a man of a hot and fiery spirit. At this meeting he was for suspending Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, because he had accepted the sacrament of baptism to his child from Alexander Peden, and the contention was so hot that the meeting divided, each party taking a different part of the field on which they had met. This divisive spirit Russel kept up. He withdrew from association with Renwick and the great majority of the Societies, and did his utmost to oppose their measures both at home and abroad.

Mr. John Flint was sent out by the Societies to Holland in November 1682, in order to complete his education for the ministry. He went to the University of Groningen. While there, he quarreled with Renwick. He did

all he could to prevent his ordination, in which he failed, and he ever afterwards continued a bitter enemy to him. He was ordained at Lasswade 1688. After two calls he was translated to the New North Church, Edinburgh, Oct. 25, 1709. He was a correspondent of Wodrow, chiefly on the subject of the Abjuration Oath, about which he had scruples. He was evidently a man of some learning. He assisted, when in Holland, in bringing out the Dutch edition of the “Synopsis Criticorum” of Poole. Boston sent him his “Fourfold State” to revise, and his “Essay of the Accentuation of the Hebrew Bible.” Wodrow says, “His book in Latin against Mr. Simson as to the process betwixt him and Mr. Webster, shows his reading and knowledge of the Arminian controversy, and that he was a pious, warm-hearted, useful minister.” He died in his 71st year, January 19, 1730.

It will be noticed that the passages of Scripture quoted are considerably different from the text of the authorized version. They seem to have been quoted from memory. — ED.]

THE TESTIMONY

OF JAMES NICOL,

*Merchant, Burgess of Peebles, who suffered at the Grassmarket
of Edinburgh, August 27, 1684.*

His Interrogations before the Privy Council, August 18.

“First, I was interrogated by two in a room privately, thus:

Question “Were you at Bothwell Bridge?

Answer “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?”

Answer “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.’

Question “How came you to rise in arms against the king?

“Because he has broken the Covenant of the Lord my God.

Question “Was the Prelate’s death murder?

Answer “No, it was not murder.

Question “Was Hackston’s death murder?

Answer “That it was, indeed.

Question “How dare you own the Covenant, seeing the king gave orders to burn it by the hand of the hangman?

Answer “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 to purpose. As for me, I would not do it for the whole earth.

“Then I was interrogated by other two, who asked some frivolous questions which I baffled to silence.

“Then I was brought in before the bloody crew.

“What now, sir,”

said they,

“Do ye own the king’s authority?

Answer “I own all things that the precious Word of God owns in less or more, and all faithful magistrates.

Question “But do you not own King Charles also?

Answer “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.

Question “Know ye to whom ye are speaking?

Answer “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 you degraded yourselves from being princes.

Question “If the king were here, what would you say, sir?

Answer “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 anything, 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.

Question “Will ye not say, God bless the king’s majesty?

Answer “I dare not bless them whom God hath rejected: ‘If any man bring another doctrine than ye have received, bid him not Godspeed, nor receive him into your house,’ 2 John 10; and Psalm 16, near the beginning, says David, ‘Their drink-offerings will I not offer, nor take up their very names in my lips’ (viz., them that hasten after other gods), and therefore I dare not pray for him.

Question “And will ye not pray for him?

Answer “If he belongs to the election of grace, he has a 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.

Question “How old are you, sir?”

Answer “I am fifty-one years.

Question “How dare you own the Covenants, seeing we have burnt them by the hand of the hangman?”

Answer “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 Jeremiah 26:14, 15,

“As for me, I am in your hand; do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you; but know for certain, that if ye put me to death ye shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and on this city and 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.

Question “Do you go to the Church?”

Answer “I went aye to the Church where I could get any faithful minister to go to: but for your Prelates’ kirks, and Baal’s priests, I never heard any of them, nor ever intend to do, if I were to live an hundred years.

“But (said they) ye shall not live long now, sir. How do ye prove by the Scripture what you say against Prelates?”

Answer “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 got memory of; only

this word I said, concerning the tyrant, “He was brought home by Mr. Livingstone and others, and put in 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 the 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 you; and another reason why I dare not own him nor 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.

Question “What say ye the day [*i.e.*, today]? Do you adhere to all ye said yesterday?”

Answer “I adhere to all and hail [*i.e.*, whole] upon all perils whatsoever.

Question “Do ye approve of Bothwell Bridge?”

Answer “Yes, I do.

Question “Do you go to the kirk at Peebles?”

Answer “No, nor never intend to go there, nor no place else which pertains to the perjured Prelates.

Question “Do you own the Covenants?”

Answer “I adhere to every point of them, because they are in short an obligation to the whole sum of Scripture, 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 neighbor as ourselves:’ so it is the whole duty which the Lord requires of me and all men.

Question “And how do you reject the king, seeing the Scripture commands you to obey him?”

Answer “Because the coronation sermon, and the coronation itself do openly declare, that the people make a king, and not the king a people, and that he was received home, and crowned for no other thing nor 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. Guthrie, who was a godly reformer in our land.”

Next I said,

“What thought they of Mr. Douglas, who preached and gave him all his injunctions at Scone?”

“They said to me, He should have been hanged for his pains.

“But I said, God would be about [*i.e.*, deal] with them all for rejecting the Word of the Lord in these directions.

Question “How do ye disown him, seeing the most part both of ministers and professors do pray for him.

Answer “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.

Question “Do ye own Airsmoss, Sanquhar, Rutherglen, and Lanark Declarations?”

Answer “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 all 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 which I had said, and questioned if I would subscribe what I had said. I answered, No.

Question "Can ye write? 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 20th of this instant, and interrogated thus:

Question "What, now, sir, what think ye of yourself the day?

Answer "I praise my God I am the same I was.

Question "What think ye of what ye said yesterday before the Chancellor and the Council?

Answer "I hold all, and decline nothing: No, not one ace.

Question "Were ye at Bothwell Bridge?

Answer "Yes, that I was.

Question "Had ye arms?

Answer "Yes, that I had.

"One of them said, 'God help you,' And I said, 'I wot [*i.e.*, know] not if ye can pray for yourself.' But, said he, 'I wish you better nor [*i.e.*, than] ye 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 give out laws and commandments contrary to His.

Question “How dare ye rise in arms against the king?”

Answer “It is better to obey God than man, and he is an enemy to God.

Question “Would ye rise yet in arms for the Covenants against the king’s laws, if ye had the occasion?”

Answer “Yes, that I would, say the contrary who will, upon all peril.

Question “What think ye of yourself in spoiling the country of horse and arms, sir?”

Answer “Sir, I had not the worth of a spur whang [*i.e.*, thong or strap] of any man’s, but was mounted of horse and arms of my own.

Question “Where have ye been all this time?”

Answer “Sometimes here and there, in England and Scotland.

Question “Whom have ye conversed with?”

Answer “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.

Answer “I have been a merchant from my youth.

Question “But where had ye your chamber in this town?”

Answer “I had none these several years.

Question “Where quarter ye in this town?”

Answer “I have not been much in it these seven or eight years.

Question “But where were ye the night and the last night before the execution?”

Answer “I was not in town; I came but in at the port [*i.e.*, gate] just when the first was east 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 hope to do, for it was aye 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.

Question “Will ye subscribe what ye have said?”

Answer “No, no.

Question “Can ye write, sir?”

Answer “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 ye have a minister?”

Answer “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 the 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 labored 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 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 [*i.e.*, deliverance] 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:

1. 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, though 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.

2. He rejoices in his lot of suffering, thus, “Oh! 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.'

3. 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, honor, and crown, to hold fast till the Lord come, which he hoped would be quickly, to himself, and also to the land.

4. 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, to 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.

5. He charges them all to beware of wronging themselves by reproaching him anent the manner of his being apprehended, showing what a hand of divine Providence there was in it, and blessing God for it, and for the sweet peace he had in suffering.

6. 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.

7. 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 formal 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 composing [*i.e.*, compounding or settling] and conforming either with a perjured tyrannical crew of statesmen, or with base, vile, filthy Prelatists, their blind guides, and Baal's priests; against backslidden 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.

8. 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, wherein he demonstrates Scotland, England, and Ireland to have been eminently guilty; interposing withal sweet and ravishing considerations of God's love to him, and to 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, weakly 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 [*i.e.*, than] 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 [*i.e.*, feeble] James Nicol say more!”

resuming again the consideration of God's wrath against the land, to stir up all ranks to repentance.

After he has concluded his speech with the usual formality of bidding farewell to all 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 postscript:

“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 testimony against J[ames] R[ussel] and Mr. J[ohn] F[lint], because J[ames] R[ussel],

and these in fellowship with him, have separated themselves from the persecuted suffering remnant of the Church of Scotland, and Mr. J[ohn] F[lint] 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 Savior, 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 witness and testimony against Mr. J[ohn] F[lint] and J[ames] R[ussel], and all that adhere to them.”

JOHN DICK

JOHN DICK was the son of David Dick, writer in Edinburgh. He took his degree at the University, and was studying Divinity. In his examination, he says he was not at Pentland, but being discovered to have friends who knew James Mitchell, who shot at Archbishop Sharp, July 11, 1668, he found it advisable for a time to leave Scotland. He was not at Drumclog, but was present in arms at Bothwell Bridge.

He was seized at Edinburgh at the information of a poor woman, bribed to tell where he was, and who after his execution lost her reason. He was examined August 29, 1683, and again on the 31st, before the committee of public affairs.

He was tried, September 4, before the Lords of Justiciary, and condemned to be hanged at the Grassmarket on the 26th. On September 16, he, with twenty-four others, made his escape from the Canongate Tolbooth, as is narrated in the following note upon Thomas Harkness. The days that immediately followed he seems to have employed in writing his testimony, for its forty-ninth page is dated October 1, 1683.

He was again apprehended on the beginning of March 1684, and on the fourth day of the month was brought before the Lords of Justiciary, and was handed over to the magistrates to be hanged in the Grassmarket next day, between two and four in the afternoon.

Wodrow gives the following letter, written to his father on the morning that he suffered. It says much for his faith and hope:

“DEAR SIR, — This hath been one of the pleasantest nights I have had in my lifetime. The competition is only betwixt it and that I got eleven years ago at Nesbit in Northumberland, where and when, in a barley ridge upon the Saturday’s night and Sabbath morning before the last communion I did partake of in Ford Church, the Lord firmly laid the foundation-stone of grace in my heart, by making me with my whole soul close with Him upon His own terms, that is, to take Him to be my King, Priest, and Prophet, yea, to be my all in all; to renounce my own righteousness, which at

best is but rotten rags, and to rest upon His righteousness alone for salvation; as also, to give myself entirely, without reserve, in soul, body, heart, affections, and the whole faculties of my soul and powers of my body, to be by Him disposed at His pleasure for the advancement of His glory, and the upbuilding of my own soul, and the souls of others; inserting this clause (being conscious to myself of great infirmity) that the fountain of free grace and love should stand open for me so long, and so oft as my case should call for it.

“This my transaction with my whole soul, without the least ground of suspicion of the want of sincerity, which I found had been amissing in endeavors of that nature formerly, now my blessed Lord helped me to, or rather made in me, and solemnized that night and morning ere I came off that ridge.

“I confirmed it no less than ten or twelve times, and the oftener I reiterated, the gale continued so fresh and vigorous, that I was forced to cry, Hold, Lord, for the sherd is like to burst: so that I hope my dearest Lord is now a-coming, and that the hands of Zerubbabel, who hath laid this foundation, is now about to finish it j and, indeed, He is building very fast, for which my soul blesseth Him, desiring you may join with me in so necessary a work.

“I hope, ere long, the copestone shall be put on, the result of all which shall be praises and shouting to Him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb throughout all the ages of eternity, of long-lasting eternity.

“This, with my earnest prayers while in the body, that the Lord would help you to mind His glory, and your own soul’s eternal welfare, is all the legacy you can expect from him who is both,

“Your affectionate son and Christ’s prisoner,

“JOHN DICK.

“P.S. — I hope, ere I come home, to get another sight of you. Let none see this till I be in my grave. The Lord gave me to you freely, so I entreat you, be frank in giving me to Him again, and the more free this be, the less cause you shall have to repent?

The last words he uttered upon the scaffold, as reported in the close of his Testimony, have the same confidence in the Redeemer:

“And now I know, yea, I am firmly persuaded, that my dear Lord, even my exalted and glorified Lord Jesus Christ, will carry me safely through this dark valley and shadow of death, and will receive my soul immediately after I go off this ladder unto glory, where I shall be ever with Him.

Then he said again, crying with a loud voice:

“Now when I can hardly get speaking for the rope about my neck, farewell all friends and followers of Christ; and again I say, farewell and adieu all earthly enjoyments.”

And so, having given the hangman a sign when he would be ready, he prayed a little within himself, and when he had done, he gave the sign, and at the giving thereof, he drew the napkin over his face and cried out,

“Farewell all friends in Christ, and into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my soul.”

So he was turned over. And so ended the life of this faithful and now glorified martyr for Christ. And to God the Father, Son, and Blessed Spirit, be eternal praise and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The testimony of John Dick is a quarto of fifty-eight closely-printed pages. It is without a date. It is simply said to have been “printed in the year ____.” It bears to have been left to a particular friend to communicate to the world after his death, but which was never published “till now, at the desire of some real and sincere lovers of the true peace and welfare of the Church of Scotland.” — ED.]

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 defenses 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 of 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 reflections and limitations with which he. declared his owning it, were such as did noways 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.

THOMAS HARKNESS, ANDREW CLARK, SAMUEL M'EWEN

THOMAS HARKNESS of Locherben, a wild retreat among the hills in the parish of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, had been attached to the persecuted Presbyterians from his youth. To escape persecution he and his brother James found it prudent to take refuge in Ireland. Here, however, they did not long remain, but returned again to Scotland to their native district, where their enemies soon came to know them, and gave (says Dr. Simpson in his "Gleanings among the Mountains") James, the name of "Harkness with the long gun," and Thomas, "Harkness with the white hose." So much was James esteemed, that Claverhouse repeatedly attempted, by means of his emissaries, to gain him over to the royal forces, by the promise of a captaincy, but he remained steadfast. At last he and a number of his friends were, sometime in 1683, surprised by a party of dragoons and carried to Edinburgh. Here they were imprisoned in the Canongate Tolbooth, but on the 16th of September, they and others, twenty-five in all, made their escape. The window of their prison was cross-barred with iron; one bar was cut, but the space was not large enough, and other three had to be removed. This took them a long time and much labor, while they were constantly expecting to be discovered; but, although a sentry paced on the street below (they were on the third story), the noise of the sawing was never heard. About nine o'clock at night, when the first bar had just been cut, it slipped out of the cutter's hand, and fell on the street. They thought all was now over, but the bar lay on the street all night, till a friend coming past in the morning picked it up, and contrived to get it sent to them. When their preparations were completed, a beam in the floor above them was cut, and its inmates got down. As they were coming out from the window, two friends overpowered the sentinel, and threatened him with death if he spoke. All escaped, and though some of them were strangers to Edinburgh, they got safe away, and not one of them, with the exception of John Dick, was ever again caught. Dr. Simpson tells of a visit which James Harkness and his companions made, as they were going homewards, at Biggar, upon the leader of the party who had taken them to Edinburgh; how they made him prisoner; and how, by giving him his life when in their

hands, he was won over to their side, and altogether left the ranks of the persecutor. He tells also of a successful disguise that James Harkness assumed when a body of soldiers came to his house under the forced guidance of a neighboring proprietor. They took him for the servant rather than the master, and the mistake was not discovered until he was out of their reach. It was he who planned the successful rescue at Enterkin Pass in the close of July or the beginning of August 1684, so graphically told by Defoe in his "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland." He lived to survive the Revolution.

There is no reason to believe that, deeply concerned as James Harkness was in the rescue at Enterkin, his brother Thomas had any share in it at all. Some days after Claverhouse and a company of soldiers were searching the neighborhood, and when in the parish of Closeburn or Dalgermo, they came upon Thomas Harkness, Andrew Clark, Samuel M'Ewen, and Thomas Wood. It is said they were sleeping, and when roused up by the soldiers they were for running away, when they were pursued, shot at, and wounded. Their wounds the soldiers would not allow to be washed nor dressed. A poor woman, who came and offered her aid to dress them, the soldiers seized and carried prisoner part of the way. They were taken first to Lanark and then to Edinburgh. On the way, they came to a narrow pass where Claverhouse feared he might be attacked, and he ordered the soldiers, as soon as any one appeared in sight, to kill the prisoners, although they had confessed nothing, and nothing had been proved against them.

When brought before the Council, three of the soldiers affirmed that the prisoners were at Enterkin, and that there they had received their wounds. But both of these charges they constantly denied. Thomas Wood was reserved till a later occasion, but his three associates were taken from the Council to the Court of Justiciary that very day. They were charged with high treason, "in as far as in this month of August they had engaged with a party of the king's soldiers; that they did not own the king's authority, or denied it; that they refused to call Bothwell rebellion; that they had conversed with persons put to the horn; and that they had conversed one of them with another, being rebels." Three soldiers affirmed they had snapped guns at them. This was all the evidence brought against them. Nevertheless, the assize found them guilty of being in arms, and that one of them presented a gun to the king's forces, that they had ball upon them,

that they had conversed with rebels, denied authority, and fled from his majesty's forces; and they were sentenced to be hanged at the Grass-market. The sentence was carried into effect with the greatest haste, for they were examined before the Council, tried, and executed all in the same day.

Patrick Walker says, Thomas Harkness was Within thirty years of age, Andrew Clark nineteen, and Samuel M'Ewen seventeen. Andrew Clark was a smith in Leadhills, brother to Adam Clark of Glenim, a Covenanter too, whose escapes from his enemies Dr. Simpson has chronicled. Of Samuel M'Ewen nothing seems to be known further than he himself tells in his letter. Both the joint testimony and the letter are short, but they are remarkable for their cheerful, pious spirit, and for the fearlessness with which death is looked forward to. They were added in the third edition. In the first edition, the compilers say, that owing to the persecutors' cruelty, leave may not have been got to write any testimony, or, if written, it has not come into their hands.

Wodrow gives the 5th of August, as the date of their execution, which he says is the date of the registers, but other papers make it the 15th, the date of the "Cloud," and also that of Patrick Walker.

It will be noticed, that the chronological arrangement, characteristic of the volume, from the Testimony of David Hackston to that of John Nisbet, which has been slightly departed from in the Testimony beginning with John Wilson, is again resumed. — ED.]

UPON the 15th of August 1684, Thomas Harkness in Locherben, Andrew Clark in Leadhills in Crawford parish, Samuel M'Ewen in Glencairn parish, Thomas Wood in Kirkmichael, were all indicted of the crimes of treason and rebellion, for being at the rescue of their dear brethren at Enterkin, for refusing to own the king's authority, as the same was established by the laws, in regard he had usurped Christ's prerogative, and broken the Covenant, and for not praying for him in the terms prescribed by the Council, for their maintaining the lawfulness of defensive arms, and finally for adhering to the covenanted work of Reformation against the king's laws, — as their indictment bears at large.

THE JOINT TESTIMONY

OF THOMAS HARKNESS

In Locherben, ANDREW CLARK in Leadhills, in Crawford parish, and SAMUEL M'EWEN 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 hath 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 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 life 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. And welcome heaven and Christ, and the cross for Christ's sake.

“THOMAS HARKNESS.

“ANDREW CLARK.

“SAMUEL M'EWEN.”

A LETTER

FROM SAMUEL M'EWEN

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 honored me, a poor country lad, having neither father nor mother alive, 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 Covenant, 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 to hate all that He hates with a perfect hatred. I 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 that ever I saw with mine eyes.

“Farewell all earthly enjoyments and friends in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ. And farewell Glencairn, my native parish. Welcome, my sweet Savior; into Thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou art He, O Jehovah, God of truth, who hast redeemed me.

“SAMUEL M'EWEN.”

JAMES LAWSON AND ALEXANDER WOOD

OF JAMES LAWSON and ALEXANDER WOOD nothing seems now known. They are not mentioned by Wodrow. Their names are on the monument at the Monkland Canal, Castle Street, Glasgow. Their testimony is of more than usual directness, simplicity, and even beauty. — ED.]

THE JOINT-TESTIMONY

*Of JAMES LAWSON and ALEXANDER WOOD, who suffered at
Glasgow, October 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 Testaments, 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 defense of the Gospel and self-defense, viz., Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge; and to 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 show you what we disown —

“First, 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 these faithful practices and preaching of these two worthies, who sealed the truth with their blood, viz., Mr. Donald Cargill 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 to 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, and coming out of prison upon bond and caution. Ye will find the unlawfulness of it in John 8:34,

‘Verily, verily, I say unto you,
Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.’

And in Romans 6:20:

‘For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.’

And 2 Peter 2:19:

‘While they promise them liberty, they 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 paying of militia money, or any other thing which may strengthen the hands of these 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 scar [*i.e.*, take fright] at it, because of suffering; for 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 had destroyed ourselves by original sin and corrupt nature; but now He hath redeemed us, and plucked us 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 reckless [*i.e.*, feeble] 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 could 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 [*i.e.*, expend] your love on Him, and credit Him, and labor 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 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,*

“**JAMES LAWSON.**

“**ALEXANDER WOOD.**”

GEORGE JACKSON

GEORGE JACKSON belonged to Eastwood parish, in the neighborhood of Glasgow. He was at Bothwell Bridge, and carried a halbert-staff, but he was then only in his sixteenth year. Sometime in 1683, says Wodrow, this fervent, zealous countryman was taken at Glasgow, being overheard praying in a house. Soon after his apprehension, he was examined, as related in the interrogations that follow, by Ross, Archbishop of Glasgow. After examination, he was sent back to prison, where he lay all winter in irons, and without fire.

In the month of May 1684, he was taken to Edinburgh, where he was examined before a committee of Council, as he again relates in his interrogations. For seven more months he lay in prison, until, December 8, he was tried before the Court of Justiciary. Along with him were indicted James Graham, whose testimony follows, Thomas Wood (who was taken along with Thomas Harkness), Thomas Robertson, and six others.

Their indictment specially charged them with emitting the Declaration which the Societies had issued the preceding month. Of this declaration, George Jackson could truly say he knew nothing, for he had been in prison on December 9. The Lords of Justiciary found the libel relevant, that the accused own, or refuse to disown, the traitorous proclamation. The six tried with George Jackson and his three fellow sufferers disowned the proclamation, and the charge was deserted against them. The jury found George Jackson and his three companions guilty, and they were sentenced to be hanged that day at the Gallowlee, between two and five of the afternoon. Wodrow says, that Jackson died in much comfort and serenity. —ED.]

THE INTERROGATIONS

OF GEORGE JACKSON,

Tenant to [Sir George Maxwell of Nether] Pollock, who was apprehended at Glasgow, and suffered at the Gallowlee, December 9th, 1684.

At Glasgow, after he was taken, and had been asked some few questions by them who apprehended him, he was brought before the Archbishop of Glasgow, who interrogated him thus:

Question “What now, Mr. Jackson?”

Answer “I was never a scholar.”

Question “Can you read the Bible?”

Answer “Yes.”

Question “Were ye at Bothwell Bridge?”

Answer “Yes.”

Question “What arms had ye?”

Answer “A halbert-staff.”

Question “Were ye an officer?”

Answer “No. I was but sixteen years of age.”

Question “Who was your captain?”

Answer “A young man.”

Question “How called they him?”

Answer “I am not bound to give an account to you.”

Question “Were you at Bothwell rebellion, or not?”

Answer “I allow myself in no rebellion against God.”

Question “Whether was it rebellion against the king, or not?”

Answer “I have answered that question already.”

Question “Would ye go to it again?”

Answer “The question is like yourself; I know not.”

Question “Will ye say, God save the king?”

Answer “It is not in my power to save or condemn.”

Question “Will ye pray for him?”

Answer “I will pray for all within the election of free grace.”

Question “Whether is the king within the election, or not?”

Answer “If you were the man you profess to be, you would not ask question at me; it belongs only to God.”

Question “Do you own the authority as it is now established?”

Answer “No; but I own all authority, so far as it is according to the written Word of God.”

Question “Do you own the king and inferior magistrates?”

Answer “In so far as they are a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.”

Question “Are they not that?”

Answer “When the Lord Jesus Christ shall sit judge, they and ye, and the like of you, will count for it, whether ye be or not?”

Question “Is the Bishop’s death murder or not?”

Answer “If your questions be upon those matters that I am not concerned with, I will keep silence.”

Then the Archbishop 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 Archbishop, enraged, said,

“Sir, the Boots will 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.”

Question “Will ye subscribe what ye have said?”

Answer “No.”

Question “Wherefore will ye not?”

Answer “Because it’s 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 [*i.e.*, uncovered], in came one Bonsay, their commander, and said,

“Prepare you for a bare horseback tomorrow, 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.”

Tomorrow when they were set on horseback, 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’s see where that 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 the 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, not to judge; and after a while’s silence, when he demanded who were his accusers, the Advocate replied, “I am your accuser,” and interrogated him thus —

Question “Were ye at Bothwell?”

Answer “I have answered that in my first examination.”

Question “But,” said the Advocate, “you must answer it now.”

Answer “It being criminal by your law, you must prove it.”

Question “Do you hold these that were there as rebels?”

Answer “I allow myself to be among no rebels; but whom call you rebels?”

The Advocate said,

“These that are rebels to the king.”

George answered,

“If they be not rebels to God, the matter is the less.”

Question “Do you approve of them?”

Answer “Yes, in as far as they were for Christ and His cause.”

Question “Do ye allow yourself to rise in arms against the king?”

Answer “No.”

Question “Wherefore then did ye rise in arms?”

Answer “I have warrant in the Word of God to rise in arms in defense 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.”

Question “What! are you engaged to be against your king?”

Answer “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.”

Question “Do you own the present authority?”

Answer “I own no unlawful authority.”

Question “Will you take the Bond of Regulation, and ye shall win your way [*i.e.*, get free].

Answer “I will have nothing to do with you or your bonds either.”

Being desired to subscribe what they had written 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.”

Question “But do you approve of that paper?”

Answer “As far as it owns truth.”

Question “Knew ye of it before?”

Answer “I knew not of it this morning when I arose, no more than the child unborn.”

Question “Who set it out?”

Answer “You have it there; perhaps it has been yourselves for aught I know.”

Question “Were you never in these meetings called Societies or General Correspondences?”

Answer “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.”

Question “Would ye think it lawful to kill the soldiers if they were going to take you?”

Answer “Yes, in self-defense.”

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 in 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

prospect 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 evidence 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 defense of the Gospel and covenanted work of Reformation, and refusing to call the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews murder, and not being free to pay cess to the king, etc. But whether he left any testimony or not, it has not come to the hand of the publishers.

[Wodrow tells still less of William Keagow. He says, "There were some persons put to death towards the close of this year, of whom I have not distinct accounts. However, any hints I have of them I give. William Keagow was executed upon the same points with the others above named, in December." — ED.]

JOHN WATT AND JOHN SEMPLE

OF JOHN WATT little else is certainly known than that he was of the parish of Kilbride, and the brief notice given of him in the records of the Court of Justiciary. Wodrow mentions a John Watt in Kilbride, who, in the harvest of 1683 was heavily fined for nonconformity, but he does not say it was the same person, and the name is a common one in the parish.

John Semple was of Craighorn, a farm about a mile to the north of the village of Westquarter, in the parish of Glassford, Lanarkshire. He was taken in November 1684. The council registers for November 13th charge him with being a contriver of the Societies' Declaration or affixing it to the church door. He refused to give an oath disowning the paper, and they ordained him to be tried by torture in the Thumbscrew, Boots, or both, until he be brought to a clear confession. The notice closes in words which show how little the government of those times thought of the suffering they caused to others. In a dry matter-of-fact style it is recorded: "And the said John being called in, and interrogate in the Thumbscrew, and having refused to declare, and at length turned faint, he was remanded to prison till tomorrow at ten of the clock, at which time he is again to be tried by torture." In the following letter he gives a touching account of the torture they subjected him to.

Next day, as they had ordered, he was tortured in the Boots. From the Boots he was taken to the Court of Justiciary for trial. John Watt and a Gabriel Thomson, of whom nothing is now known, were tried with him. They were charged with high treason, as art and part in the paper, the Societies' Declaration lately posted upon the church-doors. The evidence brought against them was, that John Semple would not disown the Declaration, that Gabriel Thomson and John Watt refused to answer or disown the paper. All three were found guilty and sentenced to be taken to the Gallowlee that day, November 14th, 1684, and hanged "betwixt three and five of the clock in the afternoon."

At the execution, says Wodrow, the soldiers were barbarous, and allowed the poor men scarce any time to pray. The people who looked on were surrounded by the soldiers, and had interrogatories and queries put to them, which, when they refused to answer upon oath, ten or twelve were made prisoners, and carried from the scaffold to the Tolbooth.

Crookshanks adds, because three coffins were seen to be carried down the street to receive their bodies, the Council ordered Sir William Paterson to inquire by whom they were made.

Among these spectators was Janet Fimerton, a pious woman already mentioned in the notice of Walter Smith. She had been in waiting to render the last services to the bodies of the three martyrs. Patrick Walker, in his "Life and Death of Mr. Walter Smith," speaks of her in connection with the letter which Walter Smith wrote to her, and which he gives; and her name, as one who waited to dress the bodies of John Scruple and his fellow-sufferers, leads him, in a highly characteristic passage, to tell of her, and of the last hours of John Semple and John Watt. One or two of its details, as is occasionally the case with Patrick Walker, are not quite accurate; he calls John Semple, Robert, gives him the adjoining parish of Stonehouse, instead of Glassford, and mistakes the hours between which Thomas Harkness, Andrew Clark, and Samuel M'Ewen were sentenced and executed; but, as a whole, it is vivid in a high degree, and burns with a hatred of wrong-doing, in striking contrast with the extract from the Council register respecting John Semple:

"This Christian, Janet Fimerton, was not only my acquaintance but fellow-prisoner, both in Edinburgh, and Dunnottar Castle. She was about fifty years of age, never married. She spent much of her time in visiting prisoners and sufferers, doing good to them and for them, especially on the murdering bloody days of their deaths, going amongst friends, getting coffins and winding-sheets, and managing of their headless and handless bloody corpses, many of them being hashed and hagged off.

"Accordingly, Robert [John] Semple, my acquaintance, who was born and lived in that suffering family of Craighorn, in the parish of Stonehouse [Glassford], in Clydesdale, whose father was killed at Pentland Hills; and, among many other pieces of great sufferings,

his mother and sister, Jean, were prisoners in Dunnottar. He was taken in November 1684, the two slaughter years of killing-time being begun in the fifteenth day of August before, when Thomas Harkness, within thirty years of age, Andrew Clark, nineteen years, Samuel M'Ewen, seventeen, without any indictment, got sentence of death passed upon them at twelve o'clock, and executed at three [Wodrow — sentenced at one, and executed at five], in the Grassmarket. But a more full account of them afterward, if the Lord will, being in the Canongate Ironhouse with them the three days that they were in Edinburgh. [This purpose Patrick Walker did not live to execute.]

“The said Robert [John] Semple was brought to Hamilton. Duke William examined him, charging him with being a troubler of the country, to which he answered, that he could give no suitabler answer than what Elijah gave to Ahab, that he and his father's house had been the troublers of our Israel.

“The Duke thought upon this after. Possibly this answer brought him in mind of what active hand he had in that persecution, and what trouble his father-in-law bred in our Israel in the year 1648, for which he lost his head in England. He sent for the dean of that place, and inquired at him where he would find that place of Scripture. The baptized brute could not tell him, at which he was offended, and said, ‘What a base, naughty set of people are all of you, for all the encouragement you have! If I had inquired at the country fellow, his answer would have been ready.’

“After this, Robert [John] Semple, with Gabriel Semple [perhaps a misprint of Patrick Walkers for Gabriel Thomson], aged eighteen years, who escaped out of the Canongate Ironhouse, upon the 19th day of August before, to which I was witness, and John Watt, were quickly sent to Edinburgh, and carried straight before the Council. After examination, about eleven of the clock, Robert [John] Semple was squeezed in the Thumbkins, to the frightful crushing of the bones of his thumbs. He lay in that tormenting torture above five hours, which length of time exceeded all of the many that they had tormented in these hellish engines of Boots and Thumbkins. After

four o'clock they convened, and passed doom upon all the three, without any indictment. Then they sent them down to the Gallowlee, when it was dark, and suddenly executed them.

“After the bloody rope was about John Watt’s neck, having no more need of the Bible, he threw it down, saying, ‘Give that to my brother.’ A woman, yet alive, my near neighbor, kept it in her hands. One of the town-officers threw it from her, and gave it to cursed Peter Graham, captain of the Town-guard, that son of Belial. He cried, ‘Where is the woman that owns this Bible?’ Janet Fimerton said, ‘I own it, to give it to his brother’ Graham said, ‘Secure her.’

“At the same time he enclosed many people, and all, who would not swear that these men justly deserved to die, were made prisoners — which many women refused. He marched quickly with these to the Town Tolbooth, and left the hangman to cut them [*i.e.*, John Semple and his companions] down, and the Town-officers to be his guard. When cut down, he was going to strip them of their clothes [but], the Collegioners [*i.e.*, the students at the College] sent him and the Town-officers off in great haste. About twelve friendly women, waiting on to see the end, gathered about them, who had coffins and linen to order their corpses; but, being very dark, they laid them in their coffins with their clothes, and rolled their plaids for handspikes; came up Leith Wynd, and down St Mary’s Wynd, and up the Cowgate to the Greyfriars’ gate (about a mile). The Town-guard got orders to take the corpses from them. The noise rose; they let the corpses fall, and fled for their lives. The Town-guard kept guard upon them all night, and the next morning trailed them down on sleds and buried them at the gallows’ foot.

“The said Janet, and most of these women, were taken that night, and kept in prison until the 18th day of May, 1685, when they, with many others, both men and women, were gathered from several prisons through the land, and sent to Dunnottar Castle, sixty-eight miles from Edinburgh, where they lay in great distress, until the 18th day of August next; then brought back to Leith, and

sentence of banishment passed upon a hundred of them to New Jersey (whereof twenty-four were women), without any libel, whereof the said Janet was one.

“As soon as they went a shipboard, she said ‘Farewell, bloody, sinful Scotland, I will never come back to thee again; the sea-billows will be my winding sheet. The purchased and promised blessings of the Lord and mine be multiplied upon the poor suffering remnant, the excellent ones in whom I have had all my delight and pleasures on earth.’ Which came to pass, that she and many others died by the way. Pitlochrie, a professing laird in Fife, got a gift of them from the bloody Council, to carry them there to be his slaves; but, behold, he and his whole family, except his eldest daughter, died by the way.”

The letter of John Scruple is not in the original edition. It appeared first in the fourth edition. The letter is addressed to his mother and sister then in prison. According to the above extract from Patrick Walker, this prison was Dunnottar. — ED.]

UPON the 14th day of November, 1684, suffered John Watt in the parish of Kilbride, and John Semple, in the parish of Glassford; 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 eleventh section of the 119 Psalm, particularly these words in the eighty-fourth verse:

*“How many are thy servant’s 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 Craighorn, 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 I was brought to the Tolbooth of Canongate, and we were put into the irons, and the shackles put upon our arms, and tomorrow [*i.e.*, next day], about eleven o’clock, I was brought before the Council, and they showed 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, 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. I answered, I will not have it, neither will I be judge of papers.

Question “‘Own ye the king’s authority, as it is now established?’

Answer “‘I own all authority, as it is agreeable to the Word of God.’

Question “‘ Will ye own this paper or not?’

Answer “‘What know I what is in that paper?’

“Then they said, ‘To be short with you, own ye the Covenants and Presbyterian principles?’

Answer “‘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.’

Answer “‘I am not bound to wrong my neighbors, 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 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 to 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 aback, and made me sit with my back to the bar, and threw on the Thumbkins upon my thumbs, until I fell into a sound [*i.e.*, swoon]; and when I overcame again [*i.e.*, recovered], 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 Ironhouse.

“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 nor bad, but got it borne, until I fell into a sound [*i.e.*, swoon]. All their countenances dashed [*i.e.*, disturbed] me nothing; for I did not fear their faces, nor the faces of hundreds, who were gazing upon me, from about eleven o’clock till seven o’clock in the afternoon. And I thought that this 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 tomorrow 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 today?’ I said, ‘As I was.’

Question “‘What is the reason that ye will not tell the truth to the Chancellor; for it is a sin not to do it?’

Answer “‘Doeg told the truth when he told Saul, that he saw David come to Ahimelech, and that Ahimelech gave him bread, and did enquire of God for him, and yet the Scripture calls it lying (Psalm 52:3). 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, 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 Ironhouse, 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 Caesar. 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 are 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 weakness lest I wrong the truth.

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

“JOHN SEMPLE.”

JAMES GRAHAM

JAMES GRAHAM was a tailor in the parish of Crossmichael, Kirkcudbrightshire. He was returning to his mother's house, after a day's labor, when he was overtaken by Claverhouse and a party of soldiers. They did not know him, and had nothing to lay to his charge, but they searched him. They found a Bible in his pocket. The Bible they took from him, and without any more questions they carried him prisoner to Kirkcudbright. Thence they took him to Wigtown and then to Dumfries, where he was some time in irons, because he would not answer their questions. He was shortly afterwards taken to Edinburgh, where he was questioned upon the Societies' Declaration. He was tried, condemned, and suffered with George Jackson. Wodrow says he died most comfortably. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF JAMES GRAHAM,

Tailor in Crossmichael, in the Stewartry of Galloway, who suffered at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, December 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 could willingly lay them down for Him. For it is all too little I can do for Him. Oh! 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, nor a thief, nor as an evil doer, nor as a busybody 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 what I am indicted for, I shall likewise give an hint of what I adhere to.

“1. I adhere to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and to the whole work of Reformation, as it was once established in our land, although now, alas! defaced and denied by the most part of this generation.

“2. To the Covenants, National and Solemn League, to which we are sworn, with hands uplifted to the most high God, and bound to maintain.

“3. To the Sum of Saving Knowledge, the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties.

“4. To the preached Gospel, as it was faithfully preached in our land, by the sent messengers of Jesus Christ, especially by Messrs. J. Kd. [*i.e.*, John Kid], J. K. [*i.e.*, John King], D.C. [*i.e.*, Donald Cargill], and R. Cn. [*i.e.*, 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.

“5. To Mr. James Renwick, as a faithful sent servant of Jesus Christ, who has lifted up the standard where Messrs. Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron left it, who sealed the cause with their blood.

“6. To all the appearances in arms in defense of the Gospel and our sworn Covenants, and the whole work of Reformation.

“7. To the Excommunication at the Torwood, by Mr. Donald Cargill.

“8. To the Sanquhar Declaration, as a thing most agreeable to the Word.

“9. To the Declaration at Rutherglen.

“10. To the paper that was taken off worthy Henry Hall at the Queensferry.

“11. To the burning of that hell-hatched thing called the Test, at Lanark.

“12. To the fellowships of the Lord’s people, for reading, singing, and praying; according to the Scripture in Malachi 3:16 and Hebrews 10:25, and several other Scriptures which warrant this.

“13. To all the Testimonies of the faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, from the appearance in arms at Pentland Hills to this day.

“14. 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.

“1. I leave my testimony against all breach of Covenant, which is a sin that hath overspread the whole land.

“2. Against the acceptors 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.

“3. Against the hearers of curates, because they have broken our sworn Covenants and work of Reformation.

“4. Against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all heresy, and whatsoever is contrary to the Word of God.

“5. Against paying of the cess and locality, and against paying of fines, because it is bearing up of these soul-murderers, and an acknowledgment that we have done a fault in following our duty.

“6. 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.

“**7.** Against that perjured and abominable thing called the Test and the Oath of Allegiance, which is an oath against our Covenant.

“**8.** Against Gib and his followers, and all their pernicious ways.

“**9.** 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.**”

ROBERT POLLOCK

ROBERT POLLOCK was a shoemaker in East Kilbride. He was apprehended in Glasgow in October 1583, and was sent into Edinburgh. He was examined before the Council in the manner usual at that period. He was tried before the Justiciary Court, January 19, 1585. The evidence brought against him was that he had not disowned the Societies' Declaration when before the Council. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged at the Gallowlee upon Wednesday, January 23d. He died in great peace, and full views of his right to eternal happiness. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF ROBERT POLLOCK,

Cordiner [i.e., shoemaker] 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 anything 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,

‘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 flame kindle upon thee’ (Isaiah 43:2).

This promise, I can say upon good ground, has been made out to me. And I can say with the spouse in the 2d of the Song, verse 6,

‘His left hand is under my head, and His right hand doth embrace me.’ ‘A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me’ (Song of Solomon 1:13).

“And now I cannot study to save my life without prejudice to His glory and vindicating of evil-doers. For I desire to fear and serve Him, and also to confess Him that hath said in His Word,

‘Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, Him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven’ (Matthew 10:32, 33).

And He has said,

‘No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God’ (Luke 9:62).

And also He hath said,

‘If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him’
(Hebrews 10:38);

‘but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved’
(Matthew 24:13).

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 anything 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 I as a dying man, 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 defense 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 had I 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 shackles on my hands, I cannot write myself, but I do subscribe myself, and whether any think it fight 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 to me is sufficient ground to lay clown my life for; and the main thing is authority, that now is cried up, and Charles Stuart to be supreme: if any will 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 delightful to a weary soul; nor is there any comfort like unto Him, 'His yoke is easy, and His burden is light.' Yea, he has been so kind to me, that I have not gone one hair's-breadth on mine own charges; He spares not expenses; He gives enough to all them that are about His work, for aye 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 [*i.e.*, hesitate to spend] anything upon His servants.

"And now, I as a dying man, entreat 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 aye 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 [*i.e.*, way] of God's wrath, for there are many in Scotland that will not know where to flee from His wrath pursuing them, yea, even many that are not much concerned with these things now. And therefore I say, flee 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. Oh! 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 women not being buried.

"I shall say no more, but study to flee out of the way of God's wrath; only flee 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 anything 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 which 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 honored me with suffering for Him; for many times my soul has been refreshed, when I saw anything 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.”

ROBERT MILLER

ROBERT MILLER, mason, Rutherglen, was tried along with Robert Pollock, January 19, 1685. He was found guilty, and suffered along with him, January 23, 1685, at the Gallowlee, between Edinburgh and Leith. He died in much serenity and inward consolation. His testimony was first given in full in the fourth edition of 1741. In the first edition, after Robert Pollock's testimony, there is added — "Together with him suffered Robert Miller, mason, in Rutherglen, sentenced for, and adhering to the same truths. In his testimony he blesses God for His providential care of him from his infancy, for His engaging his heart wonderfully to Himself, for His honoring him to tread the footsteps of his lovely Lord in suffering for His name. He declares his fears of the growth and prevalency of Popery, and of God's approaching wrath against the land; exhorts to keep up Christian fellowships; forgives his enemies the injuries done to his person; encourages his suffering brethren to venture on the cross of Christ, enforcing it with his own experience of God's love and supporting consolations sweetening the cross to him." — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF ROBERT MILLER,

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 [eight and nine] 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 grounds 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 Covenants 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 anything 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, aye, 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 thought I followed my duty, with many failings; yet He never suffered me, to go, but still kept me with a loving respect to Him, and His persecuted truths, and aye when I was like to be snared with strong temptations from Satan, the world, and my own wicked heart, then He brake 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 to work together for my good.

“Oh! 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 I but aye, 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,

‘When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up’ (Psalm 27:10).

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. Oh! what an honor is it, to tread the same steps that my loving Lord hath trod before me! Oh! now He is become altogether lovely, and the chief among ten thousand; I can now say from my experience, that my Beloved is mine, and I am His.

“**1.** 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.

“**2.** I heartily adhere to the holy and sacred Word of God, with which my soul many a time hath been refreshed.

“3. And also to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

“4. And also to the National and Solemn League and Covenants.

“5. And also to that glorious work of Reformation, as it was reformed from Popery and Prelacy, and all other errors.

“6. 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.

“7. And likewise I leave my testimony to these worthy men’s doctrine, viz., Mr. Donald Cargill and the rest who jeopardized 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.

“8. 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 are so few to own it. And I desire to bless the Lord that ever I heard them preach.

“9. And likewise I leave my testimony to the Excommunication at the Torwood, passed by Donald Cargill against these enemies of God.

“10. And likewise I leave my testimony to all protestations and declarations given by the Lord’s people, against His enemies.

“11. And also, to the making use of defensive arms.

“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.

“2. 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.

“3. 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 manner of fact against me, either worthy of death or of 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.

“4. And likewise I leave my testimony against that wicked thing called the Test, invented by Satan.

“5. And also against all Bonds and Declarations sent forth by these who are called the Council of Scotland.

“6. 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.

“7. And also against militia money, which is for that same use.

“8. And also against all intelligencers and apprehenders of the Lord’s people. Obadiah 10.

“9. And likewise against all compearing at courts, or coming out of prison on 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.

“10. 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.

“11. And against all the bloodshed, before and since Pentland, in the fields, and on scaffolds, and also in the seas.

“12. And against all the Indulgences, first and last; who lay down the service of the Lord at the command of men, and have engaged themselves in that woe 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.

“13. And against all sort of compliance, because I see there are few that ever comply with them, who ever get 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 spirit 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, oh! study holiness, and labor 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 oh! be earnest with Him, that He would spare a remnant, and that He would not pass that sad sentence mentioned in Ezekiel 9:6, where he hath given a commission to ‘slay utterly old and young;’ and also, verse 10, where He hath said, ‘Mine eye shall not spare, neither will I 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, and if ye be found real in this duty, ye shall either be a member 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 a member of the Church triumphant; so ye shall be no loser, but a noble gainer 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, oh, praise! praise! and glory to Him, who hath taken this way of dealing with me, as to honor me with suffering for Him and His controverted truths, and royal prerogatives, kingdom, and scepter. 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 will arise and plead Zion’s quarrel. Although men have burned 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 in Isaiah 40:29, 31:

‘He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increaseth strength. But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength.’

“Now, I say, fear not to contend for the truth, but labor 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 expenses 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. Oh! 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 a hundredfold [it is well told me], and one to the hundred’ [Letters, 74, to the Lady Culross. — ED.] Oh! 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 a 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,

‘I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold and not another; though my reins be consumed with me’ (Job 19:25-27).

“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 spirits 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 MILLER.”

MARGARET LAUCLANE AND MARGARET WILSON

MARGARET LAUCLANE, or LAUGHLISON, or MACLAUCLAN, and MARGARET WILSON have obtained in our own time a celebrity such as neither they nor their persecutors ever dreamed of. Lord Macaulay, to illustrate the cruel treatment of the Scotch Covenanters under the administration of James II., selected the history of a single fortnight. During this fortnight, John Brown of Priesthill was murdered by Claverhouse. Peter Gillies and John Bryce were tried in Ayrshire by a military tribunal, and in a few hours were convicted, hanged, and flung together into a hole under the gallows. Robert Tom, Thomas Cook; and John Urie were stopped by Major Balfour near Glasgow, and asked if they would pray for King James VII. They gave what seemed to the Major an evasive answer, and he ordered them to be blindfolded; and within an hour after they had been arrested their blood was lapped up by the dogs. In Eskdale a murder of equal atrocity was committed by the laird of Westerhall on a lad, the son of a widowed mother. On the same day Margaret Maclauchlan and Margaret Wilson suffered death for their religion in Wigtownshire. Lord Macaulay describes Claverhouse, in a very different manner from that of the fiction of Sir Walter Scott: "Pre-eminent among the bands which oppressed and wasted these unhappy districts were the dragoons commanded by John Graham of Claverhouse. The story ran that these wicked men used in their revels to play at the torments of hell, and to call each other by the names of devils and damned souls. The chief of this Tophet, a soldier of distinguished courage and professional skill, but rapacious and profane, of violent temper and of obdurate heart, has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred."

These brilliant sentences of the historian stirred up Sheriff Mark Napier, a writer of keen Jacobite sympathies, to take up the defense of Claverhouse in his "Memoirs of Dundee," and at the same time to stigmatize the Covenanters in a style of vituperation in which he has no compeer in modern times. The Wigtown martyrs were pronounced to be myths, and

the story of their sufferings a fable and a calumny. These assertions were not left unnoticed. His friends and admirers did their best to present them to the world in calmer language. They were speedily examined by a host of writers in quarterly reviews, monthly magazines, and newspapers; and the result has been, after an investigation almost unparalleled for its thoroughness, that the substantial truth of the story, as presented in the pages of Defoe, the Cloud of Witnesses, Wodrow, Patrick Walker, and Lord Macaulay, has been established beyond dispute.

Two gentlemen have contributed largely to this end — a writer in the *Scotsman*, believed to be the Reverend Thomas Gordon, D.D., of Newbattle, whose papers, it is much to be regretted, have not been issued to the world in a collected form — and the Reverend Archibald Stewart, D.D., of Glasserton, in his “History Vindicated in the Case of the Wigtown Martyrs,” second edition, Edinburgh, 1869.

Dr. Stewart’s book is divided into three chapters. Chapter first treats of previous legislation. He reviews the measures of government by which in a few years the most loyal of subjects were changed into the very opposite. He quotes the instructions which the Council gave to the Commissions sent to traverse the country. If a man owned or did not disown the Apologetic Declaration, he was to be tried and hanged immediately. In the case of women, “those are to be drowned.” In chapter second he examines Mr. Napier’s proof on the negative side, and shows it to be inconclusive, and in chapter third reviews the evidence on the affirmative side of the question. He arranges this under five heads — tradition, early pamphlets, earlier histories, minutes of local church courts, and monumental evidence. Under early pamphlets, he quotes one printed in 1703 by Mr. Andrew Symson, Episcopalian minister of Kirkinner, Margaret Maclauchlan’s parish, at the time of the martyrdom, and written by his son, Mr. Matthias Symson, in which a Presbyterian pamphleteer is corrected in his account of the drowning, and the fact admitted, as if witnessed by him: “They were judicially condemned after the usual solemnities of procedure. The judges were several gentlemen commissioned by authority, of whom Mr. D. G., brother to the then L. of Cl. [evidently, Mr. David Graham, brother to the then Laird of Claverhouse], was one. The chancellor of Assize [or foreman of the Jury] and clerk of the Court are yet alive.”

Under minutes of the local Church Courts he gives:

- (1.) The Minutes of the Presbytery of Wigtown, dated February 10, 1708, and of the Synod of Galloway, October 19, 1708, enjoining a collection of accounts of the sufferings for religion in the late times of persecution.
- (2.) The Minute of the Kirk-session of Kirkinner, April 15, 1711. The part relating to Margaret Maclauchlan is — “*Post preces* sederunt, all the members except John M’Culloch, William Hanna, and John Martin, younger in Airles. *Inter alia*, the minister gave in the account of the sufferings of honest, godly people in the late times, which was read, and is as follows: Margaret Laughlison, of known integrity and piety from her youth, aged about eighty, widow of John Milliken, wright in Drumjargan, was, in or about the year of God 1685, in her own house, taken off her knees in prayer, and carried immediately to prison, and from one prison to another, without the benefit of light to read the Scriptures; was barbarously treated by dragoons who were sent to carry her from Mahirmore to Wigtown; and being sentenced by Sir Robert Grier of Lagg to be drowned at a stake within the flood-mark, just below the town of Wigtown, for conventicle keeping and alleged rebellion, was, according to the said sentence, fixed to the stake till the tide made, and held down within the water by one of the town officers by his halbert at her throat, till she died.”
- (3.) The Minute of the Kirk-session of Penninghame, February 19, 1711. The part of the minute relating to the Wilson family is: “Gilbert Wilson of Glenvernock, in Castle Stewart’s land, being a man to an excess conform to the guise of the times, and his wife without challenge for her religion, in good condition as to worldly things, with a great stock on a large ground (fit to be a prey), was harassed for his children who would not conform. They being required to take the Test and hear the curates, refused both; were searched for, fled, and lived in the wild mountains, bogs, and caves. Their parents were charged, on their highest peril, that they should neither harbor them, speak to them, supply them, nor see them; and the country people were obliged by the terror of the law to pursue them, as well as the soldiers, with hue and cry.

“In February 1685, Thomas Wilson, of sixteen years of age,
Margaret Wilson, of eighteen years, Agnes Wilson, of thirteen

years, children of the said Gilbert — the said Thomas keeping the mountains, his two sisters, Margaret and Agnes, went secretly to Wigtown to see some friends, were there discovered, taken prisoners, and instantly thrust into the thieves' hole as the greatest malefactors; whence they were sometimes brought up to the Tolbooth, after a considerable time's imprisonment, where several others were prisoners for the like cause, particularly one Margaret Maclauchlan of Kirkinner parish, a woman of sixty-three years of age.

“After their imprisonment for some considerable time, Mr. David Graham, Sheriff, the Laird of Lagg, Major Winram, Captain Strachan, called an assize, indicted these three women, viz., Margaret Maclauchlan, Margaret Wilson, Agnes Wilson, to be guilty of the rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, Airsmoss, twenty field conventicles, and twenty house conventicles. Yet it was well known that none of these women ever were within twenty miles of Bothwell or Airsmoss; and Agnes Wilson, being eight years of age at the time of Airsmoss, could not be deep in rebellion then, nor her sister of thirteen years of age, and twelve years at Bothwell Bridge its time. The assize did sit, and brought them in guilty, and these judges sentenced them to be tied to palisades fixed in the sand, within the flood mark, and there to stand till the flood overflowed them and drowned them.

“They received their sentence without the least discouragement, with a composed smiling countenance, judging it their honor to suffer for Christ's truth, that He is alone King and Head of His Church. Gilbert Wilson, foresaid, got his youngest daughter, Agnes Wilson, out of prison, upon his bond of a hundred pounds sterling, to produce her when called for; but was obliged to go to Edinburgh for this before it could be obtained. The time they were in prison, no means were unessayed with Margaret Wilson, to persuade her to take the oath of abjuration, and hear the curates, with threatenings and flattery, but without any success.

“Upon the eleventh day of May 1685, these two women, Margaret Maclauchlan and Margaret Wilson, were brought forth to

execution. They did put the old woman first into the water, and when the water was overflowing her, they asked Margaret Wilson what she thought of her in that case? She answered, ‘What do I see but Christ wrestling there? Think ye that we are sufferers? No, it is Christ in us, for He sends none a warfare on their own charges.’ Margaret Wilson sang Psalm 25, from the 7th verse, read the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and did pray, and then the water covered her. But before her breath was quite gone, they pulled her up, and held her till she could speak, and then asked her if she would pray for the king. She answered that she wished the salvation of all men, but the damnation of none. Some of her relations being on the place, cried out, ‘She is willing to conform,’ being desirous to save her life at any rate. Upon which Major Winram offered the oath of abjuration to her, either to swear it, or return to the waters. She refused it, saying, ‘I will not; I am one of Christ’s children; let me go.’ And then they returned her into the water, where she finished her warfare, being a virgin martyr of eighteen years of age, suffering death for her refusing to swear the oath of abjuration and hear the curates.

“The said Gilbert Wilson was fined for the opinion of his children, harassed with frequent quarterings of soldiers upon him, sometimes a hundred men at once, who lived at discretion on his goods, and that for several years together; and his frequent attendance in the Courts at Wigtown almost every week, at thirteen miles distance, for three years time; riding to Edinburgh on these accounts, so that his losses could not be reckoned and estimated, without doubt, not within five thousand merks, yet for no principle or action of his own; and died in great poverty lately, a few years hence. His wife, a very aged woman, lives upon the charity of friends. His son Thomas lived to bear arms under king William in Flanders, and the castle of Edinburgh; but had nothing to enter the ground which they possessed, where he lives to certify the truth of these things, with many others who knew them too well.”

Dr. Stewart minutely examines the roll of the Sessions of Kirkinner and Penninghame, and the Presbytery of Wigtown, and shows that the

different members had ample opportunities of knowing the truth of the story of the sufferings of the two martyrs which they attested.

Sheriff Napier has replied to Dr. Stewart's book in his "History Rescued in answer to History Vindicated;" but it is not a reply. It does not set aside any of Dr. Stewart's proofs that the martyrs actually were drowned. Dr. Hill Burton is a writer of Whig sympathies; but he is an Episcopalian, and has really no bias in favor of the Covenanters, so that his judgment upon Sheriff Napier's "History Rescued" may be regarded as impartial. In a note appended to his "History of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1870, vol. 7, p. 549, as it was passing through the press, he says: "Of course this [*i.e.*, 'History Rescued'] had to be read before final correction, that it might be seen whether it contained any new and unexpected discovery. But the two hundred and seventy additional pages revealed no other discovery, save a remarkable instance of that well known frailty of heroic natures, which deprives them of the capacity of knowing that they are beaten."

As might be expected, the Wigtown martyrs have been the theme of poetry. One of the happiest of Mrs. Stuart Menteith's ballads, in her "Lays of the Kirk and Covenant," is that entitled "The Martyrs of Wigtown." The eloquent page in Lord Macaulay's history, in which he tells the story of their end, has inspired Mr. Millais to one of the best efforts of his pencil in his "Margaret Wilson," in *Once a Week*, some years ago.

The date "11th May 1684" is plainly a misprint for 11th May 1685. The testimony of Robert Pollock is dated January 23, 1685, and the succeeding testimony of Thomas Stodart is August 12, 1685, so that the chronological order requires 1684 to be corrected to 1685, the date on the monument in Wigtown Churchyard over the grave of Margaret Wilson. — ED.]

UPON the 11th of May 1684, [1685] Margaret Lauchlane in the parish of Kirkinner, and Margaret Wilson in Glenvernock in the shire of Galloway, being sentenced to death for their noncompliance with prelacy, and refusing to swear the oath of abjuration, by the Laird of Lagg, [*i.e.*, Sir Robert Grierson,] Captain Strachan, Colonel [Winram] Mr. David Graham, and Provost Cultron [*i.e.*, of Wigtown], who commanded them to receive their sentence on 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 Wigtown, 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, 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, Airsmoss, 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 caves of the earth, wandering through the mosses and mountains of Carrick, Nithsdale, and Galloway, going to Wigtown secretly to visit the foresaid Margaret Lauchlane, was taken by the fraud of one Patrick Stuart, who, under color 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 a hundred pounds 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 returning 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 expressions 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.

THOMAS STODART

THE name of THOMAS STODART first occurs in Wodrow under date July 24th, 1685, in a decree of Council containing a list of prisoners confined in the Canongate Tolbooth, in order to be banished to his majesty's plantations abroad. Thomas Stodart, James Wilkie, Matthew Bryce, are excepted, on the ground that they "not only obstinately refused the oath of allegiance, but most impertinently and indiscreetly misbehaved themselves before the Council." The Council further ordains that they immediately be put in irons, and grants warrant to his majesty's Advocate to process them criminally before the justices.

The three were tried on August 6th, and were found guilty of treason because they refused the Abjuration Oath. They were sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket, Wednesday, August 12th 1685.

In his testimony, Stodart says the reason of his condemnation was that he could not give such an answer to their questions about the government and the king's authority as was satisfactory to his judges, and his refusal to disown the Apologetic Declaration. His testimony is one of much simplicity. Wodrow justly says it is very plain and natural for a common country man.

Of Matthew Bryce and James Wilkie, mentioned in the paragraph at the close of Thomas Stodart's testimony, as his fellow-sufferers, little else is known. Matthew Bryce lived in the parish of Carmunnock. Wodrow corrects the date of their execution given in the "Cloud" as July 27th, into August 12th. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF THOMAS STODART,

Who suffered at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, August 12th, 1685.

"MEN, BRETHREN, 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, nor 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 passed 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. 2:1: ‘He is the rose of Sharon and lily of the valley,’” 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 everything agreeable thereto; and I would suffer for everything as a ground which I think is right, and taken out of the Word of God, having encouragement from His blessed promises.

‘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’ (Isaiah 43:1, 2).

‘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 [*i.e.*, visited] with; if I would tell you them all they would take up much paper and time; and time being 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,

‘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’ (2 Timothy 2:11).

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 law of the land, yet I dare not but own it. I would fain say, as it is said,

‘And Elijah said, As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely show myself unto him today’ (1 Kings 18:15).

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 was 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 everything 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 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 scar [*i.e.*, be frightened] 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 these that believe He is that universal King, that lives and reigns forever, 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 [*i.e.*, flutter or throb] 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 these 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 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 STODART.”

TOGETHER with the foregoing martyr, two others received the sentence of death, viz., Matthew Bryce and James Wilkie, who suffered at Edinburgh, July 27 [August 12], 1685.

The former whereof declares in his testimony, that they were interrogate only on these two questions:

“**1.** Will ye take the oath of allegiance? To which they answered, No, we will not take it.

“**2.** 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 this of Thomas Stodart’s.

EDWARD MARSHALL

THE notices in the Council Records of EDWARD MARSHALL are very scanty. Under November 19, 1685, Edward Marshall, forfeited for being at the rebellion 1679, now prisoner in Falkirk, is appointed by the Council to be brought in to Edinburgh. Under November 26, they recommend it to the justices [*i.e.*, the Lords of Justiciary] to meet, and, in regard Edward Marshall will not own the king's authority and was forfeited, that they name the day of his execution. November 30, the Lords of Justiciary met, and sentenced him, Edward Marshall, of Kaemuir, forfeited January 17, 1682, for treasonable crimes, mentioned in the verdict of the assize, and decerned to be executed to death, demeaned [*i.e.*, punished] as a traitor, and underly [*i.e.*, undergo] the pains of treason when apprehended; and now being apprehended, the Lords appoint him to be taken to the Grassmarket, on Friday, December 4th, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, and there to be hanged till dead.

In his testimony he reports the questions that were put to him on his trial. They were of the usual character. He tells that he left behind him a wife and seven children.

Kaemuir, where Edward Marshall lived, is a farm near to the Hill Farm, on the river Avon, in the parish of Muiravonside. There is no mention of his name in the parish records, and the family left the district more than forty years ago, previous to our informant, Mr. Henderson, session-clerk, coming into office. The tradition of the parish is, that a family of the name of Marshall once lived at Kaemuir, and that one of the family suffered to the death for the cause of freedom. — ED.]

THE LAST TESTIMONY

OF EDWARD MARSHALL,

*Of Kaemure, in the parish of Morren Side [*i.e.*, Muiravonside], who suffered at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, December 4th, 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 persons as once owned the Covenant, and avowed the cause of Christ, and are now employing their strength for overturning the same, as it is in Psalm 74:6.

“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 MARSHALL.”

JOHN NISBET

PICTURE: Torwood Castle

JOHN NISBET, of Hardhill, is one of the most interesting of the sufferers during the twenty-eight years' persecution. His great-grandfather, Murdoch, attached himself to the precursors of the Reformation in Scotland — the Lollards of Kyle. In consequence of the persecution that arose, Murdoch had to flee from Scotland, and took a copy of the New Testament "in writ" with him. The manuscript New Testament was preserved in the family till John Nisbet's time, and had been bequeathed to the martyr by his father, a man who is said to have very carefully trained up his family in the fear of God.

John Nisbet was of a tall and powerful frame. Like his friend Captain Paton, in the neighboring parish of Fenwick, he passed his early manhood in military service abroad. He returned to his native country shortly after the peace of Munster in 1548, which closed the Thirty Years' War, and soon afterwards had the happiness to be married to Margaret Law, a young woman, says his son, "who proved to him an equal, true, and kind yoke-fellow."

He was present at the battle of Pentland, November 28, 1666, and was left for dead upon the field, but he revived and escaped under covert of night, although it was a year before his wounds were entirely healed. The soldiers came to the house in quest of him, "but missing him" (says the son, in a passage in his Diary, which gives a vivid picture of the sufferings of the time, extracts from which Dr. M'Crie has given in the Appendix to the Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson), "they held a drawn sword to my mother's breast" [who was soon to give birth to a child, the writer of the Diary], "threatening to run her through unless she would discover her husband. She, weeping, told them that for anything she knew he was killed (for she heard that it was so), and that she had not seen him; so they took what made for [i.e., suited] them in the house, and went off."

"But some days after, getting notice that he was still alive, they returned with greater fury than before, and threatened her with

present death, first with a drawn sword at her breast, and also with a bended pistol; and contrary to all law, Divine and human, they dragged her alongst with them, with a burning candle in her hand, through all the rooms of the main house, and then through all the office houses, they still raging with their drawn swords and bended pistols; but, after all their search, they, missing my father, beat the servants, to strike the greater terror on my mother to tell where her husband was; but she could not.

“Then they took a young man, called David Finlay, alongst with them to where their chief commander lay, called General Dalziel. He caused the said David Finlay to be shot to death in less than half-an-hour’s warning, and carried away all my father’s stock of moveable effects, which was considerably great; and for half-a-year there was hardly a day ever passed but they were at the house, either in the night or day, in search of my father.

“In the year 1678, there was a great host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the Western shires. The shire of Ayr was the center of their encampment or cantoning, where they pillaged, plundered, thieved, and robbed night and day; even the Lord’s day they regarded as little as any other.

“At their first coming, four of them came to my father’s house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt; they told him they were come to make the Fig (so they termed the Presbyterians) [*i.e.*, Whig] to take with God and the king. This they came over again and again. They pointed to his shoes, and said they would have the brogue off his foot, and accordingly laid hands on him, but he threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitchfork which was used at the stalking of his corn, and they having their broadswords drawn, cried ‘Claymore,’ and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kiln, and, chasing them all four a pace from the house, knocked one of them to the ground.

“The next day about twenty of them came to the house, but he not being at home, they told that they were come to take the Fig [*i.e.*, Whig] and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who was not conform to the then laws;

and such were their thievish dispositions, and so well versed were they at the second sight, that, let people hide never so well, these men would go straight to where it was, whether beneath the ground or above, as though they had been at the puffing of it there, search for it, dig it up, and away with it.

“When my father came [to Drumclog], the good people who were met to hear sermon, and the enemy, were drawn up in battle array in order to fight. Five or six of the gentlemen who came to hear sermon, that were most fit to command the country people, took upon them to command, because some of them had been formerly in the military, as likewise my father had been; two of whom went to meet my father when within sight, and gave him an account how matters were, and pointed out to him where Mr. King was guarded on the left of the enemy by an officer and four dragoons; and’ the officer had orders to shoot Mr. King if they lost; and if the country people lost, all that were or should be taken prisoners were to be hanged immediately after battle. My father being a strong, bold, and resolute man, went on boldly and in all parts of the action, especially in the relief of Mr. King, whom he set at liberty; which boldness and activity of his was much taken notice of by the enemy. The enemy lost that day, and had about thirty or thirty-five of their number slain, whereof they said my father killed seven with his own hand, which much exposed him and all his to their after revenging fury.”

At Bothwell Bridge, according to Wodrow, he was a captain. He occupied the post of danger at the bridge, and stood as long as any man would stand by him. In the retreat he managed to escape. He was denounced as a rebel, and three thousand merks set upon his head. His property was confiscated, and his wife and children turned adrift upon the world, and all threatened with a like punishment who dared to harbor him and his.

His wife was a woman of a heroic spirit, and though she and her family had (like those in an earlier age, of whom Inspiration hath declared the world was not worthy) to wander about in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, she sympathized with him, and never, says her son, was heard or seen to show the least discontent with her lot. For more than

four years she bore up under her trials, till in December 1683, after an illness of eight days, death brought them to a close. She died in “a sheep’s cot, where was no light nor fire but that of a candle, no bed but that of straw, no stool but the ground to sit on.”

It was some time ere the tidings of her death reached her husband. He immediately hastened to the place where she died. When he entered the hut the dead body had been in the grave for several days, and new calamities had fallen upon him. The first sight he beheld was the chesting of his daughter, who had died a few hours before; and on looking round the hut, in a corner lay two of his sons, in the delirium of fever. He spoke to them, but they were unconscious of his presence; at which he groaned, records his son, and, in the language of the patriarch of Uz — language in which pious resignation in the midst of calamity has so often found utterance — said, ‘Naked came I into this world, and naked must I go out of it: the Lord is making my passage easy.’ Under the protection of midnight the body of the daughter was buried in Stonehouse Churchyard, as had been done to the mother eight days before. Next day a search was made for the bereaved husband and father, but for this time he escaped their hands.

He was at last taken on a Sabbath morning, in the beginning of November 1684, when at Midland, a farm-house in Fenwick parish. The old house has been since pulled down, and a new one erected on its site. He, with Peter Gemmel, George Woodburn, and an old man, John Ferguson or Fergushill, from Mains of Enterkin, Tarbolton parish, had met for prayer and conference the preceding evening, to allay some difference that had arisen in the branch of the United Societies to which they belonged. They had not been long assembled when they learned that Lieutenant Nisbet, a cousin of Hardhill, and a party of soldiers, were in quest of them. In the morning they resolved to separate, but after leaving the house they were obliged to return, on account of the illness of John Fergushill. The soldiers soon came in sight, and spent an hour in searching the house, but failed to find out where the four were concealed, and so they left Midland. On the way two men met them, one of whom, it is said, told them, “They were good seekers, but ill finders.” They returned, and their renewed search was successful.

The four defended themselves as best they could. They had only three charges, which they shot away, save one which missed fire, and they received twenty-four in return. When the soldiers next dashed in upon them, they kept them at bay with their empty guns, used as clubs. At last the soldiers threatened to fire the house, when they went out, John Nisbet foremost, who got his back to the wall, and stood and defended himself. In a short time he received seven wounds, but still maintained his ground, when the commander came to his assailants and asked, "Why had they not despatched this obstinate rebel." But the moment he saw him, he recognized him, and cried, "Ho! it is Hardhill; spare his life, for the Council has offered 3000 merks for him." He ordered bedclothes to be brought, which were thrown over him, and prevented him from wielding his sword, and he was thus secured. His three companions were shot dead. John Nisbet was then, as is narrated in the account preceding his testimony, taken to Edinburgh, where he was examined before the Council.

He was tried, November 30th, and found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket, December 4th. He must have employed his time diligently during the four days that intervened between his sentence and his execution, for, besides the testimony in this volume, we have in our possession a MS. quarto volume, in the writing of John Howie, of Lochgoin, which contains another with the following title: "The Testimony of John Nisbet, who lived at Hardhill, in the parish of London, from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 1685." It is about a third shorter than that given in the "Cloud." Its closing sentences are —

"Now, in all I have said, possibly some may mistake me, and say that I commend myself. But thus and thus I have said, to commend the goodness of God, with whom there is no respect of persons. For I can say, from long and sad experience, that of all that have been privileged to suffer for truth, I have been the most notorious sinner; and this I leave under my hand, when I am now within seven or eight hours to enter into eternity, that all may wonder and admire the condescension of free grace and rich love so freely bestowed upon me. To the commendation of His matchless goodness, He has passed by guiltiness and sin in me beyond many.... And now I shall shut up my time, and discourse with

this. Let all wonder, admire, and praise Him for what he has done to me and for me.”

John Howie adds the following note:

“*N.B.* — Let none doubt of the veracity of this testimony...although it be not the same as to matter or method with that published first in quarto by his son — a soldier in the Castle of Edinburgh — and now in the ‘Cloud of Witnesses,’ perhaps it might be either by him corrected and enlarged, or else wrote at a later time, as the one is more full on his own case, and the other less so.

(Signed), “JOHN HOWIE, January 1776.”

Neither Wodrow nor the “Cloud” gives an account of his last hours. A quaintly-expressed and deeply-interesting narrative is appended to his life. It is —

“An Appendix, related and attested by some of his intimate acquaintance, that were eye and ear witnesses to his martyrdom.”

“This valiant Christian, and faithful courageous martyr for truth, John Nisbet, in Hardhill, with whom we were for many years familiarly acquainted, was a strict observer of the Sabbath, a great examiner of the Scriptures, a great wrestler in prayer, reserved always as to his own case and soul’s concernment; nor did many know how it was with him as to that, till he came to prison. Notwithstanding, he was always ready to contend for truth when it was opposed (which he usually termed precious), and had Scripture ready at all times to back what he spoke, either directly or by necessary consequence to the purpose in hand.

“After he wrote this his last speech, he was taken out immediately to the Council, and from that to the place of execution; all the way thither he had his eyes lifted up to heaven, his face shined visibly, he seemed to rejoice, but spoke little till he came to the scaffold. When he came there he jumped up on it, and cried out: ‘My soul doth magnify the Lord, my soul doth magnify the Lord; I have longed these sixteen years to seal the precious cause and interest of

precious Christ with my blood. And now, now He hath answered and granted my request, and has left me no more ado, but to come here and pour forth my last prayers, sing forth my last praise to Him in time on this sweet and desirable scaffold, mount that ladder, and then I shall quickly get home to my Father's house, see, enjoy, serve and sing forth the praises of; my glorious Redeemer, for ever more, world without end.'

"Then he resumed the heads of his' last testimony to the truth, and enlarged upon what he owned and what he disowned. But drums were always caused be beat when he spoke to the people, which you are sure deprived us much of the satisfaction that otherwise we might have had; yet over this difficulty we heard him say: 'The covenanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful storm of wrath provided, which He will surely pour out suddenly and unexpectedly like a thunderbolt upon these covenanted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and woeful apostacy; and then men shall say, They have won well away that got a scaffold for Christ.

"He exhorted all to make much use of Christ for a hiding-place, for blood, blood, blood shall be the judgment of these lands. He sang the first six verses of the 34th Psalm, and read the eighth to the Romans. He offered prayer with great presence of mind and very loud; but for noise of drums, as hath been said, we could not distinctly hear what he either spoke or prayed, except when his face was toward the place where we stood, so that in such disturbing circumstances this is all of his scaffold speech that we could safely gather. He went up the ladder rejoicing and praising the Lord, which we all evidently saw.

"Thus he died 4th December 1685, the fifty-eighth year of his age, with the full assurance of his interest in the ever-blessed Lord Jesus Christ; as also of the Lord's returning to this poor land to raise up the fallen tabernacle of David therein in a more remarkable way and manner than ever, which sight he saw afar off by faith, and rejoiced thereat."

His testimony, as given in the following pages, contains a very large amount of passages from Scripture. These passages seem merely to have

been cited by him, but were printed at full length, when published by his son James, who issued in 1718 “A true relation of the life and sufferings of John Nisbet, in Hardhill.” It was reprinted in 1847, in the second volume of “Select Biographies,” edited for the Wodrow Society, by the late Reverend W. K. Tweedie, D.D., Edinburgh. In substance it is given in the following pages. John Howie has given him a place among the Scots Worthies, and from tradition and manuscript sources, has told some facts not to be found elsewhere. — ED.]

ON the 4th of December 1685, suffered John Nisbet, in Hardhill, in the parish of London, whose testimony, though it be extant, could not be found by the publishers of these speeches; only that the memory of so eminent a martyr be not buried, take this short relation, which is all the account they could find concerning his sufferings. [In the fourth edition of 1741, John Nisbet’s testimony is inserted with the following note:

“The testimony of this martyr is now come to the hands of the publisher of this edition, and is inserted in its proper places immediately after this account.” — ED.]

About the year 1664, he, having received the sacrament of baptism to his child, from one of the outed ministers [John Blackader], 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 Covenants 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, and 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 Fenwick, with other three, after he was sore wounded, he was taken by Lieutenant Nisbet, the other three being shot dead on the spot. The lieutenant having caused tie 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 a 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 foresaid Lieutenant Nisbet, who demanded his money for him they interrogated him to this effect.

“Question Were you at that conventicle? (naming time and place).

“Answer Yes.

“Question How many men and arms were there?

“Answer I went there to hear the Gospel preached, and not to take an account of what men and arms were there.

“Question Which way went ye when the preaching was done?

“Answer Which way we could best think of, to escape your cruelty.

“Question Where keep ye your General Meetings, and what do you at them?

“While he was about to answer, one of the Councilors 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 a holy ordinance

of God, we ought to pray for kings as well as others, but not when every profligate bids us.

“Question Do you own the king as sole sovereign?

“Answer He being Popish, and that from his youth, and I a Protestant of the Presbyterian covenanted persuasion, I neither can nor will own him, while he remains such.

Whereupon, incontinent [*i.e.*, forthwith], without further process, they passed sentence upon him, which he received not only with Christian submission, but with much thankfulness, blessing and praising his 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 assurance of the pardon of 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.

In his testimony he invites and exhorts all to embrace the cross, encouraging them by his own sweet experience of God’s presence under it, declares his adherence to all the truths contained in the Word of God, summed up in the Confession of Faith, sworn to in the Covenants, and sealed with the blood and faithful testimonies of former martyrs, and, among others then controverted, to the “Method of transmitting a Testimony,” taken by the reverend Mr. James Renwick, and the suffering remnant. He manifests his detestation of all the courses of defection, and witnesses against all the wrongs done to Jesus Christ, either in His cause or in His members; and particularly bears testimony against the Earl of Argyle’s misstating the quarrel in his Declaration, and his too lax and promiscuous admitting of all sorts into his army. He concludes with a solemn farewell to the world, and recommendation of his soul into the hands of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The above narrative was transmitted by one of his nearest relations, who had full knowledge of the whole matter.

THE LAST AND DYING TESTIMONY

OF JOHN NISBET

In Hardhill, which he delivered to a friend in the Ironhouse, when he was taken out to the scaffold in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, where he died, Friday, December 4th, 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 this conquest and 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 weal, and through woe, through good report, and through bad report; and they are so many sweet cordials to my soul, when stepping out of time into eternity.

“‘Thy people shall be willing in the day of Thy power’ (Psalm 110:3). ‘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. For he saith to Moses [see Exodus 33:19], I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy; and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion. So then it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy’ (Romans 9:11, 15, 16).

‘God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth’ (2 Thessalonians 2:13).

‘Then I was by Him, as one brought up with Him: and I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him; rejoicing in the habitable part of His earth; and my delights were with the sons of men. Now therefore hearken unto me, O ye children; for blessed are they that keep my ways. Hear instruction, and be wise, and refuse it not. Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. For whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favor of the Lord. But he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul: all they that hate me love death’ (Proverbs 8:30-36).

‘For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. 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. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us’ (Romans 8:29, 30, 35, 37).

‘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, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of His glory’ (Ephesians 1:13, 14).

‘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’ (2 Timothy 1:9).

‘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; which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Savior’ (Titus 3:5, 6).

‘God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord’ (1 Corinthians 1:9).

‘Being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ; whom God 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’ (Romans 3:24, 25).

‘Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works’ (Romans 4:6).

‘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’ (Hebrews 9:14.)

‘To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation’ (2 Corinthians 5:19).

‘That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God’ (Ephesians 3:17-19).

‘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 Christ, 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’ (Galatians 2:16).

‘For if by one man’s offense 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’ (Romans 5:17).

‘All that the Father giveth Me shall come to Me; and him that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out. 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’ (John 6:37, 39).

‘For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost’ (Romans 14:17).

‘There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit’ (Romans 8:1).

‘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’ (1 John 5:13).

‘And be renewed in the spirit of your mind’ (Ephesians 4:23).

‘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: that I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death’ (Philippians 3:9, 10).

‘Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into 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’ (Romans 6:4).

‘But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day’ (Proverbs 4:18).

‘Being confident of this very thing, that He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ’ (Philippians 1:6).

‘Nevertheless my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips’ (Psalm 89:33, 34).

‘Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God’ (Romans 5:1, 2).

‘Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time’ (1 Peter 1:5).

‘And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together’ (Romans 8:17).

‘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’ (Romans 1:16).

‘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’ (Colossians 1:27).

‘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’ (Matthew 11:29).

‘Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee: He shall never suffer the righteous to be moved’ (Psalm 55:22).

‘For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds’ (2 Colossians 10:4).

‘I will cry unto God most high; unto God that performeth all things for me’ (Psalm 57:2).

‘He that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy’ (Proverbs 28:13).

‘But I will sing of thy power; yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy in the morning: for thou hast been my defense and refuge in the day of my trouble. Unto thee, O my strength, will I sing: for God is my defense, and the God of my mercy’ (Psalm 59:16, 17).

‘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. Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah. He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death’ (Psalm 68:18-20).

‘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’ (2 Corinthians 5:1).

‘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 of the new Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel’ (Hebrews 12:23, 24).

Psalm 45 from the 1st to the 9th verses; John 1:1st to the 15th verses, and 18 throughout; Isaiah 53 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 Isaiah 55:1-8 —

‘He, 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 money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labor for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. 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. Behold I have given Him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people. 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. Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near. 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. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.’

‘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’ (John 6:35).

‘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 will sup with him, and he with me’ (Revelation 3:20).

‘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. 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. Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. Behold, we come unto thee; for thou art the Lord our God. 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’ (Jeremiah 3:13, 14, 22, 23).

‘O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn to the Lord: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips’ (Hosea 14:1, 2).

‘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’ (Jeremiah 31:18)

‘Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me’ (John 14:6).

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 the water of life freely’ (Revelation 22:17).

“When I was grappling with sin, Satan, and the world, and my own wicked and deceitful heart, the grand enemies of my salvation, His Word was 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 filth; 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 (1 Corinthians 1:30). 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, effectually 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 by 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, and all whom He hath sanctified. Oh! to be there, where I shall sin no more, where I shall be tempted no more, neither feel any more of His hidings, 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 us captains 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 His 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 souls’ salvation, and to the following generation, to act a close, constant, and needy dependence on the Lord Jehovah’s all-sufficiency, for light, for counsel, for direction, for strength and stability, 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 all 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 bonds betwixt Him and these lands; and by persecuting His gospel ministers and members, who are laboring to keep their garments dean, 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, nor 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 soul possess itself 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 saviors upon the mount of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau; and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be a fire, and the

malignants, Prelates, and Papists, shall be for 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 honorable cause with, even that 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 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.

‘All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness’ (2 Timothy 3:16).

“And [I die adhering to] the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, as agreeable thereunto, and safely founded thereupon.

‘Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus’ (2 Timothy 1:13).

‘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’ (Hebrews 6:1);

[and] 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 Resolutioners, 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 — [abroad referreth principally to Messrs. John Brown, John Nevay, and Robert M’Ward, who were banished to Holland by King Charles and the Duke of Lauderdale. *Note in edition of 1718.* — ED.] — and kingly government as appointed and emitted in the Word of God, they 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 there shall none of them be to tyrannise 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 woeful 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 Act of Supremacy.

“I protest against the putting malignants into places of power and trust in Church, State, and armies; and all declarations¹ anywhere

published, tending thereunto; and against all paying of stent, cess, and locality, to strengthen the enemies' hands to persecute Christ in His members; and all shedding of their blood in fields, seas, scaffolds, prisons, or any otherwise; and all 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 Superinquirendis.

“I die testifying against the woeful Indulgence, 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, by condemning the things contended for, and reproaching these that contend for truth.

“Wherefore, I leave my testimony against all the acceptors thereof, and all ministers and professors, who are any way guilty of any of the woeful defections and sinful compliances with the enemies of truth, or any way guilty of condemning, reproaching, and 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:

‘Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. 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. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me’ (Matthew 10:32, 33, 37, 38).

‘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’ (Matthew 16:24; Mark 8:34).

‘For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel’s, the same shall save it’ (Mark 8:35; Matthew 10:39).

‘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?’ (Matthew 16:25, 26; Mark 8:36, 37).

‘Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels’ (Mark 8:38).

‘For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of His people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts Himself; and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread. And He shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offense to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken’ (Isaiah 8:11-15),

as is expressed ver. 9, 10 of the same chapter.

‘My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not. If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause: let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go clown into the pit: we shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil: cast in thy lot among us; let us all have one purse: my son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path: for their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood’ (Proverbs 1:10-16).

Woe 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! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight! Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!

Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff, so their root shall be as 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' (Isaiah 5:20, 21, 23, 24).

'He that justifieth the wicked, and He that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord' (Proverbs 17:15).

'They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly' (Amos 5:10).

'For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor' (Galatians 2:18).

'But unto the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers. Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son. 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' (Psalm 1:16-21).

The prophecy of Obadiah throughout, the first and last chapter 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 to 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 amongst His people: read Psalm 1, Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9, Jeremiah 9, Lamentations 3 and Ezekiel 9 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 agitated 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 our 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:

‘Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, 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. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law. And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another’ (Galatians 5:19-26).

‘Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. 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. And let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith’ (Galatians 6:7-10).

‘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. 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. Then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not’ (Malachi 3:16-18).

‘Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him. The show of their countenance doth witness against them; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves’ (Isaiah 3:10, 11, 9).

‘To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them’ (Isaiah 8:20).

‘But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall’ (Malachi 4:2).

‘And I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth His face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for Him’ (Isaiah 8:17).

‘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 together for the faith of the Gospel; 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. For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake’ (Philippians 1:27-29).

‘And He said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples and nations, and tongues, and kings’ (Revelation 10:11);
and Hebrews 10:21-39.

‘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. Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees; and make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but let it rather be healed. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: 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’ (Hebrews 12:11-15).

‘And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with Him an hundred forty and four thousand, having His Father’s name written in their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps: 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. These are 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 to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God’ (Revelation 14:1-5).

‘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 unto the saints’ (Jude 3).

‘Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. 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. Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and

having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' (Ephesians 6:10-17).

“And scar not [*i.e.*, be not frightened] 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, that so 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 my 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, the 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.

JAMES RENWICK

JAMES RENWICK was born February 15, 1662, at Moniaive, in the parish of Glencairn, Dumfriesshire. His father, Andrew Renwick, was a weaver, and in profession and practice a fervent and faithful Christian, which was enough, says Alexander Shields in his *Life of Renwick*, to nobilitate the birth of his worthy son, who had what honor was wanting in his first birth made up in the second. He died as he lived, in the Lord, February 1st, 1676, the same day twelve years after that his son was taken to die for the Lord.

His mother, Elizabeth Corsan, was of like piety with her husband. She had several children, but all died previous to the birth of James. Their loss filled her with grief. Her husband tried to comfort her by declaring that he was well satisfied if his children, die when they might, were heirs of glory. Her prayer, however, was Hannah like, for a child from the Lord that might not only be an heir of glory, but live to serve Him on earth. When James was born, she received him as an answer to prayer, and felt herself bound to dedicate him to the Lord. It soon appeared that the dedication was accepted. As he learned to speak he learned to pray. His mother lovingly tells, that, by the time he was but two years of age, he was discerned to be aiming at prayer even in the cradle and about it. Along with the work of grace on his soul, his natural faculties came to early ripeness. He could read the Bible in his sixth year, a wonderful attainment in that century, when learning was not made easy as it is now; and' his inclination was constant for his book.'

With some difficulty his parents kept him at the parish school, for they were poor, until means were found, through the assistance of friends who admired the good parts of the boy, of sending him to Edinburgh. Here he remained until ready for the University, which he attended until he passed through the classes necessary for a degree. The piety of his childhood was not cast aside by him when a student at college. He resisted the temptations that abound in a city, and at the close of his curriculum such was his tenderness of conscience, that he would not take the oath of allegiance required before the degree of Master of Arts could be conferred.

But shortly afterwards, by some means not mentioned by his first biographer, he, along with other two students, obtained the degree privately, without taking the oath of allegiance.

After taking his degree he remained in the capital for some time, prosecuting his studies in theology, and associating with the indulged ministers, or with those who, unable to comply with the Erastian demands of the government, lived in retirement in Edinburgh or in its neighborhood. Their silence respecting the sins of the time, and the spectacle of the frequent martyrdoms that took place, set him a thinking, and led him to inquire after ministers who had not in any form consented to the supremacy exercised by the crown over the church. These he could not find, while he at the same time came to the conclusion that he could no longer attend the ministrations of the indulged. The execution of Donald Cargill, at which he was present, so moved him that he determined to adopt the martyrs' testimony, and to cast in his lot with the persecuted. He entered heartily into the plan formed in the close of 1681, by those who sympathized with the cause for which the martyrs suffered, of establishing societies throughout the country, to meet at regular intervals for prayer and conference.

He was present at the publication of the Declaration at Lanark, January 12, 1682, although he had no share in drawing it up, otherwise he would have softened some of its expressions. In the same year, the Societies sent Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun to the United Provinces, in order to vindicate themselves from the slanders that had been circulated, to their discredit, among the foreign churches. One result of this mission was, that steps were taken to send young men abroad to study for the Christian ministry. In the "Faithful Contendings," in the account of the fifth General Meeting of the Societies, held at Edinburgh, October 11, 1682, is recorded what was done to send out Renwick and three companions. Twenty-five pounds Scots were voted to each to defray the expenses of the voyage, as well as what was needful to provide them in clothes and other necessities. Renwick sailed in December, and went to Groningen, where John a Marck, the author of the "*Medulla Theologia*" — a favorite text book with Dr. Chalmers — was at that time Professor of Divinity and Church History. Here he made such progress in his studies, that, at the recommendation of Marck himself, he was ordained by the Classis of Groningen, 10th May

1683. He left Holland early in the following August, and, after a long and stormy passage, in which the vessel had to put into Rye, in Sussex, where he narrowly escaped apprehension, he reached Dublin. Here, after a short stay, he found friends who procured him a passage to Scotland. But his difficulties were not at an end, for all the harbors were then strictly watched, and the captain at first would not land him but at a regular port. At last he was prevailed to put him ashore, tradition says, somewhere below Gourock.

It was September when he arrived, but he refrained from preaching until the tenth General Meeting — October 3, 1683 — at Darmead, in Cambusnethan parish, where he gave an account of his studies; and handed in his testimony to the truths of God, and to His cause; a document drawn up by him before he left Groningen, and containing some expressions which he afterwards regretted, but valuable as showing how well acquainted he was, at that early age, with the true state of the controversy between the persecuted and the Government, and how earnestly he had espoused the cause for which the martyrs suffered. At this meeting they gave him a call to be their minister, which he accepted, and entered on his ministry by preaching at the same place, Sabbath, November 23.

William Wilson, in his collection of sermons by Renwick, has given notes of the discourses he preached that day. After a short preface he lectured on Isaiah 40:1-8: “Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God,” etc.; and preached two sermons on Isaiah 26:20:

“Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.”

The notes of the lecture are meager: they occupy little more than two octavo pages; but those of the sermons are much fuller: they extend to seventeen pages, and are evidently a faithful report of what he said. They are remarkable sermons for one so young in years, and more than justify the recommendation of Marck, that he should be ordained as speedily as possible.

Those who fancy that the burden of Renwick’s preaching was upon matters of church government, and declamation against the tyranny of the

time, will have their fancies sent to the winds when they read such a statement of the Gospel message, and such impassioned pleading that men would come to Christ, as are contained in the following paragraphs, in illustration of the proposition — “There is both ability and willingness in the Lord to give you whatsoever your necessity requires.”

“There is Ability. What would you have? Salvation and deliverance? then He is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto Him. Lift up your eyes, and behold a wonder which you cannot know, and put forth this question, ‘Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? — this that is glorious in His apparel, travelling in the greatness of His strength?’ And His answer will be unto you: ‘It is I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.’ Gainsay it who will, the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand. He shall see of the travail of His soul, and be satisfied.

“And now, methinks, I hear some of you saying, All this is true; we can set to our seals to it. But is He willing? This is our question.

“Willing He is indeed. He is not more able than He is willing. What are all His promises, but declarations of His free willingness? What are all His sweet invitations, but to tell you that He is willing, and ye are welcome. ‘Let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him come, and take of the water of life freely.’ Ah! what say you to it? Give us your seal to His willingness also. Go, say you, why not? you have it. Then come away, there is no more wanting, save, Come; we know He is willing, and we set to our seal to His willingness. But is He willing to receive me? Satisfy me in this, and then I will be right. Ah cheat! ye are taking your word back again now, and lifting off your seal. If ye except not yourself, He will not except you. His invitation is unto all: “Every one, come; he that thirsteth, come; he that hath no money, come.”

“Now, why will ye be so ill to yourselves, as to debar yourselves? for He doth not do it. Ye may as well and as rationally say, that ye are not a body as to say He debars you. His invitation is to every one. Now assent to this; and then, before you except yourself: out

of this invitation, you must first say you have not a being, neither of soul nor body. We say, for you to think that He excepts you, it is all one as to deny yourself to be one of the children of Adam.

“Now, O come, come niggard! what aileth thee? Come, what would ye have that is not in Christ? Oh! that sweet invitation, Come! we cannot tell you what is in it. There is a depth in it that all the angels in heaven cannot fathom. It is no less than Jesus Christ, who was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification, spreading forth His arms and inviting you. He is opening up Himself — His all-sufficiency and super-transcendent excellency — and calling to all poor, needy things, ‘Come, here is enough for you; give in your desires, and you shall have them satisfied to the full.’ What, then, have ye to say to the bargain? Come, come; it is a rich commodity, and there is no sticking at the price; only receive and have — the easiest of all terms. There is no more required at your hands.

“But say ye, ha! sir, ye go without your bounds; the invitation in your text is to His people only: ye are, then, all wrong. We are not so far wrong as ye trow [*i.e.*, believe], for the invitation is to His people to enter into their chambers, and to all who will come and become His people to enter into their chambers; and so this is a free market. We must invite all to come. Ye who are enemies, lay down your arms against Him, and come. Ye who are upholding His enemies, and complying with them in their sinful courses and abominations, by paying them cess and locality, and by furnishing them meat and drink (which is more than a bidding them God speed, which the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of John, forbids), quit the putting of the sword into God’s enemies’ hands, and come. Ye who have given bonds to the adversary; break your covenant with hell and death, and come; break your sworn allegiance to the devil, and come and swear a new allegiance to Jesus Christ, and ye shall never rue it. Ye who compear before their courts, and pay them fines, whereby ye both acknowledge them who are robbers of God, and call your duty your sin, quit these courses, and come. Ye who go to the curates, leave these perjured, blind guides, and come. Ye who go to the indulged, leave these traitors to God. Ye who go to

the backslidden, silent ministers, leave these betrayers of the cause, and deserters of the cross of Christ, and come; leave all these, and follow Him; He is a true guide, and will be so to you. Ye who any ways seek or take the enemy's protection, leave it, and come; come to Him, and ye shall find chambers indeed both for safety and delight. All ye that are strangers to Him, come; ye that are in nature, come; and ye that know Him, come. We must preach this word 'Come' unto you so long as ye are here, until ye be transplanted out of this spiritual warfare into celestial triumph. Oh! sirs, come, come, ask what ye will, and He shall give it. Oh! come, come!"

The reader of these paragraphs will not wonder that Renwick at once became a favorite preacher among the persecuted Covenanters, and that there were demands for his services from many quarters. In a few months, in the first year of his ministry, he is said to have baptized no less than six hundred children. His fame as a preacher soon came to the ears of the enemies of liberty then in power, and August 30th, 1684, the form of summoning him before the Privy Council was gone through at the Cross of Edinburgh and the Pier of Leith; and, in the following month, letters of intercommuning were issued against him, in which he is called, after the fashion in which the Government of the time were wont to speak of the salt of the earth, a seditious vagabond and pretended preacher, is accused of debauching some of our unwary subjects into the same wicked, unnatural, and seditious principles with himself, and closing with the following sentences, as notable for their virulence as for their grammar:

"We command and charge all and sundry our lieges and subjects that they nor none of them presume, nor take upon hand to reset, supply or intercommune with the said Mr. James Renwick, rebel foresaid; nor furnish him with meat, drink, house, harbor, victual nor no other thing useful or comfortable to him; or to have intelligence with him by word writ or message or any other manner of way whatsoever under pain of being esteemed art and part with him in the crimes foresaid, and pursued therefore with all rigor to the terror of others. And we hereby require all our Sheriffs to apprehend and commit to prison, the person of the said Mr. James Renwick wherever they can find or apprehend him."

Renwick and the Societies answered the Letters of Intercommuning by the Apologetic Declaration. The Government rejoined by a proclamation, characterized by the same wild fury of expression as the Letters of Intercommuning, in which 'the Societies are styled insolent and desperate rebels, and the Declaration execrable and treasonable. At the same time, sterner and more relentless measures than ever were taken to suppress the meetings of the Societies, and to seize the persons of their members. The Lords of the Privy Council asked the opinion of the Court of Session whether an owning of the Apologetic Declaration was an act of treason, and received as answer that it was. Fortified by this answer, it was resolved that all who owned, or would not disown, the Apologetic Declaration, whether they had arms or not, should be immediately put to death, wherever persons holding the commission of the Council might find them; provided two witnesses were present. The result of these steps was that of all the twenty-eight years of persecution, 1685 was the most terrible and most marked by the cruelty of the persecutor. Renwick himself had many a hairbreadth escape, yet none of his meetings was ever surprised by the emissaries of Government; and persecution had no other effect upon him than to strengthen his conviction that the work he was engaged in was the Lord's. And by the grace and goodness of God, says his biographer and companion in tribulation, Alexander Shields, he was still more animated and enlarged in spirit, and enabled in body to increase his diligence in preaching, baptizing, and examining every week once at least; which had such success, that a great and effectual door was opened to the bringing in of many to Christ, out of ignorance and darkness of nature, and bringing back many from the times' sins and compliances, and calling out such multitudes, flocking after the persecuted Gospel ordinances in the open fields, that it was impossible for him to answer all the calls he received from all parts to preach to them.

At the nineteenth general meeting of the Societies, held May 28, 1685, at Blackgannoch, on the Spango Water, in the parish of Kirkconnel, the second Sanquhar Declaration was agreed upon.

Immediately after the meeting, about two hundred and twenty men drew up in arms, and marched to Sanquhar, five miles to the south of Blackgannoch, where, after a psalm and prayer by Renwick, the Declaration was published, and a copy left on the Cross. The Declaration

is manifestly from the pen of Renwick, and is a well expressed vindication of the Societies from the charge of encouraging assassination brought against them by their enemies, as well as a protestation against the illegality of the Duke of York, a professed Papist, ascending the throne as James II. Defiant as was this Declaration, the Government found it most prudent to take no notice of it. They evidently felt that the less said about the religion of the new king the better.

But the misrepresentations of Renwick and the Societies by their enemies did not cease. The failure of the Earl of Argyle's enterprise, which Renwick had refused to join until its aims were stated more in harmony with the principles he had been accustomed to maintain, increased the numbers of those who misrepresented him, but his usual answer, when told of their misrepresentations was, "I will not say so of them," while he charged his friends not to contend with such weapons, and to have a care not to render railing for railing. Slanders, too, rose up among the members of the Societies, but he pursued his course undeterred by all that might be said against him.

In December 1686, a reward of 100 pounds sterling was offered to any one who should bring in James Renwick dead or alive, but it had no effect in leading any of his followers to betray him.

In 1687, three successive proclamations were issued, allowing Presbyterians to meet in their private houses for worship and preaching, but field meetings were strictly forbidden. The object of Government in these proclamations was to prepare the way for the legal toleration of Popery. Many, however, took advantage of these proclamations, and some ministers went so far as, in rather a fulsome manner, to thank the Government for the fettered permission afforded them to preach. Renwick drew up an answer to the proclamations, came into Edinburgh, January 1688, and gave a copy of it to Mr. Hugh Kennedy, then indulged minister in Edinburgh, to be communicated to the rest of his brethren. From Edinburgh he went to Fife, where he preached in several places, and for the last time at Borrowstounness on January 29. Notes of a sermon preached on January 24, from Psalm 45:10: "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine eye; forget also thine own people and thy father's house," of a second, preached January 27 from Luke 12:32: "Fear not, little flock, for it

is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom,' and of his last sermon, from Isaiah 53:1:" Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed," are in Wilson's collection. They are obviously not so well reported as the notes of his first sermon, but they are full enough to show the expository, the evangelical, and earnest character of his preaching up to his last days, If there be any change in these later sermons from the first, it is to the better, for they present more exhaustively the lessons taught in the text.

He returned to Edinburgh, January 31. He lodged in the Castle Hill, at the head of the Bow, in the house of a friend, John Lookup, near where Free St. John's Church now stands. The house was that of a trader in what were called "uncustomed goods from England," a profession in that age, from the character of the men then in power, by no means looked upon with disfavor by patriotic Scotsmen. An excise officer on the watch for contraband goods heard family prayer in the house, and suspected the voice was that of Renwick. He had the house surrounded next morning about daybreak. An entrance was soon made, when the excise officer exclaimed, "My life for it, this is Mr. Renwick," and declared that all within must go to the guardhouse, to show what trade they were of. Renwick rejoined, "I shall soon show you what is my trade."

The excise officer now went out to the street and called for assistance to carry the dog Renwick to the guardhouse. Meanwhile Renwick, with two friends in the house, tried to escape by another door, but it was found watched by the excise officers, and when one of the two sought to break through he was driven back. At this Renwick fired a pistol, which at once opened a way for himself and friends, but as they went out he received a blow from a staff that partly stunned him, and made him fall once or twice as he ran down the Castle Wynd towards the head of the Cowgate, where he lost his hat. By his falls the pursuers gained on him, and the loss of his hat marked him out, so that he was soon caught by a person on the street, but his two friends made their escape. He was taken to the guardhouse, and put in irons by the order of a committee of Council. He was examined on February 3. He himself has given an account of his examination in a letter contained in the Collection of his Letters, (Letter 55) When he was searched, his pocket-book was taken from him, but it contained nothing but a few names in full, as many more in the first letter only, and notes of

two sermons which he had preached January 18, at the Braid Craigs, two miles south from Edinburgh, at a place still pointed out. These names, as their owners were out of danger, he readily explained.

On February 3, he received his indictment, which will be found in full in Wodrow. He was tried Wednesday, February 8, and was sentenced to be executed the following Friday. The Lord Justice General, Earl of Linlithgow, asked him if he desired longer time. He replied it was all one to him; if it was protracted it was welcome, if shortened it was welcome; his Master's time was the best time. Without his knowledge, however, the day of execution was delayed for another week.

During this week his friends were forbidden to see him, and every effort was made by the government to get him to petition for a reprieve. Writing materials were taken from him, but he managed to write the testimony and letter that follow. On the morning of execution he wrote a short letter to his dear friend Sir Robert Hamilton, full of faith and confidence. He says, "I go to your God and my God. Death to me is as a bed to the weary. Now, be not anxious, the Lord will maintain His cause and own His people; He will show His glory yet in Scotland; farewell." The compilers of the "Cloud" have given a short account of his last words, to which we have added Alexander Shields' narrative of what he said just before he was executed. He was buried in the Greyfriars Churchyard. A monument was erected to his memory in 1828, at Moniaive, near the farmhouse where tradition says he was born.

In 1687, James Renwick, in conjunction with Alexander Shields, drew up the only work ever published by him: "An Informatory Vindication of a Poor, Wasted, Misrepresented Remnant of the Suffering, Anti-popish, Anti-prelatic, Anti-erastian, Anti-sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland; United together in a General Correspondence; By way of Reply to various Accusations in Letters, Informations, and Conferences given forth against them." The first eighteen, or perhaps the first thirty, of its 108 pages bear traces of Alexander Shields, but the rest is evidently from Renwick himself. It is much to be regretted that the "Informatory Vindication" should be so little known, as its ability, its catholicity, and its terseness and clearness of statement make it one of the most readable documents of that age, and altogether worthy of its title. No one who reads

it dispassionately, but will feel that a Government that could put to death the author of such a document, for no other crime than the avowal of its opinions, was deservedly overthrown in the Revolution of 1688.

In 1724 John M'Main, M.A, schoolmaster at Liberton's Wynd, published, in an 18mo volume of 248 pages, Alexander Shields' Life of Renwick. Shields finished it in September 1688, but it had lain in manuscript till it came into M'Main's hand. M'Main has added to it a preface of forty pages, in which he takes exception to Wodrow's history for doing scant justice to the sufferers whose testimonies are given in the "Cloud." Shields' Life contains more of characteristic declamation against the tyranny of the time than narrative. Nevertheless, it is one that the reader will be grateful for, and no doubt wish that we possessed similar lives of more than one of the sufferers of that age.

In 1748 William Wilson published two 18mo volumes, with the title, "A choice Collection of very valuable Prefaces, Lectures, and Sermons, preached upon the mountains and muirs of Scotland in the hottest time of the late persecution, by that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, the Reverend Mr. James Renwick." The collection has been several times reprinted in one octavo volume. Although printed from notes, taken by hearers, that are often obviously imperfect, the collection is yet one of interest and value.

In 1764 the Reverend John M'Millan, for many years minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation that met at Sandhills, near Glasgow, published a 12mo volume, entitled "A Collection of Letters, consisting of ninety-three, sixty-one of which were wrote by the Reverend Mr. James Renwick." The first letter is dated July 1682, and the last is that written to Sir Robert Hamilton on the morning of his execution. Far more than his sermons, these letters reveal the character of Renwick, and show him to have been what Alexander Shields calls him, "a ripe Christian." Mr. M'Millan printed them from the manuscript, but not very accurately, and with the omission of the postscripts, which are at least as valuable as the rest of the letters. The original autographs of Renwick's last speech and testimony, and of his letter to his Christian Friends, are in the library of the Free College, Edinburgh. Through the kindness of the acting librarian, the Reverend John Laing, we have been permitted to examine them. The

examination has shown a great many obvious misprints, or mistakes in the transcription, in all previous editions of the “Cloud.” These we have corrected, and given an exact copy of what Renwick wrote. The handwriting shows marks of haste or of being under some restraint, but has much of the legibility, and even beauty, so characteristic of his earlier letters, at least twenty of which we have seen in his own autograph. — ED.]

THE LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY

OF THE REVEREND MR. JAMES RENWICK,

Minister of the Gospel, who suffered in the Grassmarket 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 up into the hands of men; and I think fit to send you this salutation, which I expect will be the last. When I pose [*i.e.*, question] 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 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 reproachers, 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, both for their instruction, and my successors’ ease.

“Since I came to prison, the Lord hath been wonderfully kind; 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 Psalms and promises:

‘For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son’ (Genesis 22:12).

‘Neither be ye sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength’ (Nehemiah 8:10)

‘There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary be at rest. There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor’ (Job 3:17, 18).

‘But He knoweth the way that I take: when He hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold. My foot hath held His steps, his way have I kept, and not declined. Neither have I gone back from the commandment of His lips; I have esteemed the words of His mouth more than my necessary food. But He is in one mind, and who can turn Him? and what His soul desireth, even that He doeth. For He performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with Him’ (Job 23:10-14).

‘The word of the Lord tried Him’ (Psalm 105-19).

‘Thou therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them. For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brasen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land. And they shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee’ (Jeremiah 1:17-19).

‘A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary. O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters. Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved’ (Jeremiah 17:12-14).

‘He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of His eye’ (Zechariah 2:8).

‘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 and rulers for My name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony' (Luke 21:12, 13),

and 19 of St. John's Gospel.

'Looking unto Jesus 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. For consider Him that endured such contradiction of sinners against Himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds' (Hebrews 12:2, 3).

'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' (James 1:12).

'Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you in due time: casting all your care upon Him; for He careth for you. Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour' (1 Peter 5:6-8).

'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. Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. 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' (Revelation 3:8-12).

Revelation, chapters 19, 20, 21, and 22, and several 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 two last sermons at Braid’s Craigs, which I wrote after I did preach them: the former whereof was upon Psalm 96:10:

‘Be still and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the
heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.’

And in the latter upon Hebrews 10:38:

‘Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my
soul shall have no pleasure in him.’

And 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 being tried, and an assize set, I adhered to my former confessions explicitly; so my sentence of death was drawn forth upon these three heads:

“**1.** Because I could not own James VII to be my lawful sovereign.

“**2.** Because I taught the unlawfulness of paying the cess, expressly exacted for suppressing the faithful and free preaching of the Gospel.

“**3.** Because I taught it was people’s duty to carry arms at the preaching of the Gospel, now that it is persecuted, for defending of themselves, and resisting unjust violence.

“I think such a testimony is worthy 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, boldness. I have met with many assaults in prison, some from some of the Indulged party, and some from some of the Prelatic; 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 of their 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. But I was much 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 their 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 converse with any, so far as it might not be inconvenient for me in my present circumstances, but I would seek it with none.

“I have no more to say upon this head, but my heart doth not smite me for anything in the matters of my God, since I came to prison. And I can further say to His praise, with some consciousness of integrity, that I have walked in His way, and kept His charge, though with much weakness, and many infirmities, whereof you 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. 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 you 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 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 goeth forth to defeat antichrist, with that name written on His vesture and on His thigh, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS, He will make it glorious in the earth. And if you can but transmit it to posterity, ye may count it a great generation work. But beware of the ministers that have accepted this toleration, and all others that bend that way; and follow them not, for the sun hath gone down on them. Do not fear that the Lord will cast off Scotland; for He will certainly return, and show 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 sufferings of this present 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 out-brave man and outface death; and I am now longing for the joyful hour of my dissolution; and there is nothing in the world I am sorry to leave but you; but I go unto 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, cold and weariness for Christ. Farewell sweet Bible, and preaching of the Gospel. Farewell sun, moon, and stars, and all sublunary things. Farewell conflicts with a body of 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 song 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!

“ Sic subscribitur,

“JAMES RENWICK.

“February 13, 1688.”

A LETTER TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

WRITTEN IN THE TIME OF HIS REPRIEVAL.

“MY DEAR FRIENDS IN CHRIST, — I see then 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 proof of steadfastness. I have been often assaulted by some Popish priests; but the last time that they came, I told them that I would debate no more with such as they were, and that I have lived and would die a Presbyterian Protestant, and testified against the idolatries, heresies, superstitions, and errors of their antichristian way.

“But yesterday, I was cast into a deep exercise, and made to dwell under the impression of the dreadfulfulness of everything 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 party of the Council, and the Chancellor produced the Informatory Vindication, and asked if I knew it. I answered, ‘I did know it.’ And being interrogated, I confessed that I had a great hand writing of it. They pressed me to tell my assistants. I told them they were those they were persecuting; but would satisfy them no further. They also urged me, upon pain of torture, to tell where were our societies, who kept our general correspondences, 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 book gave. I was, moreover, threatened to tell of my haunts and quarters, but I refused to make known any such thing to them; so I was returned to prison again. Such an exercise as I had was very needful for such a trial; and I would rather have endured

what they could do unto me than have dishonored Christ, offended you, and brought you into trouble.

“But I hope, within less than three days, to be without the reach of all tentation. Now I have no more to say. Farewell again in our blessed Lord Jesus.

“JAMES RENWICK.

“February 15, 1688.”

SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LAST WORDS

UPON THE SCAFFOLD.

Before he went out of the Tolbooth, he was at dinner with his mother, 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 a 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 anything 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 anything 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 washen me from

them in His own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for these three things:

“1. For disowning the usurpations and tyranny of James Duke of York.

“2. For preaching that it was unlawful to pay the cess expressly exacted for bearing down the Gospel.

“3. For preaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meetings for receiving the persecuted Gospel ordinances.

“I think a testimony for these is worth many lives, and if I had ten hundred [Wodrow’s Manuscript has “ten thousand.” — ED.] 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, etc.; Covenants, National and Solemn League; Acts of General Assemblies, — and all the faithful contendings that have been for the work of reformation.

“I leave my testimony approving the preaching of the Gospel in the fields, and the defending the same by arms.

“I adjoin my testimony to all that hath been sealed by blood, shed tither on scaffolds, fields, or seas, for the cause of Christ.

“I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, etc.; against all profanity, and everything contrary to sound doctrine; particularly against all usurpations made upon 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 foundation. 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 103d Psalm, from the beginning, and read the 19th chapter of the Revelation.

[In prayer he said,

“Lord, I die in the faith that Thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that Thou wilt make the blood of Thy witnesses the seed of Thy Church, and return again, and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready — ‘the bride, the Lamb’s wife, hath made herself ready.’”

The napkin then being tied about his face, he said to his friend attending him —

“Farewell. Be diligent in duty. Make your peace with God, through Christ. There is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me not to weary, nor be discouraged in maintaining the testimony. Let them not quit nor forego one of these despised truths. Keep your ground, and the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers, and when He comes, He will make these despised truths glorious upon the earth.

Then he was turned over the ladder, with these words in his mouth:

“Lord, into Thy hands I commit my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of truth.”

— From Alex. Shields’ “Life of Renwick.” — ED.]

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 SUFFEKINGS OF
THAT TIME.**

PICTURE: House in Falkland

MR. RICHARD CAMERON.

THERE is a short life of Richard Cameron by Patrick Walker. It abounds in the same curious matter as his other lives. Its substance is given by John Howie in the “Scots Worthies.” The house in Falkland where Richard Cameron was born is still pointed out. Some years ago the title-deeds were examined, and it was found that Cameron’s father had borrowed money on the house in order to send him to college.

M’Millan’s collection of Letters contains two letters from Richard Cameron to Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, and one to Lady Earlstoun. They are short, but they tell of the writer’s piety, and of his warm affection for his friends.

John Howie’s Collection of Lectures and Sermons contains three prefaces, two lectures, and six sermons by Richard Cameron. Two of the sermons are on John 5:40, “Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life.” When preaching on this text, Patrick Walker says, “he fell in such a rap of calm weeping, and the greater part of that multitude that there was, scarce a dry cheek to be seen among them, which obliged him to halt and pray.” A manuscript copy of this sermon, transcribed by William Wilson in 1720, from notes taken by a hearer, is still extant. It is evidently more correct than Howie’s transcription, who seems occasionally to have altered a Saxon word into its Latinized form, and not by any means added to the point and vigor of the sermon by the change. A few sentences from Wilson’s manuscript will show how impassioned a preacher Richard Cameron must have been:

“There are many here that are at this — ‘Indeed, I find it very difficult to close with Christ.’ Before we speak to you we will pray a word.

“Now for you that are saying this, ‘It is true it is not easy to bring folks to Christ; I have had a profession these many years, but I fear I have not come to Christ.’ Our Lord is here this day, saying, ‘Will ye take me.’ Ye that have had a lie in your right hand, what say ye to it? ay or no? Ye that have been plagued with deadness, hardness, and unbelief, what say ye to it? Will ye take Him? He is saying [to you], will ye take me.... O what fault have ye to Him? There are many saying, ‘an [*i.e.*, if] I take Him, I will get a cross with Him.’ That is true. But ye get a sweet cross. And thus we offer Him to you in the parish of Douglas, Affleck [*i.e.*, Auchinleck], and all about. Take Him, for we shall take instruments before these hills and mountains that we offer Him to you this day. Will ye take Him, ye that are free of the cess: will ye take Him? Ye that are free of the Bond that is going through; will ye take Him? Ye that are free of the Indulgence, ye poor ignorant things; will ye not take Him this day? Ye shall be welcome now when the old wily professors are taking offense at His way and cross. O will ye cast up your eyes to Him!

“Angels are wondering at this often They are standing looking on with admiration at their Lord and your Lord that is making such an offer here this day.

“O what wonder is this. They, gone to hell these hundreds of years, are crying and howling, ‘O and we had such an offer as you parish of Affleck [*i.e.*, Auchinleck] has this day.’ Come, come to Him, and never a word shall be of your sins — sin shall be buried!

“But will ye not come to Him? If ye will not, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for you. But what will ye say to me? What shall I say to Him that sent me this day. What! shall I say, there were some yonder that were content to give Him their hand, heart, house and land? Now, if ye can make a better bargain with any other, do it. Look to these hill-tops there, over the shawhead. Take them in your view — they are all witnesses. Look

to them, they shall all be witnesses when you are dying, and we take you all witnesses one against another. O how will it aggravate your sorrow and pain when they come in your mind and conscience; ‘O sirs, I heard you invited and obtested to take Christ, and that on the last of May, and we are witnesses.’ There is some tenderness among you. That is well-faured [*i.e.*, well favored], I confess, but that is not all. The angels will go up to the throne and say, ‘We saw and bear witness to the new bargain the day [*i.e.*, today]; we saw some in the parish of Affleck [*i.e.*, Auchinleck], Douglas, and Crawfordjohn close with the offers of our Master the day in the Gospel.’ O they will be welcome news to heaven!

“And there are some in hell; they will be saying, Woes me! Some are going away yonder the day [*i.e.*, today], and will never come here.’ ‘O,’ says the devil, ‘we shall set the troopers upon them, we shall set the dragoons upon them; you minister shall be hanged, and the people hauled to prison, and sent to the sea, and they shall be drowned or banished.’ But we defy him and them both.” — ED.]

A SHORT RELATION

CONCERNING THE REVEREND MR. RICHARD CAMERON,

*Minister of the Gospel, who was killed in a rencounter [*i.e.*, encounter] 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 schoolmaster and a precentor to a curate at Falkland, for some time, and at same 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 Prelatic 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 the ecclesiastical supremacy usurped by the king; and being zealously affected for the honor 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 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 true 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 accept a license 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 license from some of the outed ministers, who had not complied with the Indulgence, 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 acceptors 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 persecute 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 Dindeugh 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 those 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 persecution 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 defense, killed by a party of soldiers under the command of [Bruce of] Earlshall, 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 BOND OF MUTUAL DEFENCE.

THERE was found upon him when he was killed, subscribed by him, his brother MICHAEL CAMERON, ARCHIBALD STEWART, JOHN POTTER, and about thirty others, the following Bond of Mutual Defence, which justly deserveth to be insert here in its proper room, it being most agreeable to the true state of the testimony which these renowned martyrs sealed with their blood. [This bond appeared first in the third edition. — ED.]

“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 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 offense they have given.

“RICHARD CAMERON. MICHAEL CAMERON.

“ARCHIBALD STEWART. JOHN POTTER,” ETC.

MR. DONALD CARGILL

HOWIE, in his collection of lectures and sermons, has given twenty pages of notes of the lecture and the discourse delivered by Donald Cargill before the Torwood Excommunication, and the sermon afterwards on Lamentations 3:31, 32,

“For the Lord will not cast off forever. But though He cause grief, yet will He have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies.”

In Wilson’s manuscript sermons, already referred to, there are also notes of the whole. They show that Howie, as in the case of those of Richard Cameron, has sometimes made changes on the text of the manuscript that are by no means an improvement. — ED.]

RELATION OF SOME REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE LIFE OF MR. DONALD CARGILL.

[A former notice of Mr. Cargill’s Life, by way of preface to his testimony, will be found at the beginning of this volume. — ED.]

These foregoing testimonies everywhere speaking so honorably of the reverend Mr. Donald Cargill 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 for the present to set down the following accounts collected by that worthy and religious gentleman, Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, who ushers them in with this personal character of Mr. Cargill:

“First (saith he) as he was of a most holy, strict, tender and composed practice and conversation, so he was affectionate, affable, and tender-hearted to all he judged had anything 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 visitor 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 practiced 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. Cargill's call, they were by God's good providence much bound up from their wonted opposition. Mr. Cargill 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 a 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 consecrate 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, catechizing, 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. Meantime, the Council passed 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 Masters honor, 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 labors 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 to preach in the fields. But one day, Mr. Blackader coming to preach near Glasgow, he essayed to preach with him, and standing on a chair (as his ordinary was) he lectured on Isaiah 44:3,

“I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.”

The people knowing that his voice was sore broken, were 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. Blackader, 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's the man we're seeking," which he hearing, put the spurs to the horse and escaped.

He most usually resided for the space of three years and upwards 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 at 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 hazard (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 today," 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 the soldiers], 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 at a window, closing the window up with books, and they 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 imparalel 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 everywhere 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 further 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 goodman [*i.e.*, the head] 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, indulgences 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 his 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 ecclesiastic censure, and the neglect of it might bring upon this Church that severe reproof given to Pergamos, Revelation 2:14, 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; 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 Ezekiel 21:25-27, "And thou profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come;" 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 or 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 the Second, King, etc., and that upon the account of these wickednesses:

“**1.** For his high mocking of God, in that after he had acknowledged his own sins, his fathers sins, his mother’s idolatry, and had solemnly engaged against them, in a declaration at Dunfermline, the 16th day of August 1650, he hath, notwithstanding of all this, gone on more avowedly in these sins than all that went before him.

“**2.** For his great perjury, after he had twice at least solemnly subscribed that Covenant, he did so presumptuously renounce, disown, and command it to be burned by the hand of the hangman.

“**3.** 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.

“**4.** For commanding of armies to destroy the Lord’s people, who were standing in their own just defense, 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 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).

“**5.** That he hath been still an enemy to, a persecutor of, the true Protestants, a favorer 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.

“6. For his relaxing 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 of 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.

“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. 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.

“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, 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.

“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, 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 footstool:” 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 Mitchell, who, being in Council, gave public faith, that he should be indemnified, and that to life and limb, if he should confess his attempt on 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 counseling 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, for his perjury, in the matter of Mr. James Mitchell; 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 chief author, contriver, and commander, notwithstanding that he had otherwise engaged lately) to that worthy gentleman David Hackston 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 Mackenzie, 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 by the laws of the land, ought to die; for his ungodly, erroneous, fantastic and blasphemous tenets, printed to the world in his pamphlets and pasquils.

"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 Binns, etc.; 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 anything 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 Mure of Caldwell, and his other injurious deeds in the exercise of his power.

“I think, none that acknowledge the Word, can judge their sentences to be unjust; yet some, it may be, to flatter the powers, will call them unorderedly and unformal, there not being warning given, nor 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, who, without repentance of the persons, can reverse these sentences upon any (such) account: 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?”

HENRY HALL

PICTURE: The Tolbooth: Glasgow

A BRIEF relation of the Persecutions and Death of that worthy gentleman, HENRY HALL of Haughhead, who suffered martyrdom at Queensferry, June 3d, 1680. [For a further account of the Queensferry paper found upon Henry Hall, see page 35. In the following Relation it is abridged to about a fifth of its original size, and like most abridgments, it gives but an imperfect idea of the document itself, or of the power with which it states rights and liberties then denied to the subject, but now regarded as a heritage which no ruler can take away. — ED.]

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 Livingstone. Being oppressed with the malicious prosecutions 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 the Second, [he] was obliged to depart his native country, and go over the border into England in the year 1665, where he was 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 on his way to Pentland, coming to the assistance of his covenanted brethren, and was imprisoned with some others in Cessford Castle; but by the Divine goodness he soon escaped thence, through the favor 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 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, intending 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 Cargill; during which time, besides his many other Christian virtues, he signalized himself for a real zeal in defense of the persecuted Gospel preached in the fields, and gave several proofs of his valor and courage, particularly at Rutherglen, Drumclog, Glasgow and Bothwell Bridge; whereupon, being forfeited 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 caves and dens of the earth, drew him home, choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting furies than to live at ease, when Joseph was in affliction; making Moses’ generous choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, that he might be partaker of the fellowship of Christ’s sufferings, than to enjoy what 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 reverend Mr. Donald Cargill, they were taken notice of by two bloodhounds, the curates of Borrowstounness and Carriden, who went to Middleton, governor of Blackness Castle, and informed him of them; who, having consulted with these bloodthirsty 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 civility to Mr. Donald Cargill and him, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When they were set [*i.e.*, seated] 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 in the house to assist, which they all refused save a certain waiter [*i.e.*, excise officer], through whose means the governor got the gates shut, till his 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 the head with a carbine, 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, interposing 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, but notwithstanding the care of chirurgeons [*i.e.*, 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 Canongate Tolbooth, and kept it 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 a 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. Cargill'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 compendised by the learned author of the "Hind let Loose," page 133 [Edition of 1744, p. 148]; for it was still owned by Mr. Donald Cargill, 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, “in 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 magistral authority, their practice declares all along, that they did not understand it in that sense.

The tenor of it was an engagement —

“1. 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 matter of our faith, and rule of conversation in all things.

“2. 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.

“3. 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.

“4. To endeavor 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 righteous judgment impartially, according to the Word of God and degree of

offenses, upon the committers of these things, especially, to wit, blasphemy, idolatry, atheism, sorcery, perjury, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's day, oppression, and malignancy.

“5. Seriously considering that there is no more speedy way of relaxation from the wrath of God, that hath ever lain on the lands since it engaged with these rulers, but of rejecting them, who have 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 law and justice against blasphemers, idolaters, atheists, sorcerers, murderers, incestuous and adulterous persons; and have made butcheries on the Lord's people, sold them as slaves, imprisoned, forfeited, etc., and that upon no other account but their maintaining Christ's right of ruling over their consciences, against the usurpations of men. Therefore, easily solving the objections:

“(1.) 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 anything 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 as 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:

“(2.) 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:

“(3.) 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 associated 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 government into tyranny, where none are associated 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 18:21); and shall not commit the government to any single person or lineal succession; being not tied, 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 in exempting divorces and polygamy, etc.

“6. 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 acceptation of that liberty, founded upon and given by virtue of that blasphemously arrogated 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 hear them, etc., nor any who encouraged and strengthened their hands, and pleaded for them, and trafficked for union with them.

“7. That they are for a standing Gospel ministry, rightly chosen and tightly ordained, and that none shall take upon them the preaching of the Word, etc., unless called and ordained thereunto. And whereas separation might be imputed to them, they refel [i.e., disprove] both the malice, and the ignorance of the 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.

“8. 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

AT the time the “Cloud of Witnesses” was drawn up, the compilers do not seem to have had access to such full information as Wodrow. Hence the list of the banished given by them is far from being full. It is, however, generally accurate so far as it goes. The additional information given has been inserted in brackets throughout the list. — ED.]

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 [*i.e.*, James Simpson of Airth, Robert M’Ward of Glasgow, John Brown of Wamphray, John Livingston of Ancrum, John Nevay of Newmilns, Robert Trail of Edinburgh, and James Gardiner of Saddle] that were banished and went to Holland, and seven or eight country people to France, several others [were banished] to Barbadoes, before the year 1666.

[Wodrow gives an account of the banishment of William Gordon of Earlstoun to Holland; of four boys in 1664 to the Barbadoes; of two brothers to Virginia; of John Sproul, apothecary, Glasgow, who, on his return, in 1680, from Holland, in order to take his wife and family to Rotterdam, was apprehended, and put to the torture, as stated in a former note; and of several persons in 1665, whose names are not given, to the Barbadoes. — ED.]

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.

[In May 1678, a conventicle was held at Williamwood, in the parish of Cathcart, Renfrewshire. John Campbell of Sorn, Matthew Crawford of Eastwood, and some others not mentioned, preached. An alarm was given which dispersed the meeting. Several of the ministers escaped, but the dragoons pursued the people that had been assembled, and about seventy were taken prisoners to Glasgow. Among others were the well-known

Alexander Peden, Robert Meikle, chaplain to Sir James Stewart, and Adam Abercorn, chaplain. After a few days, confinement they were taken to Edinburgh. On May 28th, and June 13th, the Council banished them to his majesty's plantations in the Indies, and Ralph Williamson of London gave security that he would transport them and sell them to the best advantage. They lay in prison till December, when a warrant was given to deliver them to Edward Johnston, captain of the St. Michael of Scarborough, lying at Leith. Their names, amounting to sixty-seven, are given in Wodrow. The passage between Leith and Gravesend was five days longer than Williamson had expected, and when the ship arrived he was not to be found. The captain waited for some time, and as provisions ran short, and Williamson did not appear, he set them ashore and left them to shift for themselves. Wodrow says that the country people were very kind to them when they knew the cause of their sufferings, and they generally got home safe after they had been absent from their homes about nine months. Wodrow also gives, under the same year 1678, the sentence of banishment passed upon William Temple, James Miller in Kirkcaldy, David Barclay, Robert Marnock, and seven or eight more; John Harroway, Alexander Buchanan in Bucklyvie, and three or four others there; Andrea, Buchanan in Shargarton, and three more tenants there; Thomas and William Govans, and nine others. — ED.]

ANNO 1679. — Of the prisoners taken at Bothwell were banished to America, 250 [rather 257. *See* fuller account in prefatory note to the testimony of John Malcolm], who were taken away by (William) Paterson, merchant in Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, laird of Barnton [and bailie or provost of Linlithgow], the man that first burned the Covenant: whereof two hundred were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Moul Head of Deerness, in Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches; fifty only escaped. The names, so many of them as could be had, follow; those who escaped being marked with a star for distinction's sake.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF CLYDESDALE:

City of Glasgow, Francis Wodrow, Walter M'Kechnie, Alexander Pirie,

William Miller.

Parish of Govan, Andrew Snodgrass.

Parish of Kilbride, Robert Auld, John Struthers, James Clark, John Clark, William Rodger.

Parish of Shotts, Peter Lermont, Robert Russel, John Aitkin, Robert Chalmers, John Thomson,* John Killen, Alexander Walker.

Parish of Cambusnethan, William Scular.*

The Monklands, William Waddel,* William Grinlaw, Thomas Mathie, William Miller, John Wynet, James Waddel, John Gardner,* Thomas Barton,

Parish of Bothwell, — More,* William Breakenrig.

Parish of Evandale, John Cairnduff, John Cochran, Robert Alison, Andrew Torrence, Thomas Brownlee, John Watson, William Alison, Andrew Aiton.

Parish of Cadder, William Fram.*

Parish of Glassford, John Miller, John Craig.

Parish of Carnwath, Thomas Crighton, James Couper.

Parish of Quathquan, James Penman,* James Thomson, Thomas Wilson.

Parish of Carstairs, Thomas Swan.*

Parish of Biggar, John Rankin.

Parish of Lesmahagow, George Weir, Robert Weir, George Drafin,* [after his escape he was conveyed to America. — ED.]

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF AYR:

Parish of Fenwick, James Gray, Andrew Buckle, David Currie, David Bitchet, Robert Tod, John White, Robert Wallace,* John Wylie, William Bitchet.

Parish of London, Thomas Wylie.

Parish of Dalmellington, Hugh Simpson, Walter Humber, Walter Humber, younger,* Hugh Cameron,* Quintin M'Adam,*

Parish of Cumnock, John Gemill, James Mirrie.

Parish of Ochiltree, Andrew Welsh.

Parish of Auchinleck, Andrew Richmond. Dundonald, Andrew Thomson* Mauchline, William Reid, William Drips.

Parish of Muirkirk, John Campbell, Alexander Paterson.

Parish of Digen [*i.e.*, Dreghorn], James Bouston.

Parish of Galston, James Young, George Campbell.

Parish of Kilmarnock, Thomas Finlay, John Cuthbertson, William Brown, Patrick Watt,* Robert Anderson, James Anderson.

Parish of Stewarton, Thomas Wylie, Andrew Wylie, Robert Wylie.

Parish of Barr, Alexander Burden.

Parish of Colmonell, Thomas M'Lurg, John M'Cornock, John M'Lellan.

Parish of Girvan, William Caldwell.

Parish of Dalry, David M'Cubbin, William M'Culloch.

Parish of Maybole, William Rodger, Mungo Eccles, John M'Whirter, Thomas Horn, Robert M'Garron, John M'Harie.

Parish of Craigie, George Dunbar*

Parish of Straiton, James M'Murrie, Alexander Lamb, George Hutcheson.

Parish of Kirkmichael, John Brice, Robert Ramsay, John Douglass, John M'Tire, James M'Connel.

Parish of Kirkoswald, John White, Thomas Germont.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF FIFE:

Parish of Newburn, James Beal.

Parish of Largo and Kilconquhar, Andrew Prie, James Kirk.

Parish of Ceres, John Kirk, Thomas Miller*

Parish of Strathmiglo, Robert Boog.

OUT OF [THE SHIRE OF KINROSS]:

Town of Kinross, James Lilburn.

Parish of Orwell, Robert Kirk,* Robert Sands.*

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF PERTH:

Parish of Kilmadock, John Christison.

Parish of Kincardine, Patrick Keir, John Donaldson.

Parish of Glendevon, John Murie and Andrew Murie.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF BARONTHROW [I.E., RENFREW]:

Parish of Eastwood, James Cunningham.

Parish of Neilston, John Govan. Paisley, William Buchan, William Auchinclose.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF LENNOX [I.E., DUMBARTON]:

Parish of New Kilpatrick, James Finlayson.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF STIRLING:

Parish of Drummond, Daniel Cunningham.

Parish of Kippen, James Galbraith. Gargunnock, Thomas Miller, Patrick Gilchrist, James Sands,* Thomas Brown, James Buchanan.

Parish of St. Ninian's, Thomas Thomson,* Andrew Thomson,* John Neilson, John M'Nure.

Parish of Denny, James M'Kie.

Parish of Airth, Andrew Young, John Morison, Robert Hendrie.

Parish of Falkirk, Hugh Montgomerie.* Muiravonside, Thomas Phalp.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF WEST LoTHIAN:

Parish of Torphichen, John Allan, John Thomson, John Pender,* James Easton, John Easton,* Andrew Easton, John Addie, Alexander Bishop. Dalmeny, John Thomson. Livingston, Thomas Inglis, Patrick Hamilton, John Bell, Patrick Wilson, William Younger, William Henderson, John Steven.

Parish of Kirkliston, John Govan. Bathgate, David Ralton.

Parish of Abercorn, John Gib, James Gib.

Parish of Linlithgow, Thomas Borthwick.

Parish of Kinneil [now Borrowstounness], Andrew Murdoch.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF MID-LoTHIAN:

Parish of Calder, James Steel, Thomas Gilchrist, James Graze, John Russel. Mid-Calder, John Brown, Alexander Mutray. East Calder, David Samuel,* Alexander Bissit.

Parish of Stow, Thomas Pringle.

Parish of Temple, James Tinto.

Parish of Liberton, Thomas Mackenzie.*

Parish of Crichton, James Fork.

Parish of Cranston, Thomas Williamson. Musselburgh, William Reid.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF EAST LoTHIAN:

Parish of Dunbar, James Tod.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF NITHSDALE:

Parish of Glencairn, David Mackervail, John Ferguson, Robert Milligan, John Milligan,* John Murdoch,* John Smith,* William Ferguson,* James Colvil, Thomas Rosper.

Parish of Closeburn, Thomas Milligan, John Kennedy.

OUT OF THE SHIRE OF GALLOWAY:

Parish of Kirkcudbright, James Corson, Andrew M'Quhan,* John M'Bratney,* John M'Gie.* [Wodrow gives an extract from a letter of James Corson, dated Leith Roads, in which he says that all the trouble they met with since Bothwell was not to be compared to one day in their present circumstances, that their uneasiness was beyond words, yet, that the consolations of God overbalanced all; and expresses his hope that they are near their port, and that heaven is open for them. — ED.]

Parish of Balmaghie, Robert Caldow,* James Houston.

Parish of Kelton, James Donaldson.

Parish of Kirkmabreck, Robert Brown, Samuel Beck, Samuel Hannay.

Parish of Penninghame, John M'Tagart, Alexander Murray.*

Parish of Borgue, Andrew Sprot, Robert Bryce, John Richardson,* John Martine,* John Brice, William Thomson.

Parish of Girthon, Andrew Donaldson.

Parish of Dalry, John Smith,* John Malcolm.* [See his “Dying Testimony,”] Irongray, Andrew Wallet. Balmaclellan, John Edgar.* Lochrutton, Andrew Clark.* Ettrick Forest, John Scot.

Parish of Galashiels, Robert Macgill,* Robert Young.

OUT OF THE SHIRES OF MERSE AND TEVIOTDALE —

Parish of Nethan [*i.e.*, Nenthorn], Samuel Nisbet, John Deans, James Aitchison.*

Parish of Cavers, James Leydon,* John Glasgow,* William Glasgow,* John Greenshields, Richard Young, Samuel Douglas, James Young,* James Hopkirk. Kelso, William Hatdie. Jedburgh, John Mather.

Parish of Ancrum, George Rutherford.

Parish of Sprouston, Walter Waddel and Thomas Cairns.

Parish of Melrose, John Young and Andrew Cook.

Parish of Castletoun, William Scot, John Pringle, Alexander Waddel, and John Unnes.

Parish of Ashkirk, William Herd.

Parish of Baudon [i.e., Bowden], Andrew Newbigging.

Parish of Sudon [i.e., Southdean], James Couston, William Swanston,* John Eliot.

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 — Gillies [in Wodrow, Dennis Gilcreif.]

[Wodrow says the above-named were before the Committee for Public Affairs, and in their joint testimony they relate that the Chancellor, after a long speech charging them with rebellious principles, declared they were banished to West Flanders, never to return under pain of death. In their testimony they vindicate themselves from the charge of disloyalty and rebellion, and profess their attachment to the Scriptures, Confession, and Covenants, against Popery, Prelacy, etc. John Coline has a separate testimony of his own, in which he gives the reason why he could not say “God save the king.” He asked the committee to let him know the meaning of the words, and they told it signified an owning of his person, and government, and laws, and present actings. This, he says, satisfied him that he was right in refusing to utter them. — ED.]

AFTERWARDS were banished to Carolina thirty, who were transported in James Gibson’s ship, called sometime Bailie Gibson in Glasgow, of whom it is observed, that in God’s righteous judgment he was cast away in Carolina Bay, when he commanded in the “Rising Sun.” They received their sentence, July 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 Inglis, John Young, John Galt, John Edwards, Thomas Marshal, George Smith, William Smith, Robert Urie,

John Buchanan, Thomas Brice, John Simon, Hugh Simon, William Simon, Archibald Cunningham, John Alexander, John Marshal.

[In May 27, 1684, the Council passed an act, granting prisoners to Walter Gibson, merchant in Glasgow, to be by him transported to America. On June 19, Sir William Paterson reported to the Council that twenty-two prisoners are in the tolbooth of Glasgow; and they are ordered to be transported in Walter Gibson's ship. Many, if not all of these, seem to have been shipped along with the twenty-one subscribers to the joint testimony against the king's supremacy and the renouncing of the Covenants above mentioned. The ship was commanded by Walter Gibson's brother, James, a person well known in Scotland at the time of the publication of the "Cloud of Witnesses" as the commander of the "Rising Sun," a ship of sixty guns, and the chief ship in the second squadron sent out to the ill-fated Darien settlement. When the settlement broke up, the "Rising Sun" returned homewards, and had reached as far as the Gulf of Florida, when a violent storm carried away the masts, shattered the boats, and compelled them, with the help of a jury mast, to make for Carolina. In ten days they reached Charleston, and lay at anchor until their guns were taken out so as to get over the bar, when a hurricane arose, and the ship and all on board perished, September 3, 1700.

Captain Gibson behaved with extreme harshness to the prisoners on the voyage. Their daily allowance of water was a mutchkin (less than an English pint), and an ounce and a-quarter of salt beef; and during the voyage they experienced all the horrors of what was known in the next century as the middle passage. — ED.]

THEREAFTER in July 19, 1684, John Mathieson, John Crichton, James M'Gachen, John M'Chesnie, James Baird, were banished to New Jersey in America.

[Wodrow's date is June 19, 1684. "He says: At Edinburgh the Lords, by sentence, appoint James M'Gachen in Dalry, John Crichton in Kirkpatrick, John Mathieson in Closeburn, John M'Chesnie in Spittle, libeled for reset and converse with rebels, found guilty by their confession judicially adhered to, to be transported to the plantations."

John Mathieson survived the Revolution of 1688, returned home, and died October 1, 1709. He wrote a testimony some years before his death, when he was under sore sickness and in expectation of his approaching end. John Calderwood of Clanfin published it in 1806 in his “Collection of Dying Testimonies,” a volume now very rare. John Mathieson, like not a few of the Presbyterians some years after the Revolution, inveighs in strong terms against William III, possibly because he was ignorant of the difficulties the king had to contend against — difficulties that Burner in his history unconsciously shows might well have baffled even a more courageous spirit than the Prince of Orange. Mathieson’s testimony had been seen by Lord Macaulay, who calls it one of the most curious of the many curious papers written by the Covenanters of that period; but he makes the most of its intemperate language against King William, and forgets that such language was a characteristic of the age. The first part of his testimony, in which he records his sufferings, is not without its interest, and no doubt might be paralleled by the experience of many of the sufferers of that time. He says:

“I am a poor man, and seemingly about to step out of this vale of misery; and I may say with old Jacob,

‘The days of the years of my life have been few and evil, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in their pilgrimage’ (Genesis 47:9).

“As to my education, I was brought up with those that cared not much for religion or the things that accompany salvation, if they got me seen [*i.e.*, cared for] as to back and belly, but the Lord, who knew well what He had to do with me, inclined my heart to better things from my youth, and at length brought me to the knowledge of His way, by converse with some good neighbors, such as Thomas Corsbie, etc. So, being married, I left off hearing the curates, and withdrew from them, which afterwards brought on my persecution; but not being fixed and stable — as the generality of the country was — in bearing testimony against the then defections; until I became acquainted with some of these who were declared rebels, and then I was [*i.e.*, got] to understand matters better, and be as they were in judgment and practice. But this I

observed, that I never went out of His way (though I then did it ignorantly), but I met with chastisement of one sort or other from the Lord to bring me back again to Him.

“And when it pleased His holy majesty to bring me to a wandering and suffering lot for Him, wonderful was His loving kindness unto me, and strange were the warnings He gave me at several times before I was apprehended, which I forbear to relate: But at length, being apprehended on the Lord’s day at my own house by a party of the bloody dragoons whom Closeburn had sent for by Doeg John Kilpatrick in Bredgeburgh Head, I was, by his command, sent to prison in Dumfries, where, after continuing for a season, I was carried from that to Edinburgh with some others, and there sentenced, by a party of the bloody Council, to Carolina, in America.

“When I was on the sea, and there, or in my way going, which was nineteen weeks from our entering into the ship until we set our foot on shore and came to land again, I endured a sore fight of affliction from the enemy of my salvation, but the Lord helped me to resist that evil one.... We suffered great straits while on shipboard, and on shore also, by him and his who carried us captives to that land, yet the Lord was with me and was exceeding kind to me in that strange land. Their cruelty to us was because we would not consent to our own selling or slavery; for then we were miserably beaten, and I especially received nine great blows upon my back very sore, by one of his sea-fellows, so that for some days I could not lift my head higher nor my breast; which strokes or blows I looked upon to be the beginning of all my bodily pains and diseases that have been upon me since that time until now.

“But soon after, by a remarkable providence, getting free from these bloody butchers, from Carolina we sailed to Virginia, in which voyage we suffered a long and dangerous storm, and great hunger. From Virginia we went into Pennsylvania, where I was near unto death by a great weighty sickness. From Pennsylvania we went to East Jersey, where we met with the rest of our banished brethren; and from thence we went into New England. But being

sorely grieved with the miscarriages of some of our friends there, I left New England, and returned to East Jersey, whereafter soon I fell sick; and during which sickness I was kindly entertained and taken care of by the man and his wife in whose house I lay, and with whom I had bound myself. For, albeit we had escaped from them that had brought us over, and could not work to them, yet we behooved to work for something to bring us back again. From thence I came to New York on my journey homeward, where I agreed with a shipmaster to bring me to London.

“During my abode or being in that strange land, the Lord helped me twice or thrice to covenant with Him, but on these terms, that He would carry me and my burden both, and save His noble truth from being wronged by me; still confessing and acknowledging unto Him that I could keep neither word nor writ unless He kept me and it both. And so, on His own terms, I took Him for my king, priest, and prophet. After my first covenanting with Him in these lands, I wan [*i.e.*, got] to such a dearness of my interest and salvation, that the very thoughts of it made me often to leap for joy in the midst of all my sorrows, sore travail, and labor, I had in these lands. And when alone, which was often, I was readily best in my case, for I was grieved with the vain and wicked conversation of the inhabitants of the land. And, now, what shall I say to the commendation of my kind Lord and Master Christ? For many and wonderful were His loving kindnesses unto me in all my travels in that land, even to me, one of the silliest [*i.e.*, frailest] things that ever He sent such an errand; so that, as it passes my memory to relate, I think truly, it would seem incredible to many to believe when they heard them told, even what He hath done for poor insignificant unworthy me, during my abode in these lands; which, betwixt being taken from my own house, and my returning home, was something more than three years.

“But for all that, my heart was still at home with the poor suffering remnant in Scotland. For though fire and sword had been in one end of it, I could have been content to have been in the other end of it. So, from New York coming to London, and from thence soon after I arrived in Scotland. So then at length being safe there, and restored

to my friends and relations, I clave to and joined with that party after whom while in my banishment I had so great a desire, and continued with them all alongst, hearing with much delight the Gospel then faithfully preached, yea, powerfully preached as occasion offered, by that shining light Mr. James Renwick.”

Dr. Simpson, in his “Gleanings among the Mountains,” tells a touching story of his reception in his own house on his return home. When he entered the house, his wife was busy preparing dinner for the reapers. She did not recognize him, but took him for a traveler, who had come in to rest himself. She pressed him to take some refreshment, which he did, when she went out to the field with a portion for the reapers. As she went out, he rose, and followed her at a respectful distance. She turned round, and fancying he had not been satisfied with her hospitality, said to the bystanders, “The man wants a second dinner.” The words drew the eyes of the reapers on him, when one of his sons whispers to his mother, “If my father be alive, it is him.” She turned round, looked into the stranger’s face for a moment, and then ran to his embrace, crying out, “My husband!” John Mathieson died October 1, 1709. His remains lie in the churchyard of Closeburn. — ED.]

THEREAFTER were taken away in banishment, by one Robert Maloch, fourteen men, whose names are not recorded. [Wodrow’s notice is equally short: “And August 15, about fifteen more are ordered to the same place.” — ED.]

ANNO 1685. In the time of Queensberry’s Parliament, of men and women were sent to Jamaica two hundred.

[Among these prisoners was Gilbert Milroy of Kirkcaldy in Penninghame parish, who survived the Revolution, and returned home, and was in 1710, says Wodrow, a very useful member of the session of Kirkcaldy. He wrote an account of his sufferings. He and his brother William had doubts about abjuring the Societies’ Declaration, and so had kept from home out of the way of the soldiers. The soldiers came and plundered their house, and carried away eighty black cattle and about five hundred sheep, besides household stuff. Next day the brothers were brought to Minnigaff, and, not answering the usual questions to satisfaction, were sent on to Edinburgh, where they were imprisoned in Holyrood, as the ordinary prisons were

full. When brought before the judges, they refused to take the oaths, and were sentenced to have their ears cut off and to be banished for ten years. A few days after sentence, the prisoners were taken out and tied six and six of them together, and marched to Newhaven, such as were not able to walk being conveyed in carts, and put on board a ship lying there, and thrust under deck two and two of them together to the number of an hundred and thirty. In this state they were kept during the voyage, and so great were their sufferings through insufficient food, a scanty supply of water, and want of fresh air, that when they arrived at Jamaica, after a passage of three months and three days, thirty-two had died on the way. They were landed at Port Royal, and kept in prison ten days, until they were sold as slaves. The proceeds of their sale were kept for Sir Philip Howard, an Englishman, who had received a gift of them from the king. Sir Philip, however, did not live to enjoy it, for when leaving London for Port Royal, he fell between two ships and was drowned. — ED.]

THE same year, one Pitlochie transported to New Jersey one hundred, whereof twenty-four were women.

[In 1685 there are several acts of Council banishing prisoners, and handing them over to John Scot, laird of Pitlochie. Under March 10, he received a warrant to go to the prisons of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling, and transport a hundred of the prisoners to the plantations. He seems also to have gone to Dunottar, and to have got about thirty there, among others Patrick Walker, the well known writer of “Remarkable Passages in the Lives of Peden, Cameron, Cargill, etc;” but he escaped while they were waiting at Leith. The ship sailed September 5. She had scarcely turned the Land’s End, when fever broke out, especially among those who had been confined for so many months in the dark vault at Dunottar. The beef became putrid; the ship twice sprang a leak; and so deadly was the voyage, which lasted for fifteen weeks, that their numbers were about seventy less when they arrived at New Jersey (whither the wind drove them rather than to Jamaica, where the captain had proposed to take them) — Pitlochie himself and his wife being among the dead. On landing, the prisoners seem to have been left at large, and the inhabitants of a town, not named, a little way up the country, hearing of their circumstances, invited all who were able to travel to come and live with them, and sent horses for such as were not, and entertained them that winter freely and with much kindness. In

spring Pitlochrie's son-in-law sought to claim them as his property, and sued them before the court of the province. The governor sent the case before a jury, who found that the accused had not of their own accord come to the ship, and had not bargained with Pitlochrie for money or service, and therefore, according to the laws of the country, they were free. Most of the prisoners retired to New England, where they were very kindly entertained. "So," concludes Wodrow, "Pitlochrie proposed to be enriched by the prisoners, and yet he and his lady died at sea on the voyage. He sold what remained of the estate to pay the freight, and much of the money remaining was spent upon the lawsuit in New Jersey. Thus it appears to be but a hazardous venture to make merchandise of the suffering people of God." — ED.]

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.

[Wodrow does not mention this exact number, but under November 26, 1685, he gives an extract from the Council registers, which sentences David Paterson in Eaglesham, William Freugh there, James Rae, Uddingston, and John Park, weaver in Lanark, for Conventicles and refusing the Oath of Allegiance, to be banished; and under December 9, 1685, eleven more receive the same sentence. — ED.]

ANNO 1687 [1685], three-and-twenty men and women were sent to Barbadoes, whose names that subscribed the Joint Testimony are as follows: John Ford, Walter M'Min, Adam Hood, John M'Gie, Peter Russel, Thomas Jackson, Charles Dougal, James Grierson, John Harvie, James Forsyth, George Johnson, John Steven, Robert Young, John Gilfillan, Andrew Paterson, John Kincaid, Robert Main, James Muirhead, George Muir, John Henderson, Anaple Jackson, Anaple Gordon, Jean Moffat.

[1687 is here, from the place in which the paragraph stands, evidently a misprint for 1685. The compilers do not seem to have known that these were part of the banished given to Pitlochrie. The substance of the joint testimony, with the names here given, and five others, occurs in Wodrow, and is dated from Leith Roads. August 28, 1685, while the ship was lying there waiting orders to sail. — ED.]

ANNO 1686 [1687], March 30, were banished to Barbadoes, John Stewart, James Douglas, John Russel, James Hamilton, William Hannay, George White, Gilbert MacCulloch, Thomas Brown, John Brown, William Hay, John Wright, John Richard, Alexander Bailie, Marion Weir, Bessie Weir, Isabel Steel, Isabel Cassils, Agnes Keir.

[In Wodrow the same names and three others occur under 1687. He says, “April this year I find that sixteen men and five women were banished to America, and gifted to Captain Fairn, who carried them away in Captain Croft’s ship, then lying at Leith. Their testimony they jointly signed lies before me, and therein they signify the reason of their sentence was, because they would not acknowledge the present authority to be according to the Word of God, nor disown the Sanquhar Declaration, nor engage not to hear Mr. James Renwick, and conclude with leaving their testimony against the evils of the times, and sign thus.” Then follow their names. — ED.]

A LIST OF THOSE KILLED IN THE FIELDS.

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. [The Council's murdering Edict was passed November 23, 1684. It was, "The Lords of his majesty's Privy Council do hereby ordain any person who owns, or will not disown the late treasonable declaration [*i.e.*, the Apologetic Declaration] upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death, this being always done in presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission from the Council for that effect." The Short Memorial, etc., drawn up by Alexander Shields, the author of the "Hind Let Loose," and quoted from in this Short Account, is a quarto of 56 closely-printed pages. It is a calm and able statement of the unlawful and tyrannical character of the administration of the governments of Charles II. and James VII. The pages here quoted form the much smaller part of the memorial that occupied with a "short recapitulation in bulk of some instances of our several kinds of sufferings, with a touch at some of the most principal instruments thereof in the five western shires." — ED.]

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, stigmatising [*i.e.*, branding with a hot iron], whipping, etc., would be a work of immense labor; nor can any full account; thereof be had, considering 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 villainies from the view of posterity. The number of such as suffered under color of law, and judicial trial, from Mr. James Guthrie the first, to Mr. James Renwick the last, has been computed to amount to about one hundred and forty. But the councilors, 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 authorized captains, lieutenants, sergeants, and single soldiers to shoot all suspected persons, wherever they could catch them, without further trial of their pretended crimes; and accordingly, betwixt the year 1682 and

1688, when a revolution of affairs put a stop to their career and bloodshed, 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 Suffering and Grievances of the Presbyterians in Scotland, particularly of those of them called by nickname Cameronians,” printed in the year 1690. Which is as follows:

John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, in the year 1685, with a party of his troops, pursued William Graham, in the parish of [Kells], in Galloway, making his escape from his mother’s house, and overtaking him, instantly shot him dead. [There is no account of this martyr either in Wodrow or Crook-shanks. His remains are interred in the churchyard of Kells. — ED.]

THE said Claverhouse, together with the Earl of Dumbarton, and Lieutenant-General Douglas, caused Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young (who was taken by the Laird of Lee), William Fiddieson, and John Bruning, 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 Mauchline, 1685.

[Peter Gillies was a bleacher in Stirling. In 1674, a Presbyterian minister preached in his house. Tidings of the sermon came to the curate, and the result was that Gillies was turned out of his house, and stripped nearly of his all. In 1685, when in Muiravonside, the curate, displeased at his nonconformity, informed against him, and got a party of Highland soldiers, just arrived at Falkirk, sent to apprehend him, which they did April 30th. John Bryce, a weaver in West Calder parish, who had come to get some cloth, was taken with him. Peter Gillies’ wife had given birth to a child a few days previous. In her presence, nevertheless, they threatened him with immediate death, and hurried him away without allowing him to speak to her or change his clothes. In less than an hour after, some of the soldiers came back to her with a story of their own, saying that her husband had signified she knew where his arms lay, and that if she gave them up his life would be spared, and if not he would be shot. She calmly replied that he had no arms she knew of, and if they got liberty to take his life she would endeavor to say, Good is the will of the Lord, and He who did all things well could not wrong her or hers. At this the soldiers flew in a passion,

swore and threatened to burn her where she lay. They plundered the house of all they could carry away. Meanwhile the two prisoners had been tied together, and driven by the soldiers before them. When they had got a few miles on the road they blindfolded Peter Gillies, and set him on his knees as if to be shot, with a the of musketeers before him, and kept him in this position for half-an-hour, and then took him with them to the west country whither they were marching. As they passed through Carluke they seized William Fiddieson and Thomas Young. "All four, says Patrick Walker, were my very dear acquaintance."

On May 4th they were at Middle Wellwood, two miles west of Muirkirk. Here, says Wodrow, "Peter Gillies writes a letter to his wife full of affection and seriousness, and leaves her and five children on the Lord, with much holy confidence, and desires her to speak to some of his relations, and reprove them for their faults, which he heartily forgives them."

After reading some of the Scripture, for which the soldiers abused and threatened him, he wanted not impressions that he was to die, and would shortly be beyond the reach of enemies. That day they were taken to Mauchline, and next day they were examined by Lieutenant-General Drummond, Master-General of the Ordnance, and a jury called of fifteen soldiers, and an indictment given them, which Wodrow has preserved. As might be expected, they were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged at the town end of Mauchline next day, May 6th. No coffins were allowed them, nor dead clothes, but the soldiers and two country people made a hole and flung them together into it. Such is the substance of Wodrow's account of them. It differs somewhat from that in the text, but the difference is seeming rather than real. A trial before a jury of fifteen soldiers, and following immediately on the indictment being put into their hands, was not a legal trial. Lieutenant-General Douglas is not mentioned by Wodrow, but Mauchline was at that time his head-quarters. — ED.]

THE said Claverhouse coming to Galloway, in answer to the Viscount of Kenmure's letter, with a small party surprised Robert Stuart, John Grier, Robert Ferguson and James M'Michael, and instantly shot them dead at the water of Dee in Galloway, December 1684. Their corpses being buried, were at his command raised again.

[Claverhouse came upon them at Auchincloy. There were eight of them altogether, two of whom made their escape. The six were Robert Smart and John Grier from Galloway, Robert Ferguson and James M'Michael from Penpont, Robert Smith from Glencairn, Robert Hunter. The six had no other resource but to stand on the defensive. All were soon overpowered except James M'Michael, who fought single-handed with Claverhouse, until Claverhouse had to cry for assistance, when, according to tradition, M'Michael said to him, "You dare not abide the issue of a single combat! Had your helmet been like mine, a soft bonnet, your carcass had ere this found its bed on the heath." A dragoon came to Claverhouse's relief, and coming up behind M'Michael split his skull in two. Friends buried M'Michael's body, but Claverhouse, when he heard of the burial, ordered the corpse to be taken out of the grave and hung on a tree. M'Michael had been at Airmoss and the rescue at Enterkin. It was he that, supposing his friends to be in danger, shot Peter Pearson, curate at Carsphairn. For this deed he had been expelled from the fellowship of the Societies. After James M'Michael was killed, Robert Ferguson, Robert Stuart, John Grier, who had been overpowered, were shot. Robert Smith and Robert Hunter, Claverhouse carried to Kirkcudbright, and went through a form of trial with them. They were speedily condemned, when they were not permitted to write a line, not even a letter to their relations. When brought to the gibbet, and they began to speak to the people, the drums were beat to prevent them being heard. After they were hanged they were beheaded. — ED.]

THE said Claverhouse in May 1685, apprehended John Brown in Priesthill, in the parish of Muirkirk, in the shire of Ayr, being at his work about his own house, and shot him dead before his own door in presence of his wife.

[John Brown of Priesthill was known in the district as the Christian carrier. He was of more than ordinary piety and knowledge, and possessed unusual skill in communicating to others what he knew. He had never attended the services of the curates, but in other respect had given no offense to the government, yet he found it prudent to hide in the moorlands. His long exemption from molestation had evidently emboldened him to return home, when he speedily fell into the hands of the destroyer.

On the morning of the first of May 1685, between five and six o'clock, after he had made worship with his family, he was on the way to cut peats with his spade in his hand, when in the thick mist he was surrounded by Claverhouse and three troops of dragoons on the road from Lesmahagow. Whether Claverhouse had any knowledge of his character is not known, but he brought him from the peat ground to his house, a bleak, desolate spot, fully four miles to the north of Muirkirk railway station, and from which at the present time, not a hut, not even a tree is to be seen. Here he was examined, and gave his answers distinctly and solidly, which made Claverhouse ask his guides through the muir if ever they heard him preach. "No, no," was the reply, "he was never a preacher." "Well," said Claverhouse, "if he has never preached, much has he prayed in his time. Go to your prayers," he added to John Brown, "for you shall immediately die."

The carrier prayed with great fervor. Thrice Claverhouse interrupted him. On one of these times John Brown was pleading that the Lord would spare a remnant and not make a full end in the day of His anger, when Claverhouse said, "I gave you time to pray, and you are begun to preach." John Brown calmly turned round about on his knees, and said, "Sir, you know neither the nature of preaching nor praying that call this preaching;" and then continued without confusion.

When he was ended, Claverhouse said, "Take good-night of your wife and children," for she stood by with a child of his former wife clinging to her, one of her own in her arms, and was soon to give birth to another. "Now, Isabel," were his words to her, "the day is come that I told you would come, when I spake first to you of marrying me." "Indeed, John," she replied, "I can willingly part with you." "That is all," he said, "I desire. I have no more to do but die. I have been ready to meet with death for years past." He kissed her and his children. He gave them his blessing, and wished purchased and promised blessings to be multiplied upon them. Claverhouse now ordered six of his soldiers to fire on him; but such had been the effect of the martyr's prayers, that not even one of these men, long used to deeds of violence, would obey his command, and in a rage he shot him with his own hand.

"What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" was his question to the widow, as she gazed on the lifeless body. "I thought ever much good of

him, and as much now as ever.” “It were but justice,” was his reply, “to lay thee beside him.” “If ye were permitted,” was her heroic answer, “I doubt not your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye answer for this morning’s work?” “To man,” the murderer replied, “I can be answerable; and as for God, I’ll take Him into mine own hand.” But this was empty bravado, for even on his seared conscience the dying words of his victim left an impression that he could never wear off. — ED.]

THE said Claverhouse authorized his troops to kill Matthew Mickelwrath without any examination, in the parish of Colmonell in Carrick, anno 1685.

Colonel James Douglas, now Lieutenant-General, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, together with Lieutenant John Livingstone and a party with them, surprised five men in a cave at Ingliston, in the parish of Glencairn, betrayed by Andrew Watson. Their names were John Gibson [brother to James Gibson of Ingliston, heritor of the ground], Robert Grierson [from Galloway], Robert Mitchell [from Cumnock], James Bennoch [from Glencairn], John Edgar [Robert Edgar; he fled from his house for refusing the abjuration oath] — all which were at the command of the said Colonel Douglas brought forth and immediately shot dead, without giving them so much time as to recommend their souls unto God. One John Ferguson, sometime a professed friend, thrust one of them through, supposing he was not dead. This was done in the year 1685.

[Wodrow’s account of this murder is taken from a narrative written at the time. He says, directed by Watson, Colonel James Douglas and Lieutenant Livingstone came suddenly on the cave and surprised the five in it. The soldiers shot in on the cave, wounded one, and then rushed in. Without any examination, or the slightest form of trial, Colonel Douglas immediately ordered them to be taken out and shot, though nothing could be laid to their charge but that they were found in the cave. John Gibson was first shot. He was suffered to pray, which he did to the admiration and conviction even of the soldiers themselves. He sang part of Psalm 17, and read John 16. His sister got forward to him by the compassion of some of the soldiers. He told her this was the joyfulest day ever he had in the world. His mother, too, managed to get to him, and he charged her not to give way to grief, but to bless the Lord upon his account, who had made him both willing and ready to suffer for His cause and interest. After again praying,

he was despatched. The other four were shot all at once without being permitted to pray separately. They had great peace and consolation. The volley killed three of their number, while one was sorely wounded but conscious. When this was observed by Ferguson, a renegade, he drew his sword and thrust him through the body. When the martyr was weltering in his blood and that of his fellow-sufferers for Christ, he said, "*Though every hair of my head were a man, I am willing to die all those deaths for Christ and His cause,*" and with these words he died. The inscriptions over the graves of John Gibson, Robert Mitchell, James Bennoch, and Robert Edgar, are in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Colonel James Douglas and his party shot to death John Hunter, for no alleged cause, but running out from the house of Corehead (in the parish of Moffat) the same year, 1685.

[John Hunter was a native of the parish of Tweedsmuir, in the south of Peeblesshire. He had a neighbor, Welsh by name, usually called, however, in the district, "The Babe of Tweedhopefoot," probably from his great bodily strength. Welsh had often sheltered the persecuted, and had himself suffered much because of his sympathy with them. He heard that Colonel James Douglas was in the neighborhood; and, expecting a visit from him, he determined to withdraw to the wilds for concealment. John Hunter, a good man, of like mind with him, accompanied him. They retired to Corehead, near the source of the water of Annan. Colonel James Douglas got notice of their flight, and pursued them with his soldiers. He soon gained ground on them. When they saw they were being overtaken, they made for the "Straught Steep," which, from its inaccessibility to cavalry, they hoped would give them a safe retreat. But as they were reaching it, the dragoons began to fire, and a ball struck John Hunter, as he was scrambling over the rocks, and he was shot dead. His remains were laid in the churchyard of Tweedsmuir. The inscription over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Colonel or Lieutenant-General James Douglas, with Lieutenant Livingstone and Cornet Douglas, surprised six men at prayer at the Caldunes, in the parish of Minniegaff — viz., James Dun, Robert Dun, Andrew Macaulay, Thomas Stevenson, John M'Clude, and John Stevenson, in January 1685.

[“Nothing,” says Wodrow, “was charged upon them but that they were persons hiding, and at prayer. Whether the Oath of Abjuration was offered or not, my information doth not bear; but without any further process, they were immediately taken out, and shot to death.” — ED.]

THE said Colonel or Lieutenant-General James Douglas caused take Andrew M’Quhan out of his bed, sick of a fever, and carry him to Newton of Galloway, and the next day shot him dead, the foresaid year 1685.

[M’Quhan was unable to answer the questions put to him by Colonel James Douglas, and so the soldiers took him, ill as he was, out of bed, carried him with them to the Newton, and next morning (May 11, 1685), shot him dead, without process or trial, — ED.]

THE said Colonel or Lieutenant-General James 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.

[Thomas Richard was a farmer in Greenock Mains, a farm to the west of Muirkirk parish, Ayrshire. Wodrow calls him a good man, near eighty years of age. He had been in hiding in the high moorlands, to the north of the parish, where it touches Lanarkshire, when Peter Inglis, a cornet, and son to Captain Inglis, of evil notoriety for his cruelties, and four or five others, came to him in his hiding-place, in the guise of friends. They had each Bibles, and asked Thomas to read and pray with them. The good man, suspecting no deceit, readily complied with their request. After prayer, they talked with him about an attack they proposed to make on a neighboring garrison. They asked him if he knew where any of the honest party were. Still fearing no guile, he told them he knew not of any at present, but that he had lodged some of them a few days ago, and was not unwilling to give them any entertainment he had. At last one of them betrayed himself by an oath, when all threw off the mask, and, to the astonishment of the old man, made him their prisoner, and carried him to Colonel Douglas, then at Cumnock, who, on this confession, without trial of any kind, next day ordered him to be shot. — ED.]

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.

THE said Captain Douglas and his men, finding one — Auchenleck, a deaf man, for not making answer, through defect of his hearing, instantly shot him dead off horseback, near Carlinwark, anno 1685.

Sir Robert Dalziel, and Lieutenant Straiton, having apprehended Daniel M'Michael, not able to flee, by reason of his being sick, and detained him four hours prisoner, took him out, and shot him at Dalveen, in the parish of Durrisdeer, in Nithsdale, January 1685.

[Daniel M'Michael was the brother of James M'Michael. He lived in Lurgfoot, now Blairfoot, in Morton parish, Dumfriesshire, and his house was a well-known resort of the pious people in the neighborhood. In July 1685 he was confined to bed with fever. Some of his friends had met in his house for religious exercises, and they had stationed a watchman, to give notice in case of danger. It was not long until he saw a party of soldiers, in the distance, approaching. They had been told by an informer of the meeting. The watchman immediately gave the alarm, when all prepared for flight. Ill as he was, Daniel was not forgotten, for they knew his illness would not ward off from him the cruelties of the soldiers. They wrapped him in the warm bed-clothes, and conveyed him to a cave, not far from his house, where he and his friends had often concealed themselves. They were not long there until one of their number left the cave. On the way, he called at the smithy, where he learned the hiding-place had been betrayed. He hastened back, and told them the cave was known to their enemies, who would soon be there. It was at once resolved to leave. The better to baffle the soldiers, they separated into two parties, one going in the direction of Durrisdeer, and the other to Kirkhope. But the soldiers also divided, and gained on the party in which Daniel M'Michael was. At his earnest request, they hid him in a cave, concealed under the brow of a mountain-stream. Here, however, the dogs that accompanied the soldiers scented him out, and he was dragged from his retreat, and carried to Durrisdeer.

Many questions were put to him, which he declined to answer, and many things were laid to his charge, which he denied, and said he knew nothing of. At length he was told that unless he took the oath, in token of

recognition of the government in Church and State, he must die. "Sir," he replied, "that is what, in all things, I cannot do; but very cheerfully I submit to the Lord's disposal as to my life." "Do you not know," said the commander, "your life is in my hand?" "No, sir," he rejoined, "I know my life is in the Lord's hand; and if He see good, He can make you the instrument to take it away." He was then ordered to prepare for death next day. "If my life," he replied, "must go for His cause, I am willing; my God will prepare me." "That night," says Wodrow, "he enjoyed a sweet time of communion and fellowship with God, and great outlets of joy and consolation; so that some of the soldiers desired to die his death, and not a few convictions were left in their bosoms."

The soldiers had determined to take him north next day to Crawford, where their main body was stationed, but his feeble state compelled them to halt on the way, at the entrance to Dalveen Pass, where they ordered him to prepare for death. They gave him liberty to pray, which he did to the wonder of the bystanders. He sang part of Psalm 42, and read John 16, and spoke, "with much gravity and. solidity," to Captain Dalziel. After the napkin had been put over his face, he said, "Lord, Thou broughtest Daniel through many straits, and hast brought me, Thy servant, hither, to witness for Thee and Thy cause. Into Thy hands I commit my spirit, and hope to praise Thee through all eternity." He then gave the sign to the soldiers, when the four appointed fired, and he fell dead. A monument marks the place where he fell. His remains rest in Durrissdeer churchyard. The inscription over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Captain Dalziel and Lieutenant Straiton, with their men, found William Adam hiding in a bush, and instantly killed him, at the Wellwood, parish of Muirkirk, in Kyle, February 1685.

[Wodrow says there was no charge against him; but that he was thrashing, and seeing Sir Robert Dalziel's dragoons approaching, and fearing lest they should come upon him in the barn, and put the usual questions to him, he went out at the back, and hid. himself in a marshy piece of ground, among some bushes. The soldiers saw him running away, and searched for him, and when they found him, instantly killed him. The place where his body lies is quite in keeping with this account. It is a sequestered spot, by the side of a brook — the Proscribe Burn — and the ground rising up from it is

besprinkled with clumps of reeds. Dr. Simpson, in his "Gleanings among the Mountains," gives a much more romantic version, although by no means irreconcilable with that by the historian, of the story of his death. He was about to be married to a pious young woman, and he had appointed a meeting with her by the brook. He was first there, and profitably to spend the time till she came, he took out his Bible, and began to read. He had not read long till his eye caught the dragoons close upon him. He started to his feet. They immediately rode up to him, and shot him dead on the spot. Meanwhile his betrothed was hastening to the meeting-place, and heard the sound of firearms from the direction whither she was going. The tradition says, she feared the worst, and her fears seemed justified as she saw the horsemen coming. She met the horsemen as she was passing along a wooden bridge over the river Ayr, while they were crossing the same stream. One of the dragoons, riding close by the side of the bridge, drew his sword, and struck her with its broadside, as if he would push her into the water. Embittered in spirit, and her courage roused, it was the work of a moment to wrap her apron round her hand to seize the sword by the blade, wrench it out of the soldier's hand, snap it in two, and fling the pieces into the water. This done, she ran to the meeting-place, to find her William lying dead on the ground. — ED.]

Captain Bruce, captain of dragoons, apprehended James Kirko (of the parish of Keir), at the intelligence of one James Wright, carried him to Dumfries, detained him prisoner one night, next day (May 13, 1685) brought him forth to the water sands, and, without 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, "No, no; no more time, devil peace ye get more made up." Some gentlewomen coming to beg his life, were hindered by one John Craik, of Stewarton. The foresaid Dalziel's second son was one of them that shot him, though without command.

[Wodrow adds, he calmly replied, "Sir, you mistake it; you cannot mar my peace with God." At this the captain raged, and cried to the soldiers, "Dogs, make ready," and so they shot him dead, without giving him time to pray. The inscription on the monument over his remains is in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Captain Bruce surprised at Lochenkit, in the parish of Kirkpatrick [Durham], in Galloway, six men, and instantly killed dead four of them, viz., John Gordon, William Stewart, William Heron, and John Wallace, and carried the other two, Edward Gordon and Alexander M'Cubin, of Glencairn, prisoners, and the next day, he and monstrous [Sir Robert Grierson of] Lagg, without any trial, caused hang them upon a growing tree, near the Kirk of Irongray, and left them there hanging, 19th February 1685.

[William Heron and Alexander M'Cubin were from Glencairn, the other four were from Galloway. William Heron, John Gordon, William Stuart, and John Wallace, lie buried where they were shot in Lochenkit Muir. A monument marks the spot. The inscription is in the Appendix. Alexander M'Cubin and Edward Gordon were next day taken to Irongray. The oak tree on which they were hanged is one of a clump, and all grow out of what is evidently a cairn. When they were brought to the tree foot, a friend of Alexander M'Cubin asked him if he had any word to send to his wife. "I leave her," he replied, "and the two babes upon the Lord, and to His promise; a Father to the fatherless, and Husband to the widow, is the Lord in His holy habitation." When the hangman asked forgiveness, he said, "Poor man, I forgive thee and all men; thou hast a miserable calling upon earth." They both died, says Wodrow, in much composure and cheerfulness. — ED.]

THE said Captain Bruce and his men took out of his bed Thomas M'Haffie, sick of a fever, and shot him instantly, in the parish of Straiton, in Carrick, January 1685. [Thomas M'Haffie is described by Wodrow as son to John M'Haffie, in the Largs, in the parish of Staiton, Ayshire. He was well-known in the district for his piety. Dr. Simpson tells of an escape he made from the soldiers when on his way to a meeting near Maybole. On the morning on which he was shot, he was concealed in a glen on the farm of Linfairn, about three miles to the south of the village of Straiton. He was then ill of fever, caught from exposure in the damp caves in which he had been forced to hide himself from his enemies. In this condition he heard the approach of the soldiers, when he rose from his hiding-place and fled. He reached the house of a friend, but was so exhausted that he at once threw himself upon a bed. Captain Bruce and his soldiers speedily reached the house, and made him their prisoner. He was examined in the usual manner,

but he declined to answer their questions. The abjuration oath was offered him, which he declined. Bruce then ordered his soldiers to drag him from the bed, which they immediately did, and took him out to the high road, and without any further process, shot him dead. A stone on the farm of Linfairn marks the spot where he fell. His remains are in a churchyard of Straiton. The inscription on the monument over them is in the Appendix. — ED.] M'Haffie, in the Largs, in the parish of Straiton, Ayrshire. He was well-known in the district for his piety. Dr. Simpson tells of an escape he made from the soldiers when on his way to a meeting near Maybole. On the morning on which he was shot, he was concealed in a glen on the farm of Linfairn, about three miles to the south of the village of Straiton. He was then ill of fever, caught from exposure in the damp caves in which he had been forced to hide himself from his enemies. In this condition he heard the approach of the soldiers, when he rose from his hiding-place and fled. He reached the house of a friend, but so exhausted that he at once threw himself upon a bed. Captain Bruce and his soldiers speedily reached the house, and made him their prisoner. He was examined in the usual manner, but he declined to answer their questions. The abjuration oath was offered him, which he declined. Bruce then ordered his soldiers to drag him from the bed, which they immediately did, and took him out to the high road, and without any further process, shot him dead. A stone on the farm of Linfairn marks the spot where he fell. His remains are in the churchyard of Straiton. The inscription on the monument over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

James Douglas, cornet of dragoons, commanded to shoot John Scruple, essaying to escape out of a window, in the parish of Dailly, anno 1685. Kilkerran shot him.

[Wodrow gives an account of the murder of John Scruple, which he says has been attested by several honest people yet in the parish of Dailly, from their particular knowledge of all its circumstances. It is of touching simplicity. John Scruple was a person who lived a very quiet and innocent life with his wife, and three or four children. He never carried arms, nor gave the least disturbance to the government, only from a principle of conscience he came not to the church to hear the Episcopal ministers; and being given to hospitality, and of a compassionate temper, he did sometimes harbor those poor people who were then hunted for their lives.

Upon these accounts, April this year 1685, Alexander Fergusson, of Kilkerran, living at Moorston, a country house about a mile from Eldington, went to Blawhan garrison, commanded by Dundas, and informed against John Scruple. The commander detached a party about sunset, Alexander Fergusson being their guide, who conducted them first to his own house at Moorston, where they supped. About midnight, when they reckoned he would be at home, and all ready for their purpose, they came straight towards Eldington, and surrounded the house. John Semple hearing the sound of their feet, and whispering about the house, dreaded what was the matter, and having a right thought of their design, considered with himself what to do in that extremity, and at length concluded to venture his escape out at a narrow window, which while he was endeavoring, and half out and half in, five or six of the party espied him, and discharged their pieces at him, and killed him dead on the spot. — ED.]

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.

[Edward M'Keen would seem to be the same as Edward Kyan, whose murder is narrated by Wodrow. On February 28, 1685, at eleven o'clock at night, Lieutenant or Cornet Douglas, with twenty-four soldiers, surrounded the house of Dalwine, having been informed that there were whigs met together there. They apprehended a David Martin, and finding Edward Kyan, a young man from Galloway, who had come thence to buy corn, and who had fled in between the gable of one house and the sidewall of another, they dragged him out. When questioned, he gave what they reckoned unsatisfactory answers, and as one of the soldiers was dragging him away, Lieutenant Douglas, without further warning, shot him through the head, and as he lay on the ground struggling with death, fired his other pistol at him. Shortly after, one of the soldiers, pretending he saw life in him, fired a third shot at the body. After they had killed Edward Kyan, David Martin was brought out, his coat stripped off him, and he was set on his knees beside the mangled body. When he was about to be shot, at the allegation of one of the soldiers that discoveries might be got out of him, he was spared, but the poor man, through the fear and terror he had been. put to, well nigh lost his reason, and was rendered bedfast till his death, four years after. — ED.]

Lieutenant — General Drummond commanded, without any process or trial, John Murchie and Daniel Meiklewrath to be instantly shot, after they were taken at Altercannock, in the parish of Colmonell, in Carrick, Ayrshire, anno 1685.

At the same time his soldiers did shoot dead Alexander Lin.

Captain Inglis and his dragoons pursued and killed James Smith, at the bum of Anne, in Kyle, about two miles south of Newmilns, 1684.

[Dr. Simpson gives an account of the murder of a man of the name of Smith, who appears to have been this James Smith. He lived in the farm of Threepod, or rather Threepwood, in Galston parish. He was a man of retired habits, and had cherished in secret the principles of the persecuted; but his natural timidity had kept him back from an open avowal of his thoughts. At length he resolved to take a decided step. He took his infant child for baptism to a conventicle, held in the night time at a spot fourteen miles distant. After baptism, he retraced his steps, and arrived at his own house before daybreak. To prevent suspicion, after laying down the child, he immediately betook himself to the barn, and commenced to thrash corn. In spite, however, of his caution, he had been discovered, and information given to his enemies. For safety, he sought a hiding-place in the fields, but here he was found out, and two soldiers sent to apprehend him. On their approach, he drew his sword in self-defense, and skillfully warded off the strokes of his assailants. But the soldiers, finding he was not to be so easily captured, tried stratagem. While the one fought with him face to face, the other stole behind him, and threw a cloak over his head, which at once blindfolded him, and entangled his sword arm, so that he was easily overpowered, when the two at once put an end to his life. He was buried where he fell. — ED.]

Peter Inglis, his son, killed one John Smith in Cunningham, 1685. The said Peter or Patrick Inglis also killed one James White, struck off his head with an axe, brought it to Newmilns, and played at football with it. He killed him at Little Blackwood, the foresaid year [May] 1685.

[Twelve men were met for prayer, a night in the beginning of May 1685, in the house of James Paton, a wright, and tenant of Little Blackwood, about two miles to the south-east of Fenwick, Ayrshire, when a noise was heard

outside. They soon found they were surrounded. James White was the only one that had a firelock. As Patrick Inglis entered the house, after he had broken the door open, James White pulled the trigger, but the priming burned, without the gun going off, and its light let the soldiers see where he was, when they fired, and he fell dead. Three of the rest escaped, but the others were soon overpowered, and were spared through the intercession of James Paton's wife, who, before her marriage, had known Patrick Inglis, when he was quartered in her father's house. The soldiers cut off the head of James White, and carried it to Newmilns, where next day they played with it as a football on the green. The eight prisoners were taken to Newmilns, and put in the prison there — now in ruins. The next day they were brought out to be shot, when doubts were raised by one of the soldiers as to the legality of their proceedings, when it was resolved to send to Edinburgh for authority from the Council. Meanwhile, during the interval, the friends of the prisoners broke open the prison, and all escaped. James White's remains lie in Fenwick Church. The inscription on the monument over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Peter Inglis shot John Barfie, with his pass in his hand, in Evandale, April 1685.

[John Barfie had his pass, and showed it to Peter Inglis, but nothing would satisfy him. He would have it that he was one of the wanderers, and so he shot him. His remains lie in Strathaven churchyard. The inscription is in the Appendix. — ED.]

Major Balfour, together with Captain Maitland, and their party, apprehended at their work, Kobert Thom, John Uric, and Thomas Cook, and instantly shot them at Polmadie, near Glasgow, May 1685.

[Wodrow gives an account of this murder, attested by a John Reid and Andrew Cochran. He sent it to Captain Maitland, who was alive when the history was being written, and he acknowledged that the whole of the countrymen's account was true. On May 11th, 1685, they were at Polmadie Mill, and they saw Major John Balfour, Captain James Maitland, and several others, arrive. Major Balfour asked them to whom they belonged. They said they were servants to Sir James Hamilton's tenants, in Shawfield. They were ordered to stand still. They saw them apprehend Thomas Cook and John Urie, who were weavers, and were

taken in their working clothes from off their looms. Thomas Cook was first taken, and because he did not come immediately when called, Major Balfour struck him on the face with a horsewhip, so that the blood gushed out, and he could scarcely speak. He next pushed a cocked pistol into his face, crying, "Blood and wounds! he is a rebel." Shortly after, some twenty foot soldiers arrived, and they ran through the houses, and seized Robert Thom, a laborer. When all the three were taken, they were examined. They were asked, "Would they pray for King James VII?" They answered, they would pray for all within the election of grace. "Do you," asked Balfour, "question the King's election?" "Sometimes," they replied, "they questioned their own." Upon this he swore, and said they should die presently, because they would not pray for Christ's vicegerent; and so, without one word more, he commanded Thomas Cook to say his prayers, for he should die. The poor man besought Balfour to spare him. "For how long?" he asked. "For two days," was his moderate request. But the Major swore he should live no longer. Balfour then drew out three musketeers, and placed them behind Thomas Cook, while he knelt in prayer. Cravats were taken from the bystanders, and put over the faces of the three. He then ordered the soldiers to fire, and Thomas Cook fell dead. The other two he despatched in the same manner; and within an hour of their apprehension, all three were murdered, and the dogs were licking their blood. The remains of the three martyrs are in Cathcart churchyard. The inscription on their monument is in the Appendix — ED.]

Colonel Buchan, with the Laird of Lee, and their men, shot John Smith, in the parish of Lesmahagow, February 1685.

[John Smith lies buried in Muirkirk churchyard. The inscription on his monument is in the Appendix. — ED.]

Lieutenant Lauder shot to death William Shillilaw, at Woodhead, on the Water of Ayr, [July] anno 1685. [In July 1685, Lieutenant Lewis Lauder, a subaltern officer in the garrison of Sorn, met, at the Woodhead of Tarbolton, William Shillilaw, of Stairhead, a lad of eighteen or under. From his age, he could not have been at Bothwell. His only fault was, that his name had been given in by the curate for non-attendance at the parish church. Seeing him cross the road, he ordered one of his dragoons to apprehend him. When he was brought to him, after a few of the usual

questions, Lauder ordered him to be shot, which was done on the spot. His remains lie in Tarbolton churchyard. The inscription on his monument

Lieutenant Nisbet and his party shot to death John Fergushill, George Woodburn, and Peter Gemmel, in the parish of Fenwick, in the said year.

[They were shot at the time when John Nisbet of Hardhill (see p. 448) was apprehended and taken to Edinburgh. George Woodburn's sword — an Andrea Ferrara, of 40 inches in length — is still in the possession of one of his descendants, in the farm of Mains, in the parish of London. Peter Gemmel was an ancestor of Robert Pollok, author of the "Course of Time," a native of the adjoining parish of Eaglesham. Hence, doubtless, the title of one of Pollok's "Tales of the Covenanters" — "Ralph Gemmel." A monument to John Fergushill and George Woodburn is in Fenwick churchyard, and a separate one to Peter Gemmel. Their inscriptions are in the Appendix. — ED.]

Lieutenant Murray with his party, shot one John Brown, after quarter given, at Blackwood, in Clydesdale, March 1685.

[Lieutenant Murray was going through the parish of Lesmahagow, and met him in the fields. He first promised him quarter, as he made no resistance; but in a few minutes, without process or sentence, he shot him near Blackwood, now a residence of W. E. Hope Vere, Esq., and said to be the original of the Milnwood of Sir Walter Scott's fiction. John Brown lies buried within a hundred yards to the east of the mansion-house. The inscription on his monument is in the Appendix. — ED.]

Lieutenant Crichton did most barbarously, after quarter, shoot David Steel, in the parish of Lesmahagow, December [20], 1686.

[David Steel was tenant of the farm of Nether Skellyhill, in the parish of Lesmahagow. He was at Bothwell Bridge, and henceforward he was a marked man. His name occurs on the fugitive-roll of 1684. So rigorous was the search made for him, that he dared not pass the night in his own house, but generally slept in a hut about four miles from Skellyhill, near the source of the Nethan. A writer in the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor" for 1830, says that the traces of this hut are still preserved, and pointed out by the shepherds. In the close of 1686, he ventured to return to, and take up his stay at, Skellyhill. On December 20th, Lieutenant Crichton, with a

detachment of horse and foot, came to the house. David Steel got the alarm shortly before they arrived, and slipped through a back-window, and ran to the Logan water, about a quarter of a mile away, with the soldiers behind him in pursuit. He crossed, but in crossing he fell into the water, and wetted the powder of the musket he had taken with him. He still, however, continued his flight to the steep and bush-grown banks of the Nethah, about a mile away, where he would soon have stayed the progress of his pursuers. But ere he reached the Nethan, the dragoons were almost upon him, and his strength failed him; while Crichton called him to surrender, and he should have quarter, and be taken to Edinburgh, and have a fair trial. David Steel surrendered on these terms; but Crichton had no intention of fulfilling them. He took him back to Skellyhill, where his wife, Mary Weir, had been watching his flight. With her only child in her arms, she ran to meet him. Crichton took David to the field before his own door, and ordered the dragoons to shoot him; but they reminded him of his promise to spare the man's life; and on his peremptorily commanding them to fire, they declared they would neither shoot him nor see him shot, and mounted their horses, and rode off to Upper Skellyhill. Crichton now turned to his foot soldiers, who were Highlanders, and the ignorant savages had no scruples. They fired, and several balls pierced the martyr's head. The murderers immediately left, and when the neighbors arrived, they found the widow by the mangled corpse of her husband. Tradition relates that the first words which 'she was heard to utter were, "The archers have shot at thee, my husband, but they could not reach thy soul: it has escaped like a dove, far away, and is at rest!" And then, clasping her hands, she prayed, "Lord, give strength to thy handmaid that will prove she has waited for Thee, even in the way of Thy judgments." Skellyhill is still tenanted by a descendant of Steel. Two thorn bushes near the house mark the place where he was murdered. A monument was erected in 1858 or 1859, within a few yards of the spot. The remains of Steel lie in Lesmahagow churchyard. The inscription on the monument over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE laird of Stenhouse, Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxwelton, and John Craik of Stewarton, did instigate and urge Cornet Baillie and his party of dragoons to shoot William Smith in Hill [parish of Glencairn], after he had been prisoner one night (it was the day of Maxwelton's daughter's

marriage), who also refused to let him be buried in the churchyard. This Douglas of Stenhouse, being a laird of mean estate, was advanced (for such services as this, and his excessive harassing, spoiling, and fining the people of God, and because he was a papist), to the honor of being secretary for Scotland to James the Seventh; but the wicked's honor is short lived; his name is extinct, having neither root nor branch, male or female, nor any remembrance left unto him. The said Lawfie 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.

[William Smith was a young man of eighteen. Comet Baillie of the garrison of Caitloch met him in the fields near his father's house, and had nothing against him save his refusal to answer the questions put to him. Notwithstanding, he took him prisoner to Caitloch. When his father heard of it he prevailed with his master, Lawfie of Maxwellton, to meet with Cornet Baillie at the kirk of Glencairn, to get, as he hoped, his son set free. That day, March 4th 1685, William Smith was brought before them, and still refusing to answer the questions put to him, Maxwellton immediately passed sentence of death upon him in virtue of the power he said he possessed as commissioner. Comet Baillie called this sentence in question as illegal, unless he summoned a jury and tried him before it, but Maxwellton would hear of no delay, and threatened to report the comet for sparing him so long. Accordingly he was carried out to the Race-moor, near by, and shot. He died, says Wodrow, with a great deal of holy composure and courage, and in full assurance of faith, declaring to the spectators that he suffered for no rebellion or any crime, but only for converse with the persecuted people as they came and went; and for refusing to discover their haunts and lurking places. He said much for the comfort of his parents when he took his farewell of them. — ED.]

Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall caused apprehend Andrew Hislop in the parish of Hutton in Annandale, and delivered him up to Claverhouse, and never rested until he got him shot by Claverhouse his troopers. Claverhouse would have delayed it, but Westerhall was so urgent that Claverhouse was heard say "This man's blood shall be upon Westerhall." At length upon his urgency Claverhouse ordered a Highland [gentleman] captain of a company [traversing the country with him] to do it, but he

refused, and drawing off his Highlanders to a convenient distance, swore that “her nainsel would fight Claverhouse and all his dragoons first.” Whereupon he caused three of his own dragoons do it, May [10th] 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 at a great distance from the house as a warning to all such apostates.

[Andrew Hislop was a young man, and lived, as did his brother and sisters, with his mother, a pious woman. To her house one of the persecuted came in sickness, and in a few days died. Fearing punishment for reset and converse, Mrs. Hislop and her sons buried the corpse under cover of night in a neighboring field. The grave was discovered, and Sir James Johnstone came with a party of men and lifted the body. They soon found whence the corpse had come, and immediately went and stripped the widow’s house of its contents, and pulled it to the ground, inflicting on the poor woman a computed loss of six hundred and fifty pounds Scots. While she and her family were thus forced to wander, Claverhouse, says Wodrow, and not Westerhall, fell upon Andrew Hislop in the fields, and brought him prisoner to Eskdale to Sir James Johnstone. Sir James immediately passed sentence of death upon him. Claverhouse was unwilling to execute the sentence, perhaps, says Wodrow, not wanting his own reflections upon John Brown of Priesthill’s murder ten days before. At last he ordered the Highland captain, as narrated above. When the three dragoons were ready to fire, they told Andrew to draw his bonnet over his eyes. But Andrew refused to do so, and courageously told them he could look his death bringers in the face without fear, and that he had done nothing whereof he was ashamed; and holding up his Bible, which he had in his hand, charged them to answer for what they had done, and were to do, when at the great day they were to be judged by that book. His remains lie where he was shot at Craighaugh in Eskdale. The inscription on the monument over them is in the Appendix. — ED.]

Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, having the command of a part of Claverhouse's troop and Strachan's dragoons, surprised John Bell of Whiteside, David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, Andrew M'Robert, James Clement, and Robert Lennox of Irelandtown, 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 the devil have you been doing? Have you not prayed enough these many years in the hills?" and so shot him presently in the parish of Tongland in Galloway, February 1685.

[John Bell of Whiteside in the parish of Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, was the only son of the heiress of Whiteside, who after his father's death had married Viscount Kenmure. He was a man of piety and sagacity, and had suffered much since the battle of Bothwell Bridge, where he seems to have been. Immediately after the battle his house was plundered. In 1681 Claverhouse and a party of soldiers lay several weeks in his house, until they had devoured all the provisions they could find; and when they left they carried off all his sheep. For several years he dare not live under his own roof, but had to hide himself in the moors. Dr. Simpson, in his "Gleanings among the Mountains," relates several traditional stories of narrow escapes he made from his enemies. It was in February 1685 that he at last fell into their hands. He and his four friends were upon the hill of Kirkconnel, in Tongland Parish, Kirkcudbrightshire, when they were taken and immediately shot. Shortly after the murder, Viscount Kenmure, Claverhouse, and Lagg met at Kirkcudbright, when the Viscount challenged the murderer for his cruelty to one whom he knew to be a gentleman, and nearly related to him, and especially that he would not permit his corpse to be buried. Lagg swore at him, and told him, "Take him if you will, and salt him in your beef barrel." At which the Viscount drew his sword, and would have run him through, had not Claverhouse interfered and separated them. John Bell's remains are in Anwoth Churchyard, David Halliday's are in Balmaghie, Robert Lennox's in Girthon. The inscriptions are in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE said Laird of Lagg, with the Earl of Annandale, having command of some troops of heritors, pursued another David Halliday [of Glencayre] and George Short, and apprehended and shot them, under cloud of night, in the parish of Twynholm, in Galloway, anno x685.

[On June 10th, according to Wodrow, but July 11th, according to the inscription on the monument in Balmaghie, over the remains of David Halliday, Lord Annandale fell in with the two martyrs. On their surrender he gave them quarter till they should be tried next day; but when Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg came up, he would have them shot immediately, as they lay bound upon the ground. They begged they might have the next day to prepare for eternity, and Lord Annandale told Sir Robert he had promised them so much. But nothing would move Lagg. He swore they should have no time, and ordered his men to shoot them forthwith. The soldiers refused until he threatened to do it himself, when the two were shot as they lay. The remains of Short are also in Balmaghie churchyard. The inscriptions on the monuments of both martyrs are in the Appendix. — ED.]

THE laird of Culzean [Sir Archibald Kennedy] for that time captain of a troop of militia and heritors, killed William M'Kirgue at Blairquahan Mill [parish of Straiton, Ayrshire], anno 1685.

The laird of Culzean, with the laird of Ballochmiln, also shot Gilbert M'Adam in the parish of Kirkmichael [Ayrshire] July 1685.

[Gilbert M'Adam was the son-in-law of James Dun in Benwhal, Dalmellington, a worthy man who suffered much in his family for their nonconformity. One son was murdered by the soldiers, and two were banished. Gilbert M'Adam was apprehended in 1682 and taken to Dumfries for his nonconformity. James Dun went and gave security under a penalty of four hundred pounds for his appearance when called, and he was set free. On his failing to appear, the penalty was exacted. Shortly afterwards he was again taken and carried to Glasgow, where, when he refused to take the oath, he was banished and sent away in Bailie Gibson's ship. His father had given him 20 pounds with him, with which he bought his freedom in America, and he returned home in 1685. On a Saturday night in June or July, in the house of Hugh Campbell in Kirkmichael, he and some friends were met for prayer, when Sir Archibald Kennedy, with a company of soldiers, surrounded the house. Gilbert M'Adam tried to escape, but the soldiers fired and shot him dead. Wodrow says he was a person of shining piety. — ED.]

A PARTY of Highlanders killed Joseph Wilson, David Dun, Simon Paterson, and other two, near the water of Coyle in Kyle [Ayrshire], anno 1685.

[David Dun belonged to an Ayrshire family noted for their attachment to the cause of truth and freedom, who suffered much during the persecution. David Dun had been at a conventicle held by James Renwick at Kilmien, a moorland spot four miles to the north-west of Dalmellington. He was returning home, when he saw a company of horsemen in the distance, trying to find their way to Kilmien. He turned towards a morass, in the midst of which was a hollow often resorted to by the persecuted when pursued, and would have reached the hollow, had not another detachment of cavalry coming from an opposite direction suddenly met him. He thus found himself hemmed in, and his heavy horse sinking on the edge of the moss, ere he could right himself he was a prisoner. Simon Paterson had been at the same meeting, and seems to have been taken at the same time. Their presence at the conventicle was their only crime. Both were taken to the gallows standing at Old Cumnock, and without trial, witnesses or jury, hanged that very day. Joseph Wilson, John Humphry, and John and Alexander Jamieson had come from Galloway, and had been at Kilmien. They had sought refuge in Tod Fauld below Benbeoch Craig, in the parish of Dalmellington, where they had lain for some time, but having learned that a reward was offered for their apprehension they retired to Carsgailoch Hill, about five miles to the west of New Cumnock. Here the four were surprised the day after the meeting by a party of dragoons. Alexander Jamieson, as Wodrow calls him, or James Jamieson according to tradition, escaped, but the other three were shot and left by the murderers unburied on the moor. Their friends afterwards interred them on the spot where they fell. A monument was erected about 1838 over their remains. In digging for its foundation the workmen came upon the bodies of the martyrs lying in the moss. They were in the coats, hose and bonnets, in which they had been shot. Their bodies were still in a state of good preservation, and so was their dress, which was mainly a strong home made cloth, that either had been, or had become the color of the moss. — ED.]

THE laird of Ardincaple, commanding a party of Highland-men, killed Robert Lockhart and Gabriel Thomson about that time also, May 1st, 1685.

[They had been at a conventicle, and were on their way home, when they were overtaken by Ardincaple coming from the west. The one was shot at Cowplie, at the foot of Melowther Hill, about three miles to the south-west of Eaglesham village; the other got away, but the soldiers came up to him about a mile further on the road at Sparrow Hill, at a house now in ruins. With his back to the gable of the house, he defended himself, but he was soon overpowered and shot dead. They were strangers to the district. Their remains lie in a corner of Eaglesham churchyard, since made the burying-place of the ministers of the parish. When a new monument was erected in 1838 over the spot, in clearing out the foundation two skulls were found not far from the surface, about the length of a man from each other, lying “heads and thraws” *i.e.*, in opposite directions. No trace of a coffin was to be seen. The inscription on the monument is in the appendix. — ED.]

William Paterson was shot at Struthaven, uncertain by whom, 1685.

[William Paterson was son to Robert Paterson in Kirkhill, Cambusnethan, who was killed at Airmoss. William Paterson had been turned out of his house for nonconformity, his family was scattered, and he himself suffered many privations, until at last he was apprehended and sent abroad as a soldier. Making his escape, he came home; and, after being in concealment for some time, was taken upon a Sabbath day in 1685 at Charonheugh. There were fourteen in the place, ten of whom, on the soldiers’ approach under Captain Bell, got into a secret place in the cave, while William and other three were made prisoners, who took the oath of abjuration. William Paterson refused it, when the soldiers carried him to Evandale Castle, where that afternoon, without trial, he was shot. His remains lie in Strathaven churchyard. The inscription is in the appendix. — ED.]

John M’Glorgan was killed at Drummellian’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 sixteen years old, without asking one question at him, in Distinkhorn Hill in Kyle, June 1688.

[George Wood was the last who suffered previous to the Revolution. Wedrow says that the murderer, when challenged for what he had done, replied, "He knew him to be one of the Whigs, and they ought to be shot wherever they were found." — ED.]

IN sum, their number amounts to seventy-eight. Besides these cold-blood murders, there were many killed at several skirmishes at Pentland, Bothwell, Airsmoss, etc., while fighting in their own defense, and the defense of the field-meetings, the number whereof amounts to about four hundred and some odds.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE OPPRESSIVE EXACTIONS

THE following short account, taken from the “Memorial of Grievances,” is far from being a full statement of the oppressive exactions during the twenty-eight years persecution. The expectation of the compilers that a fuller statement would be given was fulfilled by Wodrow. In the preface to the second volume of the original edition of the history there is an “abbreviate of fines and losses in the different shires and parishes from particular information in the author’s hands.” This abbreviate cost the historian more labor than many sheets of his history, and was formed out of several hundred sheets of informations from different parishes throughout the kingdom. Much labor as Wodrow spent on it, he says it was incomplete, for he had received no information from far the greater part of the parishes where the persecution raged. Hence he reckons the abbreviate to be at least one half less than the reality. But the abbreviate itself is something astounding. It is —

Shires	Fines & Losses
Fines and losses in the shires of Edinburgh, Selkirk, Berwick, Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, Galloway, Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Fife, Perth	1,743,999 pounds 18 8
Middleton’s fines detailed in Wodrow’s history	1,017,353 pounds 6 8
Gentlemen in Renfrewshire 1684, detailed in the history	237,333 pounds 6 8
Gentlemen in Dumbartonshire as in the history	55,200 pounds 0 0
Gentlemen in the shire of Murray [<i>i.e.</i> , Elgin, Banff, Ross, Sutherland], as in the history 1685	120,933 pounds 6 8
Total	3,174,819 pounds 18 8

EXPECTING that others, who have the particular informations of matters of facts 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 fore-mentioned Memorial of Grievances; which runs thus:

For fines and other exorbitant and illegal exactions of money, the particular sums cannot be here enume, rated; but their vastness, when together calculated, may be easily collected by the scraps already gathered of some poor families of farmers, cottars, servants, etc., and many of these omitted or not known (which would very considerably augment the sum), in some few shires, viz. Clydesdale, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale, only for but a few years, to wit, since Bothwell Bridge insurrection, amounting to above 288,000 pound Scots; besides the many honest families which have been casten 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 aforementioned shires, amounting to above two hundred.

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 finings and other exactions.

OF officers of the forces, Colonel Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, exacted above 2000 pounds Scots money in Galloway. Nithsdale, shire of Ayr, and other places. Lieutenant General Drummond, besides the forefaultures [*i.e.*, forfeitures] of gentlemen, did also exact moneys of the poor in the shire of Ayr.

The Earl of Linlithgow and his soldiers spoiled much in Galloway.

The Earl of Airly 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 13,500 pounds Scots money.

Colonel Buchan, a most violent persecutor in Galloway and the shire of Ayr, by robberies took from the people upwards of 4000 pounds Scots.

Major Cockburn, a great oppressor in Galloway.

Major White in Clydesdale, and shire of Ayr, exacted by fines and otherwise above 2500 pounds Scots.

Major Balfour, a great persecutor and oppressor in Clydesdale.

Captain Strachan with his troop oppressed and spoiled much in Galloway and other places.

Captain Inglis with his troop did dispossess many families, and got much spoil in Galloway, Ayr, and Clydesdale.

Captain Douglas in Galloway committed much outrage and spoil.

Captain Dalziel harassed much in Annandale. Captain Bruce in Nithsdale.

— Meldrum in Clydesdale took from poor families upwards of 2800 pounds, and vast sums in Merse and Teviotdale, with the Earl of Hume, and Ker of Grandoun, with the lairds of Haining and Blindlee, and in Tweeddale with the laird of Posso.

Lieutenant Winram in Galloway, a very vigilant persecutor and spoiler.

Lieutenant Barns, also in the same shire, took much spoil.

Lieutenant, Lauder in the shire of Ayr, a most outrageous persecutor and oppressor.

James Irvine of Bonshaw, a borderer, a highwayman, afterwards an officer of dragoons, robbed much from the poor people in Clydesdale.

Duncan Grant, a cripple with a tree leg, a very outrageous persecutor, exacted in Clydesdale from poor people above 1500 pounds.

OF noblemen, gentlemen, and others, the greatest oppressors and persecutors of the people were:

IN CLYDESDALE.

Sommerville of Spittel, sheriff-depute, who, beside his other ways of persecution, wherein he was most active, drew from the poorest people above 1200 pounds.

The laird of Halyards, who uplifted more than 8500 pounds.

The laird of Lachop, a great persecutor and oppressor.

The laird of Bonnytown and laird Symme, both violent persecutors and exactors.

IN THE CITY OF GLASGOW:

Provost Johnston, Provost Barns, Baillie John Anderson, Baillie Yuil, Baillie Graham, William Stirling, Baron-Bailiff, great persecutors, exacted above 20,000 pounds.

IN RENFREW:

The Earl of Glencairn, by fines and dispossessing of families, exacted partly there, and partly in Clydesdale and Nithsdale, above 2400 pounds.

Lord Sempill, a papist, a persecutor.

Alexander Hume in Eaglesham, a most violent and vigilant persecutor and exactor, with many others.

Mr. Ezekiel Montgomerie, a great fine-monger.

IN THE SHIRE OF AYR:

The Earl of Dumfries exacted above 1000 pounds.

The Lord Craigie, a great persecutor and oppressor.

William Crichton, sheriff-depute, very violent and active.

James Crawford of Ardmillan, a wicked persecutor and spoiler.

Mr. William Crawford, Montgomery of Bozland, the laird of Broych, and Clerk Ogilvie, all great persecutors, who sought to make themselves up with the spoils of the poor people.

IN GALLOWAY:

The laird of Lagg, Grierson, a most wicked persecutor there, and in Nithsdale exacted above 1200 pounds.

The laird of Elie, Lidderdale, and Canon of Mardrogate, all diligent persecutors and intelligencers, together with the then collectors.

IN NITHSDALE:

The Duke of Queensberry and his sons oppressed much.

John Alison, chamberlaia to the Duke of Queensberry, who, when dying said, "He had damned his soul for the Duke his master," and George Charters, another of the Duke's factors, who vaunted he had made twenty-six journeys in one year in pursuit of the Whigs.

John Douglas of Stenhouse, a Papist, exacted above 5000 pounds.

The laird of Closeburn, above 700 pounds.

Sir Robert Dalziel, upwards of 400 pounds of a few poor families.

Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxwelton, an oppressor and persecutor.

IN ANNANDALE:

The Lord Annandale dispossessed and harassed many families, and persecuted much in Galloway.

Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, a great persecutor, exacted upwards of 11,000 pounds.

Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, a very active and violent persecutor and oppressor.

The lairds of Powdeen, Castlemilk, Robert Carruthers of Rammerscales, Thomas Kennedy of Heybeiths, were most violent persecutors of 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 (howsoever great) persecutions are but little in comparison of what THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS and her children intend against us: which that the Lord may prevent, ought to be the serious prayer and strenuous endeavor of all them that have a regard to the greatest interests of themselves and posterity.

THE EPITAPHS OR INSCRIPTIONS

**THAT ARE UPON THE TOMBS OR GRAVESTONES OF THE
MARTYRS IN SEVERAL CHURCHYARDS AND OTHER
PLACES WHERE THEY LIE BURIED.**

PICTURE: Martyrs Monument: Greyfriars

To fill up the vacancy of some pages, it is conceived that it will be neither impertinent to the subject nor unacceptable to the reader to insert the following epitaphs or inscriptions that are upon the tombs or gravestones of the martyrs, in several churchyards and other places where they lie buried. And the reader is desired to remember, that they being mostly composed by illiterate country people, one cannot 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. — *Note by the compilers of the Cloud.*

[In the first edition the inscriptions fill six double-columned pages, closely printed down to the very bottom, as if there were others for which room could not be found. Following these inscriptions, a number of others, taken from gravestones in different parts of the country, have now been added for the first time. One or two of them, both of those in the first edition and of those now appended, have been verified by kind friends, but in most cases the writer has visited the localities themselves in which the monuments are to be found. At the end of each inscription a short account is given of the stone, or of the martyrs, where they have not been mentioned in the foregoing pages. — ED.]

ON A MONUMENT IN GREYFRIARS CHURCHYARD, EDINBURGH.

Upon the head of the tomb there is the effigies of an open Bible, drawn with these Scripture citations: “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, 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” (Revelation 6:9-11). “These are they which have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb” (Revelation 7:14).

*“Halt, passenger, take heed what thou dost see:
This tomb doth shew for what some men did die.
Here lies interred 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 sacrificed unto the lust
Of prelatists abjured. Though here their dust
Lies mixt with murderers’, and other crew,
Whom justice justly did to death pursue;
But as for thir, in them no cause was found
Worthy of death; but only they were found
Constant and steadfast, zealous, witnessing
For the prerogatives of Christ their King.
Which truths were sealed by famous Guthrie’s head,
And all along to Master Renwick’s blood,
They did endure the wrath of enemies,
Reproaches, torments, deaths, and injuries.
But yet they’re these who from such troubles came,
And now triumph in glory with the Lamb.*

“From May 27th, 1661, that the noble Marquis of Argyle suffered, to the 17th of February 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were execute at Edinburgh, about an hundred of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most part of them lies here. This tomb was erected anno 1706.”

Upon the foot of the monument stands a crown, with this inscription: “Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”

[This, well known as the Martyrs’ Monument, is at the northeast corner of the Greyfriars churchyard, near the spot at one time appropriated to the bodies of criminals. The Reverend William Goold, minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation in Edinburgh, from 1804 to 1844, told the writer that the grave-diggers were ordered by the authorities to bury the remains of the martyrs among those of murderers and other

criminals who had been interred there. The grave-diggers, however, secretly sympathized with the cause for which the martyrs suffered, and took care that while burying their remains in the corner, it should yet be in a part of it where the body of no criminal had ever been laid, so that the dust of the two could not in any way intermingle. The opposite seems to be stated on the monument itself, but Mr. Goold was a man of antiquarian tastes, and from his long connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church — he was in his sixty-ninth year when he died in 1844 — was the very person to have heard and to have sifted its traditions.

The present monument was erected in 1771, in place of an older and smaller one erected in 1706, by James Currie, merchant in Pentland. This older monument is still in existence in the possession of a representative of Charles Fairnington, the stone-cutter who put up the present one. It is in excellent preservation, and the inscription has been verified from it. James Currie was a worthy member of the united societies. His name is at the call the societies gave in 1706 to Reverend John M'Millan of Balmaghie. He suffered much during the persecution, and had more than one narrow escape for his life. He has left a record in "Passages in the life of James Currie," which, along with a similar tract by his like minded wife, Helen Alexander, have been recently issued in a small volume by one of his descendants, C. U. Aitchison, Esq, of the Indian Civil Service. The records of the Edinburgh Town Council, under date 28th August 1706, contain the substance of the memorial asking permission to erect the monument. It craves that the Council would allow the said monument "to be put up without paying of anything to the Kirk Treasurer as was done at Glasgow and other places of the nation." The Council granted the prayer of the memorial.

We have given the original inscription as on the old monument and as in the first edition of the "Cloud." The inscription on the present monument differs somewhat in arrangement of its paragraphs from that on the old, but otherwise it is substantially the same. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN HAMILTON CHURCHYARD.

"At Hamikon lie the heads of John Parker, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton, and Christopher Strang, who suffered at Edinburgh, December 7th, 1666.

*“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.*

“Renewed 1828.”

[The monument is built into the east wall of the churchyard; and the grotesque appearance of the four sculptured heads, that come in between its prose and rhyme, is one of the first objects to arrest the eye on entering the enclosure. It is a slab of freestone, four feet two inches in length, by two feet eight inches in breadth.

John Parker was a waulker [*i.e.*, a fuller of cloth] in East Kilbride; Gavin Hamilton, a tenant in Carluke; James Hamilton, in Killiemuir; and Christopher Strang, in East Kilbride. All four were taken prisoners at Pentland. They were tried at Edinburgh before the Council, and were sentenced to be hanged at Edinburgh, on December 7th, 1666; and after they were dead, their heads and right hands to be cut off, and disposed of as the Lords of Privy Council should think fit. “Naphtali” contains the joint testimony of the four, and other six condemned along with them. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE HIGH CHURCHYARD, GLASGLOW.

“Here lies the corps of Robert Bunton, John Hart, Robert Scott, Matthew Patoun, John Richmond, James Johnstoun, 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 glore,
Whose bodies here interred lie
Then sacrificed 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
Caused beat the drums then in great fury’.
They’ll know at resurrection day
To murder saints was no sweet play.*

“The original stone and inscription repaired and new lettered, 1827, at the expense of a few friends of the cause for which the martyrs suffered.”

[From the memorial to the Edinburgh Town Council, asking permission to erect the monument in the Greyfriars’, it appears that the stone in Glasgow High Churchyard had been erected previous to 1706. This stone, from which the above inscription has been copied, was lying on its side against the wall of the churchyard when we visited it in 1866; but the inscription has been transferred to the outside of the north wall of the Cathedral. The testimonies of John Richmond, James Johnston, Archibald Stewart, James Winning, and John Main are in the “Cloud.” Robert Bunton, or Buntine, was a native of Fenwick, where a monument has recently been erected to his memory. John Hart was a native of Glassford. Robert Scott belonged to Dalserf. Matthew Patoun was a shoemaker in Newmilns. All were at Pentland. They were tried at Glasgow, December 17, 1666, and were hanged on the 19th. Wodrow says that at their execution the men were most cheerful, and had much of sense of the Divine love upon them, and a great deal of peace in their sufferings. — ED.]

ON A STONE AT INCHBELLY BRIDGE, KIRKINTILLOCH.

“‘Twas martyrs blood bought Scotland’s liberty. Erected, February 1865, in room of the old tombstone, by the people of Kirkintilloch and neighborhood. Original inscription: In this field lies the corpse of John Wharry and James Smith, who suffered in Glasgow, 13 June 1683, for their adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation: ‘And they overcame them by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death’” (Revelation 12:11).

Halt, courteous passenger, and look on

*Our bodies dead, & lying under this stone.
 Altho' we did commit no deed, nor fact
 That was against the Bridegroom's contract,
 Yet we to Glasgow were as prisoners brought,
 And against us false witness they sought.
 Their sentence cruel and unjust they past,
 And then our corps on scaffold they did cast.
 There we our lives and right hands also lost.
 From Glasgow we were brought unto this place
 In chains of iron hung up for certain space.
 Then taken down interred here we lie —
 From 'neath this stone our blood to heaven doth cry.
 Had foreign foes, Turks, or Mahometans,
 Had Scythians, Tartars, Arabian Caravans,
 Had cruel Spaniards, the Pope's blood seed,
 Commenced the same, less strange had been the deed;
 But Protestants, profest our Covenants to,
 Our countrymen, this bloody deed could do.
 Yet notwithstanding of their hellish rage
 The noble Wharry stepping on the stage
 With courage bold and with a heart not faint,
 Exclaims, This blood now seals our covenant —
 Ending, They who would follow Christ should take
 Their cross upon their back, the world forsake."*

[The monument is about three quarters of a mile to the east of Inchbelly Bridge, on the road between Kirkintilloch and Kilsyth. The original monument is a flat stone, six feet by three, and alongside of it is the new one, and both are enclosed under an iron grating. The inscription on the old monument, when we visited it in October 1866, so far as we could trace it out, seemed identical with that on the new by its side, yet it differs considerably from the following one, that given in the first edition of the "Cloud," which is three lines shorter, and has all the appearance of being a correct transcript. The probability is, that what is called on the new stone "the old tombstone" is not much older than this century, and that it is the successor of an older one on which may have been inscribed the following epitaph:

*“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’ enemy so commands;
 Then put to death, and that most cruelly.
 Yet where we’re slain, even 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 Wharrie 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.’”*

ON A MONUMENT IN CASTLE STREET GLASGOW.

“The dead yet speaketh. Behind this stone lies James Nisbet, who suffered martyrdom at this place, June 5th, 1684. Also James Lawson and Alexander Wood, who suffered martyrdom, October 24th, 1684, for their adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of the Reformation.

*“Here lie martyrs three,
 Of memory,
 Who for the Covenants did die:
 And witness is
 ‘Gainst all the nation’s perjury
 ‘Gainst the Covenanted cause
 Of Christ, their royal king.
 The British rulers made such laws,
 Declar’d ‘twas satan’s reign.
 As Britain lies in guilt, you see,
 ‘Tis ask’d, oh reader, art thou free.*

“This stone was renewed by the proprietors of the Monkland Navigation, April 1818, and again in granite by the citizens in 1862. Drink and think, the Martyrs Monument.”

[This monument is about a quarter of a mile’s walk to the north of the High Church of Glasgow, at the Monkland Canal in Castle Street. It is a large tablet of polished granite, built into the wall that encloses the canal. Beneath the tablet a drinking fountain has recently been added. — ED.]

ON A MONUMENT IN THE CEMETERY, PAISLEY.

“Here lie the corpses of James Algie and John Park, who suffered at the cross of Paisley for refusing the Oath of Abjuration, February 3, 1685.

*Stay, passenger, as thou goest by,
And take a look where these do lie;
Who for the love they bore to truth
Were depriv’d of their life and youth.
Tho’ laws made then caused 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 Presbytery and Prelacy.*

“The stone containing the epitaph transcribed on this monument was erected over the grave on the Gallowgreen, the place of common execution; and on the occasion of the ground being built upon, it was removed near to this spot, along with the remains of the martyrs, by order of the magistrates, 1779.”

[James Algie and John Park were two young men that belonged to Kenniswood, a village four miles to the south-west of Glasgow. They were seized on the Lord’s day, February 1685, while in their own house, as they were about to make family worship. They were tried in the usual summary way the following Tuesday, and were hanged the same day at two o’clock.

In the original edition of the “Cloud,” the gravestone is said to have been in Eastwood, but this is evidently a mistake, for Paisley is the place where it has always been. The monument, which is a handsome obelisk, was erected in 1835. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, CATHCART.

“This is the stone tomb of Robert Thom, Thomas Cook, and John Urie, Martyrs for owning the Covenanted Work of Reformation, the 11th of May 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 Polmadie.
As soon as they had them out found,
They murder'd them with shots of guns.
Scarce time did they to them allow
Before their Maker their knees to bow.
Many like in this land have been,
Whose blood for vengeance cries to heav'n.
This cruel wickedness you see,
Was done in loan of Polmadie,
This may a standing witness be
'Twixt Presbytry and Prelacy.”*

[The monument is a single flat stone, six feet and a half in length, by three and a-half in breadth, and when we visited it in 1865, was in good preservation. The lettering has been retouched some years ago. Its style is rare about Glasgow, but common on the martyrs' monuments in Galloway. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, EAGLESHAM.

“Psalm 112:6, The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. Here lie Gabriel Thomson and Robert Lockhart, who were killed for owning the Covenanted Testimony, by a party of Highlandmen and dragoons, under the command of Ardencaple, 1st May 1685.

*“These men did search through 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 Presbytry ‘gainst Prelacy.”*

[The old monument is alongside of the new one, to which its inscription has been transferred. — ED.]

ON A STONE AT AIRSMOSS

PICTURE: Monument at Airmoss

“Here lies the corpse of that famous and faithful preacher of the Gospel, the Reverend Richard Cameron, with the corpses of several others who were conquered by the bloody enemies of truth and godliness.

*“Halt, curious passenger, come and read;
Our souls triumph with Christ our glorious head,
In self-defense we murdered here do lie,
To witness ‘gainst this nation’s perjury.”*

[The stone, when we visited it August 1871, was somewhat broken on one of the sides, and the word “preacher” has been nearly obliterated. Part of the inscription has become quite illegible. The stone in 1832 was set upon a platform some ten feet square, in the center of which is an obelisk with the following inscription: “Sacred to the memory of the Reverend Richard Cameron, Michael Cameron, John Gemmel, John Hamilton, James Gray, Robert Dick, Captain John Fowler, Thomas Watson, Robert Paterson.” The obelisk is towards the east end of the moss, and is a prominent object from the railway between Lugar and Muirkirk stations, about half a mile to the northward. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, STRATHAVEN.

““Here lies the corpses of William Paterson and John Barrie, who was shot to death for their adhering to the Word of God and our Covenants, anno 1685.

*“Here lies two martyrs; severally who fell
By Captains Inglis and by bloody Bell.
Posterity shall know they’re shot to death,
As sacrifices unto Popish wrath.”*

On the pedestal of the stone — “Renewed by the Reformers of Avondale at the passing of the Reform Bill, anno domini 1832.”

ON A GRAVESTONE AT BLACKWOOD, IN THE PARISH OF LESMAHAGOW.

“Here lies the corpse of John Brown, who was shot to death,
without shadow of law, anno dom. 1685.

*“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.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE AT PRIESTHILL.

“Here lies the body of John Brown, martyr, who was murdered in this place by Graham of Claverhouse for his testimony to the Covenanted work of Reformation, because he durst not own the authority of the then tyrant destroying the same, who died the first day of May A.D. 1685, and of his age 58.

*In death’s cold bed the dusty part here lies
Of one who did the earth as dust despise.
H ere in this place from earth he took departure:
Now he has got the garland of the martyr.
“Butchered by Claverse and his bloody band,
Raging most ravenously over all the land,
Only for owning Christ’s supremacy.
Wickedly wronged by encroaching Tyranny,
Nothing how near soever he to good
Esteemed, nor dear for any truth his blood.”*

[Priesthill is easiest approached from Muirkirk. The monument is four miles from Muirkirk out on the moor. The stone is a flat one five feet in length by two feet six inches in breadth. It has been enclosed by a dyke.

Close by it stands an obelisk, with an inscription recording its own erection and the enclosing of the grave in 1826. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, LESMAHAGOW.

“Here lies the body of David Steel, martyr, who was murdered by Chrichton for his testimony to the Covenants and work of Reformation, and because he durst not own the authority of the tyrant destroying the same. He was shot at Skellyhill on the 20th of December 1686, in the 33d year of his age.

“Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”

*“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 true Steel.
Who for Christ’s royal truth and laws,
And for the covenanted cause
Of Scotland’s famous Reformation;
Declining tyrant’s usurpation,
By cruel Chrichton murdered lies,
Whose blood to heaven for vengeance cries.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE IN CRAICKHAUGH, ESKDALEMUIR.

“Here lies And. Hyslop, martyr, shot dead upon this place by Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, and John Graham of Claverhouse, for adhering to the Word of God, Christ’s kingly government in His house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation, against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy, May 12, 1685. Revelation 12:11”

*“Halt, passenger, one word with thee or two,
Why I lie here wouldest 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 this spot,
And for burial this same place I got,
Truth’s friends in Eskdale now triumph their lot,
To wit, the faithful, for my seal that got.
“1702. Repaired by subscription, 1825.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DUMFRIES.

“Here lies William Grierson, Pentland martyr, for his adhering to the Word of God, and appearing for Christ’s kingly government in His house and Covenanted work of Reformation, against perjury and prelacy, executed Jan. 2, 1667. Revelation 12:11.

*“Under this stone lo here doth lie
Dust sacrificed to tyranny;
Yet precious in Immanuel’s sight
Since martyr’d for His kingly right.
When He condemns these hellish drudges,
By surfrage saints shall judge the judges.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DUMFRIES.

“Here lies William Welsh, Pentland martyr, for his adhering to the Word of God, and appearing for Christ’s kingly government in His house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against perjury and prelacy, execute January 2, 1667. Revelation 12:11.

*“Stay, passenger, read,
Here interr’d doth lie
A witness gainst poor
Scotland’s perjury,
Whose head once fix’d up
On the bridge port stood,
Proclaiming vengeance
For his guiltles blood.”*

[The stone is of the same character as that to John Grierson. It is five feet six inches in length, by one foot ten inches in breadth. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DUMFRIES.

“Here lies James Kirko, martyr, shot dead upon the sands of Drumfreis, for his adhering to the word of God, Christ’s kingly government, in his house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy, 1685. Revelation 12:11.

*“By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright,
I lost my life in great despight;
Shot dead without due time to try
And fitt me for eternity;
A witness of prelatick rage
As ever was in any age.”*

[The stone is similar to the other two in the churchyard. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN A CLUMP OF TREES NEAR THE CHURCH OF IRONGRAY.

“Here lies Edward Gordon and Alexander M’Cubine, martyres, hanged without law by Lagg and Cap. Bruce, for adhering to the word of God, Christ’s kingly government, in his house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy. Revelation 12:11. March 3, 1685.

*“As Lagg and bloodie Bruce command,
We were hung up by hellish hand;
And thus their furious rage to stay,
We dyed near Kirk of Irongray;
Here now in peace sweet rest we take,
Once murder’d for religion’s sake.”*

[The gravestone lies fiat and is enclosed by a railing. Alongside of it is a monument erected in 1857, “designed,” it is said in the inscription, “to express the respect cherished by the present generation for the memory and principles of the martyrs whose ashes repose on this spot.” — ED.]

ON A STONE IN A MOOR NEAR LOCHENKIT OR LARGHILL.

“Here lies John Gordon, William Stuart, William Heron, and John Wallace, martyrs, 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, we scarcely can,
Except the Turks, or Duke de Alva’s men.”*

[The graves of these four martyrs are situated on a moor about a mile and a-half to the north of Brooklands House, parish of Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire.

They are surrounded by a clump of trees enclosed within a wall. The inscription on the tombstone is quite illegible. Near by on a rising knoll is a monument built of granite, on the top of which is a hand with the finger pointing heavenwards. A tablet on one of its sides bears the following inscription: "Yonder lie William Heron from Glencairn, John Gordon, William Stewart, John Wallace, Galloway men who were found out and shot dead here, 2d March 1685, by Captain Bruce, for their adherence to Scotland's Covenant and Reformation. To commemorate the principles for which these martyrs suffered, this monument is erected by subscriptions, after services preached here by Messrs. M'Lachlan and M'Gill, 1843." — ED.]

IN THE CHURCHYARD, GLENCAIRN.

1. ON JOHN GIBSON.

"Here lies John Gibson, martyr, shot to death by Colonel Douglas and Livingston's dragoons at Englestown in Glencairn, for adhering to the word of God, Christ's kingly government, in his house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy, April 28, 1685. Revelation 12:11.

*"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 bastard had command,
And monstrous tyrants rul'd the land."*

2. ON JAMES BENNOCH.

"Here lies James Bennoch, shot to death by Colonel Douglas and Livingston's dragoons, at Englestown in Glencairn, for adhering to the word of God, Christ's kingly government, in his house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy, April 28, 1865. Revelation 12:11.

*"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."*

3. ON ROBERT EDGAR AND ROBERT MITCHEL, BOTH UNDER ONE STONE.

“Here lies Robert Edgar and Robert Mitchell, martyrs, shot to death by Colonel Douglas and Livingston’s dragoons, at Englestown in Glencairn, for adhering to the word of God, Christ’s kingly government, in his house, and the Covenanted work of Reformation against tyranny, perjury, and prelacy, April 28, 1685. Revelation 12:11.

*“Halt, passenger, tell if thou ever saw
Men shot to death without process of law.
We two of four who in this churchyard lie,
Thus felt the rage of Popish tyranny.”*

[The stones are each lying flat, and are five feet six inches in length, by two feet two inches in breadth. They are enclosed by an iron railing. In a garden in Ingleston, about a mile to the southwest of the churchyard, is an upright stone two feet in height, by two feet six inches in breadth, with the inscription — “In this yard were shot John Gibson, James Bennoch, Robert Edgar, Robert Mitchell, and Robert Grierson, April 28, 1685, by Colonel Douglas and Livingston’s dragoons, for adhering to Christ’s kingly government in his Church, against tyrannie, perjurie, and prelacie.” A thorn bush, about thirty yards to the east of the stone, is said to be the spot at which they were shot. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, TYNRON.

“Here lies William Smith, in Hill, who, for his adhering to the Covenanted Work of Reformation, was shot at Moniaive Moss the 29th day of March 1685. His age 19 years. This deed was not done by a council of war, but by countrymen without syse [*i.e.*, assize, or trial by jury.]

*“I, William Smith, now here do lie,
Once martyr’d for Christ’s verity.
Douglas of Stenhouse, Lawrie of Maxwelton,
Caus’d Coronet Bailie give me martyrdom.
What cruelty they to my corps then us’d
Living may judge; me burial refus’d.”*

[The monument is similar in size and form to those in Glencairn. The place where he was shot was at a large stone in a field about half a mile to the east of the Cross of Moniaive. His body was refused burial in the churchyard, and so was laid in a grave at the doorstep of the farm house of Hill. After the Revolution it was disinterred, and put where it now lies in the churchyard. — ED.]

ON A STONE NEAR DALVEEN PASS, DURISDEER.

“Here lies the corpse of Daniel M’Michael who was shot by Dalziel of Kirkmichael, January 1685.

*“As Daniel cast into lion’s den,
For praying unto God, and not to men;
Thus lions cruelly devoured me,
For bearing unto truth my testimony.
I rest in peace, till Jesus rend the cloud,
And judge ‘twixt me and those who shed my blood.*

[The stone lies flat, and is situated near the entrance to the pass, not far from the roadside. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, BALMAGHIE.

“Here lies David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, who was shot upon the 21st of February 1685, and of David Halliday, once in Glenape, who was likewise shot upon the 11th of July 1685, for their adherence to the principles of Scotland’s Covenanted Reformation.

*Beneath this stone two Davids Hallidays
Do lie, whose souls now sing their Master’s praise.
To know, if curious passengers desyre
For what, by whom, and how they did expire?
They did oppose this nation’s perjury,
Nor could they join with lordly Prelacy.
Indulging favors from Christ’s enemies,
Quench’d not their zeal: This monument then cries,
These were the causes not to be forgot,
Why they by Lag so wickedly were shot,
One name, one cause, one grave, one heaven do tye
Their souls to that one God eternally.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, ANWOTH.

“Here lies John Bell of Whitesyde, who was barbarously shot to death in the paroch of Tongland, at the command of Grier of Lag, Anno 1685.

*“This monument shall tell posterity,
That blessed Bell of Whitesyde here doth lie;
Who at command of bloody Lag was shot:
A murder strange which should not be forgot.
Douglas of Morton did him quarters give;
Yet cruel Lag 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’re pray’d enough
This long seven year on mountain and in cleugh:’
So instantly caus’d him with other four,
Be shot to death upon Kirconnel moor.
So thus did end the lives of these dear saints,
For their adhering to the Covenants.”*

[The monument is a flat stone, five feet eight inches in length by two feet eight inches in breadth, and is supported on six small square pillars. It is close to the south-west corner of the old church of Anwoth, now in ruins. The whole has evidently been renewed within the century. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DALRY, GALLOWAY.

Memento Mori — “Here lyeth Robert Stewart, son to Major Stewart of Ardoch, and John Grierson, who were murdered by Graham of Claverhouse, Anno 1684, for their adherence to Scotland’s Reformation and Covenants, National and Solemn League, 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 ta’en were by the hands
 Of cruel Claverhouse and bloody band.
 No sooner had he done this horrid thing,
 But’s forc’d to cry, ‘Stewart’s soul in Heaven doth sing.’
 Yet strange! his rage pursu’d ev’n such when dead,
 And in the tombs of their ancestors laid;
 Causing their corps be rais’d out of the same,
 Discharging in churchyard to bury them.
 All this they did, ‘cause they Would not perjure,
 Our Covenants and Reformation pure;
 Because, like faithful martyrs, for to die
 They rather chus’d, than treacherously comply
 With cursed Prelacie, the nation’s bane,
 And with Indulgence, our Church’s stain.
 Perjur’d intelligencers were so rife,
 Show’d their curs’d loyalty, to take their life.”*

**IN A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD,
 KIRKCUDBRIGHT.**

“WILLIAM HOUNTURE — ROBERT SMITH — 1684.

*“This monument shall show’ posterity,
 Two headless martyres under it doth lie,
 By bloody Gr’hame were taken and surpris’d,
 Brought to this town, and afterwards were saiz’d:
 By unjust law were sentenced to die,
 Them first they hang’d, then headed cruelly.
 Captain Douglas, Bruce, Gr’hame of Claverhous,
 Were these that caused 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 Gr’hame,
 They did maintain that Christ was Lord supreme:
 And boldly owned both the Covenants:
 At Kirkcudbright thus ended these two saints.”*

[The stone is flat; five feet ten inches in length by two feet six inches in breadth. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, BALMACLELLAN.

“Here lyeth Robert Grierson, who was shot to death by command of Colonel James Douglas, at Inglestoun, in the parish of Glencairn, anno 1685.

*“This monument to passengers shall cry,
That goodly Grierson under it doth lie,
Betrayed 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 plots conceal’d,
Design’d to make our south their hunting-field.
Here’s one of five at once were laid in dust,
To gratify Rome’s execrable lust.
If carabines with molten bullets could
Have reached their souls, these mighty Nimrods would
Them have cut off; for there could no request
Three minutes get, to pray for future rest.”*

[The stone lies flat, and is about five feet in length, by three in breadth. It has recently been painted, and set up about a foot from the ground by a zealous antiquary, the Reverend John Murray of Balmaclellan.

Near it is a monument to the memory of a man, who, in his time, did so much to repair and deepen the inscriptions on the stones over the remains of the martyrs. The inscription is — “To the memory of Robert Paterson, stone engraver, well-known as ‘Old Mortality,’ who died at Bankend of Carlaverock, 14th February 1800, aged 88.” Balmaclellan was the place where the wife and family of “Old Mortality” lived. A monument was also erected in 1869 in Carlaverock Churchyard over his remains, with the following inscription — “Erected to the memory of Robert Paterson, the ‘Old Mortality’ of Sir Walter Scott, who was buried here February 1801.

*“Why seeks he with unwearied toil,
Through Death’s dim walks to urge his way;
Reclaim his long-asserted spoil,
And lead oblivion into day!” — ED.]*

BESIDES these mottoes in verse, there are in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, several other monuments, both in churchyards

and open fields, the mottoes whereof are in prose, intimating that they died for their adherence to the Covenants and Work of Reformation.

These monuments are —

IN THE CHURCHYARD, KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

Memento Mori. — “Here lies John Hallume, who was wounded in his taking, and by unjust law sentenced to be hanged. All this done by Captain Douglas, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

[The monument is an upright stone, two feet in height, by one foot ten inches in breadth. The letters are Roman capitals, and, like all the work of “Old Mortality,” in the Stewartry, are deeply cut. It is in the center of the churchyard. The six inscriptions that follow are on stones of a similar size and form. — ED.]

IN THE CHURCHYARD, KIRKANDREWS, PARISH OF BORGUE.

“Here lies Robert M’Whae, who was barbarously shot to death by Captain Douglas, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.

[This monument was broken, but was restored by the inhabitants of the parish, in facsimile, 1855. — ED.]

IN THE CHURCHYARD, GIRTHON.

“Within this tomb lies the corpse of Robert Lennox, sometime in Irelandtoun, who was shot to death by Grier of Lagg, in the paroch of Tounkland, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

IN THE MUIR OF AUCHINCLOY, GIRTHON PARISH.

Memento Mori. — “Here lies Robert Ferguson, who was surprised, and instantly shot to death on this place by Graham of Claverhouse, for his adherence to Scotland’s Covenanted Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1684.”

ON KIRKCONNEL HILL, TONGLAND PARISH.

“Here lies James Clement, who was surprised, and instantly shot to death on this place by Grierson of Lag, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

IN THE CHURCHYARD, KELLS.

“Here lies Adam Macwhan, who, being sick of a fever, was taken out of his bed, and carried to Newtown of Galloway, and next day most cruelly and unjustly shot to death by the command of Lieutenant-General James Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.

“The above stone, erected to the memory of Adam Macwhan, was placed in this granite monument, A.D., 1832. The expense defrayed by the inhabitants of Kells, after sermon by the Reverend James Maitland, minister of the parish.”

[This monument is in the center of the churchyard, and is one of the most striking in the Stewartry. The frame is of granite, and the old stone is so placed in it, that it can be read on both sides. — ED.]

IN THE CHURCHYARD, CROSSMICHAEL.

Memento Mori. — “Here lies William Graham, who, making his escape from his mother’s house, was pursued and taken, and instantly shot dead by a party of Claverhouse’s troop, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation, Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1682.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, AYR.

“Here lie the corpse of James Smith, Alexander M’Millan, James M’Millan, John Short, George M’Kertny, John Graham, and John Muirhead, who suffered martyrdom at Air, 27th December 1666, for their adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation.

“This small tribute to the above was done by the Incorporate Trades of Air, Anno Domonie, 1814. For the righteous shall be kept in everlasting remembrance.”

*“Here lie seven martyrs for our Covenants,
A sacred number of triumphant saints,
Pontius M’Adam th’ unjust sentence passed;
What is his own the world shall know at last.
And Herod Drummond caus’d their heads affix;
Heav’n keeps a record of the sixty-six.
Boots, thumbkins, gibbets, were in fashion then;
Lord, let us never see such days again.”*

[Nothing seems now to be known of these seven martyrs, save that they were at Pentland, and were condemned to death at Ayr. The hangman at Ayr disappeared, and was not to be found when the day of execution came. William Sutherland, a Highlander, and the hangman in Irvine, was by force brought to Ayr, but neither by fair means nor foul would he be persuaded to act as executioner, and was kept in prison for many weeks. His declaration, written after he was set free, is one of the most interesting papers in Wodrow. A Cornelius Anderson, who had been condemned with the seven, was at last prevailed, on promise of free pardon, to act as executioner. — ED.]

ON A STONE LYING BESIDE THE GALLOWES OF AYR.

[The compilers preface the eight lines of rhyme by the introductory words, “Upon a stone lying beside the Gallows of Air, upon the body of Andrew M’Gill, who was apprehended by the information of Andrew Tom, who suffered there, November, 1684. — ED.]

*“Near this abhorred tree a sufferer lies,
Who chus’d to fall that falling truth might rise.
His station could advance no costly deed,
Save giving of a life the Lord had need.
When Christ shall vindicate His way, He’ll cast
The doom that was pronounc’d in such a haste,
And incorruption shall forget disgrace,
Design’d by the interment in this place.”*

[This monument is the only one that we have been unable to find. The gallows stood near the present railway station. Wodrow mentions M’Gill’s apprehension and execution. — ED.]

ON A STONE AT MAUCHLINE.

“Here lies the bodies of Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, William Fiddison, and John Bruning, who were apprehended and hanged without trial at Mauchline, anno 1685, according to the then wicked laws, for their adherence to the Covenanted Work of Reformation. Revelation 12:11.

*“Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas, and Dundee,
Mov’d by the Devil and the Laird of Lee,
Dragg’d these five men to death with gun and sword,
Not suffering them to pray nor read God’s Word,
Ouning the Work of God was all their crime,
The Eighty-five was a saint killing time.*

“Erected by subscription in 1830. The old decayed tombstone, from which the above inscription is copied, lies below.”

[The present monument is a fiat stone, twelve feet by six, and is situated on a small common on the outskirts of the town of Mauchline. — ED.]

ON A TOMBSTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, IRVINE.

“Stop, passenger, thou treadest near two martyrs, James Blackwood and John M’Coul, who suffered at Irvine on the 31st of December 1666. Revelation 12:11.

*“These honest countrymen whose bones here lie,
A victim fell to Prelates’ cruelty;
Condemn’d by bloody and unrighteous laws,
They died as martyrs for the good old cause,
Which Balaam’s wicked race in vain assail,
For no enchantments ‘gainst Israel prevail.
Life and this evil world they did condemn,
And died for Christ, who died first for them.”*

[Little else is known of James Blackwood and John M’Coul than that they were taken prisoners at Pentland, and that they died full of joy and courage, to the admiration of all who were witnesses. The following has been added to the original verses when the stone was restored. — ED.]

*“They lived unknown,
Till persecution dragged them into fame,
And chas’d them up to heaven.”*

“Erected by friends to religious liberty, 31st December 1823.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, KILMARNOCK.

“Here lie the heads of John Ross and John Shields, who suffered at Edinburgh, December 27th, 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.”*

[John Ross belonged to Mauchline. He joined the rising that ended at Pentland, but was taken prisoner a week previous to the battle. John Shields was a tenant in Titwood, a farm in the parish of Mearns, Renfrewshire. He was taken along with John Ross. They were tried at the same time with the martyrs whose heads are at Hamilton, and received a similar sentence. “Naphtali” contains a testimony by John Shields. It is very much shorter than most of the testimonies issued by the martyrs, but it is happily expressed. The monument is an upright stone, and stands on the north side of the church, in the Laigh Kirk burying-ground. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, KILMARNOCK.

“Here lies John Nisbet, who was taken by Major Balfour’s party, and suffered at Kilmarnock, 4th April 1683, for adhering to the Word of God and our Covenants. Revelation 12 and 11. Renewed by public contribution, A.D. 1823.

*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 Torrans 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.”*

[The stone is near that to John Ross and John Shields. It is an upright stone, four feet in height by three in breadth. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, FENWICK.

PICTURE: Fenwick Churchyard

“Here lies the dust of John Fergushill and George Woodburn, who were shot at Midland by Nisbet and his party, 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.”*

“Renewed by subscription, 1829.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, FENWICK.

“Here lies the corps of Peter Gemmel, who was shot to death by Nisbet and his party, 1685, for bearing his faithful testimony to the cause of Christ, aged 21 years.

*“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.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, FENWICK.

“Here lies the body of James White, who was shot to death at Little Blackwood by Peter Inglis and his party, 1685. Renewed by subscription, 1822.

*“This martyr was by Peter Inglis shot,
By birth a tiger, 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 the crown,
A football made by a profane dragon.”*

THE above inscriptions comprise all those given in the First Edition; those which next follow were added in the Third and Fourth Editions. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, WIGTOWN.

PICTURE: Monument at Stirling to the Wigtown Martyrs

“Here lies Margrat Willson, daughter of Gilbert Willson in Glenvernoch, who was drowned, anno 1685, aged 18.”

*“Let earth and stone still witness beare
There lies a virgin martyr here:
Murther’d for owning Christ supreme,
Head of His Church, and no more crime,
But not abjuring Presbytery,
And her not owning Prelacy,
They her condemned by unjust law,
Of heaven nor hell they stood no awe.
Within the sea, ty’d to a stake,
She suffered for Christ Jesus sake.
The actors of this cruel crime.
Was Lagg, Strachan, Winram, and Gr’hame,
Neither young years, nor yet old age,
Could quench the fury of their rage.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, COLMONELL.

*“I, MATTHEW M’ILWRAITH:
In this parish of Colmonel,
By bloody Claverhouse I fell,
Who did command that I should die,
For owning Covenanted Presbytery.
My blood, a witness still doth stand
‘Gainst all defections in this land.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, STRAITON.

“Here lies Thomas M’Haffie, martyr, 1686.

*“Tho’ I was sick, and like to die,
Yet bloody Bruce did murder me;
‘Cause I adhered in my station,
To our covenanted Reformation.
My blood for vengeance yet doth call,
Upon Zion’s haters all.”*

[The original stone is somewhat small — two feet by one foot and eight inches. Close by it is a stone twice its size, to which the inscription has been transferred, with the addition — “This stone was erected by subscription in the year 1824.” — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, TWEEDSMUIR.

“Here lies the body of John Hunter, who was shot at Corehead by Colonel James Douglas, 1685.

*When Zion’s King was robbed of his right,
His witnesses in Scotland put to flight;
When Popish Prelates and Indulgence,
Combin’d ‘gainst Christ to ruin Presbytrie.
All who would not unto their idols bow,
They socht them out, and whom they found they slew.
For owning of Christ’s cause I then did die,
My blood for vengeance on His en’mies did cry.”*

[A few yards in front of the entrance to the parish church is an obelisk, eight or nine feet in height, with the inscription — —” In memory of John Hunter, Martyr, whose gravestone is in the lower part of this churchyard, 1837. The old stone was erected in 1726.” — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE AT MAGUS MUIR.

[The compilers of the “Cloud” prefix the following introductory sentence — “Upon the gravestone of Thomas Brown, James Wood, Andrew Sword, John Waddel, and John Clyd, who suffer’d martyrdom at Magus Muir, November 25, 1679, and lie buried in a corn-field near Magus Muir, is this inscription.” — ED.]

*“Cause we at Bothwel did appear,
Perjurious oaths refused to swear;
‘Cause we Christ’s cause would not condemn,
We were sentenc’d to death by men;
Who raged 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 Gravestone 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 forty-seven years after their death. — *Note by the compiler of Third Edition.*)

[Thomas Brown was a shoemaker in Edinburgh; James Wood belonged to Newmilns; Andrew Sword was a weaver in Galloway; John Waddell belonged to New Monkland; John Clyde to East Kilbride. They had no connection with the death of Archbishop Sharp, but had been at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and had refused to take the Bond. They were tried at Edinburgh, November 10, and were found guilty of being in arms at Bothwell, and sentenced to be hanged at Magus Muir, and their bodies to be hung in chains till they rot. Their testimonies and an account of their words at the scaffold occupy forty pages in the Appendix to “Naphtali.”

Magus Muir is about three miles to the west of St Andrews, and a mile to the south of the village of Strathkinness. The spot where the five martyrs suffered, and where the archbishop found his death, is about a quarter a-mile from the turnpike road on the ridge of the high ground, and is an oblong, unploughed, of about nine paces by five in the middle of the field. It is easily distinguished from the ground around. The stone to the memory of the martyrs was in existence thirty years ago, but got broken, and has been carried away by visitors piece by piece until all that remains of it is a fragment of a few inches square, which, when we visited the district in August 1871, we found the farmer at Clermont Cross had taken away for safety and laid down at his front door. A few letters, but no words complete, were all that could be deciphered. It is to be hoped that steps will soon be taken to put up a new stone. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE AT MAGUS MUIR.

“The gravestone of Andrew Gullon, who suffered at the Gallowlee of Edinburgh, July 1683, and afterwards was hung upon a pole in Magus Muir, and lyeth here.

*A faithful martyr here doth lie,
A witness against perjury,
Who cruelly was put to death,
To gratify proud Prelates' wrath.
They cut his hands ere he was dead,
And after that struck off his head;
To Magus Muir they did him bring,
His body on a pole did hing;
His blood under the altar cries,
For vengeance on Christ's enemies.”*

[This stone is an upright one, and is situated in the center of a small enclosure, planted with trees, a few yards to the west of the farm-house at Clermont Cross, about half a mile to the south-east of Magus Muir. The lettering on the stone is in italics, and very different from all the other monuments we have visited; it is so shallow as to be little better than scratched. Robert Paterson (Old Mortality), when he went to Dunottar, where Sir Walter Scott first met him, must have passed it by. Possibly he had his doubts about Andrew Guilline, because concerned in the death of Archbishop Sharp. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE AT RULLION GREEN.

PICTURE: Rullion Green

PICTURE: Monument at Rullion Green

“Here and near to this place lies the Reverend Mr. John Crookshank and Mr. Andrew M’Cormick, ministers of the Gospel, and about fifty other true covenanted Presbyterians, who were killed in this place in their own innocent self-defense, and defense of the covenanted work of Reformation, by Thomas Dalziel of Bins, upon the 28th of November 1666. Revelation 12:11. Erected Sept. 28, 1738.

*“A Cloud of Witnesses lies here,
Who for Christ’s interest did appear,
For to restore true liberty
Overturned then by tyranny,
And by proud Prelates, who did rage
Against the Lord’s own heritage.
They sacrificed were for the laws
Of Christ their king, His noble cause;
These heroes fought with great renown,
By falling got the martyr’s crown.”*

[Rullion Green lies on the south side of the Pentland Hills. It is best approached by the road from Edinburgh to Carlops — about a quarter a-mile past the seven mile-stone. The monument is about quarter a-mile from the road upon the hill. It is an upright stone, and was carefully railed in some years ago at the expense of the proprietor of the ground, the Right Honorable John Inglis, Lord President of the Court of Session.]

**ON A GRAVESTONE NEAR THE CROSS-WATER OF DUSK,
IN COLMONELL PARISH.**

“Here lies John Murchie and Daniel M’Ilwraith, martyrs. By bloody Drummond they were shot. 1685.

*“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.
“Renewed by Gilbert M’Ilwraith in Alticonnach.”*

[A new monument was erected in 1825, and the old inscription transferred to it. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, MUIRKIRK.

“Here lies John Smith, who was shot by Colossians Buchan and the laird of Lee, February, 1685, for his adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted work of Reformation. Revelation 12:11. Erected in the year 1731.

*“When proud apostates did abjure,
Scotland’s Reformation pure,
And fill’d the land with perjury,
And all sorts of iniquity.
Such as would not with them comply,
They persecute with hue and cry,
I in the fight was overtane,
And for the truth by them was slain.”*

[The stone is an upright one, of small size. Part of it is broken off. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE, IN A KAILYARD, NEWMILNS.

“Renewed in 1822. Here lies John Law, who was shot at Newmills, at the relieving of eight of Christ’s prisoners, who were taken at a meeting for prayer at Little Blackwood, in the parish of Kilmarnock, in April 1685, by Captain Inglis and his party, for their adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation.”

*“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 honor and his crown,
Bestow’d on me, O high renown,
That I should not only believe,
But for Christ’s cause my life should give.”*

[The “kailyard” is behind a house on the main street, nearly opposite to the Parish Church. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, STRATHAVEN.

“Erected in the year 1732. Here lies the corps of William Dingwall, who was shot in a rancounter at Drumclog, June 1st, 1679, by bloody Grahm of Claverhouse, for adhearing to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation.

*“This hero brave who here doth lie
Was persecute by tyranny,
Yet to the truth he firmly stood,
‘Gainst foes resisting to the blood.
Himself and th’ Gospel did defend,
Till for Christ’s cause his life did end.”*

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, STONEHOUSE.

“Here lays, or near this, James Thomson, who was shot in a rancounter at Drumclog, June 1st, 1679, by bloody Graham of Clavershouse, for his adherence to the Word of God, and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation. Revelation 12:11.

*“This hero brave who doth lie here,
In truth’s defense he did appear,
And to Christ’s cause he firmly stood,
Until he seal’d it with his blood,
With sword in hand upon the field,
He lost his life, yet did not yield.
His days did end in great renown,
And he obtain’d the martyr’s crown.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DRON.

“Here lies the Reverend Mr. John Welwood, minister of the Gospel in the Church of Scotland, who died at Perth, April 1679, about the 30th year of his age.

*“Here lies a follower of the Lamb,
Thro’ many tribulations came.
For long time of his Christian race
Was persecute from place to place.
A Scottish prophet here behold,
Judgment and mercy who foretold;
The Gospel banner did display,
Condemn’d the sins of that sad day,
And valiantly for truth contended,
Until by death his days were ended.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, ST. ANDREWS.

PICTURE: Churchyard of St. Andrews

“Here lies the Reverend Mr. Samuell Rutherfoord Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, who died March 20, 1661.

*“What tongue, what pen, or skill of men,
Can famous Rutherfoord commend?
His learning justly rais’d his fame,
True godliness adorn’d his name.
He did converse with things above,
‘Acquainted with Emmanuel’s love.
Most orthodox he was and sound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion’s king and Zion’s cause
And Scotland’s Covenanted laws;
Most constantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
Then he wan to the full fruition,
Of that which he had seen in vision.”*

(October 9th, 1735. By W. WITSON.)

(The famous Mr. Samuel Rutherford, who was cited before that Parliament, which rescinded the Covenanted work of Reformation, to appear before them when he was in a dying condition; being soon after that

called to answer at that tribunal, where his Judge was his friend: though he did not actually suffer martyrdom, being called home to the joy of his Lord before his persecutors got their wicked devices put in execution against him; yet since he was a martyr, both in his enemies' design and his own resolution, the epitaph upon his gravestone, done above seventy-four years after he died, by a true lover of his memory and owner of the honorable Covenanted cause which he faithfully contended and suffered for, deserveth a room here among martyrs' epitaphs. — *Note in the Fourth Edition.*)

THE following inscriptions have now been added for the first time. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, DUNOTTAR.

PICTURE: Dunottar Castle

“Here lies John Stot, James Aitchison, James Russel, and William Broun, and one whose name we have not gotten, and two women whose names also we know not, and two who perished coming down the rock, one whose name was James Watson, the other not known, who all died prisoners in Dunottar Castle, anno 1685, for their adherence to the Word of God and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation. Revelation 11th ch., 12th verse.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN A CHURCHYARD NEAR BATHGATE.

“Here lies the body of James Davie, who was shot at Blackdale, April 1673, by Heron, for his adhering to the Word of God and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation, in opposition to Popery, Prelacy, Perjury, and Tyranny.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, GALSTON.

“Here lies Andrew Richmond, who was killed by bloody Graham of Claverhouse, June 1679, for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation.

*“When bloody tyrants here did rage
Over the Lord’s own heritage,
To persecute His noble cause
By mischief framed into laws,
‘Cause I the Gospel did defend,
By martyrdom my life did end.*

“Renewed in 1823.”

[The stone is an upright one, and stands to the south of the church. Besides the inscription, it has sculptured on it, in *basso relievo*, an open Bible, a man with a soldier pointing a gun at him, and a figure of the Galston Covenanter’s flag. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, GALSTON.

“In memory of John Richmond, younger of Knowe, who was executed at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19th, 1684, and interred in the High Churchyard there. And James Smith, East Threepwood, who was shot near Bank of Burn Ann by Captain Inglis and his dragoons, and buried there. Also James Young and George Campbell, who were banished in 1679. And the Reverend Alexander Blair, who suffered imprisonment 1673.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, LOUDON.

“Here lies Thomas Flemming of Loudon Hill, who, for his appearing in arms in his own defense and in defense of the Gospel, according to the obligations of our National Covenants, and agreeable to the Word of God, was shot in a rencounter at Drumclog, June 1st, 1679, by bloody Graham of Claverhouse.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, CAMPSIE.

“Erected in memory of William Boik, who suffered at Glasgow, June 14, 1683, for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland’s Covenanted Work of Reformation.

*“Underneath this stone doth lie
Dust sacrificed to tyranny,
Yet precious in Immanuel’s sight,
Since martyr’d for his kingly right.*

“Revelation chap. 7, verse 14.”

ON A MONUMENT IN THE CHURCHYARD, GLASSFORD.

“To the memory of the very worthy pillar of the Church, Mr. William Gordon of Earlston in Galloway, shot by a party of dragoons on his way to Bothwell Bridge, 22 June 1679, aged 65. Inscribed by his great grandson, Sir John Gordon, Bart., 11 June 1772.

*Silent till now full ninety years hath stood
This humble monument of guiltless blood.
Tyrannic sway forbad his fate to name,
Least his known worth should prove the tyrant's shame.
On Bothwell road, with love of freedom fir'd,
The tyrant's minions boldly him requir'd
To stop and yield, or it his life would cost.
This he disdain'd, not knowing all was lost,
On which they fir'd. Heaven so decreed his doom,
Far from his own laid in this silent tomb.
How leagu'd with patriots to maintain the cause
Of true religious liberty and laws,
How learn'd, how soft his manner, free from pride,
How clear his judgment, and how he lived and died,
They well could tell who weeping round him stood
On Strevan plains that drank his patriot blood.”*

“Repaired by Sir John Gordon, Bart. of Earlston, his representative, 1842.

*“If a hard fate demands,
Or claims a tear,
Stay, gentle passenger,
And shed it here.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, WIGTOWN.

PICTURE: Monument at Wigtown to the Martyrs

Memento Mori. — “Here lies Margaret Lachlane, who was by unjust law sentenced to dye by Lagg, surnamed Grier, Strachane, Winram, and Grame, and tied to a stake within the flood for her adherence to Scotland's Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, aged 63, 1685.”

[The stone is an upright one, and similar in size and form to those in Galloway that have simply a prose inscription. — ED.]

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, WIGTOWN.

“Here lies William Johnston, John Milroy, and George Walker, who was, without sentence of law, hanged by Major Winram, for their adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, WIGTOWN.

“Here lies the body of Alexander Linn, who was surprised and instantly shot to death by Lieutenant-General Drummond for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

**ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD,
BALMAGHIE.**

Memento Mori. — “Here lies George Short, who was pursued and taken, and instantly Shot to death under cloud of night, in the paroch of Tongueland, by Grief of Lag and the Earle of Annandale, because of his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1655.”

[The stone is upright, and is three feet in height by two feet in breadth. — ED.]

**ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD,
TARBOLTON.**

“Here lies William Shillilaw, who was shot at Woodhead by Lieut. Lauder for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland’s Covenanted work of Reformation.”

[The stone is an upright one, and stands close to the east side of the steeple. — ED.]

**ON A GRAVESTONE AT MID WELLWOOD,
PARISH OF MUIRKIRK.**

“Here lies William Adam, who was shot in this place by Captain Dalzeal and his party for his adherence to the Word of God and Scotland’s Covertanted work of Reformation.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, TWYNHOLM.

Memento Mori. — “Here lies Andrew M’Robert, who was surprised and shot to death in the parish of Tongueland, by Grier of Lagg, for his adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League, 1685.”

ON A GRAVESTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, KELLS.

“Here lies the corpse of Roger Gordon of Largmore, who died March 5, 1662, aged 72 years; and of John Gordon of Largmore, his grandchild, who died January 6, 1667, of his wounds got at Pentland in defense of the Covenanted Reformation.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, OLD CUMNOCK.

“Here lies the corpse of Thomas Richard, who was shot by Colonel James Douglas, for his adherence to the Covenanted Work of Reformation, on the 5th day of April, anno 1685.

*Halt passenger! this stone doth show to thee
For what, by whom, and how I here did die,
Because I always in my station
Adhered to Scotland’s Reformation
And to our Sacred Covenants and laws,
Establishing the same, which was the cause,
In time of prayer, I was by Douglas shot,
Ah! cruelty never to be forgot.”*

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, OLD CUMNOCK.

“Here lies David Dun and Simon Paterson, who was shot in this place by a party of Highlanders, for their adherence to the Word of God and the Covenanted Work of Reformation, 1685.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, OLD CUMNOCK.

“Here lies Mr. Alexander Peden, faithful minister of the Gospel, sometime of Glenluce, who departed this mortal life the 26th of January 1686, and was raised after six weeks out of the grave and buried here out of contempt.

“Memento Mori.”

[The remains of Alexander Peden were first laid in the aisle of Lord Auchinleck, but were disinterred by a body of dragoons, in order to hang them on the gallows. At the entreaty, however, of the Countess of Dumfries, they were induced to depart from their purpose, and the corpse was laid alongside those of the martyrs at the Gallowsfoot of Old Cumnock. — ED.]

ON A STONE AT THE CALDONS, LOCH TROOL, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.

“Here lies James and Robert Duns, Thomas and John Stevensons, James M’Clude, Andrew M’Call, who were surprised at prayer in this house by Colonel Douglas, Lieutenant Livingstone, and Cornet James Douglas, and by them most impiously and cruelly murther’d for their adherence to Scotland’s Reformation Covenants, National and Solemn League. 1685.

“In memory of six martyrs who suffered at this spot for their attachment to the Covenanted cause of Christ in Scotland. January 23, 1685.

“Erected by the voluntary contributions of a congregation who waited on the ministrations of the Reverend Gavin Rowatt of Whitehorn, Lord’s Day, 19th August 1827.”

[This tomb stands in a lonely march near the little water of Trool shortly after it leaves the loch of that name. The site of the old farmhouse of Caldons (or Caldunes), where the martyrs were taken and put to death, is supposed to be marked by a shapeless heap of stones, which has once been a cairn. The present monument is close beside it, and consists of a strong plain wall about four feet high, forming a square enclosure (ten feet square or thereabouts), within which stands the little gray tombstone with

its plainly legible inscription, bearing marks of the pious care of “Old Mortality.” The modern enclosing wall has a slab of red sandstone let into its inner side (S.W.). On it stands the inscription of 1827. — ED.]

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, CUPAR FIFE.

“Here lies interred the heads of Laurance Hay and Andrew Pitulloch, who suffered martyrdom at Edinburgh, July 13th, 1681, for adhering to the word of God and Scotland’s Covenanted work of Reformation. And also one of the hands of David Hackston of Rathillet, who was most cruelly murdered at Edinburgh, July 30th, 1680, for the same cause.

*“Our persecutors fill’d with rage,
Their brutish fury to aswage,
Took heads and hands of martyrs off
That they might be the people’s scoff.
They Hackston’s body cut asunder,
And set it up a world’s wonder,
In several places to proclaim,
These monsters glory’d in their shame.”*

Re-erected, July 13th, 1792.

[The stone has recently been raised upon a new base, and is in a good state of preservation. — ED.]

ON A MONUMENT IN THE CHURCHYARD, FENWICK.

“Sacred to the memory’ of Captain John Paton, late in Meadowhead, of this parish, who suffered martyrdom in the Grass, market, Edinburgh, May 9th 1684.

“He was an honor to his country; on the Continent, at Pentland, Drumclog, and Bothwell, his heroic conduct truly evinced the gallant officer, brave soldier, and true patriot. In social and domestic life, he was an ornament, a pious Christian, and a faithful witness for truth, in opposition to the encroachments of tyrannical and despotic power in Church and State.

*“Who Antichrist do thus oppose,
And for truth’s cause their lives lay down,
Will get the victory o’er their foes,
And gain life’s everlasting crown,*

“The mortal remains of Captain Paton sleep amid the dust of kindred martyrs in the Greyfriars’ Churchyard, Edinburgh.

“Near this is the burying place of his family and descendants.”

ON A MONUMENT AT MONIAIVE.

“In memory of the late Reverend James Renwick, the last who suffered to death for attachment to the Covenanted Cause of Christ in Scotland — born near this spot, 15th February 1662, and executed at the Grassmarket, Edinburgh, 17th February 1688.

“‘The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.’ Erected by subscription, A.D. 1828.”

ON A STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, NORTH BERWICK.

“Here lies the body of Mr. John Blackader, minister of the Gospel at Troqueer in Galloway, who died on the Bass, after five years imprisonment, anno dom 1685, and of his age sixty-three years.

*Blest John, for Jesus’ sake in Patmos bound,
His prison Bethel, Patmos, Pisgah found;
So the bless’d John, on yonder rock confined,
His body suffer’d, but no chains could bind
His heaven-aspiring soul; while day by day,
As from Mount Pisgah’s top, he did survey
The promised land, and view’d the crown by faith
Laid up for those who faithful are till death.
Grace formed him in the Christian Hero’s mould,
Meek in his own concerns — in’s Master’s bold;
Passions to reason chained, Prudence did lead —
Zeal warm’d his breast, and reason cool’d his head.
Five years on the lone rock, yet sweet abode,
He Enoch-like enjoyed, and walk’d with God;
Till, by long living on this heavenly food,
His soul by love grew up too great, too good
To be confined to jail, or flesh or blood.
Death broke his fetters off, then swift he fled
From sin and sorrow, and by angels led,
Enter’d the mansions of eternal joy; —
Blest soul, thy warfare’s done, praise, love, enjoy.
His dust here rests till Jesus come again —
Even so, blest Jesus come, — come Lord. Amen!”*

FOOTNOTES

JAMES SKENE

- ¹ Let none mistake this sentence as if this worthy gentleman thereby disowner, that unshaken principle of the Protestant religion; viz., that infidelity or difference in religion does not make void the magistrate's 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 defense of tyranny and arbitrary power. [Note by the compilers of the "Cloud," in the first edition.]
- ² 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 ungospel 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 parallel in its nature with that of Jeremiah, in his apology before the princes, chap. 26:15. [Note by the original compilers of the "Cloud."]

ISABEL ALISON

- ¹ This paper being taken from him at his death by the enemies who slew him, no copy thereof, for what I know, has ever been procured, and hence it cannot be certainly known what was the nature of it. Notes by Compiler of "Cloud." [The paper referred to seems to be the Bond of Mutual Defense which follows the Short Relation concerning the Rev. Mr. Richard Cameron, contained in the Appendix. — ED.]

MARION HARVIE

- ¹ Understand this paragraph with the caution, given page 95.

WILLIAM CUTHILL

- ¹ 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 engagement he came under. — Note by the compilers of the "Cloud."

ROBERT GRAY

- ¹ This cannot be done, no copy of that paper being found. — Note by the compilers of the "Cloud."

JOHN MAIN

- ¹ This was a very eminent and zealous sufferer, who being forfaulted of his land and possession for adherence to the truth, suffered many hardships of persecution, but was brought through without compliance, being steadfast in the way of the Lord till his death, which was about two years since. —Note by compilers of "Cloud," in 1714.

JOHN RICHMOND

- ¹ N. B. — That the above-mentioned John London became poor, and his posterity are now reduced to beggary, notwithstanding they had of heritage six or seven thousand marks' worth. John Paterson died at Edinburgh of the French. pox. John Fram was broke, and fled to Ireland, and, as it is commonly reported, he was hanged there for stealing of horse. James Connel became miserable, and his posterity are in want. They were in fellowship with John Richmond, and were equally guilty with him in everything for which he was condemned; but their falling from the truth, the enemy made use of them to witness him to death. — Note by the editor of the third edition of the "Cloud," in 1730.

JOHN NISBET

- ¹ Here the reader is referred to that relation of his, which in this particular is at more length expressed in the short account before this testimony.